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METAHISTORY
History questioning History

METAHISTÓRIA
História questionando História

Festschrift in honour of Professor Teotónio R. de Souza

Homenagem ao Professor Doutor Teotónio R. de Souza

Editors / *Organização*

Charles J. Borges, S. J.
&
Michael N. Pearson

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PREFACE

It gave us great pleasure to edit this volume, which contains essays and personal tributes to Prof. Teotónio R. de Souza on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. We, and all the contributors, hold him in high esteem and affection. This is shown by the sheer size of this volume, the quality of the learned articles and the warmth of the personal tributes.

Prof. de Souza was born and raised in Goa, entered the archdiocese of Goa as a seminarian, and then joined the Jesuit order where he remained for 27 years. He left in 1994 to pursue a different career in Portugal. His achievements especially in the intellectual field have been truly remarkable and speak of a fine historian, a great teacher and overall of a sensitive human being.

As a historian, Prof. de Souza has to his credit very many contributions. Since 1972 when he began his doctoral studies in history, till today, he has written over 12 well received books (some of which he has edited or co-edited) and over 180 research articles. A great planner and organizer, he set up the Xavier Centre of Historical Research in Goa in 1979, and since then has conducted many international conferences, in particular the ISIPH series, and national seminars which focus on the history of Goa and India. He made his mark as a Ph. D. tutor at the Goa University and as a Fellow of a number of historical bodies.

Since his relocation to Portugal in 1994, Prof. de Souza has been a very useful asset for the Universidade Lusofona in Lisbon where he conducts courses in a variety of disciplines, directs doctoral students, organizes history workshops and sociology weeks, and edits one of its research journals. He has been recipient of many awards and scholarships. His articles continue to focus on themes like Goan and Indian history, church history and international relations.

Prof. de Souza, well versed in Goan history and culture, has taken a keen interest in studies connected with the Portuguese church, politics, society and culture. He has been interested in studying patterns of historical development and the papers in the present volume are reflective of many of the concerns he has and which he continues to present in his writings.

We trust that this modest tribute to Prof. de Souza on his sixtieth birthday will serve to enlighten readers about the value and orientation of his writings, give insights into present day research on Goan and Portuguese issues, and be overall a stimulus to all researchers to see events and happenings as part of a global whole with their own particular dynamics and orientations. This wider dimension is reflected in the title of this tribute volume: *Metahistory*. Prof. de Souza has always favoured a metahistorical approach, questioning the limitations of historical tropes and their belief-driven conditionings in historical interpretations, be they nationalist or cultural.

We are deeply grateful to all those who have submitted articles and personal tributes for this volume and believe that their contributions coming from so many different parts of the globe will serve as a fitting Festschrift to a great historian, tutor and guide. We are also very grateful to the Nova Vega publishing company for this truly remarkable presentation. As editors it was our joy to bring to completion this work of homage to our dear friend, Teotónio.

February 18, 2007

Charles J. Borges, S.J.
Michael N. Pearson

PREFÁCIO

Foi para nós um grande prazer organizar e editar o presente volume de ensaios e testemunhos pessoais dirigidos ao Prof. Teotónio R. de Souza por ocasião de seu sexagésimo aniversário. Nós, e todos aqueles que contribuíram, dedicamos ao Prof. Teotónio R. de Souza uma elevada estima e afecto, que ficam patentes nesta volumosa obra, quer pela qualidade dos estudos académicos, quer pelos calorosos testemunhos pessoais.

O Prof. de Souza nasceu em Goa, onde foi educado. Ingressou como seminarista na arquidiocese de Goa, passando a integrar a Ordem Jesuíta, na qual permaneceria durante vinte e sete anos. Em 1994, deixou a ordem para, em Portugal, se dedicar a uma carreira diferente, país onde tem dado contribuições notáveis à vida intelectual, enquanto excelente investigador, historiador e professor, revelando em todas as suas facetas um ser humano sensível.

Como historiador, o Prof. Teotónio de Souza tem a seu crédito inúmeros trabalhos. Desde 1972, altura em que iniciou os seus estudos de doutoramento em História – e até hoje - elaborou mais de doze obras de grande vulto, todas elas com admirável receptividade (algumas como edição própria, outras em co-edição) e mais de cento e oitenta artigos de pesquisa.

Um excepcional organizador, estabeleceu em Goa o centro de pesquisa histórica Xavier Centre of Historical Research, em 1979, e desde essa época não parou de realizar eventos de carácter científico: conferências internacionais, com especial destaque para a série do ISIPH, e seminários de âmbito nacional, em Portugal, focalizados na temática da história de Goa e da Índia. O seu cunho pessoal ficou gravado na Universidade de Goa, como tutor dos estudos pós-doutorais, e na criação de significativo número de órgãos relacionados com a História, para além das valiosas colaborações que tem prestado enquanto membro de diversas instituições da sua área de pesquisa.

Desde que fixou residência em Portugal, em 1994, o Prof. de Souza tem sido um dos colaboradores mais activos da Universidade Lusófona, em Lisboa, onde dirige cursos diversos numa significativa variedade de disciplinas. Orienta pesquisas de

doutoramento, organiza oficinas da História e semanas de Sociologia dinâmicas, e edita uma das suas revistas de investigação. Foram-lhe atribuídas muitas bolsas de estudo, prémios e outras distinções. Os seus ensaios continuam a privilegiar temas como a história de Goa e da Índia, a história religiosa e as relações internacionais.

Profundo conhecedor da história e da cultura goesas, o Prof. de Souza elegeu como área de trabalho os estudos relacionados com a igreja, a política, a sociedade e a cultura portuguesas. Tem-se interessado ainda pelo estudo de padrões de desenvolvimento histórico. Os ensaios publicados no presente volume reflectem aspectos das muitas preocupações que o Prof. Teotónio R. de Souza continua a apresentar nos seus escritos.

Esperamos que esta modesta homenagem ao Prof. de Souza por ocasião do seu sexagésimo aniversário venha a trazer alguma luz sobre o valor e a orientação dos seus escritos, seja uma aproximação à actual pesquisa sobre temas goeses e portugueses e se constitua, acima de tudo, como um estímulo aos investigadores para que saibam analisar os eventos e as acções históricas enquadradas num todo global, com a sua própria dinâmica e com uma orientação particular. Esta dimensão mais alargada encontra-se patente no título deste volume de homenagem: ***Metahistória***.

O Prof. Teotónio R. de Souza favoreceu sempre uma aproximação metahistórica, questionando as limitações dos factos históricos e os condicionalismos das interpretações históricas, sejam elas nacionalistas ou culturais.

Estamos sinceramente agradecidos a todos aqueles que submeteram estudos e apresentaram as homenagens pessoais incluídas neste volume. Acreditamos que as suas contribuições, oriundas de tão diferentes partes do globo, servirão como um *Festschrift* adequado a um historiador, conselheiro e orientador excepcional. Estamos igualmente agradecidos à editora Nova Vega por esta apresentação verdadeiramente singular. Como editores é nossa alegria concluir este trabalho de homenagem ao nosso estimado amigo, Teotónio.

18 de Fevereiro de 2007

Charles J. Borges, S.J.
Michael N. Pearson

Teotonio R. de Souza

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INTRODUCTION

Metahistory: History questioning History

This Festschrift in honour of Prof. Teotonio R. de Souza, is a work that well represents trends and analysis in present day research in the fields of Goan, Indo-Portuguese and Asian studies The essays in the volume are divided into two main sections: Goa and India/Portugal/Asia. We do hope the short summaries listed below will serve to highlight the significant work done by the writers (arranged alphabetically) in their respective fields.

1. Adelino Rodrigues da Costa in his essay **"**Early Nautical Cartography of Goa," gives us some insights into the works of João de Castro as seen in his *Roteiro de Goa e Diu* (c. 1540) and into the nautical charts of Manuel Godinho de Erédia, the cosmographer with more than two hundred cartographic works to his credit. It would be impossible to speak of the advances in the world of nautical cartography without mentioning and giving due regard to their work.

2. Agnelo Fernandes in his article "Goans in Portuguese Armadas during Medieval Times," points out how Goans helped the Portuguese regime in various capacities in their *Estado da India*. They played useful roles as soldiers and sailors, and especially as doctors on board the Portuguese armadas. He cities the petitions to the King of three such Goans asking to be rewarded for their past services.

3. Carmo D'Souza in his essay "Legal Foundations to the Concept of Overseas Provinces versus Colonies," dwells on the legal foundations of the concepts of colony and overseas. He briefs us about the Portuguese Colonial Act of 1930 and the rightful sense of indignation it created among the residents of Portuguese possessions. The Act was meant in part to civilize the local populations of the overseas colonies.

4. Cristiana Bastos in "Subaltern Elites and beyond: Why Goa matters for Theory and Comparative Studies of Colonialism and Subalternity" analyses her use of the term subaltern with reference to Goan physicians and the role of the Medical School of Goa. She believes it was created mainly due to the interests of the local elites, and was only peripherally connected to the Portuguese government in Lisbon.

5. Délio de Mendonça in "The City Carousel: Relocation of the capital of the *Estado da Inda",* believes that the conquest of Goa in 1510 and its loss in 1961 was the beginning and 'beginning-of-the-end' of the Portuguese expansion. From 1670 governors, António de Mello de Castro and Manuel Corte-Real de Sampaio had proposed a shifting of the capital-city to other sites in Goa urging that there be priority for a more strategic and defensible location. By 1777 the idea was abandoned.

6. Diogo Ramada Curto in his article "O Estado do presente Estado da Índia (1725) de Fr. Inácio de Santa Teresa" describes the contribution of the Archbishop of Goa during his stay in Goa from 1721 till 1739. He refers to a manuscript written by the ecclesiastic in which he tried to understand the decline of the state of the Portuguese empire in Goa. He upheld an Augustinian hierarchical vision of society and rooted for a defense of orthodoxy and for stressing the authority of the Holy Office and of the Father of the Christians.

7. Fatima da Silva Gracias in her essay, "Alternate Medicine in Goa," writes about indigenous forms of medicine. Called *ganvti vokot,* these included herbal medicine, rituals, penance, fasting, various healing techniques such as trance, exorcism, faith healing, *disht*, *ghaddipon*, etc. She goes on to describe details of folk healers like the *oids* (doctors), *curandeiros* (quacks), *herbolarios* (herbalists), snake bite curers, bonesetters, folk healers, exorcists and other medicine men.

8. Maria Aurora Couto in "Literature and History," looks at some forms of writing and the contexts in which they were written. Literature, she believes, reveals the soul of experience and folk art forms allow the historian to unlock the little traditions that are often erased in grand national narratives. She probes how one can unravel the complexities in discovering and establishing the Goan identity.

9. Maria Pia de Menezes Rodrigues in "Taverna and its socio-economic Impact in Colonial Goa," writes on the *taverna licenciada*, which supplied *feni* and *urraca* to the people and which was an important source of revenue for the government. She explains the methods of toddy tapping and the fermenting of *feni* from the cashew plant. She gives interesting insights on the consumption of drinks at feasts and on how *feni* was used to treat cholera.

10. Mariano Dias in his article "The Goa Conspiracy of 1787 – the untold side of the Myth," seeks to pin down J. H. da Cunha Rivara for his one-sided and unsubstantiated account of the happenings of 1787 in Goa. Dias strongly holds the view that caught in the crossfire between diehard colonial racist justification of 1787 and resentful local public revulsion of the sad events, Cunha Rivara sided with the colonial viewpoint in the hope of maligning the Goans, particularly the brahmins among them.

11. Pratap Naik in his article "Hurdles to Konknni in Goa," describes the changing fortunes of Konknni. From the sixteenth century, the language was written in the Roman script and used for religious services and for the mass media. There was hardly any devanagari form of it. The Official Language Bill passed in 1987 by the government is biased, believes Naik, towards one section of the Goans. There is need for both the Devanagari and Roman scripts in Goa today.

12. Raghuraman Trichur in his essay "Tourism and Nation-Building: (Re)Locating Goa in Postcolonial India" writes of the political and economic state of Goa after 1961 and explores the manner in which the discourse of tourism development has contributed to locating Goa within the imagination of postcolonial India. He believes that as critical constituents of the tourism destination, Goans have the ability to perform/engage with 'difference' as they are part of the tourism destination.

13. Remy Dias in "Consumption History of the *Estado da India*, Migration and its Impact, 1850-1950," deals with the issue of rice production and consumption in Goa over the centuries, and how after the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878 tax free imports brought about a change in the consumption habits of the people. The doors were opened to unrestricted imports from British India which in turn enhanced consumption. There was also increased circulation of currency and large-scale emigration to British India.

14. Robert Newman in "Myths of Goa: Old and New," tells of how Goa came to assume many identities, almost all created by others. After analyzing the various myths that have shaped the image of Goa, he states that since Goans are a small group and have little power in the media, the ultimate fate of Goa may be to be a victim of too much mythology.

15. S. K. Mhamai in "Anglo-Portuguese Collaboration 1927-47," informs us of matters such as gold smuggling, the extradition of criminals, services, and the friendly visits of naval ships while he examines the relations between the Portuguese and the English.

India/Portugal/Asia

16. Anthony Disney in "Ex-Viceroy Linhares and the Galleys of Sicily, 1641-44," writes about Miguel de Noronha, the fourth count of Linhares, viceroy at Goa from 1629-35. On his return to Europe, the count went to the court of Madrid and was appointed captain general of the galleys of Sicily. The stakes were difficult and though he would have loved to retire on the completion of his tenure, he went on to become captain-general of the galleys of all of Spain.

17. Charles Borges in his paper "Forming East Timor Culturally and Spiritually: The Role of the Religious Orders on the Island" highlights the role of the various members of the Religious Orders and Congregations on the island of Timor till the turn of the last century. The work, mainly in the fields of education and social welfare, raised problems of adaptation and development of the local people. Were the Timorese as a result of the stay of the Religious Orders, asks the author, well prepared to stand confident for the years ahead?

18. Dejanirah Couto in her essay "Alguns dados para um estudo ulterior sobre a «sociedade espontânea» no Estado da India na primeira metade do séc. XVI" high--lights the need of investigating further into the values and strategies of the new emerging social groups that constituted the mainstay of the Portuguese empire in the East. Such values and practices did not often coincide with those of the official rules and Church demands.

19. Eduardo Hoornaert in his essay "Beatos missionários: Um paradigma na história do cristianismo," emphasizes the crucial roles played by the *beatos* and *santos* or lay people as agents of a successful transition in the time of conversions to the Christian faith in early Church history. Their contribution is rarely ever mentioned in official documentation, but was nevertheless extremely significant alongside the official missionaries.

20. Fernanda de Camargo-Moro in "Um economista setecentista dos dois mundos: D. Pedro Miguel de Almeida Portugal, Conde de Assumar, Marquês de Castelo Novo e Marquês de Alorna", analyses a report sent by the viceroy to the king of Portugal describing the critical situation of Goa in 1745, and suggesting measures to overcome the difficulties with the experience he had gained in Brazil.

21. Fernando dos Santos Neves in "Da "Hora da Lusofonia" à "Crítica da Razão Lusófona" ou vice-versa" takes note and recognizes the importance of criticisms occasionally voiced by Prof. Teotónio de Souza as regards certain types of "lusophonies", and draws a parallel with the Kantian critiques of pure and practical reason, which could serve as an inspiration to authentic lovers of Lusophony.

22. George Davison Winius in his article "The Military and Diplomatic Processes of an *ad hoc* Empire" addresses the political, military and diplomatic happenstance of the Portuguese overseas empire (old-fashioned chronological history) to show how the Portuguese empire evolved from opportunities seized, and then either gained or lost. Not only was most Portuguese imperial planning, believes Winius, ill-conceived, but at each and every unexpected turn in events, its participants in the field were able to adapt themselves to new opportunities presented.

23. Glenn Ames in his article "The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century reconsidered," dwells at some length on the "Niels Steensgaard concept of Asian trade revolution" and on how it contributed to the "Black Legend of Portuguese Asia". The Portuguese came in contact with the peddler trade and came to draw up their own trade in terms of a redistributive enterprise. The Portuguese seaborne empire, Ames believes, represented the flowering of mercantilism on a global scale.

24. Jin Guo Ping in his essay "A propósito das identidades "budistas" de Michele Ruggeri e Matteo Ricci" presents Fr. Michele Ruggeri, the first Jesuit allowed to settle down in the Chinese imperial territory and Fr. Matteo Ricci who adopted Buddhist identity while it served his process of strategic cultural adaptation.

25. João Marinho dos Santos in "As Comunicações por terra entre a Índia e Portugal (século XVI) points out the fact that the Portuguese were well known for their discovery of the Cape Route, but perhaps less known for their knowledge of the land routes and hinterland spaces in the East.

26. John Villiers in his article "Portuguese Melaka and the Apostolate of Southeast Asia," highlights the importance of Melaka akin to that of Spanish Manila. The Dominicans, Augustinians, Jesuits and the diocesan clergy get a fair mention regarding the work they did and the reports they wrote. The Dutch conquest of Melaka in 1641 marked the end of the prime centre of Catholicism in Southeast Asia.

27. Jorge Gonçalves Guimarães in his essay "Entre a hagiografia e a crónica: A história da vida do P. Francisco Xavier de João de Lucena", believes that the life of St. Francis Xavier written by the Jesuit João de Lucena was a well-planned attempt at producing a life of a saint aimed at glorifying the Society of Jesus, and at the same time glorifying discreetly the Portuguese nationalist leadership of the House of Braganças at a time when the Phillips of Spain ruled over Portugal.

28. José Manuel Garcia describes in "Em torno de alguns livros sobre of Estado da India," some pioneering texts produced by the Portuguese in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and which have been till date outstanding and indispensable sources of our knowledge about Asia of those times.

29. José Oscar Beozzo in "Dom Helder Cámara e O Concílio Vaticano II," analyses the role played by the great Brazilian bishop in shaping the final outcome of Vatican II, bringing into it a greater conscience and concern for the poor of the Third World. He emphasized the need of symbols of concern, without limiting concern for written documents.

30. Julia Lederle in her essay "Jesuit Economic Networking and Intermediacy in Eighteenth Century southern India," gives some examples of Jesuit economic acting by focusing on the case of the Jesuit Malabar Province where the men tried to employ new ways of financing their activities. The economic activities of the Jesuits in Malabar can be seen as an important part of their whole concept of evangelisation.

31. K.S. Mathew in his essay "The Jesuits and the Services on board the Ships of the India Run (*Carreira da India*) during the Sixteenth Century," describes how life on board the ships was a microcosm reflecting various segments of the society on land. Jesuits often traveled on these and helped in easing tensions among the crew, passengers and officials. They preached the Gospel, conducted various services, and took care of the sick.

32. Luis Aires-Barros & Helena Grego in "A India Portuguesa de António Lopes Mendes, um caso paradigmático da literatura de viagens do século XIX" present an illustrious member of the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, António Lopes Mendes (1834-1894), who lived nine years in Goa and who produced his book *A Índia Portuguesa: breve descrição das possessões portuguesas na Ásia*. The book is presented as a paradigmatic representative of nineteenth century travel literature.

33. Malyn Newitt in his essay "Mauriz Thoman's Account of the Imprisonment of the Jesuits of the Province of Goa," believes that the account of the Superior of the mission at Marangue on the Zambesi provides hitherto little used detail on the arrest and imprisonment of the Jesuits of the Goa Province. More importantly, he gives information about the African missions which are of profound interest for the history of the Jesuit missions in Mozambique.

34. Maria Fernanda Matias in "Alguns bens artísticos embarcados na *Flor de la Mar,*" takes up the controversial issue about the shipwreck of a vessel in which Afonso de Albuquerque was taking away some precious booty and gifts from Malacca after its capture in 1511. Contrary to what many still hold, she believes that not all of the treasure was lost.

35. Michael Pearson in "East Africa and the Indian Ocean World," believes that the Swahili were oriented much more strongly to the Indian Ocean than to the interior – in geographical terms to their foreland rather than their hinterland. They acted as middlemen or facilitators for the trade of others. They played a passive role both in terms of religion too. In religious matters, norms and ideas came in to the coast, but few went out. Pearson refers to recent historical surveys describing the Swahili as being involved in intercontinental commerce, but in an African context.

36. Pius Malekandathil in his paper "The Ottoman Expansion and the Portuguese Response in the Indian Ocean, 1500-1560" intends to present the processes and mechanisms by which the Ottomans expanded into the Indian Ocean for the purpose of controlling its trade and also the ways as well as the means by which the Portuguese managed to contain the Ottoman expansion and retain their predominant position in conducting the Indian trade.

37. Rila Mukherjee in her article "Faith and Empire: Vailankanni in Portuguese Asia," wonders at the apparent non mention of this important Marian shrine in Portuguese records and believes that the place throws up the concept of multiple encounters most especially of the Krishna cult and the cult of Mary, Star of the Sea. It eventually came to reflect Thomist-Indic practices, Portuguese expansion and contraction and a shared Christian territory.

38. Rui Manuel Loureiro introduces us in "Como seria a biblioteca de Matteo Ricci?" to the Biblioteca Ricciana (the Library of Matteo Ricci) which represents a confluence of western and Chinese intellectual worlds. He views it as the dawn of modernity.

39. Rui Teixeira Santos in "Breve História da Corrupção Portuguesa," describes how the Portuguese have never been able in their history to find a solution for the crises they faced from within. This resulted in the growing rich/poor divide in Portuguese society, and gave rise to corrupt oligarchies.

40. Shakti Sinha in his travel document "Kabul Diary" weaves an interesting account of his stay in Afghanistan, mainly Kabul, as a member of the United Nations staff. He writes about the beauty and climate of Kabul, of the men and women he encounters in the course of his work, their conversations and hopes, and overall appears fascinated by the battle-scarred yet beautiful land.

41. Susana Costa Pinho, M. Phil., in her essay "De Constâncio Roque da Costa a Constâncio Roque da Costa: A Representação da Índia Portuguesa na Câmara dos Senhores Deputados da Nação," describes the performance of the Goan members of the Portuguese Parliament beginning with one such elected representative and ending with his great-grandson, an elected member of Parliament today.

42. Timothy Walker in his article "A Commodities Price Guide and Merchants' Handbook to the Ports of Asia" describes the account of the Capuchin Friar Leandro de Madre de Deus's handbook which helped towards trade information-gathering and marketing strategies in the Estado da India. Written in 1772, the handbook represents a compendium of contemporary traders' accumulated knowledge with regard to items like weights, coins, items of export and import and opium.

43. Toru Maruyama in his essay "From Eurocentricity to Localism: What we can learn from Fr. Joao Rodrigues half a millenium later," suggests that grammars in different languages ought to follow the example and format of Fr. Rodrigues which was one of non imposition of European forms. He cites various examples and praises the Jesuit grammarian for writing a Japanese grammar most suitable to the people.

CONTRIBUTORS

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I

PERSONAL TRIBUTES
VOTOS PESSOAIS

LATHA REDDY

*Ambassador of India**

Lisbon, Portugal – November 28, 2006

I am very happy to hear that a *Felicitation Volume* is being brought out on the occasion of Prof. Teotónio de Souza's 60th Birthday. In the Indian tradition, when an individual completes 60 years, it is celebrated as "*Shastabdipoorthy*" as it is considered a very auspicious occasion to reach this age in one's life. It is, therefore, entirely appropriate that his colleagues, friends and collaborators come together to pay their tributes to Prof. Teótonio de Souza on this occasion.

While I am aware that Prof. de Souza has been associated with the activities of the Embassy of India in Lisbon right from its re-opening in 1975 onwards, my recollection will mainly be confined to the many projects on which we have collaborated over the last three years that I have been in Lisbon as Ambassador.

In his current position at the Lusofona University in Lisbon, Prof. de Souza has collaborated closely with the Embassy on various initiatives including the setting up of a Nucleus of Vedic and Oriental Studies (NEVO) and the organisation of an Ayurvedic Conference. We were also able to gift to the Lusofona University, at the initiative of Prof. de Souza, a unique exhibition of photographs of the churches of '*Velha Goa'* by the noted Indian photographer Mr. Benoy K. Behl and also presented a collection of books on India to the University.

Prof. de Souza has also interacted with this Embassy in the context of the prestigious series of Indo-Portuguese History Seminars, held both in Portugal and in India. He has also assisted the Embassy in compiling the latest bibliography of books on contemporary India and International relations.

In my interaction with Prof. de Souza I have been impressed by his desire to build bridges between Portugal and India and to ensure that India's image is correctly projected in Portugal. His origins in India and his presence in Portugal make him the ideal person for this task. With his many academic accomplishments, his traditions of dedication and erudition, and the recognition of his work has received both in India and in Portugal, Prof. de Souza deserves our warmest congratulations.

I would like to take this occasion to extend my personal felicitations to Prof. Teotónio de Souza and to wish him all success in his future endeavours. I would also like to take this occasion to thank him for his unfailing courtesy and cooperation towards this Embassy, my colleagues and myself.

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* Latha Reddy has since been appointed Indian Ambassador to Thailand.

THE MUSEUM OF CHRISTIAN ART IN RACHOL

*José Blanco**

At the inauguration ceremony of the Museum of Christian Art at Rachol, Goa, on January 23, 1994, Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma, the then President of India and a learned scholar, said: "I have looked forward to visiting this Museum of Christian Art in Rachol, which has been an important centre of knowledge, research and spiritual study. Rachol symbolizes India's innate and natural urge to accept, respect and, indeed, to cherish the teachings in all the religions of the world. Lord Jesus Christ said: 'In the mansion of my Father are many rooms'. This doctrine has been central to the great heritage of India's religious thought.

The Museum of Christian Art being set up in its precincts is yet another milestone in the Seminary of Rachol's illustrious record. Goa will now enjoy the privilege of being home to Asia's first Museum of Christian Art. I hope that the Museum of Christian Art will emerge as a valuable repository of historical materials and become a place of study for scholars and researchers, engaging equally the interest of growing numbers of tourists and the people of the State".

The inauguration ceremony was thus infused with the recognition of a unique event in the history of relations between India and Portugal: India's highest authority had given his stamp of approval to a project that highlighted Portuguese history, art and culture.

The Museum of Christian Art in Rachol was the culmination of a number of projects developed over the years by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Goa, with the goal of preserving Goan heritage. Less spectacularly, the project was backed by a continual series of initiatives in Goa, including regular awards of grants to local scholars, which enabled them to conduct research in Portugal. The Xavier Centre of Historical Research, set up and brilliantly directed for some years by Professor Teotónio de Sousa, played a vital role in these efforts.

The project was born in the now distant year of 1986 as an initiative of Mário Miranda, the well-known Goan artist. He was justifiably concerned about the systematic and continual destruction of Indo-Portuguese religious artifacts, as these were often illegally sold to unscrupulous traders, both Indian and European, only to reappear at exorbitant prices on the international antiques markets.

In October 1986, the idea was formally presented to the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. It was suggested that the appropriate location for such a museum would be a beautiful historic building erected by the Portuguese, the Rachol Seminary situated near Margao, in the Salcete district.

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* José Blanco is the retired Administrator of the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Portugal, and a writer.

Built during the first half of the 16th century and run by the Jesuits, the Seminary became the most important religious and cultural centre in the Portuguese '*Estado da India*'. As from 1615 Rachol printed the first ever books in the whole of the Indian subcontinent (in Portuguese, Latin and Konkani).

The Museum's location, off the common tourist route, also meant that it would be an additional attraction for visitors interested in Indo-Portuguese art. It would be a good way to bring an emblematic building to the public attention it deserved (the Seminary's church is one of the most impressive examples of architecture in Goa), not only for foreign visitors but for Goans themselves, away from the tourist circuit of luxury hotels, beaches and the usually hurried visit to the churches in Old Goa. Dr. Wilfred de Souza, then Chief Minister of Goa, in the inauguration ceremony remarked that as the Rachol Church was 'the mother of all the Goa churches', the museum's location could not have been more appropriate.

The first phase of the project was officially inaugurated on December 5, 1990 in the renovated space that the Seminary had set aside for the Museum. On that morning, the Archbishop of Goa celebrated a Solemn Mass in the Seminary Church with the joint participation of the Gulbenkian Choir and the seminary choir.

The space for the Museum was secured, but there was still no collection to display. Then, in June 1991, the Archbishop, in the name of the Rachol Museum Trust that had been set up, made a vital decision. Professor Teotónio de Sousa was to search the churches and other religious organizations of the archdiocese and draw up an inventory of the most valuable works of art whose safety was threatened and which due to their artistic, historical or religious significance should be displayed in the future Museum.

As might have been predicted, the process of researching and cataloguing the contents of the churches was riddled with difficulties, caused by the reticence of certain parochial authorities and confraternities who owned the pieces in question. For nearly a year and a half, Professor Teotónio de Sousa spent almost every Sunday in this wearisome task.

Thanks to his competence, dedication and diplomatic skills, the result was hugely rewarding. The nine-volume inventory, containing photos and descriptions of the art objects, not only brought to light great cultural wealth but also raised awareness of the need for protection and preservation. The Museum succeeded in obtaining, either as donations or on loan, a large number of representative artifacts.

Professor Teotónio de Sousa's catalogue was the first of its kind ever made in Goa and was the basis for developing the concept and philosophy of the Museum and for the final selection of the most precious items to be displayed.

The Rachol project was the most important project undertaken by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in India. It would only by rivaled, years later, by the Indo--Portuguese Museum, built in Cochin by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and driven by the same objectives.

In April 1996, in a letter to the editor of the Goan newspaper *'Herald'*, the British art historian Professor Albert Adams (City University, London) wrote of the Rachol Museum: 'Within this space and gracious light, cases of religious objects, many of them of great beauty and some very moving, are displayed with great sensitivity, and may I add elegance. Whoever is responsible for such a moving contribution to Goan culture must surely be congratulated'.

Professor Teotónio de Sousa undoubtedly deserves to be congratulated for his contribution to the Rachol project, a true landmark in the cultural relations between India and Portugal.

TEOTÓNIO DE SOUZA: FRIEND, GUIDE AND CHALLENGER

Fr. Charles Borges, S.J.

I first came to know Theo in June 1967 when we both joined the Society of Jesus as novices at the then recently opened spacious Jesuit Novitiate at Desur, Belgaum. He came in as a twenty year old after having completed his studies in philosophy as a seminarian of the Goa diocese. He struck all his fellow novices (we were about forty at the time) as an intellectually bright, promising and amiable person.

He went on to complete his studies in history and for the priesthood at an accelerated pace and it was only in 1978 that I caught up with him as we prepared for priestly ordination at De Nobili College in Pune. That year would mark the beginning of a long association together which endures till today.

Theo was instrumental in setting up the Xavier Centre of Historical Research in Goa in 1979 and a year later invited me through the Provincial to work at the place. I gave the idea a long thought and opted to accept. In June 1981 after my own ordination to the priesthood I took up the post of Administrator of the Centre and also enrolled for studies in history.

I do believe that Theo and I made an ideal team as we built up the Centre in many and diverse ways. It meant looking out for finances, book collections from various sources, organizing seminars and conferences at various levels, publishing, and making the work known world wide. Many wondered how virtually only the two of us could achieve so much so soon.

Theo took very ill in December 1981 and at the time I did my best to attend to all his needs while he spent a fortnight in the hospital. The time helped us bond much better and in ways that would stand us through the joys and strains and challenges of the following many years.

I learnt much from Theo in matters of history and planning and achieving and will be always grateful to him for that. He supported me while I went through my

doubts and anxieties while I studied and played my roles in various capacities at the Centre.

It was with much sadness that I detected in Theo a desire to opt out of the Jesuit order on a couple of occasions. Though it would mean a great loss of a founder and guide of the Centre and of the whole historical enterprise we ran, his decisions made sense. As he has remarked candidly in *Goa to Me*, it was all based on a desire to be honest with himself and to take the plunge towards a very different and deeper call. I know how much his leaving the Jesuits (or the sounding of it) meant to his mother. She was the emotional one who cried and showed openly where her sympathies lay. His father was the controlled one who seemed to show that one should do what one really wishes.

I felt Theo's leaving (he left in April 1994 for Portugal) more acutely after that. He had been a guide and constant companion and we had always interacted in ways beyond our work. We knew each other well and supported our various perceptions and callings. Taking over the Centre after his leaving, was hard since for reasons I cannot go into now, many seemed uncooperative and reserved in their dealings. But many were supportive too. Theo did not interact much with me after his exit largely in part to enable me to lead the Centre in the way the Province thought best. Which was good thinking.

Over the many years that Theo left, married and established himself, my relations with him continue to be mutual and warm and appreciative. I have always admired his daring, if one could say so, to challenge himself to do better. He developed a tough resilience to take things in his stride, praises and attacks. His writings have been the result of much personal research and interpretation and continue to awe many of his readers. He often mentioned how the years he spent reading for his doctorate were the most painful since many did not then understand what he was working on and the future usefulness of it.

Theo's many writings offer a unique insight into Goan history in particular and into the various forces at work in it below the surface. I loved his essays on "Voice of the Voiceless" or "The Martyrs of Cuncolim". He wanted to show how history must give due credence and importance to the views and lives of the forgotten. A history from below you might call it but one without mere indignation or prejudice and one based on facts and their attendant interpretations.

It was with joy that I took up along with our dear colleague, Mike Pearson, the charge of editing this Festschrift to honor Theo on his sixtieth birthday. The many historians who were eager to write to the volume have remarked how Theo has touched their lives and historical orientations for the better.

Theo found his move to Portugal most challenging. It meant besides locating geographically, integrating himself into the Portuguese way of life. He took pains to master the finer points of the language and immersed himself in keeping abreast of the politics and history of the nation. He soon emerged as an equal and more than

that and has amazed so many by his excellent contributions to the cause of history at the University he lectures.

Can one ever forget one's roots? Theo has always shown his passion for Goa and for Konkani. Our hope is that he will continue to bring this to bear on his studies of the wider world and remain in many ways the historian's "voice of the voiceless".

Theo is just sixty but seems to invite us to move beyond, in the words of the English poet "Come grow old with me, the best is yet to be".

UMA LABUTA DE INVESTIGAÇÃO E INOVAÇÃO

*Fernando Castelo Branco**
*Maria dos Remédios Castelo Branco***

Em Outubro de 1980 reuniu-se em Lisboa o II Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa, o primeiro em que participamos da longa série que decorreu até ao ano presente. Foi o êxito que obteve o anterior realizado havia cerca de dois anos em Goa, êxito justificado pelo interesse e nível científico dos trabalhos apresentados por especialistas dos mais qualificados, que nos levou a inscrever-nos neste segundo Seminário em Lisboa. Foi uma experiência extremamente agradável e intelectualmente valiosa, pois para além do mérito dos trabalhos escutados e das intervenções que estes suscitaram, esse Seminário deu ensejo ao conhecimento e ao contacto pessoal com diversos dos seus participantes, entre eles o Dr. Teotónio de Souza, então ligado, a par do Dr. John Correia-Afonso, ao Xavier Centre of Historical Research.

Estabeleceu-se entre nós um convívio que se manteve até hoje, que ao longo do tempo foi-se estreitando e que, nos últimos anos, com a vinda do Dr. Teotónio de Souza para Lisboa, conheceu uma maior aproximação e uma crescente relação de amizade.

Foi este prolongado convívio que nos permitiu acompanhar o seu permanente trabalho de investigação, nomeadamente no domínio da história indo-portuguesa. E, assim, pudemos testemunhar, em variados momentos, uma actividade que, através dos anos, se tem mantido e com resultados sempre positivos em perspectivas de conhecimentos e de inovação.

Não nos compete pronunciar neste domínio, uma vez que faz parte do presente volume a bibliografia onde exaustivamente se indicam os estudos que publicou,

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* Professor, historiador. Chefiou Serviços da Acção Cultural da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa. Membro das Academias da História, das Ciências, das Belas Artes, e de Marinha.

** Professora metodóloga do ensino secundário, investigadora.

limitando-nos, pois, a registar com admiração a qualidade da obra que realizou como historiador.

É, porém, de salientar que toda a actividade desenvolvida ao longo da sua carreira e do seu percurso intelectual, o aspecto mais marcante é o contributo que deu, a vários níveis, no campo da história indo-portuguesa. Através dos anos, testemunhamos a sua labuta nesse campo de um interesse imenso – interesse para a história de Portugal, para a história da Índia e das relações entre o Ocidente e o Oriente, ou seja, para aspectos significativos e determinantes da História Universal. Os estudos que vêm surgindo neste domínio comprovam-no em absoluto e são o testemunho incontornável do alcance de uma projecto a que o Dr. Teotónio de Souza deu muito do seu saber e empenho pessoal.

PELO LABOR RIGOROSO E COMPETENTE

*António Augusto Tavares**

Não me sendo possível, nesta época do ano, preparar um trabalho digno de publicação numa obra dedicada ao Prof. Doutor Teotónio R. de Souza, nem por isso quero deixar de me associar à homenagem que lhe é prestada por ocasião do seu sexagésimo aniversário.

É alguém que tem dedicado grande parte da sua vida ao estudo e investigação da história indo-portuguesa, tendo Goa merecido especial atenção ao seu labor rigoroso e competente. Acompanho de perto a sua actividade intelectual, depois de se ter radicado em Lisboa: na Academia Portuguesa da História, onde são apreciadas as suas conferências e intervenções sobre a matéria específica da sua investigação histórica; na Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias, onde é prestigiado professor e organizador de múltiplos eventos de interesse universitário. Nos colóquios e várias conferências em que tem participado e, que por vezes tem promovido, revela sempre a dedicação à universidade e particular atenção aos alunos, aspectos dignos de registo e de louvor.

Por tudo isto e muito mais, associo-me à homenagem que é prestada ao Prof. Doutor Teotónio R. de Souza. É justo que se louve quem se distingue.

Honra ao mérito. Felicitações pelo que tem feito e felicidades para o que ainda tem a fazer.

* Professor Catedrático. Universidade Nova de Lisboa / Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias.

TEOTÔNIO R. DE SOUZA: PESQUISADOR DO PASSADO E DESBRAVADOR DO FUTURO

*José Óscar Beozzo**

Encontrei por primeira vez Teotônio de Souza em 1980, em Goa na Índia, como diretor do recém fundado Xavier Centre of Historical Research que se converteria, sob sua direção até 1994, numa referência para a pesquisa histórica de Goa, da Índia e de suas complexas relações com a Ásia, África, Europa e mesmo Brasil que fora muito cedo agregado à "carreira da Índia".

Sob a aparência afetuosa, modesta e enganadoramente frágil de Teotônio de Souza, escondia-se um refinado e obstinado pesquisador, um intelectual brilhante capaz de defender com competência e firmeza seus pontos de vista inovadores e abrangentes. Escondia-se também um organizador pertinaz, hábil em atrair outros pesquisadores para trabalharem juntos em torno a projetos e estudos relevantes.

Teotônio pratica uma história atenta à teia de relações em que eventos e pessoas interagem e evoluem. O que é local e pequeno ganha, sob seu olhar, insuspeitado relevo e identidade dentro da complexa rede de interações regionais, continentais e mundiais, em que foi sendo tecida a história moderna. O seu é entretanto um ponto de vista sempre crítico, que arranca da periferia, transformada em centro, de onde se subvertem antigos olhares e interpretações, numa perspectiva libertária: "Tendo na mente as histórias escritas até hoje, histórias que satisfazem só à mentalidade colonial, precisamos rever o passado, tomando em conta o elemento religioso, como sendo uma etapa na luta contínua pela liberdade"[1].

Convidado a integrar um projeto de resgate da história da América Latina, África e Ásia, Teotônio logo aceitou dialogar com historiadores da América Latina e do Caribe, reunidos por Enrique Dussel, desde 1973 na CEHILA (Comissão de Estudos de História da Igreja na América Latina). Enriqueceu-nos com uma leitura diferente das relações entre o sul e o norte do mundo, entre Ásia e Europa, mas de modo particular das relações cruzadas que o sul do mundo – África, Ásia e América –, manteve entre si no jogo das navegações e do nascente colonialismo português, espanhol, francês, holandês e inglês.

Na I Conferência Geral de História da Igreja na América Latina e no Caribe, realizada no México em 1984, Teotônio de Souza colaborou com um texto insti-

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* Sacerdote da Diocese de Lins desde 1964. Cursou Teologia e Ciências Sociais em Lovaina, Bélgica. Doutorado em História Social pela USP, em São Paulo. Membro e ex-Presidente de CEHILA (Comissão de Estudos de História da Igreja na América Latina). Foi assessor nacional das CEBs (1981-2001) e professor de História da Igreja na América Latina na Faculdade de Teologia Nossa Senhora da Assunção em São Paulo (SP) (1980-2002). Autor, entre outros livros, de *A Igreja do Brasil no Vaticano II: 1959-1965*. São Paulo: Paulinas, 2005.

gante: “A Conquista Espiritual do Oriente: Nota Crítica sobre a História da Igreja na Ásia Portuguesa nos séculos XVI e XVII”. Ali, Teotônio deixava claro o propósito que o animava na sua pesquisa histórica: “[…] uma nova interpretação da história da Igreja torna-se indispensável, na era pós-colonial, para garantir aos povos, que se esforçam por integrar o seu passado, um futuro mais próspero e mais justo”[2].

Escolhi a figura de Dom Helder Camara e do Concílio Vaticano II no texto de homenagem a Teotônio de Souza, por causa do significado do arcebispo do Recife, PE e do evento conciliar para se captar alguns aspectos da personalidade e da trajetória de Teotônio de Souza.

Helder Camara dirigia-se ao mundo a partir do grito dos mais pobres nas favelas do Rio de Janeiro, RJ, onde foi bispo auxiliar, dos alagados do Recife, PE, onde foi arcebispo, ou do sertão calcinado pelas secas periódicas do Nordeste do Brasil e do Ceará, onde nasceu.

Durante o Concílio, Helder Camara percebeu claramente que só uma aliança dos pobres da América Latina com os empobrecidos da África e da Ásia, poderia desafiar a insensibilidade das nações ricas e exigir uma reforma do injusto sistema mundial; que só uma aliança dos episcopados da periferia poderia alterar a balança conciliar.

O Concílio transformou em parceiras do mesmo debate igrejas que até então eram apenas objeto do secular trabalho missionário da Europa que as mantinha em sua subalternidade e minoridade.

Helder Camara trabalhou incansavelmente para criar uma plataforma mais democrática e igualitária em que as conferências episcopais do norte e do sul do mundo pudessem redirecionar o foco do Concílio para as grandes questões que angustiavam a humanidade e organizar uma agenda capaz de interferir nos rumos da pesada e lenta máquina conciliar.

Igrejas, como as do Brasil e da Índia, até então à margem da vida eclesial dominada pela Cúria Romana e, durante o Concílio, pelo dinamismo dos episcopados centro-europeus, foram se tornando aos poucos parceiras dos debates e iniciativas conciliares e atores fundamentais da caminhada pós-conciliar[3].

As sementes plantadas durante o Concílio, desabrocharam em flores e frutos no pós-concilio, alterando definitivamente a geometria e a geografia do panorama religioso católico no seu interior, nas suas relações com as demais igrejas cristãs, com as outras religiões e culturas e com o mundo em geral.

Da pastoral à teologia, da liturgia à espiritualidade tanto a Ásia como a América Latina e a África transformaram-se em matrizes de novas reflexões e abriram caminhos e impulsos de inculturação e libertação, de diálogo e transformação.

Helder Camara foi um pioneiro sonhador e batalhador. Penso que no campo da história tanto Teotônio de Souza, na Ásia, como a CEHILA na América Latina souberam colher os impulsos e inspirações brotados da atuação de Helder Camara e do evento e documentos conciliares, para desbravar os caminhos do resgate de uma história capaz de devolver sentido, dignidade e rumo para nossas igrejas e nossos povos.

Teotônio refez, numa rota inversa, o caminho das naus de Vasco da Gama: *"Busco as terras da Índia, tão famosa"* Lus. I, 64.

Hoje ensina em Lisboa uma história pouco conhecida e que subverte a historiografia vigente na metrópole, enriquecendo-a, com novas questões, novos documentos, novas interpretações e novos rumos, num afã que não conhece limites: *"E se mais mundo houvera, lá chegara"*. Lus. VII, 14.

Mas de Teotônio, além das muitas lições de vida, de historiador e pesquisador, guardo a imagem do amigo delicado, sensível e fiel que, junto com sua esposa Elvira, sabe acolher em sua casa de maneira calorosa e simples, velhos companheiros, reatando conversas de muito tempo e partilhando novas descobertas, novas dúvidas e inquietações.

Para mim é uma alegria e privilégio participar desta homenagem ao distinguido intelectual e historiador, mas antes de tudo ao dileto amigo e companheiro de fé e caminhada.

São Paulo, 12 de Dezembro de 2006

Festa de Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe – Padroeira da América Latina

AMIGO, COMPANHEIRO DA VIDA, E MEU GURU

Elvira Alda Correia de Souza *

É quase uma pré-história: uma ligação que vem de longe, mesmo de antes de eu nascer. Theo, com 10 anos de idade esteve presente nas bodas de casamento dos meus pais na sua aldeia natal de Moirá, em Goa. Os pais de Theo mantiveram-se sempre em contacto com os meus pais. Eu ouvia acerca das façanhas académicas de Theo através da correspondência dos nossos pais, e pouco mais. Theo visitava Portugal desde 1973. Minha família chegou de Moçambique em 1979. Durante a sua visita de 1980, Theo vinha aconselhado pela sua mãe para não se esquecer de nos visitar na nossa casa-restaurante na calçada de Galvão, em Belém. Theo tornou-se desde então grande amigo do meu pai, e o meu pai tinha grande adoração por Theo. Foi pelos conselhos e inspiração de Theo que eu comecei a ganhar interesse em entrar no ensino superior após os meus estudos do secundário e cheguei a matricular-me na Universidade Católica. A morte inesperada do meu pai em 1983 criou uma situação dramática para a família e forçou-me a procurar emprego. Continuei ainda um par de anos como estudante-trabalhadora numa Universidade privada a tirar um curso de gestão de empresas. Theo continuou sempre a acompanhar de perto a minha vida e a minha carreira profissional.

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* Elvira Correia de Souza [esposa]

Quando Theo decidiu mudar o seu rumo da vida, eu não tinha noção de que isto viria a juntar as nossas vidas. Ele teve todo o meu apoio para tomar uma decisão que ele achasse correcta e honesta perante a sua consciência. Achei que era o melhor que eu podia fazer por alguém que eu admirava. Com a sua capacidade para se organizar, e com a ajuda de pessoas amigas que lhe não faltavam e não falharam, Theo sentiu-se em casa neste país, que ele adoptou e continua a servir com muita dedicação. Theo conta como ele nasceu português em 1947 sem opção, tornou-se indiano em 1961 sem opção, mas recuperou a nacionalidade portuguesa em 1995 por opção, e pensa agora em optar pela recuperação da nacionalidade indiana, desde que o Governo da Índia permite dupla nacionalidade aos naturais da Índia. Os trabalhos de Theo têm sido muitas vezes mal compreendidos e mal apreciados. Do que conheço de Theo, ele tem pouco interesse pelos nacionalismos e patrioteirismos. Ele considera-se um cidadão da humanidade e com uma dedicação crítica, que só pode enriquecer o país em que ele vive. Foi assim na Índia, e é assim em Portugal. É uma dedicação que me deixa muitas vezes preocupada por causa da paixão que acompanha os seus esforços. Nem sempre sou capaz de acompanhar todas as ideias de Theo, mas sei que a médio e longo prazo ele tem sido compreendido, e ainda admirado, inclusive por alguns daqueles que o achavam no início politicamente pouco correcto.

A decisão de Theo para se instalar em Portugal como cidadão português foi seguida pela nossa decisão conjunta de nos casarmos. O nosso amor foi capaz de superar os fantasmas de preocupações económicas. Logo no início, a Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian e a Comissão Nacional dos Descobrimentos Portugueses providenciaram através dos seus projectos alguns recursos que nos faziam muita falta. O convite da Fundação Oriente para iniciar o projecto de ensino da língua Konkani e da cultura goesa foi outra actividade de pouco aproveitamento financeiro, mas de grande satisfação espiritual para Theo durante uma meia dúzia de anos. Permitiu-lhe fazer uma transição cultural suave, ao mesmo tempo que ganhava adeptos portugueses para a sua cultura natal. Um destes é o Dr. Adelino Costa, que foi delegado da Fundação Oriente em Goa, e participa neste livro com um artigo seu sobre a cartografia de Goa.

O nosso magro orçamento levou-nos a viver durante os primeiros cinco anos em Sacavém, que era uma zona bastante degradada antes de Expo ’98. Theo fez-se grande amigo do pároco-historiador da igreja matriz desta zona histórica. Foi o Padre Filinto Elísio que celebrou o nosso casamento em 11 de Novembro de 1995, quase três meses depois do casamento civil no castelo S. Jorge. Dr. Vasco Graça Moura, Comissário da Comissão Nacional dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, aceitou ser o padrinho do nosso casamento. Marcaram a sua presença um velho amigo e admirador de Theo, Dr. José Blanco, Administrador da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, acompanhado pelo Director dos Serviços Internacionais, Dr. João Pedro Garcia. O embaixador da Índia estava também presente, mas o que perturbou

um correspondente do jornal *Público* foi a participação de vários notáveis portugueses. Não compreendia como um crítico dos portugueses (ou será dos abusos do passado colonial?) poderia merecer tanta atenção e simpatia. Teve resposta numa carta de um leitor: Será que Portugal vive ainda nos tempos da censura do Estado Novo e está ainda longe de ser um país democrático?

Vivemos dias felizes, mas também marcados por dificuldades. Ganhamos com elas e somos mais amigos. Cada um de nós tem as suas prioridades e manias, mas chegamos a admitir nos nossos momentos de lucidez que estamos melhor assim. Curiosa e felizmente, as nossas áreas de forças e fraquezas complementam-se, permitindo sustentar-nos mutuamente e para o aperfeiçoamento de ambos. Estou sempre a aprender com Theo, e sei que este marco na sua vida, que na tradição clássica da Índia é celebrado como *Shasthyabdapurti*, não vai parar o crescimento de Theo em idade, graça e sabedoria. Desejo-lhe o melhor na vida e no cumprimento da sua missão, e também para me acompanhar na vida como amigo, meu companheiro, e meu Guru, sempre presente em todos os momentos da minha vida, pessoal, profissional, e académica.

Aproveito estas linhas para agradecer de uma forma especial aos coordenadores deste volume, nomeadamente ao Prof. Doutor Charles Borges, que traduziu desta maneira a sua amizade de muitos anos e ao Prof. Doutor Michael N. Pearson, que se juntou ao projecto em demonstração do seu apreço pessoal e académico pelo Theo. Agradeço também a todos os simpatizantes de Theo que escreveram neste volume, mas também aos outros que por motivos das suas agendas não foi possível concretizar o seu interesse em contribuir. Não podia deixar de agradecer à Editora Nova Vega e ao seu muito simpático proprietário Dr. Assírio Bacelar.

BROTHERS BEYOND BORDERS

*Calisto D'Souza**

I turned 60 three years before my brother Teotónio did, but that event somehow to my good luck got overshadowed by another equally if not more important event in my life. It was the housewarming of my new home in Alto Porvorim. I named it *The Calaur Dream.* The only person who made me think of my sixtieth birthday then was my brother who reminded me of the ancient Indian tradition. An orthodox Hindu would leave the worldly life and retire to the mountains or forests, detaching himself from all mundane affairs and take *sanyasa*. I thought then that I had made the right move by leaving my ancestral home in Moira, my small business centre

* B.Sc., brother of Teotónio. Now retired, he spent most of his life in various capacities in the Middle East and in Turkey.

in Mapusa by moving to Porvorim or Parvari, derived from Parvat, meaning a mountain. Though the place is getting rapidly urbanized, the area where I live is still forested; at times the peacocks can be seen roaming around, and occasionally a hungry python is seen hunting his preys, stray dogs and mongooses.

Teotónio could be having the same feelings, wherein he is entering into a new age on attaining the age of 60, the magic figure. I do not know if he is going to follow in my footsteps, as he did a couple of times in the past . In his autobiographical work, *Goa to Me*, he has mentioned that as I studied B.Sc. he too wanted to compete with me and then as I got married he somehow did it himself by tying the knot.

There are lots of similarities between the two of us, besides physical looks. Many a times people meet me and greet me thinking that I am Fr. Teotónio. They do not realize that I do not sport a French beard like him. His love of nature is another trait that he shares with me. I remember what he said on the internet after the famous Goan poet Manohar Sardessai passed away recently. It seems he met him on the plane from Goa to New Delhi and after coming to know that Teotónio wanted to plant different and exotic plants in the XCHR (Xavier Centre of Historical Research) premises he quoted a poem "*suknim zai, pinzrem kadd, zaddam lai*". I have been also told that he did not landscape the entire premises but left many shrubs to flourish to let birds and squirrels find some resting places.

The love for plants is in our family. Our late father, who worked in Kuwait, used to grow vegetables like tomatoes, cauliflowers and cabbages and even *tendli* (gerkins) in the hot and sandy desert sands there. He even bagged prizes for vegetable and flower shows organized by the local clubs. It was not a mean achievement considering the climate of the place. Kuwait is not like Oman where one can find orchards. The summer heat is enough to dry up whatever one plants, if one does not water, manure and care for them. I worked for an American firm which designed the highways and expressways in Kuwait and we did landscaping for them. It is not an easy job to maintain the greenery along the sides or the median barrier.

I cannot be an equal to my father but in my free time and now as retired from office routine, I love dirtying my hands planting and caring for spice herbs around the house. It is refreshing to feel the aroma of bay leaves, cinnamon and cardamom plants when I open the windows of my house in the mornings.

Teotónio will not have the opportunity to follow me in my new found hobby, as he lives in a seventh floor apartment in Lisbon. But somehow that does not deter him from indulging in the hobby. I have heard that he grows salad and chillie plants in the balcony of his apartment. On one of his lecture trips to Goa at the Goa University, he took curry leaves plant back to Portugal. When I enquired about the health of the plant during his following trip to Goa, I was told that the plant was blown out of the window when one of his nieces who happened to live in the apartment opened the window of the flat. He said he wanted to plant *kiraitem* in Portugal, because we had learnt from our parents that the leaves of that herb is a

good blood purifier and helps in getting rid of certain types of fevers. He wanted me to mail the seeds to him but I thought it could be dangerous in these days when travel security for persons and goods can get one into serious trouble. For the same reason I avoid sending him Goan pork sausages which he loves so much, and who doesn't?

Although, I studied botany at the graduate level as one of the subjects in the college, I am no match to Teotónio. During his last holidays in Goa in August, when the place is all green and one can see all sorts of plants growing, we spend time together identifying a lot of plants, many growing wild outside the garden. Some are the white *vincas, mimosa pudica, chivras, taikulo* to name a few. I spotted some plants growing along the roadside with little white flowers, I did not know the name of the plant nor did Teotónio. I took a few plants and planted in my compound. Teotónio photographed the plants and placed the digital photos on the BSG (Botanical Society of Goa) mailing list and it was identified by the convenor as *tumo* (the local name). The leaves are used as plaster for the cuts or bruises on the skin, but Teotónio had learned from a noted Jesuit botanist, Fr. Pallithanam with whom he had lived as a Jesuit confrere at St. Britto's School, that it can help cure jaundice if one puts a few drops of ground leaves into the affected eyes. One reason why I do not know the names of some plants in Goa, is that I studied in Mumbai (Bombay in those days) and was more familiar with the flora and fauna around Andheri/Borivli or the forests of Khandala and Lonavla. I like taxonomy and even my professor, a Parsi gentleman, who was more of a friend than a professor, sometimes was surprised that I could identify a potato plant. That is because I came from a village; the other students were born and brought up in Bombay.

Though we are brothers and have moved along in years, we spent only nine years together, Teotónio joined the minor seminary of Goa archdiocese in Pilerne, Saligao, at the age of ten. I used to visit him often on my imported Raleigh bicycle. It was difficult to climb the steep hillock, but all the same I enjoyed myself when it came to sliding down the slope. At that time there were no other buildings on that hill except the seminary. He would come home during the holidays and sometimes with diseases he contracted from other boarders, diseases like measles or chicken pox. I was then the first victim at home. He generally recovered before passing the disease on to me. Strangely, but true, it took me much longer to recover.

We were only two brothers for a time and life was boring without a sister. The arrival of a sister who is ten years less one day younger to me to be exact, brought fresh company to us male siblings. She was given a very long name by our mother which sounded almost like a litany of all the female saints. To avoid using all her given names we lovingly called her Christie. She is happily married and settled in England and is blessed with three children like me.

The purpose of these very brief reminiscences is to say that although we have had our share of problems and differences as all normal brothers do, we are proud

that sixty years have kept us together at heart, and have not allowed either distance or other interferences to come in our way.

Hopefully we can carry on the same way in the future as well. Viva!

A SISTER'S REMINISCENCES

*Catarina Milagrina Cristalina de Souza**

I was around two years old when Theo left home to join the seminary. I grew up almost as an only child because of the vast age gap between me and my two older brothers. From what I gather they were not too impressed when I came along. As if to prove the point there was one incident, which occurred when I was just a baby. One day my mother had left me in the care of Theo while she went out shopping. On this particular occasion my constant crying must have stretched Theo's patience too far as he threw me out of the window. Fortunately for me, mother earth took care of me as I landed in a puddle of water! Theo did however, have a quick change of heart to pick me up and clean me up before our mother returned. I am not sure to this day whether the fall knocked some sense into me or scared me for life.

Talking of patience, mother would occasionally ask Theo to help me with my studies. The session would not last more than ten minutes. I must have not matched up to his standards for by the time he finished tutoring me, I invariably would end up in tears. It was certainly not easy living in the shadow of a highly intelligent and over-achieving big brother.

Every vacation that Theo came home from the seminary he would adopt a new hobby. At one time it would be making Chinese lanterns, which decorated our varandah for Christmas. Another time it was painting, but the best one was photography when he used me as a model, in different outfits. Being a teenager I was in my element. Theo always had a sense of fun. Just his presence would perk up our mother's spirits, no matter how poorly she was at the time.

In 1973 having recovered from a serious illness my mother was on a mission to see me settle down. It so happened that Silo was in Goa looking for a bride (he lived in London at the time). A meeting was arranged between the two parties. The outcome depended on Theo's approval of my mothers request. I remember saying to him "I am only 20 years old and too young to marry". His answer was "If you are going to marry sooner or later it may as well be now, Silo is a nice guy." I thought he had

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* Christie, office secretary, lives with her husband, Silvério and children Steven, Selwyn and Charlene, in Luton, England.

to be right and so he was. Silo and I have been happily married for nearly 33 years. Thanks for that big bruv!

The turning point in my relationship with Theo was when our mother passed away in July 1991. Theo and I spent the last precious days of her existence with her in the Remanso hospital, in Mapusa, the town next to our native village, Moira. She was the most powerful person in our lives despite her frailty. When she died I lost the sense of belonging and felt all ties had been shattered. On the other hand I was united in grief with my extended family. Looking back now, the bond between Theo and me has strenghtened ever since. His move to Portugal brought us closer to each other, and so have our personal life experiences. We have been there for each other in happier times and in moments of crises. I am extremely proud of everything that Theo has achieved throughout his life so far, including his mastery of cooking Goan dishes!

Congratulations Theo on reaching the milestone of 60 years! Keep up the sparkle, your zest for life, and your determination to succeed in everything you do.

A NEPHEW'S COROLLARY:

When I think of my uncle Theo I think of my role model. My earliest memories of him are how as a child he used to always went to sleep when we wanted to play with him. I would wonder how he always enthralled people in conversation and how he remembered so many facts and dates, even though I knew he was a historian! Selwyn, my younger brother and I would sit at the kitchen table while he sat patiently waiting for us to draw his portrait. Congratulating us for what must have looked more like a Jackson Pollock painting than a Velasquez. While I was in school Theo once came and spoke to my history class. I was so proud but did not answer his questions in case the class thought I had been preped for the occasion! Afterwards though my fellow students came up to me and said: that was more a history of the Jesuits than of the Counter Reformation. To me they were the same!

I think the most that I have learnt from my uncle is the belief that I can write. Whenever he came to visit us he would bring his latest book and show us photos from a location where he was giving a conference. I was always wondering how he had the time to write so much – and whether he would ever bring us chocolates from abroad – rather than history books! Anyway something must have rubbed off as I had my first book published by the time I was 30 – and have spoken at conferences in New York, Madrid, Prague and London. I strongly believe that the behaviour of role models and the lessons are caught not taught.

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* Steven D'Souza lives in London. He is co-author of *Made in Britain: Inspirational role models from British Black and Minority Ethnic Communities*. Edinburgh, Pearson Education Ltd., 2005.

I might not see my uncle or Elvira, my aunt, much, but I know that I have a place to go and family to stay with that will be there for me. Like Theo I also have his impatience. So I end now with a warm wish on his 60th birthday. Remember – life begins at 60!

WITH GRATEFUL FEELINGS FOR AN UNCLE AND FOSTER FATHER

*Andrea Joy Fernandes**

When I heard from my aunt that a book was being planned to commemorate my uncle Theo's sixtieth birthday, I thought it was an excellent idea and that he really deserved it, considering all that he has done and achieved. This is my simple way of putting into words my many thoughts and feelings for him and of saying "Thank You".

I have never written anything to be published so far, and I felt terrified when aunt Elvira challenged me to pen down my feelings. I realized too that I couldn't say no. Till three years back I did not know uncle Theo very personally. From family visits and what I would hear from my parents and relatives, that was all that I knew about uncle Theo.

I had noticed that uncle Theo is in many ways similar to my father, the late Rosario Fernandes. I say similar, because no two persons are ever totally the same. He is very organized and systematic in every way. When I first came to Portugal I remembered my dad a lot for the same reasons. He replaced for me my dad who was not physically present in Portugal. He introduced me to things I was unaware of. He treated me like his own child, corrected me when I went wrong, and made me understand the way things were supposed to be.

Uncle Theo has been very supportive right from the day I reached Portugal. I remember very well that on arriving in Portugal and when I reached their home, in my bedroom I found a note on my bed side table that read: "Welcome Andrea. May your presence bring love, peace and "JOY" to our home". The "joy" was bracketed because that is my middle name. I really felt welcomed and comforted! Being away from my family was hard, but having an aunt and an uncle, I must add, who treated me like their own daughter, made things much easier for me. It was my first time away from my parents and my little brother and my first time in circumstances of total independence, but with their help and encouragement I was able to pull

* Student, Conservatória Nacional de Música, Lisboa.

through, put myself together and go ahead with what I had come to Portugal for, my piano career.

They have been and continue to be my second parents here in Portugal They were very understanding and considerate especially when my beloved father passed away in March of last year. They did all they could to protect me from the impact of the situation. After all I loved my father much and his death was and continues to be a great loss for me and my family. But they were always there for me and their kindness made it much simpler for me to be able to handle this thorny and complicated situation. They continue to be present at all times, in spite of their busy and hectic schedule of work and classes.

I remember when I was younger I was so used to calling my uncle Fr. Theo and then when I came to Portugal I would get all confused between Fr. Theo and uncle Theo. But whether Fr. Theo or just uncle Theo, he continues to be the same person, although I know him much better and more personally now to affirm the statement.

I shall end here thanking aunt Elvira and especially uncle Theo, for all that they have done for me and for the wonderful person that uncle Theo has been to me during these three years in Portugal. My dad had highest regards for uncle Theo and had great trust in him. That is one of the chief reasons why I reached Portugal. He did leave me totally in their care because of this great confidence that existed between the two of them. For this and many other silent reasons I want to give a special vote of thanks to you, uncle Theo and I will end on this note wishing you in a special way: "A Very Happy Birthday". May God bless you with all the good things life can bring and may you have many more years to come!

THE INTELLECTUALS GOA DOESN'T DESERVE

*Frederick Noronha**

One's first encounter with Fr. Teo – as we knew him then – was at the office of the Xavier Centre of Historical Research, a centre that was very much his baby and carried his mark. It was sometime in the mid-eighties. One was then a young, unsure and not-yet-arrogant journalist. Teo seemed to carry the weight of the office on him. He seemed a bit formal, maybe pressurised by work, and that probably indicated the fact that he felt lonely amidst the the shortage, at that point of time, of Jesuits

* Frederick Noronha is a full time Goan journalist and is involved with a range of not-for-profit initiatives in cyberspace, and is co-founder of the *BytesForAll* network and runs *Goa-Research-Net* forum in collaboration with Teotonio R. de Souza since 1997.

accepting the importance of understanding history and acknowledgeing it. He already carried a reputation with him. The young photographer at our alma mater, St. Britto's. Or, as described by the late Norman Dantas, a journalist Goa surely didn't deserve. Teo was "considered a radical by many".

To us too, still young and idealistic then, Teo was the priest with a difference, a man who stood out. Unlike other play-it-safe historians, he touched on issues which had strong contemporary implications for Goa. He didn't shirk from questioning the accuracy of historical claims made by the family of the chief minister. He challenged Lusostalgic viewpoints that built myths of a 'Golden Goa'.

One's mind goes back to another time, when the then *Times of India* correspondent in Goa, Debashish Munshi, came along with me into Teo's office. As usual, after meeting anyone, we gossipy journalists would dissect the person we met. What did we make of him? What did he really mean? Did our encounter have any of those unexpected interactions, as often happened in Goa, and why? Teo is a complex man to understand, and it wasn't and isn't easy to place him in any box. Debashish was arguably the best of *TOINS (the Times of India News Service*) correspondents in Goa. Now esconced in academia in New Zealand, it would be fair to say that both of us might still agree that we were puzzled as to what to make of Teo.

We met quite a few times in the course of work, Teo as historian, and me on the hungry hunt for 'stories'. Preferably something beyond the politics-and-police diet most colleagues happily survived on. Another early encounter which influenced me was the 'local history seminar' on the media that Teo organised at the XCHR. For some reason, nobody challenged journalists making the claim then that scribes in Goa were being influenced by, let alone even routinely accepted, government largesses. Teo however more often than not had his ear close enough to the ground to make history meaningful, by focussing on the recent past. Not just the safe, and remote, themes which hardly matter to anyone anymore except in a rather academic way.

Intellectual life in the Goa of the 1980s was probably even more stagnant than it is now. One could argue that this was brought about by a range of factors. In the 'sixties and 'seventies, a discredited old elite (that was seen, not without reason, largely as pro-colonial) was being speedily replaced. In its place, stepping in was a self-serving new elite quick to grab the "fruits of Liberation", mostly in terms of resources, and quick to justify their role and claim to do so through a range of complex and often convoluted arguments.

Secondly, the language gap was also creating a mess. "We went to sleep as Portuguese citizens, and woke up as Indian," as one member of that confused generation once told me. There were drastic changes taking place on the linguistic front. Portuguese, as the language of the elite and of the administration, hurriedly gave way to English. Maharastrawadi Gomantak Party politics – still largely misunderstood and inadequately analysed – added an impetus to Marathi, a language that was already used for literary and religious purposes by Goa's Hindu community.

English suited both the outstation bureaucrat and the migration-prone Catholic section well. As the patterns of in-migration changed, moving away from Maharashtra and increasingly to South India, the Marathi-English equation also altered. In time, Konkani with its fragile and forced unity (only to be divided on grounds of script in the next century) was restive. By the 1990s, Konkani seized on what was a primary teachers' wage dispute as well as the right political climate to claim its share.

In the meanwhile, the linguistic disjunct took a heavy toll, more so in fields like Portuguese, where a generation with language skills was never quite replaced, in part for political reasons, and in part because most took a stance which is not just outdated but inconsistent with a world where the sun did set on the Empires of the twentieth century kind.

But there's another point, which most seem to gloss over. Goa was, and continues to be, a fractured society. Few would like to acknowledge this. Yet, this is more than obvious. It comes up in the type of politics foisted on its people, or, the election pattern that comes up with unfailing regularity. It even comes up in the polarisation in terms of the newspapers we read.

In terms of building up Goa's intellectual life, sadly, institutions like the Goa University haven't done much locally relevant work to challenge this. It is probably for this reason that they can be easily rubbished and questioned with single-sentence arguments and 'white elephant' labels by the dominant Luzinho Faleiros and the Manohar Parrikars of our political world.

Teo's ideas were, and are, very interesting because they just force one to think, don't simply float with the tide but infact mostly swim against it. He also writes with a pen that reflects a perspective few others in contemporary Goa have had. But he has also paid the price for being different. Unlike most other scholars of his time, Teo steered clear from the blatantly partisan and the subtle or not-so-subtle sympathetic-to-colonialism view adopted by many of the time. Likewise, his views never struck one as being opportunistically tuned to suit the needs of a post-colonial state, a new elite in a hurry to justify its regime and privilege, or an attempt to tar the past in a darker hue than it needed to.

Teo was willing to descend into the marketplace-that-mattered with his battle of ideas. For him, being a historian also means writing for the popular press, newspapers and magazines. When Teo was leaving the Xavier Centre of Historical Research, those who obviously didn't like the stand he took on matters of history, hit back by saying nasty things. Instead of seeing his as a personal decision, at least some 'friends' took a salacious thrill in the nastiness of their comments.

Over the years, our equation survived and thrived. Maybe there was a mutual need for it – a researcher-academic sitting on top of so many aspects of the Goan reality, and a journalist waiting to get at the story. One's only regret would be that we in the media – for a diverse set of complex reasons – could never do justice to the 'stories' that Teo would have to tell. Re-appraising the sixteenth century Basque

missionary Francis Xavier earned a half-page generous feature in the *'Deccan Herald'*, then Bangalore's main newspaper. But in Goa, it is no coincidence, that the newspapers prefer to side-track non-superficial, and against-the-tide local issues.

One has argued elsewhere that it is no coincidence that some of Goa's best journalists are in a 'virtual exile' – writing for the outstation media, migrating elsewhere, or have even died frustrated. To my mind, it is no coincidence that a Goa which routinely needs to import its editors and sometimes journalists, is given to side-tracking a number of journalists who could and would prefer to write on relevant local issues. If only they got the space.

In the years that followed, Teo and I would stay in touch, through the new medium of cyberspace, which was just opening up in Goa since the mid-nineties. By a series of happy coincidences, and email exchanges, one had the opportunity to offer him tech support and encouragement in setting up *Goa-Research-Net*. In turn, one had learnt from a 17-year-old, Herman Carneiro, based in Boston, MA when he set up *Goanet* in 1994. Mailing-lists are simple to operate, and very inexpensive technology. But they can prove to be extremely useful in building networks. Teo applied this to the field of research in Goa, which remains a useful contribution.

In between, Teo and I had another strange encounter. There was his relocation to Lisbon, and my dream of helping to build inexpensive, sustainable and internet-based news exchanges. So, for some time, Teo actually tried his hand at writing news for the Delhi-based *Indo-Asian News Service* (then called *India Abroad News Service*).

Of course, Teo's story goes beyond Teo. It touches on a society which not just fails to recognise its own, but also attempts to severely censor the ideas it doesn't like to come to grips with and has yet to build up a decent dissent culture of its own. Had this not been the case, we all wouldn't have suffered from collective amnesia about the Kosambi duo – D.D. and Dharmanand – who contributed so much to South Asian knowledge despite their origins in the humble village of Sancoale. Had this not been the case, we wouldn't have had an inverted snobbery that rates the 'outside' scholar better than the 'home-grown' one, even while promoting regional chauvinism in most other fields. Had this not been the case, the most notable Indo-Portuguese historian that Goa has thrown up in the twentieth century would have got a better deal in his home state.

Goa snubs its intellectuals in diverse ways. But the worst fate probably belongs to those willing to swim against the tide, those like the T. B. Cunhas, F. N. Souzas, the Kossambis, the Pio Gama Pintos, the Aquino Braganzas, and many more. If Goa had been different, we would have had more spokespersons telling us about issues of the huge subaltern section of this region; these sections that still largely lack a voice.

While they all are one part of the greater Goan malaise of taking-for-granted its own sons and daughters, they all are also paying the price for challenging the accepted orthodoxy. And, with all the new means of communication available at our command,

as the local power-lobbies grow in strength and clout, such trends are unlikely to get better.

Dr. Robert S. Newman, the Jewish anthropologist and author of *'Of Umbrellas, Goddesses and Dreams*', has an amazing body of work which seldom gets the appreciation due to it. He went out of his way to get his book published in Goa, to make sure it gets across to an audience in Goa. He put it diplomatically, in a recent email: "In the 'seventies, I was an outsider to whatever anthropological research had been done in Goa up to then, because my influences were North India, Hindi, and Hinduism rather than a Portuguese-influenced view. Most people who had done research up to then were interested in the 'Portuguese' quality of Goan culture. I was more interested in how it resembled the rest of India. I wanted to say that Goa was and is part of India, with a special influence from Portugal".

Goa's exclusionary tendencies are fairly strong. You could feel like an intruder if you decide to relocate there. You could also feel like an 'outsider' if you belong there. For instance, if you belong to the "wrong" class, "wrong" caste, "wrong" geographical region, "wrong" gender or "wrong" language group. Currently, ethnic origins have been a major grounds for discrimination; but this has not always been the case. We long needed excuses to draw imaginary lines of differing kinds. In the summary justice we follow, some are legitimised while others are simply made into a persona non grata by a quick-and-easy political shorthand that few dare to challenge.

Why is this done? Can this be seen as a means to maintain hegemony over a small region. If you understand how the vast majority of a small place is kept so disempowered, and fractionalised, then it's easier to comprehend the need for excluding any contender who could upset the applecart.

To make things worse, Goa – like Portugal in some senses – simply lacks the dissent and critical culture that is much needed to get ahead and shed the past. One could argue that some of the best of studies critiquing British colonialism come from those very isles. Can the same be said of Portugal? Likewise, Goa itself is either unable or unwilling, or both, to see its negative side. Can a Goa stand a challenge which bluntly says, "Most Goan Christians who were faithful to the Goan Church magisterium collaborated with the Portuguese civilising mission that made of them a cultural tragicomedy"? (Teotonio R de Souza, in 'Give Unto Ceasar', quoted in *'The Transforming of Goa*', Norman Dantas, ed, The Other Indian Press, 1999).

In such a context, intellectuals like Teo have an only-tougher job. The political (and historical) gets mixed with the personal; people who don't like the stand your research is taking, will simply hit out at you for reasons you would never fathom.

If this essay is tinged with a touch of personal bitterness, it could be a reflection of the situation in the media. We have reached a ludicrous situation where the insecurities and ambitions of those in the media are leveraged to keep out all sorts of 'inconvenient' opinions. It might not be an exaggeration to say that it's easer for many a journalist to get published and write about Goa in New Delhi, Bangalore or London rather than in Goa itself!

Goa continues on its path of self-congratulatory coverage and research. It fails to see the need for reform, or critiquing the failings of its own society. While we find scapegoats to blame, the fact is that each of us is not doing our duty in speaking out in favour of building a better society. So, as we ignore and side-track our intellectuals who are different, aren't we doomed to be constrained within our convenient if non-existant 'Golden Goa' of the past?

ITINERÁRIO DE UM MESTRE

*Olga Iglésias**

Para comemorar o seu 60.º aniversário, nada de mais apropriado que olhar para trás e fazer um pequeno balanço do que se fez no Curso de História, desde que abriu, no ano lectivo de 1999-2000 até que, por vicissitudes várias se extinguiu no ano lectivo de 2005-2006, mas que renasceu das cinzas no ano seguinte, de 2006-2007 e que tem a marca, a direcção e a sabedoria do Professor Doutor Teotónio de Souza:

1. Actividades extra-curriculares do Curso de História no ano lectivo de 1999-2000

1.1. *Conferências:*

– Dr. Anthony Disney, sobre "Violência alegada ou real contra homens e contra a natureza: Algumas imagens da expansão portuguesa", na ULHT a 11.11.99.
– Dr. Varela Gomes, sobre "Arqueologia", na ULHT a 29.11.99.
– VII Semana Sociológica Lusófona, sobre "Lusofonia: Mitos, Realidades e Potencialidades", na ULHT de 11 a 13 de Abril de 2000.
– Dr. Óscar Mascarenhas, sobre "Jornalismo e História", na ULHT a 03.05.2000.

1.2. *Visitas de Estudo:*

– Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais / Torre do Tombo a 12.05.2000.

2. Actividades extra-curriculares do Curso de História no ano lectivo de 2000-01

2.1. *Conferências:*

– Dr.ª Tamalia Alisjabhana, Directora da Fundação dos Arquivos Nacionais da Indonésia, sobre " Indonesia Today. Challenges of Democracy", na ULHT a 02.11.2000.

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* Professora da Universidade Lusófona; Doutoranda em História.

– I Oficina de História, sobre "Culturas de Fronteiras e Fronteiras de Culturas", na ULHT de 8 a 9 de Março de 2001.
– VIII Semana Sociológica, sobre "Poderes e Redes de Poder", na ULHT de 28 a 30 de Maio de 2001.
– "Interculturalidades"- Ciclo de Conferências Maio-Junho de 2001na ULHT; a 17 de Maio. Conferências dos Profs. Drs. Teotónio de Souza e João Alves Miranda.

2.2. *Visitas de Estudo:*

– Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, a 11.12.2000.
– Monumentos históricos em Tomar, a 25.04.2001.

3. Actividades extra-curriculares do Curso de História no ano lectivo de 2001-02

3.1. *Conferências:*

– Homenagem a L. Senghor – Auditório Principal da ULHT, a 17.01.2002.
– IX Semana Sociológica, sobre "Violências Contemporâneas", na ULHT de 8 a 10 de Maio de 2002.
– II Oficina da História, sobre "História do Presente", na ULHT a 16 e 17 de Maio de 2002.

3.2. *Visitas de Estudo:*

– Visita ao Convento de Mafra, a 16.03.02.
– Visita a Vila Franca de Xira, a 27.04.02.

4. Actividades extra-curriculares do Curso de História no ano lectivo de 2002-03

4.1. *Conferências:*

– Conversas Históricas I: "Marcha sobre Roma", pelo Prof. Bensája – Auditório Principal da ULHT, a 28.10.02.
– Conversas Históricas II: "O conflito israelo-palestiniano", pelo Prof. Manuel Duarte de Oliveira – Auditório Principal da ULHT, a 11.11.02.
– Conversa com a jornalista da RTP, Helena Balsa – Sala B 0.1, na ULHT a 27.11.02.
– Exposição e Colóquio "Um Poeta Lusófono – Carlos Drummond de Andrade", organização da Prof. Adelina Amorim – Sala B 0.1 e Auditório Principal da ULHT, a 25.11.02
– Continuação da Exposição, assegurada por turnos de alunos e prof., de 26.11 a 06.12.02.
– Lançamento do Livro *João de Barros*, de Charles Boxer, traduzido para Português pelo Prof. Teotónio de Souza, a 10.01.03.

– III Oficina de História subordinada ao tema "Minorias em Portugal: No Passado e no Presente", na ULHT de 15 a 16.01.03.
– X Semana Sociológica, sobre "Ciclos de Hegemonias, Ideologias e Mundialismos", ciclo de cinema de 26.05.03 a 04.06.03 e a Semana, na ULHT de 5 a 6.06.03.

4.2. *Visitas de Estudo:*

– Exposição "Tuthankhamon" – Centro Cultural Casapiano, a 14.12.02.
– Exposição "Damião de Góis" – Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, a 24.10.02

5. Actividades extra-curriculares do Curso de História no ano lectivo de 2003-04

5.1. *Conferências:*

– Lançamento de obras coordenadas pelo Prof. Dr. Fernando Cristovão, na Liv. Ed. Almedina, a 11.11.03.
– Palestra do Dr. João Caraça, sobre "A Ciência Moderna", numa sala de aulas da ULHT a 29.05.04.

6. Actividades extra-curriculares do Curso de História no ano lectivo de 2004-05

– V Oficina de História, sobre "Portugal, Aristides de Sousa Mendes e os Refugiados durante a 2ª. Guerra Mundial", a 19.01.05.
– Exposição bibliográfica e documental sobre Aristides de Sousa Mendes, na Biblioteca Víctor de Sá de 19 a 24 de Janeiro de 2005.
– Sessão inaugural do Núcleo de Estudos Védicos e Orientais a 2 de Março de 2005.

7. Actividades extra-curriculares do Curso de História no ano lectivo de 2005-06[4]

– VI Oficina de História, sobre " A Lusofonia como Espaço Activo e de Património", a 31 de Janeiro de 2006, no Auditório Agostinho da Silva da ULHT.

VIVER COMPROMETIDAMENTE OS DESAFIOS DO PRESENTE

*Maria Raquel Andrade**

«*Nada no mundo existe de sagrado senão a pessoa humana*»
D. António Ferreira Gomes, bispo do Porto

Num tempo marcado pela indiferença e pelo culto hedonista do fácil e do imediato, somos, por vezes, interpelados pela atitude provocatória de certos gestos, pela coragem humana e pela liberdade descomprometida que eles pressupõem, e somos levados a reconhecer que se trata de vidas exemplares que, às vezes, nos incomodam, mas quase sempre nos norteiam.

É, de facto, pertinente afirmá-lo, hoje, a propósito do homem, do mestre e do amigo que homenageamos nesta efeméride dos seus sessenta anos de vida. do Professor Doutor Teotónio Rosário de Souza. O número redondo, que condensa muitas esperanças e, porventura, muitas decepções, muitas alegrias e algumas angústias, por certo; grandes realizações e alguns fracassos – como não pode deixar de ser – de uma vida que queremos ainda muito longa e muito fecunda justifica-o sobejamente.

Para falar do Homem, ocorrem-me as considerações sábias e densas que Emmanuel Mounier faz a respeito dos grandes espíritos da Humanidade e cuja dimensão se exprime e se explica pelo binómio *engagement-dégagement*: o primeiro conceito remete, obviamente, para um compromisso trágico, mas necessário, porque nada do mundo lhes é estranho e, por isso, se integram no movimento ascendente do mundo que os solicita a cultivar a ciência e a utilizar a tecnologia, sabendo, à partida, que a ciência e a tecnologia não bastam porque nelas não descobrem o essencial a que aspiram; por outro lado, o *dégagement*, clara e necessária libertação de satisfações legítimas, postula a contemplação e a ascese, próprias dos que amam e dominam a Terra pelo conhecimento, mas a quem a Terra não basta. Assim o Professor Teotónio, para quem um número alargado de áreas do conhecimento é um desafio permanente e um convite à participação activa na grande aventura do Homem em relação consigo próprio, com o Outro e com o Universo; mas também aquele para quem nada é verdadeiramente essencial no mundo dos Homens e das coisas.

Depois, o académico, o mestre: com as suas aspirações ao justo, ao verdadeiro, o Professor Teotónio de Sousa cultiva, na perfeição, essa capacidade interventiva e integradora própria daqueles que não passam sem deixar no mundo um sinal.

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O exercício do rigor e da exactidão, da isenção e da partilha são, no Professor Teotónio de Souza, marcas da proverbial universalidade que o leva a afirmar não ter pátria, porque todos os lugares poderiam ser a matriz da sua identidade. É, com efeito, em todas as partes, o construtor do espaço, mas também aquele que desafia o tempo. A verdade é que traz consigo perspectivas e propostas de incessante transformação e a capacidade de reinvenção do novo, para não falar da um olhar sempre renovado sobre o passado e uma visão antecipadamente familiar do porvir.

Por outro lado, afirma-se como o homem e o mestre de hoje: um ser votado ao presente, devorado pela sede de conhecimento do *hic et nunc,* sempre movido pela procura de autenticidade, pela força da persuasão e pela necessidade de serena discrição que nem sempre é apanágio do intellectual.

Com efeito, o mundo do homem moderno, enquanto apenas homem, é contraditório e conduz à sua própria destruição sempre que o homem nada mais veja nele que o imediato, o efémero e o possível. Ao homem contemporâneo, em permanente ruptura com o passado, aplicar-se-iam, admiravelmente as palavras do Professor Manuel Antunes: "Solicitado em múltiplas e opostas direcções, tenso numa espantosa vontade de tudo abarcar (…) esse homem de hoje sofre amiúde do complexo impressionante da frustração por saciedade"[5].

Não é assim, porém, este Professor, que, em lugar de passar com vertiginosa rapidez sobre as coisas e os homens, sobre tudo se recolhe e sobre tudo deixa a marca do seu entusiasmo e do seu empenhamento, principalmente quando as grandes causas em prol da justiça social o justifiquem.

Ao contrário de muitos, para quem o tempo é de descontinuidade, de ruptura e de radicalidade, para o Professor, o tempo presente é feito de inovação e de tradição, de coragem e de ponderação. Sempre consciente de que quem quer conhecer o futuro, tem de imergir no fluxo tumultuoso do passado e viver comprometidamente os desafios do presente, o Mestre que nos mostra caminhos, é também aquele de quem fala T.S. Elliot no segundo andamento de *Four Quartets*: "Ser consciente é não estar no tempo".

Por tudo isso, o grande paradoxo, marca também da condição humana: muito mais que a aguda consciência histórica, não como forma de evasão, mas de domínio, o amigo e mestre é, também ele, o homem descomprometido que se encontra a gosto em toda a parte, não se encontrando verdadeiramente enraizado em parte nenhuma, solitário no meio da multidão e aspirando ao espaço em que possa verdadeiramente comunicar e comunicar-se, numa pátria que "não é propriamente do horizonte deste mundo."[6], como ainda diria o jesuíta lúcido, profético, que é o Padre Manuel Antunes, para falar dos grandes espíritos. A sua é, verdadeiramente, a Pátria ideal do homem, fonte perene de energia espiritual que tão bem sabe pôr à disposição do aluno, do amigo, do que o procura.

Sobre o estudioso consciencioso e probo, o intelectual exigente em julgar e indulgente em compreender, não deixarei de referir, como marca dominante, o seu

perfil polémico, uma certa rigidez de atitude mental, é certo, sobretudo quando se trata de fazer a defesa intransigente, imparcial do humanismo, aplicado a todos os espaços e a todos os tempos. Sempre, contudo, desassombradamente, corajosamente.

Ao Professor, um grande "Obrigada", por me ter ensinado a cultivar espaços de entendimento e zonas de diálogo onde debater, em liberdade serena, as grandes questões que agitam o Homem e o mundo dos nossos dias.

Ao Amigo, a certeza que a serena amizade que temos vindo a construir, ao longo destes anos, condição necessária para uma convivência harmoniosa e profícua, constitui capital muito significativo do meu património humano e tesouro que desejo continuar a acumular.

HISTÓRIA DAS NOSSA VIDAS

*Pedro Araújo**

1. O CANUDO E O RESTO

No ano de 1999-2000 começou o Curso de Licenciatura em História, na Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias. A primeira turma, inicialmente com cerca de 25 elementos, com metade de jovens e outra metade de menos jovens, depositava grandes esperanças, animava-se, no que era, para a grande maioria, a primeira experiência extra-secundário.

Essa primeira fornada acabou a Licenciatura em 2002-2003. Passados precisamente 4 anos lectivos, se assim se pode dizer, há que fazer um balanço. Em termos meramente práticos pode dizer-se que todos os cerca de 15 alunos que terminaram a Licenciatura beneficiaram directamente com ela, já que em termos profissionais conseguiram, sabe-se, subidas nas respectivas categorias profissionais. Outros existem que, ainda não tendo beneficiado disso, têm boas perspectivas para que o façam mais tarde.

Outro dado importante é que *apenas* dois desses ex-alunos farão, hoje, da História o seu ganha-pão (perdoe-se a expressão), a sua actividade profissional, o que não parece ser mau de todo atendendo à menor valorização das Ciências Sociais e Humanas no tempo presente. Um desses elementos dá aulas de História numa afamada Academia de Lisboa e o outro ensaia, aqui e ali, investigação em diversas áreas da História. Ambos estarão satisfeitos e empenhados no que fazem, com altos e baixos, é certo, como tudo na vida.

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Em termos teóricos, e subjectivos, para a maioria destes ex-alunos a mais-valia da Licenciatura em História terá sido o *conhecimento* adquirido, a vulgarmente chamada *bagagem*, e aptidões para melhor interpretarem o dia a dia, os telejornais, os jornais, os discursos, as guerras, os conflitos e as caricaturas. Enquanto cidadãos estes homens e mulheres também terão decerto lucrado com aqueles 4 anos: como pessoas, como pais, como filhos, como cidadãos, independentemente das idades. Poder-se-á alegar que se os referidos elementos tivessem frequentado um curso em Ciência Política, Sociologia ou outro qualquer, por certo também beneficiariam desse facto, mas o que se quer aqui realçar não será tanto esta questão, que, contudo, é importante, mas a que é exposta em seguida.

2. A EXCELÊNCIA DE UM CURSO

Não terá sido perfeito este período 1999-2000/2002-2003, como pouco ou nada o é, a não ser as crianças, que só deixam de o ser porque são contaminadas pelos adultos e pelo ar que respiram. Terá sido quase perfeita, contudo, e quem o idealizou (ao período) sabia exactamente o que estava a fazer e que estava a fazê-lo bem: professores de excelente qualidade, com provas dadas a vários níveis, pessoas experientes, homens e mulheres com História, na realidade. Se havia um *grupo mais tradicionalista*, que debitava matéria, contudo de modo sábio, isso era equilibrado com *a facção mais vanguardista*, que incentivava os seus alunos a outro tipo de actividades, permitindo ao Curso uma dinâmica extraordinária, tudo em prol da preparação do aluno. Tudo dentro do espírito que só viria a ser "oficializado" mais tarde, com Bolonha.

Imagine-se o Sistema Solar. Quem organizou o Curso de História da Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias (e não terá sido Deus, por certo) colocou como Sol os alunos e como planetas, como dependentes, os docentes e a instituição, os interesses e as formalidades, as burocracias e a Tradição, que, como sabemos colocava outros astros como centrais.

E esta prática fez escola, era corrente, aconteceu nos seguintes anos em que o Curso arrancou, não era uma operação de charme ou marketing para conservar os alunos. Não era possível ser-se cínico tanto tempo.

Não existem Cursos, e até Universidades inteiras, onde tudo é feito em função do Professor, em função da parte administrativa, de regras, de burocracias estanques, em nome do cifrão? Existem, pois. E que mau é frequentá-las, que mal se sentem os alunos, que acabam por perceber que não são a razão de existir da Instituição que frequentam, e que nem o seu dinheiro é motivo para que seja melhor tratado, melhor ensinado.

No exemplo aqui exposto, foi o contrário: Oficinas de História, gabinetes de estudo e investigação, grupos de trabalho, apresentações de livros, visitas de estudo, palestras, conferências, idas à Biblioteca Nacional e à Torre do Tombo, recomendações

para que se frequentassem a Sociedade de Geografia e o Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, entre outros mimos, que só aulas e exposição de matéria não é Curso que se tenha. Também se falava muito em *técnicas de pesquisa,* em *referências bibliográficas*, e "perdiam-se" horas a ensaia-las no quadro.

Lucrou-se muito com isso, o impacto ainda se sente, as raízes vingaram, solidificaram. Mal saberiam os alunos, na altura, que de facto é assim que tudo deve ser.

A propósito, e para reforçar esta ideia, dizia outro dia um senhor na TSF que tinha tirado várias Licenciaturas e Pós-Graduações e que tinha tido já várias actividades na vida e que tudo o que estudou lhe tinha valido, e que no dia a dia sentia o impacto do que aprendera nas diversas áreas. Dizia ele ainda que o que aprendera era aplicável na vida prática e que, mesmo não garantindo o emprego, mais cedo ou mais tarde se sentiriam os reflexos positivos desses anos na Universidade.

Mas há mais para atestar o que aqui se pretende relevar: sete dos discentes do I Curso de Licenciatura em História da ULHT matricularam-se, no ano imediatamente a seguir à conclusão da Licenciatura, no Mestrado em História Económica e Social, que tinha como responsável máximo o Professor Doutor Teotónio de Souza, que nos dirigira já na Licenciatura. Seminários animados, professores, mais uma vez, de qualidade indiscutível, temas ricos em conteúdo, oportunidades para os mestrandos se soltarem ainda mais, desenvolvendo temas da sua preferência, para prepararem dissertações de qualidade. Os resultados ainda não estarão à vista, porque ao fim de alguns anos de intensa e talvez cansativa actividade intelectual, de um enorme esforço financeiro, e com os possíveis e legais adiamentos de entrega a permitirem algum laxismo, os mestrandos estão à espera de melhores dias para prosseguirem com os seus trabalhos.

3. O NOME E O ROSTO DESTA HISTÓRIA

Estávamos na fase de candidaturas do Ano Lectivo de 1999-2000. Um homem magro, de barbicha, de óculos e tez menos clara, de sorriso largo, que lhe ocupava quase metade da cara, entrou na sala de Candidaturas da ULHT e dirigiu-se ao funcionário perguntando-lhe se tinha aparecido algum candidato para História. O funcionário respondeu-lhe que sim, e que ele próprio estava a pensar candidatar-se ao Curso de História. O sorriso abriu-se mais ainda no afável Professor, como se o futuro fosse agora ainda mais risonho. Lembro-me como se fosse hoje, porque o funcionário era eu e aquele sorriso convenceu-me definitivamente. Um bom sorriso, como uma mulher voluptuosa, pode criar um grande impacto nos nossos sentidos e por vezes somos tentados a decidir baseando-nos mais neles do que na razão. Umas vezes espetamo-nos de frente, outras, porém, até correm melhor do que esperávamos.

O Professor Teotónio de Souza é o grande responsável por muitas das coisas boas que aconteceram na vida de muita gente, porque é um óptimo e actualizado Professor, um competente e moderno Director de Curso e um excelente e bem-humorado

amigo. Passa a vida a motivar, tem sempre tempo para tudo e raramente perde a calma. Respeita outras opiniões, tem paciência de chinês (não fosse ele Goês, que fica, mais ou menos, nos arredores) e, reparei, espírito de sacrifício e capacidade de luta, duas qualidades que lhe "apanhei" recentemente. Dá crédito mesmo aos que já lhe bateram um dia à porta e ainda lhe devem.

Não são elogios encomendados, estes. São justos e, eventualmente, até pouco ilustradores, como pouco ilustrado é o autor destas palavras, que, escrevinhando, pretendeu prestar uma pequena homenagem ao homem, ao professor e ao amigo *Professor Teotónio*, como lhe chamamos no nosso *milieu.*

'GOA TO ME' TO ME

Vivek Menezes

[*Born in Bombay in 1968. He holds degrees in History from Wesleyan University and the London School of Economics and Political Science. After 23 years abroad, has moved to Goa in late 2004. Works now as a full-time writer and photographer.*]

Each one of Dr. Teotonio de Souza's books fell into my hands with a kind of thunderclap of significance. They were deeply desired, desperately sought, pored over carefully and greatly cherished.

I was growing up at the far end of the diaspora, in the numbing cold of total isolation, in half-comprehension of who I was and where I came from. So each book came as a kind of life-raft. They added up to a trail that could be followed, a train of thought and scholarship that slowly, meticulously, identified the building blocks that I would need in order to achieve coherent perspective.

It's necessary to recall the period of time we're talking about, distant in substance but not so very long ago. There was no Internet to speak of, the scattered Goan community was even more fractured and dissipated than we find in the new millennium. We were collectively scrambling to find our feet, to identify our bearings. And complete immersion was (and to a large extent remains) the preferred Goan method of assimilation – our cousins in England became totally British to the exclusion of all else, those in Montreal and Toronto went through similarly drastic enculturation.

It was often difficult to find similar ground even within families, and when it was achieved it often centered on the future, rarely on what bound us from the past. The migrant who identified himself as Goan – more often than not from East Africa – clung to farcically impoverished, stunted and out-of-date ideas of identity and community. To grow up Goan in the diaspora meant very little beyond an affinity for certain foods, for drinking and dancing. Meagre fabric indeed, the central thread of which was little more than "not Indian."

Another complication was the abysmal lack of critical writing regarding Goa, Goans, Goan history. Even assiduous, persistent seekers found zero. We had worthless hagiographies of "great Goans", written with visible biases. We had religious claptrap. And there was the prevailing, provably false, perpective from the colonial era that aimed to draw lines between Goa and the rest of the subcontinent, which cast the European misadventures in glorious light.

So you can image the effect that Dr. de Souza's books had on my life – suddenly I had access to clarity, to a reasonable, deeply informed voice. Suddenly there was a small body of work that could be relied upon, that sought a rigorous approach. There was post-colonial self-confidence, a sense of worth and very, very, welcome real pride that resonated deeply in diaspora breasts. There was the authority of scholarship, the magisterial approach – meticulous, multilingual, sensitive to all sides and unfair to none.

'Goa to me' exemplifies all of this, more than the other books. It remains the single book that I recommend to every young Goan who seeks to grasp his origins. For those who have grown up – like I did, like most of us do – with truncated, deeply skewed information about our culture, the book incisively highlights a whole range of related subjects that completely explode horizons. The Xenndi Tax? The Oratorians? Sir Rogerio de Faria? We'd never heard of any of it.

Best of all is Dr. de Souza's long introduction – full of confidence leavened by genuine humility. It portrays a questing life, an indomitable spirit, a refusal to settle for received wisdom. A blurb provides the essence – "the author sees his work as a genuine reflection of his search for self-identity. He sees his self-identity as inseparable from the history of the people to whom he belongs."

He takes us on a journey, in this seminal book, but also the other writings, including many graceful, humour-filled interventions onto Goanet (the Goa-centered Internet discussion group with 6000 subscribers). It is vital work, a vital service rendered with characteristic indefatigability and rigor.

The Goan ship may skim the cultural oceans, but it now always has recourse to anchor. That mooring has been forged by Dr. Teotonio de Souza. I take this occasion to offer my sincere gratitude, for myself and for countless other Goans who find our story in his books.

VISIONARY, ORGANIZER, HISTORIAN OF CALIBRE, HUMANE TASK MASTER

*Lilia Maria D'Souza**

I stepped into the Xavier Centre of Historical Research one sunny May morning. The Institute, in its infancy, was housed in not-so-impressive, temporary premises at Miramar (a suburb of Panjim). But after talking to its director, Jesuit Dr. Teotonio de Souza (frail frame with intelligent eyes which held the promise of greater things) I decided to join its tiny work force. I was not disappointed.

Dr. Theo was a visionary. Researching for his doctorate, he realised the need for an institution to research in history. Some re-thinking had to be done on Goa's post-1961 changed scenario. The research centre to be set up, should assist Goan people to recover their damaged cultural identity. Father Romualdo de Souza who was, at the time, at the helm of Goa-Poona Jesuit Province, supported wholeheartedly Dr. Theo's proposed enterprise. Things started moving fast. And the activities of the Xavier Centre of Historical Research were inaugurated on 4 November 1979. Also the foundation-stone of a new building was laid at Porvorim. All this coincided with the First International Seminar of Indo-Portuguese History, held in Goa. Eminent scholars from India and abroad endorsed the need for such an institution and suggested various means and sources (books, documents) which would help to re-write the history of Goa (so far recorded with a colonial bias).

Dr. Theo was also aware of a wealth of books and documents owned by families of various scholars. Goa was the birthplace of many a savant who could have risen higher in a more encouraging environment. The books they had collected lay uncared for. Their families were very co-operative when approached by Dr.Theo and decided to shift their collections to the new institution.

Dr. Theo was a book connoisseur. I have come across many food connoisseurs but no book connoisseur like him. As a librarian, I had great respect for him. He would always pick up the right book, spend endless hours reading. He was a polyglot (he knew English, Portuguese, even old Portuguese, German, Latin, Konkani and Marathi). "I have collected a few gems", he would tell me, looking like a school kid rewarded with sweets. (His gems were rare books). His friend Mhamai Kamat took pleasure in telling us how some papers (business letters of his ancestors, well-known traders and brokers) were misused by some family members, and that Dr. Theo had realized its potential. They would document the trade history of an entire epoch, and Dr. Theo asked him to donate them to the Xavier Centre. Today they form the Mhamai House collection which has been referred to by many Indian and foreign

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* Lilia Maria D'Souza is librarian, Xavier Centre of Historical Research, Goa, since 1981.

scholars. Later, he became an art connoisseur. With a collection of precious ivories (courtesy a kind lady who is no more) and a sizable number of paintings by Angelo da Fonseca, he built up a cute mini-Museum. He also helped the Gulbenkian Foundation to establish the Rachol Museum (today housed at Santa Monica, Old Goa). He took a deep interest in Christian art whilst interacting with the Portuguese art historians who had come down to Goa.

Dr. Theo was also a great organiser. His yearly local history seminars (held from 1980) were always a great success and played an important role in developing research consciousness among the local talent. His aim was to bring together professional historians and students of history. The topics were most varied (from Goa's freedom struggle to history of the labour movement in Goa). He was also entrusted (and ably supported by his collaborator Jesuit Charles Borges), with the organisation of two international seminars (ISIPH -3, in 1983, and ISIPH-7, in 1994). Dr. Theo's tendency to cut off all the frills and fuss and rather strengthen scholarship in each seminar, may have won him some criticism, but the fact remains that these conferences turned out to be great academic experiences. Dr. Theo was at ease with all topics and always brought new inputs to the discussions.

He was a historian of high calibre. It is not up to me (a non-historian) to appreciate or depreciate the scholarship of a historian but I would like to record herein what researchers, both young and old, have conveyed to me. His guidance meant a lot for them. For them, his writings were the good word. So much so, when in April 1994, he left the Institute, the Jesuits and his country, a learned Goan remarked that his departure "was a great loss to Goa".

Last but not the least. He had the reputation of being a disciplinarian and a task master. But I would say he was very humane, no matter the appearances. A hundred and one incidents, still vivid in my memory, show the other facet of his personality. All through, he understood I could not give my best to my work as my priorities were with my family (as a mother of growing kids). For that (and also for his guidance) I will be always thankful to him.

To end, I have no doubts that the Jesuits of Goa, with their proverbial sense of justice and fairness, are also grateful to the man who conceptualized and set up the Xavier Centre.

TEO E ELVIRA

*Conceição Silva**

Há quem diga que as amizades se fazem até aos trinta anos e que após essa idade apenas se 'conhecem pessoas'. Não tem sido esta a minha experiência pessoal. Fiz grandes amizades com algumas pessoas (poucas decerto) após essa idade. É precisamente o caso da Elvira, mulher do Teo. Considero-a uma irmã e gosto dela profundamente, e para utilizar as velhas frases feitas, escolhi-a como amiga.

Conhecemo-nos há longos anos, quando ambas trabalhávamos no Hotel Meridien. Não sou pessoa para fazer amizades imediatas. Observo o comportamento das pessoas, as suas reacções perante situações adversas e favoráveis, e depois, calma e tranquilamente, tiro as minhas ilações e conclusões. Com a Elvira algo diferente aconteceu, porque, sem que nos déssemos por isso, gerou-se uma química entre nós que, a *petit pas*, nos foi aproximando e unindo até ao desabrochar de uma verdadeira e profunda amizade.

Para além das longas horas, muito longas mesmo, passadas no nosso local de trabalho, passámos também a conviver no exterior, partilhando alegrias, tristezas, confidências, frustrações, desilusões, discussões, enfim todos os ingredientes da verdadeira amizade.

Um dia a Elvira – ainda hoje recordo o brilho no seu olhar – participa-me que tinha um namorado! Sabendo que para ela o trabalho era tudo, e querendo com isto dizer que só a trabalhar a Elvira se sentia perfeitamente realizada, fiquei estupefacta com a novidade. Confesso que a princípio pensei que as contínuas horas de trabalho da minha amiga lhe tivessem dado uma volta aos miolos e que a tivessem induzido em fantasias amorosas, mas efectivamente errei no meu julgamento, porque passado algum tempo, fui convidada para um jantar, afim de conhecer o tal namorado, que de facto existia. Elvira estava apaixonada pelo Teo, e ele por ela, como tive a grata oportunidade de constatar naquele dia.

Simpatizei com o Teo, embora o nosso diálogo não tenha sido propriamente extenso, quer devido ás circunstâncias idílicas a que já me referi, quer pelo facto de Teo não ser um extrovertido, e por ser pouco dado ao convívio social. Mais tarde, vim a saber que Teo é um brilhante orador, um homem de vasta cultura, um profundo pensador e autor de vários livros, para além das inúmeras palestras ás quais assistem as mais importantes individualidades nacionais e internacionais do mundo da história, filosofia, teologia e outras áreas relacionadas com pensamento, investigação e ensino.

Depois foi o casamento. Ajudei a noiva a escolher o vestido, a ensaiar o penteado e a maquilhagem que mais a favorecessem. Vivi com ela momentos inolvidáveis que antecedem um acto de tal importância, e o que ainda mais nos aproximou.

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Profissionalmente separámo-nos uma vez que eu deixei o Meridien. Elvira ainda lá está como Directora Financeira Adjunta, mas continuámos, embora com menor frequência a conviver e estreitar a nossa amizade.

Estranharão por certo, o facto de eu ter referido pouco a Teo, enquanto o objectivo desta prosa vai entrar num livro de homenagem para ele. Não tendo eu competência profissional para apreciar a sua carreira profissional e conhecendo-o com um introvertido, pouco posso acrescentar sobre a sua personalidade.

Sou amiga de Teo e ele sabe que pode contar comigo incondicionalmente e em todas as ocasiões. Desejo-lhe a continuação do seu brilhante percurso profissional, muita saúde e só lhe peço que continue a amar a minha irmã Elvira.

TEOTÓNIO - THE HISTORIAN WITH IDEAS

*Nandkumar M. Kamat**

It was Dr. Sheik Ali who urged me to look for 'ideas' in history instead of focusing on personalities, genealogies, dates and events. Impelled by his advice when I began my quest, I met a wonderful young personality – Dr. Teotonio de Souza - a dynamic historian with ideas, imagination and creativity. In his 19 pages short autobiographical introduction to 'Goa to Me' he has mapped his life's journey, just before he left the Jesuit Order, his home state of Goa and settled in Portugal. Can he grow old? It is difficult to believe that he would be completing 60 years, soon. He looks so young and his passion about knowledge and research is so inspiring. Perhaps his research guide Prof. A.R. Kulkarni has passed the mantle on to him.

After completion of his Ph.D., he had spent almost a quarter century in Goa before shifting to Portugal. I feel that his greatest contribution of this period was the foundation of Xavier Centre of Historical Research (XCHR). His other important contribution, which has helped to melt physical and mental distances, was the launching of Goa Research Net-GRN- (with Frederico Noronha). My memories about him go back to 1985-the year of foundation of the Goa University and a turbulent time for Goa owing to the massive popular agitation to grant official language status to Konkani, our mother tongue. The first five years (1985-90) of the newly established Goa University could be considered as a 'Golden Age' for the students of history. I remember five people taking an active interest in matters pertaining to teaching and research in history-our first vice chancellor-eminent historian, Dr. B. Sheik Ali, the head of university's history department, the ever cheerful late

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Prof. B.S. Shastry, the director of Goa archives Dr. P.P.Shirodkar, late Dr. Joseph Barros of Panjim's Institute Menezes Braganza and the youngest of them all – Dr. Teotónio, easily identified by his well groomed French beard. It was a fantastic team. Their efforts led to successful and memorable organization of the Goa session of Indian History Congress in November 1987.

Dr. Ali , Dr. Shastry and Dr. Shirodkar founded the annual local history seminars in 1986. Goa University also launched an unique idea - publication of the *History of Goa through the ages* in four volumes. The second volume on the economic history of Goa was edited by Dr. Teotónio. The noted Goan historian Dr. George Moraes was present for the first local history seminar. I had given an audio-visual presentation on the old port city-Gopakpattana, the modern Goa Velha, the second capital of the Goa Kadambas. I still remember the compliments of Dr. Teotónio after the presentation. Later, during all our interactions, I have come back richly rewarded and inspired. During the Goa session of Indian history congress, it was decided to publish a mimeographed volume of research papers contributed by local scholars of Goan history. Dr. Teotónio edited this volume and the committee requested me and his research student Dr. Fatima Silva de Gracias to assist him. We got the mimeographed copies well in time. Working with Dr. Teotónio for this small task was an unforgettable experience because I had no knowledge of such publications before. When the mimeographed volume was later published by XCHR through a private publisher, as – Goa Cultural history – to my delight, I found my paper on Goa-Gujarat cultural relations included in it without many changes. Today, I feel the need to correct certain myths included in that paper because, that's what Dr. Teotónio's own work and research yardstick demands – the demystification of Goa's history – or writing history for the masses and not for the classes.

One particular trait in his personality is the exact judgement of the people and their talents and abilities. I owe a lot to him for his constant inspiration to contribute well researched publications. When I did not hide my fascination with the Marxist historian and a great son of Goa – Dr. D. D. Kosambi's work, he encouraged me to follow his trail. Goa University had launched a D. D. Kosambi memorial lecture series in 1987-88. I think till 1994, it was successfully organized. After Dr. Teotónio's departure we felt an intellectual and ideological vacuum. XCHR without him and local history seminars without his inspiring and cheerful presence, was an unbearable thought. After reading his *Medieval Goa* and later the articles collected in *Goa to Me,* I saw how history can be presented dispassionately and objectively. To my personal assessment, Dr. Teotónio needs to be credited with the beginnings of 'real' subaltern studies in Goa's history. Particularly iconoclastic was his article on the Ranes of Sattari, first published in the local news magazine - *Goa Today* in March 1987. It had generated certain interest among the readers because it had tried to demystify a lot of myths about this warrior clan. On the background of the violent clashes at Saleli, Sattari, in December 2005, which sharply brought into focus the

land related unresolved conflicts, Dr. Teotónio's article was a warning signal for the masses engaged in 'hero worship' of what he termed as "Sattari's feudal lords". Unlike rest of the states in India, Goa did not complete the agenda of land reforms. Feudalism of typical Goan style still exists and the suppressed voices flare up in incidents like Saleli.

Unfortunately, after Dr. Teotónio left XCHR and Goa, no scholar took up the subaltern studies. Today scholarship in local history is demonstrated in local newspapers and magazines instead of peer reviewed scholarly journals. To writers like me, Goa research net opened new possibilities of Internet publication. In those days with poor connectivity and low speeds, it was a luxury to send an article and view it uploaded on GRN. I was happy to see my article on Santa Cruz village published online on GRN in 1997. Thereafter, I was in touch with him who continued to encourage me to contribute research papers, reviews or articles on interesting topics. It was a pleasure to receive from him a complimentary copy of *Campus Social*, the scholarly journal of Universidade Lusofona when he was in Goa. I did not detect much change in him after leaving Goa. There is quiet an impressive list of Goan scholars of history. Many are self made and have written mostly in Marathi and Konkani. Where do I place Dr. Teotónio in this galaxy? I have great respect and regards for the philologist, theologian and art historian Dr. José Pereira of Fordham University. He is himself a giant in his own field. But I feel that among all the living Indo-Portuguese historians, Dr. Teotónio's place is unique and distinct. Let me justify this statement. First, the themes of his research are quiet novel, original and imaginative. His first two and the best research students – whom I know personally, Dr. Fatima Silva de Gracias and Dr. Celsa Pinto produced commendable original and useful works. Second, he emphasizes a fact based and not an impressionistic, objective presentation of history. Third, he champions micro historical approach – as one can witness in papers like "Xenddi tax". This short (five pages) paper has 65 references indicating his creative research intensity. Fourth, his writing style is his own – it is a readable and an enjoyable mix of literary style and incisive analysis. As we continue to read we never know when the paper or article ends. As a student of science, I always felt that scholars of history must be highly rational and objective because there is too much mythmaking in writings on the history of Goa.

Dr. Teotónio's entire work, therefore, could serve as a model for young students of history. He writes with conviction. His essay – "Church and Goan liberation" is a perfect example. But it looks like his advice has been heeded and ever since he left for Portugal, the church in Goa is playing a more proactive role in creating public opinion on relevant social and environmental issues. In the 20 years since he complained that "mills of God grind so slowly", the official bodies of the Church like the Council for Social Justice and Peace (CSJP) have already carved out a niche for themselves in the minds of the people. The Mhamai Kamat family is distantly related to mine. What would have been the fate of the priceless archives of this

famous traders' family if Dr. Teotónio were not to find a sanctuary for it in XCHR? People have failed to acknowledge this contribution adequately. The inventory of antique Christian art was done so meticulously by him that the very discerning scholar of Indo-Portuguese arts and crafts, my good friend Mr. Percival Noronha was full of praise for him.

As a builder of institutions, launcher of new ideas, initiator of novel projects, father of Goa's subaltern history and above all, a simple, humble, friendly personality, Dr. Teotónio continues to guide, encourage and inspire us. He is Goa's intellectual ambassador to Portugal and Europe. We expect him to take the initiative to build enduring bridges of knowledge between Portugal and India. We expect him to come back to Goa for a few years and perhaps lead our University as the next Vice Chancellor. The festschrift volume on the occasion of his 60th birthday is a real tribute to his intellectual pursuits and his immensely fulfilled life and work. His ancestral village, Moira, probably an ancient port visited by Greek sailors during Ptolemy's period may be famous for its unique breed of bananas-*Moidechim Kellim*. But henceforth it would also be known as Dr. Teotónio's village, in an increasingly globalized and networked world based on knowledge economy. Why? Because he has put that cute village on the knowledge atlas of the world.

A CONDIÇÃO DIASPÓRICA E A SUA CRÍTICA

*Constantino Xavier**

Não é habitual um investigador júnior intrometer-se numa homenagem a um reputado académico sénior. À partida, reconheço, portanto, as minhas joviais limitações, agravadas pelo facto de eu me situar numa área disciplinar diferente da da História, que tanto tem merecido a atenção do Professor Teotónio de Souza. Mas é, talvez, justamente esta condição jovem que me faz merecer esta oportunidade, aliada ao facto de ambos partilharmos uma condição diaspórica goesa. O Professor uma de primeira geração e eu uma de segunda. É sobre esta condição diaspórica, e sobre a urgência da sua permanente crítica, que eu pretendo reflectir neste espaço.

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Nenhuma homenagem poderia ficar completa sem uma devida contextualização pessoal. Não posso negar o ambiente e o tom negativo com que ouvi falar, pela primeira vez, do Professor. À volta das chamuças, dos bojés e do copito de feni, a comunidade goesa em Portugal gosta, muitas vezes, de falar da vida dos outros e seleccionar – tal e qual César no Coliseu – supostas ovelhas negras que, por uma razão ou outra, se distinguem do restante rebanho. É uma selecção baseada no, muito subjectivo, critério da diferenciação. Quem "é diferente" e escapa às rígidas normas comunitárias e associativas, está, pura e simplesmente, condenado ao ostracismo. Cedo percebi que a nossa comunidade gostava de colocar o Professor nessa categoria de pessoas indesejadas.

Felizmente, talvez como resultado da minha educação multicultural e pelo facto de o meu contexto familiar sempre me ter mantido afastado dessas conversas de aperitivo e me ter, de certa forma, protegido das mesquinhas lides associativas que, tantas vezes, caracterizam a nossa comunidade, soube discernir à minha maneira. Aquando da minha tardia entrada para as luzes da ribalta da comunidade goesa – aos vinte anos de idade – comecei por contestar este fundamental espírito separatista que reinava na comunidade e que levou, como consequência, à criação de inúmeras associações envolvidas numa eterna anarquia conflituosa. Foi isso que me levou a assumir o objectivo de congregar, uma vez por ano, toda a comunidade goesa em Portugal, independentemente da pertença a associações, castas ou crenças religiosas, ou de estatuto socio-económico, opinião ideológica e perfil migratório. Foi assim que, desde 2001, surgiu o Dia de Goa, Damão e Diu, um evento semanal ímpar em todo o mundo goês.

Perante este contexto, é escusado alongar-me em explicações sobre a forma com que interagi, ao longo destes últimos anos, com o Professor. Justamente, de forma a marcar a minha discordância com a restante comunidade, procurei sempre incluir o Professor em vários eventos e espaços, do Dia de Goa, Damão e Diu, ao Supergoa.com que edito, passando pela revista Ecos do Oriente (ex-Voz do Oriente) de que sou editor-adjunto. Para além de toda uma relação pessoal e de amizade que tive o prazer de estabelecer com ele, foi também – não por uma coincidência qualquer – ele que me iniciou na língua Concani, num curso realizado na Fundação Oriente. Foi, portanto, precisamente a diferença no discurso e comportamento do Professor que mais me atraiu nele. Por mais que ocasionalmente pudesse discordar do seu conteúdo, para mim o discurso do Professor – situado na periferia da nossa comunidade – representa uma função social fundamental. Essa função é a da crítica.

Com a progressão da minha carreira em direcção à investigação académica mais aprofundada, foram emergindo pontos de contacto entre os nossos interesses, nomeadamente as questões de identidade no contexto das migrações e das diásporas. Em específico, fruto dos nossos respectivos perfis biográficos, temos reflectido e escrito extensivamente sobre a condição diaspórica.

A condição diaspórica é, acima de tudo, um estatuto, uma posição e um contexto. É uma condição celebrada, nestes dias que passam, como potencialmente

libertadora dos constrangimentos identitários – locais, nacionais, religiosos etc. – que nos assolam nas nossas supostas "vidas comuns", territorialmente fixas e estéreis. Da literatura, às artes e à política, a condição diaspórica é, por isso, vista como uma lufada de ar fresco cosmopolita e universal. Esta celebração ignora, no entanto, que a condição diaspórica, como todas as coisas neste mundo, também tem uma face negra. A condição diaspórica serve frequentemente de palco para práticas de homogeneização cultural, de violência nacionalista exacerbada e de imaginação histórica mitificada. Também a comunidade goesa em Portugal, como qualquer outra diáspora, apresenta-nos estas duas faces. É, portanto, urgente saber celebrar, mas também criticar a condição diaspórica.

A importância do trabalho e da carreira do Professor reside no facto de ele nos lembrar que a segunda face, a mais negra, nos acompanha constantemente. E fá-lo por via da crítica. Questionando a celebração, obriga-nos a voltar a pôr os pés em terra e a enfrentar a realidade, por mais que isso nos custe. Recorda-nos que a condição diaspórica que glorificamos é, em larga medida, fruto da nossa imaginação e o espelho dos nossos medos e das nossas ânsias identitárias. E urge-nos a interrogarmo-nos sobre as reais vantagens e desvantagens, bem como as oportunidades e os obstáculos, que rodeiam esta nossa condição.

É justamente aqui que se encontra a explicação pela hostilidade com que alguns sectores da nossa comunidade goesa, mas também da sociedade portuguesa em geral, têm recebido a valiosa obra e as reflexões do Professor. É natural – mas infeliz – que hostilizemos a voz dissidente e crítica, que nos obriga a repensar e a interrogar aquilo que sempre demos por adquirido. Mas, por mais que se tente, é impossível silenciar essa voz que o Professor adoptou para si. Porque essa voz, cheia de interrogações, reside naturalmente e intrinsecamente em toda e qualquer condição diaspórica. O Professor tem-se limitado a activá-la e resgatá-la da passividade a que a procuramos condenar no seio da nossa intimidade – pessoal, associativa ou comunitária.

Tudo isto, não significa que eu concorde ou que todos nós devemos concordar com a crítica, no particular, que o Professor dirige à nossa condição (e à dele também). A mim por exemplo, a sua definição de identidade goesa parece-me, por vezes, excessivamente relativista. Mas o que está realmente em questão é saber se estamos a dar a devida atenção, respeito e consideração a quem, de forma não poucas vezes corajosa, soube, sabe e saberá defender os seus pontos de vista perante uma audiência hostil e estéril. Essa audiência inclui-nos a todos nós, cegados pelas nossas glórias e histórias passadas e pelo nosso crónico vício de, por via da imaginação, nos afastarmos da realidade que nos rodeia.

Uma homenagem, na minha opinião, deve ser também uma oportunidade para uma introspecção e para o início de novos debates orientados de forma prospectiva. Nesse sentido, o meu apelo é duplo. Por um lado, espero que o Professor continue a presentear-nos com a sua valiosa voz crítica da condição diaspórica, sendo esse um

serviço impagável que ele nos presta. Por outro lado, espero que todos nós, goeses, portugueses, historiadores, académicos ou simples cidadãos, saibamos construir um ambiente mais fértil para que as questões e contestações colocadas pelo Professor possam florescer em grandes e construtivos debates plurais e polifónicos. Só assim saberemos valorizar e explorar devidamente as oportunidades que a condição diaspórica nos oferece.

EM DEMANDA DA VERDADE HISTÓRICA E OUTRA

Fernando Cristóvão

Ainda que muito sobre a hora não quero deixar de prestar a minha homenagem a um amigo que, para além da cordialidade do seu relacionamento nos estimula, permanentemente, na procura da verdade possível.

Conheci o Prof. Teotónio R. de Souza quando, em 1984, visitei a Índia e, especialmente, Goa, enquanto presidente do Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa (Icalp), no Xavier Centre of Historical Research. Falámos então, entre outras coisas, sobre o ensino do português em Goa, em que eu estava particularmente empenhado, e sobre a sua actividade.E, desde a primeira hora, se me revelou o seu empenhamento na pesquisa histórica, especialmente no âmbito da colonização portuguesa e da evangelização de tipo europeu.

E sempre nele a avaliação dos factos históricos foi e continua a ser feita, coerentemente, em função das culturas da Índia e dos fenómenos do desenvolvimento, marcando solidariedades e diferenças com as culturas europeia e portuguesa. Desse modo, o diálogo torna-se criativo, embora às vezes difícil, porque esse caminho para a verdade exige sempre a comparação, às vezes a confrontação. Com isso ganham ambas as partes, e daí a validade do seu sentido crítico.

Ainda, recentemente, no âmbito das comemorações do centenário de S. Francisco Xavier, promovidas pelo Instituto de Cultura Europeia e Atlântica, foi patente o alcance deste tipo de reflexão conjunta que fizemos, pondo em evidência o alcance do fenómeno da santidade, e rejeitando a tendência demasiado frequente de uma espécie de branqueamento hagiográfico dos santos que os retrata parados e inofensivos".

Franca e aberta tem sido a nossa colaboração nos seus cursos da Universidade Lusófona, como prestável tem sido a sua com a nossa Associação de Cultura Lusófona.

Com o maior gosto me associo a esta justíssima homenagem.

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* Presidente do Instituto de Língua e Cultura Portuguesa (actual Instituto Camões), 1984-1989. Autor e coordenador de várias obras, incluindo a mais recente: *Dicionário temático da Lusofonia,* Lisboa-Porto, ACLUS e Texto Editora, 2006.

NA SALVAGUARDA DE UM PATRIMÓNIO COMUM

*Vítor Serrão**

Além da sua actividade de investigador e de docente de História ligado aos temários luso-indianos, onde é, reconhecidamente, uma autoridade a nível internacional, como o atestam centenas de títulos de referência incontornável que vem publicando desde 1972 e se encontram, em boa parte, disponíveis aos estudiosos nas bibliotecas especializadas, Teotónio R. de Souza é, sobretudo, um profissional da ciência histórica que usa as ferramentas da análise integrada para explorar o passado como lição de um saber com vários sentidos.

Esse seu saber vocacional é antigo, quase tão antigo como o próprio *saber de Goa*, a sua amada terra, que reverentemente estuda desde que se conhece. A História foi, para ele desde sempre, como diz na sua autobiografia, e na recente colectânea de estudos *Goa To Me*, um campo privilegiado de pesquisa a fim de prescrutar o Homem nas várias facetas do seu comportamento: desde as dinâmicas sociais às relações de poder nos espaços coloniais, à busca dos traços da dignidade, do trabalho, e da dúvida, até às manchas da corruptibilidade no exercício do poder, ou de exploração desenfreada face ao *outro,* e também a sua reconhecida qualidade de criar e de exprimir coisas novas no campo das artes, da língua e das culturas partilhadas, abrindo-se a saberes oriundos de outras práticas religiosas, de distintos materiais ou de novos estilos de criação. A par dos estudos sobre o 'milagrista' Pe. José Vaz ou sobre o Apóstolo das Índias São Francisco Xavier, sobre o folclore e a língua, sobre a missionação e os confessionários, sobre lusofilia e lusofonia, sobre o luso-tropicalismo na Índia, sobre a iconografia da arte hindu, sobre as lógicas coloniais, e, de uma maneira geral, sobre a sociedade colonial portuguesa da Idade Moderna, contam-se um precioso guia das igrejas e lugares históricos goeses a visitar, e um inestimável inventário dos bens artísticos móveis espalhados pela centena e meia de templos de Goa e sua província, este com milhares de dados recenseados e ainda por publicar.

Para este intelectual de origem goesa, a História da Arte nunca esteve alheada do seu alforje de pesquisador. Esse campo de pesquisa já era uma razão de estudo especial que muito o preocupava no tempo em que estava absorvido pela lição da filosofia e da teologia no Seminário de Rachol. Nesse campo, seguiu não só as pisadas sempre contextualizadas do seu mestre Charles Boxer, como também as linhas de análise de Mário Chicó, Carlos de Azevedo, Jorge Pais da Silva, Maria Helena Mendes Pinto, José Meco, Paulo Varela Gomes, Hélder Carita, entre outros desbravadores portugueses que, com saber e sensibilidade, souberam desvendar

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segredos do mundo luso-indiano e dar-lhes conhecimento integrado. Por isso interessam tanto a Teotónio de Souza os grandes temas e problemas da arquitectura e do urbanismo, da pintura, da escultura e da talha, do mobiliário, dos marfins lavrados, dos têxteis, da iconografia, e das demais manifestações criadoras do Património luso-indiano gerados no espaço da antiga Índia portuguesa nos séculos XVI, XVIII, XVIII e XIX e desde logo transbordados, em 'formas de retorno' e miscigenação, para os mercados e círculos de encomenda europeus.

Assim, este professor de língua goesa, académico de História, desbravador de arquivos, antigo clérigo jesuíta que à frente do Xavier Centre of Historical Research de Porvorim (Goa) animou, a partir de 1979 e ao longo de muitos anos, dinâmicas de preservação e de redescobrimento da memória histórica, é hoje, como professor catedrático da Universidade Lusófona de Lisboa (actividade que exerce em Portugal desde 1996) um especialista de facetas múltiplas, que foi criando, seguindo um método e uma estrada de objectivos certeiros, uma vastíssima obra de investigação. Essa obra, estribada num conhecimento invejável dos arquivos e das fontes manuscritas indo-portuguesas, ainda mal prospectadas, torna-o uma das referências mais fortes nos estudos sobre o conhecimento da presença e do legado dos portugueses no Oriente e um animador por excelência dos grandes projectos de investigação pluri-disciplinar que, com a nova fase aberta com o estabelecimento da Democracia portuguesa, se têm feito (a nível, diga-se de passagem, muito insuficiente) sobre a história de Goa, Damão, Diu e demais possessões portuguesas no Oriente, em termos de presença, legado, relações, dominação colonial, troca de culturas, glórias e tragédias, em suma, as linhas de desenvolvimento de um historial comum que urge analisar, preservar e dinamizar.

A obra de Teotónio R. de Souza não é, naturalmente, muito vasta no campo da História da Arte luso-indiana, mas a ele se lhe devem também alguns estudos de registo documental, recenseamento de monumentos e peças e de interpretação critica de muitos espécimes artísticos goeses. O volume que coordena, sobre a India, no projecto para "*London University Portugal-600*", onde a visão do que foi a realidade dos Descobrimentos e a presença dos portugueses no Oriente, vista à luz da objectividade, sem esconder a crueza da 'lenda negra' nem o brilho criador das obras de arte, é estruturada em moldes actualizados para o conhecimento de estudantes de universidades inglesas, e não só. Entre duas centenas de estudos científicos, livros, artigos, comunicações a congressos internacionais e programas de projectos de investigação, onde se sente a influência de Charles Boxer, por exemplo, contam-se alguns títulos onde o património artístico ganha lugar de destaque: *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, saído em New Delhi, 1979; reeditado em Lisboa pela ed. Estampa, 1993; *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions*, New Delhi, 1985; "Estelas indianas.', «Notícia sumária do gentilismo na Índia", "Figuras da mitologia dos brâmanes da Ásia", "Usos e costumes da Índia", "Gentes e sítios de Goa", na obra *Vasco da Gama e a Índia* (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Paris, 1999); ou o utilíssimo *Goa: Roteiro Hitórico-Cultural,* Lisboa:

Grupo de Trabalho do Ministério da Educação para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1996; sem esquecer, enfim, o texto «A Arte Cristã de Goa: Uma introdução histórica para a dialética da sua evolução», na revista *Oceanos*, nºs. 19-20, CNCDP, 1994, que constituíu uma excelente síntese e, ao mesmo tempo, um ponto de partida para o estudo desse fascinante 'encontro de culturas' que o património artístico da antiga Índia portuguesa tão bem reflecte e encarna.

Teotónio R. de Souza continua, lucidamente, a fazer pontes entre as fímbrias da nossa memória obnubilada, que dificultosamente fechou o baú de recordações da má gesta colonial como se a história dos portugueses no Oriente se resumisse à 'lenda negra' e não remanescesse também, digno de desvelos, todo um património, que é a riqueza de um legado comum… Há, de facto, esquecido embora tantas vezes, um património comum – histórico, cultural, documental, artístico, gastronómico, linguístico –, um património humaníssimo, feito de pedras, registos, memórias, obras de arte e outras sensibilidades imperecíveis…

Esse património comum não pode ser apenas o pretexto para um turismo de ocasião, ou para um hipócrita saudosismo neo-colonialista de enfoque deformado; ou para a cegueira de um anti-colonialismo igualmente primário de apagamento da memória histórica. Terá, sim, de ser estudado em contexto, percebido em todos os seus contornos, revalorizado pelas existências que sobreviveram ao abandono e aos malefícios dos homens, recuperado como capítulo importante (lá e cá) da História da Arte da Idade Moderna — como é o caso da «arquitectura chã», das decorações de estuque e fresco, da esplêndida imaginária e obra de talha luso-goesa do século XVII, a época da «Roma Dourada do Oriente»... Por isso também, ao situar-se como uma trincheira de mais-valias dentro da vertente pluridisciplinar em que navegam os seus interesses, a obra histórica deste autor luso-indiano – por outras palavras: português e indiano –, é credora de tanto elogio.

ONCE UPON THE RIGHT TIME…

*by Simone St. Anne and Pedro David Pérez**

Teotonio came through for us at the right time. We had decided to get married, and the timing was, well, right now. U.S. priests and bishops demurred, until we found out that Teotonio was at Brown University, visiting. He needed to go to Santa Barabara (California), and what better way than to drive six hours to Ithaca and, the next day, drive on the five hours to NYC? And so it happened, and we are blessed in

* Pedro Perez teaches entrepreneurship and business management at Cornell University. Simone is an artist and writer who weds word and image for creative and effective communication, through the various media of books, video, audio-visual, and art.

his blessing, and a few years later we had the pleasure to meet again, as a foursome. Elvira and Teotonio, Simone and Pedro, what a fun foursome!

A fun foursome, especially from a historians' perspective. Here we were, back in Lisbon, brought together by our Lusitanian and Iberian legacy. Besides dear friends, Teotonio and Simone are family, at least in that their roots go back into the majestic village of Moira… Elvira's family voyage from Portugal and back took them to Portuguese Africa… And, when Teotonio was at the Seville's archives of Indies, looking for historical clues on Goa, he well may have run into the folios containing the history of Pedro's family, in La Palma of the Canary Islands, well desired by Henry the Navigator …

Memories of Teotonio are, fittingly, those of history…there is the time in Moira… The picturesque town, its solid colonial homes, well fitted with trees and wells… The imposing church, that on first sight would not be out of place anywhere in South America, except for picturesque details of architecture from the crossroads of time… filled to the rafters with festively dressed and suited communicants on the church feast day, while the town's band played outside and a long procession of Hindu matrons, resplendent in saris, waited patiently for the image of Our Lady to pass in procession… Afterwards, lunch at the Research Center, with learned conversation about things Goan, Indian, Portuguese, historical, while learning all over about cafreal, vindalho, and feni…

And then the time in Lisbon, repairing to a Goan "hole in the wall" just by the old medieval area of Alfama, and the walk through history as we went from the Alfama to the imperial Lisbon of the Marquis de Pombal and then to the nineteen century "Bairro Alto." Even as we took the train from Lisbon to take our leave of Portugal, there was Teotonio, saying goodbye to us as he stepped into Pombal station for a conference on the Marquis…

There is much to admire about Teotonio de Souza…Over 200 publications, a mind forever curious and industrious about that curiosity, a sense of adventure… Teotonio sits comfortably at the center of intersections, of India and Portugal, of religious and family life, of academic and popular writing, of teaching, research, and administration… It must be because he knows that it is at the place where different realities touch, that things new and interesting happen…

It is not given to all to have found Teotonio at the right time…So we count ourselves fortunate: he has left his mark on us, richly inspiring us with his commitment to knowledge, and adventure.

CAMINHOS DO MAR

*Maria Adelina Amorim**

ao PROF. DOUTOR TEOTÓNIO DE SOUZA

Para que servem
os caminhos
do mar as estradas
da terra
os rastos
das estrelas
sem os
sentidos das
horas
água e vinho
bebidos
nas pontes
A Norte e a Sul
Nascente e Poente
Dos nossos encontros.

Para que servem
Gamas e Gandhis
oliveiras e açafrão
azeite e pimenta
se não
para cadinhos
perfumados
aromas
eternos abençoados
paladares

Para que servem
as línguas
abertas fechadas
ditongas
nasaladas
alfabetos sem fim
caracteres multiformes
gramáticas enciclopédias
vocabulários
se não para escrever
HUMANIDADE?

* Docente na Universidade Lusófona, Doutoranda e Bolseira da Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia.

A Teotónio de Souza pela sua contribuição por um mundo melhor, colorido como um cesto de frutas maduras, um chão de especiarias finas, fragrâncias intemporais… um lugar onde todos sejamos descobridores uns dos outros, e em que todos os meninos tenham um sorriso igual ao seu. O mesmo sorriso que eu recordo desde o dia em que me esperava para me acolher como professora de História do Brasil da Universidade Lusófona.

É essa afabilidade, o gesto tranquilo, a harmonia da voz, a marca de identidade que eu guardo do Professor Teotónio. O sentido do equilíbrio, a atenção aos outros, o profundo respeito pela opinião alheia, mesmo quando estes são seus assistentes, como era o meu caso. Jamais me senti nos fóruns por ele dirigidos fora dos pares. Teotónio cuida sempre de fazer com que as pessoas estejam como em sua casa. À vontade, sem constrangimentos, sem palavra, sem opinião. Ao contrário, promove todos ao púlpito, desde colegas, a assistentes, e, sobretudo alunos. A todos ouve, a todos atende. E, se por vezes há desencontros de ideias, nunca há ressentimento. É o primeiro a aceitar outros olhares, e a esquecer-se da cátedra para voltar a ser o aluno simples e atento. Neste pequeno testemunho, apenas quero relevar o afecto, personificado por Teotónio de Souza, afecto que faz a ciência e a História progredirem.

A BEM DA HUMANIDADE!

TEOTÓNIO DE SOUZA – O MESTRE

Augusto Pereira Brandão *

Quando cheguei à Universidade Lusófona e passei a vista pela lista dos Professores que davam aulas na Universidade, fiquei espantado pela riqueza de *curricula* que encontrei, e fiquei esmagado por um *curriculum*, o do Prof. Doutor Teotónio de Souza.

Envergonhado e um pouco a medo, tal a importância que eu dava a este nome que dominava toda a História de Portugal e Índia, para não dizer Portugal-Oriente. Dirigi-me a ele e verifiquei que a par do assombro de conhecimentos, estava perante um homem normal, sem peias de superdotado, mas um perfeito "gentleman" educado e acolhedor.

Após a longa conversa que tivemos sempre soube coisas que interessam principalmente a mim, apaixonado, como ele, da nossa pleiade de acção civilizadora no Oriente, cheguei à conclusão de que estava perante alguém que não só conhecia

* Pró-Reitor da Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias; Presidente da Academia Nacional de Belas Artes; Tesoureiro do Conselho Fiscal da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian,

a história, mas, e fundamentalmente, abria sempre os seus horizontes para os momentos presentes da vida e política indianas.

Nessa conversa, há já alguns anos, falou-me, com entusiasmo da política de preparação científica, da educação científica, do nível científico que o Governo Indiano pretendia desenvolver na Índia: isto é, transformar um povo rural, num povo de grandes convicções científicas, principalmente nas áreas da informação e energias alternativas. Com orgulho Teotónio de Souza apontava-me para um mapa da Índia, mostrando-me o local onde se estava a dar a transformação indicada – Bangalore.

Olhei, incrédulo, para ele e concluí: Teotónio, Teotónio, o seu amor à Índia põe-te a sonhar num sonho impossível de realizar…!! Ele riu-se, ao mesmo tempo que me esmagava com conhecimento da verdade indiana e principalmente levando-me sem querer a corroborar tudo o que dizia, pelo modo lógico de argumentação, integrado num planeamento histórico de conhecimentos dos diversos momentos chaves da história indiana. Era espantoso como o fluir didáctico e persuasivo de Teotónio a nós todos dominava. Naquele falar pausado, lento e baixo, um enorme conhecimento histórico surgia arrebatado aquilo que eu pensava.

A sua figura frágil, o seu timbre de voz meigo transformava-se à medida que discorria sobre o encontro civilizacional Portugal-Índia. A sua voz erguia-se agora com a certeza do historiador que tudo fala sobre o assunto que se estava a tratar.

Do professor, passou Teotónio a mestre, e como Mestre se tem mantido.

PROF. TEOTÓNIO R. DE SOUZA: NOS DOMÍNIOS DA ERUDIÇÃO E DO SABER

*António Dias Farinha**

O Prof. Teotónio de Souza é um distinto intelectual, autor de uma vasta e valiosa obra sobre a História luso-indiana, em particular sobre o território de Goa. A famosa cidade da costa do Índico foi palco de uma das mais intensas, variadas e fecundas relações entre comunidades de vária origem, mas que se agruparam sob a bandeira de Portugal durante várias centúrias. Esses povos de origem e cultura diversa teriam de ser protagonistas de desencontros e de dificuldades de toda a ordem. Apesar disso, foi possível vencer os obstáculos e erguer uma civilização e uma cultura próprias, em que elementos milenares da Índia se combinaram harmoniosamente com numerosos aspectos da cultura portuguesa e europeia.

A obra e o labor do Prof. Teotónio de Souza permitem compreender melhor o tempo histórico em que se deu esse contacto e os resultados surpreendentes dessa vivência em território de uma beleza natural extraordinária e de gente acolhedora.

* Prof. Catedrático da Universidade de Lisboa

A obra histórica de Teotónio de Souza permite aquilatar o seu génio de historiador: são disso exemplo a sua tese de doutoramento intitulada *Medieval Goa*, apresentada na Universidade de Poona em 1977, editada em 1979 (em inglês) e em 1994 (em português). O seu labor foi notável no Centro Xavier de Goa, na Universidade de Goa e na Universidade Lusófona em Lisboa. Promoveu várias publicações e revistas, como *Goa through the Ages* e *Discoveries. Missionary Expansion and Asian Cultures*.

No seu conjunto, a obra do Prof. Teotónio de Souza representa um notável contributo para a História da antiga Índia Portuguesa, com recurso permanente à Sociologia e à Antropologia, pelo que figura entre os mais fecundos autores e docentes nesses domínios da erudição e do saber.

II

ESSAYS
ARTIGOS

1

EARLY NAUTICAL CARTOGRAPHY OF GOA

Adelino Rodrigues da Costa

A BACKGROUND ON NAUTICAL CARTOGRAPHY

The art of navigation stems from the confluence of various branches of knowledge, including coastal geography, bathymetry, nautical meteorology, oceanography and marine marking. Most of this information is provided by pilot books and nautical charts, which are, the most important instruments available for the preparation of sea-voyages, navigational safety, the safe entry into ports and the crossing of bars, and for aiding navigation in restricted or inland waterways.

The pilot books and nautical charts began to be drawn on the basis of the scientific knowledge and nautical information gathered mainly by the Portuguese through their fifteenth century voyages in the South Atlantic. In the course of those voyages, they made pioneering use of astronomical knowledge and of innovative techniques to observe the sun and to determine the latitude. They also kept records of their observations and the regions they visited in their pilot books and in their charts.

By the end of the fifteenth century the Portuguese had sailed around the south of Africa, sailing across from the Atlantic to the Indian Oceans, and had, finally, reached India. They settled in Cochin and moved on, in 1510, to Goa. They soon reached the island of Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula, the coasts of China, Indonesia, Japan and Korea, establishing trade and cultural relations with the peoples they visited, almost a century before any other European nation.

The Portuguese navigators gathered information on the lands they visited, their social organisation, their customs, their economics and their medicine, while the nautical information was transcribed in the pilot books, often with drawings of the places they had visited. These reports provided Europeans with their first view of South and East Asia and represented their access to information on the world located beyond their natural borders. It was, in fact, the first steps of the globalization process of our days.

Among some of the most important Portuguese pilot books on the Indian Ocean coasts are the works of João de Castro, the fourth viceroy of India, who drew his famous *"roteiros*" between 1538 and 1546. These "*roteiros*" or pilot books contained important nautical, hydrographical, oceanographic and meteorological information. They came complete, with hydrographical sketches or charts of the ports, including the port of Goa, which de Castro described as "the principal city of this coast, the most illustrious and well-known of all"[1].

The Portuguese cartographers, with their scientific knowledge in the field of nautical astronomy and their geographic observations of the newly-discovered coasts and islands, were able to draw the new continents, and the Portuguese map by Cantino (c.1502), that can be seen at Modena's Estense Library, is the first post-Ptolemaic representation of the world.

At that time, Portuguese cartography was the world's most advanced, served by illustrious cartographers, whose works were in great demand since it satisfied Europe's curiosity and liking for the exotic.

Exceptional works include the *Universal Atlas* of Diogo Homem (c.1564), kept at the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg, and the *Illuminated Atlas* of Fernão Vaz Dourado (c.1576) that belongs to the National Library of Lisbon, both of which can be seen in editions recently published in Barcelona and Lisbon.

It was only in the second half of the sixteenth century that Dutch cartography became as good as or even better than the Portuguese cartography, particularly in the maps of Gerardus Mercator and Abraham Cornelius. However, these cartographers based their work on Portuguese cartography and nautical information, as the Orient was still unknown to the Dutch.

It were the Portuguese who, before any other European nation, brought knowledge of Asia to Europe, as well as information of its products and cultures, arousing European interest in the Orient and, at the same time, some envy of the valuable cargoes of the Portuguese "naus" and carracks.

To the descriptions of maritime Asia, made by many Portuguese, were added those of other travellers, such as by the Dutch, as in the case of Jan Huygen van Linschoten. Having lived in Goa for five years, he provided key information that opened the gateway to India to the seafarers of his country.

In his *Itinerario*, published in Amsterdam in 1595, Linschoten provided the Dutch with information on the Indian Ocean and, through his engravings, recounted a little of the social life of Goa at the end of the sixteenth century. He left the most famous representation of the Island and City of the Metropolitan Goa of India and Oriental Parts lying at 15 degrees north, which, for many years, inspired many European cartographers and engravers who copied and included it in their atlases.

The nautical chart itself was only to appear towards the end of the sixteenth century and, although it has been improved on many occasions since then, it has retained one of its main characteristics: the inclusion of a network of numbers representing the depth of water or soundings at each spot.

At the time, the Dutch frequented the port of Lisbon, where they acquired the oriental products brought by the Portuguese to be traded in the ports of the northern Europe. They started to insert numbers on their own maps, showing depths or soundings at various locations, marking the beginning of a new form of cartography: the nautical chart.

One of those traders was Lucas Waghenaer. He compiled an atlas of 23 charts of Europe's Atlantic coasts – the *Spiegel der Zeevaerdi* – published in 1584. It is the oldest known set of charts and continued to be published for about thirty years in Leyden, Amsterdam, Antwerp and London.

Meanwhile, there appeared at around the same time, several Portuguese charts of Brazil, attributed to Luís Teixeira and, dated c.1583 [2], which also contained soundings.

This means that at approximately the same time and independently, Portuguese charts started recording soundings off the coast of Brazil on charts and, soon afterwards, of the coas of Mozambique, the Gulf of Cambay and the harbour bar in Goa, as shown by the charts of Manuel Godinho de Erédia.

DOM JOÃO DE CASTRO AND SCIENTIFIC WORKS

When Vasco da Gama reached India, in 1498, the author of the account of that pioneering voyage wrote that Arab pilots on the East coast of Africa were already using sea-charts.

The Portuguese used local knowledge of the Indian Ocean, at least during the early days of their presence in the area. Yet the question of whether Arab or Indian (especially Gujarat) cartography existed prior to Portuguese cartography of Goa remains unanswered. Indian documents do refer to charts used by Arab and Southern-Indian sailors who visited the west coast of India and there are many, as yet, unstudied documents throughout India.

Nonetheless, the earliest known Indian nautical chart, now at the National Museum of New Delhi, dates from 1644[3]. This general chart has poorly defined outlines of the land and very limited nautical information, which again suggests that Portuguese cartography played a pioneering role in depicting Goa.

The city was a constant reference in the Portuguese nautical writings and pilot books from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As the capital of a maritime and trading empire that stretched from Mozambique to Nagasaki, it aroused great scientific interest in the fields of hydrography and navigation.

As in other maritime places to which the Portuguese had sailed to or traded with since the end of the sifteenth century, Goa must also have been drawn, albeit in a rudimentary manner. When combined with the descriptions in pilot books, this would provide nautical data for all those in search of such information. Yet, despite the survival of some of these descriptions, all the cartographic images have either

been lost or are yet to be discovered. Moreover, it may be the case that the Portuguese sailors' familiarity with the Goa harbour bar led to a lack of interest in depicting it.

The following extract from João de Castro's work certainly suggests that this may be the case. "As the harbour bar of the city of Goa is more frequented and known than any other, it did not seem necessary to make any *tavoa* (chart) of it, nor yet give warning or berths to those who would enter. I merely wished to mention the depth of water over the bank, of which I made soundings often and at different times"[4].

Although the Goa harbour bar was "more frequented and known than any other", de Castro's scientific and innovative nature led him to depict it on two *tavoas* in his *Roteiro de Goa a Diu* (c.1540). Even though it was "known to the Portuguese pilots, it seemed right to make a chart of it, including the shallows, sandbanks, samples of land and landmarks for the benefit of all those who must enter it".

These charts – the *Tavoa de Goa a Velha* and the *Tavoa de Goa a Nova* – may be considered as the pioneers of images showing specific maritime areas and as the forerunners of modern hydrographic charts.[5]

João de Castro's work became the precursor of illustrated pilot books that included cartographic charts and hydrographic plans of the different locations, rivers, bays and ports described in the texts. He also provided graphical notes on the more dangerous places for navigation, without noting the respective depths. Until the early seventeenth century, his *tavoas* were widely copied.

NAUTICAL CHARTS BY MANUEL GODINHO DE ERÉDIA

It was only at the beginning of the sixteent century that a new image of Goa, focusing on nautical interests, was published. It was the work of Manuel Godinho de Erédia, who can rightly be considered as the first Asian cartographer and also the first of Goa.

Born in Malacca, in 1563, of a Portuguese father and a Malay mother, Erédia studied, lived and died in Goa, having sailed the seas frequented by the Portuguese. He is often linked to the discovery of the Island of Gold, which came to be known as New Holland and, afterwards, as Australia.

Erédia, the cosmographer, produced more than two hundred cartographic works dealing with the Far East. These have survived and are now to be found in the archives in Lisbon, London, Madrid, Paris, Rio de Janeiro, Cape Town and other cities[6]. These charts, probably drawn between 1601 and 1630, contain soundings and can be considered the first of the Portuguese hydrographical plans owing to their nautical interest. Outstanding among this abundant cartographic production are several important charts of Goa.

The first of these charts can be found in the Rio de Janeiro National Library. It was produced in 1610 on the orders of Rui Lourenço de Távora, the nineteenth viceroy of India (1609-1612), representing the "District of the lands of Goa".

With the west cardinal point shown in the upper part, the chart is remarkably accurate. It includes several soundings along the left bank of the river Zuari, at the bar of the river and along the sandbanks of the Vainguinim beach.

A curious feature is that the chart marks the "lighthouse castle" at the place where the Aguada lighthouse was built during the first decade of the seventeenth century, surely one of the world's oldest lighthouses. This aspect is most interesting and innovative, in that it would seem to be the first time that a lighthouse was shown on a chart, reflecting the quality of the support on shore that came to be provided to all seafarers calling at the port of Goa around that time.

The other important chart of Goa by Manuel Godinho de Erédia (c.1616) is to be found in the National Library of Madrid. This one can truly be considered the first Portuguese hydrographical plan, since it provides only information of nautical interest. This chart has the cardinal point in the upper part and provides over a dozen soundings in the area of the approaches to the bar of the river Mandovi and to the Aguada anchorage. It shows the city of Goa and its walls and how the city could then be reached via the Zuari, whose entrance provided greater safety during the monsoon season, that is, from May to September.

Lastly, another chart included in the *Lyvro de Plantaforma das Fortalezas da India* (c.1620), now kept at the library of the S. João da Barra Fortress that guards the entrance to the river Tagus in Lisbon, is also, though arguably, attributed to Erédia. It is a beautiful watercolour chart accompanied by a text, outstanding for the variety of nautical information, for its abundant toponyms and for the various soundings shown both at the bar to Goa and in the Mormugao anchorage area, which provided good shelter during the monsoon season. The chart has the south cardinal point at its upper edge, and it was clearly the chart that inspired many of the charts of Goa drawn from that time on.

To a certain extent, these charts represent a break with Portuguese cartography of the sixteenth century, which was characterised by its graphic exuberance. In fact, two of Portugal's most illustrious and famous sixteenth century cartographers, Fernão Vaz Dourado and Lázaro Luís, both born in Goa, and who are known for the variety and artistic skills of their cartographic work, seem to have exerted no influence on Erédia's work.

Despite the fact that Erédia was a man of artistic talent, his solid mathematical and nautical background led him to adopt a new technique of graphic representation suited to the needs of navigators. This led to the construction of true nautical charts, which included soundings, alignments, hazards and shelters.

He can therefore be credited with putting aside the exquisite graphic detail that was, very common in the Portuguese cartography, and which was much appreciated

in Europe. Rather, he selected nautical information essential to the user, and can justly be considered to be the author of the first known hydrographical plans of the Far East.

THE ATLAS OR "BOOKS OF THE STATE OF ORIENTAL INDIA"

In the wake of a dynastic crisis that led to the union of the two Iberian countries in 1580, the nations of northern Europe (in particular, Holland and Zeeland, France and England), till then confined to sailing the Atlantic North, decided to get to know other parts and, progressively, acquired knowledge of the Portuguese and Spanish secrets and shipping routes.

King Filipe II understood the trade and military threat of the new situation and decided to order a general survey of the Portuguese fortifications and establishments in the Far East, whose results were to be sent to Lisbon.

The *Livro das cidades, e fortalezas, que a coroa de Portugal tem nas partes da India e das capitanias, e mais cargos que delas ha e da importancia delles*, a manuscript dated 1582, belonging to the collection of the National Library of Lisbon, is the oldest of these descriptions known to us. Based on this book and, almost certainly, in conjunction with the charts produced by Manuel Godinho de Erédia, either copied or adapted, though with successive additions, other descriptions were provided, to which their authors added illustrations, often of great graphic skill.

Within this collection, usually known as "*Atlas*" or "*Books of the State of Oriental India*", the manuscripts of António Bocarro (c.1634), Pedro Barreto de Resende (c.1635) and António Mariz Carneiro (c.1639) are outstanding and now easily accessible to scholars in recently printed editions.

Of all these documents, whose similarity shows that they were copied, the most interesting one from a nautical point of view is the *Livro das Plantas das Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da India Oriental com as Demonstrações do Marítimo dos Reinos e Províncias onde estão situadas e outros Portos Principais daquelas Partes* (c.1635), an anonymous codex belonging to the library of the Vila Viçosa Ducal Palace, containing 103 prints of fortresses, bars, rivers and ports, 27 of which include soundings.

A group of 7 prints from this codex refers to Goa, depicting, in turn, the island of Goa, Bardês, Bardês Fortress, Goa, Our Lady of the Cape, Mormugão Fortress and Salcete.

The chart of the island of Goa, very similar to the chart, dated c. 1620, attributed to Erédia, shows several soundings at the Aguada and Mormugão bars and also marks the main shoals and landmarks.

The existence of so many similar charts or charts made as a full copy was the result of several factors, particularly the need to ensure that at least some of the

copies sent to Lisbon in various ships would not be lost in shipwrecks or as a result of assault by foreign ships, or also as a means of their authors offering the Iberian nobility a record of Portuguese power in the East.

FROM SOUTH ASIA TO BRAZIL, A NEW PORTUGUESE INTEREST

The Dutch reached the Indian Ocean at the turn of the century and, shortly after, became involved in a long war with the Portuguese, which, according to Charles Boxer, "was fought on 4 continents and on 7 seas and was far more worthy of the name First World War than the Holocaust of 1914-18[7], and during the course of the former the Dutch blockaded the bar to Goa on numerous occasions". This conflict led to a huge decrease of shipping between Goa and outside Goa. This probably led to a decrease of chart making in the region, which naturally came to be held as a state secret.

On the other hand, Portugal's interest in Brazil increased and the Portuguese opposed the Dutch and French intention of occupying the region, leading to the formation of a great country that was to become independent in 1823.

As a result of the above mentioned fact, Portugal's role in the Far East diminished during the seventeenth century and The Netherlands became the hegemonic maritime power through its presence at the main strategic points and through the trading activity of the Dutch East India Company (V.O.C.).

At that time, Dutch cartography was to become the most advanced of Europe and countless universal atlases were produced, drawn by outstanding cartographers and printed by no less famous engravers.

The Dutch, who had begun sailing to the Orient almost one hundred years after the Portuguese, tried to gain access to the former geo-hydrographic knowledge and nautical charts. This led Amsterdam City Council to order that all maps of the regions, cities, fortresses and ports in the Orient should be drawn or copied, and then included in a book that would act as a model record.

Isaak de Graaf started to work on this in 1689, producing what is normally called the *Amsterdam Atlas* (c.1700), now at the Nationaal Archief in The Hague. It includes a Register of maps and drawings in the first volume of the drawn atlas[8], where plate 18, a chart showing The Bay of Goa, is of exceptional interest.

This chart is outstanding due to a most curious feature. Because of the cartographer's lack of knowledge, the bars of the rivers Mandovi and Zuari are shown as though they were enclosed bays, with no access to the interior, whereas they were already well known from Linschoten's description, from the blockades of the Goa bar, from the reports of prisoners and from information gathered in other ports along the Konkan and Malabar coasts.

THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

In inverse proportion to the interests of the Portuguese, who from the mid seventeenth century focused on Brazil, other European maritime powers increased their interest in the Far East.

Following the steps of Portugal and of The Netherlands, England and France began to compete for influence and for the shipping routes in the Far East, which naturally involved nautical and cartographic knowledge of the seas, coasts and ports. The Portuguese nautical documentation concerning the Goa bar diminished, probably because the bar had become well known, as Dom João de Castro had said long before, and a great deal was lost.

It was during this period that the *Atlas de José da Costa Miranda* (c.1688) was produced. It can be found at the Central Naval Library in Lisbon and includes 9 charts that show soundings. This is possibly the oldest nautical atlas of the western coast of India and, although it does not include any chart of the bar of Goa, it contains charts that show many numbers along the coast, meaning that nautical cartography had definitively adopted this new form of representing the soundings.

Later, during the eighteenth century, the French and the English increased their presence in the Indian Ocean and began to produce charts of the region. It is worth referring to those by John Thornton (*A Large Draught of Part of the Coast of India From Bombay to Bassalore,* 1711) and by Jacques Nicolas Bellin (*Carte dês Costes de Concan et Decan*, Paris, 1740 and *Coste de Canara depuis Mangalor jusqu'a Goa*, 1764).

Nevertheless, several Portuguese hand-drawn charts or cartographic sketches have been left to us from those times, particularly by pilots interested in recording hydrographical and other information. Outstanding are the *Carta anónima da Ilha de Goa de 1758* at the Lisbon Military History Archives and the *Mapa do Estado de Goa*, prepared by pilot José Gomes da Cruz in 1773, which can be found at the Overseas Historical Archives in Lisbon.

The authors concentrated more on nautical usefulness than on the artistic beauty of the charts, presenting them in a manner very similar to the sketches that are still used during approaches to bars, ports and anchorages, particularly by ships not provided with modern electronic aids.

The Portuguese chart (dated 1758) was to be copied in its entirety and, seventeen years later, was printed by Reeves Woodson, entitled *Plan of Goa Harbour on the Malabar Coast*, showing that the English nautical cartography at the time was still based on other cartography, Portuguese in particular.

Nonetheless, in the eighteenth century, the French nautical cartography was recognised as being more advanced, particularly due to the efforts of Jacques Nicolas Bellin, who, during a period of about 50 years, headed the French hydrographical service, the first of its kind in the world. The publication in Paris in 1764

of *Le Petit Atlas Maritime - Recueil de Carts et Plans des Quatre Parties du Monde*, a work in five volumes collected by Bellin, included in Volume III.

It is a monumental work, the biggest collection of nautical cartography produced till then, containing 590 charts and hydrographical plans of the whole world. Although the majority of the charts included in the atlas show soundings – particularly the charts of the port of Bombay, of the gulf of Cambay and of the coasts of Konkan and Malabar –, the chart of Goa shows none, though it shows shoals, conspicuous points and anchoring grounds. This would seem to reflect, once again, that the port of Goa was well known to most seafarers.

In the meantime, in 1775, an important nautical atlas had been published in Paris and Brest. This was the *Le Neptune Oriental*, comprising two volumes. Volume II contained many printed charts, outstanding for their quality and variety of the cartographic representation, as well as for the fact that many soundings were provided. This was also true of the *Carte de la Côte de Guzerat, du Golfe de Cambaye et des côtes de Concan et de Canara*. However, the work contains no chart of the Goa bar, though it does include three panoramic views of cape Aguada.

Nevertheless, Volume I, which contains numerous descriptions of the routes of the areas depicted and then a brief geographic description of Goa, says that "Goa is the capital of the Portuguese establishments in the East Indies and the residence of the viceroy; this fortified place is so well known that it would be pointless for my purpose to provide a lengthier description" [9]. Just as Dom João de Castro had said more than two centuries earlier, Goa was well known and its description was not warranted.

CONCLUSION

The major scientific and technological transformations of the eighteenth century made the drawing of nautical charts more accurate, incorporating improved knowledge of the theory of tides, longitude calculations and the invention of the chronometer and of the sextant.

This was the advent of modern hydrography and led to modern nautical cartography. The process of gathering hydrographical information, fundamentally based on synchronised and simultaneous observation of two variables – the position of observation on the sea and the corresponding depth at that place – now gained far greater accuracy.

Knowing one's position in the sea is based on triangulation or the geodesic reference calculated on land. This establishes points that can be seen from the sea, which are required for the accurate definition of the position on the sea during the hydrographical survey. The other variable to be observed during a hydrographical survey is depth, which is established by soundings. However, the observed depth has to be deducted from the height of the tide at the moment of observation, which

means it has to be adjusted to a reference level or chart datum that shows all the soundings on the chart and that is located below the lowest of the low tides.

As happened in all scientific fields during the nineteenth century, modern hydrography led to a new age in nautical cartography.

Nonetheless, the development in nautical cartography, since the sixteenth century, showing the Goa harbour bar for navigation purposes, included genuinely pioneering scientific aspects. It would be impossible to speak of the advances in the world of nautical cartography without mentioning the contibutions of the Portuguese cartographers in charting, the Goa harbour bar, the pilot books of Dom João de Castro and the nautical charts of Manuel Godinho de Erédia.

SOME NAUTICAL CHARTS OF GOA (17th and 18th centuries)

Year	Ref.	Author	Local	City
1610	Ms.	M. Godinho de Erédia	Biblioteca Nacional	Rio de Janeiro
1616	Ms.	M. Godinho de Erédia	Biblioteca Nacional	Madrid
c. 1620	Ms.	M. Godinho de Erédia	Biblioteca da Fortaleza de S. Julião da Barra	Lisboa
c. 1630	Ms.	João Teixeira Albernaz	Groote Schuur Palace	Capetown
c. 1635	Ms.	Anonymous atlas	Biblioteca do Paço Ducal	Vila Viçosa
1635	Ms.	António Bocarro	Biblioteca Pública de Évora	Évora
c. 1636	Ms.	Pedro Barreto Resende	Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris	Paris
c. 1639	Ms.	António Mariz Carneiro	Biblioteca Nacional	Lisboa
c. 1700	Ms.	Atlas Amsterdam	National Archief	Amsterdam
1758	Ms.	Anonymous author	Arquivo Histórico Militar	Lisboa
1764	Print.	Jacques Nicolas Bellin	Le Petit Atlas Maritime	–
1773	Ms.	José Gomes da Cruz	Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino	Lisboa
1775	Print.	Reeves Woodson	Plan of Goa Harbour on the Malabar Coast	–

Chart representing the "District of the lands of Goa", produced by Manuel Godinho de Erédia in 1610 (Rio de Janeiro National Library)

NOTES

[1] CASTRO, D. João de Castro, *Obras Completas*, Volume II, p. 23.

[2] Jaime Cortesão, the historian, gave the date of this chart as 1574, as mentioned in the preface of TEIXEIRA, Luis, the *Roteiro de Todos os Sinais, conhecimentos, fundos, baixos, alturas e derrotas que há na costa do Brasil desde o Cabo de Santo Agostinho até ao Estreito de Fernão de Magalhães*.

[3] SCHWARZBERG, 1992, p. 494.

[4] CORTESÃO and ALBUQUERQUECASTRO, D. João de, 1971, p. 21. The figures correspond to approximately 4.84 and 5.28 metres.

[5] CASTRO, D. João de CORTESÃO and ALBUQUERQUE, 1971, pp. 23 and 4, respectively. The original of this rutter description was known and later published (1843) by Diogo Kopke, but is now believed lost. However, several 16th and 17th century copies do exist. The one at the National Library of Lisbon is believed to be the most accurate, and to have been copied directly from the original.

[6] Avelino Teixeira da Mota and Jaime Cortesão have reproduced many of them in that monumental work *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, published in 1960.

[7] BOXER, Charles R Boxer, *O Império Marítimo Português, 1415-1825*, p. 115.

[8] SCHILDER, 1987, p. 144.

[9] MANNEVILLETTE, J. B. D'Après de Mannevillette, *Le Neptune Oriental, dédié au Roi*, Volume I, p. 78.

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2

GOANS IN PORTUGUESE ARMADAS DURING MEDIEVAL TIMES

Agnelo Paulo Fernandes

As my contribution to this Festschrift in honour of Goan historian Teotonio. R. de Souza, I will briefly elucidate the services of Goans in Portuguese armadas during medieval times. This paper on the history of Goans, would be a fitting tribute to Teotonio who did so much for the cause of history.

Goans have played important role in the Portuguese *Estado da India*. There is ample original documentation in the Goa Archives and in Archives of Europe on this topic for a detailed research on the subject. Publications such as P.S.S. Pissurlencar's *Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa na India*, T. R. de Souza's *Medieval Goa*, Carlos Merces de Melo's, *The Recruitment and Formation of Native Clergy in India*, among others, point to the tip of this iceberg of documentation yet unutilized.

Goans were involved in trade as well as worked in the Portuguese administration. They were revenue collectors of almost all the *rendas*. They worked as State interpreters at different centres[1] of the *Estado da India* as well as were part of different embassies to different courts. Much of the office work at the Secretariat, Revenue and Judicial departments, Inquisition office, Customs Houses at different ports, Gunpowder Foundry, Casa de Misericordia etc., was handled by them. There were Goan craftsmen working at the Ribeira de Goa in construction and in other arts. Many became clerics of a high standard. They were also employed in the Portuguese Armed Forces. As merchants, they were involved in local, inland as well as seaborne trade which ran both local and international routes.

To begin with, I must state that I have utilized documents mainly from the following three manuscripts series at the Historical Archives of Goa. They are the *Monções do Reino, Consultas do Serviço de Partes* and *Conselho de Fazenda*. There are many other series like *Cartas Patentes e Alvarás, Senado de Goa, Merces Gerais*, which have more details on this subject.

During the seventeenth century onwards, the Portuguese began to recruit Goans for the ships of their armadas. These worked as soldiers, sailors, artillerymen, cabin

boys, auxiliaries and as officials such as pilots, sarangs, tandels, doctors and *sangradores*; and also as carpenters, *calafates*, *tanoeiros* and *catureiros*. Several factors could be mentioned for this development. In general, there was a fall in Portuguese manpower in the East. This was because less men were sent from Portugal or only a few of those sent, arrived finally in Goa. Very often, mortality on board the Carreira ships was high, and sometimes ships never reached Goa due to wrecks or enemy attacks.

The rise of new Asian powers particularly of the Marathas and the Arabs in the second half of the seventeenth century, forced the Portuguese, due to this shortage of manpower, to recruit Goans as soldiers and sailors. Shivaji's threat[2] and the movement of Mughal armies to South India forced the Portuguese to have Goan regiments. Soldiers were recruited from different castes and grouped on caste basis. These soldiers, exclusively Christians, were not only part of land forces but also moved in ships of the Portuguese Armadas[3] wherever they sailed and took part in combats abroad. In the 1690s, there was a regiment of sixty Goan troops, working for six *xerafins* per month. The governor wanted to replace it by starting a cavalry unit at the same cost. The Overseas Council at Lisbon opined that cavalry could be formed using another fund and steps be taken to preserve the local troops introduced by Viceroy Conde de Alvor[4]. A letter dated December 22, 1699 states that the *Tropa de pe* continued as also the Cavalaria of Bardez though Conde de Villa Verde wanted to start and discontinue the above troops[5].

Different nations of that era nourished peculiar concepts about the abilities of themselves and others. For example, the Mughals felt that Portuguese were poor soldiers but very good in professions of medicine and art of gunnery. Similarly, the Portuguese as well as many other nations drew recruits to work as sailors only from certain traditionally accepted areas in western India, such as Melondim, Tambona, Carly, etc. From the 1650s, the Arabs as well as the Marathas were also in competition for these sailors or *lascars*, for their expanding fleets. This raised their remuneration several times. The pepper traders (*pimenteiros*) as well as the Chatins from Goa paid them double the amount[6]. This scarcity led to the first trial of Goans who were considered unfit for such jobs, to be recruited in the ships of Portuguese armadas as sailors. The experiment was successful. Henceforth whenever there was need of sailors for Portuguese ships in the East, they were recruited from Goa, particularly from Salcete. Thus, it appears, began the profession of Goan '*tarvottis*'. These also included those who worked as '*Piaens*' i.e. may be, cabin boys and other lower grade services or auxiliaries on board the ships. When the Gulf Armada of 1652 needed sailors, Goans were recruited with the pay of two additional *vintens* besides the pay of two *xerafins*[7]. However, later this salary was not good enough for rations to be taken on board the ship as well as to satisfy the needs of family at home. Therefore on September 24, 1668, the government sanctioned an extra one '*vintem*' per day to the women of each of the sailors to avoid their hardships, while on ships[8].

There was quite effective development in medical practice in Goa and surrounding areas when the Portuguese conquered it. By the seventeen century, there was a ban on practice of local medicine in Goa particularly due to the influence of the Jesuits who mostly controlled the '*boticas*' and medicine shops and supplies. Despite of the above, Goan doctors and *sangradores* (blood-letting medical practitioners) were in great demand particularly as very few doctors arrived from Portugal. Due to this scarcity, even Hindu '*pundit*os' were employed at the Hospital Real at the city of Goa to administer to the sick[9]. On many of the ships of the Portuguese armadas only Goans went as doctors and *sangradores* on board to take care of Europeans as well as Goan crew.

Many Goans from different castes developed skills as artillerymen and could handle Portuguese armaments and cannons and other items of their artillery. They included, sudras, chardos and brahmins[10]. Many of them were recruited on board the ships of Portuguese armadas to work as artillerymen along with the white. Sometimes there were more cannons on a ship than the artillerymen who could handle them. This scarcity of Portuguese artillerymen provided an opportunity for the Goans to join the profession. In his Petition to State Revenue Council, João Rodrigues Leão, the chief captain of the Armada of the coast of Diu, stated that his galliot *São Bento*, the Flagship, had 14 cannons and four '*pedreiros*', a type of swivel-gun, but there were only eight artillerymen, four Portuguese and four Goans. He requested that at least two more, be they white or black, be provided for the said galliot[11]. Eventually, two more artillerymen both Goans, were provided[12] before that armada set sail from Goa.

Writing on the presence of Goans of Portuguese ships to the king on January 20, 1685, Viceroy Conde de Alvor stated "of those who embark on board the ships of Portuguese Armada, almost half are Goans (Canarins)"[13].

If we study the crew of Portuguese ship "Nossa Senhora dos Milagres"[14], it is seen that besides the captain, there were ten officials of whom the doctor and the *sangrador* were Goans. Fernão Roiz, a resident of the city of Goa, was the doctor[15] and Andre Sylveira from Piedade, Divar was the *sangrador*. There were ten sailors (*marinheiros*), all Portuguese. Then there were twenty six artillerymen, thirteen Portuguese and thirteen Goans besides the pilot, the *sarang* and the *tandel*. The last two were Goans, Andre Souza from Penha da França and Matheus Fernandes, son of Pedro Fernandes of Nerul, respectively. They received a pay of 72 *cruzados* and 48 *cruzados* respectively. This was higher than 32 *cruzados* received by the Portuguese officials. A Portuguese sailor received 24 *cruzados* and an artilleryman 24 *cruzados*. The lower order crew is not mentioned. In general, Goans received half the pay that the Portuguese received for the same post[16].

In March 1689, two Portuguese *fragatas* had a miraculous victory over 12 Arab *fragatas* near the coast of Surat. These two *fragatas* had many Goans who fought along with the Portuguese. In the Nossa Senhora do Rosario e Stº Antonio of the 72

soldiers, 20 were Goans; And besides '*gente do mar*' there were 5 white and 7 Goan officials; 12 sailors; of a total of 23 artillerymen, 14 were Goans; of a total of 48 persons – 27 were white and 21 were Goans. On the other galliot, Nossa Senhora de Conceição, 38 soldiers – one was a Alferes and one Sergeant (40 Portuguese); there were 8 officials out of whom 5 were Goans i.e. surgeon, *sangrador, catureiro, calafate* and a carpenter; of 8 artillerymen, 4 were Portuguese and the rest Goans[17].

I will hereafter briefly summarise the service history of some selected Goans who had sent their petition to the king of Portugal for promotion and rewards based on the merits of their achievements while in service.

Nicolau da Silva: Nicolau da Silva, a brahmin, was the son of Francisco Gonsalves, born at Santana, Tiswadi, Goa. He joined the government service in 1628 and worked for over 40 years in different posts, as official of the State Secretariat and as soldier in the armadas, forts, frontier wars at Chaul, Muscat and Murmugão and later at Diu as a regular employee.There is a long chronological account of some of the events in his life[18] of which following is a gist.

