CONCLUSION

Having analyzed *Reviewing Indo-Portuguese Relations: A Special Reference to Bengal*, in the Modern period against the backdrop of the historical linkages, it is clear that India’s relation with Portugal had always been more sweet than sour in nature. Portugal, a nation whose borders have been unchallenged since 1249, stands proudly as one of the world’s oldest countries, known for its indelible contribution to the history of mankind. Today it is a land of talented diversity where opportunity and innovation will favorably impress a persistent inquirer - a place we really should discover. Study of the relationship between India and Portugal is not only the study of these two countries it includes the relation of these countries with the whole world.

Present work is an attempt to understand the roots of relationships between India and Portugal and to study how the roots determine the future of the relationship between these countries for five hundred and ten years. The tiny country of Europe crossed the seas and came to India as representatives of a totally different culture to India and worked as catalyst to a distinct phase of Indian history. But fortune made them only as pirates to the memory of the Indians. An attempt in this study was made to review the base and present a true story of the present relationship between India and Portugal.

From the very ancient times Bengal is the most versatile part of India. It has encountered lots of different cultures in different phases of History. Even now it is the most interesting and distinct place in Indian subcontinent. An attempt was also made to understand the effect of the interaction between the two countries and how it affects the cultures of the different states.

Portugal was the first nation to give the knowledge of the legendary countries of the Orient to Europe. The Portuguese were the pioneers of modern civilization in India and promoted the interaction between the West and the East. It is really interesting to know about the various branches of Portuguese literature concerning India, its peoples, customs, ethnology and its religions. India would not have been a reality for the Portuguese people if it had not first been an aspiration. The Discovery of Vasco de Gama was not merely the result of a fortunate adventure. It was preceded by daring attempts and bold discoveries of the African coasts and by the wrestling of its secrets from the Sea of Torments.
“King of Portugal and the Algarve, Lord of Guinea and of the Commerce, Navigation and Conquests of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India” –such was the proud title of the Kings of Portugal when their possessions extended over the known world. At its peak the expansion of Portugal overseas was one of greatest ever achieved by any nations and the more extraordinary considering the relatively minute size of the mother country. What remains of those possessions still covers a larger area than that controlled by any other colonial Power and it seems possible that they will survive as such much longer.

Apart from its extent and size, overseas Portugal is also unique in as much as its component parts unlike the colonies of other nations have throughout their History except for a very short period under the republic at the beginning of this country, been considered and treated as an integral part of the mother country and their inhabitants regarded as Portuguese. For example the Royal Charter of 1518 it was declared that the population of Goa enjoyed the same rights as Portuguese, without limits or restrictions, and that the territory was a Portuguese province like any province in the homeland. In 1612 the Council of India laid down the same ruling in the following edict:

“India and other lands beyond the seas whose administration is dealt with by this council are neither distinct nor separate from this kingdom, nor do they belong to it by way of union but are members of the same kingdom like Algarve and any other of the provinces of Alentejo and Entre Douro e Minho; for they are ruled according to the same laws and by the same magistrates and enjoy the same privileges as those provinces of the said kingdom and therefore a man who is born or lives in Goa or in Angola is as Portuguese as anyone who is born and lives in Lisbon……”

Historic relations between India and Portugal are older than is generally known. One of the earliest manuals of Hindustani grammar was composed by Portuguese priests living in eighteenth century Agra. Garcia da Orta’s compendium of Indian drugs and medicines, published two hundred years earlier in Goa, still remains an unrivalled pioneering work. These are among the many lesser known examples of the remarkable cultural interaction which has marked more than five centuries of the Portuguese presence in India. Passing through the vicissitudes of the feudal and the colonial eras, Indo Portuguese Relations entered their modern phase two decades ago after the revolution of 25 April 1974 in Portugal. The
commencement of this phase is also associated with the name of present President of Portugal.

The policy of world-interaction of a country is determined by the times in which it is conducted. It is also influenced by its history and its geographical position. The recent past, colours a country’s collective sub-consciousness. Where you are on the map makes a great deal of difference in interacting with the world just as your own view of your position in the world does. In other words geopolitics plays an important role in the evolution of the policy of world-interaction of a country.

