CHAPTER VI

THE CHANGING TRENDS IN SOCIETY

It is but inevitable to perceive that the alterations initiated by the Portuguese at the agrarian and non-agrarian sectors of the Goan economy would have had a definite bearing on its society. The extent to which societal patterns underwent a metamorphosis due to the intermingling of varied cultures and distinctive tastes forms the crux of the chapter.

Transformation involving the entire gamut of the social fabric had taken place at two major levels: the first was at the basic agrarian structure, and the second were deviating trends in trade. A significant break in the long established traditional pattern was the transfer of lands earlier owned by the temples to the churches and missionary orders to meet the necessitating demands of the latter and the clergy. The influx of foreign merchants who were able to invest due to lucrative profits from trade also led to changes in the ownership of land holdings and a consequent enhancement in the overall control over land. Though the dependence on returns from commerce was greater than that on land, especially in this century, the clergy not being legally permitted to participate in trade, diverted their attention to agriculture. The shifting and subsequent takeover of lands thus had far reaching economic repercussions. It is possible that the transfers could have had a concrete and profound impact on the social milieu of the city and initiated some level of change.

It has to be remembered that for the first time, these changes heralded the development of an entirely new social framework in Goa. As compared to
the earlier rulers who being natives of the country were concerned solely with its political conquest to fulfill their ambitions and economic needs, the Portuguese were the first foreigners (Europeans) to conquer the port. Though initially attracted due to its locational significance and commercial returns, their primary objective was to develop the city and society on a pattern similar to Lisbon, capital of Portugal. Efforts were constantly made to nurture this aim. One major step in this direction was the conversion of Goa into the headquarters of the Portuguese empire in India. While it was a predominantly political decision, they endeavored to graft a proportion of the society which, in addition to its original characteristics, would acquire a peculiar distinct colonial nature over a period of time. They fostered the growth of such a culture as it served their political needs. The following will explore the extent to which the above mentioned policies and trends could have had a bearing on the Goan society.

A very broad outline of the trends in which the social structure had evolved firstly, for the Portuguese and, later the Hindus, the local inhabitants, is elucidated below. The concept conversion is analysed as it figured prominently in the concept of social change. It is relevant to know the meaning of the concept of ‘social stratification’ since this was maintained as a definite form of social hierarchy and was also observed with utmost rigidity.

To begin with, any society survives on the basis of a minimal degree of integration between the various components that constitute and contribute towards its existence. All the different groups in entirety are interlinked together to enable the society to prevail and function in a particular fashion. The presence of some inherent and clear cut differences between the various social strata can lead to the inference that there is a certain degree of stratification. In fact, all societies are generally classified on the basis of
three fundamental distinctions, i.e., either caste, race or position of status \(^1\).

Social stratification thus, is a specific form of social inequality referring to the presence of a social order which is composed of groups ranked one above the other usually in terms of the level of power, prestige and wealth possessed by its members. At every stratum, each particular group has developed a type of uniform common identity and interest that serves as a binding cohesive force which it always strives to preserve.

The concept has attracted the attention of many sociologists who have essayed to interpret it in a framework conducive to their ideology. Functionalists have defined it on the basis of the assumption that some fundamental needs that have to be fulfilled if a society to survive. They presume the union of various segments of society to form an integrated whole and examine the ways in which the system is unified with the other relevant sections of society \(^2\).

Talcott Parsons belonging to this school, contends that stratification is an inevitable concomitant of all human societies. It's existence is derived from the fact that within a society, there are some general common values whose presence facilitates the evaluation of individuals in a particular hierarchy. The people are thereby positioned in some form of gradation or symmetry. Stratified systems are therefore, according to him, an expression of shared values \(^3\).

The concept was redefined further in 1945 when Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore argued that all social systems share certain functional prerequisites and roles must be undertaken only by capable people who can rise up to the desired expectations. To ensure proper working and to create an environment
of efficiency, necessary training should be imparted. Roles therefore have to be allotted to competent people who are capable of executing their tasks conscientiously. According to them, social stratification is a system which attaches unequal rewards and privileges to different positions in society [4].

