

## APPENDIX II

## CULTURAL ASPECTS

"The Portuguese arms and heraldry being ephemeral might be erased by time in Africa and Asia and thousand other islands. But nothing shall erase the doctrine, customs, language that the Portuguese in these lands left."

João de Barros, *Decadas* (the decadal chronicles of the Portuguese Empire of the East)

"Europeans visualise Goa as a verdant paradise lapped by sparkling seas, swept by cooling winds and showers; Goa the Golden, clinging like a limpet to the edge of a hot, tropical hinterland. The Golden Goa vision is unequivocal in its radiant clarity.

But rather than confirming, the results of this enquiry challenge the image's historical accuracy."

Caroline Ifeka, *The Image of Goa in Indo Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions.*

Between Barros's prediction and Ifeka's "enquiry" there are several mid-hues, the more common being that, though substantially Indian, Goa is "different".

Just as there are modern historians who doubt Goa really was, at any time, the *Goa Dourada*, Golden Goa, repeatedly emphasized in all manner of books on Goa, there are others equally cynical about the grandeur of the many ports lying on the Konkan coast, once part of the mythic kingdom of Saptakonkana which supposedly stretched from the south bank of river Tapti in Gujarat to the tip of Kanyakumari.

Reverend Alexander Kyd Nairne, a protestant missionary who also was a civil servant (Bombay Civil Service) and wrote the main chapter on the Konkan (later published as a book, *History of the Konkan* ) for the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, wrote in 1896, rather dismissively: "Though the Konkan can scarcely be called historically famous, its large coastline and convenient harbours, together with its comparative nearness to the Arabian coast, made it known to the earliest travellers, while the natural strength of the country and the character of its inhabitants gave it in later days much greater importance than its wealth or extent could have justified."

Almost hundred years later (1981), a modern historian, M. N. Pearson, who taught at various universities, amongst them, those of Pennsylvania and New South Wales, was equally sceptical about the impact of maritime trade on Indian economy. He states in the preface of his book, *Coastal Western India Studies from the Portuguese Records*, "No Indian state of any size has derived very significant revenues from seafaring activity." A few pages later, he states: "The glamour route in pre-Portuguese Asian trade was that carrying spices from Malacca to Aden, via either Malabar or Gujarat. In this trade the three Konkan ports of Dabhol, Chaul and Goa played a small role.... The difficulty involved in estimating Goa's importance before the Portuguese conquest of 1510 lies in the way in which the earliest Portuguese authors make extravagant claims for fifteenth century Goa."

But we also have other, more lavish, accounts. Wrote Tomé Pires, one of the most observant early Portuguese chroniclers, in *Suma Oriental*, "great trains of oxen loaded with merchandise used to come into Goa from very distant kingdoms of the interior," obviously

for those goods to be exported. There is an even more ecstatic account from the Jesuit, Fr. Manuel Godinho, who undertook a journey, through sea and land, in 1663, as the courier of a very secret letter from the Viceroy of Goa, António de Mello e Castro, who vehemently opposed King Dom Joao IV's decision to gift away Bombay to Charles II of England, on his betrothal to his daughter, the beautiful Infanta Dona Catarina de Bragança. Fr. Godinho failed in his mission. The king simply refused to go back on his plighted word. But Fr. Godinho left behind an account of the "rich merchant fleets" that sailed into and out of Goa "loaded" with silver from Japan, gold, silk and musk from China, rubies from Pegu (now Myanmar) diamonds from Masulipatnam, and ivory, and elephants from Ceylon, and horses from Arabia, and tapestries from Persia, ebony and stones from Mozambique, and much more. Fr. Godinho mentions at least 25 countries and more than 30 "precious merchandise," which, in the style of the times, included slaves from Asia and Africa.

Before the Portuguese conquered Goa, the international trade was conducted by the Arabs in tandem with the Venetians. There had also been trade involving Greeks, Romans and Jews. In those days, goods were bought in hard cash; therefore, there was a plenitude of coins in the markets. The coins were of all kinds of metals, gold, silver, copper, of varying weights and sizes bearing the likenesses of the sovereigns of the times in whose names and for whose benefit the coins were minted.

The coins, legend goes, were valued by expert Goan goldsmiths, whose only tools were the touchstone and the punch with which they marked the coins, as a certificate of their worth. Coins were often revalued by Doubting Thomases. The internationally famous Goan numismatist Fenelon Rebelo, perhaps the world's leading authority on Portuguese issues (he is by academic training and profession a geologist), gives below some of the coins that might have been traded in Goa. He includes in the sampling some of the rare coins in his possession, coins that perhaps were in circulation in Goa when Chandrapur and later Govapuri were the capitals.

**Coins that might have been used in Goa before the Portuguese arrived and trade with Asia was controlled by the Arabs and the Venetians.**



**Michael Steno 1400-1413. Zecchino. Ahnlich wie vorher. Gamb. 137. Fr. 1230. Selten. Vorzuglich 450.-**



**Tommaso Mocenigo 1414-1423. Zecchino. Ahnlich wie vorher. Gamb. 137. Fr. 1231. Selten. Vorzuglich 550.-**



Francesco Loredan 1752-1762. Zecchino. Ahnlich wie vorher. Gamb. 1580. Fr. 1405. Vorzuglich 300.-



al-Mustasim, 640-656 H. (1242-1258). Dinar, 8.260 grams, struck at *Madinat al-Salam*. 641 H., BMC I, 504. Better than very fine and scarce. 3500.-



abu-Ziyan Muhammad IV, 774-776 H. (1372-1374). Dinar, 4.692 grams, struck at *Madinat Fas*. lacking a date of striking, Hazard 797. Extremely fine and very rare. 1750.-



abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad, 775-796 H. (1373-1393). Dinar, 4.362 grams, struck at *Madinat Fas*. lacking a date of striking, Hazard 825, Better than fine, traces of mounting, and rare. 750.-



abu-Faris 'Abd al-'Aziz II, 796-799 H. (1393-1397). Dinar, 4.706 grams, struck at *Madinat Azammur*, lacking a date of striking, Hazard 842, Extremely fine and very rare. 1850.-



**Dinar, 4.659 grams, struck at *Madinat Fas*. lacking a date of striking (c. 796-9), Hazard 846, Extremely fine and very rare. 1850.-**



**abu-'Amir 'Abdallah, 799-800 H. (1396-1398). Dinar, 4.691 grams, struck at *Madinat Fas*. lacking a date of striking, Hazard 888, Extremely fine and very rare. 1850.-**



**Probably a later counterfeit, Dinar, 4.633 grams, bearing the mintplace *Marrakush* without date of striking, very fine. This coin was very likely made for the jewellery trade in North Africa. 750.-**

(N.B. The numbers and descriptions above are as in the Auctioneer's Catalogue. The figures on the extreme right are the basic price — in 1982 — in Swiss Francs.)

**As to coins from other origins relevant to the times, he collected for us the following samples:**



**- Indo Bactrian**

- **Andhra**



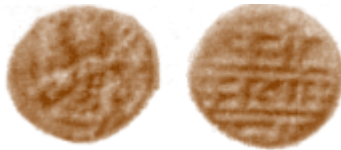
- **Kadambas of Goa**, gold, obverse (4 punch marks showing a flower and two small blank punches) reverse ( a large lotus struck as the whole flam)



- **Kadambas of Goa**, gold, obverse (lion standing left), reverse (legend in Nagari, *Sri Kotishcharana laboha varavira*, followed by King's name - which is not clear)



- **Vijayanagar**, Sadasiva, gold, obverse (Haragauri seated), reverse (Sri Sadasiva in Nagari)



- **Ali Adil Shah I**, copper, obverse (Ali Ibn Abi Talib), reverse (Asad Allah al-Ghalib)
- **Mohammed Adil Shah**, copper, obverse (couplet: *Jahan ja in do Muhammed giraft zinat wa jah*) reverse (Ek Muhammed Murasal Diwan Muhammed Shah)



- **Chaul** (1557-78), copper, obverse (Portuguese arms), reverse (bow and arrow) value 4 Bazarucos (Minted at Cochin for Chaul and perhaps Bassein, weighing 10 to 10.4 gms)



- **Diu** (1683-1706), silver, obverse (Portuguese arms), reverse (cross of São Jorge) value 1 xerafin



- **Bassein** (1706-50), lead, obverse (Portuguese arms), reverse (Orb of St. Catherine) value: 10 Bazarucos



- **Goa** (1740), silver, obverse (Portuguese arms), reverse (Cross of the Order of Christ) value 1 xerafin



- **Goa** (1777-86), gold, obverse (Portuguese arms), reverse (cross of St. Thomas) value: 12 xerafins



- **Neerlandia**, silver, obverse (Pallas), reverse (arms of the State of Genoa) Danish coins of Tranquebar





## ARCHITECTURE, MUSIC & CUISINE

Wrote the late Boies Penrose, the former curator of the Philadelphia Museum of Art and professor of History at St. John's College, Pennsylvania, "The stirring years of the third quarter of the sixteenth century were not only noteworthy for the military and political history of Goa, but there was also a mild flowering of the arts and the sciences in a community not generally celebrated for its devotion to culture." As a result, Goa was "generally, if superficially westernized". It was around the late seventeenth century that the Goans realised that the Portuguese had made Goa theirs, and were there to stay. By then, the regime had weakened, the rulers had mellowed and the rich and the famous of the land, as anywhere else, began to perfect their skills of survival. The adoption of western lifestyles and the customs became fashionable, in fact the norm. (In this context, it must be mentioned that the sixteenth-century Portuguese proselytizers, unlike the British and the French, had focussed themselves on the Goan elite, not on the have-nots, who had nothing to lose but their misery.)

