CHAPTER I

LIVING STANDARDS IN GOA

By living standards here is meant the amount of goods and services enjoyed by a community or its members. They indicate the degree of material prosperity and the level of development of a people. The consumption pattern of the population is regulated by its income levels and manifested externally in measurable form by expenditure pattern, accommodation facilities, daily habits, life expectancy and other factors. The sources refer to extremes of income and wealth, especially from the sixteenth century onwards. We can form a picture of a small dominant class living a comfortable lifestyle and in sharp contrast with miserable living conditions of the masses, particularly in the city of Goa. Such contrast was not peculiar to Goa and such situation prevailed in the rest of the subcontinent and also in Europe. The upper social strata could enjoy high standards of living in "Golden Goa" which had become a world emporium where all necessities and many luxuries could be found.
The economy in the early period was geared to provide for defending Portuguese possessions and trade in the East as well as to cater for personal tastes and needs of the dominant upper class. The prosperity of the city of Goa lasted for about a century. The decline followed and the city inhabitants had to experience difficult times when other European powers challenged its earlier unrivalled control over profitable sea-trade. There were also the other native neighbouring rulers who challenged the Portuguese right to dominate in this part of the country. Expenses involved in resisting such challenges also told heavily on the Portuguese Goan economy and standards of living in the countryside.1

Goa had fertile soil, but produced little. Serious cultivation did not find encouragement from the Government. There were no industries of any importance. There were skillful local artisans, but there was no official promotion of their skills beyond production that ensured their subsistence. Such a decadent economy reflected on the living standards of all but for a few who could afford luxuries.2

In the nineteenth century the annual income of the upper class did not exceed Rs.2000, while the poor had to do with just one meal.3 The economic situation improved somewhat at the turn of the nineteenth century, when the middle classes and the poor began to migrate to British India and to Africa. The remittances of these migrants to their families back home
helped them to have better food, houses, clothes, education and other necessaries. 4

The two World Wars and the great depression left their marks on the life conditions of the people in Goa. Inflation and lack of availability of commodities were felt in Goa. However, the development of mining at the fag end of the Portuguese rule helped to bring about some prosperity and provide employment to the poor.

The first two parts of this chapter may seem adequate to cover the matter under discussion. However, Part Three has been added to emphasize an important change in the urban-rural scenario of Goa from the late eighteenth century when the new capital Nova Goa (present Panjim) was only an administrative capital and no longer a trading-commercial centre. Hence the urban-rural differences had been reduced to a minimum and the economic life was perhaps controlled by the upper classes in the countryside in close collaboration with the Portuguese administrative bureaucracy. Hence, Part Three refers briefly to the earlier period but concentrates largely on the latter part of the period under study.
I. Urban Goa

Social Stratification and Life Styles

During the early period the city of Goa was inhabited by people of all races. There were the native Christians and non-Christians (including Goan Hindus, Banianes from Gujarat, and businessmen and artisans from elsewhere in India), and the Europeans (including the Portuguese and many of other nationalities) who could be classified into some broad groups, namely the high government officials (mostly reinois), the married settlers (casados), unmarried soldiers (soldados), missionaries and the businessmen.

Urban Poor: It is difficult to describe the size of the urban poor at any time in the city of Goa. There is record of urban poor in Goa from the times much before the arrival of the Portuguese. The development of Goa as an important centre in the network of coastal trade dates back at least to the period of the Kadambas, and a surviving inscription of Jayakeshi I lists various countries in sea contact with Gopakapur. The same inscription refers to works of charity for the poor in the context of customs revenues set aside for looking after them. That was in the eleventh century.
In this chapter we include the low class Government servants, artisans, domestic servants, soldiers, State and domestic slaves and vagrants in the category of the urban poor. The Jesuit reports from India, starting with the references to a hospital for the poor and the concern shown by St. Francis Xavier for the poor sick and lepers in the city of Goa, provide some indications about the plight of the urban poor from the first half of sixteenth century.⁶ Pyrard de Laval, the Frenchman who was in Goa in the early seventeenth century, refers to many poor natives in the city of Goa living in dirt and as savages (sem asseio e como selvagens).⁷ He also describes how the viceroy distributed alms to the native and Portuguese poor in the city as a bi-weekly routine.⁸ We also come across an incident in the State shipyard in the late seventeenth century where a crowd of 500 poor employees are reported as protesting for not being paid their salary for seven consecutive weeks.⁹ The tombos and orçamentos (land registers and budget records) of the State for different periods since the one of Simão Botelho in 1554¹⁰ provide information about the salaries of different categories of State servants.¹¹ Information is also available regarding the wages paid to the artisans in the account books of the Religious Orders and they allow us to form a rough idea of the standards of living of the ordinary wage labourers.¹²
The soldiers were a visible component of the city population. They were never too many but were not paid well. The State paid them small salaries in summer when they worked in the fleets. During rest of the time when they were on the shore they had to fend for themselves. For this they sought patronage of *fidalgos* or female friends who could take care of them. Despite their hardships they sought to maintain appearances by dressing well and moving about with hired slaves. Many of them depended on charities of various convents in the city of Goa and not rarely found their vocation for religious life. Dissatisfied soldiers often crossed the borders to join the service of native rulers.

Slaves constituted an important base of the city economy. As many travellers have noted, hordes of slaves of different races were available and sold in Goa. It was a status symbol among the *fidalgos* to have as many of them as possible. These *fidalgos* derived a great part of their income from the manual labour of these slaves. Majority of slaves were put to domestic work, particularly for distributing water, selling small wares and carrying palanquins and parasols for their masters. They were also used as personal guards and for settling scores. Female slaves were often engaged in prostitution. When slaves fell ill they were thrown away and even buried in the courtyards. There are reports of cruelties perpetrated against the slaves by male
and female slave-owners. The first Church Provincial Council in 1567 tried to check abuses and cruelties against the poor slaves and ordered the slave owners to care for their sick slaves. The Council forbade export of slaves to other lands by non-Christians traders. Any captain or master of a ship helping these traders was to be excommunicated and fined 50 paraos. Natives also owned slaves, but there was a ban on non-Christians natives to own slaves. It appears that the ban was not really observed in practice.

