Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The European expansion into the Indian Ocean regions led to several socio-economic changes of far reaching consequences on the territories lying on its rim. Several of the indigenous socio-economic institutions were modified according to the colonial designs and allowed to function in the European pockets in India, particularly in the Portuguese settlements, as means of penetration into the otherwise impregnable areas. One of the most significant socio-economic institutions of Goa, which experienced radical transformation in this process under the Portuguese rule, was the *Communidade* system, or the *gauncaria* as it was called during the pre-Portuguese times. *Gauncaria* referred to communitarian ownership of land and proprietorship rested with the descendants or representatives of those by whom the village was, at some remote period, conquered or reclaimed from waste.\(^1\) In fact the control of the village land, village economy and village socio-religious life rested with the *communidades* in Goa.\(^2\)

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\(^1\) Jose Maria de Sá, *Projecto de Código das Comunidades de Goa, Título II, Disposições Orgânicas*, Art. 8, Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1879, p. 3; Also read, Filipe Nery Xavier, *Colleção das Leis Peculiares das Comunidades Agrícolas das Aldeas das Concelhos das Ilhas, Salcete e Bardez* (hereafter, *Collecção das Leis Peculiares das Comunidades Agrícolas*), Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1855. Doc. No. 361, pp. 444-446; Also see, *Regimento em Forma de Lei, Para o Governo das Camaras e Aldeas de Goa, e das Províncias de Salcete e Bardez* (hereafter, *Regimento de 1735*), as copied in Filipe Nery Xavier (Jr.), *Collecção das Leis Peculiares das Comunidades das Aldeas das Concelhos das Ilhas, Salcete e Bardez* (hereafter, *Collecção das Leis Peculiares das Comunidades*), Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1878, Cap. 3.º, pp. XXIII. To avoid confusion between Filipe Nery Xavier who was an erudite scholar and the author of various books on the Goan *communidades* and his son by the same name Filipe Nery Xavier the latter has been called here after as “Jr.”. Filipe Nery Xavier (Jr.) is the author of only one book published in the year 1878.

The Portuguese, who had carried out fast expansion in the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century on the basis of the surplus coming from their maritime trade, were compelled to increasingly depend on agrarian surplus for sustaining their small possessions in Asia, following the loss of several of their principal colonies and important trade centres to the Dutch in the mid-seventeenth century. As a result from 18th century onwards, there were increasing attempts from the part of the Lusitanians to focus on the generation of more agrarian surplus by expanding agriculture. In this process new territories were conquered and annexed to Goa to increase the cultivable land-space in the region. From the mid-eighteenth century the European colonizers resorted to rampant exploitation of the rural masses by extracting as much land revenue as possible. The Portuguese were no exception to this and resorted to extracting as much revenue from the rural masses, particularly when the Estado’s trade profits had been reduced to a trickle. However, the “New Conquests” brought with them diverse problems of agrarian relations and property-ownership. The Portuguese made convenient modifications in the existing institutions of the Communidade and Dessaidos, besides others, for integrating rural Goa to their advantage. This led to several socio-economic developments of long-standing

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impact, whose repercussions are visible, as a strong under current, even in present-day Goa.

A. Review of Literature

With the increasing moves of the Europeans to extract agrarian surplus, there were equally increasing attempts from the colonizers to study the structure and functioning of village institutions, the nature of ownership rights, working of the agrarian economy, etc. However, these studies undertaken from colonial perspectives were conditioned often by their being as masters of the situation and were carried out ultimately to justify the European intervention in the rural economy.

The social reality of the village and its relationship with the regional social environment has been the focus of both colonial and post-colonial history. The real foundation for the agrarian history of India emerged with the nationalist critique of imperial policies that had tremendous impact on the rural economy. However, in the last two decades the emergence of the Subaltern Studies into agrarian history has, however, led to radical revisions to nationalist–triumphalist theories.

Under British rule, definite attempts were made to describe and clarify the village and the village community. Initial attempts were made to meet the administrative and revenue needs of the imperialist coupled with the desire to understand the socio-

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economic conditions of the people. Colonial histories are replete with images which are
today recognized as stereotypical, such as the belief in the self sufficiency of the village.
These were the view of Sir Charles Metcalfe and Sir Thomas Munro who stressed on the
immutability of the Indian village in the face of changes. However, the crippling effect
that British imperialism had on the agrarian economy is itself a clear indicator of the un-
tenability of such views. The situation perhaps was not any better in Goa with the arrival
of the Portuguese.

The late-nineteenth century works of Sir Henry Maine and B.H. Baden-Powell
may be regarded as the early attempts at empirical research into the agrarian economy of
India. Maine described the village as based on clan and patriarchy, and, as the least
destructible institution of India. The villager only had a share in the village land and its
produce. Marx like Maine found Indian villages resistant to change and held caste to be
the responsible factor for it. Both were in agreement in their belief about the absence of
private ownership of land in India.

Baden-Powell identified two types of Indian villages – the joint and the ryotwari
– and believed that the former had its roots in Aryan social forms and the latter in the
Dravidian. Though these early works on agrarian studies emphasized the unity of the

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9 Sir Charles Metcalfe described Indian villages in 1810 as ‘self contained little republics’, just as Sir
Thomas Munro saw them as ‘mini republics’. See, L. Dumont, “the village Community from Munro to
Mouton, 1966.
10 B.H. Baden-Powell, The Indian Village Community, London, 1896; H.S. Maine, Village Communities in
11 Vandana Madan (eds.), The Village In India, pp. 5-6.
12 This classification was recognized by Marx in his essay on the future of British rule in India where he
identified a ‘zemindaree’ and a ‘ryotwari’ system in India. See, Karl Marx, ‘The East India Company: Its
Indian villages, their studies did not take into consideration the unique Communidade-centered agrarian phenomena that developed in Goa.

In the beginning of the 20th century attempts were made to study the deteriorating agrarian conditions in the countryside. For instance, in 1916, Gilbert Slater carried out village-based surveys with a focus on economic issues. In 1917 and 1921, H.H. Mann did two studies on the functioning of economic life in rural Deccan. In 1924, W.H. Moreland came out with the Agrarian system of Moslem India, bringing to light huge details of rural India. Quantitative methods were used for data collection, but scholars did hardly anything more than affirm the stereotypes of the Indian village set by earlier scholars. Territories which were not under British control like Goa were totally excluded from these studies.