Goa's westernization, superficial as it might seem to the trained eye and somewhat deceptively profound to others less observant, is now evident in three fields: architecture, music and cuisine.

**Architecture:** Goa's architecture is one of the most hybridized in the country. Goan houses often strike the innocent as being Mediterranean in appearance, and the bigot as lacking in character. The late Sir James Richards, the former editor of the *Architectural Review* and a member of the Royal Fine Art Council, who visited Goa in the 1980s, was impressed by the way Goan builders handled laterite, the main and characteristic material - he admired the railed and balustrated balconies, the mouldings, the door and window surrounds, the simple cornices to throw off the monsoon rain. The Goan *balcão*, delighted Richards. It "made social life visible to the passer-by", and in this respect, he thought that, "Goans were no different from other Indians." British writer and theatre person, the late Anthony Hutt, thought that a Goan house has "an European sense of space and form within a Goan tradition." The grandeur is not limited to the size of the establishment, but is an integral part of the furnishings: mirrors and chandeliers from Venice and Bohemia, tapestries from Portugal and Spain, faences from Macau and China, the living rooms generally on the first floor, the service area on the ground floor. Hutt notes that the houses grew from a rectangular core, indefinitely and in any direction, but the materials and techniques were those found in other parts of the Konkan. Most palatial houses and mansions can be dated to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Baroque influence reflected in the window designs, as well as the wrought-iron balconies and verandahs.

When the Portuguese conquered Goa, their approach to architecture was:

- build new churches, in replacement and often at the sites of extant Hindu temples;
- adapt existing forts and military establishments to their immediate requirements;
- introduce new ornamental elements in civil architecture.

In the sphere of military architecture, the Portuguese adopted, for fortification as well as town-planning, rather haphazardly in Goa and perhaps more rigorously in Daman, the Italian theories of Belici, Scamozzi and Caetano Navarese. But by 1680, they seem to have turned to the French for inspiration.

In religious architecture, there is a clear distinction between the Jesuit (coffered vaults)

and the Franciscan (false domes) churches. It reflects the attitudes of the two religious orders, the Jesuits tending to be lavish and the Franciscans, in contrast, austere and severe.

In secular architecture, Goan master builders had already identified and used, much before the Portuguese arrived, the most suitable building materials like: laterite stone, termite-resistant woods such as '*matti*', roof tiles of baked clay and window panes of oyster shells. They had developed and perfected techniques to cure stone by exposing it to one or more monsoon; they cured wood by seasoning it in salt water. Mud was used for binding and the best grade was found in the termite-hills. Vegetable dyes were used for colouring.

The Hindu houses of the wealthier farmers and merchants were patterned around a central courtyard, seldom more than one storey tall, with long, narrow windows, generally barred and with wooden shutters. The portals of these houses were in their own way massive and ornate. The internal planning was rigid, the areas clearly demarcated with the bedrooms in a row, opening out onto a verandah, which bordered the central courtyard, the nerve-centre of the family's daily activities: it had a well, a *tulsi* plant, so that the various daily rituals could be performed there, the children could play... in short, everyone could carry out their activities unobtrusively.

The Portuguese introduced the Goans to new materials like glass, new styles and status symbols like drawing rooms with high chairs. The interior architecture remained largely unchanged and as functional as earlier, though the exteriors became more ostentatious. At another level, conversion to Christianity also meant fewer social inhibitions.

The Portuguese social historian Raquel Soeiro, tried, with some success, to view Goan architecture from the angle of culture and economy. Most Goan Christian mansions and even small houses have a courtyard. To those obsessed with Goa's long association with the Portuguese, the courtyard might look like an Iberian patio - and hilariously, it has been so described by many a well-meaning travel writer.

Currently, Goa is in the midst of an intense, perhaps disastrous construction activity. The developers, and at their behest the architects they employ, are producing mass kitsch and marketing these fantasies by calling them 'villas'. They sell 'like hot cakes', one is told. Possibly, because most of the buyers are people with money to spare, and most of them are alien to Goa. As if to rub it in, the marketers advertise these 'hot cakes' as: "traditional Goan". Some of the colonies are described as 'a village within a city', thus offering the future dwellers the best of both worlds - the ethos of the old and the comfort of the new. But do they? We will be advisedly cautious.

Architect Charles Correa, himself a Goan and who has designed buildings of various kinds in Goa, answers this question: "I think parts of Goa have been marred by some very bad, 'modern' buildings. So nowadays, many people insist that everything should have a kind of 'old-fashioned' look - which often turns out to be real kitsch. Of course, you can use tiles on a house and make it very elegant, but you can also put them on in a really dreadful way. The same is true of 'balcões'. In themselves, they are not a panacea, a remedy for beauty. Today, Goa seems to be fast sliding into a state of pathological nostalgia. We build as though we've forgotten we may have a future. Of course Goa's future has to be based on a solid understanding of its culture - but architecture must reinvent the expression of that culture, in today's materials, and in the context of today's aspirations. We don't have to build exactly the same kind of architecture that the Portuguese did, do we? In any case we're not even doing that. All we are really building is a cartoon version of the Portuguese architecture. Goa is a more serious place than just a cartoon."

If it is true that the Portuguese inspired the Goans to re-orient their traditional

architecture and give it a new form within their old substance, it is equally, but sadly, true, that the lure of beauty of Goan architecture seems to be unleashing in Goa, the wrong kind of entrepreneurship, the kind that will destroy the environment - the natural and the human. And with it, the history, ethos and ethnic culture.

*(Excerpted from an article by the author of this book for Indian Architect and Builder, Vol 9, No 1, 1995)*



## INTERIORS

If carved furniture is your passion, you must meet Goa's 'Charis', craftsmen who have a great tradition as wood carvers. They are found in several villages, but Cuncolim, in South Goa, about 20 minutes from Margao, on the road to Karwar, in Karnataka, is, without doubt, the most famous settlement of Charis. Once, the greatest of them was Waman Chari, who lived in Chimbél, left of the road as you drove from Old Goa into the Ribandar causeway, towards Goa's capital city of Panaji. His house is near the chapel and not too far from the temple, an equidistance that is reflected in his output. His workshop was a few metres away in a new, developing area. Many years ago, his family carved Hindu stone idols, they then changed to Christian icons and church altars and pulpits. However, the family always remained staunchly Hindu. Till he died, on December 2, 1999 he did a daily *puja* of the family deities and his father Caxinata's photograph, as prescribed in the *shastras*, down to the detail of putting a *tilak*, a thumb-size vermilion mark on the glass frame of the picture — first thing in the morning, after his daily and ritual bath. But his business, his delight was making altars for churches and chapels, and icons for their niches.

When the statue of Our Lady of Fátima was brought to Goa on a worldwide pilgrimage in 1952, the governor general and the patriarch had no doubt in their minds that only one man in Goa could execute the grandiose plan of building "almost overnight", but that, he admits, is a minor exaggeration, 153 altars in Old Goa (as many as the beads of a rosary) for the grandest oncelebrated mass of all times. One hundred fifty three priests, said the mass synchronically and carried out the liturgically prescribed motions — kneeling, genuflecting, reading from the gospels, blessing, opening their arms in a posture of peace, beating breasts in contrition, breaking bread with the faithful, who came in tens of thousand. Never before and never since has such a spectacular ritual been witnessed in Goa, perhaps anywhere else, so far as any survivor of that epoch can recall.

The sad part of it is that no one seems to know, any longer, what happened to that masterly creation of Waman Zo : the wood was the best, every piece well chiselled and some portions beautifully carved. The joinery was his biggest challenge and to his last day remained a matter of personal pride and the envy of whoever has, at any time, worked on wood.

Waman is the direct descendant of the legendary Bichon Rama Zo who, over 300 years ago, crafted the admirable statue of St Francis Xavier, in the "classic" pose, seen near the entrance of the Bom Jesus Basilica. Bichon was a master craftsman. Like any brilliant craftsman, he has left his "signature" on his works, the religious and the profane.

Bichon, the tradition goes, had moved from Madkai (where the family had lived for, at least one hundred years) to Chimbél, via the city of Goa, (Old Goa), where his descendants have since remained for at least, 200 years. Waman has left his "signatures" too. The altar of Santa Bárbara, in Chimbél, is just one example. Legend has it that Robert Mugabe, the iron-man of Zimbabwe, took time off from his busy schedule during the Chog-m Retreat in Goa, in 1983, to visit the chapel. One of his ancestors had been brought to Goa as a slave and eventually ordained priest.

When Waman was young, the Portuguese Governor-general sent him to Sintra, near Lisbon, for "aperfeçoamento", to perfect himself. He learnt a lot, taught a lot, too, to Portuguese master-carvers. Then, he came back. The Portuguese were, by then, gone. Then came the ban on ivory. And now no one seems to be interested in saints or carved altars.

These are the days of moulded plastic and laminates. His order book gradually dried up and now he has taken to carving furniture. There is a big difference, of course, between altars, crucifixes and sofas. But if that is his destiny, so be it, he says. The money, not much of it, isn't that bad.

Sir James Richards, says in his book *Goa* (1986): "The houses belong to the past; yet they are an essential part of the history of Goa and exemplify the qualities that make Goa unique... when these householders have gone, few are likely to keep the beautiful houses and fewer will have the means of doing so." The designers of those houses worked for royalty and rich local traders and landowners. They were not inhibited by constraints of space or economy, Andrew Ciechanowiecki who wrote the three very competent chapters on Spain and Portugal for Helen Haywards' excellent *World Furniture: An Illustrated History*, puts it felicitously: the patrons of those marvellous works of art, he says, lolled in "unearned wealth." Nor did they have, in their time, "as many luxuries (as today) competing for favour." They could therefore, pursue their notions of grandeur, perfection and comfort with single-minded devotion. Luckily for us, many of the owners of the houses were also very imaginative and people of refined tastes.