Sale of slaves was an organized market. Rua Direita in the capital city had a market where slaves were auctioned and bartered. One could obtain slaves from various nationalities and shades of colour, but the black female slaves (Negras de Guine) were much prized for their beauty. Slaves who sought to run away were generally retrieved through the services provided on regular basis by the city Municipality. According to Pyrard de Laval the best slave could be bought for a price ranging between 20-30 paraus. Prices differed across the period. The Jesuits bought a boy slave in 1686 for 50 xerafs. The Jesuits brought pressure on the Government to ban the importation of slaves, specially slaves from Japan and China, as it was having negative effect on their missionary activity in those countries. The Jesuits did not seem to have adopted a similar attitude towards the black slaves. Even the interest of the Jesuits in the Zambezi region was more in
the gold and prazos than in humanitarian concern for the blacks. 23

A small number of slaves were owned by the State. They were captured from vessels which failed to comply with requirement of cartazes. These slaves were sent to gunpowder factories or sold in the market. Slavery flourished till mid-nineteenth century, and even the French privateers were doing good business on it by taking black slaves via Goa to Mauritius. 24 Slavery was abolished in Goa officially in 1878. 25

Besides soldiers and slaves there were vagrants and beggars in the city. They had no home and lived on the streets. Beggars were flocking from the surrounding countryside into the city. The viceroy Count of Linhares had imposed a ban on such unwelcome city guests in 1630 while the situation in the city itself was critical. 26 The problem does not seem to have been over in the following centuries. The records of the Pastoral Visits of the Archbishop has many indications of the problem during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. An order of the Administrator of Ilhas in August 1870 was forbidding able bodied men from begging and roaming on the streets. Only those who could not work for their living were permitted to beg. They had to carry a board
with P.M. (= pobre mendigo, i.e. poor beggar) to identify themselves. These were allowed to beg from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., but not near the temples and public offices. 27

The urban poor also had their games and entertainments. The soldiers particularly idled away their time in the casinos of those days. Pyrard has left an account of the licensed gambling houses with police protection against rowdism. 28 The natives would play tabola, circundio, follio and similar games. Sigmo was an important festival which was celebrated with great enthusiasm, specially in the ward of Santa Lucia in the Old city of Goa. It was one of the major festival among carpenters and artisans. 29

Urban Middle Class: From the accounts of travellers it is clear that there was considerable specialization of functions. Traders, wholesalers, shopkeepers, brokers, tax farmers, money changers belonged to this class. We may include in the middle strata the fidalgos who had lost their earlier wealth, some government functionaries and the clerics who enjoyed institutional wealth despite their profession of personal poverty.

Goan Saraswat Brahmins and banias not only controlled the market by supplying goods and labour but were also revenue farmers for the State. They had a strong grip over the State
economy. Count of Linhares remarks in his diary that worse than the Dutch of the sea are the Dutch of the land. The latter he defines as Sinays and the Brahmin Canarins of Goa. Later in the same century D. Manuel Lobo de Silveira, a fidalgo who had been in Goa for nearly half a century, listed a number of wealthy Christian canarins and Hindus from Goa city and other outlying taluka. He believed that they were taking the cream off the Indo-Portuguese economy.

The professional class also included physicians known as Vaidyas or panditos, lawyers, teachers and judges. Antonio Bocarro describes the quarrelsome nature of the Goans and their tendency to easily sue each other in courts of law. He refers to Goa as an academy of solicitors. The religious were numerous and later during the period of this study the religious clerics were replaced in numbers by the native clergy. The Church officials were paid by the State and enjoyed other privileges in keeping with the understanding of the Padroado or the Crown Patronage of the Church. But while the Religious Orders were in control they had an immense say in the administrative circles, and the Jesuits in particular were suspected of accumulating large resources which attracted the attention of the Marquis of Pombal and brought about their suppression.
The *vaidyās* enjoyed prestige and certain privileges in the society. In the sixteenth century they moved about in paianquins, a privilege enjoyed only by the Viceroy and ambassadors. This privilege was stopped in the seventeenth century forcing many *vaidyās* to leave Goa. Their earning gave them a standard of living far above the common man.

Owing to decline of sea-borne trade and the epidemic attacks on the city of Goa the capital was shifted to Panjim after an unsuccessful attempt to shift it to Mormugão in 1759. The growth of Panjim as a capital city was also accompanied by the development of *vilas* or towns in the countryside provinces.

The urban middle class had houses built of brick and stone covered with tiles. Some of these houses resembled the mansions of the rich but were not spacious or so well furnished. Such houses at the end of the nineteenth century could be built for 5000 *xerasfins* to 7000 *xerasfins*. The houses of the Hindus were built in different style. They had many rooms and could be built for Rs.1000 to Rs.2000 around 1880. The houses were lit with lamps of kerosene or oil. Sometimes candles of wax and cloth were used. Merchants though prosperous lived at the back of their shops in badly ventilated rooms. Christian houses were furnished in European style. The Hindu houses were more scantily furnished.
There was a capitation tax on non-Christians called *xenddy* tax. The tax affected mainly the middle class. A goldsmith and small shopkeeper paid 3 *xerarins* per annum. A broker paid 3 *xerarins* while others paid two *xerarins* each. The tax was abolished in 1840.37

During the second half of the nineteenth century the middle class could save very little due to high cost of living. The highest salary paid to a higher secondary teacher was 1880 *xerarins* and the lowest 900 *xerarins*.38 Discrimination was made between the teachers of French and those teaching English and Marathi. A teacher of Philosophy earned 1060 *xerarins*. In the same period a *subchefe* (Assistant police chief) in the army received 300 *xerarins* as salary and an officer in the same department earned 240 *xerarins*. A *escrivão* (clerk) working for the captain of Ports earned 900 *xerarins*.39