India became independent in 1947 and had to evolve its own view of the world and chart its own course within the prevailing international situation. India’s foreign policy bore the firm stamp of Jawaharlal Nehru first Prime Minister of independent India. He nurtured it gave it flesh and blood and shaped it in a myriad ways. According to his own words “India’s foreign policy was rooted in India’s civilization and traditions, India’s struggle for freedom, India’s geographical position and India’s quest for peace, security, development and a place in the sun. Nehru showed great realism in steering the country through the minefield of the Cold War without sacrificing its interests or its autonomy in international affairs. During March 1949 he told an audience of the Indian Council of World Affairs that he disliked moralizing.

The understanding of the Indian national movement remains incomplete without studying the role of other Europeans settlers in Indian subcontinent. This is needless to say that the Portuguese were the oldest and very much influential in India among them up to 1961. The national leaders of India encouraged the movement for freedom in the settlements of other European powers during the fourth decade of the twentieth century and especially by 1946 in the French and Portuguese possessions in India. As soon as the major target set before the India was reached by 1947 and the British left India, our national leaders asserted that India could not be considered independent even if a small portion of our land was in the hands of foreigners. Therefore, the leaders turned their attention to the liberation of the settlements of the French and the Portuguese.

The Washington Post on 20 December 1961 had accused Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for the professed dedication to principle and morality. It added that with the integration of the Goa into India the Indians lost the credibility and commitment to non-violence. He was further accused of having gone astray from the principles of his
master and stripped of Mahatma Gandhi’s “Man of peace”. He was accused of double standards and his stature as internationally acknowledged diplomat had been questions soon after the integration of the Portuguese settlement of India. Nehru’s policy of coexistence was maligned in the event of bringing the Portuguese pockets under the national flag of India. He was branded as hypocrite. Thus, the integration of the Portuguese territories into India as a corollary to the Independence from the English wrought by the National Movement was misinterpreted as an action of violence and the national leader like Nehru was very badly criticized. Hence, integration of Portuguese settlements is studied with emphasis on National Movement and the role of Pandit Jawaharlal, the then Prime Minister of India.

The Portuguese claim over a few areas in India is based on the acquisition of the territories in the procession of European expansion to India. They obtained some territorial possessions in India right in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. They wrested by force of arms the territory of Goa from the hands of Adill Shah of Bijapur in 1510 as soon as the site was occupied, the then Governor Afonso de Albuquerque issued coins to assert political hegemony over Goa. The Governor encouraged marriages between the Portuguese and the Indian women to have sufficient number of people, through whose veins the Portuguese bloods circulate to defend the interest of the Portuguese. He believed further that the inclemency of the weather of the tropical regions could not affect so easily the people of mixed blood as it could tell upon pure Portuguese blooded men. Later the Portuguese obtained Bassein in 1534, Diu in 1935 and Daman in 1559 through treaties concluded with the Sultans of Gujarat. Thus, the Portuguese build up a political territory and all the administrative apparatus needed for political administration. The viceroy or Governor represented the Portuguese Crown in India, built fortresses and factories manned by Portuguese personnel. A population with Portuguese nationality came up in these territories. It consisted of ‘persons born in Portugal’ i.e. ‘reinois’ in Portuguese those ‘born in India out of matrimonial relations’ of the Portuguese with Indian women i.e. ‘mesticos’ in Portuguese, those born in India from Portuguese parents and also those Indians who by residence in the Portuguese territories became Portuguese.

There were sporadic, though unorganized outbursts of fury against the Portuguese and attempts directed to getting rid of them right from the second half of the sixteenth century. The population in the Portuguese colonies in India was a mixed
one, they were not always happy with the colonial regime, which tried always to maximize their income from India at any cost. Whenever the Portuguese administration increased land revenue, the local people revolted against it though not in an unorganized way to get rid of them from India. Thus in 1555 there were a popular revolt against excessive land revenue. Another revolt against the oppressive nature of the Portuguese rule was organized in 1582. This was brutally crushed by the Portuguese. Similarly, a Roman Catholic priest Castro by name supported by a large section of the local population attempted in 1654 to drive the Portuguese away and to get Goa attached to the Kingdom of Adil Shah of Bijapur.