After his seven year long service as official at the State Secretariat, for the next 19 years from May 1639 to 1658, he worked as a soldier under Dom Gilianes de Noronha and moved with him wherever he was posted and was in charge of his personal security. From May 1639 to October 1642, he worked at Chaul when Dom Guilianes was the captain. When the Portuguese deserters (*homiziados*) caused disturbance to the residents of that city, he went in search of them bringing back peace to the city. Later, when the Mughal army caused commotion *(alterações*), he was there ready with his own armaments to render his help.

In October 1643, he sailed to Muscat in the galiot that went with help, equipment, on orders of Viceroy Conde de Aveiras as almost the whole of Arabia was at war against the Portuguese. On arrival at Muscat, he was registered as a soldier. He participated in all the sallies that were made to repulse the enemy with his own gun and other armaments. During the nights, he kept vigil. This continued up to May 1644.

In June of that year, he was in the flagship (capitania) of the Armada of the Strait of Hormuz and Red Sea under captain general Dom Guilianes which was involved in the blockade, preventing the crossing of 12,000 Persian soldiers who on orders of the Shah of Persia, were to attack Arabia. Then, he worked in a Portuguese ship escorting the coastal cafilas between Basra and Catifa and back, up to the following September.

From December to May 1645, he worked at the fort of Muscat at the instance of the said captain general. From June to November that year, he embarked as soldier of the same flagship accompanying the said captain general in the voyage to Gulf and to the fort of Cassap where he made a bulwark for its security. From December 1645 to May 1646, he worked with the said captain general in the fort of Muscat, always accompanying him, looking after his security as was needed in rounds and

watch (*rondas e vigia*). In June that year, the Imam Sultan bin Saif-I started war against the Portuguese. At the instance of the said captain general, he was occupied in preparing war materials and equipments that were sent as help to other Portuguese forts in Arabia. This continued up to November 1649 as the war against the Imam continued. From December 1647 to the end of May 1648, he was with the general during the attack on the Arabs near the fort of Matrah forcing the latter to retreat, deserting a new fort they were constructing, with great loss. He attacked another Arab fort that was started, with the help of two big cannons which partly ruined that fort. He accompanied the captain general in battles everywhere repulsing the enemy attack from the neighbourhood of Muscat.

From June to November 1648, he accompanied the said captain general as his guard day and night with his own armaments, the fort of Muscat being under great pressure due to 'pestia' (pest?) as well as due to scarcity of everything that was necessary for war. There were incidences of treachery by lascars and mocadoms against the person of said general, Nicolau along with some others was given responsibility to safeguard the person of the general due to the confidence, he had in him.

He was with the general in the attack on the palisade that the enemy made, a stone's throw away from the central door of the wall of that fort when almost all who were in it, were set ablaze, killing 45 Arabs including their general. He assisted in posts which fell vacant such as to fire the cannons or to keep watch. When frequently the Arabs succeeded in occupying strategic places during the conflict, Nicolau undertook jobs of great risk being constantly with the said general executing all that was ordered to his great satisfaction. He transported barrels of gunpowder and other necessities to help the sentry points and other posts that every hour were attacked by Imam's men so long as the war continued. He remained in the same post even after war ended, up to March 14, 1649 when he returned to Goa.

In 1654, the government received news through the captain of the fort of Rachol that the *havaldar* of Ponda was camping near Salcete with a large number of soldiers with a demand on (the original document is partly illegible) Naguzi Dessai of Antruz. The Viceroy resolved to go and stop any evil intent of the Adhil Shahi governor to the boundaries. This having been done, the said *havaldar* was forced to withdraw. In this conflict, Nicolau da Silva was among others who accompanied the said captain, Dom Gillianes, with his own guns and worked with him till the enemy retreated after one and half months of the said occupation.

From August 1657 to 1658, he was accompanying Dom Gillianes de Noronha who was captain general of the Port of Murmugão and lands of Salcete. When he applied for Merces / rewards to the king for his meritorious services, he was appointed to the post of the chief clerk of the factory of Diu for three years with the privilege of being able to renounce it during his life time. He was thus rewarded notwithstanding that he was a Goan brahmin because of his services in wars; and because he lived

a life of nobility, inheriting from his parents and forefathers, the privilege of moving on horse and palanquim; and as he was moving in company of fidalgos at Chaul and Muscat, which was well known. He also got appointment to another post as *corretor* / broker of the cotton trade at the same fort of Diu for six more years, notwithstanding the *regimento* barring Goans from occupying that post. This was done as an example to animate other Goans to seek such employment, seeing the rewards he received and remuneration that could be earned.

Jeronimo de Menezes: Jeronimo de Menezes[19], son of João Menezes, born at Chimbel joined by order of Viceroy Almotace Mor on May 21, 1700 at the age of sixteen. As a soldier in the company of fieldmaster, Dom Vasco Luis Coutinho, on 26th of the said month, he embarked in the company of captain Francisco Machado da Silveira in the *Nossa Senhora de Neves* to Macau, under the captain of Sea and War, Agostinho de Lemos de Brito. From there he went to Timor and to the Solor Islands in the company of António Coelho Guerreiro who had gone as their governor, as his clerk. When his secretary died, he occupied that post and also of a soldier. He fought against the group supporting the rebel Domingos da Costa, without pay, sustaining himself on what the said governor provided him for his personal service. He worked there up to April 1705, when he returned to Goa with the permission of the said Governor.

On October 10, 1715, after coming from Portugal in the *Piedade e Chagas*, he was appointed pilot of the *Nossa Senhora de Piedade*, and *Stº Antonio* by the alvará of the Vedor Geral of Fazenda, Dom Christovão de Melo. On November 2, of that year, he embarked as pilot of the *Piedade* to the Gulf in the Armada of High Seas under General Francisco Pereira da Silva and returned on December 5, 1716 and went back to provide escort to the ship of Mozambique from where he returned in January 1717 and went as the pilot of the same vessel which went as flagship (capitania) of the southern Armada under chief captain, Manoel Pires Carvalho and returned in following March.

Later in October, he went as pilot of the *Nossa Senhora de Brotas*, the 'fiscal' of the northern Armada under chief captain, Dom Lopo Joseph de Almeida and returned to Goa on February 4, 1718. Then as the pilot of the *Santa Joana*, he went in the armada of Canara and of southern coast under chief captain, Luis de Pinho Teixeira from where returned in March of that year. On the 8th of the following September, he went as the pilot of the *Nossa Senhora da Aparecida* under captain of Sea and War, Xavier Leile de Souza which went along the northern coast and returned in March 1719.

On April 17 of the said year, he embarked as the pilot of the *Nossa Senhora de Luz,* the 'fiscal ' of the armada of High Seas that sailed to the Strait (Gulf) under General, Dom Lopo Joseph de Almeida. This armada went to help the Shah of Persia against the Arabs under Imam Sultan bin Saif-II. He participated in three battles which the Portuguese fought against the fleet of Imam, involving prolonged and

continuous firing from both sides, the first off Bunder Kung, lasting from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m. On the following day, when they faced once again, they fought the whole day. The third was at Julfar, which starting at noon went up to 7 p.m. It was fought with great fury. As the Arab fleet suffered great damage, it escaped through the Strait on way to Muscat. In the first two combats, the Arabs lost 800 men among the dead and wounded; and in the third, 500 men. In these battles, Jeronimo de Menezes acted with valour, diligence and necessary precautions that were needed for his duties on such occasions.

After his return from Gulf, he left once again to escort the ship off Mozambique and returned to city of Goa on September 26 when he boarded once again the *Nossa Senhora de Aparecida* under captain of Sea and War, Domingos Melo Coutinho which was on patrol along the coast. After returning, it left once again for the north in Armada under chief captain, António Cardin Froes. On returning once again he left to escort the Nau which had come from Portugal and then went to patrol along the southern coast and returned in April 1721 to Goa.

From September 30, 1721 to September 22, 1722, he once again was on the board the *Madre de Deus* under captain of Sea and War, Pedro Guedes de Magalhães which later went to the north and returned in April 1723. On November 13, of the same year, he embarked as pilot of the *Nossa Senhora da Palma* which was under captain of Sea and War, Nicolau Tolentino de Almeida and went to patrol along the coast and returned on April 3, 1724 and retired in December of that year. He also went as '*Sota Piloto'* of the *Nossa Senhora Stª Ana* from Portugal to Macau and back but with the pay of an *escrivão* to which he was appointed.

As reward for his services, he was honoured with 'Habito de Ordem de San Tiago da Espada' with 20,000 *reis* of Tença and of the post of *Corretor Mor* of the Customs House of Diu and of *Recebedor* of the lands of Salcete each for six years to be filled when vacant with privilege of gifting or renouncing for the same period to persons of his liking notwithstanding the embargo to the contrary.

Bernardo Barreto: Bernardo Barreto[20], son of João Barreto, 'charoddo' by caste, born at Cannã (sic), joined service as a soldier by order of Viceroy Conde de Villa Verde on eight February 1694, at the age of twenty five and continued up to August 2, 1713. His services are enumerated below.

On February 8, 1694, he joined the company of captain Luis de Oliveira, worked there up to December of that year, when he boarded the ship of captain Theodosio da Costa of the Armada of Canara under the chief captain, Dom Manoel Sotto Mayor and returned to Goa in April 1695.

Then he worked on land in the company of captain Luis de Oliveira up to March 8, 1696, when he set sail for the Strait of Hormuz in the *Nossa Senhora de Conceição* in the company of captain, Manoel Goncalves Guião of the Armada of chief captain general Francisco Pereira da Silva. After returning to Goa, he worked on land up to January 1698, when he boarded the *São Francisco Xavier* of

the northern Armada, in the company of captain Manoel Goncalves Guião under chief captain Bartholomeu de Melo de Sampayo and returned to Goa in following April.

In the following December, he went in the Manchua of captain António Pereira with the northern Armada under chief captain Fernão Sodre Pereira and returned in March 1699 and continued to work on land up to October of 1703 when he sailed in the *São Francisco Xavier* to the north and returned to Goa in April 1704 and worked on land up to the following December when he sailed in the *Nossa Senhora do Valle*, flagship of the Armada of general Pedro Vaz Soares Bacelar which went to the north. He was back in Goa in the following May and worked on land up to March 1707, when he boarded the *Nossa Senhora de Conceição* under captain of Sea and War, Luis Gonsalves of the northern coast and returned in the following April.

He continued to work on land up to December, when he boarded the Flagship *Nossa Senhora de Brotas* of the northern Armada under chief captain, António de Amaral Sarmento and returned in April 1708. He continued to work on land up to November 20, when he embarked in the flagship *Nossa Senhora de Estrella* of the Armada of High Seas under the general of the Galeons, Henrique Figueiredo which went to the north and from there shifted to the *Piedade e Chagas* of captain João Leitão under general Francisco Pereira da Silva to the Gulf from where he returned in November 1709. He continued to work on land up to December, when he embarked on the *Nossa Senhora de Nazareth*, the flagship of the Armada of High Seas which went to the north under general Francisco Pereira da Silva, returning to Goa in April 1710. He continued to work in it up to May 21, 1711 . On December 11, he embarked in the *Nossa Senhora de Piedade e Chagas* under captain of Sea and War, António Vaz da Silva, which went to escort the Nau going to Portugal and returned in January 1712 when he joined the flagship of the northern Armada under chief captain Dom Luis da Costa which changed its course and came back to Goa in Feburary. In March next, he was in the *Brotas* with captain of Sea and War, Joseph Carvalho da Silva which sailed to the south and then to the north and returned to Goa in May and worked on land up to August 22, 1713, when he retired.

Domingos Pereira: Domingos Pereira[21], married resident of the village of Serulla, Bardez, Goa, worked in artillery section for twenty years. He moved in varied locations in the *Estado da India*. He was captured by the Arabs[22] at Pate, when this island was captured by them at the time when João Antunes Portugal[23] was its governor. During his captivity of about twelve years in duration, he helped the other Christians and priests who were also in jail with him. When at the end of captivity, he came to Goa city, he was granted a pension of six xerafins per month in 1723. At this time, he was seventy years old.

CONCLUSION

It can be safely concluded from this brief discussion and examples presented, that Goans formed a crucial part of the crew of Portuguese fleets in the seventeenth century, as they played an important role in the other aspects of their rule in the *Estado da India*.

NOTES

[1] There are many examples of the posts being filled by the Goans, as: Joseph Sylveira, brahmin by birth received the 'Merce' of the post of interpreter and contador at the Customs House of Diu for three years. *Arquivo Historico Ultramarino-Lisbon*, *India Caixa* (AHU, Ind. Cxa.) 32, no.160; João Attayde, brahmin, worked in the same post at the Customs House of Goa; *op. cit*., no. .191; Cosmo de Vargas, brahmin, post of 'naique' and interpreter (longoa) of Secretariat of State at the City of Goa. *Historical Archives of Goa* (HAG), *Livro de Monções do Reino* (Mons.) 50, fl.95.

[2] Letter to the King, Goa, January 24, 1681 by the Portuguese governor, António Paes de Sande, *AHU, Ind. Cxa*.31, no.106.

[3] Soldiers in Armadas and ships in 1694:

	Whites	*Goans*
In 5 Galiots of Northern Armada	= 152	15
In 2 Galiots and 5 ships of Armada to Canara	= 144	30
In Fragatinha *São Cosmo e Damião* to North	= 33	0
In Galiota *St^o Ant^o de Lisboa* to Mombasa	= 14	7
Total	= 343	52

For details see *AHU, Ind. Cxa*.37, no.77

In 1689 total number of soldiers including Goans in Goa were 650 in 14 companies, one cavalry, 150 officials including 16 captains, 17 *Alferes* and 17 Sergeants. *HAG, Mons.* 5, fl.193.

[4] *AHU, Ind. Cxa*.35, no.34.

[5] *Biblioteca da Ajuda*-Lisbon Cod. Ms.51-VII-26, *Livro das Cartas de Sua Magestade do ano de 1699 respondidas em 1700*, fls.103,104.

[6] HAG. *Assentos de Conselho de Fazenda*,MS. 1166, fl.93.

[7] *Ibid*, fl.93v.

[8] *Ibid*.fl.187v; for treatment to seaman in the East, See C.R. Boxer, *Portuguese India in Mid-Seventeen Century*, Oxford, 1980, pp.32-3.

[9] *AHU, Ind. Cxa*.34, no.144 (letter dated 1688). 30 '*panditos*' (doctors) were in service of 'Camara' of Goa city as well as of religious and civil authorities. See. T. R. de Souza, *Medieval Goa*, New Delhi,1979, p.159.

[10] *HAG, Livros de Conselho da Fazenda, Petições Despachadas* (Fazenda-Petições), MS.1131, fls.15-16. This document shows a periodic enrolment of Goans into government service: that year were recruited 8 '*Piaens*', all Sudras (Christians Kunbis?) from Raia and Rachol; 4 artillerymen, all Sudras also from Raia and Rachol; and 20 soldiers of whom 13 were Sudras, 3 charddos; 3 brahmins and one with sign on his right ear (liberated slave).

[11] *HAG, Fazenda-Petições*, MS.1130, fl.16v.

[12] *op cit*., fl. 21.

[13] *Mons*.vol. 49, fl.312

[14] Names of whole crew are mentioned. *HAG, Fazenda-Petições,* MS.1127, fls.15v-16.

[15] Another Goan doctor, Gregorio Pereira Ribeiro from Mandur was doctor of the prison of Inquisition of Goa and '*Fizico*' of 'Hospital Real ' in absence of '*Fizico Mor* '. *HAG, .Lº de Consultas* (Consultas) MS.1050, fls.149-150.

[16] Payment to *gente do Mar* was done by Senado da Camara, Goa, November 6, 1694, *.AHU, Ind. Cxa*.37, no. 98.

[17] *HAG, Mons*.54, fls.167-68v. Names of crew are given.

[18] *HAG .Consultas*, MS.1050, fls.188-189.

[19] *Ibid*, fls.49-51v.

[20] *Ibid*.,.fls.52-54.

[21] *HAG. Fazenda-Petições*, no.1138, fls.80v-81.

[22] Pate was captured by Arabs in 1688, *HAG, Mons*.vol.61, fl.288.

[23] He did not construct any fortification in the fort at Pate or outside it during his term as governor for its defense, and surrendered without firing a bullet. *Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon,* Cod. 8538, fls.147-97; See also *Arquivo Nacional do Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, MS. Tombo III-E, fls.174-74v; *HAG. Mons* .vol.61, fl.290.

3

LEGAL FOUNDATIONS TO THE CONCEPT OF OVERSEAS PROVINCES VERSUS COLONIES

Carmo D'Souza

INTRODUCTION

The word 'colony' is derived from the Latin '*colonia*' and references may be made to the historical colonies created by the Romans. In one sense the word refers to exploration and tilling of terrain and the formation of settlement around the place. The Oxford Dictionary refers to colonialism as a practice of acquiring control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically. With the rise of colonial powers, the word acquired a flavour of domination, power-control, and availability of resources in the favour of the colonizer country. Later, movements towards independence especially in the twentieth century contributed in their own way to discredit the process of colonisation.

The status of the Portuguese possessions as 'colonies' did create controversy in the 1930s. The Colonial Act coupled with other historical factors created a sense of indignation among the residents of Portuguese possessions, when their territory was termed as colony. It was also at this stage that the Portuguese Constitution and other legislations created an emphatic slot and brand of 'colony' with ideological and policy implications. Earlier the term colony or province had been used sometimes interchangeably and as synonyms without any apprehension or debate as in the 1930s. In mid twentieth century, the mounting global pressure to de-colonise resulted into another Portuguese legal conception of 'overseas provinces'. This conception was termed by some as escapist to avoid decolonisation and by others as a unique Portuguese solution. Indo-Portuguese history is a fertile ground for comprehensive legal and historical analyses of the two trends amidst the colonial powers. It is to be noted that the State of India was a cornerstone for the era of Portuguese colonisation, and its liberation from colonial rule inaugurated the disintegration of the colonial fabric.

The present paper analysis the legal foundations to the two-concepts i.e. 'colony' and of 'overseas province' as viewed diametrically opposite of each other. It refrains from analyzing the issue whether such strategy had socio-historical foundations for a claim of a nation across continents or whether it was a mere juridical jugglery.

The fundamental legislations on the two issues have been categorised under three subheadings, mainly:

A. Legislations Prior to 1930s
Legislations of the 1930s, and
Legislations of the 1950s

A. LEGISLATIONS PRIOR TO 1930s

It is interesting to analyze some legislation prior to the Colonial Act of 1930. Article 2 of the Constitution of 1822, conceived the Portuguese nation as a union of all the Portuguese of both the hemispheres. Its territory formed the kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and Algarve. The article then enumerated the territories under four subheadings. The first subheading enumerated the territories in Europe, which consisted of the provinces of Portugal and Algarve as well as the adjacent islands of Madeira, Porto Santo and Azores. The second subheading enumerated the territories in America including Brazil. The next subheading specified the territories in Africa. The last subdivision specified the territories in Asia. Neither the word ' colony' nor 'overseas provinces' appeared in this article. However, the word 'overseas provinces' appeared in the constitutional text. Article 45 used the word 'overseas' and Art. 46 the word 'overseas provinces'. Art 162 concerning the formation of the Council of State gave equal weightage to the Portuguese provinces in Europe and the 'overseas provinces'. The Council of State was to consist of 13 members, six from Europe, six from the Overseas and the thirteenth member either from Overseas or Europe as per lot.

The Constitutional Charter of 1826, followed a similar pattern as the previous Constitution. Article 1 defined the kingdom of Portugal, as a political association of all Portuguese citizens, who formed a free and independent nation. Article 2 concerned with the territories that comprised the kingdom of Portugal and Algarve. It enumerated the territories in Europe under the first subheading, the territories on West and East Africa under the second, followed by the territories in Asia under the third. At this stage, the territories in America did not form part of the Portuguese territory. It is to be noted that the Charter was proclaimed in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil.

The Decree of 1869, was meant to organise and bring quasi uniformity in the administration of the overseas territories flung across continents. It had a vision to harmonise diverse social and geographical and other interests in those territories for

the sake of uniformity, and adapt them to the civil law model. The introduction to the decree specifically mentioned that among the Portuguese overseas provinces, the State of India was better equipped to understand the administration of its own interests. The decree divided the Portuguese possession in Africa and Asia into six provinces, the State of India was one of them. Each province was to have a governor general or governor, with civil and military attributes. Next to the governor there functioned a government council, a kind of technical advisory body consisting of bureaucrats, judges, military officials, etc. Article 76 stated that the Administrative Code was considered in force in the provinces with due modifications and was to continue so temporarily, as regards all that was not laid differently in the present decree. Interestingly it also continued in force the special system in the New Conquests (Goa) for non-Christian inhabitants who were subject to special laws.

The Constitution of 1911, following the proclamation of Portuguese Republic in 1910, did not enumerate the territories that comprised the nation. It merely stated in Art. 2, that the territory of the Portuguese nation was that which existed on the date of the Proclamation of Republic. The word 'Overseas Provinces' appeared in Title V dealing with the administration of these territories. Article 67 stated that in the administration of Overseas Provinces, decentralization of administration, was to be prominent. It left the special laws to define the respective models. As a general principle the special laws meant for the overseas territories were to be adequate for the stage of civilisation of each Portuguese province. Perhaps this was a practical step considering wide social, economic and political differences in the territories. Thus this was the Juridico-Constitutional approach to the Portuguese possessions during this period.

It is interesting to analyse some of the laws that followed the Constitution of 1911. The term colony seemed to be in currency around this period. The Law of 1914, which laid principles and broad outline for the reorganisation of civil administration used the word 'colonies' whereas the counterpart law of the same year which set principles and guidelines for the financial administration used the word "overseas provinces'. Interestingly in Decree of 1917, the word 'province' figured in article 1 whereas the term 'colony' appeared in article 2, demonstrating that much importance was not attached to the terminology at that stage. It is interesting to note that a government of India publication (1960) would refer to this fact when it claimed: "Even earlier Portuguese laws exhibit the confusion of thought and the words 'dominion', 'province' and 'colony' are used as synonymous and interchangeable for parts of the colonial empire". However the Law of 1928, referred to the Portuguese colonial empire which was in keeping with the later legislations of the 1930s.

B. LEGISLATIONS OF 1930s

In order to comprehend the legal foundations of the concept of colony one can analyse the following legislations:

Colonial Act of 1930
Constitution of 1933
Charter of Colonial Empire (1933)

a) *Colonial Act, 1930*

The Colonial Act of 1930 created a great furore because of the brand that it tried to impose, namely the label of colony. The Colonial Act was building on the dream of a colonial empire. It is claimed that Dr. Salazar himself confessed later after a full turn about on his own colonial policy that; 'some of the more blatant passages of the Colonial Act shocked the political intelligentsia of Goa, fearful of retrogression on all that, throughout the ages, had been recognised or granted to their culture and capacity to intervene in the local administration and the conduct of public affairs'. In the thirties, the term colony was not merely a label but it carried an approach and policy and was given the sanctity of law.

The Colonial Act was a product of the dictatorship period under Salazar. He was handed the reins of power after a collapse of democratic process and switch over to dictatorship. At this stage, the sagging spirits of the nation were given a boost by selling the dream of a colonial empire. In order to concretize the dream in legal language, the territories in Portuguese possession were labeled as colonies. As per the government view the label colony was in keeping with those used by other colonial empires like Britain.

Article 2 of Colonial Act, stated that it was the organic essence of the Portuguese nation to fulfill its historical mission of possessing and colonising the overseas territories, and to civilize the indigenous population which were found there, as well as to exercise moral influence ascribed to it by the Eastern Padroado. It was a typical language, indicating a triumph of Portugal, which had an obligation of civilising the lands of its historic patrimony. Reference to the civilizing mission of the Portuguese nation, was in keeping with the then theory of the white man's burden. It is interesting to note the indirect reference to the quasi-Divine mission ascribed to the Portuguese nation by mentioning the Eastern Padroado. The historical fact was given the brand of some mythical nation's destiny. Thus Article 2 while creating the mythical dream of the past, and boosting the sagging morals of the country was in fact laying a foundation to a policy to be followed in governance. Article 3 stated that the Portuguese overseas dominions were to be denominated as colonies and was to constitute the Portuguese Colonial Empire. Article 5 stated that the Portuguese Colonial Empire

enjoyed solidarity between its component parts and with the Metropole. Thus the various colonies were knitted within themselves and with Portugal. So there was a dual bond that tied the colonies. It is to be noted that it was not easy to visualize such a structure across diverse continents but knitted as one nation. Interestingly Article 8 stated that it was nor permissible for foreign governments to acquire property or building for consular representation unless authorized by National Assembly and the selection of the place authorized by the Minister of Colonies.

The assumption for the Colonial Act was that there existed less developed populations in the colonies, mainly the indigenous populations. So the focus turned on the plight of indigenous people in the colonies. It claimed to undo the harm caused in the past, which had led to exploitation, and to substitute it with a positive action in favour of indigenous population. Title two of the Colonial Act was devoted to the indigenous populations. As per Article 15, the state guaranteed protection and defence of the indigenous in the colonies as per principles of humanity and sovereignty and with due regard to international conventions. The colonial authorities had to prevent and punish any abuse against the property or person of the indigenous. It is to be noted that the indigenous population had come in focus of the earlier pre-Salazar legislations but it had proved futile and led to exploitation of that population. For instance the law of 1911, postulated that a person had the moral and legal obligation to secure for oneself the means of livelihood, and had the duty to improve one's social conditions. This law had lead to forced labour and exploitation benefiting private entrepreneurs. The Colonial Act was targeted for the upliftment of indigenous peoples to cultural levels determined by the colonisers. As a positive contribution to the welfare of the indigenous, Article 16 stated that the State was to establish public institutions and encourage private ones to uphold the rights of the indigenous and to give them assistance.

The Colonial Act stated in article 17 that a law guaranteed the indigenous, ownership and possession of their terrain and their crops in terms declared therein. The work of the indigenous in service of state or administrative bodies was to be remunerated. The remuneration clause was needed to undo the counter effects of the earlier legislation, which required the indigenous to work as it assumed that work attitude would lead to their development and progress but in fact it led to exploitation. Article 19 prohibited all regimes by which the state under compulsion furnished indigenous workers to any enterprise of economic exploitation. However, the state could compel the natives to work in certain spheres such as: (a) public schemes for general benefit of the community, the proceeds going back to the indigenous, or (b) as part of the judicial pronouncement of penal nature, or (c) as part of policy of local fiscal obligation.

Labour contracts with the indigenous were to be based .on individual freedom, on right of free wages and on assistance from public authorities, who had to protect the weaker interests. The state was to see to the development of the indigenous.

The Act visualized the need for special statutes for the indigenous and recognised the requirement for special institutional set up under the aegis of Portuguese private and public law. They were to have special judicial rules and their individual domestic and social usages and customs were recognized provided they were not incompatible with public morals and the dictates of humanity. It is to be noted that the Salazar's policy was influenced by the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum* of May 15, 1891, which called for greater attention to the working class and harped on social justice.

Portugal was a Catholic country. The Colonial Act however assured liberty of conscience and free exercise of various religions in the territories subject to: (a) rights and interests of Portuguese sovereignty, (b) maintenance of public order, and (c) observance of international treaties. It is to be noted that non-Catholic populations existed in the colonies.

The term colony created repugnance and led to indignation among the residents of the colonies especially in the State of India. Documentary and other material is available that the residents of Portuguese possessions considered their territory enjoying equal status as Portugal. It is also evident from a report submitted to the king of Portugal by the Council of India in the seventeenth century. It stated:

"India and the other lands overseas with whose governments this Council is concerned are not distinct nor separated from this realm, nor yet do they belong to it by union, but they are members of the same realm as is the Algarve and any one of the provinces of Alentejo and between Douro and Minho….and thus he who is born and lives in Goa or in Brasil or in Angola is as Portuguese as he who lives and is born in Lisbon."

As regards the application of the Colonial Act to the State of India, there was an apprehension that it would result into a second or third class citizenship to the residents in the colony. The issue of two-tier citizenship can be part of an in depth separate subject for study. The intelligentsia of the State of India argued that such an approach was never evident especially in Indo-Portuguese history. Also they vehemently denied existence of indigenous populations in the State of India, and hence concluded that the label colony to it was unjustified.

A point worth noting is that a section of the Goan intelligentsia while showing strong aversion to the application of term colony to their territory did not appear to reject in principle colonialism as a whole at that stage. For instance, José Inácio de Loyola (Fanchu) wrote in 1946 :

'The statement made by the Minister of Colonies that India is not a colony but a state of Portugal, has a political significance to me….So, one can see that in his political thought, India does not occupy the position of a colony. This is because India is different from other colonised countries. Its social conditions do not offer the same incentives to be treated as a colony.'

Similarly, Amancio Garacias in his book, *Economic and Financial History of Goa* used a similar text to make the same point on thoughts of Marcelo Caetano as expressed in 1946. Earlier in 1932, the same Loyola in a hard hitting public speech against dictatorial authorities for labeling the State of India as a colony differentiated Albuquerque's concept of colonization terming it as profoundly intelligent, humane and Christian.

b) *Constitution of 1933*

The Constitution of 1933 was a product of the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar. It was approved by national plebiscite of March 19, 1933, It incorporated in it the controversial Colonial Act. As per Article 132 of the Constitution, the provisions of the Colonial Act were regarded as pertaining to the Constitution, and the government was to publish the Colonial Act with due modifications.

c) *Charter of Colonial Empire*

The Charter organised the administration of the colonies. Article 1 stated that the Portuguese colonial empire was divided for administrative purposes into eight colonies, which formed an integral part of the territory of the nation. Article 85 stated that the colonies formed the Portuguese colonial empire and as such there was solidarity among the colonies themselves and between the colonies and Portugal. So a kind of two bonds tied them. This was to be the fundamental principle that had to inspire all the activities, be it spiritual, administrative, financial or economic. Solidarity with the colonial empire implied especially the obligation to contribute adequately to secure the ends of all its members and to help towards the defence of the nation as a whole. Colonies were endowed with a juridical personality and were guaranteed administrative decentralization and financial autonomy, compatible with the Constitution, the Colonial Act and the stage of development and availability of resources in each colony. It is to be noted that Arts. 231-248 were dedicated to the indigenous populations. Article 247 assured liberty of conscience to diverse cults, with due restrictions. Article 248 viewed religious missions of the Overseas, as instruments of civilization and national influence, and interestingly, establishments for the formation of their personnel and other services as well as those of Portuguese Padroado, were conferred with a juridical personality. They were to be protected and assisted by the State as institutions of instruction. The budget of the colonies was to make allocation for the service of the missions for action towards the indigenous populations. So the charter envisaged a role for the Catholic missions and its use for transformation of society. It is interesting to take note of some other points on policy towards the indigenous. In the administrative divisions of the colonies, consideration

was to be given to the density of indigenous populations in order to help them as well as part of military defence. Also it visualized a register of indigenous populations. Authorities were to defuse Portuguese language amidst the indigenous people.

C. LEGISLATIONS OF 1950s

In order to evaluate the concept of overseas provinces it is decided to analyze following legislations.

a) Alterations to Constitution of 1951
b) Law On Administration of Overseas (1953)
c) Statute of State of India (1955)

a) *Alterations to the Constitution – 1951*

The Alterations to the Constitution deleted the reference to Colonial Act from the constitutional text, while on the other hand maintaining the earlier policy towards the indigenous populations. So similar provisions as earlier in favour of indigenous figured now under Chapter III of Title VII, the title dealing with Overseas Provinces. However it did an important change as regards the status of the Portuguese possessions. This was needed to counter international pressures to decolonise, by dismantling the legal foundation of the colonial empire in favour of broader Portugal. It is to be noted that Article 133 carried the old flavour when it stated that it was an organic essence of the Portuguese nation to fulfill its historic function of colonising the lands of its discoveries, and to spread the benefit of its civilization. However the shift appeared in the next article which designated the Portuguese possessions as "Overseas Provinces". Article 135 stated that the Portuguese overseas territories were an integral part of the Portuguese State, maintained solidarity among them and with Portugal. Thus the provinces formed together with Portugal, one single state known as the Portuguese State. The overseas territories were denoted as Provinces with political and administrative organization in accordance with the geographical situation and the conditions of social milieu of each of them. Article 138 permitted if necessary, special statutes to be enforced among the overseas populations, based on sovereignty, public order and so on.

Was this a mere cosmetic nomenclature? That was the view held by the government of India. For instance a publication of Ministry of External Affairs claimed: "Portugal is, however, unique among the colonial countries in having called to her aid legal wit and wisdom, the jugglery of words and subtle quibbling to designate what were once termed 'Colonies' as 'Provinces'.

The native populations figured now in Chapter III under Title VII, dealing with Overseas Provinces. The provisions were akin to those of the Title II of the Colonial Act. The State was to set up public institutions and encourage private ones for the protection of the rights of indigenous and to give them assistance. The indigenous were guaranteed possession of their lands and remuneration for work obtained from them for the State. There was a prohibitions as earlier against supplying indigenous labour force to economically exploiting private enterprises.

Of course the Constitution promised administrative decentralization and economic autonomy, compatible with the constitution and the stage of development of the Province.

b) *Law on Administration of Overseas*

Following the alterations to the Constitution in 1951, it was necessary to bring a law on administration of Overseas, a substitute to the Charter of Colonial Empire. The law prescribed general principles for administration of overseas. It promised decentralization of administration and financial autonomy to the provinces, in keeping with the Constitution and the stage of development of the province. Political administration was to be organised and specified in a special statute, to be adequate to the geographical and social conditions of the province. The law laid down that, if special circumstances prevailed in a province, it was permissible to establish an administrative regime similar to the one functioning in Madeira or Azores. In one way it may be argued that this approach typically expressed colonial mentality. On the contrary it can be also argued that since Portugal was a unitary state , it did not have institutions in its provinces within Portugal, similar like those that were required in the Overseas such as a Legislative Council. The Provinces of State of India, Angola and Mozambique enjoyed the service of the Legislative Councils for the purpose of provincial legislation. As a principle it stated that the council was to have more elected members than nominated ones, leaving the respective statue of a province to prescribe the numbers. In fact the extension of the label of nation to the whole Colonial Empire in one side did a little violence to the unitary feature of Portuguese nation. The Law on Administration of Overseas promised financial autonomy. Provisions existed on budget and the financial compartmentalization of resources and expenditures under three heads. Some of the resources belonged to the province, others belonged to the provinces in common and the third to Portugal (Metropole).

c) *Statute of State of India (1955*)

In keeping with the scheme provided by the Law on Administration of Overseas, which contemplated each overseas provinces to have its own statute, the Statute of

the State of India was decreed in 1955. It is to be noted that the main executive head, the governor general remained a central appointee, with large executive powers. The legislative competence of the governor-general was exercised as a rule with the vote of the legislative council. The governor was bound to publish bills not initiated under his authority but voted by the council within a time frame, except when he claimed them to be unconstitutional or illegal. So he could easily discard bills initiated under his authority, as well as he had the power to submit any bill for second consideration. In such a case the bill required a two thirds majority. The legislative council was also not a totally representative institution. It consisted of 23 members out of which eleven were directly elected by the electoral circles, seven elected by specified interests while from the five non-elected, three were ex-officio and two selected by the governor general to represent interests of emigrants in the provinces.

It may be argued that the Statute of State of India was an improvement but nothing close to self-rule. On the other hand, it is to be noted that dictatorship existed in Portugal itself. The provinces in Portugal itself did not enjoy any better facility. One important point is to be noted that the State of India enjoyed representation in the National Assembly comparatively far greater than other overseas provinces considering their territorial area, but less than those enjoyed by provinces of Portugal itself. However the fact of representation itself may be questioned in a dictatorial system.

CONCLUSION

The present paper besides providing glimpses into colonial history gives an insight into concepts which can be very useful to comprehend modern international issues such as the clash of civilizations, tribal regimes, issues of the indigenous, creation of legal fiction and so on.

NOTES

[1] *Compact Oxford Dictionary Thesaurus & Wordpower Guide*, ,Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006.

[2] Was in force for a very brief period. It was promulgated from Lisbon on 23 September , 1822.

[3] Ultramar.

[4] Provincias Ultramarinas.

[5] Numerical weightage, not considering the extensiveness of the territory.

[6] Carta Constitucional.

[7] In Asia: Salsete, Bardez, Goa, Damão, Diu and Establishments of Macao and the Islands of Solor and Timor.

[8] Carta proclaimed in Brazil on 29 April 1826. There was swearing by Carta in Goa, on 18 October, 1827, see, Saldanha M.J.G. , *Historia de Goa,* Vol. I, Bastora 1925, p. 252.

[9] Decree of 1 December 1869, see Gracias Ismael, J.A. *"Carta Organica das Instituicoes Administrativas nas Provincias Ultramarinas"*, Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1869, pp. 1-132.

[10] The six provinces were: (1) Cabo Verde, (2) S. Thome e Principe, (3) Angola, (4) Mozambique, (5) Estatdo da India, (6) Macau and Timor.

[11] The governor had the title of governor general in Cabo Verde, S. Thome e Principe, Angola, Mozambique, and *Estado da India*.

[12] See, D'Souza Carmo, *Legal System in Goa*, Vol. II, Publisher Agnelo D'Souza, Goa, 1995, p. 160.

[13] Major part of Goa consisted of New Conquests . The other side was known as Old Conquests.

[14] It is to be noted that lot of special statutes followed in the next five years.

[15] **Law no 277 of 15 August 1914, *Legislação do Estado da India*, 1914, pp. 345-70.**

[16] Law no 278 of 15 August 1914, *Legislação …* 1914, pp. 370-84.

[17] **Decree No. 3059 of 30 March 1917, *Legislação …* 1918, p. 1.**

[18] *Goa and the Charter of the United Nations*, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Govt. Of India Press, New Delhi, 18-10-1960, p.2.

[19] Law of 24 March 1928, *Boletim Official do Estado da India*, No. 33 of 24-4-1928.

[20] Decree No. 18570 of 6 July 1930, *Legislação… 1930,* Appendices pp. 229-31, incorporated with due modifications into the Constitution of 1933.

[21] Designation influenced by the British Empire.

[22] Carmo Azevedo, *Salazar's Bluff Called , The Question of Goa,* India, 1956. pp. 42-3.

[23] Term is *dominios ultramarinos*.

[24] Term *Metropole* indicated a more developed area as compared to the Colonies and reference was to Portugal.

[25] Provision of 27 May 1911, *Legislação…*, 1911, pp. 604-23. The law did not take into account the race psychology of natives. See, D'Souza Carmo, *Legal…*, Vol. II, pp. 226-7.

[26] Art. 18.

[27] The law while compelling indigenous to work, had not taken into account their race psychology, displacement of population, economic determinants that could lead to exploitation by private enterprises using government. machinery to compel work from the indigenous.

[28] That Encyclical was reinforced by another Encyclical of Pope Pius XI, *Quadragessimo Anno*, of 15 May 1931.

[29] Loyola in his speech of 1932 made a point blank reference to the fact Indian civilisation was much more ancient than the western civilisation. He claimed that Albuquerque on the conquest of Goa recognizing this fact did not hesitate to give rights of social standing with the conquerors. See D'Souza Carmo, *Goa Through the Eyes of Fanchu Loyola ,* Publisher Agnelo D'Souza , Goa, 2005, pp.19-20.

[30] *Goa and the Indian Union , The Portuguese View,* Agencia Geral do Ultramar, 1956, p. 14.

[31] "Salazar's Cabinet had no mind to listen to or seek the opinion of the second and the third class citizens of 'Ultramar Portuges", see *Goa and the Charter of the United Nations*, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Govt. Of India Press, New Delhi, 18-10-1960, p. 3.

[32] D'Souza Carmo, *Goa Through*...pp. 49-50, translation from the Portuguese text is of Lino Leitao.

[33] Gracias, Amancio João Batista, *Historia Economica e Financeira, Vol. I,* ed, MCML, p. 191.

[34] D'Souza, Carmo, *Goa Through…* p. 15.

[35] Number of electors in Portugal, adjacent islands, and colonies were one million, three hundred and thirty thousand, two hundred and fifty eight. Number of those who approved were one million, two hundred and ninety-two thousand eight hundred and seventy four. There were 6,190 against and 666 invalid votes. 30,038 abstained. See D'Souza Carmo , *Legal…*,Vol. II, p.155.

[36] Decree Law No. 23228 of 15 November 1933, enforced *Carta Organica do Imperio Colonial Portugues, Boletim Official do Estado da India*, No. 99, 14.12.1933.

[37] Law No. 2048 of 11 June 1951, *Legislação…*1951, pp. 430-44.

[38] India argued that the purpose was to circumvent the Charter of U.N. See *Goa and the Charter of the United Nations*, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Govt. Of India Press, New Delhi, 18-10-1960, pp. 2-3.

[39] It is to be noted that by this device Portugal in a way ceased to have non Autonomous territories, a problem which existed due to UN Charter.

[40] The national territory was e described in Art. 1. Under subdivision 1 was the territories in Europe, under 2 in West Africa under 3 East Africa, under 4 in Asia, and under 5 in Oceania… The territories under subdivision 2 to 5 were termed as Provinces.

[41] *Goa and the Charter of the United Nations*… p. 1. The Minister of Colonies in the United Nations General Assembly expressed the Portuguese view on this issue. He claimed that selfishness was peculiar to India as it did not seek the independence of Goa but on the contrary its annexation to its own territory and under its sovereignty. Extract from the Minutes of the meeting held on 6 December 1956, reply of Dr. Vasco Garin, head of Portuguese delegation.

[42] Lei Organica de Ultramar, Law 2006 of 27 June 1953, *Legislação…* 1953, pp. 516-60.

[43] Decree no.40216 of I July 1955. See D'Souza Carmo, *Legal*…Vol. II, pp. 180-2.

[44] If the governor felt that a bill was illegal or unconstitutional he had to submit it to Overseas Council to decide the case at its plenary session.

[45] One by tax payers, one by economic associations, two by spiritual and moral associations, two by village communities and one by administrative bodies.

[46] In a house of 90 deputies (later 120). The State of India had two deputies.

4

SUBALTERN ELITES AND BEYOND: WHY GOA MATTERS FOR THEORY

Cristiana Bastos[1]

1. COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF COLONIALISM AND SUBALTERNITY

It was not an easy task to convince the editors of the journal *Identities – Global studies in culture and power,* back in 2001, to accept my use of the term 'subaltern.'[2] In an article that addressed the role of the Medical School of Goa and its graduates within the context of Portuguese colonialism, I candidly referred to Goan physicians, born to the local upper strata and absorbed by the colonial health services, as 'subaltern elites.'

For editorial purposes, 'subaltern' had become a sensitive key-word within theory and was inextricable from the works of the Subaltern Studies group. The predominantly South Asian group of scholars aimed at replacing an overtly elitist and colonialist history of the subcontinent by a more complex view that would fairly account for the poor, disenfranchised, landless and powerless 'subaltern' groups.

The term had been rescued from Gramsci's writings while he was in prison under fascist rule in Italy.[3] 'Subaltern' was less politically loaded than the explicit Marxist 'proletariat'; that may have been one of the reasons for Gramsci's use of 'subaltern' in times of adversity, but there is also the fact that this term has a much broader scope than any defined by its status within the production system. The broader scope of 'subaltern' also made it good for the purpose of the South Asian collective of scholars.

In a context where 'subaltern' became the currency for de-eliticizing history, my use of 'subaltern elites' may have seemed highly inappropriate. In order to make sense of that use, we must go a little further in the fields of colonial and postcolonial studies, which is also what brought me to Goa in the first place. Albeit distinct, the works of the subaltern studies collective should not be seen as unrelated to colonial and post-colonial studies. For, if the subject of study of the collective was the subaltern, their own reflection was post-colonial, and their purpose meant to undo the effects

of colonialism in knowledge making. Distinctive and intertwined, the two fields share the reflection upon the ways in which colonialism produced hierarchized states of being, staying, expressing feelings and thoughts, making political statements, defining identities, generating relationships – and the ways in which colonial mechanisms of differentiation and oppression extended beyond the time frame of the colonial rule.

Such reflection can be traced to earlier moments. Let us go no further than Frantz Fanon.[4] After being taken, for years, as a mentor of anti-colonial violence, an aspect that owed much to a misleading emphasis on Jean Paul Sartre's foreword to his work, Fanon is more likely to be regarded today as a proto-theoretician of the colonial and post-colonial field. As others who went through the experience of having their very identity depend on colonial references, past or present, violently imposed or insidiously adopted, Fanon had explored the contradictions and ambiguities that were later developed in post-colonial theory, including by some of the Subaltern Studies authors.

This being said, could we go as far back as to the nineteenth century contradictory feelings of Goan elites in the expression of this condition? Or was it attempting to go too far? The fact of the matter is that I was not planning to go there at the time. I was merely following Goan doctors in their self-appreciation as 'subaltern' within the Portuguese colonial rule, 'subaltern' being a common word they used for subordinate, second rate, inferior. Goan physicians had pushed me to the concept, as they repeatedly complained that in spite of having graduates from a legitimate Medical School, they kept being assigned subaltern positions within the colonial health system. Rightfully, they noted that the higher posts were kept from them and reserved to those who had been born in Portugal or had attended the Portuguese Medical Schools.[5]

Pervasively surrounded by a military rationale, and often in the military career themselves, those physicians had a clear understanding of the hierarchical system they lived in. That system did not treat them fairly, did not give them what they felt they deserved and, instead, placed them in secondary roles.

Using 'subaltern" as an emic term, I got away with it without engaging in a full length discussion with the Subaltern Studies group, leaving that challenge for a later moment. The challenge is there, but it took new forms. Like C. Bayly has recently suggested, it may well be that the use of "subaltern" may have now worn out as we knew it, and the social history of the poor and the oppressed, in India and elsewhere, will resume in the very same way without the concept.[6]

The challenge, for us, while using "subaltern elites', is of another sort; it means that we need to know a lot more about the colonial societies under Portuguese rule. For decades, most works on Portuguese colonialism either served a state-sponsored glorification of the Portuguese empire, or, in reverse, emphasized colonialism's violence and oppressive mechanisms without consistently examining the micro-social

issues that the colonial regimes developed. None of those lines is of much help for our purpose, except if we take their works as ideological productions and cultural elements themselves. Yet, something different has been coming out in the last few years, from authors who have no explicit political agenda.[7] And still more is needed in that direction: we need to understand closely what went on in the daily lives of colonial societies; we need to understand how power was shared, usurped, faked, given, simulated; how intimacies enacted proximity and distance; how words, religions and lifestyles brought people together and apart; how one thought of the other and vice versa, and how all came together in distress, endurance, patience, tolerance, prosecution, oppression, coping. To use Ann Stoler's well captured concept, we need to go further in the intimacies of colonial settings.[8]

Again, I believe that the study of Portuguese-ruled colonial contexts, and, to my preference, those of south Asia, and Goa above all, will be key to bring forward new contributions for on-going theoretical work in comparative studies of colonialism. The point of studying the structures and societies produced within the context of Portuguese colonialism should not be about adding another dot in the work-in-progress of chartering the world, nor a mere presentation of its specificities as in contrast with others– most of all, in contrast with the master narrative of Victorian imperialism –, re-stating, for instance, the details in which colonial Goa is different from the Raj. I believe that exploring contexts of Portuguese colonialism, using an anthropological eye when dealing with historical sources, may seriously expand and bring complexity to current discussions on colonialism, post-colonialism and of the subaltern condition.

It is therefore very good news that Prof. Teotónio de Souza, who knows Goa's history and society inside out and back and forth in ways that very few do, is also into the venture and will soon address the subaltern elites of Goa as a subject matter of a main research project.[9] The Goan clergy on a longer perspective, as he comprehensively addresses, and the medical corps on a more compact time-frame, which I more modestly have tried to approach with a strangers' eye, both epitomize the dual condition of being first while second, as elites that are always reminded of their subjugation, subordination, in sum, subalternization, within a colonial context.

2. TEACHING MEDICINE, LEARNING BODIES AND PRACTICING EMPIRE

Why were Goan doctors permanently complaining about their secondary, "subaltern" roles? Before asking how rightful they were in their claims, and whether their use of subaltern is a lead for a lengthier academic discussion, we should well ask who they were.

The Goan doctors I refer to in this and in previous articles[10] are basically the graduates of the Medical and Surgical School of Nova Goa. That school was founded

in 1842 and kept functioning, in ups and downs, all through the time Goa remained under Portuguese jurisdiction. After 1961, when Goa was integrated in the Indian Union, the Medical School became part of the wider educational complex of Goa University as its Medical College.

Graduates of the Medical School of Goa (1842-1961) were trained in medicine, surgery and pharmacy under curricula that replicated those of the European medical schools. Students were taught the same courses and used, at least in principle, the same text books, performed the same experiments, learned the human body's anatomy and physiology all the same way as in Europe, and so was their understanding regarding clinical issues, diagnosis, therapeutic intervention.

In the relatively abundant literature about the Medical School produced by some of its graduates,[11] the institution is presented as a European Medical School that opened its doors in the overseas location of Panjim, Goa. The commentary often goes that Goa's is the oldest of all colonial medical schools in Asia.[12] Moreover, accounts of the history of the Medical School often link it to earlier colonial projects and to the Portuguese attempts to train local students in the medical arts and sciences.[13]

In sum, narratives of the Medical School of Goa show it as a colonial institution. As we know them, those narratives match the apologetic and pro-colonial literature that was promoted in the first half of the twentieth century. But the very same works provide the basis for the reverse critical analysis. In that sense, we would have a Medical School in Goa as a "tool of empire", along the lines suggested by Headrick for other intellectual and cultural resources of the colonial apparatus.[14]

Medicine has often been presented as one of the most accomplished tools of empire.[15] The ways medicine framed the human body, its functions and malfunctions, its proprieties and improprieties, served as the cognitive apparatus that provided the basis for the control and domestication of the collectivity of bodies- a point so well depicted in some of Foucault's writings[16] and so vaguely suggested in others. Whether or not inspired by Foucault's analysis of medicine as power – one that never directly addressed colonial medicine nor colonialism in general – some authors have substantially made that point for the occurrence of epidemics, state responses to them, and ideologies produced in that context.[17]

The uses of medicine by the state were not exclusive of colonial contexts; they also happened in the emerging nations against their inner selves, as is described for early twentieth century Brazil. The way in which the relatively young Brazilian state dealt with its urban poor and its disenfranchised rural and indigenous populations was not too different from those portrayed for colonial situations at that period.[18] Colonial settings, however, illustrate more blatantly the asymmetries that went on in such confrontations, as they opposed, in them, the colonizers' medicine and the lives and ways of the colonized populations. Some authors have particularly well made those points for South Asian contexts.[19]

In colonial India, we can trace the mounting tensions of colonial power and indigenous lives to the McCauley governance in the 1830s. The teaching of medicine provides a good illustration for that point. In the 1820s, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were home of native medical institutions where students could learn medical arts in their own cultural background; they learned *unani* medicine in Arabic and *ayurvedic* medicine using Sanskrit texts.[20] But that moment was short. In the 1835, MacCauly outlawed them as unscientific. They were replaced by conventional medical colleges that practiced the teaching of medicine in English. South Asian were trained in European medicine and turned into Western style doctors. The process involved some painful endurance, like in the practice of anatomical dissections. These were so repulsive to some students, and so hard to go by, that those who first succeeded were rewarded with a loud public acknowledgement. Loud indeed: it involved canon balls.[21]

3. THE MEDICAL SCHOOL OF GOA AS A DOUBLE TOOL OF EMPIRE

The question is: was the Goa Medical School one of those institutions? Was it a Portuguese version of the MacCaulian colonial school? At a first glance one might say yes. It was the Portuguese version of a colonial institution destined to transform natives into a standard and trustworthy link of the transmission chain of colonial governance. It trained Goan students in biomedicine, brought European knowledge to Asia, brought western views of the body – and correlated policies for public health – not only to those who learnt medicine, but to all of those that at some point fell at the receiving end of those doctors' services. Not once in its history is there a concession towards native systems of healing in the whole curricula of the medical school. The one exception – a proposal of a course on the history of *ayurvedic* medicine, brought forward by its Professor Froilano de Mello in 1927 – did not receive approval, even though it meant only to be a supplement to the regular courses.[22]

Still following some of the chroniclers of the Medical School, it was not only a standard tool of empire that trained Asians as western style doctors. It was presented as a special tool for the Portuguese empire, for it trained Asians as western doctors whose great assignment was to serve in Africa under European rulers. From some celebratory speeches, from some writings, and mostly from the centennial commemorations of the School in 1942, many of the statements about the merits of Goan doctors emphasized above all their role in empire building by serving in Africa as military physicians.[23]

Along those lines, the Medical School of Goa was a double tool of empire. It served the empire by training Asians in western medicine and by making of them the expert workforce in the territorial expansion in Africa.

4. INCONSISTENCIES AND LINGERING DOUBTS

And yet, still reading (and reading through) the writings of those who graduated from the school, plus of those who led it on one time or another, plus those that run into them in several circumstances, there are inconsistencies that call for further analysis.

One of the inconsistencies comes from the repeated complaint about their 'subalternity' within the colonial health services, as if they were not really a part of an imperial plan, but solely confined to fringe positions.[24] They seemed under a double-bind message: at once, they were good enough to be part of the empire and represent it, and not good enough to be in relevant positions. Like, but not quite like. Or, almost there. Or, the implied secondarization – subalternization – of the colonial subjects.

Other inconsistencies come for the depiction of the School's functioning. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, from the days it was founded until it was rescued from shutting down in the early years of the twentieth century, most of the direct commentary about the Medical School describes it as poorly endowed, frail in resources, scarce in faculty members, with students of doubtful merit and with classes that were closer to scholastic teachings than to the new experimental requirements of medical teaching in post-enlightenment Europe.[25] One good example is the fact that directors often referred to the lack of human corpses as an excuse not to perform anatomical dissections.[26] Here we find a huge gap between what was going in Goa and in the neighbor city of Bombay.[27]

A further set of inconsistencies refers to the role of Goan physicians in Africa. Whereas twentieth century sources depict them as a pillar for the expansion of the Portuguese empire in Africa, a closer study of nineteenth century sources shows another sort of picture. Goan physicians did indeed serve in Africa, in remote posts like the island of Chiloane in Sofala, the Island of Mozambique, the Delagoa bay area, future location of Lourenco Marques (today's Maputo), the coasts and plateaus of Angola, Guiné, Cape Verde, Sao Tomé, as they served also occasionally in Macau and Timor.

Yet, there is no evidence that their placement in those posts corresponded to a master plan of the empire, a well conceived strategy for the distribution of an intermediary work force throughout the outpost of the colonial health services. Plausible, but not true; often, facts do not support statements of intentionality in history. What the primary sources seem to indicate goes in the opposite direction of a thoughtful imperial use of Goan doctors in the African colonies. In some of the reports by Portuguese physicians in charge of colonial outposts, the graduates of the Medical School of Goa were depicted in quite derogatory manner, though as unwelcome to the services, and badly fitting in a picture of a European conquest of Africa in the late nineteenth century.[28]

Altogether emerges a picture where something else might be at play.

5. SUGGESTIONS FOR NEW RESEARCH TRENDS AND CONCEPTS

In order to go beyond those contradictions and better understand the role of Goan physicians – which will lead us to more complex issues of agency and identity – I would like to make a friendly plea for more research and conceptual developments in the field and in neighboring fields.

It may well be the case that we are at the verge of turning upside down the understanding of colonial subjects. Take, for instance, a fresh interpretation of Goan's complaints about their relegation into secondary roles while being tools of empire. Rather than a statement of victimization, those complaints may be interpreted as a signaling of the limits and obstacles that colonial authorities raised against their freedom of movement up into higher shares of power. Or, in other words, they had a wide scope of movement and they shaped their roles, identities, activities, places in society much more than a conventional understanding of a colonial society may allow us to.

Or, to be a little more radical, I will suggest that it was the very constituency of the school – students, some faculty, graduates – that created it and guaranteed its survival. They allowed the Portuguese to act, or at least write, as being in charge, as if the School was their project as a colonial institution. In ways, it was a colonial institution. It was created and developed within a colonial setting. It was not, however, a piece of empire, as it was later depicted.

Or, in other words, I am arguing that the School was created mainly due to the interests of the local elites, and was only peripherally connected to the Portuguese government in Lisbon. In this case, and at that time of the nineteenth century, rather than imposing a top-down decision, the Portuguese followed some of the initiatives taken by Goans.

A short revision of the school's chronology will support that point. According to most documents, the foundation of the School happened in 1842. The name that always comes associated with it is Mateus Cesário Rodrigues Moacho, the Portuguese head physician in charge. However, a closer look at the details involved shows us that Moacho only served in India for two years.[29] And not once did the initiative of 1842 got a mention in Lisbon's legislation. The legal diploma that founded the School was issued as a local *portaria*. [30] The committee that created its rules and curriculum was headed by Mateus Moacho and included João Frederico Teixeira Pinho and António Caetano do Rosário Afonso Dantas, both of them closely inserted in the local society.

Teixeira Pinho was a surgeon who had been living and working in Goa for some time; his credentials were fragile, has he had not completed the attendance of a Medical School in Portugal, as he claimed, for lack of time.[31] That fragility did not prevent him from being the head surgeon and teaching surgery at the Medical School.

Afonso Dantas was a Goan native that had joined the hospital with a non medical job (*armareiro)* in 1819 and made his way up into the practice of surgery. In 1837, he was awarded with the title of doctor by a political committee whose composition did not include anyone from that art.[32] That did not prevent him from being generally accepted as a doctor, including by his head physician Mateus Moacho.

Together, Pinho and Dantas represent the sector who was mostly involved in the initiatives that led to the foundation of the Medical School: mostly local, with enough connections to the Portuguese administration, taken by the administration from what could be found in place. They had not been sent from Lisbon to implement a new policy or develop an institution. They were there, and the administration adopted their own agency in the development of a local institution.

Mateus Moacho returned to Portugal in 1843 and the life of the newly founded School went on. The next Portuguese head physician, Francisco Maria da Silva Torres, arrived to Goa in 1844 with what seemed an open-ended agenda. India was not at the time a priority in Portuguese policies. Nor were, for that matter, any of the African colonies, whose territories and populations were still vaguely defined and poorly known.

Torres' directions were vague and so was his style of action; he did what he found to be rightful. He organized the hospital, he created infirmaries in ways he found more attractive to the native populations, segregating the inpatients by religion and by caste.[33] He went after native plants and promising remedies. He conducted clinical trials among the soldiers. He combated epidemics, among them an outburst of cholera that assaulted the towns and villages. He tried to put an order in the medical school – ordered books and instruments, made reports. What did his reports say? They portrayed an institution that hardly matched the role of a tool of empire. No means, no resources, no instruments, no books, lack of everything. If it ever was meant as a tool of empire, the School had not been given the basic needs for the purpose.

But the fact of the matter is it was not meant to be a tool of empire-building to begin with. As we tried to show earlier, Portugal had little to do with its foundation. In 1842-3 there was no sign of its acknowledgement by Lisbon. In 1845, India was mentioned in Portuguese legislation, together with Mozambique, Angola, Cape Verde, as a place where medical teaching should be provided as a means to train local people and expand the pool of health aid personnel.[34] Only in 1847 was there an explicit mention to the Medical School of Goa.[35] At that time, the first cohort of students had already graduated.

The years that followed, again, show little interference in Goa's affairs from the part of the central administration. This was not exclusive of Goa. In the aftermath of Brazilian independence (1822), there seemed to be no consistent colonial policies in Portugal. The country was too absorbed in civil wars; opposed fractions were

organized as liberals vs absolutists (Miguelists), new vs old, or simply one against the other. There was little room for concerns regarding colonial policies – or there was no external pressure to make the colonies an issue of national politics, as it would happen after the 1880s.

The mounting tension for the European scramble for Africa, which had its peak in the Berlin conference in 1884-5, created that sort of pressure. Only as a result of that was there some attempt to develop consistent policies for the Portuguese African colonies; for most of the nineteenth century, they were very much on their own and vaguely defined as a result of contact and conquest.

Equally loose from the central government were the Asian enclaves of India, Macau and Timor. [36] Here, differently than what happened in Africa, boundaries and territories were mapped out. But the structures of power are not too well known. They were certainly not akin to what is described for the Raj at that period, when the solid British empire was on the making. For the mid decades of the nineteenth century, Portuguese colonial power was somehow emptied. Who ran the Asian enclaves then?

In our interpretation, there were enough empowered and structured local elites in control that guaranteed that life went on and that business could favor them. Portuguese governors came and went; head physicians came and went; military commanders came and went. People kept doing their business, whether or not in the full acknowledgement of the Portuguese authorities that stayed for just a few years. Prestige, status, some money, a bigger share in power, might have been motives strong enough for the development of certain local institutions, and the Medical School is probably at the cross roads of this motivation and the wider need of improving assistance.

Re-stating my argument, I suggest that the main impulse for the creation of the Medical School came from the local elites, in a time when colonial policies were not iron-handed. At a later moment, in the early years of the twentieth century, the school was endorsed by Lisbon as a colonial institution and the inclusion of Goan doctors in the Africa services became not only a current practice but ended up serving as the argument that supported the school's maintenance at a time it might have been shut down.

Interestingly enough, we can trace that argument to the reflections of the first Medical School director that was truly a native of Goa, Dr. Rafael Pereira, a Salcete brahmin who completed his medical studies in Lisbon. In the decade of the scramble for Africa, Rafael Pereira argued that India doctors could be of strategic interest for the Portuguese empire. Pereira presented his own people as the ideal middlemen for the Portuguese rule in Africa. Familiar with tropical and European ways, they could be between one and the other.[37] On top of that, they were better acquainted with tropical ailments and were therefore considered more suited for the job than the Portuguese.

Pereira's career as a Medical School director had its ups and downs. There are signs he never gathered consensus.[38] However, his arguments lingered and were adopted in the Lisbon debates on whether or not the School should persist. In 1902, parliament representative Dr. Miguel Bombarda used that line to argue for its persistence – and, consistently, to argue against the poorly known School of Funchal, in the island of Madeira.[39] From then on, the graduates of the Medical School of Goa were taken as the intermediary workforce that Pereira had envisaged more than a decade earlier.

From the structures which had been raised by the colonial society – and not by the imperial power, may I emphasize – a colonial school was alive, and had now a mission within the purpose of the empire. So much so that its history was re-written accordingly, making the haphazard trajectories of Goan physicians through overseas places look like a plan of the empire.[40]

CONCLUSION

In short, we should consider two different periods for the Medical School of Goa. The first of them largely goes from its foundation to the end of the nineteenth century. In that period, the School can hardly be depicted as a tool of empire: it is a colonial institution that serves the purposes of a colonial group – a Goa-born elite that attends the School and gets some benefit from the medical degree.

The second period starts in the early twentieth century and goes until 1961. It is only at that period that the Portuguese government adopts the Medical School of Goa as its project and endows it with the means to continue.

This interpretation suggests that the Goan-born constituency of the Medical School had, in the nineteenth century, a bigger share of agency that the traditional models portraying colonizers/colonized duality would let us conceive. Interestingly enough, the limits of that agency were expressed in their complaint about "subalternity." Maybe we arrived at a point where the contradiction in "subaltern elites" makes most sense and can be exported as an analytical tool…

NOTES

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[2] I am thankful to anthropologists Nina Glick Schiller and Bela Feldman-Bianco for the discussion we engaged in.

[3] Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, critical edition by Joseph A. Buttigieg, New York, Columbia University Press, 1996.

[4] His most known works are *Peaux Noire, Masques Blanches (Black Skin, White Masks),* 1952, *Les Damnés de la Terre* (*The Wretched of the Earth*), 1961, and *Pour la Revolution Africaine*, 1964.

[5] Graduates of the Medical School of Goa could practice medicine in Asia and Africa, but not in Portugal, unless they went through the exams of a Medical School in the mainland. Validating one's degree in Lisbon or Oporto became necessary to pursue higher jobs, including teaching at the medical school of Goa. This extra training became also a distinguishing mark for the upper strata within the body of students, as only few could afford it.

[6] C. A. Bayly, 'Rallying around the subaltern', Vinayak Chaturvedi, ed., *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial,* London, Verso, 2000.

[7] To name just a few collections published in Portugal, see Valentim Alexandre & Jill Dias, eds., *O Império Africano, 1825-1890* Lisboa, Estampa, 1996; Cristiana Bastos, Miguel Vale de Almeida & Bela Feldman-Bianco, eds., *Trânsitos Coloniais: diálogos críticos luso-brasileiros* Lisboa, Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2002; Rosa Perez & Clara Carvalho, eds., *Mirrors of the empire,* special issue of *Etnográfica* VI(2), 2002; Clara Carvalho & João de Pina-Cabral, eds., *A Persistência da História: passado e contemporaneidade em África* Lisboa, Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2004.

[8] Ann Laura Stoller, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: race and the intimate in colonial rule.* Berkeley, University of California Pres, 2002.

[9] Teotónio de Souza, email message to the author.

[10] E.g., 'Doctors for the Empire: The Medical School of Goa and its Narratives'. *Identities* Vol. 8(4): 517-548 (Durham, NH, 2001); 'The inverted mirror: dreams of imperial glory and tales of subalternity from the Medical School of Goa.', *Etnográfica* VI (2):59-76 (Lisbon, 2002); 'O ensino da medicina na Índia colonial portuguesa: fundação e primeiras décadas da Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Nova Goa.' *História, Ciência Saúde — Manguinhos* 11 (1): 11-39 (Rio de Janeiro, 2004); 'Race, medicine and the late Portuguese empire: the role of Goan colonial physicians.' *Journal of Romance Studies* 5(1):23-35 (London, 2005).

[11] Alberto Carlos Germano da Silva Correia, *História do Ensino Médico na India Portuguesa.* Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1917; *História do Ensino Médico na India Portuguesa nos secs. XVII, XVIII e XIX*. Bastorá, Rangel, 1947; Pedro Joaquim Peregrino da Costa, 'Médicos da Escola de Goa nos Quadros de Saúde das Colónias (1853-1942)**'** *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 57, pp 1-43 and 58, pp 1-66 (Bastorá, Rangel, 1943); João Manuel Pacheco de Figueiredo, 'Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Goa: Esboço Histórico**'***, Arquivos da Escola Médico Cirúrgica de Goa,* serie A, fasc 33:119-237, 1960.

[12] The 1914 article 'A mais antiga escola medica colonial' (the oldest colonial medical school), in the journal *lustração Portuguesa* (second series, n. 17, pp 180-1), may have contributed to the tale, which was repeated throughout the generations orally and in written word.

[13] Both Correia (*História…*) and Figueiredo (*Escola…*) emphasize an older episode when a governor in late 17th India asked that Portuguese physicians able to teach medicine should come over to Goa and teach the locals, reportedly talented and good students. That emphasis is also an emphasis on the colonial roots for the teaching of medicine – and, by the same token, a process of erasing other connection to local medicines.

[14] Daniel Headrick, *The tools of empire: technology and European imperialism in the nineteenth century.* New York, Oxford University Press, 1981.

[15] E.g., David Arnold, Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1988; *Colonizing the body: state medicine and epidemic disease in nineteenth-century India.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1993; P. Bala, *Imperialism and Medicine in Bengal,* New Delhi: Sage, 1991; Roy MacLeod & Milton Lewis (eds.) *Disease, medicine, and empire: perspectives on Western medicine and the experience of European expansion.* London: Routledege, 1988; Megan Vaughan, *Curing their ills : colonial power and African illness*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

[16] Michel Foucault, *Naissance de la clinique*, Paris, P.U.F., 1963.

[17] E.g., Arnold, *Colonizing the body…*

[18] E.g. Jaime Benchimol, *Dos microbios aos mosquitos*, Rio, Ed. UFRJ, 1991; Tania Maria Fernandes, *Vacina antivariólica: ciência, técnica e o poder dos homens (1808-1920)* Rio de Janeiro, Editora Fiocruz, 1999; Ilana Lowy, *Virus, Moustiques et Modernite: La fievre jaune au Bresil, entre science et politique*. Paris: Editions des Archives Contemporaines, 2001; Nicolau Sevcenko, *A Revolta da vacina: mentes insanas em corpos rebeldes***.** São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1984.

[19] Arnold, *Colonizing the body…;* For a more recent perspective, see Sanjoy Bhattacharya, Mark Harrison and Michael Worboys, *Fractured States: Smallpox, Public health and Vaccination Policy in British India, 1800-1947.* New Delhi, Orient Longman, 2005.

[20] David Arnold *Science, technology, and medicine in colonial India.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

[21]Arnold, *Science***…**

[22] Figueiredo, *Escola…* p.57.

[23] Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Goa, *Comemorações Centenárias*. Nova Goa: Separata dos Arquivos da Escola Médica de Goa, 1955; also, Peregrino da Costa, *Médicos…*

[24] See Aleixo Justiniano Sócrates da Costa, *Os Médicos Ultramarinos. Mais um brado a favor dos facultativos formados pela Escola Médico-Cirurgica de Nova Goa*. Lisboa, Tip. Universal, 1880.

[25] Francisco Maria da Silva Torres, Head Physician, *memo* to Bernardino António Gomes, President of the Council of Overseas and Naval Health, April 21, 1846, AHU, Índia, Serviços de Saúde, Ofícios dos empregados, 1840-1868, cod 1987; Eduardo Freitas d'Almeida, Head Physician, *memo* to Ignacio da Fonseca Benevides, President of the Council of Overseas and Naval Health, February 8, 1856, AHU, India; César Gomes Barbosa, Inspector, *Relatório da Inspecção ao Serviço de Saúde do Estado da Índia,* 1897, AHU, India, Serviço de Saúde, cod # 1988.

[26] Eduardo Freitas d'Almeida, Fisico-mór, memo to Ignacio da Fonseca Benevides, President of the Council of Overseas and Naval Health, July 11, 1854, AHU, India, Serviço de Saúde.

[27] Arnold, *Science…*

[28] José d'Oliveira Serrão d'Azevedo*, Relatorio do serviço de saude da província de Moçambique, 1893,* , AHU, room 12, cod # 2817.

[29] For some details on Mateus Moacho, see Figueiredo, *Escola*…, and J. A. Ismael Gracias, 'Fisicos-Móres da India no seculo XIX – Memoria historica', *O Oriente Portuguez*, 1914, 11-12, pp. 255-278.

[30] *Portaria provincial* November 5, 1842, in *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India*, 1842, # 32, 34, 45, 50, 56.

[31] Conde das Antas , *Memo* # 366, to the ministry and secretary of the Overseas and Navy Affairs, October 21, 1842, AHU, room 12, Direcção Geral do Ultramar, Correspondência Geral – Índia, v. 11.

[32] Matheus Cesario Roiz Moacho, Head Physician and Director of the Military Hospital, *Mappa nominal dos empregados do Hospital Militar de Gôa*. June 30, 1842, AHU, room 12, Direcção Geral do Ultramar, Correspondência Geral – Índia, v. 11.

[33] Torres, *memo…*

[34] *Boletim do Conselho Ultramarino: Legislação Novíssima*. Vol I (1834-1851). Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1867, pp. 382-5.

[35] *Boletim…* pp 551-8.

[36] For a thorough development of this aspect in Goa, see M.N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India***.** Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

[37] "ao colonizador incumbe a obrigação de trazer o indigena ao seu convivio, de o fazer participante da civilização a que todo o homem é chamado e á qual uns attingem mais cêdo, outros mais tarde. (…) Ora, essa elevação do africano impõe a irmanação que o europeu não pode alimentar

directamente pela absoluta opposição do seu caracter e costumes, mas sim, por intermediarios que sirvam de élos para os extremos da cadeia. Esses intermediarios, Portugal só os encontra na India onde se podem recrutar todos os elementos precizos nas diversas espheras da actividade humana: sciencias, arte e religião instromentos primarios, senão os unicos da verdadeira civilização. Rafael Antonio Pereira, Head of the Health Services, Report of October 30, 1889. AHU, room 12, Índia, Serviços de Saúde, cod. 1988.

[38] AHU, room 12, Índia – Informações anuais 1856-1907, 2070, «Modelo n.º 1 (Regimento disciplinar do exercito). Quadro de saude do Estado da India. Informação annual referente a chefe do serviço de saude abaixo mencionado», 1897

[39] Miguel Bombarda, 'Escola de Nova Goa', *A Medicina Contemporânea: Hebdomanario Portuguez de Sciencias Medicas* II (V), March 23, 1902.

[40] Peregrino da Costa, *Medicos…;* Escola Médico-Cirúrgica, *Comemorações…*

5

THE CITY CAROUSEL: RELOCATION OF THE CAPITAL OF THE *ESTADO DA INDIA*

Délio de Mendonça

The historic ups and downs of the exotic *Cidade de Goa*, after becoming capital of the Portuguese Indian state (*Estado da India*) or Portuguese eastern empire has, over the centuries, served as a barometer for historians seeking to gauge imperial fortunes. Governor Afonso de Albuquerque, captor of this fabled eastern city in 1510, believed (just as most of his successors were to do) that Goa was ideally positioned in the Indian Ocean to serve as vantage point for control of the sea-lanes and overseeing of the empire he was determined to build. With Goa in hand the imperial universe would doubtless unfold as it should; without Goa an effective imperial design would be unattainable. Centuries later, but for different reasons, Salazar and his coterie realized that surrender of Goa to India would spell diminished control over Portuguese African possessions, or even forfeiture of them to movements for political independence then beginning to gain momentum. Hence, the conquest of Goa in 1510, and its loss in 1961, is still perceived by many as the beginning and 'beginning-of-the-end' of *Expansão Portuguesa* respectively.

In view of unmistakeable symptoms of decline appearing towards the end of the sixteenth century, something of a face-saving make-up was envisaged for the capital of the *Estado*, in a move towards regaining at least a degree of its former lustre. Partisans of empire continually bemoaned the thrashing of symbols which for them were of a 'Golden Age', and traces of spasmodic attempts at restoration, of churches and infrastructural elements in the former capital, stand until today as testimonial to their legacy. From 1670, governors António de Mello de Castro and Manuel Corte-Real de Sampaio (r.1668-71) proposed a shifting of the now derelict and semi-deserted capital-city to another site in Goa itself, urging that there be priority for a more strategic and defensible location – but Lisbon did not respond[1].

This paper will discuss reasons for the demise of the capital, as well as attitudes and opinions advanced for and against relocation. Risk of losing the city, which at

this juncture was perceived by many as no longer defensible, was coupled with a realization that the same fate could, domino fashion, affect other Portuguese overseas possessions, hence the urgency, in the judgment of even high-ranking colonial governors, for assigning capital status to another city.

1. THE CAPITAL CITY

Before 1510 the city of Goa, as an alternative capital of the Bijapur kingdom, already had fine roads, houses, forts, warehouses and a port accommodating a sizeable volume of seagoing traffic. Upon becoming capital of the *Estado da India* in 1530 the port-city began earning substantial revenues, leading to accelerated development with all the trappings of ostentation, in decades leading up to 1550. Impressions left on record by European travellers visiting in the sixteenth century and later, attest to its affluence – and then later to its ultimate ruin as well[2].

Goa was better off than other Portuguese controlled urbanized communities in the East, and, while there is general consensus that by the end of the sixteenth century commerce in the city had decreased substantially, it is perhaps too much to assume that the city was suddenly strangled by its own descent into decadence and decline[3]. However, the deterioration was more rapid than most might have foreseen. By 1635 many quarters in the city were already showing evidence of abandonment; a significant number of houses had collapsed, and many of those still standing were unoccupied. In fact the city numbered less than one third of the population that it could boast of in former times[4], and by 1675 the place was virtually in ruins[5]. Spectacular buildings like the bishop's palace, cathedral church, and the splendid 'house of the Inquisition', along with convents and workshops, were crumbling[6]. Inclement climatic conditions and polluted air meant fragile health and even illness unto death for many habitués, forced them to withdraw to Panelim and Ribandar, or further on to Panjim, which eventually became the designated capital – of the colonial imperial state, Union Territory of Goa and Goa State[7].

Until the end of the sixteenth century Portuguese Goa's only security-concern involved neighbouring Muslim rivals who had been overlords of Goa[8]. Then, there arose new challenges from European powers – The Netherlands, France and England – vying for colonial supremacy, and coveting Portuguese possessions overseas. Competition from the Dutch was becoming cause for increased expenditures and reduced commercial profits for Goa[9] – but the Maratha menace was an adversary of its well-known complex character.

In 1679, Shivaji, ruler of Maratha kingdom, had threatened to invade Goa[10], and in 1683 (during the rule of viceroy Francisco de Távora 1681-5) a Maratha brigade began pounding at the gates. With the fortuitous arrival of a powerful Mughul military party, the Marathas gave way, but the episode was sufficient to alert Portuguese

concerning how vulnerable the city had become[11]. Interestingly, popular sentiment supported by Portuguese authority credited the deliverance to the saving influence of St. Francis Xavier, whose mortal remains were then, and until now, preserved in Goa; henceforth, the continued presence of Xavier's sacred relics was considered a guarantee of heaven-sent protection for the *Estado da India*[12]. While the Portuguese might not have been wholly unanimous concerning the protective powers of the saint, a peculiar irony evolved whereby 'the miraculous body' itself had to be guarded, come what may[13]. The Maratha attack on Goa, whereby the Portuguese came very close to losing it, prompted the incumbent viceroy to insist that the capital-city was no longer defensible, and that its transfer should be an urgent priority.

2. TRANSFER OF THE CAPITAL CITY

Consequent upon overtures for relocating the capital of the *Estado* first made in 1670, by the year 1683, Goa was forwarding to Portugal concrete plans. Távora, acutely apprehensive about the vulnerability of the city, held the view that territorial possessions acquired at the cost of much gold, thousands of lives and torrents of blood, should not be surrendered to intruders. He was further convinced that if the Eastern capital fell it would be scarcely possible to hold on to the rest of the empire. To preside over possessions being plundered by rapacious foes was unthinkable for him and indeed it was inconceivable for most that the city of Goa and the fertile fields of Salcete and Bardez, providing sustenance to the city, could ever be abandoned. This, not to speak of concern for women's security and the preservation of churches and convents there!

The Portuguese had no want of concern for protection of the city, but lack of personnel and finance worried them[14]. Távora sought local consensus before presenting a transition proposal to the king, for only a contention of imperative urgency could persuade that the *Estado* must have a new capital[15]. Thus, in 1684 viceroy Távora consulted prominent civic and ecclesiastical officials in the *Estado* about the issue of transfer. Two points of rationale were advanced in favour of it: first, climatic conditions in the Goa city locale were harmful to human health, a factor which by itself, without any other, could be deemed sufficient reason; secondly, lack of military and attendant personnel in India made the task of defending such a large city and the many land passages leading to it extremely precarious[16]. The superiors of religious orders existing in Goa, generally though not unanimously, were in agreement with the viceroy's proposal. It may be interesting to note that the Jesuits and their superior (Fr. Alexandre Cicero) were in favour of transfer, alleging that it was long overdue since the place was very unhealthy[17]. Two locations were considered as possible sites for the new capital-city.

Monte de Nossa Senhora do Cabo

Our Lady of the Cape Mount (today known as Caranzalem Cape), situated midway between Mormugão Fort and Fort Aguada, was apparently deemed an ideal location. It was alleged that with very little manmade fortification a city in this locale could be easily defended and that a vice-regal palace could be added along with offices for the Comptroller of Finance, ship provisioning facilities, etc.[18]

However, a counter-argument held that Our Lady of the Cape Mount had no potential for hosting a city due to its uneven terrain, narrow space confines, and scarcity of potable water. Water scarcity forced the religious stationed on the Cabo to employ water storage cisterns[19]. It was also asserted that absence of a landfall site, upon which even one canoe might be conveniently beached, rendered the location unsuitable for a harbour or port. No fortification had ever been built there, contrary to claims advanced by those promoting the Cabo option. The cost of raising any fortification at all would not easily be met, and would perhaps exceed the estimates for improving conditions in the old capital-city[20]. It was argued that with a minimum of additional fortification, and better management of overland-routes the capital could be successfully defended[21].

Further, *Nossa Senhora do Cabo* Mount proved inaccessible by sea during the monsoon, with a sandbar obstructing entry to the river (an impediment which alone might be cause for its rejection, since all dealings with Goa were facilitated by river transport throughout the year). Moreover, the location could not be defended from the area-forts since both were situated at some considerable distance. Ships would be for the most part inaccessible for assistance that the Comptroller of Finance might provide, and without whose authorization nothing could be done[22].

As an alternative to *Nossa Senhora do Cabo*, Mormugão was mooted as a potentially suitable location. The Comptroller of Finance opined that a port, customs house, and all requisite structures could be established there. Cargo ships destined for city of Goa that could not negotiate the Mandovi estuary sandbar docked in Mormugao, thus creating additional and excessive expenses for loading, unloading and transit[23].

For those who favoured transfer, a fortified Mormugao augured well as candidate for a new capital-city. They argued that it should more effectively be defended from an Asian or European attacker; the hill offered water in abundance; ships could enter the port in all seasons; the climate was healthy and agreeable; and finally, it was suitably positioned for the collection of royal levies. Just as the other districts were governed from Goa city, the same could obtain from the vantage of Mormugao[24]. Mormugão's strategic location meant that from there reinforcement could be dispatched for points under attack, although other sites in Goa (no specific references were made) might be found to offer similar advantages. Távora began the project for new city at Mormugão, and his successors continued (despite episodes of interruption)[25] until final rejection of the notion in 1712[26].

Mormugão for New Capital

In 1684 Távora, after meeting community leaders, state advisors, judges, members of the municipal council, cathedral chapter and major prelates, and superiors and guardians of convents, forwarded to Lisbon a proposal for the transition of the capital to Mormugão, alleging that its location there would mean better assurance against attack or invasion[27]. Representatives of the people, including the archbishop, seem to have agreed with the change, albeit with minor objections – but many priests were in opposition to the move.[28]

When climatic conditions and the invasion in 1683 moved Távora to propose the shifting of headquarters, hundreds of religious stationed in the city would not even think of abandoning their sedate churches and the city completely. They proposed instead that some houses should be built at the Mormugão Fort – to serve as standby during crises – but in no way did they accede to the notion of shifting the capital. Their intuitive conviction was that a shift would transmit harmful vibrations to Indian and European competing kingdoms, intimating that Portuguese unease was so intense as to dictate abandonment of their provincial capital-city, thus running the risk of inducing them to vacate other areas too. If there was insufficient funding for renewal of the present capital, how a new city could ever be built, they kept asking[29], and hence a veto, by the superiors of religious orders, was registered on the proposed change[30]. However, Távora reported to Lisbon that on consultation the majority opinion was in favour of shifting, so the Portuguese monarch commanded that the succeeding governor Rodrigo da Costa initiate a procedure for transfer[31].

After the Maratha war the *Estado* was in such wretched circumstances that 'if the king did not rescue it his rents would be lost', wrote the new governor (Rodrigo da Costa) to the king in 1685[32], in confirmation of alarming reports prompting the order for transition to Mormugão[33]. But then Costa convoked another meeting (1687), to update latest opinions on the matter. Here the majority of representative invitees were not the same persons as had been invited by his predecessor in 1684, and the new consensus emerging was for favouring the status quo. Out of fifteen votes, six were for the change (though the matter of financial resources rendered them, de facto, 'undecided') and eight firmly opted for rejection[34]. The archbishop was apparently not favourable. The Comptroller of Finance, the captain of the city of Goa, and the Inquisitor supported change, because of unwholesome conditions in the city which in their judgment could admit of no solution[35]. In 1688 – just three years after the first voting held by Távora – Costa informed Lisbon that the project was repudiated by an overwhelming majority[36].

Questions were later raised, regarding whether the representatives of the people voiced the true will of the people in 1684, or if the viceroy reported faithfully the conclusion of that advisory panel[37]. Távora, a convinced proponent of the relocation[38], was subsequently accused of misrepresenting the opinions of the advisory board in order to bolster his own conviction.

When viceroy Pedro António de Noronha (1693-8) was presiding in Goa, Lisbon issued a new order urging local authorities to continue the works already initiated in Mormugão and proceed with shifting of the vice-regal residence to the new city[39]. Noronha's response to the king informed that the settlers in Goa were adverse to any change; that they resisted the idea with all their might; and that religious orders could not be persuaded to move out on grounds that a regionally divided capital would pose a worse situation than the actual ruined city. Nevertheless, to show that he himself did not oppose transfer of the capital the viceroy appointed Fr Teotónio Rebelo, a Jesuit, to supervise operations in the new city[40].

The Lisbon diktat, for viceroy Noronha to take up residence in the new city, was based on an assumption that his presence there would lend a fillip to construction and development work. His refusal to move was countered with threat of recall, for dereliction of duty.

Progress in formation of the new city resumed when, in 1702, viceroy Caetano de Melo e Castro (1702-7) complied with orders to move there, notwithstanding a lack of adequate accommodation compelling him to install in the house of the captain of the fortress[41].

Post 1707, orders for transition of the city ceased to be forthcoming – coinciding with the time when former viceroy Távora was no longer in charge of colonial affairs or president of the Overseas Council. Royal letters to India had been countersigned by him, indicating that it was at the insistence of Távora that the transfer impetus was kept alive, and with sufficient vigour to last for up to forty years. In 1712 Fr Ignacio de Andrade (administrator of the operations in Mormugão) sent a report to Lisbon, upon receipt of which the king ordered suspension of all the undertakings there[42]. Surprisingly, fifteen years later (in 1725) Lisbon was still demanding to know why authorities in Goa had suspended works in Mormugão[43]. The viceroy informed that another capital city, in Mormugao, would almost certainly entail the eventual loss of the city of Goa[44]. Goa was to endure another Maratha threat, in 1739[45].

In 1777 Lisbon ordered reconstruction of the city of Goa, since the idea of a capital-city in Mormugão had by then been abandoned. The city needed to regain its former glory, and renovation was to be along original architectural lines. But plans dispatched to Portugal implied that estimated costs involved could exceed available resources in the Treasury[46] and by 1780 the city of Goa remained in the same deplorable condition, with entire streets devoid of houses, many ruins, and municipal spaces reduced to open fields[47]. Only nineteen Portuguese lived in the city[48].

Earlier, in 1759, the ruling viceroy had already transferred his residence to Panjim and his successors followed suit, which eventually forced many government offices to move to Panjim and again back to the city of Goa. Between 1810 and 1818 these government offices returned definitively to Panjim to result in its becoming the official capital, in 1843[49]. Eventually Panjim came to be known as 'New Goa' (*Nova Goa*) and the city of Goa, 'Old Goa' (*Velha Goa*).

3. GOA IN THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Isabel Burton, a Britisher visiting Goa in 1876, wrote that Goa and the city of Panjim held nothing attractive or stimulating beyond the hospitality of its people. Goa was 'dead', and there was seemingly nothing to compensate for its negative aspects. She laments the total absence of anything in Goa except the bare necessities of life, and 'the worst climate' she had ever experienced. The visitor's persistent thirst could be slaked only by warm drinks, since there was no ice, and the absence of hotels, bungalows or even tents made her stay decidedly uncomfortable. She decided that those who survived living there did so as if by some miracle, and felt that had she been obliged to live in Goa she would take it as a sort of 'expiation for her past sins and a purgatorial preparation for death[50].' It was from this time that 'Old Goa' and its churches were undergoing transformation into historical and artistic remnants of the past, and not merely an agglomeration of religious curiosities. 'Exposition' of the body of St. Francis Xavier (1878) provided occasion for restoration of some churches, and renewal of selected elements of what was once an urban infrastructure[51].

Katherine Blanche Guthrie (another English lady) visited Goa two years after Isabel Burton, in 1878, and she too commented about the unique and peculiar nature of Goa, which she found different from any travel experience she had previously encountered. 'My first impression of Goa, and, I may add, my last, was that it was the queerest little corner of the earth that I had ever visited,' she wrote[52]. She added that although Goa was 'beautiful' it was 'unhealthy'[53], and that were it not for their sensitive national pride the Portuguese, for an acceptable fiduciary return, might gladly part with a territorial asset which must be troublesome for them to retain[54]. 'Since the Portuguese were incapable of benefiting from Goa the Portuguese government should consider handing over Goa to Great Britain,' Guthrie opined[55].

In the second half of the nineteenth century many visitors to Old Goa described it as being in a state of ruin; the solitude, uncontrolled plant growth, and infested air, had overrun all vestiges of the city's former prosperity, and the whole place seemed on the verge of obliteration[56]. In the first half of the twentieth century it appeared as if Old Goa came to life only for one month every ten years or so, during the decennial exposition of the sacred relics of St Francis Xavier. Unlike Bassein (further north on the Western Coast), which had become wholly deserted, Old Goa's churches at least were still sanctuaries for the 'Blessed Sacrament'. Vast ecclesiastical and monastic structures, though crumbling, were still inhabited, even if only by a few venerable canons. During exposition month the main streets of Old Goa, lined with bustling booths and stalls, came back to life, and in due course light shone (with the installation of electric bulbs) for the occasion[57]. The government spent huge sums in effecting the most urgent repairs, particularly noticeable in the patriarchal palace with its erstwhile order and cleanliness. In the cathedral one could hear the canons chanting

the Divine Office, as they were to do with unfailing regularity, whether Old Goa was crowded or empty. Crowded or deserted, in borrowed finery or in ruins, the city continued whispering in the ear of the visitor a faint echoing of a Portuguese golden past.

CONCLUSION

God, Diogo do Couto felt, was punishing Goa because of her colonial leaders' transgressions – against king, subjects and his Divine Self. Again and again Couto states that manifold injustices committed by the Portuguese themselves could constitute sufficient reason why Goa should no longer endure[58]. A host of hidden meanings may be sensed in and in between these lines!

The city of Goa was in perennial danger of falling into enemy hands throughout the first two centuries of its existence, compelling the city fathers to beg Lisbon for urgent military help[59]. But the ground reality was that soldiers sent to India were often tempted to evade Goa – by neglect, lack of pay and cruel treatment[60]. Badly paid soldiers constantly deserted to the enemy[61]. Many soldiers posted to India sought shelter in the monasteries, resulting in a royal warning to prelates not to meet newly arrived ships transporting military personnel. The king further issued orders that quarters be provided for accommodation of soldiers who disembarked in India, for their use until they embarked again[62].

Portuguese authorities could not, or would not, trust the locals. They said that 'blacks' (Goans) who manned the fortresses were of such low character that they could not be relied upon, and that though some *canarins* (Christian Goans) worked in the fleet they proved to be useless as well, for they turned out more of a liability than an asset for engaging in combat[63]. Communication between local Christians and Hindus of Goa and those living outside Goa was perceived as a threat to the State – so much so that the Inquisition expressly forbade such exchanges[64]. Suppression of local languages, in Portuguese controlled territories (1684), reflects also a prevailing suspicion that veiled messages were being transmitted to enemies.

Viceroys were advised to take notice of how some captains oppressed the people they governed, and instructed that they should take measures for warning or punishing them[65]. The fortress captains, Couto reports, were petty tyrants who monopolized trade, frequently abused both Portuguese and Indian inhabitants within their jurisdictions, and departed from office with three times as much wealth as they had produced in the collection of taxes and customs duties for the crown[66]. Outright extortion, perpetrated by captains and other power-broking officials, was not at all an uncommon practice[67].

Goa was a very 'noble thing' and 'a very honourable thing', wrote Aires da Gama (captain of Cannanore, and brother of the legendary Vasco da Gama) to King

Manuel as long ago as 1518, but according to him this 'good and noble thing' came at enormous cost to the Exchequer, 'because of the very large number of officials, scribes and others, all of whom live in style (eating betel at your expense)', so much so that 'there are more officials there than in two Lisbons[68].' Was the decline of the capital, and eventual abrogation of the plan for a new capital-city, the consequence of exclusion of the locals from offices of responsibility or decadence of officials or ill-treatment to soldiers or just unhygienic conditions? No doubt unhygienic living could destroy an empire, and how many great cities over historical time lie buried because there was simply not one more drop of water? True indeed, as the wise man has said, 'The only thing to fear is fear itself', and this may have had much to do with the end of Goa city. They were so afraid of losing it that they could not muster the energies to go on building it.

NOTES

[1] Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues, "Mormugão, the capital that never was", *Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança*, No. 158, 1989, p. 51.

[2] A. B. de Bragança Pereira, "As Capitais da India Portuguêsa", *O Oriente Portuguêz*, No. 1, December 1931, p. 126-8.

[3] George Davison Winius, *Black Legend of Portuguese India*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1985, p. 99. Disagreement exists about the beginning of the decadence of the empire.

[4] Pereira, p 131.

[5] The city with a population of over 200000 people was reduced to 20000 in 1685. Rodrigues, p. 20; Jose Nicolau da Fonseca, *Sketch of the City of Goa*, New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1986, p. 178.

[6] Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, *O Chronista de Tissuary*, No. 13, Vol. 2, Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, Jan. 1867, p. 4.

[7] The Municipal Council after agreeing with the transfer of the city, later changed its stand and alleged that what made the people move out from the city and build houses in its outskirts was the insalubrities of the city of Goa, for which solution could be found.

[8] In the sixteenth century the Muslims made incursions into the territory of Goa. In 1653 more than 4000 Muslims and some on horseback entered Bardez. *Monção do Reino* (*MR*), 50, fl. 244. In 1654 Adilshah invaded Bardez and Salcete. *Ibid.*,fl. 267; *Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa* (*BFUP*) No. 24, Lisbon, 1963, p. 261. *MR* 50, fl. 66.

[9] In 1639, 1642, 1659 and 1682 the Dutch blockaded the river entrance to Goa to weaken Portuguese commercial power. *MR* 50 fls 250, 181, 244, 58, 66. At the end of the seventeenth century there was perception of a threat from the French and as a consequence the Portuguese allowed British forces to station in Goa.

[10] *MR* 50, fl. 60v.

[11] Francisco de Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Cristo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa*, I, p. 400.

[12] Protection of the State, which was constantly under threat, has been interpreted by some as being the reason for allowing the body to remain in Goa rather than to move to Portugal. Ever since Portuguese viceroys in Goa adopted Xavier as their patron.

[13] Fr. Alexandre Cicero, who visited Goa in the year following the Maratha invasion, wrote in 1684: "The danger seen last year in this city of Goa can easily occur often due to closeness of Goa to

the powerful enemy. On this account we should have the body of our glorious apostle St Francis Xavier in such a manner that it can be easily taken from its sepulchre for a secure place if anything happens suddenly." *Goa et Malabarica* 35, Rome, Jesuit Roman Archives, fl. 298.

[14] J. F. Ferreira Martins, "Mudança da Cidade de Goa para Mormugão (Porque, como e quando se tentou fazer a mudança), *O Oriente Portuguêz*, Nos 1 & 2, 7º Anno, Jan. and Feb., 1910, pp. 37-8.

[15] *Ibid*., p. 40.

[16] *MR* 51, fl. 21 (year 1686). Rodrigues, p. 51.

[17] Martins, p. 39.

[18] *MR* 51, fl 13, 17.

[19] *Ibid.*, fls 9, 17.

[20] *Ibid*., fl. 5.

[21] *Ibid*., fls 13, 17.

[22] *Ibid*., 9. The Comptroller of Finance (*vedor da fazenda)* was in charge of the port or square through which one had to pass to enter the city from the river side. He was in charge of all business of the king, of royal treasury and of all matters pertaining to war, fleets, minting of money, of artillery and other equipment for the ships. He was second to the viceroy.

[23] *MR* 51, fl. 6.

[24] *Ibid*., fl. 13.

[25] Martins, p. 90.

[26] Construction of Fort of Mormugão began in 1624. Nascimento J. Mascarenhas, *Mormugao's Rich Heritage*, Goa, New Age Printers, 2006, p. 12. Today Mormugão is a well developed port-city.

[27] Martins, p. 38.

[28] *Ibid*., p. 39.

[29] *Ibid*., p. 40. The profits accruing from the spice trade belonged to the king whereas the money for maintaining the Goan viceroyalty, the *Estado da India*, was to be arranged locally. Winius, p. xviii.

[30] Martins, pp. 39, 41-2, 92.

[31] *Ibid*., pp. 39, 41-2, 92, 96..

[32] *MR* 52, fl. 19.

[33] Lisbon, March 18, 1693, *MR* 58, fl. 36.

[34] Martins, p. 94. In 1687 Christovam de Souza Coutinho, of the State Council, said that the inhabitants of the city of Goa – noblemen and workers felt that it was not possible to move with their families to the Mount of Mormugão, leaving behind their land and houses and asked from where money would come to build the cathedral, the palaces, the churches, convents… Moreover construction of a new city would only deprive the State of the much needed money for its defence. Dr Manoel Gonsalves Guião said that the expenses should come from the coffers in Portugal and not from the *Estado da India* that was in no condition to pay. The archbishop also opposed the transfer. Moreover the inhabitants of the city pointed out that Mormugão did not offer the advantages attributed to it, since during the monsoon it was not possible to approach it by sea, although the journey by land was comfortable if was not viable for the common men. These two persons had earlier agreed with the transfer of the city. Martins, p. 92-3.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[36] *Ibid*., pp. 94-5.

[37] A Delduque da Costa, "A Tentativa de reconstrução de Goa em 1777", *O Oriente Portuguêz*, No. 1, Dez 1931, p. 102.

[38] Martins, pp. 39, 41-2, 92-3, 96. The governors did not govern in a consensual manner. The governor being superior to anyone was not obliged to take anyone's advise overseas. The post of Comptroller of Finance (*vedor da fazenda*) for India created in 1517 was designed to check the governor's power since the *vedor* was theoretically answerable to the crown alone. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama*, Delhi New, OUP, p. 275.

[39] Martins, p. 96.

[40] *MR* 58, fl. 37, 2, Nov. 1694; *O Oriente Portuguêz*, No. 1, p. 96; *O Cronista de Tissuary*, No.11, p. 279. In 1693 the State was facing shortage of people, ships, money and everything necessary for sustaining it and little assistance could be expected from Portugal. *O Chronista de Tissuary*, Vol. 2. pp. 51-2.

[41] He was the only viceroy to have stayed there but for a short while. Martins, p. 96, 97. When Conde de Alvor finished his term as viceroy he was appointed to a high post in Portugal and colonial affairs depended on him. He continued to pursue vigorously the matter of transferring of the city.

[42] Martins, p. 98.

[43] *Ibid*., p. 99.

[44] *O Chronista de Tissuary*, No. 13, pp. 7-8.

[45] Costa, p. 103.

[46] *Ibid*., p. 116.

[47] *Ibid*., p. 117; *MR* 159D, fl. 1075.

[48] Costa, p. 118; *MR* 161C, fl. 858.

[49] Governor José Joaquim Lopes de Lima (1840-2) asked the Queen Maria II of Portugal to raise Panjim to the status of a city, which was done by a royal decree of 22 Mar. 1843. Oscar de Noronha, "150 Years of a Capital City", in *Goa Today*, May 1993, pp. 32-7. Robert de Souza, "Panjim: Yesterday and Today", in *Goa Today*, Jan. 1976, pp. 18, 30.

[50] Filipa Lowndes Vicente, "St Francis Xavier as seen by Isabel Burton and Mrs Guthrie: Two English Women in Goa During the 1870s", *Oriente, São Francisco Xavier*, Heksa Portuguesa, SA, 2005, p. 82.

[51] *Ibid*., p. 73.

[52] *Ibid*., p. 90.

[53] *Ibid*., p. 94.

[54] *Ibid*., p. 90.

[55] *Ibid*., p. 105. "The possession of Goa, the commerce on the long stretch of its coast, would be a great boon for the British in this part of the Deccan. Its harbour is the finest on the western coast of India, and offers in other respects greater advantages than that of Vingorla." *Ibid*., p. 90.

[56] *Ibid*., p. 91.

[57] H. Roper, "The Opening of the Exposition", *The Examiner*, No. 50, Vol. 82, Bombay, 12 Dec. 1931, pp. 588-92.

[58] Winius, p. 23.

[59] In middle of the seventeenth century efforts to have captains and soldiers stationed in the forts were frustrated by financial situation of the *Estado*. *BFUP* No. 24, pp. 205-6, 291.

[60] Winius, pp. 15, 52, 80.

[61] Subrahmanyam, p. 267.

[62] A letter written in 1654 to the prelates of religious orders. They were also told not to accept more men than their rent and alms permitted. *BFUP* No. 24, pp. 253, 227-8.

[63] *MR* 49, fl. 311v, 312. Letter from Goa to King of Portugal , 20 Jan. 1685.

[64] *BFUP* No. 24, pp. 229-39.

[65] *MR* 51, fl. 17v. The forts of Mormugão, Aguada, Reis Magos; *passos* (passages) of Pangim, Ribandar, S.Tiago, S. Braz, S. João Baptista; forts in the North and *passo* of Daugim had their own captains.

[66] *BFUP* No. 24, p. 261.

[67] Winius, p. 17.

[68] *Ibid*., p. 54.

[69] Subrahmanyam, p. 273.

6

O *ESTADO DO PRESENTE ESTADO DA ÍNDIA* (1725) DE FR. INÁCIO DE SANTA TERESA

Diogo Ramada Curto

Em 1725, o Arcebispo de Goa, D. Inácio de S. Teresa, escreveu um longo discurso político intitulado *Estado do prezente Estado da India. Meyos faceis, e eficazes p.ª o seu augmento e reforma espiritual, e temporal. Tractado Politico, Moral, Juridico, Theologico, Historico e Ascetico*. Da acção episcopal e governativa do autor são conhecidos alguns aspectos. Chegado à capital do Estado da Índia em finais de Setembro de 1721, logo no ano seguinte armou ordenanças para destruir templos hindus. Esta medida inseria-se num programa concreto de visitas pastorais e de reformas que caraterizou a sua permanência em Goa. Em Setembro de 1723, passou a acumular as suas funções com as de governador, numa junta composta de três membros. E foi no âmbito desta sobreposição de cargos que, em 1724, pôs interdito ao tribunal da Relação. Uma vez que o novo vice-rei, João de Saldanha da Gama, só começou a governar em Outubro de 1725, a referida obra apresenta-se como um amplo programa de reformas que o sucessor da junta governativa, à frente do Estado, deveria procurar realizar. Mas a acção de D. Inácio de S. Teresa em terras de Goa continuou a fazer-se sentir até 1739, data em que foi transferido para o bispado do Algarve, curiosamente coincidindo com a perda de Baçaim e da chamada Província do Norte. As suas iniciativas reformistas, sobretudo no plano eclesiástico, bem como as suas intervenções na esfera política – sendo de notar que em Outubro de 1732 voltou a ocupar funções enquanto membro de nova junta governativa – conduziram a que dele se tivesse formado uma imagem de causador de perturbações, de conflitos, e de ser dotado de um génio turbulento[1].

Nesta comunicação limitarei a minha análise ao referido discurso político. A única cópia que dele consegui alcançar tem sido por diversas vezes descrita, mas nunca foi propriamente estudada. Trata-se de um manuscrito de setenta densos folios, que inclui diversas emendas e notas à margem de uma outra mão, provavelmente do próprio D. Inácio, tendo em vista a redacção de uma versão final. O seu carácter incompleto torna-se também evidente devido ao facto de remeter para

numerosa documentação que se encontraria num apêndice, o qual ou nunca chegou a ser escrito, ou se encontra hoje perdido. De qualquer modo, a obra pertence ao género de testamento politico, instruções ou arbítrios, bem representado na mesma época pelas *Instruções* de D. Luís da Cunha a Marco António de Azevedo Coutinho, bem como pela *Instrucção* do Marquês de Alorna ao seu successor como vice-rei, o Marquês de Távora[2].

O *Tratado* propõe uma certa lógica de império, defendida a partir de Goa, num momento concreto e bem preciso. Ora, o trabalho sereno de reconstituição dessas lógicas imperiais afigura-se absolutamente necessário, num momento em que a historiografia da expansão e do império se encontra sujeita mais às lógicas de organização de grupos de historiadores, que se comportam como membros de clientelas investidas de autoridade institucional, do que ao interesse em desenvolver um debate baseado no trabalho analítico sobre as fontes. Frente a este panorama, a preocupação antropológica de reconstituição do sentido atribuído pelos actores às suas próprias acções e formas culturais, bem como o trabalho em pequena escala a que os antropólogos nos convidam deverão servir de incentivos a um tipo de leitura que permita reconstituir analiticamente a diversidade de lógicas imperiais.

Para o Arcebispo de Goa, o principal sentido dessa mesma lógica imperial consistia num retorno ao antigamente, isto é, na recuperação de uma ordem ancestral e tradicional, tida como a única forma de recusar as desventuras e o declínio com que se afigurava o presente. Por isso, pode dizer-se, sem hesitação, que o aspecto mais essencial dessa mesma lógica se encontra numa memória dos tempos passados. Pouco importa determinar se essa memória é tratada como uma construção ou apreendida como algo já naturalizado, por ora, o mais relevante é perceber que essa maneira de lidar com o passado se encontra directamente ligada à noção de reforma do presente. É, pois, a partir desta concepção do passado, que se avalia o declínio do presente, e se propõem medidas de reforma.

A esta maneira de conceber o tempo e de utilizar a memória corresponde uma visão hierárquica da sociedade. No topo desta hierarquia, D. Inácio coloca o Papa, como delegado de Deus na Terra, e senhor de um império espiritual, e o imperador temporal. O rei português era um aspirante a este império universal, pelo menos assim o davam a entender as profecias, muito em particular aquelas que se tinham declarado ao nosso primeiro rei, D. Afonso Henriques. A partir do cume desta pirâmide, definido de forma agostiniana, a partir da imagem dos dois impérios, havia uma dupla hierarquia. Por um lado, os bispos presidiam a uma cadeia de comando que consistia tanto no clero secular, a qual terminava nos padres da paróquia, como no clero regular, as ordens religiosas, muito em particular franciscanos, dominicanos, e padres da Companhia, ou ainda em instituições particulares como a Santa Inquisição ou o Pai dos Cristãos. Por outro lado, estavam os vice-reis, seguidos de toda uma hierarquia militar, composta de generais e capitães, de oficiais de justiça, tais como os desembargadores da Relação, ou ainda

os vedores da Fazenda, até se alcançar num nível mais baixo os oficiais da Alfândega, ou os feitores, e ainda mais abaixo os contratadores das rendas. É a partir desta linguagem dos dois impérios eclesiástico e temporal que D. Inácio pensa a esfera do político. Mas como veremos mais adiante, o seu vocabulário visa defender no interior desta mesma esfera a autoridade e o poder do bispo.

Segundo o *Tratado*, a unidade da casa ou da família, correspondendo a uma concepção aristotélica da *aeconomia*, constituía uma outra forma de conceber a realidade que o circundava, ou seja, de lhe dar sentido. As casas, a começar pela do vice-rei, deveriam ser espelho de virtudes, de moderação nos gastos, e de exemplo para os que delas dependiam. É no interior desta esfera privada que se reconhece o papel das mulheres, acompanhadas das suas escravas – chinas, cafras ou oriundas de Bengala – , fazendo idealmente as suas aparições públicas nas idas à missa. D. Inácio assume claramente a defesa da integridade da casa e das mulheres casadas, denunciando obsessivamente a generalização de uma situação em que os homens mantinham relações extra-conjugais com as chamadas bailadeiras. Escandaloso era, para ele, o caso dos homens que, para manter como "amásias" as referidas bailadeiras, contribuíam para enriquecer os seus respectivos templos hindus. Igualmente condenável era o facto das relações que muitos homens mantinham no interior das casas com as suas escravas. Situação a que muitas mulheres fechavam os olhos, num gesto de cumplíce e amoral permissibilidade, mas a que muitas outras respondiam com manifestações de violento ciúme, mandando espancar até à morte as mesmas servas. No entanto, uma situação havia, segundo o Arcebispo, que gerava um infeliz consenso: é que a maioria das mulheres permitia que as suas escravas fossem usadas nas experiências sexuais dos seus filhos, pois assim estes, em lugar de contraírem doenças venéreas fora de casa, ao menos conseguiam delimitar o potencial contágio a este mesmo espaço doméstico. A atracção exercida pelas mesmas bailadeiras e de uma maneira geral pelas mulheres hindus – retratadas como culpadas no erotismo das suas poses, ao banharem-se praticamente nuas, durante as suas cerimónias – afigura-se também causa do desvio por parte de muitos homens portugueses de relações moralmente aceites. Assim, não só esta situação amoral deveria ser corrigida através de um envio de casais portugueses para Goa, contrariando o predomínio das uniões favorecedoras de uma descedência mestiça, como também se deveriam obrigar os soldados a casar com as suas amásias, fechando a porta a relações ilícitas. Exemplo gritante dos males causados por tais relações ilícitas, dirigidas à satisfação do prazer e não ao estabelecimento de uma verdadeira casa, teria acontecido pouco tempo antes. Uma vez que os soldados portugueses, na véspera de um confronto com o inimigo marata, tinham passado a noite com as suas bailadeiras, Deus castigara-os com a derrota, não estando fora de causa que elas (qual inimigo interno!) teriam passado informações ao inimigo Marata.

A unidade da casa serve também para pensar a relação entre ricos ou poderosos e pobres ou desfavorecidos, todos eles dispostos numa hierarquia idealmente

estática. Por exemplo, as Províncias do Norte, tais como Diu e Baçaim, são descritas como sendo compostas de casas, sendo as mais ricas obrigadas no passado a servir na guerra. Igualmente, quando o autor pretende encontrar um critério para avaliar do estado de riqueza ou de pobreza de cidades e praças, recorre ao número de casas e ao estado em que se encontram. Os rendeiros das gãocarias são também retratados como senhores de casas, capazes de arrastar na sua esfera de influência até quinhentas pessoas. Por último, a convicção com que D. Inácio reclama o direito de dispor dos órfãos hindus, que assistia ao Pai dos Cristãos, constitui a melhor prova desta concepção da sociedade, baseada na casa. Na ausência desta última, só era concebível a autoridade da igreja, com a sua capacidade de integrar em comunidade o povo cristão. Talvez por esta mesma razão seja condenada a tendência excessiva para as capelas privadas ou oratórios, os quais favoreciam a celebração de missas, algumas delas, sumptuosas no interior das casas, fazendo com que estas e muito em particular os seus senhores assistissem como deviam nas suas paróquias.

Este vocabulário, que se inicia pela concepção agostiniana dos dois impérios, espiritual e temporal, e que passa pela concepção aristotélica da casa e do *pater familias*, só adquire toda a sua expressão na esfera da consciência individual. Mas não se julgue que existem aqui ecos de uma qualquer consciência pascaliana. A consciência de que aqui se trata é apenas aquela que vive atormentada com os pecados terrenos. Assim, a mensagem catequética dos sete pecados mortais constitui-se numa das grelhas de leitura da sociedade. Como poderiam os homens vivendo, em Goa e de um modo geral no Estado da Índia, em pecado, resistir ao castigo da divindade? O que equivale a dizer que a única forma possível de escapar ao castigo consistia na subordinação à vontade divina, caso contrário o declínio em todos os domínios seria cada vez maior. No entanto, cumpre insistir que, para D. Inácio, entre a consciência e a vontade de Deus, se interpunha a Igreja. Esta, através do exemplo, mas sobretudo da prédica e da confissão, tinha competência para controlar e coagir o rebanho de Cristo, nos caminhos da salvação. Neste sentido, será necessário reconhecer que a maneira de descrever a situação de declínio em que se encontrava o Estado da Índia não poderá ser dissociada da convicção profunda de uma verdade religiosa, a qual se concretizava no poder da Igreja, a começar pelo do seu representante máximo.

Mas concentremo-nos, por ora, na descrição dos pecados do Estado da Índia. Antes de mais e sempre, o esquecimento em que andavam os homens das suas obrigações religiosas, os seus interesses pelos ganhos no comércio, bem como a sua forma de actuar politicamente seguindo os preceitos da razão de Estado e das máximas de Maquiavel, retratado de forma bem demoníaca, surgem como razões gerais desse desvio e causa do declínio. Há, nesta denúncia, uma atitude profundamente conservadora, que visa submeter tanto a esfera de actuação económica, como a esfera das relações políticas, a um ideal regulado por uma moral centrada na religião e na Igreja católica. À condenação dos comportamentos

económicos e políticos orientados em função da satisfação dos interesses privados, acrescenta-se a denúncia da ostentação e falta de moderação, a qual é particularmente evidente ao nível da casa. O consumo ostentatório e de luxo, considerado totalmente desnecessário e passível de ser corrigido através de uma pragmática, define o comportamento das mulheres portuguesas. D. Inácio revela-se, então, particularmente severo quanto a estas últimas e não hesita em denunciar sobretudo os excessos das portuguesas mestiças. Mas a falta de moderação é considerada característica da maioria das casas e é utilizada para definir o comportamento dos portugueses, que vivem submersos em dívidas. Curiosa é, a este respeito, a maneira como são identificados os desembargadores, os principais magistrados de Goa, como dependentes dos comerciantes locais, banianes, seus credores. À luxúria soma-se a volúpia, a qual se concretiza numa vida entregue aos prazeres terrenos e às relações ilícitas. O tema recorrente das bailadeiras ocupa, aqui, lugar de destaque. Mas o maior inventário de pecados encontra-se no elenco de roubos, muitos dos quais acompanhados do exercício da violência, mais injusta e cruel que imaginar se pode. São disto exemplo as diferentes maneiras de roubar a Fazenda real, contando com a cumplicidade entre oficiais e rendeiros das gãocarias. Mas são sobretudo os roubos e as extorsões praticadas pelos militares, a começar pelos capitães e generais, sobre as populações mais desprotegidas, incluindo os pobres, os órfãos e as viúvas, que impressionam o Arcebispo de Goa, e contribuem para dar ao seu *Tratado* uma perspectiva de crítica profunda às realidades imperiais.

Será, por isso, necessário perceber bem esta articulação entre um pensamento profundamente conservador, baseado numa moral religiosa e reformadora católica bem arreigada, e a crítica sistemática às realidades do império ou do Estado da Índia. Só através da defesa da ortodoxia, que deveria começar pelo reforço da preeminência dos prelados e da sua hierarquia, da autoridade do Santo Ofício, e do exercício legítimo do poder atribuído ao Pai dos Cristãos, é que se poderia reformar o Estado da Índia. No entanto, todo este discurso político de matriz eclesiástica, orientado no sentido de um fortalecimento das formas de controlo, parecia estar em contradição com a própria prática do Arcebispo. A creditar nas palavras de um dos seus inimigos: "O que mais lhe agradava eram as danças de rapazes vestidos ao traje das bailadeiras gentias, que são danças mais profanas que há em todo o mundo e que tanto tem arruinado os Portuguesese em toda a Índia. Mas para que não duvidássemos que mereceram a aprovação do Arcebispo foi elle tão desatento que vindo da freguesia de Sancoale a visitar o Bispo de Nakim, que se achava ali perto do Convento de Nossa Senhora do Pilar, dos Religiosos Capuchos, não duvidou trazer em sua companhia os rapazes das suas danças, e metendo-se com elles em huma cella, os ajudou a vestir por suas mãos daqueles infames trajos que trouxe escondidos, mandando ao Bispo e Religiosos que o esperassem em certa sala, entrou por ela com aqueles ricos feitios, que logo formaram o seu baile com grande pejo do Bispo e confusão dos pobres Capuchos, mas com maior applauso do Arcebispo que

com cabeça e hombros não deixava de acompanhar os seus baylarotes, como me não negou o mesmo Bispo, e confessam os mesmos Frades"[3].

NOTAS

[1] Diogo Barbosa de Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, ????; Joaquim Pedro Celestino Soares, *Bosquejo das possessões portuguesas no Oriente e resumo de algumas derrotas da Índia e da China*, 3 vols. (Lisboa, 1851-1853); José Joaquim Lopes de Lima e Francisco Maria Bordalo, *Ensaios sobre a estatistica das possessões portuguezas na Africa Occdental e Oriental na Asia Occidental e na China e na Oceania*, 2.ª série, livro V (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1862), pp. 122, 160; P. M. J. Gabriel de Saldanha, *História de Goa (Política e Arqueológica)*, 2.ª ed., pref. de J. A. Ismael Gracias (Nova Goa: Livraria Coelho, 1925; ed. facsimilada, Nova Deli, Madras: Asian Educational Services, 1990), p. 195-196; Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes, *Goa Setecentista Tradição e Modernidade (1750-1850)* (Lisboa: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 1996), pp. 143, 168. São numerosos os documentos que se encontram em arquivos e bibliotecas portuguesas acerca de D. Inácio de Santa Teresa, cf. *Fontes para a história do antigo Ultramar português*, vol. I – *Estado da Índia*, t.° I – *Bibliotecas Nacional de Lisboa, da Ajuda, e Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* (Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1978); Biblioteca Pública e Municipal do Porto, Cód. 813, título na lombada: "Obras do Arcebispo do Algarve, t.º 2" (Inclui não paginado: "Manifesto do procedimento do Arcebispo de Goa contra as muytas falsidades, e calumnias que se lhe tem imposto", o qual começa "He disposição geral da Divina providencia descobrir"); Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Braga, ms. 786, fls. 2-46v: "Manifesto do Arcebispo de Goa, D. Inácio de S. Teresa"; BPE, *Manizola*, Cod. 325: Fr. Inácio de Santa Teresa, 95 fls. BPE, *Manizola*, cod. 594 – "Memória sobre Padroado da Índia em 1743"

[2] Para outras indicações, cf. Diogo R. Curto, "Descrições e representações de Goa", in *Histórias de Goa*, ed. Rosa Maria Perez (Lisboa: Museu Nacional de Etnologia, 1997), p. 73.

[3] *Boletim do Estado da Índia* (1861), p. 354, cit. Por Leopoldo da Rocha, "Uma página inédita do Real Mosteiro de Santa Mónica de Goa (1730-1734) e achegas para a história do padre nativo", *Mare Liberum*, n.º 17 (Junho 1999), p. 245.

7

ALTERNATE MEDICINE IN GOA

Fatima da Silva Gracias

Goa, one of the smallest states in the west coast of India and a former enclave of Portugal, has an ancient heritage of indigenous medicine. This is a place that in course of its history has seen convergence of various medicinal systems – western and eastern. A variety of healing practices such as elite systems of Ayurveda and Unani practiced by vaidyas and the hakims as well as remedies of various folk healers – *oids, herbolarios, curandeiros, feiticeiros*, snake bite curers, bone-setters, tooth pullers, faith healers, *bhats, deshtikars* and *ghaddis*[1]. Indigenous medicine has been popular for centuries, particularly at the time when western medicine was not available to the majority of the population.

Indigenous medicine is popularly known among the local population as *Ganvti vokot (*medicine of the land) to differentiate it from western medicine. *Ganvti vokot* includes herbal medicine, rituals, penance, fasting, various healing techniques such as trance, exorcism, faith healing, *disht, ghaddipon*, as well as medicine provided by practitioners of elite systems. There is a great deal of syncretism in some of the healing rituals that are practiced. There is a combination of Hindu and Christian elements.

In 1510, the Portuguese conquered Goa and brought along their system of western medicine which was available in the city of Goa and surrounding areas. Subsequently, over the centuries western medicine was made available to the masses. To begin with, western medicine was accessible only to certain sections of the population, i.e. mainly to the Portuguese whites and newly converted Christians[2]. The majority of the people had to depend on folk medicine, the only medicine available to them during the major part of the Portuguese rule due to various factors including unavailability of doctors trained in western medicine[3], lack of transport and high cost of western medicine which was imported from other places.

Eastern and Western medicine co-existed peacefully for sometime. We have an example of this co-existence at the Hospital Real/ Hospital Militar of Goa. This led to an interesting mixture of western and eastern medical ideas. Garcia d'Orta, a well

known Portuguese physician recognized the superiority of Indian treatment over the western one in tropical diseases as for example in the *Doenças das Camaras* (dysentery). He often sought the help of Malupa, the Hindu medical practitioner of his household in the use of traditional medicine. Viceroys, high government and church officials often consulted native practitioners in case of tropical diseases or when doctors trained in western medicine were not available. They discovered that doctors form Portugal knew nothing of tropical diseases like cholera; small pox and certain fevers and that native practitioners had better knowledge of these diseases[4]. Native doctors worked many times at the Hospital Real/Hospital Militar[5], when doctors trained in western medicine were not available in Goa.

However, from the middle of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese decided to impose restrictions on native practitioners, mainly *vaidyas* whom they called *panditos*[6]. Traditional medicine suffered owing to various restrictions imposed by the Portuguese, Church Provincial Councils[7] and the Inquisition who issued bans on the practice of indigenous healers apparently because of their moral influence on their newly converted patients. The few Portuguese doctors who were in Goa also seemed to be jealous of the native practitioners and used their influence within the ruling quarters to curb the practice of native medicine men[8] But they did not fully succeed in getting rid of practitioners of alternate medicine. At the turn of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Hospital Militar was in the hands of the local brahmin practitioner, Ignacio Caetano Afonso[9], when the chief physician, Dr. Luis da Costa Portugal returned to Portugal. Indigenous practitioners at the Hospital Militar, such as Ignacio Afonso, Eusebio Lourenço de Sequeira and António de Noronha made use of herbal medicines.

The majority of the population in Goa had great faith in folk healers who spoke the same language and often belonged to the same socio-economic condition. Folk healers prepared medicine with their own hands – it had their touch. Their remedies were cheap and easily available. Often, they did not accept fees, accepted the popular belief that diseases were caused by angry gods, spirits or magic and used various means to pacify gods or get rid of magic. The masses believed that folk healers had qualities transcending those of western trained doctors. Besides, the poor could not afford extended expenses in the treatment offered by practitioners of western medicine. At other times, they wanted quick temporary relief available with folk healers. Folk medicine required no prolonged hospitalization or no hospitalization at all. However, the situation has changed in the course of last fifty years.

In this work we are going to concentrate not on elite systems of traditional medicine but on various other folk healers as *oids* (doctors), *curandeiros* (quacks), *herbolarios* (herbalists), snake bite curers, bonesetters, folk healers, exorcists and other medicine men who claimed that their powers to cure were an inherited one, passed on from generation to generation.

In the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, the Portuguese and the educated Goan classes referred to all folk healers (who were not trained in western medicine) as *curandeiros* (quacks/shamans) in a pejorative sense. Their medicine known as *curandeirismo* was illegal and considered unscientific. Their ability to cure were often questioned and ridiculed. Generally, doctors trained in western medicine had no faith in indigenous remedies for reasons already mentioned and also due to the fact that practitioners of western medicine had no knowledge how to prepare and use indigenous remedies. The term *curandeiro* also encompassed practitioners trained in western medicine who made use of indigenous remedies. In a narrower sense, the term *curandeiros* was used to refer to those medicine men who prescribed medication based on herbal and home remedies in combination with rituals or without them.

Healers of repute particularly those who did not make use of rituals were known in local parlance as *oids*. The term *oids* was in a wider sense used to refer to practitioners of ayurvedic medicine, herbalists, bone setters, *curandeiros* and even doctors trained in western medicine who made use of herbal medicine. This category included also practitioners from Malabar who practiced in the city of Goa, some priests and those without any professional training but who were granted licenses to practice by the government due to lack of trained doctors. Herbalists were popularly known as *zhadpalyacho oid* or among the Christians as *zhadpalyacho dotor*. Their medicine, as *zhadpalyachem vokot* or *palamulachem vokot*.

SNAKE BITE CURERS, BONE SETTERS AND TOOTH PULLERS

Goa is well known for a variety of reptiles of all sizes, some of them poisonous. The death rate due to snake bites was significant in the colonial period and antidotes were not known or easily available. Every village or group of them had snake charmers whom the Portuguese called *garupeiros* or snake bite curers. Sometimes, the snake charmer and snake bite curer was one and the same person. The curer learnt mantras, performed rituals and made use of herbal medicine to neutralize poison. The secrets of these cures were known only to a few families and the ability to cure was supposed to be inherited one, passed on to both male and female members. However, girls would loose their power once they married[10]. Snake bite curers were the most respected of all folk healers.

Among the rituals performed by snake bite curer was *zaddo* or *zaddnim* carried out by *zhaddekars* who were believed to possess the healing touch. This ritual was performed in some places for three days and others for seven[11]. Another treatment given to the patients was a concoction made of *menqui* leaves[12]. Some practitioners applied the paste of the leaves at the spot of the bite. Records show that this treatment was used by the Portuguese during the second half of the nineteenth century at the

Hospital Regimental (old Military Hospital) at. Nova Goa (Pangim)[13] to cure Portuguese soldiers bitten by snakes[14]. In the nineteenth century, native practitioners also made use of an imported plant of Brazilian origin known as *Diapana*. The plant was sent from Mauritius by merchants Brown and Diner to Goan merchants Mhamais of Pangim[15]. The juice extracted from the leaves acted as a powerful antidote against snake bites.

An effective treatment used by both native and western practitioners of medicine from the early decades of the twentieth century were the little chicks to suck the venom by placing the anus of the chicks on the wound. The chicks died after sucking venom. Several chickens were required to remove all poison. Before starting the procedure the leg was tied very tight above the wound. Some other commonly used treatment consisted of *Pau de Cobra*, *Raiz das Cobras*, also known as *Anmontevel*. Some curers tied the leg above the wound very tight and made a V shaped incision to allow flow of the blood and then put a snake stone (*Pao de cobra* on the wound) to suck the poison.

Another group of practitioners much in demand during the Portuguese period and even now to some extent, is the traditional bonesetters who take care of sprains, dislocations and fractures. During the major part of the Portuguese rule, bonesetters were the only people available to a large number of people with fractures. They were less expensive, more easily available and sometimes even came home. They knew the skills of immobilization. Their ability to cure was passed from the father to son and has been appreciated even by orthopedic surgeons trained in western medicine The bonesetters of Ilhas (Tiswadi) are still popular in Goa. In the twentieth century, the capabilities of bone setters, Gonsalves from Santa Cruz and *Zuari oid* also known as *Jaki* (Joaquim) *oid* from Goa Velha, were well known. The skills of *Zuari oid* was inherited by his son Jesus who passed them on to his sons, Sabino and Paul. The latter also holds degrees in homeopathy. Bonesetters have their own clinics sometimes attached to their homes. They use bamboos and wooden rulers for splints and pastes made of leaves and roots.

OIDOS, CURANDEIROS, HERBOLARIOS AND VAIJENS

Besides *oids* who dealt with fractures, there were other *oids* and families of *oids* (doctors) who treated various ailments. Among these *oids* were the Vaidya family of Ponda, Peregrino da Costa family of Aquem, Govind Poi Raiturkar family of Margão and Subraia Naik family also from Margão[16] and *Zuari oid of* Goa Velha. Among the religious orders, the Augustinians in the nineteenth century are on record for herbal cures for dog bites and liver problems[17].

The Vaidya family has been well known for generations for their treatment based on ayurveda system. The most famous in this family was Dada Vaidya, who was

known not only in Goa but outside Goa in places such as Kolhapur, Sawantvaddi, Sangli, Miraj, Baroda, Gwalior, Bombay and Pune. Like his ancestors *Dada oid* provided free medical treatment and was much sought after for the cure of tuberculosis[18]. Some of these practitioners moved about in a machila. Near Margao (Salcete), "*Aquem oid*" (Peregrino Costa) dispensed secret medicinal cures for *febres nervosas*, obstructions of the spleen and liver ailments. Among his three sons, one was trained in western medicine and the other two made use of their hereditary skills. There were trained doctors in this family in subsequent generations too who continued to provide secret cures. At present, family members still provide remedies, so does the Govind Poi Raiturkar family which has a secret cure for problems of the liver[19]. Salcete also had a practitioner of western medicine, Dr. Baronimo Monteiro who made use of naturopathy to cure diseases[20]. He is said to have cured people in serious conditions suffering from tuberculosis and other diseases.

Many of the *oids* and other folk healers knew "secret inherited remedies" based on western and indigenous medicine for a wide range of diseases such as pneumonia, liver and spleen problems, venereal diseases, animal bites, wounds and tetanus. These "secret cures" were known only to them and their families. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Portuguese tried to make some of them divulge their secrets by using pressure or promising incentives as in the case of one Dessai Ana Taragancar from Sawantawadi who practised at Nova Goa (Pangim). Dessai Ana Taragancar was invited to treat two patients at the Hospital Militar, one in the field of medicine and the other in the field of surgery in order to prove his capabilities[21].

In the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century, Goa had many *curandeiros* particularly in Bardez and Salcete who made use of herbal and home remedies. Some performed rituals too. There was hardly any difference between *curandeiros* and *herbolarios*. A large number of people sought their help for all kinds of ailments and mainly for ailments connected with the stomach, skin and lungs.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the government made attempts to end or control the activities of *curandeiros*. An *alvara* of 1810, tried to control the activities of *curandeiros* but did not succeed. In 1853, another attempt was made in this direction. Taluka administrators and government physicians were asked to inform the Health Board about their activities so that action could be taken as per the *alvara* of 1810. However, the authorities were unable to keep a check on them due to lack of trained doctors. Again in 1860, the government made another attempt to control the activities of *curandeiros* and specified measures to be taken against them. The professional skills of some of them were certified by the parish priests of their respective villages. The census of 1910, indicated that Goa had 18 *curandeiros*[22]. The number must have been higher.

The number of practitioners of indigenous medicine is very much reduced in Goa. Some of these in present times are trained in Ayurveda or homeopathy. People seek their help. The homeopath of Arpora, José Souza at one point of time was

immensely popular with people of all classes for various cures including allergies, lung infections, kidney and skin problems. His practice today is carried on by his son who is a trained practitioner of homeopathic medicine. Since the last decades of the twentieth century hordes of people visit the native practitioner Fernandes of Borim-Ponda to find cures for several ailments. This practitioner claims to have found cure for AIDS. Another practitioner in demand is Saipencho dotor from Candolim, Bardez.

During the major part of the Portuguese rule in Goa, women resorted at the time of deliveries to a *dai/ viajen* or *voijin* – birth attendants. Some were known as *viojin Mae* as a sign of respect and since most of them were middle age. *Dais/Voijins* were the only help available to a vast majority of people for a long time. Even when nursing homes came into existence in the third decade of the twentieth century, few women were prepared to go to these places. They preferred to give birth at home in their milieu with the help of a *dai.*

Every village had at least a *voijin* who went to the house of the patient to attend to deliveries and provided medicine for women and children. *Voijins* had no formal training and belonged to the lower strata of society because among Hindus, the whole process of birth was considered polluting. *Voijins* learnt about their trade from their mother or older members of the family. They performed several rituals at the time of child birth. In the eighteenth century, the Holy Inquisition tried to prevent Christian *voijins* from performing some of the non-Christian rituals. Christians were banned from seeking help from non-Christian dais. In the eighteenth century, Catharina de Souza commonly known as Boteli, a midwife from Nerul-Bardez was forbidden by the Inquisition to resort to *ritos gentilicos* (non-Christian rituals) at the time of deliveries. Another midwife from Chinchinim (Salcete) was exiled to the garrison area of Rachol for advising superstitions rites as a cure for an illness of a child.

During the last few decades of Portuguese rule, a few women were given practical training and posted as *parteiras* in some Municipal towns such as Quepem and Sanguem. Presently, women even from remote areas do not resort to *dais* at the time of deliveries but prefer to go to the nearest hospital. Most *vaijins Mae* rarely perform deliveries but continue dispensing herbal medicine to women suffering different kinds of health problems, mainly gynecological ones. These women or another set of women are also well known as masseurs who provide massages and baths to the new born and their mothers for a least two months after delivery.

DEITIES, RITUALS, SAINTS AND MIRACLES

Goans are very religious and often seek the help of divine power of gods, goddesses as well as saints in times of physical affliction and mental distress. Prayers, pilgrimages, poojas, *ladainhas* are conducted for the wellbeing of the

family. It is not unusual for Goans to forget their individual religion and caste in worshipping some of these god and saints as in the case of Mhamai Saibhin of Fatorpa, Our Lady of Milagres at Mapuça and St. Francis Xavier.

Throughout their lives Hindu married women perform poojas and undergo fasts and penance for the good health of their husbands. Hindus seek their gods and goddesses and Christians have devotion to Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus and various saints.

For centuries Hindu Goans have been going on pilgrimages to holy places in other parts of India such as Pandhurpur, Kashi, and Varanasi. In the early part of the twenty-first century, the numbers of these pilgrimages have increased as result of better means of transport and better economic condition. In recent times, some politicians with vote bank in mind have also organized trips for their voters to places of pilgrimages. Goan Hindus have also been going to Sirdhi, Tirupati and Ankola, while Christians have been making pilgrimages to Tamilnad and Kerala.

There were recurrent epidemics of small pox and cholera until the first two decades of the twentieth century. Hindus believed that these diseases and a few others were caused by the wrath of god and goddesses. It was believed that when gods were not given proper recognition and reverence they were angry and their wrath was responsible for diseases such as small pox and cholera. Therefore, there was need to pacify them through sacrifices, penance, religious prayers and offerings. During the outbreak of small pox, Hindus sought the help of goddess Sitaladevi and although she is a minor god in the Hindu religious hierarchy she was considered as living medicine. Numerous offerings and rituals were performed to appease her or avert the fatal disease. The ritual *utar* was performed in which a goat or seven roosters were sacrificed. Cholera was also believed to be caused by the goddess Durga and in order to appease her several ceremonies were performed.

Mhamai Saibhin of Fatorpa temple in Quepem taluka still is hugely popular with people of all communities who seek her help in times of illness, particularly during the time of Zatra held in the Paush month of December-January. The goddess is supposed to appear in dreams and ask for something which has to be donated to the temple and when that is donated the person is relieved of afflictions. The goddess not only appears through dreams but by possessing individuals and speaking through them.

The Holy Inquisition tried to prevent Christians from seeking help or resorting to non-Christian practices of offering coconuts or donating cash to various Hindu gods in order to relieve them or their family from sickness. In 1765, João Benedito de Noronha was accused by the Inquisition of making offering to goddess Mhamai to obtain cure for his sick child. The following year, Bombo, an inhabitant from Mandur (Ilhas) was condemned for seeking help of non-Christian gods and taking other people along with him. As a punishment he had to spend six month at the convent of S. Cruz dos Milagres.

From the last decades of the twentieth century, Kerala has been attracting large number of Goans of all ages and creeds, mainly Christians who go to Muringoor (better known as Potta) Divine Retreat Centre. Those who attend the week long retreats, claim inner healing, great spiritual experience and cure for their mental and physical ailments. Healings are achieved through prayers and complete confessions. People suffering from many incurable diseases have found themselves cured after participating in the retreat. There are claims that the lame could walk and the blind could see. Not all are cured but vouch for having experienced divine presence in them.

Many Goans also go on pilgrimages to Tamil Nadu to pray for good health and offer thanksgiving for the gifts received from Our Lady of Good Health – Vailankani. These are not the only places visited by Goans to find relief. There are also many other churches within Goa. Some years back thousands of people used to gather at night vigil conducted to seek healing for various physical and spiritual problems at Siolim (north Goa) by Fr. Salvador Gomes Coutinho. These night vigils continued until the priest was transferred outside Goa. More recently, another priest has been conducting healing sessions, first in South Goa and subsequently not far from Panjim. These night vigils and services are attended by people of all communities, but mainly by Christians.

Christians also believe that their saints have powers to cure disease. Among the saints Goans have great faith in the Spanish St. Francis Xavier whose relics are housed at Basilica do Bom Jesus in the old city of Goa. Thousands of people visit the shrine every year and particularly at the time of annual feast in December and decennial expositions. Several miraculous cures have been attributed to him during and after his life time. People of all creeds seek his intervention in time of personal crisis such as childless couples and sick people[23]. In thanksgiving they offer him candles, different parts of the body made of wax, flowers and money.

People from all walks of life visit the Miraculous Cross at Bambolim particularly on Sundays when masses, litanies are sung, candles and flowers are placed for various cures and thanksgiving. Another popular place among the Christians of Ilhas is the See Cathedral where every Sunday novenas are conducted in honour of Our Lady of Three Necessities while the Church of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour at Tivim is popular among the people of Bardes.

Many newly married couples and couples without children from all over Goa attend the feast of Santa Ana (Santana) the mother of Virgin Mary on 30 July. The feast is known as "*Tavshache (Toucheam*) *Fest*. On this day the couples offer *tavshachim (*cucumbers) to St. Ana to bless them with a child. Young unmarried also go there praying for a partner and make offering of *udid* and *colher*[24].

FEITICEIROS AND FETISHES

There is lot of syncretism in Goa, and even faithful Christians have the gumption to practice at times some non-Christian rituals for good health, cures or to remove evil spirits. Hindus and Christians attend each others religious ceremonies. Goan Hindus when converted to Christianity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries retained several Hindu beliefs and practices associated with birth, marriage and health.

Since the early 1970s, people have been seeking help from Christ Ashram, the place situated at Nuvem (Salcete) – south of Goa along the Panjim-Margao highway – a place for healing and exorcism for people who cannot afford, find no cure in western medicine or believe in the abilities of the healer and exorcist, Miguel Colaço. The majority of those who seek his help are Christians. A significant number of those who visit the place are people suffering from chronic mental illness or who are mentally disturbed and who believe that they are victims of evil influences. Others leave without any results. Healing is attempted through several syncretic rituals. There is crawling and rolling of devotees on the ground. Some get possessed. On Friday there is station of the cross and litany. No medicine is prescribed and fees are not charged but donations are accepted. The services are held throughout the day and there are special services on request. Although, the Ashram has been named after Christ and some Christian symbols such as cross, holy water and missals are used, the cult has nothing to do with Christianity[25].

Goans like people in other parts of the country are superstitious. Superstitions were used to cure various ailments caused by the effect of evil eye. It is believed that certain people have the faculty to cast spell by gazing. Among other things such spell was responsible in human beings for ill health and diseases. People of all communities and social status believe in evil eye. In some areas, it is believed that widows and childless women are inauspicious and they cause diseases. Their gaze at a child was considered full of desire and it made the child cry and suffer from diseases. That is the reason why many parents would be upset if someone appreciated the beauty or strength because they feared this would cause bad health.

In order to get rid of these spells or evil eye people make use of various charms and incantation. They to go professional *dishtikars* or to an older person in the family who have powers to get rid of *dist* (evil eye) through prayers and rituals. Christian *dishtikars* make use of holy water, dried red chilies, salt, alum, burnt hair and skin of onion. Their power to remove *disht* seem to be an inherited one. Among the Christians, *disht* is removed on Sundays and Wednesdays. Bardez had many professional *dishtikars*. A simpler form of removing *disht* consists of red chilies, salt and alum. These are placed in a container over hot charcoal and waived around the head of the patients. The alum took the shape of a man or woman and from this conjectures were made as to the sex of the person by whose evil eye the patient was affected. After

this ritual the contents in the container are placed on the road side to repel evil spirit. To protect from evil eye various charms were used. The most popular charm was black soot applied as eyeliner to the child, smeared on the face or put as a dot on the cheek to ward off evil eye and prevent illness. Others used different kinds of amulets such as beads, black bangles, and cords around the waist or wrist. Infants are worn black and white bangles. Black is used to prevent evil eye and white is used as a preventive against worms. Amulets were worn to cure or prevent diseases. The majority of lower class children wore amulets around their waist or neck to protect them against diseases. To ward off evil eye even some educated people among the Hindus decorated the front doors of their houses particularly when a new born lives in the house with marvel (*andropogan annulatus*) A similar practice existed in some parts of Portugal and China which consisted in placing over doors of the houses, branches of certain spice trees to dispel evil spirits and evil eye.

The Portuguese called them *feiticeiros* (witches), in Konkani they are known as *ghaddis*. They are a kind of shamans who can tell the cause and cure all diseases. Their technique was known as *Ghaddipon*. *Ghaddis* are very popular among non--Christians of the New Conquests territories. Christians also consult them. In present times, their number has gone down. *Ghaddis* are both Hindus and Christians. They are a go-between or medium between the unknown and men, mainly the dead and the living who are harassed by the former specially by people who die young such as women who die during the child birth and young men of marriageable age. These according to the *ghaddis* have a longing to return to the world and harass the living by causing problems including all kinds of illnesses. Non-Christian *ghaddis* were in majority and popular. They occupy a special place in the life of harassed people who seek them to find the causes for their problems. *Ghaddis* are supposed to make contacts with the dead and call on spirits to find out the cause. People go to *ghaddis* to remove spells that have been cast or to place a curse. For instance, if a person had a catch on his leg he had to go to a person born through his feet and get them rubbed in the area of the catch.

Hindu witches were considered superior to the Christian ones since they performed several rituals. They sometimes dressed in outlandish clothes, wore silver bangles and ear rings and carried a wand in their hands. Christian witches made use of Christian symbols such as holy water, relics, prayers amulets, piece of cloth use to cover the saints, ribbon in the size of a particular saint and rose of Jericho. Simão da Cunha of Goa Velha made use of a cross which he placed on a rock in the Zuari river. Some Christian witches also practiced non-Christian rituals. The Holy Inquisition tried to curb their activities[27] and as a punishment some of them were exiled to different places within Goa. They practiced on a hillock, a cave or a ground covered with cow dung, burning fire and water nearby[28]. In the past the ceremony would begin with an animal or bird (normally a roaster) sacrifice, followed by shouting near the fire place. The witch would go in a trance and possessed by a force that

inspired him to find a cure or solution. Childless women resorted to superstitious rites to conceive[29]. Offerings were made to *bhut* (devil) to cure or prevent diseases[30]. Today one does not hear much about witches although a few still exist in some places.

HERBAL MEDICINE

Goa's flora consists of myriad herbs, plants, spices which have great therapeutic value. By trial and error the natives have learnt about their medicinal value. Herbal remedies consist of plants, roots, bark, leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds, juices and gums of plants. In the collection of ingredients for herbal remedies several factors are to be considered because its effectiveness depended on time, place, season when they were collected. Medicinal plants were not effective from dry sandy places, places covered by water, destroyed by ants or places were bodies were buried. Sacred places and places with too much salt also were not good to raise medicinal plants. The best place was near the water. The day, time of the collection and the position of the stars were also important considerations when collecting medicinal plants. The person who collected the plants had to do so after prayers and on an empty stomach. Besides, these medicinal plants collected in Goa, medicinal plants were imported from Mauritius, Macau, Africa and other places. *Salsaparilha, sorival (abutua) althea officinalis, carrapatos (ricinus communis*) are some of the herbal medicine used at the Hospital Militar in the second half of the nineteenth century. There are references to various herbs sent from Goa to Portugal[31] and various Portuguese *feitorias*. Mhamai House records provide information on herbal plants and remedies with herbal base such *xarope de brindão*, leaves of malva, and others sent from Goa to Portugal[32]. In a letter dated 1798, the Portuguese authorities were requesting the authorities in Goa to ask physicians and practitioners from Malabar practicing in Goa to write a report on the plants sent to Lisbon by listing their exact description, indicating the season of the year when it grows, the locality where it is usually found and its main medicinal uses. The same letter mentioned that without these details it would be difficult for Portuguese doctors to make any use of these plants, shrubs and remedies. Doctors in Goa trained in western medicine ignored these herbal medicines also because they had no idea about its contents and preparation.

The inhabitants of Goa also have thermal baths to find cure for their ailments. Sea water baths provide relief for arthritis and skin disorders. Every year hundreds of people take these baths in some well known beaches in north and south Goa. However, the sea waster baths do not give relief for those who stay in the coastal area all year around. Therefore, the inhabitants of coastal areas resort to spring baths. Most of the medicinal springs were/are situated in Old Conquest territories and are supposed to provide relief from skin, nervous, lung and eye problems. There are springs for specific illnesses.

Western and alternate medicine parleyed in Goa for a period of time. The Portuguese for reasons mentioned earlier created conditions that contributed to the decay of indigenous medicine. Indigenous medicine received no official patronage. But it survived due to popular support and unavailability of western medicine in rural areas, lack of transport and faith of the people.

In post colonial times, there is revival of alternate medicine. But people prefer to go to trained professionals of indigenous medicine such as ayurvedic and homeopathic systems. There are cases when people seek help from practitioners of both western and indigenous medicine. Others go first to a practitioner trained in western medicine and when his medicine does not give results or find allopathic treatment too expensive, they resort to a indigenous healer. Some seek the help of indigenous medicine because of its main drawing factor being natural ingredients, safety and holistic approach that modern medicine is devoid of.

Goa has today a College of Ayurvedic Medicine affiliated to Goa University and its graduates have started practicing in various parts of Goa. Nevertheless, the majority of the population in Goa resort to modern medicine which is more easily available due to improvement in transport facilities, free medical treatment made available by the government and the fact that contemporary medicine has cure or relief for many life threatening diseases.

NOTES

[1] Fatima da Silva Gracias, *Health and Hygiene in Colonial Goa ,1510-1961*, New Delhi, 1994, p. 157.

[2] *Ibid.,* p 144.

[3] New Conquests territories had no trained doctors in western medicine until the second half of the nineteenth century except for some military doctors at garrison towns.

[4] Lack of knowledge of tropical diseases was one of the causes of high mortality rate at the *Hospital Real*. In 1605, *Senado de Goa* (Municipal Council) was complaining to the Portuguese king that the high mortality rate at the hospital was because the newly arrived doctors from Portugal knew nothing of local diseases.

[5] Hospital Real was renamed as Hospital Militar after 1759.

[6] *Archivo Portugues Oriental*, Fasc. 5, Part II,1886, pp. 543-5.

[7] *Bullarium Patronatus in Ecclesiis Africae, Asiae atque Oceaniae*,tomo I, ed., V. de Paiva Manso, Lisbon, 1889, p. 69.

[8] *Ibid*., .

[9] *Historical Archives of Goa: Monções do Reino* – 177 A, fl. 212.

[10] Among the families who had a secret cure for snake bite was one Mandrecar family of Pernem who used water from a spring to neutralize snake poison.

[11] It began by beating the head of the patient with a branch of *usky* (*Calycopteris Floribunda*). The patient was given a root to chew, the identity of this root was a closely guarded secret known only to the curer. Juice extracted from similar root was applied to the scalp of the patient. The ritual was held several times on the first day and on subsequent days for shorter periods. On the last day, the patient was massaged with coconut oil and given a bath.

[12] *Menqui* was a shrub about 8 feet high. Menqui leaves were ground with water and the juice extracted was given to the patients.*Menqui* was available in plenty in the New Conquest territories such as Ponda.

[13] In 1842 Hospital Militar was shifted from Panelim (near the old city of Goa) to Nova Goa (Panjim) which became the new capital of *Estado da India* in 1843. In 1851, Hospital Militar was renamed as Hospital Regimental but the people continued to call it Hospital Militar for some more time.

[14] *Archivo de Pharmacia e Sciencias Accessorias da India Portuguesa*, ed. António Gomes Roberto, Nova Goa , Imprensa Nacional , no.74, November 1869. *Menqui* leaves were grown in the compound of Hospital Regimental (Hospital Militar).

[15] Pangim known today as Panjim or Panaji.

[16] Fr. David Pereira was also well know practitioner in Salcete.

[17] They left Goa in 1830s when Religious Orders were banned.

[18] Bascora Dessai , *Dada Vaidya 1859-1947 – In Memorium*.

[19] More recently two priests one at Navelim and another at Chandor (Fr. Felizardo Gomes) also have some secret cures.

[20] Fruits, cereals, baths, urine and saliva were used in the cure of diseases.

[21] *Archivo de Pharmacia e Sciencias Accessorias da India Portuguesa*,ed. António Gomes Roberto, Nova Goa,Imprensa Nacional, pp.42-3.

[22] Four practiced in Panjim, five in Salcete, three in Sanquelim and three in Sanguem.

[23] Fatima da Silva Gracias, "St. Francis Xavier – His Memories in Goa" , in *D. Joao III e o Imperio, Actas do Congresso Internacional Comemorativo do seu Nascimento* (Lisboa e Tomar, 4- 8 June 2002) Lisbon, 2004.

[24] When making the offering unmarried boys say : *Senhora tomai colher ,dai-me mulher* (Lady take this spoon and give me a wife) , while young girls pray : *Senhora tomai urid ,dai-me marido*.(Lady take this handful of urid and give a husband). Young girls offer also sometimes chudo (set of bangles worn by girls engaged to be married.) for the good health of their fiancés in case of his illness.

[25] Robert Newman,…

[26] *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, Lisboa (henceforth Torre do Tombo) *Conselho Geral do Santo Oficio*-Maço 38, no. 7.

[27] *Torre do Tombo*: *Conselho Geral do Santo Oficio*- maço 33, no. 20.

[28] Health and Hygiene, *op.cit*.

[29] *Torre do Tombo*: maço 33, no. 19.

[30] *Ibid*., no. b17.

[31] *Archivo de Pharmacia e Sciencias Accessorias.*

[32] Xavier Centre of Historical Research: *Mhamai House Papers* , doc. 3314, fl. not numbered.

8

LITERATURE AND HISTORY

Maria Aurora Couto

As a teacher of literature, I have always enjoyed placing a text within its context, encouraging students to read social history and generally bringing the text to life by urging students to imagine the world of the narrative. This has not been done in recognition of theories of New Historicism, or Cultural Materialism but because, it seemed to me, that the world of the narrative, of the poem, or the play as the case may be, could only be fully understood from within the context of the experience recreated, as also the context of the author's experience. Historical imagination is what gives Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (1981), its power, as it does much of the creative work I enjoy and I have often paused to reflect on how much of the great fiction, poetry and film of the last century, has been inspired by historical events - the two world wars as experienced in Britain, in Europe and in the British colonies, the Indo British encounter in all its ramifications, revolutions, migrations, and the deeply mined experience of exile which as Edward Said, poignantly noted, is a metaphor for modern experience itself. Indeed it would be fair to say that much of the literature that is being taught today is enriched by being so deeply embedded in history.

If students of literature are exposed to a study of history and if schools of criticism assert the need to historicise the text, it seems reasonable to state that history too would be enriched by a study of literature, and to emphasise the primacy of the imagination in the writing of both history and literature. While literary criticism beginning with Roland Barthes' and Hayden White questions the boundaries that separate history from fiction, R.G. Collingwood[1] stressed the importance of the human imagination in the writing of history, the need to imagine the past, and explained that to imagine the past does not turn the work of the historian into fiction. Collingwood has argued that history has an 'outside' and an 'inside' – the 'outside' being the observable part, and the 'inside' which can only be 'described in terms of thought.' And these can only be imagined. The full picture in so far as is possible can be recreated when these two dimensions are put together in a combination of deep

study of primary sources, and creative use of the imagination in interpreting and living the period, the action, its participants or the personality being studied. Without the imagination, the past cannot, he said, be reconstructed or understood.

An increasing number of novelists research and then imagine the past in order to recreate it. Indeed a new genre – faction – has been created by the extensive use of historical facts and documentation, the most famous example being Thomas Keneally's *Schindler's List* (1993), and J.G.Ballard's *Empire of the Sun* (1987). My favourite example of a good twentieth century novelist as social historian is the Italian Giuseppe di Lampedusa who lived through historic change and wrote only one novel at the end of his life – *The Leopard* (1958), a classic narrative related through the consciousness of a proud aristocrat who witnesses the passing away of the old order during the Risorgimento when Garibaldi was campaigning to unite the Italian state. A student of history wishing to understand the public and private turbulence, tension, idealism and challenges of that time, or in the decades straddled by Rushdie in *Midnight's Children*, or by Saadat Hasan Manto,[2] the Urdu short story writer whose work is available in translation, would surely be enriched by their imaginative recreation of the human predicament in ways that bald facts cannot reveal. Rushdie illuminates the complex dimensions of history leading the reader through a sense of primeval time in the character of the boatman in Section I which also illustrates the entry of modernity, secular education and a sense of the individual self through the character of the doctor Aadam Aziz qualified in Heidelberg. One has a sense of several layers of history, that of individuals, communities, the nation that is born, its early decades culminating with the Emergency. The use of newspaper reports and headlines combined with the irrepressible narrative voice of Saleem Sinai achieves a sense of immediacy and authenticity, with humour and pathos, fiction and fact in equal measure. One of the most enjoyable essays I have read on this novel is *History as Gossip* by Rukmini Bhaya Nair[3].

Perhaps the most evocative expression of the tensions of our national movement is contained in some of the novels of Rabindranath Tagore which are structured around very specific experiences. Ashis Nandi writes:

Tagore's understanding of nationalism – that is, its genuine European version that took its final shape in the nineteenth century as an inseparable adjunct of the modern nation state and the idea of nationality – is explicit in a number of essays and letters, but the most moving and disturbing exploration of the social and ethical ramifications of the idea is in his three political novels : *Gora, Ghare Baire and Char Adhyay* . Each of the novels is built around a significant political formulation, though it is doubtful if the poet did so deliberately. In *Gora,* Tagore gives a powerful psychological definition of nationalism where nationalism becomes a defence against recognizing the permeable or porous boundaries of one's self that the cultures in his part of the world sanction. He in effect argues that the idea of nationalism is intrinsically non- Indian or anti-Indian, an offence against Indian civilization and its

principles of religious and cultural plurality. *Ghaire Baire* is a story of how nationalism dismantles community life and releases the demon of ethnoreligious violence. It destroys the 'home' by tinkering with the moral basis of social and cultural reciprocity and hospitality in the Indic civilization. *Char Adhyay* is an early work, perhaps the first exploration of the roots of industrialized, assembly line violence as specialization of modern times[4].

Ashis Nandi also argues that all three novels can be read as a 'charged, almost obsessive conversation with his close friend Brahmabandhav Upadhyay (1861-1907), the Catholic theologian' and that the novels also contain arguments with Vivekananda, Nivedita and perhaps even Rudyard Kipling. Our own Francisco Luis Gomes may be said to have attempted a novel of ideas, which is discussed later in this essay, in which he incorporates themes both contemporary and universal.

Modern trends in the writing of history, for instance the works of Simon Schama, have incorporated such complexity and dramatic possibilities as a reaction to the dry as dust history writing of the nineteenth century when a conglomeration of facts without judgment or coherence were exhibited. Although the result of good scholarship and laborious research no clues were given to help the comprehension of the ethos of a civilization or a generation. The nineteenth century did have outstanding historians who were not of the dry as dust school and they were criticized for giving a shape and form to history writing which was on the borderline of history and literature. The scope has been enlarged in our own times of what we call history with a cross cutting of genres – drawing from the disciplines of anthropology, myth, poetry, music, religion, geopolitics, biography and literature. Examples of such writing where the borderlines between pigeonhole classification disappear are in such classics as *Montaillou* by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie (1978), Fernand Braudel's *History of Civilizations*, (1995) Barbara Tuckman's *A Distant Mirror*.

Historians have themselves illuminated the work of poets and novelists, for instance Christopher Hill's work on 17th Century England is greatly enriched by his study of the poet Milton[5], who was, said Hill, 'not just a fine writer, but the greatest English revolutionary who is also a poet, … the greatest English poet who is also a revolutionary.' The literary flair of E.P. Thompson changed the mould of history writing with his classic work *The Making of the English Working Class*[6]. He devoted a great deal of time to the Romantic movement, with his work on William Blake[7], published posthumously and his essays on the Romantics.[8] *The Romantics. England in a Revolutionary Age* which illuminates the mind and sensibility of William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge who struggled with the tension between the ideals of the French Revolution and the tyranny of Napoleon.

In recent years Indian history too has been enriched with inputs from literature. Tapan Raychauduri[9] has examined the ideas of Bhudev Mukhopadhyay, Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay and Swami Vivekananda, to unravel the changing perceptions of Europe and attitudes to Western influences in nineteenth – century Bengal

among the Bengali intelligentsia. Whereas the work of Tagore has not engaged historians in depth, Partha Chatterjee, and Sudipto Kaviraj, both belonging to the subaltern school have examined the conceptualizations of nationalism by Bankim Chandra. A step further has been taken by those who like to unravel an identity that was repressed or traumatized and which has been submerged in the unconscious waiting for articulation, liberation or catharsis. Or what T.S. Eliot would call the objective correlative. An extreme case is the Holocaust and in India , the Partition, where innocent millions lost their lives. A whole body of literature exists on the former, and much is currently being written on the latter.

Literature reveals the soul of experience and folk art forms allow the historian to unlock the little traditions, history from below including the history of minorities, for instance, that are erased in grand national narratives. In his most recent book *Fear of Small Numbers. An Essay on the Geography of Anger*[10], Arjun Appadurai, discusses the modern nation state in which hard – edged majority and minority identities are created and ways in which history can counter such formulations of nationhood and identity. It is in these contexts that literature, dealing as it does with individuals, families, and communities, can enhance our interpretation of historical processes. D.D.Kosambi's exemplary method could lead the way in our endeavour to understand the complexities of our history. In his review of *D. D. Kosambi: Combined Methods in Indology and Other Writings*. K. M. Shrimali describing the logic of his method as a combined invocation of literature and archaeology, writes:

For him "the subtle mystic philosophies, tortuous religions, ornate literature, monuments teeming with intricate sculpture, and delicate music of India all derive from the same historical process that produced the famished apathy of the villager, senseless opportunism and termite greed of the 'cultured' strata, sullen un-coordinated discontent among the workers, the general demoralisation, misery, squalor, and degrading superstition. The one is the result of the other, the one is the expression of the other." Such an understanding not only enabled Kosambi to question the stereotypes of the colonialist-imperialist and the so-called "nationalist" historiography but also focus on a more positive and constructive approach to comprehend the prime movers of history[11].

In Goa we have had traumas and we have had problems of discovering and establishing an identity, perhaps more than one identity; and perhaps a summation of many identities of East and West and of pluralism of cultures that has been the strength and ideal of Indian democracy. How does one unravel these complexities in the context of Goa? The various strands and complexities can only be understood and even brought into some form that is comprehensible and communicable by a sense of experience and emotion. This is, by its very nature, individual and private while rooted in one's own family experience and in the experience of other families that have lived through the times recaptured in individual and family memories. Can one work through this labyrinth by picking up the threads of family memories and

then develop them through research into a sense of experiential history? Is there literature that can help historians recover the past?

The test of such an endeavour is not to enter into nit picking of technicalities such as some factual inaccuracies which may come because memory, both individual and family, may distort facts in the light of its own experience. The test should be whether such a history unlocks the idea, the vision and the soul of a culture and a civilization and brings to light what moves particular communities and justifies the very reason of their struggle and their lives. Modernism in the Indian context was articulated in the struggle against colonialism. And language received a dimension of politics and national emancipation. Text and context, tradition, autonomy, and self realization, were given new meanings in the modern concepts of state, government, and governance; also in the reconciliation of central paramountcy and state autonomy. All these were embodied in the federal structure of Independent India. Independence was therefore a development of utterance, defined in the classic speech by Nehru at the midnight hour which ushered in 15 August, 1947: 'At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed finds utterance.' Goa offers an ideal test case of seeking and expressing the utterance of a culture and civilization whose values were instinct in a society of fraternity and modernity.

Is there literature in Goa that would help unlock the transformations in our society? And does the literature that exists reveal a one sided picture, that of the ruler or the landlord, the perspective of those who held power? Can we not interrogate and interpolate in our study of such material so as to arrive at some semblance of the truth of experience grounded in recorded facts? My reading of novels such as *Os Bramanes*(1866)[12] by Francisco Luis Gomes and *O Signo da Ira*[13] by Orlando da Costa, helped in an understanding of the issues of caste, the exploitative nature of so called benevolent paternalism of the *batkars* and the plight of the *mundkars* trapped in the double bind of colonial and feudal exploitation.

Study of a novel such as *Os Bramanes* which interrogates and exposes exploitation at one level while implicitly ignoring if not endorsing other levels, illuminates dimensions of historical experience and reveals the limitations of the view from the top, even when the perspective is clear sighted and visionary. It has been suggested that Gomes moved from the known environment of his own culture into British India because Portuguese colonies were free from the gulf created by the superior attitudes of the British. If that be the case, then one could infer that Gomes' central theme was racism rather than casteism, the bane of Goa to this day. He wished to explore the struggle between colours and cultures. Yet the novel does satirise, by implication, the Brahmins of his home turf, their pride, their social exclusiveness, indeed the tyranny of caste. There are two kinds of pariahs, and the central theme of the novel, it may be said, is the confict between two kinds of Brahminism, the brown and the white.

Deeply Christian in his idealism, he saw caste as illiberal and unchristian. Yet by setting the scene away from his own Christian society and idealizing Christian virtue which could eliminate caste but clearly has not, Gomes dilutes the power of his argument. He has been criticized for shifting the real caste problem from the social to the political plane where it is merely a metaphor. His message is broadened and deepened with ideas current at the time on monasticism, the Liberal theory of the relations between Church and State, the Liberal protest against slave trade. Such a structure adds power to his valiant battle cry for a Liberal utopia set within an Indian scene which is lovingly detailed with flora, fauna, customs and characters to give it life. It is a Goa transposed into UP.

The novel reveals to the historian the flow of European ideas into the tiny territory and the fact that this was the experience of a small elite does not diminish its importance. This first flower of romanticism in the novel of ideas, politics and society, was the mainspring of *Os Bramanes*. Another important influence was Lamartine, the contemporary French poet, statesman, and historian, who emphasised in the Romantic school, the idea of God, Man and Nature. In his famous letter to Lamartine, Gomes emphasises these as inspiring him as well. And he states his mission: "I belong to that race which composed the Mahabharata and invented chess – two works which bear in them something of the eternal and the infinite. But this nation which made codes of its poems and formulated politics in a game, is no longer alive. It survives , imprisoned in its country, exhausted by its own fertility and eclipsed in the very splendour of its glory. I ask for India, liberty and light."

The crucial dimension that Gomes wished to bring to bear on the romantic ideas of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity was the impact of Imperialism and exploitation. He enlarged the universe of the romantic novel by bringing in the universe of the exploited and oppressed as manifested in colonialism. Romanticism was full of man and nature; the Rousseau ideal of primitive innocence and natural goodness sullied by the engines of exploitation – the clergy, the monarchy and nobility. The French Revolution embodied the ideals of reason, nature, liberty and equality. It also set in motion the passions and emotions of nationalism which fed increasingly on myths and legends, on histories of origins, and aspirations of individual nations, nurturing their own language, history and dreams of political power.

The greatness of *Os Bramanes* and of its author consists in portraying – perhaps for the first time – the tensions and dynamics of colonialism on a country with a culture and civilization equal – if not superior – to the colonizer; but defeated and conquered because it did not develop the spirit and technology to survive. The scene of *Os Bramanes* is the heart of India – the princely state of Oudh/Avadh which is the centre of modern UP. It comprises Varanasi, Faizaabad where the novel is set, Cawnpore to which the main characters travel, and the capital Lucknow. Awadh was ruled by a satrap of the disintegrating Mughal Empire. The Nawab of Avadh had all the trappings of a Moghul court – and the refinements and culture which were the high points of Indo Islamic civilization.

No novel of the time or later has achieved the intellectual scope, the breadth of vision, and the sense of history and civilization to compare with *Os Bramanes*. However, a sense of the life of the middle classes has been achieved by less ambitious work for instance *Jacob e Dulce*[14] by Gip, (pseudonym of Francisco da Costa, 1864-1901) in a series of sketches which mocked the pretensions of his society, in particular the malapropisms in their use of the Portuguese language, published in the weekly newspaper *O Ultramar* and the *Obra (Quase) Completa*[15], by Jose da Silva Coelho, (1889-1944) considered Goa's greatest short story writer in Portuguese, who portrays Goa as it was in the 1920s.His work has been collected and published several decades after his death. Both these writers castigated a society of hypocrisy and pretence. The generation that followed – Vimala Devi[16] in her short stories and Epitacio Pais in *Os Javalis de Codval*[17] enlarge the milieu to include various aspects of a changing society including the replacing of a decaying feudal order with industrialization through mining, diasporic experience and above all, a sociopolitical approach to narrative as in Lambert Mascarenhas' *Sorrowing Lies My Land*[18] in English, where the theme of colonialism, apart from caste and the Portuguese language as affecting life in the village is evoked with quiet passion. Orlando Costa, approaches his material with a poet's eye and a revolutionary vision. The theme of his fine novel *O Signo da Ira* (1961) is the hypocrisy of the landed, the exploitation of labour, particularly women who lived in dread of both the *bhatcar* and the *pacló,* the landlord and the white man. This theme is carried forward in his play *Sem Flores nem Coroas* [19]**,** first published in 1971 which explores the fears and hopes in the years preceding Liberation in December 1961, and the underbelly of feudal culture in which the character of the *poscó* (adopted child) is made the pivot from which a whole value system is exposed.

The flowering of literature in Konkani in recent decades has changed the literary scene dramatically. Important historical experiences inspired great poetry and the song - *Zaiat zaghe*.by Manohar rai Sardessai who became an iconic figure, and the poem itself, an anthem in the struggle for Konkani as Official Language. Bakibab Borkar's was yet another clarion call giving hope and direction to the struggle. Indeed a slew of writers and journalists joined this battle front, which began with the Opinion Poll in 1967 and this engagement with the changing face of Goa, a vision for Goa, the search for identity including the diasporic experience, continues to inspire writers such as Pundalik Naik whose novel *Acchev*, published in 1977. translated as *Upheaval*[20] exposes the human and environmental degradation when industrialization loses sight of the needs of the community. The novel has less to do with colonization than with the effects of the mining boom. The horror of the havoc wrought by the dispoliation of nature is heightened by the parallelism of the destruction and disintegration of family life. These themes as also women's issues are being handled with sensitivity and power in contemporary literature in Konkani . Yet another theme is the diasporic experience and migration as in Damodar Mauzo's *Carmelin,*[21] first

published in Konkani in 1981, also translated into English, which examines the complex dynamics of migrant working life. These are issues which will continue to engage both poets and novelists and will doubtless enrich the research of students of history.

It is not possible to chronicle the scope of Goan literature but suffice it to say that there is enough material that would help historians to understand the complexities of our past and present world. There is a paucity of material about the past, although there are books that could be translated such as *Konkanachan,* an anonymous text in verse with anecdotes, *Gomantakacha Prachin va Avarchin Itihas* by Naik Danayat and Wagle (1873), *Gomantak Parichay* by B.W. Sanwardenkar (1930), *Aajcha va Kalcha Gomantak* (Goa Hindu Association, 1954), *Gomantak Prakriti ani Sanskriti* by B.D. Satoskar (6 Vols. 1982), *Gomantakiya Marathi Vanmayacha Itihas* (Gomant Marathi Academy, 2003).

Since language, in its plurality of languages, and modernity in its connotation of secularism, are contentious subjects, pioneers of literature have often had to struggle to vindicate their cause. At a reading of his translations from Tamil and Kannada poetry the poet A.K. Ramanujam revealed a kind of understanding of true language which makes for great literature, pioneering in the perspectives that such literature opens up into human experience. The literature he read from, introduced me to the healing, resolving, generative and creative qualities of language.

The political dimension of power in language was reflected in developments in Goa, in journals, newspapers and magazines written in Konkani, Portuguese and Marathi. I consider some of these attaining the condition of literature and primary sources of history. They are witty, polemical, written with cool scientific precision, an attribute of the European mind which emerged after Portuguese education in the 19th and 20th Century, before it was suppressed by the Fascist tendencies of totalitarianism in the last decades of Portuguese rule. These essays cover history, politics, the search for identity, for truth and freedom as in the work of Tristão da Bragança Cunha, the first to articulate a coherent vision for Goan freedom from colonial rule, and questions of identity, issues which Shenoi Goembab and other protagonists of Konkani who have come after him – Ravindra Kelekar, for instance have also addressed. And as living examples I would cite the journalism of Uday Bhembre whose incisive political comment in his weekly editorial entitled Brahmastra, written in Marathi to defend the cause of the mother tongue Konkani, was read by persons who did not agree with him, and among them the first and best Chief Minister of Goa, Dayanand Bandodkar.

D. D. Kosambi bridged disciplines to arrive at the truth of history long before interdisciplinary studies became a buzz word. He refers to the dynamics in language between myth and reality. He tried to resolve this dynamics in the particularity of the Goan landscape, and this modified his Marxism into a discovery of Buddhism expressed in a Goan ethos, and in a search for language that would combine myth and reality: reality being the open mind of science, technology, European humanism

and liberalism. All this came to Goa with the Enlightenment and the Pombaline reforms in mid 18th Century, that set Goa free from medieval theocracy. It was an open mind which, as Kosambi says, received the humanism and rationality of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and Dante's *Divine Comedy*.[22] The writing of Goan history can only gain by a painstaking search through the visionary work of our writers across the ages as also through a harvesting of memories. The distinguished and path breaking research of Teotonio Souza whose work and life this volume celebrates has shown the way in his moving personal testament: *Goa To Me*[23].

NOTAS

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9

TAVERNA AND ITS SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT IN COLONIAL GOA

Maria Pia de Menezes Rodrigues

In those good old days there were no restaurants which would serve stimulants like whisky, brandy, gin, rum and beer. It was only *taverna licenciada*, which could supply the genuine nectar from coconut palm and cashew apple like the potent *feni* and the mild brew *urraca*. The consumer strongly believed in the salutary property of small doses of these drinks, which provided an immediate relief in case of pain in the joints, a stomach upset, and cold. In the words of Nora Seco e Sousa:

> "Taverna is a place where you could rub your shoulders and do elbow exercise with aristocrat and the down at heels badkar (landlord) and the mundkar (tenant), the unwashed labourer after hard day's toil and sweat and the white patrao (boss), the fisherman, the baker, the lawyer, the journalist and the undertaker. For this is the rendez-vous the refreshing fountain where every man has a date, with, to quench his thirst and have one for the road".[1]

Frank Simoes writes: "Village taverna an institution as natural to its environment as the feni it serves… likely to be genuine, pure and wholesome, distilled by the villagers for generations, happiest and most true when drunk at home'[2]. In absence of modern means of mass media and easy accessibility to books and newspapers, taverna was also a centre where people could meet and exchange their views on burning topics of the day and social events like births, marriages, deaths. Discussions on wide range of socio-cultural, political and economic topics, by enlightened members of society also were much heard in this place. The Goan liquor served here, inspired many people to compose popular songs and poems. Gossips on social scandals did not lag behind.

The taverna had its negative aspects too, it has produced many alcohol addicts who have been a cause disgrace of many families. However, the establishment of the taverna was most of the time encouraged by the government, since in the absence of

well established industries during the colonial period, the income derived from taverna and related industries, has been an important source of revenue.

LIQUOR PRODUCTION

In Goa, the local liquor is extracted either from the coconut tree sap known as toddy which in local language is called *sura* or from the cashew apple juice. According to Jaime Rangel, cashew and coconut make Goa rich in alcoholic drinks. The production towards the end of 1920s was 1,902,550 gallons of coconut spirit and 215,890 gallons of cashew spirit, which valued rupees thirty lakhs[3].