**Urban Rich**: This category would include the high officials of the State and some wealthy merchants and landlords with palmgroves and rice fields in the countryside. Eventually, there arose in Goa other wealth owners such as mine-owners, industrialists, importers, exporters and rich landlords. With rare exceptions the State officials reached
their hands far beyond what they were legally entitled to.
The Soldado Prático of Diogo de Couto, the first archivist-
historian of Portuguese India, has left a scathing account of
corruption in the highest administrative circles of his time
in Portuguese India. Describing a vedor or Director General of
the Exchequer after his retirement, he writes: If you should
walk into one of their houses you would find the whole veranda
full of tailors, some making mantles of silk and satin,
others, rich quilts. Inside, craftsmen hammered out silver
caraifes, Chinese-styled tankards, chains and bracelets for
wives and daughters; other men trimmed caskets with tortoise
shell, silver and coconut from the Islands. Below, in the
courtyard, turners and carpenters were busy at orders for
pleasure boats of all varieties, desks in marquetry work and
wardrobes for commercial use. You might think yourself to be
in a warehouse, rather than the home of a vedor de fazenda.'
Referring to the viceroys, he felt that they did better in the
game of looting: "When they command an ambassador to be sent
to Baigbat or Mogador, he by custom must bring presents, and
they enter on the ledger four, six or ten horses, which the
viceroy sells from his own stable at exorbitant prices: a
horse worth two hundred cruzados goes for six hundred or more,
and they enter the name of another on the receipt." The
viceroys made most money on sale of offices and on renomina-
tions.40 These high officials were not alone in their
grafting activities. There were the members of their coteries
who collectively managed to stagger off with as much or more booty than the viceroy.  

The other constituents of the rich upper class of the city besides the high officials and magistrates were generally the members of the municipal body and fidalgos. They controlled the city revenues, and more important was the opportunity they had of smuggling. As Disney has pointed out, smuggling up the Mandovi river and through the passes from Bardez into Bijapur was a thriving industry. He mentions two brothers, Nuno and Antonio da Costa, who were the owner and captain of Jua island in the vicinity of the city of Goa. From the obscurity and security of their island base the Costas conducted smuggling operations for various clients, including Gujarati banias. A number of the manchuas involved in smuggling up river were owned by important officials or prominent fidalgos, including the archbishop.

Housing: This class lived in stately mansions surrounded by beautiful gardens. Some houses were single storied and others double storied with one or two halls, and spacious dining room that could accommodate forty to sixty people at a time, several rooms, kitchen, store rooms, toilets and out houses. Houses were built of stone or mortar covered with tiles. The stone required was laterite of Goa.
but the black stone was ordered from Bassein. The view of the house was most important than observance of rules of hygiene.

Houses were painted in red and white. Hindu houses were built according to standard laid down in sacred scripts and this was followed upto early present century. Their houses had small windows and doors to protect them from their enemies. Due to small windows houses lacked ventilation and were dark. Windows of the houses had polished oyster shells fitted in wooden frames as still seen in old houses in many Goan villages. The gentry had their summer houses too. The total cost of such houses in the nineteenth century was not more than 10,000 xerafins.

Houses were furnished with tasteful and elegant furniture made of wood designed in European style - carved or covered with lacquer. It included bedsteads, mirrors, chairs, sofas, side tables, tables, stools, dressing tables etc., all richly decorated with inlay work. Plates, jars, mirrors, metal pots had functional as well as decorative use. Two dozen spoons of silver would cost Rs.120 between 1747-1885. Champagne glasses were sold for Rs.9 a dozen, 66 plates with gold rim were sold for about Rs.21, 5 tangas and 4 reis.

Food: Next to the housing expenses, the upper class spent lavishly on their food. We can get an idea about their
eating habits from various travellers. Among them Mandelslo who visited Goa in the seventeenth century describes the large spread by the Portuguese gentlemen consisting of variety of viands, pork, beef and poultry. They ate vegetables, milk products, fruits and a variety of sweets prepared in the western and local styles. Fruits and vegetables were not easily available. Apples, oranges and other fruits were imported; a luxury which only the rich could afford.

Wine was imported from Portugal. On an average a gentleman would drink one or two glasses of wine for dinner. Wine imported from Portugal would cost forty soldos a measure. Some people drank wine made of raisins. It was cheaper than other wines available in Goa. In 1875 about 8 barrels of tinto wine (Portuguese wine) was bought for 860 xerafins. Coffee was a luxury imported from Arabia. It became popular for breakfast after the Commercial Treaty of 1878. In the late nineteenth century a man of this class required 8 tangas a day for food, and a woman 6 tangas. The upper class made use of cutlery to eat their food. Many ate food with their fingers. They drank water in beautiful earthen containers. Water was stored in Gorgolettas of porous clay. Glass containers for water were not popular in the early period.

Mode of Transport: Regarding the mode of transport of this class Mandelslo remarks that "persons of quality never
went on foot, they rode on horse, palanquins and painted
gondolas". They were attended by a slave who carried a fan or
an umbrella.48

Horses taken out for a ride were beautifully decorated
with gold and silver trappings. The saddle was covered with
rich embroidered silk cloth brought from Bengal, China and
Persia. The reins were studded with precious stones with
jingly silver bells attached to them and the strings were of
gold and silver. They were kept under care of trained persons
who were well paid. Horses were imported from Persia and
Arabia. According to the Englishman Ralph Fitch who was in
India between 1583-1591 "All merchandise carried to Goa in a
shippe wherein are horses pay no custome in Goa. The horses
pay custome, the goods pay nothing".49 The best horse could
cost three hundred ducats to one thousand ducats each.50 By
an order issued by Governor Antonio Barreto Moniz the Hindus
were forbidden to move about on horses or palanquin.51

Palanquins were borne on the shoulders by boyas who
demanded exorbitant rates there being no fixed hours of work.
Conde de Linhares, forbade the use of palanquins without
prior permission to all people below the age of 60 years,
because it was used by many women for illicit activities.52
Despite repeated bans palanquins continued in vogue until the
second half of the nineteenth century.
Palanquins were replaced in the late nineteenth century by *machila* a kind of sedan chair carried by four to six men. It was an expensive mode of transport because *boyas* had to be employed to carry the same. Ladies of upper strata also moved about in *dolim* a kind of hammock attached to a bamboo and carried by four men. This mode of transport was used during the second decade of the 20th century. Priests also used *Dolim* for pastoral visits. Every Church had a *dolim* for such a purpose.