They all had a great tradition to keep. A couple of the more outstanding are featured by Slesin and Staffard Cliff in their book *Indian Style* (1989). The reader is already acquainted with the "Solar da Colaços", and, probably the only Goan mansion that faces the river. Between ample and spectacular and small and cozy, there are hundreds of excellent dwellings that reflect the Indo-Portuguese style developed in last two centuries of the half-a-millennium Portuguese presence in Goa.

*(Excerpted from articles and essays by the author for various publications, among them Indian Design Interiors, Feb-March 1997)* ■



## ANTIQUITIES

The Portuguese are rated as the most passionate collectors of Chinese porcelain, which they call "Macau faiences," because it was acquired through that colony of theirs on the Chinese coast. The Goans avidly followed the trend. Goans were great collectors of antiquities. The greatest of them, perhaps, is Fenelon Rebello, who has provided us the inputs on coins once in use in Goa. He lives in Margao, the capital city of the South Goa District and Goa's most important business centre.

Fenelon Rebello has an amazing collection of Goan antique pieces that date back to the 17th century. It includes a piece signed by Legras, Japanese porcelain of the Meigi period, some Aritas, a Chinese ice pail and a cameo lamp. For Rebello, "each item has its history" and it is extremely difficult to persuade him to sell these rarities.

Perhaps the earliest known European collector of Goan antiques was Giuliano de Medici or so one infers from a letter dated January 6, 1516, addressed to him by the Italian traveller, André Corsalli; "In a small island near this (Teeswadi), the Portuguese, in order to build this city have destroyed an ancient temple (Saptakoteshvara) which was built with marvellous art and with ancient figures wrought to the greatest perfection.... If I can come by one of those shattered images, I will send it to your lordship, that you may perceive how much in old times sculpture was esteemed in every part of the world."

Some works of art, however, survived, often enough in a bizarre way, the proselytizing fury of the early Portuguese padres. An instance that comes to the mind is the symbolic *linga* of the temple of Siva in Moira, a village in north Goa. The temple was razed by the Portuguese, but the trisept *ling*, a well-crafted piece, was used for over three centuries as a stand for the holy water font in the church built in the village in 1638 and dedicated to Our Lady of Immaculate Conception; a phallus, albeit artistically wrought, in place of pride in a church dedicated to Mary's virginity! The German scholar Gritli v. Mitterwallner, who was in Goa in the 1960s, on a survey of monuments, put an end to this incongruity by having the *linga* removed to the museum of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) in Old Goa, and donating a sum of money to build a new stand for the font.

In more recent times, in 1974, Goa made the headlines worldwide in numismatic journals. An Aureus of Geta of A.D. 205 suddenly surfaced in Zurich. The coin had been given up as lost in a devastating fire during the Middle Ages. The coin was eventually auctioned for a sum described as "huge for the times." The late Dr. P. V. Hill, an authority on coins, wrote in Numismatic Circle (January 1975) that the coin had been sourced to Fenelon Rebello of Goa.

The Goan art dealer Eurico Ribeiro, who died two years ago, told us of another interesting incident involving Rebello. The famous American art dealer Albert Nestle came to Goa on a very specific mission. An Indian Maharaja had disposed of his standing chandeliers. There are now only two of their kind in the world. Nestle was the proud possessor of one. The other piece, of Bohemian glass, enamel and gold, he had found out after patient investigation, was with Rebello in Goa. He wanted Eurico to take him to Rebello. He looked forward to persuading the Goan collector to sell off the rarity. He didn't succeed. Rebello vividly recalls his encounter with Nestle. They looked each other in the eye — and "just smiled". The story in the art collector's charmed world is that Nestle had divided his chandelier into various parts and they were then used in the decor of the White House.

Rebello's pieces are dated to the 17th century and came to him from his uncle, the

famous bishop Francisco Xavier da Piedade Rebello, the first Goan to administer the Archdiocese, one of the world's oldest and most important Catholic centres. 'Primate of the Orient' was, and still is, the Archbishop's title. His treasures span many centuries, many generations of his aristocratic family, many styles, many countries of origin, many accomplished craftspersons, many media: wood, all kinds of it – ebony, rosewood, teak, camphor – and glass, ivory, lacquer, silver, gold, pearls and mother-of-pearl. The nuns of Santa Mónica convent, once one of the world's largest nunneries, lived in the most absolute seclusion. Many of them had been the wives or were the daughters of Portuguese noblemen killed in combat. They couldn't bear their grief and decided to renounce the world "for the love of Christ." They all spent their long hours of solitude in many diverse and, luckily for them and art collectors like Rebello, very useful ways. When the order was bereft of funds, the nuns sold pickles and confections and survived on the proceeds. They also crafted exquisite wooden chests. They inlaid them with ebony, ivory and coloured pins, a craft believed to be a Santa Mónica exclusive.

Rebello's collection of carved wood included some rare pieces, in that they bear motifs from Hindu iconography. Generally, carved wood furniture in Goa is the work of Hindu artisans. Perhaps in dread of the bigotry of the times they confined themselves to Christian iconography and European flora – grapes, vines, etc; their other motive was that their goods wouldn't sell without these. They certainly tried to flatter their European clients, carving out their likenesses in hunting gear and placing slain tigers and elephants at their feet. Some of these are treasured in the Residency Museum at Munich.

A twin of a porcelain bottle owned by Rebello was featured as a rare item (ownership undisclosed) in the masterly book *Chinese Porcelain and the Heraldry of the Empire* by Nuno de Castro, an authority on Chinese porcelain. It was made in Gaungdong, in the Chinese mainland, to Portuguese specifications and traded through Macau, the only extant Portuguese possession in Asia (till 1999, when it will revert to China). The bottle is of the Qing period, in the reign of Kangxi, circa 1700. It is decorated with Portuguese armorial bearings. The heraldic device on one face is of the order of St. Francis of Assisi of 1224.

The cut glass in Rebello's collection is remarkable for the delicacy of the balusters, flutes and stems. Their age is hidden in the folded rims at the bottom. It would take a tome to inventory and describe all of Rebello's treasures – a piece signed by Legras, Japanese porcelain of the Meigi period, some Aritas, a Chinese ice pail which, judging by the markings at the bottom, should be a few centuries old, a cameo lamp the like of which was recently auctioned in London for "a few thousands pounds". Some of Goa's handicrafts now occupy pride of place in foreign museums, amongst them, Residency Museum, Muncie Gulbenkian Lisbon, Peabody, Massachusetts.

(Excerpted from an essay by the author for *The Oberoi Group magazine*, Nov. 1998) ■

## MUSIC

They can dance no more,  
The damsels are tired.  
They can sing no more,  
The lads are tired.

- Konkani song translated by Prof. Lucio Rodrigues,  
*Journal of Bombay University, Volume XXVII, Part IV, Jan 1958*

Goa is famous for its singers and musicians. Lata Mangeshkar, who finds a place in the Guinness Book of World Records for the highest number of songs recorded, is from Goa. Some of the big names in Hindustani music like Kesarbai Kerkar, Mogubai Kurdikar, Kishori Amonkar hail from Goa. As for western music, it was the privilege of the Dutch Jesuit Gaspar Barzeu to introduce Goa to western religious music in the 1500s. The padres, most notably among them the Jesuit Spaniard Francis Xavier, realised very early in their quest for Asian souls, that the native religions had rituals that could be adapted to the Christian liturgy. So, the *patshalas* attached to the temples soon become parish schools, where the teaching of western music, religious and profane, became the core of the curricula. At one time, all the western music dance bands east of the Suez were either led by Goan musicians or banked heavily on talented musicians from Goa.

*Some Goan folk artforms:*

*Jagar* (*zagor* in its Catholic version): is a dance drama, very earthy, intuitive at the best of times, and after generous libations, inevitably loud, lewd and not rarely, querulous. Audience participation is the rule rather than the exception. Inasmuch as it took a group of persons to stage a *jagar* (often the group was drawn from a particular ward of village), it also acquired specific territorial implications. Like many other folk artforms, the *jagars* have a religious origin. The presiding deity of *jagars* is Jagarya, probably another Hindu acquisition from Goa's totemic past. The *jagars* like the *musallan khel*, which we shall describe, are notable from another point of view. On such occasions, the villagers seem to instantly realize that what unites them is much more significant than the divisions imposed by each successive wave of alien rule and the intense proselytism which characterised the imposition of each new political regime.

A variation of the *jagar* is the *pereni jagar*. There is an element of professionalism in this form of *jagar*. It is named after the *pereni* (also spelt *pernis/phirnis*) who perform these dance dramas and belong to the *devdasi* community. The *pereni jagar* is inspired by Hindu myths and epics and the similarities with the *yakshagana* of Karnataka or *akadis* of Maharashtra are discernible. It has the same thematic obsession with the creation of the world and the conflicts between good and evil. The central figure of the plot, in Goa, as it is in Karnataka and Maharashtra, is Adimaya, the primal Mother, the founder of all things or to put it differently, the deification of nature, benign creative and supportive.

*Khel*: There are Hindu *khels* (*plays*) and Catholic *khels*. The Hindu *khels* relates to Puranic episodes and tales. The Catholic version has no specific structure. Its strength lies in the actors' capacity to improvise and ad lib. The Catholic *khels* are in essence farcical plays, interspersed with songs generally accompanied by a six to eight piece band: drums, violin(s), trumpet, saxophone(s), clarinet and a double bass, trombone or a bassoon. They were performed once by itinerant amateur troupes moving from house to house and from



village to village.

