Chapter 1

GOA ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 20TH CENTURY
Since the establishment of the Portuguese rule in Goa in 1510 A.D. to the end of the first quarter of the 19th century, Portugal and her colonies remained under the absolute power of the Monarchy. But there always existed a shortage of manpower to deal with the administrative and other affairs of their colonial endeavour. Hence, Afonso de Albuquerque with his farsightedness encouraged mixed marriages between the Portuguese and the native women to produce a progeny that would be loyal to Portugal.

Thus, by the middle of the 17th century, the Goan society only in Ilhas (Tiswadi), Bardez, Salcete and Mormugão comprised of five major divisions. The Portuguese who came from Portugal as high officials and returned to Portugal after retirement, considered themselves superior and were called the Reinois. Those who continued staying in Goa seeking higher positions in Government services were called the Casticos. The progeny derived from mixed marriages formed another division entitled the Mesticos. The converted Hindus or the local Christians known as Canaris constituted the next class. Finally, the Hindus in general named Gentios were relegated to the minority, the status which remained almost static with slight variances till 1931.

The Reinois and Mesticos were the most favoured in services and enjoyed all the privileges in society. The Hindus, then a minority class, was the most neglected and despised. Coercion, religious intolerance, religious conversion and discriminatory treatment in economic affairs were some of the tools by which the Portuguese divided the Goan society and ruled
Goa for four and a half centuries. It was Marques de Pombal, who in 1775 extended equal rights and privileges so far enjoyed only by the Portuguese to the local Christian population. This policy went a long way in bridging the gulf between the native Christians and the Portuguese in Goa. The Hindus however, were not the privileged class to enjoy the said equality of rights for a long time to come.

When limited Monarchy and Parliamentary control came to be established in Portugal by the revolution of 1820, the native Christians in Goa gained more importance in political matters. Goa was to depute two representatives to the Portuguese Parliament and since only local Christians were at the helm of academic and political affairs in the State, the representatives were naturally selected from the said class. Hindus had no voice in the political sphere.

According to the 1900 Census, the total population of Goa was 4,75,593 out of which Catholics were 54.84% (2,60,755) and Hindus 44.22% (2,10,279). This percentage remained almost the same even at the end of the first decade of 20th century, when the next census was taken. In 1910, the Hindu population remained at 44.17% (2,15,083) and the Catholic 54.78% (2,66,621), the total population being 4,86,752.

Thus, the Catholics were the majority community and this aspect was reflected in their dominance over the Hindus in socio-political life.

Caste Structure

As stated earlier, the native population in Goa was
divided into Catholics and non-Catholics and the non-Catholics further into Hindu and Muslim at the beginning of the 20th century A.D. The Catholic population was dominant in Old Conquests and the Hindu in the New Conquests. The Hindus were divided into following castes: the Brahmans, which included the Chitpavans, Karhade, Paddhe, Joshi, Daivadnya (Shett) and Gaud Saraswats. The Gaud Saraswats were further sub-divided into Smartha, Sasthicar, Bardeshcar, Pednecar and Cudaldeshcar. The other castes were: Vani (trading class), Cansar (coppersmith), Mest (carpenter), Lohar (blacksmith), Maratha (Kshatriya), Gurav (temple administrators), Cancancar (bangle seller), Shimpi (tailor), Kharvi or Gabit (fisherfolk), Gonsavi or Zoguis (mendicants), Pidducar (bead seller), Bhandari or Sudir, Komarpaik (seller of Sur, a native alcoholic drink), Kumbhar (potter), Agris or Mith-Gaudde (salt seller), Gaudde (farmer), Parit or Madvol (dhobi), Mahale or Mhale or Nhavi (barber), Teli (oil seller), Dhangar (shepherds), Gauli (milk seller), Lingayat (followers of Basaweshwara), Gujirs (merchants), Mhalxis (agriculturists), Pernis, Bhavins and Deulis (temple servants), Kalvants and Ganns or Gaiacas (Devdasis and singers), Chedvans and Cheddies or Fargends or Banddes (illegitimate girls and boys), Mahars and Chamars (cobbled). The last two classes were considered untouchables and had no social contact with the other castes.

The Dravida Brahman section, mainly the Chitpavans, Karhade and Paddhe had no restrictions with regard to mutual dining. However, they avoided the same in the house of Gaud Saraswats. The Gaud Saraswats considered themselves as superior
and accordingly treated the Dravida Brahmans, following the same principle for inter-group dining⁶.

The Marathas of Goa identified themselves with Kshatriyas and were further sub-divided into two classes namely, Kshatriya Maratha and Cunbi Maratha or Kulwadi, with former as the important class. The members of this class were mainly employed in Government services and held land property. The Cunbi Marathas were engaged mostly in agriculture and allied activities. They had no social status in the community. The Marathas did not eat at the house of other caste people except the Brahmans and Vanis whereas others like the Cansar, Mests, Cancancars, Gurav and Shimpi would eat at their houses⁷.

The Vanis were a trading community of Goa. They accepted food and water from Brahmans and Kshatriya Marathas. However, members of all other castes excluding the Brahmans, Shett, Gauddes, Cansars, Mests, Cancancars, Guravs and Shimpis dined with them. They performed the thread wearing ceremony locally called the munj.

The Guravs as a class were the temple ministrants who assisted the temple priest in performing the religious rituals and took a leading position during the palkhi (palanquin) procession. Some of them belonged to the class of Jain Guravs who were considered as descendants of earlier Jains and practiced strict vegetarianism. They could eat only at the house of a Brahman since they considered themselves their equals. The people from other castes consumed food in their house.

The Shett or Sonars who considered themselves as Daivadnya Brahmans were engaged mainly in goldsmithery. They
inherited gotras which regulated their matrimonial alliances. The identical gotra was an impediment to marriage. When the male child grew up in a Shett family, Upanayana (thread wearing ceremony) was performed with funfare. There was always a tussle between the Saraswats and the Shett towards enjoying certain religious and social privileges. Saraswats used to object the use of umbrellas and mashaals during the marriage ceremony of the former. Similarly, they did not encourage the Shett bridal pair to have a ride on horseback during the marriage procession. The Shetts used to dine only at the house of Karhade Brahman whereas the other caste people except the Kalvants and Bhavins could not consume food at their house. Most of the Shetts in Goa had their clan deity at Kasarpale near Dodamarg.

The Cansars were the people engaged in their traditional occupation of coppersmithery. They used sovle (sacred linen) during food time in their house and dined only at the houses of Chitpavans, Karhades and Paddhes. The castes that could have food in their house were Bhavinis, Deulis, Kalvants, Ganns and Cheddes.

The Mests or Sutars who considered themselves as the descendants of Vishwakarma, were the traditional carpenters in Goa. Along with carpentry, they practiced blacksmithery also. Most of them suffixed the title of Chari to their names. Like Cansars, they used sovle in the house during dining and did not accept food and water from other castes. Others too did not eat in their houses.

The Cancancars were those who made glass bangles and sold them to earn their livelihood. They moved from door to door
selling their wares. The upper caste women took a bath in case where Cancancar helped them to wear the bangles by touching their hand. However, socially the Cancancars used to accept food and water from Brahmans only. The people who could eat in their house were the Bhandaris, Dhangars, Bhavinis, Deulis, Kalvants, Ganns and Pernis.

The community that took up tailoring profession was called Shimpis. They had various sub-groups depending on gotras and kul (family). However, unlike other castes, neither the gotras nor the kuls were an impediment to marriage. They accepted food from the Brahman's house. The only other caste people who could eat in their houses were the Dhangars and Pernis.

The Kharvis or Gabits were the fisherfolks and those who manned the boats. They would eat at the houses of the Brahmans, Marathas, Vanis, Gurav, Cumbhar and Gauddes. The lower castes who could eat at their house were the Gonsavis, Mith-Gauddes, Pidduccars, Madvols, Bhandaris, Dhangars, Pernis, Bhavinis and Kalvants.

The Pidduccars belonged to a community who dealt with a kind of black beads locally known as pidduco. The most important and sacred ornament universally worn by the married Hindu women in Goa and elsewhere, viz Mangalsutra was made of these beads woven on a suitable thread. The Pidduccars were allowed to eat at the house of Brahmans, Marathas, Vanis, Guravs, Cancancars, Shett, Cansar, Shimpi, Kharvi, Gosavi, Gaudde, Bhandari, Teli and Cumbhar, whereas they offered food only to the Mahars and Chamars.

The Gonsavis or Mathcars or Zoguis were agriculturists
and mendicants. They lived by begging, of course in a dignified way. While moving from house to house, they used to blow a large conch shell locally known as Shankha to emit a peculiar sound. The adornment in the ear was a distinctive feature of their caste. When a child attained the age of 10 or 12, a ceremony called mudrica was performed in the family. On this occasion, an elderly Gonsavi male, stretched and pierced the boy's ear and introduced a mudrica (adornment) into the hole thus made. They could eat at the house of the Brahman, Vani, Cancancars and Kharvi, whereas they offered food to Dhangars, Mahars and Chamars.

The Bhandari or Sudir were traditionally engaged in agriculture and toddy-tapping. They had two sub-divisions, namely Sudir Bhandari and Poecape Bhandari. The latter used to collect sur (toddy) from the coconut tree. In the Old Conquests, they were called render (Rendeiros). They could eat in the house of Brahman, Maratha, Vanis and Cancancars, whereas the Dhangars, Bhavini, Deuli, Kalvants, Ganns, Mahar and Chamar accepted food from them.

The Komarpai or Komarpants lived on cultivation and also distilled the alcoholic drink locally called feni made from cashew fruit juice. They dined in the house of Brahman, Maratha and Gaudes. The low strata people like Mahar and Chamars could eat in their house. This community was mainly concentrated in the Taluka of Canacona. The Komarpai community was divided into eighteen exogamous groups.

The Kumbhars were the people who made and sold earthen pitchers. They accepted food and water only from the house of
Brahmans, Maratha and Vanis. All other people of lower strata could eat in Kumbhar's house. The Kumbhars used to share a strange belief regarding a dead pregnant woman. They did not cover her dead body and pierced a long nail through the chest and performed a religious ritual called danque. It was believed that if such ritual was performed, the unsatisfied soul of the dead woman would not cause harm to the husband and other family members. A Ghadi (mantrik) was often invited on this occasion to exorcise.

The Agris of Salcete and the Mith-Gauddes or Gauddes in the Ilhas (Tiswadi) and Bardez Taluka were engaged in the extraction of salt. Some of them were also agriculturists and property owners. They were usually permitted to eat at the house of Brahmans, Marathas and Bhandari. The lower castes like the Fargends, Mahar and Chamar were offered food by them at their house.

The Gauddes were called as Cunbis in Salcete and constituted a caste which was distinct from the Mith-Gauddes. They were engaged in agriculture and allied professions. In their community, identical Kul-Devatas were an impediment to marriage. They did not use patraval (leaf plate) to serve food since they considered tree as their totem (kul). They accepted food and water only at the house of Brahman. The women from their community had a distinct way of wearing the sari locally called denthli. They wore metal bangles too.

The Madvol or Parit belonged to washermen (dhobi) community. They would consume food at the house of Brahman, Maratha, Vani, Gurav, Bhandari, Kharvi and Kumbhars. At their
house, they offered food and drinks to the Mahars and Chamars.

The Nabhik or Mhales were the traditional barbers. They could eat food at the house of Brahman, Vani, Maratha and Kumbhars. They offered food to Mahars and Chamars. The Mhales served professionally all castes except Mahar and Chamars.

The Telis were the people who extracted and sold oil from the coconut, sesame and undam (*Calophyllum inophyllum*). The extraction of oil was effected with the help of bulls moving in a circular orbit around a native wooden mill called *ghano*. The Telis could eat at the house of Brahmans, Maratha and Vani. The Dhangars, Mahar, Chamar and Fargends were offered food by them.

The Dhangars were basically the shepherds who looked after goats, cows and other animals. In them, an identical kul (totem, family) was an impediment to marriage. They could not have a Brahman priest to preside over their religious functions. Normally, a male from their own community known as *sicaddi* conducted the religious rituals. If a woman committed adultery, she was expelled from the caste. However, she could be re-admitted into the caste after an act of purification entitled *tiraits*. The Dhangars consumed food in the houses of other castes but only Mahar and Chamar ate at their house.

The Mhalxis were agriculturists. They could eat conveniently at the house of Brahman, Maratha, Vani and Gauddes. No other castes consumed food at their house except the Mahars and Chamars.

The Pernis were servants in the temples. They dined at the houses of Brahmans, Maratha, Shimpi and Vani. Only Mahars and
Chamars consumed food at their house.

The Fargends or Banddes or Cheddes were illegitimate progeny, mostly of the higher caste people. Their women were called as chedvans. They normally entered into prostitution and were known as Columbinis. They dined with all other castes except Shett, Mest, Bhavinis, Deulis, Kalvants, Ganns and Kharvis.

The Bhavinis and Deulis were employees of the Hindu temples. Their work included sweeping, lighting lamps, arranging the place to sit for the devotees and the Puranik during Kirtans (religious discourses) etc. When the temple deity was taken out in a procession, they carried the lamps. Their surnames were patterned after the names of the respective deities to whom they served and were attached to.

A Bhavin was an unmarried Devadasi offered to God through a ritual termed as Shensa-vidhi. Normally, Bhavins ate in the houses of other castes but only Mahars and Chamars consumed food at their house. The Shensa-vidhi consisted of a marriage of a girl destined as Devadasi with another girl dressed as a groom, holding coconut and a knife in her hand. Marriage rituals were performed earlier by Joshis and later by Karhade Brahmans.