Cars were seen in Goa before World War I. It was the privilege of the few -- the Governor, the Archbishop and some others, including the Conde de Mahem. Another mode of transport in early decades of the twentieth century was *Sarvotta Gaddi* or *Caixa de Fosforo*, as it resembled a match box. They were available on hire. In Bardez this kind of transport was mainly available at Saligão.

By 1925 *machilas* began to lose their popularity, its use was discouraged by the Government as it involved human labour. They were replaced by trams (horse carriages). *Machilas* and *Caixa de Fosforo* disappeared altogether in the fourth decade of this century. In their place cars, *carreiras* and *tongas* were used as means of transport. Inland waterways
were common in Bardez, Ilhas and Salcete. Many gentlemen owned boats.

**Dress:** In the matter of clothes the rich made an ostentatious display of their wealth. When they moved out of their homes they wore rich clothes. Men of this class dressed in European fashion very often in outdated style. Elaborately tailored clothes for men are mentioned in some sources. Garments used by upper and middle strata in towns were similar, being distinguished by the quality of stuff used. Both these classes began to wear shoes at the end of the nineteenth century. A gentleman spent in this apparel about 20 xerafins. Bridegrooms of this class wore tailcoats designed in Louis XIV style with broad necktie shirt with stiff collar, long socks and shoes with silver buckles. 53

Women seldom moved out. When they did during main festivals they wore costly apparel of velvet, damask, brocade and satin adorned with pearls and precious stones. Silk was cheap. It was used even by slaves for festive occasions. The apparel of native women for festive occasions cost no less then 1,000 xerafins at the end of the nineteenth century. This apparel was made of velvet embroidered with gold thread. The only concession to heat was that they wore no stockings. On their feet they wore slippers or chappins open in the upper
side. The lower part was embroidered with gold and silver spangles studded with precious stones and pearls.

The rich wore ornaments profusely. They spent more on these ornaments than on clothes. They wore different ornaments such as bangles, pendants, rings, earrings, necklaces and flowers in the hair; all made of gold with precious stones.

Due to excessive heat during the greater part of the year both men and women wore bare minimum while at home. Men wore shorts and shirts. Women wore smocks of fine transparent material, which according to descriptions of some travellers, hardly covered anything. Clothes were changed everyday. This habit was followed even by other classes. Smocks were replaced by western dresses in course of time. Before World War II women of this class wore hats and stockings when they moved out of their houses.

The upper strata in the city of Goa had plenty of leisure time helped by a number of slaves to take care of their needs. When slavery was abolished in Goa they began to engage servants. Each household had at least three servants who were paid at the end of the nineteenth century between one to four xerafins each. If the servant was a daughter of a mundkar (tenant) she was paid no salary. A cook was paid upto 10 xerafins and a mukhadam received 12 to 15 xerafins. Serv-
The leisure was spent in entertainments. They played cards, dice, and chess. Slaves played music. Jugglers were hired to entertain them. The people spent their time visiting each other. They enjoyed equestrian exercises, boat cruises and games. At times of festivals folk plays were staged in their compounds.

II. Rural Goa

Social Stratification and Standards of Living

Majority of the rural population was engaged in agriculture. The village society consisted broadly of three sections: Firstly, the rich landlords who owned lands and cultivated them with the help of bonded (mundkars) or hired labour. This section got into the village administration in the course of the centuries following the arrival of the Portuguese. This process began as a result of the decline of the Portuguese trade fortunes by the end of the sixteenth century. That is when many Portuguese settlers sought to invest money in land. Teotonio de Souza has studied this process of penetration of capital in the Goan villages in the
seventeenth century. This process continued and many benefitted with the suppression of the Religious Orders and the auctioning of their large properties. Secondly, there were the conventional middle peasants or ganvkars of Goan villages who formed the bulk of the village tenants. Thirdly, there were the village servants and landless cultivators who received wages in cash or kind.

The middle class peasantry constituted the largest section of Goan rural society. For several reasons Goan villages had experienced an early monetisation of their economy. Possibly the need of paying revenue in cash to a sovereign always based across the Ghats, but also primarily due to the flourishing port economy of Goa and the urbanisation of the port city, the village crafts had grown earlier in independence from the agrarian control. The village artisans and craftsmen were able to produce for the market. Hence some crafts could develop to a very great perfection. Afonso de Albuquerque was writing to the king that guns manufactured by the blacksmiths of Goa were better than those made in Germany. The emigration in the nineteenth century freed the artisans even further from the traditional village community control.

Villages were somewhat self-sufficient with most of the daily needs satisfied from the village resources. There were
the seasonal inter-village fairs and the taluka town markets to provide what the village did not produce and in exchange for its surplus. Village artisans who served the village were maintained with namasy lands. These hereditary grants could be terminated only if the beneficiaries failed to provide the required services.57

The landed gentry, including the upper and middle peasantry had reasonably comfortable life. But the growing pressures of the Portuguese administration on the village communities by way of land tax and other taxes to meet the defence and administrative needs reduced greatly the profit margin of cultivation leading gradually to an agricultural stagnation in Goa.

**Dress:** Before the Portuguese conquest of Goa the dress of the inhabitants was to a great extent uniform but soon after the conquest, the natives who embraced Christianity were required to use European dress to distinguish them from the non-Christians.

As regard clothing the landed gentry wore cabayas. This was also the outfit of the middle class in towns. Pudvem, shirt and headgear were worn by the Hindus. In the nineteenth century men began to replace cabayas with morambas (knee-length shorts) and shirts. The women wore saris or bajus.
These were worn along with tight fitting cholis or blouses. On an average a woman's clothes would cost about Rs.10, while the same clothes in silk could cost between Rs.15 and 100 in the nineteenth century. The Christian women, when they went to Church wore hol. Bajus were replaced by western-style clothes in the last decades of the Portuguese rule. The kunbi women wore saris (kapod) in different style, with or without choli. In matter of dress it was the quality rather than variety that distinguished the upper classes from the poor. The rural poor wore fewer clothes than they do now. Their males moved about with langoti worn around the loins and went about with their upper part uncovered. Rural men had to wear a short skirt over their langoti when they visited the capital city. After 1934 this requirement was extended to the headquarters of talukas and to ferry wharfs. The men had to appear wearing a coat, a shirt or vest with pants or shorts. Non-Christians were allowed to wear pudvem. Violation of this legislation incurred penalty of Rs.1 as fine. The women had to wear choli in public places.