The inhabitants of the Satari District in Goa declared themselves as independent and fought against the Portuguese in 1755. Even the Goan garrison at Daman mutinied against the Portuguese in 1780. A well-organized resistance to the Portuguese dominance was put up by a group of catholic priests of Goa in 1784. This is generally known as the Pinto Rebellion aimed at overthrowing the Portuguese government. According to the verdict of the Portuguese court objective of this revolt was “to establish a new republic, in which the people of the country would have ruled themselves by exercising all the ruling powers through a House of the People.” This turned out to be an abortive attempt because of the defection of two of the colleagues of Pinto. A few of rebels were exiled to Portugal and others were severely punished.

The Pinto rebellion was followed by a series of revolts organized by the Renes inhabiting the Novas Conquistas especially the undeveloped district of Satari. These are generally known as Revolts of Renes which continued from 1755 to 1912. They attempted fourteen times to achieve freedom for the country from the Portuguese.

Apart from these revolts of Renes, the resistance organized by a certain Bernardo Peres da Silva is worth mentioning. The residents of the Portuguese pockets in India became convinced that the Portuguese wanted to keep the superiority over the local people and would not tolerate Indians holding high offices in their own territory. The appointment of Bernardo Peres da Silva, a Goan nationalist as Prefect by the King of Portugal in 1833 and the protest on the part of the European residents in Goa that entailed his overthrow within eighteen days confirmed this opinion. With the support of the British Da Silva formed Provisional Government in Daman and the British subsequently recognized it. The Goans exiled in Belgaum, Dharwar, Poona and Bombay joined Da Silva to fight against the Portuguese and a fleet of five
warships was arranged by them to attack Goa to throw away the Portuguese rule. This attempt also failed since a cyclone destroyed the fleet and Da Silva was arrested and deported to Portugal.

The revolt of 1852 led by one of the Renes called Dipaji Rane, left an important impact on the history of freedom movement in the Portuguese settlements was a very serious and important uprising against the Portuguese. He brought Quepem, Kanakona, Haadbarshem and Bhatagram districts under his control whereby he wielded authority over half of Goa. Impressed by his achievements the local people extended support to him which enabled him to bring the island of Kumbarjua under his rule. A negotiated settlement between Dipaji Rene and the Portuguese Governor General in 1855 settled the problem. The subsequent revolts of 1895, 1901 and 1912 were suppressed with the assistance of the troops brought from Mozambique by the Portuguese. The leaders of the revolts were sent to Timor and Guinee in West Africa. This points to the fact that struggle for freedom from the Portuguese became very active and powerful so much so that the African troops were brought to the Portuguese settlements to quell the unrest. Most of these outbreaks were violent and bloody.

The rise of Democratic Republic in Portugal in 1910 kindled the aspirations of the residents of the Portuguese settlements in India who expected autonomy for themselves. But the downfall of democracy on account of the military coup organized by Salazar in 1926 administered a great shock to the Nationalists in the Portuguese pockets in India especially to Menezes Braganca, their leader.

The emergence of Mahatma Gandhi as an advocate of non-violent struggle for freedom and the activities of the Indian National Congress enthuse the residents of Portuguese India and influenced them greatly to adopt a new strategy towards obtaining freedom from the Portuguese. The totalitarian rule of Salazar on the other hand did not permit any body in Portuguese territories to launch an organized uprising against the Portuguese. For that reason the Nationalists under T.B.Cunha formed a Goa Congress Committee in Bombay in 1928 with non-Violence as its guiding principle. The Goans living outside the Portuguese territories thus got an opportunity to work jointly for independence from Portugal.