On the other hand, according to Karl Marx, forms of stratification are generally derived in terms of the relationship of social groups to the forces of production. In this context, the concept ‘class’ refers to the basic strata in all systems. It is a social group whose members share the same quantum relationship to the factors of production. This is clearly evident even during the period of feudalism when the two main classes, firstly, the feudal lords who possessed lands and secondly, the landless serfs, evolved in their respective roles due to their relationship to land. However, detailed differentiation of classes as such emerges only when their productive capacity extends beyond the level required for subsistence [5]. The concept of thus refers to the existence of a definite class hierarchy. Members of each stratum develop their own subculture with which they are identified. Every group is cognizant and identifiable on the basis of its imbued characteristics.

The existence of avenues and possibility to transcend to a higher social level also prevails. The liberty to ascend onto a superior ladder in society is denoted as ‘social mobility’. It is an integral part of the phenomenon since generally all societies provide adequate incentives to encourage people with aptitude to rise up the social ladder through acquisition of status or wealth. The extent to which a society provides a higher level of flexibility in terms of greater mobility is in fact a natural corollary. Stratification systems providing a minimum degree of opportunity for social mobility from one rank of hierarchy to another are called ‘closed’. Other societies that facilitate easy access are ‘open societies’. In the former, mobility is entirely absent, in such
cases, an individual's position in society is determined at the time of his birth itself. It is irreversible and interpreted particularly in terms of a profession. This phenomenon is clearly exemplified in the case of the caste system that defines each individual's status on the basis of his birth into a particular family and social group [6].

Biological differences could also be an indication of inequalities and form a component of a few social stratification systems. It is defined as racial inequality as members of this system define certain characteristics as important and evaluate them. As will be seen subsequently, it proved to be a widely practised phenomenon in Goa where the Portuguese attempted to preserve their identity. This concept has evolved in different societies over centuries.

The feudal estates of the medieval period represented a broad division of labour having clear-cut functions and roles. Land holdings created the distinctions between the various social strata. The more the land an individual owned, the greater was his status in terms of wealth, power and prestige. The possessions and the ultimate social position of the feudal nobility were based on a number of grants of land bestowed by the king. And, as mentioned in the first chapter, status consequently became hereditary. Over a period of time, the practice created a definite degree of social schism. On the other hand, it is however difficult to accept that feudal lords ultimately owed their position to biological superiority through inheritance of their father's status [7].

While it is clearly evident that land or the extent of land one possessed was an indicator of his wealth and social prestige in Europe, it differed slightly in India. The society had always been stratified in clearly defined castes [8]. Division of labour which confined people to the castes they were born into was the deciding factor. The society was divided on the basis of the varna
system which exemplified the concept of division of labour. The caste system has had a very long lineage. The caste society can survive only if these are hereditary groups that decide marriage relationships. These groups are hierarchically organized in an inter beneficial manner. Ranks are decided on the basis of firstly, the vocation, secondly, deeply entrenched attitudes towards the concept of purity and thirdly, permanent occupation of a particular region \(^9\). A distorted and unequal distribution of privileges which facilitates only a collective form of mobility as against an individual’s personal enhancement in status develops \(^10\).

A few fundamental and distinctive features fostered and perpetuated the existence of the caste system. Clear cut distinctions were maintained. The hierarchy of prestige is based on notions of ritual purity as mirrored by the order of power. In other words, the inequalities of wealth were interlinked to those of prestige and power. In addition to these factors the system also survived due to the following issues:

1. Hereditary occupation: It is evident from the specialized vocations that are practised generation after generation by certain classes. This role while creating a high degree of specialization to its members, also isolated and confined them to their castes without offering any scope for social mobility.

2. The desire of the brahmins to keep themselves pure. The brahmins were positioned at the apex of social hierarchy. These members of the highest caste personified qualities like purity, sanctity and holiness which they sought to preserve over centuries.

3. The lack of unitary rigid State control. Throughout Indian history, there
have been clashes of races, color prejudices and political conquests. In an effort to safeguard local social practices and corresponding economic interests, the system came to be more stratified. Moreover, no political regulation or interference is possible since the very concept of stratification is a social phenomenon. Being deeply entrenched it is beyond the purview of any form of administrative egalities.