The main ornament worn by men of the lower class was a munz of thread round their waist. Those little better-off had munz made of silver. They also wore a necklace of stringed green or red beads, sometimes bound in gold, costing 8 to 20 xeralfins in the late nineteenth century.
Housing: Upper class rural Goans lived in spacious houses, which combined solidity of structure with elegance. These houses were built on an elevated platform with broad steps. The Hindu houses were patterned around a central courtyard (razangonn). They had long narrow windows generally barred and with wooden shutters. The bigger mansions usually had ornate portals. The houses seldom had more than one storey.

The bulk of the poor peasants lived in a single room huts, covered with straw or palm leaves, with a low door and no windows. The doors were so low that a person could not get through them in an upright position. It was normal for poor people to live side by side with their domestic animals. Samuel Purchas writes that "they account the ox, cow or baffle to be holy which they have commonly in the house with them and they besmeere, stroke and handle them with all friendship in the world and when the beasts ease themselves, they hold under their hands and throw the dung away." Fr. Eduardus Leitão, a Jesuit missionary mentions in the late sixteenth century that the houses of the poor resemble pigsties. The poor slept on the ground often without any mat to lie on or a cloth to cover. Due to lack of basic necessities many died of disease. The houses of the poor had no comforts. Their only furniture was mats, and during later period a stool, a table and a bench. Linschoten, the
Dutch traveller who visited Goa in the late sixteenth century, says that "the household stuff of the people is mats of straw both to sit and lie upon". The huts of the poor could be built for Rs. 10 to 20 in 1880. The better sort had houses of mud with ceilings made of palm wood and bamboos covered with ganvtti tiles. The housing of the middle strata of villagers improved with the use of laterite and lime, and even cemented or tiled floors, as a result of income derived from emigration since the beginning of the last century. The floors were covered with cow-dung. This practice was aimed at preventing flies and ants, and making the place ritually pure.

The utensils used were mainly earthenware. Rice was served in vatam and curry in a circular dish called gulam. Christians in the nineteenth century made use of metal dishes to eat. Use of ceramic pottery is very recent in rural Goa, while it was a status symbol for the rich landlords to use China crockery that was more commonly found in the upper class urban households. The non-Christians, even those with better means, made use of banana leaves as disposable dishes. Banana leaves were extensively used to wrap food products. The other utensils used were tambio, koiso, bindul, sotel, kopro, kail, shevgo, vatli, pelo, kanso.
Food: Rice was the chief item of the diet in Goa. Goa was considered as rice deficit area and the need for rice was satisfied by Basrur and Mangalore. The quality of rice suffered in transportation delays. Several kinds of rice were available. Girasal and Chambasal were good qualities of rice consumed by the upper classes. The poorer classes consumed low quality rice like black rice (arroz preto). Pricewise the best quality would cost about 25 xerafins per khandi in 1629-30 (times of scarcity) while the cost of the inferior quality of rice stood at 15 xerafins. These prices varied proportionately at different times.70

Rice was eaten in different forms: Boiled in the form of canjee in a container called modki. It was popular for breakfast among the poorer classes with the accompaniment of condensed curry of the previous day (kalchi koddi). Rice for meals was boiled in water and salt among the Christians. The non-Christians cooked it without salt. It was eaten with the accompaniments of curry and fish or pickles of mango and other vegetables. Rice flour was used in preparation of a variety of sweetmeats.

Kunbis and other lower classes consumed nachini (eleusine caracona) in large quantity in the form of ambil, tizan and bakri, until nachini was replaced in this century by wheat.
bread. Wheat was rarely consumed in Goa in the earlier centuries, except by the Portuguese.

Fish was available in plenty. Pyrard and other travellers of the seventeenth century mention fish being sold in the streets of the capital city of Goa. Fish was consumed more than meat. From the eighteenth century onwards it became too expensive to obtain fish due to the taxes imposed by the Government. Cottineau de Kloguen who visited Goa in the nineteenth century remarks that the poor do not eat meat more than three or four times a year. Milk and milk products were not a part of the diet due to their high cost. However, milk was cheaper in the villages than in the urban areas. In 1768 a can of milk was sold for 48 reis in towns, while it could be obtained for 26 reis in the villages.

The inhabitants of Goa were fond of sweetmeats. The social habits of the period do not suggest that these delicacies were only for the affluent. The same appears to have been true of the popular intoxicant fenil, which was consumed generously. Palm sugar was used to sweeten cakes and tea, until it was replaced by cane sugar during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Bananas and seasonal fruits of the common kind, like mangoes, jackfruits, melons and few others were within easy
reach of all. Cumin seeds, chillies and turmeric were also available to the poor. More expensive condiments like cloves, cinnamon were not easily available to them.

III. Cost of Living in the City and Countryside

Whatever details are available for the early centuries of the Portuguese rule they have come to us through the accounts of travellers and missionary records. There is little information for the villages, but it can be presumed that daily necessities would be cheaper in the village, excepting perhaps in villages in the neighbourhood of the city and with possibilities of supplying to the city market for better prices. At the end of the sixteenth century a khandi of rice cost 10 xerafins. The same amount of wheat also cost 10 xerafins. About 62 fardos of girasal rice was sold for 75 xerafins. Six khandis of cheaper quality rice was sold for 30 xerafins and 3 tangas. The following year 180 fardos of girasal was available for 270 xerafins. Pyrard writes that Goa island had to import almost everything of daily necessity, but he also says that everything was very cheap. In 1626 about 100 fardos of the same rice cost 160 xerafins and rice of cheaper quality 7 xerafins and 3 tangas a khandi. The price of one arroba of onions was in 1787 about 7 tangas and beef was sold for 4 xerafins a arroba, salt for
a *tanga* and half per *khandi* and garlic for 4 *xerafins* per *khandi*. During this period an *arroba* of pork was sold for 5 *xerafins*. In 1794 one *arroba* of pork cost 24 *tangas*, 7 *arrobas* of beef were sold for 17 *xerafins*, 2 *tangas*, 30 *reis*. A chicken was available for half *xerafim*, about 1575 eggs for 24 *xerafins*. Wheat was sold in 1850 for 47 *xerafins* a *khandi*, 9 measures of *asgo* rice was available for 1 *xerafim* and one measure of flour for 1 *xerafim* and 9 *reis*. Coconut was sold for 40 *xerafins* per thousand. In 1860 5 measures of *asgo* rice was sold for 10 *xerafins*, 3 measures of *pancharil* rice 7 for 10 *xerafins*, 1000 coconuts for 75 *xerafins*, one *khandi* of nachini cost 14 *xerafins*.