The Kalvants or Naiquinis were the class who resorted to singing and dancing. Unlike the Bhavinis, they were not employed in the temple though some of them resided in its premises. Their duty was to entertain the temple deity during religious processions etc. by dancing and singing and also the Mahajans and other men who chose to visit them. In Kalvant's community, the average looking girls were married off whereas the prettier ones were offered to the Gods. Later, these women were
patronized by rich men from higher castes. The Kalvants in Goa were known for their devotion and faithfulness to one man throughout their lives. Some of them even accepted voluntarily, widowhood when their adhered man passed away. The Kalvants consumed food at the houses of other caste people except that of Mahar and Chamar who in turn only preferred to eat at their house.

The Chamars were the cobblers. Since they created leather articles made out of animal skins, they were considered as outcastes together with Mahars. The Brahman priest did not officiate at their religious or social ceremonies. On such occasions, an elderly member of their own community was assigned the said job. Even the Mhalo refused to work with or to serve them. They consumed food in the house of all other castes except the Mahar. Since they were treated as untouchables, none of the castes would accept food and water from them.

The Mahars produced articles of bamboo and played the dhol (drum) on the occasion of religious ceremonies of both Hindus and Catholics. They were assigned the duty of removing the dead bodies of animals from public places. They were made to reside in the village outskirts in isolated wards. They did not eat pork nor consumed food at the house of a Chamar. Their usual surname was Parvar.

The Goan society in the pre-Republic period was dominated by a small minority community of Brahmans consisting of the Saraswats, locally called Baman and the Dravida Brahmans termed as Bhaties. The Saraswats who mostly owned land, business establishment, shops etc., had long given up bhikshuki as that
profession was no longer viable. However, actually, the land property belonging to the Saraswat Brahmans was tilled, cultivated and managed by the lower castes, who worked as farm labourers for their livelihood. As a consequence, the Saraswats had full control and influence over the weaker sections of the society since there was a total dependence of these people on their trade, commerce, agriculture and allied activities.16

The Saraswats in Goa were divided into different sub-sections and this division was quite distinct in the community. The various sub-sections were: Smarthas, Vaishnawas (Sasthicars), Bardeshcars, Pednecars and Kudaldeshcars.17 It was said that in the beginning, the Saraswats were a homogenous community but later due to some strange beliefs and trivial matters, there was a rift which finally culminated in the formation of heterogenous groups.

All Saraswats were originally Smarthas. Their matha (religious headquarters) was founded at Kushasthali (Cortalim) and later shifted to Kavle (Ponda). From 13th century onwards, many Saraswats accepted the Dwaita Vaishnawa School propounded by Acharya Madhwa but still they did not discard their attachment from the Shaiva temples. In course of time, the differences between the Smarthas and the Vaishnawas widened and they began to drift away from each other.18

The Smarthas were popularly called Adve (horizontal) and the Vaishnawites as Ubhe (vertical). The distinction was essentially due to their affiliation to different Sampradaya and accordingly, the Shaivite (Smartha) male used to draw a horizontal line of gopi chandan on his forehead whereas Vaishnawa
drew a vertical one. Even the women from these two sub-groups were identified easily as they used to follow the same principle while applying *Kumkum* (tilak) on their forehead. While the Smarthas and Vaishnawas had social relations with each other including inter-group dining, there was hesitancy with regard to inter-group marriages, which in fact was a rare phenomena. Although, both belonged to the same Brahman sect namely the Saraswat, there was a difference with respect to their customs, traditions, language, food habits etc. In fact, this difference brought about a major communal feud among the Smarthas and Vaishnawas in 1927 which finally attracted the intervention of the Government. However, both of them did not eat at the houses of other Saraswat Brahmans namely Bardeshcars, Pednecars and Kudaldeshcars. Nor did they keep any social relations with them.

The Chitpavan Brahmans were said to be hardworking and did not hesitate to travel out of their homeland in search of jobs. They were supposed to be intelligent priests. It was alleged that the Chitpavans did not hesitate to marry off their daughters to elderly rich grooms if their financial position was very strong.

The Karhade Brahmans were supposed to be intelligent, hard working and generous. Some of them owned *Kulagars* (orchards) in the Ponda Mahal. There were two categories of Karhade Brahmans in Goa, namely Pāddheys and Paadheys. The former were higher in status. The well-known family of Dada Vaidya in Ponda belonged to this section of Karhades. The Paadhyes performed priestly duties for the low castes and hence were considered inferior. There was
certain widespread belief with respect to the Karhade Brahmans in Goa. They worshipped Matraka Devi as their clan deity and were supposed to offer her human sacrifice in order to bless their family. This ritual was supposed to be performed on a specific day failing which, on any other available day. Although in real sense, offering human sacrifice was impossible, it was performed in a symbolic fashion by subjecting the unsuspecting guests to slow poison. It was due to this rumour that nobody dared to consume food in Karhade Brahman's house. It was also said that the Karhades did not spare (if no one was available) even their son-in-law from this ritual.22

The Kirwant Brahmans performed priestly duties for the low caste people and hence were considered inferior by other Brahmans. They were very few in number and hence to expand their population, adopted children from the Chitpavan and Karhade families from time to time.

As stated earlier, among the various sub-groups of Brahmans, the Saraswats considered themselves superior to others. However, the Dravida Brahmans were reluctant to accept their own inferiority and retaliated symbolically by refusing to eat and dine with the Saraswats. Just as the Saraswats hesitated to touch Catholics for the fear of becoming impure, the Dravida Brahmans extended the same principle towards Saraswats. If it happened by accident or by compulsion, then they made it a point to change the clothes after returning home and re-use the same only after washing.23

Family System

The family system among Hindus was patriarchal and
patrilocal. Joint family system prevailed. Large families usually lived in spacious houses often with a floor attached to it on the top. In such majestic houses lived families for almost four to five generations together with a common kitchen facility.

Since they followed the patriarchal family system, the eldest man was the head of the family. Being very aged, he enjoyed the respect from others and his advice was sought on every family matter. Usually, the families had a common business to support their living. Otherwise, they were engaged in their traditional trades like smithery, pottery, carpentry or in extending the family trade, dealing with coconuts or betlenuts etc. In case of Brahmans, they either had the Kulagars (orchards) to maintain or the shops where the youngsters assisted the elders in day-to-day business.

The inference obviously is that the families were closely knit together and individual members paid great obeisance to elders and helped to cultivate love and affection towards each other. By and large, the domestic atmosphere was peaceful with restricted liberty to women. In each of the castes, the father taught the trade and business secrets to the son and handed over the family business to them upon attaining old age. The mother-in-law trained her daughter-in-law in the house-hold chores and also in the traditions and customs of the family. There was harmony in the households and with division of labour, everyone was busy in his or her own affairs.

In the families of the Kalvants and Deulis, the women were the wage earners and as they entertained their Yajman (Patron), their menfolks were engaged either in cultivation or
accompanied them over tabla and other musical instruments when they sang and danced. The males, willingly accepted a secondary position in the family system and kept themselves busy in their occupations\textsuperscript{25}. However, the tradition with respect to the role of women in the upper castes was quite the opposite. In almost all the castes among Hindus except the one mentioned above, the position and status of women was lower than that of the men in the society.

The Hindu houses at that time were popularly called as \textit{Chaar Chauki Ghar} (four sided house) with an open square at the centre as courtyard. Generally, such houses had one upper floor above the ground floor. The front portion of the house where one entered through the main portal, led to a drawing room locally called \textit{Saal}. Adjoining to it was a place earmarked for family deity and for other religious functions. On the opposite side of the entrance crossing the open square was the dining hall (\textit{Vasri}) and a kitchen. The bedrooms were in a row that opened to the common verandah which extended towards the open square from all the four sides. The kitchen was a sacred place where the people of other castes, menstruating women and non-Hindus were not allowed to enter. In the central open square, which was called \textit{Raz-aangan}, there used to be a \textit{Tulsi Vrindavan} where an oil lamp was lit at sunset. The house roof was made from good quality timber and native tiles called \textit{Sulche Nalye}\textsuperscript{26}.

\textbf{Food Habits}

The Brahmans from the sub-group Chitpavans, Karhade, Paddhe, Kirwant and Guravs followed a strict vegetarian diet. The Gaud Saraswats who did not profess priesthood and the people from
other communities consumed fish. Few among the Saraswats and the other Hindus consumed meat other than that of cow and pig. The Catholics in general consumed all types of meat together with fish. However, Brahman converts and Charddes among Catholics very often abstained from eating beef and pork. Some Hindu Brahmans even avoided eating garlic and onion.

By all indications, the people from lower strata and the farm labourers used to consume a semi-solid stuff made from nachne (Ragi) and jaggery, locally called as ambil. Unlike the present times, there was no breakfast in the morning. But prior to their departure for day's work, pej (canji) with pickle, dry roasted fish or khatkhatem (a multi-vegetable preparation) was served to the entire family. This was a common practice in all Hindu and Catholic families and moreover even the guests and visitors were invited to have it, if they happened to visit the house in the morning.

By and large, the Hindus had their food usually in brass plates or on patravalis (leaf plates). Patravalis were normally made from dry banyan or jackfruit leaves. The patravali made from banyan leaf was not generally used except for religious occasions as banyan tree was considered to be a sacred tree. For serving liquid stuffs, generally cups, locally called donne made from dry banana leaves were used.

No wonder it was compulsory to take bath before eating among the Hindus. Cooking too was done only after having a bath. On the occasion of religious ceremonies, the women, specially of upper castes, cooked food, wearing a wet saree piece. The Brahmans during lunch time performed a ritual called Chitraval
before eating. The Hindus did not use tables and chairs but sat down on the ground using a paatt which was actually a carved and decorated wooden plank. The Brahmans neither had their food in the company of other castes nor did they consume anything which was prepared by the people considered of lower castes. The lady members of the Hindu family could eat only after their men had finished and had their food usually in their husbands' used plates. The high caste Hindus avoided alcoholic drinks whereas the lower castes usually consumed the indigenously distilled native liquors.

The Hindus belonging to the upper castes virtually starved during their journeys since they did not accept any food and water from the houses of other caste people. In the city of Panaji, they usually went to dine and rest in the houses of rich Saraswats like the Dhempe, Mhamai Kamat, Keni, Kenkre, Ghanekar, Lawande etc., who provided free food for the travellers from all castes. Before eating, they had to change their dress and wear only a special type of cloth locally called Sovlem (consecrated linen). This practice was prevailing among all the upper caste Hindus and even among Vishwakarma and other castes like the Cansar, Sutar etc. Such being the case no Hindu ate at the house of a Catholic, nor did he partake anything that was prepared by them. Even tomatoes were not frequently used by Hindus. They were called as meat fruits since they were in regular use in the preparation of various meat delicacies among Catholics. Upper caste Hindus did not eat pao or unddo (local bread) as they were made by the Catholic Pader (baker). Generally, the Hindus maintained a strict vegetarian diet on
Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays besides on days of religious importance.

**Dress Patterns**

It is noteworthy to point out that there was limited uniformity in the dressing among different social and religious groups. However, complete uniformity was observed among the lower castes and agriculturists who used the bare minimum clothes. The peasants and lower castes wore a **langoti** locally called **cashti** and exposed their bodies above their waists. They wore a **valo** (a rough cotton cloth) or a **cambli** (rough blanket) on their shoulders. They covered their head with a **rumal** (cotton cloth). If a bigger cloth was used to cover the head, then it was termed as **munndaso**. In some cases, use of a black or coloured **topi** was also made to cover and protect the head while working.

It is of great significance that the rich and upper castes wore **dhoti** locally known as **Pudvem** from their waist touching down to the ankles. They also put on a **Camisa** (shirt) with an overcoat. In addition, they used a **Upavastra** or **dupatta** on shoulders and a topi to cover their heads. The topis were either black coloured but in Old Conquests few used to wear red topis (often made of velvet) to differentiate themselves from the rest signalling that they were the most favoured class of the Portuguese Government. The turbans used as head cover differed as per the persons and also as per the type of cloth used. Accordingly, it was called **mandir, fento, Pagdi, Pagottem** etc.

Down the generations, the Hindu women wore nine-yard **sarees** (**kapad**) with a blouse (**choli**). The rich women displayed a shawl over their shoulders, called **Pamri** whenever they went out.
Wearing five yard saree around was considered as below dignity as it was worn only by the women in Devdasi families. Women in general did not wear chappals nor carried umbrellas. The young girls during this period wore a long ghagra (skirt) and a polka (blouse) before their marriage. The boys wore long shirts and trousers. Depending upon the economic conditions and social status, both males and females adorned their bodies with a variety of gold, silver and diamond ornaments.

Institution of Marriage

It is important to understand that in Goa, the primary social institution of marriage was considered sacrosanct among the Hindus. However, the rich and upper caste men considered polygamy as a status symbol and took advantage of the prevailing Devadasi system in the society to have extra-marital relations with the mistresses for their pleasure.

It was generally, the parents of the girls or relatives who would approach the parents of the grooms or relatives to propose marriage. However, in few cases, the groom's kith approached the girl's parents/relatives. The match-making was the privilege of the parents or other elderly members of the family. The wards had absolutely no active role to play in this arrangement. The plight of the girls was worse because of helplessness as they could not even express their opinions in the matter. More than the external looks of the bride or the groom the gharane (family), status of parents, their economic position etc... were the prime considerations in selecting the match. The age of marriage in the first decade of the present century varied from 6 to 11 years for girls and 11 onwards for boys.
families mere stress was laid on matching of horoscopes and it was considered to be prime necessity before marriage as it would be a signal for mutual compatibility and conjugal bliss and happiness for the married couple in future. Once the parents gave their formal consent to a possible alliance, the elders in the family visited the temple and sought opinion and blessings from their respective Kuldevatas (clan deities) in the form of prasad as it is continued to be locally known. Accordingly, the decision was taken by the elderly men in the family. It is to be noted that the female members of the family had no say in the matter.