Shifts in perception on agrarian India are visible in the works of J.H. Hutton, who wrote Caste in India: Its Nature, Function and Origins, as also in the works of L.S.S O’Malley. O’Malley studied several institutions within the village as the headman and the Panchayat. He discussed the features of Indian villages that were responsible for creating certain misconceptions. However, equally important elements such as factionalism were ignored.


13 G. Slater, Some South Indian Villages, Madras: Madras University, 1921.
The study of the village community became a major academic concern only in the years following independence. As early as 1930, Nehru announced, “The great poverty and misery of the Indian People are due not only to foreign exploitation in India but also to the economic structure of society, which the alien rulers support so that their exploitation may continue”. Nehru’s formulations attracted intense scrutiny in later years and the agrarian economy came to be studied with a different perspective.\(^{17}\)

In the 1940’s and 1950’s the village studies marked a shift, as M.N. Srinivas stated, from the book view to the field view. The idea of extension of the village into the wider society and vice-versa was the focus of these studies.\(^{18}\) Milton Singer and Mckim Marriott stated the idea of continuum into Indian village studies. Marriott said how the ties related to the outside world also brought elements of the whole society to the village. These processes were called universalization, and, parochialization. There after, several studies identified how caste relations based on economic interdependence, and, social relations based on marriage etc., extended village links beyond the village boundaries.\(^{19}\)

Studies carried out by Wiser (Social Institutions of a Hindu village in North India),\(^{20}\)

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Mayer (The Dominant Caste in Regions of Central India), Gold (Village Families in Story and Song: An Approach Through Women's Oral Tradition in Rajasthan), Gould (The Hindu Jajmani System: A Case of Economic Particularism), Dube (Indian Village), Bailey (Caste and Economic Frontier), Pradhan (The Political System of the Jats in Northern India), Chakravarty (Development Planning: The Indian Experience), Opler (The Extensions of an Indian Village), etc., examined the existence of intricate networks of behaviour and interaction with the wider social system. These studies carried on the different regions of India have added varied and diversified information on the agrarian history of India. However, their attempts lack a comprehensive study on the social and economic aspects of Goa from the agrarian perspective.

29 J. Breman et al., (eds.), The Village in Asia Revisited, Delhi, 1997, pp. 15-75.
Indian villages had relations beyond its geographical boundaries which helped them to adjust to the needs of the changing socio-historical environment. This was brought out by M.N. Srinivas in his study of the Coorgs where social solidarity based on inter-caste and intra-caste relations was discussed.\(^3\)

In 1960s and 1970s many studies on village focused on caste as a dominant factor. Studies recognized how change was brought about at the village level through the institution of caste. In 1963, Irfan Habib published “The Agrarian System of Mughal India: 1556-1707”.\(^31\) The Agrarian system was to be understood to encompass not only land revenue administration, but also the agrarian economy and social structure. Detailed information is provided in this work on the agricultural production, trade in agricultural produce, and the economic conditions of the peasants. The land revenue system of the state together with the system of the revenue collection is dealt with in detail. Complexities like how the revenue grants led to the oppression of the peasantry and consequent armed resistance by the latter are well analyzed.\(^32\) Though Irfan Habib deals with the structure and functioning of the different types of village communities as had existed then in India, there is almost no mention of the comunidades of Goa.

A close look at histories based on village studies as they developed over the late-nineteenth to the twentieth century shows a gradual shift from pure information gathering

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\(^32\) This work has been revised and published in 1999. The text has been revised and rewritten with a whole lot of new information with additional documents and texts. Irfan Habib has also provided with a relatively better understanding on the functioning of the Village Communities during the Mughal period.
to more detailed studies. The view that the village far from being an isolated unit was rather part of a larger social system began to emerge from the mid-twentieth century. Similarly, as intellectual concern grew and responded to changing social circumstances, village studies became less descriptive in character and more thematic and issue oriented. By the 1980’s village studies acquired new meaning.

For over three and a half decades after independence, lot of academic effort was directed to studying agrarian issues. Such studies in agrarian history had implications for land reforms, planning priorities, local democracy, farm finance, industrialization, and many other hot topics of dispute between socialism and capitalism. Historians had till then assumed that national states, histories, identities and destinies formed an integral and structural part of every nation. Since the 1980’s such assumptions began to be challenged. The socio-economic conditions as also the politics started changing worldwide and in India. In this changing environment a new school of history evolved in India, called the Subaltern Studies.33

The first publication of the Subaltern Studies appeared in 1982 and multiplied very fast. Its books and articles number over hundred and fifty, which were authored by about more than forty people.34 Its spread has been phenomenal though it is rather

difficult to measure its influence because there has also been concurrent multiplication of studies “from below” in many other disciplines.\(^\text{35}\)

Subaltern Studies emerged with the decline of state oriented histories and the rising trend of scholars to study “history from below”. By the end of the 1970s Indian historians stepped out of the “imperialist” and “nationalist” paradigms to study the role of countless groups in the political struggle against the colonial masters. Sumit Sarkar’s work *Modern India, 1885-1947*, was the first attempt towards the histories of popular politics. History from below was there, before the advent of Subaltern Studies.

The term ‘subaltern’ has undergone change in meaning. By 1990, it meant categorical subordination and dependency as is seen among feudal vassals and the like. It includes all the elements of being downtrodden, dependent, dominated and resistant. Subaltern also indicates a generic bottom-up perspective on society, politics, culture, etc. Subaltern studies have focused mainly on colonial India. Ranjit Guha who edited six Subaltern Studies volumes declared in the first volume that nationalist history was elite history and those histories from below ought to have both importance and autonomy. Subaltern history was to be the real people’s history, the true heart of the nation. The focus shifted from the elite to the people to the downtrodden elements.

\(^\text{35}\) *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society, Vol. 1-10*, Delhi, 1982-99. In a lecture delivered by Dr. Neeladri Bhattacharya on “Cultural Studies: From Annals to Subaltern,” at the nineteenth Refresher course in History, Academic Staff College Jawaharlal Nehru University, commented that the Subaltern Studies volumes have swelled by two more volumes taking the total to 12 as of today.
However, Subaltern Studies had an impact on the way agrarian history is studied. Until the 1970's the study of agrarian history was growing rapidly by drawing heavily from other social science studies like economics, sociology, anthropology, and political science into agrarian life and history. Subaltern agrarian history ignored most of these and constructed agrarian past that lacked political parties, economic development, class structures, technological change, and social mobility.