The tradition to move from village to village seems to have been started by the bakers of Majorca, in south Goa. Like other villages of coastal south Goa, Majorca was converted to Catholicism by the Jesuits. The villagers of Majorca learnt with the Jesuits the art of baking bread and to leave it with the toddy tapped from coconut trees. Soon, the bakers of Majorca became specialists in the art of baking bread and being hailed and recognized as much, they set up bakeries all over Goa. They adopted a curious system of operation which ensured the maintenance and protection of their hearth and home, fields and other interests in their native village, and at the same time, ensured the smooth operation of the bakery established elsewhere. Two bakers formed a partnership and rotated themselves every four months to ensure an equitable division of time over a period of two years. It took into account their dual roles as peasants and tradesmen. As a result, every two years, each partner would reap the full benefits of a *kharif* crop (June to September) and the peak sale periods of Christmas and Easter.

The *khel* from Majorca, and later the nearby villages of Colva and Benaulim, moved from village to village after Easter. The itinerant artists were patronized and given shelter by the leading bakery of each particular village or town. Melodrama and political and social satire was their forte. The village of Majorca seems to have deep-rooted theatrical traditions - in the Konkani *Ramayan*, Rama was kidnapped in Majorca.

*Tiatr* (from Portuguese Teatro): is structured on the French revue (*Teatro de revista* in Portuguese), with a main play, "drama" in Konkani, known as such whether it is a tragedy, a comedy or a "suspense story". It is cut into "parts" - partly to suit the convenience of set designers and propmasters, but more importantly, to provide variety and relief to the audience. In between the "parts", songs are staged and these songs, perhaps because they are generally comical, often ridiculously so, are known as "clowns". The *tiatr* is predominantly Catholic in its conception and expression. But quite a few Hindu artists now participate as singers, playwrights and actors, and also perform several managerial and backstage chores.

*VirabhadraII*: is a folk art form which gives one a clue to the cultural wealth of Goa's pre-Aryan past. It is a festival dance, performed in a discernibly south-Indian style. It is basically a Shiva celebration. An artiste plays the role of Virabhadra, the one born from the matted hair of Shiva. He brandishes a sword in each of his hands while the crowd sways to the rhythm of drums. It is still performed in Sankhali, Ponda and Sanguem.

*RenamaleI*: is a variation of the Ramliila staged in northern India. Interestingly, there were no Rama, Panduranga or Dattatraya temples in pre-Portuguese Goa. Vinayak Khedekar, an authority on Hindu folk artforms reports the existence of only one temple in Goa dedicated to Krishna.

*Musalam khel* (*musal* means pestle in Konkani): is a harvest dance. It was raised to the status of a ceremonial dance when Goa was under the Vijayanagar rule. According to legend, the dance was performed at Chandrapur when Harihar, the Vijayanagar prince, took Goa from the Cholas in 1310 A.D. The Catholics of Chandor now celebrate it during the pre-Lenten festival of Carnival, on the second day of the three-day festival. The reason why the Catholics celebrate it during the Carnival festivities is not known but is not difficult to fathom. Carnival, during the Portuguese regime, was a time when one was free to be what one was not - to mimic, parody and distort. A good time for the primal Hindus converted to Catholicism in Chandor, to revert to their original folk expressions under the pretext of parodying or ridiculing them. In its original form, *musalam* (also pronounced *mussalam*), like any pestle-dance of south India, was a harvest dance, but in Chandor the

folk poets seem to have relied on recent history. In the *musalam khel*, as danced today, the male members of Catholic *kshatriya* families wear a *dhoti* in the Maratha style, perhaps a throw-back to the times when parts of Goa were under Maratha influence. They wear nothing waist up, except for a headgear (*pogri*), also in Maratha style. The drums are played by Catholic *sudras* and the *mahars*, who are basket weavers and sextons, whose musical skills are traditional and linked with the caste. The songs range from ritualistic incantations to appeals for social harmony.

*Ghodemodani* (*ghodo/ghode* meaning horse/horses - the main props of this show): is a war dance, said to be patterned on Rajput traditions. As time went by, it was embellished with the inclusion of elements from Maharashtra, like the Peshwa's headgear. It is said that these were the innocent peace-time frolics of soldiers of fortune, seeking their livelihood in Goa and offering their professional services to rulers of the neighbouring principalities. In a recent work, however, Theothonio Sousa S. J. disputes that there were any Rajput settlers in Goa.

*Phugdi* (also spelt *fughri*, *fugdi*, *fugadi*): is a harvest dance, performed by women. It has a discernible tribal origin, with a virile and exuberant display of rhythm and energy. Like many tribal songs and dances, it may last a whole night. It may go on or abruptly end on a cue from an elder.

*Goph* is a Krishna dance, presumably introduced in Goa by Gujarati traders. It may be danced by men (as in Sanguem, Konkani, Pedde and Ponda) or women (as in Mangeshi).

*Tonyamel*: is reminiscent of the Gujarati *dandya-ras*, and is danced by men only.

*Mando*: is a "song of passion born of leisure and civilization." It was the song of the Catholic Goan aristocracy. In many of its features it bears the strong impress of the influence of the Portuguese way of life which the early aristocracy in Goa imbibed. The *durpod* (also spelt *dulpod*) may be said to belong to the middle class, but in it the foreign influence is negligible, and it has been so thoroughly mastered that it is worn lightly, even humorously. The *durpod* is more native than the *mando*, with greater affinity to the soil, to quote Lucio Rodrigues "drawing its sustenance from the rich loamy traditions of the folk of Goa." Indeed as Rodrigues wrote, "the *mando* is a refined product, a thing of art and deliberation: the *durpod* is pure homespun, coarse in texture, often brutal and biting."

*Mando* is a word of obscure origins. It was once also known as *cafrinho*. "Portuguese burghers", the Sri Lankan usage for the progeny of Portuguese men and local women (they also have Dutch burghers and English burghers), dance the *caprina*, a remnant of the Portuguese domination of Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan *caprina* is a frenzied dance, which has little in common with the plaintive tone and almost masochist lyrics of the Goan *mando*. But the percussion instruments used in Goa, Sri Lanka, and Tete in Mozambique, are somewhat similar. They all use a drum (*ghumat* in Goa) made of fired clay with one end open and the other end covered with the skin of reptiles like the alligator and the iguana in Goa and Sri Lanka; cow and buffalo hides in Goa; crocodile, goat and antelope skins in Mozambique.

In all probability, *mando* comes from *mand*, Konkani for organizing, setting up and hence composing. But it could well have its roots in *mand*, the open space in old Goan villages reserved for religious performances and by extension, the performances of all kinds of folksongs and dances by the village community. It might have partly borrowed its rhythm from the African slaves brought in by the Portuguese. One would do well to remember that at one time Mozambique was a province of Goa, and there was a considerable amount of racial and economic interaction between the two territories.

The *mando* has an identifiable influence of church music. In cadence, it is close to the walse - with a modified third step, perhaps. João Stuart Torrie described it as "orderly and with a certain regularity." *O Ultramar*, an elitist, Margao-based newspaper, reviewed a 1915 *mando* show by Luzitano Rodrigues, a much respected Goan folk poet and composer, and described it as "a composition for two voices and piano."

The Goan *mando* is danced by men and women who stand in two parallel rows. In the "classic" form, the men wear striped trousers, tail coats and hold a top hat in one hand and a brightly coloured kerchief in the other. The women wear a gold-bordered velvet/silk sari patterned into a skirt, below a long-sleeved lace-blouse and carry a folded scarf on their shoulders. They wear blue or red velvet slippers - *chinelam*, from Portuguese *chinelos* - embroidered with gold yarn. The hair is combed back and held in place with tortoise or pearly combs and tiaras or other jewellery studded with precious stones and/or pearls. Long gold earrings, necklaces and bracelets, prized family heirlooms - matching jewellery for hair, ears, neck and hands - complete the ladies' toilette.

Throughout the dance, the men and women keep a 'decent' distance from each other. The women cover half the face, generally with sandal wood hand-fans or fans made of rare plumes, like the plumes of ostriches. As in any classical Indian dance, the eyes are important. It is through them that "desire", "sadness", "hope", "despair", "anger" and "happiness" are expressed. The mimicry is highly sophisticated.

Carnival (C-a-r-n-a-v-a-l in Portuguese and Goan phonetics): is probably the time when one might truly understand the Goan mind and soul. Carnival, the pre-Lenten euphoria, is a state of mind, unpredictable but exciting, unplanned but enjoyable. It knows no barriers. Comicality at times transgresses decency, but that is the exception rather than the rule. Time was when it was a festival for all men and women, but principally children "of good mirth." Yesterdays were gladly forgiven, tomorrows happily forgotten, and life was, as in the song, "*este doce momento*" - this sweet moment. Unlike the Brazilian Carnival, the Goan Carnival is more cerebral than physical, but it is a madness of sorts nonetheless.

Like most things enjoyable, Carnival has a dubious origin. Contrary to common belief, it is *not* a Catholic festival. In fact, the purists among the clerics castigate it as an unabashed and reprehensible display of "paganism". There were carnivals even before the advent of Christianity. The Romans celebrated the Saturnalia spectacularly and orgiastically, with floats and tableaux, clowns, vamps, pranksters, gymnasts and transvestites. And there were carnivals even before the Roman Saturnalia. It is known that the Greeks dedicated the festival to Cronus, one of the Titans, the father of Zeus.

Most dictionaries derive the word "carnival" from its Latin components - *car* meaning flesh and *levare* meaning to put away. It was a prelude to the forty days of penance and total abstinence. Lent was then a rigorously observed period of mourning and meditation, and on the rebound, Carnival was a three-day riot of licentiousness.