The Nationalist Movement in Portuguese settlements in India got a new fillip from that of British India and entered on a new phase with a different approach. The
impression that was gaining ground after the closing of the second world war that Britain would leave India shortly encouraged the Nationalists in Portuguese India to accelerate and intensify their struggle so as to synchronize the hoped for exit of the Portuguese. The first civil disobedience movement, taking its cue from that in the British India was launched in 1946 against the Portuguese rule of four hundred and thirty five years. The citizens of British India extended active co-operation to the Nationalists in Portuguese India. The role played by Ram Monohar Lohia who spoke on 18 June 1946 at Panjim about the crafty methods of the colonial powers and the necessity to fight freedom from them and the subsequent arrest of Mr. Lohia are worth-remembering in its context.

Non-violent activities like Satyagraha directed towards the attainment of freedom from Portugal became intensified after the arrest and release of Lohia. African and Portuguese soldiers were brought to India to suppress the movement by force. Military tribunals were set up to try the leaders of the struggle for freedom. National Congress of Goa was established in Bombay with a view to intensify the struggle.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in Harijan on 30 June 1946:

“The little Portuguese settlement, which merely exits on the sufferance of the British Government, can ill afford to ape its bad manners. In Free India Goa can not be allowed to exit as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the Free State. I would venture to advise the Portuguese Government of Goa to recognize the signs of the times and to come to honourable terms with its inhabitants, rather than function on any treaty exit between them and the British Government…”

Again in Harijan on 11 September 1946 and Goan Struggle for Freedom, Ahamedabad, 1954, pp.3-4:

“I suppose you know that I have visited Mozambique, Delagoa and Inhambane. I did not notice there any Government for philanthropic purposes. Indeed I was astonished to see the distinction that the Government made between Indians and the Portuguese, and between the Africans and themselves. Nor does the history of the Portuguese settlement in India prove the claim set forth by you. Indeed what I see and know of the condition of things in Goa is hardly edifying. That the Indians in Goa have been
speechless is proof not of innocence or philanthropic nature of the Portuguese Government, but of the rule of terror. You will forgive me, for not subscribing to your statement that there is full liberty in Goa, and that the agitation is confined only to a few malcontents”.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote as a warning that free India could not allow the existence of the Portuguese rule in India. The Portuguese Governor General wrote to Gandhi that the people of Goa did not want independence. Gandhi retorted the opinion of the Governor General. Indian National Congress that met at Wardha on 12 August 1946 expressed its concern for independence from the Portuguese and passed a resolution that Goa had to share the independence of India of which it had always been an integral part.

The arrival of Vasco da Gama at Kalikat in 1498, six years after “The Christopher Columbus romance” in the west, and the 1510 Alfonso d’ Albuquerque’s invasion of Goa marked a double event and a watershed in Indian civilization and world history. However, so far the postcolonial Indian academic critical discourse seems to be concentrated only on the Rhetoric of English, to use Sara Suleri’s title The rhetoric of English India. Even Meenakshi Mukherjee’s Realism and Reality: The Novel and the Society in India and Harish Trivedi’s Colonial Transactions are dominated by British imperialism and culture in India. What we need today is, in Edward Said’s (1993:19) words, “a comparative literature of imperialism” which will help us to formulate an alternative to a politics of blame, difference and confrontations. This kind of interpretation can emerge from the contrapuntal analysis of the rather odd and hybrid colonial experience in Portuguese Goa, British India and French Pondicherry in India. Anand Patil’s comparative studies (1993:1999) have demonstrated how alien cultures and imperialisms have shaped out literary texts. The journey from Mythology to Modernity–‘Purana to Nutana’–during the colonial period was not as simple as Meenakshi Mukherjee (1985) has shown in the case of the Indian novel.

The Portuguese rule and the growth of the so-called secular literary genres born of “the clash of civilizations” in the process of literary cross-pollination from 1510 to 1961. However, it is not an exhaustive comparative history of Goan literatures in Marathi, Konkani, and Portuguese, and similar developments in the
Konkani literatures in Karnataka and Kerala. Owing to the lack of knowledge of the Portuguese language and the absence of well-documented comprehensive literary history of Goan literature, this case study has its own limitations. It is a primary investigation of the literary as well as cultural acculturation in a very complex colonial situation. Our conceptual geography and historical cosmology has never come to terms with its global nature. With all its ‘cultural hybridity’ and colonial contradictions, independent Goa still contains many Manichean structures of colonial sites described by Frantz Fanon.