To control excessive expenditure and probably to prevent people from following certain Hindu customs, the local Government issued orders to all Portuguese and native Christians not to observe Hindu customs regarding festivities to be performed after a birth of a child. It was custom among the Goans to celebrate the birth for eight days with entertainment and lots of food. However, Christian parents were allowed to celebrate the christening with close friends and relatives. Any one going against the order had to pay a fine of 100 *xerafins* for the first time. The second violation invited exile either to China or to Moçambique.
The exact amount spent on marriages, births, deaths and festivals is difficult to determine. These celebrations provided a welcome relief to the poor from the monotony of their lives. Sums beyond their means were spent on such occasions on dowries, food, clothing, ornaments and entertainment, despite the alvara dated 1st February 1681 which banned excessive expenditure on marriages. There are references to bans on marriage expenses from time to time. By another alvara of 1st October, 1729, it was decreed that the Portuguese and the native Christians could not invite relatives of third degree. In 1876 the poor spent between 25-30 xerarins on marriage ceremonies in addition to dowry and gifts. The poor in Bardez taluka during this period spent 20 to 30 xerarins at the time of a birth, 100 xerarins for a marriage and 20 xerarins for a funeral. In 1736 the custom of sending saguates (gifts) had been forbidden, but the same continued. Debts were often contracted to meet the expenses despite Government legislation to control it. Pilgrimages were popular, especially among the Hindus, who visited Pandharpur and other holy places.

The cost of living was high in the mid nineteenth century. A labourer earned a daily wage of 16 reis. About 30 wages were required to buy a khandi of rice. The whole year's wages could buy him only 10 khandas which were not sufficient to maintain the whole family. The estimated amount
of rice required by an adult during a year was calculated as three khandis of unhusked rice. The wages went up in the early twentieth century, but this rise did not correspond to the rise in prices. Hundred and eight wages were required to buy three khandis of rice. In 1914 the annual income of a labourer was Rs. 75. It could buy 8.33 khandis of rice, which was not enough to feed even three members of the family. Rise in prices of the various commodities benefitted the landlords who sold their produce for profit. After the first World War the prices of coconut declined. On account of this situation the standards of living of the landed gentry suffered to some extent. A poor man spent about two tangas and a woman one tanga daily at the end of the nineteenth century.

Economic conditions and the cost of living compelled many poor to migrate. Every year large numbers left for better prospects. Around 1871 a total of 16,795 Catholics were away from their homes in Ilhas, Bardez and Novas Conquistas. In 1880 26,235 from Old Conquests and 2,981 from the New Conquests had left Goa. By 1910 about 43,877 persons in Old Conquests and 3,557 persons in the New Conquests were away from their homes. In 1935 around 38,788 Catholics were absent from their homes in Ilhas, Salcete and New Conquests. It appears that Goans first migrated after the British occupation of some parts of Goa during the Na-
poleonic Wars. Various events in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries provided additional impetus to the immigration of the Goans from Goa. Regular remittances to their families in Goa enabled them to have a better standard of living. Consequently the diet of these families improved. Many of them saved enough to build houses of their own separated from their ancestral home. Besides, emigration outside Goa there was intra-rural emigration all year around among skilled and unskilled labourers mainly pastoral nomads, quarry masons, carpenters and mine workers. People from outside Goa also came to work in mining areas of Goa during the later part of Portuguese rule. 93

There was seasonal emigration as well from early twentieth century at the time of harvesting and early July. The harvesting of crops was given out to teams of seasonal workers on contract. Seasonal emigrants did not cross the boundaries of Goa. They travelled around the villages in small groups, returning again to their home base after a span of few weeks to a whole season.

Between 1919-1920 there was great scarcity of food-stuff all over India and Goa also suffered. The worst sufferers were the working class. The shortage of food affected the capacity to work. Due to shortage of rice the
people fed themselves with tero and other wild leaves which caused diarrhoea. 94

The standard of living of the poor cultivator appears to have improved after 1920, even though the cost of living had gone up. A man's wage had gone up to 8 tangas, and as a result he could have a better standard of living, if his income was supplemented by other working members of the family. A woman was paid 4 tangas and boy 2 tangas per day. Skilled workers were generally paid weekly wages. The highest paid wages in the early twentieth century was in Bardez, Ilhas and Salcete. The best paid skilled workers were wood sawyers and carpenters. Probably because of demand and scarcity of such workers in Goa. A wood swayer earned 10 tangas. By 1925 his daily wage had risen to Rs. 2 in Bardez. 95

The great worldwide depression which started in 1929 was not without its impact on Goan economy, affecting specially those depending on meagre salaries. However, soon after the independence of British India, and the upsurge of freedom movement in Goa, the Portuguese Government tried to please the Government servants by raising their salaries. Before 1945 a school teacher was paid Rs. 60 and a medical officer Rs. 90. These professionals could hardly meet their needs due to high prices in the war years. After 1947 a
teacher began to earn Rs. 400 a month. Also post masters were
given a significant raise.