COCONUT LIQUOR

Toddy tapping from coconut trees, was a major occupation in Goa. The toddy taper, earned his livelihood by selling the tapped toddy, either directly, for home use and local bakers or distilling it into liquor. The liquor obtained was sold to consumers directly, or through taverns.

In the Hindu community the toddy tappers belong to the bandari caste, the toddy tapper is normally known as *render*, in local language. Normally, the toddy tapper climbs the tree, three times a day, morning, noon and evening. The collection of toddy is usually done in the mornings and evenings, whereas noon time the toddy tapper climbs the tree mainly to take care of the spike so as to activate the flow of sap, which is commonly known as applying *cheu*. The toddy, is collected from the spike of the tree. In order to obtain toddy, it is necessary to tighten the spike with a chord made of filaments from the base of the leaf palm. These filaments before being used are boiled in *goddo* or water which contains the residues of distillation of *sura*. After tightening, the spike is shaped with the help of a knife known as *caty*, till it is round and flexible. The extremity is then cut and after some days, the sap is collected in an earthenware pot termed as *zamno* or *damnem*, which is fixed to the spike[4].

Usually toddy is extracted from three spikes at a time. The spike is tapped everyday to rupture the cells and induce flow of the sap. The first collection of toddy is normally made on eleventh day[5]. Trees which yield a large number of nuts also yield a large quantity of sap. Toddy tapping is found to improve the yield of coconuts. There are two species of toddy, one common toddy which was used for jaggery. It is coagulated sap similar to brown sugar and the other thinner and purified, which is known as *niro*.

By acetic fermentation of toddy, *sirco* or the vinegar of palm is obtained whereas feni, cajulo and urraca are the products obtained by distillation of toddy. The agents of fermentation present in coconut toddy were for the first time studied and classified in 1921 by the Goan scientists, Froilano de Melo and Fidelis Fernandes. The isolated

species were named by them as *Saccharomyces surae I; Saccharomyces Surae II; Saccharomhcodes palmarum, Atelosaccharomyces loyolinus* and *Zymonema insulare*[6].

The toddy is distilled in stills, locally known as *batty*. In earlier times, this was a simple antiquated apparatus known as *zontro*, which was made up of two big earthen-ware pots, joined by a hollow tube of bamboo. The *batty* normally consists of the bigger round pot which is used as boiling equipment and kept on fire which is called as *banna* and the other smaller one known as *launy* or *colço*. These pots are connected with a tube known as *nollo*. The alcoholic vapors are condensed by process of constant refrigeration with cold water baths, from the *codem*, a large vessel with a broad mouth, filled with water. Since, the condensation of alcoholic and aqueous vapors are made in same *colço*, the first distillate is quite weak, hence in order to get liquor of higher strength the process is to be repeated two or three times. The first product of distillation is *urraca* . By combining one part of *urraca* and two parts of toddy one gets *casulo fechado* or *dobrado* also known a glass *feni* or *feni* without froth which is the product of the second distillation. The product of the third distillation is feni which gives froth. This is obtained by distilling two parts of *casulo* with one part of toddy[7]. A study published in 1884, indicated that the average daily production of toddy of one coconut tree was 1.6 bottles or 96 gallons per year; 3.38 imperial gallons of toddy were required to produce one gallon of spirit of fifteen degrees Cartier and that it needed 8.7 gallons of toddy or 2.58 gallons of spirit of fifteen degrees to produce one gallon of spirit of twenty degrees Cartier[8].

CASHEW LIQUOR

The cashew plant, *Ananacardium occidental*. Is a plant originally from tropical America. It was brought to India by the Portuguese from Brazil. The Portuguese botanist Garcia de Orta does not make mention of it in his *Coloquios*, the first edition of which was published in 1563, whereas Cristovão de Costa who was in India from 1568 to 1572, describes this plant. He had probably seen it in the orchards of Cochin[9]. It is also reported, that in 1575, this plant was grown in Bassein[10]. The plant which in Brazil was known as *acaju,* in Portuguese India was called *caju*. In Goa, cashew trees are usually found on hilly sides either mixed with other vegetation or scattered on open pastures. The harvest period is from March to May. Almost the entire crop of cashew apple grown in Goa is utilized on cottage scale for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages like *urraca* and f*eni*. Each cashew apple yields about 40-45 ml. of juice, which is astringent, rich in fermentable sugars and has a characteristic aroma[11].

In traditional practice the crushed fruits are subjected to natural fermentation, due do yeast associated with the raw material. These species were isolated in 1921 by Froilano de Melo in collaboration Dr. B. Sacardando, and named as – *Endomyces*

anacardii, Parasaccharomyces giganteus and Atelosaccharomyces moachoi[12]. The fermented juice is then distilled to obtain *urraca*. Further distillation yields *feni*, which has a strong odour. The distillation procedure is similar to that of toddy, with the exception that it was mostly undertaken in official distilleries, which were auctioned in zones. Distillation when carried out by individuals was in agreement with the auctioneers, as per the rules and regulations prevailing at the time.

LIQUOR CONSUMPTION

Drinks were known in India, in Vedic and post-Vedic times. The celestial drink of the Vedic period, *soma* is believed to be the milky sap of a creeper that produced exhilaration. Pulastya, an ancient sage and author of the *Smritis*, enumerated 12 different kinds of liquor besides *soma* – among these – palm liquor, cane liquor, coconut liquor and *sura* or arrack. Drinking was subject to severe censure in the *Puranas, Sutras* and *Smritis*. There are several references in the *Manu Smriti* condemning drinking and laying severe punishments and penances for drinkers[13]. The Chinese traveler, Hieung Tsang who had been in India for 10 years in the seventh century, observed that drinking habit varied according to the class and caste. "Grape and sugar cane wine is drunk by kshatryas, vaishyas drink strong distillates. Buddhists and Brahmins drink syrup of grapes and sugar cane. Mixed classes drink all without distinction"[14]. In time of Chandragupta the establishment of taverns was encouraged, since it provided a source of income. During the Muslim rule the law prohibited the use of alcohol, as this was one of the precepts of Islamic religion[15].

In Goa, during the pre-Portuguese period, total abstinence from alcoholic drinks was the distinguishing mark of the brahmins. Besides, no spirits were served for weddings and sumptuous banquets. However *urraca* was found and consumed in Goa, reference to which is found in a letter of Albuquerque dated January 14, 1514, asking for two jars of *urraca* along with rice and butter as provisions. The first *feitor* of Goa, Francisco Corbinel was also asked to take charge of 2,426 jars of *urraca* along with other things[16].

After the introduction of Portuguese rule, Catholic missionaries brought about the conversion of people to Christianity and introduced their culture in Goa, including eating and drinking habits, which came to be known as 'beef and wine' culture[17]. As a result, alcoholic beverages were widely served in Goa. Pyrard de Laval who visited Goa in the seventeenth century, remarks "there is also a great number of *palmeira* or Orta, like our orchards here full of cocos trees planted close together…this is worth a good deal at Goa because of wine which is in great request"[18]. Cottineau Kloguen who visited Goa in the 1820s observes that "the sura or toddy fermented and distilled into liquor, is the only common drink of the majority of the inhabitants, besides water[19]" He further adds that "the richest have soup and boiled and roast

meat and always finish by rice and curry before the desert which consists of cakes and sweet meats; they drink Madeira, Lisboa and other Portuguese wines; those less easy take no soup but never omit the curry and they drink *urraca*[20]." After the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878, European wines like whisky and brandy, along with other products like tea, coffee, made easy entry into Goa. This brought about a further change in eating and drinking habits of Goans. *Canjee* which was consumed in the mornings, was replaced by tea and coffee and the native spirits were replaced by European wines, specially among the elite class and people in urban areas[21].

AS A BLESSING

Normally, the landlords used to get certain quantity of local spirits as a rent from the toddy tappers of their coconuts and tenants of cashew plantations. These drinks were consumed in regular quantities, sometimes as an stimulant for appetite, prior to lunch and dinner, or for other salutary effects, rather than to get drunk or become addicted. There was another group of people, who in absence of clubs and restaurants used to frequent taverns, since, this was the only place where they could have *feni* and *urraca* and also meet their friends to exchange the views on burning topics of the day as well as socio-political and economic issues. Gossip on social scandals was also much heard here.

Native drinks were not much served in the halls of westernized Goan elite. It was a matter of prestige for them to offer European drinks. However, in rural areas and among the common people, *feni* occupied an important place in every social and religious function, like weddings, funerals, litanies, village feasts and other social events. Many times this drink acted as a source of inspiration for composing instant popular songs relevant to the occasion. In the words of Borcar:

> "It is that the alcohol is felt here absolutely indispensable in all points of view, as genre of first necessity as an article which is found indispensable in all halls and meetings of etiquette, in conformity with existing pattern for the use and social considerations and as the best aperitif is circulated freely in all social manifestations of happiness and grief of activity and idleness amusement . The christenings the weddings, the funerals, the festivities of all types even the litany in the heart of family and the feast of cross in the wards do not take place without this delicious nectar and the pomp of all these occasions is measured by the number of barrels which are opened and all the number of bottles consumed'[22].

Latin religious ceremonies, including singing and music, were also introduced in Goa, by the Portuguese missionaries. As a result, it was customary to have litanies in Latin to celebrate social functions like christenings, engagements, home comings

and farewells of emigrant Goans . Litanies were also held in the houses, to celebrate the feasts or to give thanks to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Mother Mary or the patron saint of the house, like St. Anne, St. Anthony, St. Francis or other saints honoured by the family. Litanies near the wayside, holy crosses and small chapels have been a regular feature among the Goan society. *Feni* was the drink which was compulsorily served on these occasions.

Consumption of *feni*, has been large, on the occasion of feasts of popular saints like St. John the Baptist and St. Peter, as they formed part and parcel of the ritual. The feast of St. John the Baptist is celebrated with great pomp on June 24. Being the monsoon season, in Goa, the wells and other water bodies, usually are filled to their maximum capacity. The newly married couples used to go to the bride's place, where, the sons-in law along with other active men from the village, young as well as old celebrated the feast, with crowns and other decorations of leaves and local fruits, singing songs, dancing and jumping in the wells or rivers, perhaps as symbol of the jumping of St. John Baptist in his mothers' womb, on the occasion of visitation of Mary. *Feni*, which was much consumed on this occasion, gave a great boost to the celebration. There were instances when the *feni* bottles were thrown in the well and the merry makers had to jump and dive to get the bottles. Several instances of fatal mishaps were reported on this occasion[23].

Another popular feast which deserves special mention here is that of St. Peter which is celebrated on June 29, mainly by the fisher folk community of the coastal villages of Goa. After attending the religious function in the church, they used to have a sumptuous lunch of roast pork, *sorpotel* and other dishes accompanied by *sanas* prepared from ground rice and toddy. Drink which was served on this occasion was mainly *feni*. On this occasion a river concert known as *sangodd* was held, the artists being mainly men who played female roles too. *Feni* which was much consumed on this occasion acted as a stimulant for dancing, singing and playing of local drum, *gumot*[24].

Feni was also used whilst observing some social practices, for example, on the occasion of Christian weddings. After the reception at the bridegroom's place, the bridegroom along with close family members and friends used to bid farewell to the bride's entourage by accompanying them, till the *shim*[25]. On this occasion, *feni* was used for ritual; it was poured on the *shim* and also served to the people present on this spot. Songs appropriate to the occasion were then sung, for which *feni* acted as source of inspiration. After funeral services too, *feni* was served from an earthenware pot *colso* which was kept outside the cemetery, so that the people, specially men who attended the funeral could serve it, if so desired.

There was nothing better to a Goan emigrant than to relinquish the local drinks, *feni* as depicted by Carmo de Sousa "He had come to Goa to enjoy the holidays, consume a lot of the local drink, feni and laze away the time"[26].

Feni was also used for medicinal purposes and as an ingredient in some Goan dishes. The nutritive and medicinal value of *feni*, is seen from, its chemical analyses. Following are its characteristics: Brix- three degrees; ph-4; acidity-0.63%; reducing sugars-0.30%; alcohol-5.5%; tanning -145mg%[27]. It was practice in some Goan houses to give special flavour to *feni* by adding either orange peels or chilies to the *feni* bottles. *Feni* was believed to protect and relieve one from cold, help in digestion . Coconut *urraca*, was used in diarrhea and dysentery. *Urraca* steeped with garlic and mint was found to be useful to treat children suffering from worms and the residue of distillation locally termed as *goddo* was found to effective in case of rheumatic pains[28]. Paste of mustard drumstick, pepper and ginger ground with *feni* was used to treat cholera[29]. Likewise heated *feni*, or *feni* with hot water mixed with sugar was found to be of great relief in case of common colds.

Similarly, roots, stem, nuts of some medicinal plants are grazed in *feni* and applied to the affected part to get relief from different ailments, for example, *sunt* or dried ginger grazed in *feni* is found to be effective in headaches due to cold. Nutmeg scraped with *feni* relieves ailments caused due to cold. Application of a pepper paste heated in *feni* is found to be very effective in cases of tooth ache and stomach upsets. Similarly *feni* is the medium used by local practitioners in preparing pastes for local poultices, for muscular pains, bone and nerve problems and other ailments. Once applied, some of these poultices are activated by regularly wetting with *feni*.

Feni is also used as an ingredient in preparing local dishes like *balchao* preserve, sausage meat, local ham. Besides, toddy is directly used to prepare *sannas*, a local substitute for bread, which is a part and parcel of Goan festive meal. Toddy is also used in preparing jaggery *bolos*, which form part of *ojem* or gift of sweets given to the bride on the occasion of marriage. *Appa de camarao* is another Goan dish where toddy is used as one of the ingredients. The main fermenting agent used in Goan bread was also toddy. Finally, vinegar a product of acetic fermentation of toddy, is the most essential ingredient in the preparation of Goan meat dishes, as well as in Goan preserves of fish, meat and pickles, wherein the vinegar acts as a preservative agent.

The use of f*eni* is well expressed by Frank Simoes:

> "Goans drink heroic quantities of feni. They drink it at births and wakes, solemnly on Maundy Thursday, never on Friday and joyfully at Easter; they toast the feast of their saints with it; they celebrate with generous portions when a favourite sow litters, they drink it before, with and often after meals. Workers in the fields pause at the noon break to refresh themselves with a few quick copitos of feni (glucose…vitamin B..Iron!) They drink in all ages and conditions; babies are given a few drops dissolved in sugar to ward off the chill; it is rubbed in the joints for gout and rheumatism and generously imbibed by the patient immediately thereafter, recovery being swift and certain[30]."

AS A CURSE

As in the case of any alcoholic drink, the harmful or intoxicating effects of local alcoholic drinks occur when there is no control over the consumption of these drinks. Overdose and addiction to these drinks has been a matter of great concern to society, since it is the cause of disgrace of many families These members of society turn to be drunkards. They frequent taverns, irrespective of the time and keep on drinking. Many times when a religious or social function is near the tavern, they get easily carried away to this place, as pointed out by Correia Afonso: "More the taverns near the temples and the public offices, more consumption of spirit. When there is a funeral, christening, the tavern keeper is earning. When there is a feast in the church or in the chapel the faithful after prayer service go to the nearby tavern[31]." In certain cases such is the quantity of liquor consumed, that the drunk person is unable to maintain his balance. It was reported in 1925 that with the aim of decreasing the drinking vice, the Legislative Council had voted and decreed the shifting of taverns far beyond 250 metres, from the distance of school, public office and temples and increase in the price of spirit. However the government implemented only what was favourable to the state exchequer, i.e. only the prices of liquor were increased. No action was taken as regards the shifting as it would affect the government revenue, since one fifth of total income was provided by abcari[32].

The situation had turned to be so alarming in 1920s, that the papers presented for the 7th Provincial Congress, held in 1927, raised much concern about the increasing number of alcoholics, as reported by Correia Afonso: "Such is the quantity of alcohol consumed in our land that it would be ironical to place a board at the entry of our territory Taverna Licenciada. Here every one drinks, in all parts in all occasions all the time, all motives"[33]. The study revealed that among the Goans, the Muslim community abstained from drinks, and that the yearly average consumption per head was 8 gallons or 48 bottles per head. Besides the number of taverns was increasing, day by day, i.e., the number of taverns which in 1918 was 1,143 in 1925 had increased to 1,383[34]. There were some wards where for a population of 300 there were four taverns, at a stretch of three kilometres, a number which exceeded the number of groceries in the same locality[35]. Appeals were therefore made to the government to restrict the number of taverns as well their hours of functioning.

REMEDIAL MEASURES

Finally the Diploma Leg., no.334 dated September 17, 1928, took some measures to curb the alcoholism, by virtue of which it was not permitted to establish taverns within a radius of 1,200 metres, of the government and private schools and religious temples. It was strictly forbidden to drunk people, ladies and minors of less than fifteen years to enter the taverns. Gambling in the premises of taverns was also

prohibited. The timings were restricted. They were kept open from 9.00 a.m. to 8.00 pm. only. The taverns had to be closed on Sundays except on the occasion of festivities and Carnival, with special permission from the government authorities, and with a payment of five rupees per day they could extend their timings to 10.00 p.m. Fines collected as a penalty for not observing hygienic conditions and other disorders had to be utilized in the following manner: two thirds for the Public Beneficence Fund, and one third for the improvement of respective tavern infrastructure[36].

ECONOMIC ASPECTS

There were no large and medium scale industries in colonial Goa, which would earn revenue for the state . Hence, the taverns received support from the government, even when there were objections to its phenomenal growth mainly because this was an important source of revenue, specially prior to 1950s , when the mining activity had not started.

EVOLUTION OF RULES AND REGULATIONS

Income derived from the toddy tapping and related industries was known as *Abkari*. It was one of the important receipts for the state which existed, from early times, under the name of *renda de urracas* and this included the spirits called *xarao, urraca* and *feni*; however, the descendants of the casados of Afonso de Albuquerque were exempted from this tax. Its income in those times was 3,400 pardaus or 600$00 *reis*; later by an *alvara* of February 10, 1774, the *renda* of *urraca* was substituted by the tariff towards license for toddy tapping of palm trees and coconut trees. These were different for the Old Conquests and New Conquests[37].

In the Old Conquests the following tariffs had to be paid:

i. A tax of two *tangas* (two parts of silver and one copper) or 136 *reis annuais fracos* of old coinage on each coconut tree tapped.
ii. *Impostos de reais* of *aguardentes* on spirits distilled of toddy and of any tree of the family of palms, created by art. 20 of Carta Lei of November 10, 1772.
iii. Duty for the sale of alcoholic liquors on retail, created by government order dated December 28, 1840.
iv. Rent of *dizimos* on coconut trees tapped for toddy of 90 *réis fracos* on each coconut tree. Whereas, in New Conquests, the taxes on coconuts tapped were not the same in every province, in Pernem, the annual tax to be paid on each coconut tree to be tapped was 516 old *reis* and in other provinces it was 360 old *réis* only. The taxes for toddy tapping, were thus lower in the Old Conquests.

Under these provisions, the toddy tapper, who tapped 30 coconuts or more had the right of distilling and selling the spirits of toddy, as well as of manufacturing and selling jaggery. Whereas, the one who was not a toddy tapper, or the one who tapped less than 30 trees, could obtain a license for the sale of spirits only, on payment of a fee of 900 *réis fracos* old, monthly, or 10$800 *reis* annual.

Thus under this regime the toddy tapper of more than 30 coconuts, was given much encouragement, by way of exemption of payment of fees towards the license for sale of liquor from the tavern.

The rates were lower for coconuts whose toddy was used for jaggery and vinegar. This system continued till the execution of Luso-British treaty of 1878-79 . The year previous to this treaty, as per official records, the number of coconuts tapped for toddy was 106,987, A total amount of rupees 65,714, four *tangas* and one *real* was collected from receipts of *abkari*. However, there was a feeling that the number of coconuts tapped was at least 10% more[38].

The Portuguese were compelled to sign the Luso-British Treaty in 1878, due the decline of the Portuguese economy, which had started from the seventeenth century and turned to be critical after 1830, when the trade with Brazil, East Africa and Europe had come to an end. The trend in fiscal position was further aggravated with the suppression of trading privileges enjoyed by the Portuguese in Surat. To alleviate the situation, the Portuguese had no other alternative than to sign a treaty with their ally, England, whose position towards nineteenth century was much stronger. The Anglo-Portuguese treaty, was signed on December 26, 1878 by R. B. D. Morier and João Corvo de Andrade, on behalf of the English and Portuguese governments respectively. The treaty came in operation from January15, 1880. Under the provisions of this treaty, Customs Union was introduced by virtue of which freedom of commerce was introduced. However, exception was made for salt , opium, liquor arms and ammunition, with the ultimate aim of protecting British salt monopoly and regulations of liquors and opium. Besides, the Mormugao railway project was to taken up[39] The Bombay Akbary Act of 1878 was made applicable to the liquor industry in Portuguese India. As per the provisions of this Act, the manufacture, sale and consumption of liquor, the possession of stills and other vessels for distillation of alcoholic beverages, was strictly prohibited without the permission of the Collector. Besides, Portuguese India had to adopt compulsorily the tariffs which where in operation in the neighbouring British districts of Kanara and Ratnagiri. As a result there was a hike in the duties collected towards toddy tapping and distillation. The new taxes included : tax on toddy tapping of coconuts trees, tad-madd, wild palm tree, and cajuri.

Rent of taverns of native spirits which were auctioned: Income from the fees towards the licenses of wine shops and non-Indian spirits @ Rs. 50 annual per shop, wholesale; Rent of taxes of license of shops of said wine and non-Indian spirits, retail sale, Rs. 100/- annual. Thus, the Abkari revenue earned by the state, registered

an upward swing. Toddy tapping which earlier amounted to a little more than two *tangas* per annum per coconut tree under the treaty they had to pay rupees two per annum for every coconut which was gradually hiked, it was six rupees in the last year of treaty. Due to high excise duties, the liquor bottle which was earlier sold for four *tangas* was later hiked to eight to ten *tangas* . Owing to this, the consumption rate of local drinks also decreased. Besides, after the signing of the treaty the flow of liquor to the British territories had also stopped. As a result there was a downfall in liquor business in Goa, which was almost on the verge of extinction[40]. Though, during the period of treaty the income derived from the Abkary went on increasing from Rs. 65,714:04:01 prior to the treaty to an average of Rs.635,559/- for the period from 1885-1889, which was nine times more[41]. This increase was not due to the progress of the industry but due to increase in duty of toddy tapping. Besides, the maximum revenue earned from the auctioning of taverns was of Rs. 277,786 in the triennium from 1886-1888, when a large number of workers of railways and Mormugao port, were attracted to taverns to relax with *feni*. The treaty came to an end on January 14, 1892. The total revenue earned during the period of the treaty was Rs. 4,819,053:02:09. The toddy tapping industry suffered a lot during this period and as a result a number of members of toddy tapping families were forced to migrate[42].

The regimen of akbari was then revised by a decree dated May 6, 1892, and as per the provisions of this decree, the local government had to work out the modalities for its implementation, so as to get an income of Rs.783,201 which after deduction of Rs.62,928 towards fiscal charges would give a liquid income of Rs.720,273, for which purpose the rates for toddy tapping had to be much higher than those of the period prior to treaty. Besides the industry had to be encouraged by restoring its freedom[43]. Therefore , in compliance with the provisions of this decree, *portaria* no. 371 of June 25, 1892, approved the rules for *abcari* for the territory of Goa, whereas those for Daman and Diu were approved by *portaria* no.462 dated September 3, 1892. The regulation of *portaria* no. 371 was later substituted by the regulation approved by *portaria* no. 707 of December 5, 1894[44]. Under this regime the following duties were imposed: i) Tax on each palm tree tapped, cajury, tadd-madd and wild palm tree. ii) Duty for distillation for distillation of cashew and sugar cane juice. iii) Duty on stills used for distillation of spirits. iv) Fee for license for the sale of native spirits and wines and spirits non-Indian. v) Income derived the auctioning of additive drugs like ganja-bang etc. vi) Fines for infraction of fiscal regulations.The tax for toddy tapping for each coconut tree, tadd-madd or other palm tree tapped, whether for fermentation or other purpose was of Rs. 10, for cajuri and wild palm tree was of Rs. 5, whereas when the trees were owned by the government the maximum tax to be paid by the toddy taper, was Rs. 3 only. Free distillation of coconut spirit in private distilleries was permitted and the license fee per still at the place where the trees were tapped, was of Rs. 2. A warehouse for the storage of spirit was permitted, from where a quantity not inferior to two gallons could be sold.

Distillation of spirit of cashew and sugar cane had to be carried out in the months of March to May every year, in official distilleries, conditional and private. Only, distillation of twenty, twenty five and sixty degrees below proof liter of London, was allowed. Advanced deposits had to be made to cover the expenses of light, government staff and palisade. The cost of installation of stills had to be borne by the distiller. The still was subjected to a duty of half a rupee, for each distillation and the distilled spirits were subjected for the following taxes, at the time of dispatch from the distilleries, which differed according to the strength i.e. for the imperial gallon below twenty proof litre Rs.0.12.00 (twelve *tangas*), and Rs.0.11.00 (eleven *tangas*) and Rs.0.05.00 (five *tangas*) for gallon of below twenty five and sixty proof litre respectively. The fees for the sale of spirits in taverns, varied according to class of settlement where the tavern was located, which as per the government notifications was divided into six classes i.e. first class-Rs.100; second class-Rs.75; third class –Rs.50; fourth class- Rs.25; fifth class –Rs.12 and sixth class Rs. 6. In the case of temporary stalls in fairs and other places a payment of Rs. 8 was to be made. Sale effected near the warehouse, was exempted from payment[45].

The above provisions were later revised by the Regulamento do Abcari de Goa e da venda de tabaco no Estado da India,1932. According to this regulation *abcari* consisted of all income derived from taxes, duties and fees charged on toddy tapping from coconut palm, installation of stills, distillation of spirits, licenses for the sale of liquors and fines collected as per the provisions of these rules. As per the provisions of this regulation, an annual tax of Rs. 10 had to be paid for each coconut tree to be tapped. However, the rates were lower in case the toddy was used for purposes other than those for distillation of alcoholic drinks. Only individuals tapping ten or more coconuts could have stills for distillation, a payment of Rs. 2 was to be made in case of ordinary stills, whereas, if a toddy tapper desired to install an improved type of still the amount to be paid was Rs. 8. The distillation of cashew juice was permitted only in official distilleries which functioned for 90 days only. In case it was not auctioned, the charge for installation of ordinary type of still was of half a rupee and Rs. 2 for improved type of still. The rates of duty charged for distillation of each gallon of cashew liquor were: for 20% below proof of London Rs.1:.03:00 (one rupee and three *tangas*), Rs. 1.02.00 (one rupee and two *tangas*) for 25% below proof litre and Rs.0.09.00 (nine *tangas*) for 60% below proof litre. Spirits of other strength were not permitted, though 20.5%, 27%, 66% were tolerated. There was special provision for distillation of spiritsfor pharmaceutical use.

As regards the establishment of taverns, no one could establish a tavern for sale of native spirit without prior license and payment of fees, which varied from Rs. 160 to Rs. 10 depending on the type of settlement where the tavern was located. These were divided in six classes for the purpose. The fees for extraordinary licenses for the establishment of taverns in local fairs or on the occasion of any festivities for the first five days was at the rate corresponding to that of one month of the respective

class, whereas for the following five days, it was 50% of the said fees. Establishment of new taverns and transfer of existing ones was not permitted within a radius of 25 metres, from school, police outpost and railway station. Those who were licensed for toddy tapping could obtain license for sale from his depot any other. Every tavern had to have a name board indicating license number i.e. "Taverna licenciada no…"[46].

In 1945, a decree was issued introducing legislative measures to be made applicable for government services and staff of different colonies, The *Estado da India* was covered under article 35, by virtue of which measures had to be taken to improve the salaries of government staff, owing to the rise of cost of living and devaluation of rupee in relation to the *escudo*. In order to meet this additional expenditure, the industrial contribution of the state was to be reshaped, and the contributory regime of *abcari*, was to be merged in it[47]. In view of this, in 1947, an order was issued approving the regulations for the *Estado da India*, so as to solve the problems caused due to instability of indirect taxes and lack of financial resources. As per the provisions of this order, toddy tapping and exploration of palms and other trees formed an integral part of exploration of property where the same trees existed. Hence the income from toddy tapping was to be added to the income collected from the property where the coconut tree was located and was subjected to the *contribuição predial*[48].

This regulation brought much resentment, and could not solve various problems confronted by the Estado, though several attempts were made to improve the regulation by introducing various alterations, the same did not prove successful. Hence, in 1958 a legislative diploma was issued approving the base for a tributary reform in the *Estado da India*, so that the financial position of the Estado could improve, to meet the expenses related to the administration and progress of land[49]. In compliance to this, the legislative diploma no. 1770 dated March 15, 1958, was issued, approving the rules and regulations for the industrial contribution. These rules were made applicable to all individuals, collective national and foreigners who exercised commerce, industry, art or other activity mentioned in the regulations. The regime of *abcari* was now completely integrated in *contribuição industrial* except in relation to the rents of *exclusivo do Estado* which consisted of the income from, the distilleries of Estado and exclusivo of sale of spirits natives in the districts of Daman and Diu, and exclusive income from the exploration of cashew for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages. However, it may be noted that, under this regulation, only the designation had changed whereas the base for taxation and the manner of collection of taxes related to toddy tapping and related industries had not changed.

As per these regulations, the income from toddy tapping, which by the *portaria* of 1947 was included in *contribuição predial* of the landlord, it was now considered income of the toddy tapper. Toddy tapping and the exploration of stills were considered as two distinct activities. Besides, the industrial contribution had to be paid by the tavern keeper too, for selling liquor, either in bulk or retail. In case, the tavern

keeper was the toddy tapper and distiller too, then he had to pay taxes for three distinct activities. The exploration for manufacture of cashew spirits in Goa and the manufacture and sale of all native spirits in Daman and Diu, was the privilege of the Estado. Since there were no official distilleries in Goa, the district was auctioned in zones for purpose of distillation. However, the tenants of cashew could manufacture the drinks in small distilleries, in agreement with the auctioneers. The income derived from auctioning constituted the *Renda de Exclusivo*.

In Goa, every toddy tapper of ten or more coconut trees was considered as a distiller, who had to pay a contribution towards *lançamento* on one or more stills. An annual charge of Rs. 10, as a license fee, was to be paid in advance in monthly installments. A fine up to Rs. 1,000 could be levied for non-compliance of regulations. As per the provisions of the *Contribuição Industrial*, taxes were to be paid under the heads of manufacturers, establishments and industrial installations. Therefore the activities related to toddy tapping, distillation, and sale of liquors were also charged under these heads. The rates differed according to the locality where the industry was located. This was classified into three categories: city, town and other locality.

The fees for installation of stills to be paid by the manufacturers of alcoholic beverages either by distillation or fermentation of any nature,. were Rs. 10, for usual type of still and Rs. 40, for improved type of still, and the rates were same for all three localities.

The fees to be paid by the merchant of wines or the tavern keeper of alcoholic or fermented beverages of any type of local production were Rs.250 in the city, Rs.200 in the town and Rs. 120 in other localities.

The auctioneers of distillation in Daman and Diu and the manufacturers of alcoholic beverages of cashew in Goa, who were covered under the *Renda do Exclusivo*, had to pay a duty at the rate 2% on 20% of the profit[50].

STATEMENTS IN ANNUAL BUDGETS

During the colonial period, the budget was confined only to revenue account and included receipts and expenditure of the government departments as well as autonomous bodies.

Owing to the introduction of *Contribuição Industrial*, the statements made in the annual budgets related to the receipts derived from toddy tapping and related industries also changed. The differences in the statements may be seen from the budgets for the years 1939-41, drafted under the provisions of legislation of 1932 and the budget of 1958 devised as per the provisions of *Contribuição Industrial* of 1958. The receipts collected under the provisions of the legislation of 1932, were shown under the title *Industrias em regime tributario especial,* and was collected

under four main heads. The average collected under each head, for the years 1939, 1940 and 1941 may be seen from the table given below[51]:

	Average for the years 1939,1940, 1941. Rs.
Tax on toddy tapping	
a. Of the coconut tree in Goa	421,523:05:04
b. Of the palm tree and cajuri in Daman and Diu	51,445:05:02
Duty for installation of stills	4,719:00:00
Income from the duties of distillation	
Of spirit of cashew and sugar cane	78,900:00:00
Income from the license fees for sale	
a. Of native spirits in taverns	87,495:00:00
b. Of wines and spirits of non-Indian origin	11,335:09:03
Total income under the Receipt Head	673,632:03:04
Grand total income from all receipts	7,164,407:01:04

The average revenue collected for the years from 1939-41 from liquor and related industries constituted 9.4% of the total budgetary receipts.

Whereas for the budgets from the year 1959 the receipts collected from the manufacturers, establishments and industrial installations as per the provisions of the *Contribuição Industrial*, were shown under the heading *Contribuição Industrial* and the subheading by *lançamento*, and whereas the receipts from toddy tapping from coconut trees in Goa and of Cajuris in districts of Goa, Daman and Diu, were shown under the subheading *Especial,* the receipts under the heading *Exclusivo do Estado* for the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages included the income from the distilleries of *Exclusivo do Estado* of sale of native spirits in the districts of Daman and Diu and the income from the *Exclusivo do Estado* for exploration of cashew juice for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages in district of Goa.

These figures may be seen from the actual budget for 1959 and the budget estimates for 1960, given below[52].

	Actual budget 1959	*budget estimate* 1960
1. *Contribuição industrial*		
a. By *lançamento*	30,000,000$0	26,500,000$00
b. *Especial*	3,600,000$00	3,300,000$00
2. *Exclusivo do Estado* for the manufacture and sale of Alcoholic beverages		
a. Income from the distilleries of *Exclusivo do Estado* for sale of native spirits in the districts of Daman and Diu	405,000$00	405,000$00
b. Income from the *Exclusivo do Estado* for exploration of cashew juice for the fabric of alcoholic beverages in district of Goa	775,000$00	800,000$0

The grand total of all receipts for the actual budget for 1959 was 319,988,835$46 whereas the budget estimates for 1960 were 343,448,922$40. Since the receipts under *Contribuição industrial*, and *lançamento* included receipts derived from other industries too, the exact amount collected from the liquor industry cannot be made out from the receipt heads in the budget.

OVERVIEW

During colonial period, native liquors, were made available to the Goans mainly through taverns. The majority of the people consumed the said liquors for their salutary properties, as a stimulant for appetite, to get relief from colds, digestive problems and other ailments. Some used to have it at home, whereas others, preferred to frequent taverns so as to meet their friends and discuss various socio-political issues. Native liquors were also served for the social functions held to celebrate church feasts, and other religious activities, mainly in rural areas. It may be noted that in those times church festivals were the only occasions which provided entertainment to the people. The native liquors, specially f*eni*, inspired people to sing, play, dance, deliver speeches and raise toasts for these functions. The tavern also had its negative aspects. It created many alcoholics, who have been the cause of disgrace of many families. However, taverns and the related industries being sources of revenue, received much support from the government and regular steps were taken to increase the receipts derived from them, so as to enrich the government exchequer.

NOTES

[1] Nora Seco de Sousa, *Goa Cradle of my Dreams*, Goa, author, n. d., p. 78.

[2] Frank Simoes, *Glad Seasons in Goa*, New Delhi: Vikings, 1994, p. 274.

[3] Jaime Rangel, *Industrias aldeianas*, Bastora: Tipografia Rangel, 1929, p. 35.

[4] A. Lopes Mendes, *A India Portugueza*, 2 vols, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1886, vol. 1, pp.187-9.

[5] José Joaquim Fragoso, *Technical da lavra de sura do coqueiroe outras industrias dependents*, Nova-Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1909, p. 1.

[6] I Froilano de Mello, "A la veille du centenaire", in *Arquivos da Escola Medico-Cirurgica de Nova-Goa*, A, n. d., p. 62.

[7] Felippe Nery Xavier, *Descripção do coqueiro, arequeira, arroz e moedas de Goa*, Nova-Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1866, p.16.

[8] *Relatorio da gerencia do commissariado do sal, abkari e alfandegas da India Portugueza*, Lisbon, 1884, nos. 26, 27, 29-30, as cited by A. Lopes Mendes, *op. cit*, p. 188.

[9] Cristovão Costa. *Tratado das drogas e medicinas das Indias Orientais*, Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1964, pp. 214-5.

[10] J. Wicki, (ed.), *Documenta Indica,* Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, vol. x, pp. 8-9.

[11] C. Noronha, *Raw materials for feni. Symposium on alcoholic beverage industries in India; present status and future prospects*. Mysore: Central Food Technological Research Institute, 1972, p. 10 as cited in *Wealth of India, Industrial Products*, New Delhi: CSIR, 1976, part IX, p. 189.

[12] Melo, I. F., "A la veille", p. 62.

[13] Chand Tek, *Liquor menace in India*, New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1972, pp. 3-5.

[14] Cited by Francisco Correia Afonso, *O alcoolismo na India Portuguesa – Relatorio, Setimo Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa*, Nova Goa: Tip. Braganza, 1927, p. 4.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] Afonso de Albuquerque, *Cartas*, Vol. II, p. 120; "Carta de Quitação" dt. 15 February, cited by Amáncio J. B. Gracias, in *Regimen economico financeiro da India Portuguesa*, p. 16.

[17] Bento Graciano de Sousa, *Goan Society in Transition*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1975, p. 142.

[18] Pyrard de Laval, vol. II, Pt. I, p. 35.

[19] Denis L. Cotineau Kloguen, *An Historical Sketch of Goa*, Madras: Gazette Press, p. 114.

[20] *Ibid*, p. 119.

[21] Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, *Estudos economico-sociais*, Bastora, Tyhpografia Rangel, 1905, p. 18.

[15] Bascora M. S. Borcar, *Campanha contra alcoolismo*, Setimo Congresso Provincial, secção primeira, pp. 2-11.

[16] Sousa, *Goa cradle*, p.43.

[17] *Ibid*, pp. 40-41.

[18] Shim is a demarcation line, however in this case was a demarcation line which separated bride's people from bride-groom's people, when the later accompanied the bride's people on their way back home.

[19] Carmo D'Souza, *Angela's goan identity*, Panaji, Author, 1994, p. 28.

[20] i. Noronha, Carmo, *Contracorrentes*, Pangim, Author, n.d., p. 39. ii.The wealth of India; a dictionary of Indian raw materials and industrial products. New Delhi, CSIR, 1976. Vol. IX, pp. 189-190.

[21] A. Gomes Roberto, *Palmeira ou coqueiro in Archivo de pharmacia esciencias accessorias*, 1867, p. 56.

[22] Fatima da Silva Gracias, *Health and hygiene in colonial Goa*, New Delhi, Concept, 1994, p. 169.

[23] Simoes, *Glad seasons*, pp. 270-271.

[24] Afonso, Francisco Correia., *O alcoolismo na India Portuguesa*, p.35.

[25] *O Ultramar*, dtd. 14. Oct. 1925.

[26] Afonso, Franciso Correia, *O alcoolismo* , p. 2.

[27] Borcar, *Campanha*, p. 7.

[28] Solon de Quadros, "A reducao do alcoolismo em Goa", *Sétimo congresso Provincial*, 1927, seccao I, p. 6.

[29] Diploma legislativo no. 334 dtd. 17. Sept. 1928, in *Legislação do Estado da India*, (Leg.), 1928, p. 363-365.

[30] Arez. Relatorio as cited by J. B. Amancio Gracias, *Regimen economico financeiro*, p. 215.

[31] Gracias, Regimen, p. 215.

[32] Celsa Pinto, "Goa under the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1878; a phase in Portuguese colonialism", in *Goa – images and perceptions*. Panaji, Rajhauns Vitaran, 1996, pp.110-114.

[33] Constancio Roque da Costa, *Tratado Anglo-Portuguez de 26 de Dezembro de 1878 seguido de traducao do Bombay Abkay Act, 1878*. Margao, Typographia do Ultramar, 1879. p.27 and pp. 33-48.

[34] Relatorio preceeding Decree dtd. 6 May1892, in *Legislacao Novissima do Ultramar*, 1894, p. 189.

[35] Gracias, *Regimen*, p. 219.

[36] Relatorio preceeding Decree dtd. 6 May 1892, p. 189.

[37] Fernandes, *Estudos economico-sociais*, p. 164

[38] Regulamento do abkari e das eiras de jagra para of territorio de Goa aprovado [por Portaria no.707 dtd. 5.Dec. 1894. Nova-Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1914, pp. 1-19.

[39] Diploma legislativo no. 551 dtd. 1 April, 1932, Regulamento do abcari de Goa e da venda de tabaco no Estado da India in Leg. 1932, appendice, pp. 21-43.

[40] Decree no. 35:231 dtd. 8.Dec.1945, art. 35 in Leg 1946, p. 83.

[41] Portaria no. 4425 dtd. 19 June 1947 in Leg. 924, p. 236-259.

[42] Diploma legislativo, no. 1761 dtd. 8.Feb.1958. in, Leg. 1958, p. 154-188.

[43] Diploma legislative no. 1770 dtd. 15 March 1958, in Leg. Vol. I, 1958, pp. 312-423.

[44] Estado da India, *Orcamento geral para o ano economico de 1943*, Nova-Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1943, p. 25.

[45] Regulamento do abkari e das eiras de jagra para of territorio de Goa aprovado [por Portaria no.707 dtd. 5.Dec.1894. Nova-Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1914, pp.1-19.

[46] Diploma legislativo no. 551 dtd. 1 April, 1932, Regulamento do abcari de Goa e da venda de tabaco no Estado da India in Leg. 1932, appendice, pp. 21-43.

[47] Decree no. 35:231 dtd. 8.Dec.1945, art. 35 in Leg 1946, p. 83.

[48] Portaria no.4.425 dtd. 19 June 1947 in Leg. 924, p. 236-259.

[49] Diploma legislativo, no. 1761 dtd. 8.Feb.1958, in, Leg. 1958, p. 154-188.

[50] Diploma legislative no. 1770 dtd. 15 March 1958, in Leg. Vol. I, 1958, pp. 312-423.

[51] Estado da India, *Orcamento geral para o ano economico de 1943*, Nova-Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1943, p. 25.

[52] i. Orcamento da receita ordinaria e extraordinaria para anno economico de 1960, in, Boletim Oficial do Estado da India, suplemento 31 Dec. 1959, p. 53

ii. Monetary reform was introduced in Estado Da India, in 1958, vide decree no. 41680. From the time of Anglo-portuguese treaty the coinage followed in Estado da India was similar to that of British except as regards its effigy. As per this reform escudos were introduced in Estado da India, one rupee was then equivalent to six escudos, 6$00 and one tanga was equivalent to forty centavos -$40.

10

THE GOA "CONSPIRACY" OF 1787 – THE UNTOLD SIDE OF THE MYTH

Mariano José Dias

For too long the story of the so-called revolt (*sublevação*) alleged to have been attempted in Goa in 1787, to overthrow the colonial rule and to instal self-rule, has relied upon J. H. da Cunha Rivara's *A Conjuração de 1787 em Goa e várias cousas desse tempo* (Nova Goa, 1875 – hereinafter *Conjuração*) and needs a reassessment. Cunha Rivara claims in the Prologue that he searched for accurate data on the events from authentic documentation, accessed for the first time and expounded their significance with historical rigour. Curiously, however, he admits that he had no access to vital evidence, such as the Inquiry ordered by the Governor Francisco Cunha Menezes and conducted by the Chancellor José Joaquim de Sequeira Magalhães e Lanções. Yet he makes bold to contend that the Sentence of 1788 sheds enough light on the material relied upon to arrive at the decision for each lay accused, even though the access was only to a printed mutilated text traceable to the *Manifesto* issued in 1835 by those who overthrew the legitimate government of the Goan Prefect Bernardo Peres da Silva. In this warped line of reasoning, Cunha Rivara could not help being uncomfortable with the fallacy whereby the conclusions of the Sentence were sought to be substantiated by the conclusions themselves. Hence the specious attempt to salvage the credibility of the Sentence by the laboured recourse to rule out the suspicion of partiality on the part of the *desembargadores*, on the tenuous plea that almost all of them had arrived recently in Goa.[1]

Conjuração was Cunha Rivara's spiteful response to the revulsion he sensed in the Goan population towards the atrocity committed in the hurried execution of the lay men arraigned in the supposed insurgency in 1787, which he was striving to justify. Jacinto Caetano Barreto Miranda (1842-79) was one of those who flayed the gory barbarity by terming it as the '*Juridical murder of the martyrs of Bardez'*.[2]

During Cunha Rivara's tenure of office (November 1855-77), Goa was passing through a difficult phase. The violent turmoil in the Indian sub-continent, threatening

the supremacy of the East India Company, was causing jitters to the Portuguese authorities in Goa. He would have personally shared Governor Torres Novas' panic when Lisbon authorities were apprised of the critical situation in which God alone could come to their rescue.[3] He could not have missed in the Goa Archives the link-up between Kolhapur rebels and Joojee Jokeepeet Saheb (*correct Portuguese name José Joaquim Pinto*) and Moosafean Bhayee (unidentifiable), from Candolim (Bardez).[4] The continued insubordination of the armed forces as displayed in the revolts of Volvoy (1870) and Marcela (1871) gave the true picture of their death wish. The final and inevitable showdown came when by decrees of 11 November 1871 the bloated and sinecure Goan Army, the nerve centre and the virtual monopoly, of the *descendentes* was abolished and they lost the undue predominance accrued from it by them.[5] It had come as culmination of the long drawn rivalry between the two segments in Goa Catholic community, *descendentes* and natives (more specifically brahmins): it was heightened with the scuttling of the historic Pombal's *alvará* of 2 April 1761 for 13 years – this may be seen recorded by Cunha Rivara.[6]

In this charged scenario, Cunha Rivara had his ear to the ground: he could sense the undercurrent of popular resentment and outrage to the iniquity in 1788 and toward the local Judas who solely contributed to it. The traitor was not António Eugénio Toscano as commonly asserted, based solely on Cunha Rivara's fabrication in *Conjuração.* The real traitor was the then acting parish priest of Tivim Fr. Pedro Caetano José Lobo and the inexorable verdict of the people proclaimed it loud and clear and its echo persists to this day. Cunha Rivara recorded it discreetly in a footnote (*Conjuração* p. 29) withholding the priest's name – it stands disclosed at page 6.

The outrage had exploded in the open when Salvador Caetano Lobo, originally from Velotim (Pomburpá) and relocated to Bastorá, Fr. Pedro C. J. Lobo's brother, *Sargento-mor de Milicias* attached to the Bardez Regiment, was awarded on 25 September 1802, the title of *Fidalgo de Cota de Armas* (plenas de Lobos) for no outstanding performance, but for being the brother of the traitor priest.[7]

The incisive people's perception however had exposed the Brazão to public condemnation by tainting it as the price of treachery (*Brazão de Traição*) and tradition has perpetuated it – another version of the same as *Brazão furado*, cannot be explained. Incidentally, this oral tradition is found recorded in a 22-page vitriolic and caste-ridden pamphlet titled '*Noção originaria da India'*, dated 'Calangute 1 de Janeiro de 1852' and authored by '*Mariano Montalegre, natural de Goa'*, a clear pseudonym, with no date and place of printing mentioned. It recalls other cases of Brazão concession in Goa and adds '… *assim como, a caza do Pe. Pedrinho* (possibly the petname by which Fr Pedro Caetano José Lobo was known among acquaintances) *de Bastorá de Bardez obteve por premio de traição, ou denuncia feita por este Pe. dos colegas d'odiosa sublevação dos Pintos e mais bramines (*sic*) infieis a Coroa Portuguesa, no anno de* 1760 (sic) *e porisso decapitados os denunciados'* (p. 19). Curiously, CR had access to this pamphlet as it is seen quoted in *Conjuração* p. 116-117

footnote (b). Like the proverbial cat on hot bricks, however, he skipped the above transcribed passage in the same page 19 of the pamphlet, concerning the Brazão issue, when, in *Conjuração* p. 29, he withheld the name of the priest and of his family ostracized for treachery, as stated above.

Caught in the crossfire between diehard colonial racist justification of the barbarity in 1788 and resentful local public revulsion about the same outrage, Cunha Rivara actually had his options to do justice and arrive at judicious conclusions, but was admittedly limited. Expectedly, he ended up by siding the former though bereft of the necessary documentary support. His decision to be guided solely by the infamous Sentence could not but prove his undoing. His rash but arrogant contention that the conclusions of the Sentence adhered to the prevailing laws and jurisprudence (*Conjuração* 91) was too subjective a fraud to stand the test of cold objectivity. Blinded by prejudices, he could see no wrong in torture being inflicted to extract 'confessions' in support of the thesis that all depositions were truthful.

At the very outset he stumbled by relying, for a judicial document, on a mutilated text, exhumed by a sectarian authority, based on an original that went untraceable. The concept of Lesa Magestade in the sentence was an unscrupulous travesty indeed totally at variance with the corresponding unambiguous and foolproof definition laid down in *Ordenações Filipinas,* Livro Quinto Titulo VI with the significant clause: *He esta a definição do crime de Lesa Magestade que se deverá entender em sentido restrito.*[8]

The criteria for enforcement of Lèze Majesté, however, were differently determined to different people in Portuguese space, within the same legal frame work of the said *Ordenações*. The use of torture was a concomitant of the Léze Majestè charge but permitted only under stiff safeguards by way of proof for determination of culpability (ibid. Tit. CXXXIII). In Goa, however, in 1787-88, it was indiscriminately inflicted upon the accused, only to extract 'confessions', even though no prima facie guilt could be established and even after recorded sworn denials. It is pertinent to note that in the case of the Brazilian *Inconfidencia Mineira* (1789), with well defined secessionist agenda, the accused were spared the rigours of Lèze Majesté, and, by implication, of torture, as Pinheiro Chagas pointedly testified: "*Faltavam as torturas, porque o crime não era de lesa majestade; se o fôsse, não esqueceriam decerto"* (*História de Portugal*, vol. VI, p. 46). This discrimination was highlighted by C. R. Boxer's perspicacity.[9]

Cunha Rivara's obduracy is patent when he feigns not to perceive that the Sentence itself hardly supports his wild claims: it had virtually exonerated the so-called 'conspirators' when it asserts that their alleged machinations were intrinsically devoid of substance but capable of causing worst and pernicious consequences and yet forced to fall within the purview of the draconian Lèze Majesté, all the safeguards in the *Ordenações* notwithstanding. This was the perception of Fidelino de Figueiredo (1888-1967) when he saw justice wantonly subverted in the 1787 conspiracy case.[10]

The litmus test of the failure on the part of prosecution in 1787-88 to use torture to extort confessions from every accused, is the fulsome tribute paid by no less an authority than the inquiry Magistrate Lançōes two priests implicated, by referring to them in his letter of 15 December 1787 to the Governor, as' intrepid with an extraordinary presence of mind' (*Acharão promptos para ella o Pe. João Baptista Pinto e o Pe. Caetano da Silva, ambos Naturaes intrépidos de huma presença de espirito maior que a ordinária e tão constantes como mostra a forte e obstinada negativa que sustentarão em suas perguntas):* the former was the son of Inácio Pinto of Candolim and the latter hailed from Salvador-do-Mundo (Bardez) and was the Vigário Colado of Sinquerim (Linhares). Both along with 12 other priests were pronounced guilty of high Lèze-Majesté treason by Goa High Court's *Acordão* of 20 July 1788 (*Conjuração* Doc. No. 6 p. 26-28). Unlike the lay accused, these clerics were not tried in Goa, owing to doubts about civil courts jurisdiction over priests, in accordance with the *Ordenacões*. Instead they were sent to Lisbon in March 1789 and languished in prison for about thirteen years, without trial or proceedings of any sort, until those who survived were quietly sent back to Goa, fully rehabilitated.

The double standard of justice adopted towards the priests and laymen accused for the same charge is revolting and smacks of stark victimization: if priests, including the self-confessed 'ringleader' (*cabeça*) Fr. Caetano Francisco do Couto could be discharged, there could not be any justification for any charge whatsoever against the lay accused to be sustainable. If the Goa *Relação* verdict finding the priests guilty of Léze-Majestè treason was ignored and superseded, the unusually harsh sentence of the same *Relação* against the lay accused for an identical charge could also not be enforced but, in reality was hurriedly executed by snuffing out the lives of so many on the gallows in barbaric circumstances.

Cunha Rivara waxed eloquent about the supposed legality of the Sentence but could not convincingly wriggle out of the contradiction involved in the priests being rehabilitated fully. He prevaricated to the point of cynically legitimizing the solution given to the priests unwarranted detention in Lisbon without trial: he brazened it out to find it proper that the priests though innocent, had been left in prison to die, or at the appropriate stage, treat their alleged guilt as expiated when their advanced age and ill health disabled them to embark on new moves *(Conjuração 41-42).* Is it conceivable that a legal system in a civilized nation, legitimise indefinite detention, without trial, to expiate indeterminable offences, until death?

What more is required to establish that the innocence of the priests who landed in Goa, was upheld, than that they were unconditionally reinstated in diocesan service in Goa by the very archbishop who years earlier remorselessly played the hatchet man by using Fr. Pedro Lobo's abject servility and intrigue and had remained insensitive to their travails in prison? We have the report of 31 December 1788 to the Governor by the prefect of the Theatines in Old Goa, Fr. Reginaldo Pimenta – the Theatines were all Goan Priests – relating *inter alia* the rigours the accused priests

were made to undergo in the prison that was adjacent to their Convent of St. Cajetan, not permitting them to celebrate Mass and to have food with the Religious.[11]

Having thus exposed Cunha Rivara's claim of the legality of the Sentence as sham, similar claim of conformity with contemporary jurisprudence is to be demonstrated as equally baseless. The much touted circumstance that the Goa *Relação* judges had recently come from Lisbon, militates against their competence and thorough knowledge of criminal case law in Portuguese courts, particularly the test case of rehabilitation of Távoras and others, by the elaborate *acordão* of 23 May 1781: a veritable compendium of criminal law concepts that conceivably all Portuguese courts had to abide by and would not have gone unreported in Portuguese academic and legal fora. It was printed in Lisbon in 1808.[12]

This high level judicial pronouncement could not have been missed out or rather should have been the touchstone, when the Goa *Relação* was seized of the case of the unfortunate alleged Goa 'conspirators' in 1787-88. Actually, however, its salutary principles and norms were willfully flouted particularly concerning torture, death sentence and denial of defence.

The question of a credible defence, was inconceivable with 'confessions' extracted from the accused under torture, with the aggravating circumstance that the self-confessed 'ringleader' (cabe*ça*) Fr. Caetano Francisco Couto came in support of prosecution's anxiety to pin down the so-called 'conspirators', by turning approver, in fact, the virtual mouthpiece of the authorities. Who would have ever expected the once combative Fr. Couto to end up playing into the eager hands of prosecution by confirming as authentic and factual the spurious 'confessions' of the innocent victims of illegal torture including his own family members and thus added substance and credibility to the iniquitous 'sedition' process?

Before we charge Fr. Couto for perverse betrayal and worse, it is to be noted that his insanity, confirmed later, possibly linked to torture in prison, would have been an open secret in the last quarter of 1787. With Fr. Gonsalves, unavailable for questioning, Fr. Couto's testimony was too invaluable to prosecution to miss. It was imperative to secure it, with appropriate safeguards as to its legality, lest his impairment should nullify it. Apparently prosecution had a free hand to meet all their unfair requirements through the infamous "confession" of the 'ringleader'.

The strategy was the subterfuge that Fr. Couto's 'confession' had been recorded, while he was stated to be mentally sound, with an ominously fulsome recognition in the Sentence to the effect, that it was '*sincere'* '*truthful'* and '*corroborative of the confessions of almost all accused'*.

The pretence was not so subtle but handy : to project Fr Couto as a paradigm of 'presumed' sincerity and truthfulness by attributing to him a meek, blanket and sweeping incrimination of all those mentioned to him as accused, unmindful of facts, with himself as the unquestioned 'ringleader'. This was, however a caricature of the hardline acolyte of Fr C. V. Faria, profiled in the latter's *Glosas (Conjuração* Doc.

35, 54) and flayed by the archhishop as 'vicious and haughty' (*malevolo e altivo*) 'conspirator', in his letter of 13 February 1788 to the Inquisitor General in Lisbon.[13]

Coercion is discernible, given his status and importance for the critically vulnerable probe. Insanity was obliquely but no less clearly hinted at by the Sentence itself; it was established when, for security reasons, consequent upon his mental impairment, he was shifted to Lisbon in a locked cabin (*camarote fechado)* as the captain of the ship, António Joaquim dos Reis Portugal reported, and at destination (*Conjuração, 47).*

Cunha Rivara had to acknowledge the fact of Fr Couto's insanity, though he glosses over the not so insignificant observation in the Sentence to the effect that his 'confession' had been recorded precisely before he suffered the mental ailment (*em tempo, em que nenhum defeito padecia no juizo*). Actually, elaborating on the Sentence, he blithely credits the 'ringleader' whom, he felt, nothing was hidden.

The unbridled misuse of 'confessions' extorted by illegal torture vitiated the legitimacy of the evidence obtained by prosecution. It came handy to malign and discredit natives in the armed forces; by showing them as disloyal, would vindicate the resistance of the whites to the implementation of Pombaline egalitarian measures. In 1787, the trigger had been provided by the afore mentioned Fr. Pedro Lobo: along with Lts. Costa and Toscano, he targeted Pondá Legion's Lt. Manuel Caetano Pinto, a *Familiar* of the Inquisition, son of In*á*cio Pinto of Candolim and Lt. Pedro Luis Gonzaga de Souza, of Nerul.

Apparently, at the stage of acting upon the denunciations, the Governor Cunha Menezes dissented in his opinion about the alleged culpability of Lts. Pinto and Souza and had it placed on record, by a significant P.S. to his order of 6 August 1787 to Brigadier António de Assa Castelo Branco, Pond*á,* Legion Commander, directing him to place under custody Narba Naique, Lt. Manuel Caetano Pinto and Alferes (sic) Pedro Souza. It reads:

"*Advirto a V. Sra. que os officiaes que fizerem as prizoens especialmente ao Sar Dessai Narba Naique devem dar huma exacta busca em todos os papeis que acharem, os quaes V. Sra. me remmeterá emmassados e selados e posto que me não capacito inteiramente que os mencionados officiaes da sua Legião, que mando prender tenhão nella mettido algum espirito de sedição, sempre, porém, aviso a V. Sra. que das primeiras informações que sobre este importante caso se tem tomado me consta que elles assim o teem praticado".*[14]

The Governor recorded his reservations by the P.S. but was cautious in discreetly stating his rationale for the arrest order issued – surely he had to be cautious because Fr. Lobo's denunciation had been received by him from and with the implicit placet of Archbishop S. Catarina.

These reservations on the part of the Governor appear to have been shared by the Pondá Legion Brigadier Commander and the fact that his appearance and testimony were prescinded with in the inquiry, is not without significance. He had intimated his

views to the Governor by his letter of 11 August 1787 setting at rest any apprehensions about the alleged mutiny.

The arrest of Lts. Pinto and Sousa has to viewed against this backdrop. They were summoned before the inquiry magistrates on 19 and 22 October 1787, respectively and, in the footsteps of the two 'intrepid' priests mentioned above – Lt. Pinto is Fr. João Baptista Pinto's brother – categorically brushed off any knowledge of any 'conspiracy' as well as all 'confessions' against them, piled up by prosecution.

Seemingly, their military Officer status stood on the way of their being subjected to torture in a civilian court or for some other reasons: this is inferred from Governor's letter of 16 September 1788 informing Marshall F. A. Veiga Cabral that, by *Acordão* of 6 September 1788, the Goa Relação had ordered Lts. Pinto and Sousa be subjected to torture (*são mandados meter a tormentos…)* as accomplices in the proposed rebellion against the State and be stripped of military rank and honours.[15]

That the consent of the Goa Relação had to be sought and obtained to subject to torments Lts. Pinto and Sousa as well as Ponda Legion Chief Surgeon David Francisco Viegas – all three had stoutly denied any knowledge about any 'conspiracy', points out to prosecution's compulsions and Judiciary's explicit connivance to subvert the legal system and exceed its jurisdiction as defined by the Távoras' verdict of 23 May 1781 quoted above to the effect that torture stood banished from Portuguese criminal courts. Certainly Cunha Rivara had access to the above communication of the Governor and saw through its implications; he however, kept his own counsel and refrained from mentioning the torture with the dubious *Relação*'s consent. Incidentally, Lts. Pinto and Sousa were singled out for the most barbaric punishment of being dragged to the gallows through the city public roads, tied to horse tails and their hands would be cut while alive; their dead bodies were to be quartered and hoisted high on poles in public places of Ilhas, Bardez and Salcete and particularly at Candolim and Nerul, villages from where they hailed, until consumed in the course of time.

The mutilated text of the Sentence borrowed by Cunha Rivara, omits a significant detail in this regard – it is revealed by the MS of the Porto Library. The white dominated *Santa Casa de Misericórdia de Goa* had taken interest in the convicts and this is corroborated by the above quoted report of the Prefect of the Theatine religious in Goa, Fr. Reginaldo Pimenta. On its humanitarian pleading, the Goa *Relação,* by its *Acordão* of 12 December 1788 consented to have their hands cut off after death. Similar concession was permitted to the convicts David Francisco Viegas and Caetano Xavier da Costa. Likewise, by Goa *Relação Acordão* of 20 December 1788 the punishment to J. L. Guinetti was commutted to deportation for life to Angola (East Africa): no magnanimity indeed, in view of the blatant injustice meted out.

To evaluate the futility and ineffectiveness of Cunha Rivara's rhetoric as to facts concerning the supposed 'conspiracy' in 1787, it is imperative to test its sustainability with reports submitted to Lisbon by Goa authorities themselves. The British would

be keenly observing the Goa scene for the benefit of the East India Company affairs in India. In this context, their envoy in Lisbon Robert Salpole reported to Marquis of Camarthan on 24 May 1788, the following:

'*Upon my inquiry in regard to the truth of a Report which has been current here upon an apprehension of an intended insurrection at Goa in favour of Tippo Saib, Monsieur de Mello stated to me, that two turbulent Friars who had been sent away from hence had been taken up by order of the Governor of Goa for seditious language and threats, that in case they were not satisfied in their ambitious demands, they would invite Tippo Saib to attack the places – which language had been confirmed by an intercepted letter to the same purpose. A judicial inquiry had been instituted in order to discover the Accomplices, or other measures which may have been adopted: this was all that for the present had been communicated by the Governor of Goa to this Court and Monsieur de Mello supposes that it will turn out to be nothing more than the intemperate language of two friars mentioned above:India Office records – Home Miscellaneous services* (p. 197).

Monsieur de Mello is the Minister in charge of overseas affairs Martinho de Melo e Castro and the two 'Friars' were the above mentioned Fr. José António Gonsalves and Caetano Francisco Couto. The Minister's assessment that it was all about 'intemperate language' is meaningful. It would have set at rest apprehensions in London about the unrest in Goa to be exploited by Tipu Sultan as it actually turned out to be a damp squib.

An objective assessment of the supposed 'conspiracy', undoubtedly, is by none other than by the highest Government authority in Goa, the prime mover in the whole affair, who, ironically, homologated the Sentence of December 1788, in his capacity as '*Regedor das justiças* – the then Governor Francisco da Cunha Menezes, by his letter of 18 March 1789 to the Minister Melo e Castro, which accompanied the entire proceedings. Nothing could be more authentic, factual, reliable and reassuring than this candid, though belated, ringside recapitulation of the ghastly tragedy. It is staring any unbiased observer in the face.[16]

Cunha Rivara could never miss this letter in Goa Archives: he mentioned its date but omitted the respective archival reference (*Conjuração 95)*. He used it almost verbatim elsewhere, without quoting it v.g. in his life sketch of Fr. Gonçalves (*Conjuração 49), n*ot without disclosing "*Segundo se expressa o governador*". He was at pains to rebut its main thrust about the non-existence of any external complicity, particularly with Tipu Sultan, a stand endorsed in the Sentence.

It had struck at the root of Cunha Rivara's paranoid conjecture that '*Tipu was the axis of the 'conspirators' plans" (Conjuração 109)*. The Governor's assessment is unequivocally supported by the historian Celsa Pinto, of Candolim Pintos' lineage. "*We find no plans,* she asserts, *designed for the seizure and occupation of Goa in either the British or the Portuguese records or even in the secret correspondence of Tipu Sultan' … it is hardly reasonable to accept a Tippu-French involvement in a nativist attempt to shake off the Portuguese yoke"*.[17]

With the external angle to the supposed 'conspiracy' thus ruled out, the Governor would have faced the predicament to explain its possible rationale, if any. He would have remembered his gut reaction when he confronted the earliest denunciation and disparaged it as '*fabulosa, digna de riso e effeito de alguma inimizade particular*' which in fact, it turned out to be, though with dreadful consequences to those dragged into, the quagmire. Apparently, within a short period in Goa, from October 1786, he would have sensed the ambience of intrigue and scandal mongering prevailing around. He had, however, reasons to turn serious and panic when he received from the Archbishop, a Carmelite, an affidavit (*attestação)* with four priests' depositions, on his orders, before the Vicar General: he overreacted and rushed with arrests of suspects and the rest is tragic history. All efforts to nab Fr. Gonsalves however, came a cropper, as he took shelter in Azrem, in Maratha territory. The Governor would have rightly feared the hidden power that the Carmelite caucus then wielded in Portugal, with the Carmelite Fr. Inácio de S. Caetano, Titular Archbishop of Thessalonica, Inquisitor General as the Queen's confessor. He would have certainly known about the mysterious death of Cranganor Archbishop Dr. Joseph Cariattil on 9 September 1786 while a guest of the Archbishop of Goa, a victim of a vicious Carmelite plot to ensure his elimination, in order to serve their vested interests in Malabar.[18]

Strikingly, in the Sentence, the Goa *Relacão* acknowledges with appreciation the Archbishop's intervention in the proceedings, by submitting to the Governor a *sumario* (brief note) affirming the veracity of the rebellion, with the zeal worthy of a faithful subject of the Queen. (.. *que capacitado pelo ditto sumário da verdade da Rebelião, e quanto esta já grassava, com zelo proprio de fiel vassalo e pessoa do Conselho da dita Senhora, dirigio o sumario ao Governador e Capitão General, lugar Tenente da dita Senhora neste Estado* – text in *Conjuração* Doc. 3 p. 12 with the gaps completed from Porto MS).

The Governor's letter of 18 March 1789, was meant to be a repudiation of the 'conjectures' about collaboration to the supposed 'conspirators' by the neighbouring ruling powers. The Sentence had also referred to it but lied when it contended that the 'conspirators' had feigned external support that was neither sought nor offered (*fingiram soccorro de potencia estrangeira)* (*Conjuração* doc. p. 6), as there is no trace of it in the proceedings.

On the internal aspect too, the Governor is forthright in distancing himself from the alleged *raison-d'être* of the supposed 'conspiracy' as projected by a partisan prosecution and abetted by the Archbishop. Surprisingly, he is seen determined to place it in its proper perspective and expose its intrinsic inanity. Plausibly, he would have been on a different frequency from his blood thirsty entourage, baying for *canarim* blood, as faithful to the Queen as their patron, the archbishop. He would, however, be hostage to such imperatives that he could not exercise his own judgement independently, lest he should be politically isolated in a trumped up

sensitive matter. He would have come under pressure from his restive armed forces in which the *Descendentes* had a dominant voice, to show the natives their place in the colonial scheme of things, even by resorting to sheer tyranny.

Cunha Menezes' assertive reservations to the arrest of the two Pondá Legion Officers and the trivialization of the 'conspiracy' as nothing more than mere intemperate language of the two priest 'ringleaders', are vital inputs that, alongwith evidence in the proceedings, throw light on his insight into the mohehill rather than the mountain that the alleged 'conspiracy' was turned into. This is found reiterated when, in his above recapitulatory letter, he disparaged it as follies (*loucuras),* a quixotic pursuit of objectives like starting a parliament, launch universities, becoming bishops, etc. *(Conjuração 95).* Arguably, he would have loathed going down in history as carrying the proverbial can of opprobrium due only to the anti-native hawks in his establishment and to the archbishop, consummated in the atrocity of December 1788.

Apparently, the Governor was so convinced about having vindicated the truth in his assessment, that he dared the minister himself to have it tested by scrutinizing all depositions and confessions submitted to him. Cunha Menezes would know too well the fact how the wily Fr. Pedro Lobo had worked up the archbishop about the supposed threat of an insurgency to end Portuguese rule in Goa, by a sweeping, mischievous and wide ranging statement on 31 July 1787, followed by formal depositions on 3 August 1787 before the vicar general. This statement had been declared to be solely on the basis of a confidential conversation he had on 17th or 18th July in the Tivim church with Frs. José António Gonsalves and Caetano Francisco da Silva when they had called on him, with no further discernible corroborative evidence whatsoever, indeed a perverse breach of trust. Significantly, the Sentence commended Fr. Pedro Lobo for having contradicted JAG's 'conspiratorial' plans (*Conjuração* doc. p. 12).

Fr. Gonsalves was indeed too important to be missed by the Governor in his said letter of 18 March 1789, though absent in person in the proceedings. He could not help giving vent to his frustration for having been neatly outmanoeuvred, as the former had slipped out of his boastful dragnet and virtually mocked at all efforts to be brought to Goa. He paid him (Gonsalves) a left-handed tribute as the ambitious and proud maverick, who, according to him, had caused the 'conspiracy' as well as the miseries to so many unfortunates, though he alone deserved the major share in them (*Fica-me o pezar de não ter podido conseguir a prizão do Padre José António Gonsalves, cujo cérebro esquentado, soberbo e ambicioso deo causa a esta Sublevacão fazendo com ella tantos infelizes, que padecerão a pena em que elle deveria ter a maior parte).*

It was accurate on the Governor's part to accord to Fr. Gonsalves primacy in formulating the idea of insurgency against colonial domination, after his return to Goa from Lisbon. He had the necessary credentials and during his sojourn in Europe

he would have internalized his contemporary Abbé Guillaume Raynal's (1713-1796) tirades against Portuguese colonialism and felt their relevance in the oppressive climate in Goa.

Cunha Menezes had neatly differentiated the trumped-up non-event linked with 'follies' (*loucuras)* and non-sense (*disparates)* from a credible insurgency move. The latter, if ever, could only be engendered by a resourceful, ambitious and proud individual as JAG was reluctantly acknowledged to be, even to the point of avoiding being a sitting duck, to the discomfiture of the authorities. The Governor, however, was wide off the mark when *post-factum* he appears to rationalize the atrocities inflicted on innocents, euphemistically termed 'unfortunates'. It was an abuse of the legal process, an absolutely unwarranted subversion of justice when retribution arbitrarily perceived to be due to Fr. Gonsalves was even more arbitrarily slapped on those unfortunates whose 'confessions' had been extorted through illegal torture and inapplicable Léze Majesté.

Cunha Menezes' assessment of the so-called 'conspiracy' would not be unknown to Goan historians like Filipe Néri Xavier, Miguel Vicente Abreu, Panduronga Pissurlencar, with close links with Goa archives, who preferred to toe the official line and just call it 'a chamada *Conjuração* dos Pintos'. José António Ismael Gracias (1857-1919), referred to the Governor's report of 18 March 1789 and expressed his revulsion towards the Sentence while alluding to the Portuguese poet Bocage, an eye witness in Goa to the tragic events of 1787-1788: *"Bocage narrando com horror a conjuração, reproduzia de certo, carregando os tropos com a sua fantasia poética, o juizo das regiões oficiais e a Sentença do Tribunal da Relação cuja iniquidade não escapa ao mais comezinho critério. Este assunto já tem sido discutido à saciedade e nada se lucra exumando actualmente do olvido"*[19]. Significantly, however, Gracias mildly snubs Cunha Rivara for having omitted even a reference in *Conjuração* to Bocage's letter.

What Ismael Gracias did not do by himself despite his unquestionable expertise, was achieved when he recalled an earlier insightful analysis that matched his views on the 'conspiracy': it was the trenchant critique by António Anastásio Bruto da Costa (1828-1911),[20] first published in the issue no. 896 of *Ultramar* of 2 June 1876, while Cunha Rivara was still in Goa as *Secretário Geral do Estado da India*, but significantly went unchallenged by the latter. It was transcribed in *As Revoluções Políticas da India Portuguesa do século XIX,* Margão, 1896, pages VI to XIII. In it Bruto da Costa dissected Cunha Rivara's speculations and minced no words in overturning them as unacceptable to logical analysis. He drew attention to the infirmities in investigations through torture and to the *parti pris* on the judges' part in every period of their verdict as evidenced also by the barbaric punishments inflicted on lay accused. How could confessions extorted by torture, he wonders, attest to machinations that the Sentence itself finds to be insubstantial and incapable of producing full effect? Cunha Rivara's frantic rhetoric to uphold the credibility of the

external factor in the 'conspiracy is sharply questioned in that it is belied by the 'sincere and truthful confession' of Fr. Couto whom allegedly 'nothing was hidden' and even did not spare his relatives!

These are some highlights of Bruto da Costa's review of '*Conjuração'* whereby he rubbished the claim about the very existence of the 'conspiracy' in no uncertain terms, as Rivara himself acknowledged (*Conjuração, 92)*. This view was reiterated and rationalized by its author in his above quoted *As Revoluções Politicas.*

Bruto da Costa's quick-witted rejoinder clearly put Cunha Rivara to rout by highlighting the facts about the so-called 'conspiracy' as Goans always recognized them but were sought to be fudged by Cunha Rivara under the garb of historical erudition. The latter had a distraught constituency to cater to, among the whites in Goa, smarting under the disability resulting from the abolition of the army and their consequent marginalization. The enthusiastic reception of *Conjuração* in white circles is voiced by the self-appointed organ of the whites (*classe Branca) (*sic) in Goa named *Nova-Goa* in its editorial comments '*A Conjuração de 1787"* in the issues of 28 June and 12 July 1876. This hate campaign on the part of *Descendentes* was continued by their representative writers like Frederico Diniz de Ayalla (1860-1923). His *Goa Antiga e Moderna (*1927), an anti-brahmin diatribe, highlights *Conjuração* as its *pièce de resistance.* So was Fernando da Costa Leal (1846-1910), who published his Sonnets under the general title *Politica Goana – Pamphleto Mensal de Propaganda Nacional contra a minoria goesa que detesta os Portugueses – Setembro 1909.*

The Prelate's tactical intervention in a purely political matter was unwarranted and cannot be explained away as patriotic zeal, as the Sentence would have us believe. The clue lies in his demonizing the fiercely nationalist Fr. Caetano Vitorino de Faria as '*the Anti-Christ'* (sic) who, with the two companions (read: Frs. José António Gonsalves and Caetano Francisco Couto), conceived and wanted to put the conspiracy into execution (... *o conceito que eu fazia dele, ao que respondi que era o Anti Christo. Elle e os dois companheiros que estiverão em Lisboa bem tem dado a conhecer o malévolo e altivo espirito de que estavão preocupados quando conceberão e quizerão pôr em execução a conjuração contra o Estado):* this was stated in his above quoted letter of 13 February 1788 to his high-profile confrere Inquisitor General. This intervention provides also the key to the Governor Cunha Menezes' volte-face in his preliminary evaluation of what was alleged to be an attempt for a 'conspiracy' and the unfortunate hard line the matter took thereafter.

NOTES

[1] *Conjuração,* pp. 24, 91, 112.

[2] Jacinto Caetano Barreto Miranda, *Quadros Históricos de Goa,* Caderneta III, Margao 1865 p. 82.

[3] Historical Archives of Goa (HAG) , *Correspondência para o Reino* 1857-1858 fls. 6v – 7v.

[4] HAG, *Estrangeiros,* 4, fl. 114.

[5] Marechal Gomes da Costa, *A Revolta de Goa e a Campanha de* 1895-6, Lisboa, 1939, pp. 13-14, quoted from C. R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415-1825,* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963, p.80.

[6] *Archivo Portuguez Oriental,* Fasc.6 (Supplements), Nova Goa, 1876, pp. 498-9, n. a, commented upon by C. R Boxer, *ibid.* p. 74.

[7] Pedro do Carmo Costa, *Famílias Católicas Goesas: entre dois mundos e dois referenciais de nobreza – offprint of Revista de Genealogia e Heráldica, No. 9/10* Centro de Estudos de Genealogia, Heráldica e História da Familia da Universidade Moderna do Porto, 2003, p. 244.

[8] *Ordenações Filipinas*. Lisbon: Fundação Gulbenkian. Reprint of 1870 ed. by Cândido Mendes de Almeida.

[9] *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire (1415 – 1825)*, London, 1969, pp. 199-200.

[10] *A épica Portuguesa no Sec. XVI*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional e Casa da Moeda, 1987, p. 392.

[11] HAG, *Livro das Monções,* no. 170ª, fls. 111-114.

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11

HURDLES TO KONKNNI IN GOA

Pratap Naik

PRE-LIBERATION PERIOD

During the pre-liberation period in Goa, the members of the majority community and common folks of the minority community, for oral communication used Konknni. The majority community used Marathi for primary education, for popular religion, accounts, written communication theatre and other spheres of their lives. The elite of the minority community used Portuguese at home and for education. They used Konknni to converse with the majority community and common folks of the minority community who did not know Portuguese. Portuguese was considered the language of the cultured people. The elite group of the minority community looked down upon Konknni as a language of the servants and socio-economically backward common people. Konknni in Roman script was used for popular religious practices and for mass media. Konknni written in Devanagari script hardly existed during this period. It had practically no influence over the members of the majority community. Marathi also enjoyed the privileged position among the majority community. Due to this the majority community identified Marathi as their intellectual and cultural language. However there was no animosity or rivalry among the users of these three languages. These three languages coexisted with unity and harmony.

POST-LIBERATION PERIOD

After 1965, due to the teaching of the Second Vatican Council, the Catholic Church all over the world replaced Latin by local languages for the religious domain. Due to this, in Goa too the Church actively promoted religious services in Konknni. The Church contributed to standardize Konknni in Roman script, which had its roots in the sixteenth century. Let us call this dialect as *Roman Script Standard Konknni*

(RSSK). After the liberation of Goa, Konknni suffered a number of setbacks. This happened partly due to the lack of vision and leadership on the part of the minority community and partly due to the manipulative tactics used by self-proclaimed protectors of Konknni.

After the liberation of Goa, Catholic schools introduced Konknni in Devanagari script as a third language in their schools. The Devanagari proponents succeeded to convince a few leaders of the minority community that the Devanagari script is the 'natural script' of Konknni and it is related to our nationalism and patriotism! The majority of the students were from the Catholic community. They were familiar with the Roman script and RSSK dialect due to religious literature and mass media. But RSSK dialect was not taught in schools. A different dialect was thrust upon them in the name of Konknni and nationalism. According to Ulhas Buyanv, one of the stalwarts of the Opinion Poll in Goa and veteran Konknni singer, 'a Konknni dialect of 3% of a minuscule section of the majority community was forced upon 30% minority community'. Students of the minority community who had opted for Konknni had no real option. They were not familiar with Marathi. Besides they never identified with Marathi as their language. Between Marathi and Konknni they were forced to take Konknni in Devanagari script. Students learnt Konknni not out of conviction or love of Konknni but out of sheer compulsion. Therefore, they never took an interest in keeping up the language they learnt. Once they finished their education they gave up reading and writing Konknni in Devanagari script! This situation created a strong feeling of dislike towards Konknni in Devanagari script among the minority community.

If the textbooks had included the Konknni dialect of the majority community and RSSK dialect of the minority community this unhealthy tension could have been avoided and a healthy blending of two dialects would have helped to promote a new standard dialect of Konknni in Goa. Dialects and scripts are emotional issues. In a democracy one group cannot impose its preferences on the others. Language is far more important than its scripts. Unfortunately among a section of Konknnis (Konknni speakers) Konknni was identified with the Devanagari script! Schools run by the majority community promote more Marathi compared to Konknni. As on September 30, 2004, there were 137 Konknni medium primary schools run by the NGOs. Out of these only 6 primary schools were exclusively run by the majority community. However the same majority community runs 63 Marathi medium primary schools! On the other hand the minority community runs 126 Konknni medium primary schools.

Konknni can be offered as the third language from fifth to tenth standards in schools. As on 3 February 2005, in Goa there are 292 NGO high schools. Out of these only 207 schools offer Konknni as a third language. Out of these 207 schools, 126 belong to the minority community. This means more than 50% of high schools run by the majority community do not provide the option to their students to opt for

Konknni as a third language! From this if one concludes that Marathi is for the majority community and Konknni in Devanagari script mainly for the minority community, will he/she be wrong?

On 26 February 1975, the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, recognized Konknni as an independent literary language based mainly on the literature produced in Roman and Kannada scripts. In its recognition Sahitya Akademi never mentioned the script of Konknni. On 21 November 1981, the Advisory Board of Konknni, which consisted of a majority of Devanagari proponents, through their shrewd manipulative skills recommended that Devanagari should remain the script for Konknni. Konknni speakers, writers and leaders of various scripts were not consulted for such a major decision. There was no public debate to come to a consensus on this important issue of script. The entire process was a clandestine exercise of a few. Subsequently whenever the question of script was raised, the proponents of Devanagari script silenced the voice of their opponents by vociferously proclaiming that Sahitya Akademi recognized Konknni only in Devanagari script!

Consequently, Sahitya Akademi awards were given exclusively to books written in Devanagari script. This tradition continues till today. It is an open secret among Konknni writers that these awards are distributed among the supporters and well-wishers of Devanagari script. This manipulation reached its climax while selecting a Konknni book for the 2005 Sahitya Akademi award. Three jury members recommended a book. Two jury members were the publishers of the very same book, which was selected for the award! Sahitya Akademi's recognition to Konknni first sowed the seed of division among the supporters of Konknni and supporters of Marathi. Secondly, it created a rift between supporters of Devanagari script versus the supporters of other two major scripts of Konknni, namely, Roman and Kannada scripts. This gap is widening day by day. Prior to the recognition these three groups lived and worked together with dignity. A popular language of the people does not need the recognition of an external organization. Sahitya Akademi's recognition did more harm to the unity and harmony of Konknni and Konknnis than good!

In 1985 the Goa government founded Goa Konkani Akademi (GKA). Its chief objective was spelled out as 'the Akademi aims at bringing about speedy development of the Konknni language, literature and culture and also at promoting cultural unity of this state through Konknni language and literature.' GKA started actually functioning from 1986. GKA was filled with Devanagari proponents and they interpreted Konknni means Konknni written in Devanagari script.

Till 2005 the Goa Konkani Akademi hardly did anything to fulfill its primary objective. In 2005 due to the demands of Roman script supporters, the Goa government ordered the GKA to publish and to give financial assistance to books written in the Roman script. Roman script readers and writers who preserved, promoted Konknni for centuries and fought for it to become the Official Language of Goa have become second-class citizens in Goa itself! Anyone who supports or

demands equal status to Konknni in the Official Language Act is considered 'fundamentalist', 'promoter of disunity' and so on by the Devanagari proponents.

On 4 February 1987, the Goa Legislative Assembly passed the Official Language Bill. In the Official Language Act, under definitions 2c it was stated 'Konkani language' means Konkani language in Devanagari script. Who created this deliberate mischief to include the definition of Konknni? What was the need to include such a definition? The majority of the Konknni supporters were then totally unaware of this manipulation or the implication of such definition. According to Tomazinho Cardozo, the ex-Speaker of Goa Assembly and ex-President of Dalgado Konknni Akademi, 'This is the biggest fraud or conspiracy of the 20th century as far as Konknni is concerned'.

The main objective of the State Language is to give preference to native speakers for government jobs. The Official Language Act of Goa is biased towards one section of the Goan community. Konknni is not a compulsory subject in the education system of Goa. In other states the state language is compulsory in education. In Goa for government jobs the knowledge of Konknni (in Devanagari script) is essential and the knowledge of Marathi is desirable. With this policy those who know Konknni in Devanagari script and Marathi are given preference for jobs. Due to this, the present Language Act does not promote unity and harmony among natives in Goa. Instead it has created disunity, mistrust and division in Goa. Prior to the Official Language Act, the situation in Goa was much more cordial and friendly. It was falsely presumed that Konknni in Devanagari script would promote unity in Goa. But the reality is that the majority community has not fully accepted Konknni in Devanagari script in most of the spheres. It continues to use Marathi for religious services, education, mass media and cultural domains. In Goa neither the majority community nor the minority community has fully accepted Konknni in Devanagari script for all the domains of their life. Therefore, Konknni in Devanagari script alone cannot become a true bond of unity among Goans. This writers experience for the last 35 years has shown that in Goa, Konknni for oral communication and English for written communication will definitely unite all Goans irrespective of their caste, creed and region. Therefore, for the government jobs the knowledge of oral Konknni alone should be sufficient. Language fanaticism does not promote a language, rather it creates hatred towards a particular language and its speakers.

In 1990 the Bombay High Court ordered private managements to pay the government pay scale to their primary teachers. These primary schools were of English medium. Instead of challenging this verdict in the Supreme Court, managements approached the local government for assistance. For the reasons best known to the government, it decided to give grants only to those schools who run their schools in Konknni, Marathi or any other recognized Indian language. The minority community leaders especially the priests and nuns were asked to run their schools in Konknni medium only to avail the grants! This major decision created innumerable problems

for parents to educate their children in the Konknni medium. Besides, it further increased their dislike for Konknni in Devanagari script. Those who were financially better off preferred to send their children to English medium primary schools. Those who belong to the majority community continued to send their children to either Marathi or English medium schools. Those who economically cannot afford English education, continue to send their children to Konknni medium schools.

As of 30 September 2004 there were 1229 primary schools in Goa. Of these 968 (78.76%) offered Marathi medium and 216 (17.58%) offered Konknni as the medium of instruction. Every year Konknni medium schools are declining. In 1995 there were 244 Konknni medium schools. English medium schools are increasing day by day. As of 30 September 2004, there are 81 English medium primary schools in Goa. From a reliable source from the Education Department it is learnt that a number of managements have sought the permission to open English medium primary schools in Goa. English medium primary schools have become a common practice in our country. Hence let the parents decide the medium of instruction of their children. In a democracy they have a right to choose.

REMEDIES

Those who care for Konknni should be open to the ground reality and not be led by mere theoretical idealism or language/script chauvinism. In democracy mutual respect, understanding and unity in multiplicity these and other values must guide any action. In Goa, Roman and Devanagari scripts are used to read and write Konknni. These two scripts represent two different standard dialects of Konknni. They could be compared to two wheels of a cart. For the survival of Konknni in Goa they are really essential. There cannot be true equality and harmony among the users of these two groups without justice. Justice will be given by amending the Official Language Act of 1987 to include Konknni written in Roman script side by side of Konknni written in Devanagari script. Let these two groups live in Goa with dignity as equal citizens maintaining their identity.

At present in the name of promoting local languages and culture, the Goa government gives crores of rupees to the Goa Konkani Akademi, Marathi Akademi, Kala Akademi and Art and Culture Directorate. Is there a need for the government to spend such an enormous amount of taxpayers' hard earned money for language and culture? The government's involvement through its departments or autonomous institutions to promote local languages and culture has further divided the local people. Each group envies the other group. It is high time that the concerned citizens question the government regarding the relevance and the need for such an exorbitant expenditure on language and culture. Any language or culture is maintained, developed and promoted with the active support of its native speakers. When the government

takes the initiative to promote a language or culture, it gradually kills the zeal of native speakers and in turn harms the progress of that language. Besides, manipulation, corruption, nepotism and degradation of the society are bound to enter and get rooted even in the field of art and culture. A written language or a particular culture cannot be kept alive merely by government's financial support. Therefore, let the Goa government stop funding government institutions and other NGO organizations, which promote local languages or cultures. Let the people develop and support their own language and culture as Tiatr and Marathi play lovers do. Let the government concentrate its resources to promote local languages in education and administration.

Sahitya Akademi could encourage Konknni literature by giving annual awards in turn to books published in Devanagari, Roman and Kannada scripts. This is possible if the advisory Board of Sahitya Akademi that has a majority from the Devanagari proponents agrees to resolve the script issue by mutual understanding.

Whatever may be the medium of instruction, the proponents of Devanagari script should demand from the government to make Konknni a compulsory subject in schools. So far they have not done so. Why? It remains a mystery. Fighting against granting the official status to Konknni in Roman script and cursing the impact of English in Goa will not help the cause of Konknni in Devanagari script. Rather it will lead to the natural death of the Konknni written in so-called 'natural script' of Konknni. The good of Goa and Goans is far more important than mere language or script controversy.

12

TOURISM AND NATION-BUILDING: (RE)LOCATING GOA IN POSTCOLONIAL INDIA[1]

Raghuraman S. Trichur

INTRODUCTION

The development of a tourism destination is a process of producing spaces, constructed by historically contingent institutional practices and cultural discourse[2]. The tourism destination is both, a representation of space and space for representation. It is a space saturated by power and in the words of Henri Lefebvre, "a stake, the locus of projects and actions deployed as specific strategies, and hence the object of wagers on the future.[3]" Approached from this perspective, a close reading of the tourism destination and its associated discourses could provide a commentary on the developments within the society in which it is located (See Harvey, 1989, 1993).[4]

In this essay, I will firstly analyze the political and economic developments that unfolded in postliberation Goa. Secondly, I will explore the manner in which the discourse of tourism development has contributed to locating Goa within the imagination of the postcolonial Indian nation, and created the space for the expansion of the Indian state's hegemonic[5] control over the Goan society[6].

THE DAYS BEFORE LIBERATION

The relation between the newly formed post-colonial Indian State and the colonial Goan society between 1947 and 1961 was determined, on the one hand, by the position occupied by India as a member of the fledging postcolonial international community, founding member of the Non-Allied Movement, and a promoter of non-violent and peaceful means of conflict resolution.

As soon as the independent Indian nation-state was established, the Indian government under the leadership of the Indian National Congress (henceforth INC)

was forced by its membership within the international community to view Portuguese colonialism in Goa through the lens of its foreign policy. This contributed to ambiguities in the political rhetoric of the Indian government which had real consequences for Goa's freedom struggle that drew membership from Goans settled outside Goa, especially in Bombay. For, example, with respect to the support sought by Goan freedom fighters for a *satyagraha* they had planned in 1954, Prime Minister Nehru said "during the last seven years we have restrained our people. Normally speaking I do not want non-Goans to go to Goa. But I am not going to stop Goans from functioning.[7]"

According to Pandit Nehru, *satyagraha* was a strategy which could be employed by people only to bring pressure on their own government and that the use of this strategy in any other situation would be inappropriate (Nehru, 1968: 383-84). In other words the involvement of Indians in a *satyagraha* directed at the Portuguese colonial administrators in Goa was meaningless. While in this situation there was an implicit distinction drawn between India and Goa, in another occasion, Pandit Nehru in a speech he delivered on August 21, 1955, said:

Opposed as we are to colonialism everywhere, it is impossible for us to tolerate the continuation of colonial rule in a small part of India. It is not that we covet Goa. That little bit of territory makes no difference to this great country. But even a small enclave under foreign rule does make a difference, and it is a constant reproach to the self-respect and national interest of India[8].

The inconsistencies in the position of the Indian government strained the relation between the Indian government and the anti-colonial forces in Goa. Until August 1961, Nehru had adopted a wait and watch approach to the whole Goan situation. In fact, his plea for a peaceful resolution was well received by the advanced capitalist countries, especially the USA. On the other hand, it was viewed by anti-colonial leaders in Africa as a sign of weakness on the part of India[9]. They equated India's unwillingness to take action against the Portuguese in Goa to abetting Portuguese repression in Africa[10]. The Indian Army occupied Goa on December 19, 1961, removing the last vestiges of European colonialism in the South Asian subcontinent. This was a simultaneous response to these international pressures as well as the electoral pressures that resonated from within the Congress Party[11].

THE DAYS AFTER LIBERATION

The integration of the Goan society within the Indian nation-state and its incorporation into the Indian state's sphere of hegemonic influence proved problematic. The Indian state approached the Goan society as a distinct product of Portuguese colonial rule. Considering the apprehensions among Goa's Catholic population voiced within and outside Goa, the integration of Catholic communities was viewed

as being of primary importance – a test of India's credential as a secular nation. This increasing emphasis on the distinctive characteristics of the Goan society and its colonial legacy contradicted the manner in which the Indian nation imagined and linked its own history to the pre-colonial past. This emphasis on the part of the Indian state was received with caution by Goa's Hindu majority, especially those members of the anti-colonial campaign in Goa who had forged close links with key political outfits in neighbouring Maharashtra.

The Congress party lacked any kind of organic link with the freedom struggle waged in Goa[12]. The links that existed were established through the predominantly brahmin petty bourgeois Hindu and Catholic Goans who had migrated to British India but were not viewed favourably by the majority of the Goan population – the non-brahmin rural labouring class. However, despite of these internal conflicts, the Congress given its track record of success in elections since 1947 considered itself as having the best chance of wining the first ever election to be conducted in post liberation Goa in 1962. The Congress fielded a list of 28 candidates. Of these 24 were brahmins including members of Goa's mercantile elite who were viewed as part of the problem by the majority. This elicited strong response from non-brahmin party faction within the Congress party who broke away to form the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party (henceforth referred to as MGP)[13]. The MGP an aggregate of mutually antagonistic economic classes come together only guided by the dual objective, i.e., to eliminate brahmin domination and the marginalization of Catholic influence in Goa, won the election in 1962 and remained in power till 1979. The overnight emergence and success of the MGP had a critical impact on the postcolonial Goan economy.

THE STAGNANT POST-LIBERATION GOAN ECONOMY (1961-79)

The period between 1963 and 1979 was a period of turmoil, conflict and lacked economic direction. MGP, given its support base and politics formulated economic policies that lacked any thrust in the direction of political economic integration with the rest of India. Agrarian measures that were initiated did not take into consideration the historical specificity of Goa's agrarian institutions and were essentially basically replication of the agrarian policies that were formulated in Maharashtra. These policies contributed to a significant increase in the number of peasant households in Goa, especially in the coastal Catholic dominated communities and a decline in agricultural productivity. This combined with the private ownership of mines unwittingly reproduced the dominance of the mercantile bourgeoisie over the Goan economy.

The development of the mining sector and its ancillaries, which started soon after the end of World War II were restricted to the New Conquest areas of Goa. However, the development of mining in the New Conquest did have a significant

economic and social impact on Old Conquest areas in the post liberation period. The capital accumulated from mining found its way into fishing, which along with agriculture was the mainstay of Catholic communities along coastal Goa. The Indian government, focusing on increased production encouraged mechanization of fishing and financed the operation of fishing trawlers. These trawlers were purchased by petty capitalists who were well connected with politicians and were financed by the mercantile elite. By 1978, there were approximately 400 trawlers that were allowed to operate, none owned by members of the traditional fishing community[14]. The postcolonial Indian state that had grounded its legitimacy on its ability to effect development could do nothing to get a toe hold within the Goan society[15].

TOURISM AS A STRATEGY FOR SURVIVAL

Among the people who were most affected by the developments in postcolonial Goa were the Catholic *kharvis* (fisherman), who belonged to the lowest rung of the Catholic community. The *kharvi* families, due to abject poverty and social marginalization, could not take advantage of the opportunities offered by tenancy reforms. Secondly, the increase in commercial fishing contributed to a decline in their already meagre incomes. The lack of alternatives encouraged members of the *kharvi* community to become involved in non-traditional economic activities. While a few got involved in illegal activities such as smuggling of goods and precious metals bound for markets within India, others involved themselves in the provision of boarding and lodging facilities to incoming tourists[16]. This participation of the Catholic *kharvi* community in tourism has such broad ranging significance that it cannot be viewed as a purely economic decision. The decision is also instigated by *kharvis* marginalization within the Catholic community for centuries[17].

Kharvi involvement in tourism related services started in 1966 with the arrival of the first wave of hippies[18]. In a matter of two or three years, Goa emerged as an important node in the hippie world circuit[19]. *Kharvi* households took advantage of their proximity to the beach and the increasing demand for lodging among the hippies, to earn extra money. This had far-reaching economic and social significance. The affluence generated by the money earned was exhibited in the local markets and various public gatherings. Hosting hippies was also viewed by the *kharvis* as a status enhancing mechanism that enabled them to imitate the lifestyle of the colonial landed elite who during the colonial period hosted colonial administrators. The act of hosting foreigners and the cash that was generated from this process was used by the *kharvis* mimic the lifestyle of the landed elite and compete with them for social visibility. Some of these strategies included engaging in conspicuous consumption, contribution to religious celebration, and more importantly the womenfolk from these *kharvi* families withdrew from the community's labour force, which a traditional source of labour for the landed elite.

THE TOURISM DESTINATION IN GOA

The cultural space constructed within the tourism destination in Goa is centred on the reproduction of *Goa Duarada* (Golden Goa) a colonial construction and *sossegado* (meaning relaxed, idyllic and leisurely), the lifestyle of the colonial catholic landed gentry. It was reproduced amidst ongoing cast/class conflicts between landowning catholic brahmin *bhatkars* (landlords), non-brahmin *mundkars* (tenants) and landless labouring communities. *Goa Duarada*, which during the colonial period was a class signifier within the Catholic community was, much to the dismay of the landed elite, rapidly transformed into a Catholic community signifier during the postcolonial period.

This Portuguese colonial socio-cultural image of Goa constitutes the very foundation on which the tourism destination in Goa is constructed. This is evident in the cultural forms and events highlighted by the touristic performances and discourses, or simply in the assumed passivity and tolerance of the Goan people. The idea of *sossegado* is redefined in the context of the tourism discourse to mean peaceful demeanour, contented nature, friendliness and hospitality. The trickling in of hippies into Goa during the 60s and 70s led to their integration into the exoticized image of Goa. The hippies became an integral part of the Indian tourist's experience of Goa, an object of the Indian gaze. The dominance of Goan Catholics within the emerging tourism destination space, their interactions with the predominantly white tourist population, and the touristic rituals of the latter together confirmed the distinctiveness of the Goan society to the Indian tourists.

The Congress party, which had heretofore struggled to secure a foothold in Goan politics, became an attractive platform for individuals in the MGP and the UGP whose class interests were constrained by the political ideology of these political parties. An assortment of individuals sharing similar class interests joined the Congress Party and ensured that it came to power in Goa for the first time since liberation. Soon after the Congress Party assumed control over the state government of Goa in 1980, plans were drawn up for the development of tourism along the lines of capital – wage relations. To set the ball rolling Goa was chosen as the venue for the retreat after world leaders attended the 1983 Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in New Delhi[20]. Soon after this event, authorized by the Congress Party dominated Central Government of India, a Master Plan for the development of tourism was formulated in 1987[21]. Tourism in Goa was perceived as heralding the new progressive and regulatory mechanism through which everyone would benefit. The promotion of tourism and the marketing of the specific manner in which the tourism destination was constructed were viewed as the only means of creating environmentally friendly and culturally sensitive strategies for the modernization of the Goan society.

The Congress controlled state government in Goa, playing upon the fears of rising unemployment pushed forward the agenda of tourism development. Slowly

but steadily the tourism destination became the dominant space for interaction between Goa and the wider world. The tourism destination in Goa was soon emerging as the space representing Goa. An individual's/group's class and/or communal affiliation could now be identified from the manner in which they interact with and within the tourism destination and voice their concerns about on-going developments related to tourism in Goa.

The social spaces created along the coast by interactions between tourists and members of the local community become markers within the Goan social landscape, which were ascribed symbolic values and historicized. The globalization of the social space occupied by the tourism destination, thanks to the steady increase in the number of incoming tourists, both Indian and non-Indian and the intensity of capital-wage relations contributed to the emergence of the tourism destination in Goa as the representative of the larger Goan society.

The establishment and reproduction of the tourism destination reconfigured the power relations and redefined class relations within the Goan society in many ways. The inflow of Indian capital, if not completely at least to a significant extent, eroded the dominance of the mercantile elite. The ascendance of the tourism destination as the representative social space within Goa and the expansion of capital wage relations that resulted destabilized and marginalized the ideological content of the MGP and those segments of the Goan population that had earlier championed the erasure of the Goan society's historical specificity through the merger of Goa with Maharashtra. Their reactionary anti Catholic rhetoric was now trained at the cultural construction of the tourism destination. Many refer to tourism as a new form of cultural colonialism. They often would point to the demonstration effect of tourism on the local population. Needless to say, the venom of the MGP's communally charged politics was significantly eroded.

The appropriation and unintended democratization of *Goa Dourada*, a cultural space that was the preserve of the Catholic elite, within the confines of the tourism destination forced the Catholic elite to open up and give shape to their fears and aspirations and consequently resist the development of tourism. This is evident in the increasing participation of Catholic Goans including nuns, priests and teachers in some of the anti-tourism rallies in Goa. The apprehensions of the Catholic elite that surfaced soon after the Indian army's occupation of Goa in December 1961 and guided the call for Goa's independence were now directed at the institutions that dominate the tourism space. This is evident in the report prepared by the sub-committee of the Diocesan Pastoral Council (DPC) of Goa in 1988. The DPC report is presented well within the framework of *Goa Dourada*. It reproduces the images that constitute the tourism destination in Goa. Among other things it refers to the "natural and scenic beauty" of Goa (p. 8) the "normally uninterfering… docile nature,[22]" and "easy going manners[23]", of Goans. The report further laments the loss of traditional occupations of fishermen and toddy-tappers and ridicules opportunities for wage-labour offered

by the capital intensive hotels and resorts. While condemning the development of tourism, the report at the same time reflects the Catholic elite's nostalgia for golden Goa of the colonial period.

In response to the resistance to the expansion of tourism, the Indian state unleashed the development apparatuses at its disposal. It sought assistance from international agencies such as the UNDP to study the potential for tourism development in Goa, hired marketing consultants and used the print media, the most effective medium of communication in Goa to erode the legitimacy of the criticism levied against tourism. This is evident in a series of articles written by travel writers Hugh Gantzer and Colleen Gantzer and published in the *Navhind Times*, a local newspaper[24]. The Gantzers validated and supported the Indian state's attempt to promote tourism development in Goa. The Gantzers employed the scientific temper of modernization to suggest that all the criticisms, which have been directed at existing policies of tourism development in India, conclusively and deliberately, sought to prevent the emergence of the modern, more humane, scientific, progressive and democratic order in postcolonial Goa.

In order to provide a sense of 'scientific objectivity', the Gantzers documented the views emerging from both sides of the debate: the pro-tourism and the anti-tourism lobby. However, their bias becomes evident in the manner in which they provide a rationale to the fears of the pro-tourism lobby while considering the allegations of the anti-tourism lobby as absurd and exaggerated. The articles alleged that the anti-tourism rhetoric was an elitist response rooted in the frustration felt by the traditional Catholic elite's loss of power and prestige in the post-liberation Goan society. According to the Gantzers, by opposing tourism, both the ambitious priests of the church and the scions of the socially diminished land owning class have found a single agitationary path to regain their erstwhile position of power and prestige. The Gantzers further suggested that by pinpointing the so-called 'evils' of tourism development, the traditional elite were creating the 'wounded psyche' vote bank which would at the same stroke distance them from the political burden of their colonial past while projecting them as the new saviours of Goa. According to them the "only way that this unholy brew (anti-tourism agitation) can be 'destroyed is by the truth' which can only be realized if Goa's own tourism industry is united[25]" and further effectively developed.

This kind of writing reflects the approval of the Indian State's development regime by independent observers. Adopting a confrontational style of writing, the Gantzers stopped short of accusing all critics of tourism as anti-progress, anti-democratic and anti-development and anti-India. Their report elevated the tourism debate from a terrain of political, social and economic considerations to a moral consideration between development and stagnation. The Gantzers had clubbed all criticisms of tourism development in Goa as elitist and anti-development, and anti-national. In other words, pro-tourism also implicitly meant pro-India, anti-tourism by default

meant anti-India. This was essentially a strategy to streamline voices of dissent that had emerged within Goa. Some legitimate concerns were glossed over, while others concerns like the exploitation of miners in the hinterland were rendered invisible. Tourism became the discursive framework within which this interaction within the Goan society and between the Goan society and the Indian nation state was legitimized.

As Alito Sequiera notes, in his essay entitled, "Tourism and the Drama of Goan Ethnicity" there is a case to argue for which suggests that specific elements of the Goan elite have indeed sought to oppose tourism development in Goa for reasons which do not genuinely seek to address the concerns of the Goan society as a whole[26]. It was more an attempt by a segment of the society to reconfigure its position within the emerging tourism centred economy in postliberation Goa.

STATE FORMATION IN POST-COLONIAL GOA

State formation[27] is not the history of rational management, for the sake of social progress and prosperity, but a tense and contingent way of producing and reproducing class relations. The state might act on behalf of the dominant class, but its interest cannot be reduced simply to the interests of the former. The exigencies of social control require that the state concerns itself with reproduction of class relations as a whole. Thus, state formation in other words is a multi-pronged process. Firstly, it involves the absorption or subordination of peoples with differing traditions and levels of socioeconomic integrations into an overarching economic structure and ideological apparatus that seeks to legitimate class relations. And secondly, it involves the insertion of the state as the arbitrator of conflicts between various segments of the society.

As evidenced earlier in this essay, the incorporation of postcolonial Goa into the Indian nation was particularly difficult. Firstly, Goa was never viewed as an integral to the imagination of postcolonial India. Secondly, the Indian state though responsible for the liberation of Goa from Portuguese colonial rule, was not able to effectively articulate with/within the Goan society. The politics that emerged in Goa soon after liberation, which was more an attempt to settle colonial accounts, exposed the limitations and the resulting powerlessness of the Indian State[28]. The shape and form of postcolonial India is largely defined by its history of British colonialism. And, for this very reason, Goa never figured in this imagination of independent India. The difference represented by Goan society and its colonial history was something that could not be rationalized and accommodated[29]. In this situation, a definition of India or an Indian that will accommodate this gap between the Goan society and the rest of India was difficult to formulate. Needless to say, the politics that unfolded in Goa immediately after liberation made sure that it was impossible. However, in order to

legitimize its position, the Indian nation-state had to articulate and accommodate Goa's historical specificity and its difference.

It is precisely in such situations that one could appreciate the power of tourism and its related discourses. Students of tourism have recently argued that "the language of nationalism enables tourists to navigate other places and find significance[30]." While this is true it also limits our ability to appreciate the role tourism can play in the process of nation-building as demonstrated in this essay. Tourism development contributed to Goa's integration with India – something even liberation could not achieve. The very issue of historical different that impeded the integration of Goa with India was successfully articulated as the cultural foundation of the tourism destination in Goa. This new form of commoditisation propelled the tourism destination, the space that accommodated the process, as the representative space of the Goan society, validating the Indian and foreign imagination of Goa as a part of India with a 'difference".

The development of commoditized experience mediated by the Indian state reconfigured the relationship between the Goan, the Indian and the global economy. Tourism discourse has inscribed certain characteristics on to the Goans and mapped them into specific coordinates of control, transforming their subject position as the object of the touristic gaze[31] and inserted Goa within the development regime[32] of the Indian State. The continued expansion of tourism and the requirements for its reproduction disciplines Goans and normalises the tourist gaze as the very condition of their existence. As critical constituents of the tourism destination – the Indian-ness of the Goan society and individual Goans is rooted in and routed through their ability to perform/ engage with 'difference' and thus be part of the tourism destination.

NOTES

[1] This study is a revision of segments from my dissertation entitled *From Trading Post to Tourism Destination: Transformation of the Goan Society*. Bulk of the fieldwork for this study was conducted in 1995-96. This was followed by shorter visits in 1997, 2002 and 2004. This project was funded by a grant from the Wenner Gren Foundation, and the College of Social Sciences and Interdisciplinary Studies, California State University, Sacramento.

[2] Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*, New York: Routledge, 1991.

[3] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1995, pp. 142-3.

[4] David Harvey, 'From space to place and back again' in J. Bird et al. (ed.) *Mapping the Future*, New York: Routledge, 1993, pp. 3- 29. Also see David Harvey, *The Conditions of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1989.

[5] I approach Gamsci's concept of hegemony as a way of thinking about how consent and coercion are intertwined with one another. See Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, New York: International Publishers, 1971, p. 12, pp. 159-60 and p. 261. For a detailed analysis see Kate Crehan, *Gramsci, Culture and Anthropology*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

[6] In the recent past, it has been argued that the process of globalization has eroded the significance of the nation. Contrary to this belief, in this essay it is argued that tourism a poster boy of the process of globalization is contributing to the consolidation of the nation-state. See Adrian Franklin, *Tourism: An Introduction*, London: Sage Publications, 2003.

[7] Jawaharlal Nehru cited in Pundalik. D. Gaitonde, *The Liberation of Goa*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987, p. 98.

[8] Quoted in Norman D. Palmer, 'Indian Attitude towards Colonialism' in Robert Strausz-Hupe and Harry W. Hazard, eds. Robert Strausz-Hupe and Harry W. Hazard, eds. *The Idea of Colonialism*, New York, Fredrick A. Praeger, 1958, p. 294.

[9] Arthur G. Rubinoff, *The Construction of a Political Community: Integration and Identity in Goa*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1997, pp. 63-9.

[10] *Ibid*.

[11] The third general elections for the Lok Sabha in India were scheduled for January 1962. A majority of the parties had the Goan question in their agenda and all were more militant than the position assumed by the Congress. This was detrimental to the election of then Defense Minister Krishna Menon who was contesting in a district which was heavily populated by people of Goan descent. See Norman D. Palmer, 'The 1962 Election in North Bombay', *Pacific Affairs*, 36 (2), Summer 1963, pp. 120-137.

[12] Sarto Esteves, *Politics and Political Leadership in Goa*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1986.

[13] The MGP had its organizational roots in the National Congress (Goa) which had been in existence since 1946 and had support from political parties in India such as the Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha, both were right of centre Hindu communal organizations which did not necessarily subscribe to the secular position of the Indian state.

[14] Ayesha Kagal, 'Matsyanyaya: Big Fish Eat Small Fish,' *Illustrated Weekly of India*, April 8, 1979, p. 28.

[15] David Ludden, 'India's Development Regime' in Nicholas B. Dirks (ed.) *Colonialism and Culture*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991, pp. 247-87.

[16] Alito Sequeira, 'Tourism and the Drama of Goan Ethnicity.' Paper presented All India Consultation: The Human Cost In Modern Tourism: A Challenge to all Religions. Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism, Vasco, Goa, November 4-9, 1991.

[17] The economic emergence of the *kharvis* within the Catholic community through their involvement in tourism trade can be viewed as parallel to the political emergence of the non-brahmin Hindus in the form of MGP and its reaction to brahmin dominance within the Goan Hindu community.

[18] Institute of Social Sciences. *Socio-Economic Impact of Tourism in Goa*. New Delhi: Institute of Social Sciences, 1989, pp. 21-2.

[19] Cleo Odzer, *Goa Freaks, My Hippie Years in India*. New York: Quality Paperback Book Club, 1995.

[20] It is strange considering Goa was not even part of the British Commonwealth.

[21] This was preceded by the granting of Statehood to Goa and the recognition of Konkani as Goa's official state language. Robert Newman (1984) has suggested that these events the final steps in the integration of Goa with India. I view these events as the necessary preliminary steps in the deployment of the Indian state's development regime in Goa. See Robert Newman, 'Goa: The Transformation of an Indian Region', *Pacific Affairs*, 57(3), 1984, pp. 429-49.

[22] Sub-Committee of the Diocesan Pastoral Council, 'Tourism in Goa: Its Implications' *Renovação*, August, 1988, p. 7.

[23] *Ibid*, p. 8.

[24] Hugh Gantzer and Colleen Gantzer, 'Tourism Development,' *The Navhind Times*, April 14th, 21st and, 28, 1991.

[25] *Ibid*.

[26] Alito Sequeira, 'Tourism and the Drama of Goan Ethnicity," paper presented All India Consultation: The Human Cost In Modern Tourism: A Challenge to all Religions. Conference organized by the Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism. November 4-9, 1991, Goa.

[27] Robert Newman, 'Konkani Mai Ascends the Throne: The Cultural Basis of Goan Statehood', *South Asia*, New Series, XI (1):1-24. In this widely cited publication, Newman has argued that the Goan society's integration with India has been achieved through recognition of the primordial unity it shares with India. This, according to Newman is exemplified by the granting of statehood for Goa and the recognition of Konkani as the official language of Goa in 1987. These events though important, are not sufficient in off themselves to integrate Goa with India. These events, at best, serve as necessary preconditions as they establish the societal framework of Goa, the target of the Indian State's development regime.

[28] One should be careful not to equate the MGP's demand for the merger of Goa with Maharashtra and the integration of Goa into the Indian nation-state as one and the same. Goa's merger with Maharashtra would have meant the erasure of Goa's historical specificity.

[29] Indian-ness meant radically different things to Indian and Goans. This was crystallized during the last decade of colonial rule in Goa which roughly coincided with the first decade of postcolonial India's existence. The colonial Goan economy thrived as a result of Portuguese neutrality during the 2nd world war and the policies of economic liberalization formulated by the colonial administration. In comparison, the Indian economy was in the doldrums. In fact many Goans, particularly those from the most visible segment the petty bourgeoisie who were employed by the colonial administration, distanced themselves from India and Indians.

[30] Franklin, *Tourism: An Introduction*, London: Sage Publications, 2003, p. 44.

[31] John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, London: Sage Publication, 1990. For a critique see Dean MacCannell, 'Tourist Agency', *Tourist Studies*, 1 (1), pp. 23-38.

[32] Ludden, 'India's Development Regime' in Nicholas B. Dirks (ed.) *Colonialism and Culture*, pp. 247-87.

13

CONSUMPTION HISTORY OF *ESTADO DA INDIA*: MIGRATION AND ITS IMPACT, 1850-1950

Remy Dias

The history of humanity has largely been a history of consumption which in economic terms, is the final using up of goods and services, i.e., excluding the use of intermediate products in the production of other goods. This paper discusses how the Portuguese were influenced by the British in bringing about a change in the consumption pattern in the *Estado da India*. The first part deals with the agrarian economy, with a focus on rice, which formed the staple diet of the people. With the signing of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty in 1878 commenced the second decisive phase. The nature of consumption underwent total transformation within the ten year period from 1880 to 1890, when the British brought the *Estado* under its trade control. The tax free imports were largely responsible for changing the consumption patterns of the people.

A. LOCAL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

As rice is the staple diet of people living in the *Estado*, its consumption history has to invariably focus on this important item of mass consumption. Agricultural activities formed the core functions of the *communidades* (village communities) and other land controlling institutions. These were intrinsically linked with the economic life of the *gaunkars* (founder members of the village-communities). The *gaunkars* were encouraged by the Portuguese, to appropriate large wild and waste lands, which were brought under cultivation, through the industry of their united efforts.[1] Using its tutelary authority the Portuguese government passed various laws to regulate the functioning of these agricultural associations.[2] This intervention was to accelerate the agrarian production that would minimize the cereal deficit of Goa and to generate surplus with a view to sustaining the State.

The area under paddy cultivation was very extensive and was almost four times more than the area under cultivation of other crops like coconuts, areca nuts, fruits, cereals, legumes, and vegetables. A total area of 123,926 hectares was utilized for rice cultivation, besides another 15,000 hectares for cultivation of cereals, legumes, and vegetables. The area under areca nut cultivation was very negligible i.e., only 539 hectares for entire Goa. Undoubtedly, fruit and vegetable consumption of the people was indeed very minimal and continues to be so till today. It is not known how the average vitamin requirements of the people were met.[3] The Portuguese also acquired new territories adjacent to its then possessions in Goa in the eighteenth centuries. These territories denominated New Conquests were very extensive and helped in meeting the food requirements of the people to some extent.[4]

In spite of the positive efforts, on the whole the agricultural production was not abundant; rather, there was a deficit for at least quarter of a year in the twentieth century.[5] For Goa as a whole the total production of rice was 43,631 *cumbos* in 1900. Of these the production of rice for the New Conquests of the Estado, was about 11,058.9 *cumbos*. In 1879, Goa produced only 30,985 *cumbos* of rice,[6] and this was almost double the production of rice, as produced in the 1830s. Rice production for the *Estado* as a whole in the year 1832, was just 15,489 *cumbos*.

In spite of increase in production there was yearly shortfall in total requirements of rice due to rising population. While the population of the *Estado* in 1852 was only 363,993, the census of 1910 gave the total population of the *Estado* as 486,752 inhabitants. [7] The continuous rise of population in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was one indicator of the economy developing and consumption levels being on the rise. The average requirements of the rice consuming population at the beginning of the twentieth century were about 61,047.27 *cumbos*.[8] José Maria de Sá who had a profound knowledge of *Estado*'s agriculture, stated that the average production for the *Estado* as a whole at the beginning of the twentieth century seems to have been around 43,631 *cumbos*. For, if to this was added the average yearly imports of 14,379 *cumbos,* then there was a deficit of only 3,000 *cumbos* for meeting the average requirement of Goa of 61,042 *cumbos*. If the production of 3,220.2 *cumbos* of *nachinim*, and other legumes and cereals was taken into consideration then barring small errors of calculation one may arrive at the average requirements of food grains for Goa at the beginning of the twentieth century.[9]

J.B. Amáncio Gracias, in his celebrated work *História Economico-Financeira da Índia Portuguesa* (vol. I, 1947), calculated the average requirements for the Estado to be only 49,708 *cumbos* for the rice consuming population of 497,084. He takes the average requirement per adult to be only 2 *candis* in a year as opposed to the earlier average requirement of 3 *candis* per person in 1900. This difference is due to the fact that prior to 1900, rice and invariably rice only, was consumed at least four times a day. However, in the twentieth century the consumption patterns of an average household underwent slow changes. Wheat and wheat flour was imported in large

quantities for meeting the local needs from British India. *Pão* (loaves), *chapattis*, butter, cheese, tea, coffee, sugar, etc. found its place on the dining table of the people in a big way.[10] Large quantities of dates, spices, etc. were also imported to meet local consumption needs.

In 1947, against the *Estado*'s requirements of 49,708 *cumbos* the local paddy production was only 37,500 *cumbos*, far less than in 1900. The total imports in 1940 of rice were only 10,628 *cumbos*. But on the other hand, while the imports of wheat in 1912 were 16,757 *candis* it rose to 21,912 *candis* in 1940. Likewise the import of wheat flour in 1912 was only 416,898 *ceiras* which rose phenomenally to 2,124,226 *ceiras* by 1940. In 1910, 62,167 *ceiras* of butter was procured from British India costing Rs. 50,007. The consumption of butter increased over the years and in 1924, 80,050 *ceiras* of value Rs. 131,598 was imported for local consumption. By 1938, 120,215 *ceiras* at a cost of Rs. 141,587 was imported. In quantitative terms it was a two-fold increase within a period of less than three decades. In cost terms, it was a jump of over two and half times.[11]

The average food requirements of Goa were not satisfied through local production. At least a fifth of the total cereal requirements as also other items of daily consumption were imported. Yet taxes on land were very heavy indeed. The taxes on land constituted 40% i.e., around Rs. 704,501, for the year 1885-86. This increased substantially, by 1946 of the total revenue of Rs. 6,893,576, the taxes on land included a sum of Rs. 5,574,400 constituting 80% of the total receipts of the *Estado*. It was against this background of insufficient food grain production to meet local consumption needs and heavy taxation burden that many people started migrating to British India in search of gainful employment.

As stated earlier the import bill of rice went on increasing due to the rise in population. During the ten year period from 1910 to 1919 the *Estado* imported rice to the tune of Rs. 922,596, annually. In the next ten years the import bill of rice was Rs. 3,875,324 per year. However, for the period 1930-39, the same declined to Rs. 764,911 per year. This was due to the efforts made to bring additional land under cultivation.

However, evidently Goa faced acute shortage of local food-grains production to feed its increasing population, and the government had to allow substantial imports to meet the mass consumption needs of the people. The high imports bill was met initially through the exports of coconuts and other agro-based products for consumption in British India and the international markets. The cash crops – coconut and coconut products, areca nut, etc. – helped the people to balance their budgets for the greater part of Portuguese domination till 1870s.[12] Thereafter, rising imports made the Goan economy depend increasingly on the remittances dispatched by the emigrants.

The analysis of the *Estado*'s budget from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards brings out the fact that the land and farming sector was the single

largest contributor to the government coffers.[13] On the other hand the State expenses were the least or negligible for the benefit of the countryside or the farming sector. The agrarian surplus thus extracted was diverted for the payment of the administrative personnel. The manner in which this was achieved was that either the farm taxes were collected in cash or the collection in kind were auctioned off to the highest bidder at the headquarters of the Administration in each taluka.[14] The revenue collected by the government was utilized largely to pay salaries to the administrative staff. In this manner purchasing power was generated among the salaried class perhaps to sustain – through local trade and commerce – consumption.

B. IMPACT OF THE ANGLO-PORTUGUESE TREATY OF 1878 ON THE CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

From the previous section it is clear that there was substantial trade, largely with British India, to meet the consumption needs of the people. Attempt was made to run the trade along new lines with the signing of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878. This treaty came into operation from 15 January 1880 and has been viewed by historians as a major factor which 'harmed the economic interests' of the *Estado*.[15] However, the benefits that accrued to the people in the long run and the impact it had on consumption were tremendous.

According to the provisions of the treaty all existing differential customs duties levied by British India and Portuguese *Estado* were abolished. Both the governments agreed to maintain uniform customs duties on articles imported and exported across the frontiers. Import duties on all goods were abolished in Portuguese India, except on arms, ammunitions, spirits, salt, and opium.[16] This resulted in the loss of customs revenue to the Portuguese government in Goa, however, the doors were opened to unrestricted imports from British India consequently enhancing consumption. The Portuguese share of the common customs receipt fell short of the actual income that it had earlier derived from the imposition of customs duties. Article fourteen of the treaty prohibited the cultivation and manufacture of opium. The cancellation of the existing Portuguese currency and adoption of the British Indian currency was another result of the treaty. Further, article 6 of the treaty proposed the construction of a railway line. Work was undertaken for the construction of railway, Mormugao port, telegraph, and other accessories.[17] It was also stipulated that the Portuguese government would add 10 kilometers of road network every year during the treaty period. Under the treaty, Portuguese India was subject to the Bombay Abkari Act (1878) which prohibited under severe penalties the manufacture, sale and consumption of liquors, the possession of stills for distillation of alcoholic beverages, or other vessels intended for the purpose, without the permission of the Collector. The treaty was denounced in 1892 for being 'prejudicial to the economic interest of

the *Estado*'. However, the imports from British India continued to rise till the advent of Second World War.

(i) Increased Circulation of Currency for Facilitating Consumption

The volume of money in circulation has a definite relationship with consumption patterns. From the second half of the nineteenth century there was a determined attempt to increase money supply in the Estado so as to encourage consumption by the people. As the bulk of *Estado*'s trade was substantially with British India efforts were made to facilitate increased circulation of British Indian currency in the Portuguese territories.[18]

British Indian coins entered India officially for the first time in 1871. These coins, of value 20,737 *xerafins* were in circulation from 1871 to 1878. Coins minted in Bombay and Calcutta began circulating in the Estado, the silver coins from 1 May 1881 and the copper coins from 4 October 1881.[19] According to the provisions of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878, new coins were in circulation in the Estado. The exchange rate was fixed in a manner that facilitated unhindered imports from British India to the Estado territories. Over the years the British Indian Rupee depreciated in value as compared to the Portuguese *Escudo*.

(ii) Large-scale Emigration to British India

Due to the various provisions of the treaty, the Portuguese dream, of transforming their Eastern possessions into economically vibrant areas, got affected for a brief period. However, in the long run the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, which opened passage between Portuguese India and British India, was one of the important factors, for the exposure of Goan populace to outside world, which ultimately led to large scale emigration. Under the impact of the treaty, Goans were uprooted from their predominantly agrarian background and put them in a wider world. It was British India that provided them chances to migrate and the Goans got these opportunities because of the treaty. For instance, in 1881 a contract with the Western Indian Portuguese Railways was sealed, and the construction of the railway line connecting Mormugao with the British India commenced. The same firm also undertook development of the harbour of Mormugao so as to provide proper facilities to modern shipping. And as economic conditions worsened in the motherland, the exodus grew. In 1888 the mass movement gathered momentum. Facilities for coastal transport were an added incentive.[20]

The Census of 1910 of the *Estado*, registered 57,157 natives as being absent in Portuguese India. On the other hand, in the following year 63,765 individuals were registered in British India as natives of Portuguese India. Of these, 58,074 resided in

Bombay, 968 in Madras and 755 in Bengal. However, the British Indian statistics did not take into consideration the Goan migrations to other parts of the world. Similarly, many resided in British India for a number of years and were declared as British nationals. Taking all this into consideration the total migrants to Bombay and other parts of British India as also throughout the world has been computed to be not less than a hundred thousands.[21]

Remittances from British India itself were on an average Rs. 762,521:04:03 per annum for the period 1905-14. On the other hand the remittances dispatched from throughout the world for the same period were about Rs. 1,253,316:11:11, per annum. Capital also flowed in the form of bank-notes, registered letters, bills of exchange, retirement benefits of those who retired, and the value of precious articles, money and consumables brought personally by the emigrants when they returned. It was not easy to calculate the total value of all these inflows but with little error has been estimated to be more than five times the figures given above.[22] There was substantial inflow of bullion into the *Estado*.[23]

Undoubtedly, there was lot of inflow of capital as the emigrants dispatched substantial remittances to their homeland. But what was it utilized for? With the inflow of foreign funds through remittances the people started displaying consumerist tendencies. The capital generated through remittances was utilized at the individual level to buy landed estates for the construction of residential cottages.[24] People started taking land on lease, both, for agricultural purposes as also for constructing residential houses. There was increased expenditure from the advent of the twentieth century in constructing individual houses and having other household items.[25] The construction activity slowly started gaining ground with Portuguese style mansions coming up in Panjim, Margao, Mapusa, etc. Urbanization process gained a momentum in the *Estado*'s territories.[26] Substantial construction material was imported from especially from British India to sustain the construction boom. These included cement, iron and steel rods, metal sheets, beams, roof tiles, floor tiles. Furniture imports were also substantial.

The number of dwelling houses rose from 118,956 in 1881 to 127,180 in 1931. The density of population per square kilometer also increased from for the same period. With growing urbanization and concomitant development the change in the consumption pattern is indeed tremendous. The government interventions in the economic life of the people are also quite evident. In the twentieth century steps were taken for the establishment of a new city of Vasco da Gama, providing for the construction of residential quarters for industrial workers and business establishments. The government in 1917 raised a loan, of Rs. 50,000 at 4? % to improve the hygienic conditions in Vasco da Gama and its suburbs.[27] The loan was to be paid off within a period of ten years. A master-plan prepared by the Public Works Department was also approved for Margao. All further construction activity had to be according to this master-plan. A commission was appointed in 1918 to

similarly prepare master-plans for Bardez taluka and Mapusa city. Construction of new houses and residential quarters as also repairs had to be invariably approved by the government. Governor José Maria de Sousa Horta e Costa had a new road constructed – *Avenida da Republica* – along the bank of river Mandovi in Panjim. Thereafter, a new suburb called Campal came up adjacent to the capital city of Panjim, where propped up shanties for socio-economically backward classes. A commission was also set up on 29 July 1919, in order to study the feasibility of having a separate ward in the capital city for the socio-economic backward classes. The high class city dwellers needed the services of these people.[28]

In 'public interest' the government often intervened in the market during national emergencies (during the First World War and the Second World War, as also during the period of the Great Depression), to control price, resorted to rationing and controlled the allocation of resources. Efforts were made at the end of World War I to provide workers and others living in the cities, rice, cereals and pulses at rates fixed by the government. The sale price was not more than 2 to 4% over and above the cost of procurement. For this purpose, the State opened fair price ration shops, one in each of the then talukas of Satari, Sanguem, Canacona, Pernem, Sanquelim, Ponda, Quepem, Daman, Pragana and Diu.[29]

The government also took measures for providing civic amenities to the city dwellers. Steps were undertaken for the supply of water to the city of Panjim. Regulations were also passed for the supply of water through pipelines in the capital city of the *Estado*.[30] Various measures were undertaken for the maintenance and cleanliness of the rivers.[31] Measures were taken to supply electricity and potable water to the residents of Panjim city. Steps were also taken for the 'safe' disposal of the city waste. As there was frequently shortage of firewood leading to sale at exorbitant prices provision was made to have depots in urban areas like Panjim, Mapusa, Rachol, and Vasco da Gama. However, special rules and regulations were formulated, to guarantee supplies to the government establishments - both civil and military - in the *Estado*. The practice of procuring government licences for cutting trees - as jackfruits, mango trees, etc. - for firewood was abolished, in 1920. However, the government licence was required if timber was to be used for making furniture. A fund was created, by charging 14 *tangas* per 1 ton of timber exported, for the regeneration of the forest wealth. A special fund of Rs. 25,000 was instituted for the *Administração das Matas* (Forest Dept.) and the latter was obliged to supply the requirements of the State, of timber and firewood. Forests were indeed very important to the State with the establishment of the rail route. In 1921 the government undertook measures for carrying out proper watch and ward duties of its forest resources. Sale of all articles from the forests had to be published in the official government bulletin.

Polyclinics were set up in Valpoi, Salcete, Daman, and Diu, which also functioned as pathological laboratories for the people. Government passed orders

that citizens above the age of 8 years had to be compulsorily vaccinated and re-vaccinated after a period of every seven years. The *Hospital Central* of Panjim was entrusted with the anti-rabies treatment of affected people. The *Instituto Bacteriológico* of Panjim was to collect Rs. 30 for anti-rabies treatment. Various preventive measures were undertaken against the spread of tropical diseases. With the outbreak of bubonic plague, in 1910-11, in Panjim, Mormugao, and Vasco da Gama, the Dept. of Health Services undertook immediate measures to control the situation from assuming epidemic proportions.[32] Effective and prompt measures were also taken with the outbreak of bubonic plague in the city of Margao and Daman by the governor in 1919. In 1927 there were abnormally high cases of cerebro-spinal meningitis in Salcete taluka and the government had to take urgent remedial measures.[33]

It goes to the credit of the Portuguese government, that it gave some attention to desirable externalities having positive spillover effects. The free medical services to the needy, social welfare services, infrastructure, system of education including higher education, etc. received due governmental attention. In 1917, primary schools were started in Pernem, and the villages of Dramapur, Nagoa (Salcete), Nagar Haveli (mixed schools teaching Portuguese, Gujarati, and Marathi), and Codal village of Satari taluka. Scholarships were also given to deserving students for higher studies.

To further the cause of education the government eliminated the earlier provision prohibiting the establishment of new English schools within 5 km radius of the then existing schools. This gave a boost to the establishment of new schools and English medium schools were in demand. Schools were ordered to function compulsorily from 8.00 till 1.00 pm. This timing had to be uniformly maintained throughout the State. However, those schools that did not have adequate infrastructural facilities were permitted to have classes for primary students in the evenings. Exams of the *Estado* were also regulated by the State in order to enforce 'standards'.[34] The government also fixed the terms of the schools, providing for fixed vacations, public holidays, etc.[35] There was indeed a general improvement in standards of literacy within a generation from the 1880s.[36]

The most widespread forms of governmental intervention were in the form of regulation of antisocial externalities. The government banned totally the importation and sale of intoxicating drugs like *ganja-bang* (*Cannabis Indica*), or similar other products. No form of trade of these banned products was tolerated by the State. Similarly, the government prohibited the exhibition, sale or diffusion of pornographic materials. The license fee was increased by 60% to the taverns selling country liquor and other wines. The government also ordered that taverns selling country liquor were not to remain open after 9.00 pm till 6.00 am the next day. However, those taverns that paid an additional 50% were allowed to remain open for 24 hours. Permission was not given for opening new taverns within a radius of 100m from

educational institutions and places of religious worship. However, permission granted by the government, to sell foreign liquor and tobacco products from 9.00 am to 10.00 pm, is inexplicable. The sale of these items at authorized places could continue till midnight provided these business establishments paid an additional 50% over and above the license fee.[37] The government earned substantial revenue and was not receptive to the idea of imposing prohibition in the territories under its control.

CONCLUSION

The central authority decided the basic consumption goals of the consumers, and employed resources for the availability of goods and services largely in accordance with its own goals. Over the decades agricultural sector stagnated making living difficult for the people. The *Estado* faced shortage of cereal requirements necessitating trade. The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878 led to fall in revenues of the *Estado* and affected the economies of the artisans and handicraftsmen. However, it also opened new vistas for the people who migrated in large numbers to British India. The remittances dispatched changed the economic scenario altogether. Capital flowing into the *Estado* was utilized for the purchase of land for both agricultural purposes as also for constructing residential houses. There was a general increase in consumption by the people as evidenced by rising import bill especially from British India. Even today the people in these areas buy properties as investment and construct residential bungalows.

NOTES

[1] *Representação dos Procuradores das Communidades ás Cortes,* dated 28 January 1859 as quoted in *Projecto do Novo Regimento das Communidades Agricolas,* Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1862, pp. 5-20; *Parecer da Junta Geral do Districto,* dated 20 April 1857, pp. 68-75; José Maria de Sá, *Projecto de Codigo das Communidades de Goa,* Art. 1.° and 2.°, Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1879, p. 1.

[2] Filippe Nery Xavier (Jr.), *Collecção das Leis Peculiares das Communidades*, Doc. No. 654, Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1878, pp. 233-34; José Maria de Sá, *Projecto de Codigo das Communidades de Goa, Titulo I, Art. 6.°,* p. 2.

[3] *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India* (Portuguese Govt. publication, hereafter *Boletim*…), 2 December 1879, No. 105, pp. 801-2.

[4] Vicente João de Figueiredo, "O Desenvolvimento da Agricultura e o Regime Florestal nas Novas Conquistas", in Jaime Rangel (ed.), *Oitava Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa*, Vol. I, Bastora: Tipografia Rangel, 1929, pp. 46-7.

[5] *Ibid*., Doc. No. 9, p. 15.

[6] Filippe Nery Xavier, *Bosquejo Historico das Communidades*, edited by José Maria de Sá, Vol. II, pp. 264-5. *Boletim* …, 2 December 1879, No. 105, pp. 801-2.

[7] *Codigo dos Usos e Costumes dos Habitantes das Novas Conquistas*, Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1861, pp. 89-90.

[8] These figures are at the rate of 3 *candis* per adult and 1? *candis* per child in a year. Milagres Lobo, "Emigração", in *Segundo Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa*, – *Secção II*, Nova Goa: Casa Luso-Francesa, 1917, pp. 13-5.

[9] Milagres Lobo, "Emigração", in *Segundo Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa*, – *Secção II*, pp. 14-5.

[10] *Anuário Estatística – Ano de 1932*, Nova Goa: Tip. Central, 1934, pp. 26-9.

[11] *Ibid*.

[12] J.A. Ismael Gracias, *O Imposto e o Regimen Tributario da India Portugueza*, pp. 52-151. This work gives details about the taxes collected in both the Old and the New Conquests.

[13] *Boletim …*, N. ° 105, dated 2 December 1879, pp. 801-2.

[14] António Maria da Cunha, *A India: Antiga e Moderna e O Darbar de Coroação de 1911*, Nova Goa: Casa Luso-Francesa, 1935, p. 148.

[15] HAG: MR – 9200, fl. 315; Celsa Pinto, "Goa under the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878: A Phase in Portuguese Colonialism", in *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, April-June, 1993, Vol. LXXXIV, No. 2, pp. 182-93; Teresa Albuquerque, "The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878: Its Impact on the People of Goa", in *Indica*, Vol. 27, No. 2, September 1990, p. 117.

[16] João de Andrade Corvo and R. B. D. Morier, *Tratado do Comercio e Extradição entre Portugal e Grao Bretenha,* Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1880, pp. 23-24.

[17] J.B. Amáncio Gracias, *História Económica – Financeira da Índia Portuguesa (1910-1947)*, Vol. I, MCMl, Lisbon, 1947, pp. 273-301, gives details of how the Portuguese pumped in money in the *Estado*'s economy from 1906-1929. See, *Estatistica, Comercio e Navegação*, Nova Goa: Tip Central, 1940, pp. 22-4. More than 50% of the *Estado*'s trade was exclusively with British India.

[18] J.B. Amáncio Gracias, *História Económica – Financeira da Índia Portuguesa (1910-1947)*, Vol. II, pp. 281-90.

[19] *Goa's Freedom Struggle*, (Selected Writings of T. B. Cunha), Bombay: Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, 1961, p. 10; Teresa Albuquerque, "The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878: Its Impact on the People of Goa", in *Indica*, Vol. 27, No. 2, September 1990, p. 179. Dr. T. B. Cunha the Father of Goan Freedom Struggle observed that the construction of the Railway and the harbour benefited mostly the British Indian traffic and the British Company which constructed and exploited them.

[20] Padre Caetano P. Pereira, "A Emigração do Goês", *op. cit.*, p. 50; Froilano de Melo and Sertorio C. Lobo, "Contribuição ao Estudo da Emigração em Goa", *Segundo Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa*, – *Secção II*, Nova Goa: Casa Luso-Francesa, 1917, pp. 73-105. A.B. de Bragança Pereira, "O Padroado do Oriente, as Missões Religiosas Goesas em Africa e nas Novas Conquistas e a Emigração", in *Segundo Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa*, – *Secção II*, Nova Goa: Casa Luso-Francesa 1917, pp. 26-32.

[21] Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, *India Portugueza Estudos Economico-Sociaes*, p. 67.

[22] See, *Estatistica, Comercio e Navegação*, Nova Goa: Tip Central, 1940, pp. 5 and 12-5.

[23] Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, *India Portugueza Estudos Economico-Sociaes*, p. 67.

[24] *Ibid.,* pp. 59-61. Herein are given details regarding the individual leases of village community lands taken by the people for both agricultural purpose and for construction of residential houses.

[25] To facilitate construction activity there was substantial increase in imports. *Anuário Estatística – Ano de 1932*, *op. cit*., pp. 26-29, gives details regarding imports of construction material from across the borders. Similarly, information at pp. 20-21, shows the number of *fogos* (hutments and houses) per square kilometer and density of population for the years: 1881, 1897, 1900, 1910, 1921 and 1931. Density of population is one indicator of economic development. The figures given herein, however, show that the pace of development was slow indeed by modern day standards.

[26] *Portaria* dated 15 December 1917 as quoted in J.B. Amáncio Gracias, *História Económica – Financeira da Índia Portuguesa (1910 - 1947)*, Vol. II, p. 49.

[27] *Portarias* dated 14 March 1918 and 20 March 1918; *Diploma Legislativa,* No. 408 dated 20 March 1930; *Portaria* of 15 January 1921 as quoted in *História Económica – Financeira da Índia Portuguesa (1910-1947)*, Vol. II, pp. 52, 70 and 241.

[28] *Ibid.,* pp. 47-48.

[29] Decree of 24 May 1911 as quoted in *História Económico – Financeira da Índia Portuguesa (1910-1947)*, Vol. II, p. 32.

[30] *Diploma Legislativa* No. 317 dated 1 February 1928, as quoted in *História Económica – Financeira da Índia Portuguesa (1910-1947)*, Vol. II, p. 206.

[31] *Portaria* of 19 October 1923; *Diploma Legislativo* No. 226 dated 9 February 1921; *Diploma Legislativa* dated 14 June 1923; *Diploma Legislativo* No. 393 dated 19 February 1930 and Decree of 14 October 1911, as quoted in *História Económica – Financeira da Índia Portuguesa (1910-1947)*, Vol. II, pp. 11-240.

[32] *Diploma Legislativa* No. 258 dated 7 March 1927; *Diploma Legislativa* No. 514 dated 14 October 1931; and *Diploma Legislativo* No. 674 dated 8 September 1933 as quoted in *História Económica – Financeira da Índia Portuguesa (1910-1947)*, Vol. II, pp. 248-282.

[33] *Portaria* of 22 June 1917; *Diploma Legislativo* No. 332 dated 7 August 1928; *Portaria* No. 754 dated 10 October 1929; *Diploma Legislativo* No. 440 dated 2 September 1930; *Portaria* No. 3,778, dated 24 June 1943; and *Portaria* of 19 August 1948 as quoted in *História Económica – Financeira da Índia Portuguesa (1910-1947)*, Vol. II, pp. 22, 207, 237, 244-5, 316-7 and 379.

[34] *Portaria* of 9 September 1948.

[35] *Anuário Estatístico – Ano de 1932*, pp. 22-5, gives literacy figures for the years 1900, 1910, 1921 and 1931. As more and more people went to school, it required the import of various stationery and other related items, from across the borders. Verissimo Coutinho, *Education and Development in Goa*, Rome: ICSS, 1987.

[36] *Diploma Legislativo* No. 234 dated 3 February 1927; Decree of 26 May 1911; *Diploma Legislativa* dated 23 December 1921; *Diploma Legislativa* No. 265 dated 30 September 1927; *Diploma Legislativa* No. 334 dated 17 September 1928; and *Diploma Legislativa* No. 891 dated 28 August 1936 as quoted in *História Económico – Financeira da Índia Portuguesa (1910 - 1947)*, Vol. II, pp. 31, 122, 202, 206-7 and 265.

14

MYTHS OF GOA: OLD AND NEW

Robert S. Newman

Myths, by common definition, are not always true. They are stories, or patterns of narrative, that spring up over time and provide the basis for many commonly held beliefs. Whether we talk about religious leaders from the dim past (Moses, Krishna, Jesus, Buddha) or national heroes (William Tell, Daniel Boone, Robin Hood, Maharana Pratap), cultural heroes (from Ram to Luke Skywalker) or even national stereotypes ('the cowboy', 'the samurai', 'the kungfu warrior', "the Aussie bushman"), myth provides the basis of our knowledge and our understanding of what the lives of these figures mean. Myths can describe places too.

This paper is about such a mythological place, "Goa". Myths may arise as to the nature of society at a certain point in time. Like dreams, myths penetrate our psyches directly, not after much thought. Their narrative explains society to itself and/or to others. Myths assist us in forming a picture of a certain place or society, though academic accuracy is another question entirely. Myth may be as some people say,

> 'an ill-founded belief held uncritically by a people (or an individual) to explain what otherwise is or seems to be inexplicable.... [and] psychologically a myth can be wish fulfillment (Freud), an expression of an unconscious dream of a people (Jung) or, more simply, an invented, irrational story to explain what is mysterious in order to provide assurance.'[1]

But such words as "ill-founded" and "irrational" belie the importance of myth; they make myth too easily-dismissable as unimportant or primitive. Myth still has a great hold over the human race. The proximity of myth to truth is not necessarily relevant, then; what is relevant is that people believe the myths to be true. Outside the pages of academia, and sometimes within them, explanations of history and culture are often found in the halls of mythology.

One of the key elements of myth, perhaps the most important, is transformation. In myths, changes are explained, the hero transforms the world or is transformed

himself, or if the myth is of a place instead of a hero, changes are promised. If you get to…(Mecca, Rome, Kashi, Graceland, Tahiti, Goa) you will be a different person.

Anderson, in his writing on 'imagined communities'[2], talks of how images of the nation are shaped and formed. In a paper on Goa, not a nation after all, we will not speak about 'national feeling' or 'nation building' but rather identity, the idea of Goan-ness, and the image that Goans have of themselves. "Goa" is created in people's minds from the daily interactions of family and community, the religious rituals, participation in state institutions (education, medicine, tax offices), interactions in public spaces – shops, streets, parks, beaches, taverns, etc., and the images provided by the printed or electronic media. While it is the job of modern historians and social scientists to endeavour to describe Goa as accurately as possible—now or in the past – the myths of Goa, both old and new, tend to be stronger, more widespread, and more enduring. Like any other people, Goans derive part of their self-image from the views reflected back to them by others. They may absorb the views of those others as being at least partly true. If those views emanate from the realm of myth, then Goa may be known and identified, even among its own citizens, in a way more mythological than real. What is more, if Goans do not create their own images and do not propagate their own self-image in some way, they risk becoming the victims of other people's mythologizing. I would say that this has happened in the past and still continues. This paper explores some of the myths that have been created and disseminated about Goa.

Since the Portuguese conquest that began in 1510 and differentiated Goa from other ports and coastal areas of western India, Goa has assumed many identities, almost all created by others, almost all in the realm of myth. I will innumerate some of these, then discuss a few in greater detail, though it seems to me there is scope here for a far larger work. First is the image of Goa as "Fleshpot of the East", which, strangely enough, existed simultaneously with an image of "the Rome of the East". These images arose from the accounts of Portuguese and other Western travellers. Goa's Portuguese 'glories' began to decline. By the nineteenth century, we find the image of Goa as a decayed tropical colony, a pestilential spot inhabited by 'less-manly races' and 'mixed breeds'. Richard Burton's writing is typical of this style.[3] Goa's small size in relation to British India would never have allowed much attention in the wider world, but the disdainful northern European attitude towards Goa and its Latin colonizers reflected and was created by such a myth.

In the twentieth century, the Portuguese created a picture of Goa (myth) through their census and ethnographic work, much as did the British throughout India as a whole. By concentrating on the variety of castes and worshippers of different gods, the colonial powers denied that Goans or Indians had anything in common. They created a myth of 'myriad separations', and, since such a diverse population was 'too difficult' to manage for 'mere locals', this myth also created an excuse for their continued presence. Later, as colonial rule crumbled, two opposing myths of Goa sprang up.

The Portuguese created one which we may title "Goa: the Beacon of Christianity and Portuguese Civilisation in India", while independent India created "Goa: the Brutal Dictatorship of Cruelty and Oppression". The Portuguese propagated the myth that Goa was entirely European, Catholic and culturally unlike any other part of India, thus to be maintained as the separate entity that 'it always had been'. The Indians emphasized the lack of political freedom under Salazar's repressive rule, discrimination against Hindus and Muslims, and Portugal's poor economic performance in Goa. The opinion of Goans was not writ large in either of the myths. The relevance of these contradictory myths expired in December, 1961, but they still resonate with many Goans, whose very identities are bound up in one or another of the two.

In the 1960s, as adventurous foreign tourists first made their way to Goa's beaches for a hippie lifestyle, a new myth sprang up that penetrated even to remote parts of the world: Goa as a Hippie Heaven. As an anthropologist who has worked on Goa for over twenty-five years, living in both Australia and America, I have yet to meet a person, even in academia, who knows something of Goan realities if he or she has not been to Goa. But, on the contrary, nearly everyone knows Goa for its beaches, raves, and Goa trance. This is a most powerful myth. It is difficult, at such distance, to distinguish Goans from the drugs, nudity, and beach life. It has helped give rise to the final myth, the one current in India itself: Goa as European Corner of India (where freedom reigns or runs amuck.) The Indian film industry has created this myth, the results of which are all too physically real, as we shall see below.

Boxer, de Souza, Pearson[4] and others have written of the importance of Hindu merchants to the Portuguese colonial enterprise, yet that reality is not much the stuff of legend. Information on Goa from many sources generally emphasizes either the religiosity of Goan society or its licentiousness. Goa abounded in churches, in church run institutions, nuns and priests. The whole Christianising effort in the East was run from Goa, that is why St. Francis Xavier, who died in China, was ultimately brought back to be entombed in Goa. Goa was "the centre", the Rome away from Rome, the den of the Inquisition, that European institution transferred to Asia. Boxer notes that on the surface of things, Catholicism was very strong in Goa, that many converts were made and churches constructed (often on the sites of destroyed temples or mosques).[5] We may agree that superficially Goa could have been called "the Rome of the East", that it attracted money and attention as the "gem of Portuguese possessions" around the rim of the Indian Ocean. Portuguese priests and ecclesiastical authorities may have gravitated to Goa thanks to this myth.

The other side of the coin lies in the "Fleshpot of the East" image. Portuguese dreamed of reaching Goa and discarding their lowly status. In Goa, a European swineherd, field hand, or carter could become a fidalgo. With a bit of luck, he could serve in government, rise in the military, or become a commercial success. He could live in a fine house, dress in luxurious garments, and have a host of concubines and servants.

As Rao writes,
'the history of Goa has been one of luxury, ostentation, and decay' and further, 'Golden Goa appeared a place of fabulous wealth…' 'According to a proverb of those days, "whoever hath seen Goa need not see Lisbon".'[6]

Penrose sums up this Goa myth most succinctly, calling Goa

'the preposterous and monstrous boom-town that was at once the political capital, the commercial emporium, the religious sanctum sanctorum and the ville d'élégance of the Portuguese Indies. Camões once called the city "*A Senhora de todo o Oriente*" and another time "the mother of knaves and the stepmother of honest men."'[7]

Reading the accounts of such European travellers as Tavernier, Thevenot, Pyrard, Linschoten, and Fr. Manrique, we realise that indeed they saw the Portuguese in Goa living high off the hog, trying to emulate their highborn countrymen. There are many descriptions of the sexual, culinary, and fashionable excesses of the Portuguese.

In the "*Rome of the East*" myth, Portuguese "civilisation" has been successfully transferred to the East, whose inhabitants are glad to receive it. It is not unlike the American desire to believe that their style of democracy can be transplanted to any other part of the world to the applause of the eternally grateful recipients. The East is thus transformed. In the "Fleshpot of the East" myth, the Portuguese who successfully arrive in Goa are transformed. They achieve their wildest dreams (if you can imagine the dreams of say, a sixteenth century Alentejo swineherd). The onlooking European travellers criticize the lasciviousness and the pomp, but one senses more than a little envy. So, Goa is, in this myth, a place where dreams are realized, where life is luxurious, and servants (never Portuguese) are cheap. These myths, created by foreigners, both Portuguese and others, are long lasting and very pervasive. They have been lovingly detailed in any number of history books. What relationship do they bear to the actual conditions in Goa for Goans at that time? I would guess – relying on the scholarship of de Souza and Pearson – not much. Myths of Goa without Goans!

The flamboyant tales came to stand for Goa in the eyes of the world, and eventually, I would argue, in the minds of many Goans themselves, who still use that phrase "Golden Goa" so easily. Leaving analysis and discussion of the nineteenth century travellers' descriptions of decadence and decay for future writers, along with the myths put about by Portuguese census takers and ethnographers, I will move on to just a few sentences about the political myths of the period 1947-61.

The "Beacon of Christianity and Portuguese Civilisation" story was a continuation of the old Portuguese "Rome of the East" myth. They told themselves how they had 'civilised' a part of Asia, which had come to stand for their (perhaps now lost)

greatness. They wrote about it in numerous books, pamphlets, in newspaper reports and travel accounts. The last symbol of their Lusitanian heroes' glorious deeds was Goa, with its churches. *Aqui é Portugal*, they cried. This was a story of transformation indeed: an Asian land turned into a transplanted bit of Europe. Those Goans, mostly of the elite, who believed firmly in Portuguese civilisation left Goa in the ships for Portugal in 1961-62, giving up their beautiful land forever, transforming their lives and the lives of their children.

The contrasting myth, "Brutal Dictatorship of Cruelty and Oppression", came from India, which wished to be rid of all traces of foreign rule in an era of nationalistic muscle-flexing round the world. In order to justify the ousting of the last European colonialists (who admittedly, had not done much in the way of education or economic development over a 450-year period), a myth of brutality was created, a myth of arrogant imperial occupiers putting the boot into the suffering Indians of Goa. Indian news media poured out stories of Portuguese brutality, of the backward conditions in Goa. The myth produced satyagrahis who in some cases lost their lives in the freedom struggle. Eventually, concrete steps had to be taken. The Indian Army 'liberated' Goa. [*Personally I do believe it was a liberation, but my opinion may be beside the point.]

Did anyone actually ask the Goans if liberation were their goal? No. Did either of these two visions of Goa mesh with what the majority of Goans thought? It is unclear. Was Goa so Portuguese in reality ? Was twentieth century Portuguese rule so awful? I would say 'no' in both cases. The myths still resonate more strongly than any perceptible reality. Those particular stories died, only to be reborn as the "realities" propagated by opposing political parties in post-Liberation Goa.

In April, 2006, the New York Times ran an article entitled 'A New Generation of Pilgrims Hits India's Hippie Trail'. It concerned only Goa. Thanks to nearly forty years of being a major hippie gathering center (along with Pushkar, Varanasi, Kulu and Kovalam, plus Nepal and some sites in Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Indonesia), Goa has been transformed into a "magical place outside normal time", in other words, a place in the realm of myth.

> 'Come to Goa ! Change your mind ! Change your way ! There ain't nothing like this in the real world. …[Goa]a venerable Catholic-Hindu enclave where American hippies came to turn on, tune in and drop out in the late 1960s, and where globe-trotting spiritual seekers, party kids, flag-wavers of the counterculture and refugees from the real world have fled ever since.'[8]

Despite some doubts as to the nationality of the vast majority of these 'seekers', the description is true. Like the Portuguese of old, Westerners of certain kinds still come to Goa seeking personal transformation, if not a sudden rise in luxury and power. The myth that lures them on has little or nothing to do with Goa. Odzer, in

her frank description of drug-fuelled hippie life in Goa[9], shows her absolute ignorance of everything Goan, but really, Goa serves only as a backdrop.

> 'Goa was my dream, my fantasy paradise. I couldn't leave it.' 'What a life in Anjuna Beach ! Warm, salty, sandy, swimming, sunning, dancing, lazy and stoned. Weeks went by like one long day. No one possessed a clock. The only schedule was that of the moon. …No day had a name.[10]

On the other hand, books such as hers ignite a desire to experience such a place in the hearts of thousands. Travel brochures, newspaper articles, television spots, and travellers' tales have spread the myth of Goa, the Paradise, around the developed world. Tourists arrived, hippies or otherwise, expecting a certain reality. They wound up creating it, whether they found it or not. Goans helped them do it. But, like the sixteenth and seventeenth century Portuguese, the foreign hippies came to comprise an enclave "in Goa", but certainly not "of Goa". Their myth of personal transformation appropriates Goa's space in the wider world. Goa's image is subsumed in the hippie legend of freedom, drugs, nudity, infinite leisure, and cheap prices. Goa is not a spiritual centre, Goa is not less real than other places, Goa is not a counterculture centre except among hippies. Goa has its own history and a set of pressing problems. The world's media portrays it otherwise – 'the globe's most enduring and constantly adapting tropical getaway for alternative living'…'every road seems to lead to an organic restaurant or a massage clinic.'[11] Mythology indeed.

Indian publications throughout the Sixties and Seventies gave ample play to Western flower children's near-nudity on Goa's beaches. (There was total nudity also, but the publications could not show it.) Indian tourists began to visit Goa for the 'free show' and for cheap alcohol at a time when many Indian states had prohibition. The Hindi film industry zoomed in on this trend and turned it into another myth of Goa.

After many visits to Goa over many years, living in towns and villages, I knew that the small coastal state attracts large numbers of tourists and has staked much of its future on attracting more. I understood why foreign tourists come (see above and just because it might be a safe, cheap, beach holiday). But Indian tourists also come in increasing numbers. When I learned that 1.7 million Indian tourists had visited Goa in 2002[12], I was astounded. Why did they come? Having lived in India for a number of years, I realised that *a)* knowledge and interest in Indo-Portuguese history and Goan culture was minimal, *b)* the vast majority of Indians do not know how to swim, nor do they like to sit in the sun, but *c)* the rising middle class might like to luxuriate in top class hotels in an exotic location and enjoy drinks and food not easily found in their home cities. I still could not account for that huge number of tourists coming specifically to Goa. I began to wonder how to explain it. Something was pushing Indians towards Goa. I realised that the Goa Tourist Bureau

might have very effective advertising, but surely not that effective! I inclined to believe that Indian would-be tourists were influenced by some media. Newspapers, weekly magazines, and television might play their roles, but I decided to investigate the role of Hindi language Bombay films, because of their powerful place in Indian life. (Not knowing Tamil or Telugu, I have not been able to document any influence from that quarter, but I would guess that it is similar.) I began to seek out Bombay films set in Goa, or at least partly set in Goa. There were quite a number. I subsequently watched as many as I could find. The following observations are based upon six Hindi films: *Bobby, Dil Chahta Hai, Josh, Mujhse Shaadi Karogi, Khamoshi*, and *My Brother Nikhil*.

Hindi films have established a most powerful mythological image of Goa. It resembles in some ways the "sexual paradise" myth of the South Seas in Euro--America, but in other ways is just the opposite. While Western mythology provides images of 'the primitive' and 'the innocent or unspoiled' in the palm isles of the far Pacific, where love or sex is easy to find because the grass-skirted girls are always willing to be seduced by white heroes, Goa, as pictured in Hindi films, is the modern paradise in Western style. Romance is easy, people dance, sing, and celebrate at the drop of a hat. All kinds of enticing activities can be found in Goa, invisible in the rest of India, but associated with the West by most Indians. Modesty in dress and puritanical rules of conduct do not exist. It's free. "Freedom" is the operative word. While "riches" might have attracted the Portuguese in former times, and "simple life with spiritual overtones" may have attracted the hippies, the myth of modern Goa in Hindi films is that not only is Goa modern, luxurious, and Westernized, it is free.

Bobby, produced in 1973, came before the middle class growth explosion and thus anticipates the other films on Goa. 'Bobby' is the name of the Goan heroine, who wears short shorts and miniskirts, plays squash, swims in a bikini, and hugs and kisses various people. She is a fisherman's daughter, granddaughter of a servant woman. Her father is the archetypical film Goan – a happy-go-lucky fisherman/smuggler who wears a Portuguese fisherman's hat and a striped shirt, and doesn't know how to put on a suit properly. He speaks broken Hindi and crudely spits his drink in the hero's face. Goan pop music is used to show his 'bumpkin' nature, while 'proper' music is all North Indian. People dancing on the beach waving bottles, wearing black suits and saris or *Kunbi* aprons while the village church stands nearby, give a stereotyped image of Goa. Goa is not yet "modern", but as in most Bombay films, the hero gets the girl. The 'freedom' of Goa is waved before the Indian public.

The other films are all from between 1996 and 2005. *Khamoshi* has some real Goan content, Remo Fernandes' music, and few of the 'modern paradise' images. Looking at the films in general, they have several common features. Characters (always from the Punjabi elite or upper middle class living in the usual Bombay fantasy style) go to Goa and play beach volleyball, jet-ski, go on various kinds of boat trips, go fishing, bicycle along deserted roads, compete in Olympic swimming

pools, or go surfing. Because Goa is not really India in these films, we find a strange mixture of foreign culture and upper class Indian consumerist aspirations. Motorcycle gangs fight over turf under graffiti-covered walls while both foreign and Indian women in skimpy costumes lie on the beach, cavorting in the sea, or dancing. In one case (*Mujhse Shaadi Karogi*) Goa isn't even Goa. Most of the non-studio scenes were filmed in Mauritius ! The hero arrives at Panjim railway station in a crowd of girls wearing short shorts. (Panjim has no railway station.) The locals have no language of their own (Goans speak Konkani); they are reduced to uncultured stick figures speaking pidgin Hindi. One character in *Mujhse Shaadi Karogi* remarks, "Goan girls are all the same." [and you can assume that 'the same' is not a complimentary term.]

Goa, except in *Khamoshi*, becomes a travesty of itself. It is a place with a comic book history. For example, *Josh* opens with a scene purportedly from 1958. The narrator intones background information while "Portuguese" police in Ruritanian police uniforms keep order for people in weird European "royal" costumes lining a street. Says the narrator, "This is Vasco, Goa, 1958. Vasco has been named for the biggest *zamindar*, Albert Vasco." An actual statue of Camões or Albuquerque is said to be this landlord's ancestor. When the film moves up to 1980, the landlord's son returns to Goa in a car. The driver tells him that the Portuguese left all property, so there are no real owners. The son looks out the window, points, and says peremptorily, "I want that house for my company guesthouse."

Visas to the West are hard to get for Indians and once there, everything is expensive. Plus, Westerners have many strange customs and some may not like Indians. Goa, on the other hand, is close to home. Film Goa is filled with luxurious fantasies, Goa has no history, language or culture of its own. It is merely the backdrop for the realisation of the dreams of others. Above all, Indian youth can do what they like in Goa, they are free. Girls are available, romance is easy, and the puritan moral strictures of the rest of India fly away. As one hero in *Dil Chahta Hai* says as the group sits at the top of Fort Aguada, looking down to Candolim and Calangute beaches, "You know what ? We should come to Goa every year."

This is the modern Indian myth of Goa – those who manage to reach it will be transformed. Goans still do not create their own mythology. They, like the South Sea islanders, live at the receiving end of tourists who come imbued with a set of images and beliefs that stem from stories that have no connection with Goan realities.

In conclusion, I would say that since the arrival of the Portuguese in Goa, various myths have sprung up which describe Goa in terms that often have little or nothing to do with the realities for Goans. A number of academics, both historians and anthropologists, have written more realistic pictures of Goa. At least they have tried to avoid succumbing to myth. Unfortunately, their work has little effect. The early myths that spoke of wealth, licentiousness or piety concerned the Portuguese or foreign population. Similarly, the decay and the description of Goa by census takers

and ethnographers created a picture of Goa as seen by foreigners. The opposing politically-inspired mythologies of the mid-twentieth century also stemmed from outside sources, from Portugal on one hand, from New Delhi on the other.

After Goa's final integration with India, the tourist mythologies arose, one from the foreign tourists that arrived to live along the beaches, and the other from the Indian film industry, which, I would claim, today inspires millions of people to come to Goa. In no one of these cases can we claim that the mythologies are without any basis in fact. For example, as regards the film myth of Goa: Goa does have Carnival, there are dances (if very subdued), European hippies do prowl the beaches in extreme states of undress, churches are prominent, women do wear skirts, and liquor is indeed cheap. However, the distortions and exaggerations, coupled with the complete neglect of Goans themselves in these mythologies – those people, Hindu, Catholic, and Muslim who have lived in Goa over the centuries, struggling to make a living; religious, conservative, and with a rich culture – have created the image of a mythical place called 'Goa'. Though it is in India, it is Western. Though you can speak Hindi, you can behave as though you were in your imagined West (not the real West, which remains unknown.) You enjoy a life of luxury and licentiousness. You become a different person, your life is changed, if only you can reach Goa. As Hindi films have long been based on fantasy, the makers needed a place where these fantasies might seem true. If you can't emigrate to the West, if you can't even visit the West, you can travel to a 'Western place' in India. Goa has been coopted as that place. What influence these myths have on Goans is unclear. People are influenced by the opinions and images of others, especially if those images are far more prevalent than any countervailing ones. Do some people believe that Goans are "less Indian" than others ? I fear that, since Goans are a small group and have little power in the media, the ultimate fate of Goa may be to be a victim of 'too much mythology'.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Boyd C. Shafer, *Faces of Nationalism*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1972, p. 313.

[2] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, New York, Verso, 1991.

[3] Richard Burton, *Goa and the Blue Mountains*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1991.

[4] Charles R. Boxer, Chap. 3 'Converts and Clergy in Monsoon Asia', in *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825*, UK, Pelican, 1973, pp. 66-84. Teótonio R. de Souza, *Medieval Goa*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Co., 1979. Michael N. Pearson, *Coastal Western India,* New Delhi, Concept Publishing Co., 1981.

[51] Boxer, Chap. 3, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*.

[6] R.P. Rao, *Portuguese Rule in Goa 1510-1961*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1963, p. 37.

[7] Boies Penrose, *Goa – Queen of the East*, Lisbon, Comissão Ultramarina, 1960, p. 39.

[8] Seth Sherwood, 'A new generation of pilgrims hits India's hippie trail', *The New York Times,* New York, Sunday, 9 April, 2006, pp. 7.

[9] Cleo Odzer, *Goa Freaks: My Hippie Years in India*, New York, Blue Moon Books, 1995.

[10] *Ibid*., pp. 2 + 38.

[11] Sherwood, 'A New Generation of Pilgrims', p. 7

[12] see *www.indiainvites.com/datagoa2002.htm*

15

ANGLO-PORTUGUESE COLLABORATION (1927-47)

S. K. Mhamai

So far no serious attempt has been made to throw light on Anglo-Portuguese collaboration. All that I have attempted in this paper is to provide some evidence for the period 1927-1947, with the hope that it will motivate other scholars to pursue the theme. Many more details for this research will be available once all the original documents from the diplomatic correspondence preserved in the Archives of Goa, are made available to researchers in the near future.

This study is in the form of a survey of documents on gold smuggling, extradition of criminals, service matters, and friendly visits of naval ships among other topics. It brings to light the nature of correspondence and the friendly relations that existed between the Portuguese and the British. The documents I have selected for this paper are from the "*Repartição do Gabinete*" and the "*Consulate Files*" yet to be numbered and preserved in the Archives at Goa.

EXTRADITION OF FUGITIVES

There was a treaty of extradition of fugitive criminals between the United Kingdom and Portugal signed on 17 October 1892. In 1898 this treaty was extended to cover the relations between the British and Portuguese government at Goa. There are several letters dealing with extradition cases involving several Goans among others.

I have selected very few of these letters. In general, they point out that Goa had become a refuge for criminals from British India. To begin with, we have a letter dated 29 November 1935 from the Kolhapur Residency agent to the Portuguese governor general seeking the extradition of one Sahukaria Sadhia Deccani from Goa and residing at Morje in Pedne. He was charged under section 304 of the Indian Penal Code.

There is a letter dated 20 December 1935 addressed by the governor of Bengal to the Portuguese governor general informing him that the Calcutta Police on getting

information had searched room no.17 on Bowbazar Street occupied by one N.C. Mendes and found two unloaded revolvers in a box marked "J. A. Fernandes". The governor of Bengal requested the Portuguese governor to hand over Mr. J. A. Fernandes to his control.

A letter dated 4 December 1937 states that two Goans, Vasudev Ganesh Teli and Narayan Ramchandra Bhandari have been charged under section 54 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. The British authorities requested the government of Portuguese India to extradite them in accordance with the understanding of 1898. In a letter of March 21, 1938, the Portuguese government was requested to correspond in future with the political Resident through the British Consulate in Goa. The letter (in full) reads as follows:

> " I have the honour to state that I am directed by the government of India to request the government of Portuguese India to correspond in future with political residents who are coordinating with Indian States, through this Consulate and not through the government of Bombay as heretofore, in all routine matters and in extradition cases. This is related particularly to correspondence with the resident of Kolhapur and the Deccan States, who are politically related to Sawantwadi States; and the resident of Baroda to the Gujarat State, and the Resident of States of Western India to Kathiawar States. In matters of urgency, the government of Portuguese India may correspond directly with the Resident concerned, sending a copy to this Consulate for information".

The extradition of one Poona Jetha, a native of Velam of taluka Kodimar, district Amreli (Kathiawar) from Diu to Bombay, was sought by the British authorities on 1 December 1940. The accused had committed the offence of criminal breach of trust as a carrier and abetment thereof in respect of 1,600 tins of kerosene oil belonging to Messrs. Standard Oil Company, valued at Rs. 5,272.

On 28 February 1941, the governor of Bengal addressed a request to the governor of Goa seeking the extradition of Mohmed Beg Imam Beg of the 12/5th Mahratta Light Infantry who had deserted the unit and was living in Marmagoa (Vasco da Gama). The governor of Bengal sought the extradition of the accused from Goa and his delivery into the custody of the officer commanding 10/5th Mahrattha Light Infantry at Belgaum.

Another letter dated 21 November 1941, addressed to the chief of the Cabinet by the chief secretary to the government of Bombay refers to the crimes committed by Halgya Hanumanta Pamlore, Sitaram Hanumanta Pamlore and Madargya Narso Pamlore and residents of a criminal tribes settlement at Sholapur who had taken refuge at Mapusa, Bardez, Goa. The secretary sought the surrender of the accused in order that they might undergo their trial for the offence committed by them under the Criminal Tribes Act.

Another letter dated 23 June 1943, from the British Consul in Goa, sought the extradition at the request of the Resident of Baroda, of one Avajya Govin Chavan based in Nasik district, who had been sentenced by the First Class magistrate for trial but who had escaped into the village of Raudhe in Daman district by breaking open the ceiling of his cell before the trial. The Consul mentioned that the accused was a dangerous criminal and being at liberty was highly detrimental to public peace.

The extradition of two dacoits, Kudaratshaw Ramzanshaw and Jahudshaw Ramzanshaw along with the *Mundemal* (clothes, ornaments, vessels, gunpowder, knives etc.) and presently in the custody of the Portuguese police, was sought by the chief Secretary to the government of Bombay on 31 July 1943. The dacoity cases were reported at Arnala village and Pato village in Surat.

In another letter dated 16 August 1943, addressed by the same authority to the Chief of the Cabinet, the extradition of one Namdeo Ganesh Naik from Goa to Bombay was sought. He was charged with committing theft as a servant, in respect of property valued at Rs.8,900/- from Dr. Hirahi Purshottam Melgaonkar. The accused was arrested at Salem, a village in Goa.

On 17 July 1945, the British Consul sought the extradition at the request of the Secretary to the government of Orissa, Law, and of the Commerce and Labour Department, Cuttak, of one António Mascarenhas alias Tony of Duler, Mapusa, Goa for stealing two revolvers bearing nos. 3289 and 708018 respectively, together with 300 rounds and 38 ammunition from the Armoury and Ammunition Stores of the Royal Air Force Station, Cuttak.

In another letter, the Commissioner of Police, Madras, requested the judge of the Panjim court to send the jewelry stolen by one Lawrence Oliveira, a servant in the well-known family of Chandavarkar. Oliveira was arrested in 1946.

The extradition of the accused, Nathoomal and Baburao Mahadev Hande was sought from Goa to Bombay on 22 January 1947, by the British, for having committed offences like cheating and dishonestly inducing the delivery of property. In this case the accused Nathoomal Nihalchand obtained Rs.20,000 from the firm of Messrs. Tolaram Aildas under false pretences stating that he had been authorized by the complainant, Lalchandas Bassamal Hardassani, to take the amount and place it in the bank. He absconded with the money to Goa where he gave Rs. 3,500 to the accused no. 2 Baburao Hande.

Another letter dated 3 June1947, from the British Consul is addressed to the Chief of Cabinet, informing him that three Goan country craft left Bombay with about 3,300 bags of rice for the mamlatdar of Malwan but none had reached their destination. The letter also gave the description of the country craft and the names of the *tandel*. The letter further reported that a Goan country craft left Mormugão with 400 bags of wheat with the *Tandel* Sitaram of Siolim on board and that the customs authorities at Vengurla had been informed that the craft has been sunk along with the wheat bags and that *Tandel* Sitaram was said to be alive and in Goa. There was a request to extradite Sitaram from Goa.

We have another interesting letter stating that the country craft, *Jayanti,* with *Tandel* Mahadev of Chapora on board, started from Mormugão for Ratnagiri with 1,000 bags of wheat. It had been reported that the *tandel* had in fact disposed some of the bags in Goa and some in British territory. But later he stated that the country craft had sunk. The Consul requested the Portuguese to co-operate with the investigating authorities about the whole incident so that extradition proceedings could be initiated against the accused, Mahadev. This incident reminds one of gold smuggling in Goa. The gold that was illegally taken out of Goa by the agents of the smugglers, was sold in Karwar and Bombay. It was rumoured that the masters were fooled by the agents stating that the smuggled gold had been confiscated at the border, when in fact it was actually sold by them, duping their masters.