Varadakshina or a system of giving gift or dowry to the bride-groom was rampant and was given either voluntarily by the bride's parents or as demanded by the groom's parents. The extent of dowry value depended upon the status of groom's parents and their position in the society. The dowry was treated as Stridhana and it was offered either in cash or in kind like gold ornaments, silverware, diamonds and other household utility items. Dowry was considered as girl's share in her father's property. Dowry was also responsible in some cases to bring about strained relations between the couples and their relatives. For the economically weaker sections, it used to be an impediment to marriage of their female wards. As a result, these parents hurriedly married off their daughters at the first available opportunity, irrespective of the fact that whether the groom was very much older, deformed, widower with or without children of earlier marriage. Usually the invitations for marriage were given verbally. The parents or relatives of the bride and the groom visited the houses of the
invitees and distributed Akshata (sacred rice mixed with kumkum i.e. saffron) and invited them for the marriage rituals and ceremony. The marriage rituals were normally spread over a period of 8 to 15 days and were held either at the bride's residence or at a nearby temple.

It should be remembered that certain un-written rules were observed strictly regarding marriage. In certain castes, couples belonging to the same gotras or with same Kuldevatas were not allowed to marry. In the same manner, marriages between uncles and nieces and between children of two brothers or two sisters were strictly prohibited. However, marriage with maternal uncle's daughter was permitted. Marriage was also not allowed where the woman occupied a respectful position by virtue of her status in family hierarchy. For example, alliance with wife's aunts or grand-mother's sisters etc. were prohibited.

The Hindu and Muslim men could marry at any age before or after puberty, to any number of women (with certain restrictions). But their women could not marry easily after attaining puberty. Section II of the Decree of 1880 expressly recognised a marriage celebrated according to religious rites as having the same validity and legal effects, as that of a Catholic marriage i.e. Church wedding and a civil marriage before a Civil Registrar. Till 1910, therefore Portuguese law in Goa recognised all three forms of marriage namely (a) Catholic marriage, (b) Civil marriage and (c) Hindu marriage. It was the enactment of 25th December 1910 which declared that marriage was purely a civil contract and could only be contracted before a Civil Registrar. Section 8 of the Decree of 1880 had every
marriage to be compulsorily registrable though it did not lay down that a non-registered marriage would be void. Detailed information was demanded to be entered in the official register on the occasion of marriage registration. Information pertaining to bride's and groom's names, surnames, age, profession, caste, parents' names and addresses etc. found important place in the Marriage Register. If the groom was a widower, the name of his deceased wife and the place of her death, if he was already married before, then the names of his other surviving wife or wives, the names of his children both legitimate and illegitimate as the case may be, were very much required to complete the process of marriage registration. The Brahman priest, the Qazi or the religious head as the case may be, who solemnized the marriage had to register the same in his official register within eight days of the marriage.

Among the Hindus, no one was permitted to marry a young or old widow. If any individual kept a company of a widow and treated her as a wife (such woman was called locally as Kapadachi bail), the said liaison was socially unrecognised, considered illegal and their sons or daughters were not given legal or religious rights in the society.

In cases where the bridegroom was a minor in the family, his father or guardian had to give consent to the marriage but even if such consent was not given, the marriage was not considered invalid.

Generally, polygamy was permitted when the earlier marriage failed to produce a male child. However, consecutive marriages were arranged with the consent of the earlier wives.
Among the Hindus, marrying for the third time was considered inauspicious and to overcome its evil effects, the marriage rituals were first performed with a Rui plant (*Calitropis giganta*) symbolising it as a bride followed by cutting off the plant into pieces.\(^46\)

Having *Mangal* (Planet Mars) at a prominent position in the girl's horoscope was considered to be inauspicious and was believed to cause death of her husband. The same was the belief in case of man also. In such cases, as per the situation either a boy or a girl was chosen having identical position of *Mangal* in his/her horoscope.

However, it was only in case of girls that if it was not possible to trace such a boy, then prior to marriage a special ritual was performed in private, especially at night to reduce the evil effect of the said planet. A marriage ceremony of the said girl was arranged with an earthen pot (*Ghata*) as bridegroom with usual vedic rites. This was followed by breaking of the pot and funeral rites were performed to indicate symbolically the death of the bride-groom. The bride underwent the ritual of widowhood and later purified herself by taking a sacred head bath. Through these operations, it was believed that the girl had shed off her evil influence which she had inherited due to the power of *Mangal* in her horoscope.\(^47\)

In the early period of this century, the girls were married off at a very young age. Due to such child-marriages, the child-brides suffered at the hands of their in-laws and husbands. As a child bride, she was unable to cope up with the expectations of her in-laws and other family members. She was
also not prepared emotionally and physically to face the problems of married life. Sometimes, the child brides were parted off immediately after their marriage to the husband's house. Here, she remained under the protection and strict control of the mother-in-law and other elderly female relatives, till she attained puberty. During this period, therefore she naturally pined to see her parents and waited eagerly in anticipation of such opportunity to come to her parental house and to enjoy a respite from the routine of married life. The prevailing socio-religious beliefs provided such opportunities specially during the Hindu months of Jyestha, Ashadh, Adhik (extra month of the Hindu calendar) and Pausha, during the maiden year of marriage 48.

When the girl menstruated for the first time, the news of the happy incident was communicated to all the family members and other relatives. A message was sent to her parents or in-laws as the case may be and an astrologer and vaidhya (native doctor) were summoned to suggest an auspicious day and time (Muhurt) for the purpose of performing religious ceremonies called Garbhadana or Falle-Shobhan and Lajjahome. Normally, the 5th or the 16th day after the beginning of menstruation was selected as this was considered to be fertile period for conception 49. Garbhadan ceremony was performed to symbolically highlight the ability of the girl to bear a child after marriage, since menstruation is intimately connected with fertility and motherhood. Lajjahome was essentially a religious ritual, wherein the Lajja (modesty) of the said girl was offered to the holy fire. Almost all the ceremonies including marriages were celebrated amidst the dancing
and the singing by the Kalvants.

The marriage restricted further the limited freedom of women in society. They were normally confined to the interiors of the house. Their life was full of duties and responsibilities. The married women never pronounced the name of their husbands as it was believed that it reduces the life span of husband. Nor they could talk to them in public, specially in front of elderly family members. The husband too never addressed their wives by name and did not accompany them anywhere out except on certain occasions. The married women did not travel on Tuesdays, Fridays and Saturdays.

What is extraordinary was that Goa had a uniform Civil Code, which was self-contained Code covering substantive law on civil side. It was promulgated in Portugal by enactment on 1st July 1867. Article 9 of the said enactment empowered the Government to extend the Civil Code to the Overseas Colonies by introducing amendments necessitated by the special circumstances of each colony. In exercise of such power, the Government by enactment dated 18 November 1869, extended the Civil Code to the Overseas Colonies with effect from 1st July 1870, safeguarding the usages and customs of Goa, Daman and Diu which had been codified and to the extent they were not against the morality and public order. A subsequent enactment of 16th February 1888 which replaced the Decree of 1852, reviewed and codified special and private usages and customs of gentiles (including Hindus of Goa) like polygamy in a restricted sense, joint family, prohibition against succession of illegitimate issues except for certain persons and adoption which were retained from the earlier Code.
The Civil Code referred to above was based on the Napoleonic Code.\(^{51}\)

Perfectly in line with the old-time feeling, adoption was enshrined in the Code of uses and customs. Those Brahmans and Kshatriyas who had no sons but only daughters were permitted to adopt a male child. They selected the child from among their own family members or relatives but specifically within the gotras. Usually, the boys from the same caste were adopted before their thread ceremony was performed.\(^{52}\) People did not adopt a second child when one was already adopted.\(^{53}\) Generally, the people chose their brother's second son before his thread ceremony for adoption. If it was not possible, then the son of a friend with his father's consent was chosen for the purpose.\(^{54}\) Other castes also adopted male child according to their own customs and requirements.\(^{55}\)

The Kalvants and Bhavinis were permitted to adopt children of either sex even if they already had their own children.\(^{56}\) If the would be adopted boy had no father, then it was necessary to obtain the consent from his guardian or in his absence from the maternal grand-mother.\(^{57}\) The Government servants had to take prior permission from the Governor-General if they wanted to go for adoption.\(^{58}\) In case, if such permission was not sought, then the Government did not recognise the adopted son's lawful right over his father's pension.\(^{59}\) Widows could also adopt a male child and he had the legal right over his adopted mother's property after her death.\(^{60}\)

Legitimacy to adoption was provided through a process of registration in the prescribed form as per the Decree of 16th
December 1880. It was obligatory to communicate the information pertaining to adoption in advance to the respective Administrator or the Governor-General.

**Divorce Provisions**

Far more peculiar were the laws regulating the family's unity and integrity. A better fate was offered to those who faced the serious discord in the family life, by means of a separation giving the whole issue a religious tinge. Many a times, a separation too was marked with severity of action on the part of the in-laws.

Committing adultery was one of the reasons to seek divorce. Similarly, in case of couples, who had no cordial relations with each other or the husband who deserted his wife for a long time without any prior intimation could also ask for divorce. Before the separation, there was a judicial contract followed by a religious ritual before the religious head (Swami). After the grant of divorce, the wife was considered as dead by the husband's family and a ritual called ghatakria was performed to mark the said occasion. In some cases, where the divorced woman was ex-communicated, neither she was given share in the family property nor did she get back any of those things from what her parents had given at the time of marriage as dowry. Such woman was not served food and water at her former husband's house. Although the provision for divorce was provided in the society, there were no such cases reported in the available literature during the period of study.

**Birth Rituals**

The Hindus, who had the firm anchor in values, stuck to
the rituals connected with birth assiduously. They followed pre-delivery rituals in the fifth, seventh and ninth month of pregnancy. When the young wife was in the seventh month of pregnancy, she was normally taken to her parent's house for her first confinement. Subsequent confinements were normally arranged at her in-laws' house. After the delivery, on the 12th day, the naming ceremony locally called barso was arranged in the presence of family members, relatives and friends. On the same day, the new born was ceremoniously placed in a decorated wooden cradle. It was a social obligation to send materials and consumable items or equivalent in cash to the mother and the child by the father or the in-laws as the case may be, towards the expenditure incurred to maintain them over a period of three months from the date of delivery. The items so dispatched constituted, what was locally known as patthaalo. To cite an example, the contents and the quantity of a typical patthaalo arranged in the house of Khalap from Mapusa in AD 1857 is as follows: 60 coconuts, one ghagar (big pot) coconut oil, 24 sher (1 sher app. 800 grams) jaggery, ginger and ghee worth one rupee each, ayurvedic and other herbal medicines worth rupee one, one rupee for buying fish, midwife fee of rupees two, rupee one for the servant who took care of the mother and the child, rupee one for washerman (Madval or dhobi) and rupees two for the masseuse for the mother and the child. In addition, cash to buy chickens for the preparation of soup locally called as caldo for the consumption of the mother to regain the lost strength was also paid through the said patthaalo system.

On the occasion of birth in the family, it was the duty
of every citizen to register the birth of the child within fifteen days after delivery and while doing so, a detailed information regarding the sex, religion, caste, name, place, date and time of birth with details about siblings etc. was required to be furnished. Besides the names of parents, their professions, places of their births, marriage and residential addresses, names of paternal grandparents had to be filled in the Official Register. If the child was illegitimate, the mother had to report personally to register its birth. The name of the father in such cases could not be included, unless the man was willing to do so. If it was included without his knowledge, then he could file a complaint to that effect.

If the new born child expired soon after birth, its birth registration had to be made with the note that it was no longer alive.

The registration of birth was to be usually completed by the father of the child or in his absence by the Brahman priest who prepared the child's horoscope. In the absence of both, it was the responsibility of the dai or the mid-wife who rendered assistance at the time of delivery.

When the birth of a Portuguese subject of Indian origin took place in a foreign territory, a declaration was to be furnished by the parents within eight days of the child's arrival in the Portuguese territory. In the absence of parents, relatives or a guardian was to give the declaration. Normally, the declaration was made in the presence of two witnesses who were major.

There was uniformity in the procedure followed by the
Government in the registration of births, deaths, adoption and marriage amongst the Catholics and the non-Catholics in the Old Conquests as well as the New Conquests. The Government however showed no concession with respect to the payment of exhorbitant registration fees by the citizens for registering birth, marriage, adoption, death, etc. Besides the above registration fees, the Government further levied a heavy cremation/burial fees on the non-Catholics at the crematorium falling under the jurisdiction of the respective municipalities.

Taking advantage of the prevailing class distinctions and social hierarchy, the Portuguese Government collected the cremation/burial fees from the Hindus as follows: For burying at First Class place Rs. 4/-; at Second Class place Rs. 2/- and in case of children upto seven years, half the rate in each class was collected.

For cremation of Brahman in First Class Rs. 5/- and in Second Class Rs. 3/- was charged whereas in case of goldsmiths Rs. 4/- and Rs. 2.50 were charged respectively for First and Second class. For Gujirs, an amount of Rs. 5/- was charged in First Class and Rs. 3/- in Second Class. In the case of the Vani caste, a fee of Rs. 4/- was collected in the First Class category and Rs. 2/- as Second Class charges. Whereas the Sudirs had to pay Rs. 3/- and Rs. 1.50 towards First and Second Class cremation fees respectively.71

Position of Women

The position of Hindu women during the period under study was unenviable. Even at the beginning of the 20th century, the women remained within the four walls of the house. Though she
enjoyed domestic freedom, she had a restricted role to play in the society. She was robbed of her childhood pleasures and activities due to early marriage. Thereafter, many a times her hopes and wishes were sacrificed in the name of upholding the so-called family prestige. In general, her life as a whole was devoted for the peace and happiness in the household.

As the girls were married at an early age, no importance was attached to their education. There was complete apathy towards their formal education as it was considered to be of no use to them. However, considerable attention was laid to train them at an early age to be good housewives. Till marriage, the young girls used to learn embroidery, stitching, cooking and other household work.