As there were attempts in India during the British rule to have village centered studies to meet the colonial designs, so also in Goa, similar endeavours were made and perhaps with similar designs. All the institutions and branches of government of Goa touched the comunidades. Due to this many have written and legislated on these agrarian institutions. Contemporary publications on the origin, economy and administration of the comunidades are both numerous and varied. However, most of these early studies with the exceptions of a few deal with a limited period and hardly deal with the full period under study herein. Moreover they hardly speak on the socio-economic aspects of the Goan history.

One of the early works on the socio-economic and administrative aspects on Goa was by Manoel José Gomes Loureiro. Various government laws and regulations like the Foral of 16th September, 1526, and, Regimento of 15th June, 1735. besides other

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government provisions, sentences and statistical maps are given in this work. However, there is little analysis of the data.

The contribution of people like Filippe Nery Xavier and J. H. da Cunha Rivara is monumental to studying the history of the evolution of the comunidades. Two of the most important works of Xavier are *Bosquejo Historico das Communidades das Aldeas dos Concelhos das Ilhas, Salsete e Bardez*, and, *Defensa dos Direitos das Gao-carrias, Gao-carres e dos seus Privilegios, Contra a Proposta da sua Dissolucao, e Divisao das suas Terras*. While the *Bosquejo* is the bible for the study of the Goan comunidades the *Defensa* may be said to be its commentary. These works give in detail the contribution of the comunidades to the economy of Goa and pleaded for their conservation — taking into consideration their utility — for safeguarding the interest of the Public Exchequer and public tranquility. Xavier attempts to defend the comunidade system but in the process...

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37 In the above mentioned book of Loureiro are also transcribed the *Portarias de Ministro de Marinha e Ultramar* dated 9th October, 1761 and 11th July, 1856. These besides the various other *Officeos* of the Portuguese government are very important in understanding the society and economy of Goa in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries.

38 The contribution of Filipe Nery Xavier the erudite scholar on Goan history is really noteworthy. Some of his numerous works are as follows: (1) *Colleccao de Bandos, e Outras Diferenmes Providencias Que Servem de Leis Regulamentares para o Governo Economico e Judicial das Provincias Denominadas das Novas Conquistas, Precedida da Noticia da sua Conquista*, (3 vols.) published from 1840 to 1851. Volume one begins with the Edict of the Viceroy Conde da Ega dated 5th June, 1763 and terminates with the *Portaria Provincial of 17th May, 1842*. The second volume continues from there and terminates with the *Portaria Provincial of 31st December, 1849*. The third volume of this series is the repertoire of the earlier volumes. (2) *O Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas*. This was a literary journal started on 18th January 1846, which publication ended in December 1848. The work consisted of three journals published in 1846, 1847 and 1848. The author gives lot of statistical and descriptive data regarding the villages of Goa and especially of the talukas of Salcete, Bardez and Ilhas. (3) *Esboço de um Diccionario Historico-Administrativo. Especialmente Aplicado ao Estado da India Portugueza*. This work was published as the fourth volume of the *Gabinete Litterario* and published in 1850. The work though of immense value in understanding the various terms in vogue remains incomplete to this day. (4) *Colleccao das Leis Peculiares das Communidades Agricolas das Aldeas dos Concelhos das Ilhas, Salsete e Bardez*. This work consists of two parts. Part one published in 1852 commences with the *Foral of 1526* and gives the various legislations passed by the Portuguese government from time to time and ends with the *Officeo* of the chief secretary dated 17th July, 1855. The second part was published in 1855 but remains incomplete. This full work was published as the fifth volume of the *Gabinete Litterario*.
misses out on the important role played by other sections of the village community in the society and economy.

The *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental* and *Brados a Favor das Communidades* of J. H. da Cunha Rivara are also very important for the study of the history and development of the *communidade* system. In *Brados*, Cunha Rivara makes a strong appeal for the conservation of the village communities for bringing about the development of Goa by making them invest in infrastructural projects.\(^{39}\) However, these books are more of argumentative nature, supportive of the *communidades* than presenting the historical changes over time.

There was a bitter and acrimonious debate in the mid-nineteenth century on the continuance of the *communidades*. Many called for their abolition while others equally defended their existence and pressed for the preservation of the right and privileges of the *gaunkars* which the latter had been enjoying for ages. Filippe Nery Xaveir\(^{40}\), J. H. da Cunha Rivara\(^{41}\), Christovam Pinto\(^{42}\), Gaspar Coutinho\(^{43}\), Albino Francisco da Cunha\(^{44}\),

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\(^{39}\) On the singular contribution of the monumental work *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental* there appeared a article on its importance for the study of Goan history in *O Heraldo* n.\(^{°}\) 830, dated 26\(^{th}\) November, 1902 followed by another in the journal *O Oriente Portuguez III*, pp. 436. The *fascículos* 3.\(^{°}\), 5.\(^{°}\), 6.\(^{°}\) and 6.\(^{°}\) - supplement, published respectively in 1861, 1865, 1875 and 1876, contain numerous official documents on the functioning of the *communidades*.

The *Brados a Favor das Comunidades*, is an anonymous work published in 1870, but its authorship has been attributed to Cunha Rivara. In this one can find many useful thing on the organization and the administration of the *Comunidades*. The work was published in response to the critical articles that appeared in the daily *Ultramar* wherein the editor Antonio Anastasio Bruto da Costa was very much critical of the proposal of the governor José Fereira Pestana asking the *communidades* to invest 10\(^{\circ}\) of their distributable surplus in the government treasury for building roads and other infrastructural works.


\(^{41}\) cf. supra no. 39.
João Bonifacio Botelho, Gaspar Coutinho, Francisco Luis Gomes, etc., were in favor of the conservation of these secular institutions, and their writings defending the *communidades* produced a vast material that could be used for studying the intricacies of this system.

Joaquim Bernardino Catão da Costa, Jeronimo Salvador Constantino Socrates da Costa, Felix Antonio Gracias and others called for the abolition of the *communidades* and the *camara geraes*. There was a vociferous demand for the dissolution of the *communidades* and the distribution of the assets among the shareholders in a manner to lead to the consolidation of landed estates amongst enterprising capitalist for bringing about economic revival of Goa.