Carnival arrived in Goa with the Portuguese. Until then, *Shigmo* was the only grand spring festival. *Shigmo* (derived from Sanskrit *sugrishimak*) epitomizes the rainbow and is, therefore, a festival of colours, celebrated in the month of Falgun, the last month of the Hindu calendar. Like the *Musalam khel* and the *Ghodomodani*, *Shigmo* became a peace-time celebration by professional freelancing warriors. It is observed in other parts of India as Holi.

Shrovetide, the precursor of the modern carnival, was once celebrated in December, the last month of the Roman calendar. Carnival was a great leveller. Early accounts are indeed educative. The white masters masqueraded as black slaves, and the latter - generally slaves brought in from Mozambique - plastered their faces with flour and wore high battens and

walked on stilts. For those three ephemeral days, they were happy to be larger than life. And while the "white" and the "black" mimicked each other, the "brown" locals watched this reversal of roles in awe, from the sidelines. Earlier, *Shigmo* had provided the have-nots this once-in-a-year opportunity to parody and ridicule their masters and tormentors.

In course of time, when the imperial regime mellowed and inhibitions dwindled, Carnival, now no more an excuse to be what one was not, became a time for bonhomie. The crude old mimicry blossomed into social satire. In the villages, the playwrights pieced together *khels*, anecdotes, events and criticism. The Portuguese Governor-general, his family and retinue used the occasion for a show of diplomacy. They showered the crowds with *poudre de riz* and confetti, and were happy to be showered back. At the Carnival balls, the Governor-general danced with anyone he was pleased with - provided of course, the lady agreed. And anyone was free to ask the Governor-general's wife for a dance. And if it was the *tango*, the *tango* they danced - cheek to cheek, hip to hip.

On the other hand, *Shigmo* laid stress on episodes from the Hindu epics and scriptures and the war dances of the Marathas, who, due to their strident enmity with the Portuguese, epitomised to the subjugated Hindu Goans the virtues of courage, bravery and racial purity.

Carnival was once a mood, not a staged show for the benefit of tourists. It had no spectators; it was strictly for the participants. From dawn to dusk and back again, they sang and danced, changed costumes and partners, and serenaded their *namoradas* - girl friends. Escorted by their guardians, the debutantes giggled and groped their way at the elitist chandeliered and velvet-curtained clubs, through their first masked ball. Those who fell in love during Carnival often married after Easter.

*Shigmo* on the other hand, was a display of ethnic pride and adherence to native values. It was also a massive display of unity in the sense that the entire ward or the entire village, participated in the display, financed it and not rarely, rewarded the leader of the group and the best performers.

(This is an excerpt from the book *Wind of Fire - The Music and Musicians of Goa*, by the author) ■



## FOOD

Please, Sir, the God of Death,  
Don't make it my turn today,  
Not today, Sir,  
There's fish curry for dinner.

— Goa's poet laureate, Bakibab Borkar in his poem  
to Yama, the God of Death

What is sold in Goan hotels and restaurants as *Goan food* is essentially the food that Goan Catholics cook and consume. It is very largely influenced by the Portuguese who, in turn, brought ingredients from Brazil, Mozambique, Macau, Java, Mexico and the Amazons, where they also had colonies. Added to these were the regional Konkani traditions that made abundant use of seafood, coconut and rice. The Goan today inherits an amazing gastronomic tradition that is unfortunately fast being replaced by what is quick, easy and electric.

Thanks to tourism and hotels that in the last few decades have added Goan cuisine to their repertoire, '*sorpotel*' by now has cast its magic spell on those who do not hail from Goa but miss no opportunity to visit it and savour its ethnic delights. Those of us who were taught the finer points of Portuguese lexicography and orthography might resent that such a splendid Indo-Portuguese speciality like *sarapatel* should be so frequently misspelt '*sorpotel*', '*sarpatel*', '*sharpatel*' and other equally crude variations.

For indeed, *sarapatel* epitomises the history of Goan food. The Portuguese had a dish of the same name, made basically of clotted blood and diced pork. The recipe must have been quite complicated. The other name for the dish was *sarrabulho*. The word later derived from it, *sarrabulhada*, means, in the modern usage, confusion, chaos. The sour of vinegar made from palm toddy, and its present spicy taste, were probably Goan additions. Were they the flourishes of the mestizo women, the daughters and wives of the lovelorn Portuguese, whose numbers in the early centuries of Portuguese rule were considerable? Perhaps we know from a modern Portuguese philologist, Graciete Nogueira Batalha, that words like *apa*, *batica*, *bebinca* and the savouries and sweets they denote were taken to Macau by the Malaysian women (the Portuguese had a major settlement on Malacca) who accompanied the Portuguese as wives, mistresses or just maids. Batalha notes in her study that the Macau *bebincas* (they make them several ways, of rice, milk, radish and potato) are not layered like the classic Goan *bebinca* made with flour, eggs, coconut-milk and butter. Could the reason be that no Goan woman ever cared, or dared, to accompany the Portuguese in their odysseys?

The original conceivers of Goan food were the locals, formerly Hindu women with a very fertile imagination, though generally unlettered. They left us no account of their travails. It would be interesting to know about their first years of induction into Christianity, years generally of penance and martyrdom and the most incredible culinary experiences. In the first years of their conversion, Goans were force-fed by the proselytists with the meats forbidden in their primal Hindu scriptures. Having been made to partake of beef and pork, they instantly stood alienated and ostracised. So, accepting things that they could not possibly change, they converted old taboos into new freedoms.

Give the Portuguese their due. It is they who introduced red peppers, the *lal mirchi* so

characteristic of Goan and Indian cuisine today. They brought them from the banks of the Amazon. It is the Franciscan *padres* who taught the Goans the art of making vinegar from coconut toddy and distilling *feni* from cashew (again, introduced in Asia by the Portuguese). The first distillation of cashew yields a lovely wash, *cajel*, that goes well with *sarapatel*. And if you can have a decent fruit salad in Goa, or in India, it is again because the Portuguese brought in their caravels grapes from back home, papaya from Brazil and oranges from Mozambique (hence *moosammbi* in Hindi). They also brought to India maize, mandioca and sweet potato. And of course, tobacco, the “noxious weed” as Emperor Jehangir called it.

The famous Goan lexicologist, the late Mosignor Rodolfo Dalgado, gives us a clue to the lengths the Portuguese could go to in quest of good food. *Dodol*, now the Goan Christmas sweet, was perhaps first found by the Portuguese in the Malabar. It was said to be relished by the Moplahs, who fiercely fought in the battlefield and in naval encounters. *Balchão* (dwarf shrimps pickled in vinegar and spices and used as the seasoning for the redhot Goan fish, prawn or pork *balchão*) came from Pegu - modern-day Burma, or Myanmar. Or was it Java? *Masala*, now generally meaning spices, was, in the usage of the times, a penalty imposed in the Malabar coast for default in payment of custom duties. They seem to have since put the word to much better use. Last but not the least, they brought from Jalapa, a city in Mexico, a plant, the name of which they could never get right. They found the plant very useful, as a laxative, and so simply named it *jalapa*, after the original city. In course of time, the Indians took to it and called it *julab*, now a Hindi term for a laxative.

The dimly-lit corridors of the Central Library at Panaji contain several tomes of Goan newspapers and periodicals of Portuguese times. They are bound in fading khaki fabric and lie almost forgotten on old wooden shelves. Though the paper has yellowed and is crumbling, they describe well the society of their times. Christenings, betrothals, weddings and funerals are described in great detail. The toastmasters sing the praises not only of the bridal couples and their illustrious sires and ancestors but also of the epicures who “directed” the buffets and banquets. Few, it seems, matched the *savoir-faire* of Dr. Florencinho Ribeiro, a physician by profession who had a latent passion for food and hence read all the best books of the times on French cuisine, shipped to him by friends and relatives settled in Europe. Baking, basting, flambeing, of patés, entrés and deserts, the vintage of wines and champagnes, and the addresses of the world’s best makers of liqueur, cigars and crystal, porcelain and cutlery - he knew it all. No gourmet of his time in Goa could marry as felicitously the different strands of cuisine, as he did. Those over 80 years old today still remember his culinary innovations.

But he was not the only epicure of his land. There was the most famous host of all times, Vicente João de Figueredo, the aristocrat from Loutolim who, legend has it, felt that the flavour of the Havana cigars he smoked and shared with his guests, considerably improved if they were lit with hundred rupee notes, a fortune then and even now. There also was Aires Soares de Veiga, the scion of an illustrious Portuguese family settled in Goa. He fed his turkeys the best of rosés on the night prior to their slaughter. The wine, he believed, tenderised the meat and imparted to it a very special flavour and, hopefully, anaesthetised the birds. And there was Dr. George de Menezes, from a noble Goan Kshatriya family that in its Hindu past held important positions in the Goa Velha court of the Kadamba kings of Goa. He was a gifted musician but excelled at carving and sculpting vegetables and fruits and he decorated with his creations his sumptuous banquet and buffet tables. Constancio (Constu to family and friends) de Miranda, father of the famous Goan artist and cartoonist Mario de Miranda, was yet another famous gourmet.