As regard transport river navigation was the cheapest
means for most. Some moved about in palanquins, machilas and
later on horses and tongas. Physicians as late as 1930s used
horses when they went around visiting the sick. Generally
people walked with parasol as the upkeep of machila was
expensive and tongas were not available in small towns and
villages. Carreiras or brass chevrolets were popular after
1945. 96

The upper class led a life of luxury and splendour
during the first century years of the Portuguese rule in India
but gradually their standard of living suffered badly due to
lavish expenditure and declining economic fortunes. The trade
of the Portuguese had been by then almost entirely taken away
from them by their European rivals. Those who enjoyed earlier
income of 2000 crowns were reduced by 1648 to the necessity of
secretly begging for alms. They were reduced to such a degree
of destitution that they had to part with furniture and
jewelry in order to provide for the basic necessities of
life. 97

The annual income of the upper class in the early
nineteenth century did not exceed two thousand rupees but
then the standard of living was cheap. A quarter of a rupee or a half pardao was sufficient for a decent maintenance of a single individual for a day.

By the second half of the nineteenth century the standard of living of this class suffered due to inflation. During this period salaries of various government officials was raised. For instance, the Chief Surgeon earned 1800 xerafins and 3000 xerafins of allowances. In the accounts department the Controller was paid 3000 xerafins as salary and 250 xerafins as allowances yet they could not save much due to high cost of living.98

The prices of various commodities continued to rise in the early twentieth century but there was no increase in the salaries. The life of the upper class had a direct impact on the economic conditions of Goa. The traditional consumption pattern of the upper class created a demand for a wide range of goods, in the early period - household utensils, furniture, leather goods, tailored clothes, jewelry, perfumes and horses. Few of these items were manufactured in Goa. The rest were imported from various parts of Asia and Europe. Imports increased to cater to the demands of all kinds of luxuries. Luxuries from the rest of India were in keen demand but as the standard of the people went down due to rise in prices so also
the demands for goods decreased during the two World Wars and
the Great Depression between the two wars.

Introduction of railways and roads improved the quality
of life. It helped for greater mobility within Goa and out-
side. Consequently there was greater uniformity of standards.
The impact was more general on all sectors, though on
different scale.

During the second half of the twentieth century
shortage of rice and other foodstuff forced the landowners to
convert their palm grooves into paddy fields.99 This change
contributed to decrease in the production of coconuts and
consequent decrease in exports. The impact of World War II was
felt by all classes. The landlords suffered due to the fall in
coconut prices. Salt and arecanut had no demand.

Portugal was greatly disturbed with independence of
British India in 1947. The Portuguese Government decided to
improve the economic and social conditions of the Goans. They
promoted rapid expansion of the mining industry. This gave
rise to a new class - the mine owners. Some mine owners lived
in Novas Conquistas 100 and others in Old Conquests.101 Since
mineral ore was the chief item of export. The mine owners came
to play an important role in this field. They also formed the
importing class. They imported goods from abroad and
distributed the same to local salesmen and small traders. The
later opened their shops in developing vilas and towns with administrative and other offices around them. There were also schools, cinemas, hotels, restaurants and markets. Weekly bazaars were held to which village artisans and farmers brought their goods for sale and purchased factory made goods from Europe.

In July 1954 Goans involved in Goa's freedom together with local population liberated two Portuguese possessions in India, namely Dadra and Nagar Haveli. The Portuguese fearing military action by the Indians on Goa sealed the border and cut-off rail links with Goa and India. India replied by imposing an economic blockade. All trade between Goa and the rest of India stopped officially in 1954. Portugal dumped consumer goods from different parts of the world into Goa creating an impression of self-reliance and trying to keep the upper classes happy with luxuries.
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(2) *Loc. Cit.*


(7) *Viagem de Francisco Pyrard de Laval*, II, ed. Magaihães Basto, Porto, 1944, p. 32. (Henceforth Pyrard). Pyrard was a French traveller who arrived in Goa in 1608 and left in 1610.


(11) Artur Teodoro de Matos, "Financial Situation of the State of India during the Philippine period", *Indo-

(12) Teotonio de Souza, op. cit., pp. 168-173. A barber, for instance, received 5 xerafins, a cobbler 4 xerafins, a cook 3 xerafins, and a palanquin bearer 6 xerafins as quarterly pay in the seventeenth century.

(13) Pyrard. op. cit., pp. 92-100.

(14) Conde de Ficalho, Garcia da Orta e o seu tempo, Lisboa, 1886, p. 151-152.


(16) Jeanete Pinto, Slavery in Portuguese India 1510-1842, unpublished thesis submitted to the University of Bombay, pp. 88-98.


(18) HAG: Ms. 9529 -- Leis a favor de Cristandade fl. 187. C.R. Boxer, The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1815, London, 1973, p.308 : states that in the seventeenth century a Mulatto blacksmith at Goa was alleged to own 28 slave women. Rich ladies sometimes owned 300 slaves. Many fidalgos besides being fascinated by slaves were fascinated by Indian nautch girls; PP:Visita Pastoral, X, fl. 18: During pastoral visits non-Christians were told not keep Christian slaves in their houses.

(19) Pyrard, op.cit., p. 51.

(21) HAG: Ms. 2088 -- Receita e despesa de Jesuitas, fl. not numbered.


(23) William F. Rea, The Economics of the Zambezi Missions, 1580-1759, Roma, 1976; Teotonio R. de Souza, "The Afro-Asian Church in the Portuguese Estado da India", African Church Historiography: An Ecumenical Perspective, ed. O. Kalu, Bern, 1986, pp. 36-72. Antonio Gomes was a rare Jesuit who was sympathetic to the cause of the blacks and could write: *quem diz que os Cafres são brutos para as cousas de Deus he grande engano, falta-o-lhe vizinhos a quem imitar* (Ibid., p. 72).


(26) Wicki, O Livro do Pai dos Cristãos, pp. 155-7. This must have been the occasion of nation-wide famine in India. Since the city was better provided with imported foodgrain, the poor from the countryside must have been moving into the city. Cf. Teotonio R. de Souza, Medieval Goa, p. 145, n.76. The State tried to control the prices but the farmer in charge of Renda de Mantimentos and Renda Verde tried to inflate the prices. These measures failed to control the prices and improve the conditions of the people. Many shopkeepers left for
the mainland because of the measures taken against them. Rice was now procured directly by the Government from Mangalore. The shortage of food was acute. Adulterated food was sold at higher prices then fixed on the door. Many boticarios were punished for this reason - three were burnt and some sent to the galley (HAG: MR 14, fl.48; Ms. 1498 -- Ordens Regias, n.2, fls. 8v-9v).