As a matter of fact, residence after marriage was patrilocal. Hence, in a real sense, after marriage they remained under a strict guardianship of the mother-in-law. An ideal housewife was one who meekly accepted subordinate position without any grudge, talked little and went on performing the assigned household chores with a nod of her head. Their sphere of activity was confined to the kitchen and to the inner rooms. They were not permitted to step into the saloon in the presence of elderly family members or the guests. They never sat in the varandahs as that was the privilege of old women and male family members. This was true almost in all Hindu families except in case of economically backward classes where the women went out for agricultural labour and household work to augment family income. It was only in the households of the Kalvants and Bhavinis, the position of women was higher than that of their
men, as they were the wage earners in the family. They were considered in high esteem as they had adequate training in dancing, singing and embroidery work.

The exact position and status of the woman during the period under study can be well interpreted on the basis of the humiliating and insulting treatment she got in the name of upholding prevailing customs and practices. In this connection, the plight of a Hindu woman during her monthly menstruation period is worth citing. During the said three days of impurity, she was completely segregated from other family members and confined to backyard of the house. She was offered food and water separately in patraval (leaf plate) and donne (leaf cup) respectively and made to purify the place of eating by smearing cowdung. She was not permitted to sleep at her usual place in the house. Moreover, a menstruating woman was not supposed to touch any household items including utensils except for a metallic tumbler which was gifted to her at the time of marriage for use on such occasions.

Unlike the present times, a married woman then could have no open conversation with her husband and she never accompanied him outside the house except on social occasions like marriages etc. Normally, her usual outings were restricted to jatras, haldikumkum ceremony or some socio-religious functions where she was accompanied by other elderly women and servants.

Sometimes, the Portuguese soldiers locally called as Pakhle used to create a sense of social insecurity among the rural womenfolk specially when the elderly male members in the family were away on business trips etc. One such incidence
occurred at a village in Panchwadi, Ponda taluka wherein author's good looking, married great grand-mother was abducted by Pakhles (Europeans) at the age of twelve from her parent's house. However, subsequently, the author's great grand-father persuaded the abductors to release her after disclosing her identity and status. In another incident, the Portuguese navigators at Virdi near Sanquelim tried to abduct the mother of Mr Yashwantrao Suryarao Sardessai alias Bhai Sardessai, one of the prominent Goan personalities. When their attempt was foiled by an upright old woman from the house, they excused themselves by claiming that they had mistaken her identity for a Kalvant as she was exceptionally beautiful.

More pertinently, the plight of the widows was far worse. She was held responsible for her husband's death and it was considered as the result of the sin she had committed in her previous birth. A widow, parted with bangles (made of glass), mangalsutra and kumkum on forehead as these were the symbols of marriage. She wore a coarse cotton cloth of a typical red or white colour. She could eat only once a day and abstained from eating paan and bettle nuts. To make matters worse for her, she was subjected to ignominy of tonsuring her head and for the first time, this was done at a holy place of pilgrimage. Subsequently, a barber was engaged to do the said job at home. Even the child widows sometimes had to tonsure their heads. A tonsured widow was commonly called as bodki. Socially, a widow had no place in society. She was not supposed to attend or be present at any auspicious occasions. She always kept her head covered with the end of her saree.
Educational Facilities

Educational facilities for Hindus during this period were rare. Whereas the Goan Catholics turned towards Portuguese education, the Hindus found it extremely difficult to learn Portuguese. Moreover, no Hindu was ready to learn Portuguese until he completed primary education in Marathi medium, which he believed was essential to retain and propagate his own culture and values, specially in children. For this purpose, the teachers from neighbouring Bombay Presidency were recruited to do the job.

In the nineteenth century, very few Hindus opted for formal education and if at all they did, it was in Marathi and seldom in Portuguese. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, few rich people specially from Saraswat community encouraged their children to get educated by starting private Marathi medium schools in their balconies, in the temple premises and even under the trees where children of other upper castes were permitted to study.

The teacher, who imparted the education was popularly known as Shenaimam. Boys, at the age of five or so were sent to school after Ganapatipujan (worship of Lord Ganesh) which was performed in the house by a priest. Girls were not encouraged much to join such schools. On the first day of the school, students appeared with a wooden slate in one hand and a coconut shell full of fine mud in the other. The slate was two hands long and one and one fourth hands wide. The fine mud from the coconut shell was spread on the slate, and on it the Shenaimam taught the
students to engrave the name of Shri Ganesha. This was followed by the worship of Goddess Saraswati, who is intimately connected with education (Vidya).

Initially, the syllabus included learning alphabets, numbers (in 1/4, 1 1/2, 2 1/2, etc.) and later they were assigned to write sentences in Balbodh and Modi script, which the young students used to write and rewrite in their writing books. Through these efforts, the students learnt hymns, bhupali and slokas. All were not fortunate enough in getting a teacher for their children or having a school in their village. In such cases, the father, if he was educated, himself imparted some basic essentials of education to his son till he found a suitable teacher. Though there was no fixed syllabus, the teacher used to accord priority to certain activities/subjects depending on his own background and expertise. Some teachers stressed the need of physical education alongwith the formal education.

Another practice was to make the students to read letters or allied literature written in Modi script. These letters were collected from the affluent and prominent sections of the society engaged in trade, commerce and other social activities. Often these people employed knowledgeable persons specially to carry out correspondence connected with their business activities. Many a times, these letters were greatly appreciated for their subject contents, style of presentation and relevance to tradition etc. It was a practice to exhibit such letters and use them as reference materials to guide the students in schools and also to encourage them to share the views expressed in them. Besides reading, writing and arithmetic (the 3
Grammar, poetry, religious literature like the epics etc. were also taught to the students. Reading habits among the students were encouraged by recommending books such as Harivijaya, Ramvijaya, Jaimini Ashwamedha, Mahabharata, Ramayana, Puranas etc. Efforts were also made to inculcate values and virtues in the young minds through the ancient and rich Hindu culture. The second half of the first decade of the twentieth century witnessed a marked change with respect to education and allied facilities. The Government opened more primary schools in the villages imparting Portuguese education. Gradually, the wooden slates and writing materials were replaced with stone slates of smaller sizes, along with pencils, printed books etc.

It is astonishing that even in 1907, the Primary School (Portuguese) syllabus included the teaching of Christian doctrine. As a result, the admission in the Normal School was restricted to only those who followed the State religion. Consequently, the Hindus were automatically disqualified from becoming Primary School teachers since teachers training through Normal School was one of the pre-requisites.

It may be relevant to mention that after imbibing basic education in Marathi, the interested students were sent to Portuguese Primary Schools and subsequently then for further studies at the Lyceum in Nova-Goa (Panaji). After the successful completion of Lyceum, the students could join either Medical or Pharmaceutical School or the Normal School meant for Primary teachers' training. The Normal School was established in 1841, the Medical College in 1842 and the Pharmacy School in 1847. In
1881, primary education was made compulsory for children staying within the limits of the cities and nobody was eligible to teach in the Primary Schools unless he obtained training from the Normal School. However, the enrollment of the Hindus in these schools in the pre-Republican era was very insignificant. Before 1910, few Hindus attended the Normal School. To be exact, between 1901 to 1907 only five Hindu students were enrolled in this school, out of whom only two could clear the first year and only one, the second year. The said course was of three years' duration. There were no facilities existing for law and higher education in other branches except the one mentioned above. Even to join as Professor at Lyceum, one had to travel all the way to Portugal to acquire necessary qualifications from the Portuguese University. However, such examples were rare among the Hindus.

Entertainments

The natak (drama), which was the popular form of entertainment, had its unique and traditional place in the Goan society. Dramas were staged normally during the annual zatras or fairs or other religious festivals. As these were open to all, people from different castes and communities flocked to the temple premises, where they were usually staged. In general, Goans being fond of music, musical dramas were quite popular on the occasions. The performance of the female characters was usually done by the women from Kalavant class or sometimes actresses were specially invited from the neighbouring Maharashtra. Dramatic troupes from adjoining areas too visited Goa and staged their popular plays based mainly on socio-religious themes. Besides zatras, another form of celebration
known as Kaala was arranged in different temples. On this occasion, the Dashavatari plays and other forms of dance performances like zagor based on folklore or certain religious or historical themes were staged. On the next day of Kaala was held Dahi Kaala or Gavlan Kaala in which was depicted the childhood of Lord Krishna.  

Zatras were held in almost all the temples in Goa. The duration of the zatras varied from one to five days, when large number of people made it a point to attend it. The zatras generally were of religious as well as of social significance. Besides the religious rituals during these days, in the temples were also held the sessions of reading Puranas (religious mythological books), Kirtans (religious discourses accompanied by devotional songs) and Aarti. During the zatras, the processions of the temple deities used to take place, seated in Palakhi (Palanquin), Lalkhi (a dome shaped palanquin with legs) and a Ratha (chariot). The zatras drew Hindu men, women and children in large numbers. These had commercial importance too, as a number of stalls selling sweets, metallic items, toys and earthenware, which were locally manufactured made huge turnover exceeding hundreds of rupees. It was also customary to have clandestine gambling dens at the time of fairs and zatras.

A common amusement among the village folks and especially the women was playing with tabulphalem, a game played with a quadrangular wooden board, which was divided into four rows of twelve squares. The Hindu women spent most of their spare time in these games and in embroidery, knitting and stitching work. Besides, they commonly played a game called
The children played interesting games like *Kazu biyan khell* (playing with cashewnuts) during the cashew season, wherein the boys contested with cashew nuts by arranging them in a line, with biggest cashewnut called a *bhotto* arranged first in the line and aimed to hit it by another bhotto, from a specified distance. If the player succeeded in hitting the bhotto lying on the ground, he was the winner and thus earned the remaining cashewnuts. This game was very popular among boys in the Goan villages. Similarly during rainy season, the young boys played a game using small marble balls, locally called as *gaddes*. The boys also used to play another game called *Lagoryo*, by arranging seven potshell pieces one above the other. The girls played games like *langdi* of various types and other indoor games called *Aapa Lipaa* (hide and seek), *Mithaani* and *gadephadyani* (odd and even numbers) etc.

From all accounts, gambling and alcoholism were two prominent social problems, specially in the lower strata of society. As a result of these vices, their family life was often reduced to shambles. As stated, gambling was conspicuous at the zatras and fairs held annually at various temples and church premises in Goa. The local names for common type of gambling were *girgire* and *gadgado*, both of which were popular among men irrespective of their castes and religion. Eventually, the Government showed its concern and tried to put a stop to this vice, which besides being a crime punishable under the existing law in force was equally bad to individuals, their families and the society in general. This can be visualised from the circular issued by the Governor-General in 1907 to the Administrative
Heads of the State, to take firm action against those who indulged in gambling and promised the staff that he would take full responsibility for their action.  

Although, the Government dealt severely with gamblers and had made a law against gambling, it is interesting to note that the Government gave no such attention to the prevailing social evil of alcoholism in the society. This may be so, because the latter was a source of considerable income to the Government Treasury, whereas the former was not, for it was often carried out clandestinely.  

Today, if chewing of paan and consumption of tobacco are considered as vices, these were the favourite pastimes of most of the people in those days. *Vido* and *gudgudi* were the two items through which tobacco was consumed and this was often considered as the sign of prestige among the higher castes.  

**Religious Conditions**  

By the Constitution of 1833, the Catholicism had been declared as the State religion of the Portuguese Empire. As a matter of fact, it got continuous official patronisation, whereas Hindu religion continued to get stepmotherly treatment. Every opportunity was fully utilized to harass Hindus on religious matters, specially so because the Ecclesiastical Head of the Catholics was occupying high position in the Government. The said tradition continued even at the dawn of the twentieth century. As a result of preferential educational facility, discriminatory civil rights and State patronisation, the Catholic community could go far ahead of the Hindus. The Portuguese Government was still theocratic and conservative. Even under Constitutional
Monarchy, the Archbishop of Goa dominated the functioning of the Government so much so that for his sake, the Government did not hesitate even to hurt the religious sentiments and to persecute the non-Catholics. To cite an example, in the early years of this century, the playing on Choughada (an assemblage of four kettle-drums) at dawn, in the Mahalaxmi temple at Panjim was stopped as it allegedly disturbed the sleep of the Archbishop in the morning.

Similarly, the Council of Province of Goa, Daman and Diu, at its meeting held on 6th October 1902, approved a bye-law governing a ban on beating or playing on ghumat, drum, metallic plates (zanz) or any other noise creating instruments which may disturb the public peace after 10 p.m. and before 8 a.m. in the city limits of Panjim and in the surrounding areas of Caranzalem. Those who violated the said Order were liable to pay a fine of Rs. 2/- besides facing other legal consequences. However, the above ban did not cover the dance and popular songs known as Mando, most commonly sung by the Catholics, which invariably involved beating of drums and ghumat.

Another discriminatory law was passed as per the Decree No. 27 of 27th May 1902, whereby no one among the non-Catholics could establish or start an association of religious character or could revive an old one without the sanction of the Governor-General. For obtaining the said sanction, following conditions had to be fulfilled: the constitution of the proposed association should be approved by the Governor-General and the same should be published in the official gazette; the aims and the objectives of the association should be clearly defined viz whether it is for
charity or educational purpose or to propagate faith and religion; the constitution of the proposed association should not include any clauses which were contrary to the existing Government rules and religious policies and the association should function under complete subordination of the Government. After approval of the Constitution, if at a later date such association violated any of the clauses mentioned in its Constitution, the Government was empowered to dissolve the said association immediately even if, it was of a charitable or of educative nature. However, the associations established and run by the Catholic Missionaries were exempted from the purview of above Decree and were governed by special rules and regulations. They were given full permission and guarantee to engage in religious propaganda anywhere in the land under Portuguese rule.