“The Estado Portuguese da India” it was described as the mission of civilizing the uncivilized savages and in Said’s words, ‘almost metaphysical obligations to rule subordinate, inferior or less advanced people’. Saraswat Brahmin Christian writers would reveal the nature and scope of increasing inter-textuality at various levels. The study seeks to identify, valorize, and empower what colonialist discourses (both domestic and alien) label the barbarous, the primitive, and the provincial. This ‘difference,’ which in Portuguese colonialist discourse connoted a remove from normative European practice, became so distanced that the use of Goan languages was totally banned in churches and schools. ‘The Portuguese would replace the spoken medium in all strata of society’ (Priyolkar 1989). Marathi Christian purana in the churches of Goa ceased in 1776, and no books in Goan languages were printed for the next two hundred years. ‘Global English’ the manuscripts in the Roman script housed in the archives in Portugal and other western countries are being retrieved with new revivalist interest. These colonial tests are frog-marched in the movements and debates that centre around Colonialism today.

The process of transliteration reveals not only the linguistic problems as scholars in this field have illustrated in their edited works, but also several issues involved in the reception of the specific texts in an alien culture. The complications in selection, omissions and transformations do matter much more when the oral text is transcribed into the Roman script. This field of ‘textuality’ and its investment in reproducing and naturalizing the structure of power can be explained more systematically if these colonial texts are juxtaposed for comparisons.

Paradoxically, they show how oddly hybrid and strange are our experiences of the colonial literary culture. They are far from unitary and monolithic. As they belong to the past in which we exclude ‘unwanted elements, vestiges and narratives,’
as Said has pointed out. This point is well illustrated by Stephens’s very first test of proselytization in the form of *purana* as the counter-discourse to Hindu indoctrination.

‘Fr. Stephen’s Christ Puran,’ wrote Francis Vieira, ‘has been examined and approved by some learned and competent members of our society; in testimony whereof I give this letter under my hand. Given at Goa on 22 June 1615. Francisco Vieira’ (892). Written as it is in the name of the Jesuit Father and the author, this test of the civilizing mission suggests the triumph of the colonialist moment, early Portuguese Catholicism and modern Marathi literature.

Both the Christ Puran and Godde Ramayan open with salient features of the Indian conventions of puran tradition: naman-salutation, mangalcharan-prayer, devstuti-praise of the gods, santstuti-praise of great saints, begging for divine help to complete the holy book, and humble requests to the readers. Fr. Stephens has devoted hundred and eighty one Ovis for this formality. Since Christianity is monotheistic, he is only to the one supreme God.

Stephens has Indianized the Bible very sincerely; but is should also be noted here that this mimesis and repetition was intended to subvert the authority of Hindu scriptures. In a way it was a performance text to be read loudly in the churches and interpreted to the ‘New’ Hindu Christians. Consequently, its comparison with the indigenous Hindu texts was implied in it. The theory of inter-textuality insists that imitation must be seen as a theory ‘not only of writing but also of reading as a performative act of criticism and interpretation’ (Still and Worton, introduction: 7). We have to take into consideration the colonial contexts of the beginning of literary inter-culturalism and trace its relevance in the multiculturalism today. Therefore the need of a broad definition of the text and study of its wide range of inter-texts as suggested by Michael Worton and Judith Still (1990: Intr.2).

In the present study *Reviewing Indo-Portugal Relation: A special Reference to Bengal*, a thorough study has been made in order to review the historical linkages between India and Portugal. It has covered political, economic, socio-cultural, and every aspects of connection between these two nations. The present research reveals the distinctive identities of India and Portugal with reference to their common cultural background from a certain period in history. However, the relation that has evolved for more than five hundred years is responsible for the cultural convergences and divergences for both of the countries and it was mostly a cloudless sky in discourse.