The extradition of a woman accused, Hilda Sanches from Goa to Bombay and who had been residing at Viegas Vaddo, Khorlim, Mapusa, Bardez, Goa, was sought by the British authorities on 8 November 1948. The non-bailable warrant for the detention of the accused while in transit was also issued by the authorities and she was charged under section 420 and 114 of I.P.C.

There are few letters on extradition cases, addressed by the Portuguese to the British authorities. The first such letter is from the Deputy Inspector General of Police and CID Madras, dated 15 December 1934, and addressed to the State Attorney of Goa, acknowledging the request for the extradition of Arthur Joseph Reynolds, who had committed a theft in the Convent of Bom Jesus, Old Goa, on the night of 19 June 1934.

The Governor of Bombay by his order dated 29 October 1942, permitted the extradition of one João Matabela from Belgaum to Goa. Matabela was serving in the army of the government of Portuguese East Africa in 1940 and had now deserted it. According to Matabela he deserted the Portuguese army due to maltreatment by the military authorities.

The extradition of Siri Sadu Tari and Pundalik Vithoba Palinkar who were wanted in a murder case, was sought by the Portuguese on 14 January 1946.

There are hundreds of extradition files, but I have selected only a few papers to give some idea on the nature of crimes committed by various individuals.

GOLD SMUGGLING

There is a sizeable correspondence that throws light on gold smuggling. Large quantity of gold was imported into Goa and then this gold was smuggled into British India. The British authorities were complaining that in the absence of more customs posts around Goa, the illegal entry of gold into India could not obviously be prevented effectively. We have several letters indicating that the British authorities through their legation in Goa were complaining to the Portuguese authorities that the police

in Goa looked upon the British officials sent to Goa to deal into smuggling cases with suspicion.

DECLARATION OF ELIGIBILITY FOR SERVICE

By a government notification of the Political and Service department, no. 1586/3411 dated 1 October 1938, the natives of Portuguese India were declared eligible for the service in British India. As a reciprocal measure the Portuguese in Goa also admitted the British subjects on a contract basis. We find letters written by the British authorities to the Portuguese seeking clarification and implication of the expression "on contract basis". The British authorities also presumed, the expression "on contract basis" was that the British subjects of the Province of Bombay were eligible for appointment to any service under the government of Portuguese India. We do not find more documents on this particular issue. But we do find the names of many Portuguese natives who served the British government. Some of the documents indicate how much interest the British took to settle service matters and various other letters of the Goan community.

To begin with, we have a letter dated 15 December 1931, from the British consul to the chief Secretary of Goa, informing him that the Sub-Treasury officer of Vengurla reported the case of one Ms. Sergio Maria Roza Pinto e Godinho stating that her husband Claudio Remedios Godinho, a naval pensioner had died on 1 March 1931 and about the death certificate she had produced issued by the parish priest of the same village. The Consul who had doubts about the authenticity of the document, requested the Portuguese to inquire into the matter for the settlement of the case.

The British Consul by his letter dated 13 October 1931 to the chief Secretary requested him to enquire and furnish a report of the legal heirs of the late Lourenço Fernandes, Captains Boy of the ' S.S. Masula '. The letter further stated that one Ms. Romaldina Gracias residing at Baga, said to be the widow of the deceased, had applied for the estate due to him.

There is a letter dated 24 November 1931, from the British Consul to the chief of Cabinet at Goa, requesting him to start inquiries in respect of the legal heirs of Mr. Pedro L. D. Oliveira, a military Class II pensioner who was reported dead at Calangute. The information was sought in order to pay arrears of pension due to the legal heirs.

We have a letter dated 30 November 1931, from the British Consul to the chief Secretary of Goa, informing him about the grants recommended to Ms. Maria Vitoria Pereira, widow of late Havildar Cruz, from the Indian Army Benevolent Fund.

There are many more letters giving us some idea about the Goan community serving the Indian military and about the role played by the British authorities in settling their service matters.

RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED BY THE PORTUGUESE

The Portuguese imposed several restrictions in respect of business, property, residence, currency etc. These restrictions were resented very much not only by the British authorities but also by the Goans as can be seen from some of the letters reproduced here.

By a letter dated 24 September 1943, the British Consul requested the Portuguese to resume the money order services suspended by them. The letter states:

> " the recent suspension of the money order service has made it impossible to remit the family allotments of military and naval personnel on active service, as well as those of Goan merchant seaman, to their families in Portuguese India, causing hardship to the families and anxiety to the men concerned".

The Goan Association sent the copy of a telegram to the governor of Goa, which was addressed to the president of Portugal. The Goan Association used to get an annual subsidy of Rs.40,000 from the Portuguese government for the relief of Goans outside Portuguese India. The telegram signed by one Mr. V.S. de Pompeia Viegas, Hon. Secretary of the Goan Association, runs as follows:

> " Goan Association begs to transmit for Your Excellency's information copy of cable sent this day to His Excellency Dr. António de Oliveira Salazar, Presidente do Conselho e Ministro das Finanças and to His Excellency then Minister for Colonies, Lisbon, reading as follows:
>
> " Goan Association urges Your Excellency's attention to Goa currency problem. Situation grave. Goans earning livelihood outside greatly alarmed, absence of adequate arrangements for exchanging British Indian currency into Portuguese having regard to centuries old relations between Goa and British India and suspension of money order service. Approximately, fourth fifths Goan population was dependent for livelihood on remittances from British India and Africa. Goan immigrants have families and homes in Goa. Their remittance helps development of the country and balancing the budget. Their assets and also Nation's assets causes concern, calls for urgent adequate measures for lawful exchange of currencies by bank in Goa or restoration of old currency order having regard to relations between Goa and British India. Details Airgraph ".

Coming to the business activities of the Portuguese Goa with the British and vice versa, we find many letters addressed by the British Consul to the Portuguese, seeking their co-operation in establishing a match factory in Goa. The Portuguese at Goa

depended much on British India and imported industrial goods, rice, clothes, tobacco, soap and various other goods. The documents of the year 1941-42 give us details of the items imported by the Portuguese from British India. Interestingly, it is seen that during the year 1941 as many as 15,405 were imported into Goa. It seems that later, the disturbing political situation in Goa, forced the Portuguese to impose further restrictions on various issues.

GOODWILL VISITS

The Portuguese depended entirely on western powers for all purposes, including military assistance. It is recorded that most of the naval ships visited Goa before the commencement of the World War II. For example, H.M.S. "Enterprise" arrived in Goa on 12 April 1932; H.M.S. 'Colombo' on November 15, 1933; and H.M.S. 'Clive' in October 1937. By 1938-39 and just before the break of the Second World War, three more naval ships paid visits to Goa. They were H.M.S. Manchester; H.M.S. Norfolk and H.M.S. Liverpool.

Goa had important visitors during that period. The first letter selected deals with the visit of the Commander-in-Chief in 1927, from British India to Goa. The letter addressed to the governor of Goa states:

> " I cannot tell you how kind was Your Excellency to show myself and my officers the lavish hospitality which you so kindly bestowed. We all found Goa most interesting, and it was indeed very kind of you to have made all the arrangements for us to see the old churches and all that was of interest".

Goa was under British occupation for about 14 years from 1799 till 1813. During that period the British constructed several edifices which include a cemetery built sometime in 1802. The British took an interest for the protection of the cemetery built by them. On 1 December 1931, Mr. A.J. Whyte, superintending engineer, Public Works Department, Belgaum, visited Goa for the purpose of inspecting the Cabo Cemetery.

Important dignitaries from Goa also paid visits to British India. For example, we find a letter from the Governor of Bombay dated 19 December 1938, informing the Portuguese about the arrangement made in connection with the visit of the chief engineer of the Goa Public Works Department.

CONCLUSION

It can be said that while others have studied Goa with regard to the Anglo--Portuguese Treaty of 1878 and dealt with issues like customs, Akbari system, railways, salt, etc., I have covered matters like extradition of persons, gold smuggling, currency, eligibility of service, goodwill visits, etc., which goes to prove that the Anglo-Portuguese relations were very cordial on all fronts.

16

EX-VICEROY LINHARES AND THE GALLEYS OF SICILY, 1641-44

Anthony Disney

Seventeenth century viceroys of Goa, if they did not die in office, in most cases eventually returned to Europe, where they continued their careers in crown service. However, little has been written about any of them in the post-Goa periods of their lives – or, for that matter, in their pre-Goa periods either. Miguel de Noronha[1], fourth count of Linhares, was viceroy at Goa from 1629 to 1635 – that is, for an unusually long six year term. Yet his service career effectively began as early as 1602, when he was aged only 14 – and he was still on active military duty when he died 54 years later, in 1656. In other words, he spent a total of 27 years in crown service before he went to Goa, and another 21 years after he had left. In the end, India accounted for just a small fraction of his career: in round figures, a little over 10 per cent. This article deals with one small part of the remaining 90 per cent, when he was serving outside India – namely, the time he spent as captain-general of the galleys of Sicily, during the years 1641-44.

When Linhares arrived back in Europe from Goa in 1636, he went straight to the court in Madrid. There he was well received by King Philip IV (III of Portugal) and his chief minister, the count-duke of Olivares, and for a while exercised considerable influence. He was invited to sit on the Council of Portugal, where he soon became leader of those Portuguese in Madrid who opposed many of the policies of that council's unpopular secretary, Diogo Soares. However, owing at least in part to the machinations of Soares, within less than eighteen months he had fallen out of favour to such an extent that he was actually imprisoned, then placed under house arrest[2]. He was still under detention in Castile when João IV, former duke of Bragança, seized the throne of Portugal in a *coup d' état*, in December 1640. Linhares thereupon re-affirmed his loyalty to the Habsburgs. This decision may seem somewhat surprising, given his previous political leanings; but the reality was that the circumstances in which he found himself left him little choice, and he remained

in Habsburg service for the rest of his life. He was released from house arrest as early as August 1641; but it was not until the autumn of that year that he was deemed sufficiently trustworthy to be given once again a position of command.

The office Linhares was ordered to assume by Madrid in late 1641 was that of captain general of the galleys of Sicily. No doubt the Castilian crown calculated that, in the Mediterranean, he would be well away from Portugal, so discouraging any possible thoughts he may still have been harboring of defecting back to the Bragança. At the time, the former viceroy of Goa was reasonably familiar with galleys, having sailed on them before in both North African and Indian waters; but he had not previously commanded a fighting squadron. However, he was in other respects a credible appointee, with much experience of voyaging and of small-scale military and naval operations. He duly arrived in Palermo to take up his new command, in April 1642 – but probably without much enthusiasm, for the position was neither of major importance, nor particularly prestigious. In fact, it was demonstrably inferior to others that he himself had held in the recent past, including the viceroyalty of Goa.

By the 1640s, all of the permanent Spanish galley squadrons in the western Mediterranean – that is, the squadrons of Naples, Genoa, Sicily and Spain itself – were mere shadows of what they had been in their great days, at the time of Lepanto[3]. The squadron of Sicily, which had boasted 22 galleys in the mid-1570s, was down to 10 by the first decade of the seventeenth century – and to only four by the start of the 1640s[4].

Nevertheless, at the time of Linhares's appointment, the squadron was still supposed to serve a dual purpose. It was there to protect Sicily itself – and this, from the Sicilian viewpoint, was clearly its primary role. But it also existed to be used in the interests of the monarchy as a whole – and in the strategic planning of the Madrid government it was this second purpose that invariably took priority.

When Linhares first arrived in Palermo, rumours of impending attacks on the island were rife. Warned by his spies and informers in various parts of the Mediterranean, the viceroy of Sicily, Don Juan Alonso Enriquez, Admiral of Castile, nervously drew attention in his dispatches to hostile military preparations allegedly underway in a number of places. These included Toulon, Marseilles, Constantinople, the Greek Islands and the Muslim port cities of North Africa[5]. There seemed an alarming possibility of a combined attack by French and Turkish forces. Even if this failed to eventuate, the Turks might succeed in diverting Habsburg naval forces to some other theatre – leaving Sicily a defenceless prey to the French. Such fears were increased by the frequent absences of the galleys of Sicily from Sicilian waters, by a woeful shortage of local garrison troops and by the island's general unpreparedness to repel an attack. The possibility of a French attack now seemed very real – because of the re-igniting of Franco-Spanish hostilities in 1635.

However, Madrid wanted to use the squadron of Sicily in co-operation with other land and sea forces more generally. In the eyes of the crown the squadron of Sicily was merely one part of an overall naval defence system that stretched from the central Mediterranean to the North Sea. Moreover, since the major threat to the monarchy's interests was perceived as coming from the French, and the critical areas of naval confrontation were off the east coast of Spain and the west coast of Italy, it was in these regions that the Sicilian galleys were mostly required to operate. In other words, the defence interests of Sicily were subordinated to the military needs of the monarchy as a whole. Moreover, not only was the kingdom of Sicily required to contribute its galleys, but to provide recruits, merchant shipping and large quantities of grain, in support of the overall Spanish war effort.

All this meant that the operations of the squadron of Sicily under Linhares's command had little reference to the particular needs of Sicily. Indeed, Linhares himself treated his association with the island as little more than coincidental: it was the Spanish monarchy, not the kingdom of Sicily, that he saw himself as serving. He kept his personal commitments on the island to the minimum, and did not bring his wife with him. He rented modest lodgings in Palermo, where he lived with a few *criados* and probably his second son, Jerónimo de Noronha, using the premises for little more than an occasional place to sleep. He even claimed that the house was too small to accommodate the squadron's strong-box – and he certainly maintained no guards[6]. But it mattered little, for the nature of his duties meant he was seldom in his shore quarters. He liked to think, as he pointedly informed the Council of State in his first report to that body in April 1642, that his normal place of residence was aboard his galley[7].

As captain-general of the galleys of Sicily, Linhares did not report, as might have been expected, to the Council of Italy, the advisory body for most Italian and Sicilian affairs. Instead, he was responsible directly to the Council of State, which oversaw the interests of the monarchy as a whole. So his dispatches normally went to Pedro de Arce, the relevant secretary of the Council of State – and it was Arce who conveyed the Council's instructions to him, either directly or through the viceroy of Sicily. In either case, dispatches usually took three to six weeks to reach Palermo from Madrid – a far cry from the six months or so that it took for correspondence to be taken from Lisbon to Goa. Therefore, central policy-makers were able to exercise much tighter strategic control over Linhares as captain-general of the squadron of Sicily, than they had done over him as viceroy at Goa.

The internal command structure of the squadron of Sicily further reinforces the view that this was essentially a Spanish force, over which the Sicilians themselves had virtually no control. Almost all the naval officers and commissariat officials were Iberians. The only obvious exception during Linhares's term was a new chief pilot, Cacciaria Rispoli, who was certainly Italian, and perhaps Sicilian, and who succeeded a Spaniard in that office in May 1643[8]. However, support services for the

squadron were dependent on local funding, and on native Sicilian personnel. Linhares found this situation frustrating, for the institutions and individuals involved frequently failed to deliver what was required. Early in his term, Linhares found the squadron so short of cash that he described it as having effectively nothing. 'I have to pledge what I have [myself]', he complained, 'in order to provide the paymaster with the wherewithal to make payments'. Though expressing sympathy in principle, the viceroy of Sicily merely informed Linhares that he too had not a *maravedi* to spare[9]. While there was certainly nothing unique about this kind of situation in seventeenth century Spanish naval administration, we need to ask why Linhares's dilemma was particularly difficult.

The administration of public finance in Sicily at this time was primarily the responsibility of a tribunal called the Court of Royal Patrimony, often referred to simply as 'the Patrimony'. This body, which was composed entirely of Sicilians, had a notorious reputation for slowness, inefficiency and corruption[10]. Linhares himself had little time for it, and he described it to Arce as ceaselessly cheating the crown in everything[11]. He explained that the Patrimony had diverted to other purposes the revenues normally assigned to the galleys – revenues that included the Sicilian *cruciata* or income from the sale of indulgences – and had instead put the supply and maintenance of the squadron out to contract. It was this, according to Linhares, that lay at the root of the problem. Contracting meant the cost of fitting out the galleys was greatly inflated. Moreover, with pay for the men failing to materialise, they had to be chained up to prevent them from deserting[12]. However, whether Linhares was correct in singling out the contract system as the main reason for his financial difficulties is open to some doubt. Certainly it was controversial at the time – and most field commanders disliked it[13]. But there was nothing unusual about it per se; private contracting was a device widely used by the Monarchy for all kinds of purposes.

All the same, the galleys of Sicily were virtually crippled during Linhares's time as a consequence of grossly inadequate funding and lack of supplies. In April 1642 the squadron was short of almost everything it needed, from gunpowder to oars – not to mention oarsmen[14]. It was supposed to have four galleys; but there were actually only three, with a fourth under construction, far from complete. Moreover, two of the existing galleys were so old that, in Linhares's view, they were unfit for service. In fact, one of them was already being used as a hospital ship when Linhares first arrived in Palermo – and in June 1642 she was finally certified as unseaworthy and formally retired.

This meant that initially only the flagship was fit to sail, although later the vice-admiral or *patrona* must have been rendered serviceable, as both these galleys eventually set out for the campaigning season that summer. The galley still under construction, on which Linhares claimed work had been proceeding ceaselessly day and night, might have sailed with them, but for the failure of a supply of oars to arrive from Naples[15].

Linhares was also confronted with the challenge of how to manage difficult human relations within the power structure of the squadron itself. Part of the problem here seems to have resulted from tensions inherent in the Spanish system of military administration, where traditional aristocratic and patriarchal concepts of command clashed with a centralizing bureaucracy. For administrative purposes, captains-general of Spanish galley squadrons were supposed to be assisted by a team of functionaries that included a *veedor* (auditor), *proveedor* (supply officer), *contador* (accountant) and *pagador* (paymaster). Collectively these functionaries were known as the *oficiales* of the galleys. They formed an administrative committee that was supposed to meet regularly, under the chairmanship of the captain-general, to discuss matters relating to the squadron's finances, manpower and supplies[16]. The duties of the *veedor* (who, significantly, was also called the *ojos del rei* – eyes of the king), and of the *contador*, included protecting the interests of the crown. Both these officials had the right to communicate directly to Madrid concerning their captain-general's administration[17]. Friction was therefore highly probable – especially if a captain--general of rather prickly temperament, like Linhares, was confronted by fussy, nit-picking *oficiales*. It so happened that in the person of his *contador*, a certain Francisco Abarca, Linhares was saddled with someone of precisely the latter description[18].

Abarca was already aged 75 when Linhares took over as captain-general in 1642, and had been in crown service for over fifty years. Clearly, he knew the naval regulations and procedures, backwards – and he clashed with Linhares on a wide range of subjects, many trivial, but some serious. For example, Abarca complained that Linhares had appointed a Don Luís de Torres as captain of the newly-constructed galley, whereas another officer should have been given priority. He also objected to Linhares's refusal to keep the squadron's strong-box in his house in Palermo, alleged that his captain-general had purchased a galley-slave who exceeded the permitted age limit and even that he had wasted twelve *escudos* buying flutes and a sackbut so some slaves could dance hornpipes! In June 1642 Abarca submitted these and sundry other complaints to the crown – and also protested against Linhares's intolerant nature and his alleged bullying attitude towards subordinates[19].

Linhares was incensed by Abarca's action. He considered the *contador*'s carping to be a totally unwarranted distraction – and what made it worse was that every point an *oficial* raised in a formal written submission required a personal response from the captain-general, so wasting his time and energy. Moreover, Abarca's behaviour was upsetting what in Linhares's view was the proper relationship between a commander and his *oficiales*. While he was prepared to concede that the latter had a responsibility to question any actions of the captain-general that appeared to contravene the king's explicit orders, he thought their role was to advise, encourage and give him timely warnings, rather than to keep complaining behind his back. Linhares was firmly of the belief that, in normal circumstances, *oficiales* should defer to their captain-general.

In any event, they were only authorised to query matters specifically covered in the regulations, all residual powers being vested in the captain-general. Any unresolved questions that might arise from the regulations could be decided by the viceroy of Sicily[20]. This latter arrangement suited Linhares, who had a good relationship with Viceroy Enriquez and always spoke well of him in his own dispatches[21].

Linhares's relations with his subordinates in the hierarchy of the galleys were made no easier by the fact that many of them were elderly, and already firmly set in their ways. The 75 year old Abarca had grown up in the era of Lepanto. Francisco Suarez de Puebla, commander of the *patrona*, was aged 80, when he finally asked to be allowed to retire in 1642. He had by then completed forty-four years of service, during which he had suffered various wounds, including the loss of an eye[22]. The chief pilot, Juan Levanto, petitioned the viceroy for permission to retire in April 1643. He had served with the squadron for the past sixty years – thirty-one of them as chief pilot – and was aged 75[23]. Apparently the Spanish naval tradition encouraged key functionaries to cling to office well beyond what would seem to be a reasonable retirement age.

It may also be that Linhares's own somewhat proprietorial attitude to his command contributed to the tensions within the squadron's hierarchy. But that attitude becomes quite understandable, once the responsibilities that command entailed are born in mind. For the captain-general was not only required to command the galleys on operations, but to ensure they were properly readied beforehand. This meant their state of preparedness depended almost entirely on his own initiative – and even to a large extent on his own personal resources. In fact, Linhares's salary and emoluments as captain-general were devoted wholly to maintaining the squadron. Yet they were hopelessly inadequate for the purpose. He bitterly complained that the 1642 campaign alone cost him more than he earned in two years[24]. Eventually – but only in 1644 – the crown grudgingly acknowledged the untenability of this situation, and gave him an ex gratia payment of 4,000 ducats. However, it meanly insisted that he would have to refund the full amount, if and when he recovered the possessions and lands in Portugal that he had forfeited by not supporting the Bragança Restoration[25].

In light of what has been said above, it may seem surprising that the squadron of Sicily under Linhares's command was able to conduct any operations at all – but this in fact it contrived to do, albeit on a necessarily modest scale. It was, of course, too small for strategic use on its own. Therefore, it was normally deployed alongside other Spanish forces operating in the western Mediterranean, usually the squadron of Naples; or else it engaged in minor raids and opportunistic harassment of enemy shipping. Spanish military plans in the summer of 1642 were for an army commanded by the marquis of Leganés, backed by naval forces under the duke of Ciudad Real, to launch an offensive against the rebels who at that time still controlled Catalonia. The squadron of Sicily was to play its part, along with the squadron of Naples and some other galleys belonging to the Habsburgs's Florentine allies, by transporting

reinforcements to Leganés's army. After that task had been completed, it was to join Ciudad Real for action against French occupation forces on the Catalan coast[26].

As it happened, the Spanish campaigning season of 1642 was not very successful. Leganés's army suffered a humiliating defeat before Lérida that October – which helped to hasten the fall of the Olivares administration in Madrid in January 1643[27]. But the squadron of Sicily did nevertheless more or less fulfill its allotted role. This was despite being bedeviled with logistical problems, which prevented it from clearing Palermo before 19 July. Even then Linhares was obliged to sail with only two of his four galleys. These galleys, en route to the rendezvous, fell in with and captured a solitary French barque, carrying a cargo of wine. This cargo Linhares subsequently sold, pocketing the proceeds[28]. But his behaviour was not unusual – and quite justifiable, considering he had spent much of his own money in getting the two operational galleys to sea. Once at the rendezvous, Linhares's force duly linked up with the other galley squadrons. It took on the troops for Leganés, and disembarked them in Valencia. Linhares's subsequent movements are hazy; but he seems to have participated in various minor amphibious operations along the coast of Catalonia. These actions apparently extended well into the winter season, for the squadron only arrived back in Palermo on 15 January 1643, after an absence of nine months and six days[29].

That winter was not an easy time for Linhares. His own evaluation of the campaign just completed was that it had achieved virtually nothing. He felt depressed, his misery was aggravated by a severe attack of arthritis – and he could rouse little enthusiasm for further galley operations. But Madrid was insisting that his squadron put to sea again no later than April, so that he was forced to focus immediately, and without any break, on preparing for the next season[30]. Unfortunately, the two galleys he had been forced to leave behind in 1642 seemed now to be in worse shape than ever. One of them was simply too old, not even capable of crossing the bay; the other was a mere skeleton. While two new galleys had meanwhile been commenced in the dockyards at Messina, they were progressing painfully slowly, their construction hampered by a serious shortage of timber[31]. Linhares was also concerned about the high rate of attrition among his oarsmen: the campaign just over, he complained, had 'consumed' so many of them that the shortage was now acute. He conceded that the Sicilian authorities were genuinely trying to obtain replacements; but men were so hard to procure, and the quality of those provided so poor, that as early as February Linhares was already expressing doubts that he could man all the galleys, even if they were in every other respect ready to sail[32]. Such was his desperation that he was apparently even willing to buy one galley slave who was possibly as old as fifty[33].

The squadron of Sicily finally left Palermo for the 1643 campaigning season on 24 August – that is, even later than it had the previous year. Once again, its first assignment was to ferry troops, both to Valencia and mainland Italy. Then it joined the main Spanish Mediterranean fleet, now commanded by the duke of Fernandina[34].

By late summer the squadron was operating out of Rosas, on the northern coast of Catalonia. This placed it in the front line of the naval 'little' war, its main task being to disrupt the enemy's coastal trade and communications. As it happened, the French had been forced to deplete their garrisons on this coast, because of their urgent need for troops elsewhere, to counter Spanish land operations. One consequence was that Cadaqués, an important French-stronghold on the coast east of Rosas, was now inadequately defended. Linhares and the Spanish castellan at Rosas somehow got wind of this interesting fact – probably from information leaked by the local priest – and decided to attempt a combined land and sea attack on the Cadaqués fortress. The assault took place in December 1643, with some help from the local populace, and was entirely successful[35]. The capture of Cadaqués was the kind of classic, minor amphibious exploit for which galleys were especially suited. Moreover, it was an achievement of some genuine military significance – for Cadaqués, along with Rosas, was one of the key fortresses commanding the principal non-Pyrenean passes from France and Roussillon into Catalonia.

It is therefore fair to say that 1643 proved a more successful campaigning season for Linhares and his squadron than had 1642, despite all the difficulties. Nevertheless, it does not seem to have whetted the count's appetite for further naval action. He was by then aged 54, had led a strenuous life on three continents, had long been suffering from severe arthritis ('gout', as he called it), which sailing about the Mediterranean could hardly have improved. He had only resumed active service that year with great reluctance. In fact, he had tried, citing as excuse his allegedly numerous and grievous infirmities, to get the Council of State to appoint his son, Jerónimo de Noronha, as his lieutenant and acting squadron commander – with an appropriate salary. But the Council had flatly refused[36].

It was only in 1644 that the Council of State finally decided to retire Linhares from his Sicilian command. However, any relief he may have experienced at receiving the news quickly proved premature, for on 13 June 1645 it was announced he had now been appointed captain-general of the galleys of Spain. This was a significant promotion and mark of approval, for it made him, in effect, commander-in-chief of all Spanish naval forces in the Mediterranean. But the story of how he went on to fulfill that obligation would take us beyond the subject of this article.

NOTES

[1] The standard reference work Afonso Zúquete, ed., *Tratado de Todos os Vice-reis e Governadores da Índia,* Lisbon, Editorial Enciclopédia, 1962, is a good case in point.

[2] See Anthony Disney, "From viceroy of India to viceroy of Brazil? The count of Linhares at court (1636-39)", *Portuguese Studies*, 17, 2001, pp. 114-29.

[3] At the battle of Lepanto in 1571, a Spanish-led allied Christian fleet commanded by Don John of Austria and consisting of 208 galleys, defeated a Turkish fleet of 230 galleys. This was the biggest

naval battle in the Mediterranean during the sixteenth century. For a classic account see Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Reign of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds, 2 vols., London, Collins, 1973, vol. 2, pp. 1088-1142.

For the subsequent deterioration in the various Spanish squadrons see Francisco Felipe Olesa Muñido, *La Organización Naval de los Estados Mediterráneos, y en especial de España durante los siglos XVI y XVII*, 2 vols., Editorial Naval, Madrid, 1968, pp. 504-15, and I. A. A. Thompson, *War and Government in Habsburg Spain 1560-1620*, the Athlone Press, London, 1976, chapter 6.

[4] Thompson, *War*, pp. 300-1.

[5] Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Estado Sicilia (ES), legajo 3486, docs. 152, 154, 158.

[6] AGS, Estados Pequenos de Italia (EPI), legajo 3847, doc. 227.

[7] AGS, ES, legajo 3485, docs. 169, 202.

[8] AGS, ES, legajo 3486, doc. 208.

[9] AGS, EPI, legajo 3847, doc. 227; AGS, ES, legajo 3845, doc. 169 and legajo 3846, doc. 159.

[10] Cf. H. G. Koenigsberger, *The Government of Sicily Under Philip II of Spain. A Study in the Practice of Empire*, Staples Press, London and New York, 1957, pp. 85, 92-5.

[11] AGS, ES, legajo 3486, doc. 261.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Thompson, *War*, chapters 6 and 7.

[14] AGS, ES, legajo 3485, doc. 182.

[15] AGS, ES, legajo 3485, docs. 202, 204, 209, 212; AGS, EPI, legajo 3847, docs. 225, 226.

[16] Olesa Muñido, *La Organización Naval*, pp. 615-35.

[17] Ibid., p. 615.

[18] AGS, ES, legajo 3486, doc. 197.

[19] AGS, EPI, legajo 3847, doc. 220.

[20] AGS, EPI, legajo 3847 docs. 227, 232, 234.

[21] Eg., see AGS, ES, legajo 3485, docs. 144, 169.

[22] AGS, ES, legajo 3485 docs. 182, 192; AGS, EPI, legajo 3847, doc. 228.

[23] AGS, ES. legajo 3486, doc. 206.

[24] AGS, ES. legajo 3486, doc. 261.

[25] AGS, Hacienda (Contadurias Generales), legajo 3135, unnumbered document.

[26] AGS, ES, legajo 3485, docs. 182, 202, 204, and legajo 3486, doc. 197.

[27] J. H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares. The Statesman in an Age of Decline*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1986, pp. 637-9, 645-51.

[28] AGS, ES, legajo 3486 doc. 197.

[29] Ibid., doc. 260.

[30] Ibid., doc. 223, 261.

[31] Ibid., doc. 260.

[32] Ibid, docs. 159, 260.

[33] AGS, EPI, legajo 3847, doc. 234.

[34] AGS, ES, legajo 3487, doc 14; *Memorial Histórico Español*, 48 vols., Real Academia de la História, Madrid, 1851-, vol 17 pp. 263, 265.

[35] *Memorial*, vol. 17 pp. 144, 386-7, 391; José Pellicer de Tovar, *Avisos Historicos*, Madrid, 1790, vol. 3, pp. 117-18; Josë Sanabre, *La Acción de Francia en Cataluña en la Pugna por la Hegemonia de Europa (1640-1659),* Librería J Sala Badal, Barcelona, 1956, p. 290.

[36] AGS, ES, legajo 3486 doc. 260.

17

FORMING EAST TIMOR CULTURALLY AND SPIRITUALLY: THE ROLE OF THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS ON THE ISLAND

Charles Borges

This paper intends to highlight the role of the various priests and brothers of the Religious Orders and Congregations (mainly the Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans and Salesians) on the island of Timor till the turn of the last century. Their work has been mainly in the fields of education and social welfare and marks an important chapter in Timorese history. As always, the work brought about its own problems of adaptation and development of the local people. Hence, it is necessary to observe how much the various works undertaken by the Religious Orders have been beneficial to the Timorese.

The paper will be, in a limited sense, comparative too as it attempts understand the various influences in Timor and in other Portuguese colonies. It will ask: Were the Timorese people as a result of the stay of the Religious Orders over the centuries, well prepared to stand confident for the centuries ahead?

VARIOUS ECCLESIASTICAL STAGES IN TIMOR'S HISTORY

We have a clear and brief history of Timor from Prof. Luis Filipe Thomaz. Before the coming of the Portuguese, the Timorese were animists, without any Hindu or Muslim influence. They had a vague monotheism. God was called in the Tetum language, *Maromac* (the brilliant). There were no temples or idols, but the people revered symbolic representations of the spirits of their ancestors. The cults consisted in sacrifices which were generally propitiatory in character. The rituals of the *bacoi-mate* or funeral were meant for the feeding of the souls and to guarantee them a secure place in eternity. In mythology and in the poetic formulae which accompanied the rituals, one notes traces of the influence of biblical and Christian themes.[1]

Christianity was introduced in Timor in the second half of the sixteenth century. After the initial preaching of the Franciscan, Fr. António Taveira (1556), the island was evangelised by the Dominicans, who were in Solor beginning 1562. Being at the other end of the Portuguese eastern empire they were mainly responsible for the fact that most of Timor, part of Solor and the eastern tip of Flores (Larantuca) in the Lesser Sunda Islands, recognised the Portuguese authority. They (the Dominicans) only obeyed the Portuguese governors, believes Prof. Boxer, in so far as it suited them, and on at least two occasions they expelled the King's representatives.[2]

Most agree that the island was well looked after by the Dominicans who worked there for over a century without interference from civil or military authorities. They had a well-established mission at Larantuca (the first capital the Portuguese had in the Moluccas) and from there they moved to Timor. In 1561, Fr. António da Cruz came to Solor and five years later started the construction of a fortress.[3]

One writer is fulsome in his praise for the Dominicans. One cannot speak, he believes, of the political, administrative history of Timor till the middle of the eighteenth century without reference to their spiritual work. To raise the moral level of a creature, is the work of someone with rare psychological qualities and with a disinterest for worldly things. Yet the same author comments that the Dominicans who were in India since 1548 unfortunately were not always involved in spiritual matters and took up arms when their interests were in danger. They had, however, shown rare courage while they contributed to the defense of Malacca.[4] In Timor so great was the prestige of the priests that their presence was seen as the only remedy for the continual revolts of the people. Let us not have any doubt, he goes on to remark, that "the Dominicans were courageous and active. Under a hidden and sad exterior they had a perfect knowledge of the world and of men and of many other things. Certainly to reach the East they had information of the sundials, and not only of the snows of Europe but of the burning sands of Africa, as well".[5]

The Dominicans were given charge of the administration of certain forts and also of the minting of coins. D. Fernando Martins Mascarenhas and Luis Gonçalves Cota, both governors of India, informed Lisbon that the priests were the only people loved and respected by the Timorese and the only ones competent to solve the financial crisis of the time.[6]

The Dominicans did, however, become arrogant of their early successes. They had converted the emperor of Monomotapa on the Zambesi in 1569, and in the same decade erected the first fortress in Timor before any Portuguese soldiers reached that island. From then on they were obliged to provide priests for Mozambique on the one hand, and for Timor. They resented the presence of Jesuits and others in either territory though with their small numbers and resources, they found it difficult to maintain missions in the two places so far apart.[7]

The Dominican, Fr. Belchior da Luz built the first church in Mena in 1590. It was with the preaching of Fr. Cristovão Rangel (c. 1633) and Fr. António de S. Jacinto

(c. 1639), however, that Christianity grew on the island. Towards the end of the century, at the same time that it spread to the neighbouring islands of Savu, Adunara and Flores, the faith advanced in Timor. Initially the settlements depended either on the vicar--general of Solor or on the prior of the Dominicans at Malacca, while at other times on the bishop of that city. From 1642 it was dependent on the Visitor and Commissary of the Holy Office of Larantuca, and was linked in matters of jurisdiction either to the vicar-general of the Dominicans at Goa or to the bishop of Malacca respectively.[8]

The bishops of Malacca resided normally at Lifau or at times in Larantuca, which contributed for the growth of the faith of the islands. In spite of the many other Religious Orders (Jesuits in 1701 and 1722, the Capuchins in 1708, Carmelites in 1702), it were the Dominicans who exclusively missioned the islands of Timor and Solor. They had 22 churches and two seminaries in Timor and one seminary in Solor. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Dominicans went into a decline. In 1804 there were only 8 priests, in 1811 one, with four churches and two chapels in his charge. With the suppression of Religious Orders in 1834, the missions of Solor and Timor were in the charge of the secular priests of Goa, though much reduced in numbers. From 1764 no bishop of Malacca took charge. From 1804 no one was confirmed by the Holy See, the bishopric being handed to the governors nominated by the archbishops of Goa, and resident in Dili till about 1840. From 1868 there were nominations by the governors for the bishopric, but the practice ended with the Concordat of 1886. Solor and Timor, thus passed in 1875 into the hands of the bishop of Macau.[9]

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the Dominicans found they were losing the exclusive favour they had always enjoyed. Their conduct brought about a royal order (25 March 1722) which approved that the Jesuit province of Goa, and the China and Macau missions help Timor. Another order of 10 March 1723 recommended the help of the Religious of the Miraculous Cross (Cruz de Milagres). On 8 October 1738 a seminary was established under the care of the latter group in Timor for the locals aspirants to the priesthood.[10]

Various documents speak of the Dominican activities which were many and commendable too. The Jesuit Luis Frois, writing from Goa, 14 November 1559, mentions how the king of Portugal had written to Fr. Baltazar Diaz asking him to send a priest to teach the things of the faith, and how he hoped that many would thus convert.[11] Other reports mention how missionaries lacked promised stipends; how they suffered due to the attacks of the Muslims in Java, and how the king of Tolo wanted to propagate his own faith which the report called *(maldita seita de mafamede)*. “Many souls in Java, China, Siam and Timor go to hell”, wrote Brother António Diniz on 10 December 1560. To offset the attacks from the Muslims and also from the Dutch, the missionaries had recourse to arms and Frei António da Cruz had built a fortress of stone and lime in Solor for the defence of the faith. He was captain himself, and would pay soldiers till the viceroy Dom Duarte de Menezes in 1586 made alternate arrangements. The missionaries consulted the local people on

their protection, and were held in high regard by them for their courage *"valentia e eficacia"*. There was a priest in Timor who would treat with the civil authorities on matters relating to the faith, and also keep men in readiness for war. He was considered a religious of great authority.[12]

One report speaks of some singular miracles which were noticed in Timor. After some important conversions, a famous and resplendent cross was seen over Timor both by the Christians and non-Christians alike. On another occasion, while Frei Jordão de S. Domingues was about to kiss the feet of the statue of Nossa Senhora do Rosário on 22 April 1652, he found the feet full of moisture. Each time he wiped it off, he found it wet again and finally saw it also with blood. All who came admired this with terror and with cries of devotion. Mention is made of the exemplary lives of two other Dominicans, Frei António da Cruz and Frei Aleixo, a lay-brother, the latter being seen many times raised above the ground in prayer. The people listened to the priests, not feeling the need of captains. They and their entire families did what was told to them and the qualities of modesty, virtue and love were born in them as a result, the report went on to add.[13]

It was not only the Dominicans who wrote about their first successes in Timor (Frei António da Encarnação in 1634 and Frei Miguel Rangel in 1633 being two of the outstanding writers of the time) but in a rare spirit of solidarity, the Jesuits too in their reports corroborated the same. There was great success for the faith on the one hand, while the Portuguese scored political victories on the other. Once 200 people from Java came in attack against the Christians but a mere 14 Portuguese men were enough to repulse them. The victory confirmed many in the faith, and many thousands asked for the faith *(de maneira que se abre por la huma grande porta a christandade)*.[14]

Dominican reports tell us about the land (very fertile lands, with good climate, and many fruits) and about the people who were simple and very receptive and open (*candida, simples ou ruda, pura e inculta, muito mais receptivas e aberta*). They suffered famines but had a capacity to resist hunger and were well-versed in war and seemed to have "enjoyed it" (*a guerra era uma das suas ocupacões predilectas tal como a ca a e as actividades de recreio*).[15]

We do get a fuller picture from Prof. Souza about the Portuguese operating in Timor. The Portuguese positions in the Lesser Sunda island, Flores, Solor and Timor were, he thinks, isolated communities with certain outward manifestations of Portuguese society in operation, such as a Crown appointed captain and the *Santa Casa da Misericordia*. Served by the Dominicans, they were collection centres and markets for the exchange of merchandise. In the early eighteenth century, segments of the indigenous and *mestiço* community on Timor were in revolt against Portuguese authority which had to eventually accept the importance of Domingo da Costa - the most important rebel leader on Timor in 1708 - and make him a part of its administration of the island.[16]

RECENT ECCLESIASTICAL PERIOD

According to Prof. Thomaz, the restorer of the missions of Timor was Fr. A. J. de Medeiros of the Society for the Overseas Missions (*Sociedade da Missões Ultramarinas*). Being asked by the governor of Macau to take charge of the missions of the island, he saw its state, returned to Macau and came back in 1877 with seven missionaries whom he dispatched over the territory. He also invited the Canossian sisters. Besides, he reorganized the missions, building churches and opening schools, as well as bringing plant seeds and introducing cattle from Bali. Appointed in 1885 as bishop of Macau, he spent the major part of his time in Timor until his death there in 1897. In 1898, the Jesuits started a college at Soibada where many Timorese studied who today form the cultural elite of the territory. In 1910, the Republican government in Portugal expelled the Religious (including the Canossians) who could only return in 1923. The diocese of Dili was set up by the missionary accord of 1940, the first bishop being D. Jaime Garcia Goulart, but he could take charge only in 1945 after the Japanese invasion. It is due to him as vicar-general that the seminary at Soibada began in 1936 later to be transferred to Dare in 1954 and eventually given over to the Jesuits in 1958.[17]

One author sees a useful parallel to the histories of Timor and Goa suggesting that the agricultural process adopted in Timor, with slight alterations, could have been implanted in the New Conquests of Goa and in Nagar Haveli near Gujarat. Madders (*granjas*) could be planted and *roita* would give people a greater love for agriculture. The Varli group could cultivate more land and thus change its economic condition. The *granjas* could give work to many and keep them off crime. He also mentions the fact that in 1701 the civil and church functions were separated and the Church from then on concentrated on religious, moral and elementary education. "If the Timorese are well placed today in public life, it is due to the missionaries. The talented among them went to the Seminary of S. José at Macau. The missionaries did not rest in their labours and can feel themselves part of the progress and enrichment of Timor", he goes on to add.[18] But he believes that the whole colonial work built in a short time was done by the Timorese, who are the real colonisers. In words that would have pleased them no end, he adds: "They do not have big ambitions or aspirations; no love for land that does not belong to them. They are not interested in producing much, and though they may be backward socially yet they are high in happiness and do not wish to conquer others.[19]

In 1844, Macau and Timor were independent of the government of Goa. Timor came under Macau as one of its districts till 1896. In 1864 Dili was made a city. From 1865 to 1878 Timor had an autonomous government, though dependent on Macau. From 1881 to 1888 there was a better transport system and an impetus given to agriculture. As regards education there were many schools teaching practical arts. Most parents sent their children to missionary schools, and the girls to be educated

by Canossian sisters. There was attention paid in teaching to traditional justice and to the rights of property. Teaching was an important activity and the government in 1963 started the Lyceum course, and in 1964 courses for adults which was to have a good social impact.[20]

Governors like Filomeno da Camara in 1916, and Alvaro da Fontoura in 1938 gave a better direction to education in Timor. They tried to adapt education to the local necessities and conditions, stressing a general education and one geared to the growth of agricultural and also to professional character formation. As mentioned earlier, as a result of the Japanese occupation, schools were destroyed and teaching had stopped completely. After the occupation, the government sought to regularise teaching.[21]

Next to the Central Hospital of Dili there has been since 1947 a school to train infirmarians. In 1964 a technical school for health was started with general courses for infirmarians with 58 students on its rolls. In 1960 in Dili there was a course for electricians. In 1964, the Salesians took up the teaching of arts in the Don Bosco School in Fuiloro with 18 students on their rolls. There were also special schools for Chinese and Arab communities in Timor. In 1914 there was a Chinese club started in Dili where classes in Portuguese and history were also conducted. The Muslims had a school attached to their mosque to help in the reading of Arabic and also Portuguese.[22]

One author has tried to sum up the problem of teaching in Timor. The Catholic missions acting under the missionary agreement of 1940 were responsible for elementary education for boys and girls, who were taught in a practical manner in rural boarding schools. The State was responsible for the education of the literate population (Europeans, locals and others) through official primary and secondary schools which followed the syllabus similar to that of Portugal. These schools were also open to local students who showed themselves above average. Yet he thinks, the teaching of the locals in Timor had the same problems as in other colonies. The locals were not prepared for real life. As a result, there were no jobs for them in the public sector when they graduated.[23]

The bishop of Dili once spoke of the schools of the Missions as having 4,000 students whereas the school going children in Timor were about 80,000. There were only 32 priests to serve this need though one actually needed 400, he complained. He preferred secular priests to the Religious. He spoke of the two schools of the Salesians, one for agriculture and cattle breeding, and the other for the study of arts. The diocese had 29 schools for boys and 7 schools for girls.[24]

The Portuguese were indeed proud of what they had achieved and a Captain Teofilo Duarte remarks: “We are assisting this unique example of which Portugal can boast of – the calm and quiet of all the native populations of her colonies; the repudiation of subversive attempts of foreign elements; and finally the unbreakable loyalty and faithfulness, when, like in the case of Timor, a military and political expression was verified which tried to compel the natives to rebel”.[25]

The Jesuits too have had various reports about their work on the island as seen in their monthly newsletter (*Jesuitas*). The Last Vows ceremony of Fr. José Martins, was described by a Jesuit present, as a lesson for all those present at it. The service was a great experience for the youth and the friends of the Society of Jesus. It was hoped that the celebration would inculcate supernatural values in all. The few days of preparation for the Vows Day brought a deep interior Christian joy. Fr. Martins was the first Timorese Jesuit. At the moment there were three others and it was a sign for the local church of hope and of the vitality of faith. The Vows Day showed the great love of the Timorese for the Society of Jesus. The whole place and church was decorated by them.[26]

Fr. Manuel Morujão, a former Jesuit Provincial, after visiting the island writes:

"The people of Timor are very hospitable. There are three Fathers and one Brother in Timor. In Dare, 12 kms. from Dili in the Retreat House of St. Ignatius, there was a retreat for the priests of the two dioceses of Dili and Baucau at which two bishops and 40 priests were present. Here there is a diocesan seminary too run by the Jesuits. I conducted a course for 400 from the Apostleship of Prayer group, a movement very vibrant in Timor. 80% of the people understand Portuguese. There was a translation in Tetum. They want to start a Eucharistic movement for the youth."[27]

Fr. Morujão is convinced that the Timorese, with a vitality of their faith, live their religious and cultural identity as a people. In the past they had to suppress this feeling and the testimony of faith, hope and friendship, but they did not give up in the face of difficulties knowing courageously how to hope against all hope. He poignantly ends his report on his visit:

"In Timor many millions of kilometers away from Portugal with a different language and culture, I felt as though I was in my own home and country. The ties of faith and common history, ties of understanding and sympathy for an ideal of a great, yet small people are stronger than all distances and differences."[28]

CONCLUSION

This short exposition of Timor's ecclesiastical history from its inception till about the eve of its independence from Indonesian control, brings out the issue of how dominating the styles of governance were on the part of Portugal in its overseas colonies on various matters. A comparative look at the colonies such as Goa for instance, shows that on many issues like evangelisation, education and cultural conditioning, Timor and Goa were very much alike. Religious Orders operating in them had the same initial bursts of energy, followed by a slackening of their energies and their greater concentration on personal needs. It was in later centuries, however, with much less government help and having better insights into the cultural and religious needs of the people they served, that the Religious did outstanding work which won and continues to win them the goodwill of the people.

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18

ALGUNS DADOS PARA UM ESTUDO ULTERIOR SOBRE A «SOCIEDADE ESPONTÂNEA» NO *ESTADO DA INDIA* NA PRIMEIRA METADE DO SÉC. XVI

Dejanirah Couto

A existência de uma sociedade espontânea, ou seja, da sociedade em margem dos quadros estabelecidos da sociedade importada, assenta em vários factores, dos quais há a destacar as carências ou deficiências de estruturas, povocada pela escassez de recursos humanos e financeiros da metrópole. Obrigando o poder institucional a criar modelos flexíveis, ou a utilizar as estruturas preexistentes quando não a improvisá-las simplesmente, estas carências facilitaram fortemente o despontar de diferentes marginalidades e a criação de uma sociedade, crioula na sua essência, detentora de códigos e valores diferentes dos da sociedade europeia importada.

Esta sociedade espontânea não é ainda bem conhecida, não só devido às lacunas da documentação coeva, obviamente mais atenta ao funcionamento da sociedade importada, mas também porque escassas análises lhe foram consagradas. No entanto, a investigação levada a cabo,[1] tende a mostrar que esta sociedade ocupou um lugar de destaque na trama do Império Oriental, lugar que não seria até – em regiões como o Golfo de Bengala, e na transição da primeira para a segunda metade do século XVI – inferior ao da sociedade importada.[2]

Muitas questões ficam todavia por esclarecer. Conhece-se ainda pouco, por exemplo, do modo como características sociológicas da sociedade portuguesa do século XVI, matriz da emigração masculina para o Oriente, inspiraram modelos e agiram sobre o funcionamento da sociedade espontânea. Duas destas características merecem destaque: na sociedade portuguesa da época, ainda medieval em muitos níveis do seu funcionamento mantinha-se um espaço de conflitualidades poderosas [3] e mecanismos identitários incertos ; apresentava-se pois como um espaço onde os padrões culturais eram muitas vezes duplos, onde se manifestavam culturas paralelas e diversos níveis de coabitação, e onde outros valores de norma e transgressão rivalizavam com os que a Igreja e o Poder político haviam imposto.

OS CASADOS

A ossatura da sociedade espontânea foi constituída pelos *casados*, ou seja pelos homens vindos da metrópole, geralmente soldados, que em troca de doações ou privilégios receberam autorização de contrair matrimónio com mulheres indígenas, de modo a fixá-los nas novas terras. Esta instituição, criada por Albuquerque em 1510 após a conquista de Goa, constituíu, como se sabe, uma medida política de largo alcance – criava-se uma nova comunidade favorável aos interesses portugueses – e de determinantes consequências sociais, se tivermos em conta que ela esteve na origem da sociedade luso-indiana.

A descodificação cuidadosa das fontes não permite todavia determinar, em pormenor, de que modo, e através de que processo, Albuquerque veio a instaurar estas medidas. A mestiçagem era proscrita na nobreza portuguesa e é difícil acreditar, no que respeita a preconceitos, que o *Terríbil* escapasse aos da sua educação e do seu meio social. Com efeito, como se verá mais adiante, os textos (a interpretar com precaução) indicam-nos que o Governador exprimiu em certas circunstâncias o seu desagrado em relação à aculturação dos Portugueses, ressentida como excessiva, e à própria mestiçagem. Na verdade, a política de casamentos, mais do que uma estratégia longamente pensada, terá sido uma resposta pragmática e algo contraditória de Albuquerque à situação imediata com a qual foi confrontado. Nos primeiros tempos da conquista, tratou-se sobretudo de gerir o contacto com as mulheres indígenas, e a inevitável promiscuidade que se estabelecia entre elas, as tripulações e os soldados, após os longos meses em que estes permaneciam isolados no alto mar.

Para tal iniciou-se um movimento de legitimação dos contactos através da conversão destas mulheres. O precursor deste tipo de iniciativa de conversão foi D. Francisco de Almeida, que já fizera baptizar algumas mulheres do Kerala desde a sua chegada à India a fim de que os seus homens «perdessem o sentido da gentias». Alguns anos mais tarde (antes de entrar em Goa na Primavera de 1510) Albuquerque pediria também, com o mesmo objectivo, que lhe enviassem cristãs de Cochim.[4] Mas foi só após a conquista da cidade que a necessidade de defender as terras conquistadas veio a impôr a ideia da fixação dos colonos e consequentemente, em moldes mais completos, a ideia dos matrimónios com as noivas convertidas.

É sobejamente conhecido o gesto simbólico de Albuquerque, que ao ocupar o palácio do Adil Chah em Goa, teria procedido imediatamente ao baptismo das mulheres do harém, muçulmanas de tez alva, cujo porte discreto lhe havia arrancado algum elogio, com o objectivo de as unir aos seus homens.[5]

Na realidade foram sobretudo as mulheres «da terra» – entre as quais se contavam escravas compradas aos seus proprietários – que foram unidas aos Portugueses. Eram na sua maioria muçulmanas de baixa condição social, para quem o estatuto de esposa de um europeu significava um maior desafogo económico e um melhor tratamento no espaço doméstico, mais do que uma liberdade de movimentos,

porquanto também os Portugueses impunham praticamente a clausura às suas mulheres.[6]

Todavia, nem todas as mulheres que vieram a ser casadas em Goa nos primeiros anos consecutivos à conquista eram « da terra ». Para além do exemplo já mencionado do envio de cristãs de Cochim, as fontes registam o exemplo de cerca de duzentas mulheres convertidas da ilha de Socotorá, à entrada do Mar Vermelho, companheiras de Portugueses, algumas grávidas ou já com filhos, que foram trazidas para Goa aquando do desmantelamento da fortaleza em 1511, com o fim de aí serem casadas.[7]

Quanto às uniões com mulheres hindus, elas cingiam-se igualmente às baixas castas, e muitas vezes às prostitutas, que graças ao casamento, escapavam à sua condição e adquiriam também alguma respeitabilidade social. Em Goa, é de notar os matrimónios com bailadeiras, as *calavantas,* que exerciam a prostituição nos templos, e que em virtude do seu baixo estatuto se uniam aos Portugueses, considerados pela sociedade hindu como impuros.[8]

Aquando das conversões efectuadas no Kerala, D.Francisco de Almeida havia já feito baptizar um certo número destas prostitutas em Cochim e em Cananor, podendo-se assim dizer que estas últimas fizeram parte do primeiro núcleo de povoamento à volta das fortalezas.[9] No entanto, neste grupo, nem todas as conversões femininas, mesmo num período mais tardio, foram seguidas de casamentos. Após o estabelecimento dos Portugueses em Ormuz, em 1515, algumas destas mulheres muçulmanas pediram para ser baptizadas, apenas para mais facilmente se prostituirem junto dos soldados.[10] Os casados eram na sua maior parte homens de baixa condição, podendo alguns ser classificados como verdadeiros marginais. Com efeito, tinham sido praticamente todos soldados ou membros de tripulações de navios, e como em toda a soldadesca embarcada para o Oriente, encontravam-se entre eles vagabundos, e vários tipos de degredados – dos simples delinquentes aos responsáveis por crimes de sangue.

Entre estes marginais assumiam especial importância os degredados. A frota da primeira viagem de Vasco da Gama (1497) e a de Pedro Alvares Cabral (1500) contavam com a sua quota-parte destes malfeitores[11]: O primeiro levava a bordo cerca de dez degredados, «homens vadios e condenados à morte».[12] As difíceis condições momentâneas explicam que os capitães fossem por vezes obrigados a completar as tripulações dos navios com estes homens. Foi o que aconteceu a Afonso de Albuquerque aquando da sua expedição ao Indico em 1506; os homens escasseavam devido à peste que então grassava em Lisboa, e o Governador não teve outra alternativa senão recrutar as suas tripulações na prisão do Limoeiro.[13]

Os degredados, que constituiram uma espécie de «pau para toda a obra» na edificação do Império tricontinental (eram empregues nas missões de reconhecimento mais perigosas, na construção das fortalezas, nas reparações dos navios, e como peões de primeira linha nos combates mais difíceis) foram logicamente os mais

receptivos à política dos casamentos de Albuquerque, atraídos pela possibilidade de recomeçar uma nova vida, graças às regalias oferecidas em troca da sua fixação.

João de Barros descreve, com alguma malícia, a precipitação desta «gente baixa» em se casar com as «mulheres da terra»: assim, em 1511, no seguimento de uma cerimónia de casamento colectiva, e por falta de luz das tochas, gerou-se grande confusão e chegaram-se a trocar as esposas, ficando, como declara o cronista, «o negócio da honra tal por tal».[14]

Enquanto as mulheres traziam consigo ouro e jóias, que são na India o dote das mulheres, os homens recebiam em troca destas uniões um cavalo, uma arma e uma parcela de terra, e beneficiavam de privilégios a fim de exercer mesteres necessários à vida da comunidade.[15]

O objectivo principal destas medidas fazia deles um exército de segunda linha, bem enraizado localmente, uma espécie de milícia destinada a assegurar a defesa das praças fortes, à maneira dos fronteiros no Norte de Africa e mais tarde dos prazeiros nas praças portuguesas da Índia do Norte, como em Baçaim. Uma carta de D. Manuel dirigida a Pero Ferreira Fogaça, capitão de Quíloa é bem clara sobre este ponto: anunciando o envio de 30 degredados que deviam ser casados com «mulheres da terra», indica que «*fazendo cristaos especialmemte das mulheres e estas trabalhardes de casar com os ditos degredados que com ellas quiserem casar porque seja causa de mais asesegarem na terra…*». O perdão de que beneficiavam e as vantagens que lhes eram oferecidas seguiam o modelo do que era concedido aos homiziados na metrópole.[16]

Mercê destas vantagens, a rede de colonos desenvolveu-se rapidamente em todo o Império. Na Ásia, o foco mais importante foi sem dúvida Goa ; embora as estimativas sejam difíceis de realizar, o seu número atingiria maximamente 2.000 pessoas, entre a segunda metade do século XVI e as primeiras décadas do século seguinte. Todavia à volta de 1630 o seu número descera para 800 indivíduos, facto explicável, se tivermos em mente a evolução, e as mutações, no seio do próprio *Estado da India*.[17]

Encontravam-se comunidades de casados dispersas pelos litorais do Oceano Indico, em Ormuz, nas fortalezas e feitorias da costa do Guzarate (como Diu ou Baçaim) pelas costas do Malabar e do Coromandel, em Ceilão, assim como em várias regiões da orla do Golfo de Bengala e em Malaca.

Em 1527 os casados de Cochim seriam 160, mas Cananor contaria com pouco menos de 50. O maior número, como era natural, encontrava-se em Goa, onde residiam cerca de 500; nesta data eram ainda inexistentes em Chaul, enquanto em Ormuz não chegavam a dez famílias. Baçaim contava cerca de 50 casados nos anos de 1530, e o mesmo número viveria em 1538 em S.Tomé de Meliapor; alguns anos mais tarde, em 1545, o seu número subiu para cerca de uma centena nesta última localidade. Em data indeterminada, mas certamente na primeira metade do século XVI, o registo de queixas ao rei de Portugal sobre a situação na ilha de Ceilão indicava

que 30 casados e solteiros possuiam ai « muitas ortas e terras tomadas por maaos titolos».

Em Malaca haviam-se estabelecido sete ou oito casados em 1514 (a quem foram concedidos *duzuns*, arrozais abandonados pelos súbditos do Sultão), mas em 1532 já seriam cerca de quarenta. Em 1540 assinalam-se 67, mas já se contavam nessa época 82 descendentes de uniões com mulheres locais.[18] O número tinha subido em 1580 para cerca de uma centena, estabelecidos no centro da cidade. Em 1626 a comunidade tinha-se estabilizado em 124 pessoas, como se pode verificar pela lista onomástica publicada por Sanjay Subrahmanyam.[19]

Nos finais do século XVI, e apesar dos períodos de guerra com Cambaia, encontravam-se no Norte da India cerca de uma centena de famílias indo-portuguesas. Neste mesmo período existiam comunidades em Negapatão, Chittagong, Satgaon e no Arracão ; nesta zona uma das mais estruturadas e numerosas parece ter sido a de Hughli ; nos anos de 1598 contavam-se em Chittagong e no Arracão várias centenas de pessoas, famílias de casados e seus descendentes. Mais do que a quaisquer outras, é às comunidades mestiças destas regiões que se aplica perfeitamente o epíteto de espontâneas, como se verá em seguida.

Em evidente oposição à categoria dos «devassos», soldados celibatários que contraíam uniões informais e viviam em concubinagem com prostitutas (as chamadas *solteiras*) a comunidade dos casados era sinónimo de estabilidade e de respeitabilidade social (qualidades que o matrimónio era suposto conferir). Não admira pois que os casados estivessem maioritáriamente presentes em duas instituições da vida municipal representativas destes valores, justamente consideradas como os «pilares gémeos da sociedade colonial portuguesa, do Maranhão a Timor»: a Câmara e a Misericórdia.[20]

No entanto, apesar da importância dos cargos municipais e das prerrogativas ligadas às suas funções, de que o *Tombo dos privilégios da cidade de Goa* (1520) nos dá uma ideia, apesar das feitorias, escrevaninhas e capitanias de viagens que obtinham,[21] os casados não tinham acesso – na sua generalidade – aos círculos fechados da aristocracia reinol ou mesmo castiça; alguns casos conhecidos de mobilidade social não anulam a regra geral. Quando tal sucede, eles devem-se geralmente a recompensas de serviços que permitem aos casados ascenderem socialmente, mas o seu número parece relativamente limitado.[22]

A linha de clivagem assentava obviamente em critérios de ordem económica (ainda que alguns destes casados fossem prósperos mercadores, e mesmo detentores de pequenas fortunas) e numa rígida codificação social; no entanto o primeiro obstáculo à interpenetração dos dois grupos e à emergência dos casados como elite foi certamente a sua própria mestiçagem.

Esta progredia a um ritmo muito rápido, favorecido, como observou Geneviève Bouchon, pela rápida renovação das gerações, resultado dos casamentos precoces e da curta esperança de vida,[23] ainda que dum modo desigual: na India, os preconceitos

inerentes ao regime das castas dificultavam os casamentos mistos, enquanto noutras regiões do Oceano Indico (por exemplo no Golfo de Bengala), estes deparavam com menos obstáculos.

A escravatura doméstica feminina, por seu lado, contribuiu para a progressão da mestiçagem dentro da comunidade. As famílias possuiam numerosos escravos: um casado, sem ser especialmente abastado, reinava facilmente sobre quinze a vinte escravas, sobre as quais podia exercer um *droit de cuissage,* e uma dominação sexual. Só as escravas casadas lhe eram teóricamente vedadas.[24]

As terríveis descrições das torturas que as mulheres dos casados inflingiam por ciúmes às escravas em Goa, revelam a face mais sórdida desta promiscuidade, deixando adivinhar uma intimidade doméstica assaz sombria, mesmo para os padrões da época.[25] As crianças nascidas destas relações pertenciam ao pai e eram educadas de maneira bastante livre, não se verificando de um modo geral qualquer esforço feito em prol da sua educação ; mas quando filhas ou filhos de escravas favoritas, elas próprias alforriadas, podiam vir a receber dotes e bens. O caso das filhas ilegítimas do Governador Garcia de Sá, legitimadas e casadas com fidalgos, ilustra bem este tipo de situação.[26]

Por outro lado, o esquema social reproduzido em todas estas uniões sendo apenas o da relação homem europeu *versus* mulher indígena, as práticas sociais importadas da cultura portuguesa, ainda que cimentadas pelo Cristianismo, não contrabalançavam o peso da cultura material, veículada pelas mulheres na vida quotidiana. Ora estas mulheres, mesmo convertidas, continuavam a ser consideradas como socialmente inferiores aos maridos, e, para os grupos dirigentes, nada transmitiam de valorizante à sua descendência em termos de educação e representatividade social. Em relação à sociedade castiça ou reinol, as gerações descendentes dos casados vinham pois à luz marcadas pelo estigma da mestiçagem, e viviam sob um duplo signo de inferioridade, tanto do ponto de vista étnico como cultural.

No Oriente, a nobreza portuguesa havia desde muito cedo mostrado o seu preconceito em relação à aculturação e à mestiçagem por via feminina; os nobres que rodeavam Albuquerque haviam protestado contra a realização de casamentos mistos. João de Barros conta-nos que os fidalgos zombavam da iniciativa do Governador : havendo este declarado que esperava, através dos casamentos com mulheres locais convertidas ao Cristianismo, arrancar as cepas de má casta e substitui-la por boas cepas católicas, diziam que as cepas em questão por serem «da mais baixa planta do reino» e mestiças, só poderiam ser de má qualidade.[27]

Albuquerque, por seu lado, e com alguma ambiguidade, indignara-se à vista do comportamento dos seus feitores em Cochim, que viviam rodeados de de mulheres indígenas, mastigando betél à maneira indiana. Sobre a ocidentalização destas mulheres, que se esperava obter graças ao casamento com Portugueses, é difícil de saber até onde iriam as ilusões do Governador. Segundo nos dizem as fontes (mas a indicação é também a interpretar aqui com o maior cuidado) Albuquerque teria em

determinado momento acalentado o projecto, que não chegou a pôr em prática, de enviar para Portugal, afim de serem educados à europeia, os filhos dos casados entre os doze e os vinte e cinco anos.[28]

Neste contexto, e independentemente de outras considerações que a questão nos sugere fazer, não admira pois que os preconceitos raciais se viessem a cristalizar muito fortemente à volta dos mestiços, que conforme explica Gaspar Correia exprimindo a opinião corrente, «sayrão tão errados da bondade de seus pays e mães».[29] Desses preconceitos faziam parte acusações mais ou menos veladas sobre a sua duplicidade e crueldade, e apreciações negativas sobre a sua coragem, denodo, e aptidão militar.[30]

Insere-se nesta lógica a ideia de não renunciar, apesar de tudo, a um povoamento branco, através da iniciativa, feita a partir de 1545, de enviar para a India as *orfãas del-Rei*, ou seja as orfãs pobres de boa família, dotadas pela rainha ou pelo rei, a fim de se casarem com fidalgos reinóis ou *castiços.* Aos primeiros sobretudo eram concedidos cargos em troca dos casamentos com estas orfãs. Na India, algumas destas jovens receberam aldeias na região de Baçaim (*aldeias do Norte*), e mais tarde, em Moçambique, vastos territórios, com a condição de desposarem um Português, nascido em Portugal. Neste último caso esta cláusula revestiu aspectos muito teóricos já que a maior parte se veio a casar com mestiços de Goa. Graças ao estudo efectuado por Timothy Coates, verifica-se que na totalidade a iniciativa não teve grande impacto, e por isso mesmo veio a ser suprimida no século XVIII. Este fracasso deve-se ao escasso número de jovens enviadas (cinco a quinze por ano) e ao facto de que, na generalidade, se revelaram menos resistentes e menos fecundas que as mestiças. Por outro lado, devido ao seu valor «mercantil», estavam destinadas a casamentos com membros da fidalguia, e não podiam portanto delas beneficiar os simples casados. Houve, é claro, casos de casais modestos, oriundos da metrópole, embarcados para o Oriente, assim como notícia de prostitutas e aventureiras europeias que demandavam paragens mais clementes para as suas actividades. Mas na totalidade os números parecem ínfimos, de modo que apesar destes esforços não se vislumbrou alternativa aos casamentos mistos.

As mulheres mestiças foram também vítimas destes estereótipos negativos. As correspondências privadas mencionam conflitos domésticos em que os casados se envolviam estabelecendo geralmente uma nítida distinção entre o casado, elemento útil à comunidade, que convinha desculpar, e a sua família asiática, relegada para segundo plano. Neste caso, as mulheres, ou porque traziam para o lar os seus próprios parentes não aculturados, ou porque gozavam de um certo ascendente sobre os maridos, são acusadas de exercer sobre eles uma influência negativa, e mesmo de os levar à traição ; veja-se o caso, sucedido em Goa (1512), em que estes casados, por influência das esposas, teriam estado quase a deixar entrar na cidade as forças do Adîl Châh.

No entanto a divulgação do *topos* da mestiça oriental como mulher fatal (bela, dúplice, cruel e depravada), deve-se sobretudo aos visitantes estrangeiros como Jan

Huygen van Linschoten, François Pyrard de Laval, Jean Mocquet ou mesmo Francesco Carletti. Esta imagem, divulgada por uma literatura cosmopolita de carácter exótico em circulação na Europa a partir da segunda metade do século XVI, é indissociável do contexto da Contra-Reforma, e por conseguinte de uma acção de propaganda fortemente anti-portuguesa e anti-católica. Ela parece ter-se esboçado a partir de casos registados em Goa, em que alguns casados teriam sido envenenados com *datura* pelas suas esposas mestiças, a fim de facilmente se entregarem às suas aventuras com fidalgos e soldados.

Ainda que os relatos dos viajantes necessitem por conseguinte de ser mais amplamente confrontados com outros tipos de documentação, e pondo de parte um certo carácter anedóctico destas narrações, todos estes relatos insistem, falando dos costumes da população dos casados de Goa, sobre a grande libertade sexual tanto dos homens como das mulheres. Todavia, enquanto os homens frequentavam as suas escravas, ou as *solteiras* sem problema de maior, como já atrás se disse, as mulheres casadas pagavam geralmente com a vida o preço do ciúme (justificado ou não) dos maridos. Estes riscos não as dissuadiam no entanto de levar avante as suas intrigas amorosas, quer com a ajuda do veneno, quer graças às suas escravas, que utilizavam como alcoviteiras.[31]

Finalmente, um último aspecto veio agravar a imagem de hibridismo deste grupo: a presença de cristãos-novos vindos da metrópole. Com efeito, na primeira metade do século XVI não era raro encontrá-los a bordo das naus que partiam para o Oriente, fugindo de início ao clima de suspeita que os rodeava, e a partir de 1536, tentando escapar às malhas da rede inquisitorial que se fechava progressivamente sobre eles.

Uma vez no Oriente, enraizavam-se tanto mais facilmente que a esperança de retorno estava posta de parte – o caso do grande naturalista Garcia de Orta é um exemplo típico. O matrimónio com mulheres locais ou com refugiadas cristãs-novas, os cargos da administração, mesmo num escalão relativamente baixo, ou a actividade comercial (senão os dois combinados) permitiam-lhes consumar este enraizamento.

A proibição que lhes foi feita de exercerem cargos oficiais em Goa, em 1519, confirma-nos com efeito, *a contrário,* a sua presença nos orgãos da administração civil. Alguns anos mais tarde, em 1545, D.João de Castro assinalava a D. João III a chegada destes cristãos-novos com alvarás passados pelo soberano: em resposta à sua carta, o rei afirmava ter sido mal informado ao mandar passar os ditos documentos e pedia ao Governador que não executasse os alvarás.[32]

O movimento prosseguiu contudo, de modo que em 1561 a Câmara de Goa endereçou um pedido à Rainha regente, D.Catarina, pedindo-lhe que tomasse medidas no sentido de impedir os cristãos-novos de exercer cargos na Câmara. A recusa da Regente em atender este pedido (evocando o escândalo que tal medida levantaria) não terá modificado em muito a situação, e em 15 e 20 de Março de 1568 foram os cristãos-novos proibidos de partir sem autorização para o Oriente.[33] Estas medidas

estavam porém votadas ao fracasso ; os cristãos-novos continuaram a demandar as paragens asiáticas, apesar de dorenavante os aí esperar a Inquisição.[3]

Apesar de socialmente contida dentro dos limites que a elite reinol julgava convenientes, a comunidade dos casados não cessou de lutar no sentido de obter maior representatividade e autonomia. A nível do comportamento social e do e estilo de vida procurava imitar a nobreza reinol, numa tentativa de clara demarcação em relação à sociedade asiática, à qual se encontrava no entanto cada vez mais ligada.

Os testemunhos deixados a este respeito pelos visitantes estrangeiros são reveladores. Em Goa, por exemplo, também os casados mais ricos não saíam à rua sem se fazer acompanhar por cortejos de escravos, mais ou menos numerosos conforme as posses do seu proprietário, sendo seguidos, à maneira dos fidalgos, por um escravo arvorando uma sombrinha ; as mulheres saíam, tal como as nobres, em palanquim fechado seguido por escravas. Nesta corrida às aparências só o traje dos casados os conotava com o estatuto pretendido de *honnête homme.* Com efeito, a tradicional capa e chapéu (este último pormenor da indumentária distinguia-os dos soldados, que não tinham direito a utilizá-lo) nada tinham de ostentatório.

Por outro lado, apesar da sua influência na vida local, queixavam-se à Coroa de serem preteridos a nível dos cargos governativos e comandos militares que eram frequentemente entregues a fidalgos metropolitanos sem qualquer experiência do terreno, ou das questões orientais.[35] É certo que eram apoiados pelo clero, que via neles a garantia do enraizamento do Cristianismo em terras asiáticas, e defendia a sua causa apresentando-os por vezes como uma alternativa aos ditos nobres,[36] mas a Coroa era também refém da sua nobreza, e não podia privilegiar demasiado este grupo de moradores. De modo que as funções que estes desempenhavam quer na Câmara, quer na Misericórdia, ainda que honrosas, não se podiam comparar aos altos cargos outorgados aos fidalgos, nem em termos de prestígio, nem pelas vantagens financeiras que estes concediam.

Esta situação explica os reflexos de solidariedade da comunidade dos casados diante das agressões do Poder, como a que se desenvolveu em 1546 em Goa para defender um Pero Cardoso artesão, que sendo rico, porque senhor de vários «chãos» concedidos pela cidade, recusara contribuir financeiramente para o empréstimo que D. João de Castro pedira à cidade.[37]

Uma outra expressão desta capacidade de retaliação, e que mostra simultâneamente os limites do projecto de manter os casados como milícia activa, ocorreu durante um avanço do exército de Bijapur junto das fronteiras de Goa. Os casados recusaram pegar em armas, alegando que a cidade devia ser defendida pelos soldados estacionados na cidade. Dispunham-se a contribuir para a defesa da mesma, mas financeiramente, e apenas em condições por eles próprios estipuladas.[38]

Exploravam assim em seu favor as tensões que os opunham aos membros da nobreza importada (considerados pois como intrusos e rivais), e ao poder central, aproveitando-se das ambiguidades da legislação de Albuquerque, finalmente

demasiado vaga, e mesmo paradoxal, no que que lhes dizia respeito. Assinale-se que nos primeiros tempos da conquista de Goa, por exemplo, esta legislação não os obrigava à vigia das fortalezas, quando afinal se pretendia fazer deles um instrumento de defesa essencial : se asseguravam esta missão, era voluntariamente, a fim de obter algum benefício (um cruzado de mantimento pelo serviço de um mês).[39]

Os mais abastados, aqueles que não eram apenas amanuenses ou oficiais mecânicos, ocupando na Misericórdia o lugar de *Irmãos de menor condição*, deviam o seu bem-estar burguês ao comércio e à posse de terras. As biografias de seis casados no Oriente no início do século XVII, estudadas por Charles R. Boxer, ilustram o itinerário-tipo do casado (carreiras de homens de armas, alternando ou cumulando a actividade de mercadores com a de cargos civis administrativos quer nas Câmaras quer nas Misericórdias).[40]

Os que viviam do comércio eram geralmente mercadores ou pequenos comerciantes especialistas de venda a retalho, tirando os seus lucros da participação no tráfico marítimo interasiático, transaccionando as produções regionais das áreas em que se encontravam ou que frequentavam, desempenhando o papel de intermediários, ou dedicando-se à navegação de cabotagem, juntamente com mercadores oriundos de diversas regiões orientais. A menção de alguns privilégios de que beneficiavam para fazer comércio, feitos em Goa em 1517, permitem entrever um dos tipos e direcções do tráfico efectuado desde os primórdios da instalação da comunidade casada nesta região: os mantimentos para Cambaia.[41] O comércio do índigo encontrava-se nas suas mãos, e estavam envolvidos no importantíssimo tráfico de cavalos, que importavam dos portos de Calaiate e Mascate na costa do Omão para a India.[42] Os tecidos finos de algodão, as pedras preciosas, a prata e as especiarias contavam-se entre os produtos que comerciavam no Golfo de Bengala no século XVI.[43]

Segundo alguns autores, os casados intervinham em circuitos comerciais de maior peso económico, e participariam no comércio a longa distância, em empresas comerciais de maior quilate, como a da rota do Cabo; uma outra fonte de benefícios importante (tanto no século XVI como no XVII) provinha contudo de uma actividade ilícita que causava grandes problemas às autoridades, o contrabando da pimenta.[44]

Para manter esta dinâmica comercial lutavam encarniçadamente para salvaguardar os seus privilégios e eliminar a concorrência, sobretudo a dos judeus e cristãos-novos, apesar destes fazerem também parte da comunidade casada.[45] Deste ponto de vista, a sua presença maciça na Câmara, na qual se tratavam sobretudo de questões comerciais, era-lhes de grande auxílio, levando-os a poder mais facilmente defender os interesses comerciais do grupo, pressionando, como vimos, quer o Governador ou o Vice-Rei quer o governo da metrópole.

Uma outra parte substancial dos seus rendimentos provinha da posse de terras. Aos terrenos da periferia das aglomerações, cedidos quer na India quer em Malaca, desde a época de Albuquerque, tinham vindo juntar-se ao fio da gerações, novas

terras, por vezes em regiões distantes do núcleo da primeira instalação. O exemplo mais interessante é talvez o de Goa, em que alguns dos seus casados vieram a obter terras na Província do Norte, concedidas primeiro pelos feitores de Baçaim e em seguida por D. João de Castro àqueles que o tinham acompanhado e lutado no 2.º cerco de Diu em 1546.[46] Estes rendimentos da aldeias de Baçaim tornar-se-iam progressivamente indispensáveis à comunidade casada a partir do século XVII, quando os ataques holandeses no Indico começaram a fazer-se sentir sobre os lucros trazidos pelo comércio marítimo, empobrecendo muitos casados. Só os ataques dos Maratas contra esta fértil região situada a norte de Bombaim, nos anos de 1737-1740, viria desferir um golpe final nesta situação.

OS SOLDADOS

Nas vertentes menos respeitáveis da sociedade espontânea, aparecem-nos os soldados, que como já atrás se disse, apesar de terem a sua origem na comunidade dos casados, constituem o reverso social e económico deste grupo. Votados a uma vida dissoluta, corolário evidente da total precaridade social e económica, merecem o epíteto de devassos, embora o termo tenha sido também aplicado a outros extractos da sociedade espontânea.

Com efeito, apenas uma pequena parte dos soldados integrou o grupo dos casados. Das poucas centenas de homens que chegavam vivos à India, a maioria manteve-se ao serviço da Coroa, mobilizada pelas sucessivas campanhas militares e sobretudo pela patrulha regular das costas asiáticas nos meses de Verão.

A sua marginalização social explica-se em grande parte pela organização da própria vida militar. Ao partir para o Oriente, os soldados quebravam todas as amarras atrás de si. A Coroa apenas lhes pagava a viagem até Goa, e uma vez chegados, deviam alistar-se numa companhia ou numa pequena unidade (estância ou bandeira) à sua escolha, mas podendo, se quizessem, abandonar a carreira das armas. Embora os soldados se mantivessem devidamente registados nos róis da metrópole e na Matrícula Geral de Goa, o soldo só lhes era pago durante as campanhas militares segundo um sistema extremamente complicado, e quando o recebiam era geralmente com grande atraso.[47]

Por outro lado necessitavam de perfazer um mínimo de sete anos de actividade nas armadas orientais para poder, no final do oitavo ano, retornar a Portugal e reclamar as pensões e recompensas a que tinham direito pelos serviços prestados. Aqueles que não voltavam no prazo devido por falta de meios, por doença ou invalidez, ou que se não tinham entretanto alistado, perdiam todos os direitos.[48]

Compreende-se assim as razões que levavam bom número a renunciar ao serviço do rei, procurando subsistir pelos seus próprios meios. A solução imediata, e talvez a mais honesta, era a de procurarem refúgio num convento, ou entrarem ao serviço

de um fidalgo como espadachins ou homens de mão. Com efeito os nobres *davam mesa*, ou seja, sustentavam um certo número de homens (que podia chegar a vinte ou trinta), que vinham a constituir uma espécie de milícia particular, uma clientela de *criados* que lhes era de muito auxílio nas rixas e contendas que rebentavam amiúde entre fidalgos. Esta caridade não era desinteressada : ao receberem capitanias de fortalezas ou comandos de navios, estes nobres tinham potencialmente assegurada a fidelidade das unidades militares compostas por tais homens, aos quais era possível pedir os maiores esforços nos campos de batalha.

A caridade dos fidalgos, do Governador, e da Igreja sustentava os soldados no intervalo das campanhas militares, sobretudo durante os longos períodos de inactividade em que devido à monção de sudoeste (de Junho a Setembro) eram obrigados a permanecer nos portos orientais. Durante esta estação das chuvas, Goa, por exemplo, abrigava por vezes até quinhentos homens, e a ociosidade, ligada aos miseráveis meios de subsistência, levava-os rapidamente à delinquência. Grande número deles vivia de expedientes. Os assaltos às residências dos cidadãos eram comuns, tais como o eram os assassínios e as violências cometidas contra os transeuntes. Estes bandos de soldados operavam sobretudo ao cair da noite, e a insegurança era tal que só era possível deambular sem perigo nas ruas da cidade acompanhado de uma forte escolta.[49]

O corolário desta precaridade era uma forte promiscuidade social. Sem meios de subsistência, amontoavam-se em pobres habitações térreas, desprovidas de todo o conforto. Utilizavam por turnos os trajes apresentáveis nas ocasiões em que saiam, e o seu único luxo (se o termo pode ser aplicado) parece ter sido disporem de alguns escravos. As relações sociais teciam-se obviamente na marginalidade local, ainda que não exclusivamente: a proximidade dos fidalgos traduzia-se por algum contacto com os círculos elitários.

As prostitutas, chamadas eufemisticamente *solteiras,* estabeleciam o elo entre os soldados e a marginalidade local. Este meio social em que se moviam ladrões, jogadores e contrabandistas era alimentado regularmente pelos degredados e vagabundos pertencentes às tripulações vindas da metrópole e pela descendência ilegítima dos casados e soldados: testemunho da sua existência era, em Goa, a *Baratilha*, mercado nocturno que se desenrolava na praça do pelourinho velho, no centro da cidade, no local onde Afonso de Albuquerque tinha feito edificar as quarenta e oito lojas que deviam custear as despesas da vizinha igreja de Nossa Senhora do Monte.

Após a ronda dos meirinhos, certos indivíduos vinham aí clandestinamente vender roupas, armas e objectos roubados. Uma passagem mais tardia, ou imprevista, dos mesmos meirinhos, obrigava toda esta fauna (Pyrard de Laval fala, com algum exagero, de quatrocentos a quinhentos indivíduos) a fugir precipitadamente para logo voltar a expor as suas mercadorias.[50]

As casas de jogo e os botequins, frequentes em todas as cidades e portos em que se encontravam colonos portugueses, proporcionavam locais de encontro a esta

sociedade paralela. Nas primeiras oficiavam as *solteiras*, geralmente mestiças ou asiáticas de reconhecida beleza, que cantavam e dançavam para os clientes e se tornavam por vezes muito ricas e influentes apesar dos anátemas repetidos do clero e do escândalo que suscitavam na sociedade local. Em Goa iam à igreja en palanquim com um aparato em nada inferior ao das mulheres fidalgas, possuindo um capital de ricos panos e de jóias de ouro.

A maior parte delas sustentava soldados ou aventureiros, os quais vivendo à sua custa, acabavam muitas vezes por se envolver em actividades de proxenetismo. Mas os fidalgos frequentavam-nas também, ocasionando rixas e contendas que se terminavam por vezes tragicamente: em 1540, um certo Cristóvão de Lacerda quiz entrar em casa duma destas *solteiras* no momento em que aí se encontrava um outro nobre, Fernão Drago; injuriaram-se mutuamente e apesar da intervenção de D. Estêvão da Gama, então Governador, não chegaram a pazes. Drago acabou por ser morto à estocada pelos homens de mão do seu inimigo, apesar de se ter acolhido à protecção de D.Estêvão. Agastado com estas turbulências, que já incluiam dois bandos rivais que se degladiavam na cidade reclamando-se dos dois adversários, este último acabou por fazer decapitar Cristóvão de Lacerda apesar do protesto de vários membros da nobreza.[51]

Todavia, não obstante uma respeitabilidade de fachada, verificamos que se tomarmos como critério os padrões de comportamento sexual, também alguns casados levavam vida de devassos. Como já atrás foi dito, as mancebias eram frequentes com escravas, acabando algumas por obter o estatuto de *amigas*; mas recorria-se também, como mostram as correspondências privadas, aos raptos, e os abusos sexuais existiam, no seio da própria família. Certos proprietários não só se serviam sexualmente das escravas domésticas, mas faziam em seguida delas comércio, como testemunhava um missionário jesuita italiano, escrevendo da India a Santo Inácio de Loiola em 1550.[52] O facto é atestado por outras fontes: as escravas prostituiam-se amiúde por conta dos proprietários, que as enviavam às feiras e mercados sob pretexto de vender conservas ou trabalhos de agulha, mas na realidade para aí encontrarem clientes. O ganho destas mulheres revertia inteiramente para o proprietário.[53]

Um outro aspecto concreto da devassidão dos *casados* era a bigamia, contra a qual a Igreja se mobilizava sem grande sucesso. A questão está ainda por estudar, mas a sua abordagem parece-nos indispensável no sentido de um melhor conhecimento da história social dos Portugueses na Asia. O que sabemos é que muitos deles tinham contraído matrimónios na metrópole e uniam-se de novo no Oriente às mulheres nativas, mas assinalavam-se também casos de bigamia já no Oriente, entre as diferentes feitorias, fortalezas e cidades asiáticas. Como salienta um documento do início do século XVI, escrito em Ormuz, «ha em Goa e Cochym muitos que sabem serem casados la e qua e nom lhe atalhando a yso yra em grande crecymento».[54]

Se na categoria dos devassos se incluem também os *solteiros,* ou seja os mercadores privados (sobretudo em Macau) que não contraíam matrimónio e deixavam

sempre uma forte descendência de filhos mestiços, os mais representativos eram aqueles que por deslizes sucessivos, ou mesmo brutalmente, rompiam com a sociedade importada e vinham a constituir uma franja social especîfica desempenhando papel de certo relevo nas relações locais luso-asiáticas: exilados, «alevantados», mercenários e arrenegados.

O carácter errante destas vidas era evidentemente incompatível com uniões regulares; se algumas existiram, em contraponto à «libertinagem» estigmatizada pelo clero e às multiplas ligações assinaladas pelas fontes documentais, elas situam-se normalmente no âmbito da permanência destes homens como membros de colónias espontâneas, ao serviço de um soberano ou de um potentado local,e sobretudo no quadro de uma conversão ao Islão, ainda que transitória.[55]

NOTES

[1] Sobre os problemas metodológicos levantados pelo conceito de «marginalidade» aplicado à Asia portuguesa, cf. Dejanirah Couto, « Itinéraire d'un marginal : la deuxième vie de Diogo de Mesquita», série *Biographies*, Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian, XXXIX (2000), pp. 9-12. Sobre os estudos levados a cabo, cf. Panduronga S. S.Pissurlencar, "Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa na India (Hindus, Muçulmanos, Judeus e Parses" (documentos coordenados por), AHEI, Bastorá, 1952; Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, "Degredados e Arrenegados Portugueses no Espaço Índico, nos Primórdios do séc.XVI", *Dimensões da Alteridade nas Culturas de língua Portuguesa - o Outro*, 1.º Simpósio Interdisciplinar de Estudos Portugueses, v. II, Lisboa, 1985, p. 77-96; Dejanirah Couto, "L'espionnage portugais dans l'Empire ottoman au XVIe siècle", *La Découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Paris, 1990, pp. 243-267; da mesma «Quelques observations sur les renégats portugais en Asie au XVIe siècle», *Mare Liberum*, 16 (1998), pp. 57-85 (ed. inglesa, com menos anotação, em *Vasco da Gama and the linking of Europe and Asia*, ed.Anthony Disney and Emily Booth, Oxford University Press of India, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 178-201), assim como «Itinéraire d'un marginal…», pp. 9-35. Menos centrado nos Portugueses, veja-se ainda G. V. Scammell, "European Exiles, Renegades ans Outlaws and the Maritime Economy of Asia c. 1500-1750", S*hips, Oceans and Empire – Studies in European Maritime and Colonial History,* Variorum Reprints, Londres, 1995, pp. 641-661.

[2] Cf. a título de exemplo o caso da Birmânia através do estudo de Maria Ana Marques Guedes, *Interferência e Integração dos Portugueses na Birmânia,* Fundação Oriente, Lisboa, 1995, e do Coromandel através dos estudos de Sanjay Subrahmanyam (cf. *infra* a nota 19).

[3] Veja-se a propósito dos conflitos anti-senhoriais Humberto Baquero Moreno, "Um conflito social em Pinhel e seu termo no século XV", Actas do colóquio *Papel das Áreas Regionais na Formação Histórica de Portugal,* Lisboa, 1975, p. 333-346 (apêndice documental pp. 347-379), assim como do mesmo *Exilados, Marginais e Contestatários na Sociedade Portuguesa Medieval*, Presença, Lisboa, 1990, cap. 3, pp. 57-71 e cap. 11, pp. 156-178. Sobre a sociedade do tempo de D. Manuel, cf., em geral, Vasco Resende, *A Sociedade da Expansão na Época de D.Manuel I,* Lagos: Câmara Municipal de Lagos, 2006; João Paulo Oliveira e Costa*, D. Manuel I,* Círculo de Leitores, Lisboa, 2006. A ligação entre a sociedade metropolitana e a sociadade importada tem sido objecto dos trabalhos de equipa do Centro de História de Além-Mar da Universidade Nova de Lisboa: veja-se, entre outros, *A Alta Nobreza e a Fundação do Estado da India* (João Paulo Oliveira e Costa e Vitor Luis Gaspar Rodrigues éds.),

CHAM, Lisboa, 2004, e a contribuição de Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes, «D. João III e a génese da sociedade indo-portuguesa», *D. João III e o Império*, CHAM, Lisboa, 2005, p. 417-432.

[4] Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India*, ed. Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, [4 vol em 8 partes]. Na Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1922-1969, II/I, cap. XII, p. 78. Sobre as medidas de D. Francisco cf. igualmente Correia, I/I, cap. XIV, p. 625. Vejam-se igualmente as observações de Geneviève Bouchon, "Les femmes dans la société coloniale ibérique", recensão crítica a C. R. Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny: Women in Iberian Expansion Overseas 1415-1815*, *some Facts, Fancies and Personalities,* Londres, 1975, in *Mare Luso-Indicum,* II (1976), p. 207.

[5] João de Barros não fala destas mulheres, enquanto Castanheda as menciona rapidamente sem se referir ao seu destino: (Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*, (Introdução e Revisão de Manuel Lopes de Almeida), Lello & Irmão, Porto, 1979, I, cap. XI, p. 518 e cap. XVI, p. 528).

[6] Como salientava Frei Domingos de Sousa, se as mulheres se tornavam cristãs era porque os Portugueses "*as bem tratarem e conversarem, muyto em contrairo do mao trato que lhe fazem os mouros*" (Correia, II/I, cap. XVI, p. 114). Sobre o interesse económico que as levava à conversão cf. igualmente Correia, I/II, cap. XIV, p. 625. As musulmanas de alta condição parecem ter recusado a conversão: (Ibid., II/I, cap. XVI, p. 114).

[7] Correia, II/I, cap. XXII, p. 177 e XXV, p. 199. Algumas vieram também de Cananor (ibid., cap. XX, p. 160).

[8] Sobre as ligações destas com os fidalgos veja-se Charles R. Boxer, "Fidalgos Portugueses e Bailadeiras Indianas séculos XVII-XVIII", *Revista de História*, n.º 45, XII (1961), pp. 83-105 (apêndice documental, pp. 94-105).

[9] Geneviève Bouchon, "Premières expériences d'une société coloniale: Goa au XVIe siècle", *Histoire du Portugal, histoire européenne*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Paris, 1987, p. 87

[10] Jean Aubin, "Le royaume d'Ormuz", *Mare Luso-Indicum,* II (1973), p. 160.

[11] Charles R. Boxer, *O Império Colonial Português (1415-1825)*, Edições 70, Lisboa, 1981, p. 298.

[12] Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, "Degredados…", p. 83. O seu número nas armadas teria aumentado até ao 2.º decénio de 1500, data a partir da qual as menções dos cronistas se tornam muito escassas (ibid., pp. 84-85). Sobre os degredados, mas mais centrado sobre o século XVII, cf. Timothy Coates, *Degredados e Orfãs: colonização dirigida pela Coroa no Império Português. 1550-1755,* CNCDP, Lisboa, 1998, pp. 115-134 (trad. port. de *Exiles and Orphans: Forced and Stated-Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1720*, University of Minnesota, 1993). Assinale-se a falta de estudos, no que diz respeito às tripulações das armadas do império português, do tipo dos que foram levados a cabo por Alain Cabantous (veja-se por exemplo, *La vergue et les fers. Mutins et déserteurs dans la marine de l'ancienne France,* Paris, 1984, e *Les côtes barbares. Pilleurs d'épaves et sociétés littorales en France (1680-1830),* Paris, 1993).

[13] Jean Aubin, "Cojeatar et Albuquerque", *Mare Luso-Indicum,* IV/2, Genève, t. I, (1971), p. 111, nota 54. Os soldados chegados à India em 1635 continuam, muitos deles, a ser criminosos e degredados: Teotónio R. de Souza, *Goa Medieval, a Cidade e o Interior no Século XVII,* Estampa, Lisboa, 1994, p. 146, nota 23.

[14] João de Barros, *Ásia,* [Ed. fac-similada segundo a 4.ª ed. revista e prefaciada por António Baião], INCM, Lisboa, 1988-1992, Década II, cap. XI, p. 241. Sobre os casamentos dos "homens baixos e pobres, que andavam degredados", cf. também Correia,II/I, cap. XX, p. 159. Sobre o favoritismo de Afonso de Albuquerque veja-se igualmente Luís Martins [de Portalegre] em Luís de Albuquerque e José Pereira da Costa, "Cartas de "Serviços" da Índia (1500-1550)", *Mare Liberum*, 1(1990), p. 32, (doc. IV, de Cochim, 7.XII.1527).

[15] Barros, III/V, cap. XI, p. 241: os casados recebiam do Governador palmares e herdades abandonadas pelos seus proprietários mouros e dezoito mil réis de ajuda para se instalarem. Sobre o encorajamento a dedicarem-se a profissões urbanas artesanais, Correia, II/I, cap. XX, p. 160.

[16] AN/TT, Núcleo Antigo, Cartas dos Vice-reis e Governadores da India, NA 876, doc.102. Sobre os homiziados e as condições de fixação que lhes eram oferecidas na metrópole, cf. o estudo de Humberto Baquero Moreno, *Os Municípios Portugueses nos séculos XIII a XVI – Estudos de História*, Presença, Lisboa, 1986, pp. 93-138. Para o estudo da contribuição militar dos casados, vejam-se os diferentes estudos de Vitor Luís Gaspar Rodrigues.

[17] A. R. Disney, *A Decadência do Império da Pimenta ,* Edições 70, Lisboa, 1981, p. 33. O vice-rei conde de Linhares afirmava em 1634 que o número de casados em todo o Estado da Índia não ultrapassava os mil (ibid., p. 33).

[18] M. N.Pearson, *Os Portugueses na India*, Teorema, Lisboa, 1987, p. 98. Cf. igualmente S. Francisco Xavier à Companhia de Jesus (de Malaca, 10.XI.1545), *in* Georg Schurhammer e Joseph Wicki (ed.), *Epistolae S.Francisci Xavieri aliaque eius scripta*, Roma, 1944, pp. 229-300. Sobre os dados referentes a Cochim, Cananor, Goa, Chaul e Ormuz cf. ainda Luís Martins [de Portalegre], em Luís de Albuquerque e José Pereira da Costa, "Cartas…", , p.323. Sobre Ceilão e Malaca, ANTT/ Cartas dos Vice-Reis e Governadores da India , NA 876, respectivamente doc. 100 e doc. 25, f° 10.

[19] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Comércio e Conflito – A presença Portuguesa no Golfo de Bengala 1500-1700* , Edições 70, Lisboa, 1994, pp.193-196 (apoiando-se no Códice CXVI/2-3, fls. 52v a 54v [Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora]). Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, avalia a comunidade em duzentos e cinquenta a trezentos indivíduos: "Malacca: the Town and Society During the First Century of Portuguese Rule", *Os Mares da Asia 1500-1800. Sociedades Locais, Portugueses e Expansão Europeia, Revista de Cultura* ,I, 13-14 (1991), p. 73.

[20] Charles R.Boxer, *O Império Colonial…*, p. 263. Sobre o papel das Misericórdias, veja-se, no seu conjunto, Isabel de Guimaraes Só, *Quando o Rico se faz Pobre: Misericordias, caridade e Poder no Império Português, 1500-1800,* CNCDP, Lisboa, 1997.

[21] *Archivo Portuguêz-Oriental (APO),* direcção de J. H. da Cunha Rivara, Nova Goa, 1857-1877, fasc. 2, doc. 1, p. 5, e para os cargos assinalados, ibid., fasc. C1, doc. 34, p. 55 (doc. de 11.III.1562).

[22] Veja-se o exemplo de Miguel Rodrigues, casado de Goa, para quem D.João de Castro pede o grau de cavaleiro in *Obras Completas de D.João de Castro*, ed. Luis de Albuquerque e Jaime Cortesão, v. III, Academia Internacional de Cultura Portuguesa, Coimbra, 1976, p. 310. M. N. Pearson cita dois exemplos antitéticos: uma ascensão social (Manuel de Morais Supico) e uma regressão (Luis de Francisco Barreto, filho do governador Francisco Barreto (1555-1558), apresentado como representante dos casados, mas provavelmente mestiço): M. N. Pearson, *Os Portugueses…,* p. 109.

[23] Geneviève Bouchon, "Premières expériences…", p. 88. Sobre a questão dos casamentos mistos luso-indianos veja-se também as considerações de Kenneth McPherson, «A Secret People of South Asia: the Origins, Evolution and Role of the Luso-Indian Goan Community from the Sixteenth to Twentieth Centuries, *Itinerario*, XI, 2 (1987), pp. 72-86.

[24] António da Silva Rego, *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente*, *(Índia) ,(DHM),* v.VIII (1559), Agência Geral do Ultramar, Lisboa, 1952, p. 37, e Dejanirah Couto "'Goa Dourada' la ville dorée", in *Goa 1510-1685 - L'Inde portugaise, apostolique et commerciale,* A*utrement,* n.º 41, (Série Mémoires), Paris, Março (1996), p. 65. Da promiscuidade sexual entre fidalgos e escravas temos um exemplo em Gonçalo Vaz Coutinho, que mesmo no *tronco* de Goa mantinha relações sexuais com uma das suas escravas, graças à qual pôde aliás evadir-se (Correia, IV/IV, cap. XI, p. 149).

[25] Veja-se de Jean Mocquet*, Voyage en Ethiopie, Mozambique, Goa, et autres lieux d'Afrique, & des Indes Orientales (1607-1610)*, Liv. IV, à Paris, Chez Jean de Heuqueville, 1617, p. 213 e sqq [nova ed. com introdução e notas de Dejanirah Couto e notas do texto de de Xavier de Castro], collection Magellane, Chandeigne, Paris, 1996, cap.XXIV, p. 11-114. O seu testemunho, que pode parecer apenas anti-português, é corroborado por outras fontes: cf. ainda os documentos publicados por Teotónio R. de Souza, *Goa Medieval…,* docs. B2 e B10 (apêndice), p. 248 e 260, provenientes respectivamente dos Arquivos Históricos de Goa e dos Arquivos da Congregação "De Propaganda Fide", Roma.

[26] Geneviève Bouchon, "Les femmes dans la société…", p. 209.

[27] Barros, II/V, cap. XI, pp. 241-242: (…) *aquele seu bacelo éra de vidonho labrusco em ser mistiço…* Mais sibilino é Gaspar Correia, declarando apenas que os capitães não aprovavam as medidas do Governador pois "não haveria homem que casasse que prestasse para nada" (II/I, cap. XX, p. 159).

[28] Correia, II/I, cap. XLV, p. 375; este desprezo pela aculturação é também visível nos seus preconceitos alimentares: cf. M. N. Pearson, *Os Portugueses…*, p. 118. Note-se no entanto que a política dos casamentos prosseguiu: em Maio de 1536 António Galvão leva ainda para a fortaleza de Maluco um grupo de mulheres que pretende aí casar *assi pera fazerem geração, como pera saberem os mouros que determinavam eles de morar em Maluco*…(Castanheda, II/VIII, cap. CXXV, p. 775).

[29] Alberto C. G. da Silva Correia, "Les luso-descendants de l'Inde portugaise: étude anthropologique", Bastorá,1928, p. 4, e Correia, II/I, cap. XLV, p. 375: este último acrescenta que "sayão muy danados em máos costumes" (Ibid.).

[30] Charles R.Boxer, *O Império Colonial Português…,* p. 289: O Governador de Macau pedia ao Vice-Rei em 1651 que não lhe enviasse "*mistiçinhos de Goa que com os frios se fazem bugios*". Cf. igualmente Charles R. Boxer, "Casados and Cabotagem in the Estado da India, 16th/17th Centuries", *II Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa,* Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, Centro de Estudos de História e Cartografia Antiga, Lisboa, 1985, p. 134 (Carta do Governador e Capitão-Geral de Macau João de Sousa Pereira, ao Vice-rei da India, [2.XII.1651]). O ponto de vista contrário era também defendido: em carta ao rei, Pero de Faria pedia a capitania de Ormuz ou Malaca para a sua descendência mestiça, afirmando que os homens que vinham de Portugal eram "buqueiros e luvos perfumados" (AN/TT, CCI,76,102).

[31] Jan Huygen van Linchoten, *Histoire de la navigation de Iean Hugues de Linscot Hollandois et de son voyage es Indes orientales* (…), De l'imprimerie de Henry Laurent, Amsterdam, 1610, p. 85. Os assassinatos são descritos com particular realismo por Jean Mocquet, *Voyage en Ethiophie…*, cap. XXIV, p. 110-111, ainda que no seu texto seja por vezes ambígua a atribuição destes assassinatos, pois nem sempre é clara a distinção entre casados e soldados. Sobre a problemática das orfãs d'el-rei e a condição das mulheres indígenas, veja-se Ana Isabel Marques Guedes, "Tentativas de Contrôle da Reprodução da População Colonial: as orfãs d'el-Rei", *O Rosto Feminino da Expansão Portuguesa* – Actas do Congresso Internacional, Comissão para a Igualdade e para os Direitos das Mulheres [Cadernos da Condição Feminina, n.º 43], t. I, Presidência do Conselho de Ministros, Lisboa, 1995, pp. 665-673, e Pratima P.Kamat, "In Search of Her History: Woman and the Colonial State in the Estado da India with Reference to Goa", Ibid., p. 585-611, especialmente pp. 593-594; para uma visão de conjunto veja-se também Timothy J. Coates, *Degredados e Orfãs*…, pp. 236 e sqq.

[32] Armando Cortesão e Luís de Albuquerque, *Obras Completas de D. João de Castro*, III, p. 52 (D. João III a D. João de Castro, de Évora, 31.I.1545). Em 1550, D. Afonso de Noronha levava para a Índia ordens para mandar de volta os cristãos-novos, que tinham ido para a Índia com "as suas casas e sinagogas", mas essas disposições não foram também cumpridas (cf. José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, "Jácome de Olivares, New Christian and merchant of Cochin", *Santa Barbara Portugueses Studies*, II, (1995), p. 102. Estes «cristãos novos que estam nas fortalezas» aparecem curiosamente na correspondência como «*dormyndo com as molheres per força e ferindo-as*» (AN/TT, Cartas dos Vice-Reis e Governadores da India, NA 876, doc. 156).

[33] I. S. Révah, "Les marranes portugais et l'Inquisition au XVIe siècle", *Etudes Portugaises*, (publ. por Charles Amiel), Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, Centre Culturel Portugais, Paris, 1975, p. 226.

[34] Para uma visão de conjunto do problema cf. José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, "Os Judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa na Ìndia durante o século XVI. O exemplo de Isaac do Cairo: Espião, "Língua" e "Judeu de Cochim de cima", *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian*, XXXIII (1994), pp. 137-230, especialmente pp. 153-155, e Ana Cannas da Cunha, *A Inquisição no Estado da India – Origens (1539-1560),* Estudos & Documentos, Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo, Lisboa,

1995, pp. 17-75 (capítulo "Emigração cristão-nova para o Estado da India"). Sobre a integração destes cristãos-novos veja-se igualmente José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, "Jácome de Olivares…", pp. 94-134; do mesmo, «A Inquisição no Oriente (século XVI e primeira metade do século XVII): algumas perspectivas», *Mare Liberum,* 15 (1998), p. 17-31; Dejanirah Couto, «A Fuga para Oriente», *Revista de Estudos Judaicos*, 6 (2002), p. 40-45.

35 Charles R.Boxer, *O Império Colonial Português…,* p. 290.

36 Ver o testemunho do arcebispo D. Jorge Temudo, em Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, "A Crise de 1565-1575 na História do Estado da India", *Mare Liberum,* 9, Lisboa, (1995), p. 505.

37 Posto a ferros, este acabou por ser libertado "*porque loguo acudio a mjsericordiaa com prevjlegios que hera jrmão da mjsericordiaa* ", Armando Cortesão e Luís de Albuquerque, *Obras Completas de D. João de Castro*, III, p. 279 (Rui Gonçalves de Caminha a D. João de Castro, de Goa, 16.XII.1546).

38 M. N. Pearson, *Os Portugueses…,* p. 122. O mesmo sucedeu em 1586, aquando do cerco de Malaca. Os casados de Goa, além da contribuição financeira, exigiram como comandante da expedição de socorro um fidalgo aceitável pela comunidade casada (Ibid., p. 122).

39 Correia, II/I, cap. XXII, p. 177. Todavia, nas praças desguarnecidas tinham de assegurar a defesa dos muros: cf. a propósito da defesa de Baçaim, Vitor Manuel Gaspar Rodrigues, "A Organização Militar da "Província do Norte" durante o Séc. XVI e Princípios do Séc. XVIII", *Mare Liberum,* 9 (1995), p. 248.

40 Charles R.Boxer, "Casados and Cabotagem…", pp. 121-135.

41 Cf. a provisão passada aos casados, par irem buscar mantimentos a Cambaia, *APO*, fasc. C1, doc. 31, p. 50-51 (doc. de 25.II.1561).

42 Castanheda, II/VI, cap. XXXV, p. 207.

43 Georges Winius, "Portugal's "Shadow Empire" in the Bay of Bengal", in *Revista de Cultura,* p. 279. Exemplos de outras mercadorias encontram-se dispersas por toda a documentação. Para o início do século XVII, e na China, cf. C.harles R.Boxer, "Casados and Cabotagem...", p. 134. Sobre o comércio dos casados cf. ainda Teotónio R. de Souza, "Goa-Based Portuguese Seaborne Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century", in *The Indian Economic and Social History Review,* XII (1975), p. 433-442.

44 Anthony Disney, "Smugglers and Smuggling in the Western Half of the Estado da India in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries", separata de *Indica,* n.º 49, Heras institute, Bombay, s/d, pp. 57-75. Sobre o comércio pela rota do cabo cf. Charles R. Boxer, *O Império Colonial.Português*…, p. 290, e R.J. Barendse, "Traders and Port-Cities in the Western Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", *Revista de Cultura*, p. 113, (este último citando M. N. Pearson e A. Das Gupta, *India and the Indian Ocean,* Calcutta, 1987, p. 18).

45 Em 1597, António de Távora, um casado de Goa, elevava-se contra a presença dos mercadores judeus e contra os cristãos-novos na comunidade casada, fazendo notar que era cristão-velho: cf. C. R. Boxer," Casados and cabotagem…", p. 124. Mas os aspectos positivos do comportamento dos judeus, que davam, tal como os fidalgos, mesa aos pobres, é sublinhada num documento de 1636: cf. AN/TT, *Documentos Remetidos da Índia,* (*DRI,),* 36, fºs 252-253. Veja-se também a eliminação de Samuel Castiel, judeu, língua e personagem influente na corte de Raja Goda Varma (1635-1645), rei de Cochim, pelos casados portugueses: Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Cochin in Decline, 1600-1650: Myth and Manipulation in the Estado da India", *Portuguese Asia: Aspects in History and Economic History (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)*, (ed. Roderich Ptak), Wiesbaden, 1987, pp. 81-82.

46 Veja-se Alexandre Lobato, "Sobre os Prazos da India", *II Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa,* p. 461-462, e Luís Filipe, F. R. Thomaz, "Estrutura Política e Administrativa…", ibid., p. 536.

47 Sobre o sistema de pagamento dos soldos veja-se Charles R. Boxer, *O Império Colonial Português*…, p. 284. O soldo deveria ser pago num prazo de seis meses ou mesmo de um ano após a

chegada (Ibid., p. 284). Sobre a questão cf. ainda Vitor Manuel Gaspar Rodrigues, *A Organização Militar do Estado Português da Índia (1500-1580),* [tese policopiada], Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, Lisboa, 1990.

48 O sistema é explicado pormenorizadamente por Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Histoire de la navigation…*, p. 75 e 81. Note-se também que era necessária uma autorização do Vice-rei para poder embarcar para a metrópole (Charles R. Boxer, *O Império Colonial Português…*, p. 285). Sobre o estatuto dos soldados veja-se igualmente Teotónio R. de Souza (*Goa Medieval…*, p. 116).

49 François Pyrard de Laval, *Voyage de François Pyrard de Laval contenant sa navigation aux Indes Orientales, aux Moluques & au Bresil (…) Avec la description des pais, moeurs, loix, façons de vivre (…),* t. II, à Paris, chez Samuel Thiboust, au Palais en la Galerie des Prisonniers et chez Remy Dallin, au mont S.Hilaire (…), à Paris, 1615, cap. VIII, p. 217. A descrição encontra-se igualmente em Jean Mocquet, que fornece alguns pormenores interessantes sobre o comportamento dos soldados dentro das igrejas (*Voyage en Ethiopie…,* cap. XXIV, pp. 108-109).

50 François Pyrard de Laval, *Voyage…*, II, cap. IV, p. 104-105, e Dejanirah Couto, "Goa Dourada."…, *Autrement,* pp. 48-49.

51 Correia, IV/IV, cap. XIII, pp. 153-154. Cf. igualmente o exemplo de João Delgado, cavaleiro, que em 1514 perseguia em Cochim uma *solteira* de que abusou, causando inúmeras brigas (Correia, II/I, cap. XLVI, pp. 395-396 e sqq.). Um outro caso conhecido é o de Martim Afonso de Sousa acusado nas correspondências de ter "desonrado muitas moças na Índia…": cf. Luciano Ribeiro, "Em Torno do Cerco de Diu", *Studia*, 13/14 (1964), pp. 82-83 [doc. n.º 6, Gav. 13-8-43].

52 António da Silva Rego, *DHM,* VII, p. 37. Este documento menciona o caso de um casado de Malaca que "tinha vinte e quatro mulheres de várias raças e possuía-as a todas". Cf. igualmente *supra* a nota 24.

53 Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Histoire de la navigation…,* p. 73. Os proprietários parecem ter sido neste caso, não só casados, mas também fidalgos. A documentação faz eco destas actividades ilícitas, mencionando também a concubinagem e o proxenetismo (AN/TT, Cartas dos Vice-reis e Governadores da India, NA 876, doc.120).

54 António Dias Farinha, "Os Portugueses no Golfo Pérsico (1507-1538)", *Mare Liberum*, 3, (1991), p. 95 [Memória sobre a Governança da Índia e Rendas de Ormuz (anterior a 11 de Junho de 1527), (AN/TT, CC II, 141, 103). Veja-se também o caso de Paio Rodrigues de Araújo, casado com Guiomar de Lemos, e que tendo deixado esta última em Goa vivia amancebado em Cochim em 1546, tendo por esta razão (?) sido enviado para Malaca (Luís de Albuquerque e José Pereira da Costa, "cartas…", p. 374.

55 Cf. por exemplo o caso de Conçalo Vaz Coutinho: Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, "Degredados e Arrenegados…", p. 89. A questão foi abordada no nosso artigo «Quelques observations sur les renégats portugais», p. 69-84; vejam-se também, para além do estudo de Sanjay Subrahmanyam já mencionado, Jorge Flores, «Portuguese Entrepreneurs in the «Sea of Ceylon» (mid-sexteenth century)», *Maritime Asia: Profil Maximization, Ethics and Trade Structure, c. 1300-1800*, Karl Anton Sprengard & Roderich Ptak (eds)., Harrassowicz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1994, p. 125-150.

19

BEATOS MISSIONÁRIOS: UM PARADIGMA NA HISTÓRIA DO CRISTIANISMO

Eduardo Hoornaert

Nos meus estudos acerca da formação do catolicismo no Brasil me deparei diversas vezes com a presença de missionários leigos antes da chegada dos religiosos. Esses leigos, chamados 'beatos', ou 'santos' pelo povo, facilitavam o trabalho dos missionários, pois já estavam inseridos na cultura local na chegada dos missionários religiosos. Assim se encontravam numa situação privilegiada para negociar valores culturais com as populações locais. Fui me convencendo que esses casos não se restringem à história da cristianização do Brasil, mas que a existência e atuação de 'beatos missionários' pode ser considerado um paradigma da história do cristianismo em geral. Tiro aqui do baú da história antiga dois textos que dão testemunho disso, o primeiro do século VI e o segundo do século IV.

1. Um conselho do 'Grande Ancião Barsanúfio';
2. Gregório o Taumaturgo;
3. Negociando culturas.

1. O historiador irlandês Peter Brown conta que, entre os anos 523 e 543, durante vinte anos, um conhecido monge do deserto do Egito, chamado Barsanúfio (chamado 'Grande Ancião'), manteve uma correspondência com outro monge da região de Gaza na Palestina, que resultou em oitocentas cartas, uma preciosidade para historiadores[1].

Numa dessas cartas há uma afirmação taxativa. Diante da reclamação do correspondente palestino de que os aldeões de sua redondeza vivem desprovidos de Deus por não aparecer gente qualificada a lhes pregar o evangelho, o Grande Ancião Barsanúfio responde categoricamente: *Sempre há um beato*[2] *perto de você. Pode ser que você tem que caminhar alguns dias em peregrinação, mas vai encontrar*. No horizonte do camponês não existe nem igreja, nem sacerdote, nem sacramento, nem catequese, mas sempre há o 'santo' ou 'beato'. Esse beato tem autoridade para

pregar o evangelho, não porque algum bispo lhe tenha conferido a ordenação, nem por uma revelação direta de Deus (como os místicos), mas sim por um longo e árduo 'labor ascético', garante Barsanúfio. De tanto se esforçar com 'boas obras', ele fica perto de Deus. Deus o ama como filho e dá maior atenção às suas preces do que às dos pecadores. Por todo canto há beatos que espalham a mensagem do Deus cristão nos largos espaços humanos do Oriente próximo, do Egito e da Etiópia. Eles estão na encruzilhada do mundo pagão como o mundo cristão, sabem negociar com ambas as partes, e avaliar com os deuses locais o preço da emergência do imperioso novo Deus único e exclusivo dos cristãos. Por isso mesmo, escreve Barsanúfio, vale a pena viajar uns dias para se encontrar com um beato e receber seus conselhos, tratar da cura na doença ou de alguma orientação nos problemas da vida. As respostas desse beato, o mais das vezes, não têm nada de especial, provêm simplesmente do mais elementar bom senso, mas o fascínio que emana dessa pessoa faz com que os conselhos sejam seguidos e alcancem eficácia.

Barsanúfio sabia de que estava falando, pois conhecia certamente a vida de Santo Antão (segunda parte do século III), tal qual foi registrada pelo arcebispo metropolitano Atanásio de Alexandria[3]. O camponês Antão resolve viver à margem do mundo conhecido, nas terras ainda inexploradas em torno de seu vilarejo. Como acontece em tantos lugares do Oriente Próximo e/ou do Egito, esse vilarejo tem seu 'deserto' ('erèmos' em grego), seu *no man's land*. Aí vivem os bichos, alguns perigosos (como leões e cobras) outros mansos e até úteis (como o corvo de Santo Antão). Quem quiser 'ir ao deserto' precisa vencer o medo dos bichos e dos demônios. Ele tem de ser um asceta (do grego: 'askètès': atleta que se prepara para a competição). Normalmente a distância entre a cidade e o 'deserto' é pequena. Muitos 'anacoretas', 'eremitas' ou ainda 'monges' vivem na margem dos vilarejos, ao alcance da vista dos moradores. Eles estão à procura de horizontes novos, além da aldeia ou da cidade, à procura da 'simplicidade de coração'. Estão convencidos de que a aldeia ou na cidade vive repleta de 'corações divididos' (entre Deus e a família, o dinheiro, as propriedades). Na figura do monge-beato, o campo se vinga da cidade, cuja 'duplicidade de coração' é asperamente acusada e rejeitada. O beato está habituado a passar mal, não liga ao conforto que a cidade oferece. Ele conhece bem a natureza, os bichos, as estações do ano, o calor e o frio, o silêncio. Mas ele conhece sobretudo os demônios e suas tramóias e sabe que aí se trava a luta cristã verdadeira, com os demônios. A cidade e a igreja não lhe interessam. Ele dispensa os sacramentos, a igreja, os sermões, os conventos. Só quer ficar desnudo diante de Deus e ganha, de repente, um renome extraordinário.

No claro-escuro dos textos, o termo 'beato' esconde e ao mesmo tempo revela um importante e controvertido agente histórico. Ele só emerge esporadicamente na documentação. No terceiro cânone do Concílio de Gangres (primeira parte do século IV) há uma forte reação, por parte dos bispos, diante da fuga de escravos sob pretexto de 'serviço a Deus' (em grego: 'theosèbeia')[4]. O cânone cita as recomendações da

Primeira Carta a Timóteo (6, 1) e da Carta a Tito (2, 9-10), onde se lê que os escravos cristãos têm de ficar com seus senhores, custe o que custar. O Código de Teodósio (12, 1, 63) proíbe aos mosteiros acolher escravos fugitivos[5], enquanto o papa Leão I escreve em 443 aos bispos da Itália contra os que admitem escravos ao sacerdócio[6]. O papa Gelásio (492-496) reage igualmente contra os que se apresentam nos mosteiros para 'fugir de seus patrões'. Todos esses textos indicam uma prática multissecular de fuga de escravos cristãos para conventos e para trabalhos missionários junto ao povo camponês. O cânone de Gangres é tão importante que, séculos mais tarde, vai inserido no Decreto de Graciano[7], o texto fundamental do direito canônico durante toda a Idade Média. Tudo isso mostra que o chamado 'monge' é frequentemente um escravo foragido (no Brasil se diz: 'fujão'). Ele *prefere o jugo de Cristo ao jugo do déspota*. Aqui se verifica uma proximidade entre 'beatice' e escravidão que hoje merece ser explorada numa perspectiva africana, latino-americana e asiática. O termo 'monaquismo', de certa forma, é anacrônico, pois se aplica 'a posteriori' a um movimento que tinha outro nome . Muitos dos chamados 'monges' nem tiveram idéia de que mais tarde seriam chamados assim. Provavelmente foram chamados, na época, de 'beatos(as)', 'santos(as)', ou ainda 'homens (mulheres?) de Deus'.

2. Gregório, o Taumaturgo (+272), é o primeiro missionário explícito da história do cristianismo[8]. Atuou na Capadócia (hoje Anatólia oriental, costa do Mar Negro, Turquia oriental). A memória desse beato-que-vira-missionário nos é conservada por meio de um sermão pronunciado pelo bispo Gregório de Nissa nos anos 380, aproximadamente cem anos após sua morte. Ao preparar seu sermão, o ilustre pregador nisseno teve o cuidado de recolher memórias populares em torno do santo. Daí a importância histórica desse sermão, provavelmente pronunciado no próprio santuário de Gregório Taumaturgo, ainda hoje existente na Anatólia.

O texto do sermão deixa transparecer uma intensa luta, por parte do missionário, contra os demônios. Isso indica que a cristianização propriamente dita não se situa tanto no nível da proclamação de uma mensagem, mas antes no nível da vida prática. A preocupação maior de Gregório Taumaturgo não é de ordem propriamente religiosa, mas social. Ele ajuda o povo a superar seus problemas. Numa determinada oportunidade, ele enfia seu báculo na beira de um rio que periodicamente invade as plantações dos camponeses. Desse báculo nasce uma árvore diante da qual o rio se curva, preservando as lavouras. *Tamanho era o poder do Grande Gregório, ou melhor, de Deus que nele operava maravilhas* (texto citado, 932). Por isso mesmo, conta Gregório de Nissa, essa árvore é venerada pelo povo até hoje e chamada 'báculo' (em grego 'baktèrion') (930-931). O sermão continua contando maravilhas no plano social, político, econômico e ecológico. Gregório transforma um lago em terra seca, vira o advogado dos pobres e o conselheiro geral do povo da localidade. A paz reina em toda a região. *Todos acreditavam que tudo que ele dizia e fazia era obra da força de Deus* (923). Gregório é o rei Salomão da Capadócia (926), o novo

Moisés, o novo Elias. Mesmo o sacerdote resolve *ficar com o Grande*, abandona os demônios e ajuda a divulgar o nome do novo Deus. As palavras mais usadas no sermão de Gregório de Nissa são: força, poder, aliança, capacidade, energia. Gregório conquista autoridade sobre o povo, não por meio de algum privilégio nem por alguma delegação de poder, mas por 'virtude' (em grego: 'arètè'). *Ele só tinha uma coisa na vida: a virtude* (920). Quando era jovem, Gregório não se dedicava à equitação, caça, festas, namoricos e jogos de azar, mas só ao cultivo da virtude (899). Como José do Egito que afastou a tentação da mulher do Faraó (904).

O aspecto historicamente importante do sermão de Gregório de Nissa consiste no fato que o Taumaturgo se situa no mesmo nível dos sacerdotes pagãos, tratando-os de igual para igual. Ele se comporta como xamã no meio dos xamãs. O missionário cristão tem de provar ser mais forte que o sacerdote local. Gregório cumpre essa tarefa com brilhantismo. Ele entra em campo desafiando o chefe supremo dos demônios com os seguintes dizeres: *Gregório a Satanás: apareça!* E passa uma noite inteira dentro do templo local, repleto de imagens de demônios, com o altar ainda sujo do sangue das ofertas. Saindo ileso da experiência, Gregório reconforta o minúsculo grupo cristão da localidade, composto de apenas dezessete membros, e vai dessa forma fortalecendo a presença cristã na Capadócia.

3. O reconhecimento desse caráter por assim dizer 'xamânico' da atuação do beato na cristianização abre horizontes universalmente humanos para a missão cristã. Como diz Mircea Eliade, o xamã pertence à humanidade, não a uma determinada instituição religiosa[9]. Beatos como Barsanúfio ou Gregório Taumaturgo são negociadores religiosos, ultrapassam os limites da instituição cristã. Só tem condições de negociar quem conhece os dois universos que entram em contacto. O beato possibilita a passagem entre paganismo e cristianismo por ser respeitado de ambos os lados e por representar um poder espiritual que excede as divisões das religiões. O religioso excede a religião. O ajustamento da cultura tradicional a um mundo governado por um novo Deus exige um tempo de suspense entre uma e outra forma. Esse ajustamento é facilitado por meio de contatos (quase nunca documentados por escrito) entre cristãos e não-cristãos por meio de casamentos, comércio ou migração. A passagem ocasional de algum pregador itinerante colabora igualmente, mas não constitui o único fator da evangelização.

O beato missionário emerge como figura solitária numa paisagem pouco documentada. Uma figura que corresponde à necessidade de que alguém apareça para negociar a rendição honrosa dos deuses ao único Deus dos cristãos. A presença de um beato na redondeza facilita um processo em si penoso, normalmente caracterizado por violência (queima de templos, quebra de estátuas e imagens, profanação de santuários, escárnio da fé antiga, marginalização dos ritos antigos, guerra religiosa). O beato usa um método brando, pois ele mesmo é ao mesmo tempo xamã e missionário. Já participa do mundo sobrenatural do religioso antes mesmo de se tornar

cristão. É verdade que as 'Vidas de Santos' quase sempre nos apresentam duelos entre beatos cristãos e feiticeiros pagãos, mas isso mal corresponde ao que efetivamente acontece. Xamã e beato são mais parecidos entre si que a literatura faz crer. O beato é simplesmente um xamã com maiores poderes, pois se apóia no Deus vitorioso, o Deus dos cristãos. Os camponeses que visitam o beato entendem sua maneira de ser, pois eles também são 'bricoleurs' religiosos, eles também ficam construindo sua casa (seu mundo referencial) a partir de elementos os mais diversos. Vivem a 'confluência das influências', como diria Paul Veyne, ou seja (para falar num termo mais usado, provisório mas até hoje insubstituível), o sincretismo.

Os dois exemplos acima apresentados revelam o caráter por assim dizer xamânico da missão cristã. A imagem de um clero extirpador de idolatrias e destruidor dos templos é uma imagem anacrônica. O missionário da antiguidade cristã atua em pé de igualdade com os sacerdotes pagãos. Ele não pode fazer prevalecer o argumento do poder. É um xamã no meio de xamãs. A vocação cristã é xamânica no sentido que constitui um patrimônio comum às mais diversas culturas. O beato missionário, ao entrar num contacto mais profundo com o mundo religioso pagão, quase que naturalmente assume o que a fenomenologia da religião hoje chama de xamanismo.

O xamã afasta-se vida normal. Vive a partir de um sonho, de um êxtase que lhe confere um poder além de todos os poderes: o de curar doentes, interpretar os sinais dos tempos, evocar os espíritos dos animais e dos antepassados. O xamanismo não é incompatível com o evangelho. Há sólidos pontos de contato entre ambos. Evangelho e xamanismo têm em comum a idéia da vocação. Ambos estão à procura das zonas misteriosas da consciência humana e dos sonhos que alimentam sem cessar a humanidade. Hoje é difícil falar desse assunto pois, no processo da formação de ministros das igrejas cristãs, existe o mais das vezes um enfunilamento da experiência original da vocação e um direcionamento para o pragmatismo da instituição, da profissionalização e finalmente do enquadramento da vocação no estado clerical. Apresenta-se um caminho objetivo, estandardizado, padronizado e afinal de contas reduzido, se comparado com a riqueza religiosa da experiência primordial e do sonho que trouxe o candidato às portas da instituição. Através desse enfunilamento da vocação, a formação clerical afinal de contas simplifica um processo em si complexo. O universo inconsciente que exerce um papel preponderante na gênese da vocação, não é mais valorizado. Mas é exatamente em cima da memória do sonho primitivo que o povo apela para pessoas como Gregório, muito mais do que em cima de um projeto que o próprio missionário eventualmente se tenha formulado. Essa problemática se desdobra pois na da profissionalização e da institucionalização do dinamismo da vocação através do chamado institucional. Gregório Taumaturgo vive essa fronteira entre xamanismo e sacerdócio institucional. Ele abandona a solidão para atender ao chamado do bispo no sentido de ir para a Capadócia. Mas no íntimo ele permanece um xamã. O dinamismo de seu carisma brota de dentro para fora, não depende da palavra do bispo. Ele age em nome próprio, exatamente como age o

artista, ele permanece um artista, um construtor de mundos, um fazedor de novas coisas. Expulsa os demônios do templo e os reintroduz depois de batizá-los. Planta seu báculo no chão para deter a fúria das águas, torna-se o advogado do povo sem defesa. Firma a cada momento a credibilidade de sua vocação diante da comunidade mostrando força no curar, inspiração no falar, intensidade no relacionar-se com o mundo dos demônios. Vive continuamente no 'pique', não repousa tranqüilamente sobre o 'ex opere operato' automático da imposição das mãos do bispo. Não invoca um 'status' adquirido por meio de uma ordenação sacerdotal ratificada oficialmente. O carisma o inquieta, e lhe perturba a racionalidade. Em Gregório Taumaturgo se manifesta o conflito entre sacerdócio e profetismo, entre carisma e poder[10], entre beatice e instituição religiosa.

NOTAS

[1] Brown, P., *Authority and the Sacred. Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman World*, Cambridge University Press, 1995, terceiro capítulo.

[2] O texto grego reza: 'Theios anèr' (homem divino, homem santo). Traduzimos por beato por motivos que aparecem ao longo de nosso texto.

[3] Atanásio, *Vida e Conduta de Santo Antão*, Ed. Paulinas, São Paulo, 1991, 31-33. Veja também PG 26, 853-856.

[4] Hoornaert, E., *A Memória do Povo cristão*, Petrópolis, Vozes, 1986, 228-229. Hefele, J., *Histoire des Conciles d'après les Documents originaux*, Latouzey & Ané, Paris, 1907, I, 2, 1034 dá o texto do cânone.

[5] Clévenot, M., *Les Hommes de la Fraternité*, vol. III (1983), Fernand Nathan, Paris, 254.

[6] PL 54, 611.

[7] Causa XVII, 9, IV, c. 37.

[8] Gregório de Nissa, *Vida de Gregório Taumaturgo*, PG 46, 914-918.. Veja também: MacMullen, R., *Two Types of Conversion to Early Christianity*, em: *Vigiliae Christianae*, Leiden, 37, 1983, 186.

[9] Eliade, M., *Das Heilige und das Profane*, Rowohlt, Hamburgo, 1957.

[10] Boff, L., *Igreja, Carisma e Poder, Vozes*, Petrópolis, 1980.

20

UM ECONOMISTA SETECENTISTA DOS DOIS MUNDOS: D. PEDRO MIGUEL DE ALMEIDA PORTUGAL, CONDE DE ASSUMAR, MARQUÊS DE CASTELO NOVO E MARQUÊS DE ALORNA

Fernanda de Camargo-Moro

O comportamento histórico tem que ser observado dentro da visão da época onde os personagens foram introduzidos e que o fato se passou.

Na carta enviada pelo vice-rei da Índia Conde de Assumar e Marquês de Castelo Novo, ao rei de Portugal, em 27 de dezembro de 1745[1], cuja cópia foi encontrada no IHGB[2] do Rio de Janeiro, o futuro Marquês de Alorna presta contas ao rei João V, sobre a situação encontrada ao chegar à Goa.

Neste documento que, para facilitar, chamaremos de a Carta, ou carta de Alorna, o marquês além de relatar detalhadamente a situação encontrada ao chegar, busca trazer soluções para resolver as inúmeras pendências existentes.

Um dos questionamentos que este achado traz, e a razão dele, a carta ter sido enviada ao Brasil por volta de 1750.

Não apenas coincidências, laços e similitudes que uniam os dois lugares devem ter influído, é preciso notar, que Pedro Miguel de Almeida Portugal conhecia muitas particularidades do Brasil, pois aos 28 anos tinha sido nomeado como terceiro Governador e Capitão-mor da Capitania de São Paulo e Minas do Ouro.

Apesar de sua juventude, sua grande prática de comando fez com que tivesse sido considerado pelo rei como a pessoa indicada para manter a ordem entre os mineiros e garantir as rendas da Coroa, o que realizou com brilhantismo. Foi durante este período que por morte do pai recebeu o título de Conde de Assumar.

Em que pese a rudeza com que governou a Capitania, assumindo posições difíceis quando da Sedição de Vila Rica[3], sabe-se que foi um admirável administrador. Segundo Boxer[4], quando em 1721, passou o cargo a Lourenço de Almeida, primeiro

governador da nova capitania das Minas[5], este encontrou todos os quintos pagos, uma força militar organizada e um sistema administrativo regular. Com isso ele teve condições de instalar rapidamente as casas de Fundição do Ouro que Assumar planejara, mas não tivera tempo de implementar.

Desde que partiu de Lisboa, acompanhado de auxiliares na longa viagem que ali se iniciava, Assumar redigiu um detalhado Diário[6]. Este que se tornou peça preciosa como relato de época, deixa entrever a sociabilidade entre os passageiros a bordo das caravelas, nas longas travessias oceânicas, e também as particularidades de uma viagem por terra pelo Brasil de então. Ele descreve com detalhes o transporte precário, belos caminhos, e travessias íngremes, muitas vezes transformados em atoleiros pela chuva tropical.

O diário registra com pormenores a chegada de Pedro Miguel e sua comitiva à Vila do Carmo, no coração das Minas, e relata como de passagem por São Paulo, o senado da vila lhe deu posse no governo. Graças à precisão de sua narrativa foi possível reconstituir com exatidão boa parte da Estrada Real ou Caminho Velho das Minas, de Parati até as vilas mineiras da região do ouro.

A acuidade de seu relato de viagem também é reconhecido na carta do IHGB escrita depois de assumir o vice-reinado da Índia. Nela ele faz uma averiguação exemplar sobre a situação, propondo soluções tangíveis.

Nesta carta, Assumar feito Marques de Castelo Novo, por João V ao ser nomeado vice-rei da Índia[7], abre um leque de preciosas informações sobre a difícil situação em que se encontravam as províncias portuguesas ultramarinas. Trouxe uma visão muito lúcida e nítida do que se passava em Goa, e em outras áreas na época sob controle português. Depois de abordar a situação política ainda calma em relação às forças locais marathas, cita suas tentativas de paz:

"Todo este inverno estive em contínuas negociações com a Corte de Satará, onde habita Xactanaya o principal rei dos Marathas, do qual dependem todos os outros pequenos reis, ou seja, correspondendo directamente com ele mesmo ou com alguns destes Ministros". Prossegue depois dizendo que "o fruto que até agora colhi, se posso bem julgar até esta data, é que este ano os Marathas não nos preocuparam".

No ano seguinte, porém, esta periclitante harmonia se desfez obrigando o vice-rei à tomar armas com bravura para defender as terras ao norte de Goa. O sucesso deste feito lhe proporcionou o título de marquês de Alorna, em honra da heróica tomada do forte do mesmo nome.

Na carta, ele prossegue abordando com muita precisão áreas de interesse econômico e administrativo. Ao citar a decadência de Goa, e a situação séria na qual se encontrava todas as possessões da Ásia, sem administração competente, demonstrou o grande déficit e sua obstinação em reduzir os custos. Entre estes declinou a necessidade de diminuição das despesas do estado, propondo uma dura revisão do pessoal, para tentar tornar mais flexível a máquina administrativa. Para fazer este

sério relatório, solicitado pelo Rei, tentou ouvir todos os sectores, pedindo relatórios aos responsáveis do governo e da Igreja. Porém sua desilusão foi grande[8] porque sobre as informações pedidas imprescindíveis para realizar as mudanças necessárias, as opiniões locais eram dúbias. A carta cita que todos estavam de acordo em suprimir certas estruturas de governo, como o Tribunal de Contas, mas cada um informava que nada de errado existia no seu próprio domínio, mas ao mesmo tempo, propunha mudanças estruturais no dos outros.

"Por este parecer Vossa Majestade verá a extravagância de alguns e, pois no seu próprio ambiente de trabalho ninguém encontra algo a reformar. Mas excedendo o seu serviço quer reformar o dos outros; o que se pode ver mais particularmente no parecer do Superior dos Padres do Oratório, ao julgar que as tropas de oficiais, os sipaios, as fortalezas não são necessários, e se intromete mesmo a formar a defesa deste Governo mais como um general maleável, do que como um eclesiástico, não sendo inconveniente confessar sua ignorância a este respeito".

"O parecer do Inquisidor Antonio do Amaral, que é um dos Conselheiros de Estado, não é similar: é menos extravagante que o acima citado".

Sobre as relações com os tribunais, a carta continua:

"… Como a maior parte dos pareceres estava de acordo para o estabelecimento dos dízimos, conformei-me, e por outra carta, vossa Majestade verá as directivas que tomei para isso, pois como Vossa Majestade declarou na mesma instrução, para este caso, eu devia tomar resoluções que pertencessem ao meu órgão jurisdicional, das quais devia lhe dar conta… (…) por esta mesma directiva abstive-me de suprimir o Tribunal das Contas embora quase todos os pareceres fossem de acordo para que não existisse prejuízo grave no cumprimento da vossa Real determinação".

O entusiasmo e a insistência do vice-rei em encontrar soluções imediatas para os problemas de Goa, e suas tentativas de buscar novas estruturas capazes de salvá-la, não parece ter encontrado nenhum eco nos administradores locais.

Passa então a assinalar a importância e o potencial econômico das outras possessões portuguesas:

"Diu, situado nas portas da Cambaya e, portanto, aberto ao Senna Pérsico, ao Mar Roxo (Mar Vermelho), e Mascate. Andejiva é um admirável entreposto da pimenta de Sunda, e de tudo da costa de Onôr. O entreposto de Mangalore é muito útil para o arroz, e o de Calicut para as madeiras e os equipamentos necessários para a guerra. Em São Tomé, situado sobre a costa Malabar[9], de onde se pode comodamente prosseguir os negócios de Bengala, de Pegu e do Sião, onde também temos estabelecimentos. No Timor e Solor, têm-se negócios de sândalo, e em Macau com a China. Finalmente temos a costa da África que produz bens preciosos como o ouro, o marfim, o maná, a tartaruga, e o caurí tão necessário para o comércio em Bengala, além de uma grande quantidade de drogas medicinais".

Ao comparar as possessões portuguesas vis a vis às demais possessões européias, suas palavras são encorajadores: "Mesmo após ter sido despojada pelas

nações estrangeiras da Europa, e ultimamente pelos marathas, senhores de consideráveis domínios, em Goa nos encontramos numa melhor situação que todos os outros estrangeiros para fazer prosperar o Comércio, e obter vantagens".

Em sua opinião, Portugal, mais que os outros países europeus comprometidos no comércio com a Ásia, tinha os pontos de apoio necessários para estabelecer sólidas bases de comércio. Para tal a situação penosa de Goa era um dos entraves que precisariam ser não apenas profundamente examinado, mas solucionado. O vice-rei não podia aceitar que esta cidade, anteriormente populosa e magnífica, pudesse ter entrado em tal decadência. Sob o aspecto da expansão cristã cita que apenas subsistia a magnificência dos antigos monumentos como talvez o único sinal da cristandade ali ainda existente.

"Goa que, anteriormente, foi populosa e magnífica, fustigada pela justa cólera de Deus, é apenas ruínas, que nos atestam sua antiga grandeza. Paróquias que tinham trinta mil paroquianos, hoje têm mais apenas seis. Outras paróquias que tinham doze, hoje não têm nenhum, vê-se apenas os Templos testemunhos da magnificência, e da antiga piedade, talvez o único sinal da Cristandade existente neste País. Assim verdadeiramente pode-se dizer que nesta Cidade não há, nem houve polícia; todos os habitantes estão dispersos afastados um dos outros de duas ou três milhas, é por isso que todos os negócios e expedições são mais longas que em qualquer outro País".

Após as criticas feitas através de minuciosa avaliação, inclusive com a anexação de outros documentos vê as possibilidades de vencer esta decadência através do renascimento do comércio. Em sua opinião só ele poderia retificar a situação das posições portuguesas daquele Estado. Para esta realização essencial, trouxe sugestões interessantes sobre a maneira de retomar o comércio, criando uma companhia que teria características semelhantes às dos outros países europeus, porém maior precisão em suas ações.. Justificando o mau resultado da Companhia de Comercio da Índia, e de outras experiências do tipo, afirma a necessidade de reconsiderar este assunto, buscando uma reformulação mais adequada.

Propôs que fosse dada uma responsabilidade essencial aos seus líderes, assegurando que o desenvolvimento do comércio seria a solução para resolver a situação que existia nas possessões de Portugal na Ásia, que se tornariam respeitáveis por este comércio. Ao demonstrar o quanto contribuiu a Junta que se estabeleceu em Lisboa para a restauração da Angola, e do Brasil após a ocupação holandesa, estimula o comércio mais uma vez: "Não penso que exista outro meio mais eficaz que o comércio: graças a ele tantas repúblicas se tornaram formidáveis, não só as antigas Repúblicas de Tiro e Cartago, vemos como a Inglaterra e a Holanda se tornaram respeitadas pelo seu comércio, e quanto contribuiu a Junta que se estabeleceu em Lisboa para a restauração da Angola, e do Brasil após ter sido ocupado pelos Holandeses. Se perdemos as idéias heróicas, de pompa e ostentação, e se nos interessarmos à conservação do Domínio, e da Cristandade, e à força necessária para apoiá-los, veremos que isto é o útil e o sólido".

E continua magistralmente na defesa do comércio: “Mas sem perdermos as mesmas idéias heróicas consideramos que ao tempo dos Almeidas, e Albuquerques se as armas prosperaram gloriosamente neste Estado, é porque ao mesmo tempo o comércio também prosperou; e como o fraco Tesouro Real deste tempo teria podido satisfazer à grande despesa das conquistas, se não tivessem existido os grandes tesouros de especiarias e outras mercadorias preciosas, que suscitaram a cupidez das nações estrangeiras”.

“Algumas pessoas poderão colocar objecções contra esta idéia, dizendo que ao momento que certas companhias das nações estrangeiras estão em decadência, como será possível prosperar aquela que se quer novamente formar? Isto se responderá que não é novidade no mundo que a ruína de uns pode ser a fortuna dos outro, mas este não é o principal fundamento”.

“Todas as companhias estrangeiras quando se formaram no Oriente, para que se estabelecessem lhes foi necessário conquistar e adquirir situações ou terras novas; elas deviam se fortalecer para a sua própria segurança, pagar e transportar pessoas para defendê-la, e começar por defender um imenso capital gasto antes de ter algum lucro. Nesta nova companhia, o País já está descoberto, povoado pelo seu povo, e seus rendimentos são lá estabelecidos, fortificações estão feitas e ali se encontram além das embarcações grandes e pequenas, os soldados e os oficiais que estão prontos. Além de todas as melhores situações para o comércio; e se a Vossa Majestade não entra na companhia com outros fundos, o que existe já não é pouco”.

Passa então a dar uma ideia do que deveria ser a estrutura essencial da companhia, e a responsabilidade que os futuros vice-reis deveriam ter para que o negócio evoluísse, e com isso pudessem ser salvos os domínios portugueses da região e a presença cristã na Ásia.

Através da Carta, mais uma vez é mostrada a visão ampla deste vice-rei da Índia, muito moderna para sua época, e já prevendo as aspirações futuras de Portugal. Quando morto o rei João V e coroado José I, o Marquês de Pombal ao assumir o governo estabelece uma nova política econômica onde as companhias de comércio foram reconsideradas.

Porém o que pergunto é se em Goa e no Brasil, o terreno de base tinha sido aplainado através da redução de pessoal, e de custos supérfluos antes das companhias serem estabelecidas. O mandato do vice-rei era curto para que ele próprio objetivasse as modificações que propôs[10]. Daí muitos de seus projetos de grande envergadura ficassem apenas nos alinhavos. Porém uma semente produtiva essencial foi plantada.

O fato da cópia desta carta ter sido enviada ao Brasil demonstra que a proposta de Alorna, provavelmente foi bem aceita pelo Rei que visualizou uma possibilidade dela ser ali adaptada.

No que concerne às ligações entre a Índia e o Brasil, as trocas comerciais já existentes provenientes do envio do tabaco brasileiro principalmente para Goa já davam

seus primeiros passos na linha que Assumar propôs na carta. Ele conhecia de longa data a situação econômica do Brasil e seguia sua evolução. Além disso, outros documentos posteriores demonstram que novas formas de abertura para as trocas foram propostas. Algumas não prosseguiram, mas o sonho de João IV de Bragança, sobre a troca de espécimes vegetais persistiu.

As posteriores companhias de comércio do Grão Pará e Maranhão e a de Pernambuco e Paraíba no norte e nordeste do Brasil queiram ou não os pombalistas, foram inspiradas nas idéias de Alorna. Mantiveram a sequência do projeto joanino da troca de espécies vegetais, abrindo para o cacau, e o cravo do girofleiro endógeno, o cravo do Maranhão, as especiarias oleaginosas e resinas[11]. Produtos estes que visavam uma extensão do comércio.

No entanto, muito cedo as companhias brasileiras mudaram o rumo e acabaram dissolvidas, como anteriormente haviam sido outras, companhias de comércio do Brasil e da Índia. Mas se nos dias de hoje, olharmos o panorama econômico de ambos os países, vemos no substrato a idéia das companhias de Alorna, marcando o compasso do desenvolvimento comercial de ambos os países.

As ligações entre o Brasil e a Índia Portuguesa haviam sido reforçadas por todo o vice-reinado de Alorna. A busca de especiarias indiáticas para as plantações das terras brasileiras foi uma constante, assim como a tentativa de implantação de uma tecelagem de algodão[12]. O tabaco como grande fonte de troca comercial do Brasil com a Índia foi posterior, no último quatriênio do século dezoito. As especiarias em especial a canela, mesmo de pior qualidade que a do Ceilão, continuaram a se desenvolver, a pimenta penetrou juntamente com as mangueiras e as cássias nas matas brasileiras e em menor quantidade e do mesmo modo o cravo-da-índia. Os craveiros (girofleiros) do Maranhão, cortiça e flores, continuaram a ser produzidos. Tudo isto acelerou o comércio – fator imprescindível para o desenvolvimento – como havia julgado Alorna.

A segunda metade do século dezoito, e os anos que a cercaram, foi uma época muito perturbada. Na Índia, os afegãos pilharam Deli, os marathas depuseram o mogól Ahmad Shah II, e na batalha de Plassey em Bengala, os Ingleses impuseram sua dominação. Em Goa, a situação se tornou ainda mais complexa com disputas constantes entre os portugueses e os poderes locais. Um dos problemas sérios foi o problema religioso. A carta de Alorna mostra que a Inquisição tinha ainda nessa época uma grande influência em Goa, o que complicava a situação junto do poder dos Maratas, que continuavam a atacar. A cidade de Goa, considerada insalubre, foi abandonada e a sede do governo passou em 1758 à nova cidade de Goa, na entrada do Rio Mandovi, vizinha do Porto de Marmugão. O café brasileiro aparecendo como uma nova fonte de lucro distraiu a atenção da coroa portuguesa desolada com a diminuição do ouro. A assinatura do "Tratado de Madrid" reconheceu para Portugal a possessão das terras a oeste do meridiano de Tordesilhas, e a paisagem do Portugal ultramarino se alterou.

Quando falamos da paisagem, interpretamos de maneira integrada, com a participação do homem e sua cultura, ligados ao seu meio ambiente. Seria um erro considerarmos, em relação à Goa e ao Brasil, apenas a transformação física de esta paisagem sem as modificações trazidas pelo povoamento. Florestas foram destruídas e transformadas em embarcações para acelerar as comunicações, ou para dar lugar às grandes superfícies de culturas antrópicas, as monoculturas, o que será um dos aspectos negativos do desenvolvimento desta paisagem. Além disso, todos estes movimentos trouxeram mudanças para os indivíduos, principalmente em sua mentalidade, devido aos contactos interculturais.

Da mesma maneira que os habitantes de Goa, pelos seus contactos, criaram as suas próprias características com um perfil diferente do de outrora, os do Brasil, e de outras possessões portuguesas, criaram suas próprias fisionomias.

No fim do século, com uma diferença de alguns anos, dois movimentos para a independência, a Revolta dos Pintos em Goa, em 1787, e a Inconfidência Mineira no Brasil, em 1789, foram reacções que mostram que estas duas possessões estavam coincidentemente num processo de reconhecimento da sua própria individualidade.

Alorna tinha lutado intensamente contra o empobrecimento e desintegração das províncias portuguesas na Ásia e de certo modo na América. No Brasil, quando Governador ele conseguiu impedir a Sedição de Vila Rica, em 1720 e em Goa ele impediu a destruição da Goa portuguesa batalhando contra os indígenas marathas. Visto com os olhos de hoje, ele seria tido como repressor. Mas é preciso lembrar que as duas atuações foram em favor de seu próprio país, Portugal, e suas duas intervenções visaram consolidar financeiramente e politicamente as duas regiões.

Traçando um paralelo entre o comportamento do Conde de Assumar no Brasil e em Goa, o reconhecemos como um brilhante fidalgo portugês, enérgico, magnífico relator e analista das situações encontradas nas provincias, admirável administrador, e dotado de grande coragem. Além disso, com sua visão profunda sabia não apenas reconhecer errros, mas propôr soluções.

Eis ai a resposta ao questionamento que coloquei de início sobre a remessa da Carta de Alorna para o Brasil: Nos dois lugares, o marquês demonstrara sua força contra as tentativas nativas de subversão, agindo de acordo com seus princípios. A solução que propôs para Goa era também uma boa alternativa para resolver os problemas do Brasil, na época. Daí a cópia ter sido enviada com presteza. Nas duas participações, vemos sua mão de ferro enfrentando problemas sérios que se opunham ao desenvolvimento, propondo transformações através de soluções plausíveis.

Sua carta é um dos mais lúcidos documentos sobre a importância do comércio no desenvolvimento de uma nação.

NOTAS

[1] 1745 Dezembro 27, Goa: Carta do marquês de Alorna [vice-rei da Índia, D. Pedro Miguel de Almeida Portugal], para D. João V, sobre o aumento das rendas reais e diminuição da despesa na Índia. (Miscelânea, séc. XVI-XVIII, fls. 38-57) Cod. 51-VII-48.

1745 Dezembro 27, Goa.

Carta do Vice-Rei da Índia, conde de Assumar, e Marquês de Castelo Novo e mais tarde de Alorna ao Rei João V sobre a situação e o e desenvolvimento dos estados da Índia. Goa, 27 de dezembro de 1745, 11 fl., Lata 73, doc. IHGB no Rio de Janeiro.

[2] Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro.

[3] Antecedentes: Na região das Minas Gerais, a elevada carestia de vida, os tributos cobrados com rigor pela Coroa portuguesa e a perspectiva da criação da *Casa de Fundição e da Moeda* para recolher o quinto real, causavam a indignação da população local contra as autoridades metropolitanas. Nesse contexto, na iminência da instalação da Casa de Fundição em 1720, as camadas urbanas de Vila Rica sob a liderança de Felipe dos Santos Freire, se revoltaram exigindo um relaxamento da política fiscal portuguesa.

[4] Boxer, Charles R., *A Idade de Ouro do Brasil – 1695/1750 – Dores de Crescimento de uma Sociedade Colonial*. Rio de Janeiro, Nova Fronteira, 2000.

[5] Desmembrada da antiga capitania de São Paulo e Minas do Ouro.

[6] Távora, Maria José Távora e Queiroz Cobra, Rubem: *Um comerciante do século XVIII: Domingos Rodrigues Cobra , Procurador do Conde de Assuma*, tendo como apêndice*: Diário Completo da viagem do Conde de Assumar de Lisboa às minas do Ouro* Editora Athalaia, Brasília, 1999, 240 p.

[7] Vice-rei da Índia entre 1744 e 1750.

[8] Mauro, Frédéric, *Le Portugal, Le Brésil et l'Atlantique au XVIIe Siècle, 1570-1670*, Gulbenkian, Centre Culturel Portugais, 1983, p. 170.

[9] Costa do Coromandel.

[10] É sabido que problemas particulares o haviam feito solicitar um mandato de pouca duração.

[11] Cf. Fréderic Mauro, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

[12] Esta não teve prosseguimento no vice-reinado que seguiu ao de Alorna.

21

DA "HORA DA LUSOFONIA" À "CRÍTICA DA RAZÃO LUSÓFONA" OU VICE-VERSA

Fernando Santos Neves

O filósofo Kant, que fez todas as "*críticas*" que conhecemos a todas as "*Razões*" ("*Razão Pura", "Razão Prática",* etc.), deverá considerar-se, por isso e necessariamente, um "*logófobo*" (inimigo da razão e das razões) ou, pelo contrário, um "*logófilo*" (amigo das mesmas)?

Alguém que insiste, como tem sido o meu caso, na necessidade de uma "*permanente crítica da razão lusófona*"[1] em ordem ao advento efectivo e interessante da "*Lusofonia e da sua Hora*" e principalmente alguém, como é o caso do Professor Teotónio de Souza, que não tem cessado de criticar muitas lusofonias reais e sobretudo muitos reais lusófonos, deverá ser acusado como "*lusófobo militante*" em todas as suas constantes abordagens "*lusólogas*"?

É para responder a esta e semelhantes questões que me proponho estabelecer a relação entre uma necessária e permanente "*Critica da Razão Lusófona*" e uma não menos necessária e urgente "*Hora da Lusofonia*"[2].

A "HORA CAIROLÓGICA DA LUSOFONIA" E RESPECTIVA URGENTE CONSTRUÇÃO

A palavra "cairologia" foi por mim introduzida na Língua Portuguesa (o que não quer dizer que já conste dos dicionários oficiais…) e a primeira definição escrita e formal aparece no livro "*Ecumenismo em Angola, Do Ecumenismo Cristão ao Ecumenismo Universal* (Luanda, Editorial Colóquios, 1968; nova edição, Lisboa, Edições Universitárias Lusófonas, 2005):

"…«Cairologia» é a visão, o tratado, a filosofia, a teologia do «tempo», no seu conteúdo histórico-biblico «Kairos» não é um tempo («Xronos»), um dia um momento qualquer…, é … o «tempo da graça», o «tempo oportuno e propício», o «tempo favorável», a «hora certa»…"[3].

Começando pela questão da "Língua Portuguesa (que, evidentemente, é de grande importância até porque, de algum modo, é o "santo e a senha" e não só o "pretexto" mas, literalmente, o "texto" de tudo o mais...), já se deram conta os próprios lusófonos do lugar de grande "***língua universal***" que é, cada vez mais, o lugar da Língua Portuguesa no Mundo? Lugar que recebeu significativo empurrão com o normalíssimo facto de o Português ter sido considerado "*língua oficial*" do recente Campeonato do Mundo de Futebol na Alemanha e lugar que receberia empurrões ainda mais significativos se o Português, como normalíssimo seria desde há muito, se tornasse "*língua oficial*" do Vaticano e da Igreja Católica (sendo o Brasil, como é e de longe, o maior país católico do mundo!) e se o Brasil viesse a ocupar, como será finalmente inevitável, um lugar permanente no "Conselho de Segurança" da renovada "O.N.U". Como Fernando Pessoa já previa nos anos 20 do século passado, enquanto língua falada em todos os continentes e enquanto língua falada por uma grande potência (a "era BRIC está no horizonte e, para quem não saiba, o "B" é a inicial de Brasil, sendo as outras letras as iniciais da Rússia, da Índia e da China e alguns até falam de "BRICA", sendo este último "A" a inicial de Angola...), a Língua Portuguesa está destinada a ser uma das pouquíssimas "***línguas universais***" do século XXI, categoria a que nem mesmo línguas tão prestigiosas como o Francês, o Alemão, o Italiano, o Espanhol, o Russo, o Chinês, o Hindi … têm evidente acesso. E, entretanto, os próprios lusófonos por vezes até parecem complexados de o serem e pouco fazem para que a Língua Portuguesa ocupe, culturalmente, turisticamente, politicamente, etc., o lugar que por direito próprio lhe compete no mundo actual. Para quando, por exemplo, a criação de uma "**Academia Inter-Lusófona da Língua Portuguesa",** para quando, por exemplo, a aprovação e a vigência efectiva de um "**Acordo Ortográfico Lusófono**", para quando, por exemplo, a activação do **"Instituto Internacional da Língua Portuguesa",** para quando, por exemplo, a ultrapassagem do provincianismo que impede de entender que o "**investimento em Leitores e Professores de Português"** no mundo inteiro, a começar obviamente nos Espaços Lusófonos, é, além do resto, o investimento económico-político mais rentável, etc.? E quero aproveitar da oportunidade para efusivamente saudar a inauguração do "**Museu da Língua Portuguesa**" na maior cidade lusófona (e quase também não lusófona) do mundo que é a cidade brasileira de São Paulo, até porque isto poderá bem ter sido, para os Brasileiros, o princípio do princípio, ou seja, o princípio da percepção de que a "dimensão lusófona" é provavelmente a única coisa que tem faltado à audaz diplomacia brasileira de grande potência emergente e liderante do Presidente Lula!

A "**Hora Cairológica da Lusofonia**" é a hora de abandonar, definitivamente, todas as mitideologias do passado, do presente e do futuro, desde as saudades dos reais colonialismos lusíadas de antanho até às vontades de imaginários (quintos ou outros) impérios felizmente utópicos e ucrónicos, no sentido mais prosaico dos termos.

A *"Hora Cairológica da Lusofonia"* é a hora de fazer a pertinente análise sócio-cultural, económico-política e geo-estratégica do Mundo Contemporâneo e nele descobrir, lúcida, activa e organizadamente, o lugar insubstituível do(s) Espaço(s) Lusófono(s), para bem de todos eles e para bem de todo o "Espaço Humano…"

A *"Hora Cairológica da Lusofonia"* é também a hora de chamar a atenção especial dos inconscientes ou distraídos Políticos Luso-Brasileiros para o facto de que, assim como Portugal só poderá ser interessantemente Lusófono enquanto plenamente Europeu, também só poderá ser interessantemente Europeu enquanto plenamente Lusófono e para o facto de que, assim como a Lusofonia sem o Brasil nunca será Lusofonia nenhuma, também o Brasil sem a Lusofonia nunca deixará de ser o eterno *"país do futuro"*, até porque, de maneira mais geral (entenda quem puder!), não se trata de mera tautologia afirmar que todos os Países e Povos de Língua Portuguesa ou serão Lusófonos ou nunca serão de nenhum modo!

Já há imensas "lusofonias", só que não há a "Lusofonia"; já há imensas e porventura até demasiadas "coisas" lusófonas, só que falta ainda a "Coisa" da Lusofonia, sem a qual tudo o mais nunca passará de bricabraque ou de um conjunto de inúteis e até contraproducentes bugigangas…

E a tão celebrada "*Hora da Globalização ou das Globalizações*" (incluindo a "canonico-ortodoxa" e as "heterodoxas e resistentes Alter-globalizações"), como, aliás, a "*Hora da União Europeia*" (cujo "modelo social" consubstanciado nos ideais da Democracia, Direitos Humanos e Desenvolvimento ainda hoje constitui, salvo para alguns Europeus desvairados, um dos objectivos essenciais de toda a Humanidade), a "*Hora do Mercosul*" (que, não obstante os seus conhecidos altos e baixos, muito devido aos históricos (des)amores e (maus)humores brasileiros e argentinos, esquecendo-se estes que, por grandes que sejam, demográfica e economicamente correspondem a um só dos Estados Brasileiros como São Paulo, constitui(u) um dos exemplos mais prometedores de associação entre Povos e Países, com anunciados e esperados crescimentos não só de carácter geográfico) e mesmo a "*Hora da Ibero-América*" (de que o mega-encontro de Maio 2005, em Sevilha, dos Reitores das Universidades Ibero-americanas e a última cimeira Ibero-Americana de Salamanca, em Outubro 2005, que levou à criação da "Secretaria-Geral Ibero-americana" com sede em Madrid, foi privilegiado momento, apesar das ambiguidades que levaram observadores portugueses a alertar, legitimamente: *"Atenção Lusófonos, Caveant Lusophoni!"*), deveriam significar também, embora por razões, intenções e empenhos diversos, a *"Hora Cairológica da Lusofonia"*!

A *"Hora Cairológica da Lusofonia"* aqui proclamada não só não é impedida por ou impeditiva de quaisquer outras *"Horas"* citadas, mas, ao contrário, só por elas é tornada possível e interessante, ao mesmo tempo que é *"conditio sine qua non"* para que todas elas não se tornem uma ilusão ou uma alienação e poderia mesmo ser apresentada como um dos mais emblemáticos *"casos de estudo"* do neologismo que dá pelo nome de *"Glocalização"*.

E a "TESE" (que, evidentemente, aceita e agradece discutir outras Teses e Anti-Teses, em ordem à "Sin-Tese" final) que tenho procurado de mil e um modos e em mil e um lugares demonstrar e realizar é, conclusivamente, a seguinte:

Mais que projecto ou "questão cultural" e até "linguistico-literária", a Lusofonia é, além de um muito importante projecto ou "questão de Língua", sobretudo um importantíssimo e decisivo projecto ou "questão de estratégia geopolítica". O que também é válido para a designada CPLP, que deveria adoptar o nome menos restritivo de "Comunidade Lusófona" e estar aberta a outros Países e Povos, para além dos rígidos critérios políticos ou linguísticos.

Assim entendida, esta "**Hora Cairológica da Lusofonia**", englobando a "**Hora Cairológica da Língua Portuguesa**", tornar-se-ia também, oxalá os políticos lucidamente o entendessem e corajosamente o decidissem, a "**Hora Cairológica da futura C.P.L.P."**, sob a nova designação de **"Comunidade Lusófona".**

PARA UMA "CRÍTICA DA RAZÃO LUSÓFONA"

Á semelhança do que o filósofo Kant pretendeu fazer tanto para a "*Razão Pura*" como para a "*Razão Prática*", e até para responder fundamentadamente aos inevitáveis discursos incómodos sobre eventuais "*lusofonias suspeitas, patrioteiras, colonialistas e outras que tais*", há que elaborar a **"Crítica da Razão Lusófona"**, ou seja, estabelecer as condições de legitimidade, de possibilidade, de pertinência e de urgência da construção da **Lusofonia,** as quais, também Kantianamente, poderiam intitular-se de **"Prolegómenos a toda a Lusofonia Futura"**.

Da realidade e projecto de tal **"Lusofonia"**, **"Espaço Lusófono"**, **"CPLP", "União ou Comunidade Lusófona"** ou designações semelhantes não devem considerar-se ausentes nem as diásporas mais históricas simbolizadas por Macau e Goa nem as diásporas mais modernas dos Emigrantes Lusos e demais Povos Lusófonos espalhados pelo Mundo, **a começar pelas Gentes Africanas e Brasileiras a viver em território português e que, no mínimo, deveriam ter direitos de cidadania idênticos às pessoas provenientes dos Países Europeus**.

A **Lusofonia** não pode ser, mas não está automaticamente excluído que seja ou se torne, uma versão retardada ou camuflada dos colonialismos políticos, económicos e culturais de antanho, ou de agora ou do futuro. E, por exemplo, certos apregoados lusos "regressos a África" e a outros sítios poderiam fazer lembrar alguns desses remanescentes fantasmas.

A **Lusofonia** deverá igualmente e consequentemente implicar a superação definitiva das clássicas ideologias do género do "*luso-tropicalismo*", do "*bom colonialismo português*", do *"não-racismo brasileiro*", do "*colonialismo anti-económico"* e quejandas, e designadamente desses dois indestrutíveis mitos que dão pelo nome

do **"*passado glorioso de Portugal*"** e do não menos **"*glorioso futuro do Brasil*".** Embora, por razões diversas e ultrapassadas as suas mitideologias e os seus provincianismos, de que já falaremos, **Portugal e Brasil** possam e devam ser os primeiros grandes motores da **Lusofonia** e da CPLP e sejam os responsáveis históricos do seu possível êxito ou do seu não impossível fracasso. Oxalá as actuais classes dirigentes de Portugal e do Brasil estejam ao nível deste desafio histórico, o que não parece, visivelmente, ser o caso, para desgraça de todos os lusófonos. Aliás, **Lusofonia e C.P.L.P.** (e não gostaria de ter de acrescentar outros nomes e outras siglas, como o "*Instituto Internacional de Língua Portuguesa, a Associação das Universidades de Língua Portuguesa"*, o "*Acordo Ortográfico*", etc…) quase não passam ainda, na linguagem dos antigos filósofos medievais, de *"entes de razão sem fundamento na realidade" ("entia rationis sine fundamento in re")*! Caberá a todos os que pensam que o projecto vale a pena demonstrar que somos capazes de as transformar em *"entes reais e vivos*", com lugar e papel insubstituíveis na realidade geopolítica Portuguesa, Brasileira, Africana, Timorense, Europeia, Americana, Asiática e Mundial!

Especificamente sobre a **"Crítica da Razão Lusófona"**, essencial é a superação de todos os **provincianismos**, tanto os mais grosseiros de isolamento e de atraso como os mais subtis de heterocentramento e de alienação, que afectam, com maior ou menor consciência e virulência, os diversos espaços do Espaço Lusófono ou os diversos Países e Povos de Língua Portuguesa, e de que, a seguir, apresento uma pequena lista meramente exemplificativa.

1. Relativamente a **Portugal** e para além de um "imperial-saudosismo", que releva mais da psicanálise que de qualquer análise económica ou política, relembro o nauseabundo **provincianismo** que, desde há tempos, venho chamando a **"doença infantil do europeísmo"** ou a **"concepção novorriquista, pacóvia, discipular e Schengeniana da integração europeia de Portugal",** como se, por ser e para ser Europeu, Portugal devesse deixar de ser Português e Lusófono e como se, ao contrário, e se não houvesse outras razões ainda mais válidas, até não fosse a **"Lusofonia"**, retomando as palavras de Almeida Garrett, o grande e específico peso de Portugal *"na balança da Europa"* e do Mundo. Embora não me admirasse que, dentro de algum tempo, tal "*doença infantil do europeismo*" viesse a ser substituída ou até acompanhada pelo não menos nauseabundo provincianismo da "*doença senil do anti-europeismo patrioteiro…"*
2. Relativamente ao **Brasil**, mencionarei aquele **provincianismo** de alguns novos senhores do País, que quase lamentam o facto e quase se envergonham de serem lusófonos, não se dando conta de que, na geopolítica multipolar que se desenha e se deseja, a **"Lusofonia"** constitui chance única para o Brasil vir a ser alguém no concerto das potências do século XXI. Não haverá ninguém que consiga abrir os olhos dos Lusófonos Brasileiros a este axioma tão óbvio

como essencial: Sem Brasil não haverá Lusofonia, mas também sem a Lusofonia que interessa não haverá Brasil que venha a interessar! E quando tomarão os Brasileiros a sério a frase terrível do seu Presidente, Fernando Henrique Cardoso: *"O Brasil não é um país subdesenvolvido, é um país injusto*"**,** até porque, com as estruturas sociais existentes, dificilmente deixará de ser o eterno "*país de nenhum futuro*".

Será que as celebrações dos quinhentos anos do seu "achamento" pelos Portugueses terão conseguido levar o Brasil a "reachar-se lusofonamente" e, sobretudo, "humanamente" a si próprio?

3. Relativamente aos **Países Africanos**, lembrarei, por um lado, o **provincianismo** da não-resolução ou da re-emergência de certos complexos (e não só os clássicos de Édipo) e, por outro lado, o **provincianismo** típico de certas elites pseudo-globalizadas, des-africanizadas e des-humanizadas.

   O Colonialismo ou Imperialismo foi, certamente, o *"último estádio do Capitalismo"* (Lenine dixit!), o Neocolonialismo foi, certamente, o *"ultimo estádio do Imperialismo"*, (dixit Nkrumah!) um certo Desenvolvimento e uma certa Cooperação e uma certa Lusofonia poderão ter sido ou querer ser o "*último estádio do Neocolonialismo*" (dixerunt alii!), a tão badalada "*Globalização Contemporânea*" poderá ser ou vir a ser o "*último estádio de todas estas explorações e alienações*" (timent multi!), fenómenos como guerras e catástrofes naturais poderão ter "explicado" coisas intoleráveis; mas nada justifica e nada desculpa muitas das desgraças africanas do nosso tempo como nada justifica e nada desculpa muitos dos comportamentos de certas elites africano-lusófonas.

   Para dizer que não é coisa nenhuma, um dos números da revista "*Angolê, Revista de Sociedade e Cultura"*, Março 2002, p. 66, terminava um ataque ao Governo Português, dizendo, que *"Lusofonia rima… com utopia"*. A "*Lusofonia*" aqui avançada, essa tem que rimar, poética mas realisticamente, com a "*utopia"* a que eu, dei o nome de "*pantopia*" dos direitos humanos, da democracia e do desenvolvimento económico-social de todos os Países Africanos de Língua Portuguesa.

4. Relativamente à **Galiza** (de certo modo, com a Região Norte de Portugal, a mãe de todas as **Lusofonias**!) e reconhecendo embora todo o peso da história, darei o exemplo do **provincianismo** que designei de **"questão espanhola"** (a não confundir com a "questão do Castelhano", que é toda uma outra questão) e que poderíamos traduzir na seguinte fórmula: a Galiza, por ser e para ser Lusófona, por ser e para ser um espaço integrante e activo do Espaço Lusófono e membro da **C.P.L.P**., não precisa minimamente de pôr em causa a sua pertença ao Estado Espanhol, no quadro da grande Região Transfronteiriça Europeia do Noroeste Peninsular, de que a cidade do Porto é

reconhecidamente a Capital incontestada (não se entendendo, aliás, porque não faça parte das "Cidades Capitais" componentes da "*UCCLA – União das Cidades Capitais de Língua Portuguesa*").

Muitos Galegos já começaram a percebê-lo, a maior parte dos Portugueses (sobretudo, Lisboetas e até alguns Nortenhos!) e dos outros Lusófonos ainda não.

5. Relativamente ao caso de **Timor**, permito-me começar por citar palavras minhas escritas em 1996, felizmente, na substância mas não sob todos os aspectos, inactuais:

   "Num mundo que proclama colocar no centro das suas preocupações o respeito e a implementação dos Direitos Humanos e especificamente o Direito à Autodeterminação dos Povos, a situação de **Timor-Leste** é um dos pecados que bradam aos céus (infelizmente, mais que à terra!) e um dos escândalos intoleráveis do nosso tempo: uma **CPLP** que, por pensamentos, palavras, obras ou omissões, esqueça ou adie a solução do **"caso timorense"**, continuando a permitir que a força do direito fique subordinada ao direito da força, será a negação prática permanente da sua reclamada existência e finalidade. A inclusão explícita de Timor-Leste entre os membros da CPLP aparece como a prova mínima da seriedade activa e passiva deste projecto lusófono."

   Será que tanto **Portugal** como a **C.P.L.P.** e **Timor Lorosae** já perceberam que os seus verdadeiros interesses humanos e estratégicos, ao contrário do que, a curto prazo e a curtas vistas possa parecer, a lúcido e definitivo prazo passam pela **Lusofonia?** Xanana Gusmão dixit e Xanana Gusmão é que sabe!