During the forty days period of the Lent, celebration of all the festivals in case of the non-Catholics were banned. As a consequence, Hindu festivals like the Ramnavmi, Chaitra-Poornima etc were celebrated in the month of Vaishakha instead of its scheduled month of Chaitra. There was restriction to bow down and offer prayers to Lord Maruti in Mapusa town from the main road. Hindus could not build new temples in the Old Conquests i.e. Ilhas, Salcete and Bardez nor the Muslims were allowed to build mosques. A major decision of the Government in 1907, which hurt the religious sentiments of the Hindu people was the imposition of a ban on the traditional procession of Lord Chandreshwara in Paroda (Quepem) taken out on the occasion of Dussehra festival. The Government, convinced by the local clergy
felt that the said Hindu religious procession might violate the sanctity of the nearby newly built Church. Although it was a clear cut case of religious discrimination, the Hindus were not morally strong enough to register their protests openly. Most of the time, such crises were tided over by some influential Hindus who were able to get the work done through some sympathetic officials and also through the good offices of liberal and influential Catholic friends in the Government.

It must be emphasized here that the Hindu society was deeply religious. Almost all religious occasions were piously observed. Beginning with Samvatsar Padva (New Year), festivals like Akshaya Tritya, Gokul Ashtami, holy month of Shravan, Ashadhi Ekadashi, Chavath (Ganesh Chaturthi), Navaratra, Dussehra, Diwali, Tulsi wedding, Kartiki Ekadasi, Dattajayanti, Makar Sankranti, Rathasaptami, Mahashivaratri, Ramnavmi, Chaitra Poornima, Jatras and Gavlan Kaalas and Shimga festivals were celebrated in the house and temples with utmost devotion. Besides, regular pujas and annual Shraddhas (offerings given to dead) were part of the religious life of the Hindus in all castes.

Usually, no Hindu would take any decision regarding business, marriage, court cases etc. without obtaining prasad, from their respective clan deity. This process of seeking divine advice or blessing consisted of sticking the separated petals of specific coloured flowers dipped in holy water in a particular fashion over various parts of the deity. The sequence and number of falling of those petals over a period of time was interpreted either favourably or otherwise. It is curious to note that
inspite of great scientific advancement, the said practice is still continuing. The Hindus firmly believed in superstitions and presages or omens (shakuns). While leaving the house, for some important work or assignments, if one came across any of the following viz a cow, white bull, horse, black goat, elephant, peacock, milk, butter, honey, dancing girl, an unmarried girl (Kumarika), a Brahman, a woman with child, palkhi, a pot full of water, weapons etc. it was considered as a propitious omen (shubhashakun). Whereas witnessing a cat specially black one crossing the road, pregnant woman, widow, blood, handicapped person, an empty pot, hearing isolated sneeze or to dream of red cloth, cotton, iron etc. was considered as a bad omen (apashakun)⁹².

Hindus were fastidious about number three. They never performed three events like child-naming, marriage, thread ceremonies together. If it was very much unavoidable, then a fourth event was immediately contemplated and performed, either in the form of tulsi wedding or Satyanarayana puja. It was also considered inauspicious to ask a departing person about his destination. A female child born after three males was considered unlucky. She was locally called as tickli and it was believed that she would ruin either the house of her parents or of the in-laws. The girl child born immediately after her was called nickli. She was believed to bring worst misfortunes like death etc. in her husband's family. The girl born immediately after nickli was called khilkhili and the next immediate was called as bhuiphuki. Both were believed to be capable of bringing worst
girls married off, due to the prevailing misconceptions which were based on the order of their birth. It should be noted that the fear about tickli was prevalent even among the Catholics in Goa.

The Hindus firmly believed that the eclipses bring about contamination of food stuffs and exert bad effects on human beings, specially on a pregnant woman. People observed fasting during the period of eclipse and hesitated to move out of their houses. A pregnant woman was made to lie down in a closed room in darkness, without making much movements, in order to avoid any adverse effects of the eclipse on the child growing in her womb. After the eclipse got cleared, the whole house was purified with shintodo (sprinkling of cowdung water) and all the inmates took bath before cooking and subsequent eating. Even the Christians and Muslims shared the Hindu belief regarding the ill effects of the eclipse on the pregnant women.

Among the other prevailing superstitions and beliefs, the most prominent one was that a new born child's fate was written on the sixth night after its birth. It was also believed that the Goddess Sattee or Satgrai, (a vulgar appellation of Goddess Durga) considered to be a mischievous woman, who used to write the fate on the child's forehead during the said night. People had a firm belief that this Goddess had to be pleased so that she may bless the child with a good fortune or fate. For the lower strata of Hindu society, this was a great occasion to be celebrated with their relatives and friends. The worship of Sattee was performed just after sunset with the offerings of cooked delicacies made from fish, meat, chicken together with
liquor. Having finished their dinner, the invitees and the family members used to sit down beating drums (ghumat, samell, tal and zanz) reciting vulgar phrases and songs and kept a vigil throughout the night. This was done essentially to please the said Goddess who supposedly enjoyed such vulgarities.

Among the upper castes, including the Brahmans, Sattee ritual was performed on a modest scale. The Dravida Brahmans worshipped Sattee without non-vegetarian offerings but kept a vigil throughout the night. In case of Saraswat Brahmans and other upper caste people too, a feast was organised for relatives and friends on the occasion. As usual the worship of Sattee was initiated after the sunset with special offerings of red pitkoli (Ixora) flowers alongwith Khichdi and cooked delicacies of fish. The mother of the new born child did not eat anything on the said night. She covered the child and held it to her bosom throughout the night, while the other family members after dinner kept a vigil. Before dawn, the Sattee so worshipped in the form of a marked square was made to be taken away from the house and immersed ceremoniously in some distant waters.

It was a familiar sight in rural Goa, where few males mostly from higher castes used to accept Sanyasa (renunciation of all earthly ties and possessions) as after-effects of their sufferings, which they had undergone on account of natural calamities and other difficult situations in life. Such people left on pilgrimage to various famous religious centres. On such occasions, the entire village used to get together and bid farewell to such persons after endorsing their decision. Sometimes men just deserted their households without even
informing their wives and never returned home. In such cases, the wife's condition and family's plight was really pathetic. In few cases, such deserted wife wore her marriage symbols till her death. However, in some other cases, after waiting for a certain period, a ritual called *ghatashraddha* was performed to commemorate symbolically the death of the husband in absentia and the wife was declared a widow, followed by a purification ritual (*Sovle*).

Among the Hindu upper caste people, there was restriction to leave the country and travel abroad. Violation of the said norm would entitle the person concerned to forfeit his caste. Even in extremely difficult economic conditions, no Hindu left the country for the fear of losing his caste and being excommunicated by the society. However, the Catholics in Goa, moved freely to Portugal, Africa and elsewhere to improve upon their status and economic conditions. The Hindus were bound by the strict injunctions of their religious head in the above matter.

Most of the people specially from the lower castes used to consult Ghadi (Mantrik), Avasar (spirit possessing a man) and sought advice and answers to their problems. Hindus from Bhatgram (Bicholim), Sattari, Pednem and Antruz Mahal (Ponda) mostly had different customs and traditions than the Hindus in the Old Conquests. Rituals like animal sacrifices in front of the sacred *Kalash* or *Taranga*, offer of human blood through a small cut made by sword on certain occasions, walking barefoot on burning coal/ambers with the deity on one's head, dancing with sacred fire carried on head etc. were performed by the people with utmost devotion, thereby reflecting their sentiments and
deep faith in religion\textsuperscript{95}. Among the established deities in Goa, Mahadev, Shivnath, Shiva, Manguesh, Shantadurga, Ramnath, Naguesh, Mahalaxmi, Mhalsa, Kamaxi, Kalika, Damodar, Anant, Devaki-Krishna, Ganapati, Mallikarjuna, Narcinva, Saptakoteshwar were and are still prominent. \textit{Saptamatrikas} (seven Goddesses) namely Brahmi, Maheshwari, Vaishnavi, Kaumari, Varahi, Indrani and Chamunda were and are worshipped in certain temples like those of Pariem and Vimleshwar (Rivona). But in Goa they also assume names of Morjai (Morji, Pednem), Lairai (Shirgao, Bicholim), Kelbai (Volvoi and Bicholim), Shitlai (Savoiverem, Ponda), Mhalsai (Mayem, Bicholim), Shitai (in invisible form in Mormugaon) and the seventh one is Our Lady of Miracles of Mapusa, who got converted to Christianity but is worshipped with equal respect on par with her other sister deities. The six Goddesses are symbolically represented in the form of Kalasha (pot) filled with holy water, with mango leaves and a \textit{Sriphal} (coconut) on top of it\textsuperscript{96}.

There were and are also \textit{Gram-devat\=as} or village deities, who look after the prosperity and security of the village and its people. These are \textit{Santer}, represented in the form of sacred anthill; Betal in nude form, who is a \textit{Pishachch devata} associated with the security; \textit{Gram-Purusha} or \textit{Purus}, who is the founder of the village is normally worshipped in the form of a black stone. Besides there are folk deities like \textit{Kshetrapal}, \textit{Purva}, \textit{Mharu}, all of which are symbolically represented in the form of stones and worshipped by the village Hindu community\textsuperscript{97}.

The Goan Hindu community believed firmly in the
supernatural powers and the spirits. Among the deities connected with folk traditions, Bhut, Devchaar, Vatharo, Barazan, Khetri, Mharu, Ghoda, Vaghro, Naga, Khunti were popular. Besides, every community mostly from lower strata of Hindu society had their specific affiliations to these supernatural spirits. For example, the Kunbi and Velip worshipped Paik or Paikdeo, the Gosavis who follow the Nath cult worshipped Siddha in the forest of Bondla (Sanguem), Dhangars were affiliated to Bhairoba and so on. In case of Mahars there used to be a place known as Mharangan in each of their ward, where they offered animal sacrifice.

Bhut was believed to be a non-human Shakti, usually lived in Kulagar (orchard), Bhaat (coconutgrove), trees or open fields. It is widely believed that if any household forgot to light the lamp in its honour and failed to give offerings, the said spirit would remind the said lapse on the part of the household by crying loudly during the night time. The Bhuts were classified into three types as Avagat, Devagat and Vargat. Interestingly, all three types were associated with the dead females only. A woman who died in childbirth became a Avagat and a woman who died after giving birth to a living child attained the status of Devagat Bhut. If a woman died during menstruation period, then she transformed into an Vargat Bhut.

Devchaar was another super-natural spirit, considered to be helpful and friendly. At the same time, it was believed to act ruthlessly with those people who deliberately disregarded it by neglecting to offer it the usual respect. Even the Goan Catholics were quite conscious and careful with respect to the existence of Devchaar as a friendly spirit. Favourite offerings
to him were soro-ront i.e. liquor and thick rice cake (Bhaakri). It was popularly believed that Devchaar helped a traveller by guiding him in his journey in case he lost his way, brought back the lost cattle and other animals and also protected the village. He was also known to punish those who attracted his wrath, by hiding such persons on tree tops. However, it was also believed that the Devchaar freed such persons, if his near and dear ones asked for forgiveness and assured him of respectful behaviour in future. It was widely considered that except the fruit bearing trees like mango, jackfruit etc. the Devchaar resided on all other trees.

Brahma was another powerful God that resided usually on Peepul (Fiscus) tree. Vatharo was a protector of a particular vathar (area). Khunti was a female form, often earmarked on stone wall or tree trunks. Normally, banyan tree was marked for her worship. Khetri was worshipped in the form of a stone and was often offered human blood from the forehead by making a small incision by a sword.

Among the Hindus, animal sacrifice was most common in all the Saivite temples on various occasions. Pranacharya Dada Vaidya, the famous native doctor and social worker lamented that even the cultured upper caste Brahmans believed more in the power of spirits and Ghadis rather than medicines and doctors for the cure of sickness and diseases.

The said statement of Dada Vaidya can be well supported by the fact that during the outbreak of plague epidemic in Panaji in 1901, the residents offered prayers at Mahalaxmi temple and made a conditional submission that they will undertake an annual
bhajani saptah, provided the epidemic was eliminated without causing much harm to the citizens. Fortunately, the plague disappeared soon and as promised, the devotees started the bhajani saptah, which continues even today.

It is indeed not surprising that the families which spent their lives for generations together in the service of the temples were compensated with plots of fertile land lying under the jurisdiction of each temple. These plots were handed over to the said families as a token towards their faithful services rendered to the community in general. In return it was expected that the said families would make optimum use of the allotted land to lead a comfortable life. Thus, one finds such property being named as Bhatache shet (land of the priest); Shenai shet (Shenvi's land); Mhalyacho ghudo (barber's orchard); Bhavinicho vavo (land belonging to Bhavin); Madvalachi Kungi (small plot of dhobi); Kalvantache shir (a narrow strip of land belonging to kalvant) etc.

One of the prominent festivals in South Goa was the Jambavali Shimgo. Lord Damodar of Jambavali was the village deity (Gramadevata) of Mathagrama (Madgaon) from where it was shifted to Jambavali in the Sondekar's kingdom. During the period of annual Shimgo festival, most of the Hindus from Madgaon gathered en masse at the Jambavali temple to celebrate the traditional gulal festival. At a time, when during Inquisition Hindu festivals were banned in the Old Conquests, the Hindus would celebrate the said festival once in a year with great enthusiasm. The Shimgo festival had its own characteristics. There was the usual palkhi procession, smeared gulal (sprinkling of holy
saffron powder) and animal sacrifices. In addition, there was a practice of reciting publicly obscene and abusive epithets and taking out a mock marriage procession with a male dressed as bride, arranging a mock funeral procession etc. These types of vulgar and cheap acts were considered to be necessary to please certain supernatural spirits and deities. However, the overall picture of the religious scenario in Goa would not be complete without mentioning the effective hold of the various religious heads (Swamis) over the Hindus. The different castes had their Mathas (religious headquarters) at different places within and outside Goa, e.g. the Partagal Matha, Kavle Matha, Sankeshwar Matha, Haldipur Matha etc. Among the Saraswat Brahmans of Goa, the Vaishnavas were affiliated to Dvaita Madhva Sampradaya and were followers of Partagal Matha whereas the Smarthas belonged to Advaita Shankara Sampradaya and affiliated themselves to the Matha at Kavle.