Each caste was divided further into jatis of the carpenters, the goldsmiths, the potters, etc. One main reason for the persistence of the concept of social stratification on the earlier defined levels was the perpetuation of the social practices by the converted people from all castes who continued to retain their original individuality and status. For instance, a major cause for the development of this phenomenon could be the conversion of a greater proportion of brahmins as compared to other castes. Despite the government's preventive orders their habits and distinctions were transported into their subsequently adopted religion. With this background, we will now analyse the social trends prevalent in the port town during the course of the sixteenth century.

The community was stratified at both the levels: for the Portuguese and the Indians. The frame work of the former is discussed first. The society as defined by the Portuguese who had settled in Goa, either due to official designation or participation in trade, was divided in a particular hierarchy. Their classification was mainly racial as it was exclusively open only to the Portuguese. Indians or hindus were permitted to be included only through significant issues like matrimony.

The Portuguese aspect was classified on the basis of three major factors. These were firstly, the purity of blood, i.e., the extent to which there had
been social intermingling in terms of marriage; secondly, (rank) (status or position); and thirdly, the marital status.

A form of Iberian gradation persisted. The apex of the social hierarchy was occupied by the Reinos and their descendants. They had been officially dispatched from Portugal to serve their motherland, it was to be in the form of occupying senior administrative positions to assist in the governance of Goa. They, the original Portuguese, constituting of pure Portuguese blood were classified Castigos or Indiaticos. The other category of descendants included those born in Asia with mixed parentage. The group generally incorporated a mixture of descendants and local Portuguese blood \[12\]. It is a clear indication that inter-racial marriages were conducted throughout the century. One can safely conclude that the phenomenon received government patronage as gifts were offered to the converts and a great proportion of people materially benefited from the practice.

Interracial marriages had been encouraged since the inception of the Portuguese rule. Afonso de Albuquerque being very farsighted, was conscious of the exigency to create a class of people who could assist to sustain and administer Goa and be loyal to the Portuguese rule. It had become an unavoidable necessity as the vast geographical distance between India and Portugal did not make migration either possible or feasible. Moreover, fundamentally, Portugal as such was an underpopulated country and migration would have been highly impractical especially with regard to the voyage between Portugal and India which was rather perilous and strenuous \[13\].

As a precedent in this direction, Albuquerque therefore proposed to promote interracial marriages between the Portuguese soldiers in service and the local inhabitants. Preference was given to muslim women who were to be converted.
at the time of marriage. A major cause for the bias was their comparatively fair complexion as it was surmised that even the offspring would be fair. The *mestizos* were considered the natural offspring of these marriages [14].

The next in the social ranking were the *eclesiasticos* including the *nobility* and their loyal factions. The earlier chapters reflect that the transfer in ownership of land holdings heralded an enhancement in the proportion of this class. Since lands were continuously being transferred to the church as a result of the State policies, the local people who were predominantly hindus got displaced from their original occupation. The third social group constituting the largest number were the *soldados* and the *casados*.

The soldiers were not well paid; due to lapses in regular payment, they chose alternative occupations. Some of them deserted the official service and began to participate in trade. Others became artisans. Of the few who came as private subjects, they constituted a group of the larger traders in Goa were either self employed or worked as agents for Lisbon financiers.

As in the case of trade, a new class of middlemen namely, the *linguosa* came to exist as an indispensable corollary in all activities. These people served as intermediaries between the Portuguese authorities and the local population [15]. They were in demand during any form of verbal communication between the Portuguese and the local people to overcome any oral hindrance and to comprehend issues in their right perspective.

On the other hand, due to a juxtaposition of two varied cultures and the imposition of an alien social system on the prevailing society, the social norms had become so lenient that by 1534 when the viceroy Miguel Vaz arrived, the basic fabric itself had undergone a drastic transformation. Liberty
had been totally misused. Excessive independence or lack of control could have assisted in the creation of a situation where total social laxity prevailed. The Portuguese who were already married were living with their mistresses. There was also widespread discontent among some sections of the population. Soldiers were highly antagonistic to the State control as they were not regularly paid. And as observed, these people constituted a very important segment participating in the private trade [16].