We spoke to many of Goa's famous cooks. Eugénia Rebello, a Margao city aristocrat, who managed the flight kitchen of the Portuguese airline based in Goa till 1961, told us that "it is important to know, in advance, who one is cooking for". Rosa Quadros e Costa e Dias was of the view that "if one doesn't have the right ingredients and of the best quality, one should never, ever enter a kitchen". Hers, in Loutolim, is probably the last traditional Goan kitchen — basalt hand-grinders of various sizes, each size and shape for a particular use, bamboo sieves, wood burners... a vast array of earthen pots, an ample kitchen with a high ceiling. Guida de Ronson e Fragoso is perhaps the last of a distinguished generation of *descendentes*, the progeny of the original Portuguese settlers. *Apa de camarão*, the Goan shrimp pie, *batica*, a coconut sweet, or its clone, the *bolo padre*, perhaps even *balchão* and certainly *dobrada* (tripe), *feijoada* (bean and pork), *caldeirada* (a stew of fish and molluscs) are, basically, 'descendente specialities' she told us. Goans of mixed parentage often succeed in their imitations, "but any connoisseur will quickly be able to point out the flaws".

Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues, a social historian with a degree in library sciences and masters in history, an excellent cook herself, has her own views. Food in Goa varies from one region to another. The Franciscans evangelized in Bardez, the sub-division north of Panaji. They were experts in agriculture, but very austere men. The food from Bardez is always fresh, made from carefully selected ingredients, very wholesome, but just the right quantity, no frills. On the other hand, the Jesuits evangelized in Salcete, the southern division. They left behind marvellous baroque churches. Likewise, their food was ornate, ostentatious, perhaps a trifle pretentious. The traditions are continued. The caste factor is also important. When the Goans were converted to Catholicism they were allowed to retain their Hindu social structure. Lourdes claims confidently that she can differentiate between the offerings of the three main castes: *brahmin*, *kshatriyas* (also known as *chardo*) and *sudra*.

My mother, who specialised in sweets, had another notion. Never make a sweet if you are not in the right mood or not in the most perfect good health. No woman in her periods should ever try to bake a cake. When Evelyn Waugh, the author and novelist, visited Goa in 1952, he was told that he must try her sweets. He came for them in a dugout canoe, across Old Goa, to our Piedade island home. She had a tea party for him and he mentions the sweets in his *Diary*. Unfortunately, he couldn't remember her name. And such a beautiful name she had: Luciana Amalia Lilia das Dores Martins Cabral de Sa! She would be one hundred years old if she was still with us today.

### Recipes from Rosa Quadros e Costa e Dias

She lives in Loutolim in her father's house. Her husband, Arthur Dias was the director, PWD, during Portuguese times and a concert player, one of the few who played the violela, a blend of the violin and the violencello. She feels sad that, because of increasing demand, traditional Goan specialities like the *bebinca* are being faked, using substitutes like pumpkin to save on costs.

#### Vinho-de-alho (Vindalho) (Translated from the Portuguese, means the wine of garlic.)

- 2 kg. pork
- 1/2 kg. onions
- 12 dry red peppers
- 75 gm. ginger

25 gm. cinnamon  
1 dessertspoon of turmeric powder  
1 teaspoon of cumin seeds  
Half a bottle of palm toddy vinegar  
Oil

Cut the meat in pieces, wash and season with salt. Grind the remaining ingredients with vinegar and bind the meat with the paste, letting it marinate for 24 hours. Place a pot on the fire. Add, with a little oil, small onions whole or if using large onions, cut in slices. The oil is added only to soften the onions. Add the marinated meat and keep on a gentle fire till it is cooked.

### **Sarapatel**

1/2 kg. pork  
1/4 kg pork *miudezas* (liver, kidney, tongue, heart, neck) and blood clotted with vinegar  
1 teaspoon turmeric powder  
2 teaspoons white pepper  
1 cup palm vinegar  
1/2 kg. onions  
1 teaspoon cumin seeds  
16 cloves garlic.  
50 gm. ginger  
dried and salted tamarind as required  
15 dry red chillies  
2-3 green chillies

Wash and boil the meat with the turmeric, white pepper and vinegar. When well cooked, let it cool, remove the meat and cut into small pieces. Fry the meat pieces and put the fried meat back in the original pan containing the boiled liquid. Cut the onions in rounds and fry in the same pan used to fry the meat. Add the onions to the meat. Also fry the blood and add to the meat. Return the meat to the fire and simmer. Season with the dry red chillies. Make tamarind water by soaking the tamarind in enough water to cover it for 15 minutes. Squeeze out the tamarind and discard it. Add the tamarind water to the meat. As it is getting ready, add a ground paste of green chillies, ginger, cumin seeds and garlic, using vinegar to grind the spices into a paste (do not use water to grind the paste). Mix well and serve.

### **Bebinca: Layered cake**

1 kg. sugar  
2 coconuts  
1/2 kg. flour  
200 gm. butter  
20 yolks of eggs, beaten well  
1 dessertspoon of cloves for flavour

Make a thick syrup of sugar and let it cool. Extract the thick 'milk' of 2 coconuts, approximately five cups of 'milk' by grinding the coconut kernel into a puree and straining the puree through a muslin cloth. Discard the coconut residue and use the 'milk'. Add the flour and the yolks to the 'milk', mixing well. In order to remove any granules, strain it. Add to the cooled sugar syrup, blend well. Add cloves.



Place a mould in the oven with a spoonful of butter, and let the butter **boil**. Pour one layer of the batter, bake it, and then put off the fire below the pot. Put another spoonful of butter, pour in the second layer, bake the second layer. Keep baking in layers till you have seven or eight layers. Put off the fire below the pot each time.

I always bake in all earthen oven using woodfire. It is necessary to have the oven heated with wood below and above, placed on a lid. After baking the first layer, remove the fire below the oven, lest the first layer burns.

**Bolo (cake) Xavier:**

- I kg. sugar
- 2 coconuts, ground
- 125 gm. butter
- 8 egg yolks, beaten
- 250 gm. almonds, blanched and ground
- Pinch of nutmeg, grated
- 200 gm. flour

Make a thick syrup of sugar and boil it with the ground coconut. Remove from the fire and add the butter. Let it cool completely, add the yolks and the ground almonds, flour and nutmeg. Smear a mould with butter. Dust the mould with a little flour so that the cake can be later removed easily. Add the mixture prepared earlier and place in a hot oven till it is golden.

**Recipes from Guida de Roncon e Fragoso:****Apa de Camarão: Shrimp Pie****The filling:**

- 50 gm. sugar
- 1/2 kg. shrimp. (cleaned)
- quarter coconut
- 2 large onions
- 18 long red chillies
- 2 green chillies
- 1/4 inch turmeric root
- 1 inch ginger piece
- 6 cloves garlic
- 1/2 teaspoon cummin seeds
- 1 teaspoon coriander seeds
- 1 teaspoon asafoetida
- 6 cloves
- 4 black pepper corns
- 2 cardamoms
- 50 gm. tamarind, soaked in water

Chop the onions and fry in little oil. Grind all the ingredients except the shrimps, sugar and tamarind. When the onions are golden, add the ground ingredients, sugar, a little tamarind juice and when it is well cooked, add the shrimps, keep on the fire till the water dries.

**The crust:**

- 4 egg yolks
- 250 gm. unpolished, red local rice
- Half a coconut, chopped
- 1/4 bottle of coconut toddy
- 2 spoons of butter or ghee
- 100 gm. coarse whole wheat flour with husk
- 100 gm. sugar and salt to taste

Soak the rice overnight in enough water to cover it. In the morning, grind the rice with the coconut and toddy. Mix the yolks, whole wheat flour, sugar and butter. When nicely mixed, divide the mixture into two parts. Smear a *thali*, platter, with butter and spread half the portion of the mixture. Place the filing in it. Spread on top the other half of the mixture. Keep it for half an hour to ferment. Place it in the oven and bake on a gentle fire till the crust is baked.

**Bolo Podre**

- 6 eggs
- 1/4 kg. sugar
- 100 gm. almonds, blanched and ground
- 1 large coconut, ground
- 1/2 teaspoon almond essence
- 3 tablespoons flour

Make a sugar syrup and add to it the ground coconut and almonds. Cool, add the yolks and beat with a wooden spoon till it is well blended. Add flour. Beat the egg whites gently and add to the mixture. Beat it well again and add the essence. Smear a *thali*, platter with butter and place on it the mixture. Bake on a gentle fire till done.

*(Excerpted from an essay by the author for the Taj Magazine (Jan-March 1997))* ■



## FROM SARIS TO PANO BHAJU

BY WENDELL RODRICKS\*

*The first Indian designer to be invited to IGEDO, the largest garment fair in the world, Wendell Rodricks has constantly been on the national fashion scene with his innovative styles inspired by Goa. Of Goan parentage, born in Bombay, educated in Los Angeles and Paris, Wendell Rodricks returned to the land of his ancestry in 1993. He works out of his remote ancestral village of Colvale in north Goa and retails in Goa, Mumbai, Delhi, Calcutta, Madras, Bangalore and Ahmedabad.*

*He was recently appointed Chairman of the Courses Committee for Fashion Education in Goa. He lectures on World Costume History at the S. N. D. T. University and is writing two text books on a pioneering new method of garment construction and a history of world costumes.*

*If you find that the Goa Police wear uniforms not seen anywhere else in India and wonder why, the reason is simple: they were designed by Wendell Rodricks.*

Visitors to Goa, and possibly a large population of Goans themselves, are subject only to the direct "visual" culture that exists in the state: churches, temples and grand residences. As professor of *World Costume History*, I have always regretted the fact that clothing not only occupies one of the lowest rungs of the fine art world, but is also very difficult to preserve over a period of time. Unlike monuments, frescoes, statuettes, jewellery and furniture, the delicate threads, laboured with love at one time, into warp and weft, slowly fall prey to mother nature — insects, decay and eventually dust. Hence, tracing a garment's origin requires an obligatory dependence on the written word or artistic impressions left on stone, plaster and parchment.