The Partagal or Gokarn-Partagal Matha had its own history and it effectively controlled and co-ordinated the religious and social activities of the Vaishnava disciples. Established in 1476 A.D. at Bhatkal, in present day Karnataka State by Shrimad Narayana Tirtha Swami Shripad Vader, it was shifted to Partagali, Goa in 1665 A.D. then under the Sondekar's Kingdom. Consequent to the extension of the Portuguese rule over Canacona taluka in 1771 A.D. Partagal Matha, (with the excuse that it had a Ram temple in its premises) like any other Hindu temple was brought under the Mazanias Act and a committee was appointed in 1850 A.D. by the Portuguese Government to look after the property of the Matha and to manage its administration. The
said action of the Portuguese Government was opposed and
criticised by the then head of the Matha Shrimad Purnaprajnya
Tirtha and later by the next Swami Shrimad Padmanabha Tirtha,
ably supported by the Vaishnava Brahmins, forced the Government
to hand over the charge of the Matha back to the then Swami
Shrimad Indirakanta Tirtha in 1886 A.D. The above mentioned Swami
took Samadhi in 1942 A.D. but in his lifespan of more than 50
years as head of the Vaishnava section, he handled many
prominent social issues.

The Swami usually visited various places, where the
Matha followers resided except during the Chaturmas (Holy period
of four months) which he spent in isolation and meditation. The
Swami visited the households of his followers who submitted a
formal request and made appropriate arrangements for his visit.
During the course of the said visit, a ritual called Mudradharana
was performed. Mudras were symbols of Lord Vishnu namely Shankh
(conch), Chakra (wheel), Gadhaa (mace), Padma (lotus) etc.
embossed on copper plates and pressed against the skin of either
hand, forehead etc. after heating so as to retain its impression.
This sacred ritual of Mudradharana was performed at the hands of
Swami. The Vaishnava Saraswat men, women and children accepted
the said mudras from the Swami's hands as a process of religious
purification and this was a necessity for women specially to make
them eligible for cooking during the religious rituals. A strict
protocol was observed by the members of the community while in
the presence of the Swami. Courtesy demanded that nobody should
occupy a seat, which was higher than that of the Swami.
Similarly, nobody was to sit cross-legged as it was considered to
be indecent. While interacting with the Swami, the devotees had to cover their mouth, speak in a low tone and avoid harsh and unwanted words in their speech.

There is no doubt of the fact that earlier all Saraswat Brahmans belonged to the Shaivite Matha, which was actually established in about 740 A.D. by Shri Vivarananda Swami, a disciple of Shri Govinda Bhagavatpada, follower of Smartha Shankara Sampradaya at Kushasthali near Keloshi in Goa. Shri Govinda Bhagavatapada who was the disciple of Shri Gaudapada Acharya had also initiated Adi Shankara to Sanyasa. The early history of the Matha is not traceable as the original Matha at Kushasthali was destroyed in 1564 A.D. by the Portuguese. The Matha was revived at Kavle (Kaivalyapur) in about 1630 A.D. by Shrimad Sachidananda Swami, the sixty-third Guru. The Swamis worshipped Bhavani Shankar and a shrine of this deity is seen near the Matha at Kavle. The Matha had its branches at Kashi (Varanasi), Brahmvarta (near Allahabad), Nashik, Walkeshwar (Bombay), Khanapur, Belgaum, Sankhli (Goa), Sonavadi, etc. The Smarthas popularly known as Adve in Goa, Maharashtra, North and South Canara (Karnataka) and those settled elsewhere in the country were its followers.

The Karhade Brahman did not have attachment to any particular Swami as their own. They did not have their own caste council. Whenever any social discord cropped up in the community, elder community men sat together and found a solution to the issues through mutual discussion.

Chitpavan Brahman community traditionally professed priesthood and were engaged by the temples as well as by other
communities to perform religious functions and pujas.

As for Daivadnyas, Sringeri Pith was their Gurupith as was the case with the Dravida Brahmans. The first founder, Acharya of Sodemath at Udipi was a Daivadnya. So they followed the dictats of Sodemath for long. 109.

The religious seat of the Vani (Vaishya) community was at Haldipur near Mangalore in Mysore State. The Swami from the said Matha visited Goa with all his paraphernalia including the elephants, horses, palkhi etc. In Goa, he often stayed at Mapusa in a bungalow which was subsequently labelled as Swami’s Vaddock. The rest of the castes in Goa including even the Vanis were followers of Sankeshwar Matha near Belgaum. It had one of its branches at Kavle (Ponda) which was often visited by a representative of the Swami to guide the followers. 110.

In every socio-religious matter, the people sought the final decision from their respective Swamis. The Rayas or Ajnapatra (order) from the head of the religion was the final verdict. Any community member who disobeyed or challenged the said order was ex-communicated. There were two types of ex-communications namely Tyag (complete desertion) and Bahishkrit (Ostracised). In the latter case, the ex-communicated person continued to remain in the society but was to have neither social relations with the caste members nor to perform any religious rituals whereas in the former case, the person was totally thrown out of his family and caste. 111.

Whenever an individual behaved against the normal decorum and violated prevailing social, religious and caste rules, the community members made a formal complaint to the
Swami. After ascertaining the facts, the Swami ordered ex-communication of the said person, if he was found guilty. The decision of the Swami was communicated to all through an order (Rayas). The Swami also intimated the priest, not to officiate for the ex-communicated person in any religious rituals or matters. The following were some of the reasons for ex-communicating persons: (a) when a person ate prohibited items; (b) when a person dined with the people of lower castes; (c) when a person's wife was found guilty of committing adultery; and (d) when a person kept social contact with an ex-communicated person.

An ex-communicated person was considered as dead and his family members observed the pollution days. Hence people dreaded ex-communication and lived in awe of it. However, it could be revoked by the Swami, when such a person requested for atonement by agreeing to take expiation (Prayashchitta).

Interestingly, two instances of ex-communication came up for hearing before the Administrator of the Ilhas taluka in 1903. The said cases were heard in the premises of the temple of Mahalaxmi in Panaji in the presence of the Administrator himself, together with other officers of the Government, Purohit of the temple, Shri Nanu Tarcar Pednecar, a prominent social worker of Panaji belonging to the Nabhik community and several caste members, who had gathered there. During those days, there was no concept like widow-remarriage, at least in the high caste Hindu society, but it was practised among the lower strata of the society on rare occasions. The Swami of Sankeshwar Matha, had passed the Rayas on 12th January 1900 and 14th August 1903.
permitting post-puberty widow remarriages. However, the said order remained in principle, unimplemented, as the people were reluctant to follow it. In fact, the mood and sentiments of the people can be well judged on the basis of the following reported case of widow remarriage in 1903 and its aftermath in the society.

The case was about the second marriage of one gentleman named Vencatexa Tari with a widow, namely Sorospaty (Sic), daughter of Santu Vitol Tari Volvoicar, a resident of Panaji. The said marriage attracted a lot of criticism and caused mental harassment and humiliation to both the families, since some men from their caste retaliated against the widow remarriage by imposing ex-communication on the family of the widow. In view of the tremendous psychological tension and defamation caused as a result of ex-communication, the father of the widow, Santu Vitol Tari Volvoicar registered a formal complaint against the said persons by claiming that they had no right to do so because the marriage had been solemnised according to the permission given by the Swami in 1900 and 1903. The committee presided over by the Administrator endorsed the said widow remarriage.

After this incidence, the people from the said community slowly tuned their minds towards the widow remarriages and accepted it, though reluctantly as part of their social system. However, such marriages were rare and differed from normal marriages in some aspects. Whenever a widow remarriage took place, the bride was taken to the groom's house only after nightfall. At the in-laws house, the groom offered her new clothes and after spending three days in isolation, the bride
became eligible to carry on her normal married life.  

A similar case came up again for hearing before the Administrator of Ilhas in the same year. This time the ex-communion was because of inter-caste marriage. A strict protocol prevailed, with respect to inter-sub-caste marriages among the various sections of the Hindu society. Besides the Brahmins, Shett, Vani and the upper caste Marathas, the rest at that time were put together in a general category namely the Sudirs (Sudras). However, they did not constitute a homogeneous class. They often remained segregated and refused to acknowledge the other sections with equal status and respect. As a result, the Sudirs did not practise inter-sub-caste marriages among themselves. However, their religious heads were quite liberal in their approach and hence on 9th November 1880, the Swami of Sankeshwar Matha, through a Rayas had issued from Pednem to all the followers of the Matha, permitting the marriage alliance between Bhandaris and the Bande community with the condition that the couple had to undergo an act of purification later, to be conducted by the Swami himself. Inspite of this provision prevailing in the society, the said community members were reluctant to perform inter-sub-caste marriages amongst themselves and reacted harshly with those who ventured into it, by ex-communicating them. The case reported in 1903 was related to one such rare marriage. A complaint was lodged by one Baboia Sazu Naique of Nova Goa (Panaji) belonging to Bhandari caste. He was aggrieved over the fact that the scheduled marriage of his son was cancelled unilaterally without intimation by the bride's father Vitol Naique of Britona for the reason that the groom's
paternal uncle had married a girl from Bandde family of Neura. The father of the said bride not only married his daughter elsewhere but in connivance with other members of the caste, excommunicated Baboia Sazu Naique and his family. The case was heard in the premises of Mahalaxmi temple at Panaji as usual, in the presence of the Administrator and the members of the committee and the judgement was delivered in favour of Baboia Sazu Naique on the basis of the Rayas of the Sankeshwar Swami\textsuperscript{118}.

These instances give a clear idea of the gradual change in attitude of the Portuguese Government with regard to the religious heads of the Hindus. The Swami of Sankeshwar Matha had played an important role at the request of the Portuguese Government to bring to an end Dada Rane's rebellion through his mediation in 1898 A.D. The Portuguese had given him appropriate honour and due respect at that time and continued it thereafter\textsuperscript{119}.

Such was the religious atmosphere in Goa among the Hindus in the pre-Republican era. They were highly traditional, superstitious and rigid in their behaviour towards others with respect to caste, religion and social privileges and status. The influence of Western civilization brought in by the Portuguese made little impact on them in the early years. However, as the Liberals and Republicans managed to gain ground in Portugal, the Hindus gathered courage and faced bravely the onslaughts on their religion. As a result, the people of Nerul forced the Government in 1907 to lift the ban imposed on Ramnavmi celebrations scheduled in the month of Chaitra. The Chaitra Poornima festival at Marutigad (Curchorem) banned on the advice of the Parish
Priest of the same village, was restarted by the Government at the insistence of the people. Thus, at last the Hindus were gaining ground slowly where they had always been the losers for the past four hundred years. 120

The most prominent and influential section in Goan society were the native Christians. It may be recalled that at the end of the seventeenth century there were five groups in the Goan population viz Reinois, Castiços, Mestiços, Canaris and the Gentios. By the first half of the 18th century, the population of Reinois and the Castiços showed a downward trend. The said decline resulted in a keen competition with regard to jobs in the Government and attaining social status, among the Mestiços and the Canaris in which the Mestiços always got upper hand. The Mestiços were confined mostly to army and allied services. In 1870, when the Government curtailed the number and wages of the soldiers, the said class raised the banner of rebellion. As a result of the Government's brutal suppression of the said rebellion, the power and prestige of the Mestiços suffered a setback in the society. This particular situation left the field open to the native Catholics to prosper unhindered for more than a century as they had no competitions from the Hindus, till the advent of the Republic in 1910. 121

It is indeed difficult to conceive how the Catholics in Goa had a strong affinity towards the caste system even after their conversion. In Christianity, in fact, there is no place for castes at all and it neither promotes it. But the caste system was reflected in their socio-religious and even political life in Goa. There were roughly sixteen castes among them. These
were Brahmans, Chardos, Agri, Sudir, Mestri (Sutar), Gavandi (Mason), Madval, Teli, Sonar, Barber, Kharvi, Lohar, Kumbhar, Kunbi (Gavade), Chambhar and Mahar. However, the major ones were the Brahmans, Chardos and Sudir (which included generally all the lower castes).\(^{122}\)

Although there were no restrictions on inter-group dining among them, there was a self-imposed restriction on inter-group marriages. The Brahmans maintained an endogamous group and resisted exo-group marriages. Even among the lower caste Catholics, though they would eat at each other's house, a distance was maintained with respect to matrimonial alliances.

**Institution of Marriage**

As a matter of fact as in the case of Hindus, the Catholic marriages were arranged either by the parents, relatives or elderly friends. There were very few cases of love marriages. However, unlike the Hindus, the betrothed couple could meet at public places on social occasions before marriage.\(^ {123}\) The age for marriage among the Catholics was higher as compared to that among the Hindus as it was regulated by the Portuguese law. Although the laws promulgated before the advent of the Republic did not fix the exact age for marriage, it did mention that the couple had to attain the status of a major. According to the Decree of 1867, the age to be a major for girls was sixteen and for boys eighteen years.\(^ {124}\)

However, what was alarming was that the dowry system was in force as a necessary social evil. The parents had to part with a huge sum ranging from Rs. 5,000/- to Rs. 50,000/- as dowry, may be in cash or in kind, like ornaments, dresses,
The marriage of a grown-up girl was simply unimaginable to a parent, specially from economically weaker sections of the society, who often encouraged their daughters to either remain single or to join the convent as nuns. In other instances, since the girls had inherited share in their father's property, for the sake of keeping the family wealth intact, many from the higher castes, from the affluent sections having few or more children, permitted either a lone son or a lone daughter to get married and the rest to remain single throughout their life, enjoying the family wealth and property. However, this selfish approach on the part of elders, brought about a gradual degradation of moral values within the family system. In an effort to save family property from partition, the society as a whole had to pay heavily in terms of deteriorating moral character among the members of the community.\textsuperscript{125}

With the influence of the Portuguese, the Christian society in Goa was thoroughly Europeanised and hence modernised than the Hindu society of the time. The upper castes among Catholics usually preferred to converse in the Portuguese language at home and outside, whereas the lower castes preferred Konkani, as they neither had social prestige nor any status to maintain. Unlike the Hindus, the women among the Catholics were treated on equal basis. Socially she was liberated and took active part in the decision-making process on par with male members in the family. Thus, the Catholic women were more fortunate than their Hindu counterparts in several aspects.