While the Portuguese maintained the above mentioned social hierarchy, the hindus retained their class stratification as according to the caste system. The brahmins sustained their position at the social apex. They were involved and also participated in the administration of the State as well. Being proficient in languages, they became indispensable as translators or secretaries and occupied other similar offices. Some were involved as lease holders for the collection of taxes. A small proportion also owned land in Goa [17].

Other than the brahmins, the saraswats and the banias of Cambay and Bombay also occupied prominent positions in society. In the city and the adjoining areas, the saraswats were comparatively more successful. The records in the years 1528 and 1541 - 43 contain names of twenty three remdas. These included seven christians, seven hindus, eight saraswats and one muslim. The hindus held the majority of remdas. Although incipient trends suggest otherwise, the saraswats could have become less powerful over a period of time [18]. Shifts in social mobility within this hindu community is presumed to have occurred as they apparently were slowly edged out by a smaller group, the vanias of Gujarat who not only entered the market but also participated in local day to day commerce. The society underwent such a radical degree of transformation that in the 1580's, the spice shops and groceries within the city of Goa were owned by the Gujarat
community. These people were basically rich and contributed tremendously to the city’s prosperity. They attained a high degree of affluence as they owned the remdias. They were socially very powerful and also operated on some local networks. In these port towns, similar patterns can be observed in the Portuguese colonies of Diu and Ormuz. The Gujarati vanias had their own captains who acted both as authorities and middlemen for all the Gujarati merchants dealing with the Portuguese authorities. They were very preponderant. In some situations, the local people were compelled to bow to the economic dominance of a small section of population. In Diu for example, the most important port situated north of Goa, the local Gujarati merchant population was rich and authoritative. Their power had enhanced to such an extent that their influence permeated all sections. Their very presence was crucial for the survival of the fort. On occasions the elite were compelled to concede to their demands.

These two social groups within the hindu caste system were the major categories in the society having some degree of impact on the Portuguese. Regarding the other groups, mention has already been made about the evidence of documents to corroborate the existence of the various occupations practised by certain castes. These hereditary vocations included those of the goldsmiths, the gem-cutterc, the artisans, the barbers and the washer-men who were protected by a well organized guild system regulated by the government and planned on a pattern similar to Lisbon. The barbers did not maintain any established shop. They catered to the demands of their clients by visiting their houses as per requirement. They also acted as matchmakers. The maintos paid no caste tax unlike the other castes and were also liberated from forced labour on the ribeiras when the ships were taken to the land. The laxity in rules can be seen to be a form of remuneration in kind for their services.
The slaves formed the lowest but the widest rung of the social ladder. They constituted the chief labour force. Majority of the slaves in the city were owned by the Portuguese who had invested nearly a million cruzados for procuring them from Japan during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. In fact, the wealth of any rich and prosperous Portuguese lord or merchant was calculated on the basis of the slaves he owned. These were purchased through auctions organized in the market place every day. Both male and female slaves were easily available at nominal costs. As a matter of fact, the main street also known as ‘the street of auctions’, was renowned for their auction. The slaves’ services were utilised in activities that were considered menial and not performed by anyone else. Both male and female slaves served their masters in a number of ways. The former were generally required to do all kinds of menial jobs and assist in the construction work. Their common and constant occupation was however to carry water from the springs of Banguenim during periods of acute scarcity of drinking water in the city. A comparatively smaller number of slaves were also employed to contribute in the manufacture of gunpowder and in the alleys. The female slaves were renowned for their home made confectures, conserves of Indian fruit and items of hand made needlework. These commodities were regularly sold by the youngest of them on the streets. Some of them were also involved in hawking vegetables and oranges. It is considered that their utilization in the domestic activities assisted in restricting opposition from the natives in the countryside from deriving full benefits from the demands of the city.

Thus, it is very clear that in addition to the existing social hierarchy, the slaves also constituted a large proportion of the population in the city. While the above mentioned forms the general framework of the social structure in which both the Portuguese and hindu caste system were stratified, the former
also endeavored to bring hindus into the christian fold through conversions. Their aim through this mechanism, was mainly to gain a foothold into an alien society through the creation of a social class.