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43 Gaspar Coutinho, *Ao Redactor do Boletim* — (este Gaspar Coutinho, com Albino Francisco da Cunha, Felix Antonio Gracias e João Bonifacio Botelho, que logo encontraremos, foram apenas signatarios dos artigos respectivos, todos escriptos por outros individuos e revistos por F. N. Xavier, Segundo em tempo nos disse J. B. Catão da Costa), combating the article of Catão da Costa published in *Boletim do Governo do Estado da Índia* (hereafter *Boletim*...), No. 43 dated 14/6/1856, and distributed along with *Boletim*... No. 51 (1856); also refer to the article entitled "Ao Publico" by the same author. This article dated 6th April 1857, states the flagrant injustice that would be caused as a result of the implementation of o Parecer da Comissão Consultative da Junta Geral do Distrito (no. 24), by the Portuguese government, as was demonstrated J. B. Catão da Costa in his *Triumpho da Veridade*. For this and more information refer to the *Boletim*... No. 42 dated 2nd June, 1857, pp. 267-274.
44 Albino Francisco da Cunha, *Ao Redactor do Boletim*. This article is dated 8th July, 1856, and distributed along with the *Boletim*... No. 55 (1856).
45 João Bonifacio Botelho, de Seraulim and de Gaspar Coutinho, *Ao Sr. Catão*, and *Boletim*... No. 66 dated 22nd August, 1856, pp. 419-422.
46 Francisco Luis Gomes. *"O meu Voto"*, dated 24th April, 1857, and distributed alongwith the *Boletim*... No. 34 (1857); also refer to by the same author, *A Liberdade da Terra e a Economia rural da India Portuguesa*, Lisboa: Typographia Universal, 1862; *"Duas Palavras"* dated 18th August, 1857 and distributed alongwith the *Boletim*... No. 95 (1857); *"Uma Palavra"*, dated 2nd November, 1857 and distributed with the *Boletim*... No. 87 (1857).
47 Joaquim Bernardino Catão da Costa, *"Ao publico"*, dated 11th May, 1856 and distributed alongwith the *Boletim*... No. 43; also sec. *"Ao Sr. Filipa Nery Xavier"*, dated 17th July, 1856 and distributed alongwith the *Boletim*... No. 57; read, "Appendix", article by the same author combating the dissenting vote given by Francisco Luis Gomes on the Projecto do Regimento das Communidades. The article is dated 21st of March, 1857 and distributed alongwith the *Boletim*... No. 23; *O Triumpho da Veridade em Referencia a Varios Escriptas Publicados em Goa*, Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1857.
The debate regarding the conservation or dissolution ended with the appearance of the article entitled "Sinceras Reflexoes." Its authorship is attributed to J. H. da Cunha Rivara. Being a good judge of the society and economy of Goa, the author appreciated the arguments of the Triunpho da Verdade in refuting the propositions of the Defensa dos Direitos das Gao-carías, Gao-cares e dos seus Privilegios, Contra a Proposta da sua Dissolução, e Divisão das suas Terras. This was indeed a coup de grace to the polemics that were going on then in Goa. One of the important results, of this debate for and against the conservation of the age old village communities, was that it led to the publication of numerous books on the different aspects of agrarian Goa.

Important contribution for the study of comunidades have also been made by noted scholars and administrators like, Thomaz Nunes da Serra e Moura, Jose Ignacio de Abranches Garcia, Manoel de Carvalho, Antonio Anastasio Bruto da Costa, Jose Maria de Sá, Julio Marques de Vilhena, Jose Maria Teixeira Guimares, and Antonio Emilio d'Almeida Azevedo.

49 Jose Ignacio de Abranches Garcia, Archivo da Relacao de Goa Documentos dos seculos XVII, XVIII, e XIX, Part I & II, Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1872 & 1874. Part I contains documents on the comunidades for the period 1600 to 1640. Part II contains documents from 1641 to 1700. Unfortunately there is no alphabetical or chronological indice for this valuable work. Document numbers 300, 498, 733 and 837 are very important for our study.
50 Manoel de Carvalho, Questoes da India - Pareceres do Procurador da Coroa e Fazenda, Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1874.
51 Antonio Anastasio Bruto da Costa, As Communidades Agricolas de Goa - o que foram: o que sao, Margao: Typographia Ultramar, 1879.
52 Jose Maria de Sá, Projecto de Codigo das Communidades ou Digesto da Legislacao Peculiar das Mesmas Associacões, Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1879. This is an excellent work on all the legislations pertaining to the functioning of the comunidades published till 1878. Prior to publication the findings were verified by a commission composed of the chief secretary Jose Antonio Caetano Piedade de Nazareth, Francisco Joao Xavier, Filippe Nery Xavier and Eugenio Justiniano Pereira Gomes.
53 Julio Marques de Vilhena, Reforma Tributaria de I de Setembro de 1881, Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1881. Herein can be found information on the contribution of the Communidades of the New Conquests.
The tax structure and the history of imposts of rural Goan can be gauged from the works of Cunha Rivara\textsuperscript{56} and J. A. Ismael Gracias amongst others.\textsuperscript{57}

Writings on the history of the \textit{communidades} are relatively few in number. Useful information can be gleaned from the works of Arnaldo Norton de Mattos,\textsuperscript{58} Antonio Felix Pereira,\textsuperscript{59} J.M. de Carmo Nazareth,\textsuperscript{60} J.A. Ismael Gracias,\textsuperscript{61} and Carlos Eugenio João Filipe Ferreira.\textsuperscript{62}

Useful information is also available from the works of Carmo Azevedo,\textsuperscript{63} Caetano de Figueiredo,\textsuperscript{64} A. de Loyola Furtado,\textsuperscript{65} Antonio Furtado,\textsuperscript{66} K.P. Nair,\textsuperscript{67} Antonio Felix