In reality marriage was one of the sacraments for the Catholics. Hence, the marriage was solemnised in the Church in
the presence of a Parish Priest. The registration of marriage in the church register was their customary law but after engagement the marriage was legalised through a civil registration before the concerned authority. The marriage proposal generally came from the boy's side. Before engagement, the first announcement was made on any Sunday by the Parish priest in the respective churches after the mass, regarding the proposed marriage. This announcement was locally termed as Chit Vachop. Thereafter, the same announcement was repeated on two consecutive Sundays to register objections if any, from any side, in solemnising the said marriage.

After the Church rituals, the marriage ceremony was held, first at the residence of the groom and the next day at the house of the bride. Among the upper castes, the marriage nuptials locally called as vesperas, i.e. vespers was followed by a ball and a banquet at the palatial residence of the groom. In the case of lower castes, the nuptials were followed by a littany locally termed as Ladain (Ladainha) and a small party to the invitees in a temporarily erected pandal called matov.

The Hindu customs and practices had been a part of Goan Catholic's pre-conversion life. The Portuguese succeeded in transforming the converts and the Catholic society to Western ways. However, some of the customs and traditions of the Hindus still prevailed among the Catholic community and have lingered even today. For example, certain rituals during the marriage were allied to those of the Hindus. A week prior to the wedding, the Catholic bride wore bangles locally termed as Chudo like the Hindu brides, the only difference being, in the former it was
multiple colours whereas in the latter case only green bangles were worn, till a few days after the wedding.

On the eve of marriage day, as a part of the marriage ritual, the bride and groom, at their respective houses were applied with coconut juice, followed by a ceremonial bath amidst singing of ovios (a stanza of a particular measure).

Usually an elegantly made white wedding dress was presented to the bride by the groom or if it was to be a saree, purchased by him. In the case of females, wearing of white gown at the time of marriage was related to the affluency, caste superiority and modernity in the Catholic society. Hence the educated lower caste youths, upon attaining sound financial status, preferred to marry a girl with gown rather than the one with saree in an effort to imitate the rich high caste sections of the society. On the day of marriage, a team of young women from the groom's side visited the bride to dress her up for the nuptials. The elegantly dressed bride was then made to stand before the altar with folded hands and all the elderly family members, relatives and friends gathered on the occasion blessed her and offered token gifts. The said blessing ritual was locally called benção. The groom also underwent similar type of ritual at his place of residence.

Widow remarriage was permitted among the Catholics. But normally men preferred to marry virgin girls. Unlike the Hindu widows, the Catholic society was far more liberal towards their widows. They could lead a comfortable social life without any sense of guilt.

The Catholics specially in Salcete did not refer to a
pregnant woman with the local Hindu word gurvar. May be the word seemed to them to contain the name of one of Hindu Gods. Instead, they expressed it symbolically as having heaviness in the legs.

As was the case with the Hindus, the first delivery took place at the parental house of the pregnant woman. There were no pre-delivery rituals. Baptism was the first sacrament of the Catholics. Usually on the eighth day after the birth, the child was officially admitted to the Church. The first name given to the child was mostly that of the paternal grand-father/mother followed by several others.

Like the Hindus, the Catholics also believed that the fate of the child was written on the 6th night after birth. Although they did not observe Sattee worship, a night long vigil was kept by arranging a feast to the friends and well-wishers, mostly among the lower castes.

The staple food of the Catholics was rice with fish curry. They were staunch non-vegetarians and preferred fish, beef, pork, mutton, chicken and also meat of hunted birds and animals. Their delicacies included dodol, neureo, karkare, karmolam, mandare, doce, cakes, bebinca specially prepared at Christmas time. Unlike the Hindus who cooked freshly on the day of the festival, the Catholics had the habit of cooking the food on the previous day, as they had no time to do the said job on the day of the feast. The Catholic style of cooking was different from that of the Hindus. The Portuguese were mainly responsible for this change on the western pattern.

Interestingly, there was a tremendous influence of the Portuguese on the way of dressing of the native Catholics. The
Catholics imitated the Portuguese life style including their dress. It was commented that the people specially among the higher castes spent substantially on their clothing than on eating\(^\text{129}\). However, the lower caste men walked bare-footed with a cloth-piece tied over their head to cover the hair and the provincial dress of Cashti (langoti). The others wore *Calcao* (pant) and *Cabaia* (long dress drawn till knees). In most cases, women wore a five-yard round saree as against the Hindu women who preferred nine-yard *Kapad* (saree). The women always covered their heads when they attended mass. Young girls wore a dress called *quimao* (*Kimono*)\(^\text{130}\).

It is not out of place to record here that the Catholics amused themselves in cockfights, bullfights etc. as these were quite popular among the village community\(^\text{131}\). The Konkani dramas locally called as *tiatr*, full of folk theatricals attracted a large number of Catholic people. These were staged in villages and also on the occasion of church feasts\(^\text{132}\). The village folks also enjoyed the street dramas or peripatetic tamashas locally called *khel*, which were staged in open places by the local artistes, upon invitation extended by rich persons from the village. In such khels the female roles were usually played by appropriately dressed males\(^\text{133}\).

The parish churches were also the centres of music and the parish priests trained the young Catholic boys and girls to sing the hymns and also to play the musical instruments like organ, violin, trumpet, drum etc. *Mando*, a Christian folk song was usually sung on special occasions like wedding receptions etc\(^\text{134}\). The Mando has still maintained its popularity even now in
the Catholic society.

It is indeed remarkable that the Catholic community as a whole paid great attention in educating their children and made all possible arrangements in this direction. It was difficult to find even a single illiterate person specially among higher castes. It was a routine matter to find a priest, an advocate, a doctor and a serviceman amongst the family of relatively rich or high caste Catholics. Even girls were encouraged to get primary education, although, only few of them could reach Lyceum or imbibe training in the Normal School. Besides the formal education, the middle and upper caste Catholics encouraged their girls to learn singing, dancing and playing western musical instruments. Embroidery and tailoring too was taught to them which often helped them to turn it into profession to augment the family income.

Religious Life

On the whole, the Catholics were very disciplined and serious in their religious behaviour and attended the mass regularly. The parish priest had a great role to play in the community life of the Catholics. There were daily prayers to be offered whenever the church bells tolled. That was normally at five in the morning, twelve in the afternoon and seven in the evening. Amori was the local name for the time of the evening bells. People usually avoided going out of the houses after Amori. They worshipped St. Mary as well as other saints like St. John the Baptist, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Francis Xavier, Our Lady of Miracle, Our Lady of Sorrows, Our Lady of Perpetual Succour etc. Besides, the Trinity of God the Father, God the Son
and God the Holy Spirit, St. Anthony was considered as the patron Saint of the Catholics in Goa. People prayed to him in distress and in happiness.

Significantly, the village feasts were usually organised by the Gaoncars, the original settlers of the village. The Moradores (the people who settled later on) had no rights regarding this matter. It was considered to be a matter of great honour to the Gauncar family to organise the annual feast. Two other prominent festivals were those of Christmas and Easter. Another important social and religious occasion was the ceremonial visit of Virgin Mary once in a year to the houses of the community members.

Besides the annual feast of St Francis Xavier, the exposition of his body was held for public veneration once in every ten years. During this period, people flocked to Old Goa to offer him prayers and ask for favours. Due to lack of transport facilities, people used to walk down to Old Goa and travel through Vapor (ferry boat) wherever possible, days in advance and lodge themselves at the churches for the night before the feast.

It is a known fact that most of the Catholics in Goa are the local converts from various Hindu castes, converted during the Portuguese colonial rule. However, there was a sustained effort to preserve their core-culture and maintain the traditional caste system of the Hindus, even after hundreds of years of their conversion to Christianity. This was evident specifically among the lower castes who secretly visited Hindu temples in search of blessings locally called prasad. In the temple of Mangueshi, the Catholics from Cortalim had the first
preference in getting the said blessings as they were believed to be the original Mahajans. Similarly, the Shantadurga Cuncolekarin temple at Fatorpa near Cuncolim (Salcete) and the Damodar temple at Jambavli were also popular among the Catholics of South Goa.

The lower caste Catholics also had blind faith in the supernatural powers of the evil spirits like devchaar and in Ghadis (Mantrics). On the outskirts of every village, there was a marked tree associated with the said supernatural power, where even the Catholics secretly offered ront i.e. bhaakri (Coarse cake) and liquor and sometimes sacrificed animals on the advice of the Ghadi, for the progress and fulfilment of their wishes or for the annihilation of their enemies.

The lower caste Catholics thus continued to serve as links between the ancient Indian culture and heritage to which all Goans belonged prior to their conversion. However, some of the upper caste Catholics in the process of Europeanisation lost their traditional cultural base and tried to pretend as if they differed from the rest.

Administrative Institutions under Monarchy (1500-1820 A.D.)

During the early period of conquests, the vast Portuguese empire of India spread from Cape of Good Hope to Moluccas in the Far East, was under a single representative of the King in Portugal with the title Viceroy or Governor. The tenure of his office was limited to three years. He was armed with absolute powers and had the ultimate control over all the branches of administration viz civil, military and judicial.

However, Marques de Pombal in 1771 A.D. changed the
title of Viceroy to Governor, which lasted till 1835 A.D., when by an order it was changed further to Governor-General of Overseas Provinces and this nomenclature lasted till 1961 A.D.¹³⁸. The Secretary or Secretario Geral of India, who was directly appointed by the King, assisted the Viceroy in the administration of the empire.¹³⁹ The Council of State (Concelho do Estado) and the Council of three Estates (Concelho de tres Estados) advised him in the affairs of the Government. The former constituted the highest functionaries of the State and was expected to act in an appropriate manner so as to keep a check and vigil on the Viceroy. Practically speaking, this did not happen as the latter had more influence and control, over the administration.¹⁴⁰

Under Constitutional Regime (1821-1910 A.D.)

The Revolution of 1820 led to the establishment of Constitutional Monarchy in Portugal in the year 1836. Many reforms were introduced in the Colonial Administration. Since 1821, the State of India (Estado da India) was given political rights and representation in the Parliament (Cortes) in Portugal by its deputies. During this period, Goa was to send six representatives to the Parliament.¹⁴¹ Later, the Election Commission gradually reduced this number from six to one.¹⁴²

The civil administration of India till 1910 was governed by the Administrative Code of 1st December 1869, entitled as the Organic Charter (Carta Organica). The Code of 1881, aimed at decentralisation was not made applicable to India alleging that conditions in India were not suitable for its implementation.¹⁴³
The Governor-General was aided in his administrative work by a Council (Concelho do Governo) comprised of the chief ecclesiastical authority, namely the Archbishop of Goa, the Chief Justice of the High Court, the two highest military authorities in Goa, the Attorney-General (Procurador da Coroa), the Secretary of the Council of Fazenda, the Health Officer, the President of the Municipal Chamber, besides the Chief Secretary who functioned as its Secretary\textsuperscript{144}. Besides the above Council, there were three other Councils called General Council of Province (Junta Geral da Provincia), Council of the Province, (Concelho da Provincia) and Public Revenue Board (Junta da Fazenda Publica).

The first one was composed of the Chief Secretary, Archbishop, the Attorney-General, the Secretary of the Revenue Board (Junta de Fazenda), the Director of Public Works (Obras Publicas), the Health Officer, one representative Professor each from Medical School, Normal School, Professional School and Lyceum, and representatives of each of the Municipalities of the Province. This Council dealt with matters pertaining to public works, health, education and collection of customs duty, provincial services etc\textsuperscript{145}.

The Provincial Council was composed of Attorney-General, two members selected by the Governor from a list supplied by the General Council. The Chief Secretary acted as the Secretary of the Provincial Council. It had jurisdiction among other things, over municipal budgets, interpretation of rules, laws, Government appointments etc. The Revenue Council mainly
dealt with the public finances.

For the purpose of efficient administration, the Province of India was divided into three districts namely Goa, Daman and Diu. The district of Goa was sub-divided into two divisions - Velhas Conquistas or Old Conquests and Novas Conquistas or New Conquests. The former was further sub-divided into three Councils of Administration (Conselhos de Administração) viz. Ilhas, Salcete and Bardez. Conselhos were further divided into Parishes (Freguezias) or Regedorias which totalled ninety eight in all.

Every Conselho was placed under the charge of a functionary called Administrador (Administrator) who was nominated by the Governor-General. He was also the head of Municipality of that particular Concelho (taluka). Every Parish had a minor council called Junta do Parochara and its head was called Regedor. His duties were to manage the administration and to act as a local police officer. These three Concelhos were constituted in September 1838 in compliance with the Administrative Code of December 1836.146

Ancient social and cultural customs and usages of the inhabitants (Hindus and Muslims) of the New Conquests were guaranteed by the edicts of 5th June, 6th August and 12th September 1781.147 The Intendente Geral (Intendant-General), was the Chief Administrator of the talukas in the New Conquests. His powers were wider than those of Tanador-mor.

In 1852, the New Conquests were divided into four fiscal administrative units. The Fiscal Administrator (Administradores Fiscais) had the same powers as that of the
Administrator of the Concelhos (talukas) from the Old Conquests. His jurisdiction spread over the management of village communities and temple confraternities. In 1881, it was further divided into six Conselhos as under: Pernem, Sanquelim, Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem and Canacona. Parts of Satttari, Ponda and Sanguem were under military command.

Till 1822, Portugal was governed by a Monarchy which was absolute in nature. This had an obvious effect on the overseas colonies. Goa was ruled by the iron hand of the Governor-General in close alliance with the Catholic Church. The Government was despotic and inefficient. Corruption was rampant and no official was too big to resist the temptation to extortion nor any official too small to accept bribery.