Conversion played a very major role in disrupting the social fabric of the city. It is evident from the earlier chapters that tremendous efforts were channelised in this direction. A further impetus was realized with the declaration of Christianity as the official language in 1555. Many people within the city who received money or gifts for entering into the fold of christianity [26]. These clearly indicate that all categories of people including the Moors, the Turks and the canarins accepted the religion. The issue was made all the more critical with the linkage of inheritance of property to the concept of conversion. It began to serve as a financial incentive to procure assets during family feuds. A number of regulations were passed in this regard. In March 22, 1559, the viceroy decreed that the property of anyone who died without a male heir would be inherited either by the female children or any other close relative provided they were converts to christianity [27]. The matter became all the more crucial when on March 26, 1559, the viceroy D.Constantino Bragança clearly stipulated that the property of hindus could be inherited by either the sons or the grandsons provided they were converts [28]. A further extension of the same was passed on 1 March 1583 stating that in the absence of any of the heirs or the enactment of a will by any one, the individual's property would, on his expiry, automatically lapse into the possession of the king [29]. The last decree served an economic purpose as it was in fact an instrument for the seizure of property. Efforts were also made to split and create differences within families and disrupt the existing social framework. A decree was passed in 1562 stating that in case a hindu woman accepted christianity while the husband continued to remain a hindu, a part of the latter's estate was to be given to the wife during the
individual's lifetime itself \[30\]. It had initially been mentioned in August 12, 1557 that even other members of the family who were christians, could inherit the property on the earlier mentioned grounds \[31\]. Another decree dated the September 22, 1570, stated that those hindus who embraced christianity were liberated from the payment of *dizimos* for a minimum period of fifteen years \[32\]. The practice of granting money etc. as gifts in lieu of conversion does not appear to be confined to Goa only. It was an established and widespread norm as similar activities were prevalent even in Cochin and Cananore. Yet, social distinction persisted. These local converts who accepted christianity either for inheriting property or gifts, were never considered socially equal to the christians of European origin who, endeavored to retain their identity in a very exclusive manner in order to assert their superiority.

The process contained as before since what had actually occurred was merely a transfer of classes with essentially similar production relations. Moreover, schisms existed not only in the above contest but also within the hindu social structure, that is the folds of the brahmins, i.e. saraswats and the karhadas as well as the chardos \[33\]. Differences were reflected not only in the retention of habits and practices of their original castes after conversion but, also in terms of the areas geographically occupied by these classes within the city. As more number of people from the lower ranks got converted to christianity, they were occupying the comparatively poorer region near the seaside. On the other hand, the brahmins who were at the apex position of the hindu social hierarchy, resided in the more fertile places in the estuarial areas where property had attained a greater economic and financial value \[34\].

Constant efforts were always made to attract a greater percentage of the brahmins into the christian fold; they were encouraged to enter the seminary. The Third Provincial Council of 1585 clearly stated that candidates should be of "respectable and good families and castes for the reason that the other
christians should look upon them with respect'. In other words, the Portuguese had also become aware that socially the brahmins were comparatively a more respected caste among the hindus. The brahmins were indirectly compelled as they were informed that if they had any desire in retaining their privileged status in society and wanted to continue to deriving benefits from the communal lands, they had to convert. In case of any indication of disinclination, the only other alternative available was the migration to hindu controlled territory where all the agricultural lands had already been exchanged. A natural corollary that would ensue was the loss of proprietary rights over land as well as status in society [35].