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\item \textsuperscript{54}José Maria Teixeira Guimares, \textit{As Communidades Indianas das Velhas Conquistas}, Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1885. The work is divided into two parts. Part I is titled as \textit{Necessidade de Reforma} and the author proposes the reorganization of the \textit{communidades} with both agricultural functions on the one hand and that of instructions, cult, transport and communication, public welfare, etc. on the other hand. Part II gives the bases for the creation of elementary schools of agronomy at the local level in 28 articles.
\item \textsuperscript{55}Antonio Emílio d'Almeida Azevedo, \textit{As Communidades de Goa - Historia das Instituicoes Antigas}, Lisboa: Viuva Bertrand, 1890. On this valuable work were produced in the metropolis two critical articles. One, of Luiz de Magalhães in the journal \textit{A Provincia}, of Porto, dated 15\textsuperscript{th} October, 1890. The same was published in the \textit{Ultramar} no. 1657 dated 3\textsuperscript{rd} January, 1891. The second article was written by J. de Magalhães Lima in the \textit{Revista de Portugal}, in October, 1890.
\item \textsuperscript{56}J. H. da Cunha Rivara, \textit{Dizimos na India}. This is a collection of all the old documents on the various Portuguese taxes and imposts levied from the thime of \textit{Carta Regia} of 15\textsuperscript{th} March, 1518 up till the information given by the Viceroy Marques d'Alorna on 30\textsuperscript{th} January, 1749, to the Portuguese Court. The epigraph is published in the \textit{Boletim do Governo do Estado da India}, Nos. 56 to 87 of 1876.
\item \textsuperscript{57}J. A. Ismael Gracias, \textit{O Imposto e o Regimen Tributario da India Portugueza}, Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1898. This work gives details about the imposts collected in both the Old and the New Conquests.
\item \textsuperscript{59}Antonio Felix Pereira. \textit{Administração das Comunidades Aideanas do Concelho das Ilhas -- Relatorio sobre os Servicos Referentes ao Anno de 1899}, Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1901.
\item \textsuperscript{60}See. J. M. de Carmo Nazareth, in "Camaras Agraria e Comunidades Agricolas, Contribuintes da Fazenda Publica", O Oriente Portuguez, Vol. I. 1904, pp. 95, 146, 187 and 248. In this one can find information regarding the students who were sponsored for higher studies in Portugal.
\item \textsuperscript{61}J. A. Ismael Gracias, \textit{Legislação e Jurisprudencia do Supremo Tribunal Administrativo nos Questões Ultramarinas}, Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1906. Herein one can find various decisions of the tribunal on questions concerning the functioning of the Goa \textit{Communidades}.
\item \textsuperscript{62}Carlos Eugenio João Filipe Ferreira, \textit{Jurisprudencia Administrativa e fiscão Segundo os Avestos ou Colleção de Casos Julgados pelo Conselho de Provincial}, Bastora: Typographia Rangel, 1906. this work contains many resolution of that tribunal on matters concerning the \textit{Communidades}.
\item \textsuperscript{63}Carmo Azevedo, "The Communidades", Goa To-day, Panaji, 1969.
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Pereira, 68 Jeronimo Quadros, 69 Francis da Rancon, 70 Roque Correia Afonso, 71 and also from the various laws, orders, notifications and the codes passed by the Portuguese from time to time. 72

A most important study on the Communidade and its impact on the society and economy of Goa is done by Teotonio R. de Souza in his work Medieval Goa. But it deals with the comunidades only partly and covers the period only up to mid-seventeenth

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66 Antonio Furtado, “As Communidades, no Passado, no Presente e no Futuro,” in Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama, No. 59, pp. 1-151.
69 Jeronimo Quadros, “Communidades de Goa” (Registo Bibliographico), in Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama, No. 12, pp. 119-22.
72 Officio da Junta Geral de Districto, de 6/12/1854, in Boletim..., No. 51 of 8/12/1854; Portaria do Ministerio da Marinha e Ultramar de 11/7/1856; Parecer da commissao consultiva da Junta geral de districto (sessao extraordinaria de 1857) acerca do projecto do Regimento das communidades, dated 19th March, 1857 and signed by Sebastiao Salvador Baptista Cana, Christovam Sebastiao Xavier (substituiu na commissao o procurador Victor Mourao) and Francisco Luis Gomes (como procurador do bennieno antecedente, foi chamada a Junta em subsititucio do procurador Antonio Jose da Gama, que estava ausente em service na praca de Diu). This was published in Boletim no. 23 of 1857; Consulta da Junta geral de districto. sobre o projecto do Regimento das communidades e sobre a representacao dos interessados, dated 20/4/1857 and signed by Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara (presidente), Candido Jose Mourao Garcez Palha, Victor Anastacio Mourao Garcez Palha, Christovam Sebastiao Xavier, Bernardo Heitor da Silveira e Lorena (afterwards Conde de Sarzedas) and Pe. Sebastiao Salvador Baptista Cana; Decreto de 15 de Setembro de 1880 that reorganized the functioning of the communidades in line with the disposition of 14th of December, 1880 that asked for the sale of the estate of the corporacoes de mao-morta. This decree introduced many reforms which were demanded by the interessados for long; Projecto de Regimento das comunidades, para a execucio do decreto de 15/9/1880 which was published in the Ultramar, 1357 dated 31/3/1885. The commission altered fundamentally the decree of 1880 bringing it in harmony with o codigo do processo civil. A plan was also given for the conversion of the tanges and other different type of shares into an uniform specie: Codigo das comunidades, approvado em portaria de 1/12/1904 which came into force from 1st January, 1905.
Similarly, Rui Gomes Pereira, in his small book *Gaunkari – Old Village Associations*, deals with some aspects of the *Communidades*. It is, however, a general work, not based on historical evidences. Olivinho Gomes tries to draw a picture of the rural Goa in his work *Village Goa: A Study of Goan Social Structure and Change*. However, this work does not cover the entire Goa, as it is only a sociological study of the historical village of Chandor. The work does refer to the *communidades* and its functioning but not in relation to entire Goa.

In the book *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India: A Study of the Portuguese Country Trade 1770-1840* (1994), Celsa Pinto has made attempts to study some aspects of the society and economy of Goa. But she is focusing more on the maritime trade and not on functioning of the rural economy based on land and its resources.

Prof. Joseph Velinkar in his research article, *Village Communities in Goa and their Evolution*, presented at the International Conference on ‘Goa and Portugal’ (Panjim, 1999), has also given a general view of how the religious, social and economic life of the people revolved round the village communities, and, how the state slowly usurped its authority over the years.
In spite of the wealth of information available there is no in-depth study of the functioning of the socio-economic history of Goa with *communidades* as the focus, especially for the period between 1750 and 1910. Hence I take up this work to fill up the gap by carrying out an analytical study of the Goan *Communidades* from mid eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century.

B. Review of Theories

As this study focuses on the agrarian based economy of the Goan society centered largely on the *communidade* system it is pertinent to have a cursory view of the various theories and perceptions regarding the nature of the village communities. A study of the various theoretical frameworks, within which histories based on the structure and functioning of the village communities are analyzed, is necessary to understand better the various trends as observed in Goa from 1750 to 1910.

Research into the nature of village communities began in the middle of the nineteenth century. The earliest studies were devoted to the institution among primitive peoples and led to the development of theories of the village community, many of which derived their impetus largely from the eighteenth century glorification of the free primitive man and his equitable social system. One of the outstanding works on the village community was Meitzen's *Siedelung und Agrarwesen der Westgermanen und
Ostgermanen (3 vols., Berlin 1895), in which he discussed the different types of villages, dividing them into “nucleated villages” and “scattered homesteads.”