Goa, unfortunately, has no place of major importance in the grand culture of Indian clothing. It seems unfair that the reputation of Goan clothes is restricted to the lowly *kasti*, the *kunbi sari* and, in recent times, the multitude of polyester "frocks" that have the entire design world on them — bows, pleats, flounce, frill and fancy. From this unflattering range of clothing, it is quite unbelievable that at one time Goan women and men wore the same diverse costumes as their neighbours: elegant *saris*, draped *dhotis*, splendid turbans, wooden clogs and an assortment of *dupattas* and drapes. What isolated the Goans from their clothing culture in the past hundreds of years? The accusing finger points solely to the Portuguese and in particular, the dreaded Portuguese Inquisition of 1560.

While villages were converted overnight under the threat of bloodshed, land grabs and heavy taxes, orthodox Goans fled to other states to protect their Hindu culture. Even the converts did not anticipate the drastic way their lives would change. Refusing to eat beef and pork, the newly converted families of Bardez, Salcette and other *talukas* fled Goa, carrying with them their new Catholic family names. They went over to Karnataka and settled down to a Catholic life that was essentially Hindu in food, custom and dress.

From the murky history of the Inquisition rose one garment that would become the epitome of Goan fashion design. It successfully bridged the world between East and West and would go on to become a symbol of colour, music, wealth, beauty and Goan culture. The garment was called the *Pano Bhaju*.

How did this garment evolve? Most Goans today have vague recollections of beautiful high class Goan women wearing an ensemble that consisted of an embroidered long blouse

(*bhaju*), a pleated wrapover skirt (*pano*) and a stole draped over the shoulders. Their hair was tied into a neat *ambado* (mango shaped *chignon*) and studded with floral motif gold pins. Some hairpins were connected by chains to the upper or middle earlobe.

For special occasions, tiaras of gold and precious stones sparkled on the heads of Goan women. Gold net or black mantilla-type veils flowed from the tiara. Coral, green stones, sandstone and gold sovereigns gleamed from multiple rows of necklaces and bangles. On their feet were soft, velvet, embroidered, low-heeled shoes (*chinelos*). For religious service, the *ole* or *lençol* was worn, primarily by women of lower class. Some pious upperclass ladies also wore the *ole* over their *pano bhaju*. Goans also have fond memories how women adopted the *pano bhaju* as a standard dress form to dance the *mando*. At this time, they carried a fan made of tortoise shell, mother-of-pearl or bamboo, cut in filigree style. Goans possibly got the concept of the fan as a medium of "gesticulation" from the Portuguese or the exotic dance forms from the Orient which used the fan to great effect. Louis XIV, the "Sun King" at Versailles, adopted the style of "*Chinoiserie*", around 1650. All things Chinese were "à la mode". Among the boxes of Chinese lacquer were exquisite fans that wealthy Parisienne ladies carried to the court. Blushing girls fluttered their lashes behind fans and "spoke" with their eyes. It is reported that many a scandalous court *affaire* began due to the delicate language of the fan, communicated across the vast Louis XIV ballrooms. The Spanish used their fans to dance as well, but in a more flamboyant manner. Evolving from the sea route of China and Venice, the influence of the Portuguese women and the Goan people's natural love of dance and song, the fan soon became an integral part of the *mando*.

There are many theories as to how the *pano bhaju* evolved. But to get there, one must regress to many hundred years.... to the remote territories of Daman and Diu.

Gujarat, where Daman and Diu are located, has an ancient history of textiles, dyeing, printing and embroidery. The ports of Gujarat were trading with the Arabs for centuries. Arabs got bullion and precious cargo from Africa, purchased fabric from Gujarat, and sold the fabric for spices in South India and South East Asia. Exotic fabrics and porcelaines were exchanged for spices and these objects found a market in Gujarat where they paid with Indian fabric or precious stones. The spices, fabrics, precious stones or ornaments were converted back to gold in Europe. This then was the trade route that was firmly established with India. Products passed from Venice to Alexandria, Cairo, Jeddah and Aden. In fact, in 1498, when Vasco da Gama arrived in Calicut, he was surprised to see Italian brocades in the bazar. European velvets were reputed to be sold at the Vijayanagar capital prior to its destruction in 1565.

By the early fourteenth century, Indian fabric was widely used in Europe. There are records that in 1522 the wardrobe of King Manuel I of Portugal included "*an Indian robe from Gujarat, embroidered in linen and lined with crimson taffetta*".

The fabric for the *pano bhaju* must have undoubtedly come to Goa from Gujarat. In the wonderful cross-cultural exchange that occurred in those days, nations took exotic influences and adapted them to their needs. A classic case is the *Patola* (double *ikat*) that travelled to Indonesia from Gujarat and has now become a "national" fabric in Indonesia and Malaysia.

The favoured colours of the *pano bhaju* were cream, red and black. White was used by mourning widows. It is interesting to note a 1742 letter from a French Jesuit, Father Coeurdoux, who wrote to his friend a detailed letter on how Indians dyed cloth. Fr. Coeurdoux explains the ingredients to dye these colours, all of which are easily available in Goa. "*Iron ore was cooked on banana leaves. 'Canje' (water in which rice is boiled) is*

poured over the iron. No salt should be added. The mixture is exposed to light for a day. The 'canje' is poured out and palm 'wine' is filled in the vessel. This is kept for 3 to 4 days and is then ready to use. A deep black colour is obtained with this simple recipe. By altering the proportion of iron and 'canje', a red dye is possible".



The embroideries on the *pano bhaju* were floral in nature. In its recent history, the ladies who embroidered the *pano bhaju* excelled in embroidering church vestments. Gold thread was painstakingly embroidered on rich velvet and damask silk from China. The tradition of embroidery, however, predates the Portuguese to the Moghul patronage. Before the Portuguese arrived in Goa, the Muslims had already perfected the art of "ari" embroidery and produced excellent work on all types of fabrics. The embroideries used Persian motifs that were popular in Daman with the Parsis. The stitch was a long satin stitch called *gharaI*, which is essentially Chinese in origin and still used on Parsi *saris*. At the *Solar dos Colaços* home in Ribandar, I saw a beautiful bedspread done in exquisite *ghara* work and kept in a

beautiful Chinese lacquer box. The embroidery in gold thread obviously developed later, inspired by Moghul motifs of flowers and leaves. Similarly, the *chinelos* (shoes) of the *pano-bhaju* were essentially a cultural blend of Persian the *zapats* and Moghul shoes. The concept of the heeled *chinelos* developed after the Europeans discovered the *talon* (high heel). Women wore the heeled *chinelos* only for occasions. Most *chinelos* were flat with the moderate heel rise of a regular *chappal*.

The general opinion that the *pano bhaju* was worn only by the elite Brahmins is not true. In A. B. de Bragança Pereira's *Ethografia da India Portuguesa*, the author very clearly states that the *pano bhaju* was worn by Christian Goans of the rich "lower" class. It is perfectly credible that the *pano bhaju* was worn initially by non-Brahmin women and later adapted by the Brahmin elite to their needs. Accordingly to Monsignor Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado's *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, which traces the etymology of words, the *pano bhaju* was derived from or influenced by Malaccan costume and introduced by the Portuguese. I am inclined to believe that though the *pano bhaju* is most definitely similar to Malaccan costume, it was not "introduced" by the Portuguese but rather "adapted" by the Goans through various stages. It appears that the *toropo* or *saraca* which are essentially *sarong* or *lungi* variations, existed in the Dravidian culture and are of South Indian descent. From the south, they spread out to the Far East and in possibly one of the strangest migrations, returned to Goa via the sea route to become first the *pano palo* and then later the grander *pano bhaju*. There are various theories of the *pano bhaju* developing from the *pano palo*. In my opinion this is very likely. According to many early books, the *pano palo* is almost like a *sari* where the *palo* is displayed as such. From historians, it is also very clear that the *pano bhaju* began as a dress for lower class Christian converts and gradually transformed in style to become the luxurious statement of Brahmin Christian ladies. Women from Salcette and the Panjim area favoured the *pano bhaju*. It was relatively non-existent in Bardez or the other *talukas*. Eventually, the *pano bhaju* became associated only with the Brahmin upper class ladies who could afford the expensive dress.

The *pano bhaju* was an expensive garment in its day. Not everyone could afford the Italian velvet or Chinese silk. Ladies today recall how in 1935, one paid between 4 annas (25 paisa) to 12 annas (75 paisa) for a yard of cotton or silk fabric. One required about 4 yards for a deep-pleated *pano* and two yards for the *bhaju*. The embroidery was often done in Salcete.

One needs to examine here the position of women in Goan society before the Portuguese arrived. Indian women were considered inferior by Hindus and even lower by Muslims. The Portuguese elevated women to a social level that was not seen before. In those days, the elite were instructed in rudimentary education and needlework. Rich Brahmins arranged for holy *pandits* to instruct girls in religious studies. Strangely, the next group of "educated" women were more cultured than the Brahmins. Courtesans, dancing girls and prostitutes learnt not only the alphabet and religion (as in the case of *devadasis* or temple dancing girls) but also the finer arts of dance, make-up and dress. These women applied antimony to eyes, perfumed musk to breasts, flavoured their clothes with sandalwood sticks and stained their lips red by chewing on betel leaves. They also wore intricate jewellery and beautiful flower garlands. Some unmarried girls wore a tattoo on the forehead as a *bindi*-type adornment. After "conversion", it was quite common to tattoo a cruxiform on the forehead. But since it was distracting and too "tribal" in nature, the tattoo moved to the base of the thumb, where the tradition still continues today.