All the above mentioned facts clearly indicate that administrative regulations were aimed to draw more people into the christian fold through economic incentives. While constant efforts were made to convert brahmins, the government also enacted a number of decrees with the basic aim of preserving their religion. It indirectly served to curtail the religious activities of the hindus. In the 1540's itself, the Portuguese officially empowered with the policy of conversion, destroyed nearly three hundred temples in each of the talukas [36]. In a decree passed on March 25, 1559, the Viceroy D. Constantino de Bragança prohibited the building of temples and hindu sanctuaries etc. hindu idols were also not to be visible [37]. Another decree passed on 29 August 1566 during the viceroyalty of D. Antão de Noronha prohibited the construction of new temples, the preservation of the old ones (that would be destroyed) and even curtailed the activity of transporting local deities elsewhere. It created such religious tension that despite official control, idols were transferred to safer areas outside the Portuguese jurisdiction [38]. Temples were destroyed on a large scale even in Bardez in 1573 and in Salsette during the years 1584 - 87. The main objective of these measures was to encourage conversion [39]. The local hindus were prohibited from participating in any of their
traditional customary and festivals. With the degree of persecution becoming severe, these people were compelled to follow their ancient practices in secrecy. Due to the above mentioned repressive measures which created a situation of social unrest, there was an exodus of people to the neighboring areas. It entailed economic problems for the State as a phase of acute labour shortage both for the agriculture as well as the nascent industry developed. The necessity to pacify the local inhabitants was realized only in the 1560s when the city underwent serious economic turmoil. The then viceroy while describing to the king the condition in which he found Goa said that it was much depopulated; 'the villages were ruined, fields were flooded and clogged and the hindu inhabitants were absent'. Agricultural production experienced a slump due to the mass exodus of hindus from Goa to other regions in the immediate hinterland. All these factors had been a repercussion of Constantino Bragança's policies that had decreed it compulsory for all hindus who deserted Goa due to the fear of forced conversions to return; in case they declined to do so they had to face loss of property. In response he had anticipated an immediate of people returning to the city to safeguard their economic interests. It did not occur and in fact, it had a negative reaction as greater numbers abandoned the town in trepidation. D. Francisco later repealed the decree as he realized that the decree created more anxiety than appeasement among the local population. In an attempt to salvage the situation and restore the economy, he promised to reinstate all confiscated property to those absent on the condition that they returned within a period of six months. To restrict the exodus of people, the government issued a number of regulations. On the 8th June, 1560, the local goldsmiths whose families had settled outside the Portuguese territories, were ordered to be brought back; in case the families refused to do so, the goldsmiths were exiled. A reduction in economic incentives was utilised as another instrument to compel the migrants to re enter Goa. The king Dom João issued a resolution on 21 November 1573 which clearly stated that the
migrating natives of the villages of Bardez would not be entitled the annual share of the jonsa [42].

Despite such repressive economic measures, the local people secretly funded activities; by the 1580's the Portuguese government realized that even with official restriction on their activities, the population including converts were involved in the financing of construction of temples outside the Portuguese territory. The Portuguese wanted to prohibit this activity altogether. Consequently, the Third Provincial council requested the king of Portugal by resolution to enact a decree preventing the hindus from participating in the financing of temples even outside the jurisdiction of the Portuguese empire [43]. Those hindus who refused to convert under governments pressure were discriminated against. Differentiation was observed as early as the 1540's when Krishna, the tanadar-mor who was highly popular and had procured his post due to his loyalty to the portuguese, was segregated from his post as his rival Lakshmana accepted christianity. The latter later renamed as Luquas de Sa was deputed to the same post. An order was passed in the name of D.João on the 25 June 1557, which stated that all jobs within the city were to be made available only to the converts of the local population [45]. Severe repression continued. On April 2, 1560, the Viceroy D. Constantino Bragança ordered that a large number of brahmins were to be expelled from the island of Goa. The rule was however not applicable to those settled in Bardez and Salsette [46]. In a decree dated 15 December 1572, the viceroy stated that the hindu pundits and physicians were not to be permitted to travel as earlier on horseback or in palanquins as persons of authority within the city. People found transgressing the rule were liable for the payment of penalty or even had to face rigorous imprisonment [47]. A Royal decree dated 3 April 1582, publicly prohibited the occupation of any public office by any hindu [48]. The rule was further extended in 12 January 1591, when it was emphasized that
no one could give employment to either the brahmins or the hindus [49]. The State thus undertook a number of measures to curtail the activities of the local population. Large scale attempts were made to create a race that would be servile and subservient to their needs.