In India the village community dates from at least the Vedic period; Maine stated that it was general throughout India. Baden-Powell showed, however, that less than a third of the cultivated soil was held on a communitarian basis while more than two thirds was occupied by ryotwari villages, where individual ownership of arable land was the rule. In the latter the landowners of the village had rights in common; although these are now regarded as the property of the government and no new settlements may be established upon them without its consent, the rights of the villagers in them are still recognized to a limited extent. In the other villages, which are either jointly owned or under the jurisdiction of a landlord, allotments in the arable land are regarded as shares in the jointly held land, while the waste is the property of the community.

Redfield provided one of the more useful tools in attacking the bipolar nature of the peasant village by contrasting “great” and “little” traditions. In themselves, the ideas are not particularly novel. By a “great” tradition Redfield meant the refined, systematically organized, and consciously cultivated belief and value systems of the gentry, the clergy, etc., often referred to as “high culture”; by a “little” traditions he meant the cruder, less systematic, largely uncriticized cultural systems, often referred to

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78 Vidal De la Blache, “Village Community”, Edwin R. A. Seligman (ed.). *Encyclopedia of the Social Science*, Vol. 15, New York: the Macmillan Company, 1963, pp. 253-254. He noted the differences in plan between the villages of Teutonic and those of Slavonic origin and thought the scattered homesteads were the work of the Celts. The latter view has now been abandoned, for the scattered homesteads seem always to be found where the land is or was formerly wooded; it seems likely also that many scattered homesteads are relatively late, dating from the decay of the village community. This is true of the of the village communities of Goa to a great extent.

79 Ibid., pp. 255-256.
as "folk culture," of the peasantry proper. This conceptual frame helps one to see how the high culture of the colonial masters made penetrations in rural Goa to transform the village agrarian structures according to their ambitions.

A somewhat different, but equally influential, approach to the analysis of the village histories has been the one associated with Julian Steward who dealt with it in his treatment of "Complex Societies". Here, the emphasis is less cultural and more on social structure, but the reduction of the village from an organism to an organ is no less apparent. Steward sees the various part-societies of a complex or compound society as divided into vertical segments, horizontal segments, and formal institutions.

Working within this framework, Eric Wolf (1955) has discriminated between two main types of village communities: "closed" or "corporate" as opposed to "open". "Closed, or corporate communities" are marked by a clear structural identity that persists

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80 David L. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 16, New York: The Macmillan Company & The Free Press, 1968, pp. 318-320. If this unoriginal distinction has proved surprisingly useful in understanding the cultural metabolism of village life, it is because both Redfield and, more importantly, those who have followed in his footsteps have not been content merely to describe the two sorts of traditions but have directed their efforts toward tracing out the interactions between them. Attention has been given to the way in which elements of high culture filter down to local contexts to become part of one or another little tradition, a process called "parochialization," and the way in which elements of local customs rise to become part of the overarching great tradition, a process called "universalization." In India, the advance of "Sanskritization" has been carefully analyzed and debated on these lines.

81 David L. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 16, 1968, pp. 319-320. Vertical segments are local units of various sorts, such as villages, neighbourhoods, and households. Horizontal segments are special sub-societies — occupational, class, ethnic, and the like — which, like local units, may have a somewhat distinctive way of life, but which crosscut localities. Castes are a good example, but so also are inter-local trading communities, monastic orders, regional, political or cultural elites, and so on. Finally, formal institutions include the monetary system, the law, education, and organized religion — generalized structures that run through the whole society, "binding it together and affecting it at every point". In this type of conceptualization, the peasant village is a vertical segment connected to towns, cities, and other villages by means of horizontal segments and formal institutions, which, spreading out from it in various directions, are at the same time basic elements of its internal organization. The very form of the village, much less the processes by which that form is maintained or changed, cannot be seen except against the background of the wider society in which it is embedded.
over time, a sharp distinction between members and non-members, a steady-state approach to economic activities, and a number of characteristic cultural traits – a “cult of poverty” extolling hard work and simple living, “institutionalized envy” designed to keep any individual from advancing very far ahead of his fellows, and a self-conscious maintenance of local distinctiveness in dress, language, custom, etc. Open communities are marked by cash crop cultivation and consequently a relatively more open relationship with the outside world. In fact the open community is in fairly continuous interaction with the outside world and is marked by greater social heterogeneity, intense concern with social status, and less attachment to established patterns of equilibrium. 82

Still others have attempted to use the rubrics ‘centripetal’ and ‘centrifugal’ to express differences in community structure. These are similar in context, although not identical, to the types Wolf has isolated: centripetal villages are those in which social institutions – economic, kinship, political, ritual – produce a constant tendency for members to move out beyond the village boundaries into the world of the larger society; centrifugal villages are those in which such institutions tend to hold or draw back members within those boundaries. The classification of peasant villages has just begun, and large-scale revisions in existing typologies must be expected as a greater knowledge of cross-cultural variations in community-society relationships accumulates. 83

The analysis of the social and economic history of Goa for the period 1750 to 1910 shows that the nature of the Goan society as it functioned within the confines of the

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82 Ibid.
83 Ibid., pp. 320-321.
communidade system, was indeed very complex. This prevents one from approaching the history of Goa from any particular theoretical perspective.

Against the background of these theoretical frames and conceptualizations, an attempt is made to study the dynamics and functioning of the communidade system of Goa.

C. Period of Study

The mid-Eighteenth century, when the Portuguese acquired new territories in Goa, is taken, as the “terminus a quo” of the study and the “terminus ad quem” is 1910, when Portugal was declared a republic. While the Portuguese lost a number of its possession on the littoral of the Indian Ocean by the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it tried to compensate for this loss by carrying out territorial expansion in Goa from 1760s. Several outlying provinces were brought under Portuguese control by the mid-eighteenth century so that Goa, which till then comprised only of Tiswadi, Bardez and Salcete, now became a substantial territory of approximately 1350 square miles which was the size finally reached in 1778 when the Taluka of Pernem was ceded to the Portuguese. With the acquisition of the new territories, the society and economy of Goa underwent significant changes, which in turn had an impact on the structure and functioning of the communidades. The study ends with 1910 when the republic was established in Portugal and when the Code of Communidade of 1905 was implemented with rigour in Goa. with
which the *communidades* started taking a decisive turn in its composition and functioning with the inclusion of non-*gaunkars* as its members.