6. Relativamente a todas as **Diásporas Lusófonas** (e até às simplesmente Lusófilas ou Lusótopas) e sem prejuízo da integração geral nas Sociedades em que vivem, que enormes tarefas e potencialidades recíprocas no sentido de reforçar uma identidade transnacional e transgeográfica, que vá além dos clássicos três "F" do Futebol, do Fado e de Fátima e que, sabendo que a Lusofonia não é só nem sobretudo uma questão de língua, saiba também tirar partido do facto de ter como símbolo e instrumento uma das poucas "*línguas universais"* do século XXI (enquanto, segundo as palavras de Fernando Pessoa já nos anos 20 do século passado, "*língua falada em todos os continentes e enquanto língua falada por um grande pa´s como o Brasil")*! Para quando o oficial reconhecimento efectivo de uma efectiva "**cidadania comum lusófona**" que faça passar a CPLP a algo mais do que a pouco mais que nulidade real que ainda não deixou realmente de ser? Até quando, no âmbito de todos os Países Lusófonos e respectivas estruturas governamentais, tudo o que releva da "*Cooperação Inter-Lusofona*", continuará a relevar do "*Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros*" ou das "*Relações Exteriores*"? Será necessária uma qualquer viagem entre os Países Lusófonos para nos darmos conta do trogloditismo das respectivas inter-relações? Quando é que, não os

"cidadãos lusófonos" (que é coisa que não existe) mas, pelo menos, os "cidadãos dos Países Lusófonos" tornarão suas as palavras furiosas de Cícero contra Catalina e dirão: ***"Quousque tandem abutere patientia nostra… Até quando continuarão todos os Estados de Língua Portuguesa e respectivas burocracias a abusar da nossa paciência lusófona?"***

A presente **"Crítica da Razão Lusófona"** mais não visa do que contribuir para que a **"Lusofonia"** passe de mero mito, dúbia ideologia ou vã retórica a um "Espaço Lusófono" realista que colabore no diálogo humano com todos os outros "Espaços" do Mundo Contemporâneo, "Desígnio Lusófono" não ultrapassado mas, ao contrário, tornado mais necessário e mais urgente pelos processos em curso da "Integração Europeia de Portugal e da Galiza", das várias "Integrações Regionais dos PALOP" ou de "Timor Lorosae", da "Mercosulização ou Panamericanização do Brasil", de todas as «Aculturações das Lusodiásporas», da "Globalização Societal à Escala Planetária" e até da "loucura terrorista" e da histeria anti-terrorista" que o dia 11 de Setembro despoletou na Humanidade e que, uma e outra, constituem, por razões diversas mas com possíveis idênticos resultados, sérias ameaças de regresso à barbárie, mediante o incumprimento ou o esquecimento da tão longa e tão difícil conquista que é o Estado Democrático de Direito e da única e para todos ("Terroristas", Não-terroristas" e "Anti-terroristas") obrigatória "Carta Magna" da civilização que é a "Declaração Universal dos Direitos Humanos".

Uma frase bastará para conclusão desta necessária e urgente dialéctica sem fim entre a "***Hora Cairológica da construção da Lusofonia***" (que a actual CPLP está longe de realizar) e o que denominámos "***Crítica da Razão Lusófona***". Sem empenho efectivo e permanente na "Construção da Lusofonia" toda a crítica será impertinente e tornar-se-á facilmente lusofobia; sem efectiva e permanente "Crítica da Razão Lusófona", toda a construção da lusofonia, por mais lusófila que se diga, não passará de uma ilusão eventualmente perigosa.

Não outra coisa pretendi dizer quando, já em Maio de 2002, em Luanda, no "XII Encontro da Associação das Universidades de Língua Portuguesa", em comunicação que intitulei "*Sentidos e Des-sentidos da Lusofonia, Da Lusofonia Lusófona à Lusofonia Universal*"[4] e em que, pela primeira vez, lancei o projecto "*ELES" ("Espaço Lusófono do Ensino Superior")*[5], à semelhança e eventualmente em parceria com o *"EEES" ("Espaço Europeu do Ensino Superior")*, terminava como agora termino:

Uma Lusofonia assim identitária e ecuménica, "Descolonizante, Democratizante e Desenvolvimentista" (uma Lusofonia "à moda do 25 de Abril de 1974") como a Lusofonia acima criticada e projectada **(só ela e só assim!)** é que poderá interessar e certamente interessará a todos os Países e Povos e Universidades de Língua Portuguesa e a todos os Países e Povos e Universidades de todas as Línguas do Mundo.

NOTAS

[1] Cf., designadamente, "*Para uma Crítica da Razão Lusófona: Onze teses sobre a CPLP e a Lusofonia*", Edições Universitárias Lusófonas, 2000.

[2] Sobre todas as questões da Lusofonia (independentemente da questão de saber se o próprio vocábulo só entrou nos dicionários e no uso corrente por sua influência e da "Universidade Lusófona", como, segundo os entendidos, parece ser o caso...), tem o autor recorrentemente falado e escrito nos últimos anos, designadamente, em:

- *Para uma Crítica da Razão Lusófona, Onze Teses sobre a C.P.L.P. e a Lusofonia* (Edições Universitárias Lusófonas, 2.ª ed., 2002).
- *Res-Publica, Revista Lusófona de Ciência Política e Relações Internacionais, n.º 3/4 ("Dossiê Lusofonia)*.
- *A Globalização Societal Contemporânea e o Espaço Lusófono: Mitideologias, Realidades e Potencialidades* (Edições Universitárias Lusófonas, 2000).
- *O Lugar e o Papel das Ciências Sociais e Humanas* (Edições Universitárias Lusófonas, 2.ª ed., 2002).
- *Para um Direito Comunitário Lusófono?,* in: Direito Natural, Justiça política, Vol. 1, Coimbra Editora 2005.
- *"Hora da Globalização", "Hora da União Europeia", "Hora da Ibero-América", "Hora do Mercosul", "Hora da Lusofonia"?*, em: Fórum Internacional da UNESCO sobre Ciências e Políticas Sociais, Buenos-Aires, 20-24 Fevereiro 2006 e no Jornal "Semanário" (10/03/06).
- *Os "tempos cairológicos" ou as "horas cairologicamente certas" de Portugal e das Universidades Portuguesas,* em: O Dia da Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias, 8 de Abril de 2006 (Edições Universitárias Lusófonas).
- *A "Hora do Porto" na "Hora da Europa" e na "Hora da Lusofonia": "10 mandamentos" e "11 teses"* (Porto, Clube Via Norte, 26 de Junho de 2006).
- *"Hora Cairológica da Lusofonia", "Hora Cairológica da Língua Portuguesa", Hora Cairológica da CPLP"?*, em: Semanário, 14 de Julho 2006.
- *"Sentidos e Des-sentidos da Lusofonia, Da Lusofonia Lusófona à Lusofonia Universal",* em: Do Ecumenismo Cristão ao Ecumenismo Universal, Edições Universitárias Lusófonas, 2005, pp. 221-229.

[3] Santos Neves, F., *Do Ecumenismo Cristão ao Ecumenismo Universal*, Re-edição 2005, Edições Universitárias Lusófonas, p. 23.

[4] Santos Neves, F., o.c. , pp. 221-229.

[5] Cf. "Luanda, Fortaleza, Macau: os princípios de uma bela história ou os difíceis itinerários de um fracasso anunciado?"*,* em: *Semanário*, 21 Julho 2006.

22

THE MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC PROCESSES OF AN AD HOC EMPIRE

George Davison Winius

This article addresses itself to the political, military and diplomatic happenstance of the Portuguese overseas empire, in other words to old-fashioned chronological history. I choose that hybrid word, happenstance deliberately because it seems to me the more conventional ones used to describe historical processes – system, development, pattern – all imply that planning was somehow involved. Clio has only one perspective – events seen backwards – and from such a distance, writers usually forget how events must have looked to contemporaries; as a result they arrange them and make them seem almost symmetrical, replete with patriotic overtones which easily merge with the mystical. But in the Portuguese empire, it becomes all too obvious that one is dealing with one ad hoc (or even better, à la carte) response to circumstance following another response of the same nature to an anterior circumstance. In effect, the whole empire evolved from opportunities seized, and then either gained, or lost. Perhaps in fact the only guiding principle governing its rise and fall was that the Portuguese were never loath to take their chances.

Through the following review of Portuguese imperial rise and partial eclipse, one can perceive that not only was most Portuguese imperial planning ill-conceived, but that at each and every unexpected turn in events, its participants in the field were able to adapt themselves to new opportunities presented. If their foresight was wrong, for over a century success followed anyway. In effect, the Portuguese were anything but masters at anticipation, but they were near-geniuses at adjusting themselves to the unforeseen.

WASHED OUT TO SEA

Europeans, in their overseas expansions sailed over vast expanses of water separating their mother countries from the lands they conquered and/or colonized.

They sailed to Goa and the Caribbean to plant their polities and in later centuries to New Zealand and the Hawaiian Islands. To witness this process in its inception, and also at its most dramatic, one must turn to the Portuguese, who were the first to make that great leap from next door to possessions thousands of miles distant.

They accomplished a feat immensely more daring and dramatic: they left the known world far behind, sailed into unknown seas and planted their flags thousands of leagues away, in lands barely known to their contemporaries and fabled only by classical antiquity. It is noteworthy that Portugal's discovery and colonization of distant lands actually grew out of concern for the safety of its Moroccan venture. If it all began, apparently, with Prince Henry, and his brother, D. Pedro, it was because they and their dynasty wished to find out what lay just beyond the Moorish lands, whether more foes, or even possible allies. It made sense to dispatch coastal vessels to find out. At this stage there was no departure from the old policy of incremental expansion from one's homeland leading to the discovery of the Madeiras around 1518 and later, to the finding of the Azores. Once these islands had been claimed and colonized, the Madeiras began to produce sugar – and large profits.

But sugar does not cultivate itself; it is labor-intensive and Portugal lacked sufficient manpower to operate the expanding plantations. Fortunately or unfortunately, the answer lay close at hand, on the African coast, which had been the immediate focus of Prince Henry's reconnaissance in the first place. Prince Henry's men certainly did not deliberately set out to harness Africans to the sugar production in Madeira, but they fell into the habit of seizing Moors they encountered when landing for water or firewood— or information— and as they penetrated into the savannah lands and tropical Africa, they snatched and enslaved nearly any heathen they encountered.

I will not go further into economics than this, but the point is that Portuguese ambitions leapt across the vast gap separating a contiguous North African operation into one stretching far into Asia and South America – simply because the ocean imposed its own conditions and opened rich new opportunities – namely, as a result of the incidental island discoveries that followed. Once the subordinates and successors of Prince Henry had learned the necessary navigational techniques, they pursued their reconnaissance ever southwards along the African coast because these produced such useful things, principally slaves, and some gold.

The overseas empire did not begin with conquest as the Moroccan one had, but rather it took on a life of its own when the sea intervened and imposed its own peculiar conditions. What led the Portuguese so far beyond the Pillars of Hercules and into open ocean was not the standard military aggression and its handmaidens, plunder and royal favor, but rather the implacable conditions of navigating the Atlantic Ocean and the opportunities for profit that chanced to follow when lands were found.

THE PATH LEADS TO DISTANT EMPIRE

Prince Henry died in 1460, but by then the Portuguese court had acquired a taste for maritime travel and colonization. King D. João II (1481-95), Prince Henry's great-nephew and successor as proprietor of the newly-discovered lands, immediately resumed direction of his great uncle's explorations and those of the brothers Gomes who had been licensed in the interim. D. João was a far-seeing, practical man who followed his great uncle's initiatives on a much larger, and more sophisticated scale. His ambitious young successor, D. Manuel, in 1497 hastened to send out one of his navigators, Vasco da Gama, a sailor whose father was a middling noble of his household, in command of a small expedition which might establish the feasibility of direct passage.

The *Estado da India Oriental* was one of the strangest political and military structures in the history of European polity. It was more fragmented geographically than pre-unification Brandenburg; its fortresses and bits of territory were scattered from Mozambique to Macau and the Moluccas. They were administered from Goa and (supposedly) ruled from 10,500 nautical miles away in Portugal – which created the most extended lines of political communication which until that time had ever existed. Its administrative appointees changed or rotated so rapidly that royal orders were frequently ignored or fell between the cracks of succeeding administrations. Its military apparatus was frequently in disrepair and its finances chronically in shambles. If its existence served anybody on the scene, it was through self-enrichment of those with strong enough antibodies to survive climate and microbes; if it served the king, beyond the profits of the first few decades, it was solely through the prestige of owning it and as a place to send surplus office-seeking nobles. Yet for all of its improbabilities, the fact that it survived and even throve during the sixteenth century was crucial to the future of European expansion in Asia. Its very presence stimulated, encouraged, and insured its European neighbors-become-rivals to try their own hands at empire-building. Portugal thus constructed the first and most crucial of the many bridges between Europe and Asia – without which the world could never have become Europeanized.

For more than a century it held itself together in spite of its inefficiencies. Inefficiencies that were softened and forgiven through the ineptness and lack of consistency of its Asian neighbors. Styles of its Asian neighbors, for what may appear as ineptness to modern observers may have been more like a modus operandi on the parts of the Asians whose patterns were rooted in different traditions. The point is that Asian society and armies remained largely feudal ones and that Asian potentates lacked standing diplomats with representation in Goa: hence their intelligence about the Portuguese was often sadly deficient – a great advantage to Goa.

When considering the Portuguese in their Indian milieu during the sixteenth century, one must think of a few thousand men in an arena of armed Asians who

outnumbered them by several thousands to one. On the other hand, the Asian rulers with few exceptions were landlubbers rooted in Afghanistan whose martial interests and revenue systems – even those involving maritime taxations – were firmly centered upon the soil. They neither understood the sea nor (with the possible exception of the Hindu Samorin of Calicut) were much interested in it. Jan Heesterman, a Dutch Indologist, believes that it was only exploitation of the seas around India that gave Portuguese the novelty to survive on a subcontinent where the greater powers otherwise left no room. The Indian rulers, he observes, were far more concerned with their own internal systems and rivalries than with a piddling handful of seafaring foreigners who were alternately obnoxious and useful – in small ways.

The arrival of Portuguese in India was indeed a modest event from the Indian standpoint. The Samorin did not take Gama and his little squadron seriously. His main reaction appears to have been disappointment that the Portuguese had not brought him acceptable presents. Rather it was the Arab merchants who instinctively distrusted the newcomers despite their minuscule size and represented Gama and his followers to him as pirates. For his own part, Gama tried to make it clear that he was no businessman: when the Samorin chided him, Gama maintained that his job was solely that of emissary and that the presents were his own.

The second, much larger, thirteen-vessel expedition of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Calicut was the one intended as Portugal's grand entree into the Indian subcontinent. This time bore magnificent presents to the Samorin. After an auspicious start, however, the whole mission went awry when this time the Omani Arab trading presence in Calicut quickly and accurately sized up the Portuguese as far more than ragtag pirates. No sooner had the Samorin granted Cabral a site for trading and warehousing facility, than rioters driven by the Arabs destroyed the entire complex. Cabral, unable to distinguish between the actions of a foreign trading group and those of its Hindu ruler, then bombarded the city – causing little damage to its buildings with his stone cannon balls, but permanently alienating the Samorin.

An intermediary approached Cabral and suggested that farther down the coast, the Kolathiri king of Cochin, restive under the suzerainty of the Samorin, would consider granting the Portuguese the warehousing and trading rights they sought. Cabral then repaired to Cochin with his fleet and found exactly what the Portuguese wanted. Not only was Cochin more than a fair substitute for Calicut, being in the heart of the pepper-growing regions, but it possessed a magnificent harbor, something the Samorin wholly lacked. The Cochin ruler's only stipulation was that the Portuguese must protect him from the wrath of the now enraged ruler of Calicut. When Cabral sailed for Portugal, he left Duarte Pacheco Pereira behind with an extremely small force. Pereira, however, proved more than equal to the task. Thus began a relationship which lasted until the Dutch ousted Portugal from Cochin in 1663.

Although both events, the bombardment and the invitation, were unforeseen and unplanned, one will note that in effect these were the first fruits in India of

Portuguese diplomacy-cum-arms and presaged what was to follow for nearly a century. To wit: the application of Portuguese (mostly naval) power, either actual or anticipated, was followed again and again by diplomatic advantage. In some cases, the Portuguese were not even obliged to fire a shot, as when they were ceded Hormuz, Diu, Honavar, Bassein, Muscat, Chaul, and other stations. Of course, the Portuguese made direct conquests as well, as at Goa itself and Malacca, and they attempted others unsuccessfully, as at Aden, but in most cases, diplomacy yielded far more than did assault. Even so, holding onto these acquisitions was quite another matter, for once possessed, the Portuguese frequently had to fight to keep them. In fact, they fought far more defensive actions of this variety in Asia than they were involved in primary conquests.

THE MOORS AS NEW OLD ENEMIES

The Portuguese intuitively identified as their hereditary enemies all Arabs of the maritime network who conveyed spices through the Red Sea to Aden and Egypt and in the first years following their arrival waged unrelenting war against every Muslim vessel caught in the seas off Western India. At the same time, new warships were constantly arriving from Lisbon to reinforce the Portuguese presence. Finally a new overall commander, D. Francisco de Almeida, arrived in India in 1506, named by D. Manuel as his first viceroy. Until about 1508, the Portuguese encountered little effective opposition, and despite their small numbers, wrought havoc with their rival's trade.

So lucrative was this intercontinental trade for Portugal's rivals, the Omani Arabs and the Gujarati merchants, that its disruption threatened the very existence of the Mameluke sultanate of Egypt, whose very existence depended on the tolls paid by merchants in transit with their Asian spices between Suez, Cairo and Alexandria. In riposte to the Portuguese, the desperate Mamelukes constructed, among other ships, eight enormous war galleys under the Admiral known as Emir Hussein and he managed to sail them from Suez into the Indian Ocean, where they paused at Cambay and Diu. They did so in order to seek an alliance with the rulers of Gujarat, whose maritime trade like that of the Arabs interacted with Calicut, Aden and the Persian Gulf. Unfortunately for the Egyptian Mamelukes, however, the rulers of predominantly Hindu Gujarat were from a conquering tribe of Turks, more recently from the mountains of Afghanistan, whose interests, unlike those of their maritime subjects, were not involved with pepper trading. The sultan, Malik Ayaz, did not react quickly to Mir Hussein's overtures for an immediate alliance because he probably did not feel the urgency portrayed by the Egyptians.

In the Portuguese ranks there had arisen a fierce antagonism between Governor Almeida and his (pre-)appointed successor, Afonso de Albuquerque, who had left

Portugal in 1503 as commander of an outgoing fleet. While much of their rivalry no doubt stemmed from identification with rival cliques in Portugal, once in India their differences manifested themselves over Almeida's surrender of his office to Albuquerque and over policy issues. Only weeks after Almeida had lost his son in battle, Albuquerque, who had just obliged the sultan of Ormuz to become a Portuguese vassal, presented Almeida with a patent from King D. Manuel naming himself as governor (but not with the actual title of viceroy). Bent as he was on revenge, Almeida imprisoned Albuquerque while he prepared his blow against the Egyptian fleet. But soon after Almeida's victory, a high Portuguese official arrived in the fleet from Lisbon and obliged the fire-eating viceroy to give way. Almeida then boarded a ship in the returning fleet for Portugal.

While Almeida's desire for revenge must have been the immediate spark to their rivalry in Cochin, it would also seem that the two men differed over how best to maintain a permanent Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean – namely whether it should remain solely as a naval presence, as Almeida argued to the king, or whether, as Albuquerque demonstrated, it should also establish its presence on land and in effect become a full player on the Asian stage. Almeida appears to have believed that strong navies alone were sufficient to maintain Portuguese commercial primacy, while Albuquerque maintained that Portugal needed to establish fortresses and territories of its own, both to command respect and to support its fleets. Only then, he maintained, could Portugal become – and remain – feared and respected. Perhaps even more fundamentally, Albuquerque seems to have favored extension of crown influence in all matters, including the centralization of trade, while many nobles, both in Portugal and stationed in India, wished to develop trade on their own accounts.

Once free to pursue his own, more aggressive vision of Portugal's proper place in India, Albuquerque attacked Calicut, burned the Samorin's palace, and then set out to create an enclave where the Portuguese were more than mere guests of a native power, as at Cochin; he reasoned that in the eyes of Asian rulers, territorial possession would stand Portugal in better stead than if they were seen as mere clients of a petty Malabar king.

In their sweeps of Muslim shipping along the west coast of India, the Portuguese seem to have collaborated with a Hindu corsair named Timoja, based near Bhatkal. It is less likely that Timoja actually suggested the capture of Goa, a semi-island between the mouths of the Mandovi and Zuari rivers and the sea, than that he kept an eye on it and reported to the Portuguese when the right time had come. In any case it was vulnerable because it had only recently been captured by the Muslim Ismael Adil Shah of Bijapur and its Hindu population was restive. In the spring of 1510, Albuquerque fell upon the city and took it easily, only to lose it in a swift counterattack before its tumbledown walls could be repaired. He then rode at anchor before the city for months, determined to recapture it. Finally, in November, he

assaulted it again and this time succeeded in driving the Bijapuri out on November 25, St. Catherine's day. Albuquerque then wrote to D. Manuel: "The capture of Goa alone worked more to the credit of Your Majesty than fifteen year's worth of armadas sent out to India".

By this time, the Portuguese had gathered considerable information on the strategic places in Asia. Whether Almeida, Albuquerque, or their contemporaries had already seen and passed on to Lisbon a manuscript of the *Livro das Cousas da India* in some form cannot be ascertained, but it should be obvious that there were many native sailors and pilots in India – both Gujarati and Omani Arabs alike – who could provide much the same geographical information.

A few months after his conquest of Goa, the governor was again on the move, this time to the east, to invest the city of Malacca, drawstring between the Indian Ocean and China Seas and strategic location par excellence on the straits between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. His attack was obviously inspired by its positioning, but a handy pretext existed in the treachery its sultan had shown the expedition of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira in 1509, when he first allowed Sequeira and his men to establish a *feitoria* in the city, but then suddenly assaulted it, killing several men and capturing its *feitor*.

Albuquerque amassed his force of ships and men for the project by commandeering supplies and personnel from two fleets intended for other service, and when he sailed up to the city in May, 1511, he fell to the attack. Fortunately for him, its Sultan Mohammed was widely disliked, and Chinese merchants trading there even lent him a junk, which he filled with soldiers and lashed to the bridge to the city as a means of securing it. Seeing his city cut in twain, the desperate sultan set his war elephants on the attackers, who jabbed them in the eyes with their pikes; thereupon the crazed and blinded beasts wheeled and trampled their own armies. Sultan Mohammed abandoned the city and fled with his court to Johor.

After this brilliant victory, most of the nearby kings, including those of Patani and Siam, sent embassies to Albuquerque, who lost no time in sending others to the already famous Moluccas (renowned in Europe as the source of cloves, nutmeg and mace) and to the Siamese court. These resulted in permanent alliances and attractive trade agreements, as well as in permanent colonies of Portuguese expatriates. He was fully conscious that Malacca's advantage lay in its access to these places and that he must lose no time in establishing alliances and commercial contacts there. Many of the merchants he encountered in the city were in already in contact with the Moluccas and with the Middle Kingdom. This land was not yet identifiable as Marco Polo's Cathay, but Malacca thronged with its merchants and the Portuguese knew it to be a market of massive proportion.

Albuquerque's final months as governor were passed in the taming of a palace revolt in Ormuz, where the new, boy sultan, Saifu-d-Din, had come under the

control of advisers who pressed him to reject Portuguese influence. Ormuz Island, as the stopper to the Persian Gulf, was only less critical to Portugal than was Aden, for in enemy hands, goods from rivals could pass securely into Iraq and across the Syrian desert to Aleppo and the Mediterranean. It was of lesser importance than Aden, but without a hold on it, the Portuguese could have exercised no control over a sinus which connected the north of India and Persia with the Mediterranean. Albuquerque spent his last energies in quelling this threat before learning that D. Manuel had dismissed him from his post and named a noble from a rival faction, Lopo Vaz de Albergaria, in his stead. As his fleet neared Goa, he died in 1515, on the fifth anniversary of the very day he had taken it from the Adil Shah.

From the royal nomination as viceroy (or governor), Goan bureaucracy descended in increments from royal overseer and judge to chronicler and various kinds of judicial and customs officials. In India, where enemies were always close at hand, governance remained strictly military: the only officials not under direct viceregal command were the *feitores* (factors), who were entrusted with the king's commercial dealings and remained answerable directly to the crown in Lisbon. All office holders from viceroy to petty functionaries served three-year terms and each possessed his *regimento*, or instructions on how to proceed with his duties. Soldiers were brought to Goa at crown expense, but were only paid when they answered enlistment musters. Undoubtedly the whole apparatus was conceived more as a vehicle for defense coupled with crown patronage than as a meritocracy: non-fidalgos (or nobles) stood little chance of obtaining appointments beyond the magnitude of gate-keeper.

THE ESTADO AFTER ALBUQUERQUE

Apart from several pieces of real estate, diplomatically acquired, and a few spectacular defenses of their besieged towns and fortresses, Portuguese Asia wove its way through the rest of the sixteenth century with only a few (albeit fierce) challenges to its existence. Its principal post-Albuquerquian acquisitions – Diu, Daman, Bassein, Bombay, and Kotte in Ceylon came at comparatively little cost, all of them except Daman ceded by local rulers for one reason or another, either to attract trade, help defend themselves from other, greater menaces, or as in the case of Kotte, because the converted monarch, D. João Dharmapala, died childless in 1597 and left his kingdom to King Philip I & II of Portugal and Spain.

By 1515, the Portuguese cities and forts on the Arabian Sea from Diu to Ceylon were integrated into an ingenious (and obviously ad hoc) system designed to produce revenue for the Estado: no doubt taking a leaf from the prevailing system of customs tolls levied on caravans passing along routes inland, armed Portuguese

galleys obliged merchant vessels plying between ports along the entire coast to take passports called *cartazes*, and organized them into convoys. These were then ushered into all Portuguese stations en route to their destinations and obliged to pay import and export duties. Thus did the masters of Goa find the means to finance their Estado where otherwise there would have been no place for them, and they did so by the application of European-style navies until then lacking in Asia. Maritime tolling all but paid the daily expenses of the Estado and can only have arisen out of the need to divide, protect and fleece the friendly sheep – i.e., vessels willing to cooperate – from goats in the form of Islamic-oriented shipping with cargoes bound for destinations inimical to Portuguese interests.

Just as rental properties are often allowed to run down through the interactions of distant landlords and tenants of short duration who do nothing to maintain their places of temporary occupancy, one gathers from what chroniclers like Couto write that by 1570, the defenses of Portuguese Asia had been allowed to decay badly, and it is obvious that crumbling walls and loopholes empty of cannon had come to the notice of the confederates. Hence, in the fall of 1570, the allies attacked the Goan fortress of Banastarim, Chaul, Daman, and Bassein, while the Hindu queen of Gersoppa besieged Honavar.

D. Luis must not have appeared to have known what he was doing: just before the impending attacks, he sent the autumn fleet back to Portugal with men and supplies which might have better been used in defense of the *Estado da India* (he did so, he said, because he did not wish to signal his enemies that Portugal feared them). But in fact, he had gauged the situation very well: after furious sieges of Goa and Chaul, both places held, while the Queen was badly beaten. To the east, the Sultan of Atjeh had tried to invest Malacca, but in the Straits, a Portuguese squadron sank most of his ships and sent him home with empty hands. By June, 1571, the war was all but over with territorial cost to Portugal of only one relatively minor fort, that of Chaul, to the Adil Shah. And that after the Bijapuri ruler had already withdrawn most of his forces from Goa.

It is anything but easy to know why so few Portuguese soldiers were able to hold their own against such large forces ranged against them, but the answer may well lie in the outmoded feudal method of raising troops from land grants, in India called jagirs. These were very similar to European fiefs of the Middle Ages, and they specified similar numbers of men liable to service in proportion to the size of acreage distributed . As in Europe, when summoned, the levies were not primarily of militarily-trained men, or even if so, of those who were accustomed to fighting together. Hence, most of such armies must have constituted little more than cannon fodder. Enemy commanders opposing the Portuguese also disposed of a certain number of mercenaries as well, and it must have been these who carried the burden of the attack. If so, their numbers can not have comprised anything like the total manpower of the feudal levies on hand.

TOWARD CENTURY'S END: LUCRE IN ASIA, DISASTER AT HOME

After the alliance's failure to extirpate the Portuguese, for the most part, the Estado experienced smooth sailing through the last quarter of the century, or until just before its end. Even so, it had long become apparent to the crown that the Asian dependency had not proved the money-maker it had been soon after its founding, and this may have had a great deal to do with the Portuguese failure to capture Aden and plug the Red Sea to competition. Their fort on Socotra Island was too far out to prevent dhows from slipping in and out of the Red Sea, with the result that the king in Lisbon could no longer command the price of pepper and other spices when merchants who sailed the traditional route via Egypt to Venice were once again able to compete.

But there appears to have been more to the problem than this: because Lisbon was too remote from the population centers of Europe, the crown marketed its spices in Antwerp, the forerunner of Amsterdam and London as hub of Europe's commodity and capital. There, consortia of foreign merchants learned to rig the spice markets at the Portuguese expense. All these factors worked to the detriment of the crown monopoly, which was abandoned in 1550 and replaced with a variety of (equally) unsuccessful schemes. Instead of providing money for the king, the Estado instead required subsidies for its defense – which had hardly been the original idea. For its denizens, permanent and temporary, however, from the viceroy/governors to the free-lance merchants, there were plenty of ways to fill one's pockets to overflowing with money, many at the direct expense of the crown, either through illegal investments in private trading or direct stealing, or both. It should also be mentioned that many Portuguese leaked out of areas administered by the Estado, sometimes even founding their own settlements, and carried on their own parallel trading operations.

Undoubtedly, the most detrimental of all the events between the defense of Goa by Ataíde and the end of the century took place not in India, but in North Africa, and it represented the ultimate disaster of the crown's involvement with that region. The juvenile successor to D. João III, D. Sebastião, had been a child of that monarch born in the last years of his life, and upon the youngster's accession to the throne in 1557, aside from constituting the only legitimate male heir of his dynasty, he displayed little talent for anything, save possibly fantasy. Once his regency ended, he began to put into effect grandiose plans for a conquest of Morocco and despite warnings, even from his uncle, Philip II of Spain, in 1578, he led the cream of Portuguese nobility into an ambush there at a place called Alcacer-el-Kebir. It resulted not only in his own death, but in a slaughter and ransoming which decimated and impoverished the Portuguese nobility. His aged uncle, the Cardinal Infante D. Henrique, was rushed to the throne, but soon died, whereupon the most powerful of the claimants, Philip II of Spain himself, invaded the land and let himself be crowned as Philip I of Portugal.

There is no evidence that Philip ran the country to the obvious disadvantage of its inhabitants; to the contrary, he promised to rule exactly as a Portuguese monarch in Portugal and resisted all attempts of the Spanish nobility to develop schemes that might profit them at Portuguese expense. Far more serious was the very fact that he was Spanish, and that he was fighting one war with the United Provinces of the Netherlands and would soon fight another with Queen Elizabeth I of England. Thereupon the hitherto carefully neutral Portuguese willy-nilly became their enemies. Philip I and II did not move immediately against Dutch merchant shippers, possibly because his Portuguese advisers pleaded that the nation did not possess sufficient extra ships to carry Asian goods from the warehousing facilities, the Casa da India in Lisbon, to markets in Antwerp and northern Europe – if only because the *Carreira da India*, as the long passage to Asia around the Cape was called, was so destructive of ship and manpower. But in 1592, Philip struck a blow at the Dutch shippers and seized scores of their vessels riding at anchor in the Tagus. This alone must have provided an initial incentive for the injured to undertake the long Asian voyage on their own accounts.

[*This text has been shortened to nearly a third of its original size, leaving out portions relating to Africa and Brazil, and limiting it largely to the Asian theater of Portuguese imperial performance in order to fit into the perspectives of this volume, including the focus on the metahistorical problematic as suggested in the author's introductory paragraph. Detailed footnotes have been omitted as unnecessary, but only some relevant bibliographical references have been added for the benefit of those who may wish to pursue further some of the author's insights published elsewhere. Eds*.]

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THE ASIAN TRADE REVOLUTION OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY RECONSIDERED

Glenn J. Ames

In 1973, Niels Steensgaard published his dissertation *Carracks, Caravans, and Companies: The Structural Crisis in the European-Asiatic Trade in the Early 17th Century*. The work was so intriguing that it was re-issued the following year as *The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century*.[1] In it, Steensgaard sought to answer a simple, albeit fundamental, question in the history of the Indian Ocean trade: namely, why was it that the Portuguese *Estado da India* the dominant power in that lucrative trade, could not survive once it was confronted by the trading companies of the Dutch and English during the seventeenth century. Hitherto, the field had conformed to a staid Whiggish school of imperial historiography which had examined such questions through the prism of a superior dynamic European culture impacting and dominating more passive Asian ones. Intra-European struggles in Asia were resolved first on the battlefield and then the negotiating table. K.M. Panikkar had begun the assault on this Eurocentric view in his *Asia and Western Dominance* (1959) which decried the relevance of "age of Vasco da Gama" for Asian history. But his work constituted little more than a cry in the wilderness. C.R. Boxer published his classic *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* in 1969, arguing that the reasons for the Dutch triumph in the seventeenth century struggle for Asian empire were simple: the "superior economic resources, superior manpower, [and] superior firepower" of the United Provinces of the Netherlands.

Steensgaard, however, jettisoned these political and military factors in favor of the economic advantages of the northern joint-stock companies. His answer to the question of why the *Estado da India* crumbled was straightforward: the superior institutional structures of these proto-capitalist companies gave them unassailable advantages over the monarchical monopolism of the Portuguese Crown. For Steensgaard, this strict dichotomy in administrative and economic structures explained the vagaries of the seventeenth century struggle. This destruction of

Portuguese power began with the loss of Hurmuz to a Persian-English attack in 1622. Steensgaard's work constituted a watershed in the historiography. His bold challenge exploded the traditional dominance of "history from above" and thrust the field into the cauldron of economic structures, world system theory, and commodity exchange. In the decades since its publication, Steensgaard's "paradigm" has set the parameters for much of the historiography.[2] But after more than thirty years, it is enlightening to re-examine his arguments and to ask to what extent Steensgaard model has provided an accurate analysis of the Asian trade in the 17th century.[3]

THE STEENSGAARD 'REVOLUTION'?

Steensgaard's structural model was grounded on earlier works in sociology, anthropology, and economic theory.[4] Karl Polanyi's assertion that empirical markets did not "necessarily behave in accordance with the market of economic theory" exerted a powerful allure.[5] Jacob Cornelius Van Leur's declaration that Asian commerce was essentially non-capitalist carried out by "peddlers" was also attractive.[6] Frederic C. Lane's studies on organized violence and the work of Joel Hurtsfield and Jacob van Klaveren on institutional corruption completed this menu of antecedents.[7] Steensgaard then skillfully mixed such arguments to concoct a powerful cocktail of post-modern history. In the early 1970's, Steensgaard's paradigm found willing adherents. A generation of scholars was thirsting for relief from decades of traditional history in the field.[8] Young scholars wanted a change from the "Seaborne Empire" school of historiography and with Steensgaard they certainly found it. As a Dane, Steensgaard was also not easily identifiable with the English imperial civil servant historians of the 19th century who had critiqued the Portuguese empire on ethical and moral grounds. Steensgaard's denunciation of the Portuguese was instead based on economic and administrative grounds and thus was much more acceptable to historians who had already rejected Whig historians like W. W. Hunter, R. S. Whiteway, and Vincent A. Smith.[9] In the heyday of the *Annales* school, Steensgaard's work also contained a plethora of *de rigueur* jargon like "disjuncture of institutions," "redistributive enterprises," and "internalization of protection costs." In true *Annaliste* fashion, his study also included a surfeit of tables and charts to support these terms.[10]

The Paradigm Thirty Years On

Steensgaard's work contributed to the "Black Legend" of Portuguese Asia by presenting the Iberians as anachronistic simpletons, who neither appreciated nor sought to exploit the more advanced structures of the joint-stock companies. Instead,

the Portuguese exploited violence and extortion to skim wealth from the Asian trade without contributing anything to that mercantile network. To bolster such a bold paradigm, one would expect Steensgaard's analysis to be grounded in extensive archival research. A close examination of his citations, however, suggests that the Portuguese archives received relatively short shrift. From the rich *Arquivo Historico Ultramarino* (AHU) in Lisbon, Steensgaard rather vaguely cited "*Papeis avulsos, India*." These "loose" documents are housed in boxes that for an average year contain perhaps 250 documents arranged in chronological order. For the period under consideration in his book, Steensgaard had the ability to consult ca. 9000 documents detailing the "nuts and bolts" of the Portuguese Asian trade. Yet, he cited only a single document from the AHU. Moreover, Steensgaard did not consult the vast holdings of the Historical Archives of Goa which contains tens of thousands of codices on the history of the *Estado* from ca. 1510-1961. While some of these series have manuscript duplicates in Lisbon or exist on Salazar era microfilm, many are found only in Goa. Since Steensgaard was concerned with the economic structures of the Portuguese empire and contrasting them with those of the Dutch and English, his work would have benefited from consulting many of the manuscript series located in Goa. This incomplete use of the available archival sources prevented Steensgaard from presenting a nuanced view of the structures and functions of the *Estado da India*. Instead, what emerged was a cookie cutter view of a truly complex imperial system that seems to have been fashioned merely to meet the theoretical demands of his *a priori* model.

Steensgaard's paradigm rested on the assumption that the seminal questions in the seventeenth century Asian trade were resolved on the economic level. In fact, one can argue that these issues were instead resolved at the *political and military* levels. Even the symbolic fall of Hurmuz conforms to this reality. In late 1620, four English ships under Andrew Shilling cruising in the Persian Gulf region held their own against a Portuguese fleet under Ruy Freire de Andrade. The next year, nine English ships arrived near the Portuguese forts at Hurmuz and Qeshm. The Persians asked for assistance in attacking these strongholds. The ensuing sea and land siege resulted in the capture of Qeshm in February 1622. In late April, Hurmuz fell. Shah Abbas was overjoyed and the EIC received half the spoils from these fortresses and the right to half the custom duties at Hurmuz, later transferred to Gombroon (Bandar Abbas). In this success, neither joint-stock, nor transparency of markets nor the internalization of protection costs had motivated the English, but rather the same type of geo-political priorities that had governed the actions of the Portuguese for more than a century.

Overall, as opposed to the "disjuncture" of structures that Steensgaard advances for the Dutch and English Companies compared to the *Estado da India*, I would maintain that all of these imperial institutions tended toward a "conjuncture" of structures at the political, military and *economic* levels during the seventeenth

century. This "conjuncture" logically resulted from the efforts of the VOC, the EIC, and the *Estado da India* to dominate in an imperial competition that was demonstrably linked more closely to what might be categorized as late or recharged mercantilism than the proto-capitalism that Steensgaard's model advanced for the northern companies. While the EIC and VOC may have espoused pristine merchant capitalism as their *raison d'etre,* their actual policies in Asia quickly incorporated many of the legacies of monarchical monopolism that had initially served the Portuguese so well. Conversely, during the 17th century, the Portuguese wisely decided to incorporate some of the lessons of the joint-stock companies into what remained of their own imperial edifice. In short, by ca. 1680 or so, all three of these competing institutions were operating according to realpolitik in Asia that functioned according to the precepts of this recharged form of mercantilism which was willing to exploit and utilize early capitalist structures and methods to its advantage. The economic structures of these empires were a reflection of the geo-political realities inherent in the Asian trade of this period.

THE PEDDLER TRADE AND THE PARASITIC NATURE OF THE *ESTADO DA INDIA*?

Another pivotal tenet of Steensgaard's model was that the Portuguese, upon reaching the Indian Ocean trading system, encountered an economic system dominated by what Van Leur defined as a small scale "peddler" trade.[11] The central element in this system was the peddler, "that humble servant of world trade who, with his small stock of goods" was forever "traveling from market to market," employing "routes and methods used by generations before him." For Van Leur, this system was "radically different from modern capitalism."[12] Steensgaard, echoing this work, argued that the Portuguese failed to alter the nature of this "peddler" trade an iota. As Van Leur declared: "the Portuguese colonial regime, then, did not introduce a single new element into the commerce of southern Asia."[13] Indeed, Steensgaard and Van Leur depict the whole Portuguese Asian Empire as a glorified extortion racket symbolized best by their *cartaz* (or pass) system, which forced merchants to purchase such documents in order to avoid confiscation of their cargoes. For them, this system could only be maintained by "war, coercion and violence."[14] As such, the *Estado da India* was merely a "redistributive" enterprise, constituting little more than a parasite on the traditional Asian economic activities. For Steensgaard, the early modern European state operating in Asia functioned overwhelmingly in the economic context "as enterprises using organized violence in order to 'produce' and 'sell' a special kind of service, i.e. protection." The "commercial and economic forms of the Portuguese colonial regime were [therefore] the same as those of Asian trade and Asian authority" that they had encountered upon their arrival.[15] Ergo, the

Portuguese could not possibly effected any "revolution" in the Asian trade, effectively monopolized the trade, or even successfully challenged the viability of the caravan routes through the Red Sea and Persian Gulf which had traditional supplied Asian products to European markets via the Levant and Italian middlemen.

There are several problems with this view. First, Van Leur's definition of the "peddler" trade was based on his anthropological observations undertaken *almost exclusively* in Indonesia. To extend this model to the vast trading world of India, Persia, and east Africa was an extremely problematic step for Steensgaard to take. Moreover, as early as the work of Jan Huyghen van Linschoten in the 1580's it has been well known that the Portuguese Asian Empire was the weakest in Indonesia.[16] With the exception of a few minor island fortresses, the Portuguese Crown was content to influence the trade of Malaysia east to the South China Sea through their key entrepot of Melaka down to 1641 when they were expelled *militarily* by the VOC. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Van Leur should have argued for a peripheral Portuguese impact in the Indonesian trade when by imperial design from ca. 1620 onward this was the declared policy of the Crown. The question of whether Van Leur's "peddler" model was accurate even for Indonesia is also debatable. As early as the 1960s, M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz had effectively criticized this view as far too simplistic.[17]

The argument that the Portuguese added nothing to the "peddler" trade is also problematic. The Portuguese Crown attempted to systematically control the Cape trade in pepper and other key commodities, as well as the most lucrative sectors of the county trade. Between 1500 and 1635 some 912 ships sailed from Lisbon to Goa with 768 or 84% making the voyage successfully. Of the 550 ships that left India for the return voyage 470 or 85% reached Portugal. This level of commitment in terms of ships, firepower, and tonnage in shipping constituted a true revolution in the Asian trade. This revolution was particularly pronounced from 1501-1520 when D. Manuel I sent some 247 ships comprising more than 81,000 tons to Asia. Of this number, 222 (74,525 tons) or ca. 90% reached Asia. On the return voyage 148 ships (52,145 tons) left Asia and 132 (46,875 tons) or ca. 90% reached Lisbon![18] This was a stunning accomplishment for a small kingdom like Portugal which had a population of ca. 1.5 million at the time. The impact of this military, geo-political and religious invasion on Asia and the traditional trading routes through the Levant was also profound. As even Steensgaard admitted, during the initial decades of the 16th century, the attempts of the Portuguese to shut off the flow of spices through the Levant were largely successful. According to C.H.H. Wake, at Alexandria annual averages for pepper fell from between 480-630 tons in 1496-98 to only 135 tons between 1501 and 1506. At Beirut, the figures for these same years in pepper fell from between 90-240 tons to merely 10 tons![19] As a result, the Portuguese Crown sometimes made profits of 250% on the sale of spices in Europe. While the Levant trade revived after ca. 1520, the Portuguese still shipped very impressive quantities

of spice via the Cape route for the remainder of the sixteenth century.[20] Although scholarly estimates vary, an average of ca. 40,000 *quintals* (hundredweights) or nearly 5,000,000 pounds per year seems reasonable for the 1550's.[21] Clearly, this was far from a mere "peddling" trade.

Moreover, the Portuguese Crown was not content merely to dominate the shipment of spices via the Cape route. For the first time, a single power sought to control the flow of spices and other commodities throughout the vast extent of the Indian Ocean basin. From southeast Africa to China, a string of littoral fortresses was constructed. According to António Bocarro, the *Estado da India* in 1635 comprised four major fortresses along the east Africa coast, another dozen major and minor ones in Arabia, a further twenty-five in India, nine on Ceylon, and another four in Malaysia, Indonesia and China or ca. fifty-four in all.[22] This impressive accomplishment could not have been funded merely from the misbegotten booty of a protection racket. The goal of the Portuguese imperial system in Asia was to maximize profits for the Crown and its subjects as a mechanism for increasing state power and forwarding the geo-political, economic, and religious priorities of the Portuguese state in both Europe and Asia. The *Carreira da India* was established to most efficiently exploit the Cape trade in spices. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Crown issued meticulous orders designed to facilitate successful voyages as well as the purchase of pepper and other commodities at the lowest possible price.[23] Contrary to Steensgaard, there is evidence that the Portuguese long before the arrival of the Dutch, English, and French had indeed internalized their own protection costs within the rubric of the *Carreira da India*. Their pepper 'monopoly' also added to the transparency of market conditions especially in places like Malabar and Kanara where they regularly purchased this spice in regular supply at stable prices for much of the late sixteenth century and during the seventeenth century as well.[24] To maximize profits in the intra-Asiatic or "country trade" the *cartaz* system had been instituted. From their strategic maritime centers of Hurmuz (before 1622), Goa, Ceylon, and Melaka, the Portuguese dispatched yearly fleets to confiscate all shipping which did not carry their passes. Even the loss of Hurmuz did not undermine these efforts. To compensate for this loss, the Portuguese routinely dispatched "Straits" fleets to enforce their pretensions with considerable success throughout the century.[25] The Treasury Council Minutes at Goa contain a litany of the rich prizes these fleets returned. Even the powerful Mughal emperors from Jahangir (1605-1627) to Aurangzeb (r. 1658-1707) routinely purchased Portuguese *cartazes* to facilitate the considerable *hajj* traffic from Surat to the Red Sea ports.[26]

The Portuguese seaborne empire therefore represented the flowering of mercantilism on a global scale. The rise of a 'new monarchy' in Portugal under the Aviz dynasty ensured that military conquest, trade, and the continuation of the reconquest against Islam were all merged in the structures of *Estado da India*. Throughout these

centuries, the fundamental goal was to increase the "power of the state" which in turn would take care of "considerations of plenty" and "considerations of power" to paraphrase Francis Bacon's views on Henry VII's new monarchy in England.[27] As E.F. Hecksher noted: "the State was both the subject and the object of mercantilist economic policy."[28] This fundamental reality was the case whether the instrument of state policy in Asia was a Crown controlled monopoly or a joint stock Company tied by economic, social, and political sinews to the apparatus of State power. As such the struggle between these powers was always resolved at the military and geo-political level. Between 1498 and 1550, Vasco da Gama, Afonso de Albuquerque, and D. João de Castro entrenched the structures of the *Estado da India* thanks to military successes at sea and on land. Economic, religious, and social rewards followed. From ca. 1610 onward Jan Pieterszoon Coen, Anthoni Van Diemen, and Ryckloff Van Goens wrested a sizable share of the trade from the Portuguese based on similar methods. Moreover, the VOC adhering to the military components of recharged mercantilism also strove to deprive the EIC and Colbert's *Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales* of a share of the trade during those same years.[29] As the *Heeren* XVII noted in a May 1669 letter to the Governor-General and Council in Batavia on the islands of Bangka and Billiton placing themselves under the protection of the VOC: "this promises well, not so much on account of the profits we may expect from their productions, but because it will keep these islands from the possession of other nations."[30] These were clearly priorities of a pre-capitalist *mentalité*.

Nevertheless, the Portuguese imperial system generated vast mercantile wealth, both for the Crown and its servants. Unfortunately, Steensgaard's *a priori* assumptions on the primitive nature of the *Estado* led him to largely ignore this reality. Instead, he argued that the *Estado* was administered by a bunch of rapacious nobles who wanted nothing more from imperial service than to extort a personal fortune based largely on the office of fortress captaincies.[31] Significantly, the only document he cited from the AHU lists the sale value of these captaincies in a 1615 auction. In this sale, nearly 750,000 *xerafims* was raised in Goa.[32] This was an incredible sum which, depending on the exact year, approximated from ca. 63-94% of the yearly revenues for the entire *Estado* during this period.[33] This level of revenue demonstrates the hugely profitably country trade which had been developed by the Portuguese.

While even Steensgaard was impressed with this available capital, he concluded "the important difference was not the presence of the capital, but the form of enterprise in which it was invested."[34] Yet, here he missed the main point by concluding that "the knight let himself be persuaded by the desire for gain, but he did not become a merchant; he was enticed by the material goods that lay within his reach, but he was ruined by his expenses."[35] While the noble may not have become a merchant; he did indeed become a shrewd businessman in administering the assets of his "house." Far too frequently, historians have failed to recognize that in administering estates in

Portugal and in his function as a commandery holder in one of the military orders, Portuguese nobles acquired a good deal of expertise in negotiation and management skills. Importing horses or grain into Goa was entirely familiar to them, and the subtleties of the trade in pepper, textiles or other products were not too difficult to comprehend.[36] As Magalhaes-Godinho noted years ago, the able Luis de Mendonça Furtado, who in many ways fits the archetypical noble of the late 17th century, earned a sizable fortune of 4-5 million *cruzados* during his periodic service in India from 1651-1677. Such a fortune could not have come from merely skimming or extorting at Crown expense in a peddler trade, but only from far reaching private trading. In Mendonça Furtado's case, this sum was acquired in the trade with East Africa in which Indian textiles were exchanged for gold, ivory, and slaves. Similar commercial successes were also obtained by other nobles during the seventeenth century.[37] This level of commercial activity and success undermines Steensgaard's antiquated view of a decadent aristocracy and more accurately explains the huge capital easily raised in Goa in 1615, these nobles were surely not "ruined by [their] expenses."[38]

Overall then the Portuguese system did not conform to the simplistic, "redistributive enterprise" of Steensgaard's model. That said, there is no denying the fact that in the seventeenth century, the Portuguese mercantilist system was confronted by the northern European companies. But did the struggle which ensued really embody the strict dichotomy of progressive and proto-capitalist versus decadent and aristocratic that Steensgaard argued? Were these joint-stock companies really the vanguard of capitalist innovation in the Asian trade? If so, how long could they maintain these virtues when confronted by the harsh realities of the Asian trade and the entrenched and powerful military and economic position of the Portuguese?

THE PRISTINE PROTO-CAPITALISM OF THE EIC AND VOC?

For Steensgaard, this clash represented "a confrontation of fundamentally different institutional complexes."[39] Not until the arrival of these companies did "an institutional innovation take place," with "the relationship between 'profit' and power'" reversed.[40] Steensgaard's model therefore postulated a strict dichotomy between the 'redistributive' model of the Portuguese and the proto-capitalist one of the Dutch and the English. The 'disjuncture' in institutional structures was absolute. It seems to me, however, that this was far from the case. While the VOC and EIC may have been formed as "associations of merchants" quickly came to embrace many of the techniques that Steensgaard equates with the 'redistributive' empire of the Portuguese.[41] Both sought to emulate the 'pass' system of the Portuguese, to sell protection; and to collect taxes and tariffs on the trade whenever and wherever possible. In Indonesia, the Dutch also sought to construct a monopoly in the spice

trade (principally in cloves, nutmeg, and mace) based on a thinly disguised extortion racket of sham treaties with local rulers. The "organized violence" of the VOC made the efforts of the Portuguese sometimes pale in comparison. This quest for monopoly structures led to the destruction of competitors, both European and indigenous, and reduced the total volume of trade in the archipelago. As Meilink-Roelofsz demonstrated, the structural dye was probably cast for the VOC in the spirited policy debate between Hendrik Brouwer and Coen on the one hand and Laurens Reael and Steven Van der Hagen on the other during the company's formative years. Reael and Van der Hagen argued that "the merchant's profit lies not so much in selling his wares at a high price as in the extent of his sales and retailing." In this, the pair was espousing true embryonic proto-capitalism. Coen and Brouwer countered that the indigenous producers should be compelled to sell their spices at prices fixed by the VOC. Moreover, this monopoly should be maintained at all costs against Asian merchants, the Catholic Iberians, as well as those 'false friends', the English. These views obviously coincide with the basic tenets of late or recharged mercantilism which the Portuguese embraced. The size of the economic pie was fixed and to gain the greatest part of it meant taking and depriving it to one's competitors of enemies using military force. In the end, the views of Coen and Brouwer triumphed, and the history of the VOC for the remainder of the seventeenth century was frequently one of warfare and mayhem in Indonesia and throughout the Indian Ocean basin.[42]

To cite perhaps the most glaring example of the recharged mercantilism of the Dutch we can consider the case of the rich island of Ceylon. From 1638-58, the VOC fought an incredibly expensive war to expel the Portuguese from that island.[43] Once the Portuguese had been expelled, Ryckloff Van Goens, the foremost proponent of inland territorial expansion to obtain an effective monopoly over the lucrative cinnamon trade actively pursued such a policy in the face of mounting deficits during the 1660's and 1670's.[44] The Governor-general Jan Maetsuycker registered his "great uneasiness" with the military situation on Ceylon as early October 1668, when he informed the Seventeen that "our posts are now extended so far in the interior and spread so far apart that by any sinister design of Rajah Sinha they are entirely at his mercy."[45] This able king had promptly restored order in Kandy and in early 1670 launched the type of counter-offensive that Batavia Council feared: this warfare continued for the next two years. By the late 1660's the Company deficit on Ceylon was already averaging 250,000 guilders, the figure would soon reach 730,000 guilders! As Maetsuycker lamented: "What a fearfull charge doth Ceylon and Malabar draw after it, and how many years hath this continued in hopes of a profitable issue. . .God in mercy put an end to these bad times and cause them to issue for the best."[46]

The manuscript sources, therefore, suggest that by the mid-1670's the VOC had firmly embraced the tenets of recharged mercantilism in the Asian trade.

Steensgaard to the contrary, the far flung empire of the Dutch was firmly wedded to the endemic warfare and military expenses which had initially characterized the *Estado da India*. Decisions in Amsterdam and Batavia were accordingly adopted based not so much on the transparency of markets as Steensgaard would have us believe, but by their relationship to the geo-political equation of power politics in both Europe and Asia. These policies, advocated by Coen, Van Diemen, Van Goens and others, had placed the VOC on the verge of over-extending its resources as they prepared to defend their widely dispersed possessions against rivals Asiatic and European rivals who were either bent on revenge like the reforming *Estado da India*, firmly committed to winning a larger share of the trade like the French and English, or merely defending themselves against Dutch territorial intrusions like Rajah Sinha II. Rather than avoiding the costly mistakes of the Portuguese, the Dutch had indeed come to embrace them: over-extension, huge military and administrative costs, almost constant warfare against a plethora of enemies, an obsessive desire to monopolize key commodities in the trade, and a growing primacy of imperial geo-political priorities over sound proto-capitalist practices. In many ways, the situation in Batavia in the early 1670's mirrored the challenges confronting Goa some five or six decades earlier, and with good reason. Both these imperial systems had been largely created and were then operating in their mature phase within the confines of the same structural system.

NOTES

[1] Cf. *Carracks, Caravans, and Companies: The Structural Crisis in the European-Asiatic Trade in the Early 17th Century* volume 17 in the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series (Copenhagen, 1973); and *The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century: The East India Companies and the Decline of the Caravan Trade* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1974). An earlier version of this article was presented at the 118th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, DC., January 2004. The author wishes to thank George Bryan Souza, Charles Beatty-Medina, and M.N.Pearson for their comments and suggestions.

[2] Cf. for example, Om Prakash, The *Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal, 1630-1720* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1985); M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1976); *Coastal Western India: Studies from the Portuguese Records* (New Delhi, Concept, 1981); and *The Portuguese in India* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce: Southern India, 1500-1650* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990*); Improvising Empire: Portuguese Trade and Settlement in the Bay of Bengal, 1500-1700* (Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1990); *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700* (London, Longman,1993); and T.R. de Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History* (New Delhi, Concept, 1979).

[3] This is not to say that Steensgaard's work received universal acclaim upon its publication, cf. T. Bentley Duncan's review in *The Journal of Modern History* 47:3 (1975) pp. 512-518. Cf. also the long critique of M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz in *Mare Luso-Indicum* IV (1980).

[4] For Steensgaard's later work, cf. "The Return Cargoes of the Carreira in the 16th and Early 17th Century" and "Asian Trade and World Economy from the 15th to 18th Centuries" in T.R. de Souza, (ed.), *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions* (New Delhi: Concept, 1985), pp. 13-32, 225-37;

[5] Cf. Karl Polanyi, *Trade and Market in the Early Empires*; *Economies in History and Theory,* (Glencoe, IL, Free Press, 1957) pp. 250-56.

[6] Van Leur's views were first published in *Eenige beschouwingen betrefende den ouden Aziatischen handel* (Middelburg, G.W. den Boer, 1934) but his research only became widely known after his tragic death in World War II with the publication of his collected works in English as *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays in Asian Social and Economic History* (The Hague, W. Van Hoeve, 1955).

[7] Cf. Frederic C. Lane, "Force and Enterprise in the Creation of Oceanic Commerce" in *The Journal of Economic History* volume 10, Supplement: The Task of Economic History (1950) pp. 19-31; "Economic Consequences of Organized Violence" *The Journal of Economic History* volume 18 (1958) pp. 401-417; Joel Hurstfield, "Political Corruption in Modern England: The Historian's Problem" *History* 52 (1967) pp. 16-34; Jacob van Klaveren, "Die historische Erscheinungder Korruption" *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftgeschichte* volume 44 (1957) pp. 289-324 and volume 45 (1958) pp. 433-504.

[8] Cf. C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (New York, A.A. Knopf, 1969); *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800* (New York, A.A. Knopf, 1965); and *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602-1686* (London, University of London Press, 1952); J.H. Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1963); and James Duffy, *Shipwreck and Empire: Being an Account of Portuguese Maritime Disasters in a Century of Decline* (Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1955).

[9] Cf. W. W. Hunter, *A History of British India* (2 vols., London, Longmans, 1899-1900) I: 176-85; Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1919) p. 335; R.S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India* (Westminster, A. Constable, 1899) pp. 174, 324-25; and F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* (2 volumes, London, W.H. Allen, 1894). Hunter argued that the Portuguese 'represented the reactionary spirit of medievalism, as against the modern methods of the Protestant nations.' Cf. *A History of British India* I:317. Danvers opined that 'a laxity in Government, and a general corruption amongst the servants of the State, in which each one, regardless of the public interests, sought but his own benefit and the accumulation of wealth, only too certainly prepared the way for the downfall of the Portuguese.' Cf. *Portuguese in India* I:xxxix. In seeking reasons for the decline of the Portuguese, Smith and Whiteway added racial and religious factors into the equation. For them, mixed marriages had resulted in 'a languid population of half-breeds,' while the entire *Estado* was undermined by 'the grip of religious superstition.' Cf. *Rise of Portuguese Power*, p. 13 and *Oxford History* p. 335.

[10] Some of these charts were certainly helpful, for example Table 7: *Estimated and sales value of captaincies in the Estado da India 1607 and 1615* based on his sole manuscript cited from the *Arquivo Historico Ultramarino* [AHU], Lisbon. Cf. Asian Trade Revolution, p. 94. Others, however, are virtually indecipherable, cf. *Ships returned from Asia, 1581-1630* given on p. 423.

[11] Cf. *Indonesian Trade and Society* p. 53-116.

[12] For Van Leur's original views on this cf. *Indonesian Trade and Society* pp. 75-116, quoted and discussed by Steensgaard in *Asian Trade Revolution* pp. 15-16.

[13] Cf. *Indonesian Trade and Society* p. 118.

[14] Cf. *Indonesian Trade and Society* p. 117. As an examination of the extant State Budgets or *Orçamentos* clearly demonstrates, the *Estado* once entrenched functioned best when at peace. Cf. *Asian Trade Revolution* p. 88; Glenn J. Ames, *Renascent Empire? The House of Braganza and the*

Quest for Stability in Portuguese Monsoon Asia, ca. 1640-1683 (Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2000) p. 207 and the manuscript sources cited therein; and Artur Teodoro de Matos, "The Financial Situtation of the State of India During the Philippine Period (1581-1635)" in T. R. de Souza, (ed..), *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions* pp. 90-101.

[15] Cf. *Asian Trade Revolution* pp. 60-61.

[16] Cf. *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English translation of 1598*, edited by Arthur Coke Burnell and P. A. Tiele (2 volumes, London, Hakluyt Society, 1885).

[17] Cf. M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofsz*, Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* (The Hague, Nijhoff, 1962) pp. 119-20.

[18] For details on the sailings of the *Carreira da India* during the period 1500-1635, cf. V. M. Godinho*, Os descobrimentos e a economia mundial* (2 vols., Lisbon, Editora Arcadia, 1963-65); *Les finances de l'etat portugais des Indes Orientales, 1517-1635* (Paris, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1982); *L'Économie de l'empire portugais aux XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris, SEVPEN, 1969); Boxer, *Portuguese Seaborne Empire* pp. 207-20; *From Lisbon to Goa, 1500-1750: Studies in Portuguese Maritime Enterprise* (London, Variorum Reprints, 1934, 1984); and T. Bentley Duncan, "Navigation between Portugal and Asia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" in E. J. van Kley and C. K. Pullapilly eds., *Asia and the West: Encounters and Exchanges from the Age of Explorations* (Notre Dame, IN, Cross Road Books, 1986).

[19] Cf. C. H. H. Wake, "The Changing Pattern of Europe's pepper and spice imports ca. 1400-1700" *Journal of European Economic History* 8 (1979) pp. 378-81; and "The Volume of European spice imports at the beginning and end of the fifteenth century" *Journal of European Economic History* 15 (1986).

[20] For the classic case for this revival, cf. Frederic C. Lane, "The Mediterranean Spice Trade: Its Revival in the Sixteenth Century" in *Venice and History: The Collected Papers of Frederic C. Lane* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966); and "The Mediterranean Spice Trade: Further Evidence of its Revival in the Sixteenth Century" *American Historical Review* XLV (1940) pp. 589.

[21] Cf. Lane, "The Mediterranean Spice Trade: Its Revival in the Sixteenth Century"; Godinho, *L'Économie de l'empire portugais* pp. 674-704; Wake, "The Changing Patterns of Europe's Pepper" pp. 378-81; and Steensgaard, "The Return Cargoes of the Carreira in the 16th and early 17th Century" in T. R. de Souza ed., *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues and New Questions* pp. 13-31.

[22] Cf. *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da India Oriental* published as part of A. B. de Bragança Pereira's *Arquivo Português Oriental* Tomo IV, Volume II, Parts I-II (Bastorá, Rangel, 1937-38).

[23] As Boxer pointed out many years ago, the key to successful sailings on the Cape route was prompt departures from Lisbon and Goa. Cf. Boxer*, Portuguese Seaborne Empire* pp. 36-7; and "The *Carreira da India*, 1650-1750" *The Mariner's Mirror* XLVI (1960) pp. 35-54. During the rehabilitation period of the late 17th century the attempt to enforce such orders and ensure prompt departures was particularly strident and successful. Cf. Glenn J. Ames, *Renascent Empire?: The House of Braganza and the Quest for Stability in Portuguese Monsoon Asia, ca. 1640-1683* pp. 93-103 and the manuscript sources cited therein.

[24] Given the paucity of sources for the Portuguese pepper trade, it is significant that we have an important document on prices and quantities of purchased by the Portuguese on the Malabar and Kanara coast from 1667 through 1681 compiled by the *Contador* of the *Estado da India*, João Cabral de Mello in late 1681. Cf. HAG Codex 2316 *Livro de registro dos alvaras etc. de diferentes feitorias* fos. 28-39v. Based on this document, it is clear that the Portuguese were extremely sensitive to market forces and particularly pepper prices in preparing their homeward bound cargoes during this period. Cf. Ames, *Renascent Empire?* pp. 106-08.

[25] On the *cartaz* system, cf. Pearson, *Portuguese in India* pp. 37-39; Boxer, *Seaborne Empire* pp. 48, 137, 387; and Subrahmanyam, *Portuguese Empire* pp. 77-78. On the armada system, cf. Boxer, *Seaborne Empire* pp. 47-58, 133-35. After difficulties in sending out the "Straits" fleets during the mid-17th century, the Viceroyalty in Goa had notable successes in re-establishing these fleets from ca. 1665-1683 and also fought a fairly successful naval campaign against the rising naval power of the Omani Arabs during these years. Cf. Ames, *Renascent Empire?* pp. 163-67; and "The Straits of Hurmuz Fleets: Omani-Portuguese Naval Rivalry and Encounters, ca. 1660-1680" *The Mariner's Mirror* LXXXIII (November 1997) pp. 398-409.

[26] Cf. for example, Pearson, *Coastal Western India*, pp. 145-47; and *Pious Passengers*: *The hajj in earlier times* (London, Hurst, 1994) and *Pilgrimage to Mecca: The Indian Experience, 1500-1800* (Princeton, Markus, Winer, 1996).

[27] Cf. *The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh* (1622) *The Works of Francis Bacon* (10 vols., London, J. Johnson, 1803) V:63.

[28] E. F. Heckscher, *Mercantilism* (2 vols., translated by Mendel Shapiro, London, G. Allen & Unwin, 1934) I:21.

[29] For details on the Dutch-French struggle in Asia from ca. 1668-1674 which was ultimately decided by military force, cf. Glenn J. Ames, *Colbert, Mercantilism, and the French Quest for Asian Trade* (DeKalb, Northern Illinois University Press, 1996).

[30] IOL HT I/3/94, Document 174, 9/V/1669.

[31] *Asian Trade Revolution* pp. 84-95. For the development of this view earlier by British historians of the late 19th century, cf. Danvers, *Portuguese in India* I:xxxix; Whiteway, *Rise of Portuguese Power* pp. 174, 324-25; Hunter, *History of British India* I:176-85; and Smith, *Oxford History of India* p. 335.

[32] Cf. *Asian Trade Revolution* p. 94. For this document cf. AHU *Documentos avulsos relativos a India* [DAI] Box 5 5/II/1618(?).

[33] Based on the extant *Orçamentos* or State Budgets for this period the revenues of the *Estado* were the following with the percent of these revenues which 750,000 *xerafins* constituted: 826,205 *xerafins* in 1584 (91%); 1,185,200 *xerafins* in 1607 (63%); 801,992 *xerafins* in 1630 (94%); and 1,185,264 *xerafins* in 1634 (63%). Cf. *Asian Trade Revolution* p. 88; Ames, *Renascent Empire?* p. 207 and the manuscript sources cited therein; and Artur Teodoro de Matos, "The Financial Situtation of the State of India During the Philippine Period (1581-1635)" in T.R. de Souza, *Indo-Portuguese History* pp. 90-101.

[34] *Asian Trade Revolution* pp. 94-5.

[35] Cf. Magalhaes-Godinho, *Descobrimentos* I:51-63; Steensgaard, *Asian Trade Revolution* pp. 84-5.

[36] For a forceful argument for these skills especially as they related to the Viceroy count of Linhares, cf. A.R. Disney, "The Viceroy as Entrepreneur: The Count of Linhares at Goa in the 1630's" in *Emporia, Commodities, and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade, c. 1400-1750* eds., Roderich Ptak and Dietmar Rothermund (Stuttgart, Steiner Verlag, 1991) pp. 427-44.

[37] For these noble fortunes, cf. Magalhaes Godinho, "Portugal and her Empire" in *The New Cambridge Modern History* V, edited by F. L. Carsten (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1961) p. 385; Disney "The Viceroy as Entrepreneur" pp. 427-44; Virginia Rau, "Fortunas Ultramarinas e a nobreza portuguesa no século XVII" *Revista Portuguesa de Historia* 8 (1961) pp. 5-29; and C. R. Boxer, *A Índia Portuguesa em meados do século XVII* (Lisbon, Edições 70, 1982) pp. 57-75.

[38] Cf. *Asian Trade Revolution* p. 85.

[39] *Asian Trade Revolution* p. 12.

[40] *Asian Trade Revolution* p. 114.

[41] Which Steensgaard grudgingly admitted, cf. for example *Asian Trade Revolution* pp. 131-2, 412-13.

[42] Cf. Meilink-Roefsoz, *Asian Trade and European Influence* pp. 126-220.

[43] For the manuscript sources on the Portuguese-Dutch struggle on Ceylon, cf. HAG MR/21A (1640)-28A (1661-1663); AHU DAI Boxes 15-25; IOL HT I/3/50-56; and Ernst van Veen and Daniël Klijn*, Sources of the History of Dutch Portuguese Relations in Asia(1594-1797)* (Leiden, Institute for the History of European Expansion, 2001) pp. 299-349. For the main secondary works on this struggle, cf. Sinnappah Arasaratnam, *Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1658-1687* (Amsterdam, Djambatan, 1958); P. E. Pieris, *Portugal in Ceylon, 1505-1658* (Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1937); and *Some Documents Relating to the Rise of Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1602-1670* (Colombo, C.A.C. Press, 1929); R.G. Anthonisz, *The Dutch in Ceylon* (Colombo, C.A.C. Press, 1929); K.W. Goonewardena, *The Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1638-1658* (Amsterdam, Djambatan, 1958); and G.D. Winius, *The Fatal History of Portuguese Ceylon* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1971).

[44] Born in 1619, Van Goens had sailed to Batavia with his father in 1628. Orphaned soon thereafter, he had been placed in the household of the Dutch Governor at Pulicat. From 1654-1663, he established his reputation as one of the most formidable military commanders in the Indian Ocean. His capture of five well-armed Portuguese carracks in 1654 helped earn him the powerful position of "Commissioner, Superintendent, Admiral, and General by land and by sea on the coasts of India, Coromandel, Surat, Ceylon, Bengal, and Melaka" three years later. Van Goens had directed the final stages of the onslaught against the *Estado da India* on the Malabar coast. Cf. Arasaratnam, *Dutch Power* p. 22 n. 9; Boxer, "The Third Dutch War in the East, 1672-1674" *The Mariner's Mirror* 16 (1930) pp. 341-86. Holden Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient, 1600-1800* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1976) pp. 80-87.

[45]IOL HT I/3/58:740, Batavia to *Heeren* XVII, 18/X/1668.

[46] IOL Original Correspondence [OC] 3749, Batavia to Heeren XVII, 31/I/1673 fos. 1-1v. This report began 'What a fearfull charge doth Ceylon and Malabar draw after it, and how many years hath this continued in hopes of a profitable issue… yet I think the Company will never accomplish [its] proposed profit.'

24

A PROPÓSITO DAS IDENTIDADES "BUDISTAS" DE MICHELE RUGGERI E MATTEO RICCI

Jin Guo Ping

Os primeiros missionários Jesuítas, ao circularem pelo Oriente além-gângico, sobretudo no Japão e na China, dado não terem o apoio de um poder secular no terreno e em tempo real para as suas actividades evangélicas, tiveram de se adaptar à realidade sócio-cultural e religiosa das terras por onde passaram. Para facilitar a penetração e a integração nessas sociedades locais, tiveram a imperiosa necessidade de criar "novas" identidades sócio-culturais e religiosamente mais aceitáveis, algumas delas contraditórias da sua própria identidade. Neste estudo, pretendemos abordar as "novas" identidades de dois dos mais conhecidos missionários quinhentistas na China, os Padres Michele Ruggeri (1543-1607)[1] e Matteo Ricci (1552-1610).[2]

Da "Expedição Cristã" da China, o precursor foi São Francisco Xavier (l506-1552), o *Apóstolo do Oriente*, o grande estratega da política de acomodação cultural[3], como notáveis foram também o Visitador Alessandro Valignano (1538-1606) e o pioneiro da Missão da China, o Padre Michele Ruggeri, o primeiro jesuíta autorizado a estabelecer-se no território imperial. Foi ainda Matteo Ricci quem culminou esta "longa marcha" missionária católica que começou na ilha de São João e terminou na capital do Império do Meio.

Ao pisar as terras orientais, os missionários europeus perceberam imediatamente que uma identidade pública e um modo de vestir familiar aos nativos poderiam ter uma enorme influência no sucesso dos labores evangélicos que pretendiam levar a cabo. Dessa realidade teve experiência São Francisco Xavier, que em 1549 chegou ao Japão onde as pessoas julgaram os forasteiros pela única aparência e pelo modo de vestir. O Padre Luís Fróis na sua monumental *História de Japam* conta que "*chegando o Padre à cidade do Facata, que está no reino de Chicugen, que era toda de mercadores, nobre e populoza, foi o Padre a hum mui grande mosteiro de bonzos da seita dos jensus, que tem para sy não haver mais que esta vida prezente; e corria sem nenhum pejo entre elles o abominavel vicio contra natura, tendo publicamente*

muitos meninos com os quaes cometião suas maldades. Os bonzos folgarão de ver o Padre e praticar com elle, por lhes parecer que era homem que vinha do Tengicu (Tenjiku, Índia, pátria de Buda e do budismo.)"

Vamos ver mais referências coevas a essas pessoas de *Tengicu*:

"*…e dizendo aos donos das embarcações que alli vinha hum bonzo tenchicugin,…"*[4]

"*…Foi-se o Padre com os dous companheiros para o ver, e chegando a humas varandas ou corredores que tem, de sincoenta braças de comprido, estava alli huma feiticeira do mesmo cami, as quaes se chamão Mico, e tinha hum menino pequenino junto de sy, o qual, parece que por instinto ou persuação do demonio, sendo criança que nunca tinha visto Padres, nem ainda os ouvira nomear, começou com alta voz a dizer: «Tenchicugin! Tenchicugin!», que assim nos chamão alguns japões,…*"

"«*…Tenho sabido que sois vós outros christãos, mas não sei se sabeis que determino de deitar o Tenjicujin, vosso mestre, fora do Goquinai por ser prejudicial na terra, e de lhe tomar a igreja e cazas e quanto fato tiver*»."[5]

Através destas descrições compreendemos que "Tengicu" é a transcrição japonesa do chinês *Tianzhu* (Índia); que "Tenchicugin" ou "Tenjicujin" significa "pessoa de Tengicu"; que "bonzo tenchicugin" corresponde ao chinês *Tianzhu Seng* (Bonzo da Índia)" ou *Tianzhuguo Seng* (Bonzo do País da Índia). Ficamos também a saber que foi logo no Japão que através destas expressões os Padres começaram a ser tratados.

Foi já sugerido[6] que os missionários inacianos não entenderam muito bem a realidade sócio-cultural e religiosa da China, ao ponto de se igualarem aos bonzos budistas e de adoptarem erradamente a identidade de *Tianzhuseng*. Face aos excertos da obra do Padre Luís Fróis, parece óbvio que os missionários Jesuítas já tinham, antes de entrarem na China, uma política pré-estabelecida de criar "novas" identidades a partir das suas experiências no Japão, e que a utilização de *Tianzhuseng* foi uma estratégia bem pensada e não um erro de compreensão ou de interpretação.

O Padre Michele Ruggeri assinou o primeiro catecismo em chinês da doutrina cristã *Xinbian Xizhuguo Tianzhu Shilu* (Doutrina Cristã da Índia Ocidental[7] Revista", xilografada em 1584)[8], com o nome de *Tianzhuseng*, construindo no prefácio essa mesma identidade:

"*Eu, Bonzo, embora tenha nascido em Tianzhu* [Índia]*, sou humano, e, como tal, não posso deixar de pagar os favores que me fizeram. É um grande favor e honra darem-nos uma terra cá. Bem queria pagar com ouro, jade, serviços, cães e cavalos. Como sou um Bonzo pobre e à China não faltam nem ouro nem jade nem cavalos preciosos, só posso pagar estes favores com a descrição da real vida do Senhor do Céu, que era originário de Tianzhu, e que agora se espalha por todo o lado… Como não tenho nada com que possa pagar estes grandes favores, então traduzo a doutrina dele em língua chinesa. Escrito pelo Tianzhuguo Seng* [Bonzo do País da Índia]*, no 3º Dia, após o Dia Wang, da 8ª Lua do 12º Ano do Reinado de Wanli (21 de Setembro de 1584)."* [9]

E a propósito, note-se que também a primeira igreja levantada em Zhaoqing foi baptizada de *Xianhuasi* (Templo das Flores Imortais), um nome com uma forte marca budista.

Por outro lado em 1590, Matteo Ricci, em cumprimento das instruções recebidas do Visitador Alessandro Valignano, elaborou o esboço de uma carta a dirigir em nome do Papa Xisto V ao Imperador da China, e que começa nestes termos:

"*O Supremo Bonzo, Rei dos Bonzos da Religião do Senhor do Céu, Xisto V apresentas os seus melhores cumprimentos a Sua Majestade o Imperador do Grande Reino da Claridade* [Dinastia Ming]."[10] E o fecho da carta consiste nesta frase: *"…Na capital do País de Tianzhu, em Março do Ano de Nosso Senhor de 1590 e 5.º ano do Papado do Xisto V*."[11]

A aculturação dos Jesuítas na China foi tão longe que os seus missionários escolheram apelidos, nomes e até cognomes literários chineses para si, a fim de os utilizar oficialmente na vida quotidiana, no seu relacionamento com o meio académico e com as autoridades chinesas, o que constitui uma das maiores características da política de adaptação cultural que os diferencia das outras ordens missionárias católicas que se estabeleceram mais tarde na China. O próprio Visitador Alessandro Valignano – que nunca esteve no continente chinês – teve mesmo uma identidade nominal em chinês[12]. De facto, a adopção dos nomes nativos pelos Jesuítas era relevante para uma rápida aculturação, que facilitou os contactos com a sociedade chinesa.

A identidade/designação de Tianzhuseng (Bonzo da Índia) não é novidade. Sabemos através das fontes chinesas que, desde a introdução do budismo na China no ano 67 (d.C.)[13], há referências, pelo menos na literatura da Dinastia Tang (618-907), ao *Tianzhuseng* (Bonzo da Índia).[14]

Também será preciso levar em consideração outro factor circunstancial: que Wang Pan[15], o Prefeito de Zhaoqing e protector dos Jesuítas estabelecidos dentro da sua jurisdição, era fervoroso budista. O que nos leva a crer no interesse da opção por uma identidade pública budista a fim de ganhar maior simpatia deste mandarim.

Com um maior conhecimento da realidade sócio-cultural e religiosa da China, os Jesuítas abandonaram progressivamente esta identidade e adoptaram outra, *Xiseng* (Bonzo do Ocidente[16]), variante com que são referidos nas fontes chinesas os bonzos budistas da Índia. Com a chegada dos Jesuítas à China, a geografia mundial é introduzida no Império e a Europa passa a ser conhecida como *Taixi* (o Grande Oeste); portanto, na China quinhentista, *Xiseng* (Bonzo do Ocidente) poderia ser interpretado tanto como Bonzo da Índia como Bonzo da Europa. Tratar-se-á, porventura, de uma ambiguidade propositadamente criada pelos Jesuítas para favorecer o seu estabelecimento no meio académico chinês e na vida quotidiana social em geral.

São várias as fontes chinesas quinhentistas que referem Matteo Ricci unicamente através da expressão *Xiseng* (Bonzo do Ocidente). Cai Ruxian, um alto mandarim da

Dinastia Ming, na sua obra *Dongyi Tushuo* (Descrição ilustrada dos Bárbaros do Oriente), na entrada dedicada á Índia, regista: "*Os Bonzos da Índia saem de lá de barco e levam 3 anos a chegar ao Haojing*[17] *onde todos os bárbaros acreditam nas suas leis…*"[18] Em *Haoan Xianhua* (Conversas avulsas do Templo de Colmo), da autoria de Zhang Erqi, encontramos a seguinte descrição de Matteo Ricci: "*Quando Matteo desembarcou em Cantão, com a cabeça rapada e uma túnica com grande decotes, as pessoas pensavam que era um Xiseng e levaram-no a um templo budista. Ele, abanando as mãos, dizia que aí não faria nenhuma veneração ...*"[19]. Por outro lado, a anónima *Yunjian Zazhi* (Miscelânea de entre Nuvens) informava que: "*o Xiseng Matteo Ricci sabe fabricar relógios de cobre, que tocam horas*."[20]

Convirá também recordar que o Nestorianismo, nas traduções chinesas dessa doutrina, já usava de uma linguagem budista para facilitar a sua divulgação, numa terra onde o budismo, embora não seja uma religião autóctone, estava completamente localizado. É certo que os Jesuítas só vieram a saber da existência do Nestorianismo chinês através da chamada *Estela de Xi'an*[21]. E recorde-se que logo depois dessa descoberta, algumas igrejas católicas de Fujian começaram a designar-se por *Jingjiaotang* (Igreja Nestoriana)[22], decerto com o objectivo de angariar alguma "legitimidade" que radicasse num Cristianismo autorizado no passado.

Contudo, é interessante notar que, face às necessidade reais, os Jesuítas, mesmo antes de conhecerem o Nestorianismo, recorressem a uma política semelhante, ao adoptar nas suas traduções de livros católicos uma linguagem fortemente budista, com um vocabulário já conhecido na China, para disfarçar o seu anti-Budismo. Procedimento que, a nível popular, não provocou problemas, mas que em termos académicos, e sobretudo nas comunidades budistas chinesas, suscitou problemas; de facto, a identidade de *Tianzhuseng* acabaria por ser descoberta e pôde ser utilizada como um argumento contra os Jesuítas, nascendo assim a necessidade de adoptar uma designação mais ambígua para poder fazer frente a outros possíveis ataques dos letrados anti-cristãos e budistas.

Se a estratégia dos Jesuítas de penetração na China residiu em servir-se do budismo como uma mera medida identificativa de conveniência, não deixavam de ser notáveis os riscos assumidos. Não apenas os que referimos, mas também outras como o facto de que no próprio livro assinado com o nome de *Tianzhuseng* (Bonzo da Índia), haja fortes críticas ao Budismo.[23] Contradição que, porventura, representa uma habilidade estratégica extrema de política de aculturação dos Jesuítas na China, consistente no uso dos "hábitos" budistas e manutenção da doutrina cristã.

Mas, como reza o velho provérbio, "o hábito não faz monge". E para evitar que essa prática se tornasse num argumento de que os budistas se poderiam aproveitar para atacar os missionários, acusando-os de falsificação propositada, mais tarde ou mais cedo acabou por surgir a necessidade de corrigir esta imagem "budista" dos Jesuítas. Como primeira medida cautelar, o Padre Matteo Ricci não perdeu tempo em publicar o seu *Tianzhu Shiyi* (Verdadeiro Significado do Senhor do Céu)[24], uma

versão actualizada do catecismo do Padre Michele Ruggieri, e, mais tarde, cerca de 1637, é feita uma edição revista do mesmo catecismo, a fim de eliminar qualquer elemento desfavorável para a Companhia de Jesus. Mesmo ao nível literário, houve essa necessidade de publicar a edição revista do livro do Padre Michele Ruggieri, já que este fora redigido numa linguagem budista que não agradaria aos letrados confucianos, apresentando erros gramaticais, algumas traduções forçadas, e – mais grave – desprovida de abonações confucianas.

Curiosamente, a segunda edição revista do livro do Padre Michele Ruggeri surgiu após vários e fortes movimentos anti-cristãos no meio literário e budista da China[25], tendo a reedição como objectivo negar qualquer ligação entre os primeiros missionários e o budismo chinês e apresentar a nova identidade confuciana dos Padres[26], que assim e agora se apresentavam como "*Xiru* (letrados confucianos do Ocidente), em detrimento de *Xiseng* (bonzos do Ocidente), patentemente a fim de evitarem uma situação de vulnerabilidade nas suas discussões com os budistas chineses. Desta maneira hábil se escudaram os missionários atrás do Confucionismo[27] para se defenderem dos ataques dos budistas, estes por sua vez com dificuldades em medir forças com o pensamento predominante do Santo Confúcio.

Com estas medidas – a publicação do livro do Padre Matteo Ricci e a reedição corrigida do livro do Padre Michele Ruggeri – foram reduzidas ao mínimo as possíveis influências negativas da primeira edição do livro de Ruggeri. De facto, nos ataques dos letrados e budistas chineses não encontrámos nenhuma referência ao vocabulário budista usado no primeiro livro de Ruggeri, o que prova que as medidas tomadas pelos Jesuítas surtiram efeito e esbateram com sucesso a identidade previamente assumida de *Tianzhuseng*.

Basta uma breve comparação entre as versões original e revista da obra do Padre Michele Ruggeri para concluirmos que todas as referências ao budismo foram, de facto, eliminadas e substituídas por referências ao catolicismo. Vejamos só alguns exemplos:

Antes de > é de "*Xinbian Xizhuguo Tianzhu Shilu* (Doutrina Cristã da Índia Ocidental Revista)"? edição de 1584? e depois de > é de "*Tianzhu Shengjiao Shilu* (Doutrina Cristã)"?edição posterior a 1637.[28]

O Bonzo > Eu

Inicialmente na Índia> Inicialmente no País de Oeste

Escrito pelo Bonzo da Índia> Elaborado por Luo Minjian (Michele Ruggieri) *do Extremo Ocidente*

Compilado pelo Bonzo da Índia > Contado por Luo Minjian da Companhia de Jesus

Eu, Bonzo, nasci na Índia > Eu, Jian (Michele Ruggieri) *nasci no País de Oeste*

O Bonzo diz > Eu digo

Reunir-se no Templo para orações > Reunir-se na Igreja para orações

Reunir-se no Templo > Reunir-se na Igreja

Pedir instruções ao Mestre do Templo > Pedir instruções ao Superior.

Estas alterações, só por si revelam importantes mudanças na política missionária dos Jesuítas na China. Os Jesuítas perceberam que os budistas não eram bem conceituados entre a *intelligentzia* chinesa e começaram a abandonar paulatinamente uma identidade budista inicialmente adoptada, eliminando todas as expressões relacionadas com o budismo e revelando a sua verdadeira identidade cristã e católica.

Evidentemente, os Jesuítas, com a experiência xaveriana[29] no Japão, tinham plena consciência da "falsidade" da sua identidade budista, meramente resultante da estratégia de adaptação cultural elaborada por Alessandro Valignano. Vale, pois, e tem o significado de uma das primeiras tentativas da localização da Igreja Católica na China.

NOTAS

[1] Sobre este padre, além dos clássicos trabalhos bio-bliográficos de Carlos Sommervogel, Louis Pfister e Joseph Dehergne, pode consultar-se *s. v.* «RUGGIERI, Michele», in Charles E. O' Neil e Joaquín M.ª Domínguez (dir.), *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús Biográfico-Temático*, Roma-Madrid, 2001, vol. IV, pp. 3433-3434.

[2] *Idem*, s. v. «RICCI, Matteo», pp. 3351-3353.

[3] Vejam-se mais pormenores em *Theological and cultural accommodation : Matteo Ricci and the Jesuit Mission in China 1583-1742*, Louis Kam-tat Ho, tese, Ann Arbor : UMI , [1996], 157 pp., David E. Mungello, *Curious Land : Jesuit accommodation and the origions of Sinology*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1985, e Gianni Criveller, *Preaching Christ in Late Ming China, Jesuits' presentation of Christ from Matteo Ricci to Giulio Aleni*, Taipei, Taipei Ricci Institute, 1997, pp. 33-53.

[4] P. Luís Fróis, S. J., *Historia de Japam*, edição anotada por José Wicki, S. J., Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa , vol. I, p. 30.

[5] *Idem*, p. 141.

[6] *Idem*, p. 138.

[7] *Idem*, p. 247.

[8] Li Xinde, "From a Western Buddhist to a Western Confucian: A Comparison of Two Versions of Veritable Records of Catholic Saints by Michele Ruggieri", *in JOURNAL OF SHANGHAI NORMAL UNIVERSITY(PHILOSOPHY & SOCIAL SCIENCES EDITION)*, 2005 Vol. 34, N.º 1 p. 87-92.

[9] A antiga geografia mundial da China divide a Índia em "5 Índias", isto é, a Oriental, a Ocidental, a Setentrional, a Austral e a Central.

[10] Para uma edição fac-similada, veja-se a Colecção *Yesuhui Luoma Dang'anguan Ming-Qing Tianzhujiao Wenxian* (Fontes sobre a Igreja Católica nas Dinastias Ming e Qing, depositadas no Arquivo da Companhia de Jesus em Roma)", editada por Nicolas Standaert e Adrian Dudink, Taipei Ricci Institute, 2002, vol. 1, pp. 1-86. Para estudos, consultar Léon Wieger, "Notes sur la première catéchèse écrite en chinois, 1582–1584" in *AHSI*, 1, 1932, pp. 72-84 e P.M. D'Elia, "Quadro storico-sinologico del primo libro di dottrina cristiana in cinese," *in AHSI* 3, 1934, pp. 193-222. Sobre o seu conteúdo, cf. Gianni Criveller, *op.cit.,* pp. 91-104.

[11] "Xinbian Xizhuguo Tianzhu Shilu (Doutrina Cristã da Índia Ocidental Revista)" *in "Yesuhui Luoma Dang'anguan Ming-Qing Tianzhujiao Wenxian* (Fontes sobre a Igreja Católica nas Dinastias Ming e Qing, depositadas no Arquivo da Companhia de Jesus em Roma)", Vol.I, pp. 1-10.

[12] A peça original está depositada na Biblioteca Nacional de Paris. Foi publicada pelo Professor Yilong-Huang em http://vm.rdb.nthu.edu.tw/ylh/courses/..%5Cuploadfiles%5Ccourse31_1_0.doc

[13] *Idem*.

[14] Fan Li'an, cognominado de Lishan, *sub voce* «VALIGNANO, Alexandro», *in Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús Biográfico-Temático*, vol. IV, p. 3877-3879.

[15] Para uma visão geral, cf. Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China, the Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*, 1959; Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1972 e Erik Zürcher, "The Spread of Buddhism and Christianity *in Imperial China: Spontaneous Diffusion versus Guided Propagation*, Brussell, 1987 e College de France, 1988.

[16] Xu Wei, *Antologia de Xu Wei*, Pequim, Livraria China, 1983, vol. II, pp. 102-103 e 144.

[17] Chen Shi, Wang Pan – *Mingqing Shiqi Jidujiao Wenhua Chuanbo de Xianqu* (O pioneiro da divulgação da cultura cristã nos tempos de Ming e Qing, in Ciências Sociais de Jiangxi, 2002, N.º 5, pp.70-73.

[18] O Ocidente cá é um conceito geográfico chinês, formado durante a Dinastias Han (206 a.C-220), com que se refere o Oeste do actual território chinês, a Ásia Central e os territórios ao oeste da Ásia Central, abrangendo a Índia. Aqui usa-se no sentido da Índia.

[19] Nome vernáculo chinês de Macau, cf. *Dicionário Português-Chinês = Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary*, Michele Ruggieri e Matteo Ricci; direcção de edição John W. Witek, S. J. Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional e IPOR, 2001, p. 169.

[20] Wu Zhiliang e outros, *Mingqingshiqi Aomenwenti DanganWenxian Huibian (Colecção de Arquivos e Documentos das Dinastias Ming e Qing relativos a Macau)*, Pequim, Edições do Povo, 1999, vol. V, pp. 136.

[21] *Idem*, pp. 381.

[22] *Idem*, pp. 383.

[23] James Legge, *The Nestoian Monuement of Hsi-anfu*, London, 1888.

[24] Por exemplo, *Xifang Dawen* (Perguntas e Respostas sobre o Ocidente), da autoria de Giulio Aleni, foi publicada na Jinjiang Jingjiaotang (*Igreja Nestoriana de* Jinjiang),em 1637, cf. Albert Chan, S. J., *Chinese books and documents in the jesuit archives in Rome: a descriptive catalogue: japonica-sinica I-IV* , Armonk, London : M.E.Sharpe, 2001, p. 302.

[25] Gianni Criveller, *op. cit.,* pp. 55-58.

[26] Existe uma tradução inglesa recente: *The true meaning of the lord of heaven = T'ien-chu Shih-i, Matteo Ricci S.J.* ; ed. by Edward J. Malatesta S.J. ; trans. by Douglas Lancashire and Peter Hu Kuo-chen S. J. , Taipei; Paris; Hong Kong: Ricci Institute, 1985, XIV, 485 p.

[27] Houve várias polémicas entre o Catolicismo e o Budismo: a primeira foi entre 1595 e 1608, a segunda, entre 1608 e 1616 e a terceira, entre 1616-1617. Sobre esta última, também conhecida como o Caso de Nanquim ou a Perseguição de Nanquim, cf. Erik Zürcher, "The first Anti-Christian Movement in China (Nanking, 1616~1621)", *in Acta Orientalia Neerlandica*, ed. by P. W. Pestman, Leiden, 1971, pp.188-195.

[28] Nicholas Standaert, *Yang Tingyun: Confucian and Christian in Late Ming China: His Life and Thought*, Hong Kong, Holy Spirit Study Center, 1987.

[29] Gianni Criveller, *op. cit.,* pp. 60-62.

[30] Edição fac-similada publicada em Wu Xiangxiang (dir.) *Tianzhujiao Dongchuan Wenxian Xubian* (Continuação da Documentação da Propagação do Catolicismo no Oriente), Taipé, Livraria Estudantil, 1985, vol. II, pp. 755-838.

[31] Gianni Criveller, *op. cit.,* pp. 35.

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AS COMUNICAÇÕES POR TERRA ENTRE A INDIA E PORTUGAL (SÉCULO XVI)

João Marinho dos Santos

1. A um Amigo de Goa

Numa «monographiasinha», intitulada *Viagens da India a Portugal por terra e vice-versa. Resenha historica e documental* (Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1898), o eminente investigador Sousa Viterbo lançou o desafio da referida publicação servir «de esclarecimento e de guia áquelles que se queiram dedicar a esta especialidade, aprofundando-a mais».

O repto da especialização (ou antes, da curiosidade histórica) nesta temática já há tempo que o aceitei, mas confesso que ainda não será desta vez que a aprofundarei[1]. Considerando-a, porém, uma boa opção para, modestamente, homenagear um amigo e ilustre Professor, natural de Goa e residente em Portugal, procurarei definir, por ora, uma possível metodologia de abordagem, sem deixar de aduzir informação atinente.

2. A Comunicação na Construção do Império Ultramarino Português

Um Império é um *mundo*, ainda que seja quase impossível defini-lo à escala mundial, o que significa que pretende ser, ao mesmo tempo, um espaço fechado à interferência de ameaças externas e aberto às diversas comunidades humanas que o constituem. Recorde-se que, pelo Tratado de Tordesilhas, celebrado entre Portugal e Castela a 7 de Junho de 1494, ficou vedado, de imediato, a cada opositor, o envio de algum navio «a descubrir e buscar tierras, ni yslas algunas, ni a contratar, ni rescatar [comerciar], ni conquistar en manera alguna…» ao hemisfério alheio. Se acaso se verificasse qualquer descoberta em território da outra parte, «que todo lo tal sea e finque» para o detentor da zona e não para o descobridor.

Com a condição de eles difundirem a religião cristã, a máxima autoridade da "Respublica Christiana" outorgou um «mare clausum» a portugueses e castelhanos e passou a arbitrar os possíveis conflitos que eclodissem à luz de Tordesilhas. Recorde-se, ainda, que a união das duas Coroas ibéricas, no período de 1580-1640, não deveria suscitar o imbricamento dos interesses ultramarinos, nem muito menos a eliminação das fronteiras dos respectivos Impérios.

Mas, mais importante que o reconhecimento externo de qualquer soberania está o *funcionamento* do território de que se é titular. Ora, deste ponto de vista, não pode haver qualquer dúvida de que Portugal ganhou em Tordesilhas, pelo menos até finais do século XVII, já que a *disposição* e a fruição do seu império privilegiavam o uso da latitude, a única coordenada, até então, *cientificamente* avaliada (a longitude apenas era estimada), ao contrário do funcionamento do império espanhol, que se dispunha mais no sentido oeste-leste, tomando Sevilha como centro.

Quer na sua formação, quer no seu funcionamento, nenhum império prescindiu, até hoje, da força das armas, mas também nenhum persistiu escudado somente nela. Ou seja. o *imperium* tanto se estrutura com a guerra como com a paz, designadamente com a contribuição da administração, da língua, do direito, da religião, da miscigenação étnica, da comunicação, da aculturação… Por natureza, os Impérios Ultramarinos Ibéricos foram plurinacionais e pluriculturais, tendo associado ao tradicionalismo das armas e da administração o cruzadismo medieval, a mercantilização e a difusão da civilização "ocidental". Em armadas de navios pletóricos de movimento e fogo (artilharia), lograram estabelecer *periferias* a longuíssimas distâncias que se articulavam com os respectivos centros metropolitanos. Para tanto, os portugueses darão provas de um humanismo prático e de uma surpreendente coesão política, vazada no poder delegado de um rei «forte e sublimado», capaz de dominar outros reis, como era próprio dos imperadores. Além disso, recorreram a outros meios decisivos, como foi o caso da comunicação.

É sabido que o poder, sobretudo quando aspira à *universalidade* (leia-se a uma dimensão bastante alargada ou imperial) tem a necessidade premente de se apoiar na comunicação, contando, para tal, com redes e meios tecnológicos. No passado necessitou (e muito) de mensageiros mais ou menos especializados… Demos um exemplo: o cristianismo converteu-se em religião universal, sem dúvida devido à substância da sua mensagem (Evangelho), mas também da qualidade dos enviados (apóstolos) e da rede de estradas (em particular das do Império Romano).

No que concerne ao papel dos mensageiros na construção e no funcionamento do Império Ultramontano português, esclareça-se que viajar para *descobrir* ou saber, «mormente semdo novidades e cousas de alheas terras e provincias que nom virão nem ouvirão…», passará a ser inclinação, quase natural, de muitos portugueses, como informará António Galvão, em meados de Quinhentos[2]. E dará o exemplo de um Fernando Coutinho, que, «[…] como já avia tocado Africa, e a India, determinou de hir [de Ormuz] a Portugal por terra, e ver a mór parte d'Asia, Europa, e para isso diz que foy Arabia Persia, e pollo rio Eufrates acima hum mes de caminho, e

vio muitos reynos, e senhorios que em nossos tempos nam eram vistos, foi aa cidade de Lepe [Alepo], atravessou a provincia de Suria [Síria]; em Damasco ho prenderam, e diz que esteve na casa Santa de Hierusalem, e na cidade do Cairo, na de Constantinopla, com ho grande Turco, e depois de visto sua corte, e a mór parte de sua terra, foy ter aa cidade de Veneza, e visto Italia, França, Espanha, veo ter aa cidade de Lisboa…»[3].

Eis delineado um grande périplo essencialmente por terra, desde a Índia a Portugal, em boa parte seguindo estradas habituais (como iremos ver), e realizado voluntariamente, ou seja, com a intenção aparente de, apenas, conhecer. Neste caso, em rigor, não se poderá falar de "mensageiro", já que de um simples viajante se tratou; nem terá deixado mensagem escrita, pelo menos com fins políticos. Mas, outros houve que viajaram e se converteram em informadores oficiais, aliciados, quase sempre, pelo Poder. Mais: tempos houve em que todos os portugueses passaram a ser convidados a serem informadores e mensageiros do Poder real, tomando este a decisão de recompensar a prestação da informação como se tratasse de um serviço público. Por outras palavras, inaugurou-se, entre nós, também, a era dos mensageiros, coincidente com o movimento heróico das viagens (até então raras) para uso pessoal e para estabelecimento de um domínio político alargado ou *universal*.

Que informações interessavam? Praticamente todas, mas, como dirá Gaspar Barreiros, sobrinho de João de Barros, «[…] o comércio e a guerra nos descobriram o que sabemos do Mundo»[4]. Serão, portanto, essencialmente, mensagens relativas à guerra no Oriente e ao comércio das especiarias que circularão pelas *estradas* quer terrestres, quer marítimas, que ligavam a Índia e Portugal.

É sabido que, no século XVI (e não só), nenhum outro tipo de transporte suplantava, em eficácia, o marítimo. Daí que, conforme observará, por volta de 1512-1515, Tomé Pires, o porto fosse, então, a «porta» de cidades e reinos que desejavam estar a abertos ao exterior, ou seja, por onde pudessem entrar e sair pessoas, bens e notícias («novas»)[5]. Da intensidade e da qualidade deste fluxo dependia então, em larga medida, o crescimento e o desenvolvimento das respectivas comunidades humanas, podendo dar-se como exemplo, pela negativa, o caso da África Negra. Com efeito, observará, a este propósito, o também quinhentista Fr. Gaspar de S. Bernardino, no seu *Itinerário da Índia por terra até à ilha de Chipre,* ser a África o continente menos conhecido (ou menos desenvolvido), «[…] por não ter o trato e comércio que as outras partes têm, como também por estar separada e apartada à maneira de ilha, não caminhando por ela gente, com aquele trato e cáfilas, que nas outras costuma haver, o que procede de carecer de portos de mar…»[6].

Esta insuficiência portuária não se aplicava, naturalmente, à Europa e à Ásia do Índico e do Pacífico, pelo que se conjugavam, ali, componentes favoráveis à afirmação, respectivamente da *economia-mundo europeia* e de uma organização de *cidades-mundo*. Releve-se (embora sem novidade) que não só estas economias continuavam a reforçar os elos que as articulavam, como (compreensivelmente) desenvolviam alguns anti-corpos gerados pela inevitável concorrência. Por tal, a

informação era já tida, então, como meio decisivo para o domínio dos espaços à escala mundial (com as compreensíveis limitações), destacando-se, como primeiros protagonistas europeus na Ásia das monções, os italianos e os portugueses. Falemos um pouco da actividade informativa destes últimos.

Nas suas contínuas e incasáveis viagens para tentar descobrir parte do Oriente, Duarte Barbosa confessará, em obra escrita em 1516, ter orientado a sua pesquisa para a obtenção de notícias descritivo-narrativas sobre os limites, os lugares e os costumes dos vários reinos, mas, sobretudo, para «[…] o seu tráfico, e as mercadorias que nelles se achão, os lugares aonde nascem, e para onde se conduzem…». Por sua vez (e estamos, apenas, a exemplificar), o autor anónimo da *Crónica do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses* frisará que, durante os três meses em que Vasco da Gama e os companheiros permaneceram em Calecute, uma das suas preocupações foi «[…] que cada dia, de cada naao, fosem dous aa [dita] cidade, e andasem por ella vendo-a, avisando-se de todalas cousas de trato e mercadorias, e dos mercadores quaaes eram os mais rricos e o que mais mercadoria tratava, e aa noute viesem dormir aas naos e lhe dar comta…»[7].

Se analisarmos, de facto, os vários tipos de fontes históricas sobre a presença dos portugueses no eixo do Índico – Pacífico, encontramos, exuberantemente, registada e representada, desde os começos de Quinhentos, a preocupação de disporem de um particular conhecimento dos reinos e das economias orientais, com destaque para o espaço que melhor representava a economia de mercado, ou seja, o das vilas e cidades. Tal objectivo encontra-se também traduzido, naturalmente, na elaboração de representações cartográficas e iconográficas. Que vemos, *logo*, no *Planisfério Anónimo* dito de Cantino, de 1502? Algumas legendas apostas sobre os respectivos signos cartográficos rezam, por exemplo, assim: «garamuz [Ormuz] aqui ha aljofar e hubas e figos e seda e tamaras e almendroas e pedra hume e cavallos» ou «aqui [Ceilão] nace a canella e muytas sortes de especieria e aqui pescam as perlas e el aljofar […]». E, nas magníficas pinturas de um português anónimo de meados do século XVI, conhecidas por «Códice da Biblioteca Casanatense», há legendas, como esta, a esclarecer a respectiva representação: «xarafo que nos chamamos canbador [cambista] do reyno de Cambaya».

Naturalmente, pese embora a crescente autonomização do domínio económico, ontem como hoje, ele imbricava-se com o político, o religioso, o sócio-cultural, o ideológico… Que foi o Gama buscar à Índia? Lembremos que especiarias e cristãos.

3. As «Estradas» da Comunicação por Terra

Apesar do Atlântico se mostrar, durante o século XVI, cada vez mais infestado de piratas e corsários (com muito deles apostados em desmantelar o exclusivo domínio dos Ibéricos), é inegável que as vias marítimas ainda eram as mais seguras. As *terrestres*, entre a Índia e Portugal, eram, porém, por norma, de comunicação

mais rápida, se houvesse sorte e cuidado na organização das viagens. A propósito, não se esqueça que o Mediterrâneo e as vias marginais que o articulam com o Índico eram (são) espaços em que se haviam formado e se confrontavam três religiões de dimensão universal ou ecuménica (já que enformavam, substancialmente, grandes civilizações,) embora (ou por causa disso) apresentassem alguns elementos afins.

Sopesando as várias ameaças que nestas estradas espreitavam o viandante, no ano de 1663 o P.e Manuel Godinho, na sua *Relação do Novo Caminho Que Faz por Terra e Mar Vindo da Índia para Portugal*, esclarecerá : «Vários são os caminhos que se podem fazer da Índia à Europa por terra; uns mais fáceis que outros, uns mais seguros, outros mais arriscados, mas mais breves e mais compridos outros»[8].

Residia, de facto, na celeridade a vantagem das vias terrestres sobre as marítimas, como claramente se depreende duma carta de Filipe I, datada de 6 de Fevereiro de 1589, para o vice-rei da Índia: que se escusem «estas viagens da terra quando não ouver tempo para serem mays breves que as do mar, porque avendo de ser ambas casy no mesmo tempo […], não ficão sendo de muito effeito»[9]. Mais: navegando, conjuntamente, as mercadorias e as "novas", era óbvio que se lograva uma produtividade maior no respectivo serviço.

No caso de haver mais que uma via terrestre desimpedida (sobretudo em termos militares ou bélicos), naturalmente dever-se-ia optar pela «mais certa e secreta», a fim de garantir a chegada dos "avisos" que circulavam entre a Índia e Portugal.

Mas, reconstituamos, ainda que incipientemente, as principais «estradas» das comunicações, sobretudo entre o Mediterrâneo Oriental e o Índico, situando-nos nos começos da presença portuguesa no Oriente e dando a palavra, aos viajantes e guerreiros.

A cidade-guardiã da importante via do Mar Roxo ou Vermelho era Adem, sendo o seu papel político-militar e comercial bastante equivalente ao de Ormuz, no Golfo Pérsico. No Mediterrâneo, estas cidades tinham como portos correspondentes, respectivamente Cairo-Alexandria e Alepo-Beirute.

Escrevendo a D. Manuel, a 4 de Dezembro de 1513, Afonso de Albuquerque, segundo informações que recolheu, dirá que de Judá (o porto de Meca) ao Suez era «mui piqueno caminho» e «muito mais pequeno» o de Camarã a Judá. Por mar, a navegação, neste último trajecto, era relativamente fácil, piorando, progressivamente, devido aos baixios e ventos, de Judá ao Toro e daqui ao Suez. Por terra, de Adem a Judá seria viagem de 10 dias e do Suez ao Cairo três, segundo Tomé Pires[10]. Só que, para um cristão ou judeu, calcorrear a Arábia litorânea do Mar Roxo era correr imensos perigos, devido à presença de Meca. Com efeito, até na «Tavoa do Toro» e na «Tavoa de Suez», da autoria de D. João de Castro, respectivamente a décima quinta e a décima sexta do *Roteiro do Mar Roxo* (1541), estão representados grupos de guerreiros, a pé e a cavalo, além de barcos varados em terra, ao abrigo de um molhe. Por sua vez, referindo a falta de segurança no trajecto Cairo-Toro, dirá Tomé Pires que se vinha em cáfilas, mas «nem he ysto muitas vezes por causa dos salteadores alarves…»[11].

No século XVI, Suez era um porto quase só habitado por carpinteiros de ribeira e calafates, constituindo, portanto, um pequeno aglomerado de gente que vivia da construção de embarcações (algumas destinadas à guerra no Índico), enquanto o Toro era mais uma base logística. Após a conquista do Egipto (1516-1517) pelos otomanos e o consequente aniquilamento do domínio mameluco, o Suez recrudescerá de importância geo-estratégica e logística, sobretudo no que concerne ao Índico. Esclareça-se, a propósito, que, por meados de Quinhentos, os turcos conseguirão navegar de Judá a Goa em 15 dias somente, o que passará a constituir uma forte ameaça para o "Estado português da Índia".

Mais seguro era fazer o caminho dos abexins em direcção a Jerusalém, ou seja, contornar o Mar Roxo de Zeila a Dalaca e daqui a Suaquem, podendo-se ir a Maçuá, até chegar a Cosser ou Coçaer. É Afonso de Albuquerque quem esclarecerá: «[…] caminhando dese Coçaer, que está no cabo do mar Roxo, pelo sertam até ho Nilo, está hum casall, que chamam Cana, caminho de três jornadas, por onde agora os judeus de Portugall e de Castella fazem ho caminho para a India e vem tratar nela, porque por Judá e Meca nam podem[…]». Com o Monte Sinai à mão direita, depois de se deixar Suez, trilhava-se a via para Jerusalém, não sendo «grande caminho»[12]

Já, para as comunicações pelas vias de Ormuz, as possibilidades eram ou fazer a chamada «via da Pérsia», mais longa e, consequentemente, morosa, com passagem pelo actual Irão; ou trilhar o «caminho de Bassorá» em direcção a Bagdade, indo depois em linha recta até Alepo. Estas duas vias podiam, no entanto, comunicar à latitude de Bagdade e Tabriz. Esclareça-se, a propósito, que o famoso Chãh Ismãil (Xeque Ismael para os portugueses), se apoderou, em 1501, de Tabriz e, em 1508, de Bagdade, o que significa que passou a ter nas suas mãos os pontos-chave das duas importantes vias. Só que, com a sua morte, os turcomanos ou «cabeças vermelhas», de que ele era chefe prestigiado, foram perdendo fulgor político, em benefício dos turcos otomanos.

Mas, como é que os portugueses vão tendo conhecimento directo destas vias de Ormuz?

Em 1515, o governador Afonso de Albuquerque (já às portas da morte) confessará não possuir delas, ainda, informação pormenorizada[13]. Deve ter sido António Tenreiro o primeiro português a fazer, em 1524-1525, o itinerário Ormuz, Lar, Xiraz, Ipahan, Kachan, Kum, Tabriz e, depois, Damasco, Cairo, com regresso a Ormuz.

O mesmo viajante, mas agora como mensageiro das autoridades de Goa, em finais de 1528 integrar-se-á numa cáfila e, de Bassorá, rumará em direcção ao Mediterrâneo Oriental, ou seja, em busca de Alepo e Antioquia. Em Fevereiro do ano seguinte, embarcará em Chipre com destino a Veneza, Ferrara, Génova, Valença, Toledo e Lisboa.

Quanto à segurança destas «estradas», dirá Tenreiro que leões, onças, lobos e ursos punham em constante perigo os viandantes, não bastando, portanto, os ataques

dos ladrões nos trajectos mais desertos. Por tal, os recoveiros deslocavam-se em grupos ou "catares" (cada catar integrava 7 recoveiros), para melhor se defenderem.

Porém, não se pense que os obstáculos a uma rápida viagem só se deparavam nos caminhos terrestres. Encontrar, logo, embarcação entre as cidades portuárias do Mediterrâneo era dar saltos de gigante nestas comunicações.

Algumas vezes, por razões várias, os itinerários distendiam-se bastante, como sucedeu com Isaac do Cairo em 1560-1561. Partiu de Goa e rumou a Ormuz e Doraque; fez por terra o trajecto Babilónia – Caramet – Constantinopla; navegou de Castelnovo (golfo de Cátaro) a Ancona; tomou, depois, Alepo e Tripoli e daqui passou, por via marítima, a Chipre e Veneza.

Mestre Afonso, cirurgião-mor, sem ir a Bassorá, em 1565, alcançou Tabriz, Alepo e Tripoli; depois, por Famagusta, desembarcou em Veneza e da França chegou a Portugal.

Retenha-se, talvez como característica principal destas estradas que, na época heróica da expansão europeia, elas estavam bem longe de funcionar facilmente, *em rede*, o que suscitava enormes contratempos para a comunicação regular.

4. Sobre os Mensageiros e os Informadores

De preferência, a governação portuguesa recomendava o recrutamento de súbditos nacionais para servirem de mensageiros e informadores, evitando portanto os estrangeiros, por não serem de "fiarem". Por outras palavras e como se poderá ler nalguns diplomas, o rei privilegiava as «pessoas certas e confidentes», contando-se, indubitavelmente, neste grupo, os eclesiásticos que se dispunham a fazer por terra o caminho entre Portugal e a Índia (e vice-versa), com passagem por Jerusalém. Esclareça-se, a propósito, que, em começos do século XVII, havia religiosos agostinhos e carmelitas, provenientes da Península Ibérica, a residirem na Pérsia, tendo feito os últimos convento em Ormuz.

A escolha, sempre que possível, desta categoria de agentes não seria só ditada pela fidelidade. É que o eclesiástico ou mensageiro cristão, mais do que qualquer outro, estava em melhores condições não apenas de transmitir informação, mas de *re-presentar* (tornar presente), à distância, quer o emissor principal (a Coroa/Estado, com forte participação da pessoa do monarca), quer o receptor/emissor, ou seja, o delegado do poder central, consoante o sentido das mensagens. Por outras palavras, tinha mais capacidade para *encurtar a distância* (em termos psicológicos) entre o centro e a periferia da circunscrição universal ou imperial. Como dirá José Manuel Santos: «Não há dúvida que o cristianismo inaugura, ou pelo menos reactiva de maneira inédita, novas tecnologias de comunicação, das quais a efectividade e a expansão de um poder soberano se tornam dependentes»[14].

Claro está que havia uma correlação estreita entre a qualidade (preparação ou especialização) do mensageiro ou do informador e a importância ou a natureza da

mensagem. Deste modo, poderemos falar, no caso vertente, de recoveiros ou simples transportadores de mensagens, de mensageiros-espias, de enviados-diplomatas…

Alguns mantinham-se em serviço permanente; outros eram contratados ocasionalmente. Os mais preparados parecem ter especialização em certas áreas, o que não surpreenderá, se tivermos em conta a sucessão familiar que, por vezes, se verificava na prestação deste tipo de serviços[15]. Documentemos.

«António Pinto he muito pratico [experiente] nas cousas do Cairo» e, porque o era, pretendia ir, por terra, do Cairo até à Índia, pela via de Jerusalém, Damasco, Alepo, rio Eufrates, Bassorá e Ormuz, com salvo conduto do Turco e «creo sera esta jornada sua de serviço de Vossa Alteza por acabarmos de entender o soccorro que por aquelle rio pode ir a Baçora e se tem modo para nelle se fazerem algũa sorte de navios…» – escreverá a el-rei, de Roma a 9 de Novembro de 1560, Lourenço Pires de Távora[16].

Por sua vez, o judeu Isaac do Cairo, que viveu longos anos na Índia, em 1537 serviu de mensageiro ao governador do Estado da Índia, trazendo, por terra, a notícia da morte violenta do rei de Cambaia, o que foi considerado um dado importante para se planear a actuação portuguesa naquela região. Veio, pelo menos, por terra «duas vezes a Portugal com avisos» e era um óptimo informador, que «tudo sabia porque andava no Cayro, onde estava o Turquo»[17].

Se, actualmente, os mensageiros se tornaram inúteis ou supérfluos, porque as distâncias foram praticamente abolidas e o tempo de difusão reduzido a quase nada, mantém-se, no entanto, a importância do informador. Ora, no tempo e no espaço (na "época heróica") que nos interessa, apreciava-se o duplo papel do informador e do mensageiro, de que este Isaac do Cairo foi um bom intérprete.

5. Sobre as Mensagens ou "Novas"

Tratando-se de simples recoveiros ou mensageiros portadores de "avisos" (codificados ou não), é óbvio que o informador, em si, não era *autor* da mensagem. Outro tanto se poderia dizer do diplomata com *texto* preparado ou previamente ditado pelo poder político, muito embora a sua capacidade negociadora pudesse acrescentar mais-valias à mensagem inicial. Porém, autores ou *fontes* (como hoje se diz) das próprias mensagens eram os informadores, estabelecidos ou móveis.

Já antes dissemos que eram, essencialmente, de natureza político-administrativa e comercial as mensagens que, fixas (sob a forma de cartas ou "avisos"), circulavam por terra entre a Índia e Portugal. Concretamente, por carta, para el-rei, datada de Roma a 5 de Maio de 1561, Lourenço Pires de Távora informará que, procedente do Cairo, recebera uma carta de Matias Bicudo e «[…] por ella se verá o estado das cousas que dali se querem saber, e asi também a soma de specearia que em Alexandria se vende; e sendo este danno tam notável para o efeito que Vossa Alteza

pertende da Índia»[18]. E ainda este outro exemplo do conteúdo de uma missiva do mesmo informador, com data de 13 de Outubro de 1560 e também proveniente de Roma: «Se a armada de Suez não partio no verão passado como tínhamos o aviso não creo que por essa causa deixara de partir neste que vira […] parece não devem levar tenção a outra empreza mais que ajuntar-se com as que o Turco já tem em Baçora […] poderão com esta armada junta fazer tanta guerra continua, e dar tanto trabalho e fadiga que se poderá com justa causa recear porão em muito perigo a Índia…»[19].

Para garantir a confidencialidade desta informação, (sob maior ameaça de chegar a mãos inimigas), o Poder central insistia no uso de cifras, como se depreende, deste excerto de uma carta de Filipe I para o vice-rei da Índia (D. Duarte de Meneses), datada de 6 de Fevereiro de 1589: «E pelos riscos que há nas cartas que vem por terra sempre devem vir em ciffra as materias de segredo, e os particulares doutras, ynda que seyão pubricas…»[20]. Anos mais tarde, a 14 de Fevereiro de 1615, Filipe II também recomendará ao vice-rei da índia: «Eu tenho mandado que nas cartas que me escreverdes por terra, se use da cifra que para isso vos tenho enviado […]»[21].

Além do uso da cifra, deveriam ser feitos duplicados de cada «aviso» e remetidos por vias diferentes, recorrendo às terrestres e às marítimas.

No que concerne à informação a obter no espaço adjacente ao Mediterrâneo e ao Índico Ocidental, a construção naval e a logística das armadas (sobretudo turcas) constituirão um dos objectivos principais. Por exemplo, no governo de D. Álvaro de Noronha (1550-1554), foi, por terra, de Portugal a Ormuz, um judeu que informou o capitão desta fortaleza sobre movimentações e "novas" que recolheu no caminho[22]. Também um português do termo de Braga, Gonçalo de Araújo, por conhecer os costumes turcos (fora seu prisioneiro durante 14 anos) foi encarregado pelo embaixador de D. João III em Veneza de espiar os portos do Cairo e do Suez e de recolher informações «dos caminhos para Ormuz por terra e das monções em que se navega [aquelle] Esterito […] e do tempo em que partem as cáfilas para Meca e para Alepo para saber de todas estas estradas e escolher a que lhe vier mais a preposito quando cumprir…»[23].

Esclareça-se, quanto ao funcionamento destas redes informativas, que, ainda no século XV, os portugueses estabeleceram feitorias e consulados em várias cidades do Mediterrâneo, designadamente em Roma, Génova, Veneza, Barcelona, Valência… Mercadores portugueses, alguns deles judeus, contactavam regularmente estas cidades portuárias e recolhiam informações que, em muitos casos, acabavam por ter interesse político. Por sua vez, as notícias dos embaixadores, cônsules e feitores eram enviadas, regularmente (através de correios ou de agentes especiais), para Lisboa.

Acrescente-se, ainda, que o Mediterrâneo era, também, para os portugueses um espaço de interesse cultural (devido, sobretudo, ao património greco-romano) e religioso, se tivermos em conta Roma, Lugares Santos da Palestina e tantos outros centros de peregrinação.

6. A Comunicação como Serviço d'el Rei

O serviço prestado, ontem como hoje, com direito a recompensa depende, essencialmente, da sua natureza ou importância e da qualidade da entidade servida. Concretizemos com o caso de Vasco da Gama, ao descobrir o caminho marítimo para a Índia. Ele serviu duas destacadas *fontes* da honra: o rei (na prática, o imperador) de Portugal e o Chefe da Cristandade, ou seja, o Papa. Quanto à qualidade do serviço, naquela descoberta que proporcionou a chegada à almejada "Índia", o Gama expôs «todo priguo de sua pessoa e arriscamento de sua vida», pelo que mereceu ser galardoado por D. Manuel I, «como todo principe deve fazer aaquelles que asy grandemente e bem o servem».

Mas, consideremos a preparação e os riscos a que se expunham os que serviam o poder real português nas comunicações, por terra, entre a Índia e Portugal, principiando pelo caso do português Fernão Dias. Porque falava bem o árabe e «sabia bem os costumes dos mouros, e mormente dos cacizes, e suas lendas e orações», por ter sido cativo no Estreito de Gibraltar e ter convivido durante muito tempo com os "mouros", foi muitas vezes por espia ao Mar Vermelho («em naos de mouros em trajos de caciz») e dispôs-se a ir da Índia a Portugal, pela «via do Cairo e Veneza»[24]. Não valerá a pena explicitar o que lhe sucederia se fosse descoberta a sua actividade. Porém, não era só a morte que integrava os riscos que estes agentes corriam "ao serviço d'el rey". Eles estavam, também, sujeitos a ferimentos, roubos, prisão… Exemplifiquemos, igualmente.

O venezeano António Baroche, que veio da Índia a Portugal pelo menos três vezes, esteve preso perto de um ano, tendo-se resgatado à sua custa. Além disso, foi roubado de jóias e dinheiro que transportava para custear as suas despesas. Esclareça-se, no entanto, que, por norma, os viajantes não levavam dinheiro, devido às possíveis dificuldades com o câmbio. Contudo, a Gonçalo de Araújo, refém dos Turcos durante cercas de 14 anos, mandou dar Lourenço Pires de Távora, embaixador em Roma, «trinta cruzados pera a viagem», tendo-o instruído sobre «tudo o que cumpre entender e do que agora ha-de fazer pera saber servir ao diante e com principal intento de hir dentro a Suez a ver por si tudo o que alli se passa…»[25].

Os tipos de recompensa que os serviços de comunicação poderiam suscitar eram diversos. Vamos, também, documentar.

Em Alepo, residiu um judeu, de nome Isac Becudo, o qual aceitou servir D. João III, a partir de 1559, a troco de um vencimento anual. Era essencialmente um informador. Por sua vez, o famoso judeu Isaac do Cairo, que durante décadas se manteve ao serviço de Portugal e que veio, pelo menos, duas vezes a Portugal, por terra, com "avisos", foi generosamente recompensado pelo poder real. Concretamente, por carta de 8 de Novembro de 1539, D. João III atribuiu-lhe o ofício de «língua» (intérprete) da cidade de Dio, não sendo alheia a tal recompensa a situação inerente às relações dos portugueses com o rei de Cambaia[26]. Recorde-se que, em 1538, se

verificou o primeiro grande cerco de Dio, mas esta primeira viagem de Isaac ainda serviu para tranquilizar D. João III, o que pouco depois era contradito pelos factos.

O arménio Domingos Dias, casado na Índia com uma portuguesa, também veio, por mais de uma vez, da Índia, por terra, a Portugal (ou a Espanha?). Numa delas, foi portador da nova de ter desembarcado em Goa, como vice-rei o 4.º Conde da Vidigueira D. Francisco da Gama. A deslocação do arménio foi bastante rápida, já que o Conde chegou a 22 de Maio de 1597 e o alvará régio que a recompensa está datado de Madrid a 6 de Setembro do mesmo ano[27]. Foi recompensado com a atribuição do cargo de porteiro da alfândega de Ormuz e, por ser estrangeiro, Filipe I de Portugal teve de esclarecer o aparente impedimento.

Mas, o serviço prestado a el-rei também poderia ser pago com outras benesses, que não apenas a outorga de cargos. Por exemplo, Martim Afonso de Sousa, de acordo com D. João III, combinou com um judeu mercador do Cairo que «fosse por terra levar suas cartas a Elrey de Portugal», que ele lhe daria grande liberdade em tratos realizados na Índia e noutras partes[28].

Pesavam, na Fazenda real, os gastos com estes serviços? Ficamos com a impressão de que pesavam bastante (além dos inconvenientes de ordem demográfica), porque se passou a usar e abusar dos *correios* por terra, a ponto de Filipe II, em carta de 16 de Fevereiro de 1613 para o vice-rei da Índia, D. Jerónimo de Azevedo estranhar «[…] virem dessas partes para este Reino muitas pessoas por terra, como vieram nestes últimos annos huns com licença do viso-rey desse Estado e outros sem ella….»[29].

É preciso terminar. Fá-lo-emos, lembrando que, enquanto, economicamente, os portugueses concorrem, através da Rota do Cabo, com os mediterrâneos que se haviam interessado pelo comércio das especiarias das Índias Orientais, é contudo, pelo Mar Interior e pelos espaços que com ele confinam, que os mesmos portugueses fazem circular muita da informação necessária à manutenção do seu "Estado da Índia".

NOTAS

[1] Permito-me invocar, designadamente, o meu estudo *Os Portugueses em viagem pelo Mundo. Representações Quinhentistas de Cidades e Vilas*, Lisboa, Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1996.

[2] *Tratado dos Descobrimentos Antigos e Modernos, feitos ate a era de 1550…*, Lisboa Occidental, na off. Ferreiriana, 1731, p. 232.

[3] Idem, *Ibidem*, pp. 232-233.

[4] *Chorographia de alguns lugares que stam em hum caminho que fez Gaspar Barreiros o anno de MDXXXXVj [1546*]…, Coimbra, [1561], fól. 151.

[5] *A Suma Oriental*…, Coimbra, Por Ordem da Universidade, 1978, p. 214.

[6] Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1953.p. 93.

[7] Coimbra, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1974, p. 12.

[8] Manuel Godinho, *Relação do Novo Caminho Que Faz por Terra e Mar Vindo da Índia para Portugal*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1974, p. 211.

[9] *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, fascículo 3.º, Nova Goa, Imprensa nacional, 1861, p. 177.

[10] *A Suma Oriental*, pp. 139-140.

[11] *Ibidem*, p. 141.

[12] *Carta para el-rei*, de 4 de Dezembro de 1513, in *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque seguidas de documentos que as elucidam*, T. I, Lisboa, Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, [1884], pp. 199-244.

[13] *Carta para el-rei*, de 22 de Setembro de 1515, in *Alguns documentos do Archivo Nacional…*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, [1892], p. 380.

[14] *Sobre Reis, Mensageiros e Mensagens*, in «Comunicação e Poder», org. de João Carlos Correia, Universidade da Beira Interior, Covilhã, 2002, pp. 273-332.

[15] Cf. Dejamirah Couto, *L'Espionage Portugais dans l'Empire Ottoman au XVI^e siècle, in «Actes du Colloque "La Découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe*», Paris, 26-28 Mai 1988, Paris, Foundation Calouste Gulbenkian, 1990, pp. 243-267.

[16] In *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez* […], T. IX, Lisboa, Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, [1868], pp. 64-73.

[17] Cf. António Pinto Pereira, *História da Índia* […], 1617, Liv. II, cap. XIII, p. 34 e Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia*, T. III, Lisboa, Na Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1862, pp. 848-849.

[18] In *Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez* […], T. IX, Lisboa, Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, [1886], pp. 251-253.

[19] *Ibidem*, pp. 64-73.

[20] *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, fasc. 3.º, p. 177.

[21] *Livro das Monções*, T. III, doc. 513, pp. 204 e segs.

[22] Carta de D. Álvaro de Noronha, de Cochim a 27 de Janeiro de 1552, in *Viagens da Índia a Portugal…,* por Sousa Viterbo, p. 65.

[23] Carta de Lourenço Pires de Távora, de 18 de Junho de 1561, in *Corpo Diplomático*, Tomo IX, pp. 278-279.

[24] Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia*, T. II, Na Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1860, p. 348.

[25] Carta do próprio para el-rei, de Roma a 9 de Novembro de 1560, In *Corpo Diplomático Portuguez* […], T. IX, pp. 89-93.

[26] In *Viagens da Índia a Portugal por terra…*, pp. 28-29.

[27] *Ibidem*, pp. 48-49.

[28] *Lendas da Índia*, T. III, pp. 792, 845 e segs..

[29] Doc. 320 do T. II. do Livro das Monções, pp. 329-330.

26

PORTUGUESE MELAKA AND THE APOSTOLATE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

John Villiers

There is little argument about the economic and strategic significance of the capture of Melaka by Afonso de Albuquerque in 1511, about the crucial role that the city played in the establishment of the Portuguese presence in Southeast Asia and subsequently in the administration of the eastern part of the *Estado da Índia*, or about the disastrous consequences for the Portuguese of their loss of the city to the Dutch in 1641. But, perhaps out of a desire to stress these economic and strategic factors and to play down the Christian missionary and crusading motives behind the Portuguese discoveries and the formation of the Portuguese empire in Asia, historians have devoted little attention to the study of Melaka's role as a centre or springboard from which the various missions of the mendicant Orders and the Jesuits in Southeast Asia and beyond conducted their operations under the terms of the Portuguese Padroado Real. They have tended to overlook the fact that, in this respect, Melaka played a role comparable to that played by Spanish Manila, which from the outset was seen by the Spanish authorities as an *almacén de la fe* (storehouse of the faith) in the work of evangelization in the East and, perhaps even more significantly, to that played by Muslim Melaka in the previous century as a centre for the dissemination of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago. As the Jesuit missionary Luís Frois declared, Melaka always yielded a rich harvest of souls because, apart from what was done for the Portuguese in the city itself, it was a place from which 'the greatest enterprises that there are in these parts' could be launched[1].

There was, however, one crucial difference between Melaka and Manila in this matter of evangelization. The Spanish were no less anxious than the Portuguese to exploit the resources of their newly discovered lands to maximum advantage. But unlike the Portuguese, the Spanish believed this could best be done by territorial domination and the permanent subjugation of entire populations to their rule, and, once the work of evangelization had been accomplished, the civil, military and

ecclesiastical authorities worked to this end hand in hand with the missionaries, who in the case of the Philippines were the friars of the mendicant Orders. In Melaka, by contrast, the missionaries, although they acted with the authority delegated to them by the Crown under the terms of the Padroado Real, nevertheless only governed directly in a few small areas in and around certain of the Portuguese fortresses in the region, such as Solor, where the fortress was established and maintained by the Dominicans chiefly from the proceeds of the Timorese sandalwood trade. Nowhere in Portuguese Asia did any system of government develop comparable in scale or complexity to the frailocracy in the Philippines[2].

Nevertheless, it is clear that from the outset the Portuguese considered Melaka's function as a centre for the implementation of the Padroado Real to be no less important than its function as a key link in the chain of fortresses (*fortalezas*) and trading posts (*feitorias*) that held their far-flung maritime empire in Asia together. That this was so is clear from the ecclesiastical organization established by Afonso de Albuquerque in Melaka immediately after his conquest of the city in 1511 and developed and elaborated by successive governors, captains, vicars, bishops, religious and secular priests over the next fifty years in Melaka itself and in the Southeast Asian missions that Melaka served. Albuquerque brought to Melaka with his small force no fewer than seven missionary friars, among them the Dominican Frei Domingos de Sousa, who was confessor general to the fleet, and six Franciscans, as well as his own private chaplain, a secular priest named Álvaro Mergulhão[3]. One of the first buildings to be constructed within the walls of the fortress A Famosa was the chapel of Nossa Senhora da Anunciação. In less than a year, Albuquerque was writing to the king requesting plate, vestments, an organ, missals, choir books and church furniture, and steps were taken to appoint a vicar to look after the spiritual needs of the new Christian community in Melaka and to begin the task of organizing the evangelization of Southeast Asia[4].

Frei Domingos de Sousa, who was then vicar-general of India, wrote from Cochin in December 1514 describing the qualities that he thought necessary for a vicar of Melaka. He should be learned, 'as it is a new country' and, 'although he will adorn everything with his good life, in these parts the need is for someone who knows how to teach the faith by word as well as by example, as the people observe Portuguese vices and virtues and are subtle in understanding them and hard to convert.'[5] At the same time, the captain of Melaka, Jorge de Albuquerque wrote optimistically that the population of the city was well disposed towards Christianity since they were almost all pagans (*gentios*), although he warned that young and inexperienced priests and friars should not be sent out to evangelize them. As for the people of the Moluccas and the Banda Islands, 'which are the uttermost lands, they say that, if your faith is better than that of the Muslims, they will adopt it, just as now they have begun to adopt Islam.'[6]

The first vicar of Melaka and parish priest of Nossa Senhora da Anunciação to be appointed was Afonso Martins, who arrived in Melaka to take up his duties in 1515 and remained there in the same post for 34 years. Initially, the vicar and his fellow priests were responsible not only for the spiritual welfare of the Portuguese in Melaka – merchants, soldiers and sailors, married settlers (*casados*), their households and slaves – and of native converts in the city, but also for the organization of the entire missionary enterprise in Southeast Asia. They retained this responsibility until 1557 when, by the Bull *Excellenti Praeeminentia*, Pope Paul IV raised the diocese of Goa, which had hitherto been subject to the archdiocese of Funchal, to the rank of an archdiocese and created the two suffragan dioceses of Cochin and Melaka under Goa, each with a chapter composed of five dignitaries and twelve canons[7]. The church of Nossa Senhora da Assunção, as Nossa Senhora da Anunciação was known by then, became the cathedral of the new diocese of Melaka, which covered an enormous area stretching from Pegu to China and was reckoned to contain about 300,000 Catholics[8]. The Dominican Dom Frei Jorge de Santa Luzia was appointed first bishop of the new diocese.

Afonso Martins gives an interesting account of Catholic life in Melaka in 1732. He records that there were 75 Muslim women who had been converted to Christianity and who came to pray in his church on Wednesdays and Fridays. Their menfolk were only ordered to come on Sundays and feast days because they had to earn their living during the week, but it was extremely difficult to persuade them to do even this because they were so reluctant to abandon Islam, and he believed that many of them had become Christian more from necessity than from true faith. The heathen Indians, by contrast, were excellent Christians and very devout, especially the women, praying continuously and saying the Divine Office. Most of the indigenous Christians in Melaka were slaves of Chati merchants who, because of the ill treatment they had received, had sold themselves at auction to a Portuguese, adopted Christianity and then, in order to avoid scandal among the merchant community, had given their price to their former masters in accordance with a decree of King Manuel I[9]. Martins records that there were forty-two orphans in the city aged between seven and fifteen, all of them children of Portuguese who had died in Melaka. One of them was the son of a converted Jew and three were the children of 'respected gentlemen' (*cavaleiros homrados*). They knew the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, the Salve Regina and the Credo, had learnt how to serve at Mass, and were studying the catechism of D. Diogo Ortiz de Vilhegas[10]. They now needed a teacher, and Martins asked the king to appoint a citizen of Melaka for this post.

It is clear from Martins' report that lack of resources was already a serious problem and that the Crown was unable to cover from customs revenues alone the whole cost of maintaining the churches in Melaka, supporting their beneficed clergy and funding the city's works of charity. Indeed, it was soon to prove unable to fulfil from the same source its obligation under the terms of the Padroado Real to

meet the expense of sending missionaries of the various Orders to the numerous stations that were supplied from Melaka. For example, he pointed out that the orphans in Melaka depended entirely on alms and were in sore need of provisions, money and rice, and that the recently established Casa de Misericórdia had made little progress because of the poverty of the people, which was so great that they had nothing to eat, let alone anything to give to charity. He also claimed that, since the arrival of Pero de Mascarenhas as captain in 1525, not a single real had been given to the poor from the royal revenues in fulfilment of the captain's legal obligations.

Martins maintained that the royal *feitores* and officials even neglected to provide the church in Melaka with church ornaments and with its daily requirements of wine, oil, wax and flour for the Hosts[11]. Chalices and cruets, missals, psalters and breviaries were all lacking, and there was a need for sets of pontifical vestments for use at Masses celebrated by a bishop, including dalmatics and copes in the different liturgical colours. The hospital was ill provided with medicines, and those that were sent from Portugal were so damaged and rotten by the time they reached Melaka that they did more harm than good, and consequently many of the sick were dying unnecessarily. Martins asked the king to arrange for medicines to be sent out regularly with each new captain and *feitor*, to provide physicians, surgeons and barbers skilled in letting blood, and to ensure that henceforth, as he delicately put it, not all the things intended for the Melaka hospital failed to get further than India. As for himself and his fellow clergy, they were paid badly or not at all[12].

By the time of the Dutch conquest of Melaka in 1641, there were eighteen churches in the city and its environs providing for a Christian population estimated at 7, 400 souls[13]. One of these was the cathedral with its bishop and canons, and eight were parish churches, served by a priest with the title of vicar, who was paid a stipend of 160 *cruzados* a year from the customs revenues. The principal parish churches were Nossa Senhora da Piedade in Yler (Hilir), São Tomé in Kampung Keling, Santo Estêvão in Bunga Raya (Kampung Cina), São Lourenço in Sabak (Kampung Jawa), Nossa Senhora de Esperança on Bukit Gereja, and Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe in Tampoi. All these churches were badly damaged and in some case entirely destroyed in the sieges of 1606 and 1640, and little remains of any of them today. To the parish churches must be added the church of Nossa Senhora da Anunciada attached to the Jesuit College, the church of the Misericórdia, which had its own chaplain, who was paid an annual stipend of 500 *cruzados* from church funds, and the chapels attached to the two main hospitals within the walled city, the Hospital del Rei and the Hospital dos Pobres, the monasteries of the missionary Orders with their attached churches and chapels, and the numerous small hermitages and chapels outside the city[14].

The Dominicans were the first of the missionaries on the scene. About 1554 they founded a monastery dedicated to Nossa Senhora do Rosário, with Frei Gaspar da Cruz as their superior and an establishment of six to eight friars. Their superior acted

as vicar-general for the Dominican missions throughout the Southeast Asian region from Pegu, Ayutthaya and Cambodia to the remote Indonesian islands of Solor, Flores and Timor, '*as derradeiras do mundo'*, as one of their number ruefully described them[15]. By an alvará of 14 September 1571 they were granted the unique privilege of choosing the captain-major of the fortress of Solor 'for the good of the Christian community' (*pera favor da christandade*)[16]. The Solor fortress thus became in the eyes of the Dominicans, 'as well as a house and monastery of the Order, also a fortress of the Faith and a dwelling of the Virgin Mary, attacked by her enemies, combined with a royal fortress' (*àlem de ser casa, e Mosteiro da Ordem, era fortaleza da Fè, e casa da Virgem Maria, afrontada de seus inimigos, e juntamente fortaleza de nosso Rey*)[17]. They received such inadequate and irregular support from Melaka that they considered their very survival and that of their converts to be 'a perpetual series of miracles'[18], and their poverty was only partly relieved by their licence to receive payment of the dues that would normally be payable in Melaka from any ship that came to Solor to buy sandalwood. The Dominicans took care to ensure that their vicars were men of learning and capable of governing the Christian communities[19], and they were noted throughout Portuguese Asia for the high quality of their preaching. The saying went that, 'when a Dominican preaches, we shall have a good sermon and hear the truth' (*Prèga Dominico, teremos bom sermão e ouviremos as verdades*)[20]. They formed the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary to give them consolation in that 'desert in which they lived, separated from other Christians and living among heretics'[21]. In addition to their annual stipend of 360 c*ruzados* (400 after 1590) from the customs revenues, by a royal *alvará* of 5 March 1570 any Dominicans going from Melaka engaged upon the 'business of conversion' (*negócio de conversão*), were supposed to be provided with all that they needed for the voyage from the royal revenues, including clothes, embarkation costs and provisions on board ('*vestido, embarcação e matalotagem'*), lest they be prevented from carrying out their spiritual work for lack of temporal support[22]. The Franciscans (generally described in the Portuguese sources as Capuchos or Capuchinhos) first established a community in Melaka in 1581 with a group of friars from Spain and the Philippines. In that year one of their number, an Italian friar named Giovanni Battista Pizarro, erected a monastery on a site where there was already a small chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, known as the Madre de Deus. At first, the Franciscan house in Melaka was under the jurisdiction of Manila, but in 1584 it was placed by King Philip I (II of Spain) under the Portuguese province, and Frei Diogo da Conceição was sent out from Arrábida as first guardian or superior. He arrived in Melaka in October 1584 accompanied by twenty Portuguese companions, of whom thirteen remained in the diocese of Melaka and were sent from there to various mission stations in Siam and Cambodia and the eastern Indonesian islands[23]. Thereafter, the usual Franciscan establishment in the city of Melaka consisted of seven friars and two lay brothers.

In 1587 the bishop of Melaka, D. João Ribeiro Gaio, who had a special devotion to the Augustinians, prevailed upon the vicar provincial, Frei Luís do Paraizo, to found a monastery in the city and to send out Frei Jerónimo de Madre de Deus as the first prior. On their arrival, the Augustinians were assigned the chapel of Santo António *intra muros*. Shortly after, Frei Jerónimo founded the monastery of Nossa Senhora da Graça, and his successor as prior, Frei Antão de Jesus, built a new church, also dedicated to St Anthony, which was destroyed in the siege of 1640-41[24]. The Augustinians in Melaka were never very numerous; their establishment generally consisted of only five friars and two predicants (*pregadores*). They were chiefly active in the Japan mission and were said to be the richest order in Melaka after the Jesuits.

In 1549 Ignatius Loyola set up the Jesuit province of India, centred in Goa, with Francis Xavier as its first provincial. Until 1601 the Indian province comprised the whole of Portuguese Asia from the east coast of Africa to Japan. In that year a new province of Malabar was created, with its centre at Cochin and responsibility for Melaka and the Jesuit missions east of Melaka. Ever since Francis Xavier landed for the first time in the city in 1545, the Jesuits had taken a leading role not only in ministering to the Christian population of Melaka itself, but also in the missions in other parts of Southeast Asia where there was a Portuguese presence, notably in the islands of eastern Indonesia and in Japan.

In 1545 and again in 1547 Xavier spent several months in Melaka, during which he heard innumerable confessions and preached constantly at Mass, in the mornings to the Portuguese and in the afternoons to the indigenous Christians (although not, apparently, to the non-Christian natives), 'declaring at each feast an Article of Faith to the newly converted and to the children in the form of a Declaration presented in a language that all could understand in order to instil in them a firm foundation of faith and to persuade them to abandon their belief in vain idols and the falsehoods that heathens past and present have written about them.' He made peace between the soldiers and the citizens and went about the city with a little bell praying for the souls in Purgatory, taking with him many of the children of those to whom he was teaching Christian doctrine[25]. However, he was appalled at the moral turpitude of the Portuguese population of Melaka, declaring that nothing good could be expected from a city where all the married settlers (*casados*) had three or four concubines and some of them half a dozen. It was said that when he left he shook the dust of the city from his shoes, stripped off and buried his clothes and dressed in skins (although, as an anonymous Jesuit commentator writing from Goa in 1548 commented, 'it seems to me that only the bit about the shoes is true')[26].

Padre Nicolau Lancillotto, writing to Loyola in 1550, was equally outspoken about the sexual backslidings of the Christian Portuguese in Melaka. 'The sin of lechery is so widespread in these parts', he wrote, 'that it is not possible to curb it, from which ensues much discord and great disrespect for the sacraments. The

Portuguese throw themselves into the vices and habits of the country with abandon, buying whole droves of male and female slaves as though they were sheep, and flocks of young girls as concubines. Some *casados* have as many as ten female slaves and sleep with all of them, and this is public knowledge. One man in Melaka had twenty-four women of various races, all of whom he kept as slaves and all of whom he used' (*de todas husava*). Lancillotto also referred darkly to 'other shameful practices' (*outras desonestidades*), about which he admitted to having only 'scant knowledge' (*fraco saber*). He recommended various punishments that he believed would help to stamp out the custom of keeping female slaves as concubines, ranging from the granting of liberty to the slave on pain of excommunication to the payment of fines to the Misericórdia or, if the culprit did not have the money, to penances imposed by the bishop[27].

If the dissoluteness of Melaka made the work of evangelization within the city especially difficult, outside the city there were virtually no opportunities for any missionary work at all, as the Malay hinterland was still ruled by the Muslim sultans of Johor and Pahang, who would not allow any priest in their lands or any churches to be built there. Nevertheless, before his departure from Melaka in April 1548, Francis Xavier had made arrangements for the establishment in the city of a small Jesuit college and school by two of his brethren, Padre Francisco Pérez, a Castilian, reported by Lancillotto in 1550 to be 'a very good scholar and a man of spirit and virtue' (*molto buon literatto, huomo de molto spiritu et virtù*), and a young Brother named Roque de Oliveira[28]. This was at a time when there were only four Fathers and two Brothers in the Jesuit College in Goa. By order of the bishop of Melaka, the Jesuits were also given the hermitage of Nossa Senhora do Outeiro for their use.

Perez and Oliveira arrived in Melaka on 28 May 1548 and immediately opened a school, which in a few days had attracted 180 pupils[29]. According again to Lancillotto, they were very successful in reforming Melaka, 'which was formerly so dissolute, and it is not possible to describe how fruitful the work there is' (*la quall era molto dessoluta, e non si puo scrivere il molto fructo che li si fa*)[30]. Among Perez's more notable converts were a rich Jew with his son and two daughters and four Japanese, who in 1549 came from Japan to Melaka, where they lodged with a Christian Chinese and, after receiving many visits from Portuguese and themselves frequently visiting the Jesuit house, were given instruction by Pérez and were baptized on Ascension Day 1549 by the vicar of Melaka, with the captain, Dom Pedro da Silva da Gama as their godfather[31]. Perez's achievements seem, however, to have done nothing to lessen Francis Xavier's dislike of Melaka and his lack of confidence in the possibility of weaning its inhabitants from their evil ways. In 1552, shortly before his death, he wrote from the island of Sancian to Pérez, ordering him to leave Melaka and return to India, which he claimed would yield a much richer harvest of souls. 'You are not to remain in Melaka for any reason', he wrote. 'I regret that you have wasted so much time there when you could have been doing more useful work elsewhere'[32].

Perez duly left, but in spite of this the Society of Jesus remained in Melaka, which soon became the centre from which all their missionaries were dispatched to their two main mission fields, Japan and the eastern islands of Indonesia, where they made many thousands of converts. As Padre Jerónimo Fernandes put it, with a pardonable disregard for geographical accuracy, in a letter written in December 1561, ships came to Melaka from 'Java, Borneo, Siam, Pegu, Bengal, China, Sunda, Makassar, Timor, Solor and many other kingdoms, some of them larger than the whole of Europe', which made it the 'port for all the most glorious missions and enterprises that there are in India, for it borders upon all these kingdoms'[33].

Meanwhile, the Jesuits who resided in Melaka continued the work of moral reformation of the Portuguese population that Francis Xavier had initiated. Such a one was Padre Baltazar Dias, who lived in Melaka for four years from May 1556 and was said to have achieved many conversions by his preaching and teaching, and to have earned fear and respect in equal measure. On a return visit there from Cochin in 1564, he taught doctrine and 'this yielded much fruit, and a great concourse of people would attend'. Every evening he would go to the church of São Tomé in Kampung Keling, 'where all the merchants live', and ring a bell to summon the native people, whereupon they would come in great numbers, 'both women and men, and many slaves', to hear him preach on the Commandments and on 'matters necessary to them'. He thus made many converts, among them the bendahara, (whom he describes as *justiça-mor dos gentios*). He had a chair made that he used as an improvised pulpit, which caused amazement among the people and earned him the nickname of 'the Father who preaches from a piece of wood' (*padre pregar da pataga*)[34]. Dias also entertained hopes of establishing a Jesuit mission in Makassar (Sulawesi), 'a land where there are one or two kings and many lords who are Christians'. His 'spiritual son' (godson?) had come from there to Melaka bringing a request from 'some of these Christians to show them the image of Our Lady so that they could make an obeisance [*rimbaxa*] to it'[35].

However, Dias found much to criticize. When living in Melaka he had reported that the married women in Melaka very seldom attended Mass on Sundays or feast days and, if they went to confession during Lent, did so 'more out of fear of excommunication and ecclesiastical censure' than because they were 'moved by zeal for their salvation'. He blamed their husbands for this, because, instead of setting a good example, they too neglected to attend Mass and to listen to sermons, in order to leave themselves free to indulge in 'sensual recreations' (*recreações sensuais*)[36]. Nor were these the only problems. Padre Jerónimo Fernandes observed in December 1561 that, because Melaka was surrounded by Muslims and heathens and many of the women were therefore *mestiças,* they were much given to witchcraft and that, because there were so many merchants of different nations there, usury was widespread. However, he believed that the situation had much improved since Francis Xavier had shaken the dust of the city off his shoes. He reckoned that, at the

jubilee for the Council of Trent in 1561, 270 people had taken Holy Communion at the Jesuit church in Melaka, as well as large numbers at the cathedral and the Dominican monastery, and many people came every Sunday to confession and took Holy Communion. Moreover, they were increasingly abandoning their former heathen ways, including 'certain food and Moorish clothes'. The latter, which he considered 'rather indecent for women' (*asaz desonestos pera molheres*), were discarded in favour of Portuguese dress, including the traditional long veil (manto)[37].

In December 1570 Padre Nuno Toscano described in glowing terms the work of the Jesuit school in Melaka, where the children were taught to read and write and were instructed in Christian doctrine and ethics, and where they made their confessions once a month. He also reported that evening prayers were said in almost every household in the city for the servants and slaves, 'of whom there are more here than anywhere else in the *Estado da Índia'*, and, as a result, there were now many people who made their confessions with a good understanding of Christian doctrine and great fear of offending God. The previous Lent there had been no fewer than three Jesuit preachers in Melaka, so that it had been possible to preach Lenten sermons in two additional churches as well as in the Jesuit church, and there had been such a great concourse that many people had had to stand outside the church and listen to the priest preaching from the doorway[38].

The Jesuits also prided themselves on their good relations with the ecclesiastical authorities in Melaka, claiming in particular that the Dominican Frei Jorge de Santa Luisa, who was bishop of Melaka from 1558 to 1577, '*pastor religiosissimo'*[39], was such a friend of the Society, so inexpressibly devoted to it and so tractable and obedient to the wishes of all the Jesuit Fathers that he dared not deny or contradict anything they said[40].

From the beginning there was a chronic lack of Jesuit priests in all the missions throughout the *Estado da Índia*, particularly in those remote and unhealthy areas of Southeast Asia for which Melaka acted as a staging post. Luís Frois believed that even 500 new Jesuits appointed to the Asian missions would do no more than fill the gaps and in 1560 recorded that there were none at all in Hormuz or Diu, only one sick priest in Bassein, in Cochin and Kollam only one, and in Melaka only Padre Jerónimo Fernandes, who was also sick. In the Indonesian islands, where the need for missionary priests was particularly acute, the position was still more alarming: in the Moluccas, the ruler of Bacan had been converted, but he could scarcely recite the Litany and there was only one priest, Fernão do Souro, on the island to continue his instruction, there was nobody in Ambon and nobody in Sulawesi, where two local rulers had been converted to Christianity, nor in Timor [i.e. Solor], where there was a Christian ruler begging for Jesuits to come and instruct his subjects in the Faith, while in Moro, where there were said to be 50,000 Christian converts, there were only two Jesuits working, both of them sick[41].

Because there were so many Jesuits passing through Melaka on their way to or from the mission fields, or returning to India, some of whom would spend several months there waiting for a ship to take them on the next stage of their voyage, it became apparent at an early date that it would be highly desirable to have a college with buildings large enough for it to be used as a guest house (*hospedaria*). In December 1573 Padre Jerónimo Cota, secretary (*socius*) to Padre Jorge Serrão, provincial of Portugal, reported from Almeirim that Padre Alessandro Valignano, Jesuit visitor of the Indies, had been received by the young King Sebastião and the Cardinal Infante Henrique, who had showed him 'great love and favours'. The king was very pleased to learn that so many Jesuits were going to the East that year and at once ordered the foundation of a college of sixty or seventy persons in Melaka[42].

Valignano eventually sailed from Lisbon in March 1574 with no fewer than forty-one companions, of whom nine were Portuguese, seven Italians and the rest Spaniards[43]. At that stage, the Jesuits' plan was to establish colleges or large *residências* in both Japan and the Moluccas, with up to sixteen or twenty Jesuits in each, of whom at any one time half would be in residence and half outposted to the missions[44]. However, in August the same year Valignano wrote from Mozambique to say that it was generally considered by most of the Jesuits who knew Southeast Asia that it would be useless ('*cosa inutile e male disegnato'*) to have a large college in Melaka, because the city was both small and unhealthy and was surrounded by so many people who were incapable of observing Portuguese laws and hostile towards Christians and Christianity ('*incapaci di nostra leggi ed inimici della fede e degli uomini cristiani'*), while in the Moluccas things were going so badly for the Jesuit missions that all or almost all were already lost[45].

Five years later the position in the Moluccas had deteriorated still further. Francisco Chaves wrote to say that in Tidore there was only one priest, Jerónimo Rodrigues, and that he only ministered to the Portuguese and the few native Christians who formed the last remnants of the formerly large Christian community in the Moluccas ('*que são como reliquias daquela grande christandade que ouve em Maluco*'), which, since the Portuguese loss of Tidore, it had been impossible to sustain[46]. Yet most of the Fathers in India still supported the idea of setting up a large college in Melaka. One argument in favour of this plan that Valignano noted was that, if the Portuguese conquered Aceh (an enterprise that was highly unlikely to succeed but was strongly advocated by, among others, the bishop of Melaka, Dom João Ribeiro Gaio), a college at Melaka housing as many as 24 priests and the appointment of a vice-provincial in Melaka would be highly desirable because there would be many conversions in Sumatra and the Malay peninsula (an equally unlikely eventuality) and this would necessitate a large number of missionaries working from several widely scattered *residências*[47].

In 1576 the Jesuit r*esidência* in Melaka was formally raised to the rank of a college, thus making it the fifth Jesuit college in the Indian province, after Goa,

Cochin, Bassein and Madgaon, and by the middle of 1578, in spite of bureaucratic obstacles and shortages of labour, of tools and of stone, lime and other materials, work was under way on a building capable of accommodating twenty people. In July the following year Valignano's secretary, Padre Lourenço Mexia reported that the new building was almost complete, with ten apartments ready for occupation, a parlour and a wide veranda. In addition there was a building for the boys' school and a capacious church made of stone and lime[48]. The College also possessed a property (*huerta*) a league from Melaka, which a priest had bequeathed to the Society of Jesus. It had a church and some good houses and a river running through it, and it provided a cool and pleasant place of recreation. Valignano thought that in due course it might provide the Society with an income, although at present it only produced enough to meet the domestic needs of the Fathers.

Valignano was at pains to point out that, in spite of the College and the school, the chief business of the Society of Jesus in Melaka was the organization of its missions in eastern Indonesia, China and Japan and that it should not be concerned primarily with the care of the Christian communities in the city, since they were looked after, or should be looked after by the priests in their parishes ('*No tenemos cuydado en Malaca de los christianos porque estan repartidos por sus parrochias, de las quales tienen cuydado los clerigos'*)[49].

During this time Melaka and all the Jesuit houses dependent upon Melaka remained part of the vice-province of Malabar, which also included Cochin. Already by the 1560s it had become apparent that it was almost impossible for a single provincial based in India to supervise adequately so vast an area with so many widely scattered missions. As early as 1565 Padre António de Quadros was insisting that it was absolutely necessary to create a new post for a vice-provincial based in Melaka to serve the whole of the *Estado da Índia* ultra Gangem, as far as eastern Indonesia and Japan. The problems of communication alone were almost insurmountable under the present arrangements: a single vice-provincial, even if he travelled perpetually, could only hope to visit these two outposts once every three years from India, and it took a year and eight months for a letter sent from the Moluccas or Japan to the provincial in India to receive a reply, but only eight months from Melaka[50]. Writing fifteen years later, Valignano fully agreed that it was impossible to operate with only one vice-provincial for the whole of the area east of India, but he went further than Quadros and advocated the appointment of two additional vice-provincials – one for China and Japan and another for Melaka and the Moluccas. His principal reasons for advocating this were the remoteness of the latter region and the many kingdoms in it where Christian communities (*cristandades*) had been established and where, although there were Jesuit *residências*, there was a severe shortage of priests needed to minister to all the people that had been converted to Christianity by the Jesuits, whom he estimated to number between seventy and eighty thousand. Among these were several rulers, such as the kings of Siau and

Bacan, whose conversion was considered to be of special value because it was hoped that their subjects would then also be converted, if only out of obedience[51]. However, nothing came of these proposals, and no vice-provincial was ever appointed in either Melaka or the Moluccas.

In general, because they were all bound equally by the terms of the Padroado Real and were paid (or left unpaid) from Crown revenues, the missionaries of the different Orders working in Southeast Asia managed to maintain fairly harmonious relations not only with each other but also with the ecclesiastical authorities in Goa and Melaka and with the secular government of the fortress of Melaka in pursuit of their common aim of evangelizing this enormous area. There was a tendency after the establishment of the diocese of Melaka for the bishop to intervene more directly in the management of the Padroado Real and to decide which of the Orders should work where and in what numbers, and which individual missionaries should be assigned to which mission station, although, once in the field, for most of them it was usually a matter of going wherever it was felt the need was greatest. In 1586, for example, António Gonçalves reported from Tidore that he had heard from his brethren in Melaka that, in view of the extreme shortage of Jesuits working in eastern Indonesia at that time, the bishop had decided to send a group of Franciscans to Ambon, where hitherto no friars had ever been sent, and that it had even been proposed that some of them also go to Ternate, from where they might spread to Moro, Sulawesi and Bacan, all islands that had hitherto 'been cultivated by us'. Gonçalves pointed out that in the past no superior had ever permitted any vicar of a Portuguese fortress to visit any Christian community that was under Jesuit protection, even for recreational purposes, for fear of causing trouble (*inconveniente*) with the Jesuit missionaries, so that for the bishop of Melaka to order Franciscan friars to be sent to those islands now was all the more likely to create controversy[52]. In the same year, as a direct result of a request from the bishop of Melaka to the Spanish viceroy and inquisitor-general of Portugal, Cardinal Alberto de Austria, and to the Dominican provincial, Frei Jerónimo Correia for more missionaries to be sent to the Lesser Sunda Islands, five additional Dominicans had sailed to Solor[53].

In spite or perhaps because of the increasing tendency of the ecclesiastical authorities to try to exercise a more direct control over the activities of the missionaries, it remained the case in the second half of the sixteenth century that, apart from the Dominican mission in the Lesser Sunda Islands, the mendicant Orders based in Melaka confined their activities chiefly to mainland Southeast Asia, although they were conspicuously unsuccessful there as far as the numbers of their converts were concerned, while the Jesuits worked only in Japan and the eastern Indonesian islands and did little in mainland Southeast Asia until early in the next century. There seems, indeed, to have been a tacit and usually amicable agreement among the missionaries and the ecclesiastical and civil authorities in Melaka, Goa and Lisbon that in the task of evangelizing the vast area covered by the diocese of Melaka they should not waste scarce human and material resources by competing with each other anywhere.

In 1532, the year in which Afonso Martins wrote his stinging indictment of the shortcomings of the Crown in fulfilling its financial obligations in Melaka, the cost of maintaining the ecclesiastical establishment in the city, according to the Tombo do *Estado da India* compiled by Jorge da Cunha de Sousa, came to a total of almost 245,000 reis, divided between the stipends (*ordenados*) and allowances for provisions (*mantimentos*) for the vicar (44,800 *reis*) and three beneficed clergy (79,200 *reis*), supplies of wax, Portuguese wine, wheat flour for making Hosts and oil for lamps (76,000 *reis*), four surplices for the vicar and the beneficed clergy (3,200 *reis*), and the estimated cost of the Hospital del Rei (80,000 *reis*). The expenses of the Misericórdia, however, were specifically declared not to be a charge to the Crown[54]. By the end of the century, this total had grown enormously, chiefly as a result of the great increase in the number of clergy and the expansion of the missions, with the salaries for the bishop of Melaka, a dean, a *precentor*, twelve canons, a curate, a treasurer and vice-treasurer, four choirboys, an organist and a mace-bearer added to the cost of maintaining the fabric of the cathedral, the expenses of the sacristy and the cost of staff and supplies for the hospital, together with the ordinary expenses of the houses of the religious Orders, the provision of victuals for their missionary voyages (*matalotagem*) and the maintenance of their *residéncias* throughout the diocese[55]. All these expenses had to be met from the dwindling revenues of the Melaka *feitoria*. The precarious financial situation of the missionaries working in the Indonesian islands was only partly eased by the royal licence obtained by the Jesuits to deal in cloves up to a total of four *bahar* a year each and by the monopoly of the trade in Timorese sandalwood and wax granted to the Dominicans.

This perennial shortage of funds was exacerbated by the almost continuous sieges and attacks to which Melaka was subjected throughout the Portuguese period from Aceh, Johor and the Muslim Javanese states, and latterly from the Dutch, and the deleterious effects that these inevitably had on the income of the Melaka customs revenues. Alessandro Valignano in his *Sumario de las cosas que perteneçen a la Provincia de la Yndia Oriental* of 1579 stressed that Melaka's task of fulfilling its role as a spearhead for the missionary work of the Padroado Real was made especially difficult because it was 'surrounded by Muslim kings, sworn enemies of the Portuguese and especially one called Aceh, the most powerful among them, whom almost everyone obeys', and this was another reason why the conquest of Aceh was considered by so many Portuguese to be not merely desirable but a compelling necessity. As successive governors and viceroys, captains and *feitores*, bishops, vicars and missionaries were also never tired of pointing out, Valignano noted that Melaka produced almost nothing itself and was entirely dependent on imports for its food supplies and on its international trade and its role as an entrepôt for its economic survival. It was consequently peculiarly vulnerable to the hostility of its neighbours and, having formerly been 'very great and rich', was now 'very small', with only

seventy or eighty Portuguese households, and 'of little worth'. He estimated that the five hundred pardaos of eight *reis* allocated annually to the College covered less than one third of its costs, because Melaka had become so excessively expensive ('*supra modum cara'*) as a result of the continual warfare, and reckoned that this sum, even when combined with the alms given by the Portuguese in Melaka, was only enough to fund six or eight of the Fathers[56].

In 1607, after the Dutch siege of Melaka the previous year, the bishop, the Jeronimite Dom Frei Cristóvão de Sá e Lisboa, who later became archbishop of Goa, reported to the king that none of the eight parish churches in the city was left standing, that seven of them were outside the walls of the Portuguese fortress and had already been in a ruinous state before the siege and the enemy had simply finished them off, while the cathedral was so dilapidated that the Blessed Sacrament had had to be moved to the Misericórdia as a precaution. The inhabitants were so impoverished that they could only construct a few straw huts in which to celebrate Mass, there was no flour for the Hosts and the clergy had not been paid their salaries for two years. The bishop pointed out yet again that the lands belonging to the various Portuguese fortresses were very small in extent and produced almost nothing themselves, so that they yielded little for the church in tithes, and even that little had been much reduced as a result of the inheritance by the religious Orders of many of the houses and country estates (*duçoes*) in the interior, thus depriving the secular clergy of the spiritual bequests which should by right have been theirs. He therefore begged the king to apply the law so that these properties would be prevented from passing into the hands of the religious Orders without royal consent[57]. The next year King Philip II (III of Spain) wrote to the governor to say he had received repeated requests from the bishop of Melaka for the stipends and allowances of the clergy to be increased. He said that the bishop had given two reasons for this request. Firstly, the cost of living in Melaka was extremely high; indeed, he maintained that Melaka was now the most expensive place in the *Estado da Índia*, because it had to import all its bread and rice, and because, since he and his clergy were compelled to live within the fortress, the high rents they had to pay in consequence used up all their salaries. Secondly, he considered that they should be compensated for living in a frontier city that was constantly under attack and so necessitated their being prepared at any time to take up arms to defend it[58].

The financial situation of the church in Melaka continued to deteriorate with the declining fortunes of the city. In February 1615 Philip II informed the viceroy that he had heard from the bishop of China in Macau that, unlike other places in the *Estado da Índia*, his cathedral received nothing at all from the royal revenues, and the salaries of the curate and the other priests never reached them because they were paid from Melaka. Consequently, no priests could be found to serve there, and the bishop had therefore asked to be granted the Macau-Cochinchina, Japan and Macau-Cambay voyages. The king expressed considerable reluctance to do this, on

the grounds that these voyages were usually conceded to the captains of Japan and, in any case, it was 'not convenient for my service that ecclesiastics should be involved in matters such as this, because they are not permitted by virtue of their profession' (*por não serem lícitas à sua profissão*). He therefore ordered the viceroy to ensure that the captain of Melaka and the customs officials in Melaka made the necessary payments to Macau[59].

By the 1620s the situation had become so serious that the then bishop of Melaka, Dom Gonçalo da Silva, went in person to Goa in 1626 and then to Lisbon in 1629 to lodge a formal complaint about his own salary, which had never been paid. He died in 1636 without ever returning to Melaka[60].

The Jesuits and the friars found it no easier than the secular clergy to make ends meet. Padre Gonzalo Rodriguez wrote from Melaka in 1562 lamenting that 'it is certainly no small business and labour to go begging for funds from treasurers and officials and to prise from their hands the money that His Highness has ordered them to give us, and then to go hither and thither buying everything necessary for the missionaries' food and clothing and for the churches in time for the embarkation[61].' Valignano had made the same complaint in a letter written in December 1575 on board ship between Cochin and Goa. He pointed out that, as well as the salaries of the bishops and their canons and clergy, the expenses of all the Jesuit *residências* in Melaka, the Moluccas and Japan had to be met from what the Crown provided and that, because this money had to be collected from the royal *feitores* ('*si ha da riscuotere da mano delli fattori et officiali de Sua Altezza*'), they were seldom paid[62]. We have already noted that the Dominicans had similar difficulties in collecting the money and supplies they needed for their operations in the Lesser Sunda Islands.

A further problem was that of getting supplies to these remote mission stations. 'This year,' wrote Padre Jerónimo Dolmedo from Ambon in May 1571, 'for our sins, the junk from Melaka that comes to this fortress with provisions and men has not arrived, and for this reason we are without the consolation that we usually receive with the letters of our Society and without the provisions that come in it, not only for us but also for the soldiers.' Everybody in the fortress was suffering great hardship, but 'we endure these travails with much patience and cheerfulness and give much praise to the Lord'[63]. Just how desperate the situation had become by the end of the century is well conveyed by the frantic plea contained in a letter of Philip II to the viceroy, Aires de Saldanha, written in March 1603. The king had heard from the Jesuit provincial, Padre Nuno Rodrigues that the missionaries in Ambon and Maluku were suffering many deprivations (*necessidades*). He therefore ordered the viceroy to ensure that henceforth they were supplied as generously as possible from the customs revenues of Melaka or anywhere else that funds might be available[64].

The Dutch conquest of Melaka in 1641 brought to an end the role of Melaka as the prime centre for the dissemination of Catholicism in Southeast Asia as abruptly

as it destroyed it as a centre of Portuguese military and naval power and a source of revenue for the Portuguese Crown. The Dutch authorities forbade the practice of the Catholic religion, a number of churches were demolished, profaned or converted into mosques, and nearly all the priests abandoned the city and scattered throughout Southeast Asia, especially to Makassar, where Christianity was tolerated and which largely replaced Melaka as the chief commercial centre of the Portuguese in the region. It was a sad and even ignominious ending to a noble endeavour, carried out with exiguous resources and under the most adverse circumstances by a small band of devoted priests over the 130 years that Melaka was a Portuguese city. However, seeds had been sown that bore lasting fruit, which can still be seen today in many parts of Southeast Asia where the Catholic religion is still practised and where the influence of the Portuguese culture and language that came with it is still evident.

NOTES

[1] Annual letter (*carta geral*) of Irmão Luís Frois, Goa, 1 Dec. 1560, in António da Silva Rego, *Documentação para a história das missões do Padroado Português do Oriente: Índia*, 12 vols (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1947-58),VIII, p. 159.

[2] See John Villiers, 'Spanish Manila and Portuguese Melaka: Two Concepts of Empire', in Roderich Ptak ed., *Portuguese Asia: Aspects of History and Economic History (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*) (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1987), p. 551 and the sources there cited.

[3] M. Lopes de Almeida, ed., *Lendas da India por Gaspar Correia*, 4 vols (Oporto: Lello & Irmão, 1975), II, pt 1, pp. 238-39. See also Fr Manuel Teixeira, *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca and Singapore (1511-1958)*, 2 vols (Lisbon, 1961), I, p. 88. Mergulhão was killed in 1521 in a naval battle against the Chinese.

[4] Raymundo de Bulhão Pato, ed., *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque*, *seguidas de documentos que as elucidam*, 7 vols (Lisbon, 1884-1935), I, pp. 53-54.

[5] Sousa to King Manuel I, Cochin, 22 Dec. 1514, in Rego, *Documentação*, I, p. 251.

[6] Albuquerque to King Manuel I, Melaka, 8 Jan. 1515, in Artur Basílio de Sá, *Documentação para a historia das missões do Padroado Português do Oriente: Insulíndia*, 6 vols (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1954-88), I, pp.76-77.

The Portuguese originally used the terms 'as Malucas' and 'Maluco' to designate only the five clove-producing islands of Ternate, Tidore, Makian, Moti and Bacan, together with the kingdom of Jailolo in Halmahera, but the Jesuits generally used these terms to denote the whole area covered by their mission in the eastern Indonesian islands, which was centred until 1606 in Ternate. 'Maluku' is the name given to the modern province of Indonesia that, in addition to the five clove-producing islands, covers most of the other 'spice islands' in eastern Indonesia, including Moro, Ambon, Seram and the Banda Islands. In this paper, I have used 'the Moluccas' to render the Portuguese 'as Malucas' and 'Maluco' in their original meaning.

[7] Fr Manuel Teixeira, *The Portuguese Missions in Melaka and Singapore (1511-1958)* 2 vols (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1961), I, pp. 107-109.

[8] Teixeira, *The Portuguese Missions*, I, p. 100. After the Spanish conquest of Ternate in 1606, proposals were put forward to bring the Jesuit Moluccas mission under the archdiocese of Manila, but these came to nothing.

[9] By this decree anyone purchasing a slave was obliged to pay twelve *cruzados* to the slave's former master.

[10] This was the catechism entitled *Rudium Catechismum Pentadecadem* published in 1504. D. Diogo Ortiz de Vilhega was also known as D. Diogo de Calçadilha after his birthplace near Salamanca.

[11] He asked for chrism to be sent henceforth in copper pyxes (chrismals), because tin caused it to putrefy.

[12] Martins to King João III, Melaka, 27 Nov. 1532, in Rego, *Documentação*, II, p. 218-29.

[13] Report of Câmara of Melaka, July 1603. Add. MSS British Museum no. 28461, fl 103, in C. R. Boxer and Frazão de Vasconcelos, *André Furtado de Mendonça (1558-1610)* (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1955), pp. 60-1.

[14] See Teixeira, *The Portuguese Missions*, II, pp. 247-337.

[15] 'Fundação das primeiras cristandades nas ilhas de Solor e Timor', s. d., in Sá, *Documentação*, IV, p. 495.

[16] *Alvará* of governor of India, D. António de Noronha, 14 Sept. 1571, in Sá, *Documentação*, V, p. 3.

[17] 'Relacam das christandades e ihas [*sic*] de Solor, em particular, da fortaleza, que para emparo dellas foi feita…', in Sá, *Documentação,* V, p. 335

[18] 'Fundação das primeiras cristandades' in Sá, *Documentação,* IV, pp. 499-500.

[19] 'Sumaria relaçam do que obrarão os religiosos da Ordem dos Pregadores na conversão das almas e pregação do Sancto Evangelho em tudo o Estado da India…', in Rego, *Documentação*, VII, p. 411.