(28) Pyrard, op. cit., pp. 84-85.


(32) C. R. Boxer, Portuguese India in the Mid-Seventeenth Century, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 43.

(33) Teotonio R. de Souza, Medieval Goa, p. 99.

(34) Teotonio R. de Souza, "The Portuguese in Asia and their Church Patronage", Western Colonialism in Asia and Christianity, ed. M.D. David, Bombay, Himalya Publ. House, 1988, pp. 11-29. Cf. also C. J. Borges, Econo-
Teotonio R. de Souza, *Goa through the Ages*, II, 102.

XCHR: J. N. da Fonseca's Collection: *Customs and Manners*. (Henceforth Fonseca's *Customs and Manners*.)


HAG: Ms. 1828 -- *Informação Anuais*, fl. 120.

Ibid., fl. 126.


Ibid., p. 19.

A. Disney, "Smugglers and Smuggling in the western half of the Estado da India in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries", *Indica* XXVI, nn. 1 & 2, March-September 1989, pp. 57-75.


XCHR: Fonseca's *Customs and Manners*.

HAG: Ms. 2799 -- *Papeis dos Conventos Extintos*, f.s. 3-9.
(46) Mandelslo's Travels in Western India, ed., M.S. Commis-

(47) Constancio Roque da Costa, O Tratado Anglo-Portuguez
de 26 de Decembro de 1878 -- o Sr. João de Andrade
Corvo e Os povos da India Portugueza, Margão, 1879. The
 treaty was signed to bring uniformity in currency,
weights and measures, etc. By this treaty the British
Government in India was given monopoly in the distri-
bution of salt in Portuguese India. Both the countries
agreed also to build a railways connecting Goa with
British India.

(48) Mandelslo, op.cit., p. 77.

(49) Early Travels in India of Ralph Fitch, ed. William

(50) James Forbes, Oriental Memoirs, i, New Delhi (reprint
1986) p. 300.

(51) HAG: MR 93B, fl. 363. Palanquin consisted of chair
hanging from a bamboo having an overhead silk cloth or
leather cover.

(52) Antonio Baixo, A Inquisição de Goa, Vol.1, Lisboa,
1949, p. 97; Bullariun, op. cit., fl. 142.

(53) Fonseca's Customs and Manners.

(54) XCHR: Fonseca's Customs and Manners.

(55) Teotonio R. de Souza, Medieval Goa, New Delhi, 1979;
Teotonio R. de Souza, "Rural Economy and Life" Goa
through the Ages, II, 1990, pp. 78 ff.

(56) Teotonio R. de Souza, Goa though the Ages, pp. 85-7.
Cf. Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque, ed., Bulhão Pato,
Lisboa, 1884, i, p. 203.
(57) Teotonio R. de Souza, Medieval Goa, p. 82-3.


(59) A. Lopes Mendes, A India Portuguesa, vol. 1, Lisboa, 1886, p. 48. (Henceforth Lopes Mendes) Hol was a white sheet worn over saree by a Christian women to the Church.

(60) Legislação relativa ao Estado da India 1934, Nova Goa, 1936, pp. 136-37. (Henceforth LREI).

(61) XCHR: Fonseca's Customs and Manners.


(66) XCHR: Fonseca's Customs and Manners.


(68) A. Lopes Mendes, A India Portuguesa vol. 1, New Delhi,
(reprint), p.256 says: that the Inquisition issued a decree on 14th April 1736 forbidding the people from covering the floors of their houses with cowdung at the time of a delivery or after a dead body was moved out of a house.


(70) Teotonio R. de Souza, Medieval Goa, Delhi, 1979, p. 172.

(71) Pyrard, op. cit. p. 82.

(72) Kioguen, op.cit., p. 118.

(73) Ibid., fl. 22.


(75) HAG: Ms.2785 -- Despezas do Convento da Graça, fws. 80 - 81.

(76) Ibid., fl. 191v.

(77) Pyrard, op.cit., p. 28.

(78) HAG: Ms. 4396 -- Papéis dos Conventos Extintos, fws. 2 and 9.

(79) HAG: MR. 168 C, fl. 813.


Eduardo A de Sa Nogueira Balsemão, Os Portugueses no Oriente, Part II, Nova Goa (year of publication not mentioned), p. 121.

Lopes Mendes, op.cit., p. 243.

ibid., p. 42.

XCHR:Mss. J.N. da Fonseca's Collection, Questions and Responses -- Regedor de Assolna.

Appendice I- A gives an idea of the expenses of this class as well as the middle and rich classes around 1870. Some items such bread was consumed by the upper classes only. Extra-ordinary expenses at the time of births, marriages, feasts and funerals have not been included.


XCHR: Mss. J.N. da Fonseca's Collection, Questions and Responses, no. 67, fl. 21.

PP: Rois das Ilhas, 1870-1889; Rois de Bardez, 1870-1889; Rois de Novas Conquistas, 1870-1889.
(91) PP: Rois das ilhas, 1870-1889; Rois de Bardez, 1870-1889; Rois de Novas Conquistas, 1870-1889.

(92) PP: Rois de Ilhas, 1934-1941; Rois de Salcete, 1934-1941; Rois de Novas Conquistas, 1934-1941. Many literate men also migrated during this period to British India, Africa and Burma.

(93) Alguns aspectos demograficos de Goa, Damão and Diu, Goa, Government Printing Press, 1965, p.188.

(94) Daily expenses of two families of cultivators, one Hindu and other Christian, are provided in the Appendix I-B. Certain commodities such as bread were consumed only by the middle and rich classes have not been included.


(96) Teotonio R. de Souza, Goa through the Ages, II, pp. 229-30.


(98) HAG: Ms. 1828 -- Informações Anuais, fls. 3-70.


(100) Zairam Neugi, Babl Patkar, are some of those mine owners who lived in New Conquests.

(101) V.M. Salgaocar, V.S. Dempo and V. Chowgule, Marzuk Kadar, Damadar Mangalji, Nazaziano da Costa, Cosme
Costa, Lidia Simões lived in Old Conquests. Biographies on first three have been published.