**D. Aims, Objectives and Design of the Study**

The central purpose of the study is to show how the Portuguese made attempts to use the *communidades* first to get integrated with the Goan society and then having achieved it how they sought to streamline its nature and functioning so as to maintain their hegemony for a long period by ingeniously extracting rural surplus for their benefit. This study also tries to find out how the *communidades* provided the social capital to its own members, and, researches on how this led to the emergence of new leadership in the political and economic spheres of Goa.

The *communidades* occupied a central position under the Portuguese and the village socio-economic life revolved round it. The Portuguese, immediately after the conquest of Goa (1510), realized the importance of *communidades* in controlling the affairs of rural economy. The first attempt towards this direction came with the promulgation of the *Foral* (of Afonso Mexia) in 1526. Accordingly the institution of *communidade* was adapted to suit the needs of the Lusitanians, by de-linking agrarian operation separate from the predominantly temple-centered socio-economic order, and made it a predominantly agrarian institution, whereupon the members supportive of the Portuguese system were conferred privileged positions in the administrative bodies of the church and the society. The Portuguese made another significant intervention in the
communidades in 1735 by formulating the “Regimento em Forma de Lei, para o Governo das Camaras e Aldeas das Ilhas de Goa e das Provincias de Salcete e Bardez”, which was another attempt to integrate the rural economy of Goa into the larger colonial designs of the Lusitanians.

At the micro-level, the gaunkars or the members of the comunidade possessed and owned large tracts of fertile lands, which were leased to tenants as well as to the individual entrepreneurs for carrying out rice cultivation as also for having coconut and areca nut cultivation. Coconut and areca nut formed the chief items of export, thereby bringing in much revenue for the State, for the comunidades as well as for the gaunkars. In this way the control of vast land-space gave to the comunidades and the gaunkars both prominence and pre-eminence in the Goan society which had strong agricultural foundations. The gaunkars protected the village against erosion and denudation, took leadership in reclaiming land for cultivation and resorted to measures against flooding and droughts by efficiently maintaining the dykes and embankments, helped in times of famines and epidemics (the recurrences of which were not rare during the Portuguese rule), created social capital for its members, laid infrastructural networks, provided employment, etc. They were very innovative in agricultural operations and were instrumental in introducing new crops like cotton, coffee, manioc etc. Thus a major part of the socio-economic life of Goa revolved round the institution of the comunidade.

The study also tries to find answers to the following questions: How much did the socio-economic life of Goa revolve round the comunidade system during this period?
What were the different strategies and policies adopted by the Portuguese in their dealings with the comunidades from 1750 till 1910? Under what compelling circumstances did the Portuguese administrators introduce reforms by passing various laws and regulations so as to streamline the system? And how did the comunidades respond to these changes and with what effect? What was the role of the Goan comunidades in sustaining the rural economy during this period?

In the eighteenth century the Marathas repeatedly attacked Goa. It is important to find out what was the impact of these constant attacks on the Goan comunidades in the Old and the New Conquests? Similarly, what was the impact of the Maratha practice of exacting chauth and other taxes on the Goan comunidades both in the Old and the New Conquests? Finally, it is also important to find the socio-economic impact of the Maratha practice of appointing Dessais and Sardessais in the different villages, on the socio-economic life of Goa.

Cultivable land was available in plenty in Goa during this period, because of the suppression of the Jesuit Order (1759) and other religious Orders (1835) and the consequent confiscation of their property, acquisition of New Conquests, reclamation of land etc. The study also attempts to find out the extent to which the same was appropriated by the comunidades, individual gaunkars and others. And, what were its impact on the Goan society and economy?
From mid-nineteenth century determined efforts were made by the Portuguese to shift several welfare functions of the state on to the shoulders of the comunidades. Hence an attempt is also made to study the different types of welfare activities and infrastructural amenities provided by the comunidades at the local level. Did these activities drain the financial resources of the comunidades and weaken them in carrying out their core agrarian functions? What was their impact on society and economy?

Attempts are also made to see the volume of agricultural production in the comunidade-controlled lands. Was the production adequate enough to satisfy the needs of the Goan economy or did the Portuguese resort to importing food grains to meet local needs? These and various other issues would be dealt with in my work to understand the research problem in detail.

Against the backdrop of these research questions, a detailed analysis is done about the structure and function of the Goan comunidades for the period from 1750 to 1910. The answers obtained out of the analysis are grouped into eight chapters.

The first, being an introductory chapter, is an attempt to review the conceptual frame and the existing works related to the topic of study. It also states the central purpose of study and the important research problems that are analyzed in the subsequent chapters.
The Second Chapter is entitled, “The Evolution of Gauncaria System and a Land-based Socio-Economic Order from Ancient Times up to 1750”. This being the background chapter makes attempts to see the evolution, functioning and structure of the comunidade system, which the Portuguese converted as the best institution for resource mobilization and rural management in agrarian Goa after their conquest of this geographical space in 1510. In this chapter attempts are made to see how gauncaria system evolved in Goa and how the communitarian ownership system turned out to be the part and parcel of Goan life.

In the evolution of the gauncaria system, it is the geophysical features of Goa, which made its production activities particularly the agrarian ones, revolve on a communitarian basis. The origin and development of comunidade system is understandable only against the backdrop of the physical environment and the eco-systems of Goa, which played vital role in its formative phases. Hence the geo-physical characteristics are discussed in detail, followed by a discussion on the peopling of Goa and the exigencies, which necessitated corporate way of life.

Moreover, the chapter also analyses the impact of the Portuguese domination on the Goan comunidades from 1510 to 1750. The changes that were brought about in the comunidades starting with the Foral of Afonso Mexia (1526) up to the Regimento of 1735, by the Portuguese by introducing various laws and regulations to streamline the system are also analyzed. The entry of people hitherto extraneous to the village
community both through purchase or grants of the Portuguese government and its impact on the rural socio-economy are discussed and analyzed threadbare.

The third chapter is titled “Agrarian Relations in Rural Goa: 1750-1910”. The new land order and agrarian relations that emerged as a result of Maratha raids, conquests and occupations especially in the New Conquests as also in the Old Conquests of Goa are studied in detail. Similarly the expulsion of the Jesuits and other Religious Orders changed the agrarian set up of rural Goa to a large extent, which ultimately led to the transfer of land into the hands of enterprising people. Research is made on how the appropriation and confiscation of the properties of the Jesuits led to the emergence of a new land order.