[20] Frei António da Encarnação, 'Relaçam de alguns serviços que fizerão a Deos, & a estes Reynos de Portugal nas partes do Oriente os religiosos da Ordem dos Pregadores…', in Sá, *Documentação,* V, p. 302.

[21] 'Sumaria relaçam', in Rego, *Documentação*, VII, p. 414.

[22] Sá, *Documentação,* IV, p. 128.

[23] Teixeira, *The Portuguese Missions*, II, pp. 103, 112-5.

[24] 'Memórias da Congregação Agostina na Índia Oriental', s.d., in Rego, *Documentação,* XII, p. 18.

[25] Xavier to his brethren in Europe, Ambon, 10 May 1546, and in Rome, Cochin, 20 Jan. 1548, in Sá, *Documentação*, I, pp. 492, 542-3.

[26] Hubert Jacobs S.J., *Documenta Malucensia*, 3 vols (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1974-84), I, pp. 33-4. Also in Rego, *Documentação*, IV, p. 37 and Sá, *Documentação*, I, p. 523.

[27] Lancillotto to Loyola, Quilon, 5 Dec. 1550, in Rego, *Documentação*, VII, pp. 37-38.

[28] Same to same, Quilon, 27 Jan. 1550, in Rego, *Documentação*, VII, p. 14. Two years earlier Lancillotto had described Pérez as being merely a *'molto bono home*' of only ' *mediocre letre*'. (Same to same, Cochin, 26 Dec. 1548, in Sá, *Documentação*, I, p. 597).

[29] P. Francisco de Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa* (Lisbon, 1710), div. III, 45, pp. 400, 402.

[30] Lancillotto to Loyola, Quilon, 27 Jan. 1550, in Rego, *Documentação*, VII, p. 14.

[31] Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, div. II, 27, p. 314.

[32] Xavier to Perez, 12 Nov. 1552, in G. Schurhammer S. J. and J. Wicki S. J. eds, *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta (1535-1552)*, 2 vols (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1944-5), pp. 506-7.

[33] Fernandes to his brethren, Melaka, 2 Dec. 1561, in Sá, *Documentação,* II, pp. 363-65.

[34] *Pataga* is perhaps derived from Malay *patahan*, 'broken piece', 'fragment'.

[35] Dias to his brethren in Europe, Melaka, 3 Dec. 1564, in Sá, *Documentação,* III, pp. 103-7.

[36] Dias to his brethren in Portugal, Melaka, 19 Nov. 1556, in Sá, *Documentação*, II, pp. 239-40.

[37] Fernandes to his brethren, Melaka, 2 Dec. 1561, in Sá, *Documentação*, II, pp. 363-5*,*

[38] Toscano to his brethren in Portugal, Melaka, 3 Dec. 1570, in Sá, *Documentação*, VI, p. 357.

[39] Fernandes to his brethren, Melaka, 2 Dec. 1561, in Sá, *Documentação,* II, p. 364.

[40] Cristóvão da Costa to a Brother in Portugal, Melaka, 1 Dec. 1561, in Sá, *Documentação*, II, p. 358.

[41] Frois to Padre Marcos Prancudo, Goa, 12 Dec. 1560, in Sá, *Documentação,* II, pp. 238-9.

[42] Cota to Mercurian, Almeirim, 31 Dec. 1573, in Jacobs, *Documenta*, I, p. 649.

[43] According to Serrão there were forty in the group, of whom about thirty were Spaniards and five or six Italians. See Serrão to Mercurian, Lisbon, 11 Feb. 1574, in Jacobs, *Documenta*, I, p. 650 and n. 1.

[44] Valignano to Mercurian, Valencia, 10 Nov. 1573, in Jacobs, *Documenta*, I, p. 643.

[45] Same to same, Mozambique, 7 Aug. 1574, in Jacobs, *Documenta*, I, p. 656.

[46] Chaves to Mercurian, Melaka, 20 Nov. 1579, in Jacobs, *Documenta,* II, pp. 59-62.

[47] Valignano to Mercurian, Melaka, 18 Nov. 1577, in Jacobs, *Documenta*, II, pp. 4-5. See also Jorge M. dos Santos Alves and Pierre-Yves Manguin, O Roteiro das Cousas do Achem *de D. João Ribeiro Gaio*: *Um olhar português sobre o Norte de Samatra em finais do seculo XVI* (Lisbon: Comissão Nacuional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1977), and John Villiers 'Aceh, Melaka and the *Hystoria dos cercos de Malaca* of Jorge de Lemos', in *Portuguese Studies*, 17 (2001), pp. 78-9.

[48] Mexia to Mercurian, Melaka, 15 July 1578, in Jacobs, *Documenta*, II, p.20.

[49] 'Sumario da las cosas que perteneçen a la Provincia de la Yndia Oriental y al govierno della, compuesto por el Padre Alexandro Valignano, visitador della, y dirigido a nuestro Padre General Everardo Mercuriano en el año de 1579', in Rego, *Documentação*, XII, pp. 516-7.

[50] Quadros to Padre Diego Lainez, Melaka, 26 Nov. 1565, in Jacobs, *Documenta*, I, p. 475.

[51] Second summary (Valignano to Mercurian, Shimo, Aug. 1580), in Jacobs, *Documenta*, II, pp. 79-83.

[52] Gonçalves to Acquaviva, Tidore, 20 Apr. 1586, Jacobs, *Documenta*, II, pp. 175-6.

[53] Teixeira, *The Portuguese Missions,* II, p. 85.

[54] Jorge da Cunha de Sousa, 'Tombo do Estado da India...o qual eu Jorge da Cunha escriuão deste Archiuo real da torre do tombo o pus neste Almario em Lixboa a des de outobro de 1632', in Rodrigo José da Lima Felner, ed., *Subsidios para a historia da India Portugueza* (Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1868), pp. 96-8.

[55] 'Despezas da Fortaleza de Malaca', s. d., in Sá, *Documentação*, V, pp. 257-9.

[56] Rego, *Documentação*, XII, pp. 514-5. As far as the number of Portuguese housholds was concerned, this seems to have been an improvement on the position in 1532, when, according to Afonso Martins, there were only forty *casados* living in Melaka, of whom only fourteen were gentlemen and men of good repute ('cav*aleiros e omens homrados*'). (Martins to King João III, Melaka, 27 Nov. 1732, in Rego, *Documentação*, II, p. 223).

[57] King Philip II to governor of India, D. Frei Aleixo de Meneses, Lisbon, 11 Dec. 1607, in Raymundo António de Bulhão Pato, *Documentos remetidos da Índia ou Livros das Monções*, 4 vols (Lisbon, 1880-93), I, pp. 158-9

[58] Same to same, Lisbon, 3 Jan. 1608, in Pato, *Livros das Monções*, I, pp. 172-3. Both secular clergy and religious assisted in the defence of Melaka in most of its numerous sieges, often demonstrating great courage and fortitude.

[59] King Philip II to viceroy of India, D. Jerónimo de Azevedo, Lisbon, 14 Feb. 1615, in Pato, *Livros das Monções*, III, p. 209.

[60] Teixeira, *The Portuguese Mission*, I, pp. 210-11.

[61] Rodriguez to the Jesuits in Europe, Melaka, Nov./Dec. 1562, in Jacobs, *Documenta*, I, p. 358.

[62] Valignano to Mercurian, 4 Dec. 1575, in Jacobs, *Documenta*, I, pp. 664.

[63] Dolmedo to his brethren in Portugal, Ambon, 12 May 1571, in Sá, *Documentação*,VI, p. 373.

[64] King Philip II to viceroy, Lisbon, 15 Mar. 1603, in Jacobs, *Documenta*, II, p. 612.

27

ENTRE A HAGIOGRAFIA E A CRÓNICA: A *HISTÓRIA DA VIDA DO PE. FRANCISCO XAVIER* DE JOÃO DE LUCENA

Jorge Gonçalves Guimarães

Comemorar com uma publicação o sexagésimo aniversário do Prof. Doutor Teotónio R. de Souza, mais do que uma manifestação de afectividade, traduz o grato reconhecimento da comunidade científica pela sua originalidade e importância como investigador, docente, conferencista e autor. Além do enaltecimento destas qualidades, emerge ainda uma distintíssima faceta em relação aos que, como eu, a ele estiveram associados por força de percurso académico. Aqui, a excelência do seu magistério, com evidentes ressonâncias, como o atesta o elevado número de publicações de muitos dos que tiveram o privilégio de receber a sua coordenação, é acompanhada também por uma inigualável amizade. Por tudo, um sentido obrigado.

HAGIOGRAFIA DE S. FRANCISCO XAVIER

O nome de João de Lucena associa-se estreitamente ao de S. Francisco Xavier. O ambiente sacral gerado em torno do corpo incorrupto do *Apóstolo das Índias* conduziria a um elaborado e longo processo de representação hagiográfica, dando origem uma das mais importantes *legendas* da história da santidade portuguesa. Tal *legenda*, em 1600, foi publicada numa monumental edição escrita significativamente em língua portuguesa por aquele pregador.

A colecção de memórias biográficas que se revela fundamental para a compreensão da representação hagiográfica e produção social da santidade de S. Francisco Xavier inicia-se no último quartel de quinhentos concluindo-se, no essencial, no final do século. Acompanha, assim, o ambiente gerado pelo concílio contra-reformista de Trento que, em 1563, na sua XXV.ª sessão, incentivou sobremaneira o culto e valimento dos santos e suas relíquias, então apresentados como intermediários

entregando a Deus as suas orações em benefício dos homens. Ao mesmo tempo, descobre-se também neste período um notável esforço da Companhia de Jesus no sentido de afirmar a sua prioridade e primazia nessa outra conquista do Oriente que, espiritual e religiosa, viria a encontrar na representação santa da vida de S. Francisco de Xavier o seu principal «patrono».

Promovendo através da divulgação de verdadeiros *exempla* de piedade e virtude cristãs o engrandecimento das ordens religiosas, o género hagiográfico constituiu, uma vez que fornecia aos fiéis um contacto com o maravilhoso divino, um importante estímulo à imitação espiritual. Simultaneamente, fornecia subsídios e criava um ambiente propício para a beatificação e canonização dos biografados. Esta literatura hagiográfica tornou-se igualmente um poderoso instrumento na produção da identidade dos territórios católicos, encontrando-se mesmo em muitos exemplos textuais produzidos durante e após período filipino, investimentos hagiográficos que se organizam em torno de uma preocupação maior: a formação de uma consciência quase "nacionalista", procurando fixar e sedimentar a ideia de uma santidade nacional que contribuía para a consolidação das estruturas identitárias de um reino de Portugal que, pela sua expansão, se acreditava possuir uma especial posição na *historia salutis* universal.

O Padre João de Lucena não constitui excepção a esta tendência. A sua *História da Vida do Padre Francisco Xavier e do que fizerão na Índia os mais Religiosos da Companhia de Jesu* inscreve-se num esforço desenvolvido pela própria Companhia de Jesus no sentido de promover a Ordem e a figura dos seus fundadores, prestando especial atenção ao que ficou conhecido como *Apóstolo das Índias*[1]. O ano de nascimento de S. Francisco Xavier, nesta obra, coincide arranjada e erradamente com o da largada da armada de Vasco da Gama para a Índia, comunicação que no plano simbólico associa directamente o jesuíta navarro à expansão do Império Português: «*Mandado per elRei dom Manoel de gloriosa memoria, dom Vasco da Gama* […] *partio da praya de Restello, em Lixboa ao descobrimento da India, mares, & terras do Oriente, na entrada de Iulho, do anno de mil, & quatro centos, & nouenta, & sete. E no mesmo anno em ponto, como diziamos ao princípio d'esta historia, naceo em Nauarra o Padre Francisco Xauier. Porque se entendesse como o tinha Deos predestinado pera levar o Euangelho, & semear a fé naquellas vastissimas regiões, depois de aberto o caminho, & feito o campo per meyo das armas, & comercio dos Portugueses: & que por isso entam o criaua, quando juntamente mouia o coraçam d'el Rei de Portugal*»[2].

Apesar destas construídas palavras, a obra de Lucena não representava, em bom rigor, um projecto inteiramente inédito. Pelo facto de nelas colher estreita inspiração, destacam-se as biografias de S. Francisco Xavier escritas pelos padres Manuel Teixeira e Horácio Torsellino. Assim, em 1579, Manuel Teixeira[3] concluiu o manuscrito em português que, em 1583, foi traduzido para italiano e, numa tradução castelhana de 1585, viria a receber o título de *Vida del bienaventurado Padre*

Francisco Javier, Religioso de la Compañía de Jesus. Contudo, por indicação do Geral Aquaviva, o manuscrito não chegou a passar pelos prelos, dando lugar, em 1594, a uma outra biografia, da autoria de Torsellino[4], que ficaria na história como sendo a primeira obra impressa exclusivamente dedicada à vida e obra de S. Francisco Xavier[5].

JOÃO DE LUCENA: UMA BIOGRAFIA INEXISTENTE

«Nam he muito, o que acho escrito deste Padre, de quem se falla com grandes encómios»[6]. Lamentava-se assim António Franco da falta de elementos que alimentassem uma biografia digna de um autor como Lucena. Provavelmente por não ter estado associado a factos extraordinários da história nacional, pouco se sabe sobre a vida e trabalhos de João de Lucena, se bem que seja longa a lista dos que, do século XVII à contemporaneidade, teceram elogios aos seus escritos.

Natural de Trancoso e de origem fidalga, filho de Manuel de Lucena e D. Isabel Nogueira Saraiva, entronca provavelmente na linhagem do ilustre tradutor das obras de Cícero, Vasco de Lucena. A cronologia da sua vida antes de professar afigura-se algo incerta. Com base na análise de um sermão e nos obituários de S. Roque, Francisco Rodrigues fixou como data de nascimento o dia 27 de Dezembro de 1549[7]. Em 1565 ingressou na Companhia de Jesus, no colégio de Coimbra, contando então, esclarece o Padre António Franco[8], apenas 15 anos, elemento que durante bastante tempo fixou a data do seu nascimento no ano de 1550[9].

Estudou Teologia e Filosofia chegando a «ler» a segunda disciplina na Universidade de Évora. Em 1577, parte para Roma onde completou os estudos em Teologia e foi ordenado. Regressou a Portugal em 1581 recolhendo-se em Lisboa na igreja de S. Roque assumindo com elevados dotes a arte da oratória sagrada. Dessas qualidades dá-nos notícia António Franco: «*Em todas as cidades, onde pregou foi ouvido com admiraçam, aplauso, e fruto dos ouvintes* […]. *Era ouvido com tanto gosto, que ouve occasiam, em que todo o auditório levantou a voz, que continuasse a pregaçam, a tempo, que parecia acabar*»[10]. A função didáctica e moral com que durante mais de 20 anos exerceu o ministério da pregação são, de uma forma que importa cruzar com a prioridade dos dominicanos naquele domínio, salientados também na representação biográfica de Lucena. Exorna-se tanto a eficácia como o carácter edificante dos seus sermões, salientando-se mesmo o caso de um que, significativamente, mobilizou sentimentos e atenuou ódios, como se vê neste caso: «*Quatro homens nobres entre si grandes inimigos, ouvindoo huma vês pregar, em prezença do auditório se fizeram logo amigos. Succedeo, que hum soldado, que ouvira esta pregação, e a ouvera as maons escrita, a leo diante de dous fidalgos, em quem por brio avia ódios mui radicados, foi tal o abalo, que nelles fés esta liçam, que ambos deixaram seus ódios*»[11].

Apesar destes elogios, os seus sermões não passaram pelos prelos[12], circunstância que permite adivinhar que na sua maioria os textos são ricos em estilo, eloquência e exemplos piedosos, mas menos relevantes para o contexto político da época, como aliás deixa perceber o comentário de Francisco Rodrigues acerca da qualidades oratórias do pregador: «*A linguagem sai-lhe genuinamente portuguesa, com o sabor e recorte clássico do século XVI, suave, rica e variada. O assunto sabe-o desenvolver com limpidez e calma.* […] *É no discurso sentencioso, delicado nos pensamentos, elevado na doutrina e dirige toda a exposição a comover as almas e movê-las à virtude, e acende-se para esse efeito, de quando em quando, com maior viveza e calor a sua palavra eloquente*»[13]. Todavia, tudo indica que só aparentemente o discurso político esteve ausente da sermonária de Lucena. Além da simpatia que, como veremos, deixa claramente transparecer pela casa de Bragança, acompanhando outros padres da Companhia, terá tecido com alguma liberdade críticas à governação filipina, justificando-se desta forma a circunstância de, em 1594, juntamente como padre Francisco Cardoso, ter sido proibido de pregar na Capela Real por pressão da corte madrilena junto do Provincial jesuíta.[14] Por fim, depois de prolongada doença, João de Lucena viria a morrer a 2 de Outubro de 1600, contando então 51 anos de idade.

A HISTÓRIA DA VIDA DO PADRE FRANCISCO XAVIER

Não são também abundantes os elementos disponíveis que informem acerca da cronologia da obra que João Lucena consagrou à «história» de S. Francisco Xavier. Seguindo Schurhammer[15] na curta biografia dedicada a Lucena, o autor esclarece que a sua memória xavieriana foi encomendada em 1595 e terminada em 1599. A primeira data parece deduzir-se, por um lado, do facto de 1594 marcar o fim da sua actividade como pregador, por outro, da utilização que Lucena faz da *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier* escrita por Torsellino e publicada em 1594 e 1596; já a do termo infere-se das datas das licenças que, apenas por erro tipográfico, foram datadas de 1600, ano de edição. Uma primeira referência que se colhe no interior da obra revela-se importante para reforçar aquele limite cronológico inferior: no final do Livro II, as alusões a Matias de Albuquerque, vice-rei da Índia entre 1591 e 1597, e à acção de André Furtado de Mendonça contra o rajá de Jafanapão, se bem que suprimindo a violência do episódio[16], revelam que a obra começou a ser escrita depois de 1591[17]. Outros dados, convocados mais como recurso retórico do que perseguindo estratégias historiográficas, visando afastar o elemento «irreal», colhem-se no decurso texto. Assim, no Cap. 21 do Livro V: «*Estando, como estou, escrevendo isto no ano de 1597, a dous do mês de Dezembro, que é o mesmo dia em o qual Deus nos levou, desta Sua Companhia da terra para a do Céu, a bentíssima alma do P. Francisco*»[18]. Já no segundo capítulo do último livro pode ler-se uma indicação situando a redacção no dia 21 de Maio de 1598[19].

Lucena foi, segundo esclarece, incumbido de redigir uma *vida* de S. Francisco Xavier que, como o próprio título e estrutura da obra deixam perceber, integrasse os sucessos da Companhia de Jesus na conquista espiritual dos territórios asiáticos, demonstrando simultaneamente a superioridade dos conhecimentos que os padres jesuítas tinham da geografia, política e culturas daquelas paragens: «*Este foy o Padre Mestre Francisco Xauier, hum dos dez companheiros de nosso P. Inácio de Loyola, & primeiro Prouincial desta minima Companhia de Jesus no Oriente, a quem se deue, depois da diuina graça, tudo o que nas mesmas partes he feito per ella, na conuersam dos infieis, doutrina, & boa criaçam da nova Christandade. Pola qual rezam à vida, & obras daquelle grande seruo do Senhor era também deuido assi o título, como a principal parte desta história, de que nòs aceitamos per obediência, o trabalho, porque outros colhessem o fruyto*».[20]

Apesar de, rigorosamente, estarmos perante uma hagiografia, a *História da Vida do Padre Francisco Xavier* é também uma crónica que, representando um quadro de dilatação da Fé entendida como prolongamento necessário da expansão portuguesa, oferece um retrato dos missionários e respectivos *exempla* como sendo um claro indício a atestar o «destino português» e, concomitantemente, da própria Companhia de Jesus, destacando-se aqui, no plano simbólico, o facto de ter sido esta a primeira obra que a Companhia promoveu em língua portuguesa. Paralelamente, como o atestam as cartas e crónicas jesuíticas dos séculos XVI e XVII, esta obra de Lucena inscreve-se nesse grande esforço levado a cabo pelos inacianos no sentido de se afirmarem pela cronística e pela historiografia, afirmando que provinha de um «plano divino» a sua prioridade na evangelização dos territórios asiáticos. Como ilustrativo desta estratégia, recorde-se o conhecido *Oriente Conquistado…*, do Padre Francisco de Sousa, obra em que, convocando a autoridade de um cronista trinitário, Frei João de Figueiroa, se procura ilustrar através das premonições daquele que tem sido apresentado como primeiro mártir da missões, Frei Pedro da Covilhã, morto na Índia em 7 de Julho de 1498, o papel fundamental que haveria de caber à Companhia de Jesus[21].

Primeiro religioso a entrar na Índia, onde morreu de forma violenta, a *legenda* de Pedro da Covilhã revela-se ainda fundamental por recuperar a noção de martírio tão em voga durante os primeiros séculos do cristianismo. Com as viagens das descobertas e expansão ibéricas, gerando esse agitado labor de religiosos ocidentais na "conquista das almas", desenha-se um novo modelo de santidade em que a dimensão do martírio, seja pela morte violenta, seja pela morte inscrita num contexto de múltiplos esforços e trabalhos de evangelização, é característica fundamental dos religiosos que se empenharam nos espaços da expansão portuguesa. Esta dimensão de martírio chega mesmo a frequentar o vocabulário epistolar de Francisco Xavier, como se ilustra em passagem de uma carta sua remetida ao Padre Simão Rodrigues, escrita em Cochim a 2 de Fevereiro de 1549: «*Creo que aquellas islas del Moro han de engendrar muchos mártires de la Compañía, de manera que en adelante se han*

llamar no islas del Moro, sino de los mártires. Así que los de la Compañía que desean dar su vida por Jesucristo, anímense y alegrense, pues tienen ya preparado el seminário de los martírios, donde satisfacer sus ânsias»[22]. A valorização desta forma de ascese pelo martírio invade igualmente a economia retórica da obra de João de Lucena. É o que se encontra, entre outros exemplos textuais, no relato da decisão de Inácio de Loiola em colocar-se ao serviço do Papa «*pera segundo sua Apostolica disposiçam se empregarem até a morte no serviço da Igreja Catholica*».[23] Retórica que se pode também recuperar ainda com mais nitidez na empolgada narrativa do martírio de um convertido em Ceilão: «*Na ilha de Ceilam apareceram logo flores, nam somente de christandade, mas de nouo martyrio. Ca per industria, & santa persuasam de hum Português, que ali negociaua, tratou o filho mais velho do Rey de se fazer Christam, soubeo o pay, matouo por isso, recebo o igualmente ditoso, & valeroso m,,cebo o bautismo do sangue com o memso prazer, & aluoroÁo, com q pret?dia o da agoa. Ent?d?doo assi o PortuguÍs, q em vida o insinaua, como a cathecumeno, hõrouo, & sepultouo na morte como a martyr; seruindose Deos nosso Senhor de approuar, & autorizar com milagrosos sinais a fé de ambos os dous: a do discípulo em morrer pólo que ouuira ao mestre, a do mestre em celebrar o martyrio do discípulo. Appareceo sobre asepultura h?a fermosa cruz do tamanho della, aberta, & formada na memsma terra como se a lauraram per toda a arte. Foy vista do pouo com espanto geral, & grande magoa dos Mouros, & alg?s Gentios mais obstinados; os quais nem podendo ter os olhos em tanta luz, a gram pressa cobriam , & entupiram de terra o glorioso sinal; mas logo tornou a brotar sobre ella, como se os sagrados ossos quebrantados, & enterrados pola cruz, foram viuas raízes da mesma cruz; como, se o santo corpo dissera triunfando, Podestesme tirar a vida temporal, mas nam a cruz fonte da eterna; como se a vozes mais altas, & suaves, que as de Abel, bradara nam pola vingança de seus matadores, mas polo perdam, & saluaçam de todos, o qual está na santa cruz*»[24].

Além da valoração do martírio, este longo excerto é significativamente importante por revelar, já uma estratégia verticalista de conversão, pelo topo da pirâmide social, já a forma como a economia textual de Lucena pretende mobilizar, em plena e articulada conjunção de esforços, o elemento religioso e o comercial, assinalando no espaço cronístico uma estreita relação entre as movimentações evangelizadoras e as dinâmicas dos escambos mercantis. Recorde-se que aquele importante segmento social de comerciantes portugueses em circulação pelo mundo asiático nem sempre alimentava grande simpatia pelo discurso moralizante dos que perseguiam a conquista das almas, como o permitem adivinhar as circunstâncias de relativo desinteresse quanto à morte de Xavier em Sanchoão, às portas do grande Império do Meio.[25]

Ultrapassando o que possa haver de retórico no panegírico da figura de S. Francisco Xavier, encontra-se também em Lucena uma dimensão que se diria – passe o anacronismo – "nacionalista", levando mesmo José Feliciano de Castilho a afirmar: «*Ao passo que, em todos os capítulos, celebra a nação portugueza, não*

lhe escapa em toda a obra uma única phrase por Castella»[26]. Apesar de ter sido iniciada já em pleno reinado de Filipe II, a obra é dedicada a D. Catarina de Bragança nos seguintes termos: «*As rezões, que eu tenho pêra offerecer a V. A. os fruytos de meus estudos, sam tam sabidas, que me desobrigam de a dar deste atrevimento. Porque por parte da nossa minima Companhia, demais della ser própria herança, que V. A. ouue dos Reis dom Ioam, dom Sebastiam, dom Anrique, tios, & sobrinho de Vossa Alteza; V.A. com as grandes m.m. que continuamente lhe faz, a tem feito toda sua: e quanto ao meu particular, sÛ h· em que por os olhos no em q V. A., & os excellentissimos Duques Senhores desta casa em mi fizeram, e poseram*»[27]. Ainda que no texto não se encontre qualquer crítica à governação Filipina, descobrem-se significativas referências louvando personalidades pertencentes aos Bragança. Refira-se, com contornos de verdadeiro *exemplum,* o relato de como resolveu o vice-rei D. Constantino de Bragança a polémica que girava em torno de um dente de bugio venerado por populações autóctones, esclarecendo Lucena que o desfecho permitia ver que «*que nam tinha o animo menos real que o sangue*»[28]. Já no penúltimo «Livro» da obra, desta vez servindo-se da pena de Alexandre Valignano, dá ênfase aos sucessos da cristandade no Oriente, atestando que, para além da intervenção divina tudo era devido «*á santa memoria dos gloriosos Reis dom Ioam o III. & dona Catherina, sua molher, que governando seus reynos cõ tanto zelo, & prouidencia, deram principio á extirpaçam das antigas desord?s, reformando, & ajudando ainda as mesmas religiões, & pondo, & deixãdo seus vassallos n'uma noua forma de vida, & costumes verdadeiramente christãos*»[29]. Sendo conhecidas as ligações da família de Lucena à casa de Bragança – bastando recordar que seu pai foi Ouvidor de Barcelos e criado dos duques de Bragança D. Teodósio e D. João, e que Afonso de Lucena, seu irmão, para além de secretário de D. Catarina, foi um dos juristas conimbricenses responsáveis palas conhecidas *Alegações de Direito* (1580) – não é de estranhar esta defesa daqueles que contribuíram para a Restauração cerca de quarenta anos mais tarde.

Mais importante ainda do que aquele discurso, veladamente pró-restauracionista, é a apresentação de S. Francisco Xavier como principal actor no patrocínio da expansão de um império português cristão, situação desaguando, ora numa identificação simbólica geradora de uma «nacionalidade» portuguesa, ora na ideia de uma estreita comunicação entre a missão da Companhia de Jesus no Oriente e a expansão do império português através da conversão dos «gentios». Fixando uma espécie de plano divino para a conversão dos espaços asiáticos, recorde-se a já assinalada associação entre o nascimento de Xavier e a partida da armada de Vasco da Gama, ligação que mais tarde a imagética parenética se encarregaria de levar bem mais longe, chegando mesmo, como na retórica sermonária de Jerónimo Ribeiro, a explicar a própria existência da Companhia pela obrigação de desenvolver os esforços evangelizadores de Xavier, personagem certamente detentora de atributos divinos com o «*mostrão o império dos mares, que adoçou*»[30]. Durante a conjuntura da Restauração,

desde 1640, foram inúmeros os pregadores que, perseguindo estratégias políticas identitárias, mobilizaram para a nova aclamação patrocínios ou especiais protecções de santos ou religiosos referenciais, gerando dessa forma devoções políticas cujos ecos, em muitos casos, ainda hoje se fazem sentir. Também S. Francisco Xavier, através daquela estratégia de associação cronológica, destacando o facto da aclamação ter ocorrido, em Lisboa e em Vila Viçosa, na véspera e no dia do seu nascimento, não escapou a esse discurso parenético[31].

Em 1614, referindo-se ao esforço da Companhia, no sentido de favorecer o registo escrito dos seus sucessos missionários na Ásia, Sebastião Gonçalves esclarece o edifício filológico da história da vida de S. Francisco Xavier, situando os seus alicerces na obra do Padre Manuel Teixeira: «*Muito devemos ao muito reverendo em Christo Padre Everardo Mercuriano, quarto Geral da nossa Companhia, o qual mandando por visitador destas partes , no anno de 1574, ao reverendo Padre Alexandre Valignano, lhe encomendou encarecidamente fizesse a devida diligencia sobre as cousas da nossa Companhia, o que elle fez com todo o cuidado, tomando as informações dos Padres Anrique Anriques e Francisco Peres, que comunicarão com o B. P. Francisco. Das quaes o P. Manoel Teixeira, junta a noticia que tinha (por alcançar ainda ao B. P. Francisco), fez dous tratados, hum té o anno de cincoenta e dous, e outro té o de setenta e quatro, os quaes forão enviados ao muito reverendo em Christo P. Cláudio Aquaviva, 5º Geral da Companhia de Jesus.*

Destes tratados se ajudou o P. João Petro Mafeo, o P. Horácio Torselino, o P. João de Lucena, todos de nossa Companhia. […] Ultimamente o P. João de Lucena, ajuntando ao que já andava impresso muitas coisas, escreveo com grande erudiçam hum grande tomo, que muito mor luz que os passados»[32]. A Manuel Teixeira se deve, assim, o que de fundamental Torsellino e Lucena escreveram sobre S. Francisco Xavier. Se o pregador de Trancoso a ele se não refere explicitamente, isso não significa a inexistência de uma estreita inspiração, visto que, em regra, apenas cita os autores que lhe serviram de fonte quando, em absoluto, tem necessidade de apresentar um argumento de autoridade. É o que acontece, por exemplo, com as alusões que faz de escritos de Pedro Maffei, em nota marginal[33], Pedro de Ribadeneyra[34], autor de uma *Vida do P. Inácio de Loyola*, e Alexandre Valignano. No entanto, Lucena não se limitou a colher desses e doutros antecessores[35] os elementos que informam a sua *Historia da vida do Padre Francisco Xavier.* Outro sim, juntou «*ao que já andava impresso muitas coisas*»[36], salientando o Padre Francisco de Sousa tratar-se de «*algumas cartas particulares, & dos processos tirados para a canonização de S. Francisco Xavier*»,[37] ou seja, outras fontes cuja circulação era certamente diminuta por se encontrarem na forma manuscrita. As inquirições feitas na Índia em 1556 forneceram-lhe certamente elementos importantes, muito embora, com o fim de enaltecer o santo, refira que «*posto que sejam a maior, & melhor parte do nos diremos, nam sam do que fez o Padre Mestre Francisco, senam o menos*»[38]. Do próprio Xavier terá colhido informações de um total redondo de 32 cartas[39].

São, de facto, várias as referências a cartas ou testemunhos orais que alimentam as estratégias historiográficas de Lucena. Se, por vezes, a fonte é referenciada de forma clara, noutras ocasiões surgem expressões vagas como, por exemplo, «*cartas & infromações que temos*»,[40] ou «*hum homem Portuguez; a quem por se achar pres?te* [no Japão]*, ao que se referia, e por sua muita idade quãdo no lo contaua*»[41]. Neste último caso refere-se, provavelmente, a Fernão Mendes Pinto, cuja obra embora impressa em 1614 estava já concluída antes do fim de 1583, ano em que morreu o autor da *Peregrinação*. Por isso, com excessivo zelo de erudição – apoiando-se não raras vezes no bibliógrafo francês Ferdinand Denis[42] e no célebre *Dicionário* de Inocêncio Francisco da Silva[43] – José Feliciano de Castilho[44] compulsou as obras de Mendes Pinto e de Lucena, encontrando não só grande semelhança entre os títulos de alguns capítulos, como assinalável proximidade entre várias passagens nas duas obras, se bem que no segundo enriquecidas pela notável eloquência do estilo clássico.

AS EDIÇÕES DA HISTÓRIA

Tanto pelo seu valor literário, como pela sua riqueza enquanto documento hagiográfico fundamental na organização da *legenda* de S. Francisco Xavier – ainda que, como se referiu, mobilizadora dos trabalhos de Teixeira e Torsellino –, a obra de João de Lucena conheceu várias edições e alimentou algumas antologias. Apoiando estratégias com vista à beatificação e canonização de Francisco Xavier, assinalam-se várias traduções: em italiano por Ludonico Mansoni, em 1613[45], e espanhol pela mão de Alonso de Sandoval, em 1619[46]. Manuel Severim de Faria, no seu discurso segundo, louva os méritos de João de Barros, Frei Luís de Sousa e João de Lucena, de cuja obra afirma «traduzirão os Italianos, Franceses, e Castelhanos, em suas línguas, e também anda já na Latina»[47]. Contudo, não se encontra qualquer notícia de ter havido tradução integral nas línguas francesa ou latina, sendo de admitir alguma confusão, por parte de Severim de Faria, entre a obra de Lucena e a de Torsellino, esta sim escrita originalmente em latim. Provavelmente, dada a grande proximidade na estrutura das duas obras, o exagero de Severim de Faria poderá dever-se ao facto de ter contactado com uma das várias edições de Torsellino (1607, 1610, 1614, 1616).

A primeira edição da *História da Vida do Padre Francisco Xavier* veio a público em 1600, num único volume, saindo dos prelos de Pedro Craesbeeck. Em 1788, sob a orientação de Bento José de Souza Farinha, foi publicada segunda edição em quatro volumes, sendo impressa na tipografia de António Gomes. Sublinhe-se que o título desta reedição se adaptou à circunstância de S. Francisco Xavier estar já canonizado: *História da Vida do padre São Francisco Xavier.* Nesta segunda edição foram suprimidas, para além de uma estampa e uma «taboada das principaes cousas desta historia», as referências clássicas ou bíblicas que, com a função de estimular a imaginação do leitor, acompanhavam, nas margens, o texto da edição estampada

ainda em vida de João de Lucena, elementos que só viriam novamente a público com a edição fac-similada prefaciada por Costa Pimpão, em 1952, inserida nas comemorações do quarto centenário da morte de S. Francisco Xavier. Ainda nos finais do século XIX, em edição não datada, José Silvestre Ribeiro e José Feliciano de Castilho trouxeram a público, em dois volumes, uma antologia seguida de uma análise crítica[48], prestando excessiva atenção, não sem algum anacronismo, ora à análise sintáctica e estilística da obra, ora na demonstração de um eventual plágio de Lucena relativamente a obras que utilizou como fonte.

A seguir, em 1921, pela mão de Agostinho de Campos, também sob a forma de antologia, o texto de Lucena é novamente oferecido ao público, desta vez a partir da segunda edição, descobrindo-se um estudo introdutório muito orientado no sentido de oferecer uma reacção por vezes crítica ao texto de Castilho para o segundo volume da famosa *Livraria Clássica*, publicada em Paris nos finais do século XIX. Em 1959 e 1960, embora desconhecendo-se o nome do seu responsável, é novamente publicado o texto integral de João de Lucena em dois volumes, numa versão modernizada e anotada que mereceria mesmo algumas críticas de Schurhammer pela tradução deficiente de alguns topónimos[49]. Finalmente, já em 1989, integrando a colecção «Biblioteca da Expansão Portuguesa», sob a direcção e com um comentário final de Luís Albuquerque, com texto modernizado por Maria da Graça Perdigão, foi oferecida à estampa a última edição da História da Vida do Padre Francisco Xavier. Apesar destas edições, não estaria de todo desajustado o comentário de José Agostinho de Macedo quando afirma: «*Se os Francezes tivessem feito aquelle livro, teria mais edições do que uma folhinha, ou de porta ou de algibeira, e há quasi trezentos annos tem tido duas em Portugal*»[50].

A ENCERRAR…

Na esteira de memórias anteriores, podemos entender as notícias, eventos e exemplos edificantes da vida e obra religiosas de S. Francisco Xavier compilados por João de Lucena como uma constelação coerente de esforços que apontam para um objectivo maior: a «conquista espiritual» do Império do Meio, emergindo das dificuldades de um debate teológico com os bonzos do reino Omanguche, altura em que o *apóstolo do oriente* foi confrontado com um argumento último, sugerido já na representação organizada por Fernão Mendes Pinto: «*como da china lhe vierão aquellas leys* […] *e que havia seiscentos anos que tinhaõ aprovadas por boas, se não desdiriaõ por nenhum caso se não quando soubessem que elle convencera os Chins com as próprias razoes com que a elles lhes fizera confessar ser esta ley boa e verdadeira*»[51]. Deste modo, numa economia textual situada entre o género hagiográfico e a crónica, Lucena transforma aquele interesse de Xavier pelo território chinês num elaborado projecto jesuíta que é visto como um prolongamento

dos planos também evangelizadores da expansão portuguesa na Ásia. Repare-se que se a origem navarra de Francisco Xavier se dilui progressivamente em benefício de uma «nacionalidade lusa», também aquele grande projecto evangelizador, como é sugerido pelo apoio do vice-rei D. Afonso de Noronha à embaixada de Diogo Pereira, agita-se fundamentalmente como um projecto português. Por isso, as dificuldades sentidas por Xavier nos seus derradeiros anos de vida face aos obstáculos colocados pelo capitão de Malaca, D. Álvaro de Ataíde, ao envio de uma «embaixada» também religiosa ao império chinês, o que podia colidir com certos interesses paralelos aos da coroa[52]. Seja como for, batendo-se por esse programa de converter o grande Império do Meio – encerramento maior da sua movimentação religiosa oriental – Francisco Xavier haveria de encontrar a morte em Sanchoão, episódio síntese da sua vida, espécie de martírio depois estreitamente associado à ideia de um corpo incorrupto e santo multiplicando-se em milagres e santuários fundamentais na produção da figura de um patronato exemplar das missões católicas no Oriente.

Perseguindo estratégias historiográficas sustentadas na epistolografia jesuíta, na autoridade da tradição cronística e nas colecções documentais de S. Roque, Lucena procurou fixar uma narrativa o mais próxima possível da «realidade». Consolidava-se dessa forma um caminho já iniciado para a beatificação e canonização de Xavier, mas, acima de tudo, reagia-se aos esforços que as ordens mendicantes faziam para penetrarem na China e no Japão, afirmando-se, por um lado, a prioridade e originalidade do projecto jesuíta na evangelização e, por outro, a superioridade tanto do seu conhecimento e domínio de culturas asiáticas quanto da qualidade do seu debate teológico.

NOTAS

[1] Desta preocupação dá-nos testemunho Sebastião Gonçalves através da notícia relativa à actuação, em 1574, do Geral Everardo Mercuriano IV e do Visitador Alexandre Valinhano. *Vide* nota 32.

[2] João de LUCENA, *História da Vida do Padre Francisco Xavier e do que Fizerão na Índia os mais Religiosos da Companhia de Jesu.* Reprodução fac-similada com prefácio de Álvaro J. da Costa Pimpão, vol. I. Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1952, pp. 26-27.

[3] Natural de Bragança, nasceu em 1536. Em 1551 entrou para a Companhia de Jesus, sendo ordenado na Índia em 1560, onde, entre 1569 e 1572, foi reitor do colégio de Cochim e, entre 1573 e 1574, Vice-Provincial. Morreu em Goa a 19 de Março de 1590.

[4] Horácio Torsellino nasceu em Roma em 1544. Entrou para a Companhia de Jesus em 1562. Morreu a 6 de Abril de 1599.

[5] Georg SCHURHAMMER, *Francisco Javier.Su vida y su tiempo.* Tomo III: India (1547-1549). Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra/Compañía de Jesus/Arzobispado de Pamplona, 1992, p.594-596; P. Manuel TEIXEIRA, *Vida del bienaventurado Padre Francisco Javier, Religioso de la Compañía de Jesus*./ Edición preparada por el P. Ramon Gaviña, S.I. Bilbao: Editorial El Siglo de las Missiones, 1951; Horatii TURSELLINI, *De Vita Francisci Xaverii*. Romae, Typographia Aloysij Zannetti,1596.

A edição de 1596 trata-se, em bom rigor, de uma segunda edição destinada não só a corrigir os muitos erros tipográficos da primeira, como a integrar nova documentação que entretanto havia chegado às mãos do autor (cf. SCHURHAMMER, *op. cit.*, p.602).

[6] António FRANCO, *Imagem da Virtude em o Noviciado da Companhia de Jesus no Real Collegio de Jesus de Coimbra em Portugal*, Tomo I. Evora: na Officina da Universidade, 1719, pp. 784.

[7] Francisco RODRIGUES, *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência em Portugal*, Tomo 2.º, vol. I. Porto: Livraria Apostolado da Imprensa, 1938, p. 484, nota 2.

[8] FRANCO, *op. cit.*, p. 784.

[9] Agostinho de CAMPOS, «Introdução», in *Lucena: vida do padre Francisco de Xavier*, vol I. Lisboa: Aillaud e Bertrand, 1921, p. IX; Álvaro J. da Costa PIMPÃO, «Prefácio», *in* LUCENA, *op. cit.*, vol.I, pp. VII-VIII.

[10] FRANCO, *op. cit.*, pp. 784-785.

[11] FRANCO, *op. cit.*, p. 785.

[12] Francisco Rodrigues identificou, na forma manuscrita, embora sem esclarecer se se trata de autógrafos de Lucena os seguintes títulos: *Sermão da Ceia do Senhor* (dois textos), *Sermão da Dominga*, *Oitava de Santiago*, *Sermão de S. João Evangelista* (pregado em 1594, único acerca do qual se conhece a cronologia) *Sermão do Juízo Final* (RODRIGUES, *op. cit.*, Tomo 2.º, vol. 1, p. 481, nota 2).

[13] RODRIGUES, *op. cit.*, Tomo 2.º, vol. I, pp. 481-482.

[14] *Idem , ibidem*, Tomo 2.º, vol. II, p. 441.

[15] SCHURHAMMER, *op. cit.*, p. 605.

[16] André Furtado de Mendonça, depois de submeter o reino à soberania portuguesa degolou largas centenas de muçulmanos, situação que não foi vista com bons olhos pelo vice-rei que acabou por lhe retirar o comando da armada.

[17] LUCENA , *op. cit.,* vol I, p. 150.

[18] *Idem, ibidem*, p. 352.

[19] *Idem, ibidem*, vol. II, p. 677.

[20] *Idem, ibidem*, vol. I, pp. 3-4.

[21] «O claríssimo Martyr de Christo Fr. Pedro da Covilhãa, Portuguez, Prior do Convento de Lisboa, que no descobrimento da Índia foy companheyro, e confessor de Vasco da Gama no anno de mil e quatrocentos e noventa e sete, foy o primeyro que de pois do Apostolo São Thomè celebrou o sacrificio da Missa naquella remotíssima Região Oriental, e nella pregou o Euangelho de Christo, e derramou o sangue em tistimunho da doutrina Euangellica, e quando os gentios o assetavão rompeo nestas palavras aos sete de Julho do anno de mil quatrocentos noventa e oyto. Brevemente se levantarà na Igreja de Deos huma Religião de Clérigos debayxo do nome Jesu, e hum dos seus primeiros Padres levado por divino instinto penetrarà até a mais remota região da Índia Oriental, e com as suas pregações a converterà à Fè Catholica» (Francisco de SOUSA, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Cristo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da Província de Goa*. Introdução e revisão de Mendes Lopes de Almeida. Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1978, p. 427).

[22] «Al Padre Simón Rodrigues, Portugal. Cochín 2 de Febrero 1549», in *Cartas y Escritos de San Francisco Javier*. Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1968, p. 301.

Os episódios de perseguição aos cristãos no Japão, iniciados em 1587, que culminariam, em 1614, na ordem de expulsão dos missionários gerariam uma apreciável colecção de relações de martírios que, na forma manuscrita ou impressa, se destinavam à circulação quer no meio religioso quer no universo social secular, alimentando desta forma devoções e novas formas de piedade cristã.

A valorização teológica do martírio assume tal importância nesta época que António Vieira, no *Sermam da Bulla da Santa Cruzada* chega mesmo colocá-lo no mesmo patamar do baptismo: *«Entre todos os Sacramentos só o Baptismo, & o Martyrio (que também he Baptismo) de tal modo purificão a alma, & a absorvem de toda a culpa, & pena, que no mesmo põto ao Martyr por meyo do sangue*

próprio, & ao Baptizado por meyo da agua Baptismal se lhes abrem as portas do Ceo, & se lhes franquea a vista de Deos.» (P. António VIEIRA, *Sermoens*, Iª Parte. Lisboa: na Off. de Ioam da Costa, 1679, cl. 1021).

23 LUCENA, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

24 *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 127-128.

25 Cf. Rui Manuel LOUREIRO, «Origens do Projecto Jesuíta de Conquista Espiritual da China (1549-1552)», *in* Jorge M. dos Santos ALVES (Coord. de), *Portugal e a China. Conferências no III Curso Livre de História das Relações entre Portugal e a China (Séculos XVI-XIX)*. Lisboa: Fundação Oriente, 2000, p. 144; Ivo Carneiro de SOUSA, «Entre Etnocentrismo e Apologética. Discutindo a Historiografia Religiosa de Macau», in *Administração*, nº 68, vol. XVIII, 2005, pp. 729-731.

26 José Silvestre RIBEIRO, *Padre João de Lucena: excerptos seguidos de uma notícia sobre sua vida e obras…e outra memoria suplementar sobre os mesmos assumptos por José Felliciano de Castilho e Noronha*. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria de B. L. Garnier, [1868], vol. 2, p, 112.

27 LUCENA, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 2 (não numerada).

28 *Idem, ibidem*, p.148.

29 *Idem, ibidem*, vol. II, p. 754

30 *Sermam do Apostolo do Oriente S. Francisco Xavier que pregou no Collegio de S. Antam o P. Mestre Hieronymo Ribeiro da Companhia de Iesus*. Coimbra: na Off. de Ioseph Ferreyra, 1686, p. 7. Seguindo as informações de Barbosa Machado e Inocêncio foi feita do mesmo sermão uma edição em 1645. Para além desta, lográmos identificar ainda uma edição de 1667 e outra de 1664, circunstância deixando adivinhar uma circulação considerável.

31 «*Aos 9* [de Dezembro de 1640] *que foi o 2º Domingo do Advento pregou assim mesmo nesta Igreja* [do Colégio de Coimbra] *o P. Bento de Siqueira pregador do Collegio. E como neste dia se celebrasse aqui a festa de S. Francisco Xavier, por estar empedido o seu próprio dia, e se transferir pêra este que era o de sua oitava. Ponderou o pregador, madura e gravemente (o que também não passarão os mais pregadores em silêncio) quanto se devia atribuir a intercessão de tam grande Santo a merce que Deus fizera a estes Reinos em lhes restituir Rey natural, pois na vespera de seu sagrado dia foi acclamado e declarado em Lisboa e nesse proprio o foi em Villa Viçoza, aonde pela manham no tempo da missa chegou a nova do que em Lisboa se tinha feito. E na verdade não podemos deixar de reconhecer esta grande mercê como dada por meio do glorioso Apostollo da Índia oriental S. Francisco Xavier porque quem cá na vida foi tam solicito do bem das conquistas deste Reino, de crer hé o fosse no Ceo do bem do próprio Reino alcançandolhe de Deos este favor*» (*Demõstraçoens que fez o Collegio da Companhia de Jesu e das Artes da cidade e Universidade de Coimbra pela feliz aclamação do muy Alto e muy poderoso Rey e Senhor nosso natural D. João o 4º de Portugal. Apud* João Francisco MARQUES, *A Parenética Portuguesa e a Restauração. 1640-1668*, vol. II. Lisboa: INIC, 1989, pp. 534-535).

Significativo foi também o sermão que o jesuíta Simão da Cunha pregou em Macau em 15 de Agosto de 1642: «*Grande parte deste merecimento tem o glorioso Apostolo da Índia S. Francisco Xauier, pois em seu dia, chegou a noua do que se tinha feito em Lisboa com a sua ajuda, como estava aleuantado, reconhecido, & acclamado por todos por Rey de Portugal sem hauer contradiçaõ, & asssim a Senhora Dona Luiza de Gusmaõ dignissima Rainha do reyno de Portugal, virando-se pêra o Rey, que ambos estauaõ na nossa Igreja, ouuindo a missa da festa deste Sancto, disse:* Graças a Deos, louuores A Sam Francisco Xauier, que entramos em seu dia nesta Igreja com Excellencia; & agora por merecimentos deste Sancto sahimos della com titulo de Magestade» (*Apud* MARQUES, *op. cit.*, vol I, p. 135).

32 Sebastião GONÇALVES, *Primeira Parte da Historia dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus e do que fizeram com a diuina graça na conuersão dos infiéis a nossa sancta fee catholica nos reynos e prouincias da India Oriental.* Ed. preparada por José Wicki, S. I., vol. I: *Vida do B. P. Francisco Xavier e começo da História da Companhia de Jesus no Oriente*. Coimbra: Atlântida, 1957, pp. 8-10.

[33] LUCENA, *op. cit.*, vol.II, p. 476.

[34] *Idem, ibidem*, p. 675.

[35] Refiram-se, entre outros, como nomes mais sonantes que sustentam a escrita de Lucena, os de Marco Pólo, António Galvão, João de Barros e Frei Gaspar da Cruz.

[36] GONÇALVES, *op. cit.*

[37] Francisco de SOUSA, «Prefaçam isagogica com advertências necessárias aos que lerem», in *op. cit.*, p.12.

[38] LUCENA, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 5.

[39] Álvaro J. da Costa PIMPÃO, «Prefácio», *in* LUCENA, *op. cit.*, vol. I p. XII, nota 11.

[40] LUCENA, *op. cit.*, vol. I p. 130.

[41] *Idem, ibidem*, vol. II, p. 511.

[42] RIBEIRO, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 139.

[43] *Idem, ibidem*, p. 146.

[44] *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 146-173.

[45] *Vita del B. P. Francesco Xavier della Compagnia di Giesu* / composta dal P. Giovanni di Lucena in língua portughese; e transportata nell'italiana dal P. Ludonico Mansoni della medesima Compagnia. Roma: per Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1613.

[46] *Historia dela vida del P. Francisco Xavier y delo que en la Índia Oriental hizieron los demas Religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus* / compuesta en lengua portuguesa por el Padre Juan de Lucena…, traduzida en castellano por el P. Alonso de Sandoval… Sevilla: por Francisco de Lyra, 1619.

[47] Manuel Severim de FARIA, «Discuro segundo», in *Discursos Vários Políticos*. Évora: por Manuel Carvalho, 1624, fl. 81v.

[48] RIBEIRO, *op. cit.*

[49] SCHURHAMMER, *op. cit.*, p. 605.

[50] José Agostinho de MACEDO, *Os frades ou reflexões philosophicas sobre as corporações regulares.* Lisboa: Imp. Régia, 1830, p. 67.

[51] Fernam Mendez PINTO, *Peregrinaçam*. Porto: Portucalense Editora, 1946, vol. VII, p. 28.

[52] Sobre as possíveis interpretações da recusa de D. Luís de Ataíde veja-se LOUREIRO, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-139.

28

EM TORNO DE ALGUNS LIVROS SOBRE O "ESTADO DA ÍNDIA"

José Manuel Garcia

D. Manuel ao nomear em 1505 D. Francisco de Almeida para seu vice-rei «nas partes da Índia» institucionalizou na prática aquele que seria chamado «Estado da Índia», ainda que esta expressão só esteja registada de forma vaga a partir de 1541, tendo-se começado a generalizar pouco a pouco ao longo da segunda metade do século XVI. A primeira referência explícita que conhecemos a tal «Estado» encontra-se na publicação de um memorial enviado por D. João III para Roma, com um *Sumário das coisas sucedidas a Dom João de Castro, governador do Estado da Índia pelo poderosíssimo rei de Portugal*, que foi impresso em italiano em Roma por Antonio Blado em 1549 com o título *SVMMARIO DELLE COSE SVCCESSE À DON GlOVAN di Castro Gouernator del stato della Índia per il potentíssimo Rè di Portogallo (…)*[1].

Ao longo do século XVI os estabelecimentos dos portugueses no Índico e Pacífico relacionados com o «Estado da Índia» distribuíam-se de forma limitada e descontínua numa rede que atingiu uma grande extensão, a qual está reflectida em obras com textos e imagens elaboradas por Manuel Godinho de Erédia, Pedro Barreto de Resende e António Bocarro. Nas observações que de seguida fazemos equacionamos a importância das obras em causa começando por realçar o contributo que nesse sentido deu Pedro Barreto de Resende[2], um homem que preparou vários trabalhos que ficaram manuscritos, alguns dos quais têm interesse historiográfico, tendo sido apresentados de várias formas, de acordo com um processo de elaboração que importa esclarecer, pelo que o passamos a apresentar, começando por referenciar um conjunto de três manuscritos.

Um desses manuscritos corresponde a um volume iluminado, que não é da mão do autor, tendo um frontispício com as armas de Portugal e a indicação de conter um:

> *Breve Tratado ou Epilogo de Todos os Visorreys que tem hauido no Estado da India. Sucessos que tiverão o tempo de seus governos. A Armadas de*

Navios & galeões, que do Reyno de Portugal forão ao dito Estado. E do que succedeo em particular a algumas dellas nas viagens, que fizerão. Feito por Pedro Barreto de Rezende Secretario do Senhor Conde de Linhares Vizorrey do Estado da India No Anno de 1635[3].

Estas referências remetem não para a obra no seu conjunto mas apenas para a *Primeira parte* do manuscrito, que está compreendida entre os f. 1-73, na qual se contém o texto de uma obra de que se conhece o original, a que mais à frente iremos aludir, com uma relação das armadas desde a de 1497 até àquela em que o autor regressou a Portugal em 1636, estando ilustrada com 44 retratos de governadores e vice-reis.

No f. 75 deste volume começa a segunda parte da obra, que tem por título:

Descripções das Fortalezas da India Oriental.

Este texto segue de perto o conteúdo do livro de António Bocarro que foi enviado para Portugal em 1635, tendo-lhe Pedro Barreto de Resende introduzindo algumas alterações orçamentais e aditamentos aos textos, estando acompanhada de 70 plantas de cidades e fortalezas.

O volume aqui em causa talvez tenha sido feito em Portugal ainda em 1636, após a chegada do autor e do conde de Linhares, sendo possível que fosse destinado ao rei, pois tem nele as suas armas. É de ponderar que em Fevereiro de 1637 o referido conde foi a Madrid, onde se encontrou com Filipe III de Portugal, pelo que entre os presentes que lhe ofereceu poderia ter constado este luxuoso exemplar, o qual talvez tivesse sido feito para suplantar a obra de António de Bocarro, que havia sido enviada em 1635 para Portugal e de que há também uma luxuosa cópia enviada ao rei.

Pouco depois do códice que referimos, talvez em 1638, Pedro Barreto de Resende preparou uma nova versão dos seus trabalhos, que referenciou desta vez de uma forma mais abrangente como constituindo um *Livro do estado da Índia*[4], tendo-o dividido em três partes, apresentadas da seguinte forma:

Primeira parte deste livro do estado da Índia que contem hum breve tratado de todos os visorreis e governadores que tem havido no dito estado, sucessos que tiveram no tempo dos seus governos, armadas de naus e galeões, que deste reyno Portugal forão ao dito Estado, e do que sucedio em particular a algumas d'ellas na viagem, feito pello capitam Pedro Barreto de Rezende[5].

Neste trabalho inclui-se a relação de armadas e vice-reis já atrás mencionada, acabando-se o texto com alusões a acontecimentos relativos ao autor até Março de 1638, pelo que esta indicação remete para a data da preparação desta versão. Tal

como na cópia anterior também as folhas desta versão estão acompanhadas de 44 retratos de governadores e vice-reis colados nas folhas.

> *Segunda parte d'este livro do estado da India Oriental, que contem as plantas de todas as fortallezas que há no dito estado, desde o cabo de Boa Esperansa athe a China com a descripsam de tudo o que toca a cada huma d'ellas e vão também algumas plantas de fortalezas que não sam do estado e se puzeram aquy por curiozidade, por estarem nas mesmas costas da India*[6].

Apresenta-se aqui o texto do livro de António Bocarro copiado e revisto por Pedro Barreto de Resende, sem incluir as plantas.

> *Treseira parte d'este livro do estado da India Oriental, que contem a reseita e despeza de todas as fortallezas do dito estado, armadas, ordenados ordinárias, tensas e toddas as mais couzas em que se despende todo o dito rendimento*[7].

Nestas folhas apresenta-se o orçamento do «Estado da Índia» que o autor havia feito em 1635, o qual também existe de forma autónoma em códices individuais, a que mais à frente iremos aludir.

Em 1646, Pedro Barreto de Resende preparou uma nova cópia do conjunto dos seus trabalhos constituindo um *Livro do Estado da Índia Oriental*, mas de acordo com a forma em que se encontravam em 1636, ainda que o texto não tenha sido todo copiado. No seu frontispício lê-se:

> *Livro do Estado da India Oriental Repartido em tres partes, a primeira contem todos os retratos dos Vizorreis que tem auido no dito estado athe o anno de 634. com descripsois de seus gouernos. A segunda parte contem as plantas das Fortalezas que há do cabo da boa esperança athe a fortaleza de Chaul e com larga descripçao de tudo ho que há em cada hüa das dittas fortalezas, Rendimento e &asto que tem, e tudo o mais que lhe toca. A terceira contem as plantas de todas as fortalezas que há de Goa athe a China, com descripção da mesma forma: e vão juntamente plantas de fortalezas que não são do estado que por estarem nas mesmas costas se puzerão por curiozidade. Feito pello capitão P.° Barreto de Resende caualleiro professo da ordem de São Bento de Auis, natural de Pauia Anno de 1646*[8].

O autor descriminou de seguida que neste manuscrito havia *A Primeyra Parte deste liuro do Estado da India Oriental, a qual Contem hum Breue tratado de todos os Vizorreis que há hauido no dito Estado que aqui vem Estampados: susesos que*

tiuerão por menor No tempo de seus Gouernos. Armadas de Naos & galleõis que de Portugal pasarã há jndia No tempo do gouerno De cada Vizorrey & susesos q(ue) tiuerã assy na viagem Para a jndia como na Volta para Portugal comesando Pella primeyra Em que Vasco da Gama foy ao descobrymento daquellas Partes[9], nela se apresentando os 44 retratos constantes nos códices já atrás citados, e os textos relativos à constituição das armadas e principais sucessos de cada governo, terminando com a notícia da partida do Conde de Linhares, de Goa para o Portugal em 1636 e a frase com a indicação de que: *«agora ficará fácil a qualquer curioso prosseguir avante os governos dos Vizorreis e sussesos das naus começando deste anno de trinta e seis per diante*».

Na segunda parte deste *Liuro do Estado da India* apresentam-se 66 plantas de Pedro Barreto de Resende, 9 cartas de Pierre Berthelot (de 1635) e uma anónima, estando o texto já atrás referido com as descrições «de todas as fortalezas», o qual incompleto pois descreve apenas as da África Oriental e da Arábia[10].

Este manuscrito tem ainda uma «*Treseira parte d'este livro do Estado da India Oriental, que contem a reseita e despeza de todas as fortallezas do dito estado, armadas, ordenados, ordinarias, tensas, e todas as mais couzas em que se despende todo o dito rendimento, muito pello meudo com toda a distinsam e clareza, como se vera no titollo de cada fortalleza. Feyto pello capitam Pedro Barreto de Rezende, cavaleiro da ordem de Sam Bento de Avis, que na India servio de escrivam da Matriccola Geral e contador della seis annos e algum tempo de secretario do mesmo estado*»[11]. Estas folhas correspondem a mais uma das cópias do orçamento a que já anteriormente nos referimos.

Um melhor conhecimento de como se estruturam as realizações que apresentámos exige um exame de referências registadas no prólogo que Pedro Barreto de Resende escreveu para o *Breve Tratado ou Epilogo de Todos os Visorreys* que se encontra apenas no códice da Bibliothèque nacionale de France, Fonds portugais, 1.

> «O Estado da Índia Oriental, conforme o achei escrito em algumas partes, começa no Cabo de Boa Esperança, que dista para a parte do Sul, em altura de trinta e quatro graus e meio, e fenesse na ponta da enseada do Lanquim ou Nanquim, além da China, que dista para a parte do Norte trinta e quatro graus. (…).
>
> E fazendo a medida, entrando pela costa dos estreitos de Meca e Ormuz, vem a ter toda a costa da Índia Oriental cinco mil cento e trinta e seis léguas; porque o estreito do mar roxo por ambas as costas da Etiópia e Arábia, conforme as cartas de marear verdadeiras tem cento e vinte léguas, nas quais costas tem sua magestade as fortalezas que aqui estão estampadas, e os portugueses em todos os reinos e províncias delas, os tratos e comércios que se verão pelas discrições de cada um; as quais fez António Bocarro cronista deste Estado da Índia, com imenso trabalho cuidado e desvelo, de que eu fui

testemunha; porque tendo eu dado princípio às plantas deste livro e determinado faze-lo da mesma forma que ele está, para minha curiosidade, mandou sua magestade ao conde de Linhares, vice-rei da Índia meu senhor, lhe mandasse um livro desta mesma forma; e remetendo o Conde Vice-rei ao cronista António Bocarro para que o fizesse; lhe respondeu que as descrições faria ele, por ser cousa tocante ao seu oficio, mas que as plantas era impossível pode-las ele fazer, se lhas eu não desse, por ter já a maior quantidade delas; e ordenando-me o Conde meu senhor o fizesse, desisti de certo intento que tinha e as dei como condição que me desse ele descrições delas. Em esta conformidade se acabou o livro que foi a sua magestade; e fazendo eu depois outro de todas as despesas e rendimentos das fortalezas de todo o Estado da Índia por menor, achei as contas das despesas e rendimentos por fortalezas que ele pôs nos livros que foram a el-rei muito errados, e as emendei da forma que aqui vão – que são tiradas por menor de todas as contas que os feitores dão nos contos desta cidade de Goa, e da fazenda dela - onde se pagam todos os soldos ordenados e ordinários, e pelo regimento da matrícula geral, onde se descontam todos os ditos soldos ordenados e ordinários, que me não custou pouco a alcançar: o que ele não pôde fazer, por se lhe não darem nos tribunais os livros e noticias que lhe eram necessários. Além da emenda destas contas leva este livro mais do que o Cronista mandou a S. Mag.de todas as Fortalezas que há em todas as costas da Índia apontadas, quer sejam de mouros quer de inimigos da Europa, de que eu tive notícia, e que pude alcançar desde o Cabo da Boa Esperança até o Japão e Manilha **(…)»**[12]**.**

Estas considerações devem ser avaliadas tendo em conta os códices que já citámos e outros a que iremos aludir mais à frente, relacionados com as actividades de Pedro Barreto de Resende. Antes de o fazer, é conveniente observar a origem da primeira parte do texto citado, que resulta de uma adaptação de palavras escritas em 1603 pelo agostinho Frei Agostinho de Azevedo numa obra sobre o *Estado da Índia e aonde tem o seu principio*[13], na qual se lê que:

> «O estado da Índia tem principio no cabo da Esperança, que dista ao Sul 34 graus e meio largos e fenece até o presente na ponta da enseada do Nanquim da China, que dista 34 graus ao Norte, em que se compreende toda a costa da Ásia descoberta, que contém inclusivamente três mil novecentas e dezas-seis léguas, medidas pelos padrões das cartas de marear feitas na Índia, que são as melhores e as mais certas do mundo, no que toca a toda esta costa, e mar de Ásia, e esta medida se entende, não entrando pelas enseadas e bocas de estreitos e rios, porque então monta muitas mais léguas, se não medindo enseadas, rios de ponta a ponta»[14].

Quanto à referência aos «padrões das cartas de marear feitas na Índia, que são as melhores e as mais certas do mundo», que Pedro Barreto de Resende diz serem «as cartas de marear verdadeiras», há uma *Relassam de todo o estado da India oriental*, anónima e não datada, mas do período aqui considerado, na qual também se segue inicialmente o texto de Frei Agostinho de Azevedo, refere-se explicitamente que tais cartas eram aquelas que foram feitas por um «mestiço de Goa»[15]. Esta alusão remete para os trabalhos de Manuel Godinho de Erédia, pois ele era então o único cosmógrafo mestiço que se conhece com obras cartográficas sobre o Oriente, sendo de salientar que foi um dos colaboradores de Diogo do Couto, que se lhe refere como o «pintor Godinho», a quem pedira para pintar de novo os quadros das armadas do palácio dos vice-reis, tendo sido também ele quem terá pintado quadros dos vice-reis, pois dele se conhecem desenhos de vice-reis e outros retratos, que permitem deduzir tal atribuição[16].

Frei Agostinho de Azevedo referiu ainda em 1603 que o rei de Portugal: «Nos mais importantes portos desta costa tem hoje trinta e seis fortalezas e cidades com fortalezas e tranqueiras bastantes pera os portugueses se defenderem ou ofenderem (…)»[17].

Para lá destas observações relativas ao início da obra de Pedro Barreto de Resende é particularmente elucidativa a afirmação que este faz de seguida:

> «mandou sua magestade ao conde de Linhares, vice-rei da Índia meu senhor lhe mandasse um livro desta mesma forma; e remetendo o Conde Vice-rei ao cronista António Bocarro para que o fizesse; lhe respondeu que as descrições faria ele, por ser cousa tocante ao seu oficio, mas que as plantas era impossível pode-las ele fazer, se lhas eu não desse, por ter já a maior quantidade delas; e ordenando-me o Conde meu senhor o fizesse, desisti de certo intento que tinha e as dei como condição que me desse ele descrições delas».

A ordem que em 1632 Filipe III de Portugal enviou para a Índia, no sentido de que dali lhe fosse enviado um livro com plantas e descrições de terras e fortalezas do Oriente, é conhecida e sabemos que em resposta a tal determinação o conde de Linhares informou o rei por carta datada de Goa, a 2 de Janeiro de 1633, que encarregara António Bocarro, o cronista do «Estado da Índia», de fazer o trabalho pretendido, o qual seguiria na monção seguinte. Como tal não tivesse acontecido, o rei voltou a lembrar o pedido anterior através de uma carta de 24 de Dezembro de 1633. As pressões régias lograram alcançar o resultado pretendido e o livro, que foi preparado em 1633 e 1634 por António Bocarro, seguiu no ano seguinte para Portugal em duas vias, com o título[18]:

> *Liuro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, Cidades, e povoaçõis do estado da Imdia Oriental. Com as descripçõis da altura em que estão e de tudo o que*

ha nellas, Artelharia, prezidio, gente darmas, e Vaçallos, Remdimentos, e despeza, fundos, e Baxos das Barras, Reis da Terra dentro, o poder que tem, e a paz e guerra que guardão, e tudo o que esta de Baxo da coroa de espanha, feito por António bocarro guarda mor da torre do tombo, e chronista do dito estado _ Dedicado a Serenissima Magestade del Rey Phellippe o quarto das Espanhas e terçeiro de Portugal Rey e Senhor nosso[19].

Na dedicatória desta obra António Bocarro advertia o rei de que:

> «O conde de Linhares, vice-rei, me encarregou a dar cumprimento a uma carta de vossa magestade por que lhe ordena mande a vossa magestade estas plantas de todas as fortalezas que há neste Estado, com as descrições particulares de tudo o que nelas há, que deva saber-se para se ter notícia de todas as cousas que convenha obrar em seu melhoramento, e posto que para fazer esta obra com perfeição conveniente, era necessário correr mui particularmente cada uma das fortalezas, cidades, e povoações para ver e considerar todas as ditas cousas, contudo, como não foi possível a respeito de estar nesta cidade com a ocupação da Torre do Tombo e ter juntamente a cargo escrever as crónicas dos sucessos deste Estado, e vossa magestade apertar por que se lhe mande tudo o referido, procurei por informações o que neste volume por duas vias ofereço, e mando a vossa magestade, afirmando que o grande trabalho que me custou não foi ainda bastante para o fazer na forma que o intentei e desejava com as plantas arrumadas e demarcadas e compassadas por petípé, o que nunca foi possível, pela grande falta que há neste Estado de pessoas cientes nas ditas artes, mormente sendo as fortalezas em tanta cópia e assim para a refeição disto procurei pôr tudo na descrição como vai, a qual é que se deve dar inteiro crédito, não se buscando na planta das fortalezas e cidades mais que a forma e figura delas, porque as proporções das medidas para serem todas uniformes em algumas se acharão em outras não tanto ao certo, nem também se há-de atentar ao número da artilharia que está pintada na planta, senão a que diz a letra».

António Bocarro ao registar em 17 de Fevereiro de 1635 estas considerações omitiu o nome de Pedro Barreto de Resende, que lhe facultara a cópia das 52 plantas que complementam o seu texto, desvalorizando até a qualidade de tais pinturas, argumentando nomeadamente com a falta de especialistas na Índia capazes de realizar as plantas pretendidas na forma que seria desejável.

O vice-rei conde de Linhares enviou o livro de António Bocarro juntamente com a chamada década XIII da Ásia, que este autor entretanto preparara, acompanhada de uma carta datada de 23 de Fevereiro de 1635[20].

Como já atrás verificámos, o cronista do «Estado da Índia» só realizou o trabalho solicitado com a condição de Pedro Barreto de Resende lhe dar uma cópia das plantas que necessitava, o que este fez, no cumprimento das ordens que nesse sentido lhe deu o vice-rei, e porque António Bocarro se comprometera, por seu lado, a facultar-lhe uma cópia das descrições das cidade e fortalezas que preparou e ele elogiou, ao referir: «as quais fez António Bocarro cronista deste Estado da Índia, com imenso trabalho cuidado e desvelo, de que eu fui testemunha». Essas descrições foram depois copiadas por Pedro Barreto de Resende nos três manuscritos que atrás descrevemos, com pequenas diferenças e acréscimos, tendo sido também sumariadas em 1639 por António de Mariz Carneiro em *Descripsão da fortaleza de Sofalla e das mais da India*, trabalho em que igualmente copiou as 52 plantas que Pedro Barreto de Resende havia traçado[21].

Um facto que até agora não foi considerado consiste na circunstância de na apresentação a que nos temos estado a referir Pedro Barreto de Resende ter afirmado que fizera já um outro trabalho do mesmo género do livro de António Bocarro, antes de este ter sido iniciado, mas que o havia feito apenas para satisfazer a sua curiosidade pessoal, pelo que não foi considerado suficiente para evitar a preparação de um novo texto, mais extenso e minucioso, como foi aquele que António Bocarro acabou por realizar.

Pela afirmação de que antes fizera um trabalho «para minha curiosidade», Pedro Barreto de Resende revela que havia começado, antes ou cerca de 1632, um livro do mesmo género do solicitado pelo rei, no qual se continham as plantas que o cronista desejava para a realização o seu livro. Terá sido a partir desse trabalho que Pedro Barreto Resende havia começado a fazer que ele copiou as 52 plantas que António Bocarro pretendia introduzir no seu livro.

A questão que se pode colocar perante o citado texto é a de saber que obra seria aquela a que Pedro Barreto de Resende havia «dado princípio» com as «plantas deste livro» e que acabou por não ser concluído – «desisti de certo intento que tinha» – o qual tinha semelhanças com aquele que foi concluído em 1635. Ao colocar esta questão e observando as obras existentes com descrições e histórias de fortalezas e terras do Oriente que se fizeram no período considerado verificamos que entre elas se destaca o códice que actualmente se guarda na fortaleza de São Julião da Barra, cujo conteúdo merece que lhe prestemos atenção, para o contextualizarmos na presente problemática[22]. A referida obra apresenta no frontispício a indicação de ser um:

Lyvro de Plantaformas das fortalezas da Índia

Este volume foi feito por dois autores em duas fases diferentes, sendo o primeiro desse autores Manuel Godinho de Erédia, pois, ainda que este não assine o trabalho verifica-se que as suas plantas são semelhante a outras que dele se conhecem, nomeadamente as que se encontra num atlas-miscelânea de cerca de 1615-cerca de

1622 da sua autoria, cujo paradeiro actual se desconhece, no qual surge um frontispício que é igual ao que acima se indica[23]. Esta parte do livro de São Julião da Barra foi feita originalmente talvez cerca de 1620, senão ainda no tempo de Diogo do Couto, de qualquer forma antes da perda de Ormuz em 1622, pois esta fortaleza está ali referenciada na posse dos portugueses. Este trabalho é constituído por vinte e duas plantas de cidades e fortalezas, inscritas em folhas com traços laterais de esquadria pintados a amarelo, tendo por debaixo de cada imagem, que ocupa um pouco menos de metade da folha, um texto que talvez se deva a Manuel Godinho de Erédia, com a descrição sumária da respectiva povoação, contendo informações de interesse histórico. A maior parte desse textos foi depois completado pelo segundo autor, pouco antes ou cerca de 1632, o qual pensamos poder identificar como sendo Pedro Barreto de Resende, tendo ainda acrescentado novas folhas ao trabalho anterior, entre as quais constavam mais 55 plantas, algumas das quais poderão ser cópias de trabalhos que se encontravam no espólio cartográfico de Manuel Godinho de Erédia correspondente ao já mencionado atlas miscelânea, que se sabe ter pertencido no século XVII a um Francisco Policarpo Gyrão de Rezende, de quem nada se sabe, podendo-se admitir que pelo uso do apelido «de Resende» estaria relacionado com Pedro Barreto de Resende[24]. Este último juntou ainda no códice de São Julião da Barra muitas outras plantas que no referido espólio não se encontravam. De notar que nas obras de Pedro Barreto de Resende com plantas, como são aquelas que correspondem aos códices da Bibliothèque nacionale de France, Fonds portugais, 1 e da British Library, Sloane, n.º 197, não há uma coincidência das plantas copiadas, pelo que se verifica que esta personalidade fez diferentes selecções de plantas nos diferentes códices que organizou.

Retomando a descrição do livro da Fortaleza de São Julião da Barra verificamos que o responsável pelo acréscimo das folhas ao trabalho original de Manuel Godinho de Erédia começou por lhes juntar logo a seguir ao rosto um conjunto de folhas em que escreveu uma relação de armadas de 1497 até 1505, acrescentando-lhe então o retrato de D. Francisco de Almeida, mas acabou por deixar as folhas que se seguiam em branco, tendo colado em algumas delas, desordenadamente, vinte e cinco retratos de governadores e vice-reis (recortados), até o conde Linhares, certamente com a intenção de escrever sobre as restantes armadas e governadores, trabalho que acabou por não fazer, pois após as folhas em branco o códice recomeça no f. (48) com as imagens e descrições das fortalezas com uma foliação antiga entretanto danificada. O autor do trabalho descrito pretendia, pois, fazer um livro em que juntava a descrição das armadas e dos vice-reis, até ao conde Linhares, às plantas e descrições das fortalezas e dos respectivos orçamentos, características que se quadram bem nos trabalhos de Pedro Barreto de Resende que atrás descrevemos. O livro em que este autor afirmou na introdução de 1636 estar a trabalhar cerca de 1632 poderia ser, pois, o que está na fortaleza de São Julião da Barra, tanto mais que acabou de fazer entre 1635 e 1636 um livro completo com a relação das armadas e

dos vice-reis com os respectivos retratos, com as mesmas características daquele que havia sido iniciada no referido códice. O facto do livro da fortaleza de São Julião da Barra ter ficado como ficou justificar-se-ia por Pedro Barreto de Resende o ter deixado nessa forma quando começou a ser feito o livro de António Bocarro, só voltando a trabalhar no projecto que antes acrescentar em 1636 num volume que acabou por ficar mais sistemático, no qual acrescentou a relação de armadas e governadores completa que entretanto preparara em 1635 e 1636.

A análise dos três códices que começámos por apresentar com o conjunto das obras de Pedro Barreto de Resende mostrou-nos que este tinha curiosidade por temas de História, nomeadamente do passado das fortalezas e sobretudo das relações de armadas e vice-reis, mas o que ainda não foi observado é que o livro que ele escreveu com as relações de armadas e governadores foi realizado em 1635, antes de deixar a Índia, tendo durante a viagem de regresso a Portugal, completando-o em 1636 num códice original com o título:

> *Breue tratado ou epillogo de todos os visoreis que tem auido no estado da Índia, Sucessos que tiuerão no tempo de seus gouernos, armadas de naos e galeões que do Reino de Portugal forão ao dito estado, E do que sucedeo em particular a algumas dellas nas viagens. Feito por Pedro Barreto de Rezende, Secretario do senhor conde de Linhares Viso Rey do estado da India no anno de 1635*[25].

O texto desta obra está escrito em letra melhor desenhada até ao f. 112, isto é, antes de se começar o governo do conde de Linhares, o qual tomou posse em 1629, seguindo-se a partir do f. 114 um texto em letra menos cuidada até à data de 1636, numa altura em que se aproximava do fim da viagem de regresso a Portugal, tendo esse texto sido depois copiado nos três códices que começámos por descrever. No manuscrito agora considerado os retratos dos governadores e vice-reis foram arrancados, tendo os seus espaços sido deixados em branco, numa situação inversa à que se passa com o códice com retratos de governadores e plantas de cidades e fortalezas que se encontra na fortaleza de São Julião da Barra.

Antes e depois do *Breve tratado ou epillogo (…)* de Pedro Barreto de Resende, já se tinham escrito relações de armadas e governadores, sendo um tipo de obras que constituiu um género historiográfico de que se conhecem numerosos volumes desde 1558 e em particular a partir de 1584.

No códice de São Julião da Barra faltam actualmente algumas folhas, as quais ainda puderam ser copiadas na íntegra no século XVIII, pois até agora não se observou que essa obra foi copiada num códice cujo responsável uniformizou num único texto a parte escrita talvez por Manuel Godinho de Erédia e os acréscimos de cerca de 1632, não tendo copiado as plantas e as informações de natureza financeira, tendo-lhe dado o título de:

Relação das Plantas, & dezcripções de todas s Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações que os Portugeuses tem no estado da India Oriental[26]

Finalmente há ainda que recordar que enquanto António Bocarro preparava o seu livro sobre o «Estado da Índia», Pedro Barreto de Resende, no desempenho do seu cargo, elaborou uma obra sobre as finanças desse «Estado», a que aludiu explicitamente no texto introdutório do códice da Bibliothèque nacionale de France, Fonds portugais 1. Desse livro sobre as finanças do «Estado da Índia» em 1634-1635 apresentado de forma individualizada há dois códices:

Livro de toda a resseyta e despesa do Estado da india (…) feito pello capitam Pedro Barreto de Resende seruindo de contador e escriuão da matricula geral e secretario de estado na mesma cidade de Goa no anno de 1634[27].

e:

Liuro de toda a Receita e despesa de todas as fortalezas que sua magestade tem neste estado da India (…) feita por Pedro Barreto de Rezende, secretario do Conde de Linhares, Viso Rey do dito estado, e Contador da matricula geral delle no Anno de mil seiscentos e trinta e cinco[28].

A importância dos livros sobre o chamado «Estado da Índia» é relevante para o conhecimento de um relacionamento multissecular de Portugal com uma grande diversidade de gentes que habitavam espaços tão dilatados como são os que referenciamos, sendo de salientar o impacto que tal relacionamento teve nas mais diversas formas numa longa duração.

NOTAS

[1] Esta obra foi reeditada em Lisboa, Cotovia, 1995 com apresentação de José Manuel Garcia e tradução de Raffaella D'Intino.

[2] Sobre este autor cf. nomeadamente Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Les finances de l'État Portugais des Indes Orientales: 1517-1635: matériaux pour une étude structurale et conjoncturelle*, Paris, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982, p. 36-39.

[3] Códice com 422 f. da Bibliothèque nacionale de France, Fonds portugais, n.º 1.

[4] Códice da Bibliothèque nacionale de France, Fonds portugais, n.º 36, f. 1-308.

[5] Idem, f. 6-116.

[6] Idem, f. 118-156.

[7] Idem, f. 161-308.

[8] Códice com 416 f. da British Library, Sloane, n.º 197.

[9] Idem, f. 1-117.

[10] Idem, f. 118-151.

[11] Idem, f. 161-308.

[12] Cujo texto foi transcrito parcialmente por Armando Cortesão em *Cartografia e cartógrafos portugueses*, volume II, Lisboa, Seara Nova, 1935, p. 102.

[13] Desta obra há dois manuscritos, um na Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Ms. 3 015, f. 149-151v; 33-36v. e 71-129, cujo texto foi publicado em *Documentação ultramarina portuguesa*, volume II, Lisboa, CEHU, 1962, p. 161-164; 40-44 e 79-147 e o outro da British Library, Add. Mss. 28 461, f. 7-9 e 210-275, com o texto publicado em *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa*, volume I, Lisboa, CEHU, 1960, p. 5-8 e 197-263.

[14] *Documentação ultramarina portuguesa*, volume I, Lisboa, CEHU, 1960, p. 197.

[15] TT, Manuscritos do convento da Graça, tomo VI F, cx 3, f. 11.

[16] Cf. estudo introdutório de Rui Carita em *O Lyvro de plantaforma das fortalezas da Índia da biblioteca da Fortaleza de São Julião da Barra*, Lisboa, Defesa Nacional/Edições Inapa. 1999.

[17] *Documentação ultramarina portuguesa*, volume I, Lisboa, CEHU, 1960, p. 198.

[18] Cf. Armando Cortesão e Avelino Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica*, volume V, Lisboa, 1960, p. 60.

[19] Uma dessas vias corresponde ao códice com 254 f., actualmente com 48 plantas, que esteve na posse do duque de Cadaval e foi descrito por Barbosa Machado, sabendo-se que em 1961 estava à venda no livreiro A. Rosenthal Ltd., de Oxford (cf. Armando Cortesão e Avelino Teixeira da Mota, *ob. cit*., p. 62-63), não se sabendo do seu actual paradeiro; a outra via corresponde ao códice com 170 f. e actualmente com 48 plantas, que se encontra na Biblioteca Pública de Évora, CXV/2-1, cujo texto foi publicado pela primeira vez por A. B. de Bragança Pereira, em «Livro dos Plantas de todos os fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado do Índia Oriental», in *Arquivo Português Oriental,* volume lI (4, partes I-II), Bastorá (Goa), Tipografia Rangel, 1937-1938 e em nova edição por Isabel Cid, em *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental,* 3 volumes, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1992. Há ainda uma cópia coeva da obra aqui em consideração feita em Portugal e enviada ao rei, que se encontra na Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Mss. 1190 e R. 202 em dois códices, um com 203 f., contendo o texto, e outro com 109 f. nas quais se encontram 52 plantas, copiadas por João Teixeira Albernaz dos originais de Pedro de Barreto de Resende. Há ainda uma cópia seiscentista do códice de Évora que actualmente se encontra em Sri Lanka, nos arquivos do governo e que esteve originalmente na biblioteca do conde de Castelo Melhor.

[20] C. R. Boxer, «António Bocarro and the "Livro do Estado da Índia Oriental"», *Garcia de Orta*, revista da Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigação do Ultramar, n.º especial, Lisboa, 1956, p. 205.

[21] Códice da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Ilum. 149, tendo sido publicada em *Descrição da fortaleza de Sofala e das mais da Índia*, com nota introdutória e legendas de Pedro Dias, Lisboa, Fundação Oriente, 1990.

[22] N.º 18505 publicado em edição fac-similada com estudo introdutório de Rui Carita em *O Lyvro de plantaforma das fortalezas da Índia da biblioteca da Fortaleza de São Julião da Barra*, Lisboa, Defesa Nacional/Edições Inapa. 1999.

[23] Armando Cortesão e Avelino Teixeira da Mota, *ob. cit*., p. 72.

[24] Idem, volume IV, p. 54.

[25] Códice com (140) f. da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, COD. 787.

[26] Códice com 63 f. da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, COD. 29, cujo texto foi publicado com o mesmo título por A. Botelho da Costa Veiga, Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, 1936.

[27] Códice com (4), 113 f. da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, COD, 1783.

[28] Códice com 125 f. da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, Res. 2-3-4.

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DOM HELDER CÂMARA E O CONCÍLIO VATICANO II

José Óscar Beozzo

O Concílio Vaticano II (1962-1965), desde seu anúncio pelo Papa João XXIII, a 25 de janeiro de 1959, provocou profundo entusiasmo em Dom Helder Camara[1], acendendo em sua mente, incontáveis sonhos e projetos acerca de uma igreja mais evangélica e ecumênica, mais próxima dos pobres, empenhada no desenvolvimento dos povos e na sua mútua compreensão, capaz de propiciar um diálogo entre o norte e o sul do mundo, de colaborar na promoção da paz e da cooperação internacional, interlocutora dos meios de comunicação social e da cultura moderna.

O entusiasmo inicial foi porém mitigado pelas inumeráveis dificuldades do período preparatório, pelo pesado manto de segredo oficial que cobriu os trabalhos desta fase, fazendo com que os próprios bispos se sentissem à margem de tudo, até às vésperas do grande evento.

Dom Helder, como consultor da Comissão dos Bispos e Governo das Dioceses foi um dos sete bispos, entre os dez brasileiros[2], que tomaram parte numa das dez comissões preparatórias ou num dos quatro Secretariados do Concílio, criados em 5 de junho de 1960. Mas mesmo estes bispos estavam escassamente informados, pois desconheciam o andamento das outras comissões que trabalhavam paralelamente umas às outras, sem comunicação entre si, e encaminhando seus resultados apenas para a Comissão Central.

Dom Helder, às vésperas do Concílio, está inquieto e confia ao fiel amigo Manoelito, Dom Manuel Larrain, bispo de Talca no Chile, suas apreensões e mesmo desalento:

"Vejo o Concílio aproximar-se. Até hoje, nem sequer o Temário nos chegou. Humanamente, não há muito como esperar [...] Mesmo assim, irei ao Concílio. Será a suprema oportunidade, porque o Santo Padre nos mandou falar como Bispos. Na medida em que o pudermos fazer, faremos. De julho para cá, a situação só tem piorado. O Temário do Concílio, até hoje não chegou ao Brasil".[3]

1. DOM HELDER, ATOR CONCILIAR

Uma vez em Roma, a alocução do Papa João XXIII de abertura ao Concílio, a *Gaudet Mater Ecclesia – Alegra-se a Mãe Igreja*, na manhã do dia 11 de outubro de 1962, devolveu-lhe novamente a esperança e o entusiasmo.

Dois dias depois, em sua primeira Congregação Geral, a 13 de outubro, os trabalhos conciliares apenas iniciados, foram suspensos dez minutos depois, por intervenção do Cardeal Achille Liénart, secundado pelo Cardeal J. Frings, arcebispo de Colônia na Alemanha, falando igualmente em nome do Cardeal Julius Döpfner de Munique e do Cardeal Franz König de Viena, na Aústria, que se recusavam a votar a lista dos integrantes das Comissões conciliares, sem uma consulta prévia entre os membros do Concílio[4]. Diante da perplexidade geral, o Secretário do Concílio, o Arcebispo Pericle Felici consultou o Conselho de Presidência e o Cardeal Eugène Tisserrant que presidia a sessão suspendeu os trabalhos por quatro dias.

A imprensa captou a transcendência desse gesto da Assembléia que aplaudiu as intervenções, deixando transparecer nos títulos das manchetes sua interpretação do evento: "Terminou o predomínio da Cúria Romana"; "A Rebelião dos Bispos"; "A Ala Renovadora impõe uma Lista Internacional"; "Os Bispos europeus rejeitam os candidatos de Ottaviani"; "Luta feroz entre duas tendências" e assim por diante[5]. De fato, saia de cena a Cúria Romana, cujos prefeitos haviam presidido cada uma das Comissões Preparatórias do Concílio e ocupavam o cenário novos atores, os episcopados recém-chegados a Roma e, de modo particular, as Conferências Episcopais e o único organismo de caráter continental em toda a Igreja, o Conselho Episcopal Latino-americano, o CELAM.

Dom Helder, secretário da Conferência Episcopal brasileira, a CNBB e vice-presidente do CELAM, lançou-se, de corpo e alma, junto com Dom Manoel Larrain, seu colega na vice-presidência do CELAM, nos esforço de articulação com as demais conferências episcopais, para comporem a nova lista de nomes para as Comissões Conciliares, em substituição às Comissões da fase preparatória que a Secretaria Geral do Concílio, queria ver transformadas nas Comissões permanentes do próprio Concílio. Isto perpetuaria o controle que a Cúria Romana havia exercido sobre toda a etapa de preparação do Concilio.

Começava ali a singular aventura do "Dom", como era carinhosamente chamado pelos amigos, durante os quatro anos do Concílio Vaticano II (1962 a 1965) que o transformariam, do relativamente pouco conhecido arcebispo auxiliar do Rio de Janeiro, num dos personagens mais influentes na cena internacional da igreja contemporânea.

2. DOM HELDER, UM DOS ARTICULADORES DO CONCÍLIO E O REGISTRO DE SUA AÇÃO NUM SINGULAR "DIÁRIO": AS CARTAS CONCILIARES

Do Concílio, legou-nos Dom Helder, uma espécie de diário íntimo, consignado em 297 cartas escritas, quase diariamente, durante as quatro sessões do Concílio e durante a intersessão de 1963/64.

Destas, sete que foram escritas durante a primeira sessão conciliar em 1962, encontram-se perdidas. Os originais das demais estão depositados atualmente na Fundação "Obras de Frei Francisco", no Recife.

Estas cartas foram dirigidas a um pequeno grupo de colaboradores e principalmente colaboradoras do Rio de Janeiro e depois do Recife, que Dom Helder chama de "família do São Joaquim[6]", "família de Mecejana[7]" ou ainda "família mecejanense e olindo-recifense[8]". O Concílio Vaticano II foi, para Dom Helder, a ocasião para ingressar numa série de articulações internacionais e grupos de trabalho, muitos das quais por ele sugeridos e animados, ganhando a partir daí uma plataforma de ação de raio cada vez mais amplo.[9]

Dom Helder não chegou porém ao Concílio de mãos vazias. Sua atuação como Assistente Nacional da Ação Católica Brasileira e de todos os seus ramos especializados, colocara-o em contato estreito com o laicato, dera-lhe uma visão geral do Brasil e de sua igreja, com seus valores e problemas, por vezes, dramáticos; o havia inserido na rede latino-americano e internacional estabelecida pela Ação Católica. Esta o levaria, como assistente eclesiástico da delegação brasileira de leigos da Ação Católica, à sua primeira viagem a Roma, durante o Ano Santo de 1950, por ocasião do I Congresso Internacional dos Leigos.

Ali, encontrara-se com o Papa Pio XII que o encaminhara ao seu sub-secretário de Estado, Mons. Giovanni Baptista Montini, o futuro Papa Paulo VI, a quem submeteu, nesta e na viagem seguinte, em 1951, sua proposta de criação de uma Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil.

Nasceu entre esses dois homens de Igreja, mútua confiança e amizade que possibilitarão a Dom Helder dirigir-se, muitas vezes, durante o Concílio, diretamente ao Cardeal Montini e depois ao Papa Paulo VI, confiando-lhe sugestões e expondo-lhe temores e esperanças.

Veio Dom Helder ao Concílio, não como um bispo isolado, mas como secretário geral, há exatos dez anos (1952-1962) da Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil, a terceira conferência mais numerosa do mundo todo, só suplantada pela italiana e a norte-americana.

Chegava também no quadro do único continente que contava com um organismo de articulação, a América Latina onde, desde 1955, fora fundado o CELAM, Conselho Episcopal Latino-americano, do qual Dom Helder era um dos dois vice-presidentes, sendo o outro Dom Manuel Larraín do Chile. Este será eleito, logo no

ano seguinte, seu presidente (1963-1966). Dom Helder tinha profunda consciência de que a CNBB e o CELAM eram suas "plataformas" de ação e articulação, como deixa claramente consignado em carta de 1963, ao ser eleito Dom Larrain, presidente do CELAM e, ele mesmo, reconduzido à primeira vice-presidência (1963-1965):

"Houve eleição no CELAM. A América Latina inteira quis como presidente o querido Manoelito (Mons. Larraín) e elegeu o Dom[10] *para 1 º Vice. Há o consolo de ver que a dupla fraterna não está sem cobertura. A posse, se Deus quiser, será amanhã, na presença do Cardeal Confalonieri e de Mons. Samoré... Telegrafamos ao Santo Padre comunicando a eleição e pedindo a benção… A eleição facilita o trabalho do Ecumênico. Se eu saísse da CNBB e do CELAM (é claro que eu já aceitara a oferenda), em rigor perderia a base para atuar nas reuniões de 6.ª feira* [as reuniões do Ecumênico]".[11]

Da sua formação no Seminário da Prainha, em Fortaleza, havia herdado o domínio da língua francesa transmitida pelos padres lazaristas franceses, além do conhecimento do latim, instrumentos que, durante o Concílio, lhe foram essenciais, junto com o inglês meio periclitante, para seus contatos com os outros padres conciliares, mas também com jornalistas e a televisão.

A imediata cooperação nascida entre Dom Helder e o Pe. Miguel (pseudônimo em suas cartas conciliares, para Leo Joseph Suenens, o cardeal arcebispo de Malinas-Bruxelas, membro da Comissão de Assuntos Extraordinários na primeira sessão conciliar, da Comissão de Coordenação criada ao final da primeira sessão, um dos quatro moderadores que passaram a presidir as Congregações Gerais, a partir do início da segunda sessão e, certamente, um dos mais influentes padres conciliares), assim como com o secretário do Episcopado francês, Roger Etchegaray, permitiram a Dom Helder fazer parte do grupo seleto dos que podiam exercer alguma influência sobre a imensa e heterogênea massa dos padres conciliares.

3. UMA ATUAÇÃO CONCERTADA VIA GRUPOS INFORMAIS: O "ECUM NICO", "A IGREJA DOS POBRES", O "OPUS ANGELI".

Gostaria de destacar, finalmente, alguns dos grupos dos quais participou Dom Helder, ampliando seu raio de ação e influência durante o Concílio.

3.1. O Ecum Nico

À raiz da bem sucedida experiência da primeira semana no Concilio, para a constituição da lista de nomes para as comissões conciliares, surgiu a idéia da formação de um grupo de trabalho informal que reunisse representantes das principais conferências episcopais, com vistas a intercambiarem informações e pontos de vista, estabelecer uma coordenação entre si, a proporem iniciativas e a agilizarem o próprio

andamento do Concílio. A iniciativa ficou conhecida como "Grupo da *Domus Mariae*"[12], do nome do local, onde se reuniam os bispos; "Grupo da Terça-feira", mesmo que, posteriormente, suas reuniões acontecessem na Sexta-feira; "Interconferência" devido ao fato de congregarem representantes de conferências nacionais ou regionais (África, Ásia e América Latina); "Grupo dos 22", do número inicial das conferências, embora estas já fossem cerca de 30 na quarta sessão (1965) e ainda o **"ECUM NICO",** como gostava de chamá-lo Dom Helder.

Na pesquisa de Caporale, um jornalista norte-americano que tenta levantar, durante a segunda sessão (1963), as figuras mais influentes do Concílio, Dom Helder surge no grupo das dezoito personalidades de proa e o grupo da *Domus Mariae*, como o mais significativo:

"[...] *pudemos identificar quatro grupos informais de bispos que se encontram regularmente em diversos lugares [...] De longe, o mais importante e eclético destes grupos informais foi o organizado pelos bispos brasileiros na Domus Mariae… entre os animadores deste grupo que se reunia regularmente, cada sexta-feira, estava o arcebispo Helder Câmara"*.[13]

Neste intercâmbio entre conferências episcopais, Dom Helder carregava uma preocupação mais entranhada, a de abrir espaço para um verdadeiro diálogo e cooperação entre o norte e o sul do mundo, entre países desenvolvidos e sub-desenvolvidos. Para isto, moveu céus e terras, primeiro para atrair os episcopados da África e da Ásia e depois para conseguir espaços institucionais para a temática do terceiro mundo como no caso do seu apelo insistente ao Cardeal Suenens, para que ajudasse a patrocinar a criação, junto à Comissão de Assuntos Extraordinários do Concílio, de um "Secretariado especial para as questões da Pobreza e do Terceiro Mundo".[14]

Não esconde seu entusiasmo, depois da conferência que convocara para o "diálogo dos dois mundos*":*

"19:30 do dia 29 (29-11-1962). Houve o início do diálogo entre os Dois Mundos. Foi emocionante. Ali, estava na presidência, o sucessor e Mercier[15]*, que se mostrou absolutamente à altura da missão que a Providência lhe confia... Ali estava um resumo altamente representativo do Mundo sub-desenvolvido e do Mundo desenvolvido. O Pe. Houtart*[16] *correspondeu de todo às nossas esperanças. Abri o diálogo de que participaram interessadíssimos os dois Mundos. Mas grande mesmo foi Suenens ao encerrar o encontro. Disse verdades fortes e de maneira admirável*."[17]

3.2. A Igreja dos pobres

O outro grupo que ajudou a criar, ao qual foi fiel até o fim e onde se sentia espiritual e humanamente em casa, foi o da "**IGREJA DOS POBRES**". Na primeira sessão de 1962, havia juntamente com ele, outros oito brasileiros que se converteriam em 16 na terceira sessão, num total de 86 padres conciliares. Estava inspirado no itinerário de Paul Gauthier que escrevera, a partir de sua experiência de

operário em Nazaré, o livro "Jesus, a Igreja e os Pobres". Acompanhava-o Marie-Therèse Lescase, religiosa carmelita egressa que fora igualmente viver pobremente em Nazaré. Gauthier conseguiu sensibilizar um grupo importante de bispos e peritos, entre os quais o Pe. Yves Congar O.P. que escrevera um texto provocativo e profundo como proposta eclesial: "Pour une Église servante et pauvre", "Por uma Igreja servidora e pobre". Ao grupo, juntaram-se bispos que estavam próximos da espiritualidade dos Irmãos e Irmãzinhas de Charles de Foucauld, dos padres operários, da Missão da França e bispos que vinham do terceiro mundo, angustiados com a miséria das grandes maiorias e preocupados em encontrar saídas para sua pobreza e desamparo.

Dom Antônio Fragoso, bispo emérito de Crateús, deixou-nos um depoimento sobre o grupo que se reunia no Colégio Belga*:*

"O grupo começou na primeira sessão. Tínhamos como secretários Paul Gauthier e Marie-Therèse Lescase. O tema era a Igreja e os Pobres, começando pela identidade entre Jesus e os pobres. Lembro-me do argumento central: quando afirmamos a identidade entre Jesus e o pão consagrado: 'isto é meu corpo', nós [o] adoramos e tiramos conseqüências para nossa espiritualidade, liturgia e tudo o mais. Quando [se] afirma a identidade entre ele e os que não tem pão, casa, nós não tiramos as conseqüências para a espiritualidade, liturgia, ação pastoral. Lembro-me de que, na sessão final, fomos celebrar, numa das Catacumbas, a eucaristia final. Assinamos um compromisso nosso com os pobres: dar uma atenção prioritária aos pobres (não ter dinheiro em banco, patrimônio), e este compromisso chegou a ser assinado por 500 bispos".

Mas o mesmo Dom Fragoso constatava com uma ponta de tristeza:

"[O Concílio] permitiu-me descobrir que os pobres não estavam no coração e no horizonte dos bispos. Por isto, o Concílio não deu maior atenção ao tema. O Concílio permitiu-me sair daquele pessimismo sobre a natureza e dar-me alegria, mas não o vi se reconciliando com os pobres".[18]

Pode-se reconhecer que o grupo não alcançou o que esperava institucionalmente do Concílio, mas teve uma profunda repercussão espiritual e profética, espelhada no Pacto das Catacumbas, onde estão arrolados os compromissos que assumiam os seus signatários, na sua vida quotidiana e no seu trabalho pastoral, em relação aos pobres e à uma vida pessoal de pobreza.[19]

Com Helder, consciente de que o Concílio não respondera, nem mesmo com a *Gaudium et Spes*, às necessidades e expectativas do Terceiro Mundo, arrancara de Paulo VI, a promessa de uma encíclica que tratasse do "desenvolvimento dos povos", que se concretizou na divulgação da *Populorum Progressio*, em 1967.

Consciente também de que o sonho de João XXIII de uma "Igreja dos Pobres" não conseguira empolgar o Concílio, lutará para que, na América Latina, esta se tornasse a questão eclesial mais importante. De fato, em 1968, na II Conferência Geral do Episcopado Latino-americano, o documento 14, consagrado à eclesiologia, terá como título e conteúdo "Pobreza na Igreja".[20]

3.3. O Opus Angeli

Outro feito decisivo de D. Helder Camara no Concílio foi conseguir que os melhores teólogos e peritos ali presentes começassem a trabalhar em conjunto e em estreita colaboração com os bispos reunidos no "Ecumênico" e na "Igreja dos Pobres". Esse mesmo grupo de teólogos prestou inestimável serviço aos bispos do Brasil, por meio das conferências da *Domus Mariae*, que na soma das três últimas sessões alcançaram o respeitável número de 84, às quais devem ser acrescentadas outras dez da primeira sessão[21]. A essa força tarefa, já esboçada entre Dom Helder, Larrain e o Pe. François Houtart[22] de Lovaina na Bélgica que desempenhou o papel de seu secretário, foi dado o nome de "**OPUS ANGELI",** a Obra do Anjo. Esta trabalhou durante as sessões, mas também nas inter-sessões, no sentido de oferecer textos alternativos aos esquemas provindos da etapa preparatória do Concílio, de preparar intervenções para serem lidas na aula conciliar, de assessorar os bispos nas questões mais complexas, de elaborar "modos" substitutivos para determinadas passagens dos esquemas submetidos a votação. Um dos teólogos mais importantes do século XX, o Pe. Yves Congar e que colaborou estreitamente com Dom Helder e com os grupos por ele animados, tornando-se um pouco o coordenador do "Opus Angeli", percebeu logo no primeiro encontro entre ambos, a importância de Dom Helder e de sua liderança que aportava ao Concílio algo mais que faltava aos outros: uma "visão", no sentido do visionário, daquele que enxerga longe e com largueza de vistas. Congar anota no seu diário a 21 de outubro de 1962:

"Puis arrive Helder Câmara, secretaire du CELAM[23]*. C'est extraordinaire: aujourd'hui même, à midi, ils ont parlé de moi et ont dit qu'il faudrait me faire venir. Après avoir bavardé un bon moment, nous allons dans une salle, où se réunissent avec nous une douzaine de jeunes évêques. Ils m'interrogent. Mgr. Helder même: un homme non seulement très ouvert, mas plein d'idées, d'imagination et d'enthousiasme. Il a ce qui manque à Rome: la 'vision'* [24].

Dias depois, em circular à sua "família" de colaboradores no Rio de Janeiro, Dom Helder comentando sobre as pessoas que mais o haviam impressionado como homens de Deus em Roma, chega ao teólogo dominicano:

"– o Pe. Yves Congar, cuja visão da Igreja, cujo ecumenismo, cuja caridade e cuja cultura extraordinária, brilham ainda mais pela humildade que ele encarna." [25]

4. AULA CONCILIAR x TRIBUNA DOS MEIOS DE COMUNICAÇÃO SOCIAL

Dom Helder, finalmente, alcançara um agudo senso de que mais do que as palavras e documentos, o que realmente chegava às pessoas e as tocava, eram determinados gestos e símbolos e que era pelas imagens que se fixava no povo o sentido do Concílio.

Estava sempre em busca destes gestos que pudessem causar impacto. Ao Papa João XXIII, havia proposto uma celebração final que abandonasse o fasto barroco da Roma pontifícia e primasse pela simplicidade e profundidade dos gestos. Repete a mesma proposta ao Papa Paulo VI e exulta quando alguns destes sinais são por ele incorporados à celebração de encerramento do Concílio.

Possuía clara consciência de que o Concílio operava em várias plataformas distintas:

– os debates durante as Congregações Gerais e, para tanto, empenhava-se, via Ecumênico, Igreja dos Pobres, CNBB, CELAM, que chegassem à Aula Conciliar intervenções vigorosas e norteadoras para os trabalhos conciliares, de preferência intervenções coletivas e que apontavam para um amplo consenso prévio;
– nas Comissões de Trabalho onde os textos eram elaborados, refeitos e limados para serem submetidos à votação e foi ali operoso, dando sua contribuição sucessivamente nas Comissões dos Bispos e Governo das Dioceses, na do Apostolado dos Leigos e na do Esquema XIII, convertido na *Gaudium et Spes;*
– na conversão dos corações e das mentes e, neste particular, cuidou para que o episcopado, tanto brasileiro como o latino-americano, estivessem em contato com as correntes espirituais e teológicas que moviam o Concílio. O melhor exemplo deste empenho foram as Conferências da *Domus Mariae,* em número de 94, ao longo das quatro sessões conciliares, promovidas pelo Episcopado brasileiro e o ciclo de conferências organizado pelo CELAM, embora em menor número e sem o caráter sistemático e a mesma repercussão alcançada pelas da *Domus Mariae*[26].

Ainda que não tenha falado nenhuma vez na Aula Conciliar, Dom Helder preparou algumas intervenções notáveis depositadas por escrito na Secretaria Geral. Nelas transparece claramente sua preocupação com os rumos do Concílio, com seu método de trabalho. Deixa patente em todas elas sua visão de caráter mais abrangente e estratégico frente aos grandes problemas contemporâneos e às responsabilidades e missão da Igreja[27].

4.1. O "Votum" e as intervenções por escrito de Dom Helder

Logo que o Secretário de Estado, Cardeal Domenico Tardini, escreveu a 18 de junho de 1959, em nome de João XXIII, a todos os bispos e prelados do orbe católico, solicitando suas sugestões para a agenda conciliar, Helder Camara aprestou-se a enviar sua resposta, com data de 15 de agosto de 1959[28].

Trata-se de um texto conciso de duas páginas e meia mas que difere extraordinariamente do estilo de respostas enviadas pela maioria do episcopado mundial.

Em primeiro lugar, Dom Helder expressa-se com liberdade e ousadia, propondo logo de início que o latim não seja a única língua do Concílio, pois fora do círculo estreito da Cúria e das Universidades Romanas o idioma de Virgílio não era mais de uso corrente. Afirma que dentre os bispos do Brasil apenas uns 5% seriam capazes de se expressar com fluência, oralmente ou por escrito, em latim e que o panorama não deveria ser muito diverso em outras partes do mundo.

Inquieta-se com a mole imensa de propostas que certamente chegariam às mãos dos encarregados da preparação do Concílio e com um bom método para navegar neste grande mar de temas e problemas. Adianta a sugestão de que várias comissões se ocupassem dos distintos problemas e sob o título de "Por uma situação mais feliz do mundo", propõe que a matéria conciliar fosse agrupada em seis grandes áreas: economia, artes (belas artes), ciências, política, questões sociais e, finalmente, religiosas.

Sua preocupação maior entretanto é com o enfoque das questões. Para ele, o que deve presidir a reflexão e a ação dos padres conciliares é a situação dos povos e pessoas menos cultos, refletindo a mesma preocupação do bispo Agostinho, quando escrevia o seu *De cathechisandibus rudibus.*

Enquanto muitos falam do conflito entre as grandes potências do Oriente e do Ocidente no quadro da guerra fria, Dom Helder propõe que o Concílio volte sua atenção para os 2/3 da humanidade que estão submergidos na fome e na miséria. Pergunta-se qual a força que poderia vir em socorro desta humanidade sofredora e desamparada: o cristianismo ou o comunismo? Pensa que na América Latina, a Igreja, por intermédio do CELAM, poderia ter uma atuação mais eficaz do que a própria Operação Pan-americana proposta pelos chefes de Estado do continente, para ir de encontro aos seus problemas. Propõe que as igrejas situadas nos países mais ricos do hemisfério (Canadá e Estados Unidos) se empenhassem numa ação conjunta com os demais países da América e do Caribe para superar a grave situação do continente. Pensa entretanto que a mesma preocupação devia estender-se aos povos empobrecidos da Ásia e da África, pelas mesmas razões positivas que levaram a Igreja, no passado, a se dirigir aos pagãos e aos bárbaros, e não simplesmente para se opor ao comunismo.

Por conta de suas funções no CELAM expressa ainda o seu compromisso de dedicar-se, de corpo e alma, para melhorar situação de todos os povos da América Latina e do Caribe, compreendidos dentro do raio de ação do Conselho.

Esse respiro amplo, que ultrapassa os limites da Arquidiocese do Rio de Janeiro, onde era arcebispo auxiliar (1952-1964), ou da Arquidiocese de Olinda e Recife da qual se tornou arcebispo em 1964; os limites do Brasil de cuja conferência episcopal era o secretário geral; os limites da América Latina, de cujo principal organismo eclesial, o CELAM, era um dos vice-presidentes, dilata-se em direção às outras regiões do Terceiro Mundo e à humanidade em seu todo. O seu *votum* já anuncia, em estado nascente mas com firme convicção, o norte que guiará a sua

atuação no Concílio, o da mesma paixão que animava o apóstolo Paulo, a *sollicitudo omnium ecclesiaram*, a "solicitude por todas as Igrejas".

Dentre as dez intervenções por escrito de Dom Helder, selecionamos algumas que estão voltadas para os rumos gerais do Concílio.

Em 21 de novembro de 1962, quando chegava ao fim o I período conciliar e que a Assembléia buscava afanosamente definir a pauta dos trabalhos e encontrar um eixo orientador para o Concílio, Dom Helder, soma-se a outros doze bispos da Europa, Oriente Médio, África, Ásia e América Latina[29], para solicitar a João XXIII que, imediatamente depois da discussão sobre a Igreja, *Lumen Gentium*, o Concílio se voltasse para as grandes questões que afligem a humanidade e que poderiam ser agrupadas em quatro vertentes principais:

a) Problemas relativos ao exercício da justiça e da caridade fraterna, tanto pessoal quanto social, principalmente em relação aos povos em vias de desenvolvimento. Os subscritores evocam a preocupação de João XXIII, expressa na sua alocução radiofônica pronunciada um mês antes da abertura do Concílio: "La Chiesa se presenta quale è, e vuole essere, come la Chiesa di tutti, e particularmente la Chiesa dei poveri"[30].

b) Problemas relativos à paz e à união de todos os povos que formam a grande família humana, insistindo não só na superação dos conflitos armados mas nas exigências positivas da paz[31].

c) Evangelização dos pobres e dos que se encontram longe da Igreja[32].

d) Exigências de renovação evangélica tanto nos pastores como nos fieis da Igreja, com especial atenção aos conselhos evangélicos e à pobreza que não pode limitar-se a palavras e discursos[33].

Os subscritores pedem finalmente que seja constituída uma Comissão ou Secretariado especial para lidar com essas questões, ainda antes do fim da primeira sessão conciliar, como sinal de que a Igreja está firmemente comprometida a enfrentar, de maneira séria e eficaz, os problemas do mundo moderno, empenhando-se em sua superação[34]. Este Secretariado não foi criado naquele momento, mas logo depois do Concílio, Paulo VI instituiu a Pontifícia Comissão Justiça e Paz, voltada toda ela para cumprir os objetivos esboçados na proposta de Dom Helder em 1962.

Trata-se a nosso ver da primeira iniciativa concreta que irá desembocar na elaboração do esquema XVII, convertido em esquema XIII e por fim na Constituição Pastoral *Gaudium et Spes* e no seu posterior complemento, a encíclica *Populorum Progressio* de Paulo VI.

Outra intervenção, encabeçada por Dom Helder Câmara, redigida em francês e subscrita por representantes de 23 conferências episcopais, pede ao Papa Paulo VI que, tendo em conta a crucial relevância do esquema sobre a "Igreja no Mundo de Hoje" e a dificuldade em aprofunda-lo no decorrer do exíguo tempo que restava da III sessão conciliar, previsse um novo período conciliar para o ano seguinte, em 1965[35].

Numa intervenção semelhante redigida em inglês, provavelmente no mesmo dia e subscrita por praticamente os mesmos bispos, pede-se que o Concílio centre sua atenção nos problemas da pobreza no mundo e empenhe-se na formação da consciência dos cristãos nos países mais ricos. Pede-se ademais que seja um leigo, perito no tema, que exponha aos bispos, na Aula Conciliar, o estado da questão do mundo; que se forme uma comissão de especialistas que delineie o tipo de instituições, as formas de cooperação, de contatos e de políticas que a Igreja pode adotar para assegurar sua plena participação num ataque em escala mundial para a erradicação da pobreza[36].

4.2. Atuação voltada para a opinião pública

Se Dom Helder empenhou-se com todas suas forças para atuar em todas as instâncias da máquina conciliar, tinha por outro lado clareza, de que o Concílio que chegava realmente à opinião pública, era aquele filtrado pelos jornalistas e transmitido ao mundo, a cada dia, pela imprensa escrita, falada e televisiva.

Por isso, o mesmo Dom Helder, que se aplicava a articular a ação dos bispos e peritos, a coordenar as conferências episcopais, mas que nunca interveio na Aula Conciliar, era pródigo em atender à solicitação dos jornalistas para entrevistas, programas de televisão e conferências de imprensa. Via a imprensa não apenas como instrumento para transmitir, de modo compreensível, o que se passava no Concílio, mas igualmente como veículo para lançar novas idéias e para exercer indiretamente pressão sobre a Assembléia Conciliar, fazendo chegar recados às mais altas autoridades da Igreja, interpelando intelectuais e governantes, entusiasmando jovens e formadores de opinião. Preparava acuradamente suas conferências e sermões, submetendo o rascunho de suas idéias e intuições à família Mecejanense, a peritos do Concílio, a técnicos e economistas amigos e mesmo à Secretaria de Estado e até mesmo ao Papa, quando abordava temas delicados.

Valha como exemplo dessa complexa avaliação que Dom Helder fazia do papel dos meios de comunicação e da importância da opinião pública, o que escreve, logo depois de uma sua concorridíssima conferência em Roma sobre "Perspectivas de novas estruturas na Igreja", com o auditório cheio de teólogos e dos observadores não católicos:

"Em que dará minha palestra? Haverá forte reação da extrema direita? A Cúria Romana reagirá?

Que pensará a respeito o Santo Padre?

Agi tranqüilamente. Deus sabe que, nem por sombra, se trata da vaidade de ter intuições, de pensar que sou mesmo profeta.

Agi e agirei e agiria:

– por estar convicto de que meu papel no Concílio é o de agir no Ecumênico e de falar extra-Basílica (talvez, um dia, também falarei na Basílica);

– *pela necessidade de ajudar o Santo Padre (um risco e uma loucura como os de ontem, com repercussão na imprensa, em última análise, ajudam o Papa);*
– *pela necessidade de encorajar os Peritos, os observadores e a imprensa;*
– *pela necessidade de ajudar toda a geração de amanhã (jovens clérigos e leigos, ansiosos por ver a super-prudência contrabalançada por uma ponta de audácia);*
– *pela convicção de ter recebido o sopro de Deus, através de José*[37]*...*"[38]

O falar franco e direto, crítico e esperançoso de Dom Helder encantava os jornalistas que o assediavam para entrevistas e reportagens.

Sua grande tribuna no Concílio, não foi a Aula Conciliar na Basílica de São Pedro, mas sim a imprensa de uma parte e, de outra, o incansável esforço de articulação cumprido por meio da CNBB, do CELAM, do *Opus Angeli*, do Ecumênico, do Grupo da Igreja dos Pobres, da rede de amigos e colaboradores que soube conquistar para suas causas, a dos pobres e a da Igreja servidora dos pobres. Junte-se a isto, o intenso e discreto trabalho de bastidores, que desenvolveu por intermédio de visitas, encontros pessoais, cartas, circulares.

Para todo este imenso trabalho, valia-se sempre da oração contemplativa e do fiel grupo de amigas e amigos, provindos de seu tempo de Ação Católica que, no Rio de Janeiro, no Recife e em outras partes do mundo, lhe serviam de retaguarda, sustento e apoio.

NOTAS

[1] Dom Helder Pessoa Camara, bispo e depois arcebispo auxiliar do Rio de Janeiro (1952-1964) e, em seguida arcebispos de Olinda e Recife (1964-1985), nasceu no Ceará em 1909, completou noventa anos a 7 de fevereiro de 1999, falecendo a 27 de agosto deste mesmo ano. Foi vice-assistente nacional da Ação Católica Brasileira e o fundador, em 1952, da CNBB (Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil), seu secretário geral de 1952 a 1964, tendo tido destacada atuação no Concílio Vaticano II (1962-1965). Jornalista, conferencista, escritor e poet,a exerceu profunda influência na vida cultural, social e religiosa do país, com irradiação no continente latino-americano e também na Europa e na América do Norte.

[2] Na fase preparatória quatro representantes do Brasil foram nomeados membros de comissões: o card. Arcebispo do Rio de Janeiro-RJ, Jaime de Barros Câmara, para a Comissão Central (Sub-Comissão para o Regulamento); o arcebispo de Porto Alegre-RS, Alfredo Vicente Scherer, para a Comissão Teológica; o bispo auxiliar de São Paulo-SP, Antônio Alves de Siqueira, para a Comissão dos Sacramentos e mons. Joaquim Nabuco, para a Comissão Litúrgica. Outros seis foram nomeados consultores: o arcebispo auxiliar do Rio de Janeiro-RJ, Helder Pessoa Camara e o bispo de Londrina-PR, Geraldo Fernandes Bijos, CMF, para a Comissão dos Bispos; o arcebispo de Aracaju, José Vicente Távora, para o Secretariado de Imprensa; o prelado nullius de Pinheiros-MA, Afonso M. Ungarelli, MSC, para a Comissão dos Sacramentos; Frei Boaventura Kloppenburg, OFM, para a Comissão Teológica e Pe. Estevam Bentia (professor da Faculdade de Teologia N. S. da Assunção), para a Comissão das Igrejas Orientais. Cf. MARQUES, Luiz Carlos Luz*, Il Carteggio Conciliare di Mons.*

Helder Pessoa Camara, Bologna, 1998, p. 754 (tese de doutorado apresentada à Universidade de Bologna, não publicada).

[3] Carta de D. Helder Câmara a D. Manuel Larrain, agosto 1962, Arquivo da CNBB – Secretaria Geral.

[4] Para a crônica desta primeira congregação geral decisiva para a marcha posterior do Concílio e do impacto que causou, cfr. CAPRILE, Giovanni, *Il Concilio Vaticano II. Il Primo período: 1962-1963*. Roma: Civiltà Cattolica, 1968, pp. 20-24; KLOPPENBURG, Boaventura, *Concílio Vaticano II – Vol. II. Primeira sessão (Set.-Dez. 1962).* Petrópolis: Vozes, 1963, pp. 77-79.

[5] KLOPPENBURG, o.cit. p. 78.

[6] O Palácio São Joaquim, residência do Cardeal Arcebispo do Rio de Janeiro, abrigava também as modestas salas onde funcionava a CNBB, desde o Congresso Eucarístico Internacional do Rio de Janeiro, até ser de lá desalojada pelo Cardeal Dom Jaime de Barros Câmara depois do golpe militar de 31 de março de 1964 e a ida de Dom Helder Camara para o Recife, e passar para uma sede própria, a Vila Venturosa, no bairro da Glória, em 1964.

[7] Mecejana era um bairro aprazível da cidade de Fortaleza, no Ceará, onde havia nascido Dom Helder Camara.

[8] Depois que toma posse como Arcebispo de Olinda e Recife em abril de 1964, Dom Helder acrescenta aos destinatários do Rio de Janeiro, seus novos colabores na arquidiocese pernambucana.

[9] cfr. MARQUES, Luiz C. L., "Um tesouro ainda escondido", in O POVO – Personalidades do Século, Fortaleza, 07-02-99, p. 5.

[10] O "Dom", era a maneira simples e familiar, como era chamado e conhecido Dom Helder.

[11] Circular 51/63, 25/26 de novembro de 1963.

[12] A *Domus Mariae*, uma ampla casa de tijolos à vista, situada em meio a um parque na Via Aurélia 480, era a sede da Ação Católica Italiana Feminina e hospedou durante o Vaticano II, o episcopado brasileiro, juntamente com o da Hungria e de alguns outros países da África.

[13] CAPORALE, R., Vatican II: Les Hommes du Concile. Étude sociologique sur Vatican II, Paris, 1965, p. 88. Citado por MARQUES, o.cit., 51. Sobre o Grupo, cfr. ainda J. GROOTAERS, Une forme de concértation épiscopale au Concile Vatican II – "La Conférence des Vingt-Deux" (1962-1965), in "Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique"91 (1966), pp. 66-112; P. C. Noël, Gli incontri delle conferenze episcopali durante il concilio. Il "Gruppo dela Domus Mariae", in FATTORI, Maria Teresa e A. MELLONI, L'Evento e le Decisioni – Studi sulle dinamiche del Concilio Vaticano II, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1997, pp. 95-133; "Le travail post-conciliaire. Les attentes du groupe de la Domus Mariae et l'organisation du l'après Concile", pp. 1-28, relação apresentada no Colóquio "Vatican II, au but", Strasbourg, 11-13 de março de 1999 (datilografado).

[14] Rascunho de carta ao arcebispo de Malinas-Bruxelas, Cardeal Leo Joseph Suenens, datado de 23 novembro de 1962 e anexado à sua Circular 39/62 de 19/20 novembro de 1962.

[15] Desiré Mercier (1851-1926), antigo professor de filosofia da Universidade de Lovaina, na Bélgica, um dos animadores da renovação filosófica e teológica do neo-tomismo, em diálogo com as ciências e a filosofia modernas, foi Cardeal Arcebispo de Malinas-Bruxelas, antecessor do Cardeal Leo Joseph Suenens, nesta prestigiosa sede cardinalícia, e um dos responsáveis pela retomada do diálogo entre católicos e anglicanos, nas célebres "Conversações de Malinas".

[16] François Houtart, professor de sociologia da religião na Universidade de Lovaina, um dos fundadores do FERES, órgão articulador dos institutos e centros de pesquisas sócio-religiosas da Europa e América Latina, tornou-se o secretário do *Opus Angeli*, a articulação dos teólogos progressistas do Concílio que se colocou a serviço do episcopado brasileiro e também dos episcopados de outros países da América Latina e, de modo especial, do CELAM.

[17] Circular 46/62, 28/29 de novembro de 1962.

[18] Entrevista de Dom Antônio Fragoso ao autor em Ibiúna, a 23-10-1996.

[19] KLOPPENBURG, Concílio Vaticano II – 4.ª Sessão (1965) V, 1996, 526-528.

[20] CELAM, II Conferência Geral do Episcopado Latino-americano, A Igreja na atual transformação da América Latina à luz do Concílio, Petrópolis, 1969, Doc. 14, pp. 145-149

[21] Sobre as Conferências da *Domus Mariae*, cfr. BEOZZO, José Oscar, *A Igreja do Brasil no Concílio Vaticano II; 1959-1965.* São Paulo: Paulinas, 2005, pp. 195-209.

[22] A 23 de setembro de 1999, recebi do Pe. Hourtart, alguns comentários sobre o presente texto:

Querido José Oscar,

Gracias por tu carta y por el texto sobre Don Helder. Es realmente excelente. Me ha traído muchos recuerdos, especialmente del concilio, donde he trabajado con él casi diariamente en lo que el llamaba el *Opus Angeli*. Siempre me recuerdo también que es gracias a él que he podido organizar el estudio socio religioso de América latina entre 1958 y 1962 y finalmente hacer una síntesis para todos los obispos del concilio en francés, inglés y castellano. Cuando llegué a Rio de Janeiro para una primera reunión de coordinación de los que iban a trabajar en este estudio que duró 4 años, él me aviso que la santa sede había escrito a todos los nuncios para avisarles de cuidarse frente a toda encuesta de sociología religiosa. Don Helder, inteligente como siempre me ha dicho: yo tengo una solución. El me pidió, en tanto que secretario de la Conferencia Episcopal, de hacer el trabajo para la conferencia. De esta manera, no había ninguna posibilidad de interferencia de Roma. Eso fue una luz para todo el trabajo y en todos los países latinoamericanos he propuesto a las conferencias episcopales de hacer un trabajo para ellos y eso fue aceptado prácticamente en todas partes. Es realmente el que salvo esta operación, que si no, habría sido extremamente difícil.

Gracias por haber enviado tu texto y muy cordial saludo.

F. HOUTART

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[23] Há aqui evidentemente um engano de Congar. Dom Helder era sim secretário mas da CNBB e vice-presidente do CELAM.

[24] Y.-M. CONGAR, *Mon Journal du Concile*, p. 87, citado por MARQUES, ob. cit. 50, nota 6. Segue a tradução do autor do original de Congar: "Chega, em seguida, Helder Câmara, secretário do CELAM. Coisa extraordinária: hoje mesmo, ao meio dia, falaram de mim, dizendo que era preciso que me fizessem vir. Depois de ter conversado durante um bom tempo, fomos para uma sala, onde se reuniram conosco uns doze bispos jovens. Eles me interrogam. Dom Helder também: um homem não somente muito aberto, mas cheio de idéias, de imaginação, de entusiasmo. Ele tem o que falta em Roma: a 'visão' ".

[25] Circular 15/62, 29 de outubro de 1962.

[26] Apenas dois bispos latino-americanos estiveram entre os preletores das Conferências da *Domus Mariae*, sendo um deles justamente Dom Sérgio Mendez Arceo, bispo de Cuernava, no México que falou no dia 16 de setembro de 1965, sobre o tema: "Aspectos do Celibato Eclesiástico", seguido por Mons. Ramón Argaña Bogarin, Bispo de San Juan Bautista de las Misiones no Paraguai, no dia 6 de outubro de 1965, além do casal mexicano, auditores do Concílio, José e Luz Alvarez Icaza, presidentes do Secretariado para a América Latina do Movimento Familiar Cristão (MFC), cujo tema foi "Investigaciones sobre la actitud de la familia ante el Concilio", no dia 29 de outubro de 1965. As conferências foram também um espaço importante para a tomada de consciência sobre o tema do ecumenismo e para o encontro pessoal entre os bispos e teólogos, monges e autoridades eclesiásticas vindas da ortodoxia ou do protestantismo. Estiveram entre os conferencistas, alguns várias vezes seguidas, o Pastor Roger Schutz e o teólogo Max Thurian da Comunidade de Taizé na França, Oscar Cullman, o conhecido biblista e teólogo reformado suíço; Andrej Scrima, enviado pessoal de Atenagoras do Patriarcado Ecumênico de Constantinopla.

[27] As intervenções de Dom Helder, em número de dez, encontram-se nos seguintes volumes das Atas Sinodais: *AS* VI/1 (Periodus I - 1962), 294-98; *AS* VI/1 (Periodus I - 1962), 298-99; *AS* II/5, 150-52; *AS* III/5, 509-10; *AS* III/7, 941-43; *AS* III/8, 1039-42; *AS* IV/2, 893-901; *AS* IV/III, 860-61; *AS* IV/3, 350-53; *AS* IV/3, 496-99.

[28] *ADA* II/7, p. 325-327.

[29] Os bispos que subscrevem a petição são, além de Helder Camara, foram C. M. Himmer, N. Edelby, Manuel Larrain, Alfred Ancel, Iulius Angerhausen, Laurentius Satoshi Nagae, Philippe Nguyen-Kim-Dien, Alessandro Olalia, Marcos Mc Grath, Thomas Cooray, Raphael Moralejos, Bernardo Yago, Georgius Mercier.

[30] AS VI/1, p. 295.

[31] ibidem, p. 296.

[32] ibidem, p. 296.

[33] ibidem, p. 297.

[34] ibidem, p. 298.

[35] AS III/5, pp. 508-509.

[36] AS III/5, pp. 509-510.

[37] "José", era o nome que Dom Helder dava ao seu anjo da guarda e às vezes a si próprio quando estava inspirado.

[38] Circular 76/63, 18/19 de novembro de 1963.

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JESUIT ECONOMIC NETWORKING AND INTERMEDIACY IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SOUTHERN INDIA

Julia Lederle

In their world-wide activities in early modern times, the Jesuits used methods that were highly adaptable to local circumstances. Accordingly, Jesuit attempts at evangelisation differed a great deal: the mission work with Northern American Indian tribes was totally different from the *reductiones* built up with Latin American Indios, and could not be compared to the actions in Japan and the practice of *accommodation* in China and India. Being a new, perfectly linked and highly mobile order the practice of the Society of Jesus to win souls by interacting in all aspects of the profane world led to a unique Jesuit sense of networking and intermediacy.

In the following pages we intend to demonstrate some examples of Jesuit economic acting by focussing on the case of the Jesuit Malabar Province. By the eighteenth century, the Society of Jesus in India was no longer able to rely on its exclusive relationship with the Portuguese crown. As a result, the order was forced to act on its own, especially with regard to its financial aspects. Unlike the 'classic' medieval orders, the Jesuits made use of new mercantile ways of financing their mission. In particular, the Jesuit approach of networking and intermediacy made possible, among other things, wide-ranging Jesuit economic activities in India. Economic networking was the system used by the Portuguese Jesuits to finance their Indian missions.[1] In this context, the Jesuit Malabar Province is an interesting, but neglected, case of Jesuit economics.

In contrast to contemporary Catholic orders, the members of the Society of Jesus in Asia developed a method of interaction with the aim of being in the midst of acting groups and events. The Jesuit methods of evangelising in India, which became comparatively successful, combined the top-down-method of aiming to transfer Christianity to the upper classes and to members of native courts (taught by Ignatius of Loyola) with Francis Xavier's bottom-up method which emphasized the building up of new Christian communities everywhere in India.[2] These methods combined

with the Jesuit practice of *accommodation* – a strong interest in Asian cultural and religious ideas and values with the aim of external adaptation of Christendom to the indigenous culture – and travels all over Asia, making them potential intermediaries par excellence. According to their attitude of *accommodation*, the Jesuit missionaries practised the separation of the caste system in India. This provided them social acceptance and they were able to have much wider contact with more members of Indian society than any other missionary order had hitherto managed.

The Portuguese Jesuit Assistancy was the most geographically extensive assistancy of the order. The first province in Asia was Goa, from which Japan became an independent province in 1583 and China in 1623. The Indian territory was organised by the Goa province. In 1601 Goa declared its South Indian part as a vice-province, and in 1605 this so-called Malabar Province became a full and independent province. In inner India there were no specific borders of the Goa diocese.[3] In a 1697 letter the Procurator of the Malabar Province, Father João da Costa, S. J., wrote to Father Stephan Joseph Bremmer, S.J., about the enormous size of the Malabar Province, describing it as having an area of three fourth of Europe.[4] Important parts of the Malabar Province were: Cape Comorin in the South, the East Bengal Mission (with its north-eastern outpost at Hugli, near where Calcutta was later founded in 1690), the Fishery Coast Mission, the Malabar Mission, and in the East the ancient centre of Madura (Madurai Mission) as well as São Tomé de Meliapor, a part of modern Madras. In addition, the province of Malabar was responsible for Jesuit installations in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), the Moluccas, and the islands of Manar, as well as the college of Malacca (at the major commercial emporium there). East of Malacca was the commercial centre, Macau, which was important for the Jesuit province of Japan. The College of Cochin administered the Jesuit Malabar Province. After the expulsion of all Catholic clerics from Cochin, it was retained by the Dutch in 1665. Ambalakad, an important mission station in Kerala for the end of the sixteenth century, became the seat of the Jesuit seminary instead, and developed into a prominent centre of Indian language research and a major mission station in the eighteenth century. The number of Christians in the Province in the Malabar Province was estimated by da Costa as 80, 000 people, by which he meant only Roman Catholics. Taking into consideration the enormous area of the territory, this number is not very high. The Province had around 40 towns with 17,000 Catholics living in Tuticorin and 8,000 in Punical. The mission of the Fishery Coast was not part of these estimates.[5] In Ceylon there were around 7,000 Catholics.[6] The French mission, which started in the 1680s, was not part of the Portuguese Assistancy. Emerging out of the rise of French power in India, it was financed by the French Crown instead. The French Jesuits' Maisons-mères were situated in Pondicherry and Chandernagor.

In early Portuguese India, the three units consisting of secular political power, the Catholic Church and the Jesuit order seemed to melt into one symbiotic system – even more so than in Catholic Europe. The privileges of the *padroado* (patronage) had allowed the Portuguese Crown to minimize the sending of non-Portuguese Jesuits to

their two Indian Provinces of Goa and Malabar. The fear of the Portuguese of opening the door to India to other Europeans was much stronger than the idea of being citizens of the world, as the Jesuits wanted to present themselves. When in the seventeenth century the unit of Portuguese political power became fragile, the old symbiosis came into question. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Portugal lost its dominating influence in India and, therefore, its right of patronage. At this point, Portugal was forced by the Pope to accept many more non-Portuguese missionaries. This led to new possibilities of creating new networks with the help of various intermediate contacts. In the poorer Jesuit Malabar Province – compared with the other Indian Province of Goa that had generally better economic conditions – the missionaries tried to employ new ways of financing their activities.

Despite Portuguese decline in Asia, in the Indian Goa Province mostly Portuguese Jesuits were recruited even in the eighteenth century. In 1647, 91.4 percent of Goa's Jesuits were Portuguese, in 1726 87 percent.[7] In the southern Malabar Province the catalogues of the seventeenth century present a similar picture.[8] Even when the province became weakened by a rapid loss of more than 50 percent of its members, in 1685[9] 93.6 percent of the Jesuits were Portuguese, the others being of Indian, Italian and Spanish origin. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Jesuits in India were also recruited regularly from the German, Italian and French Jesuit Assistancy. The Jesuit Order welcomed this development: it was always looking for capable persons for their overseas missions given that numbers of willing and able Jesuits for the Asian missions were always limited. In 1697, for instance, two royal ships came from Portugal to Goa with 10 Jesuits on board. Three of these were Italians, and were the only priests. The others were novices, accepted by the Order on condition that they go to India. In the period from 1705 to 1752 a constant group of German Jesuits, averaging 8.3 percent, can be seen in the Malabar-Province.[10] Between 1708 and 1743 Italian Jesuits, averaging 14.4 percent, are mentioned in the catalogues.[11]

This small group of mixed Europeans became influential intermediaries, their small number forcing them to act in this way even more. Though the Portuguese remained the strongest group of Jesuits in the Malabar Province, the order was now willing and able to interact between the different European groups and their Indian allies intensively and more successfully than before. Whereas the Jesuit order became a multi-European organization in India, the other European (trading) organizations concentrated on their particular nationality more and more. Accordingly, the Jesuit order was predestined to build up the intermediate connections that other European organizations were not willing to consider.

In the Indian south the politically insecure situation once more endangered stability and with it the constancy of the Christian missions. Whereas the eighteenth century has to be seen as an epoch of state formation in the European context,[12] in India the political landscape was in the process of changing totally in this period, finally presenting a lack of strong native political power. In 1743 the Nawab of Arcot

was murdered; a civil war followed that caused punishment to the Catholic[13] as well as to the Protestant missions[14] in this region. Additionally, the wars between England and France[15] cast a shadow upon South India.

There were numerous examples of Jesuit transnational intermediacy. The role of the German Jesuits may serve as one illustration of our argument. As mentioned earlier, several German Jesuits came to India in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, most of them after 1670.[16] In this period of time there were no pure mission stations of one European nationality of the Portuguese Assistancy in Malabar, so these serve as interesting examples of the multi-European acting of the Order at the time. The Jesuits tried to rescue their work in the Malabar Province – seriously endangered by the Dutch invasion – by recruiting intermediaries capable of interacting with the Dutch. A shared mentality and language became the important criteria of choice for intermediaries trying to overcome the religious barrier between the Protestant Dutch and the Jesuits that had until now made communication between these two parties impossible. In 1698, António Pimentel, the Jesuit Archbishop of Cranganore as well as Francisco Laynez, the Bishop of Meliapur, requested the General Secretary, Michelangelo Tamburini, to send German Jesuits to India. Pimentel hoped not only that the Germans would be able to cope better with the lack of wine than the Portuguese- as he wrote -, but he also supposed the Germans to have a mentality similar to that of the Dutch who had occupied parts of the Malabar province. Most parishes were then in Dutch hands. The Dutch who – as Pimentel mentioned - did not trust the Portuguese Jesuits because of their loyalty to their king, accepted German Jesuits more easily when they had to act as intermediaries between the parishes, the Dutch, and the Jesuit order.[17]

As a result non-Portuguese Jesuits, in co-operation with Portuguese Jesuits, became an important factor in the economic intermediacy of the Order in South India. The economic activities of the Jesuits in Malabar can be seen as an important part of their whole concept of evangelisation; thus, to investigate Jesuit economic success and failure is only one part of the whole story of Jesuit economic networking and intermediacy. In this context, it has to be kept in mind that the Portuguese maritime empire in the Indian Ocean had a strong economic ideology, which was supposed not only to finance the Portuguese presence in Asia but also to provide some sort of economic subvention to the monarchy in the kingdom. The Jesuits in India as members of their Portuguese Assistancy were closely linked to the Iberian Crowns so the members of the order were naturally influenced by this implicit ideology. The Jesuit involvement in economic affairs of the *Estado da India* was a more pragmatic result of their main missionary activities. Because these points of economic involvement already existed and were taken for granted in the Portuguese Jesuit Assistancy, the members of the Society of Jesus had no problem with regarding commercial interests and action as an opportunity for intermediacy and therefore successful evangelism work. The arrival of more and more non-Portuguese Jesuits in India did not change this attitude, but instead offered more possibilities of intermedial economic action.

To shed some more light on Malabar Jesuit economic agency, it is necessary to inquire into the order's conditions of income at this time. During the powerful times of the *padroado* the financing and control of local ecclesiastical institutions and missionary enterprises had been an important part of the Crown's rights of patronage over the Church.[18] The *regimento* of 1576 fixed the amounts of every order and parish in India.[19] While the Province of Goa did not have serious problems during the seventeenth century, the Province of Malabar suffered from a state of instability caused by the Dutch invasion.[20] Accordingly, payment by the Portuguese Crown was handicapped by the expensive wars, and came to a virtual halt, or was carried out very irregularly.[21] The Jesuits had to accept that they would have to finance themselves more independently of the Portuguese Crown.

The Jesuit missions were also supported by donations – the most important were landed properties that were a source of Jesuit financing in South Asia.[22] Combined with the possession of these estates, an important source of income for Jesuits in India, was the selling of agricultural or other products of their own[23] as well as the leasing of estates. However, the Jesuit letters of these times reveal the severe difficulties for the Catholic mission caused by the Dutch invasion. In 1698 João da Costa, S. J. informed Father General that in former times – due to the generosity of the Portuguese kings – numerous Jesuit colleges and mission stations were built up, whereas now, as he lamented, 'for the Dutch invasion the churches are taken, the colleges destroyed, the endowments given to the Treasury. Crushed between heathens and heretics, the persecuted mission sighs and cries, poorest of all that the Society possesses [...]'. da Costa continued however to say that the missionaries continued their work, expanded the Province to Bengal and Malacca and regretted their lost possessions only because their poverty did not allow them to support enough missionaries.[24]

The poor economic situation of the Malabar province, caused mainly by the loss of income from lost landed properties in the eighteenth century, meant that the request for alms was much more important than it had been in former times. Accordingly, the distributions of alms played an important role in the correspondence of the Jesuits. Requests for charity and the express thanks of the Jesuits[25] as well as lists of benefactions[26] can be found often in the records. Benefactors of other Assistancies than the Portuguese became important addressees of Jesuit letters. The Malabar Jesuits hoped to get more financial support in the German Assistancy especially.[27]

According to their concept of networking, the Jesuits became attentive to their environment and offered information to whom it was useful. Consequently the Society of Jesus also circulated reports on production. Father Pierre Martin, S. J., for instance, informed his audience in a published letter about trading activities of the British and the Dutch in India,[28] and in particular of the Dutch acting in the Madurai area.[29] In this letter, Martin described the barter of linen from Madurai, Japanese copper and Moluccian spices, the using of shells as money, and the tax politics of the Dutch with regard to pearl fishing.[30]

As a result of these attentive observations of economic contexts, the Jesuits could also assume the role of economic advisers: Father Franz Xaver Schiedenhofen, S. J., for instance, suggested the foundation of a Portuguese East India Company by the Portuguese Crown to help the Malabar Province economically.[31] Between 1628 and 1633 the *Casa da India* had operated with a company (*Companhia da India Oriental*), but it did not have enough capital and was not able to assert itself against the Portuguese administrative machinery in Asia.[32] However, in the middle of the eighteenth century, a new Portuguese trading company was founded and Jesuits used their ships to go to Asia.[33]

As a consequence of being on-the-spot informants and members of a highly mobile order, Jesuits also served as conveyers and conduits. Their involvement in Portuguese political and financial interests in India was a phenomenon that took place from the beginning of the Jesuit stay in India. In the sixteenth century, for instance, the Jesuits transmitted to the Portuguese Governor of India the demands of a group of Christians. These so-called Paravers needed help against pirates. The Governor promised them Portuguese help, and in return the Paravers agreed to be baptised and promised to send two boats full of pearls to the Portuguese per year. Later on the Paravers, using the Jesuits as conveyers, asked for exemption from duties and free conditions for the sale of mussels. In the eighteenth century this Jesuit practice had not changed. As Alden mentions, it is not possible to find out how often Jesuits served as conduits, making it possible for their friends to obtain certain commodities, but numerous examples can be found.[34] And finally often the missionaries of the Society of Jesus even created a need for European goods by giving presents like rosaries and glassware, but also modern technologies of natural science or warfare to local people.

As demonstrated it was the Jesuits' profession to be interested in transferring their religious ideology in every way. The role of merchants can be considered as one of social intermediation between all social groups and individuals,[35] consequently Jesuits had to act as merchants according to their concept of intermediacy. This is not the place to reflect upon the often polemical debate on Jesuit trade. That Jesuit trade did take place is not doubted any longer, and defence against this accusation or denials of its existence are no longer necessary.[36] In the eighteenth century the Catholic Church was intensively criticised because of its association with Jesuit wealth. The discussion of church and luxury played an enormous role in this critique, which has to be kept in mind when considering the issue of trading by the Jesuits. Both sides, defenders and accusers, often have in common the fact that they describe the phenomenon of Jesuit trade, whereas the trade itself is portrayed in very different ways and is mostly defined vaguely, especially with regard to India. This trade was definitely forbidden for Catholic orders but was practised anyway. Public opinion, in India and Europe, often found this unacceptable. In the Indian context the most famous case of Jesuit negligence of canonical rules for ecclesiastic economic activities was their money-lending activities in Goa, that played a pivotal role with regard to their fall in 1759. As Borges assumes, the numerous debtors of the Jesuits were

seriously involved in pushing the order out of the country.[37] Of course, ecclesiastical trade is not a purely Jesuit phenomenon. As a result it can be claimed that trade, as a way of social and cultural communication, was used by the Jesuits with help of their principle of circulation to practise interaction and intermediation.

Accordingly, we are trying to develop a new definition of Jesuit trade. Surely, there was the pure and simple aim of trade, that is the wish for profit, also within the Jesuit context. However, we can see that pure economic definitions do not manage to cope with the phenomenon of Jesuit trade, a lot has been described between the lines of what Jesuit missionaries did. Trade can be defined as 'an exchange of information on cultural values and interpretations, social systems, technology and artistic sensibilities.'[38] This paper has demonstrated that Jesuits did so by transporting their European and Christian values to India, as well as organising the transfer of goods. Trade was used by the Jesuits not only for financial advantage but also to enable them to be middlemen, interested and important for groups and individuals who were interested in trade.

Thanks to Charles Boxer the case of Jesuit trade in Japan and China has been thoroughly investigated.[39] The trade done by the Jesuits of the Japan Province was that which provoked most criticism, although it was specially authorised by both the Pope and the Portuguese Crown for the support of the mission.[40] And finally trade became the most important way of financing the Jesuit missions in Japan. The missionaries profited directly from the China trade as well as from their activities as middlemen. However, when the Jesuits tried to finance their eighteenth century Malabar Province, these powerful trading days had long passed. In Japan the expulsion of the Jesuits, caused by resentment of the Japanese authorities and the jealousy of Portuguese merchants had taken place in 1614.[41] However, the idea of being an indispensable intermediary in an economic context and therefore a successful missionary[42] had been born in the Japanese mission and continued to influence the Jesuits.

The Jesuit involvement in eighteenth-century trading activities in India was full of variants and mirrored the different concepts of intermediacy. Trade and barter had long financed Jesuit travel.[43] Whereas in the seventeenth century, the Jesuits in Malabar, such as the Rector of Cranganore, profitably sold their goods[44] this became more difficult in the next century. Instead, the Jesuits focused more on stabilising trading routes during wartime. The above mentioned request of Antonio Pimentel, S. J. for German Jesuits to be sent to India, for instance, mentioned concrete ideas about the expected contacts between dominating European groups in the Malabar Province: German Jesuits would have to discuss the trading routes with the Dutch.[45]

However, Alden states, the volume of Jesuit trade never approached the magnitude that Jesuit adversaries – contemporary or modern – suspected.[46] In India the missionaries first had their bases in the military – and trade – stations, but soon the Jesuits started to go to non-occupied regions where their strategies of intermediation became extremely important. Especially during the eighteenth century, numerous

contemporaries supposed the political and economic power of the Society of Jesus to be more important than even the power of the Portuguese Viceroy in India.[47] In fact the Jesuits had a net of commercial enterprises centred in Goa and placed everywhere in Asia whose commercial success cannot be compared – although often attempted[48] – with the profits of the Dutch or the English East India Company.

However, with regard to its commercial connections, and as an effect of Jesuit intermediacy, the Society of Jesus can be considered as powerful and influential. Using the Jesuit networks, finances moved from one place to another, facilitating a the same time the work for which it was necessary.[49] Of course, the Jesuit economic activities of early modern times were not limited to Asia. On the contrary, they were world-wide. Their missions in Brazil and Angola were partly financed from the sale of sugar, slaves, and live-stock originating in Jesuit-owned plantations, ranches, and landed estates. In the Spanish colonial empire they were similarly active in Mexico, Peru, and the Philippines, among many other places.

In conclusion, we have to comprehend that the asking for alms or their activities as observers, informants, supporters, advisers, transporters, conveyers, and consequently as traders, were understood by the Jesuits as part of their intermedial evangelisation method and not simply as means of solving the financial problems of the Malabar Province. Intermediacy became a basic attitude of the Jesuits' missionary work. Of course, this was an idealised attitude, and did not protect Jesuits throughout the centuries from taking sides for or against interacting groups. The Malabar case of the eighteenth century presents a rich picture of Jesuit economic networking.

The French – whose company's commercial attempts had until then been less than successful – finally became an influential European force in India in the eighteenth century. The French Governor Dupleix (1742-54) had initiated a policy of territorial interest, and increasingly the British developed similar intentions. It was not until the end of the Seven Years War in 1763 that French ambitions in India were vanquished. The British, instead, soon controlled whole Indian states. However, the Jesuits had been expelled from India before this process of British rule in India had started. When the Jesuits were allowed to come back to India in the nineteenth century, they became part of a strictly national organised system of Catholic mission in the Indian part of the British Empire. The days of Jesuit transnational intermedial economic action – a short period of time contradictory to European national ideas, corporate acting, and Empire building overseas – had been forgotten.

NOTES

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[3] Alfons Väth, S. J., *Die deutschen Jesuiten in Indien. Geschichte der Mission von Bombay-Puna (1854-1920)* (Regensburg, 1920) p. 29.

[4] Letter of João da Costa, S. J. to Stephan Joseph Bremmer, S. J., Lisbon, 20. May 1697, Arch. Prov. Belg. Brux., copy in Archivum Monastense Societatis Jesu (AMSJ), Apt. 47 (Huonder) XII, 2, a), 1.

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[8] *Catalogus I*, ARSI, Goa 29, Malabarica, 1648, 70^{r}-77^{v}.

[9] *Catalogus I*, ARSI, Goa 29, Malabarica, 1685, 126^{r}-129^{r}.

[10] *Catalogi I*, ARSI, Goa 29, Malabarica, 1705, 161^{r}-164^{v}; 1708, 170^{r}-171^{v}; 1722, 192^{r}-193^{r}; 1734, 207^{r}-209^{v}; 1737, 228^{r}-230^{v}; 1740, 241^{r}; 1743, 248^{r}-249^{r}; 1746, 251^{r}-252^{r}; 1752, 260^{r-v}.

[11] *Catalogi I*, ARSI, Goa 29, Malabarica, 1708, 170^{r}-171^{v}; 1722, 192^{r}-193^{r}; 1734, 207^{r}-209^{v}; 1737, 228^{r}-230^{v}; 1740, 241^{r}; 1743, 248^{r}-249^{r}.

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[21] Domenico Ferroli, S.J., *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Vol. II, Bangalore,1951, p. 14.

[22] Detailed description of Jesuit landed properties in India in 1753: *Contas dos Padres de Companhia de Jesus*, HAG 859; HAG 7602 (unfortunatelly cannot be found in HAG anymore) and HAG 2557.

[23] E.g., Ost-Indianische Reise-Beschreibung des Herrn Johann Caspar Schillinger (1699-1702) in Der Neue Welt=Bott mit allerhand Nachrichten dern Missionarium Soc. Jesu. Allerhand so Lehr= als Geist=reiche Brieff, Schrifften und Reise=Beschreibungen, welche von denen Missionariis der Gesellschaft JESU aus den Beyden Indien, und anderen über Meer gelegenen Ländern, meistentheils von 1730. Bis 1740. In Europa angelangt seyn. Jetzt zum erstenmal theils aus Hand=schrifftlichen Urkunden, theils aus denen Französichen Lettres Edifiantes verteutscht und zusammengetragen von Joseph Stöcklein, gedachter Societät Jesu Priester, Joseph Stöcklein ed., I, 4, No. 93, Augsburg and Graz, 1727, p. 71.

[24] Letter of João da Costa, S.J. to the Father-General Thyrsus González, S.J., 2. July 1698, M.R.A. (Münchner Reichsarchiv – today: Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, München) 17, 293; copy: AMSJ, Abt. 47 (Huonder), XII, II. 2.

[25] Letter of Pierre Martin S.J. to P. de Vilette, S.J., principality of Maravia 1709, in *Welt=Bott* I, 5, No. 126, p. 118. Letter of P. L. N. de Bourzès, S.J., Madura, 25 Nov 1718 in *Lettres edifiants*, XIV, pp. 467-475; XII [ib.1781], 423-429; II[ib. 1843], 524-525; VII (Lyons 1819), 252-255. *Welt=Bott* I, 7, No. 182, pp. 111-112. Letter of Jacques Saignes, S.J., Atipakam/Carnate, 3 June 1736, in *Lettres édifiantes*, XXIV, pp. 187-266.

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[30] Letter of Pierre Martin, S.J. to Charles le Gobien, S.J, Camian-Naikan-Patty/Madura, 1700 in *Der Neue Welt=Bott*, I, 3, No. 73, p. 51f.

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[34] Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, p. 549.

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[36] Bernhard Duhr, S.J., *Jesuiten-Fabeln. Ein Beitrag zur Cultur-Geschichte*, 4., verbesserte Auflage, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1904, p. 621.

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[44] Domenico Ferroli, S.J., *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Bangalore, 1939, I, pp. 389-90.

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31

THE JESUITS AND THE SERVICES ON BOARD THE SHIPS OF THE INDIA RUN (*CARREIRA DA INDIA*) DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

K.S. Mathew

Historians by and large devoted considerable time of their researches to the study of human activities on land. Of late, some attempts are made to discuss the details of maritime history taking into account various dimensions of sea-borne trade, shipbuilding, navigation and so on. Life on board the ships has recently attracted the attention of some of the scholars. In fact, life on board the ships of the India Run (*Carreira da India*) was a microcosm reflecting various segments of the society on land. The tensions among the crew, passengers and officials were of far reaching effects. Vasco da Gama in his first voyage to India had to face the tensions which, in fact, were on the verge of undermining the target set before him. On account of his will power and managerial skills he quelled the dissensions and led the crew to Calicut fearlessly. The long voyage lasting several months from the time of its inception in Lisbon to its close by the arrival at Cochin or Goa exposed the people on board to various maladies. They faced several mental tensions. The religious men who traveled on board did yeomen service in the facilitation of the voyage. The Jesuits who were often found on board did a lot of service to the people on board the ships from Lisbon to India and back. St. Francis Xavier wrote on 1 January 1542 in Mozambique on his way to India giving the details of what was done by him and his companions on board the ships in areas like the proclamation of the word of God, administration of sacraments and sacramentals and caring for the sick on board. In due course, a few more activities were taken up by his successors according to the needs of the time. We shall address ourselves to some of these services performed by the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) on board the ship to India from Lisbon and back. The contemporary sources in Portuguese, Latin, Spanish and Italian are primarily used for the present study.

SPIRITUAL SERVICE

Preaching the Good News to the men on board the ship for the consolidation of faith was one of the important services done by the members of the Society of Jesus during the voyage from Lisbon to India. Even during the stop over in Mozambique on the East African coast en route to India, preaching the Gospel, penitential services, preparation of the severely sick people for death and distribution of holy communion to the crew and the passengers enabling them to obtain plenary indulgences granted by the Popes, were some of the routine services performed by Master Xavier and his companions. A letter written in Spanish on 1 January 1542 at Mozambique by Xavier gives the details of such activities[1]. The sixteenth century Portuguese dictum was "If you want to learn to pray, enter into sea"[2]. The most important factor that made the people on board interested in prayer was the imminent and likely danger of their life on board and the preparedness to embrace death any moment. They had to be ready to accept it without hesitation. Another circumstance was the Lenten season during which the half of the voyage was conducted. There were orders from the king regarding the presence of priests on board to satisfy the spiritual needs of the passengers. Besides, the conviction that the success of the voyage depended to a large extent on life of purity, which was instilled into the hearts of the passengers by the accompanying clergy, made them pray earnestly to God.

Almost always the departure from Lisbon for India was during Lent. The missionaries on board carried with them the necessary articles of liturgical and para liturgical services[3]. They carried even the branches of olive from Portugal for the ceremonies of Palm Sunday. After the celebration of the holy mass in which all the people on board participated, a feast used to be organized to the satisfaction of all the passengers, crew and the officials. We have an instance of a solemn celebration of Palm Sunday on board on 22 March, 1562 described graphically by Ferdinand da Cunha from Bassein in present day Maharashtra[4]. Similarly the washing of the feet, processions and other religious ceremonies were performed on board very meticulously by the members of the Society of Jesus[5]. Effective sermons were preached on Good Friday along with the chanting of the lamentations and solemn divine office. Young boys were invited to sing hymns and in some cases even profane songs to keep the people instructed in religion and also entertained. Solemn vespers were also sung with the people. In fact the Society of Jesus did everything on board to win the people for Christ in view of the words of St. Paul to the Corinthians[6]. At times when the winds were unfavourable and disaster was in the offing, the Jesuit Fathers gave spiritual exhortations to the people on board to embolden them to face the inclemency of weather. They often took part in profane activities with the persons on board so that they would willingly come and join the spiritual activities as reported by Father Melchior Nunes Barreto in 1551. They used to conduct special services on holy days and Sundays and continued to be very accommodative with

the people so that they would willingly receive the doctrine preached by the fathers. The crew and the passengers became very well disposed after giving up blasphemies and perjury[7].

The practice of conducting solemn processions continued to be in vogue later. Very often processions were organized in thanksgiving for escaping violent tempests or for getting favourable wind for the voyage, deliverance from pestilence or sickness. Crucifix and relics of saints were carried in the processions organized on board. Solemn chanting of hymns, litany (*Ladinha*) and special prayers were offered through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary[8]. Trumpets were also used to add solemnity to the processions and chants[9]. *Hail Marys and Salve Regina* were solemnly sung often on board. Sometimes the religious celebrations on board exceeded those in parishes in their solemnity. The pilot was also involved in such celebrations[10]. Some times three of the fathers of the Society conducted the service of Litany in three different places simultaneously on board the same ship. We have Father Peter Ramon, Father Anonon Veles and Father Vallone performing such sacramentals for the people on board in 1563.

The Fathers of the Society sometimes converted some of the people on board to Christianity. A report dated 28 November 1574 mentions the conversion of a Muslim on board. He was seriously sick. Several times they asked him about his willingness to become a Christian. He always refused. Later they commended him to God and prayed for his conversion. Once again they asked him. He immediately accepted to become a Christian. Suddenly he convalesced.

Administration of the sacrament of penance was an important aspect of the life on board. Many of the people on board were in great existential anguish about their life whenever the sea became rough and some of their colleagues died of some disease. Therefore many of them confessed their sins and got absolution from the priests on board. St. Francis writing on 1 January 1542 states that on the way from Lisbon to India, he kept himself busy with confessions and distribution of Holy Communion[11].

A report refers to the administration of the sacrament of baptism for an infant born of a married woman on board. Father Peter Ramon baptized the child. Later the child died and so the last rites were performed for it. Three persons, who were helped for spiritual and temporal needs by the Fathers, were given the sacrament of the sick. When they died on board the fathers performed the last services for them on board[12].

The fathers of the Society went on deepening their knowledge of theology and sacred scripture on their way to India. Experienced and learned persons from among their group gave lectures on theology and the New Testament to the members of the Society. They performed, besides, several spiritual exercised for themselves on board[13].

CARE FOR THE SICK

St. Francis Xavier in his first voyage to India started looking after the sick since there was no appropriate provision on board. A number of people on board ship, which left Lisbon on 7 April 1541, became sick especially after they crossed the coast of Guinea. So he and his companions took charge of the sick and helped them die well[14]. The care for the sick on board was willingly taken up by the Society of Jesus from the time of Francis Xavier. A lot of people died on board the ships en route to India and back suffering from diverse diseases. Brother Jacome de Braga of the Society of Jesus describes the appalling condition of the sick on board in a pathetic manner in 1563. He says that three to four persons died every day on account of sickness. They were so sick that they could not even eat anything. The fathers of the Society tried to help them both spiritually and corporally by extending whatever help they could. As soon as some one became sick, he was advised to go for the sacrament of penance to keep his soul purified[15]. Right from the time the ships set sail a number of people on board used to become sick[16]. The condition of the sick became aggravated for lack of qualified doctors and nurses. Hence, the fathers did whatever they could, even by providing them better meals cooked by them, to ameliorate the situation[17].

The Jesuit fathers who travelled to India from Lisbon played the role of nurses and dispensers (infirmarians) of medicines and victuals. In fact they were not allowed to follow the profession of doctors since it was forbidden to them by Canon Law. At times they suggested that there should be a person appointed as the chief of those who took care of the sick. The Jesuits seeing the necessity of some special arrangement for the sick, suggested that a chief physician should be appointed to every vessel coming from Portugal and that they would willingly take care of the sick. They offered to provide the sick with some special items like chicken and other edible things according to their need. Some times they provided coats and beds to the sick. Those sick who were not properly treated were given special care by the Jesuits. Even those who took care of the sick fell prey to sicknesses. The number of the sick went on increasing. Many people were put to bleeding by the barbers. The captain stored a lot of oranges in the ship, which were given to the sick. He used to visit the sick in the company of a priest every morning to impart courage to the sick. Against such difficulties, these fathers took special care of the sick as reported by those who traveled on board the ships to India. Some of them died on board suffering from fevers and other ailments prevailing among the passengers[18]. The ordinary mariners always suffered from the lack of food. They depended on the good will of the officials, noblemen and the priests on board[19].

A report of 28 November 1574 speaks about Father Vallone taking care of the sick. Later Father Peter Ramon took this up with great enthusiasm. His services were jealously watched by others. Some of them went to the extent of cooking meat and

serving it to the poor and the sick on board[20]. Bleeding was often resorted to for almost all sicknesses. It was believed that by permitting the malignant blood to ooze out from the veins, sicknesses would be cured. St. Francis Xavier himself had undergone bleeding seven times during his journey to India[21].

MAINTENANCE OF DISCIPLINE

The society on board the caravels of the *Carreira da India* was a male dominated society. Taking into account the long duration of the voyage and the possible hazards of life, women by and large were prevented from traveling on board the ships to India in the sixteenth century. Yet Father Gaspar Barzaeus writing in 1548 says that there were many women of suspicious character on board the ship. The captain was often asked to send them out as soon as the ship anchored near the coast[22]. Some of them were advised by the Jesuits to give up their bad life after making a good confession[23]. They tried to keep the people at peace with one another and made them forgive the offences committed by others on board. The captains and other officials of the ships of the India run became quite satisfied with the activities of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus since their presence and spiritual care helped them keep discipline on board. In certain cases, to keep the discipline on board the few women on board were totally kept in isolation. Sometimes at the time of setting sail at Lisbon, the women, especially women of suspicious characters who were found on board were asked to leave the place immediately. In 1555 a woman of bad repute was found in one of the ships. She was briefly removed to the ship in which some of the members of the Society were traveling. Later, on account of some inconveniences, the captain-in-chief made arrangements for her in the ship *Assunsão* and a special chamber was arranged for her. She was locked up in that. When she reached Goa, she was taken to the house of a married woman and was put there so that she might amend her way of life[24]. The Society of Jesus was very much active in getting rid of women of suspicious character from the ships. This attempt on their side continued to be in vogue throughout the century. Thus, in 1562, they drove away two women of dubitable character at the very time of departure from Lisbon. A certain Brother Vicencio took great interest in contacting the captain to see that women of such nature were sent away from the ship[25].

THEATRICAL PERFORMANCE

Voyages from Lisbon to India took eight to ten months and almost the same duration also for the return. The people on board needed always some entertainments to get rid of the boredom. The Society of Jesus devised ways and means to inculcate into their hearts religious ideas and ideals through theatrical performance that served

a double purpose. We have the earliest reference to such a performance in a letter written by Father Bartolomeu Vallone, S. J. at Bassein on 28 November 1574[26]. He makes mention of a couple of religious dramas played on board the ship *Santa Barbara* which left Lisbon for India on 21 March 1574 along with four other ships, namely, *Chagas, Fe, Anunciada* and *Santa Catharina*[27]. Easter fell on 11 April 1574. A theatrical performance was staged on 12 April, the next day after Easter. Vallone composed this in Portuguese. This was known as the *"Dialogo das Tres Marias"* (Dialogue of three Marys.) This was to represent the Visit of the Sepulcher in the liturgy. The three Marys were Maria Salome, Maria Cleophas and Maria Magdalena. These three persons while approaching the sepulcher of Jesus Christ asked who would remove the stone at the entrance of the sepulcher. A performance of this type in the liturgy was conducted in the Cathedral of Fuan in the thirteenth century. The biblical event of the appearance of the angel dressed in white garment has also been presented here[28]. Another performance was conducted on the feast of *Corpus Christi*, which was celebrated on 10 June 1574. A solemn procession in candlelight was conducted on the day as if it would look like a procession in a great city. Afterwards, the drama composed in Spanish by Father Peter Ramon of the Society of Jesus was staged[29].

During the voyage from the Cape of Good Hope to India, the comedy of *Sta. Barbara* was enacted. Father Vallone composed the script in Portuguese. This was liked by all the people on board so much so that they suggested that it could have been conducted even in a city. The patroness of the ship was *Sta. Barbara* who suffered martyrdom. The script was about the life and death of *Sta. Barbara*. Diogo Sanches of Badajoz (+ 1549) had earlier written a play *on Sta. Barbara*.

One more drama, the script of which was written in Portuguese by Father Bartolomeu Vallone, was staged on board the same ship. It was about the miracle of Our Lady (*Dialogus miraculi Dominae Nostrae*). The *dramatis personae* were Blessed Virgin Mary, Jesus Christ, a sinner and devils. It was so appealing that even their superior shed tears[30].

Another drama used to be staged on board the ships on the occasion of Pentecost. Flavius Gregorius in his letter dated 3 December 1583 writes about such theatrical performances on board the ship *St. Francisco* coming to India. This was called *imperador* (emperor). The Portuguese had the custom of electing a young man of lower status as the emperor for a short period. People of even higher status were expected to serve him and pay obeisance[31]. The morale of this was to show that the glory of this world lasted only for a short time (*como uma sombra, passava a gloria terrena: Sic transit Gloria mundi*). The governors appointed to India had usually a term of three years only and they were to take this into account. Hence, according to the practice in Portugal, on 29 May 1583, on the day of Pentecost, this play was staged on board the ship *S. Francisco*. A boy was elected as the Emperor on the vigil of Pentecost. He was clad in costly garments and an imperial crown was placed on

his head. A few noblemen were elected to serve him as officials and assistants. The captain of the ship was appointed as the administrator of his house. All the officials of the ship were also enlisted as people to assist him in one way or other. They prepared an altar in the prominent and spacious place on board. The emperor elect was escorted with fanfare to the altar and was seated on a velvet chair with cushions. He wore the crown and held the scepter. Gun salutes were also arranged during the mass. Later a great banquet was organized in which even the nobles had to serve him though he belonged to the lower stratum of the society. Approximately 300 people on board paid their obeisance to him. Another drama on the *Life and Death of St. John Baptist* was also staged on the same day on board the ship. A Portuguese composed this[32].

Thus it may be concluded that St. Francis Xavier, apart from his famous apostolate on land did a lot of services on board the Portuguese vessels of the *Carreira da India*. His companions and the other members of the Society who traveled from Portugal to India and back followed his example. Taking into account the signs and needs of the time, they widened the scope of their activities. When there was no proper medical care and people were not familiar with the various diseases that affected the people on board, he and his followers did the services required for the sick, the poor and those who were in need of spiritual guidance. Some of the diseases, which were dormant in them while in their own homeland, became aggravated in the warm climate. A few were newly acquired on board on account of the climatic conditions and lack of fresh food and vitamins. Yet the members of the Society came forward as dispensers of a few medicines and as nurses. They did not waste their time on board. They used it for deepening their own knowledge, helping the poor and the sick. Thus the Society did a lot in the maritime passage from Lisbon to India following the footsteps of their Master, Francis Xavier.

NOTES

[1] Josef Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica (DI)*, Rome, 1948, vol. 1, pp. 91-93 & Appendix; For the translation into English, cf. . M. Joseph Costelloe, (trans.) *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier,* Anand, 1993, pp. 40-41, 96.

[2] *DI,* vol. VI, p. 306.

[3] *DI*, vol.V , 1958, p. 72.

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 568-580.

[5] *Ibid*, p.530

[6] (St. Paul to Corinthians: 1 Cor. 9: 20-21).

[7] *DI*, vol. II, 1950, p. 241.

[8] *DI*, vol.III, pp. 109-110.

[9] *Ibid*, p. 109.

[10] *DI*, vol. VI, p. 34.

[11] Schurhammer, Georgius & Wicki, Josephus (eds.). *Epistolae S. Francisci Xavierii*, vol. I, Rome, 1944, p. 91.

[12] *DI*, vol. IX, p. 458.
[13] *Ibid*, p. 237.
[14] Schurhammer & Wicki, *Epistolae.,* p. 91.
[15] *DI*, vol .VI, pp. 56-57.
[16] *Ibid*., p. 772.
[17] *DI*, vol. 1, p. 384.
[18] *DI*, vol. VI, pp. 772-75.
[19] *DI*, vol. V, p. 570.
[20] *DI*, vol. IX, p. 458.
[21] Schurhammer & Wicki, *Epistolae*, p. 93.
[22] *DI*, vol. 1, p. 384.
[23] *Ibid.,* pp. 388-89.
[24] *DI*, vol. III, p. 387.
[25]. *DI*, vol. V, p. 530.
[26] Mario Martins, *Teatro Quinhentista nas Naus da India*, Lisbon, 1973, pp. 15-16.
[27] *DI*, vol. IX, pp. 451-59.
[28] Mario Martins, *op. cit*, pp. 22-35.
[29] Father Peter Ramon was from Aragon in Spain and entered the Society of Jesus in Alcala de Henares in 1571. Two years later he was in Portugal and with Vallone he embarked in the ship for India. He was a devout preacher and became the master of novices in Goa in 1577. Later he traveled to Japan and undertook the same task there too.
[30] *DI*, vol. IX, p. 457.
[31] *DI*, vol. III, p. 103.
[32] *DI*, vol. XII, p. 881.

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A ÍNDIA PORTUGUESA DE ANTÓNIO LOPES MENDES: UM CASO PARADIGMÁTICO DA LITERATURA DE VIAGENS DO SÉCULO XIX

Luís Aires-Barros & Helena Grego

O Prof. Teotónio de Souza é sócio da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa[1] professor universitário ilustre e académico consagrado da Academia Portuguesa da História. É, pois, com grande satisfação que respondemos ao convite do Loyola College da Maryland, para participarmos com um artigo para o volume de homenagem ao Prof. Teotónio de Souza, pela passagem do seu sexagésimo aniversário.

A SGL foi criada em 1875. É uma instituição, nas suas origens e finalidades, muito ligada ao contexto português dessa época, à situação da Europa de então e ocupação dos territórios ultramarinos portugueses em África, Ásia e Oceânia. Em suma, a SGL surge como uma resposta da sociedade civil a um problema dominante da vida portuguesa na segunda metade do século XIX: a posse, a governação e o fomento dos territórios ultramarinos sob administração portuguesa.

Esta sociedade, foi constituindo ao longo dos tempos um vastíssimo espólio bibliográfico, iconográfico, cartográfico e museológico, sendo um dos principais objectivos actuais a sua divulgação. No que diz respeito ao acervo relacionado com a Índia, este é igualmente vasto, diverso e riquíssimo.

Poderíamos ter optado por abordar, neste contexto, o nosso documento mais antigo, mais raro, ou menos conhecido. Preferimos, em vez disso,e sabendo de antemão que tal opção poderá ser contestada, debruçarmo-nos sobre um antigo sócio desta agremiação que dedicou alguns anos de actividade ao estudo do então Estado da Índia (Goa, Damão e Diu). Trata-se do professor de agronomia, desenhador e eternamente apaixonado pelas viagens António Lopes Mendes, cuja obra *A Índia Portuguesa: Breve Descrição das Possessões Portuguesas na Ásia*, foi editada pela primeira vez, pela SGL, em 1886.

Partindo desta ideia, fomos descobrindo gradualmente quem foi este homem. No entanto, não ousamos tratar aqui de forma exaustiva este tema, pelo contrário,

pretendemos apenas incentivar de alguma forma, os investigadores interessados no tema da literatura de viagens a estudarem este autor e a sua obra, não esquecendo o contexto da sua produção que, inevitavelmente, terá marcado a sua visão dos locais que visitou.