Significantly, the Revolution in France and Napoleonic invasions had a tremendous impact on the people of the Iberian Peninsula. Liberal ideas infiltrated even in Portugal leading to a revolution in 1820 and setting up of a liberal Government with limited role of Monarchy. During the next few decades, Portugal passed through a period of Constitutional changes oscillating between despotism and liberalism. There was confusion and instability not merely in Portugal but also in overseas colonies. But on the whole, the administration of colonies was much more liberal than before or was to be under Dr Antonio de Oliveira Salazar.

Now, the policy of unabashed and ruthless exploitation of the colonies was given up and attempts were made at assimilation of the colonies. It was in this period that the Portuguese possessions in India were allowed representatives in
the Parliament, though of course on a rather restricted franchise. The first three representatives elected were, Dr Bernado Peres da Silva, Constancio Roque de Costa and Dr Antonio Jose de Lima Leitao, all liberals, against the Absolutists. In an apparent bid to assuage the feelings of the Hindus, they too received the right to vote. However, the right was restricted to few and only to the Hindus in the Old Conquests. The said right of franchise was not extended to the Hindus in the New Conquests till 1845 and later only to those who could read and write Portuguese.

Expectedly, the Carta Constitutional or the Constitutional Charter guaranteed certain freedoms, rights and facilities to the citizens. Social security to an individual was guaranteed by the fact that no one could be arrested without a warrant issued after a pre-inquiry by the Court except in case of those, who conspired against the State, engaged in forging currency and against criminals caught red-handed. Similarly, an individual had the freedom of enjoying privacy in his own residence and no outsider could enter his house, without his permission. However, the law enforcing authorities, Health officers and the Administrator of the Conselho acting within the framework of the law were out of purview of this law. The citizens were provided with freedom of speech and thought together with freedom to form associations within the provisions of the Constitutional Charter. An individual had the freedom and privilege to work, retain and enjoy his earnings acquired through literary, commercial or land sources without violating or
encroaching upon the rights of other citizens. Every citizen was given the privilege to violate those laws which he thought improper or pleaded for its amendment or cancellation. However, if a citizen violated such laws prior to its cancellation or amendment, he was to be tried first in the court for violating the law in force. All citizens were considered equal before the law, irrespective of colour, religion and caste. All Government appointments were subject to merit and the Government was bound by its duty to provide free and compulsory education to its citizens. Every citizen had a right to justice and the Department of Justice was autonomous in nature unlike other normal Government departments. Tampering with the letters of another individual was a crime punishable under the law. People had the freedom of religion and thought. The Roman Catholicism was the State religion. The people of other religions had permission to profess their own religion without disturbing the State religion, public health and morality.

However, although these rights might have been properly implemented in Portugal, they remained in Goa, in cold storage, with very few daring to oppose its violation. It was during this period that the famous Goan, Francisco Luis Gomes took his seat in the chamber of deputies in 1861. He was a man of liberal outlook and advocated Colonial causes. In one of his speeches in the Parliament, he said, *I am proud to belong to that race which wrote the Mahabharata and invented chess.* He had many admirers in the West, including John Stuart Mill. Incredible though it may sound, in 1895 only one representative was sent to Portugal. In the elections, the Goan Catholics figured
prominently. Though the Hindus had got the right to vote, they could not use it effectively due to large number of restrictions imposed upon them. However, by the end of the 19th century, political activities in Portugal had virtually stagnated. The Parliament was reduced to a mere name and its proceedings to a formality. The political parties were busy within themselves, sharing the spoils of office and thus earned notoriety as Rotativos (Rotataries). Towards the end of the 19th century, Portugal had been thus reduced to a Monarchy without Monarchists, as a result of which the Republicans consolidated their position considerably and continued with their efforts to bring Portugal closer to Republicanism.

It is against this backdrop, on 31st January 1891, in the city of Oporto, there were fresh clashes between the Republicans and the forces of Monarchy. Although the resistance of the Republicans failed to achieve its objectives, one of its distant effect was granting of the rights of local autonomy to the inhabitants of Old Conquests in Goa. However, these were withdrawn by the Government in 1895 soon after the fresh outbreak of the Rane rebellion alleging that the rebellion was aimed at overthrowing the Portuguese regime in Goa.

Actually the said rebellion was triggered by the Goan Hindu soldiers. At this time in 1895, the Government had issued a Decree forcing the Goan soldiers to sail to the Portuguese African colonies to suppress the revolt of the native African tribes. The Hindu soldiers retaliated by refusing to sail to Africa as that would make them cross the seas, which was tabooed by religion. They feared that they would lose their caste and
face ex-communion from the society. When the Portuguese authorities declined to consider their entreaties, the disgruntled soldiers approached the Ranes to lead their rebellion.155

Against such a grim background, the Hindu soldiers in the Portuguese army killed in 1900 an army officer named Captain Basto while he was inspecting a parade for reason that he had shot dead a holy cow. This aggravated the already volatile situation. The Portuguese held Dada Rane responsible for instigating the soldiers and hence deported him along with many of his associates to Africa.156 The last of the rebellion of Ranes came around 1911 against the oppressive laws in the Sattari taluka in the New Conquests. This time the revolt was mercilessly suppressed and the leaders were deported to African penal settlements.157

Meanwhile, the Republicans continued with their stratagem in Portugal. One of their members, Dr Afonso Costa even warned the King Dom Carlos in full Parliament that if the King did not control the unrestrained administration of the Monarchists and did not pay serious attention towards the welfare of the people, there would be no time before which the crown of Monarchy would crumble. The King obviously turned deaf ear to this, as he was totally under the strong influence of the corrupt high ranking officers of the State. It was because of them that the Hindus in Goa received no justice from the administration. The chaotic political situation was further worsened due to the financial crisis brought about by the deficit budgets and mounting public debts. The secret revolutionary society
Carbonaria operating underground took advantage of the situation and became instrumental in finally assassinating King Dom Carlos on 1st February 1908. This bizarre assassination brought on the throne Prince Dom Manuel who was too young. This advantage was taken by the Government in Goa, where the Crown and the cross worked hand in glove and pursued vigorously the policy of harassing the Hindu community. It may be relevant to mention that in 1907, the Hindus were prohibited from securing the jobs as Primary teachers by an Act which made teaching of Christian doctrine compulsory in Primary Schools. Since the Hindus neither had the training nor the permission to teach Christianity, they automatically were disqualified. Although there were no Hindus holding the above posts, still they held meetings in Panaji and criticised the Government's decision. It was clear that the Hindus were not yet the privileged class to enjoy the rights and concessions on par with Catholics. This situation continued till the establishment of the Republic in Portugal on 5th October 1910, when the Monarchy was at last abolished. The new Constitution promulgated in 1911 announced the news of full citizenship and rights and privileges to the Hindus.

The Catholic community during this period was at the helm of Goan political scene. Sound socio-economic conditions, prominent administrative positions in the Government, pronounced academic excellence and fluency in the Portuguese language all contributed towards their political domination in the society. Almost all the professors, doctors, advocates, empregados (Govt Officials), judges etc. belonged to this community. The Press was
in their hands and despite Government's suppression, they initiated and led many political movements for their uplift. Their community was proud of having produced some great men of wisdom and actions. These included men of letters, orators, diplomats, politicians and outstanding Parliamentarians, who not only impressed the Goans but also people in Portugal and in Europe through their ability and talents. Examples of such men are Bernardo Francisco da Costa, a journalist and a Parliamentarian, Dr Francisco Louis Gomes, Fr. Alvares, publisher of newspaper *Brando Indiano* and one who suffered at the hands of the Portuguese Government for his outspokenness, Fr. Jose Inacio Loyola, journalist and editor of *Rebate* and *Lanterna*, Portuguese newspaper, Luis de Menezes Braganca, journalist, Tristao Braganca de Cunha, a great freedom fighter of foresight, Rudolfo Dalgado, a great litterateur, known for his Portuguese-Konkani glossary and historians like Fillipe Neri Xavier, J. A. Ismael Gracias, A. B. de Braganca Pereira, Jose Nicholao de Fonseca etc.

Although the professionals and intelligentsia among the Catholics were outspoken and did not hesitate to criticise the Government on wrong doing, the majority of the upper castes, landlords (Bhatkars) and those in administrative services fully supported the Monarchial regime and rendered full help in neutralising the critics with an aim to please the Government. They looked down upon their Hindu brethren and supported their clergy and the Portuguese Government in the persecution of the Hindus. There was very little understanding between the two communities. Whereas the Catholics humiliated the Hindus as *Kokne* and considered them backward and uncivilised, the Hindus
retaliated by completely outcasting them. The intensity of the said feelings against the Hindus was more in the Old Conquests than in the New Conquests.

The behavioural pattern or the disposition amongst the Catholic community of Goa could be related to their respective places of settlement. Accordingly, they could be categorised as Bardeskars, Sastikars and Tiswadikars depending upon their respective places of residence in these Talukas. The Bardeskars were generally considered as light-hearted, pious and more industrious than others. Although they imitated the Portuguese to a certain extent in their socio-cultural behaviour, they were not totally influenced by them. They were well-known for their courtesy and hospitality shown towards guests and visitors. The migration and movement of the Catholic people from Goa to British India and elsewhere was predominant in the Bardes region compared to the rest of Goa. The gentle nature of these people could be discerned from their behaviour pattern.

The Catholics of Salcete were considered to be of scholastic nature. However, religiously they were very strong minded compared to the Catholics from other parts of Goa. May be, this could be due to the influence of the crafty and religiously fanatic Jesuits, who dominated in this part. As a consequence, in Salcete there was a lot of religious intolerance among the Catholics and non-Catholics. The Sastikar Catholics were fluent in Portuguese language and figured more prominently in Government services. The Catholics from Tiswadi taluka were considered to be in between the Bardeskars and Sastikars in their temperament and behaviour.
Europeanisation and modernisation among the Catholics of Goa brought about a gradual change in their attitude towards the joint family system and slowly people preferred nuclear families to enjoy the freedom of life, without restrictions. As a result, the elderly members of the family were neglected and were left alone to their own fate. In the absence of any support from their wards, such old people often resorted to live on begging etc. Although this was not a general trend all over Goa, it was evident in some lower caste families, specially from Salcete taluka. 

In fact, academic advancement made the Catholics to dominate over the non-Catholics in Government services etc. At the same time, they did not lag behind in other professions also. Some of them travelled extensively in search of livelihood to countries like Kenya, Mossambique, Brazil and also to British India and specially to Bombay. The young Goan Catholics worked on ships in various minor capacities and proved themselves to be good sailors. They excelled in the profession of tailoring and also in carpentry. Some Catholic families were really the masters in shoemaking. The indigenously made shoes were very popular and even the Portuguese used to prefer them over the European brands. Although fishing and toddy tapping were the monopoly business of low caste Catholics, they were also known for growing best seasonal vegetables and other agricultural produce specially in the villages like Agassaim, Mapusa, Taleigaon, Parra, Moira etc.,
References


15. Bragança Pereira, n. 6, p. 46.


22. Ibid., pp. 142, 171, 172.

23. Ibid., pp. 177, 178, 179.


29. Ibid., p. 13.

30. Sardessai, n. 27, p. 572.


34. Sardessai, n. 17, pp. 20-21.

35. Ibid., also n. 33, pp. 43-44.

36. Codigo dos uzos e costumes dos habitantes nas Novas Conquistas, Nova Goa, 1854, Article 3.

37. Ibid., Article 4.

38. Ibid., Article 5.


41. Boletim Oficial do Governor Geral, Estado da India, Nova Goa, No. 96, 1 September 1888, Article 23, p. 676.

42. Ibid., Article 24.


47. An incidence witnessed by author's mother in her childhood.


50. *Ibid.*.


52. *Codigo, op.cit.*, Article 27.


55. *Ibid.*, Article 29.


60. *Ibid.*, Article 35.

61. *Boletim Oficial*, 1st September 1888, No. 96, Regulamento, Articles 31-1, p. 76.


70. Ibid., Article 21.

71. Boletim Oficial, No. 35, 5 May 1903, Articles 6 and 7.

72. An incidence narrated by author's grand-mother.

73. Sardessai, n. 27, p. 564.

74. Bragança Pereira, op.cit., p. 301.

75. Account narrated to the author by an eye witness, Mrs Suman Gude, St. Inez, Panaji, Goa.

76. Sardessai, n. 27, p. 551.


78. Sardessai, n. 27, p. 552.


80. Ibid., p. 322.


82. Ibid., p. 266.


84. Gune, op.cit., p. 268.

85. Boletim Oficial, No. 89, 8 November 1907, p. 418.

86. Sukhthanker, op.cit., p. 171.

87. Boletim Oficial, No. 267, 6 October 1902 Byelaws, Article 1 and 2.


89. Ibid., Article 2.

90. Ibid., Article 3.


92. Bragança Pereira, op.cit., p. 244.


95. Sardessai, n. 27, p. 539


104. Sardessai, n. 27, p. 540.


111. *Codigo*, n. 36, Article 114.


118. Relatório, op.cit., pp. X, XII.
119. Savardeker, op.cit., p. 29.
120. Sardessai, n. 27, pp. 174-75.
121. Savardeker, op.cit., p. 100.
122. Bragança Pereira, op.cit., p. 47.
123. Sardessai, n. 27, p. 216.
124. Sukhthanker, op.cit., p. 54.
125. Ibid., p. 104.
129. Sardessai, n. 27, p. 211.
131. Xavier, op.cit., p. 222.
133. Gune, op.cit., p. 271.
134. Xavier, op.cit., p. 228.
136. Sardessai, n. 27, p. 2.
140. Gune V. T., A Guide to the Collections of Records from the Goa Archives.


145. Ibid., pp. 77-78.

146. Ibid., p. 112.

147. Ibid., p. 114.

148. Ibid., p. 120.


152. Savardeker, op. cit., p. 44-46.


156. Sardessai, n. 27, p. 236.


159. Sukhthanker, op. cit., p. 329.


161. Ibid., p. 106.

162. Ibid., pp. 101-102.