From the early nineteenth century with the changing winds of time there were increasing demands for liberdade da terra (right to individual ownership of land). The cultivation by the comunidade system or by whole villages had few inconveniences so long as the cultivation was extensive until the 1830s. The membership of the comunidades, their management, the rights and obligations of the gaunkars, the payment of jonns (dividends) of the gaunkars, the rights and obligations of the interessados (the various interested parties), the culacharins (servants), and the adventicos (new entrants into the village communities), the system of division of land by the gaunkars etc., are also discussed and analyzed in detail in this chapter. Special treatment is given to the impact of the introduction of the cuntocares (neo-capitalists) on the functioning of the comunidades.
In the Fourth Chapter, which is titled as "Agriculture and Agricultural Production in Goa: 1750 - 1910", efforts are made to study the functioning of the rural economy within the parameters of the *communidade* system. The intrinsic function of the *communidades* was to take measures for the advancement of agriculture in the countryside. For the sake of convenience the period under study is divided into two different time units. The first period was from the beginning of the eighteenth century up to the 1770s. This period witnessed large-scale deprivation in the countryside largely due to the recurring Maratha attacks. The overall result was that the *Communidades* in general and the *gaunkars* in particular became impoverished. Following this there was large-scale indebtedness of the *Communidades* leading to rampant transfer and alienation of the *tangas* (shares) by the *gaunkars* to the *cuntocars*.

The second period is from the 1770s upto 1910. This period commences with the establishment of the Department of Agriculture (*Intendencia Geral De Agricultura, 1776-1834*). The Department of Agriculture implemented measures for the advancement of agriculture as a result of which the production increased to the extent that the deficit was just for four months in a year as compared to earlier periods when the deficit was for eight months. Efforts were also made, though unsuccessfully, to initiate and propagate commercial cultivation of various cash crops. Except coconut and areca nut cultivation these efforts met with little or no success. Attempts at having cotton cultivation as also of pepper, manioc, teak and cinnamon were also there. The chapter also looks into the

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84 While *tangas* were shares of the various village communities of Goa they should not be confused with the monetary denomination of the same name. The currency in circulation during the Portuguese rule for the major part was the *xerafins* (singular *xerajim*). One *xerajim* was equivalent to five *tangas* and each *tanga* was equivalent to 60 réis. Thus, one *xerajim* was equivalent to 300 réis. In Appendix I are given pictures of some of the coins in circulation during the period from 1750 to 1910.
details of cultivation both in the comunidade-controlled land and in that of the private proprietors (bhatkars).

From the last quarter of the nineteenth century there were significant changes in the social and economic history of Goa. During this period, due to increase in population, what the countryside produced again became insufficient to sustain the populace for the entire year. The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878, also severely affected Goan handicraftsmen, artisans, salt workers, workers from the primary sector of production started migrating en masse to neighbouring British India for earning the daily bread.

In the next Chapter entitled “Goan Communidades as Welfare Institutions” the emphasis is on investigating the nature of social edifice, which gauncaria system fabricated and looks into the various welfare activities, which the state transferred on to the shoulders of the comunidades. Many comunidades provided for the widows and orphan children including of various sections of people related to agrarian operation like the kulacharis, the kulkarnis (secretaries), jonkars as well as those of the gaunkars.

It is also proposed to study the relation of the gaunkars with the artisans, craftsmen and others. Similarly as the bunds and dykes formed an integral part of the socio-economic life of the people, a study on their financing and maintenance is highly essential. The comunidades were also made to contribute their mite in constructing roads, building schools, providing medical facilities for the people in times of epidemics, repairing schools, churches and cemeteries, providing for the maintenance of the divine
cult etc., as a result of which *communidades* were increasingly shifting their identity from being agrarian institutions to social welfare institutions.

Chapter Six, “Trade and Commerce in Goa: 1750-1910”, shows how the agrarian surplus was transferred for carrying out the trade. Import-export activities were being run according to the needs and wants of the *gaunkars*. Goa was dependent on the other regions of India within its neighbourhood for procuring the much needed rice supplies. Similarly, agricultural products like the coconut and the areca nut formed the major items of export. Attempts are also made to study the evolution of the system of *alfandegas* (customs) and its impact on the trade.

Chapter Seven, titled as “Emigration: Goa’s Transformation from an Agrarian Based Economy to Remittances based Economy”, looks into the causes responsible for the emigration of *gaunkars* from their villages to different parts of the world and the impact of the same on the *Communidades* and on the Goan economy in general. This chapter also tries to see how the rising population and consequent poverty due to lack of opportunities for gainful employment led to the mass- migration chiefly to British territories in Asia.

The social and economic impact of emigration on Goa is analyzed threadbare for getting a true picture in the countryside at the beginning of the twentieth century. The impact of Goa’s dependence on the remittances is also analyzed.
Chapter Eight is the Conclusion.

A Glossary of unfamiliar words is provided. Quantitative data in support of the arguments made in the thesis is provided in the appendices. Similarly, details of village-wise emigration, the weights and measures used in Goa and other details are given in the Appendices. Pictures of Portuguese coins, which were in circulation in Goa, during the period of study, are also given. The map of Goa showing the extent of khazana lands of Goa is also provided.

E. Sources and Methods

This study on the comunidades of Goa, and, its impact on the society and economy of Goa is done mainly on the basis of primary sources kept in the different archives of India and Europe. The important archives and libraries that were visited in Europe for this thesis are: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Lisbon), Arquivo Historico Ultramarino (Lisbon), Biblioteca Nacional (Lisbon) and the Library of the Sociedade de Geographia (Lisbon). In India extensive visits were made to the Central Library of Goa (Panjim), the Historical Archives of Goa (Panjim), the Mapusa Municipal Library (Mapuca) and the Xavier Centre for Historical Studies (Porvorim). The Library of the Goa University was also highly useful. Here the various important books available in the Pissurlencar Collection and the Nuno Goncalves Collection as also the rare and old books in the Gifted Collections like the Carmo Azavedo Collection etc., were combed thoroughly.
From these archives and libraries considerable unpublished Portuguese archival sources have been scanned in addition to the English, Konkani, Marathi and Modi records. Various other private libraries and collections were also utilized for the purpose of getting useful historical data. The information gathered from these sources was further corroborated with the help of field-studies undertaken in the rural areas of Goa dominated by comunidades. The analytical and deductive methods combined with statistical and inductive methods have been adopted in this thesis to throw light on the comunidades and its impact on the socio-economic life of Goa during the period between 1750 and 1910.