Lopes Mendes nasceu a 30 de Janeiro de 1834, em Vila Real (Trás-os-Montes). Aí iniciou os seus estudos, tendo revelado desde cedo uma grande aptidão para o desenho. Seguiu para a Academia Politécnica do Porto em 1853, mas '…compreendeu que este país era pequeno demais para nele se poder fazer vida pela arte; guardou por isso os lápis e os esfuminhos dentro do estojo, deixou o Porto e a Academia, e parte para Lisboa…'[2], onde se matriculou no Instituto Agrícola. Obteve aí o diploma de médico-veterinário-lavrador e também, deu aulas de desenho.

Ainda como estudante, participou numa viagem de estudo, ou como na altura se denominou uma *excursão agricolo-científica ao norte do reino*. Desta viagem resultou a publicação, no *Arquivo Pitoresco*, de uma '…colecção de desenhos de monumentos, paisagens e costumes portugueses…'[3]. Este trabalho poderá ser considerado como o balão de ensaio para, o que mais tarde se viria a revelar a paixão do autor: as viagens, a respectiva descrição através de texto, mas principalmente, a sua representação através da imagem. É o próprio Lopes Mendes que nos diz: '…não basta a leitura de livros…' para '…satisfazer completamente o espírito de quem deseja apreciar as belezas naturais ou artísticas de um país, e a vida social de um povo.'[4] Para tal, segundo o autor, é preciso viajar.

Em 1862 António César de Vasconcelos Correia, 1.º Conde de Torres Novas, então governador da Índia, tendo em vista o incremento da agricultura, pediu que lhe fosse enviado de Lisboa um técnico nesta área. Para este efeito, o Ministro e Secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Ultramar, o Conselheiro José da Silva Mendes Leal, nomeia Lopes Mendes para desempenhar esta função. Lopes Mendes, viaja então para a Índia a 11 de Agosto desse mesmo ano[5], onde permanecerá até 1871.

Silva Matos, ao despedir-se de Lopes Mendes, oferece-lhe uns versos, que este transcreve na *Índia Portuguesa* e que merecem, neste contexto, ser referidos:

Nem só dos Gamas a missão é nobre.
Vale a charrua muito mais que a espada;
Castro e Albuquerque são ingentes vultos,
Mas a conquista para o solo é nada

Não desenvolveremos aqui as várias *comissões oficiais* que o autor desempenhou a pedido deste governador, como dos dois que lhe seguiram (Conselheiro José Ferreira Pestana e Visconde de S. Januário). Aliás, o próprio Lopes Mendes, enumera as missões de que foi encarregado, no fim do volume 2 da *Índia Portuguesa*. Mencionemos apenas alguns aspectos menos conhecidos da sua

actividade na Índia tais como: a elaboração do programa da cadeira de Agricultura Elementar, relativo ao ano lectivo de 1863-1864, a sua nomeação como membro da comissão encarregada de coligir e ordenar os produtos agrícolas e industriais, para a Exposição Internacional Portuguesa, realizada no Porto em 1865, comissão essa que conquistou a '…medalha de 1.ª classe do 2.º grupo pela excelente colecção de produtos…'[6] e, ainda, a sua nomeação como vogal secretário da comissão incumbida de reunir objectos para a Exposição Universal de Paris de 1867. Por curiosidade, refira-se que destas comissões, faziam também parte José António de Oliveira e Filipe Nery Xavier.[7]

Interessa-nos sobretudo a pesquisa paralela que Lopes Mendes efectua e que resultará na obra *A Índia Portuguesa*. É o próprio autor que nos elucida a respeito do objectivo do seu trabalho na *Advertência* da obra: '…em horas que o serviço público nos deixava livres, colhemos os materiais do livro'… 'não movidos pelo amor da glória, nem pelo interesse, que não é para tanto o seu valor ou a nossa ambição, mas sim estimulados pelo desejo íntimo de ser util ao nosso país, perpetuando pelo desenho os gloriosos monumentos e as ruinas, que por lá vimos, testemunho eloquente da nossa passada grandeza na Ásia.' O autor acrescenta: '…Iremos seguindo as nossas recordações, apontando o resultado de alguns estudos, que então fizemos, relativos não só aos desenhos do natural'… 'como a vários pontos da geografia, história, geologia, meteorologia, agricultura, estatística, etnografia, religião, usos costumes e leis dos povos do Estado da Índia…'[8].

Tudo indica que esta obra terá sido o resultado de uma iniciativa pessoal e não uma encomenda estatal ou até da SGL. No entanto, refira-se que na época a denominada literatura de viagens, se tornára já um subgénero literário[9] bastante em voga e apreciado pelos leitores. '…Muitos outros escritos entre o ficcional e o cronístico são publicados ao longo do século XIX e primeiras décadas do século XX, frequentemente da autoria de oficiais, de diplomatas, de funcionários da administração, que vão dando conta das suas impressões de viagem, do exotísmo da paisagem ou dos costumes, da história política e social locais…'[10].

O Prof. Teotónio de Souza considera que '…este tipo de literatura, vista na sua totalidade, oferece-nos uma imagem muitas vezes ambígua ou duvidosa do 'encontro de culturas'…" e que '…a realidade das culturas diferentes era geralmente configurada com relatos a partir de uma percepção e comportamentos que tinham como padrão a cultura de origem…'. O nosso homenageado diz ainda*:* 'A literatura de viagens nas suas diversas formas'… 'era sempre o produto de várias motivações: curiosidade ou catarse pessoal, interesse comercial, necessidade profissional, proselitismo missionário, patriotismo nacional, etc. Essas preocupações motivadoras têm importância e devem ser descobertas e analisadas em cada um dos casos, porque influenciaram o teor, as atitudes, o estilo, e consequentemente o valor informativo dessa produção literária, particularmente no que diz respeito à selecção da informação e aos conceitos ou preconceitos referentes a povos e culturas que iam encontrando'.[11]

O trabalho de Lopes Mendes não escapará a estas condicionantes, não ultrapassará a matriz cultural portuguesa da época. Não podemos esquecer que este trabalho foi publicado, pela primeira vez, há 120 anos e, deste modo, a sua utilização como fonte histórica terá as suas limitações, não estará isento de imagens estereotipadas e leituras preconceituosas de certos contextos. No entanto, julgamos que merecerá, no futuro, uma análise mais atenta e cuidada, até porque assim se poderá estudar, simultaneamente, a cultura descrita e aquela que a descreve. Esta análise transcenderia, os objectivos deste trabalho, pelo que focaremos aqui, apenas alguns aspectos da sua obra.

A Índia Portuguesa, está dividida em dois volumes, respectivamente com 281 e 309 páginas.

O autor começa por relatar a viagem de Lisboa para a Índia, desde a partida a 11 de Agosto de 1862, passando pelo Mediterrâneo, até a chegada a Goa no dia 29 de Setembro. Para além da descrição dos locais percorridos, Lopes Mendes vai fazendo algumas alusões históricas, à presença dos portugueses nestas paragens.

Segue-se uma alusão ao Conde de Torres Novas e ao seu papel enquanto governador do *Estado da Índia*. Refira-se que Lopes Mendes ficou hospedado no palácio do governador durante a sua estada na Índia até Janeiro de 1865, altura em que este governador regressa a Portugal.

O autor prossegue com uma caracterização multidisciplinar dos locais que visitou, sob o ponto de vista de hidrográfico, climatológico, geológico, estatístico, sociológico, etnográfico, agrícola, patrimonial e histórico. Pode dizer-se que o autor nesta sua obra, ultrapassa a sua actividade oficial, e tenta transmitir uma panorâmica diversificada daquilo que observou nesta sua viagem.

Para além das descrições textuais o livro reune ainda representações cartográficas, desenhos de arquitectura indiana e de influência portuguesa, quer civil como militar e religiosa, tipos sociais, espécies botânicas, vista panorâmicas, etc.

A obra é caracterizada por uma nítida complementaridade entre texto e imagem, pode dizer-se até, que a sua vertente iconográfica não fica aquém da vertente textual. No entanto, não podemos esquecer que '… Lopes Mendes não era um artista profissional mas um homem de ciência …'[12]. O próprio Lopes Mendes designa os seus desenhos como insignificantes esbocetos, que outros classificam também como áridos e demasiadamente geométricos.

Lopes Mendes escreverá mais tarde, e num outro contexto geográfico, acerca do desenho o seguinte: '…O desenho é realmente de grande vantagem para quem como nós, passa rapidamente por países desconhecidos onde se não pode obter informações precisas por falta de tempo. Com este nosso modo de viajar praticamos um roubo … levando do campo para o gabinete de trabalho a imagem de quanto vamos observando, para com o seu auxílio recordarmos as impressões recebidas durante a viagem…' [13]

Ainda sobre a *Índia Portuguesa*, não podemos deixar de mencionar o facto de o autor dar grande relevo à Mitologia Hindu, principalmente no segundo volume desta obra. Este destaque, não deve ter sido recebido com agrado por algumas camadas

sociais portuguesas mais conservadoras. O seu amigo, Augusto César da Silva Matos, sentiu necessidade de fazer a seguinte advertência, como se de um pedido de desculpas se tratasse '… Se a mitologia hindu tem nos trabalhos de Lopes Mendes uma parte importante, os verdadeiros cristãos perdoar-lhe-ão esta veleidade artística, em presença dos importantes trabalhos destinados a ilustrar a vida de S. Francisco Xavier …'[14].

O autor não conclui a sua obra sem antes expressar, diríamos até de uma forma bastante incisiva, o seu parecer acerca da administração colonial portuguesa.

Segundo o autor, para Portugal tirar partido das então *regiões de além-mar*, e simultâneamente '…concorrer para o progresso material e moral dos povos sujeitos ao domínio português*...'*, deveria tentar desenvolver a agricultura, o comércio, a marinha e escolher um sistema administrativo adequado a cada colónia, para além de não poder negligenciar a escolha dos funcionários. Para isso, deveriam escolher-se para a '…administração colonial os homens mais idóneos que se preocupem acima de tudo com os interesses e com a dignidade do país, sem haver na escolha privilégio de ordem. hierarquia ou política…'. Além disso, Portugal deveria também '…legislar para os povos …como eles são e não como os governos da metrópole concebem que eles deviam ser…'. O autor considerava ainda que '…devemos respeitar os seus usos e instituições sociais, onde não produzam positivo mal, e ainda onde o produzam devem elas ser substituídas com brandura, para evitar o descontentamento, as reacções e as sedições e revoltas de um povo, que tem instituições, usos e costumes inteiramente diferentes dos europeus…'. Concretamente sobre a Índia, Lopes Mendes reforça esta ideia, dizendo que seria '…contra as regras do bom senso … desprezar as instituições agrícolas estabelecidas, guiando-se por teorias fantásticas, fundadas em modelos europeus…'[15].

O autor solicita licença para regressar a Portugal, alegando motivos de saúde. Mas, mais tarde, Lopes Mendes acrescenta a este motivo oficial o seguinte: '…ao fim de nove anos de saudades e de tão ingrato, quanto mal remunerado lidar…[16], revelando estas palavras o seu descontentamento com a longa estada na Índia. A 10 de Maio de 1871, parte de Pangim e chega finalmente a Lisboa no dia 13 de Junho desse mesmo ano.

Um ano depois, em 25 de Junho de 1872, apresenta ao então Instituto Geral de Agricultura de Lisboa, uma dissertação intitulada: *Breves considerações sobre a economia agrícola da Índia Portuguesa*. O seu manuscrito, de 87 páginas não numeradas,em folhas pautadas azuis de 25 linhas, existe na Biblioteca do agora denominado Instituto Superior de Agronomia. Tem o número de registo 2889, dissertação inaugural nº 29 e cota RB 29 Este trabalho, para além da introdução, aborda 6 matérias: Solo e clima; Constituição da propriedade, e divisão aproximada da superfície produtiva; Culturas; Gados; O produto bruto; Florestas.

Através da leitura desta dissertação, conseguimos descobrir quais as obras estudadas pelo autor. Lopes Mendes menciona o *Bosquejo Histórico das Comunidades das Aldeias dos Concelhos das Ilhas, Salcete e Bardez* de Filipe Nery Xavier;

History of British India de James Mill; *As Décadas da Ásia* de João de Barros; *O Arquivo Português Oriental de* Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara; *Brados a favor das comunidades das Aldeias do Estado da Índia* do mesmo autor; *A Liberdade da Terra e a Economia Rural da Índia Portuguesa* de F. L. Gomes; *Statistics of the Armies in India*; E ainda, o *Boletim do Estado da Índia.*

Esta dissertação não foi publicada isoladamente, no entanto, se a compararmos com alguns capítulos da *Índia Portuguesa*, verificamos que certas matérias foram incorporadas nesta obra.

Lopes Mendes foi proposto para sócio da SGL em 27 de Março de 1877, apenas dois anos após a sua fundação, pelo Visconde de São Januário, por Octávio Guedes e Rodrigo Pequito. Foi admitido nessa mesma data, sendo-lhe atribuido o número 148.[17] A SGL era ainda uma colectividade constituída por um pequeno número de sócios.

Rodrigo Pequito participou à assembleia da SGL, a constituição da Secção de Geografia Agrícola em Janeiro de 1881, da qual passaram a fazer parte António Augusto de Aguiar, Jaime Batalha Reis, Luís de Andrade Corvo, assim como Lopes Mendes, entre outros vultos de então. Para a presidência desta Secção foi eleito presidente o Visconde de Bucelas, e secretário José de Saldanha.[18]

Em Agosto de 1881 Lopes Mendes participou na expedição à Serra da Estrela, organizada pela SGL e auxiliada pelo Governo e pela Junta Geral do Distrito da Guarda. Nesta expedição o nosso autor fez parte da secção de Etnografia, cujo chefe era Luís Feliciano Marrecas Ferreira.

Nas indicações gerais dos estudos projectados pela expedição, Francisco Adolfo Coelho, determina que a secção de Etnografia estude: 1 – O tipo físico dos habitantes; 2 – As aptidões industriais; 3 – As aptidões artísticas; 4 – As aptidões poéticas; 5 – Os jogos; 6 – Os contos populares; 7 – Os provérbios; 8 – Os enigmas; 9 – As lendas; 10 – Os usos e superstições; 11 – As festas populares.[19]

Esta comissão não apresentou, lamentavelmente, no seu relatório final publicado pela SGL, resultados que revelem ter existido trabalho de campo sobre estas matérias, com a excepção do ponto 9. Sabe-se no entanto que Lopes Mendes organizou o seu diário pessoal, sobre esta expedição e que este era, como seria espectável, bastante ilustrado. Julgamos que este diário nunca foi publicado.

Ainda sobre a relação de Lopes Mendes com a SGL, ele foi também Vice-Presidente da Comissão Asiática, criada em 1884 e cujo presidente era Guilherme de Vasconcelos de Abreu, e secretários A. R. Gonçalves Viana e Tasso de Figueiredo. A este respeito, diremos ainda que os Estatutos da SGL – Artigo 36.º - 3, são claros acerca dos objectivos da Comissão Asiática. Esta tem por fim, o '…estudo e a consulta dos assuntos que importam ás línguas, religiões e raças asiáticas e ás relações e interesses de Portugal naquela parte do mundo e na Austrália'.*[20]*

A 28 de Setembro de 1883 Lopes Mendes embarca para a América. Segundo Pinho Leal, esta viagem é feita à sua custa,[21] embora a SGL lhe tenha entregue cartas de recomendação. Percorre toda a bacia hidrográfica do Amazonas, grande

parte do Brasil, entre outros locais. Regressa a Lisboa em 1884. A SGL publica algumas cartas do autor no seu *Boletim* e posteriormente uma separata deste trabalho. Também a revista *O Ocidente*, publica alguns dos seus desenhos relativos a esta viagem. Só muito mais tarde, em 1955, o seu diário é publicado na revista *Garcia de Orta*.[22]

Gostaríamos de referir ainda, alguns aspectos relativos à publicação da *Índia Portuguesa.* Como já foi mencionado, a SGL publica esta obra em 1886. Através da própria obra e, também das Actas das Sessões da Assembleia da SGL, ficamos a conhecer um pouco a história desta edição. Lopes Mendes oferece a obra à SGL em 1881, mais precisamente a 30 de Novembro e directamente ao seu Secretário Geral de então, Luciano Cordeiro[23] de quem era grande amigo e admirador. Era presidente da SGL nessa altura o Visconde de São Januário, que como já referimos, conhecera Lopes Mendes na Índia. É no entanto o sócio Ferreira Ribeiro, que dá o primeiro parecer favorável à publicação deste trabalho. Considera que a obra '…vinha vulgarisar conhecimentos que a poucos era dado possuir …'. [24] A SGL propõe então ao Governo a impressão da obra a 14 de Dezembro de 1881. Não obtem resposta e o pedido volta a ser feito em 22 de Maio de 1884. É finalmente recebida uma resposta afirmativa em 3 de Junho de 1884. Refira-se que foi ainda trocada alguma correspondência, acerca da tiragem da obra, ficando por fim decidido o número de 2500 exemplares, que julgamos ser considerável. Foram postos à venda 1250 exemplares, 1000 foram entregues à SGL e 250 ficaram na Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Ultramar.

Nas notas finais da obra, Lopes Mendes revela-nos que esta estava para ser prefaciada por Camilo Castelo Branco, seu amigo e também ele sócio da SGL a partir de 1886 . Tal acaba por não acontecer, devido a motivos de saúde do escritor.

Lopes Mendes faleceu aos 64 anos, no dia 31 de Janeiro de 1894. Planeava ainda fazer uma viagem aos Açores, da qual teria resultado certamente obra ilustrada.[25]

Terminamos este nosso estudo introdutório com palavras do nosso autor: '… Vamos continuar a nossa viagem, isto é, chegar sempre e sempre partir, deixando sempre alguém ou alguma coisa no caminho percorrido. Desta sorte … viajar é aprender a bem morrer!…'[26]

NOTAS

[1] SGL.

[2] Augusto César da Silva Matos, *O Movimento Geográfico em Portugal e António Lopes Mendes,* Lisboa, Lallement Frères, 1882, p. 9.

[3] Matos*, op cit.*, p. 9.

[4] António Lopes Mendes, "América Austral: Cartas Escritas da América nos anos de 1882 a 1883", *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, Lisboa, 12.ª sér., n.º 5-6 (1893), p. 231.

[5] Inocêncio Francisco da Silva, *Dicionário Bibliográfico Português*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1911, tom. 20, pp. 373-5.

[6] *Exposição Internacional Portuguesa em 1865: Recompensas conferidas pelo juri misto*, Porto, Tipografia Lusitana, 1866, p. 10.

[7] António José Oliveira, Filipe Neri Xavier, António Lopes Mendes, *Relatório Acompanhado da Relação dos Objectos Enviados à Comissão Central de Lisboa Directora dos Trabalhos Preparatórios para a Exposição Universal de 1867 em Paris pela Comissão do Estado da Índia Portuguesa*, Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1866.

[8] António Lopes Mendes*, A Índia Portuguesa: Breve descrição das Possessões Portuguesa na Ásia, Lisboa, Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, 1886,* vol. I, pp. XIV-XV.

[9] Fernando Cristóvão, *Condicionantes Culturais da Literatura de Viagens: Estudos e Bibliografias,* Lisboa, Cosmos/ Centro de Literaturas de Expressão Portuguesa da Universidade de Lisboa, 1999.

[10] Isabel Pires de Lima, "O Orientalismo na Literatura Portuguesa (Séculos XIX e XX)", *O Orientalismo em Portugal: Catálogo,* Lisboa, Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1999, p. 149.

[11] Teotónio R. de Souza, "A Literatura de Viagens e a Ambiguidade do Encontro de Culturas – O Caso da Índia", *Cadernos Históricos*, Lagos, vol. VIII (1997), pp. 85-89.

[12] Mário T. Chicó, *Exposição Temporária de Desenhos de Lopes Mendes e de Fotografias de Monumentos Indianos*, Lisboa, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 1953, p. 6.

[13] António Lopes Mendes, "América Austral: Cartas escritas da América nos anos de 1882 a 1883", *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, Lisboa, 13.ª sér., n.º 7, (1894), p. 581.

[14] Matos, *op. cit*., p. 12.

[15] António Lopes Mendes, *A Índia Portuguesa*, Lisboa, Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, 1886, vol. 2, pp. 296-7.

[16] António Lopes Mendes, Augusto César da Silva Matos*, O Bussaco*, Lisboa, Lallemant Frères, 1874, p. XII.

[17] *Actas das Sessões da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, Lisboa, vol. 1, sessão de 27-3-1877 (1882), p. 40.

[18] *Actas das Sessões da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, Lisboa, vol. I, sessão de 17 -1- 1881 (1882), p. 307.

[19] F. Adolfo Coelho, *Expedição Científica à Serra da Estrela em Agosto de 1881*, Lisboa, Casa da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, 1881, pp. 14-7.

[20] Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, *Estatuto Geral Aprovado pela Assembleia Geral em Sessão de 3 de Junho e Sancionado por Alvará de 3 de Julho de 1895*, Lisboa, Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, 1895, p. 23.

[21] Augusto Soares de Azevedo Barbosa de Pinho Leal, *Portugal Antigo e Moderno: Dicionário Geográfico, Estatístico, Corográfico, Heráldico, Arqueológico, Histórico, Biográfico e Etimológico de Todas as Cidades, Vilas e Freguesias de Portugal e de Grande Número de Aldeias*, Lisboa, Livraria Editora de Tavares Cardoso & Irmão, 1886, vol. 11, p. 1033.

[22] Carlos de Azevedo, "Lopes Mendes no Brasil: Um Diário Inédito de Lopes Mendes, o Autor de *A Índia Portuguesa*", *Garcia de Orta*, Lisboa, vol. III, n.º 1, (1955), pp. 55-6.

[23] *Actas das Sessões da Sociedade de Geografia de* Lisboa, Lisboa, vol. I, sessão de 5-12 -1881 (1882), p. 493.

[24] *Actas das Sessões da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, Lisboa, vol. I, sessão de 5 -12-1881 (1882), p. 498.

[25] Caetano Alberto, "António Lopes Mendes", *O Ocidente*, vol. 17, n.º 547 (1894), pp. 55-6.

[26] António Lopes Mendes, "América Austral: Cartas Escritas da América nos Anos de 1882 a 1883 – Carta I", *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa,* Lisboa, 12ª sér., nº 5-6 , (1893), p. 246.

33

MAURIZ THOMAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE IMPRISONMENT OF THE JESUITS OF THE PROVINCE OF GOA

Malyn Newitt

"*My great crime was to be a Jesuit, a missionary among the blacks and a foreigner*." In these words Father Mauriz Thoman found the only explanation for the seventeen and a half years he spent in prison in Mozambique, Goa and Lisbon between 1759 and 1777. After their final release, many oral testimonies of the Jesuits who were imprisoned were collected and some of these were widely used by writers in the following two centuries. José Caeiro's account of the arrest of the Jesuits in Goa and Brazil, based on the oral testimonies of contemporaries and written originally in Latin, was only published with a Portuguese translation in 1936[1]. In 1985 J. P. Bacelar é Oliveira published a short paper designed to revive interest in Caeiro's narrative and commented that "a history of the extinction of the Society of Jesus in Portugal is the need of the hour"[2]. Since then Teotónio de Souza and Charles Borges have published *Jesuits in India,* which contains an article on 'Marquês de Pombal and the Jesuits of Goa', by B. S. Shastry[3]; Charles Borges has written *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits*[4] and John Correia-Afonso *The Jesuits in India*[5]. Taken together these authors have gone a long way to providing a coherent account of the fate of the Jesuit missions of the Provinces of Goa and South India. Like all modern historians, they have built on the labours of past scholars – not only the *De Exilio* of José Caeiro, but the substantial studies by Alfred Weld[6] and T. J.Campbell[7], both clearly making use of Von Murr's '*Geschichte der Staatsverwaltung des Marquis de Pombal*' and the contemporary account of the imprisonment of the Goan Jesuits in the fortress off São Julião written by the German Jesuit, Laurentius Kaulen.[8] However, apparently none of these authors have quoted or used (though surely they must have known about) the autobiography of Mauriz Thoman, one of the prisoners of São Julião, which was published in 1788. The only account of the last days of the Jesuits that briefly quotes Thoman is Felix Plattner's popular history *Jesuiten zur*

See[9]. This paper will try to give an introduction to this important but strangely neglected work[10].

Among the Jesuit priests who were arrested in East Africa on 9 September 1759 and sent to Goa was Father Mauriz Thoman, the Superior of the mission at Marangue on the Zambesi. When Thoman was eventually released on the fall from power of the Marquês de Pombal in 1777, he wrote an autobiography, entitled *Reise und Lebensbeschreibung* which was published in Augsburg in 1788[11]. Two further German editions appeared in 1867 and 1869 but this work has never been translated into any other language. There is no modern German edition and copies of it are exceptionally rare[12]. The only scholars to have made extensive use of this book are Father W. F. Rea, S. J., who made a detailed study of the dissolution of the Jesuit missions in East Africa and Father António da Silva, S.J. who quoted large passages from its chapter on East Africa, which he translated into Portuguese[13].

Thoman's book is a very simple narrative whose lack of literary artifice, perhaps, accounts for the neglect it has suffered from historians and publishers alike. However, while recording the events of his life, the author provides hitherto little used detail on the arrest and imprisonment of the Jesuits of the Goa Province. More importantly, he gives information about the African missions which are of profound interest for the history of the Jesuit missions in Mozambique. Indeed António da Silva ranked it as "*the most precious witness to the Jesuit missionary mentality in Mozambique at that time*"[14]. The African sections of the book have not appeared in any of the collections of documents on East Africa in either English or Portuguese and were not included in David Beach's compendium of MS relating to Zimbabwe[15]. They certainly need to be made more accessible to scholars.

Mauriz Thoman was born 19 April 1722, the son of a Lutheran linen weaver of Leutkirch in Swabia – one of seventeen children of whom only three survived. His birth occurred on the very day that the whole family was received into the Catholic church. He studied medicine at Innsbruck but failed to qualify as he did not have the money for the necessary fee. He comments that he could have "*followed the example of many others, and promised marriage to some girl on the understanding that she would provide me with the necessary money*" but could not bring himself to do this. So he decided to travel on foot as a pilgrim to Rome to work in the hospitals there, residing with a soldier of the Swiss guard. After four months in Rome, Thoman was arrested on suspicion of having committed a murder but was eventually released "*without*", as he said, "*any costs at all to pay, which is a rare thing for Rome*". 1749 saw him working as a doctor in Civitta Vecchia "where the papal galleys anchor" but still not fully qualified.

The following year Thoman heard that the Procurator General of the Goa Province, Archangelus d'Origni, was recruiting missionaries. He appeared before the General of the Jesuits, Franz Relz, and the Roman Provincial, Father Timoni who agreed to pay for him to graduate as a doctor before entering the Order. He then

attended the university at Macerata where on 2 December 1750 he was made "*Doctor of Philosophy and Medicine after writing outstanding exams, and I was, at the same time, created Comes Palatinus and Eques Auratae Militae. During the ceremony which is usual for the creation of a doctor, I was also made a knight, by having a helmet placed on my head, and a sword hung at my side"*[16].

Thoman was received into the Novitiate on 13 December. There followed twenty-one months which Thoman described as the most satisfying of his life and which involved two lengthy pilgrimages to Assisi and Monte Cassino which were necessary, he explained, "because the Society of Jesus goes out into the world more than other orders and fulfills a different role. The pilgrimage is an opportunity for each to test the steadfastness of his vocation*."*

In September 1753, Thoman left Rome to meet up with sixteen other Jesuits who were bound for India. They sailed from Genoa on 17 October in a chartered Scottish ship bound for Lisbon "*whose captain was a good man, although a protestant*"[17]. Having weathered a storm, the vessel put into Gibraltar which prompted Thoman to reflect that "*it is a disputed point of science where all the water that steadily streams from the Atlantic Ocean into the Mediterranean goes to. Most people think it pours back into the Atlantic by an underground channel*." Once into the Atlantic the ship was approached by a privateer. "*Perhaps it intended to take possession of us and it must be attributed to the mercy of God that it never came to an encounter for our captain did not have very much powder and only one gun to load*." This encounter throws interesting light on Mediterranean 'piracy' at this period. The captain had a passport "*guaranteeing him free and unhindered passage on this sea*" but the pirate had the right to come aboard to examine this passport and to see if the ship was carrying contraband. "*So if the pirate had boarded our ship and found so many missionaries, we should without doubt have been carried off to Turkey and there sold as slaves."*[18]

Thoman spent a year in Lisbon after which he took the three vows of the Order and the first of the orders of the priesthood. He admired the great aqueduct that brought water to the city and which was paid for by a "*heller*" charged on every pound of beef sold. He also admired the richness of the pre-earthquake churches and commented that Dom João V had promised half a million *crusados* to pope Benedict XIV if the pope said his first mass for the king. The king he said made a great sum from the fisheries in the Tagus when "*on the approach of spring a large number of fish swim up the river from the sea. Large strong nets are then stretched across the river at certain points and whenever little boats want to sail up or down stream the fishermen have to make a gap for them."*

Thoman disliked Lisbon and contrasted the *"hardness and lack of refinement of the Portuguese"* with the *"good humour, polish and affection of the Italians".* He found Portuguese clothes bad and dirty and their food meagre and clumsily prepared. As a novice "*except at table, one always had to sit on the ground with legs crossed like a Turk which for those who are not used to it is a regular martyrdom*"[19].

The seventeen Jesuits eventually embarked on 25 March 1753 after kissing hands of the king and the queen mother. All the costs of the voyage were met by the Jesuit province of Goa "*with the exception of biscuits, wine, meat, wood and water, which were supplied by the Crown of Portugal*". The ship made a largely uneventful voyage reaching Mozambique on 28 June 1753. Like so many other travelers, Thoman records the crossing the line ceremony when King Neptune fined those who dared to enter his kingdom. "*The chief object of imposing the fine",* he observed "*is to get drink money, so that the crew welcome the opportunity to perform the ceremony*". One night the ship nearly ran onto the African coast and soon after was hit by a typhoon. The crew rigged lines to enable them to move safely about the ship, the helmsman tied himself to the wheel, while the Jesuits "*exorcised the sea which appeared to be possessed and threw some relics into it*."

The Jesuits stayed on Mozambique Island from 28 June to 19 August when they left for Goa in the company of two merchant vessels bound for Damão and Diu. The black boatmen who rowed them ashore, were described by Thoman as "*coal black naked and fearsome*". They made a strong impression which was softened somewhat as he watched the "*black women wade into the water above their waists to catch the very small fish with outspread white cloths*". The trade of Mozambique would be much more profitable, he thought, "*if the ships of other nations could also land there, but it is laid down that no ship of a foreign nation may enter the harbour*". In his opinion "*this policy is the result of a desire to keep all foreigners at a distance from their ill-defended strongholds".*

The Jesuits reached Goa on 21 September and were received at the gate of the College of St Paul. "*We seventeen had reached our destination fresh and healthy, a thing that seldom happens on this journey*"[20].

Thoman spent five years studying in Goa, before being ordained priest by the archbishop of Goa, António de Tavires e Brun. He described a city in deep decline. "*At the beginning of the eighteenth century a fierce plague struck it and carried away almost all the inhabitants. The survivors conceived such a horror and fear of the atmosphere in the town that they abandoned their former dwellings and erected new ones in the districts around*." "*Even now,"* he claimed*, "if people, Asians or Europeans, have to go into the town on business, it is very hard to persuade them to spend the night there… After the resulting exodus from the town the houses were left to fall down… and coconut trees were planted on the site of the former houses and streets".*

The viceroy at the time was the Marquês de Tavora and Thoman devoted a paragraph to the fate of the marquis and his family at the hands of Pombal. Thoman's description of the ecclesiastical wonders of Goa is rather pedestrian but he observes that he once read that "*two hundred lamps are always burning in the chapel where the uncorrupted body of the apostle of the Indies lies. I am not a little surprised that such great lies are found in books. The chapel is very small and there certainly*

would not be room for so many lamps." Most of the rest of his account is devoted to descriptions of the main food plants but he takes time out to dwell on the intricate differences between palanquins, andors and machillas and the social meaning. "*The place of coaches is taken by palanquins which can be compared with small and narrow beds. Inside where the person sits, they are equipped with a decorated cover of tiger skin and two large gold-bordered cushions of velvet so that the gentleman or lady can sit or lie at will. This bedstead, or rather sedan chair, is bound fast by cords made of silk or cotton to poles called bamboo which are two fathoms long and are decorated at the ends with silver knobs and are covered with fine leather. The whole thing is neatly and smartly made and is carried swiftly by four Asians or Africans, two in front and two behind. These wear a shirt or cloth tied round their loins and on their head a cap with the arms of their master worked in silver. One or two Africans run at their side carrying a velvet sunshade to keep off the sun. In rainy weather the palanquin is covered over with a roof artfully woven from reeds. In this case, however, there is a small window that will open and shut so that the person sitting inside shall not be caused any anxiety*". Priests and ordinary people, however, have to make do with less elaborate 'andors' while "*the simplest way possible for being carried consists of a strong green cloth stretched out. Only two carriers are needed for it and it is called a 'machilla'".*

Thoman left Goa for the Mozambique mission on 2 February 1757 traveling on the same ship that was taking the new governor of Mozambique João Manuel de Mello. As well as the governor, two Augustinians, two Franciscans and a Brother of St. John of God, the ship carried "*a few black and white women who, having secured the worldly and spiritual kingdom of the night, usually have to be locked up*". However, as Thoman observes, "*this did not happen and the goings-on were not very edifying. Furthermore, on these occasions it is not advisable to preach repentance.*" A few years earlier a Jesuit had tried to do this and had been murdered for his pains. "*For fear of punishment the criminals then set fire to a powder barrel and the whole ship went up into the air. Only one Moslem sailor escaped by means of a long and exhausting swim*."

This time Thoman's stay in Mozambique was not without dramatic incident. A month after landing "*I was unexpectedly summoned to the new governor. I obeyed at once and found almost all the Portuguese gathered in his house. I was led to his room and found the good man lying in his bed. The bed and the floor were spattered in blood. As I knew nothing of what had happened immediately before, I asked whether he had been bled? 'Oh Father, the good man replied, have the goodness to hear my confession. This I did and gave him communion and the viaticum for eternity*." That morning the governor had attempted to commit suicide by twice running onto his sword, and that evening he died[21].

Thoman had the task of comforting his wife and children and made the surprising reflection that his wife, who blamed herself for her husband's death, was not entirely

wrong, "*because had she slept even a little in the same room as her husband, as she ought to have done, she would have noticed his perplexity and his tragic death might never have occurred*." His reflections on this topic continued – "*unfortunately in these lands the disastrous custom has arisen whereby husband and wife each want their own bedroom, a practice that often causes considerable evil*."

During his month stay on the island Thoman also witnessed the successful refloating of a merchant ship that had run aground at the entrance to the harbour. After the cargo had been taken out, empty barrels were tied to the ship at low tide, lifting the vessel free when the tide rose.

On 14 April, Thoman set off for the Zambesi mission to which he had been appointed. On arriving at Quelimane he was lodged in the Residence of the Jesuits which he hastens to point out "*should not be taken to mean a magnificent building, but a common, and often very bad, house where one or more missionaries live together*"[22]. He soon found himself as the priest in charge in Quelimane as his companion had been appointed Visitor of the missions and left on a tour of inspection. "*This",* he confesses*, "was a very difficult post for me as I was unfamiliar with the local language."* After a bout of fever he went up river to Sena where he remained for nearly a year as assistant to the Visitor. There he suffered constantly from ill health and eventually in May 1759 was sent to Tete "*the last village possessed by the Portuguese in Monomotapa where the air is more healthy*." Having recovered somewhat he was then sent to take over the mission residence at Marangue on a nearby estate (prazo) owned by the Jesuits[23].

On 7 September, Thoman went to Tete to celebrate the feast of Mary's birthday. On 9 September, having had a good lunch the three Jesuits were having "*a heated theological argument about original sin"* when the commandant, accompanied by an armed band of blacks and whites arrived and told the Jesuits that they were arrested as state prisoners on the orders of the king.[24] Then, "*just as we were, without even a change of shirt*", the Jesuits were thrown into a "*dark and filthy prison full of insects where previously some black malefactors had lain*". When they asked what their crime was they were told "*that we were indeed innocent but our brethren in Portugal had plotted against the life of the king and had committed other misdeeds which, like original sin, fell as a burden on us also*." In prison the Jesuits were visited by the Dominicans and other Portuguese including a former Jesuit who offered to show them a way of escaping. "*When he had been employed in rebuilding the fort, he had been in danger due to an alleged murder, and had prepared a hidden exit for himself in the fort so that, if he was imprisoned, he could escape through it."* The "*chiefs of the blacks both from there and from my residence at Marangue*" also offered to free them but the Jesuits were convinced that their fortunes would soon alter. "*If our conduct had not been so cautious, it would certainly have come to a bloody encounter, for my kaffirs from Marangue were particularly bold and fierce people. In addition the blacks have an inclination for disorder and warfare, hoping to ben-*

efit by stealing and robbing. Certainly they would have attacked the Europeans first. The commandant himself had feared this and already before our arrest had had our Residence searched for arms, giving the imminent war as a pretext.[25] *"*

After eight days the Jesuits were taken under escort down river to Sena. They camped for the night near Marangue, which they found had already been ransacked. Thoman was not allowed to take his Indian servant with him but the Jesuits were allowed a black boy to assist them. After a week in prison in Sena they continued, still under escort, to Quelimane. As the fort there was in ruins the Jesuits were allowed to live in their Residence though the local captain admitted that if they escaped he would pay for it with his head. Although orders came from Sena that the Jesuits were to be placed on board ship, the commandant refused saying that his orders only required that the Jesuits should be delivered safely to Mozambique. He also allowed the Jesuits to say Mass in their church because there existed an order from the king that "*every man should take communion before he left this highly dangerous harbour, where so many ships had foundered"*. A ship which tried to leave at the same time as the Jesuits, and on which three of them were to have traveled, foundered on the bar with the loss of most of those on board. Thoman reflects "*God had ordained something different and had reserved them for another fate*".

The ship with the Jesuits on board eventually sailed on 22 November and reached Mozambique Island on 2 December. There they were imprisoned in fort São Sebastião where at first they were allowed to say Mass in the chapel of Nossa Senhora do Baluarte with the commandant serving. Later the public were allowed to attend Jesuit masses in the fortress church but this, apparently, got the commandant into trouble. Thoman once again became seriously ill and was given the last rites but recovered when a medicine chest was found on board a ship wrecked on the reefs outside the harbour.

At this stage an English ship arriving in Goa spread a rumour that Dom José and his Minister (Pombal) were dead. "*On this news, the viceroy, the Conde de Ega, who was not unfavourably disposed towards the Jesuits, at once eased their lot and allowed them to go about freely on the island, although still as state prisoners. He thought that because of the accident of this death the fate of the Jesuits might be totally altered*." In Mozambique the governor, who was brother-in-law of the viceroy, relaxed the regime and allowed the Jesuits a room in the Chancery with a beautiful view. This happened around Easter. In July fresh orders arrived and on 21 August the Jesuits sailed for Goa, housed in "*half a cabin [with] the window nailed up and the door barred*". Once at sea, however, the window was unbarred and the fathers were allowed to say Mass and were given wine and even freshly baked bread.

On reaching Goa, the African Jesuits were housed in the College where they heard for the first time about the assassination attempt on the king. "*This",* Thoman says *"must already have been known to the people in 1759 but no one dared to mention it aloud unless he wanted to spend the rest of his life in a cell far from the light of*

day". He then records that a soldier had been detailed to search the lavatories of the College for the Jesuits' hidden treasure. "*He found nothing except the stinking treasure usually found in such places. He was nevertheless promoted ensign by the viceroy. The people, however, gave him another name more suited to his employment*"[26].

One hundred and thirty Jesuits were now assembled in the College, guarded by "*heathen Asians in royal pay*". A roll-call was taken each day "*and a Jesuit who had died was even visited by a surgeon to see if he was really dead and not just pretending"*.

At this point Thoman reflects on the Jesuit missions and on the fathers "*who had forsaken their beloved Europe, who had entrusted their soul and body to fate simply and solely in order to serve God and their fellow men*." Considering he spent five years in Goa, Thoman has relatively little to say about the Goa missions but he was a thoughtful man and, just as his reflections on the East African mission are among the most important parts of his book, he adds to his pious words on the Jesuits in India some interesting observations on the question of the conversion of the Hindus, presumably raised by the Bull Omnium Sollicitudinum of 13 September 1744[27]. There are three kinds of Hindus, he says, which are called Suttern (sudras), brahmins and farasi. The Brahmins "*are so superstitious and proud that they will not go about or do business with the others and will not even let another strike a light for them; and this happens even when they are all Christians. At first the missionaries were in the greatest perplexity how they could get these people even to condescend to sit together in the house of Almighty God; all was in vain until finally a means was found by dividing the church in half down the middle in such a way that each side could see the altar. The Brahmins consider themselves aristocratic and ;earned and this is the sole reason why they despise the others. Even the missionaries themselves must give themselves out to be not Europeans but Roman priests. If a Brahmin missionary should meet a Sutter or Farasi missionary on the road or some other place, he must not speak to him nor have anything to do with him, although otherwise they may be the very best of friends and spiritual brothers. There are also very many Brahmins who do not care to eat anything which has been living, that neither fish nor meat; so they eat nothing but rice, vegetables and husks. A missionary has also to submit to this way of life and, if such a one falls ill and some meat is necessary for him top recover his strength, it must be done in the greatest secrecy and the feet and feathers have to be carefully buried. In addition they must not own or use anything made of leather and even their breviaries must be bound with cloth. The reason for this behaviour is that the heathen worship all animals, even the most poisonous snakes, and in particular the oxen who produce their bread by their work in the fields. Because Christians and heathen live mixed together in the villages, so they must learn to adapt themselves to the many different customs, which are not considered sinful. Instead of shoes they wear raised wooden bars which they drag around, so to speak, by means of a large wooden peg between the big toes.*[28]*"* Although such a life was hard for missionaries many spent their life in this way contentedly, living "*more*

among angels than men". And he recalls being told that often the "*father confessor would not find enough sin to absolve them from*".

Thoman defends the Jesuit ownership of property which is needed to meet the costs of maintaining so many missions and the expense of bringing a missionary such as himself from Europe (a sum he reckoned at 1000 gulden in his case) and to be able to loan money to the government as had happened during the recent Maratha wars.

The remainder of the book consists of a long account of the voyage of the captive Jesuits to Portugal and their imprisonment in the fortress of São Julião. The 127 Jesuits and their bags were packed "*like herrings*" and Thoman was lucky when he eventually found room to stretch out under one of the cannon. The ship was under the strictest orders not to call at any port on the voyage. The heat and damp caused the food to rot and the water was yellow and full of worms so that it had to be strained through a cloth. "*Many had to eat out of pots which had also served as chamber pots*". Eventually they were forced to eat raw fish and shark meat and even the ship's captain fell ill with scurvy. A lay brother had given an important document to the ship's doctor for safe keeping. This was discovered and the lay brother was imprisoned in the bottom of the ship where the pumps were. "*Because of the lack of air and the unbearable heat this place appeared to be an oven and was the most frightful prison*." Thoman had himself lowered with a rope into this hole where the poor man lay sweating in the stinking atmosphere. Eventually the Jesuits persuaded the captain to release him. During the voyage two priests were able to say Mass each day at an improvised altar.

The ship reached Lisbon on 20 May 1761, after an unbroken five month voyage, and entered the Tagus just before a change in the wind which would have kept them still longer at sea. On arrival the prisoners were separated into groups – the foreign Jesuits being considered the most guilty. The other Jesuits were sent to the castle of Azeitão while the young Jesuits were exiled to Italy except for 10 or 12 who agreed to leave the Order. These had to return to their place of birth and report to local officials. They were not allowed to preach or hear confessions. Twenty-four were taken to São Julião where they were imprisoned in a newly built and very damp underground prison with a hole for a window high in the wall and measuring "*four fingers high and four spans wide*". The bags were searched by the guards who took what they wanted. Thoman records that the commandant of the prison took a liking to an ivory crucifix, saying "*'If I had the money, I would buy this from you'. However, I, as a good German, was not able to understand this Portuguese language*". The commandant used to say, "*Everything rots in this prison, only the imprisoned fathers wont rot."*

The Jesuits now had no contact with the outside world. Thoman records that three noblemen who had corresponded with them were sent to Angola "*whither they only trouble to send those who soon will not be known among the living*". Fifteen "*groschen*" a day was allotted to each Jesuit, 12 for food and 3 for other things. They were not provided with spoon or fork "*for the Portuguese said that food tasted*

better if eaten with the fingers". However, those who had suffered from scurvy recovered. Thoman attributed this to the china tea and goats milk that were provided each day.

One prisoner discovered how to unlock the cell doors. The Jesuits then tied cloths round their shoes and moved noiselessly from cell to cell. After two years the authorities discovered what was happening. Soldiers searched the cells and demanded that the keys be surrendered. "*They were handed a few bent nails and other bits of iron and on seeing these wretched instruments had to laugh*."

On 11 July 1767, 39 Jesuits were released and sent to Italy among them João Henriques, provincial of the Portuguese province who had been condemned along with Father Malagrida but who had eventually been moved to São Julião where he had been Thoman's cell mate. In their place came thirty-one old and sick Jesuits from Azeitão. As prisoners so often do, the Jesuits improvised little comforts for themselves. They learned to patch clothes, to spin wool to repair mattresses and cotton to make stockings, gloves and nightcaps. An altar was rigged up and hosts baked over the flame of a lamp. They even contrived to make their own wine.

Three Jesuits went off their heads – one who had a special facility in opening his cell door thought he was brother of the king of England; another wanted to be Pope and called himself Felix III, while a third believed Dom José was dead a phantom was ruling in his stead.

In 1773 they were all summoned together to hear of Clement XIV's dissolution of the Order but the last of the prisoners were not released until after the death of Dom José. On 20 March 1777 news arrived announcing their freedom, but they were still required to remain in the prison until definite arrangements could be made for them to go somewhere. Meanwhile they had to continue to live on 15 groschen a day, though they were allowed to walk about the fortress and eventually to go into Lisbon provided they returned at night.

Thoman, one of the last to be released, was eventually repatriated to Bozen in Tyrol where he received a pension from the Vienna government and where he died in 1805.

Mauriz Thoman's autobiography does not alter our knowledge of the dissolution of the Jesuits in any fundamental way. It adds colourful detail and contributes some sharp and perceptive comments by a man who was an intelligent, and remarkably tough, survivor of Pombal's reign of terror. Moreover there is far more of interest in this story than has been noted here – notably the sections on Eastern Africa. It remains, however, firmly in the tradition of Jesuit apologetics, even if it is one of the last of a long tradition of writing that has its origin in the letters of Francis Xavier himself. As such it deserves to be more widely read and better appreciated

NOTAS

[1] José Caeiro, *Jesuitas do Brasil e da India,* translated by Manuel N. Martins , Escola Tipografico Salesiana (Baia, 1936). From the Latin MS entitled *De Exilio Provinciarum Transmarinarum Assistentiae Lusitanae Societatis Jesu* in the Royal Library in Brussels. New edition entitled *História da Expulsão da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Portugal: séc XVIII,* 3 vols, Verbo (Lisbon, 1999)

[2] J. P. Bacelar é Oliveira 'Arrest, Spoliation and Exile of the Goa Jesuits according to Father Caeiro's *De Exilio'* in Teotónio de Souza, *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions*, Concept (New Delhi, 1985) pages 123-132, note 2.

[3] B. S. Shastry, 'Marquês de Pombal and the Jesuits of Goa', in Teotónio de Souza and Charles Borges eds., *Jesuits in India: in historical perspective,* Xavier Centre of Historical Research (Goa, 1992) pages 51-9.

[4] Charles Borges, *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, 1542-1759,* Concept (New Delhi, 1994).

[5] John Correia-Afonso SJ *The Jesuits in India 1542-1773,* Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture (Bombay, 1997).

[6] Alfred Weld SJ, *the Suppression of the Society of Jesus in the Portuguese Dominions,* Burns & Oates (London, 1877).

[7] Thomas J. Campbell SJ, *The Jesuits 1534-1921: a History of the Society of Jesus from its Foundation to the Present Time,* The Encyclopedia Press (London, 1921).

[8] Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, 'Geschichte der Staatsverwaltung des Marquis von Pombal', quoted in Bacelar é Oliveira 'Arrest, Spoliation and Exile of the Goa Jesuits…' *op cit* notes 4 and 5.

[9] Felix Plattner, *Jesuiten zur See,* (Zurich, 1946) translated into English as *Jesuits go East,* Clonmore & Reynolds (Dublin, 1950).

[10] This paper has deliberately omitted discussion of the highly important information on East Africa.

[11] The full title is Mauriz Thoman, *M.Thomans ehemaligen Jesuitens und Missionars in Asien und Afrika. Reise und Lebensbeschreibung. Von ihm selbst verfasset,* Augsburg, 1788). Other editions J. B Kempf (Regensburg, 1867) and (Augsburg, 1869).

[12] Although there is a copy of the 1788 edition in the Bibliothéque National there appears to be no copy in the Library of Congress.

[13] W. F. Rea SJ, *The Economics of the Zambezi Missions, 1580-1759,* Institutum Historicum SJ (Rome, 1976); António da Silva SJ, *Mentalidade Missiológica dos Jesuítas em Moçambique antes de 1759,* 2 vols. Junta das Investigações do Ultramar (Lisbon, 1967).

[14] Silva, *Mentalidade Missiológica dos Jesuítas em Moçambique… op. cit.* vol 1, p. 57.

[15] D.N.Beach and H.de Noronha, 'The Shona and the Portuguese'. MS held in the library of the University of Zimbabwe.

[16] Thoman, ch. 1.

[17] Thoman ch. 4.

[18] Thoman ch. 3.

[19] Thoman ch. 4.

[20] Thoman ch. 6.

[21] The governor's suicide took place on 6 April 1758 and a 'Devassa' (official inquiry) was held by the Chancellor and Judge António Correa Monteiro de Matos. This is printed in António Alberto de Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista,* Agência Geral do Ultramar (Lisbon, 1955) pp. 557-8.

[22] Thoman ch. 7.

[23] For details of the Marangue prazo see Rea, *The Economics of the Zambesi Missions… op. cit.*

[24] The captain of Tete at the time was Manuel Gomes Nobre.

[25] According to Rea there was a subsequent revolt by the Africans on Marangue prazo. *Economics*

of the Zambezi Missions op. cit., p. 112.

[26] Thoman ch. 10.

[27] See Correia-Afonso, *The Jesuits in India, op cit,* pages 227-8.

[28] Thoman ch. 10.

34

ALGUNS BENS ARTÍSTICOS EMBARCADOS NA *FLOR DE LA MAR*

Maria Fernanda Matias

Quando pela primeira vez encontrei pessoalmente o Prof. Teotónio R. de Souza, já o seu nome era bem conhecido no âmbito da minha actividade profissional, a qual, por definição, desenvolve acções que visam a promoção da cultura portuguesa no estrangeiro. Neste quadro, o Professor Teotónio R. de Souza foi não só um dos especialistas que em Goa prosseguiu um trabalho significativo em favor do conhecimento das dinâmicas da presença portuguesa no Território, como já em Lisboa, continuou a dar a sua colaboração em vários projectos relacionados com a sua área de estudo.

Com base nestes contactos de carácter profissional veio a crescer uma amizade, que até hoje se mantém. A sua boa disposição e grande frontalidade, o seu rigor e determinação na abordagem da matéria histórica são para mim uma referência. Desejo que o presente estudo seja entendido como um reconhecimento pelo apoio e estímulo que sempre do Prof. Teotónio R. de Souza recebi.

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Malaca foi conquistada por Afonso de Albuquerque em 1511, depois de impor um cerco no mar durante quase dois meses e de sustentar baldadas negociações, sem outras consequências para além da impaciência dos homens e de três ataques desferidos sobre a cidade, dos quais resultou um elevado número de mortos e feridos para as duas hostes. As riquezas acumuladas na cosmopolita urbe, a perspectiva de

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vir a controlar o maior entreposto asiático, onde se transaccionavam as mais apreciadas mercadorias e, sobretudo, a antevisão de um fabuloso despojo, foram o acúleo de Albuquerque para manter a equipagem firme nos postos de assalto.

O governador da Índia desejava tornar Malaca imortal e "sempre viva no senhorio de Portugal"[1] e, com esse objectivo em vista, no curto período de alguns meses da sua estadia na cidade, após a conquista, dotou-a de um corpo governativo pluri-étnico subordinado a um representante local da Coroa portuguesa, tendente a assegurar a estabilidade política interna. A presença portuguesa firmou-se na supremacia militar, numa combinação estratégica de defesa terrestre e marítima, com uma guarnição instalada na fortaleza – "A Famosa", assim designada pelo próprio Afonso de Albuquerque que a mandou construir, e uma armada permanente nas águas do Estreito. No quadro das relações externas, promoveu contactos diplomáticos angariadores da legitimização do novo poder, indispensável à manutenção das redes de comércio, único garante da continuidade da praça enquanto poderoso empório do Sueste Asiático.

Instaurado o modelo de organização e fundadas as infra-estruturas de assistência sócio-religiosa, Afonso de Albuquerque entende ser o momento de retornar à Índia, preparando-se para partir em princípios de 1512[2]. Porém, não estando estabelecido o clima tranquilo de uma paz duradoura, os influentes mercadores, temendo pela segurança pessoal e pelo futuro dos negócios, enviam um delegado junto do governador, com os seus receios e argumentos para o convencer a prolongar a estada em Malaca por mais algum tempo.

Mas, não obstante as propostas apresentadas com o compromisso de contrapartidas financeiras para compensar eventuais prejuízos inerentes a um adiamento da partida, Albuquerque não se deixa dissuadir e faz largar as velas de quatro navios (três naus – *Flor de la Mar*, *Trindade* e *Enxobregas* – e um junco grande), mareados por uma tripulação heterogénea de portugueses e malabares. Mais tarde, António Real, capitão de Cochim, dará conta ao rei Manuel I de várias irregularidades do governador na condução dos assuntos do Estado, acusando-o de comportamentos menos próprios e de ter abandonado Malaca ao embarcar "escondido", enquanto os homens "desesperados", ficavam na praia "pedindo justiça a Deus dele"[3].

A pequena armada regressava pejada de mercancias e de escravos, famílias inteiras de javaneses e malaios – carpinteiros calafates e uma variedade de oficiais mecânicos – com mulheres e filhos destinados ao trabalho em Goa e no Reino. A abundância era de tal ordem que permitia apenas o embarque do número de portugueses estritamente necessário à direcção dos navios, e fora obtida por meio de três acções específicas: no esbulho da cidade; oferecida por vários soberanos da região através de inúmeros embaixadores credenciados por Afonso de Albuquerque; e no fruto do corso praticado desde que a armada original de dezoito navios abalara de Cochim no ano anterior.

Apesar da carga em excesso metida nos porões de todos os navios, incluindo a nau capitânia, não é plausível ter a *Flor de la Mar* acondicionado a quota mais

preciosa do tesouro capturado, uma vez que, com cerca de dez anos de actividade, se encontrava muito deteriorada, necessitando de reparações profundas, a serem executadas urgentemente em Goa[4].

Aliás, ciente do risco do navio afundar durante o percurso, Albuquerque planeava mesmo acomodar-se na *Trindade*, não concretizando a intenção "porque vendo a gente a razão porque ele fugia da *Frol de la mar* não se queria ninguém embarcar nela, e todos queriam ir nas outras naus". Acresce ainda ter o estado precário da nau determinado a forma de distribuição de todo o carregamento pelas quatro velas. A fracção do despojo que cabia ao rei, assim como os bens mais valiosos de Afonso de Albuquerque, foram depositados no junco, antes capturado na região – um barco novo, com capacidade para deslocar ampla tonelagem de mercadoria[5].

Ao chegar às costas de Samatra, os piores receios de Albuquerque concretizaram-se. Em frente ao Reino de *Aru*, a armada é surpreendida durante a noite por uma tempestade. Homem experimentado, Afonso de Albuquerque percebe não ter condições para navegar durante o temporal "por a nau [*Flor de la Mar*] ser podre e fazer muita água que não podia navegar se não em tempo feito"[6] e decide por isso aguardar, lançando âncoras. No entanto, a *Flor de la Mar* não resiste à forte trovoada e parte-se pelo meio. A proa afunda-se rapidamente, ficando a popa, com o mastro grande, assente sobre um banco de coral, o que tornou possível a improvisação de jangadas, de onde Afonso de Albuquerque viria a ser recolhido pela tripulação da *Trindade*.

Os compiladores das relações das armadas da Índia consultadas no âmbito do presente trabalho não fizeram qualquer alusão ao naufrágio. Sabemos tratar-se de uma informação prestada aleatoriamente, sem carácter sistemático, não podendo conferir-se-lhe uma validade expressiva do ponto de vista da análise histórica. No entanto, o facto de o desastre não ter sido anotado, à semelhança de outros análogos, parece estar mais de acordo com uma desvalorização da catástrofe, a qual só muitos séculos mais tarde viria a assumir uma importância que, à época, e mesmo em décadas posteriores, quando a memória ainda poderia relativizar a verdadeira dimensão da tragédia, não lhe foi atribuída[7].

No salvamento, muitos objectos foram recolhidos, havendo "homens que salvaram muito ouro derredor de si" carregando os escravos as "trouxas", obedecendo por vislumbrarem aí a oportunidade única de conseguir lugar nas jangadas e salvar a própria vida, o que efectivamente não se verificou porque "o Governador não consentiu na jangada nenhum negro, nem negra, que todos deitou ao mar"[8], entre "grandes lavradeiras de bastidor, e muitas meninas, e meninos de geração de todas aquelas partes, do cabo Camorim para dentro"[9].

Entretanto, no junco, os marinheiros amotinaram-se ao verem a capitânia perdida. Afrontaram os poucos portugueses que nele viajavam, matando quase todos e, assenhoreando-se do navio, rumaram em direcção a *Timia*, no Reino de *Aru,* em Samatra. Os artesãos nunca chegariam a Goa, mesmo que a autêntica versão dos

acontecimentos tenha sido a relatada por Gaspar Correia: apesar de toda a marinhagem ter fugido, os poucos portugueses, embora com grandes dificuldades e tendo perdido o rumo, navegaram até encalhar numa restinga junto à ilha principal do arquipélago das Maldivas (*Candaluz)*, afundando-se o navio. Contudo, teriam salvo toda a veniaga em embarcações menores fornecidas pelos feitores de Mamale de Cananor[10].

Na verdade parece haver alguma ironia em todo este encadeamento de factos. Conquistado o entreposto mais importante de todo o Sueste Asiático, cometida a maior pilhagem, selados compromissos de vassalagem para com o rei de Portugal, com a inclusão de esplêndidas doações de diversos soberanos, Albuquerque chega a Cochim com metade da frota aparelhada para o regresso à Índia, e tendo sido desbaratado grande parte do volumoso e magnificente tesouro, continuando a afirmar-se ser o maior até à data obtido.

Atrevemo-nos, por isso, a considerar que todo o rico espólio, repetidamente apontado como permanecendo no fundo do mar há quase quinhentos anos em consequência do naufrágio da *Flor de la Mar*, poderá não passar de uma versão fantasiosa alimentada por interesses pessoais e pelo desconhecimento, que os efeitos do tempo terão transformado em mito. Por um lado, a *Flor de la Mar*, transportava uma carga criteriosamente separada dos bens mais valiosos da globalidade da mercadoria. Toda ela preciosa, é certo. Mas muito ouro e outros haveres se salvaram. Por outro lado, deve ainda levar-se em linha de conta a perícia dos pescadores de pérolas da região, experientes e conhecedores das costas e das correntes da área onde se verificou o naufrágio. Terá, presumivelmente, havido nas semanas subsequentes, alguma actividade no resgate de objectos espalhados pelo fundo do mar[11]. A este respeito deve assinalar-se o trecho de uma carta atribuída, já no século XX, ao então capitão de Malaca, Afonso Lopes da Costa, escrita seis anos após a tragédia, onde se refere o seguinte: "Item… muitos reis e da banda do… a saber, Pedir e a Pindara pasar… *Frol de la Mar*, com Afonso de Albuquerque em… com muitos cristãos naturais desta… e ainda dizem que aí estão as bombardas e muita fazenda de Vossa Alteza"[12]. O entendimento deste excerto é claramente prejudicado pelas lacunas do documento, mas parece apontar para cabedal procedente da *Flor de la Mar*.

Por conseguinte, uma tentativa de identificação dos bens artísticos embarcados para Cochim, após a tomada de Malaca, terá de ser demandada no conjunto do carregamento dos quatro navios da torna-viagem, e não se restringir apenas a uma pesquisa sobre os objectos que só muito remotamente terão ficado depositados no fundo do oceano com o naufrágio da *Flor de la Mar*.

Acresce ter Afonso de Albuquerque descrito a perda de muita quantidade da nova moeda de estanho mandada cunhar em Malaca, mas tal não parece ter sido o caso da moeda de ouro e de prata, igualmente introduzidas no sistema monetário local, das quais envia espécies para Lisboa por intermédio do seu velho amigo Nuno Vaz de Castelo Branco e pelo ouvidor[13]. Afirma que "não se puderam salvar" dois

crises ("que são adagas dos Jaos") com as "bainhas de ouro e pedraria, e os punhos com bocais de ouro e pedraria" e uma "manilha" com aparentes faculdades sobrenaturais, usada pelo muçulmano Nahodabegea no braço esquerdo, para protecção. Tratava-se de uma peça executada em osso (de animal não identificado, embora alguns cronistas refiram o cabal, tipo de alimária oriunda de Java ou de Sião[14]) encastoado em ouro. Afonso de Albuquerque tinha-lhe grande estima pelo potencial mágico, embora não seja de afastar igualmente a hipótese de a peça apresentar um labor aprimorado, tendo em conta a proeminente personagem, que fora figura influente em Malaca.[15]

Afonso de Albuquerque, continua as suas referências a objectos perdidos, sobretudo documentos relativos à administração e ao exercício das suas prerrogativas de governador: cópia do regimento dos capitães da expedição enviados às Molucas, em Novembro de 1511; carta do rei de Sião dirigida ao monarca português; menagem de Rui de Brito Patalim, nomeado primeiro capitão da fortaleza; rol da artilharia deixada para provimento da nova praça; instruções para o capitão-mor da armada, Fernão Perez de Andrade; regimento para o feitor Rui de Araújo, sobre o governo da cidade; requerimentos, recados e mensagens trocadas com o rei Mahemed no decurso das negociações prévias ao primeiro ataque; rol dos fidalgos, de cavaleiros e de outros portugueses que participaram nos combates. Merece-lhe especial referência um mapa executado por um piloto javanês onde se representava quase todo o mundo conhecido da época, desde Portugal até às ilhas das Especiarias, incluindo o Brasil, bem como as rotas marítimas e a navegação dos chineses e de outros povos asiáticos, as fronteiras e o interior de cada reino, "foi a melhor coisa que eu [Albuquerque] nunca vi, e Vossa Alteza houvera de folgar muito de a ver"[16].

Afonso de Albuquerque não fornece outras notícias sobre objectos específicos submergidos com a *Flor de la Mar* passando, ao contrário, a enumerar jóias remetidas para o Reino através de Nuno Vaz, prendas do rei de Sião ao soberano de Portugal: uma espada e respectiva bainha em ouro, e uma copa "a qual se tirou quebrada". Incorporavam, certamente, o tradicional aparato e esplendor da cultura siamesa, fortemente influenciada por elementos Mon e Khmer[17].

Integravam os presentes remetidos de Ayutthaya uma coroa, uma taça e um rubi. Este, engastado em anel de ouro, extremamente valioso, não chegaria às mãos do rei português, sumindo-se nos meandros da cobiça dos homens (de que trataremos mais adiante). É, igualmente, impossível seguir o percurso das restantes peças recebidas de Sião, umas destinadas à Coroa, outras gratificando Albuquerque e seus embaixadores: dois sinos grandes usados nas campanhas militares e vinte sinos de tamanho médio (com os respectivos tocadores); vinte lanças compridas, douradas, de pau e ferro finamente decorado; uma tela historiada com cenas de guerra representando "cada coisa distinta por si", delicadamente executada em papel fixado em beirame de grandes dimensões, decorado com carros de guerra puxados por cavalos e elefantes com castelos engalanados, e arraiais com o rei representado no seu pavilhão

de guerra. A rainha-mãe de Sião oferecera várias jóias incluindo algumas pulseiras cravejadas de pedraria e três caixas de ouro[18]. De Sião recebera-se, portanto, um imponente lote de presentes no qual se inscrevia um raro e apreciado elefante branco, origem do epíteto do monarca, conhecido como "Senhor do Elefante Branco"[19]. Em 1511, o Reino de Sião era um potentado político e um Estado opulento. As ofertas destinadas a Portugal eram imensas e tiveram de incluir um junco para transportar todo o espólio.

Em Malaca, no século XVI não existia, como actualmente não há, uma forte tradição artística local onde se patenteie uma produção original, contrariamente a outras regiões da Indochina – actual Tailândia, Laos, Cambodja, Vietname, Myanmar – que, influenciadas profundamente pela civilização indiana, transformaram os elementos externos segundo as necessidades, integrando-os numa bem vincada cultura indígena. Este fenómeno poderá explicar-se na relativamente recente história de Malaca, fundada cerca de cem anos antes da chegada dos portugueses. Malaca, "o eixo onde se tudo revolve"[20], encruzilhada das rotas comerciais da China, Japão, Índia, Veneza, Cairo ou Alexandria, é, no século XVI, um centro re-distributivo à escala internacional[21] onde actualmente são ainda reconhecíveis os traços de outras civilizações, nos vestígios da cerâmica chinesa das dinastias Tang (618-907), Song (960-1279) e Ming (1368-1644), ou tailandesa de Sukhothai ou de Ayutthaya[22]. Sendo a maior parte do carregamento da esquadra de Afonso de Albuquerque proveniente do saque da cidade, os objectos artísticos recolhidos deveriam sem dúvida apresentar as características da virtuosidade técnica desses centros de manufactura. É também de admitir a existência de uma quantidade significativa da fina cerâmica chinesa, principalmente pratos e bules, parte substancial dos produtos mais transaccionados nas relações comerciais de longa distância[23]. Será, provavelmente, o acervo mais abundante a encontrar numa eventual recuperação dos destroços da nau, a concretizar-se um dia um projecto de arqueologia marítima, como o que se pretendeu já realizar na década de 90.

As fontes disponíveis omitem quase sempre as características e proveniência das peças. No entanto, é possível identificar a origem de uma mesa com os pés forrados a ouro, trabalho indiano, oferecida em Goa, e que Albuquerque se esquecera de entregar ao feitor de Cochim. Uma outra referência atesta a origem de dois leões grandes, em ferro vasado, delicadamente trabalhados ("obra mui prima e natural") oferecidos ao soberano de Malaca pelo rei da China, seu suserano. Não se sabe com segurança se ornamentavam a entrada do palácio real ou a sepultura de reis ancestrais[24].

Mas, independentemente da função específica das duas peças, sabe-se da preferência dada no Extremo Oriente à representação de leões, muitas vezes estilizados em virtude de não haver um contacto próximo com a fera, apenas conhecida por uma tradição milenar. Representações, ou esculturas figurando leões, eram colocadas de cada lado das portas de entrada de palácios, de templos e de casas, como guardiões

contra as influências maléficas e para atrair felicidade. Frequentemente, a figura à esquerda, masculina, era apresentada segurando na pata um globo ou uma pérola, clara associação ao astro solar, enquanto a figura à direita, feminina, se representava acompanhada de uma das crias[25]. Afonso de Albuquerque pretendia vir a ter os dois leões como ornamento da sua própria sepultura, forma condigna de enaltecer o triunfo alcançado sobre Malaca. Os leões perderam-se, mas, chegado à Índia, Albuquerque mandaria resgatá-los, escrevendo para isso a Jorge Botelho, um dos portugueses que ali ficara servindo de capitão de uma caravela da armada, pedindo-lhe para contratar pescadores de pérolas habilitados e mostrando-se disposto a investir na operação quanto fosse necessário[26].

Esforço inútil. Numa associação circunstancial, João de Barros, relaciona as duas peças naufragadas com os anéis de diamantes e de rubi, este já atrás mencionado, que entretanto havia desaparecido. Porque os leões, "por serem mudos" ficariam "nos baixos de *Aru*" e os anéis "sumidos (…) no esquecimento de Rui de Pina" (cronista-mor do Reino, guarda-mor da Torre do Tombo e da livraria régia em Lisboa), ao cuidado de quem Afonso de Albuquerque teria deixado as jóias. Decorridos vários anos, ter-se-iam pedido esclarecimentos sobre o paradeiro dos leões e dos anéis, atitude que o cronista contesta num lamento acusatório:

"E que eu murmurado de muitos por não ser processo em nome deste ofício de escrever (…) [queriam que] viesse dar conta (…) como se eu os tivera em receita ou algum prémio que me obrigara sofrer os trabalhos desta escritura, que segundo me carrega a ingratidão deles, não sei se fora mais justo deixar os leões e os anéis em poder de quem os consumiu. Porém porque (…) aos que estão por vir pode ser que lhe seja mais acepto este meu trabalho que a muitos presentes, não quero que Afonso de Albuquerque perca os leões e a Rui de Pina faça-lhe boa prol os seus anéis."[27]

Os dados sobre objectos figurando leões entre a presa de guerra de Malaca são discordantes na diversa documentação[28], podendo o facto advir quer da divergente informação que circulava entre os vários autores quer de uma efectiva diversidade de peças, tendo em conta o gosto evidente pelas representações do animal, envolto desde a Antiguidade numa forte simbologia ligada ao poder, à dominação e à justiça, patenteado na Índia, onde aparece frequentemente a efígie de três leões adossados em armas e brasões ou servindo de trono a Buda, ou no Extremo Oriente onde, por exemplo, os imperadores usavam auriculares executados em fina porcelana, configurando leões para os proteger durante o sono[29]. É, por conseguinte, provável que os quatro leões em ouro, onde "dentro se põem perfumes" e que serviam de sustentação ao leito do rei de Malaca, fosse um conjunto diferenciado das esculturas de leões sentados, executadas em ouro, com pedraria engastada, simulando olhos, língua, dentes e unhas, utilizados para guardar perfumes.

Encontra-se igualmente descrita nas fontes a proveniência chinesa de pérolas miúdas que se guardavam em gudões (*gudang* em malaio)[30] do palácio real. Neles os homens recolheram muita riqueza entre peças em ouro e em prata, além de jarras

cheias de ouro em pó. Ricas porcelanas, muito benjoim, jarras de almíscar, caixões cheios de damascos, peças de cetim e tafetá, sedas, pau de áquila[31] e cânfora. E aí também se achou uma "tripeça de assentar de quatro pés" – pequena mesa usada pela rainha de Malaca para tomar as suas refeições. As mesas baixas foram introduzidas no Sueste Asiático pelos chineses, mas continuaram durante muito tempo a ser utilizadas apenas pelas elites abastadas. Só a pedraria incrustada na magnífica peça fora avaliada em trezentos mil cruzados[32]. Bastará lembrar, a título comparativo, que Afonso de Albuquerque estivera prestes a vender em *Paçém* dois navios de *Cambaia* capturados durante a viagem por (apenas!) vinte e cinco mil cruzados[33].

A riqueza do saque foi proporcional à grandeza de Malaca, cidade com uma extensão análoga à de Lisboa Quinhentista: o governador tinha dado autorização para pilharem quanto quisessem, excluindo as propriedades de Ninachatu, dos quelins, pegus, e javaneses, pelo que os homens andaram numa azáfama, invadindo as casas em grupos organizados e atirando para as ruas tudo quanto achavam até estas transbordarem. Depararam-se com casas cheias de sândalo no qual nem sequer tocaram por ser desnecessário perante tão avultada presa.

Mas não foi tudo. Posta em fuga para o interior, a Corte de Malaca foi perseguida por uma multidão mesclada de portugueses e guerreiros nativos, cedidos pelo comerciante javanês Ninachatu, estabelecido há muito em Malaca e desde o início apaniguado do projecto de Albuquerque. Na empresa apoderaram-se de sete elefantes de guerra com os respectivos castelos de madeira ornamentados de brocado, selas forradas pintadas em ouro com andores de estado lavrados de marfim. Apreendeu-se ainda um total de três a quatro mil tiros de artilharia, entre larga variedade de armas – espingardões, zarabatanas, arcos, frechas, lanças de Java, além de um "tiro grande" que o rei de Calicute oferecera ao seu homólogo de Malaca.

Tomou-se "despojo de grande valor, o maior que nunca se tomou, nem outro tal tomará, fora muitas coisas ricas que [os capitães] tinham em seus navios"[34], consolidando a opinião de Afonso de Albuquerque de que "as presas feitas sobre os mouros constituíam o melhor fundo de meneio das feitorias e dos produtos que se pagavam sobre as despesas das armadas e os soldos"[35]. A parte do rei de Portugal foi estimada em duzentos mil cruzados: um quinto da totalidade da presa, não incluindo, naturalmente, o ouro e a prata furtada pelos soldados[36]. Pretendeu-se até convencer o governador a desistir da construção da fortaleza e partir de imediato – "não devia de mais aguardar, senão carregar armada desta tanta riqueza, e ir à Índia"[37] –, ideia rejeitada em nome dos interesses mais amplos da Coroa portuguesa.

Do conjunto de objectos embarcados nos porões dos quatro navios que levantaram vela em 1512, faziam igualmente parte jóias e peças raras oferecidas pelas inumeráveis embaixadas que visitaram Afonso de Albuquerque e outras recebidas anteriormente, durante a navegação para Malaca, em portos onde estabelecera laços diplomáticos com Portugal. Os soberanos "comarcãos" aperceberam-se da chegada

dos portugueses envolver um comportamento inédito, fora dos padrões convencionais das acometidas habitualmente praticadas na região, onde o invasor atacava, espoliava, e se retirava sem manifestar desejos de domínio territorial. Razão, aliás, para o rei de Malaca ter alimentado a esperança de retornar à sua cidade, prestando-se a aguardar no sertão até os portugueses partirem (mas tal não iria acontecer nos cento e vinte e oito anos seguintes). Os embaixadores chegavam a Malaca diariamente e em tão elevado número, ao ponto do governador suspeitar que alguns não passariam de espiões[38].

O rei de *Campar* (em Samatra) mandara a Afonso de Albuquerque oito fardos de "lenhonoe" muito fino, raro, "coisa de muito preço que em todas as partes de Malaca se não acharia outro tal"[39] mais "dois de uma maça, que se faz do sangue do dragão, que serve de verniz para cousas pintadas"[40], enquanto o soberano de Java remeteu fardos de lenho aloés ("a que na Índia chamam calambuco") e dois fardos de lacre"[41] afora uma dúzia de lanças, uma tela historiada, pintada, sinos pequenos ("que é a sua música") e grandes, usados na guerra[42].

E não somente os soberanos desejavam encetar relações cordiais com o novo poder político instalado na Península Malaia. Os proeminentes mercadores locais, autorizados a permanecer e incentivados a manterem as suas redes de trato também demonstraram a sua adesão ao plano português. Utemutaraja, um poderoso comerciante javanês, que controlava uma das zonas da cidade, enviou a Albuquerque um grande presente de sândalos e "outras coisas[43]".

O rol de embarque das mercadorias, peças de mobiliário e outros objectos artísticos, a ter existido, compreenderia ainda os bens capturados no decurso da navegação para Malaca, naquela época do ano[44], em particular, com extraordinário movimento marítimo por ser a época da monção, quando os barcos viajavam repletos de mercadorias[45].

Na travessia de Ceilão para *Pacém* (Passay) e ao longo da costa de Samatra capturaram-se várias embarcações com avultada veniaga que, não fora a determinação de Afonso de Albuquerque em atingir Malaca, a armada poderia nesse momento ter voltado ao Reino com a maior presa jamais conseguida naquelas partes. Há notícia de ter sido apreendido cobre, azougue, vermelhão, "estoque" líquido, coral, panos de cores e muito dinheiro, entre outra copiosa fazenda[46].

Algumas peças foram aproveitadas por Albuquerque para as ofertas diplomáticas, segundo o costume naquelas partes, conforme ainda se atesta no final do século XVI, quando Jacques de Coutre descreve a visita realizada ao Reino de Sião na década de 1590:

"(...) antes de entrarmos en palacio [real], Oyá Pangueran, un privado suyo [do rei], nos dio a cada uno unas flores de oro y plata, mescladas com otras flores naturales – que en la India los llamam mogurís; son unas rozas tan grandes como un real de a quatro; huelen propriamente como jasmines – para presentarmos al rey, por ser costumbre no dar audiencia sin presentarlo algo." [47]

Muitos elefantes e alguns milhares de escravos obtidos através do saque da cidade foram oferecidos pelo governador a Utemutaraja (para o atrair para a causa portuguesa, quando, sem desconfiar do jogo duplo que este arquitectava, considerava a possibilidade de o colocar no trono de Malaca[48]). O rei de Java também recebeu um elefante dos que haviam sido aprisionados, entre peças de escarlata e de veludo carmesim. Sabe-se igualmente ter sido Duarte Fernandes, o primeiro embaixador de Portugal ao Sião (escolhido para a missão por falar fluentemente a língua malaia, aprendida durante o cativeiro de dois anos – desde 1509 – em Malaca), portador de uma espada com punho e copas de ouro "formosamente" trabalhados, com o respectivo cinturão a condizer, couraças de veludo carmesim, um corselete comprido, um capacete e barbote, uma adarga "com seus cordões muito ricos, metida numa funda de brocado": peças da Europa entre panos de armas de veludo e cetins de cores entretalhadas, borlados de ouro, que originalmente decoravam uma casa móvel, puxada por elefantes que fora construída por ocasião das bodas de uma filha do soberano de Malaca, em festa de núpcias com o rei de *Pam* quando da chegada dos portugueses, além do conjunto de peças de prata (uma taça de água – lavanda – com decorações de bastiães, duas alabardas do mesmo teor, uma caldeirinha lavrada, uma bésta), ramais de coral grosso muito estimado na região.

De notar ainda a riqueza da expedição de três velas capitaneadas por António de Abreu enviada em Novembro de 1511 às *Ilhas do Cravo (Molucas)*, com instruções rigorosas para distribuir a carga (composta de muitas escarlatas, veludos de Meca, e outra copiosa veniaga), em prendas, "em todos os portos, e ilhas a que chegasse" e brindasse com dádivas os "reis, e outros senhores da terra".

Significa isto ter ficado na região uma parte não despicienda de tudo quanto se adquiriu em Malaca, sabendo-se igualmente que um segmento do despojo foi transaccionado localmente antes da partida. Uma fracção dos bens recolhidos poderá não ter embarcado por serem propriedade dos capitães que ali continuaram, ou terem ficado para serviço da guarnição portuguesa, entre a qual se contaria a artilharia necessária à defesa.

Uma sistematização dos bens embarcados na *Flor de la Mar* revela aspectos incontornáveis. Escasseiam os documentos – listas de embarque, relatos coevos, depoimentos directos, cartas, etc. – sem contar com o facto de os cronistas que posteriormente relataram os acontecimentos, apresentarem elementos divergentes entre si, confundindo os pormenores, e desenvolvendo o discurso numa exposição globalizante, deixando, como sempre, para um plano acessório os aspectos artísticos das peças.

A bordo da pequena armada de quatro navios encontrava-se um imenso tesouro. No entanto, só duas embarcações chegariam a Cochim – as naus *Trindade* e *Enxobregas*. Por um lado, a *Flor de la Mar* – a nau capitânia – naufragou, mas como houve tempo para acautelar alguma fazenda (da banda da popa, imobilizada durante algum tempo sobre o recife), apenas uma parte da carga se afundou. A mercadoria do junco, por outro lado, perdeu-se completamente, desaparecendo, aí sim, uma grande parte do cabedal antes arrecadado.

Segundo as fontes consultadas, e salvaguardados os estudos de ciência marítima e técnicas do mar – de que não possuímos conhecimentos – resta a evidência de, decorridos cinco séculos sobre o naufrágio da lendária *Flor de la Mar*, ser quase certo restar muito pouca coisa depositada no fundo do oceano, contrariamente à ideia, que de maneira pouco fiável, se foi divulgando.

NOTAS

[1] Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia*, Lisboa, Typographia da Academia Real das Sciências de Lisboa, 1860, Livro II, tomo II, parte I, cap. xxix.

[2] A data apontada por Gaspar Correia não parece plausível quando afirma que "partiu o Governador de Malaca em primeiro de Dezembro deste ano" [de 1511] chegando a Cochim já em Janeiro do ano seguinte (*id., ibidem*, II, II, I, xxxii). Por um lado, a sequência e a duração dos factos que relata não se enquadram na sua própria cronologia: o terceiro ataque à cidade ocorreu a 25 de Agosto de 1511 e só então teve início a construção da fortaleza; a primeira fase dos trabalhos (demolição das mesquitas e desmantelamento dos jazigos antigos para obter a pedra necessária, fabrico de cal, e preparação dos alicerces) demorou dois meses [até Outubro]; quando a torre de menagem se encontrava ao nível de dois sobrados com os muros em redor à altura de um homem, tinham já decorrido quatro meses [Dezembro] e nessa altura a obra foi interrompida durante um mês, aproximadamente, por falta de mão-de-obra [Janeiro de 1512]. Seguindo o relato de Correia, à data da partida de Albuquerque de Malaca a torre de menagem estava construída, pelo menos até ao terceiro sobrado. (*id., ibidem*, II, II, I, xxix). Verifica-se, portanto, que o autor se contradiz. Tanto João de Barros como os *Comentários* omitem a informação quanto à data da partida de Albuquerque e Castanheda apenas faz alusão à chegada a Cochim "na entrada de Fevereiro" (Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*, Porto, Lello & Irmão, 1979, Livro III, lxxix), o que está igualmente em desacordo com o teor da carta remetida por António Real ao rei de Portugal, escrita em Cochim, em 15 de Dezembro de 1512, na qual menciona ter o governador chegado a Cochim "no derradeiro dia de Fevereiro", (Raimundo António de Bulhão Pato, *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque seguidas de documentos que as elucidam*, Lisboa, Typographia da Academia Real das Sciências de Lisboa, 1903, vol. III, p. 338). O próprio Afonso de Albuquerque, escrevendo ao rei a 1 de Abril de 1512, menciona ter enviado uma expedição às Molucas no "mês de Novembro (...) dois meses e meio antes que eu partisse", ou seja, em Janeiro ou Fevereiro de 1512 (*Idem*, *Ibidem*, pp. 29-65).

[3] *Idem, Ibidem,* p. 338. O rogo dos mercadores de Malaca é tratado por Castanheda, *op. cit.*, III, lxxvii; Correia (*op. cit.,* II, II, I, xxi); João de Barros, *Ásia. Dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1988, Década II, Livro VI, cap. vii) e em Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *Comentários de Afonso de Albuquerque*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1973, Tomo II, Parte III, cap. xxxviii.

[4] A nau entrou no mar em 1501 (cf. ANTT-PT-*CC*-2/4/39 e ANTT-PT-TT-*CC*/1/3/84 sobre o apresto do navio), integrando a armada que partiu de Lisboa a 5 de Março, capitaneada por João da Nova (*Memória das Armadas que de Portugal pasaram há Índia...*, Lisboa, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa [ed. fac-símile], 1979). Afonso de Albuquerque toma posteriormente posse do navio. A intervenção em várias campanhas e os danos que sofreu na viagem e durante a conquista de Malaca, contribuíram muito para o seu elevado desgaste. Segundo António Martins Mourão, a *Flor de la Mar* é "descrita como a mais formidável nau que então existia na Índia" ("*Flor de la Mar*: tesouro a fundo

perdido" in *Oceanos* (rev.), Lisboa, CNCDP, Novembro de 1990, vol. 5). João de Barros deixa antever um pormenor do aspecto da sala onde Afonso de Albuquerque concede audiência a um mensageiro do rei de Malaca, recebido estando o governador "assentado em uma cadeira de espaldas guarnecida de seda e ouro, e todos os capitães da frota assentados em bancos cobertos de alcatifas". Após uma breve troca de palavras entre ambos, Albuquerque manda "pôr umas almofadas de seda" no chão para o muçulmano se instalar. (Barros, *op. cit*, II, VI, iii). Por outro lado, sabemos que Albuquerque recebeu a bordo cinco informadores chineses, capitães de navios que se encontravam no porto de Malaca, convidando-os para cear, e tê-los-á banqueteado "à moda de Flandres e de Alemanha – mesa folgazona e bojudos copos" (Jerónimo Osório, *Da Vida e Feitos de El-Rei D. Manuel*, Porto, Livraria Civilização, s.d., vol. II, p. 46).

[5] "E a causa porque o governador não meteu aquela fazenda do junco nem os escravos em *Frol de lamar* que era a capitaina, foi porque fazia tanta água que se temeu que se fosse ao fundo, e por esta razão quisera ir na *Trindade* que era uma das outras naus de sua conserva" (Castanheda, *op. cit.*, III, lxxviii); Gaspar Correia relata igualmente que "o governador ordenou sua embarcação para a Índia (...) [com] Simão Martins em um junco novo, muito grande, que vinha carregado do despojo de Malaca (...)". (Correia, *op.cit*., II, II, I, xxxi).

[6] Castanheda, III, lxxviii.

[7] *Memória das Armadas que de Portugal pasaram há Índia...*, Lisboa, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1979; Biblioteca da Ajuda, *cod*. 49-I-51; *cod*. 50-V-23; *cod*. 5I-VII-5. Neste último códice encontra-se a referência mais surpreendente relativa à *Flor de la Mar*: afirma-se que a nau partiu para a Índia em 1505 na armada D. Francisco de Almeida, com João da Nova ao comando, e que "veio em 3 de Maio de 1531". A observação, que não pode respeitar a João da Nova porque, como se sabe, morreu na Índia em 1509, revela um total desconhecimento da ocorrência do naufrágio.

[8] Correia, II, II, I, xxxii.

[9] *Comentários*, II, III, lxiii.

[10] Correia acrescenta terem, após o incidente, "muito à sua vontade passado a Cochim, onde já estava o Governador havia vinte dias" (Correia, *.op. cit*, II, II, I, xxxii). João de Barros apresenta uma outra versão dos acontecimentos, dizendo que "teve Afonso de Albuquerque além da perda desta nau [*Flor de la Mar*], outra que ele também muito sentiu, que foi o junco (...) onde (...) vinham treze portugueses e trinta malabares dos soldados de Cochim, com o qual se levantaram os Jaos que o mareavam (...). E como eles não queriam mais que salvar suas pessoas de cativeiro, não curaram da mareagem do junco e deram com ele no porto de *Aru*: onde logo foi roubado por eles e pelos da terra, e os portugueses postos em poder dos mouros, no qual levantamento morreu Simão Martins e outros." (Barros, II, VII, i).

[11] Segundo consta de notícias publicadas em décadas recentes, a *Flor de la Mar* encontra-se actualmente a menos de quarenta metros da superfície, distância acessível à capacidade de resistência humana em mergulho em águas oceânicas sem utilização de equipamentos auxiliares.

[12] Artur Basílio de Sá, *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português no Oriente – Isulíndia*, *(1506-1549)*, Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar - Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca, 1.º vol. 1954, p. 100.

[13] *Cartas, op. cit.*, vol. I. p. 58.

[14] *Kabal* em malaio, significa invulnerável, invulnerabilidade. Parece haver alguma confusão entre os cronistas, que assumiram "a propriedade pelo animal" que seria o pangolim. (Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, Hamburg, Helmut Buske Verlag Hamburg, 1982, vol. 1, pp. 159-160).

[15] *Comentários*, *op. cit., II,* III, xliii.

[16] *Cartas, op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 64.

[17] Mary Somers Heidhues, *Southeast Asia – A Concise History*, London, Thames & Hudson, 2001, p. 62.

[18] Correia, II, II, I, xxx; Castanheda, III, lxii.

[19] O rei de Sião possuía uma quantidade impressionante de elefantes. Segundo Damião de Góis eram mais de 30.000, machos e fêmeas, domesticados e selvagens (*Chronica d'El-Rei D. Manuel*, Lisboa, Escriptorio, 1910, vol. IV. p. 80). No final do século XVI, a dinastia de Ayutthaya mantinha ainda um vasto número de elefantes, alguns deles tratados requintadamente: dormiam em enormes colchões de seda e "estavan prezos com unas cadenas tan gruesas como las de portada, aforradas en oro (...) Y hasta los cordeles eran de seda, y tenia cada uno seis vasos mui grandes de oro" com óleos, água e comida. Havia recipientes para os dejectos e os elefantes "tan enseñados estavan que quando querían orinar o proveerse, se llevantavan de las camas". (Jacques de Coutre, *Andanzas asiáticas*, Edición de Eddy Stols, B. Teensma y Werberckmoes, Madrid, *História* 16, 1991, p. 132).

[20] Carta de Rui de Brito Patalim a Afonso de Albuquerque, de 6 de Janeiro de 1514 (*Cartas*, *op. cit.,* III, p. 56).

[21] "Malaca é cidade que foi feita para a mercadoria mais auta de todas do mundo, cabo de monções princípio de outras, é cercada Malaca e jaze no meio" (*A Suma Oriental de Tomé Pires e o livro de Francisco Rodrigues*, publicados por Armando Cortesão, Coimbra, Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis, 1978, p. 441. Sublinhe-se que à chegada dos portugueses em 1509 se falavam em Malaca oitenta e quatro línguas e que nela residiam grupos de léquios, gores, quelins, persas, gujarates e chineses (M.J. Pintado, *A Stroll through Ancient Malacca and a Glimpse at her historical Sites*, Melaka, Loh Printing Press, s.d. [1980], p. 4.

[22] Danièle Ros *in* Lucio Felici (dir.), *Encyclopédie de l'Art*, *s.l.* [Paris?], La Pochotèque Garzanti, 2005, pp. 49-50 e pp. 209-215.

[23] Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1988, vol. 2, p. 104.

[24] Segundo Barros (*op. cit*., II, VII, i) encontrava-se à entrada do palácio; nos *Comentários* (II, III, xliii) afirma-se que "se acharam em umas sepulturas antigas dos reis de Malaca.

[25] Michel Cazenave (dir.), *Encyclopédie des Symboles,* Paris, La Pochothèque, 1996, p. 74 e p. 366.

[26] Barros, *op. cit.,* II, VII, i.

[27] *Idem*, *ibidem*, II, II, i.

[28] Os *Comentários* (II, III, xxviii) aludem a "seis leões grandes de metal" e Gaspar Correia refere "quatro leões de ouro, vãos que dentro deles se metem perfumes, e sobre eles estava a cama de el-rei" de Malaca.

[29] Éloïse Mozzani, *Le Livre des Superstitions – Mythes, Croyances et Légendes*, Paris, Robert Lafont, 1995, p. 995.

[30] Depósitos onde se guardavam as mercadorias. Em Malaca eram subterrâneos ou parcialmente escavados no subsolo, cobertos por uma argamassa para proteger os produtos de ataques e dos incêndios, perigo constante na cidade onde todas as construções, à excepção da mesquita grande e do paço real, eram em madeira. Os gudões continuaram activos após a tomada de Malaca pelos portugueses (cf. carta de Rui de Brito Patalim a Afonso de Albuquerque, de 6 de Janeiro de 1514, in *Cartas, op. cit.*, III, p. 50) e outros foram novamente construídos (Pires, *op. cit.*, p. 438).

[31] Pau de aguila (o mesmo que lenholoés ou linaloés) ou calambuco que se utilizava como incenso (Dalgado, *op. cit.*, p. 17, pp. 180-181 e p. 521).

[32] Correia, *op.cit.*, II, II, I, xxxii.

[33] Castanheda, III, li.

[34] Correia, *op. cit.,* II, II, I, XXVIII.

[35] Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, Lisboa, Arcádia, 1965, vol. II, pp.45-46.

[36] Osório, *op. cit., II,* p. 52. Para se ter uma ideia aproximada do montante envolvido refira-se que de 1504 a 1509, "o total [do quinhão das presas e saques que coube à Coroa portuguesa foi de] 20.000 cruzados por ano" (Godinho, *op. cit*., p. 38).

[37] Correia, *op. cit.,* II, II, I, xxviii.

[38] Castanheda, *op. cit.*, III, lxii.

[39] Correia, *op. cit*, II, II, I xxx.

[40] Comentários, *op. cit*., II, III, xxiv e xxxvii.

[41] Castanheda, *op. cit.,* III, lxii.

[42] Comentários, *op. cit.,* III, xxxvii.

[43] Castanheda, *op. cit.*, III, lvii.

[44] A armada partiu de Cochim em 20 de Abril de 1511, aportando na ilha das Naus, frente a Malaca, a 1 de Julho do mesmo ano (Castanheda, *op. cit.*, III, i e lii.).

[45] Não é possível determinar com segurança o número de navios que terão sido capturados na viagem. Castanheda (III, li.) refere cinco naus de *Cambaia* que iam para Malaca, um junco grande de setecentas toneladas onde se encontrava NahodaBegea, outro junco, com mercadores do Ceilão e do Coromandel, carregado de roupas finas e de outras coisas avaliadas em 150.000 cruzados, e ainda um terceiro junco onde se achou fazenda avaliada em 20.000 cruzados. No discurso aos capitães da armada que o cronista atribui a Afonso de Albuquerque, proferido por ocasião do conselho reunido antes do segundo ataque a Malaca, o governador terá argumentado: "(...) podeis bem ver por oito naus que aqui temos tomadas que levam mais que vinte das nossas" (Castanheda, III, lviii). João de Barros (*op. Cit.* II, VI, ii) indica cinco naus de mouros guzarates que iam a Malaca, e dois juncos com "mui grossa presa" um dos quais, com cerca de seiscentas toneladas, transportava quase somente ouro. O autor dos *Comentários* (*op. Cit.* II, III, xv). reporta ter sido interceptada uma nau em frente à ilha de Ceilão e quando a armada chegou a *Pedir* já tinha tomado outras cinco. Depois disso avistaram dois juncos muito grandes, um do Coromandel outro de Java, e já próximo de Malaca tomaram um terceiro que saía do porto para se dirigir ao Sião.

[46] Correia, *op. cit.*, II, II, I, xxvi.

[47] Coutre, *op. cit*., p. 111.

[48] Correia, *op. cit.*, II, II, I, xxix.

35

EAST AFRICA AND THE INDIAN OCEAN WORLD[1]

Michael Pearson

'Are these people Africans, or were the coastal dwellers, the shorefolk, quite separate? The short answer must be that they were as African as any Bantu from the interior.[2]'

Kirkman wrote of the 'set-up of town and country – one semi-foreign, renegade, expatriate, as you will; the other pure, untamed, barbarous.[3]'

The great debate in Swahili studies concerns the orientation of these coastal dwellers. Were they 'foreign' to Africa, looking rather to the Indian Ocean world, or were they merely Bantu-origin Africans who happened to live on the coast? Unfortunately, this is not just an academic question. Since East African states became independent the Swahili have often been stigmatised as insufficiently 'African.' They were favoured by the colonial powers from the late nineteenth century, and were central figures in the slave trade which reduced many interior Africans to servitude. Even their language, quite heavily influenced by 'foreign' Arabic, shows that they are marginal in new proud African states[4].

My own earlier foray into African history strongly favoured the 'Swahili are African' notion. However, further reflection, and some recent publications, have led me to modify this stance substantially. I will argue that in fact the Swahili were oriented much more strongly to the Indian Ocean than to the interior - in geographical terms to their foreland rather than their hinterland. My second claim is that in this they played a rather passive role both in terms of religion and economics. The engines of religion and trade were located far from the coast; the Swahili accepted trade goods and religious ideas but contributed very little themselves. Let me emphasize at once that if these findings are unacceptable to some scholars, then they are welcome to present counter-arguments. I certainly have no wish to give comfort to those who would marginalise and even persecute the Swahili, or support policies of *majimboism*, that is ethnic cleansing. My findings certainly are not meant to impugn the loyalty of Swahili people to the African states in which they live. Yet a politically correct

finding that the Swahili are purely 'African,' whatever that means, no longer seems valid to me.

I will merely sketch, in a very impressionistic way, a little data which has led me to this position. We should first consider Erik Gilbert's recent complaint of the dead hand of Area Studies and its effects on academic work. As he says, one can get a grant to compare Zanzibar and Gambia, but not to compare Zanzibar and Aden or Calicut. While paying tribute to Lewis and Wigen and their arguments against using continents as areas of analysis, he says they fail to point out that one good unit of analysis, which should be entirely sympathetic to world history practitioners, is bodies of water. His book on Zanzibar demonstrates this brilliantly[5]. Nor indeed is this very new, for the important Danish historian Niels Steensgaard years ago pointed out that one could well ignore 'Europe' and 'Asia,' and instead write of an oecumene connected by water, that is the eastern Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea[6]. In a more confined area, A. A. Mazrui some years ago claimed that the Red Sea, often seen as separating 'Africa' from 'Arabia,' is really a sea of communication[7]. If we take seriously the sea as a connector rather than a divider, this will help to locate the Swahili in an Indian Ocean context.

Turning to my first theme, the orientation of the coast, the first crucial distinction is to remember the well known divisions of this coastline. I am not here denying a certain unity amongst Swahili people from far south to north, but rather suggesting, as have many others, that geography played an important role in this history, especially in the subject under discussion. Many scholars have found three zones: the Banadir coast from the Horn of Africa to Lamu, then the heartland, the Mrima coast down to Kilwa, and then south from there to Inhambane. For our purposes, it is the standard geographical division of the coast at Cape Dalgado which is relevant, and this for two reasons. First is the monsoon system. The Kas Kazi, from the northeast, prevails from November to March, and the Kusi from the southwest from May to September[8]. Ships from the north – Arabia and India – could reach Cape Dalgado, or more likely Kilwa, on one monsoon, but beyond this took two, with a consequent very long delay. There is also the fact that the monsoons are steadier and stronger in the north than in the south. A passage to Mombasa was easy, one to Sofala much longer and more erratic. This meant that local Swahili traders had an important role in collecting goods from the south and bringing them up to Kilwa, or later Mombasa, to be bought, through the mediation of local Swahili middlemen, by merchants from far away.

Quite coincidentally, the coast north of Cape Dalgado was much more cut off from the interior than was that to the south. The northern rivers – the Tana river, and Kilifi, Mtwapa and Kilindini creeks – were small things compared with the great rivers of the south – the Zambezi and the Limpopo and the Sabi. There is no northern equivalent of the great fluvial ports of the Zambezi, Sena and Tete, respectively 260 km and 515 km inland. Equally coincidentally, it was from the south that the most important export products came: gold from Zimbabwe, and ivory. It seems

serendipitous that the best products came from places with easy river access to the coast and the waiting merchants. The northern area closest to the great markets around the shores of the ocean did not produce much in the way of export goods, or if they existed inland they were relatively inaccessible. The only exception seems to be mangrove poles, copiously harvested all along the coast. In short, the northern area was closer to its trading partners, and had better monsoons, but lacked easy access to the interior, while the south was harder to get to, but had rivers which made exports from the interior readily available on the coast.

The point then is that it was primarily the northern coast which was more cut off from its African interior. In geographer's terms, the umland provided food for the Swahili port cities, but there was little contact with the hinterland. The focus was entirely to the east, to the Indian Ocean. Indian and Arab traders came in with their trade goods, in which textiles from India were especially important, and took away products from the south which had been chaffered up the coast in small local ships.

All this is in fact familiar enough, for many modern scholars have made this same point. I railed against them in my earlier work, but have now been converted. Kirkman put this in very inflammatory, even racist, terms, but an insistence on an orientation to the Indian Ocean, or at least to the Arabian Sea, is not a new idea. Chittick wrote of the Indian Ocean as a large cultural continuum, and 'the people of the coast of East Africa were oriented to such an extent towards the ocean that their social and cultural interaction with the peoples of the interior before the nineteenth century was very slight. There was little penetration of the hinterland, save in the Zambezi region; goods needed for export were brought to the coast, rather than sought out in the interior.[9]' Bridges takes a similar view. North of Cape Dalgado there is no evidence of sustained economic contact between the coast and the interior before the nineteenth century. Exports came from the Zambezi valley, far to the south[10]. So also Datoo, who wrote that north of Cape Dalgado 'the coast was oriented outwards rather than inwards, seawards rather than landwards so that it had few if any connections with what is now considered to be its natural hinterland.[11]'

Newitt in his excellent history of Mozambique gives important information on the southern area which is his main concern; however, he may be in error to include Kilwa in this depiction. He found Kilwa having the same role as ports further south such as Sofala, Angoche and Quelimane. All were dependent on the arrival of trade caravans from the interior, and had important links both to the ocean and the interior[12]. However there seems to be copious evidence that Kilwa, but not the others, had little to do with the interior, and rather lived by acting as a transit point for the gold from Sofala. Alpers certainly disagrees with him precisely over Kilwa's orientation. Before the Portuguese it 'was oriented outwards to the sea,' it was 'essentially an Islamic commercial outpost in another land.' Its prosperity was based on control of the sea route to Sofala and of Sofala itself, not on Kilwa's trade with its own interior, which hardly existed[13].

Other scholars have stressed a more medium notion, that they are coastal rather than either Arab or African. As Pouwels wrote, Swahili culture by about 1500 was 'a child of its human and physical environment, being neither wholly African nor "Arab," but distinctly "coastal," the whole being greater than the sum of its parts.[14]' Nurse and Spear find a Swahili unity, for 'while the Swahili lived in widely scattered communities, each characterised by its own dialect, culture and history, they also lived within a single larger community, knit together by their mutual involvement in the Indian Ocean world.[15]' So also Mark Horton in his study of a bronze lion statuette found at Shanga. Its attribution is mysterious, but he suggests 'The Shanga lion must therefore not be so much "Indian" or "African" but "Indian Ocean" in attribution.[16]'

The contrary position, leaving aside my own flawed work, has also been vigorously put. Amiji strongly criticises those who ignore the essential Africanness of the Swahili. Among other things, he claims, rather dubiously, that sea travel was greatly restricted by the monsoons, while landward trade was comparatively easy. He finds interior and Indian Ocean influences interacting on the coast[17]. Richard Wilding, in his excellent but rather neglected study of the Shorefolk, finds extensive contacts with a far distant hinterland in the northern region from the ninth century. Not however that this was a direct trade. Rather it was a 'trickle trade,' or a 'filter and relay' trade where goods changed hands many times[18].

It seems to me that the evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of the Mrima coast being oriented almost exclusively to the sea. Export goods came from the south. However, in neither region did the Swahili traders venture inland. Rather they relied on various other trading groups to bring the export goods to them. This then raises my second concern, perhaps a more inflammatory one, that is the way the Swahili in both economic and religious matters were essentially passive, not innovative, accepting religion and goods from others but contributing little. I will consider trade, and then religion.

Horton and Middleton's recent excellent survey describes the Swahili as being involved in intercontinental commerce, but in an African context. They were 'at the centre of an immense trading system that has stretched from the Great Lakes of central Africa to the islands of Indonesia and to China, and from Europe to southern Mozambique. The trade has involved both local coastal exchange and also the intercontinental commerce based upon the role of the Swahili as middlemen acting as commercial and cultural brokers between different countries, nationalities and civilisations…' They then throw caution to the winds, and claim 'For well over a thousand years the Swahili have controlled most of the intercontinental commerce between the interior of eastern and southern Africa and the Eurasian world.[19]'

Rather than control, the Swahili acted as middlemen or facilitators for the trade of others. They took part in very scattered networks indeed, handling goods from central Africa, such as gold from Zimbabwe, which travelled over the ocean to very

far flung destinations. Consumer products flowed the other way, to the East African coast and interior. This was a trickle or relay trade. Cargoes, whether going by land or sea, were broken up, resold, moved on again, several times from point of origin to final sale. The Swahili were in the middle of all this. Other Africans produced gold and ivory, which then was brought by interior traders to the coastal zone. In the far south an example is the Yao people. Near the coast an exchange took with trading groups located in the near interior, such as the Mijikenda, or the Zaramo. It was these people who interacted with the Swahili in the port cities, and sold on their trade items to them. The Swahili could be described as 'hinges,' connecting the near interior trading groups with the traders who came from overseas: Indians, Arabs, Persians and others. Thus the Swahili had no direct contact with the producers of the goods they traded, and nor with the purchasers at the other end of the network. Nor did they have any control over the production of goods either from Africa or from the Indian Ocean. Quantities, styles, patterns, prices, over none of these did the Swahili have any influence.

This raises a more general question, which is to discuss the best term to use for the economic activities of the Swahili. They have been called mercantile and/or cultural brokers[20], but Sheriff says the coast was 'an intermediate zone of exchange between various producing and consuming zones around the ocean. Commerce, rather than production, formed the basis of the civilisation… it was prosperous but compradorial.[21]'

Perhaps inadvertently, this is a rather derogatory remark. Broker is a neutral term, essentially meaning a person who mediates between a buyer and a seller, but does not sell or buy anything. A broker is rewarded with a commission when the transaction is finalised. Strictly speaking this is to be distinguished from an agent, who acts on behalf of a principal. The term then is neutral, and indeed brokers are found everywhere trade occurs, especially international trade, for they provide local knowledge of prices and products. They have been much studied in India[22].

However, the term compradore carries a very heavy freight indeed. The term is used to describe an intermediary, agent or advisor in a foreign country employed by a domestic individual or company to facilitate transactions with local individuals or businesses in the foreign country. They are seen as people who put foreign interests first. Political economists routinely inveigh against them for they are seen as helping to hand over third world economies to foreigners.

The state of our (or my) knowledge of how commerce operated in the port cities is such that it is difficult to pronounce one way or the other. For example, did some Swahili act as agents for particular foreign traders, or did they merely connect whoever arrived from overseas with those who brought goods from the interior to the stone towns? Were their activities such that African autonomy and interests were sold out in favour of economically more powerful foreign capitalists? Does the fact that essentially Africa exchanged primary products, raw materials, for manufactures

then ipso facto mean that the Swahili were compradorial, or is this a matter of different use values? Horton and Middleton provide some guidance. They are unhappy with the standard raw materials for manufactures notion, pointing out that there were in fact a range of exports via the port cities. They also claim that the Swahili exercised some discretion about what they sent on to the interior. Apparently they seldom sent on foreign imports, but rather the products of craft activities in the port cities, such as beads, and copper and leather goods.

More to the point, they find that the Swahili acted as classic brokers. (They do not raise the compradore matter.) They connected two value systems, one Indian Ocean and one African interior. As they themselves belonged to both, they were able to act as classic brokers, and were the real beneficiaries from this exchange[23]. The last point seemed dubious, as others also profited. However, it is clear that just as brokers in Cambay connected different people with different goods to exchange or buy, so also did the Swahili. The important difference is that in a situation of an integrated developed economy, such as Cambay and Gujarat, use values were not a major element in the exchange. However, on the East African coast they were. The Swahili had to mediate between different cultures which ascribed different values to the same goods. For example, gold was of little use in the Mutapa state, but it was in Cambay. This was not the case in Gujarat, where everyone knew gold was valuable. In Cambay brokers had only an economic role, in Kilwa they fused economic and cultural mediation. Ibn Battuta's famous travel account gives invaluable detail on the actual mechanism of exchange, and it may be noted that what he found in Mogadishu was not unlike what he found all around the shores of the ocean. In this description we find local brokers acting as sponsors of visiting merchants, operating as classic brokers rather than agents, and certainly not as compradores.

'It is the custom of the people of this town that, when a vessel reaches the anchorage, the sumbuqs, which are small boats, come out to it. In each sumbuq there are a number of young men of the town, each one of whom brings a covered platter containing food and presents it to one of the merchants on the ship, saying 'This is my guest,' and each of the others does the same. The merchant, on disembarking, goes only to the house of his host among the young men, except those who have made frequent journeys to the town and have gained some acquaintance with its inhabitants; these lodge where they please. When he takes up residence with his host, the latter sells his goods for him and buys for him; and if anyone buys anything from him at too low a price or sells to him in the absence of his host, that sale is held invalid by them. This practice is a profitable one for them.[24]'

As regards trade then, the evidence points strongly to the Swahili acting just like brokers in all the other port cities around the Indian Ocean littoral. Brokers do not travel; they let merchants do this. However, there may not be a clear division between a man who was a broker and also a merchant; different roles could be assumed depending on the economic circumstance. In developed economies some

merchants travel, and it is revealing that we find no Swahili travelling or residing overseas, that is away from their coast. The only possible exception is the great southeast Asian port city of Melaka. Tomé Pires, writing early in the sixteenth century, said 'As the kingdom of Cambay had this trade with Malacca, merchants of the following nations used to accompany the Gujaratis there in their ships, and some of them used to settle in the place, sending off the merchandise, while others took it in person, to wit Maçaris and people from Cairo, many Arabs, chiefly from Aden, and with these came Abyssinians, and people from Ormuz, Kilwa, Malindi, Mogadishu and Mombassa, Persians, to wit, Rumes, Turkomans, Armenians, Guilans, Khorasans and men of Shiraz. There are many of these in Malacca…' The passage is a little obscure, but it seems that he means that Arabs from these Swahili ports visited Melaka, not that Swahili people did[25].

The international ships which called at Swahili ports were owned and financed by Arabs and Indians. The Swahili travelled and traded, using the monsoons, only up and down the East African coast, and sometime perhaps as far as the Horn of Africa, and even to Aden. Certainly this is an extensive area to travel, from say Madagascar and the Comoro islands right up to the Red Sea. It is however coastal sailing, *cabotagem* as the Portuguese called it, with numerous stops along the way. The two terms which best describe Swahili involvement in Indian Ocean trade are periplus, which means a coastal voyage, and *cabotage*, tramping. Or they were maritime travelling bazaars. There is a difference between this and blue water sailing across the Arabian Sea, or from Cambay to Melaka[26].

Finally what of religion? Was East Africa merely a passive recipient of religious norms and practices from overseas, especially from Arabia? Did East Africa contribute anything to the wider world of Islam, or did it merely react to foreign influences like *sufi* brotherhoods, or later the *khilafat* movement, or variations in Shafi'i norms? Is their religion wholly derivative, reactive to foreign inputs, or is it in some ways a form of Islam which has been influential in other parts of the Muslim world. What I need to do is assess the extent to which East African Islam has merely drawn on, and modified, trends from the wider Islamic world around the Indian Ocean, and to what extent has it contributed itself to the wider Islamic world.

What I have to say on this delicate matter is preliminary and impressionistic in the extreme. It seems to me there are three criteria which will be useful to assess the degree of passivity of the Swahili. We need to look at who were important exemplars of Islam on the coast:

- They were foreigners who came in to convert and guide the locals.
- They were locals who had studied in the heartland of Islam and then come back home as prestigious religious authorities.
- They came from the coast, studied in the heartland, and remained there in influential positions.

What I think I find is that religious exemplars on the coast were usually migrants from the heartland, notably from Hadramaut. Others were descendents of migrants, but it seems that very few were 'local' people. Further, I can find no examples of local Swahili studying in the heartland and then becoming prestigious people except back home on the coast.

As to the prestige of the migrants, this is well attested. Sojourners and settlers from Arabia brought with them very considerable prestige. They of course brought the Shafi'i *madhhab*. They also brought with them, if they were *sharifs* or *sayyids*, very considerable *baraka*, or prestige, based on their claim to be direct descendants of the Prophet. As an eighteenth century Hadhrami *sharif* wrote rather self-servingly,

> They are the guarantee of the earth from fear
> Guides of the People along Right Paths
> Take refuge with them from catastrophe
> Ask God's help through them[27].

As Martin noted, 'Sometimes the appearance of a s*harif* triggered a religious revival or led to acceleration of the process of ongoing islamization.' A prestigious migrant might marry the daughter of a local sultan, and over generations the Arab 'blood' was diluted and the lineages' *baraka* diminished. Then another migrant might come in from Yemen or Hadramaut with fresh new *baraka* and he would take over. An example of an influential lineage is that of Abu Bakr bin Salim, whose tomb is at Inat, near Tarim in Hadramaut. This famous saint died in 992/1584. His sons moved to East Africa during his lifetime, to Pate. Later members of the dynasty spread as far as the Comoro Islands, Lamu, Mombasa and Zanzibar[28].

As for locals studying in Arabia and then coming back, a late example is an important *sufi* called Shaykh Uways b. Muhammad al-Barawi. As his name shows, he came from Brava and was brought up in a *sufi* household. This however was not enough, so he travelled to Baghdad to gain reinitiation into the Qadiriyya order[29]. Another equally typical example is the well-known and very influential scholar Sayyid Ahmad bin Sumeyt who was born in Zanzibar. His father was a Hadhrami. He studied at several places on the coast, and was made *qadi* of Zanzibar. Again, local prestige and training was not enough. He travelled north three times in the 1880s to study in Istanbul, al-Azhar and Mecca in order to get an *ijaza* from really prestigious scholars, that is those from the heartland[30]. Unusually, he even seems to have had some reputation as a scholar back in the heartland. The point, however, is that this seems to be a very unusual distinction for anyone from the coast; it is surely significant that he was a Hadhrami at one remove.

It is my impression that the Indian case shows something a bit different. First, at least in the main Muslim area in India, that is the north, there seem to be few examples of exemplars coming from Arabia. If true, this is a major contrast with the

Swahili coast. Rather, the most prestigious guides were local men who had studied in Mecca, Medina and so on and then come back home. There are some parallels in this area with the coast. However, the main contrast lies in the way some Indian-born scholars reached prestigious positions outside India: this did not happen to anyone from the coast.

As to Indians studying in the heartland, there are very many examples. One was Hajji Ibrahim Muhaddis Qadiri, who was born near Allahabad. He did the *hajj* and then studied in Cairo, Mecca and Syria. He was away for 24 years but then returned to India, settled in Agra, and was a prestigious teacher until his death in 1593.

What is different from the coast is that some of these men actually taught in the heartland before going back home; indeed some stayed in Mecca or wherever permanently. One Indian scholar studied in Medina for five years, and then travelled, studied and taught in Jerusalem and Baghdad. In the mid seventeenth century an important teacher in Mecca was an Indian called Abdulwahhab Burhanpuri, and he in turn was a disciple of another great Meccan teacher of Indian origin, Shaikh Ali Muttaqi. Later in this century Sayyid Sa'id Allah, after studying for 35 years in India, spent twelve years in Mecca studying and teaching standard Muslim works[31].

This is not to say that they ever rose to the 'top' positions, most obviously to be the senior sheikh in Mecca or Medina. A good example of how Meccan prestige worked is what happened to a scholarly noble in the 1680s. He wrote a rather controversial book which he then wanted to get validated so he travelled to Mecca to get the opinion of 'the principal learned man of the Mahomedan faith, who is called the *Xerif* [*Sharif*]. He collected all the most famous men of learning for the examination of Qazi Mir's opinions, and to decide whether it was right to lay them before the public. After some months spent in examination, all of them with one accord said openly that what Qazi Mir had written was correct. The verdict was attested by the principal men – the *Sharif* and the other learned men of Mecca – with their seals and signatures.[32]'

Analogous to this is another matter which again seems to show the coast receiving, but not being proactive or innovative. The great *madrasa* of Deoband, in northern India, is generally considered to be second only to al Azhar in prestige for a traditional *sunni* education. During its first one hundred (Islamic) years it produced over 7,000 graduates. Of these, 431 worked outside the subcontinent, with the greatest number in Afghanistan, Russia, Burma, China, Malaysia and South Africa. There were even two who worked in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and one in Yemen[33]. East Africa can boast no such prestigious college. To be sure, Muslims from outside the area attend some of the major festivals, especially Mawlidi in Lamu, but significantly these are considered to be in a way poor people's substitutes for the hajj itself. In any case Mawlidi seems to be unique on the coast, and dates back only a century or so.

In short, just as Swahili ships did not hazard blue water sailing, and very few Swahili travelled from the coast, so also we can say that norms and ideas came in to

the coast, but few went out. There never was, or is, on the coast an Islamic centre which attracts people from outside - obviously no Mecca or Medina, but also no great *sufi* shrine, no pilgrimage to the tomb of an Imam, no influential variant, such as *shi'i* Islam in Iran since 1500, no educational institution such as Deoband or al Azhar, all of which cater to a world wide Muslim constituency. The conclusion, unfortunately, then seems to be that while the Indian Ocean network has operated to spread, and then influence, Islam on the coast, there has been little flow the other way, from the coast to the wider Muslim world.

NOTAS

[1] This is a greatly revised version of my presentation to the World History Association Annual Conference held at Al Akhawayn University, Ifrane, Morocco, in June 2005. I thank those who commented on my paper, which led me to make quite substantial changes.

[2] Michael N. Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders*, Baltimore, 1998, p. 19.

[3] James Kirkman, 'The History of the Coast of East Africa up to 1700,' in Merrick Posnansky, ed., *Prelude to East African History*, London, 1966, pp. 106, 110.

[4] And this despite the fact that Swahili is the official language in both Tanzania and Kenya; for more on this see my *Port Cities and Intruders*, introduction.

[5] Erik Gilbert, *Dhows and the Colonial Economy of Zanzibar, 1860-1970*. Athens, OH, and Oxford, 2004, pp. 12-13.

[6] A recent attempt to write of this area as a unit had the right idea but failed to actually integrate diverse Mediterranean and Arabian Sea histories: Leila Tarazi Fawaz and C. A. Bayly, eds., *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean,* New York, 2002.

[7] A. A. Mazrui, 'Towards abolishing the Red Sea and re-Africanizing the Arabian Peninsula,' in J. C. Stone, ed., *Africa and the Sea: Proceedings of a Colloquium at the University of Aberdeen, March, 1984*, Aberdeen, 1985, pp. 98-103.

[8] For more detail see *Port Cities and Intruders*, pp. 51-4.

[9] H. Neville Chittick, 'East Africa and the Orient: Ports and trade before the Arrival of the Portuguese,'' in UNESCO, *Historical Relations across the Indian Ocean*, Paris, 1980, p. 13.

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36

THE OTTOMAN EXPANSION AND THE PORTUGUESE RESPONSE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, 1500-1560

Pius Malekandathil

The Ottomans, who had already expanded into the maritime space of the Mediterranean in the fifteenth century, attempted to control the traditional trade routes connecting Asia with Europe by occupying the key strategic trade centers lying on the maritime rim of Indian Ocean. The Portuguese efforts to monopolize the eastern trade by making the commodities flow to Europe through the Cape route had started at the cost of the Ottomans and reduced the flow of wealth to the treasury of the Ottomans. This process in turn invited the latter to come out from their role of being the controller of inland caravan trade to one of being the key factor to decide the course of commodity movements through maritime channels. Though the Ottomans did not make any substantial impact on India by being on this soil, their frequent attempts to enter into the maritime space of Indian Ocean and particularly into the diverse maritime exchange centers of India as well as their unbroken commercial linkages with the Marakkar traders of Kerala, created multifaceted challenges to the Portuguese, who, while responding to them, developed a set of politico-military arrangements including the devices of fortresses and patrolling, which eventually had greater impact on the politico-economic history of India.

This paper sets out to see the processes and mechanisms by which the Ottomans expanded into the Indian Ocean for the purpose of controlling its trade and also the ways as well as the means by which the Portuguese managed to contain the Ottoman expansion and retain their predominant position in conducting the Indian trade. This is done chiefly by locating the Ottomans in the context of Portuguese commercial expansion in the Indian waters. The paper will provide a glimpse into the parallel stream-developments of the sixteenth century in this maritime space.

HISTORICAL SETTING

The Ottoman desire to control the trade routes between Europe and the eastern world as well as the strategic centers located in this trade route got ignited with the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by Mohammed II [1]. The developments following this decisive incident indicate that the Ottoman interest was not confined to the mere control of eastern trade routes alone, but extended to the farthest possibilities of tapping wealth from the very sources of trade in India and establishing spheres of influence at different levels. We find many adventurers and entrepreneurs moving to India from Constantinople during the period following the Ottoman occupation of that city. The most evident case is that of the Constantinople-born Yusuf Adil Shah, who later became the governor of the Bahmanis over a vast land space in Konkan including Bijapur and Goa. In fact the hands of Yusuf Adil Shah were strengthened by the Navayat Muslims, who had come as a group of 400 from Onor (Honawar)and Baticala (Batkal) in 1479, following their persecution by the Vijayanagara rulers for having supplied horses from Arabia and Persia to the Bahmani Sultan[2]. Later with the disintegration of Bahmani kingdom in 1498, Yusuf Adil Shah established his political power over a considerable tract of territory centered around Bijapur and brought Goa under his control. The port of Ela (Goa) was the chief door through which the trading networks of the Constantinople-born ruler of Bijapur found maritime exposure. With the increase in the import of horses from Hormuz to this port for distribution in the Vijayanagara kingdom, the city of Ela got a considerable amount of wealth as custom duties, about 1,00,000 *pardaos* a year, which Adil Shah claimed as his share[3].

However, the duties that Adil Shah collected on the objects of maritime trade in Goa and the neighbouring districts, tentatively figured to about 400,000 *pardaos* a year[4]. These developments suggest that the advent of the Ottoman adventurers like Yusuf Adil Shah in India took place against the background of their desire to bag trade surplus for carving out strong state structures at commercially strategic sites. Meanwhile, the Ottoman adventurers and traders also seem to have been in frequent contacts with the political and economic activities of Gujarat over a protracted period of time, which made the Ottomans concentrate on its ports as the most vulnerable targets in India[5].

On the other side, the capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans and the re-routing of oriental trade according to their larger politico-economic designs started affecting severely the fate of the commercial centers of the Bratislava-Hapsburgs, which had till then been thriving on eastern trade. Correspondingly, the Ottoman intervention began to be increasingly reflected in the price index of oriental wares in Europe, as well. During the period between 1450 and 1495 (especially after the fall of Constantinople) the prices rose steadily in the trade centers of Europe[6]. However the Ottomans supplied spices at cheaper price to the Venetians, which kept the price of pepper in Venice between 42 ducats and 49 ducats during the period between 1495 and 1497, a period when its price fluctuated between 66 and 75 ducats in

Mamluk Cairo. In 1498, when the price of pepper in Cairo varied between 61 and 81 ducats, it was kept between 56 and 57 ducats in Venice[7]. This shows that even when the Mamluks imposed a high price on the spices in Cairo since the declaration of royal monopoly on its trade in Egypt in 1428, the Ottomans managed to make pepper and other spices available at cheaper prices to the Venetians[8]. This is to be seen against the background of deeper economic ties that the Venetians and the Ottomans developed over decades on the trade-traffic of oriental wares, the gains from which were ably translated by the Ottomans for their frequent wars of expansion into Europe. Moreover, the Ottomans needed the Venetian traders and Italian markets in order to break the backbone of the trade of Eastern Europe and the Bratislava-Hapsburgs as a part of their larger political strategy to weaken and bring Eastern Europe under their subjugation.

However, the commodity flow through the Ottoman territories dwindled following the discovery of the sea-route to India and the consequent diversion of spice-trade to the Atlantic port of Lisbon via Cape-route. In 1501 Pedro Alvarez Cabral procured a cargo of 104,920 kilograms of pepper, 20,984 kilograms of ginger and 31,476 kilograms of cinnamon for transshipment to Lisbon[9], which rose to 154, 120 kilograms of pepper and 23,607 kilograms of ginger in 1505[10]. The commodities taken to Lisbon were further distributed in Europe through the royal factory at Antwerp since 1501[11]. The principal losers in this re-orientation of the spice-trade of the Indian Ocean space were the Ottomans, who had captured Constantinople earlier for the purpose of controlling oriental trade. The increasing pepper shortage experienced in the Ottoman territories and in its supporting Italian markets following the entry of the Portuguese in Indian trade centers is evident from the high price (100 ducats per quintal) quoted for pepper in 1500 in Venice[12].

Later with the land-oriented expansion of Afonso de Albuquerque and with the occupation of Goa (1510), Malacca(1511) and Hormuz (1515)[13], Portuguese control over the trade in Asian waters carried out with the help of *cartaz*-armada-fortress systems became considerably decisive and the flow of commodities through caravan routes started dwindling. During the early decades of the sixteenth century, Malacca, Aden and Hormuz were viewed as the principal entrance-doors of the Indian Ocean through which commodities got distributed all over Eurasia. The Portuguese believed that all trade between Europe and Indies could be forced to go round the Cape of Good Hope by blocking its traditional outlets viz., the straits of Malacca, the Persian Gulf and the Red sea[14]. However Ottomans were quick to grasp the deeper nuances of these developments. On the one hand it meant slackening of trade in the Ottoman markets, which also meant dwindling of resources. On the other hand, it smelt a severe political danger in its neighbourhood. Till 1515, the Europeans appeared to be an enemy of the Turks only in the western front. But in that year with the occupation of Hormuz (lying in the eastern part of Turkish empire) by the Portuguese, the Ottomans found themselves being virtually encircled by the Europeans, which in fact sent political messages of caution to the Ottomans. The

evolving economic pressure and the political threats emerging from the encircling European expansion made the Ottomans turn their attention increasingly to the politics of the Indian Ocean regions and interfere in them to their advantage.

THE EASTWARD EXPANSION OF THE OTTOMANS AND THE INDIAN OCEAN TRADE

It was during the time of Selim I (1512-1520) that Indian Ocean was, for the first time, looked upon as an area of great political and economic significance for the Ottomans. He took decisive steps to control the various trade centers located on the rim of Indian Ocean by undertaking a chain of conquests starting with the occupation of Chaldiran in 1514 from the Safavid ruler Shah Ismail. The attack of Mamluk forces at Marj Dabiq in 1516 enabled the Ottomans to become masters of the eastern trade passing through Aleppo and Damascus. With the capturing of Cairo from the Mamluks in 1517, almost all the transit centers of caravan trade connecting Indian Ocean with the Mediterranean passed into the hands of the Turks. Meanwhile Selim I also established a naval base at Suez with a view to availing timely naval and military assistance for the purpose of controlling the international trade routes from the east but terminating in the western rim of the Indian Ocean[15].

By this time the Marakkar[16] traders of Cannanore and Cochin, who were originally from Kayalpattanam, Kilakarai and Kunimedu but engaged in the coastal trade between Coromandel and Malabar[17], had already started frequenting the ports of the Ottomans in the Red sea for the purpose of trade[18]. The emergence of the Marakkars as a principal merchant group conducting trade with the Red sea ports was made possible with the mass exodus of the Al-Karimi traders from Calicut in 1513 following the entry of the Portuguese in that city after having signed a peace treaty with the new Zamorin[19]. With the flight of the Al-Karimis from Calicut to the safer ports of Gujarat, Vijayanagara, Hormuz and Red sea fearing vengeance from the Portuguese, the Marakkar traders of Cochin and Cannanore carved out a commercial niche of their own and started sending spices to the ports of Red Sea, particularly after the Ottoman expansion into the western doors of the Indian Ocean following the occupation of Cairo and Suez from the hands of the Mamluks. The flow of commodities between the spice ports of Kerala and the Ottoman territories added considerably with the increasing help extended to the Marakkar traders by the private trading lobby among the Portuguese officials[20]. However this rapport did not continue for long, as the Portuguese officials themselves began to attack and confiscate the vessels of the Marakkar traders going to the Ottoman trade centres under the pretext of checking c*artazes*[21]. Kuti Ali, one of these Marakkar traders, is said to have become a corsair later when the Portuguese governor, who previously joined hands with him to send pepper to Red Sea ports, himself confiscated the whole as contraband and appropriated the vessel[22]. However the available evidence suggests

that the linkage with the Marakkars of Kerala continued to ensure the Ottoman ports of the Red sea area with sizeable cargo for the purpose of trade and for meeting the consumerial demands of its far-flung territories even during the last years of Selim I.

The Marakkar traders of Cannanore had by this time started diverting commodities to the Ottoman trade centres of the Red sea region by using Maldives as the base of their operation[23]. The grand design of the Ottoman ruler Selim I to create a pan-Islamic network uniting the Muslim East also strengthened the commercial moves of the Muslim traders of Cannanore and Cochin, who in turn linked the production centres of the Indian spices in India with the trading world of the Ottomans that extended up to Europe[24]. The Portuguese responded to this move by erecting as many fortresses as possible near the spice ports of Kerala so that the flow of spices through the Ottoman territory might be prevented. The immediate response of the Portuguese to these developments was the erection of a fortress in Quilon in 1519, as its spice was increasingly falling into the hands of the Muslim traders[25]. Meanwhile search was also made for locating suitable sites for the erection of fortresses along the west coast of India with a view to making them as military devices to counter the possible expansion of the Ottomans into Indian waters in the years to come.

THE OTTOMAN CHALLENGES AND THE PORTUGUESE ESTADO DA INDIA

The developments in the maritime space of Indian Ocean captivated the attention of Suleiman the Magnificent(1520-1566), even when issues and developments in Europe turned out to be his primary concerns. Selim's earlier attempts to link the various trade centers of the Indian Ocean with the Ottoman ports in the Red Sea with the help of different merchant groups had already found fruit by this time. The Marakkar traders of Kerala turned out to be a significant mercantile group that co-operated with the Ottomans in carrying out a greater share of Indian trade. Being dissatisfied with the Portuguese behaviour towards them and seeing the prospects of trading with the Ottomans, the leading Muslim merchants of Cochin including Kunjali Marakkar, his brother Ahmad Marakkar, their uncle Muhammadali Marakkar and their dependents shifted their base of operations from Cochin to Calicut by 1524[26]. Meanwhile, the Zamorin who expelled the Portuguese from Calicut in 1525 started making use of this opportunity to re-organize the trade of Calicut with the navigational expertise of the Kunjalis. Things really worked in the way the Zamorin and the Marakkars had planned. Commodity movements from Calicut to the ports of Ottoman Turks in Red Sea had already become relatively frequent, particularly during the period between 1526 and 1527[27].

Meanwhile, in the midst of the adverse situation created by the control mechanisms of the Portuguese, the Muslim traders of Cannanore managed to continue their business by developing a trade route outside the Portuguese control system that got finally

interlinked with the Ottoman commercial network. From Cannanore they used to divert commodities first to Maldives and then get it linked with the commodities coming from South East Asia through the straits of Karaidu and Haddumati to Ottoman trade centres in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf[28]. The surplus deriving from this trade and the benefits accumulated by way of controlling the island groups of Maldives, were very much effectively used for their state building ventures in Cannanore, which in turn prompted the Muslim merchants of Cannanore to maintain preciously this network of trade running outside the Portuguese control system[29].

In fact the commonality of religion made them join hands in diverting commodities to the network of Ottoman commerce. The revival of the Venice trade from 1540s onwards was made possible[30], to a great extent, because of the joint and collective commercial activities of the Marakkar Muslim traders Kerala and the Ottomans, from two different operational points. Meanwhile, Cranganore was identified as an important spice exchange centre[31], whose commodities the Portuguese wanted to procure by instituting a fortress over there in 1536. The Portuguese found that a great portion of pepper from Cranganore was diverted to Red Sea ports. The erection of the fortress of Cranganore is to be seen against the background of recurring Muslim attacks on the maritime trade centers of central and southern Kerala, which came as a result of peripheral impact of the Ottoman's expansion into the Indian Ocean[32].

The alliance that developed between the Ottomans and the Marakkars of Kerala was so thick during this period that an Ottoman ship even landed at Vizhinjam (1538)[33], a southern port of Kerala, at a time when Kunjali and his Marakkar allies were chased and defeated by the Portuguese at Vedalai and Negombo[34]. This is indicative of the larger dimensions of the relationship that evolved between the Ottomans and the Marakkar traders of Kerala by this time[35]. It seems that the important beneficiaries of the Marakkar trade in the Red sea area were the Ottoman representatives in Suez. In 1538 we find the Ottoman viceroy Khadim Sulaiman Pasha sailing from Suez against the Portuguese and trying to capture the Portuguese Diu[36]. For that purpose, ships were being built at Suez as early as 1537. It was with the help of these ships manned partially by the Venetian sailors that the Turks captured Aden in 1538 and entered Indian waters to attack Diu[37]. Though the Ottomans did not gain anything out of this venture (as the Portuguese viceroy of India promptly thwarted the moves of the Ottomans), the presence of the Turks in the vicinity alerted the Portuguese to a chain of defensive actions, including the erection of new fortresses and the strengthening of the existing ones. The Portuguese started tightening their grip on the West Coast of India. A chain of new fortresses was instituted along the Konkan and Gujarat coasts, so that the Ottomans in collaboration with the Muslim rulers of these coastal regions of India might not make an alternative network to divert spices to the trading centres of the Ottoman in the Persian Gulf and the Red sea. Accordingly fortresses in Bassein (1534), Diu (1536)[38] and Daman (1559)[39], were erected to protect Portuguese commercial interests in the northern provinces.

Meanwhile with the capturing of Baghdad from the Safavids in 1534 and later with the establishment of a naval base at Basra by the Ottomans in 1538[40], Persian Gulf turned out to be an Ottoman economic unit for all practical purposes. We find a lot of spices from the ports of Kerala moving to the markets of the Ottoman Turks and the Saffavid Persia through Basra from 1540 onwards. From Basra they were further carried to Tripoli of Syria by two routes: one through the desert route that terminated at Damascus and the other passed through Baghdad. The merchants traveled in caravans up to the city of Aleppo, from where they were further taken to Tripoli of Syria[41]. The trade through the ports of Persian Gulf continued to be active even later, as Leonhard Rauwolfd gives an eye-witness account, with as many as twenty-five ships loaded with spices and drugs from India (evidently from Kerala) moving to Baghdad via Hormuz and Basra[42].

In the changed situation, Suleiman I the Magnificent had made a suggestion to the Portuguese king John III through a letter dated 28 May 1544 that he was ready to buy 2,00,000 kilograms of pepper and other drugs from the Portuguese, which the latter might hand over to the Ottoman governor in Aden[43]. This request might have been made to ensure regular supply of spices in the Mediterranean as to sustain the Venetian trade revived by 1540s. However this dream was not realized. This made them make a much longer and time-consuming voyage from the Red Sea to Bengal to procure spices coming from the ports of Kerala for taking them to their homeland. In 1545 several Ottoman traders went to Bengal, Pegu, and Tenasserim to take pepper coming from Kerala ports to the Ottoman ports of the Red Sea[44]. It seems that these were the preparatory moves of Suleiman the Magnificent before taking direct involvement in the affairs of India.

Meanwhile galleys were constructed in the Ottoman dockyard at Basra with timber brought down the Euphrates from the Mar'ash region of the southern Taurus Mountains with the evident intention of entering Indian soil and grabbing the Indian Ocean trade from the Portuguese[45]. A large fleet dispatched by Suleiman in 1546 started attacking the Portuguese fort of Diu[46]. Against this background of the ubiquitous presence of the Ottomans in the visible vicinity of Portuguese possessions, the crown and its officials of the *Estado* started increasingly banking upon Cochin and Goa for mobilizing resources for the purpose of defending the *Estado* from the Ottoman attacks. Attempts were made to mobilize large material and human resources from these cities, when the Ottomans laid siege on Diu in 1546. D. João de Castro took about 1500 men from Goa and Cochin to Diu on 20 September 1546[47]. While a good many of them like António Leme[48], Manoel de Sousa de Sepulveda[49], Francisco da Silva[50], Sebastião Luis, alcaide-mor of Cochin[51], António Correa, the very factor of Cochin[52], etc., were mobilized from Cochin, a considerably great number was gathered from Goa, as well, like Lucas Veiga[53], Dom Leitão[54], Simão da Rocha[55], Sebastião Lopez Lobato[56], Francisco Navaes Pereira[57], Vasco Rebello[58], Pedro de Liao[59], et al. The lifting of the siege on Diu was effected thanks to the help, both in the form of wealth and men, extended by Cochin and

Goa[60]. Meanwhile his representative in India, governor D. João de Castro, rewarded the city-dwellers of Goa and Cochin who had fought in the war of 1546 to defend Diu by granting commercial voyages, in most cases, to Bengal or Malacca or Hormuz[61].

Though in the Luso-Turkish encounter, the Portuguese ably kept the Ottomans out of Indian soil, the Ottomans attacked and temporarily occupied Muscat in 1552 with the help of a strong squadron consisting of 25 galleys, 4 galleons and a big ship with 850 troops under the command of Piri Reis[62]. The principal objectives of the Ottomans were to capture Hormuz and Bahrain islands, whose possession was deemed to be necessary to oust the Portuguese and to control the Indian Ocean trade. Though they could not achieve this target, Piri Reis and Seydi 'Ali Reis conquered the coasts of Yemen and Aden as well as Arabia and cleared the coastal belt up to Basra for the purpose of conducting easy trade with India[63].

Thus the historical developments of the first half of the sixteenth century manifest a chain of actions and processes in Asian waters, in which the Portuguese expansion along the West coast of India is sequentially followed by the Ottoman expansion into the western rim of Indian Ocean, evidently suggesting a causal linkage between the two. An analysis of the historical developments of the period is indicative of the fact that it was the Portuguese expansion into the major trade centers of coastal western India and into Persian Gulf (Hormuz) as well as the regular patrolling of the mouth of Red Sea that made the Ottomans turn towards the core areas of caravan trade located in Egypt as well as West Asia and establish hegemony over there. The Marakkar traders of Kerala, who developed an alternative trading network outside the orbit of the Portuguese control systems, were the principal feeders from India for the trade of the Ottoman ports in Red sea and Persian Gulf. The economic ties between the Ottomans and the Marakkars seem to have been well maintained and protected by the military devices and naval machineries of the Ottomans, as is suggested by the appearance of the Ottoman fleet in Vizhinjam in Kerala (1538), when the Marakkar traders were chased and frequently attacked because of their linkage with Kunjali Marakkar. Though the frequent attempts of the Ottomans to enter the soil of India were repelled ably by the Portuguese, the amount of influence that they exerted on the shaping of the military structures of the *Estado da India* was enormous. Against the background of the Ottoman expansion into the western fringes of Indian Ocean, the Portuguese erected strong fortresses at key-strategic centers of trade along the west coast of India, besides strengthening and reinforcing the existing ones. The very structuring and proliferation of these Portuguese fortresses were greatly necessitated by the different types of challenges raised by the diverse streams of Ottoman expansion into the Indian Ocean from 1517 onwards.

Though both the Portuguese and the Ottomans moved to the maritime space of Indian Ocean almost simultaneously (the gap was only of nineteen years, as the Ottomans reached Suez in 1517), the Portuguese managed to appropriate a major chunk of it, as their primary concern was India and their secondary concerns were confined to other Indian Ocean regions. However the prime concern of the Ottomans

continued to be Europe and Mediterranean regions even during this period. It is true that the Indian Ocean regions captivated the attention of the Ottomans as economically important areas, from where they tried to mobilize resources for their empire building ventures; however, they happened to remain all through as supplementary feeding zones for them. The Portuguese tried to obstruct the free flow of commodities to the Ottoman ports by erecting fortresses at strategic centres and junctional points of riverine and land routes, which they also developed as power-exercising devices. Though the degree of exercise of power varied and in some places the fortresses eventually turned out to be mere stone structures devoid of actual power of control as in the case of Cannanore, the chain of Portuguese fortresses erected along the coastal western India did a lot to prevent the Ottomans from completely integrating the economic activities of India into their designs, which they cherished from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards.

NOTES

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[5] This is evident from the fact that the repeated attacks of the Ottomans on India in the sixteenth century were directed towards Diu.

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[12] Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *L'Economie de L'empire portugais aux XVe etXVIe siecles*, pp. 720-5.

[13] Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque seguidas de documentos que as elucidam*, tom.I, Lisbon, 1884, pp. 21ff; João de Barros, *Asia. Dos feitos que os Portuguezes fizeram no Descobrimento e conquista dos Mares do Oriente,* Lisboa, 1771, *Decada*, II, part II, pp. 40ff; 181; *Decada* III, part II, pp. 451-2; Joaquim Verissimo Serrão, *Commentarios de Afonso de Albuquerque*, tomo.I, Lisbon, 1973, p. 140; Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa : An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their Inhabitants*, tran. by Mansel Longworth Dames, vol. I, Nedeln, 1967, p. 59.

[14] However, the attempts to control the gateway of Red sea by conquering Aden did not succeed.

[15] Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire, The Classical Age, 1300-1600*, London, 1973; Halil Inalcik and Donald Quartaet (eds.), *A Social and Economic History of the Ottoman Empire*; D. S. Richards (ed.), *Islam and the Trade of Asia*, Oxford, 1970.

[16] Etymologically the word "Marakkar" means captain or owner of a ship and is derived from the Tamil word "Marakalam" meaning ship. For details see O. K. Nambiar, *The Kunjalis: Admirals of Calicut*, London, 1963, p. 76.

[17] Jayaseela Stephen, *The Coromandel Coast and Its Hinterland: Economy, Society and Political System (AD1500-1600)*, New Delhi, 1997, pp. 137-9.

[18] Pius Malekandathil, "Making Power Visible: Portuguese Commercial and Military Strategies in the Indian Ocean with special Reference to Cannanore, 1500-1550", in *Winds of Spices*, edited by K. S . Mathew, Tellicherry, 2006, pp. 3-9.

[19] ANTT, *Chancelaria de Manuel I*, liv. II, fol. 83 "Capitulos de pazes entre Afonso de Albuquerque e o Samorin de Calicut", Lisboa, 26 de Fevreiro de 1515; Genevieve Bouchon, "Calicut at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century", in *The Asian Seas 1500-1800: Local Societies, European Expansion and the Portuguese, Revista de Cultura*, vol. I, ano V (1991), 46; Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato (ed.), *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque seguidas de documentos que as elucidam*, tom. I, Lisbon, 1884*,* p. 126.

[20] Pius Malekandathil, "From Merchant Capitalists to Corsairs: The Role of Muslim Merchants in Portuguese Maritime Trade of the Portuguese" in *Portuguese Studies Review*, 2004, 12 (1), pp. 84-5.

[21] Zaynuddin Shaykh*, Tuhfat-ul-Mujahidin*, tran.by S.Muhammad Hussain Nainar, Madras, 1942, pp. 89-91; R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, New Delhi, 1989, p. 196.

[22] R. S. Whiteway, *op. cit*., p.196. Another important Muslim trader of Cochin to become a corsair, when the Portuguese captured the two ships sent by him to Cambay, was Pate Marakkar, who had been a great friend and collaborator of the Portuguese in the early days of their establishment. On the confiscation of his vessels , he went to Calicut and joined his nephew, Kunjali Marakkar as a corsair. *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, vol.X, Lisbon, 1975, p. 577; Genevieve Bouchon, Les Musulmans du Kerala à L'Epoque de la Découverte Portugaise, *Mare Luso-Indicum*, II, Paris, 1973, pp. 52-3; See also Diogo Couto, *Da Asia dos feitos que os Portuguezes fizeram na conquista e descobrimento das terras e mares do Oriente, Decada* V, Parte 2, Lisbon, 1973, p. 4.

[23] Genevieve Bouchon, *Regent of the Sea: Cannanore's Response to Portuguese Expansion, 1507-1528*, tran. by Louise Shackley, Delhi, 1988, pp. 23-5; 44-5; 119, 142, 151-64; Pius Malekandathil, "The Maritime Trade of Cannanore and the Global Commercial Revolution in the 16th and the 17th Centuries", in *Cannanore in the Maritime History of India*, ed. M.O. Koshy ,Kannur, 2002, pp. 46-50

[24] It was in 1516 that the Mamluk Sultan Kansuh al- Gauri was completely defeated and killed by Selim near Aleppo. By the end of January 1517 Cairo was in Selim's hands and thereby he became the guardian and master of the holy places of Medina and Mecca and also the controller of trade in the Red Sea. M.S. Anderson, *The Origin of the Modern European State system, 1494-1618*, London, 1998, p. 234; Jean Louis Bacque-Grammont & Anne Kroell (eds.), *Mamlouks, Ottomans et Portugais en mer Rouge. L'affaire de Djedda en 1517*, Supplement aux *Annales Islamologiques*, Le Caire, 1988.

[25] Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India*, tom.II, Lisbon, 1921, p. 577.

[26] Faria y Souza*, Asia Portuguesa: The History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese*, tran. by John Stevens, vol. I, London, 1695, p. 284; Shaykh Zaynuddin, *op.cit*., p. 66; A. P. Ibrahim Kunju, *Studies in Medieval Kerala* , Trivandrum, 1975, p. 60.

[27] Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India,* Tomo III, Part I, pp. 274-5.

[28] Genevieve Bouchon, *Regent of the Sea*, pp. 118-9,161; For details on the flow of commodities from Cannanore to the ports of Red Sea controlled by the Ottomans see Pius Malekandathil, "The Maritime Trade of Cannanore", pp. 47-53.

[29] Pius Malekandathil, "The Maritime Trade of Cannanore and the Global Commercial Revolution", pp. 45-54.

[30] For revival of Venice trade, see Frederic C. Lane, " The Mediterranean Spice Trade: Further Evidence of its Revival in the Sixteenth Century", in *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy in the 16th and 17th Centuries,* edited by Brian Pullan, London, 1968, pp. 47-58.

[31] Silva Rego, *Documentação para a Historia das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente*, vol. l. I, Lisbon, 1949, pp. 352-4.

[32] George Schurhammer, *The Malabar Church and Rome during the Early Portuguese Period and Before,* Trichinapoly, 1934, pp.11-3; Pius Malekandathil, "The Portuguese and the St. Thomas Christians: 1500-1570", in *The Portuguese and the Socio-Cultural Changes in India, 1500-1800*, edited by K. S. Mathew, Teotónio R. de Souza and Pius Malekandathil, Fundação Oriente, Lisbon/MESHAR, Tellicherry, 2001, p. 133.

[33] Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India*, tom. III, p. 882.

[34] João de Barros, *Asia. Dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no Descobrimento e Conquista dos Mares e Terras do Oriente,* Decada IV, Book .8, Lisbon, 1973, ,pp. 12-14; Diogo Couto, Da *Asia dos feitos que os Portuguezes fizeram na Conquista e Descobrimento das Terras e Mares do Oriente*, Decada V, Book 2, Lisbon, 1973, pp. 4-6, 8.

[35] Pius Malekandathil, "Winds of Change and Links of Continuity: A Study on the Merchant Groups of Kerala and the Channels of their Trade, 1000-1800", A Paper presented in 19th *European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies*, 27-30 June, 2006, Leiden (The Netherlands), p. 11.

[36] Dejanirah Couto, "Les Ottomans et I'Inde portugaise", *Vasco da Gama et I'Inde*, vol .I, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Paris, 1999, pp. 185-8; Salih Özbaran, *The Ottoman Response to European Expansion – Studies on Ottoman-Portuguese Relations in the Indian Ocean and Ottoman Administration in the Arab Lands during the Sixteenth Century*, Analecta Isisiana XIII, Istanbul, 1994, pp. 99-109.

[37] M. S. Anderson, *The Origin of the Modern European State system, 1494-1618*, London, 1998, p. 227. For details on the practice of the Ottomans to employ European experts and technology for naval expeditions see A.C. Hess, "The Evolution of the Ottoman Sea-borne Empire in the Age of the Oceanic Discoveries, 1455-1525", *American Historical Review*, LXXV, 1969-70, p. 1901; Palmira Brummet, *Ottoman Sea Power and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery,* New York, 1994, p. 93; B. Lewis, *Cultures in Conflict: Christians, Muslims and Jews in the Age of Discovery,* New York, 1995, p. 22.

[38] Luis Filipe Thomaz, *A questão da pimenta em meados do seculo XVI. Um debate politico do governo de D. João de Castro,* Lisbon, 1998, p. 79.

[39] Artur Teodoro de Matos (ed.), *O Tombo de Damão 1592*, Lisbon, 2001, p. 295.

[40] Salih Özbaran, "The Ottoman Turks and the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf, 1534-1581", in *Journal of Asian History*, VI, 1, 1972, pp.52-54. In 1538 the name of the Ottoman Sultan was stamped on the coinage and included in the *khutba* at Basra. In 1546 Basra was formally integrated into the empire.

[41] Nycolão Gomçallves, *Livro que trata das cousas da India e do Japão*, edited by Adelino da Almeida Calado, Coimbra, 1957, p. 74.

[42] Karl H. Dannenfeldt, *Leonhard Rauwolf: Sixteenth Century Physician, Botanist and Traveller*, Massachussetts, 1968, p. 121.

[43] The letter of the Sultan to the Portuguese crown in ANTT, *Corpo Chronologico*, I, Maço 74, doc. 108.

[44] See the remarks of João Fernandes Galego about the flow of pepper to the various destinations in the Indian Ocean. ANTT, *Cartas dos Vice-Reisda India*, no.75; Pius Malekandathil, "Bengal and the Commercial Expansion of the Portuguese Casados, 1511-1632", in *Trade and Globalization: Europeans, Americans and Indians in the Bay of Bengal (1511-1819),* New Delhi, 2003, p. 172.

[45] Salih Özbaran, "The Ottoman Turks and the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf, 1534-1581, p. 56

[46] João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, "O Imperio Portuguese m meados do seculo XVI", in *Anais de Historia de Alem-Mar: Homenagem a Luis Filipe Thomaz*, edited by Artur Teodoro de Matos, p. 101.

[47] Antonio Baião, *Historia Quinhentista (inedita) do Segundo cerco de Dio,*Coimbra, 1927, p. 298.

[48] Antonio Leme was given the permission to get a ship built in Malabar and to send commodities to any of the ports in Bengal as reward for fighting for the state at Diu. António Baião, *Historia Quinhentista (inedita) do Segundo cerco de Dio,* Coimbra, 1927, p. 298.

[49] On 21 February 1547, Manoel de Sousa de Sepulveda was permitted to send a ship to Bengal, for having served in Diu and for having spent a lot of money feeding the fighting forces. Ibid., p. 312.

[50] The *casado* trader of Cochin, Francisco da Silva was given a grant of voyage on 23 November 1547 as reward for his role in the defence of Diu, by which he could send every year one ship each to Bengal, Arakan and Moluccas. Bibliotheca do Palacio da Ajuda, *Livro das Merces que fez D. João de Castro*, 51-8-46, fol. 193v.

[51] ANTT, *Chancellaria de D.João III, Doações* 69, fol. 98v.

[52] Antonio Baião, *Historia Quinhentista ,*pp. 306, 309-10.

[53] Lucas Veiga was given the voyage-concession to Bengal for his participation in the defence of Diu. Antonio Baião, *Historia Quinhentista,* p. 327.

[54] Dom Leitão was permitted to send a ship to Maldives with along with Jeronimo Butaqua as reward for his role in the defence of Diu. Ibid., p. 327.

[55] Simão da Rocha was granted permission to send a vessel to Malacca as reward for his role in the defence of Diu. *Ibid*., 327.

[56] Sebastião Lopez Lobato was made the *alcaide mor* of Goa. Ibid., p. 328.

[57] Francisco Navaes Pereira was rewarded with a commercial voyage to Bengal. *Ibid.,* p. 328.

[58] Vasco Rebello was granted commercial privilege to send vessels to Bengal and Hormuz. Bibliotheca do Palacio da Ajuda, *Livro das Merces que fez D. João de Castro*, 51-8-46, fol. 241v.

[59] Pedro de Liao was rewarded with a commercial voyaged to Bengal. Bibliotheca do Palacio da Ajuda, *Livro das Merces que fez D. João de Castro*, 51-8-46, fol. 164v.

[60] The Crown has acknowledged in a letter the help extended by these cities in lifting the siege on Diu. For details see J. H. da Cunha Rivara (ed.), *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, Fasc. I, Nova Goa, 1857, p. 8.

[61] For details see Bibliotheca do Palacio da Ajuda, *Livro das Merces que fez D. João de Castro*, 51-8-46.

[62] *Ibid*., p. 60.

[63] *Ibid*., p.64; J. F. Guilmartin, *Gun Powder and Galleys: Changing Technology and Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the sixteenth Century,* Cambridge, 1974, pp. 178-93.

37

FAITH AND EMPIRE: VAILANKANNI IN PORTUGUESE ASIA

*Rila Mukherjee**

INTRODUCTION

The Marian shrine of Vailankanni in India was instituted through Portuguese efforts to inscribe a new religious space in the Bay of Bengal in the sixteenth century. Pope John XXIII raised it to the status of a basilica on 3 November 1962, even as 'the Portuguese Empire in India' disintegrated. In the papal jubilee year of 2000 Vailankanni was declared the Lourdes of the East, third in importance only to the original Lourdes and Fatima-the other two Marian shrines in Europe. Thousands now go there on 29 August every year to celebrate the World Day of the Sick.

Despite its importance today, there is no mention of it in official Portuguese records. It did not find place within the realm of the official Catholic orders that enjoyed sanction in Old Goa. It is ignored on the government of India maps. History is silent about Vailankanni. Its foundational dates are hazy. Turner noted that pilgrimage sites are usually established by the founder on scriptural authority, but we have none such here. There are only two dates, September 8 and November 3. 29 August was chosen as the median date, on which date, the Pope declared, the Feast of Our Lady of Good Health would be celebrated by hoisting the flag before the eleven days of the feast commenced. The feast would end on 8 September, a significant date in the shrine's foundation.

* My researches into Vailankanni started with a trip to Diu in 2003. My thanks to Prof. Teotonio R. de Souza and Fr. William Robert da Silva for providing insights and references. My thanks too to the libraries of the Xavier Centre for Historical Research, Alto Porvorim, Goa, East China Normal University, Shanghai, and the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris, which provided much of the material between 2004 and 2006.

This was the date when Portuguese sailors washed up on Vailankanni's shores in the sixteenth century. The cult was thus re-energised by linking sixteenth century Portuguese expansion with Vatican policy in the twenty_first century.

1. **THE LOCATION**

What is Vailankanni's sacred area from where it draws its spiritual authority? It is the sea rather than land. Vailankanni stands on a lonely beach overlooking the Bay of Bengal some ten km. south of Nagapattinam. This was originally a site for Syrian Christian religious activity. It formed a hinterland for Portuguese commercial and religious activities in the sixteenth century and was subject to violent adjustments between Portuguese Catholicism, Dutch Calvinism, folk beliefs and Syrian Christianity.

Today, a huge white church in the Portuguese baroque style, the largest part of which was built in 1975, stands on Vailankanni beach. Behind the church, which faces west, is the shrine containing images of the Mother and Child and this looks out towards the east, to the sea. A bazaar surrounds the church, and heads down to the sea. The beach is a mix of prawn farms and cashew groves. There is a peculiarly makeshift character to the place.

But within this cluster there is a certain notion of order. There are some six hundred homes of fishermen divided among the three communities. The Muslims inhabit the newer section, the Christians live to the south-that is facing the sea-and the Hindus are clustered tightly around the Mariyammam temple in the centre. The fact that the Christians face the sea is significant. Vailankanni's maritime origins are evident by the large shipping masts that grace the compound. Its religious lore and singular site emphasize a timelessness about this cult which emerged through several encounters with other belief systems.

2. THE ENCOUNTER

The notion of 'encounter' assumes a dialogue between two cultures by way of contestations which ultimately create completely new social conditions of existence[1]. The violence implicit in an encounter between two cultural categories was documented by Sahlins in his study of the Captain Cook-Hawaiian encounter.[2] In Vailankanni there are a multitude of 'encounters'. My essay uses the methodology adopted by Serge Gruzinski in *Images at War: Mexico from Columbus to Blade Runner 1492-2019* (Duke University Press, Durham, 2001) and *The Conquest of Mexico* (Polity Press, New York, 1993), two books that have influenced significantly our regard of colonialism, contemporary society and religion.

The baroque image played a decisive role in conquest and New World colonization, and resonated most in the sphere of religion. In his analysis of how images conveyed meaning across linguistic barriers, Gruzinski uncovered recurring themes of false images and showed the violence of iconoclastic destruction.

The Conquest of Mexico shows how various local religious models were fitted in, or distorted, within the Catholic pantheon of one God and many saints. In his analysis of the r*elaciónes geográphicas* produced after the conquest of America, Gruzinski noted that natives altered tradition for the benefit of the Spanish rulers. It was found convenient to consign to a distant past all that could have to do with idolatry, with 'rituals and ceremonies that they practiced and did of old in the time of the infidelity', which made it possible for the Spanish conquerors to dismiss the thorny question of the retention of paganism. Quetzalcoatl became a crucial tool in this process because of his putative opposition to this proliferation of deities, and his insistence upon one god. Gruzinski demonstrated how the spotless *present* of Christianization followed upon a long *past* of paganism and idol worship[3]. The transformation of Vailankanni into a Marian deity followed the same path. But the trajectory of encounter was different.

Vailankanni appeared in the sixteenth century out of a mix of the Krisna cult as practiced in Tamil Nadu and the cult of Mary Star of the Sea, a saviour cult for sailors. But closer inspection suggests that Vailankanni may have been at inception a local deity associated with healing and caring for the sick. The Portuguese missionary zeal was particularly effective in incorporating local village deities in peninsular India. In sixteenth century Goa for example, village deities associated with cures, bountiful harvests and miracles, had to adjust to the violence of Portuguese rule. The Shantadurga of Goa, in her folk form of Santeri Mata, was christianised into Our Lady of Miracles/Health/Cures. Female deities, more specifically mother goddess or shakti figures particularly associated with curative powers such as Arokia Matha or Navdurga, were co opted into Catholicism in Portuguese territory[4].

In Vailankanni's encounter with Christianity we find not one encounter, but several taking place at various levels over time. A local cult was incorporated into a hegemonic belief system and then inscribed over a wider Catholic territory. Then the cult was inserted into a larger maritime area. A new religious space was created thereby stretching from the China Seas through the Bay of Bengal up until Lisbon.

3.1. Encountering the Catholic Stories of Vailankanni

There are three stories of encounters in the Catholic version. In the sixteenth century a herdsman in Nagapattinam was asked for milk by a 'divine' lady with a child. The place of this visitation came to be known as Our Lady's Tank, or Ampa Kulam, a throwback to the idea of the *dudhsagar* or the sea of milk. Note that the

Krsna motif is stressed as origin in this story, and that the 'divine' lady is not yet named as the Virgin. The herdsman was Christian with a Hindu master. This story appears to be set in a time before the arrival of Portuguese missionaries.

There was yet another visitation in the sixteenth century. A lame shepherd boy-a Hindu- was asked for a cup of buttermilk by another 'divine' lady. On drinking the milk, the lady asked him to run to the rich Catholics at Nagapattinam and pass on her command that they build a chapel in her name on the spot of her apparition. He regained the use of his useless leg, ran into the city and informed his Portuguese masters there. The Portuguese built a chapel at Nadu Thittu, the place of the present shrine, to celebrate both the visitation and the miracle. Because missionary enterprise had obviously started in the region the Christian element is welded together with the original Hindu motif in the second version[5]. The association with healing appears first in this version. But the Lady is still not identified as the Virgin-kanni or kumari.

What were the spatial dimensions of these two stories? We have to note that in the sixteenth century Portuguese expansion in the Bay was at its height. Nagapattinam had a thriving colony of Portuguese merchants and clerics at that time; it was a prominent centre in the Bay trade. The 'rich catholics' of the foundation myth were the Portuguese merchants and priests settled at Nagapattinam. But the stories of the visitation occur in a predominantly pastoral setting; the site of the appearance of the Lady occurs some 6 km. away from Nagapattinam. It is the original, uncontaminated space, a place of Pan like innocence, from where a new cult would take shape. But this pristine space does not remain so for long. In the seventeenth century the chapel at Nadu Thittu was transformed. It came to be known as 'Our Lady of Good Health', a local Marian shrine, patronized by the Portuguese of the Coromandel. The place of original innocence is therefore now inscribed by a definite religious order.

The Vailankanni cult, however, was not content to rest with these two stories of its origin. An international dimension was needed. This was provided by the story of the shipwrecked Portuguese sailors in the seventeenth century. A Portuguese galley sailing from Macao to Colombo was caught in a storm. On the morning of 8th September the storm passed suddenly. The Portuguese found themselves on the beach of Vailankanni. They transformed the original thatched chapel (Nadu Thittu) into a stone chapel as thanks to Mary Star of the Sea. On their next visit from the East the Portuguese decorated the altar with porcelain plates illustrating themes from the Bible. The passage from shrine to permanent church building was completed in this version.

The porcelain tiles placed at the altar were blue and could have come originally from China, but the biblical themes on them point to an Iberian provenance. Vailankanni is thus legitimized over a wide geographical area stretching from east to west, an area far larger than a folk goddess could command.

3.2. Encountering The Thomist Origins of the Vailankanni Cult

But Vailankanni may also have been an earlier Thomist Christian deity. The Portuguese version of the cult appears in the sixteenth century when an 'adjustment' between Syrians and Catholics took place in the region. The Portuguese set to themselves the task of removing the Nestorian taint and bringing the community into union with the Catholic Church. In 1523 the Portuguese started building the first Christian church at Mylapore. In 1547, seeking the vestiges of a Christian past, the Portuguese found a stone cross which they placed on the high altar of the church of St. Thomas. The St. Thomas cross is a symbolic representation of the Christian faith, and the Portuguese now took it upon themselves to become the guardians of Christianity in India[6]. This was finally accomplished by the Synod of Udayamperur in 1599. The Portuguese also burnt most of the ancient written records of the Syrian Christians in peninsular India. The conflict of jurisdiction between the vicars Apostolic and the Portuguese *padroado* commenced in the eighteenth century, reached its climax in 1838, and was finally settled in 1886.

Syrian Christianity showed an amalgam of Hindu and Christian beliefs-for example, Mary was considered a sister of Kali, Jesus was venerated along with Krsna[7]. Therefore, if we accept the Thomist associations of Vailankanni, we find that there were a series of 'encounters' or adjustments between Thomism and Portuguese Catholicism at the time when the cult first appeared as a Marian shrine.

3.3. Encountering the Original Goddess

We have so far viewed these 'encounters' from the top, so to speak. We have noted the possible indigenous origins of the cult, its Thomist associations, its accommodation within Catholicism, and its integration into a maritime and territorial empire. But who actually was Vailankanni?

The village of Vailankanni houses a temple to the goddess Mariyammam. In rural Tamil Nadu Mariyammam was the goddess who cured small pox-a dreaded killer in those days. She was a vengeful goddess; the lack of rain in the dry months from January to June and the incidence of cases of small pox at that time were regarded by the villagers as a sign of Mariyammam's wrath. In time she came to be regarded as the goddess whose anger prevented a bountiful harvest. Mariyammam was a negative goddess; she was feared because of what she *could* do, not loved because of what she *did*. Younger noted that the underlying pattern of worship in the Vailankanni pilgrimage was the same as that found in the worship of Mariyammam-the preparatory vows, the shaving of the hair, the presentation of offerings, the frenetic worship and so on[8].

But what explains the transition from the Hindu Mariyammam to the Christian Vailankanni? It may well be, that with the world of the Tamil villager expanding,

Mariyammam was no longer deemed adequate for the problems that the villager faced. In her stead, Vailankanni as 'kanni' the virgin; associated with kanya and kumani, (reduplication of 'kanni') promised a much more limitless authority based on her seaward orientation. As a Marian shrine she offered them relief from the manifold ailments that plagued them. In other words, Vailankanni united the structural polarities of inside-outside; she breached the traditional divide between the home and the outer world. And in so doing she morphed the distinction between the female goddess of the interior and the male god of the outer world.

4.1 The Enlargement of the Sacred Territory: The Encounter Progresses on Land

The seventeenth century is known as the time when the Portuguese were in retreat in Asia. They lost Malacca to the Dutch in 1641 and Hormuz to an Anglo-Dutch initiative in 1644. In 1650, the fall of Muscat to the Yarubis effectively ended Portuguese domination of the western Indian Ocean. Portuguese settlements in western India were attacked: Bombay in 1661-2, Diu in 1668 and 1676, and Bassein in 1674.

In the east a similar situation prevailed. The Portuguese were massacred by the Arakanese at Dianga in 1607 and expelled from Chattagrama. De Brito, the 'independent' Portuguese ruler of Syriam, was killed by the Mons-Burmese in 1613. The Portuguese were defeated in Ceylon in August 1630 and in Hugli in 1632. In 1641 Portuguese Malacca, the major entrepot of Asian trade in the eastern Indian Ocean, was lost. In 1656 Colombo was taken, followed by Nagapattinam, Jaffna and Tuticorin in 1658. The Portuguese now moved further down on the Coromandel coast to San Thome. Much of what was 'Portuguese India' became Dutch possessions by the middle of the seventeenth century.

It is significant that the Vailankanni story continues to develop the Portuguese angle in this very century of defeat. Nagapattinam became a Dutch enclave in 1658. Being Protestants, the Dutch had no interest in Vailankanni. The Franciscans of San Thome were put in charge of the shrine[9]. So how do we explain the spread of the cult at this time?

The Portuguese withdrawal from peninsular South Asia was not yet complete. While the official Portuguese empire receded, private Portuguese merchants stayed on in both peninsular India and Sri Lanka. Subrahmanyam reminds us, that it was in this century that the Portuguese transformed themselves from a maritime power to a territorial power[10]. It is very likely that more and more 'adjustments' took place between Catholicism and Protestantism, between Catholicism and Nestorian Christianity and between Catholicism and Hinduism during this period. The Vailankanni cult spread to other parts of the sub continent where the Portuguese settled, especially in Diu.

4.2 The Growth of a Scared Territory-The Encounter Progresses at Sea

Let us now look at the maritime space of Vailankanni's encounter. Like their territorial possessions in the Indian Ocean, the maritime space of the Portuguese too was shrinking in the seventeenth century.

The Portuguese operated from Goa. Routes, royal monopolies and concession voyages were given out from Lisbon and Goa for all ports in Asia. Therefore each port had certain other ports it traded with. Which port had the Macau-Colombo run? In the period between 1620 and 1640, when we have Portuguese shipping lists, Macau traded with only Manila and Nagasaki[11]. That is, Macau was given the right to trade east and not west, where Colombo is situated. We do not know exactly which ports Nagapattinam traded with but we know that the port of Porto Novo in the Coromandel, where the Portuguese moved after Nagapattinam was taken by the Dutch in 1658, had the right to trade with Pegu, Acheh, Malacca, Goa and Manila[12]. The easternmost point from Porto Novo was therefore Manila. It is likely that Nagapattinam traded in the same maritime space. Therefore there was no Macau-Colombo run or a Nagapattinam-Colombo-Macau run. Only Goa had the right to trade all the way with Macau/Nagasaki[13].

But after 1650 when this maritime space was in retreat, the 'Black Portuguese' of Macau and Timor enjoyed autonomy from Goa and traded with Banten, Dutch Batavia, Siam, Ceylon and Bengal[14]. Therefore the ship that fetched up on Vailankanni's shores would have been from Goa if the event took place before 1658; and if the event took place after that time it could very likely have been a private Portuguese vessel owned at Macau. Either way, the founding of the Vailankanni church at this time points to the desire of the Portuguese to inscribe a wider maritime space: one running from the China Seas to the Bay of Bengal with coastal Tamil Nadu as the centre. Portuguese cartographic strategies of this time testify to this [15]. But which Portuguese sailors established the Vailankanni church-the 'official' Portuguese from Goa or the 'unofficial' ones from Macau? We do not know for certain but we can hazard a few guesses.

4.3 Alternate Encounters

In point of fact, both the foundation myth of the Vailankanni cult and its subsequent development, points to the desire of the Coromandel Portuguese to maintain a certain distance from Goa. The 'rich Catholics' of Nagapattinam were not average Portuguese Christians. Nagapattinam was also peopled by New Christians, a group that had been until recently Jews. Converted in the late 1490s to Christianity, the New Christian Portuguese commercial network was particularly strong between 1580 and 1630. Their major trading centres were at Malacca, Macau, Nagasaki, Manila, Goa and Cochin. The New Christian network connected previously neglected

or marginal routes. This network is sometimes difficult to perceive today because of the paucity of documents but we know that after the Inquisition became active in Goa from the 1580s many New Christians moved out of Goa to Macau or moved out of the *Estado da India* altogether. Some settled in Nagapattinam.

The Portuguese community in sixteenth and seventeenth century Nagapattinam was a motley one; the *casados* who dominated the town councils of Nagapattinam, Hugli or Macau gave their towns a very different flavour from the 'offical' *fidalgo* dominated councils of Goa, Hormuz and Malacca[16]. Therefore the organization of justice, government and trading privileges were similar between Nagapattinam and Macau and quite dissimilar from, say, Goa or Malacca. It is very likely that the two New Christian centres maintained close contact throughout the seventeenth century.

Which brand of Catholicism did the New Christians espouse? They followed a *mélange* of Judaic mysticism and messianic millenarianism; and the latter fitted in with the spirit of the early Portuguese overseas empire. It has been pointed out that sixteenth century Portuguese imperial expansion into Asia was deeply imbued with notions of messianism and millenarianism. João I used explicitly millenarian symbolism[17]. But a century after the New Christians converted to Catholicism, the crowns of Spain and Portugal were united in 1580. This unification did not mean a shared Catholic heritage in their overseas possessions.

In Latin America, for example, replicas of original Spanish sanctuaries were established as Spain sought to convert more and more of the native population to Christianity. This strategy is known as establishing satellite pilgrimages as Deffontaine noted. A classic example is the replication of multiple Notre Dames de Guadeloupe in the former Iberian colonies of Central and South America, based on the original Castilian sanctuary by way of a shared repertoire of non verbal symbol-vehicles which constituted a common language[18].

But no such model of satellite pilgrimages gained favour in Portuguese Asia. Vailankanni did not become a replica of Our Lady of Guadeloupe. In South Asia the Iberian tradition generated alternate forms of worship.

In the sixteenth century, Xavier had already turned into a patron saint of Portuguese mercantile expansion in South Asia but the Vailankanni foundation myth did not display Xaverian lineages as did other shrines. No eschatological or millenarian foresights were expressed by the Jesuits but closely related to Xavier's clairvoyance were his prophecies. He was a mediator between the terrestrial and celestial spheres, very often a ship was saved through Xavier's *orações e sacrifícios*. Lists of Xavier's intervention comes from the main places of Portuguese control-Goa, Malacca, Ambon [19]. Zupanov writes, 'Xavier's holy presence in Asia – was particularly propitious to Portuguese. His "apostolic" journeys sanctified not only the newly acquired territories through the foundation of religious institutions, improvements of social mores and Christianization, but also the vessels on which he traveled and the sea passages they ploughed through. Whatever he touched became

a mark on the map of Portuguese possession'[20]. Vailankanni's authority did not contest the Xaverian space. Her sacred area was the lesser-the unofficial-Portuguese area. Vailankanni became instead a Marian shrine, a cult that is devoted to curing people of afflictions, physical or otherwise.