Yet on the other hand, every effort was made to preserve the administration of the state exclusively in the hands of the Portuguese. In fact, some of the wealthiest groups of people who were non-Portuguese and non-christians were not even permitted to be represented by the Municipal Council. The council voiced only the opinion of the white people [50]. Measures were taken to bar the others from intruding into crucial decision making matters pertaining to the State. Amounts were also released by the factor to support specific needs of the missionary orders within the city. These served to strengthen their hold and gave them a powerful position in society [51].

The Royal edict of 1542 clearly stipulated that the offices of the judges and worker representation controlling and administering the city had to be only Portuguese by nationality and birth; the primary motive for this move was to preserve the Portuguese old order who usually reserved the senior administrative positions to themselves. On the other hand a clear cut social differentiation between the old and the new christians was maintained. It was clearly declared that the latter were not to be permitted to earn any form of administrative or economic benefits [52].

Tensions and economic pressures accelerated on the hindus. A number of people forfeited their earlier power and social status. Consequently, the brahmins were at times compelled to turn to trade on a small scale in order to earn their livelihood through selling slightly inferior quality of pepper. Inspite of all these measures, a definite degree of leniency probably to have
entered the social fabric as Jan hughyen van Linschotten mentions the ownership of several spice and grocery shops by brahmins within the city.

Despite the rigid enforcement of the social hierarchy and constant efforts not only to convert the local natives but also to persecute and exclude the hindus, there are some positive aspects of the Portuguese colonization as well. The first is regarding the practice of sati. It is mentioned as an established phenomenon by Tomé Pires who has also referred to the existence of devadasis. The practice of sati was officially declared to be absolutely forbidden in the territories of Salsette and Bardez. It was clearly stipulated that nobody could assist in its performance; in case a person was found guilty of doing so, the punishment was severe, the penalty being loss of proprietary rights over land. The inhuman practice was thus somehow curtailed to a large extent. The measure of officially condemning the practice of sati generated ill will against the Portuguese as it was considered an intervention into the local social practice. The vernacular languages also received a great impetus with the setting up of a printing press in 1556. Though its establishment was mainly as an instrument to benefit the needs of the Jesuit order to propagate religion, it also served as a harbinger of a slow but definite dissemination of knowledge and thought over a period of time. Books in vernacular were published and also became common.

Thus, as observed, in the chapter, the process of stratification of society continued as before. It became even more rigid as attempts were made to safeguard each community. And though intermingling of people did occur, it did not take place on a scale that could warrant some definite social transformation. That they persisted in the continuity of their caste is very evident from the fact that Indians still participated and continued the trade.
of their fathers and married the daughters of the same caste of the people. Despite such persecution, the basic fabric of society did not transform in any large degree for the majority of the people who were dependent on agriculture and could not explore any definite alternative means of survival.

FOOT NOTES:


2. Ibid. p.30.

3. Ibid. p.30.

4. Ibid. pp. 32,36.

5. Ibid. pp. 39,40.


8. The word 'caste' is originally derived from the Portuguese word *casta* meaning lineage. It is adapted from the Spanish interpretation implying breed, race, etc.


India (henceforth referred to as The Portuguese in India, Delhi, 1989, p. 129.

12. Ibid. pp. 94, 95.

13. Ibid. p.96.


19. Ibid., p.65.


26. Details are given in Appendix - III.


32. APO-CR, Goa, 1957, fasc. V, pt. II, pp. 733,786, (Documents 684,718); III, pp. 965,976 (Documents 801 - 09); Ibid. p.141


41. Ibid. p.116.

42. APO-CR, Goa, 1957, VI, II, pp. 6 - 9, (Document 4 - 5); also in A.K.Priolkar, op.cit., p.122.
43. Ibid. p.85.


45. A.K.Priolkar, op.cit. p.121.


47. APO-CR, Goa, 1957, V, II, p.899 (Document 733); Ibid. p.140.

48. Ibid. p.122.


51. Various grants are referred in Appendix No. IV


54. Ibid. p.248; Duarte Barbosa also refers to the practice of sati in The book of Duarte Barbosa, (translated by M.L.dames), Germany, 1968, p.181.


56. Jan hughyen van Linschotten op.cit. p. 123.