On his pilgrimage to Vailankanni, Paul Younger noted that the pilgrims were generally poor, often hysteric, sick and in search of a cure [21]. Visions, miracles, and magical cures are associated with Marian shrines. Marian shrines multiplied in the late Middle Ages across Europe and the Middle East, when the cult of the supernatural--christianised as the miracle-was controlled by the papacy. *Miracula* and *Mirabilia* became intimately linked with *virtues* and *vitae*, and were utilized systematically in the politics of Christianisation[22]. The idea of the spectacular miracle was used by the Portuguese for conversion, for missions and for territorial conquest in South Asia from the sixteenth century.

5. CONCLUSION

The original area of the Vailankanni cult was in rural Tamil Nadu. It then spread over the Bay of Bengal: more specifically, along the route from Macau to Colombo, when Portuguese sailors were washed up on the Tamil coast. Vailankanni then spread out into interior south India, and finally it became a node in a long strand of Catholic shrines that straddles the world. The imagined space of Vailankanni therefore reflected originally Thomist-Indic religious practices, then Portuguese expansion and contraction in the eastern Indian Ocean, then a shared Christian territory in peninsular South Asia, and finally, after India's independence, a nodal point within the global Catholic network. By declaring Vailankanni a Marian shrine and then a basilica, the Vatican explicitly placed Vailankanni within the sacred topography of Christianity.

This was a time tested Catholic strategy whereby a sacred space, a Catholic topography, had to be created in a territory that was not Christian. In the very early years, when Christianity was taking root, Augustine created a sacred space, a Christian territory of the mind, by creating a Christian landscape through the multiplication of the burial sites of martyrs and the relics of saints. A horizontal Christian network straddling countries, cultures and continents was thus created. This was Christianity's own, and very effective, 'foreign policy' in the early years, where faith was the chief ingredient.

In later years, in places that had no biblical sites or local martyrs and saints to boast of, the element of miracle was added. True miracles flowed from conversion to the true faith. Miracles were therefore linked to the ideal of faith and the Marian cult was just another example of miracles occurring. Through the vehicle of miracle (linked intimately with healing and magical cures) distant lands, deities, faiths and peoples could also be incorporated into the Catholic faith[23].

Faith can operate at different levels, and act as an unificatory point for people of diverse origins. Bharadwaj pointed out pilgrimages operate on the basis of nodes at different levels. It is at the local level that the encounter between Vailankanni and Christianity initially took place and it points to the immense diversity within the dominant religion and the local basis of integration[24]. The local basis of integration often displays both a geographical and a mythic imagination far more diverse than any of us can imagine. The spatial extent of empire, differences within Catholicism, fight against Protestantism, divergent trading privileges, loss of territory, and finally, reconciliation with the Vatican in the Jubilee Year, the Vailankanni cult weathered all storms. It indicates the much larger space of faith and empire.

NOTES

[1] See Rila Mukherjee, 'Contested Authenticities', *Rethinking History*, 8,3, September, U.K., Routledge, 2004, pp. 459-63.

[2] '*Memoria historico-eclesiatica da Arquidiocese de Goa, 1533-1933'* edited by Fr. Amaro Pinto Lobo, Nova Goa, 1933, reports the Shrine of Our Lady of Health at Vailankanni, describing it as 'Lourdes da India'.

[3] José Nicolau da Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa*, Bombay, Thacker &Co. Limited, 1878, does not mention any shrine or chapel dedicated to Vailankanni in his ecclesiastical accounts. See chapters VII-XVI. We have no foundational texts for Vailankanni, it is not mentioned in any history book, or contemporary documents (such as British census data for Tanjore district where Vailankanni was situated) and it is disregarded in *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* Volume VII (Copyright © 1910 by Robert Appleton Company, Online Edition Copyright ©2003 by Kevin Knight).

[4] For example recent works by João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, 'The Arrival of the Portuguese in India and the New Spread of Christianity through Asia', Pratima Kamat, 'Konkan Conquered for Christ by Priests of the Society of Jesus: Some Socio-Cultural Expressions' in Lotika Varadarajan ed. *Indo--Portuguese Encounters: Journeys in Science, Technology and Culture*, V.1, Lisbon and New Delhi, 2006: pp. 1-15 and 38-56. See too Ines G., Zuapnov, 'The Prophetic and the Miraculous in Portuguese Asia: A Hagiographical View of Colonial Culture' in Subrahmanyam, Sanjay ed. *Sinners and Saints: The Successors of Vasco da Gama*, Delhi, OUP, 1998. None mention this cult.

[5] Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1978, pp. 17-18.

[6] Rila Mukherjee, 'A Connected History or Connected Histories?', Review article of Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History***:** *From The Tagus to the Ganges,* and *Mughals and Franks*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, in *Calcutta Historical Journal*, V. 25.1 Jan-June 2005.

[7] Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1985. See Chapter 4 'Captain James Cook; or the Dying God'.

[8] See Patricia Lopez Don, , 2006, 'Franciscans, Indian Sorcerers, and the Inquisition in New Spain, 1536–1543', *Journal of World History*, V.17, No.1, March 2006 and Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest-Huamanga to 1640*, 2nd ed., University of Wisconsin Press 1993 for different notions of encounters.

[9] See Robert S. Newman, *Of Umbrellas, Goddesses and Dreams-Essays on Goan Culture and Society*, Mapusa, Other India Press, 2001, pp. 192-211.

[10] Ibid. pp.196-7.

[11] Carlo G Cereti, Luca M Olivieri, and Fr. Joseph Vazhuthanapally, 'The Problem of the Saint Thomas Crosses and Related Questions : Epigraphical Survey and Preliminary Research', Rome, *East West*, 2003.

[12] *Ibid*., pp. 288-9.

[13] Paul Younger, 'Velankanni Calling : Hindu Patterns of Pilgrimage at a Christian Shrine' in Alan Morinis ed. *Sacred Journeys*: *The Anthropology of Pilgrimage*, Westport, Greenwood Press, CT, 1992, pp. 89-99. See p. 94.

[14] *The Shrine Basilica of Our Lady of Health Vailankanni* by Rev.Fr. S.R.Santos, Thanjavur, 1973, pp. 24-5.

[15] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700*, London, Longmans, 1993, p. 132.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 171.

[17] I*bid*., p. 203.

[18] *Ibid*., pp. 140-41. This is corroborated by *The History of the Shrine Basilica of Our Lady of Health Vailankanni* (*The Lourdes of the East*), compiled by Rev.Fr. S.L.Gabriel et al, Sivakasi, 1989, p. 21.

[19] *Ibid*., 209-212.

[20], Luis Filipe F.R., Thomaz , 'The Image of the Archipelago in Portuguese Cartography of the 16th and Early 17th Centuries', Cartographie et Histoire, Paris, *Archipel* 49, 1995, pp. 79-98 and 22 plates.

[21] Sanjay Subrahnmanyam, 1993, p. 234.

[22] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History : From the Tagus to the Ganges*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 130.

[23] Pierre Deffontaine, *Geographie et Religions*, Paris, nrf Gallimard, 1948, p. 298.

[24] Ines G. Zupanov, 1998. See pp. 145-149.

[25] *Ibid*. 149.

[26] Paul Younger, 'Velankanni Calling'. See p. 92.

[27] Rila Mukherjee, *The Lost Worlds of Europe*, Kolkata, Progressive Publishers, 2003, pp. 136-138.

[28] *Ibid*., pp. 20-1, 137-8.

[29] S.H. Bharadwaj, *Hindu Places Of Pilgrimage in India,* 1973.

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COMO SERIA A BIBLIOTECA DE MATTEO RICCI?

Rui Manuel Loureiro

O itinerário biográfico de Matteo Ricci no interior da China, até à sua morte em 1610, é suficientemente conhecido para que seja necessário retomá-lo aqui em grande pormenor.[1] Bastará lembrar que o jesuíta italiano, não contando com as tentativas cedo interrompidas de Michele Ruggieri,[2] foi o primeiro europeu que de uma forma sistemática e continuada desenvolveu estudos de língua e de cultura chinesa, de início a partir de Zhaoqing, primeira missão jesuíta em território do Celeste Império, depois em Shaozhou, de seguida em Nanchang, e assim sucessivamente, num lento caminho ascensional, que em 1601 o conduziria a Pequim, a capital imperial chinesa. A vida de Ricci, desde o momento em que desembarca em Macau em 1582, está permanentemente ligada aos livros e à leitura, pois ele é um dos jesuítas destacados pelo visitador jesuíta Alessandro Valignano para desenvolver em território chinês a nova estratégia adaptacionista. E este processo implicava, em primeiro lugar, um afincado estudo da língua escrita chinesa, ou *língua mandarim*, utilizada por todo o Celeste Império como forma de comunicação oficial.

Matteo Ricci, evidentemente, recorreu aos serviços de mestres chineses neste processo de aprendizagem linguística. A tarefa aparecia-lhe verdadeiramente infinita, pois numa carta escrita de Zhaoqing em 1584 referia, a propósito das "letras" chinesas, que "para cada cosa tienen la suya y está bien revuelta y enlaçada; de manera que quantas palabras ay en el mundo, tantas son las letras diferentes unas de otras".[3] Mas adiantava também que, no "aprender las letras en lengua china", estava "tan adelante" que já poderia "predicar y confesar quando ubiese oportunidad".[4] O adaptacionismo, em segundo lugar, exigia uma imersão quase total no mundo cultural chinês, quer através de alterações radicais na vida quotidiana, com uma adopção pelos missionários dos usos e costumes dos chineses, quer através da frequência continuada da literatura clássica, verdadeira chave para a decifração da civilização sínica.

Desde meados do século XVI que os missionários jesuítas destacados para a Ásia haviam começado a recolher dados sobre a realidade cultural chinesa. E desde

logo se tinham apercebido da extraordinária importância que os *letrados* detinham na China, já que praticamente toda a administração imperial lhes estava entregue, desde os mais insignificantes cargos locais e regionais até aos mais elevados patamares do poder central, junto do próprio imperador. Embora inicialmente os religiosos europeus tivessem procurado estabelecer analogias com o budismo, um conhecimento mais aprofundado da realidade chinesa, obtido ao longo de mais de uma década de vivência no interior da China, ditou alterações significativas na estratégia missionária. E a partir de 1595, os padres jesuítas começam a apresentar-se junto dos chineses como *xishi* ou letrados oriundos do Ocidente, de uma região que mais tarde seria conhecida pelos chineses como o 'grande reino do mar ocidental' ou *Daxiyangguo*. Passaram a ser 'mestres da religião do Senhor do Céu', numa tentativa de identificação com a classe dos letrados sínicos, precisamente aquela que possuía um estatuto mais elevado nos quadros sociais do Celeste Império. E, a partir de então, tudo o que dizia respeito aos mandarins chineses, e sobretudo ao seu processo de formação e de selecção, passou a constituir uma área prioritária para os religiosos europeus estabelecidos na China.

Desde tempos remotos, o Celeste Império possuía um elaborado e centralizado sistema de funcionalismo público, dirigido a partir da capital imperial.[5] Um exército rigorosamente hierarquizado de burocratas preenchia os sucessivos níveis da administração civil, sendo cada lugar ocupado por um período de tempo normalmente limitado a três anos. A mobilidade entre diferentes espaços geográficos e entre distintas funções administrativas era quase obrigatória, podendo uma carreira de sucesso conduzir um determinado mandarim desde um posto relativamente obscuro na administração local até ao círculo mais restrito do poder central em Pequim. O recrutamento dos funcionários públicos era realizado através de um sistema global de exames civis, com sucessivos patamares de exigência, que correspondiam aproximadamente aos graus europeus de licenciado, de mestre e de doutor. O grau de *xiucai*, o mais baixo de todos, era obtido em exames locais, ao nível distrital; seguia-se um exame provincial, onde se podia obter o grau de *juren*; finalmente, os exames para acesso ao grau de *jinshi*, o mais elevado, realizavam-se na capital imperial. A entrada na função pública, em princípio, assegurava a qualquer chinês, independentemente das respectivas origens, uma carreira ininterrupta através da burocracia imperial, com a correspondente elevação de estatuto social.

Para uma restrita porção da população chinesa, a admissão aos exames civis constituía um objectivo verdadeiramente prioritário, em função do qual se organizava toda a vida pessoal e, às vezes, familiar. E o percurso estudantil de qualquer candidato ao funcionalismo começava muito cedo, com estudos desenvolvidos em escolas locais ou com o auxílio de tutores. Todo o sistema de estudos estava orientado para a literatura, pois os exames para admissão aos diferentes graus académicos constavam quase exclusivamente de questões

relacionadas com os clássicos chineses. Um examinando com sucesso deveria conhecer praticamente de cor os *Quatro Livros* e os *Cinco Clássicos*, bem como diversas outras obras atribuídas a Confúcio ou aos seus seguidores.[6] E também deveria ser um escritor exímio de composições poéticas e de ensaios eruditos. O ensino baseava-se sobretudo na memória, devendo cada estudante decorar textos que em conjunto totalizavam mais de 400 mil caracteres, muitos deles repetidos, claro. Para além de memorizar uma determinada obra, como os *Analectos* ou o *Grande Ensinamento*, por exemplo, o estudante deveria ainda conhecer muitos dos comentários que a propósito dessa obra haviam sido elaborados ao longo dos tempos por sucessivas gerações de eruditos.

Um editor comercial do Fujian publicou em 1591 um catálogo de obras destinadas aos candidatos aos exames, o qual incluía, para além dos clássicos, livros de história, antologias poéticas, modelos de ensaios e diversos comentários aos *Quatro Livros*.[7] O grupo mais importante de clássicos chineses, atribuídos à tradição confuciana, englobava, por um lado, os *Quatro Livros*: *Analectos* [*Lunyu*], *Grande Ensinamento* [*Daxue*], *Doutrina do Meio* [*Zhongyong*] e *Mêncio* [*Mengzi*]; e, por outro lado, os *Cinco Clássicos*: *Livro das Odes* [*Shi jing*], *Livro dos Documentos* [*Shu jing*], *Livro das Mutações* [*Yijing*], *Livro dos Ritos* [*Li ji*] e *Anais da Primavera e do Outono* [*Chunqiu*]. Para além dos comentários, que ajudavam o estudante a entender o texto nem sempre claro dos clássicos, especialmente importantes eram os modelos de ensaios, pois durante os exames os candidatos tinham de redigir textos relativamente extensos em resposta às questões que lhes eram colocadas. Durante a dinastia Ming, vulgarizou-se no sistema de exames o chamado *ensaio de oito-pernas*, que devia ser estruturado em outras tantas partes distintas.[8] E as compilações publicadas de ensaios redigidos para anteriores exames constituíam uma preciosa ajuda para os candidatos.

Matteo Ricci e os seus companheiros de missão foram descobrindo este complicado sistema de ensino a pouco e pouco, à medida que também iam entendendo a fulcral importância do grupo dos letrados na sociedade chinesa. Os religiosos jesuítas eram normalmente homens de elevada cultura, que possuíam longos anos de preparação académica e que se dedicavam ao estudo e à meditação. A cultura católica e humanística baseava-se precisamente num alargado conjunto de textos canónicos, que depois eram sucessivamente comentados e interpretados. E o ensino europeu de então também atribuía extrema relevância à memorização de determinados textos. Nada mais lógico, pois, que, uma vez definidas as premissas do adaptacionismo, os missionários europeus fossem estabelecendo analogias e realizando aproximações relativamente ao mundo dos letrados chineses. Os padres jesuítas, no fim de contas, deveriam sentir-se os *letrados* da Europa,[9] com a radical diferença de que não lhes competia o exercício directo do poder, ao contrário do que sucedia com os mandarins chineses. Mas estes últimos apareciam cada vez mais como os interlocutores privilegiados no processo de *conquista espiritual da China* que a Companhia de Jesus queria levar a cabo.

Em 1593 Matteo Ricci escrevia que ele e um seu confrade tinham estado ocupados todo o ano "in studiare" um "corso che costumano udire delle cosi morali i letterati della Cina, che sono *Quattro Libri* di quatro philosophi assai buoni e di buoni documenti morali". Acrescentava ainda que a instâncias de Alessandro Valignano estava a preparar alguns comentários em latim a esses mesmos livros. Numa referência humorística aos seus estudos de chinês, concluía que "in senectute mea mi farò putto di scola".[10] O pessoal em serviço na missão chinesa parece ter dedicado consideráveis energias à aprendizagem da língua mandarim e ao estudo da cultura erudita do Celeste Império.[11] Um tal processo, parece óbvio, exigia a posse e o manuseamento de livros chineses, que os jesuítas foram adquirindo a pouco e pouco, certamente aconselhados pelos seus tutores chineses, à medida que dominavam melhor a língua dos mandarins ou *guanhua*.

Evidentemente, os livros abundavam na China, onde a impressão através de processos xilográficos estava vulgarizada desde há muitos séculos.[12] A imprensa imperial publicava regularmente edições dos clássicos confucianos, textos canónicos budistas e daoistas, bem como crónicas e corografias, que conheciam uma ampla distribuição; as administrações provinciais e regionais imprimiam constantemente obras de carácter oficial, contendo leis, regulamentos e rituais; mosteiros budistas e daoistas publicavam as suas próprias edições de textos religiosos e de obras exegéticas; academias privadas de letrados e escolas familiares ou locais produziam obras didácticas, normalmente sob a forma de comentários dos clássicos; e editores comerciais difundiam obras do mais diverso teor, desde almanaques e romances populares, até tratados de adivinhação e de medicina, passando por monografias regionais e livros de memórias.

Os livros das oficinas imperiais destinavam-se sobretudo a abastecer a densa rede de bibliotecas que desde finais do século XIV se espalhara por todo o Celeste Império, associadas às escolas existentes em todas as localidades minimamente importantes. Uma biblioteca local média poderia possuir mais de três mil *juan* ou fascículos. Mas o mercado livreiro também era alimentado por consumidores privados, sobretudo pela classe dos letrados e pelo grupo ainda maior daqueles que pretendiam candidatar-se aos exames públicos de acesso à administração imperial. Grandes bibliotecas chinesas privadas de finais de Quinhentos podiam reunir 40 mil ou mesmo 50 mil *juan*. Entretanto, muitos dos que reprovavam nos exames, encontravam um modo de vida alternativo no ensino e na publicação de obras didácticas, já que na hierarquia confuciana a profissão de editor vinha logo abaixo da de letrado em termos de estatuto social. A China de finais do século XVI era, sem dúvida, um verdadeiro *mundo de livros*, tal a extraordinária importância atribuída à cultura escrita, quer na preservação das tradições, quer na gestão do império, quer na selecção do funcionalismo público. Os chineses, talvez mais do que qualquer outro povo, reverenciavam sobremaneira o seu vastíssimo património escrito, que procuravam preservar através de múltiplas estratégias, que passavam nomeadamente

pela impressão xilográfica e pelo desenvolvimento de bibliotecas.[13] E, como os padres jesuítas foram avaliando, à medida que se familiarizavam com as práticas culturais chinesas, pareciam estar reunidas condições essenciais para difundir o cristianismo entre os chineses, de forma que a Companhia de Jesus optará pela lenta construção de um vasto património escrito, através da produção de manuscritos e através da impressão de livros.

Ciente do contexto cultural onde se pretendia inserir, Matteo Ricci desde cedo começou a compor obras em chinês, não necessariamente dedicadas a temas religiosos.[14] Em 1595, a instâncias de um dos seus amigos mandarins, preparava um 'Tratado sobre técnicas mnemónicas', o *Xiguo jifa*, que se destinava a auxiliar candidatos chineses aos exames oficiais. Embora circulasse em manuscrito, a obra só seria impressa pela primeira vez em Ganzhou, muitos anos mais tarde, em 1625. Ainda em 1595, Ricci fazia imprimir por métodos xilográficos o *Jiaoyou lun* ou 'Tratado sobre a Amizade', uma antologia de excertos de diferentes obras ocidentais, que se poderia ter baseado nas *Sententiae et exempla* do português André de Resende, impressas em Paris em 1590, mas também poderia ser constituída por fragmentos conservados na memória, dos seus tempos de estudante em Itália e em Portugal. O método aculturativo começava a dar os seus frutos, pois a reputação de Matteo Ricci junto dos chineses como homem de letras não parava de crescer, enquanto os seus escritos eram amplamente circulados. Ainda em 1595, o jesuíta italiano escrevia para Macau, narrando ao padre Duarte Sande um curioso episódio em que estivera envolvido. Tendo sido convidado por "alguns siuçais [*xiucai*] letrados do primeiro grao" em Nanchang, e pretendendo "dar mostra do que sabia das letras chinas", solicitou aos seus anfitriões "que escrevessem muitas letras chinas de maneira que quizessem em hum papel sem ter entre si nhuma ordem". Uma vez desenhados os carateres chineses, Ricci leu-os uma única vez, para seguidamente, de cor, os repetir pela ordem exacta em que estavam escritos. Não satisfeito com esta exibição de memória gráfica, recitou de novo todos os caracteres, desta vez por ordem inversa. Os chineses presentes "ficarão todos muito mais pasmados e como fora de si".[15]

Eventualmente, graças a esta táctica de aproximação aos letrados, Ricci acabou por atingir Pequim, uma primeira vez em 1599, para dois anos mais tarde, em 1601, receber autorização oficial para se estabelecer na capital imperial. Não fora propriamente a doutrina cristã que trouxera o missionário italiano e os seus confrades tão longe, mas antes uma metodologia que combinava, em doses variadas, um enorme domínio da língua mandarim e da cultura letrada chinesa, uma grande capacidade de debate ideológico no próprio terreno da tradição confuciana, e um inteligente aproveitamento de determinados aspectos da ciência e da tecnologia europeias. Poder-se-á notar, de passagem, que os religiosos jesuítas, praticamente desde os primeiros tempos da missão chinesa, recorreram a uma diversificada gama de objectos prestigiantes para atraírem as atenções dos chineses, e sobretudo das

elites letradas. Para além de livros preciosos, como os oito volumes da monumental *Bíblia Poliglota* impressa por Christopher Plantin em Antuérpia entre 1568 e 1572, que chegaram a Pequim em 1604,[16] os missionários europeus dispunham de pinturas a óleo, de prismas de cristal, de relógios de corda, de globos e de mapas.

Todos estes artefactos despertavam a curiosidade dos interlocutores chineses dos jesuítas, sobretudo os mapas. Quando ainda vivia em Zhaoqing, Matteo Ricci preparara um planisfério com legendas em chinês, adaptado à visão sínica do mundo, pois nele o território do Celeste Império figurava em lugar central. Mandado imprimir pelo governador daquela cidade em 1584, com o título de *Kunyu wanguo quantu*, ou 'Carta completa da míriade de países que existem sobre a terra', o mapa de Ricci conheceu enorme sucesso, com sucessivas e emendadas edições.[17] Os conhecimentos geográficos europeus, assim, foram desde logo utilizados no processo de aproximação aos letrados chineses, o mesmo sucedendo, de resto, com outros saberes especializados, relacionados nomeadamente com a matemática. Em Pequim, Ricci viria a preparar diversos textos científicos, tratando tópicos de geometria e de aritmética. Alguns deles correram manuscritos, enquanto outros foram impressos, como os seus *Jihe yuanben* ou 'Elementos de Euclides', que saíram dos prelos em Pequim em 1607, baseados numa obra homónima de Christoph Clavius que fora impressa em Colónia em 1574. E diversos missionários jesuítas distinguir-se-iam como matemáticos insignes, sendo amiúde chamados pela corte imperial para colaborarem em trabalhos relacionados com o calendário e com a astronomia, sectores verdadeiramente fundamentais do conhecimento na China da época Ming.

Depois de 1601, Matteo Ricci não mais abandonaria Pequim, desenvolvendo uma estratégia diversificada, que visava, em primeiro lugar, consolidar a posição e o prestígio dos religiosos europeus junto da corte imperial, para, em segundo lugar, garantir uma relativa liberdade de manobra às missões jesuítas que se iam espalhando um pouco por todo o Celeste Império.[18] Por entre múltiplos outros afazeres, Ricci procuraria cultivar a amizade de importantes letrados, alguns dos quais se chegaram inclusivamente a converter ao cristianismo, como Xu Guangqi, Yang Tingyun e Li Zhizao, todos eles membros da prestigiada Academia Imperial.[19] Os académicos pequinenses mantinham ligações regulares com uma vasta rede de letrados, que a orgânica do funcionalismo público espalhava por toda a China, de forma que constituíam um apoio vital para as empresas jesuítas disseminadas pelas províncias chinesas. Ao mesmo tempo, estes letrados eram colaboradores essenciais não só no acesso à cultura clássica chinesa, mas também nos projectos jesuítas de produção e de impressão de obras filosóficas e doutrinárias em língua chinesa.

Foi decerto com a ajuda de Xu Guangqi, mais conhecido como Doutor Paulo, que Ricci preparou a edição do seu célebre *Tianzhu shiyi* ou 'Verdadeiro significado do Senhor do Céu', impresso xilograficamente em Pequim em 1604. Escrita em caracteres sínicos para um público chinês, esta obra, em forma de diálogo entre um letrado chinês e um cristão ocidental, apresentava de forma sumária a doutrina

cristã, recorrendo a métodos de exposição tipicamente chineses para rebater ou aproveitar determinados conteúdos das filosofias chinesas.[20] Matteo Ricci, baseado em anos de estudo da cultura do Celeste Império e dos seus principais textos clássicos, ensaiava uma aproximação entre a religião do *Senhor do Céu* e determinados aspectos e conceitos do pensamento filosófico chinês. A obra conheceu um significativo sucesso, sendo posteriormente reimpressa numerosas vezes. O grande catecismo ricciano, parece evidente, pressupunha a existência ou a utilização de uma importante biblioteca de textos europeus e chineses. Os *Exercícios Espirituais* de Inácio de Loyola e as *Constituições* da Companhia de Jesus, textos jesuítas fundacionais, assim com a *Bíblia*, sobretudo o *Novo Testamento*, fariam obrigatoriamente parte desse fundo bibliográfico. Mas ao longo das páginas do *Tianzhu shiyi* encontram-se muitas outras referências livrescas, algumas implícitas, muitas delas explícitas. Entre os autores ocidentais, destacam-se sobretudo Aristóteles, Santo Agostinho e São Tomás de Aquino, cujos ensinamentos são regularmente convocados nos escritos jesuítas. E entre outros filósofos gregos, Pitágoras é repetidamente utilizado, no contexto da discussão da doutrina budista que surge no capítulo "Refutação dos falsos ensinamentos acerca da reencarnação nas seis direcções".[21]

As principais fontes utilizadas por Ricci, contudo, são de origem chinesa, revelando o religioso jesuíta uma admirável familiaridade com um importante conjunto de textos clássicos chineses, que deveria ter à sua disposição. Os *Quatro Livros*, claro, haviam sido cuidadosamente estudados, pois passagens, argumentos ou conceitos dos *Analectos*, do *Grande Ensinamento*, da *Doutrina do Meio* e do *Mêncio* são referidos em numerosas ocasiões, às vezes implicitamente, outras vezes de forma explícita.[22] O mesmo sucede com os *Cinco Clássicos*, que Matteo Ricci utiliza em variadíssimas oportunidades, citando o *Livro das Odes*, o *Livro dos Documentos*, o *Livro das Mutações*, o *Livro dos Ritos* e os *Anais da Primavera e do Outono*.[23] Outras obras do pensamento chinês são citadas ao longo das páginas do catecismo ricciano, como a *Sutra do Lótus* e o *Daode jing*, ou 'Livro das Mutações', textos fundamentais dos cânones budista e daoista, respectivamente. E os nomes de Confúcio, de Laozi e de Buda são repetidamente mencionados, numa demonstração clara de que por 1604 Matteo Ricci, com o indispensável apoio de amigos chineses como Xu Guangqi, havia cumprido um vasto programa de leituras dos clássicos do pensamento confuciano e das doutrinas daoista e budista. Pormenor curioso, o padre jesuíta cita a determinada altura o seu planisfério com legendas em chinês que corria impresso em diversas edições.[24]

E no entanto Matteo Ricci queixava-se em 1605, nas suas cartas para a Europa, da falta premente de livros, pedindo nomeadamente que lhe enviassem um exemplar do "libro delle Imagini del p. Natale", referência ao *Evangelicae Historiae ex ordine Evangeliorum*, com mais de 150 ilustrações, que o jesuíta Jerónimo Nadal publicara em Antuérpia em 1593.[25] Este pedido era justificado pelo facto de, na sua opinião, os chineses ficarem normalmente "stupiti dei libri d'imagini", não podendo crer

"che siano dipinte".[26] Ricci estaria a referir-se sobretudo à escassez de livros de origem europeia, pois em Pequim não tinha decerto qualquer problema em adquirir obras chinesas. E estava atento às novidades do mercado livreiro sínico, pois em 1605 falava dos "molti libri novamente stampati" na capital imperial, referindo que lia "ogni giorno ai nostri che qui stanno qualche libro cina".[27]

Nos anos imediatos, Matteo Ricci continuou a desenvolver em Pequim os seus estudos sinológicos, ao mesmo tempo que redigia múltiplos escritos em português, em italiano, e em chinês. Publicou nomeadamente, em impressão xilográfica, textos que procuravam aproveitar temáticas caras aos letrados chineses, para maior difusão de determinados aspectos da doutrina cristã, como *Xizi qiji* ou 'Milagre dos caracteres ocidentais' [1605], *Ershi wuyan* ou 'Vinte e cinco sentenças' [1605], e *Jiren shipian* ou 'Dez paradoxos' [1607]. Continuou também a dirigir uma correspondência regular em direcção à Europa, sendo algumas das suas missivas utilizadas em diversos impressos jesuítas. Prosseguiu ainda a redacção em italiano dos seus volumosos *Commentarj della Cina*, nos quais fazia a crónica detalhada da génese e da evolução das missões jesuítas no Celeste Império.[28] Entretanto, Matteo Ricci, na sua correspondência, repete insistentemente, para Macau, para Lisboa, para Roma, pedidos de envio de livros para a missão chinesa, sobretudo obras de carácter científico, relacionadas com as matemáticas, a astronomia e a cosmografia. Pois entendera que um dos grandes argumentos que os jesuítas podiam exibir perante os letrados chineses, e mesmo perante a corte imperial, eram os seus conhecimentos científicos e os impressivos volumes saídos das tipografias europeias. Em 1608 escrevia para Roma a Claudio Acquaviva, então responsável supremo da Companhia de Jesus, que "per mezzo delle nostre scientie si ha da far molto alla christianità", adiantando mesmo que "più si fa nella cina con libri che con parole".[29] A mensagem sobre a extraordinária importância dos livros em contexto chinês não podia ser mais clara.

Através dos escritos de Ricci é possível detectar algumas das obras que fariam parte da sua biblioteca, ou antes, da biblioteca da residência jesuíta em Pequim, que depois de 1605 se localizava em Nantang. A jóia mais preciosa desse espólio livresco seria decerto a grande *Bíblia Poliglota*, que, segundo o missionário jesuíta, servia não só para uso dos religiosos europeus, mas também "per fare stupire a tutta la Cina de sì bello libro".[30] Igualmente muito admiradas pelos chineses, eram as duas edições do magnífico atlas de Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrae*, ambas impressas em Antuérpia, uma em 1570 e outra em 1595.[31] Nelas se baseara Ricci para desenhar a sua própria 'Carta completa da míriade de países que existem sobre a terra'. Outros títulos disponíveis em Pequim, todos eles essenciais numa biblioteca científica, seriam o *Almagestum* de Cláudio Ptolomeu [Veneza, 1515], o *Cosmographicus liber* de Petrus Apianus [Antuérpia, 1529], as *Opera mathematica* de Johann Schöner [Nuremberga, 1551], e o *De Principiis Astronomiae & Cosmographiae* de Gemma Frisius [Antuérpia, 1553].[32] Pelo menos um outro livro da antiga biblioteca dos jesuítas de Pequim continha uma dedicatória a Ricci, o *Astrolabivm* do seu

antigo mestre Christoph Clavius [Roma, 1593]. Mas mais alguns títulos da biblioteca ricciana se poderiam identificar, através de referências intertextuais encontradas nos seus próprios escritos, como por exemplo as já citadas *Sententiae et exempla* de André de Resende [Paris, 1590]; ou as *Opera* de Santo Agostinho, na edição de Paris, 1586;[33] ou o *Epitome Arithmeticae Practicae* e a *Horologium nova descriptio*, ambas do padre Clavius, impressas em Roma em 1585 e 1599, respectivamente;[34] ou alguma das muitas edições quinhentistas de obras de Aristóteles.

À data da morte de Matteo Ricci, em 1610, a missão jesuíta parecia estar firmemente implantada na capital do Celeste Império e em várias residências espalhadas pelas províncias chinesas. Tanto mais que, num extraordinário privilégio, o imperador Wanli concedera um terreno em Zhalan para sepultura de Li Madou, nome chinês do falecido padre italiano, significando que a partir de então os seus confrades teriam de permanecer em Pequim para lhe prestarem os tradicionais ritos funerários. A direcção da missão chinesa cabia agora a Niccolò Longobardi, um outro italiano, que, com o auxílio dos seus colaboradores chineses, e talvez seguindo instruções de Ricci, traçou um ambicioso plano de reforma do calendário chinês e de tradução para a língua chinesa de todo um conjunto de obras científicas complementares. E foi então decidido que um procurador viajaria para a Europa, a fim de obter apoios suplementares para a empresa chinesa dos jesuítas, que por esses anos aparecia algo marginalizada no contexto da estratégia asiática da Companhia de Jesus.

O homem escolhido para a missão foi Nicolas Trigault, um jovem jesuíta originário da Flandres, que estava na China desde 1610. A missão que lhe foi confiada pelos seus confrades, entretanto, desdobrava-se em diversas componentes.[35] Em primeiro lugar, o flamengo deveria tentar conseguir em Roma a autonomização da missão chinesa, assegurando ao mesmo tempo fontes de rendimento seguras. Depois, Trigault deveria obter junto das autoridades eclesiásticas aprovação explícita para a política adaptacionista que estava a ser seguida pelos jesuítas na China. Em terceiro lugar, havia que assegurar o regular abastecimento da empresa chinesa em termos de pessoal missionário e em termos de recursos materiais. Em quarto lugar, a viagem à Europa devia ser aproveitada para se adquirirem livros suficientes para que todas as residências chinesas dos jesuítas possuíssem "una honesta libreria".[36] Enfim, em quinto lugar, Nicolas Trigault era portador de diversos manuscritos, que deveria tentar publicar na Europa, de forma a dar maior visibilidade pública à missão chinesa da Companhia, que em termos editoriais permanecia ofuscada pelas temáticas japonesas. Um desses manuscritos continha os *Commentarj della Cina* do padre Matteo Ricci, uma volumosa "historia di questa missione", que o jesuíta italiano compusera nos seus últimos anos de vida.[37] A obra ricciana máxima, aparentemente, encontrou boa recepção nos meios romanos da Companhia de Jesus, pois seria impressa logo em 1615, em Augsburg, sob o título *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas sucepta ab Societate Iesu*. Os apontamentos originais de Ricci foram reorganizados por Nicolas Trigault durante a viagem entre Macau e Roma (curiosamente

efectuada em parte por via terrestre, através da Pérsia e do império otomano), que os completou com outros documentos jesuítas, nomeadamente diversas cartas ânuas, traduzindo o texto final para latim. A obra conjunta de Ricci e de Trigault conheceu um imenso sucesso através de toda a Europa, sendo a versão latina repetidamente reimpressa e logo traduzida em diversas línguas europeias. Estas sucessivas edições de um texto que se baseava em testemunhos vivenciais contribuíram para prestigiar entre os europeus a missão jesuíta da China. E este tipo de propaganda revelou-se essencial para que diversos objectivos da missão de Nicolas Trigault fossem efectivamente atingidos.

Uma obra tão volumosa como *De Christiana Expeditione*, evidentemente, teve de recorrer a uma multiplicidade de fontes, e nomeadamente às experiências em primeira-mão de Ricci e de Trigault, que amiúde fazem uso de lembranças pessoais. Mas os dois autores utilizaram também um assinalável conjunto de textos europeus e chineses, cuja presença se pode detectar nas entrelinhas da obra.[38] Em primeiro lugar, é bem visível a frequência regular da correspondência jesuíta, oriunda não só de Pequim, como das residências existentes em outras cidades chinesas, sendo alguns dos relatórios sectoriais transcritos na íntegra. Em segundo lugar, aparecem com frequência, ao correr dos sucessivos capítulos, transcrições ou paráfrases de documentos chineses relacionados com as missões jesuítas, nomeadamente memoriais de mandarins. Depois, surgem numerosas menções a autores antigos e modernos da cultura ocidental, como Demócrito, Euclides, Ptolomeu, Santo Agostinho, Girolamo Ruscelli, Jerónimo Nadal, Christoph Clavius, Abraham Ortelius. Uma curiosíssima citação respeita a Pedro Nunes, reportando-se talvez às *Opera* do célebre matemático português, editadas em Basileia em 1566.[39]

Enfim, por último, como em outros textos de Ricci, abundam as referências a obras chinesas. Por um lado, surgem com especial destaque os livros atribuídos a Confúcio, "príncipe dos filosofos chineses", quer os *Quatro Livros*, designados como "Tétrabiblion", quer os *Cinco Clássicos*, ou "cinco doutrinas". Estes nove volumes, segundo Ricci e Trigault, "eram os mais antigos das bibliotecas chinesas, dos quais derivam quase todos os outros".[40] São também várias vezes mencionados na *De Christiana Expeditione* os escritos em chinês dos missionários jesuítas, e nomeadamente os diversos tratados impressos de Matteo Ricci, que merecem mesmo um capítulo próprio.[41] Uma interessante referência negativa respeita aos livros de Xu Guangqi, o letrado chinês que em 1603 se converteu ao cristianismo. O Doutor Paulo, como lhe chamavam os jesuítas, "tinha uma bela e ampla biblioteca", recheada dos títulos essenciais da cultura chinesa, mas depois da conversão decidiu purgar o seu espólio livresco com a ajuda dos religiosos europeus: "todos os livros interditos pelos estatutos eclesiásticos foram queimados". Durante três dias, no pátio da casa do converso chinês, os jesuítas lançaram à fogueira todas as obras que tratavam "da arte da adivinhação e dos seus preceitos".[42]

Poucos anos após o desaparecimento de Matteo Ricci, a missão jesuíta da China conheceria, ao menos temporariamente, tempos difíceis, pois em 1616 altos funcionários imperiais de Nanquim e de Pequim haviam desencadeado uma violenta campanha contra os missionários europeus.[43] Diversos memoriais enviados ao imperador Wanli acusavam os religiosos jesuítas de variados crimes, e nomeadamente de hostilizarem as crenças sínicas tradicionais e de conspirarem para desestabilizar a ordem social chinesa, através da difusão de doutrinas subversivas. O padre Álvaro Semedo, que então se encontrava em Nanquim, viria mais tarde a resumir todas essas acusações na sua *Relatione della Grande Monarchia della Cina*, impressa em Roma em 1643: "a entrada furtiva no reino, a propagação de uma lei contrária aos ídolos e aos seus antepassados, a concorrência dos títulos sublimes do nosso Deus com o rei e do nosso Ocidente com o seu Oriente, a corrupção dos amigos, a destruição da astrologia chinesa por falsa e errónea, motivada pelo dano da Europa e coisas semelhantes".[44] Os cristãos, em suma, eram equiparados a uma sociedade secreta, que, através de reuniões regulares onde se praticavam estranhos ritos e através da intensa difusão de escritos heterodoxos, visavam a conquista do poder. Visão esta, que, de certa maneira, fazia todo o sentido do ponto de vista do pensamento chinês tradicional.

A hipótese, aparentemente, nunca foi levantada, mas não é impossível que Shen Que e Fang Congzhe, os dois mandarins mais activos na campanha anti-cristã, tivessem sido inspirados por notícias recebidas do Japão, onde por esses anos as autoridades centrais nipónicas estavam a desencadear violentíssimas perseguições contra os jesuítas, sob acusações absolutamente idênticas.[45] Apesar dos missionários terem esboçado uma defesa consistente, através de uma série de memoriais dirigidos à corte imperial, redigidos por letrados chineses cristianizados ou simpatizantes dos jesuítas, o imperador Wanli assinou em princípios de 1617 um édito decretando a expulsão dos padres europeus da China. Quase todos os jesuítas se retiraram então para Macau, mantendo a Companhia apenas um pequeno núcleo de missionários em Hangzhou, graças à protecção de Yang Tingyun, um importante letrado chinês cristianizado, conhecido nas fontes jesuítas como Doutor Miguel.

Nada se sabe do que sucedeu então à biblioteca do estabelecimento jesuíta de Pequim, que fora incessantemente utilizada por Matteo Ricci, e que talvez tenha sido guardada em casas de letrados chineses simpatizantes dos padres. Mas alguns documentos coetâneos revelam o que se passou em Nanquim, onde existia também uma importante casa da Companhia de Jesus. Todo o espólio jesuíta foi cuidadosamente arrolado pelas autoridades chinesas encarregadas de executar o édito imperial de expulsão dos padres.[46] A importante biblioteca jesuíta, que não seria muito diferente da que até então existira em Pequim, mereceu especial atenção aos diligentes funcionários imperiais, que em Agosto de 1617 organizaram a queima dos livros chineses relacionados com a doutrina cristã e, presumivelmente, de todos os livros ocidentais, já que dificilmente distinguiriam aqueles que se ocupavam de assuntos religiosos.

Os inventários oficiais referem a existência na biblioteca jesuíta de Nanquim de mais de 200 *fanzi shu*, 'livros em caracteres estrangeiros', de diversas dimensões, para além de várias estantes cheias de *yishu*, 'livros bárbaros'. Tratar-se-ia da parte do espólio livresco dos jesuítas que comportava livros europeus versando temas religiosos, filosóficos e científicos. Todos terão sido queimados. Outra secção da biblioteca incluía *fanshu*, edições impressas de 'livros estrangeiros' traduzidos para chinês, algumas delas em vários exemplares. Este conjunto dizia respeito às traduções e às adaptações de obras ocidentais de carácter científico e técnico produzidas pelos jesuítas desde os primeiros tempos da sua presença na China, como os *Jihe yuanben* ['Elementos de Euclides'], de que são arrolados 12 exemplares. O inventário identifica estes títulos como "livros sobre cálculos astronómicos" e refere que serão oportunamente enviados para Pequim.[47] Uma distinta secção das listas oficiais incluía 7 títulos de obras de doutrina cristã impressas em chinês, num total de 248 volumes. O *Tianzhu shiyi* de Matteo Ricci, com 57 exemplares, encabeçava a lista, a qual englobava também *Ershi wuyan* ['Vinte e cinco sentenças'] e *Jiren shipian* ['Dez paradoxos'], ambos de Ricci, respectivamente com 37 e 2 exemplares. Toda esta secção de "livros que servem para iludir o povo" foi queimada.[48]

Uma outra parte do inventário de Nanquim respeita aos livros chineses existentes na biblioteca da missão jesuíta estabelecida naquela cidade. São arrolados 63 títulos de obras chinesas, que totalizavam mais de 300 volumes.[49] Aqui, pela primeira vez, aparecem listados os títulos mais manuseados pelos jesuítas na aprendizagem da língua chinesa e na familiarização com a cultura clássica da China. Curiosamente, quase todas as obras incluídas na listagem eram de leitura obrigatória para os candidatos aos exames civis. O que significa que os jesuítas estavam a tentar compreender e dominar o conjunto mínimo de conhecimentos literários que eram exigidos aos letrados chineses, com o evidente objectivo de com eles poderem estabelecer um frutuoso diálogo. Os clássicos confucianos ocupavam cerca de um terço desta secção da biblioteca jesuíta, que incorporava edições dos *Quatro Livros* e dos *Cinco Clássicos*, num total de 129 volumes. Faziam também parte do espólio diversos clássicos daoistas, e nomeadamente uma edição do *Daode jing*. A biblioteca jesuíta incluía ainda, para além comentários dos clássicos, de dicionários e de enciclopédias, diversas obras relacionadas com a história, a literatura, a medicina, a música e a arte da guerra. Todas as obras em conjunto, enfim, parecem configurar a biblioteca de um estudante que se quisesse preparar para os exames chineses, o que deverá querer dizer que as escolhas livrescas dos jesuítas seriam ditadas pelos mestres chineses com quem aprendiam a língua mandarim.

Eventualmente, os jesuítas haveriam de readquirir o favor das autoridades imperiais, graças a uma insistente campanha levada a cabo a partir de Hangzhou e de Macau, que envolveu também importantes mandarins chineses.[50] Em 1621 os religiosos inacianos estavam de regresso a Pequim, começando de imediato a reconstituir o seu fundo livresco, que em breve se enriqueceria extraordinariamente

com a chegada, enfim, do espólio bibliográfica trazido da Europa por Nicholas Trigault. Entretanto, parece evidente que as actividades multidisciplinares de Matteo Ricci, entre 1583 e 1610, foram fundamentais para a constituição em Pequim de uma relevante e inovadora biblioteca, que promovia a confluência entre dois mundos livrescos, o europeu e o chinês, que até então se tinham basicamente ignorado um ao outro. A *biblioteca ricciana*, tal como pode hoje ser reconstituída a partir de indícios contidos nos seus principais escritos, reuniria um alargadíssimo conjunto de manuscritos e de impressos, tanto ocidentais como orientais, que permitiriam estabelecer pontes textuais entre a cultura religiosa e científica da Europa quinhentista e o mundo da literatura clássica chinesa. Enfim, uma biblioteca muito própria, traçada à medida das imensas aspirações intelectuais do jesuíta italiano, que configura um singular paradigma de encontro cultural nos alvores da modernidade.

NOTAS

[1] Vd., de entre uma vasta bibliografia, Jonathan Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, Nova Iorque, Penguin Books, 1985; George L. Harris, "The Mission of Matteo Ricci, S. J.: A Case Study of an Effort at Guided Culture Change in China in the Sixteenth Century", *Monumenta Serica*, Los Angeles, 25 (1966), pp.1-168; e Liam M. Brockey, *The Harvest of the Vine: The Jesuit Missionary Enterprise in China, 1579-1710* [dissertação de doutoramento policopiada], Providence, Rhode Island, Brown University, 2002, pp. 19-57.

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[10] Pietro Tacchi Ventura, ed., *Opere Storiche*, vol.2, pp.117-118.

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[13] Roger Chartier, "Gutenberg Revisited from the East", *Late Imperial China*, Baltimore, 17, 1 (1996), pp.1-9.

[14] Sobre as obras de Ricci em chinês, vd. Henri Bernard, "Les adaptations chinoises d'ouvrages européens", *Monumenta Serica*, Pequim, 10 (1945), pp. 1-55 & pp. 309-388 (cf. pp. 313-333); Jonathan D. Spence, *The Memory Palace*, passim; e Yu Dong, *Catalogo delle Opere Cinesi Missionarie della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [XVI-XVIII sec.]*, Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1996, pp. 76-79.

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[16] Jonathan D. Spence, *The Memory Palace*, pp. 87-89.

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[23] Cf. Matteo Ricci, *The True Meaning*, pp. 57, 99, 123, 125, 177, 185, 301, 303, 307, 329, 337, 375, 387 e 429.

[24] Matteo Ricci, *The True Meaning*, p. 243.

[25] Pietro Tacchi Ventura, ed., *Opere Storiche*, vol.2, p. 260.

[26] Pietro Tacchi Ventura, ed., *Opere Storiche*, vol.2, p. 272.

[27] *Opere Storiche*, vol.2, pp. 256 e 25ɛ.

[28] Pietro Tacchi Ventura, ed., *Opere Storiche*, vol.1, pp. 1-610.

[29] Pietro Tacchi Ventura, ed., *Opere Storiche*, vol.2, p. 343.

[30] Pietro Tacchi Ventura, ed., *Opere Storiche*, vol.2, p. 282.

[31] H. Verhaeren, ed., *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque du Pé-T'ang*, Paris, Société d'Edition Les Belles Lettres, 1969, ns. 2355-2356.

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[33] H. Verhaeren, ed., *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque*, ns. 798, 898.

[34] Pietro Tacchi Ventura, ed., *Opere Storiche*, vol. 2, p. 363.

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[39] Cf. H. Verhaeren, ed., *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque*, pp. 683-684.

[40] Matteo Ricci & Nicolas Trigault, *Histoire de l'expédition*, p. 97 [original em francês].

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[47] Adrian Dudink, "The inventories", p. 137 [original em inglês].

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[49] Cf. Adrian Dudink, "The inventories", pp. 143-156.

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39

BREVE HISTÓRIA DA CORRUPÇÃO PORTUGUESA

Rui Teixeira Santos

Conheci o professor doutor Teotónio de Souza no Mestrado de Lusofonia e Relações Internacionais, que me surpreendeu por três motivos: o primeiro, porque vinha da Ásia, o que, só por si, nos obriga a uma reflexão sobre a presença portuguesa no mundo e sobre os traumas do colonizador – aspectos que não foram, ainda, interiorizados pelas elites portugueses e, muito menos, digeridos nas universidades; o segundo, porque apesar de viver, há muitos anos, na Europa, o professor Teotónio de Souza continuava a colocar em causa a visão eurocêntrica da História Universal, apesar de tudo muito comum na academia portuguesa; e, em terceiro lugar, porque a sua visão da presença portuguesa na Ásia era muito pouco abonatória do nosso lugar, enquanto portugueses, no Mundo, numa mistura de "outra história", preconceito ideológico terceiro-mundista e, ainda, restos do "complexo do colonizado". A tudo isto se juntava o rigor, o método e a sabedoria, que a experiência e a idade refinaram.

Conhecê-lo foi, portanto, um desafio, mas, rapidamente, se tornou um prazer intelectual, que me abriu o mundo da investigação do Império Português Asiático, de que o texto que se segue é um pequeno exemplo.

* * *

Os Impérios, desde a Mesopotâmia (2300 a.C.) até à hiper-potência americana, de Nabucodonosor a George W. Bush, começam e acabam da mesma maneira. À sua nascença, ontem como hoje, nota-se o apetite pelo poder, o desejo de riqueza, o orgulho passional de auto-afirmação.

Quanto ao fim dos Impérios, eles mostram sempre a emergência de forças desagregadoras, quantas vezes criadas pelos próprios Impérios – como aconteceu com Roma e os romanizados que a destruíram –, revoltadas contra a aparência ilusória de um poder que já não é mas que parece, como nos apresentou o historiador britânico, A.J. Toynbee.

Há três tipos de Impérios na história da humanidade:

1) um primeiro, que se afirma na guerra e na conquista, corresponde a Épocas em que o poder atrai poder e pela conquista, a violência e a ocupação se consegue a imposição de uma nova ordem: é o caso de Alexandre da Macedónia, Napoleão ou de Hitler, nas suas conquistas para leste;
2) um segundo, que parte do vigor de um povo que, para fugir do anonimato individual, consegue fazer emergir um projecto colectivo imperial de unidade imperial de gentes diversas, em nome de uma utopia civilizacional. É o caso do Império Romano, em que depois das escaramuças iniciais, os povos romanizados queriam pertencer ao Império e, mesmo mil anos depois da sua queda, ainda Napoleão se reivindicava como seu herdeiro, depois de Carlos Magno o ter feito também. É o Império da cristandade, que só sobreviveria, diz a lenda, no Sacro Império Romano Germânico, mito que persiste ainda na actualidade da União Europeia.
3) um terceiro, esse nós conhecemos bem, é o Império da "boa vida e da melhor morte". Chamar-lhe-iamos "o Império do Abandono" ou do "Encantamento" ou da "corrupção", como o "dinheiro (…) que se converte em carvões", como denuncia o Soldado de Diogo do Couto, que "veio por canos infernais" e "o mais dele é de sangue de inocentes".[1] Neste caso o abuso e a corrupção fazem emergir as velhas rivalidades e agravam mesmo as antigas dissidências, procurando colonizados ou oprimidos razões para o ódio ao opressor negligente. É o caso da União Soviética [2] modernamente, mas, também, de Bizâncio, dos Impérios Otomano e Austro-Húngaro[3] e, sobretudo, do Império Marítimo Português (1415-1825),[4] e dos Impérios Coloniais posteriores.

É sobre esta última categoria de Império que se torna evidente como o enriquecimento por qualquer meio acaba por fragilizar o propósito político e por conduzir ao empobrecimento dos Impérios.

Mas, mais do que isso, a corrupção e o contrabando, ou seja, a economia paralela, acabam por reduzir a potencialidade empreendedora e civilizacional que todos os Impérios têm, ainda que, como aconteceu com o Império Português no Oriente, seja o cimento que permite aos soldados sobreviver e ao Império manter a sua aparência. Mais que a "arte de furtar", a economia paralela e o contrabando e a corrupção, que a permitem, são a "arte de sobreviver", senão mesmo a verdadeira razão de tão grande longevidade da presença portuguesa no Oriente. Só assim foi possível absorver e manter gerações sucessivas de aventureiros e soldados lançados na rota da Índia e nos caminhos do Império do Oriente, diante de uma Coroa que pagava "mal, tarde ou nunca" ou ainda "a que não pagam o que se lhes deve por não haver dinheiro".[5] O Império Oriental Português tem, portanto, especificidades que

estão logo patentes na sua origem e que subsistiram pelo menos até aos anos cinquenta do século passado.

Uma das diferenças essenciais entre o Império Oriental Português e o Império Ocidental Espanhol (passado o período das conquistas) é que o primeiro tinha um notório aparelho militar, enquanto o segundo era essencialmente um império civil.[6]

O sistema social português era peculiar, em particular na Índia, onde havia "soldados e casados" e que começou logo a ser implementado por Afonso de Albuquerque,[7] muito embora ainda que discretamente cada indiano fosse um inimigo nosso.[8]

No meio da matança na conquista da Goa,[9] Afonso de Albuquerque só foi misericordioso com algumas mulheres: "Aqui se tomaram algumas mulheres alvas e de bom parecer, e alguns homens limpos que quiseram casar com elas e ficar aqui nesta terra (…) haverá aí 400 almas (…)".[10]

Os "casados", assim se chamaram os portugueses que casaram com as mouras, logo passaram a proprietários dos imóveis e pertences dos mortos.

Afonso de Albuquerque, não só começou de imediato a promover uma política de fixação e miscigenação, como ainda a incentivou, permitia aos degradados apagarem o seu passado e recomeçarem vida nova. Convidava, ao mesmo tempo, Hindus para postos administrativos e militares, sem sequer impor a conversão ao Cristianismo, lançando os fundamentos de uma nova sociedade, onde apenas os muçulmanos eram excluídos.

Ninguém ia para a Índia por conta própria. Iam sempre ao serviço do Rei de Portugal, que, ainda por cima, com as prerrogativas do Padroado do Oriente – concedidas pelos Papas Bórgias, mais preocupados com os turcos no Mediterrâneo e a guerra na Europa, do que com a evangelização do resto do novo mundo – e como mestre da Ordem de Cristo, haveria de controlar também os rendimentos e as nomeações eclesiásticas e movimentos missionários, no Império, conseguindo mesmo que nenhum eclesiástico pudesse partir para o Império sem sua autorização e apenas em barco português (fazendo mesmo o Marquês de Pombal notar que o Rei de Portugal se achava acima do Bispo de Goa, como se de um núncio papal se tratasse para os negócios da fé do nosso Império).

Durante três séculos os portugueses que partiam de Lisboa, ou eram soldados ao serviço da Coroa, ou clérigos ao serviço do dito Padroado.[11]

Os fidalgos ou soldados que casavam depois de chegados à Índia eram normalmente dispensados do serviço real, se o desejassem, fixando-se como cidadãos e comerciantes. Eram estes os "casados", sendo os restantes europeus soldados, até casarem, morrerem, desertarem ou ficarem incapacitados.

Dos que partiam eram raros os que voltavam a Lisboa, até porque tinham de pagar a viagem de regresso e precisavam de autorização do vice-rei.

Muitos ficavam para sempre, pedindo a devida recompensa à Coroa, pelos anos de serviço, normalmente paga sob a forma da doação de um cargo.

Ia-se para a Índia para enriquecer e, nessas comissões, os benefícios poderiam ser enormes. Como refere Diogo do Couto " Senhor lembro-vos que ides entrar na

mercê que el-rei voz fez por vossos serviços e que nela podeis ganhar o céu, como eu neste hábito, com estas cousas. Ao que ele respondeu ao fidalgo: Padre meu, eu hei-de fazer o que os outros capitães fizeram; se eles foram ao inferno, lá lhe hei-de ir ser companheiro".[12]

Refere Georg Schurhammer, que um comerciante português que regressou da China com S. Francisco Xavier, João Rodrigues de Carvalho, perdeu todos os haveres num naufrágio e regressara à indigência, especialmente porque se lhe devia o salário dos três últimos anos, durante os quais havia prestado bom serviço ao seu rei.[13]

Muitos dos embarcados chegavam à Índia e tinham que esperar, por mais de um ano, pelo soldo, mantimento ou ordenado que chegava "mal, tarde ou nunca", sendo entregues à súbita pobreza, como mendigos e vagabundos, ou entravam ao serviço de algum fidalgo, ou arranjavam uma mulher casada ou não que os sustentasse. É destes vagabundos que se vai fazer um Império paralelo, de interesses e comércio, desde a costa de Sofala até às Molucas, bem mais representativo e estável que o Império oficial do Oriente, com sede em Goa, e onde se haveria de impor a nossa tradição municipal e o modelo assistencial das Misericórdias portuguesas.

Esse "Império da Sombra" era, por natureza dissimulado como o correio português da Índia, António Jorge da Cruz, enviado por terra a El-Rei porque os barcos holandeses pirateavam no Índico e havia risco de perda reporta: "E de reino para reino mudava sempre de vestuário. Para a Pérsia trajava de persa e para a Turquia de turco. E, chegado a Constantinopla, lhe foi dito por um turco, com voz quase ameaçadora: 'Tu és criscievole, tu sei cristiano (…)' e ele imediatamente lhe respondeu à letra: 'Tu é que és cristão!' e assim se viu livre dele".[14]

E a preocupação, que inicialmente foi a de controlar todo o tráfico, graças à superioridade militar, acabou depois por ser uma necessidade de controlar os próprios casados, que se misturaram com o Oriente e criaram os seus próprios circuitos paralelos, à custa da corrupção dos mercados e dos privilégios privados que acabaram por usufruir.

De notar a clara consciência de que, por processos lineares, os portugueses não conseguiam controlar o negócio paralelo e ilegal da pimenta já em 1561.[15]

No século XVII, o padre António Vieira, principal conselheiro do Rei D. João IV e contemporâneo do putativo autor da "Arte de Furtar", já havia proposto a criação de uma Companhia Real para o Brasil e outra para a Índia, que haveriam de ficar com o monopólio daqueles negócios, à semelhança das companhias espanholas e holandesas.[16] A ideia do comerciante era, no Portugal católico de então, a de um indivíduo parasitário e explorador, oriundo da classe média e decidido a enriquecer à custa dos seus semelhantes.

Apesar da Coroa incentivar o comércio ultramarino, a começar pelas leis para estimular a marinha nacional e os seguros marítimos no reinado de D. Fernando (1377-1380), este preconceito persistiu durante séculos ao longo dos reinados das Casas de Avis e Bragança, que se intitulavam "senhores do Comércio" da Índia,

Etiópia, Arábia, Pérsia, etc. C. R. Boxer cita, sobre a persistência de tais preconceitos, os protestos dos comerciantes de tecidos de Lisboa, em 1689: "Sem comércio não há nenhum país que não seja pobre, nem nenhuma república que não passe fome. E, no entanto, nesta cidade capital de Vossa Majestade, os mercadores são tão pouco favorecidos e o comércio tão desprezado, que não só todos os indivíduos se desencorajam de vir a ser mercadores, mas também todos os homens de coragem recusam ter seja o que for a ver com ele, porquanto vêem com os seus próprios olhos que, no conceito dos portugueses, um mercador não é superior a um carregador de peixe. Esta é a razão pela qual há tão poucos mercadores portugueses neste reino e porque pululam aqui tantos estrangeiros de todas as nações, que são as sanguessugas de todo o dinheiro de Vossa Majestade e os monopolistas e açambarcadores de riqueza nacional."[17]

Este preconceito anti-mercantil, de que se queixam, mais tarde, em Cortes, os representantes do Terceiro Estado, evidencia-se também no ultramar onde negreiros e comerciantes continuam, mesmo depois de abandonado o serviço à Coroa, a ostentar os títulos militares e outros honoríficos para disfarçar as suas actividades mercantis.

Mas, era uma exigência do sistema político e económico dominante, certamente vinculado aos tratados internacionais que os cristãos transformaram em *ius gentium*,[18] mas na prática sempre controlado por um Estado incapaz de conter a despesa pública no limite das suas receitas fiscais e dos benefícios dos seus monopólios. Uma vez que a Coroa não conseguia pagar salários adequados aos seus funcionários, estes estavam, senão expressa, pelo menos tacitamente, autorizados a negociar por conta própria, como complemento dos salários.

Esta autorização partia do pressuposto de que os monopólios do Rei não seriam afectados e que preferencialmente seriam escolhidos os mecanismos oficiais. A Coroa chegou mesmo a autorizar monopólios de comércio a capitães ou governadores, contra uma renda. Daí o abuso e os governadores e capitães muitas vezes se tornavam sócios de sociedade comanditários de empresas mercantis ou usurários significativos, conforme denuncia Diogo do Couto, no *Soldado Prático*, ou um jesuíta na *Arte de Furtar*.[19]

Diz George Winius que "se os reis em Portugal se afastavam dos cidadãos, o mesmo se passou com os vice-reis na Índia (…)." Os vice-reis do tempo de Couto só se preocupavam em promover uma certa prosperidade: a sua. Apesar de haver, por exemplo, um único provedor-mor, a justiça era célere, conta Couto; e por vezes "pernas acima" (sendo os seus mecanismos devidamente "lubrificados").[20]

Mas a maioria dos rendimentos nesse tempo dos governadores da Índia, segundo Couto, advinha de uma série de práticas, como, por exemplo, a venda de postos públicos. Dois franceses, François Pyrard e Jean Mocquet, convencem-se de que esses dignitários chegam a acumular, durante o tempo de serviço, uma fortuna entre os 600 mil e o milhão de cruzados.[21] C. R. Boxer diz que "nem todos os governadores coloniais eram tão corruptos nem tão cínicos como D. Álvaro de Noronha, o capitão de Ormuz em 1551. Gabava-se que, uma vez que o seu predecessor, um descendente

da família Lima, havia obtido um lucro de 140.000 pardaus com o cargo, ele conseguiria certamente, como Noronha, ultrapassá-lo, obtendo um lucro muito maior".[22]

É certo que nem todos os funcionários e governadores do Império eram corruptos, mas essa era a convicção generalizada. Quando D. João IV perguntou ao Padre António Vieira, se a colónia do Maranhão-Pará não devia ser dividida em dois Governos, o jesuíta aconselhou-o a deixar as coisas como estavam "porque um ladrão num cargo público é um mal menor do que dois". Onde há monopólios há corrupção. Couto diz que "onde há muito médicos, também há muitas maleitas".[23]

D. João V fez, por decreto de Setembro de 1720, uma tentativa moralizadora de impedir os altos funcionários da Coroa e do Exército de fazerem comércio, proibindo-os de se dedicarem a tal prática, seja por que razão fosse, directa ou indirectamente.[24]

O decreto não cumpriria o seu propósito, até porque como o próprio duque do Cadaval advertira nos debates preliminares, não haveria ninguém disposto a servir o Império em terras tão distantes e insalubres, se não houvesse o estímulo da riqueza.

O decreto acabou por ser mais um estímulo ao comércio paralelo, com nomes falsos e alimentando uma rede de tráfico de influências que tornavam ainda mais incompetente a administração comercial dos portugueses no Oriente.[25]

Um sistema que não funcionava e que levava a generalizações:

1) S. Francisco Xavier queixava-se que os portugueses logo que atravessavam o Cabo apreendiam a conjugar o verbo "rapio" em todos os seus tempos e modos;[26]
2) Couto por seu turno sabia bem qual era o mal da Índia: todos faziam "chatinagem", em vez de andar com a espada na mão. A falta de controlo e sobretudo os atrasos das prestações reais e dos pagamentos acabavam por justificar os brandos e corruptos costumes. A administração não pagava, logo o tráfico ilegal e a corrupção eram tolerados, na medida da falta de autoridade do Estado, ou mesmo da sua ausência. Mercadores, monopolistas, contrabandistas e corruptos são parte de uma equação que explica privilégios e misérias desse império colonial português. Finalmente, tudo isto conduz à providência da injustiça.

Não havendo lugar à recompensa da salvação por uma determinada conduta de vida, nem sequer o discurso puritano do racionalismo económico que triunfaria a partir do século XVII e XVIII, sobretudo no Novo Mundo, acabava-se por permitir a corrupção e o enriquecimento abusivo no Império, como paga pelos trabalhos que o rei não pagava. Porém, com base no direito filipino todos os ocupantes de cargos de responsabilidade eram sujeitos ao processo de residência, bastando para tanto a mera denúncia.

Não estando feito o levantamento da fortuna dos vice-reis, o certo é que muitos deles acabaram por ser condenados e presos, quando não morriam no mar, antes de chegarem à Metrópole, ou não tinham ligações fortes ao Rei. As devassas e as residências estavam entre os instrumentos privilegiados das condenações e a sua extinção estava no topo das revindicações dos governadores.

As Ordenações Afonsinas permitiam ainda no título XXXIIII e seguintes as devassas por denúncia que abriam o processo instrutório no direito antigo e que foram instrumento para aplicar a justiça depois da corrupção permitida.[27]

Como método preventivo, que já vinha do direito espanhol e seria depois transcrito para as nossas Ordenações, os Alcaides-Mores dos Castelos "não devem ser muito pobres para que não haja cobiça de enriquecer daquilo que lhe derem para manutenção do castelo".[28]

Este era um cuidado que se haveria de ter também na escolha dos vice-reis e governadores, lugares de prestígio e riqueza que os nobres disputavam, mas que acabaram por não ser expediente de enriquecimento para muitos, muito embora a maioria das famílias aristocráticas nacionais tivessem trazido da Índia e da Ásia proventos.

Uma abordagem à história da corrupção em Portugal é elucidativa para a conclusão que a corrupção pode estar associada à natureza do próprio Estado, o que, aliás, se insere numa certa lenda negra da expansão portuguesa na Índia e no Brasil.

A alternância entre o poder organizado que permite a corrupção e, por outro lado, a própria desordem, no poder político, que sempre transforma as oligarquias em arrendatárias do poder, impondo a sua lógica privativa sobre os interesses nacionais (lógica mafiosa) esteve antes presente também na História de Portugal.

Os portugueses sempre viveram este drama: o País é inviável e não existe solução interna.[29] Mesmo nos períodos excepcionais em que, com recursos à polícia ou à tecnocracia, os portugueses quiseram colocar a casa em ordem, não conseguiram e apenas agravaram as assimetrias entre ricos e pobres, muitas vezes criando uma oligarquia que passou a constituir ela mesmo uma ameaça ao Estado, que antes, era corrupto.[30]

Momentos de ditadura, como o cabralismo,[31] o de João Franco,[32] Sidónio[33] e depois Salazar,[34] acabaram sem glória ou desfizeram-se, apesar de terem conseguido crescimento económico e ordem contra a afirmação de "arrendatários do regime", financeiros que usavam o Estado para compor os seus resultados. Por seu lado, as experiências tecnocratas de D. Dinis no século XIII, do fontismo no século XIX e do cavaquismo no século XX acabaram por desestruturar o próprio Estado e entregar aos estrangeiros o domínio das áreas estratégicas de modernidade e inovação tecnológica: foi assim com as vilas francas e as terras conquistadas aos mouros no século XIII, foi assim com as águas, os comboios e os telefones no século XIX; foi assim com as telecomunicações, as auto-estradas e pontes, a energia e a gasolina, no século XX.

Á margem destes períodos excepcionais, que provaram apenas que só duram enquanto o autocrata tem o total domínio, ou transmite a ideia de o ter, do aparelho policial ou o tecnocrata mantém a confiança do investimento directo estrangeiro, cessando imediatamente a seguir e arrastando o País para uma crise ainda maior que a anterior, colocando normalmente em causa a própria independência nacional, a história portuguesa foi a história da procura de soluções externas.

O começo do próprio Estado – a Fundação da nacionalidade – começa em 1143 (data da morte de Yussuf), com a ocupação de Guimarães por Afonso, filho de Teresa e sobrinho dos reis de Castela. Para alimentar o castelo, foram eles em guerra contra Castela, sendo que a Paz mais se deveu à necessidade de refrear aquele ânimo cleptómano do Rei da Fundação e comprar-lhe a moderação, sobretudo porque depois da excomunhão do Papa, não haveria outro meio de lhe caçar a tendência.

Esgotado o filão de Leão, o saque orientou-se para sul, indo até ao Mondego, em "razias", e, depois, conquistando mais uma vez Lisboa. O modelo do Estado alimentado pela guerra e pelo saque, a "cleptocracia portuguesa", sustenta-se até Afonso II, com o apoio de francos, normandos e saxões, que deste modo cerceavam as ambições dos asturianos e seguiam no Ocidente as razões das cruzadas inspiradas por S. Bernardo à Terra Santa.

Neste momento, a dinastia Afonsina vai entrar em crise e, pela primeira vez, se começa a pensar em soluções internas para resolver a falta de recursos no País. A Europa está invadida pela peste, depois de falhado o primeiro renascimento, mas em Portugal ensaia-se a primeira solução "tecnocrata" ou soberanista, com D. Dinis.

Depois dos mouros, D. Fernando voltava a Castela. Desistia do trono de Castela, mas alargava o território nacional. A crise culmina em 1383-85 com a crise dinástica. Toda a aristocracia e a alta burguesia de Lisboa aplaudem a solução ibérica do rei castelhano. Uma solução que garantia mercado, e, sobretudo, garantia acesso a recursos mais baratos e a bens de primeira necessidade. É sempre a questão dos preços e do mercado limitado, o nosso, que vai justificar em alturas de forte contracção a emergência do sonho iberista.

Só que no quarto quartel do século XIV, convergem para Portugal interesses ingleses (selados com o casamento de Dona Filipa de Lencastre com D. João, depois do corpo expedicionário inglês comandado pelo conde de Cambridge, ter assegurado a solução de Avis) e dos antigos Templários, entretanto, extinta a Ordem, ficara o saber e o dinheiro, que vão agenciar, através do João das Regras, a revolta em Lisboa e eleger para rei D. João, o mestre de Avis, um clérigo da baixa aristocracia, que irá transformar a dinastia de Avis na nova linhagem do "Graal", sucessora da dinastia David, e Lisboa na nova Jerusalém a ocidente. Como nota pitoresca temos a lenda da padeira de Aljubarrota, que entrou no partido nacionalista.

O primeiro filho de D. João I, D. Duarte, será rei, e ficará com a administração da justiça. O segundo se fará mestre de Ordem de Cristo, que será a "donatária" dos "descobrimentos" e ficará com o governo das terras descobertas; D. Fernando será mártir e ao irmão D. Pedro ser-lhe-á confiado o monopólio do corso ou da pirataria, que lhe rendem o quinto de todas as presas.

Havia, agora, uma nova solução nacional, que o País interiorizava, mas que o Estado escondia, sob a capa da Ordem de Cristo, recebendo pouco mais que a dízima e ocupando marinheiros e artesães, comerciantes e missionários, ou seja, toda a população urbanizada, deixando ao campo a função de fazer a paisagem e alimentar a epopeia.

Magalhães Godinho chama a atenção para o carácter sigiloso deste projecto mobilizador, numa verdadeira mistificação da solução externa. Basicamente, o país era de comerciantes. A ele afluíram os judeus, na diáspora que os tinha feito sair, primeiro de Judá e depois de Roma, e que, até aos reis católicos, tinham desenvolvido Valência, Sevilha e Toledo, e que, em massa, vieram para Portugal.[35]

É com D. Manuel que a Coroa se junta à Ordem de Cristo e, pela primeira vez, o projecto da expansão marítima passa a ser um projecto nacional, no qual todo o País se empenha e a Igreja de Roma vai apoiar. Curiosamente, como a nova Jerusalém, terra da diáspora judia, é nesta altura Lisboa o centro de um império marítimo na Ásia, baseado na superioridade tecnológica militar e na ousadia de um projecto bem engendrado. O piedoso e neutral D. João III será o Rei da Pimenta, mas os portugueses começam a sentir a ameaça de Amsterdão, para aonde foram mais de dez mil judeus dos que os reis católicos para cá enviaram, em 1499.[36] Era o centro financeiro da Europa e com a multiplicação monetária permitiram-se financiar uma frota militar, comercial e também de corso, que ameaçaram a hegemonia dos portugueses no Oriente.[37]

Foi Portugal obrigado por ocasião do casamento de Catarina de Bragança a entregar terras na Índia, entre as quais as de Bombaim, contra a garantia de paz e protecção dos ingleses, nos mares da China e da Índia. Estrategicamente, Portugal tinha que se defender dos holandeses, cujos barcos chegaram a interromper a carreira da Índia por três anos, e não podia aguentar dois inimigos simultâneos. Mas, ao entregar o negócio dos têxteis aos ingleses, Lisboa dava início à sua decadência. O têxtil do norte de Bombaim, que os ingleses transportavam para a Europa, começava a ter maior peso económico que a pimenta dos portugueses. Por outro lado, os ingleses conseguiram explorar as nossas fragilidades e montar uma rede global de distribuição do têxtil da Índia, o que lhes serviu depois para mercado de escoamento do têxtil que a revolução industrial inglesa iria depois abastecer.

A Índia e especificamente Bombaim, que Catarina de Bragança levou para Inglaterra (os portugueses mesmo depois dos tratados resistiram quase vinte anos para entregar Bombaim aos ingleses), passou a ser não só a jóia da coroa de Inglaterra, ostentada pela rainha Vitória, mas a razão do sucesso da revolução industrial, porque permitiu aos ingleses dominarem os circuitos de distribuição dos têxteis.[38]

Aos portugueses restavam as memórias de Diogo do Couto, mais que epopeias de Camões. Era a corrupção e a devassa merecida, pela delação e inveja dos que lá para a Índia foram, onde muitos se ficaram. Subitamente, o sonho transformava-se em pesadelo. O rei não pagava às suas tropas, que se misturavam com a população e viviam à custa do expediente, tantas vezes do próprio corpo. Na capital, depois de um rei louco e popular viria Pedro, o Cruel, a medida de um último tentar arrumar a casa, o sempre efémero tentar, para depois, à crise dinástica aberta com a morte de Sebastião, sobrinho de Isabel de Portugal imperatriz amadíssima de Carlos V, os pais de Filipe II. A coroa estava isolada. Sem recursos, os preços subiam em Portugal e

os impostos para pagar a aventura do rei também. A tragédia de Alcácer-Quibir e a consciência de que o preço do trigo era superior em Portugal levou todos a apoiarem o partido do rei espanhol, que, fazendo valer os seus direitos e com o apoio claro da aristocracia e de toda a burguesia, se faz aclamar rei e em Cortes assume o respeito pelo Reino de Portugal. São populares portugueses que se juntam às tropas do Duque de Alba para derrotar em Alcântara D. António, neto de D. Manuel e Prior do Crato, que vinha desde Peniche à frente e cerca de 13 mil homens armados pelos ingleses, e permitem a vitória do rei espanhol.

O reino dual foi a tragédia dessa aventura. Sem representação em Madrid, depois da boda inicial, o Reino de Portugal acabou por ser reduzido à bancarrota sucessiva, sugados os recursos, primeiro, para a guerra e, depois, para os comércios. Do Império pouco ficava da resistência aos holandeses, que nos ocuparam a Baía e Luanda e nos ficaram com paragens no Pacífico.

Havia, agora, a Espanha – ilusão a nossa! – para nos financiar. De facto, o preço do trigo caiu, a populaça agradeceu ao rei D. Filipe I, que se ficou, por três anos, em Lisboa, que, certamente, preferiria a Toledo, antes de construir Madrid, que elegeria como capital.

É a partir de 1606 que o nível da corrupção no Império, e também na Ásia, começam a atingir proporções nunca antes conhecidas, com a venda de cargos oficiais e a nomeação contra pagamento ao rei. A sina dos Habsburgo espanhóis não seria a melhor e Filipe IV de Espanha, com o conde-duque de Olivares, começa a enfrentar a revolta no Império, o que, "por azar", leva à independência de Portugal. Corresponde exactamente ao momento de desprezo ibérico de Madrid e do levantamento de novos impostos depois de sucessivos processos de bancarrota por parte do Estado que a independência se torna uma inevitabilidade.

Não deixa de ser curioso que o prior do Crato, também neto de D. Manuel, acabe por ser derrotado pela população em Alcântara, quando tentava recuperar o trono à frente de 14 mil ingleses e seus partidários, desembarcados em Peniche e que marchavam sobre a capital. A população defendeu, portanto, a coroa dual e Filipe II, filho de Carlos V e Isabel de Portugal. Só mais tarde é que os portugueses consideram esgotado o filão ibérico, exactamente quando os castelhanos querem recuperar com impostos o investimento feito.

O último da querela era o duque de Bragança, bisneto de D. Manuel e chefe do exército português e que havia jurado fidelidade ao rei de Portugal, o Habsburgo Filipe III. Como sempre, seriam os ingleses a instigarem, aqui também, a revolta, que acabaria por nos dar a restauração da independência. Era um golpe que não queríamos, mesmo depois de três sucessivas bancarrotas, que desacreditavam as contas do Reino, nem mesmo o duque de Bragança queria ser rei. Lá se fez sem alma e a contragosto o 1.º de Dezembro.

A nação estava, agora, de novo, com a pátria às costas, sem viabilidade e sem saídas económicas. A paz com Madrid é assinada depois, em 1660, e só a partir daí

se começam a equacionar as alternativas. A maior preocupação é o Brasil. Começa a haver notícia do ouro, que regularmente, entre 1689 e 1808, vai chegar sempre em quantidades maiores ao Reino de Portugal e servir de solução externa para o século XVIII. Importa na economia da análise ver o ciclo do ouro do Brasil em Portugal. Mais que um Império colonial, estamos perante um "reino cleptómano". As Finanças Publicas que tinham evoluído já numa linha moderna de um Estado Fiscal, com uma administração fiscal que pretendia progressivamente substituir os concelhos na cobrança de impostos, voltam a recuar, com o súbito recurso aos direitos derivados do ouro, em grande parte consumido na guerra da sucessão espanhola.

Acabado o ciclo da reconquista e das razias aos árabes do Norte de África, praticamente desfeito o Império na Índia e sem mais podermos obter da integração ibérica, Portugal vê no ouro do Brasil o seu novo maná.[39] Vai durar até às invasões napoleónicas, até 1808, altura em que a Corte foge para o Brasil. A ocupação de Junot e o Governo-Geral de Beresford representam um ciclo de miséria, ao qual sucede o ciclo da guerra civil, só interrompida pela disciplina dos "Cabrais" e pelo "Fontismo" de pouca dura, terminando num parlamentarismo insustentável, incapaz de prestigiar o Estado e de acreditar o rei, sendo a autoridade do Governo substituída pelo governativo dos oligarcas, cujo chefe de fila foi o conde de Burnay. É a afirmação do capitalismo nacional.[40]

O Estado era fraco, o país não era viável e sucediam-se as situações de incumprimento nos pagamentos dos créditos internacionais, verdadeiro trauma que a República herdaria e que explica que até hoje a honra dos compromissos internacionais seja a primeira obsessão de República. A falta de uma solução nacional e a impossibilidade de manter um Império, que só existia pelas ambições que se empatavam dos outros e a nossa inércia, justificavam uma elite aristocrática e burguesa partidária do iberismo, com o neto do Marquês de Pombal, o duque de Saldanha, à frente, e, espanto, a natureza iberista da intelectualidade (com Antero como referência) e dos republicanos.[41]

Eram os republicanos iberistas contra a monarquia parlamentar e a Casa de Bragança, subitamente exposta, como bode expiatório, pelo empobrecimento do país e a "cleptocracia" organizada pelos banqueiros, através dos empréstimos e juros usurários, aos negócios, mas, sobretudo, ao Estado e à Coroa. No centro da decadência a renegociação do empréstimo de guerra Miguelista que os democratas não reconheceram e que acabou por prejudicar o Ministério de Oliveira Martins e Ferreira Dias.[42]

Foi uma última tentativa, a de João Franco, para restaurar a autoridade do Estado, que, por falta de convicção e força, acabaria com o regicídio, que precipitaria rapidamente a República. O facto de, em momentos de gabinete forte, a coacção se fazer por via do poder mais fraco, no caso pelos deputados, foi bem patente na monarquia democrática. Essa será também uma constante na República, mesmo quando a própria República recorreu a "beco de honra".[43]

A primeira obsessão da República foi o défice e a dívida externa. José Relvas, o ministro das Finanças do primeiro Governo da República (Outubro de 1910), não

foi, nessa preocupação, diferente de Sidónio, Salazar, Ferreira Leite. É sempre a mesma preocupação republicana e burguesa, a das contas bem feitas, obsessão que toma conta da República, quando falham as soluções externas, de que Afonso Costa foi o ideólogo, conseguindo, mesmo em 1913, o Equilíbrio Orçamental, que nos abriria o crédito externo, já na eminência da Grande Guerra.

Das colónias nasceria outra solução externa: dimensionou-se, depois da Segunda Guerra, um país para gerir a ilusão de um império, basicamente alimentado pelas barras de ouro com que se pagava o trabalho negro nas minas da África do Sul. Só as remessas dos emigrantes e a súbita revolução industrial, proporcionada pelas encomendas da guerra colonial e pelo condicionamento industrial, destruiriam aquele anacronismo.[44]

A independência das colónias deixava o país de novo sem solução e sobretudo sem sentido. A Espanha era obviamente a saída. Mas logo se percebeu que a CEE era a possibilidade de diversificarmos dependências e de garantir fundos generosos de coesão.[45] A Europa era a modernidade inscrita na versão do Acto Único. Seria Mercado Único, mas também União Económica e Monetária e, finalmente, um projecto político depois da queda do Muro de Berlim. Um projecto construído para assegurar a paz era também o seguro de vida de Portugal. Mas ido o inimigo, o País começa a aperceber-se que esta Europa deixa de fazer sentido nesse registo. Até porque o alargamento cria novos concorrentes e novas causas. Portugal tem em António Guterres a última "boda europeia".[46]

É neste contexto que o tema da corrupção apesar da evidente existência nunca foi tema grato às classes políticas da Lusofonia Aliás, a Lusofonia não elegeu a prioridade do combate à corrupção entre as suas tarefas urgentes, como decorre das prioridades da CPLP – Comunidade dos Estados de Língua Portuguesa.[47]

De um modo geral, a história de Portugal, que não se confunde com a história do nosso império asiático, não pode ser entendida sem a clara consciência dos grupos liderantes, dos temas ideológicos e da conjuntura económica. Sempre fortemente dependente de iniciativas externas, como vimos, a história de Portugal acaba por ser uma sucessão de soluções externas que vão aligeirando o equilíbrio interno entre predadores e vítimas, sendo que, os primeiros, são as elites dirigentes que se sentam à mesa do Orçamento do Estado e, os segundos, a generalidade da população que paga impostos, ou é espoliada pelas classes dirigentes.

NOTAS

[1] Diogo do Couto, *O Soldado Prático*, Sá da Costa, Lisboa, 1980, p. 25.
[2] Henry Kissinger, *Anos de Renovação*, Gradiva, Lisboa, 2003, pp. 701 e ss.
[3] E. G. Hobsbawm, *A Era do Império 1875-1914,* Editora Presença, Lisboa, 1990.

[4] Francisco Bethencourt e Kirti Chaudhuri, *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, 5 volumes, Círculo de Leitores, Lisboa, 1998; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *O Império Asiático Português 1500-1700, Uma História Política e Económica,* Difel, Viseu/Lisboa, 1995.

[5] Diogo do Couto, *O Soldado Prático,* Sá da Costa, 3.ª edição, Lisboa, 1980, p. 43.

[6] Francisco Bethencourt e Kirti Chaudhuri, *História da Expansão Portuguesa,* Círculo de Leitores, Lisboa, 1998, Vol. 1, pp. 171-280.

[7] C. R. Boxer, *O Império Marítimo Português 1415-1825 (1969),* trad. de Inês da Silva, Edições 70, Lisboa, 2001, p. 287.

[8] Geneviève Bouchon, *Afonso de Albuquerque – O Leão dos Mares da Ásia,* trad. Isabel Faria e Albuquerque, Lisboa, Quetzal Editores, 2.ª edição, 2000, pp. 227- 229.

[9] *Ninguém se espantou com o massacre no dia seguinte ao da conquista de Goa, pois essa era a prática dos soberanos da Ásia, como Mahmud Bagartha, durante as campanhas do Rajasthan ou o Xá Ismael ou o Imperador de Vijayanagar nas províncias rebeldes.*

[10] Albuquerque a D. Manuel, Cochim, 1 de Abril de 1512.

[11] C. R. Boxer, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

[12] Diogo do Couto, *op cit.*, p. 26.

[13] G. Schurhammer, SJ, *Francisco Javier – Su Vida y su Tiempo*, Governo de Navarra, Companhia de Jesus – Arzobispado de Pamplona, Pamplona, 1992, tomo III, p. 71.

[14] Godofredo Ferreira, *Relação da Viagem de Um Correio do Vice-Rei das Índias Orientais a Sua Majestade.* Expedido de Goa, no primeiro de Janeiro de 1608, Lisboa, CTT, 1953.

[15] José Wicki, S.J., *Duas Cartas Oficiais de Vice-Reis da Índia*. Escritas em 1561 e 1564, Lisboa, Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, Separata da revista STVDIA, revista semestral, n.º 3, Janeiro de 1959, p. 15.

[16] Francisco Bethencourt e Kirti Chaudhuri, *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, vol. 3, Circulo de Leitores, Lisboa, 1998, pp 47-48 4 89-100.

[17] C. R. Boxer, *op. cit*, p. 308.

[18] António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *Iustum Imperium – Dos tratados como fundamento do Império dos Portugueses no Oriente*, ISCSP, Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, Lisboa, 2005, p. 116.

[19] Padre Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar.* Edição crítica, com introdução e notas de Roger Bismut, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1991.

[20] George Davison Winius, *op. cit*., pp. 56-57.

[21] *Ibid*., pp. 66- 67.

[22] C. R .Boxer*, op. cit*, p. 313.

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 313.

[24] Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *História de Portugal*, vol. V, Editorial Verbo, Lisboa, 1982.

[25] C. R. Boxer, *op. cit*, p. 314.

[26] Caio Boschi, "*O enquadramento religioso*" da expansão marítima portuguesa, in Francisco Bethencourt e Kirti Chaudhuri, *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, vol. 2, Circulo de Leitores, Lisboa, 1998, pp. 388.

[27] "Que tirem inquirições devassas sobre as mortes, furtos e roubos, tanto que forem feitos", in *Ordenações Afonsinas*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisboa, s/d, Livro V. Devassas eram uma espécie de primeiro acto processual, que se traduzia no inquérito preliminar, através da recolha de depoimentos no "livro de devassas" que poderia depois dar origem a um processo judicial, nomeadamente em tribunais civis ou eclesiásticos.

[28] *Ordenações Afonsinas*, Fundação Caluste Gulbenkien, Livro I, Título LXII, 3 Item., Lisboa, s/d, p. 350.

[29] "A fome assolava o reino com periodicidade assustadora, desde que os navios, navegando sob o talisman da cruz, haviam alcançado os empórios asiáticos, antes que se completasse o povoamento

dos desertos alentejanos", in Carlos Malheiro Dias, "A Metrópole e suas conquistas nos reinados de D. João III, D. Sebastião e Cardeal D. Henrique*", História da colonização portuguesa do Brasil*, Edição comemorativa do primeiro centenário da Independência do Brasil, Litografia Nacional, Porto, 1922.

30 Também,"apesar do ouro e da prata trazidos da América pelos espanhóis, Carlos V, como D. João III, lutava com tremendos embaraços financeiros", in Carlos Malheiro Dias, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

31 Maria de Fátima Bonifácio, *O século XIX português*, 2ª ed., ISC, Universidade de Lisboa, Lisboa, 2005, pp. 40-44.

32 José Mattoso, *História de Portugal - A segunda Fundação*, Editorial Estampa, Lisboa, 1994, VI, pp. 267 e ss.

33 Idem, *ibidem*, pp. 529-623.

34 Franco Nogueira, *Salazar – O Último combate (1964-1970)*, vol. VI, Companhia Editora do Minho, Barcelos, 2000.

35 J. Mendes dos Remédios, *Os judeus em Portugal,* Coimbra, 1895, p. 305. Estima-se que, com a expulsão dos reis católicos, se instalaram em Portugal provavelmente cerca de 200 mil judeus ibéricos, que falavam o "ladino", linguarejar extinto no século XX, depois da perseguição nazi, e que, basicamente, era, apenas, aquele nosso português do século XVI. Cf. Frederico Palomo, *A Contra-Reforma em Portugal 1540-1700*, Livros Horizonte, Viseu, 2006, pp. 25 e ss.

36 Só depois das leis de 30 de Junho de 1567 e de 2 Junho de 1573 é que Filipe I ordenou a suspensão da autorização de saída dos cristãos-novos. Mendes dos Remédios, *Os Judeus em Portugal*, vol. II, Coimbra Editora, 1928, p. 201.

37 Francisco Bethencourt e Kirti Chaudruri, *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, vol. II, Circulo de Leitores, Navarra, 1998, pp. 8-107.

38 O Pe. Manuel Godinho chegou a ser enviado pelo vice-rei António Melo de Castro, em 1663, por terra e mar, para convencer o Rei de Portugal a desistir de tal cessão de Bombaim aos ingleses. Considerava que seria o princípio do fim do pouco que ainda restava na Índia (...), 4.ª ed. de Machado Guerreiro, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1974.

39 Bartolomé Bennasar e Richard Marin, *História do Brasil*, Teorema, Lisboa, 2000, pp.35 e ss

40 Pedro Lains e A. Ferreira da Silva, *op. cit*, vol. I, pp. 237-260.

41 José Silva Lopes, "*Finanças Públicas Século XX*" in Pedro Lains e A. Ferreira da Silva, *op. cit*, vol. III, p 265.

42 Rui Pedro Esteves, "*Finanças Publicas Século XIX*", in Pedro Lains e A. Ferreira da Silva, *op. cit*, vol. II, pp 305-353.

43 Expressão notável ouvida pelo professor Adriano Moreira ao professor Oliveira Salazar, para corromper dignitários, com medalhas, títulos ou mordomias e, desse modo, lhes comprar o silêncio ou a vontade.

44 Francisco Bethencourt e Kirti Chaudruri, *História da Expansão Portuguesa,* vol. 5, 1999, p.31

45 Paulo Trigo Pereira, António Afonso, Manuela Arcanjo e J. Carlos Gomes Santos, *Economia e Finanças Públicas,* Porto, 2005, pp. 165-181.

46 Sérgio Gonçalves do Cabo, "O *Banco Central Europeu e a Moeda Única Europeia*", in Viriato Seromenho-Marques, *Cidadania e Construção Europeia*, Ideias e Rumos, Lisboa, 2005, pp. 43 e ss.

47 Alfredo Margarido, "*Algumas observações anónimas sobre a Lusofonia*", in Fernando Santos Neves (org), *A globalização Societal Contemporâne e o Espaço Lusófono – Mitologias, realidades e potencialidades*, Lisboa, Edições Universitárias Lusófonas, 2000, pp.29-46; Eduardo Lourenço, *A Imagem e Miragem da Lusofonia*, Lisboa, Gradiva, 2004, pp. 105 e ss.

40

KABUL DIARY

Shakti Sinha

16 April 2006: It's been just over a day since I came to this beautiful but scarred land – scarred psychologically and geographically.

The plane was full of Afghans, some in very intricately embroidered jackets, and all with sharp Caucasian features. I was pleasantly surprised to see women with head uncovered, in salwar kameezes. The flight over the snow-capped Safed Koh, literally White Mountains, was awe-inspiring. The plane crossed it, then turned south and flew parallel to the mountains, reminding me of Eric Newby's *A Short Walk in the Hindu Kush*, where he describes his attempts to climb Afghanistan's highest mountain, Mir Samir, in the early 1950s and how he becomes the first European to walk through Nuristan, whose inhabitants are supposed to be descendants of Alexander's army.

On landing I realize that Kabul is much colder than I expected it to be. Both Newby and Sandy Gall, whose late 1980s book *Agony of a Nation* brought the Afghans' struggle against Soviet occupation to the world's attention, wrote so much about how hot Afghanistan could be, that I had temporarily forgotten that Kabul is around 6,000 feet above sea level and that when a person from England or the US says it's hot, it's probably pleasant for Indians. And that both of them were hiking extensively in mid-summer. My mistake may be partly blamed as the temperature in Delhi, mid-April, had already hit the high 30s.

The airport is really small and non-descript except for the military transport planes and helicopters parked on the tarmac. The UN staffers who received me were helpful but after we emerged out of the terminal and walked past the car park, I was anxious till we reached the separate UN car park. Getting into a UN car was a relief.

Traffic moves on the right, as in the US and Europe, but the driving style is very much subcontinental. Fortunately, there are only cars and buses on the roads, not the diverse modes we see in India, and the absence of two- and three-wheelers makes the traffic-scene look quite European.

The number of women I have seen on the roads and the markets in the past day and a half is much less than the numbers of men, and not all of them are hidden under the ubiquitous sky blue burkhas. Loose scarves that cover barely half the hair are quite common. But only the face and hands, wrists down, are visible, for both women and men. And you see lots of women by themselves, or in smaller groups, unaccompanied by men. And in hotels and guesthouses, women work and interact with strangers. When I checked in, even as I completed the formalities, a young and well-built young lady picked up my not-so-light suitcase and resolutely marched off, negotiating the spiral suitcase that led to my cubby-hole of a room. That was one shock. And most impressively, shop windows both down- and up-market, are full of mannequins, which you cannot see in Pakistan and Iran for example, on religious grounds. If shop windows are anything to go by, western dresses for ladies are quite popular, including white bridal gowns.

The valley in which the city is located is not very broad, quite flat with snow--capped mountains surrounding it. Writing almost 500 years ago, Babur marveled at Kabul's location. According to him, with a day's horse ride from Kabul there were places that had perennial snow cover, and also places that never saw snow. Besides the very good horses Babur had, the snowline has been pushed higher, for the snow on the nearby mountains did not look that it would last all summer. Climate change in Delhi and Kabul seems all too real.

My second cultural shock was being driven to the main UN office, located about 10 kilometers out of town – traffic jams. It took us more than half an hour to travel the first kilometer from my hotel. A heartening sight for Indians is the overwhelming presence of Tata buses, which form the backbone of the city's public transport network, a gift from the government of India.

22 April 2006: I have been here for a week but it seems much longer. The city is quite peaceful though occasionally there are reports of rocket attacks. From my room, I can see a twin peaked hill, with TV/cell phone towers on both peaks. Thanks to a recovering economy, and a booming opium industry that is estimated to be between one-third and half the size of the licit economy, there is a consumer boom. Swank showrooms with the latest Japanese and Korean electronics, large fortress-looking houses and a proliferation of cars are everywhere. Despite the insurgency in the south of the country, and occasional rocket attacks around Kabul, it is difficult to associate this city with violence, leave alone civil strife.

Afghans that I meet, mostly drivers and hotel employees and our own support service personnel, are disappointed that I do not follow the fate of Tulsi, of the Indian soap opera, '*Saas bhi kabhi bahu thi'*. It is telecast thrice a day so that everybody, housewives, school-going children and the working population, get a chance to keep up with the intricacies of the plot. Indian films and serials dubbed in Dari, the local variant of Farsi, are really popular. Radio programmes mix Hindi songs with those

in Dari and Pushto. Hindi is fairly well understood. And posters of Hindi film stars are everywhere, endorsing local products that the stars could not have heard of. The general warmth among the common people towards India is quite amazing.

Meeting interlocutors in the government is both very interesting and disturbing. The international community's occasional frustration in not seeing adequate change in Afghanistan does not seem to take into account the low baselines from where the country is emerging. But their enthusiasm is infectious.

3 May 2006: My life has settled into an easy routine. Up at 6, breakfast at 7, office by 7.15 and back at 7.30 in time to catch dinner and bed by 10. The pool driver, N, who picks me up in the morning is a music buff and a dentist. His car plays music non-stop and he is quite familiar with classical Hindustani music, as well as with the latest in Hindi remixes and Afghan pop. In the afternoon, he goes to his clinic to pull out people's teeth. His English is almost impeccable, as is with most of our drivers, picked up in language classes run by international NGOs in and around camps in Pakistan. N's dream is of taking a year off and studying in India with an Ustad, a master of Indian classic music. For the time being, N has to work on as his infant son was born with a cleft-lip and has just undergone major surgery. N has such a cheerful disposition that it is impossible to guess the strain that he is going through. By now he has enough confidence in me to talk about it as a matter-of-fact, and not with any desire to seek sympathy. But his first questions very morning is an enquiry about me, my health, my family and how was my night? Which is how all conversations in this country starts with? The greetings in Farsi are very elaborate.

Salaam aleikum. (Peace be upon you) Chetor hastid? (How are you?) Jan-e-shoma jur ast? (Is your soul healthy?) Kub hastid? (Are you well?) Sehat-e-shoma khub hastid? (Are you well?) Be khair hastid? (Are you healthy?) Jur hastid? (Are you fine?) Khane Kheirat ast? (Is your household flourishing?) Zinde bashi (Long life to you).

My colleague, and now friend, SM, tells me that traditionally, this ritual is supposed to be gone through three times when you receive a guest, once at the gate, then at the threshold, and lastly when the guest sits down and is being served green tea. SM worked in the higher echelons of the government of Afghanistan after the Taliban were overthrown, and is convinced I am an Uzbek in disguise. And that is because of my 'addiction' to green tea. The Uzbeks lost Bokhara to Tsarist Russia as the soldiers refused to fight since they were not served tea.

SM is our repository of information on the government – systems and individuals. Since my unit works on governance, this is invaluable and gradually we spent hours talking to each other. I like to believe that his local knowledge, and contacts, and my systemic strength complement each other very well, and I can see our miniscule unit becoming much more relevant to the needs of the government.

But why am I writing this diary, something that I have not done before, or at least

since my IAS field training in 1980-81 when I was required to do. Theo asked me to do so since working in Kabul represents a unique opportunity, and since my personal and professional regard for him since my days in Goa, is extremely high, I have taken up the challenge. I obviously am quite disorganized and not a very disciplined diary-writer. But writing does give me an opportunity to reflect on what I see and my reactions to them.

23 May 2006: This diary is being written more in my head than on my computer, hence the long gap, quite unlike Babur's journal though I am in his city. A lot has happened over the three weeks since I last sat down at my laptop. I managed to make a quick, three-day trip to India, to celebrate my 50th birthday, bought my first carpet and Afghan jacket (*Chhappan*) of the type popularized by President Karzai, saw local reactions to a suicide bomb attack on the outskirts of Kabul and interviewed people for UN jobs.

Chatting over a meal with an Englishman, journalist by profession and now working for the UN, I realized that since Delhi is so close, one can go down for a weekend. The working week in Afghanistan is Sunday to Thursday. So I could easily take-off on a Thursday afternoon, and be back on Saturday afternoon, the flying time being about one hour and fifty minutes, less than even the Delhi-Mumbai flight. That cheered me, as a few of us, friends for over one quarter of a century, have all been reaching the 50th milestone, and celebrating them.

This year, first I turn(ed) fifty. An additional reason I was keen to be in Delhi for my birthday was that it coincided with the silver wedding anniversary of very close friends of mine. In fact, initially, we had decided to celebrate it together in Kabul, in the garden at Babur's tomb, now being lovingly restored by the Aga Khan Foundation. Paradoxically, my getting a job with the UN came in the way, as Kabul is non-family station, so all plans went through the window. So the opportunity to go to Delhi appealed to me hugely. The stars seemed to suggest as much, as May 11 fell on a Thursday, so I could plan on leaving in the afternoon after lunch, and being home for evening tea.

This is what I did. At Kabul airport, I ran into SK, an Indian from Lucknow who has just shifted to Kabul from Kandahar, where he has spent three years. He had a traditional beard, which he kept well trimmed and looked quite majestic. He told me that his Kandahar calling card was printed as being SK Yusufzai; the Yusufzai and the Ahmadzai are the two leading Pashtun tribal formations of southern Afghanistan. The latter had supplied Afghanistan with its kings for over two centuries, from Nadir Shah till the last king, Zahir Shah who was overthrown in 1973. SK found out he was a Yusufzai when he researched his family records only after he came to Afghanistan but having added his tribal appellation, he had a tough time explaining why he did not speak Pushto. Now that SK is in Kabul, he no longer needs the cover of his ancestors, for the war is far away.

24 May 2006: Last night, in between Google chat with folks back home in Delhi, I managed to write quite a bit but by 10.30 the light was really weak due to a drop in voltage. Kabul is supplied electricity by ageing Soviet-era diesel generators and from a hydel unit nearby. Supply is limited to 7-8 hours a day so almost all establishments keep huge generators, mostly more than one to distribute the load. Late evening, the voltage really plummets so that it is difficult to read anything of less than 24, maybe 32 font size. Which is why I am taking so long to read Orhan Pamuk's *Istanbul*. The font size is small, the paper yellowish and it is full of sepia tinted photos and reproductions.

Today did not begin too well, the bright sun woke me by 5, tea was not available on my floor, so had to walk down to the ground floor dining room, then could barely shower as water came out in a dribble and there were no eggs for breakfast. All that paled into insignificance when I read this report about a medical team that was killed yesterday after their vehicle ran over an Improvised Explosive Device (IED) in a district just west of Kabul. The doctor, a nursing couple and the driver of a local NGO were in the vehicle and none survived. The area, Maidan Shahr, is not known for insurgency and is barely 40 kilometers west of Kabul. This senseless act is really depressing. Resort to arms and violence has become so pervasive that it is really disorienting. This is the land where Mahayana Buddhism developed, and then spread north and northeast into Xinjiang and then into China proper. While Afghanistan is well known for the Bamiyam Buddhas which were blasted by the Taliban, lesser known is that it was a seat of learning. Kapisa, about fifty kilometers north-east of Kabul, lying in a fertile valley on the banks of the Panjsher river, a renowned Buddhist center of learning that rivaled Taxila in its heyday. It was also the summer capital of that great Kushan ruler, Kanishka who ruled over most of North India, and was a great patron of the arts.

25 May 2006: Attended this outstanding workshop organized by a local think tank/ research institution, the Afghanistan Research & Evaluation Unit. Local is a very relative word. It is based in Kabul and it does have local Afghans working for it. But its top brass and important researchers are all foreigners. But they have been here for years and speak the language very comfortably. The international community funds AREU but because there is a pool of donors and it is not tied to any one donor, its independence is universally recognized. The paper presented their findings on how elected Provincial Councils worked. The paper and its recommendations were themselves a no-brainer reflecting the evolving nature of public policy debate in the country, especially in the background of the fear of break-up of the country, a feeling exacerbated by decades of civil war, and a general centralizing tendency among the country's rulers over the past century or so. The central authority has always had to face a resource crunch when profits from selling about half a million horses to India every year dried up in the first half of the eighteenth century. But in a country spread

out geographically as Afghanistan is with so many natural barriers to easy movement of people and goods, to actually enforce Kabul's writ has been extremely difficult. Informal deals with local communities, with local strongmen to share power and resources, while recognizing overall suzerainty have been quite common. But formal constitutions are not always equipped to deal with them. And the new Constitution of Afghanistan is no exception. In theory it is the most centralized state with all powers exercised by Kabul, quite at odds with the reality of local power-brokers.

Coming back to the seminar, almost all the Afghans thought that pushing decentralization at this stage was not a particularly good idea and that priority should be on stabilization and improved governance. The internationals on the other hand were very keen on increasing the accountability of local officials by making them answerable to elected Provincial Councils, which we felt would be a major move towards both improved and participative governance. Imagine a Goa where all officials from the Chief Executive (Governor? CM?) down to the village talathi should be appointed by Delhi, or by Delhi's appointees, and accountable only to them with no role for the State Assembly. This is essentially what the structure in Afghanistan is. It is very much the product of recent history so one should hesitate before passing any judgment. It is because such sentiments cut across all political and ethnic groups, as least amongst the political elite. Demands for decentralization, even for increased delegation of powers to lower levels of administrative or political aggregation are almost absent, with only the international development community rooting for it.

29 May 2006: Today Afghanistan, actually Kabul has made the world aware that beneath the calm there still lurk many wounds, much anger and that large sections of the citizenry have little faith in the grievance and dispute settlement mechanisms set in place by the government and the international community.

This morning an international military vehicle, part of a much larger convoy entering Kabul, developed some mechanical failure and ploughed into 6 cars, killing a number of people. This upset people nearby, and it seemed a busy street, and they started throwing stones at the convoy. From this point onwards, facts are difficult to establish. Locals allege that soldiers fired back, killing and injuring many. The mob gathered strength and marched downtown, attacking and burning symbols of the international community including offices and guesthouses, and even reached Parliament. It was clear from TV visuals that the local police are not trained to handle stone-throwing mobs. Guns are not the answer; *lathis* (truncheons), tear gas and water cannons are. But the targeting did not seem accidental since the locations attacked are spread all over.

The riots raged almost the whole day, paralyzing the city. The military had to be called in, the President went on air appealing for calm and by evening, the city

settled down to an uneasy calm. The estimated death toll is said to be around 30. It has really shaken our confidence and people are wondering if this represents the tipping point. I am much more sanguine, having seen worse violence arising from agitations, but the total toll, even if exaggerated, is enough to make you shiver. Clearly, the need to separate handling insurgency from handling agitations and law and order situations is a minimum requirement that a democratic, civic society must develop.

However, all is not lost. Coming back home late at night, I was pleasantly surprised to see eating establishments that cater to the lower middle class and the blue-collar, open and doing a roaring business. We have been told to pack a 15-kilo suitcase with our essential clothes and come to work really early. The top management, in consultation, with national authorities will decide if we are to be evacuated. That presents little problems for me since I am due to leave for my scheduled break in exactly two and a half days time. But that suddenly does look a little further away from now than it did this morning.

18 June 2006: May 29 seems a long time ago. It was clear by 30th evening that there would be no evacuation and though there are new restrictions on travel around the country, things are back to normal.

I returned from India last week carrying a harmonium (Indian-style key-board) for Dr N, my chauffeur. He had requested me and offered to pay, and I readily agreed knowing his love of music. Buying a harmonium is easier said than done. Nobody I knew in Delhi owns a harmonium. Finally I found somebody I knew who knew somebody who had seen his institution buy harmoniums. So off we went and found a few really small shops in the old part of Delhi, but none of us knew the ABC of the selection process. Somehow I bought one and got it packed. I prayed that the airlines would handle the package properly which is not their forte despite the many 'fragile' logos. When I saw it on the carousal of Kabul airport, standing on its side, with its sides reasonably battered, I was crushed. N took it home and declared that it was in fine condition with just the packing damaged. I refused his offer of money, to which he objected up to a point. He is going on leave for his son's operation and was happy that I could bring it for him before he went off.

He is an interesting person, quite cultured. His ideas of India are quite different from mine, but I keep it to myself. He has introduced me to so much of his country – Babur's tomb, Afghan food, the Kabuli shalwar-pyjama so different from India and of course his favorite singer, the legendary Ahmad Zahir.

Ahmad Zahir was this country's Elvis and Pavarotti rolled into one, the greatest Afghan singer-songwriter of all time. His father was a prominent citizen, who rose to be the Prime Minister in the time of the last King and was later Afghanistan's Ambassador to India. A natural singer, he started writing his own songs, mostly in Dari, which he sang. His two years in India were spent very usefully. He was the

ultimate folk hero, and is also seen as a modern-day Casanova. N informs me that when he died – or was killed – an inventory of his house revealed thousands of women's lingerie, used no doubt. Legend has it that the then President ordered Ahmad Zahir killed as his daughter was in love with Ahmad. And Ahmad, though divorced recently, refused to marry her. Ahmad Zahir was in fact a very political poet, whose progressive views were often at odds with the political realities of his times. He welcomed the overthrow of monarchy but was soon disillusioned by those who supposedly were establishing a Republic. His denunciation in verse was enough to get his songs banned from radio but that did not deter him. He privately produced cassettes of his songs that sold well. His opposition to the Communist take-over was the last straw, and it is universally believed that the road accident he died in 1979 was a stage-managed one.

But communist ideas are alive and well in Kabul. During N's absence, H has been his substitute. But because of my preference for N, I have not traveled much with H. But that changed in last 3-4 days, including some long drives. While N is slightly paunchy and quite gregarious, H is very slim, quiet and only speaks up when he is spoken to. But it's not that he is the strong and silent type. I realize that he is very conscious about speaking only in English, and I suspect, he stammers slightly. H has recently enrolled in the local university, and is part of the joint Political Science –Law faculty. For half the time of the three years undergraduate course, the whole cohort studies together and then separate out, specializing in either. Universities in Afghanistan offer only undergraduate degrees and for higher education, all students have to go abroad. In his free time, H stays in his vehicle, reading his notes.

The first time we chatted he was studying Afghanistan's different wars, especially the foreign invasions. He mentioned the Sikh ruler, Ranjit Singh. In fact, had Ranjit Singh not added Peshawar and neighboring areas, now known as the North West Frontier Province, to his domain, they would never have passed into the hands of the British Raj after the second Anglo-Sikh wars, and would have been in Afghanistan today instead of in Pakistan. Who knows the history of the world, the Taliban, 9-11, all may have played out differently. The study of history does lack the economics equivalent of the contrafactual, what would have been but for the specific intervention.

This discussion on foreign invasions received a fresh impetus when we crossed the upmarket district of Wazir Akbar Khan. After the First Afghan War, the British had occupied Kabul and placed Shah Shujah on the throne after deposing Dost Mohammed. Slowly, the Afghans turned the tide, and forced the British on the back foot. At this stage Wazir Akbar Khan, son of Dost Mohammed, rose and offered to mediate. The Afghans claim that Charles McNaughten, leading the British politicos, double-crossed Akbar Khan and tried to kill him. The British say that though McNaughten was negotiating with a number of Afghans, he did not, and could not

have tried to kill Akbar Khan as he was badly outnumbered by the Afghan nobles he had gone to meet. Either way, Akbar Khan dispatched McNaughten from this world.

Slowly from the role of conquerors we moved to imperialism and political systems. H is a committed leftist who is of the view that markets must be curbed. And that the Soviet Union collapsed because bad men, who drank too much vodka, ran it. He is convinced that Brezhnev ordered the invasion of Afghanistan in a drunken stupor, that all relevant persons were not consulted and that the 'bad men' prevented the Soviet leadership coming to know the full picture. While parts of what he says is probably true, he is not ready to make the link with institutions, incentive structures, powers of sanction or how democracy promotes competition in the field of ideas.

25 June 2006: Yesterday eating dinner in our largish dining room, I saw an Indian looking person, but obviously very westernized eating by himself. My gut reaction was that he was a Goan. According to my dining companion, the stranger was a Kenyan named F. My instinctive reaction was overruled by everyone on the table. Later we chatted with F and realized that though a British citizen with a house in Spain, he was a Bardeshkar from Kenya. He remains a bachelor as his mother wants him to marry a Goan girl, and he really can't seem to find one in either Afghanistan or Spain! F has been working in Kandahar, a city now better known as the homeland of the Taliban. In earlier times it was known as Gandahar, the home of the Gandahari, wife of Dhrtarashtra, and the mother of the one hundred Kaurav brothers in the epic *Mahabharata*. Wonder whether today we require a Krishna to come down, and give the modern-day Pandavas the right advice to use so that they could establish Dharma, the rule of law.

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DE CONSTÂNCIO ROQUE DA COSTA A CONSTÂNCIO ROQUE DA COSTA: A REPRESENTAÇÃO DA ÍNDIA PORTUGUESA NA CÂMARA DOS SENHORES DEPUTADOS DA NAÇÃO

Susana Pinho

Quando se conclui uma licenciatura aos 22 anos, acredita-se que já sabe tudo…erro crasso! E se é mau estar-se convencido de que se sabe tudo, pior é acreditar que "se tem a escola toda". Uns anos depois do ingresso no violento e competitivo mercado de trabalho, chega-se à triste mas comum conclusão: afinal, aquilo que se sabe é tão pouco…gotas de água no Oceano do Conhecimento! Afinal todos os sonhos, as ideias que nasceram nos Loucos 4 Anos, não passaram disso mesmo…tiros no charco. Entre o ideal e o real está um fosso sem medida. Hoje a dependência financeira, obriga a que muitos dos actuais licenciados estejam integrados em áreas de actividade económica completamente díspares da área de formação académica. Mas, a preserverança e a crença de que devemos perseguir os nossos sonhos, leva esse jovem trabalhador desajustado a não desistir e a ir à luta. Com vontade e dedicação, tenta-se contrariar a interiorização do vício proporcionada pela rotina diária da profissão, com gosto e interesse, desenvolvem-se esforços no sentido de ir mais além no alargar dos horizontes do Conhecimento.

A Universidade volta a transformar-se no local de construção de sonhos e o mestrado o próximo passo. Voltar a estar a caminho, regressar à dúvida permanente e à consciência de que este não é só mais um passo, é o passo, aquele que pode conduzir à realidade ideal.

Foi durante a aventura da História Política e Social que conheci o professor Teotónio, coordenador do mestrado e professor de História da Expansão do Oriente. Confesso que não tinha grande curiosidade pelo Oriente, também porque o meu conhecimento era demasiado primitivo e redutor. Sabia aquilo que todos os comuns sabem, talvez um pouco mais. E jamais pensei que seria no Oriente que iria

centralizar todo o meu estudo. Fascinava-me a História Portuguesa da África e tinha tanta certeza de que seria nessa diáspora a minha especialização. Mas, afinal, virei o meu rumo para o Oriente, melhor para Goa e tudo por culpa do Professor Teotónio! Muita Culpa!

O despertar para a necessidade da clarificação das estórias instituídas e oficializadas na História, a luta pela desmistificação de factos cujas narrações são desfasadas e adaptadas a interesses individuais, a urgência no redescobrir e corrigir a verdadeira História dos Povos Portugueses. Tudo isto foi culpa do professor Teotónio! E com esta influência, com a sua atitude sempre serena embora firme, acabou por ganhar mais um adepto para a sua causa.

Cada aula, cada conversa, um dado novo, mais e melhor conhecimento. Comecei a descobrir perguntas e a precisar de respostas. E surgiu a ideia. A investigação no Oriente. E o professor Teotónio lançou a escada: "porque não Goa?" E, fiquei a pensar:"sim, porque não Goa?" Mas que Goa? Que factos? O que investigar?

Algumas conversas entre professor e aluno, culminaram na ideia que fez nascer uma dissertação de mestrado. Aliar a formação em ciência política com a história política e a profissão de jornalista. Vasculhar os arquivos dos jornais e da Assembleia da República e descobrir os Dignos Representantes do Reino eleitos para representar a Índia Portuguesa durante a Monarquia Constitucional do século XIX. Como representavam os políticos a sua região e os seus eleitores? E quem eram? Qual a sua origem social? Eram nativos, descendentes ou europeus? Eram detentores de boa retórica e faziam-se ouvir ou limitavam-se à condição de meros ouvintes na Digníssima Câmara dos Deputados? O que os preocupava? Em que discussões participavam?

Com o avançar da investigação, a História Contemporânea, a Política e Goa, a capital portuguesa do Oriente tornaram-se prioridades. Porquê o interesse português em Goa? Como nasceu uma sociedade portuguesa em Goa? Como perderam os portugueses Goa? Perguntas que iam surgindo a cada leitura e a cada conversa…

A leitura de uma obra de Camilo Castelo Branco durante o seminário de Estudos Portugueses contribuiu para dissipar parte das incongruências. "A Queda de um Anjo" datada de 1865, retrata a vida de Calisto Elói, um morgado de Trás-os-Montes que é eleito para a Câmara dos Deputados em Lisboa. Tinha viajado apenas nos livros e quando chega a Lisboa a desilusão é completa. O choque entre o campo e a cidade é de tal maneira forte que Calisto demora a sentir que pertence àquele mundo. Mas com o tempo, Calisto não afirma a sua diferença nem essa sua identidade provinciana, pelo contrário, Calisto é assimilado e aprende a cultura citadina, o modo de vestir, agir, e conviver e torna-se elemento da cidade.

Traçando um paralelo: Trás-os-Montes representa Goa com a sua realidade, sociedade e forma própria de encarar os novos ditames do século XIX – transformada pela presença e domínio dos portugueses, desde finais do século XV, onde a cultura, a sociedade, a religião e toda a dinâmica social é resultado dessa "mistura" de povos; onde as notícias e as movimentações de Lisboa chegam muito tarde e desfasadas da

realidade e onde o seu impacto é mínimo e pouco consequente. Calisto Elói representa os escolhidos na Índia Portuguesa para representar esse povo e esse território ultramarino na Câmara dos Deputados em Lisboa. Personifica as dificuldades da viagem e a forma de encarar a vida na metrópole, de afirmar a sua diferença.

Com esta investigação procura-se compreender quem, em pleno século XIX, é chamado a representar toda uma população, assim como desse próprio povo, aquele que vive nos territórios portugueses do continente asiático. Procura-se compreender como é que, quem chega à metrópole como eleito pela Índia Portuguesa afirma a sua diferença e mostra que tem consciência da sua pertença na classe política, a quem cabe a responsabilidade de conduzir os destinos do país. É aqui, que se procura perceber o sentimento da afirmação da diferença ou a tentativa da aproximação à igualdade.

Naturais da Índia Portuguesa, Descendentes e naturais da metrópole consoante as realidades e as circunstâncias; a forma de naturais, descendentes e europeus, escolhidos para representar a Índia Portuguesa, fazerem política na metrópole. São estas as principais linhas que orientam o estudo que se apresenta de seguida: a apresentação da "forma de fazer política" dos governos liberais e a sua máquina político – partidária; Goa liberal e política onde é nítida a preocupação em esclarecer acontecimentos políticos; a Representação Ultramarina na Câmara dos Deputados com incidência para a Índia Portuguesa e os deputados eleitos para a representar.

Através da leitura de actas das sessões inseridas nos Diários das Cortes Gerais Extraordinárias e Constituintes, Diários da Real Câmara dos Deputados da Nação, Diários das Cortes Constituintes e Diários de Lisboa foi possível estudar os comportamentos e actuações destes representantes da Índia Portuguesa enquanto deputados da Nação entre 1822 e 1896. Os seus discursos são um contributo valioso para a compreensão do evoluir da História da Índia Portuguesa ao longo do século XIX. Muito foi dito e apresentado no decorrer deste estudo em termos de discursos, pensamentos, defesa de ideais, mentalidades e realidades vividas no pós revolução liberal, mas em História Política e História Ultramarina Portuguesa muito está ainda por fazer. Para além dos 17 deputados naturais e descendentes estão também 35 deputados europeus eleitos pelos círculos eleitorais das províncias da Índia. Por uma questão física, ou seja, dadas as limitações temporais e espaciais, não é possível apresentar um estudo exaustivo nem escalpelizar de forma pormenorizada cada uma das intervenções em cada umas das legislaturas dos mais de quarenta naturais, descendentes e europeus que desempenharam a missão de defender os povos do Oriente na capital do reino. Daí que tenha existido uma selecção dos deputados a destacar em que o critério prende-se única e exclusivamente com a sua capacidade de actuação e realização na Câmara. Um estudo aprofundado poderia ajudar a compreender melhor a identidade dos povos colonizados, a sua forma de assumir a sua diferença dentro de uma mesma realidade, e de um modo geral, a política feita, defendida e praticada pelos deputados eleitos pelos Estados da Índia nas Reais Câmaras Portuguesas ao longo do período monárquico-constitucional. A dissertação

encontra-se dividida em dois pontos centrais: o primeiro a História Política Portuguesa do Século XIX, o crescimento da importância da máquina eleitoral e estruturas político-partidárias. De seguida entra-se na História Política de Goa e na forma como foi construída toda a sociedade que vai ser representada pelos deputados eleitos pela Índia Portuguesa. Por último, apresentam-se os deputados europeus e naturais eleitos, suas formas de actuação, intervenções e discursos de maior importância. É aqui que está traçado o perfil de alguns dos mais representativos deputados do século XIX, alguns dos mais importantes projectos de lei e alguns dos discursos que mais inflamaram o Parlamento.

«Pondo a mão direita no livro dos Santos Evangelhos dirá: Juro manter a Religião Católica Apostólica Romana; guardar e fazer guardar a Constituição política da Monarquia Portuguesa, e cumprir bem e fielmente as obrigações de Deputado em Cortes, na conformidade da mesma constituição. O mesmo juramento prestará o vice-presidente e Deputados, pondo a mão no livro dos Evangelhos e dizendo somente: Assim o juro».

Desta forma começava uma nova etapa na vida de quem havia sido elegido como deputado da Nação. Fazer as malas e partir em direcção a Lisboa. Para alguns dos eleitos viagens de horas para outros de meses e até de anos. Mas, não era só a viagem que indicava a mudança, toda a vida de um Homem passava a girar em torno da actividade agora em desenvolvimento. Era preciso que os homens vindos dos quatro cantos do Portugal espalhado pelo mundo conseguissem aprender e apreender a outra vida – outro clima, outra forma de falar e de colocar as palavras, outro vestuário, outras amizades! Na primeira metade do século ser deputado em Lisboa era um privilégio reservado apenas a alguns, advogados, médicos, tabeliões, clérigos, ou militares que passavam assim também a ser políticos.

A política não nasceu no século XIX, mas cresceu, ganhou força e relevância durante a época em que a doutrina liberal, jovem e atractiva, dominou a Europa e consequentemente quase todo o mundo. Ser liberal significava respeitar os grandes ideais emanados da Revolução Francesa, aceitar o constitucionalismo como o melhor meio de realizar a política e a soberania popular como a melhor forma de garantir o fim dos privilégios concedidos aos Nobres e Realezas em tempos idos. Bernardo Peres da Silva, o primeiro natural da Índia Portuguesa a prestar juramento na Câmara dos Deputados, foi um desses idealistas. Acreditava piamente que era possível fazer com que Goa e a Índia Portuguesa acompanhassem o progresso e o optimismo que se adivinhava em toda a Europa. Verdadeiro *Jorge Washington de Goa*[1], mostrou estar consciente dos direitos dos povos à integridade e ao

[1] José Pereira, *"Portugal's Impact on India: Westernization of the Non-Western World"*, India and Portugal. Cultural Interactions, ed. José Pereira & Pratapaditya Pal, Mumbai, Marg Publications, 2001, p. 5 [pp.1-11].

desenvolvimento e nas bancadas parlamentares defendeu de uma forma impar a sua Província e os interesses de todos os seus residentes. As suas críticas e lamentos tiveram desde sempre fundamento e serviram de mote para os seus colegas naturais, europeus e descendentes que, em nome da Índia Portuguesa, o precederam. Pouca importância dada às Províncias Ultramarinas, pouco interesse e falta de atenção por parte dos sucessivos governos, muitas intenções e promessas mas poucas realizações, políticas e procedimentos desfasados da realidade e sem aplicabilidade prática, dificuldades de circulação dos documentos, informações e demais correspondência... uma panóplia de críticas que se repetem de Constâncio Roque da Costa, eleito em 1822, a Constâncio Roque da Costa, eleito em 1892.

Porquê, os dois Constâncios e porquê a sua participação na vida política do século XIX? Se o primeiro Constâncio Roque da Costa foi o primeiro natural a ser eleito nas primeiras eleições liberais de que há registo em Goa, o último Constâncio Roque da Costa, é um neto, elemento de uma família que durante todo o século lutou pela afirmação da identidade de um povo, defendeu os interesses do seu território natal e mostrou ser detentora de um arreigado sentimento de pertença. Entre um e outro, está por exemplo Bernardo Francisco da Costa, filho do primeiro Constâncio e tio do segundo, cuja actuação política foi de tal maneira relevante em Portugal que chegou mesmo a ocupar funções como Presidente da Câmara Municipal de Almada. Pai do conhecido médico Alfredo da Costa, e de um outro deputado Cincinnato da Costa (chegado ao Parlamento já nos últimos anos do século), Bernardo Francisco fica desde sempre marcado pela sua tentativa de abolir legalmente o sistema de castas vigente na Índia e uma forma de estratificação social secular naquele território.

Curiosamente, nem Constâncio Roque da Costa, tabelião e futuro secretário de Prefeitura, nem Constâncio Roque da Costa, advogado e vigoroso jornalista, ficaram conhecidos na História dos Homens pela sua actuação no Parlamento Português. Quanto ao primeiro, nem chegou a sentar-se nos bancos da Câmara e já o segundo, um político de final de século, num período da História em que fervilhavam os novos ideais socialistas e republicanos, preferia a manipulação da opinião pública e a política de corredor através dos seus artigos do que a ribalta e a oratória do Parlamento.

Foram mais de três dezenas de deputados eleitos pela Índia Portuguesa ao longo do período compreendido entre as eleições de 1822 e as de 1892: naturais, descendentes e maioritariamente portugueses – ex-governadores gerais, altos funcionários da Administração portuguesa que haviam desempenhado serviços naqueles territórios asiáticos, militares, ministros e deputados ilustres, alguns deles sem nunca terem visto as cores do sol da Ásia mas cujos partidos políticos forçavam a sua eleição atropelando regras, requisitos e leis eleitorais. Entre estes últimos estão dois dos mais conhecidos nomes da História Política Portuguesa do Século XIX,

Passos Manuel e Fontes Pereira de Melo. Mas se a maioria dos europeus eleitos pela Índia Portuguesa não se empenharam na defesa dos interesses daquela Província Ultramarina, nem canalizaram todas as suas forças para cumprir com as funções de um deputado eleito por determinado circulo eleitoral, outros houve que procuraram dar credibilidade ao sistema representativo com a sua actuação. É o caso de Joaquim Pedro Celestino Soares, um militar português que acompanhou Bernardo Peres da Silva e António Caetano Pacheco, na defesa da Índia Portuguesa. Pelas suas várias intervenções ao longo dos anos em que tomou assento na esquerda parlamentar, este europeu foi de todo um defensor dos interesses dos povos ultramarinos relegando para um segundo plano por exemplo, a defesa da Armada Portuguesa e dos seus militares.

António Caetano Pacheco foi dos deputados naturais o que mais se destacou pela sua iniciativa legislativa. Pela sua actuação é possível confirmar a qualidade notória deste natural de Goa, consciente do verdadeiro papel a desempenhar pelo Parlamento, nomeadamente a função legislativa, soube fazer aprovar alguns relevantes projectos de lei dotando a sua Província dos suportes legais necessários, como a Organização Judiciárias das Províncias Ultramarinas ou a Reforma da Organização Administrativa e Fiscal dos Estados Portuguezes da Índia. João Xavier de Sousa Trindade, o Bispo Eleito de Malaca, sendo um deputado defensor da ideologia governamental, acabou por não ter o protagonismo dos seus antecessores deputados da Índia, já Estevam Jeremias Mascarenhas foi um deputado presente, activo, interventivo não deixando que o Parlamento descure em relação às Províncias Ultramarinas. Mas a verdadeira eloquência e o verdadeiro político de meados de século em representação do Ultramar, é mesmo Francisco Luís Gomes, um médico de formação, mas político por vocação. Ao longo da década de sessenta, enquanto deputado soube fazer da política uma arte e da retórica um meio como forma de atingir o fim a que se propunha, a defesa da sua Província. Através de uma forma de estar única, conseguiu criticar e lamentar mas também aplaudir e elogiar merecendo por isso, pela sua capacidade de rigor e isenção, o respeito das várias bancadas parlamentares e dos próprios membros governamentais.

Infelizmente não foi possível, dados os limites físicos e temporais deste ensaio, escalpelizar cada uma das intervenções e atitudes de cada um dos deputados eleitos para representar a Índia Portuguesa. No entanto, seria interessante registar as suas diferentes formas de interpretar o mesmo papel (a representação da população e o exercício da soberania) e de assumir o seu lugar como os outros deputados, os das Províncias Ultramarinas.

Foram muitas as dificuldades na construção de um estudo desta natureza. A ausência de matéria publicada referente à realidade histórica, social e cultural das Províncias Ultramarinas vivida no século XIX é um facto, tal como a parca documentação acerca das movimentações político-partidárias. Muita da informação

existente neste campo, provém dos arquivos da imprensa escrita da altura, que aderindo a uma ou outra ideologia lutava pelo seu ideal e escrevia de acordo com o mesmo, relegando para o ponto mais baixo da escala de prioridades, a preocupação em informar de forma isenta, rigorosa e credível.

Para além das dificuldades bibliográficas estão os problemas documentais. A falta de arrumação dos próprios arquivos, um mal geral entre os portugueses que descuram a relevância dos documentos para o futuro. O estado de degradação em que se encontram os Diários das Cortes, as falhas de sessões, a ausência de biografias de todos os deputados que ocuparam as cadeiras do Parlamento desde a sua primeira existência, a obrigatoriedade de recorrer aos Diários de Lisboa para ler por exemplo as sessões da década de sessenta (altura em que o Governo decidiu interromper a feitura dos Diários de Câmara e encomendou a publicação das sessões e iniciativas legislativas ao Diário de Lisboa) sem ter conhecimento preciso dos dias de intervenção dos deputados em estudo. Problemas que agravam quando não se é apenas um estudante ou um investigador mas também um profissional de uma área tão exigente na actualidade como é o jornalismo, e especialmente quando se vive a 100 Kms de distância dos locais onde estão guardados os documentos necessários, os arquivos e todo o material essencial na concretização do projecto.

As adversidades encaram-se de frente, e solucionam-se. Aprendi isso, com o meu Orientador, o professor Teotónio. E sempre que surgiram esses contratempos das investigações, o meu guia mostrava-me a luz ao fundo do túnel, e ao mesmo tempo que me alertava para os erros e as incongruências nas minhas investigações, não deixava desanimar nem baixar os braços. E apesar de toda a minha vontade e dedicação, de todo o meu empenho, gosto e paixão pelo exercício da História, pela actividade política e pela escrita, admito sem qualquer dúvida que sem o seu apoio incondicional, sem a sua presença, confiança e acreditar, não teria chegado ao dia 22 de Fevereiro de 2005, dia em que entrei num dos auditórios da Lusófona, com duas filhas gémeas com 40 dias de vida para defender publicamente a tese "De Constâncio Roque da Costa a Constâncio Roque da Costa. A Representação da Índia Portuguesa na Câmara dos Senhores Deputados da Nação". Muito Bom por unanimidade, orgulho que partilho com o professor Teotónio.

Quando em Junho último, no dia em que fui à Universidade para receber o diploma do grau de mestre, a minha consideração, respeito e orgulho foi confirmada, "revista e aumentada" quando vi o professor Teotónio sentado na primeira fila. Senti naquele instante que tudo, todos os meus sacrifícios em prole do meu estudo, toda a minha dedicação tinha valido a pena! Este foi o reconhecimento que eu precisava para continuar a acreditar que é possível transformar o nosso ideal em real. Hoje, a História e o seu Exercício perseguem-me… os factos mal contados, tudo o que está por reescrever, redescobrir e apurar fazem parte dos meus futuros projectos. Estou mais desperta para a História e sonho em fazer dela a minha vida. E se sou

assim, devo-o ao professor! Com um saber invejável, um conhecimento profundo, alargado e muito crítico da História, polémico na escrita e apurado no pormenor, o professor Teotónio foi um Orientador na verdadeira acepção da palavra. Não só cumpriu com o esperado, como superou todas as minhas expectativas. Mais do que um Orientador, tive um grande conselheiro!

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"A COMMODITIES PRICE GUIDE AND MERCHANTS' HANDBOOK TO THE PORTS OF ASIA: PORTUGUESE TRADE INFORMATION-GATHERING AND MARKETING STRATEGIES IN THE ESTADO DA ÍNDIA (CIRCA 1750-1800)"

Timothy Walker [1]

In 1770, a Capuchin priest named Friar Leandro de Madre de Deus was dispatched from Goa to the Maratha court at Pune. Although he ostensibly travelled as a missionary, Leandro was also a confidant and correspondent of the Governor General of Portuguese India, Dom João José de Melo. Friar Leandro's official instructions charged him with helping a European-trained Portuguese physician attempt to heal the ailing potentate at Pune, Madhav Rao, but this perspicacious priest was also expected to observe court business, gathering political and commercial information.[2]

Two years later, on 13 July 1772, Leandro produced a comprehensive manuscript description of trade routes, commodities and prices throughout the principle ports of the Far East, from the western Indian Ocean to Macau, and sent it to the governor and ruling council of the *Estado da Índia* in Goa. Friar Leandro's *Notícias Particular do Comércio da Índia* is a thoroughgoing overview of this complex trade network, one of a few rare guides of its kind (and the only known contemporary example in Portuguese).[3]

Leandro's report included a grand assortment of commodities – textiles; foodstuffs; medicinal plants, drugs and curative spices; gunpowder; ivory and aromatic woods, among many other goods. Portuguese-licensed colonial merchants regularly bought and sold these commodities in ports across Asia – in India, Malacca, Vietnam, China, Indonesia and the Philippines. In his far-ranging description of Indian Ocean trade routes and wares, brother Leandro discussed each product in remarkable detail, with a merchant's eye for information that was of key importance to seaborne

commerce: where to get the best prices; how to ensure quality; how to avoid being cheated.

Leandro's work represents a compendium of contemporary traders' accumulated knowledge but, because it was apparently produced in Pune, with perspectives gained from interactions with rival Indian merchants, it also provided an invaluable guide for novice Portuguese-licensed merchants venturing into new waters or hoping to deal in unfamiliar commodities. Perhaps more significantly, the guide provided colonial administrators of the *Estado da Índia* with priceless strategic intelligence that could help them shape political and economic policies.

Notícias Particular do Comércio da Índia, then, provides modern historians with a contemporary description of Portuguese trade information-gathering and marketing strategies in the *Estado da Índia* during the second half of the eighteenth century. Through this work, we have a rare window into Indo-Portuguese distribution methods of Indian, African, East Asian and Indonesian wares across the Far East. Moreover, for contemporaries, the guide was also an information conduit for the ports themselves, complete with advice about commercial conditions that prevailed in each region. The report appears to have been designed to be copied and disseminated among merchants and officials of the *Estado da Índia*, and copies sent to the metropôle with the annual India Fleet (the *Carreira da Índia*) may have informed the Portuguese monarch and Overseas Council (*Conselho Ultramarino*) in Lisbon, as well.

This brief article will highlight one extraordinary example of Portuguese strategic gathering and dissemination of information about Asian seaborne commerce during the late eighteenth century, a period of considerable territorial expansion and military confrontation in the *Estado da Índia*[4]. The purpose is to examine the method of such activities and thereby consider some resulting trade techniques originating in the *Estado da Índia*. Portuguese colonial agents (missionaries, colonial officials, marine commanders and state-licensed merchants) accomplished this information dissemination at a time when Indian-based Asian commerce played a fundamental role in sustaining the precarious economic health of the eastern Portuguese colonies. This work will shed light on the movement of consignments of typical Asian goods shipped from Goa, Daman and Diu to such destinations as Mozambique, Macau, Timor, Vietnam, Malacca and Batavia, thus providing a snapshot of this well-articulated trade system at that moment in time when the guide was written (1772).

Notícias Particular do Comércio da Índia was a semi-official report, produced by a missionary spy for colonial authorities in India (whether at the request of the *Conselho Ultramarino* in the metropôle or not is unclear). As such, Friar Leandro's work not only facilitated trade, but also provided fundamental information for understanding and administering that trade. Such a report was, potentially, a tremendously useful conduit of on-site information, not only to crown officials and merchant

captains in the *Estado da Índia*, but also in other parts of the empire (including the royal body responsible for all colonial administration, the *Conselho Ultramarino*). This report therefore provides a telling gauge of the state of contemporary knowledge about trade commodities and prices throughout maritime Asia, and about what marketing techniques were believed by contemporaries to be efficacious.

The genius of Leandro's guide is that it is a practical commercial mariners' handbook that, by describing the markets, money, trade conditions and merchandise available in each major port, allowed sea captains new to Asian waters to plan the stages of their voyages in order to profit best from changes in market conditions or fluctuations in the availability of goods. A merchant captain, using Leandro's guide in conjunction with other information about weather conditions, hazards to navigation and political conditions, could plan voyages based on the nature of wares he hoped to carry and purchase along the way (perishable or non-perishable goods; products subject to the whims of fashion or merchandise of timeless desirability?).

Moreover, because the work was intended as an overview of Asian commerce for use by Portuguese colonial officials in Goa (as well as Lisbon), who had been charged with administering trade but who were not themselves actually engaged in the business of carrying goods from entrepôt to entrepôt, Friar Leandro's *Notícias Particular do Comércio da Índia* serves as a perfect primer for bureaucrat landsmen (who, it must be added, hoped to make a substantial profit through investment in trade during their tenures as colonial administrators).

Friar Leandro's guide for seaborne commerce provided precise mercantile information about most of the important maritime trade entrpôts in Asia, especially those frequented by Portuguese ships, or by vessels licensed (that is, provided with a *cartaz*) by Portuguese authorities in Goa. Specific ports mentioned include, on the west coast of India, Cochin, Mangalore, Goa, Bombay and Surat; Madras and Porto Novo on the Coromandel Coast and "Bengal" (including Hugli and Calcutta) further north; Patna on the Ganges River; Ceylon (Sri Lanka); Achem (modern Bande Ache, northwestern Sumatra); Malacca and Queda on the Malay Peninsula; Timor, Moca, Java, and Batavia (modern Jakarta, then the capital of the Dutch East India Company) in Indonesia; Siam (Bangkok); and, in China, Macau, Canton and Cochin China. *Notícias Particular do Comércio da Índia* also provided information about the ports of Sena in Mozambique, East Africa; Muscat at the mouth of the Red Sea; Bassora (modern Basra in Iraq, where the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers meet the Persian Gulf); the Molucca Islands; and Manila in the Philippines.[5]

During the wind-driven era of maritime commerce (as is still true for modern times), every ship's captain had to make each "leg" or segment of a voyage "pay" a return on the resources expended during travel. That is, merchant vessel commanders were under pressure (from owners or investors, of which the captain was likely one himself) to make a profit on each increment (in Portuguese, e*scala*) of a commercial journey. In every port where a vessel touched, it was normal to discharge some

part of the existing cargo, either sold outright for cash or given in trade for local commodities. Such goods, once unloaded, would of course be exchanged for commodities that could be taken aboard and sold at a profit later in the voyage. The strict economics of a commercial sea voyage dictated that goods seldom (if ever) be sold at a loss, unless in exchange for products certain to earn a much greater profit during a subsequent stage of the voyage.

Friar Leandro obviously understood what any contemporary long-distance merchant also knew: that existing exchange rates and currency values alone could create conditions for profitable trade between distant ports. Itinerant waterborne traders could also exploit differences in monetary values to earn greater returns on the commodities traded on their voyages. Naturally, merchant captains required reliable information about currency exchange rates to avoid being cheated during trade negotiations in port, wherever they happened to be. Up-to-date knowledge of comparative currency values was therefore of key importance to any commercial captain trading in Asia. In recognition of this fundamental truth, Leandro's guide begins with a comparative discussion of, first, weights and measures, and then money and coinage values across Asia. This detailed explication spans eight manuscript pages.[6]

To provide a better understanding of some of the core sections found in *Notícias Particular do Commércio da Índia*, the following passages will proceed according to the organization of the manuscript, drawing examples directly from Leandro's original text:

"General Notices of Weights that are used in Asia"

At its most fundamental level, *Notícias Particular do Commércio da Índia* is a practical guide; a primer to acquaint the uninitiated with trade throughout maritime Asia. The work opens with a section subtitled "*General notices of weights that are used in Asia*," wherein we learn that the unit called a *candil*, which the Portuguese measure at 512 *arrateis*, weighs 600 "English *arrateis*" at Mangalore, but along the rest of the Malabar Coast it was usually reckoned at 640 English *arrateis*. The Dutch measured a *candil* at 500 "Dutch arrateis," while the French measure is given "also as 500 French *arrateis*."[7]

Leandro also provides weight equivalents for the English *tael* (forty and seven one hundredths of a rupee); French and Portuguese *taels* are calculated against rupee weights, as well. Similar calculations are provided for the basic Chinese unit of measure, the *cate*, the *seiva* of Surat and the *maon* of Bengal. Weights for Achem and Danish Tranquebar appear in this passage, along with equivalents for Calicut. Friar Leandro furnished basic information about all of the major weight systems then in use in Asian trade ports.

"Notices of Coins that circulate in Asia, and their Value"

Friar Leandro next considered the practical problem of currency exchange in a section called "*Notices of coins that circulate in Asia, and their value*."[8] He noted that coins in general circulation in contemporary India included the continental Portuguese *meia dobra*, the *xerafim* minted in Goa, the Venetian *veneziano*, the *pataca* from Spain, *pagodes* from Porto Novo and the Bombay *roupee*. The guide then delves into monetary calculations in great detail, outlining the relative value and exchange rates of these coins in different Asian ports. Leandro cites the worth of several of these currencies reckoned in gold bullion (both when new and when worn through use – or misuse, if the coin had been illegally clipped) and comments on the coins' buying power in different locations, recommending where certain monies might best be employed in trade. For example, because of the high price of gold in Ache, Leandro noted that it was desirable to pay for goods there with gold coins like the Spanish *pataca* – a currency that elsewhere would be worth far less.[9]

"Weights used in China, and the Utility of each one in particular"

Notícias Particular reports that, in Canton, "the goods that are weighed on a balance of 100 *cates*[10] are the following: opium, musk, rhinoceros horn, rock sugar, fine coral, camphor, ivory, bird feathers, …and all other wares that are of little volume and great cost." Leandro next names heavier products that are weighed using scales of 110 or 150 *cates*. Finally, he reports that the balances to weigh silver in Canton are larger than those of Macau, so that the difference in value that one receives in Macau is lower by one and a half to two percent.[11]

"Notice of Duties that are paid at Macau, Goa, Canton and Madras"

In Macau, Leandro reports that opium was charged a high rate of import tax, amounting to 16 *taes* per chest. Other goods paid less: pepper paid five percent of its value; ivory, dried sea-horses and camphor paid four and one half percent, while cotton, betel nut, fish, rattan (fine or coarse), and sandalwood incense paid just two percent.[12]

Friar Leandro closed his introductory section with observations about the various freight charges that merchants incurred at Macau.[13] These costs appear to be out-bound freight rates rather than charges for the further conveyance of goods up the Pearl River to interior markets at Canton, a service monopolized by native merchant houses.

According to Leandro, the cost of freight for incoming goods was based either on their sale price in Macau (applied to such goods as fine coral, ivory, bird

feathers and walrus tusks, which all paid a fixed rate of four percent of their sale value) or, occasionally, by unit (for example, opium paid a heavy freight charge of ten *taes* per box). Heavy high-volume goods, like finished "fine clothes" and bales of bulk silk (either raw or dyed), coffee, or crates of ceramic cups paid eight percent. Gold and silver paid ten percent. Rough bulk cotton clothes, packages of tea and Chinese camphor paid twelve percent. Shark fins, low quality tableware, sun hats and some exotic woods paid twenty-five to thirty percent.[14]

After thoroughly covering money, exchange rates, customs costs and freight rates, Leandro embarked on a detailed discussion of the best goods (*generos*) that could be had in and exported from each region of the East Indies. The discussion is arranged geographically, more or less west to east, apparently with a view toward orienting merchant ship captains and colonial administrators to natural routes for hypothetical mercantile voyage itineraries.

Port Cities/Regions mentioned in the *Notícias Particular do Commércio da Índia* and examples of goods from each place:

Friar Leandro used the curious phrase, "goods that exit well"[15] to describe wares that would find a ready market if unloaded in the various port cities he described. The following is Leandro's catalogue of Asian trade ports that coincided with colonial Portuguese commercial interests, together with a selected list of the wares Leandro recommended for import to and export from those venues.

The Coromandel Coast

Exports: Cow fat (?)(*massam de vaca*); cotton clothing "of all qualities, rough or fine, colored or white."[16]

Imports: Rhubarb, green tea, silver and porcelains, tin, "small paper *sombreiros* from Panjim, yellow-painted crockery," heavy rattan, …and "black satin from Nanking."[17]

Bengala

Exports: Opium, eggs, raw silk, saltpeter, cotton suits, and all types of herbs.

Imports: Rock sugar, … "black satin from Nanking, and white of the same sort, as well as some in pink, and everything desirable to women," inexpensive crockery, and tea, "some … in powder or in [pressed] bricks…"[18]

Malabar Coast

Exports: Sandalwood, pepper, fine exotic woods (like teak, useful in ship construction and furniture), cardamom[19] and shark fins.[20]

Imports: Musk, rock sugar, Chinese camphor, white "China wood," artificial pearls, silk, arrack, green tea, inexpensive crockery, yellow yokes for oxen.

Surat

Exports: Raw cotton, many types of finished cotton and silk fabrics, … herbs, and fishing nets.

Imports: "Legitimate camphor" from Java or Ache, camphor from China, exotic wood "from Siam," cardamom, pepper, and musk.[21]

Sena

Exports: Gold, ivory, "sea-horse teeth," and, of course, African slaves.[22]

Imports: Wool fleece, large white or red glass beads, blue cotton cloth from Nanking, "black baskets from Diu," rudimentary work shirts, slippers, shoes, gunpowder and lead, coconut oil, tanned or dried skins, *aguardente* from Portugal, cashew wine (*feni*), pepper, … large red or blue cloth panels, cotton coverlets, some suits of clothing from China, and from the Coromandel Coast; "things of little value."[23]

Ceylon

Exports: pepper, cinnamon, cardamom, coffee, coconuts, ivory, safires, rubies, emeralds.

Imports: white "China wood," tin, tea, simple crockery and painted ceramics, silver plate and porcelain, flower of aniseed.[24]

Malacca

Exports: Fine or heavy rattan, arrack, wine, tar and sago.

Imports: Raw silk, iron hooks, *calumba* (a medicinal root) from China, simple crockery, "sea horse teeth," iron.[25]

Java/Batavia

Exports: Pepper, rice, sugar loaves, powdered sugar, various exotic woods.

Imports: Tea, black satin, iron hooks, "and various curiosities of interest to women."[26]

Moluccas

Exports: Cloves, nutmeg and mace (flower of nutmeg).

Imports: None listed.[27] Most spices were exchanged for bullion or coinage.

Timor

Exports: Gold, fool's gold, sandalwood, saws, mineral salts and powdered salt.

Imports: Prayer rosaries, rings, chairs, cashew wine (feni), gold cloves, second-rate Nanking cloth, knives, large cloth panels, cashew wine (*feni*) and *aguardente*.[28]

Ache

Exports: Gold, camphor, benzoin, tar, exotic bird feathers, arrack.

Imports: Cotton, *calumba* from Java, Surat or China, low quality clothing from Surat.[29]

Queda

Exports: Bird feathers, rice, fine rattan.

Imports: Iron implements, simple crockery.[30]

Manila

Exports: Gold, fine tobacco, rice, green wood and many other exotic woods, chocolate and horses.

Imports: Chinese cinnamon, "raw silk from Canton of the first and second sort," black velour skirts, dyed velour, Chinese silk ribbons, tea, black satin, good crockery, some ceramic teacups "for the table."[31]

"*Various Notices for the Recognition of Opium*"

There follows a lengthy (five folio pages) consideration of opium[32], one of a handful of wonder drugs for early modern practitioners of medicine, uniquely efficacious as a painkiller (and supremely valuable commercially as a recreational drug, as well). Most of the best-quality opium originated on the Deccan plain in India, to which the Portuguese had relatively easy access through their ports in Gujarat[33]. Clearly, due to the amount of attention paid to this commodity in Leandro's text, opium was one of the most important products that the Portuguese (and other merchants) shipped throughout the Asian trade routes.

Soon after the Portuguese occupation of Goa and other parts of the Malabar Coast, opium rapidly found its way into use in colonial medical facilities. Portuguese hospital and infirmary personnel of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries often administered opium mixed with wine, or as a component of the alcoholic tincture of laudanum. The mixture effectively eased the pain of wounds, injuries or infections. However, opium is known to have been administered as a sedative, as well, to allow

feverish, uncomfortable patients to get some rest. In addition, Portuguese colonial medical facilities adopted the native use of the drug to treat dysentery and diarrhea, particular in cases of cholera, a malady that killed thousands of European soldiers and administrators in the *Estado da Índia*.[34]

During the Maratha Wars of the eighteenth century, opium was a standard painkiller and sedative employed in the Military Hospital of Bassein, a port and garrisoned fortress town twenty kilometers north of Bombay. Bassein became the focus of fierce fighting with soldiers of the Marathi Kingdom; the Portuguese were eventually forced to capitulate in 1739, when they permanently lost this citadel. Portuguese military casualties, all too frequent during the campaigns in Maharashtra, were treated in a special hospital established in Bassein (in Portuguese, *Baçaim*) in response to the prolonged fighting. Opium was one of the few drugs available that could effectively and reliably ease pain from traumatic injury.[35]

As Friar Leandro observed, many qualities of opium were available in the early modern Asia trade, and a skillful trader had to be able to tell merchandise from that which had been poorly prepared, ruined in transport or adulterated. Some inferior varieties were the color of clay, while others (notably a second-rate type available in Patna) appeared black. But Leandro explained that the most desirable sort sold in the markets of Surat or Daman and was of a deep red hue. This Deccan-grown opium "… comes covered with flowers, … and whether hard or malleable all of it is good; it is very resinous, and its effects are very strong… the best is worth fifty percent more in China than others that come from Persia…"[36]

Leandro then outlined several ways to test the quality of opium while negotiating in port markets. For example, if "upon opening a chest of opium one feels a great heat, it is certain that the opium is counterfeit or of the worst sort."[37] The guide continues, advising that:

Good opium has a luster like jewels, so that when you warm and pull a bit of it in your fingers, it makes threads, something transparent in which you find no resistance [to the light], which is a signal of its considerable potency… moving it between the fingers, moistened with water, it will expand like dust, and stick to the fingers like tar; if it is very watery, then it is bad.[38]

It is worth noting – and *Notícias Particular do Comércio da Índia* makes clear – that Portuguese colonial merchants and administrators played a role in distributing many Malabar Coast medicinal plants and traditional remedies throughout the trade ports of Asia, as well as to various native rulers' courts in the northern interior of India. Whenever the Portuguese sent an envoy to negotiate with the Muslim Mughal Raja in Agra, custom naturally dictated that gifts be exchanged. Among the perfumed herbs, rich fabrics, silver inlaid blades and potent distilled beverages (*aguardente* and *cashew feni*) sent as tribute, the Portuguese commonly sent typical Hindu-influenced medicines, such as *balsamo apopletico* for headaches and sandalwood paste for fevers. One typical example of this practice can be found in a record of the Portuguese

embassy to the court of Raja "Sauac Bacinga" (rendered phonetically in Portuguese) in December 1737; the itemized medicinal presents filled dozens of jars, bottles and ornate chests.[39]

Notícias Particular shows that an Indian ruler's court offered a useful vantage point from which to observe the general movement of commerce within the eastern maritime world – particularly medicinal goods, which were exceptionally important commodities in the Asian trade system. Friar Leandro included medicinal plants, drugs and curative spices in his description of Indian trade goods, of course; Portuguese colonial traders sold Malabar remedies in various ports in China, Vietnam and the "East Indies." Most were traditional Indian medicinal substances that had long-accepted uses in classical Ayurvedic, Unani or Siddha healing, as well as in the local cultures along the southwest coast of India.[40] *Notícias Particular* describes Indian sandalwood, stag horn and clove oil from Ceylon bringing high profits in Macau when sold as remedies.[41]

The gum resin myrrh, purchased in Calicut or Cochin, could be sold for substantial gains as a medicinal ingredient in Malacca or Macau.[42] The balsam or salve made from benzoin, purchased in eastern India, had a profitable market "in every part of the world," according to Leandro's report.[43] Tamarind and pepper also left India in the holds of Portuguese merchant vessels, to be sold throughout Asia, Africa and even Europe as medicinal substances.

Notícias Particular, then, also provides a contemporary view of Portuguese distribution of Indian medicinal plants across Asia during the late eighteenth-century, but the guide is itself also a source of information about those drugs. Leandro's report likely reached the hands of Portuguese chief surgeons and chief physicians serving throughout the Asian colonies, and may have reached readers in Africa, Brazil and Europe, as well. Colonial medical practitioners, in turn, may have used the guide to inform their decisions about where to procure certain medicinal substances for the military and colonial hospitals under their direction.

In *Notícias Particular do Commércio da Índia*, the balance of the text (manuscript pages 22 to 41) discusses individual types of trade goods in greater detail. In total, Friar Leandro names seventy-six individual commercial products that the Portuguese commonly traded in Asia.[44] He advises his readers where the best quality of any given product can be found, and at what price. Leandro discusses price and quality variations between ports and counseled how to recognize good from poor quality items. He even prescribed ways to preserve perishable goods. Of greatest help to novice traders, perhaps, he explained what goods could best be traded for desired items in different parts of Asia. Leandro's guide closes with a conversion table of weights and measures for ports or territories mentioned in the text, as well as some additional locations.[45]

The discovery of *Notícias Particular do Commércio da Índia*, an obscure but detailed trade report sequestered in an often-overlooked collection of Portuguese

colonial papers, suggests that key marketing information could be gathered and become widely known in Portuguese-controlled enclaves in the Indian and Pacific Oceans in the eighteenth century, and thereby be incorporated into the commercial lexicon of merchant captains in the eastern Lusophone colonies. Due to works like Friar Leandro's *Notícias Particular do Comércio da Índia*, Portuguese colonial administrators in the *Estado da Índia* had access to a tool that would allow them to develop a cogent, deliberate strategy to maintain trade in Asia in an effort to keep the finances of the eastern empire afloat.

NOTAS

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[2] HAG 1436, *Regimentos e Instrucções* (1771-1774), f. 11r/v.

[3] Central Library of Panaji, Goa; Manuscripts No. 18: *Notícias Particular do Commércio da Índia* (dated 13 July 1772 at the Court of Pune, by Friar Leandro), ff. 2-58.

[4] J. Gerson da Cunha, *Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1993 [reprint of 1876 Bombay edition]), pp. 62-76; 143-156. See also Frederick Charles Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992 [reprint of 1894 London edition]), pp. 417-444.

[5] *Notícias Particular do Commércio da Índia*, ff. 5-17.

[6] *Ibid*., ff. 4-11.

[7] *Ibid*., ff. 4-6.

[8] *Ibid*., ff. 6-10.

[9] *Ibid*., ff. 9-10.

[10] A unit of weight used in many early modern Asian ports to measure very small amounts of a commodity, such as precious metals or light items.

[11] *Notícias Particular do Commércio da Índia*, ff. 10-11.

[12] *Ibid.,* ff. 11-12.

[13] *Ibid*., ff. 12-13.

[14] *Ibid*., f. 12.

[15] In Portuguese, "*generos de boa sahida*," found repeatedly in Friar Leandro's text.

[16] *Notícias Particular do Commércio da Índia*, f. 13.

[17] *Ibid*.

[18] I*bid*., ff. 13-14.

[19] A food condiment and medicinal plant, often used in combination with cloves, ginger or caraway seeds, for indigestion, or administered as a purgative to relieve digestive problems S. K. Jain, pp. 72-4. Sivarajan and Balachandran, pp. 398-99. See also Garcia D'Orta, *Coloquios dos Simples e Drogas*…, Colloquy XIII.

[20] *Notícias Particular do Commércio da Índia*, f. 14.
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] *Ibid*.
[23] *Ibid*., ff. 14-15.
[24] *Ibid*., f. 15.
[25] *Ibid*., ff. 15-16.
[26] *Ibid.,* f. 16.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *Ibid*.
[29] *Ibid*., ff. 16-17.
[30] *Ibid*., f. 17.
[31] *Ibid*., f. 17 and f. 21.
[32] *Ibid*., ff. 17-22.
[33] Carlos Xavier, "Daman Port and Shipyards," in *Purabhilekh-Puratatva*, Vol. III, No. 1 (Panaji, Goa: Journal of the Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, January-June 1985), pp. 10-12.
[34] For examples of varied opium use in an Indo-Portuguese medical facility, see Historical Archives of Goa, Doc. 831, *Livro da Receita e Despeza de Medicamentos do Hospital do Convento de São João de Deus* (1733-1737), ff. 3r-45v.
[35] HAG Volume 9477; Despezas do Convento da Graça (1726-1733), ff. 6-18.
[36] *Notícias Particular do Commércio da Índia*, ff. 17-18.
[37] *Ibid.,* ff. 18-19.
[38] *Ibid*., f. 19.
[39] HAG 1429, *Regimentos e Instrucções* (1727-1737), f. 229.
[40] *Notícias Particular do Commércio da Índia*, ff. 27-36.
[41] *Ibid*., f. 28.
[42] *Ibid*., f. 27.
[43] *Ibid*., f. 32.
[44] *Ibid*., ff. 22-41.
[45] *Ibid*., ff. 43-44.

43

FROM EUROCENTRICITY TO LOCALISM: WHAT WE CAN LEARN FROM FATHER JOÃO RODRIGUES, HALF A MILLENIUM LATER

Toru Maruyama

Although Father João Rodrigues first started to write a grammar of the Japanese language in the late sixteenth century totally based on that of Latin, he soon realized the crucial difference between European languages and Japanese, and tried to construct his original grammar in a manner suitable to Japanese. For example, he initially described the "conjugation " of a Japanese verb "degozaru" (honorific form of "be") following the Latin verbal conjugation.

	sing.	**plur.**
1st person	*Degozaru* (Eu sou)	*Degozaru* (Nos somos)
2nd person	*Degozaru* (Tu es)	*Degozaru* (Vos soys)
3rd person	*Degozaru* (Elle he)	*Degozaru* (Elles são)

This kind of paradigm is meaningless because Japanese verbs are not conjugated. However, realizing the difference between Latin and Japanese he soon began to construct verbal paradigms more suitable to the agglutinative language like Japanese. He also introduced in his grammar the concept of particle (*"particula*") and "article" ("*articula*" = case marker in Japanese) in addition to the Latin eight parts of speech.[1]

In this paper, while making the following points concerning the Eurocentricity of modern grammatical descriptions, I insist that we must construct grammars most suitable for various languages in different parts of the world, following the example of Father Rodrigues' attitude toward sixteenth and seventeenth century Japanese, and not seek to impose the framework of the major European languages upon them.

The concept of "subject" is definitely necessary for grammatical descriptions of modern English, French, German and a few other European languages, but it is a

debatable question whether it is essential for grammatical descriptions of other languages, including Japanese.

The grammatical concept of "subject" has been introduced for descriptions of almost all languages since the seventeenth century[2], because most grammatical theories nowadays are strongly influenced by modern European grammars, especially English, French and German.

According to Keenan[3], "basic subject" has more than 30 grammatical characteristics classified under three categories. Some of them are as follows[4]:

1. Coding properties

(1) Position: It appears at the leftmost position in basic sentences.

(2) Case marking: It is usually not case marked in intransitive sentences if any of the noun phrases of the language are not case marked.

(3) Agreement: The noun phrases which control agreement, if any, include basic subjects.

2. Behavior and control properties

(1) Basic subjects in general can control reflexive pronouns.

(2) Basic subjects are among the possible controllers of coreferential deletions and pronominalizations.

(3) The noun phrases whose possessors can be relativized, questioned, and cleft include basic subjects.

3. Semantic properties

(1) The entitiy that a basic subject refers to (if any) exists independently of the action or property expressed by the predicate. This is less true for non-subjects.

(2) Basic subjects are indispensable construction units in basic sentences.

(3) The reference of a basic subject must be determinable by the addressee at the moment of utterance. It cannot be made to depend on the reference of the noun phrases which follow it.

(4) Basic subjects are normally the topic of the basic sentences.

(5) The semantic role (agent, experiencer etc.) of the referent of a basic subject is predictable from the form of the main verb.

(6) Basic subjects normally express the agent of the action, if there is one.

I do not deny the fact that having Keenan's description of this kind of prototype "subject" as a starting point of discussion, we can appreciate important characteristics of various languages of the world. However, following this kind of "definition" or

the description of the nature of "subject", it is clear that the "subject"-ness of languages like Japanese is very weak compared with English, German and French.

To express it starkly, basic subjects are not indispensable in basic sentences of Japanese, at least on the surface level, as can be seen in the following typical Japanese expressions.

(a) *Kitto Iku yo.*
(surely go PRT) = I/ you/he/ she/ it/they/ will surely go.
(PRT = particle)

(b) *Uchino inu o mita*? ——— *Mita, mita*.
(our dog PRT-Obj. see PST ?) (see PST, see PST)
(PST = past)
= Have you seen our dog? —— (Yes) I surely saw her.

(c) *Aa akachan da* !
(Oh baby BE !) = Oh, there's a baby!

(d) (Getting up in the morning) *Aa samui*!
(Oh cold !) = Oh, it is/ I am/ cold!

(e) *Mata ame da*.
(again rain BE) = It's rain again.

(f) *Moo* 12 *ji desu ne*?
(already 12 o'clock BE PRT) = It is already 12 o'clock, isn't it?

(g) *Shizuka da ne*?
(quiet BE PRT) = It is quiet (here), isn't it?

In all of the above examples in Japanese the corresponding subjects in English are determined in the given context. Basically Japanese sentences consist of a verb including adjectives without any indispensable noun phrase, or subject. (This kind of "situation focus" nature of the Japanese language might have something to do with the rise of verbal arts like *Haiku*, in which verbal expressions are minimized to the limit.) In this way, uttering the above (d) sentence in our daily life Japanese people are indifferent to whether they are referring to the weather or their physical condition. They only mean something like – "Coldness is with me". In striking contrast English distinguishes between "It is cold." and "I am cold."

In most European languages the above two expressions are distinguished by verbal form like in Portuguese – *Está frio*.(=(It) is cold.) and *Estou frio*.(=(I) am cold.) Here also, however, the grammatical subject is not indispensable, at least on the surface level. For the latter case the grammatical subject *Eu* (=I) can be considered to have been deleted, while in the former example no linguistic form can be supplemented because Portuguese does not have impersonal subjects. Actually most

languages of this world do not have impersonal subjects for weather expression. English, French, and German are among the few languages of the world with this impersonal subject.

The impersonal subject is required or obligatory in the expressions below, for example, only in a few languages (including English, French and German) even in Europe. Outside Europe, I believe, virtually no language requires this kind of impersonal subject for weather expression.

1. It rains. 2. *Il pleut*. 3. *Es regnet*. –4. *Chove*. (Portuguese)

We should keep in mind that even in English, French and German, this impersonal subject was introduced only in the medieval period. In other words, in old English, old French or old German, not to mention ancient Greek or Latin, there were not impersonal subjects. Why they were introduced in these neighboring languages at a certain period of time, is a very interesting topic. This must surely have had something to do with the medieval European tendency of distinguishing doers from actions in verbal expressions.[5] Furthermore it might even have something to do with the eventual later emergence of the Cartesian philosophy which distinguishes soul from body, or a person's thinking from that person's doings. The cultural and geographical shift from ancient to medieval times was from the eastern Mediterranean Egypt, Mesopotamia Persia and Greece to the Western Europe France, Germany and the British Isles.[6] Moreover all the political happenings and cultural circumstances in medieval Europe cannot be discussed without including the background of Christianity. The concept of the "individual", for example, is said to have appeared in twelfth century Western Europe owing to the custom of Catholic confession and the birth of city life.[7] Catholic confession originated with group confessions in the sixth century but developed to private confidential confession in the twelfth century.

Now the concept of a separate subject from the verb is so widely accepted in English, French and German that modern speakers of these languages would be surprised to learn that there was a period when separate subjects were not used. Nevertheless, I believe it to be possible and indeed meaningful, to try to construct a universal framework of human language grammar excluding the concept of "subject".

Compared with the concept of "subject", that of "case" is a much more universal grammatical concept. Grammatical cases are determined basically by morphological case markers (as in Japanese), by verb complexes (as in Abkhaz), by case marking on nouns and verbal affixes (as in Latin), or by word order or syntactic relations (as in English). However if we think of the following examples from the Thai language, we cannot help thinking that the necessity of the concept of "case" (formal case expressed by noun case markers, verbal case markers, both of them, or word orders) in grammatical descriptions is not so obvious[8]. (Arabic numerals indicate tonal patterns.)

(a) *phom*5 *pay*1.
(I go) = I go.

(b) *phom*5 *pay*1 c*hiang*1*may*2
?(I go Chiengmai) = I go to Chiengmai.

(c) *phom*5 *pay*1 *rot*4*fay*1
(I go train) = I go by train.

(d) *kin*1 *khaaw*3
(eat rice) = eat rice

(e) *kin*1 *mww*1
(eat hand) = eat by hand

(f) * *phom*5 *pay*1 *chiang*1*may*2 *rot*4*fay*1
* (I go Chiengmai train)
= —*—I go to Chiengmai by train.?
— ———*——— ungrammatical?

(g) *phom*5 *nang*3 *rot*4*fai*1 *pay*1 *chiang*1*may*2
(I sit train go Chiengmai) = I go to Chiengmai by train.

What we really need in order to truly understand languages is the lexical meaning of each word and the semantic role of each noun. Moreover the semantic roles are usually expressed by case markings or syntactic relations, but sometimes by combination of the lexical meanings of nouns and verbs, as in Thai. The last case shows that the formal case marking system is not a universal device in world languages. Keeping these facts in mind, what we need for basic grammatical descriptions of languages is the valency of each verb – the capacity of a *verb* to take a specific number of nouns – and the semantic role which each verb can put on the nouns.

Whether we really need the concept of case for descriptions of any human language is also debatable, because various languages like Thai or Cambodian lack so called "surface case" markers, and the concept of "deep case", which any language is supposed to have, is almost equivalent to that of semantic role.

"Japanese people use chopsticks instead of knives and forks, and some people from other cultures even use their hands instead, having neither chopsticks nor knives and forks" – this kind of statement sounds somewhat strange, because it presupposes the existence of knives and forks, first, and that of chopsticks next, and even implies some kind of inferiority related to eating without utensils. However, for the cultures in which it is common to eat by hand none of those utensils are necessary for their general life style and they may not even imagine the necessity of those utensils.

By the same token, for a considerable number of world languages, the concept of "(grammatical) subject" is not necessary, at least compared with common

European languages, and furthermore, for various languages of Southeast Asia, the concept of "case" may not be a must for grammatical description.

Here, we should return to Father João Rodrigues in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Realizing that Japanese should not be described within a framework of Latin grammar, he began to construct his original grammar in the manner he considered most suitable to Japanese. Living in the twenty-first century, we ourselves should, in like manner, strive to construct grammars suitable to each individual language and not be overly influenced by modern European grammatical concepts.

NOTAS

[1] *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam composta pello Padre Ioão Rodriguez Portugues da Copanhia de Iesv diuidida em tres Livros. Com Licença do Ordinario, e Svperiores Em Nagasaqui no Collegio de Iapão da Companhia de Iesv Anno*. 1604 (-1608 - colofon).

[2] *Arte Breve da Lingoa Iapoa tirada da Arte Grande da mesma lingoa, pera os que comecam a aprender os primeiros principios della. Pello Padre Ioam Rodrigvez da Companhia de Iesv Portugues do Bispado de Lamego. Diuidida em tres Livros. Com Licenca do Ordinario, & Superiores. Em Amacao no Collegio da Madre de Deos da Companhia de Iesv.* Anno M.DC.XX.

[3] Rodrigues. *op.cit*. (1) f.3v.

[4] Toru Maruyama "Linguistic Studies by Portuguese Jesuits in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Japan" in Otto Zwartjes and Even Hovdhaugen, eds. *Missionary Linguistics/ Lingüística misionera – Selected papers from the First International Conference on Missionary Linguistics*, John Benjamins Publishing Co., Oslo, 2004, pp.141-160?

[5] G.A.Padley, *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe, 1500-1700: The Latin tradition*, Cambridge University Press, 1976.

[6] E.L. Keenan, "Towards a universal definition of 'subject'", in Charles Li, ed. *Subject and Topic*, Academic Press, New York, San Francisco, London, 1976. pp. 305-33.

[7] Masayoshi Shibatani "Typology of Language", in Akira Ota, ed. *Outline of English Linguistics*, vol. 6. Related Disciplines, Taishukan Publishing Company, Tokyo, 1989.

[8] W. v. Wartburg, *Évolution et structure de la langue française,* Éditions A. Francke S.A., Berne, 1950, p.135.

[9] Masao Yamamoto, *The End of Modern Europe* (in Japanese), Kodansha, Tokyo, 1992, p. 33.

[10] Kin'ya Abe, *Wissenshaft and "Seken*" (in Japanese), Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 2001, p.21.

[11] Minegishi Makoto, "Southeast Asian Languages: a Case for the Caseless?" in Peri Bhaskararao, ed., *Non-Nominative Subjects*, Japanese Ministry of Education, Science, Sports & Culture. Tokyo. 2001.

Family in Moira / Com a familia na aldeia natal (Goa, 1972).

First International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History / I Seminário de História Indo-Portuguesa, 1978.

With Prof. Charles R. Boxer at his residence / Com Charles R. Boxer, em Little Gaddesden, Herts. UK, 1985.

With wife Elvira / Com Elvira Correia de Souza (esposa), 1996.

Clossing session of ISIPH-VII / No encerramento do VII Seminário de História Indo-Portuguesa, Goa (1994). From left to right / de esquerda à direita: T.R. de Souza (organizer, P.R. Dubhaxi (Vice-Chancellor / Reitor, Goa University), Gen S.F. Rodrigues (Ex-Chief of Armed Forces of Índia / ex-Chefe das Forças Armadas), Vasco Graça Moura (Comissário Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses), J. Blanco (Administrador, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian).

Historians at ISIPH-VII / Historiadores no VII Seminário de História Indo-Portuguesa, Goa, 1994.

Annual dinner of ULHT History alumni / Jantar do curso, 2004.

With a batch of History graduates / Licenciados em História, ULHT, 2005.

At the Geographical Society of Lisbon / Na Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa with its President Luis Aires-Barros, and the Indian Ambassador Smt. Madhu Badhuri.

On Ph.D. júri / No Júri de doutoramento, Universidade do Porto, 2003.

Teotonio R. de Souza, speakinga at a function of the Casa de Goa, Lisboa, 2004.

Release of the first issue of CAMPUS SOCIAL, Revista Lusófona de Ciências Sociais, by João Caraça (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian), Fernando Santos Neves (Reitor, ULHT) e Luís Filipe Figueiredo (Coordinator of NEVO, Núcleo de Estudos Védicos e Orientais), 2004.