When the Portuguese converted the Hindus, the famed edict of 1560 changed the lives

of the Goans completely. All Hindu customs were abolished and replaced by Western Catholic traditions. As far as clothing was concerned, there was a ban on *dhotis*, both in private and public. The Portuguese were very keen that the Christian women dress in a manner that was more European and distinguishing from the 'Gentiles' (Hindus). One can imagine the horror of the recently converted orthodox Hindu Brahmin women, who must have recoiled at the thought of stepping into a Western corset and voluminous skirt. The transition from a *sari* to this alien dress/mode was too extreme in both physical and psychological terms. The *pano palo* or *pano bhaju* seemed the only way out of this dilemma. In my opinion it was the women of 'mixed' marriages who first began to wear a version of the *pano palo*, and a more elaborate adaptation, the *pano bhaju*, followed later. The association of the *pano bhaju* with dancing the *mando* obviously came much later because it was sacrilegious for Brahmin women to 'dance' in public. Apparently the great Goan musicologist Malbarao Sardesai was the first person to permit his daughters to learn to dance with the *kalavants*, the dance-girls. They later performed in public at high society occasions, around 1926.

The word *pano bhaju* is essentially from two words. The *bhaju* was a loose linen or cotton smock blouse worn by the Portuguese women. When the Goans adapted it, they made it a bit more body-skimming as the loose, floating shape was alien to them. They adapted the sleeves from full-length to three-quarter in order to display the *kanknas* (bangles) they were so proud of. The *bhajus* were initially in cotton, worn at home. Silk was used for occasions and eventually intricately embroidered versions were worn.

*Pano* in Portuguese essentially means cloth or fabric. It can also mean a curtain or sailcloth. It is a Malay-type *sarong* wrap with borders running across its ends and a large *palo*-style border at the front. Worn together the ensemble called *pano bhaju* is incomplete without the *phata* (or *dupatta*). In ancient Vedic scriptures, Aryan clothing was complete only if it had three elements: *Nivi* (covering for lower body), *Vasas* (covering for upper body) and *Adivasas* (drape around the shoulder). All garment pieces were to be without a seam or stitch. The concept of sewn garments arrived in India only after the Moghul invasion.

The draping of the *phata* or stole was done in the same manner that most Indians drapes were worn, i.e., across the chest and wrapped over one hip. Vijayanagar women wore their *vastaras* in a similar fashion for centuries.

Goan women added the rich stole to the *pano bhaju* and accessorised this rich costume with tiaras or hair pins, necklaces with *phodo* (precious stones), bangles and the *chinelos*. The result was a vision in elegance.

From an obscure historical background, it is interesting to note that by 1915, the Herald newspaper of 24 December mentions that "the only costume peculiar to Goa is the *pano bhaju*". This statement would infuriate many cultural minds who know fully well from the illustrated works seen in *A India Portuguesa* (1886) by António Lopes Mendes, that Goan costumes were of substantial variety before the Portuguese arrived.

The *pano bhaju* is a combination of many influences in colour, textiles, embroideries, jewellery and accessories. It mixes the graceful femininity of Indian garments with the modern practicality of western garments with great ease and panache. It is this very quality that makes the *pano bhaju* an ideal fashion statement for our times. With the long history of the *pano bhaju* and its multilayered "voyages" across the seas, this garment lost to history in Portuguese times, deserves a revival because of all that it symbolises: multi-racial influences, practicality, luxury, colour, style and a true reflection of Goan history. ■

\*(copyright: Wendell Rodricks)

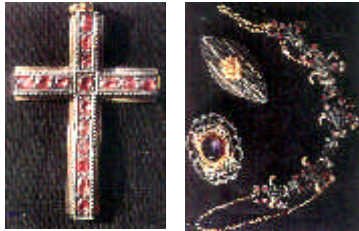
## JEWELLERY

*The Heritage of Raulu Chatim* is the title of a beautifully designed and exquisitely illustrated coffee table book with very well written articles by world-class authorities on jewellery, arts and artifacts. The book is presented by the Portuguese scholar Nuno Vassallo e Silva, who, as it happens, is the grandson of the late General Manuel António Vassallo e Silva, the last Portuguese Governor-general of Goa.

Raulu Chatim who was a famous Goan jeweller, for a while the chief of the Jewellers Guild, an organisation, that, in the fashion of guilds of other trades, was how professional guilds should be: defending at all times the legitimate interests of its members but, also, defending, as vehemently, the interests of the clients, and on questions of quality and probity. Theirs was true professionalism.

So impressed was Afonso de Albuquerque with his skills and delicate craftsmanship that he sent him to Portugal so that he could learn the techniques of Portuguese jewellers who excelled in silver filigree, and could impart to them the knowledge of what Goan goldsmiths were best at. Goan — which is the same as saying Konkani goldsmiths — knew more about gold, its tensile strength, the techniques to melt and alloy it, and even the finer points of workmanship than their Portuguese contemporaries.

Raulu Chatim was, according to Dr. P. P. Pissurlekar, probably from Carrem, a village in north Goa. Nuno Vassallo e Silva quotes in the book a note from his grandfather to the



effect that even in his time (1957-1961), Carrem brimmed with very good goldsmiths. The document mentions that “there were (in Goa) families of artisans and also villages who were, in truth, nurseries of artistic goldsmiths, specially the Hindu (there were at least one Catholic goldsmith family in Siolim, in north Goa), who had dedicated their artistry to their ancestral gods and excelled at their art.” On the visits he made to the areas he could “sense the intense vibrations of the desire to retain for posterity the artistic qualities they had inherited from their forbearers and maintained with the greatest love.”

Goan jewellers of the time crafted the precious metal pieces of the St. Francis Xavier Mausoleum in the Basilica of Bom Jesus, as also the crosses, reliquaries, chalices and monstrances seen in the older Goan churches, some of which can be seen by those interested in the craft in Museum of Sacred Art at Rachol in south Goa. They also crafted the jewellery and family heirlooms that are passed on from generation to generation in Goan families, be they Hindu or Christian. Even now, there are great jewellers in Goa. If one looks for them, one invariably finds them. ■



## TRANSPORTATION IN GOA IN THE PAST

(This is a resumé of an essay in Portuguese, *Os Transportes dos Goeses dos Tempos Passadas* by Carmo Gonzaga Miguel Agapito de Miranda in *Purabhilek-Puratatva*, *Journal of the Directorate of Archives Archaeology* edited by Dr. P. P. Shirodkar; published with the gracious consent of the editor.)

The means of transportation are divided into two broad categories: land and aquatic, and these, in turn, sub-divided into transportation for inanimate objects and live beings, human and animals.

Human beings and animals were used to action the various means of transport. The aristocracy moved in chairs/palanquins, known as *machilas*, borne on the adequately-padded heads of four able-bodied men. Bulls and horses were used in a large number of vehicles meant for the carriage of humans and goods. All the important and powerful people - prominent physicians, lawyers, high officials, members of the judiciary, those holding elected office, rich landlords - call it arrogance or despotism if you will, flaunted their wealth and status by moving in chairs, litters and coaches.

### Chair



front view



side view.

### Litter



side view



side view

### Coach



front view



side view

The Chairs (*machilas*) were, at times, very ornate, decorated with tinted glass (red, blue, green and yellow), or, less frequently, frosted. The seats and upholstery were at times very elaborate, decorated with lace and fringes.

They also had protection against the elements, eg sun and rain.

### Chair being carried in fair weather



### Chair carried on a rainy day



The accessories were equally appropriate to the status of the person carried and the circumstances.



### Lamps

The porters had pre-assigned places and only rarely did they alternate.



### Porters



The porters had their uniforms.

They had to come well prepared for eventualities. They bore on their heads coils of paddy ropes, topped with a cotton pad. If the men were not of the same height, the headgear of the shorter porters was adequately heightened. They wore footwear made of palm thatch. They also wore, if occasion demanded, specially designed garments.



**Coats**



**Skirts (worn over their underwear)**



The transportation of goods, often across the Ghats, involved a great deal of planning, like night rests, etc. The men who carried loads across the Ghats were known as *Ghatkers*.



**Ghatker**



**His night rest**

Horse carriages ranged, as anywhere, from the simple to the exotic. Reproduced below are:

Bullock carriages (for four persons) belonging to Mr. Constâncio Figueredo, from Loutolim, a prosperous village in South Goa.



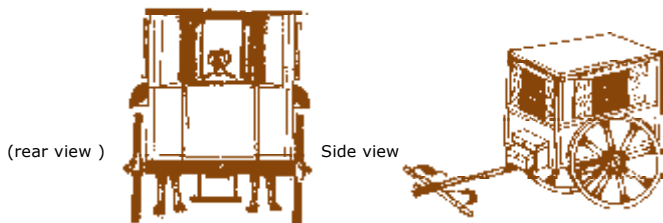
*Tonga*, belonging to the physician-dentist Dr. António Sá, from Margao, in South Goa



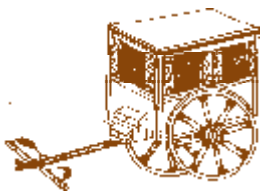
#### **Bullock cart for carriage of goods**

Bullocks were also used to draw carriages in Mapusa, in north Goa, while in Panjim and Margao they were horse-drawn.

A bullock carriage for three persons



A carriage for two persons



Bullock carriage



(Front view )

The riverine transportation comprised boats of several designs and features appropriate to the terrain, the load and the time of the year.



Ordinary row boat



Row boat with a VIP Platform



Canoe



### **Jangada (raft)**

All those carriages and boats are by now almost obsolete. Now is the era of yellow-top cabs, tourist cabs, rickshaws, buses, private cars and limousines.

Only rarely does one see any bullock cart on the roads, even in the least developed villages. But once, large caravans of them transported cargoes of all kinds across the Ghats and within the territory. At one time, ( Trotónior de Sousa *Goa To Me* ) in the "late seventeenth century the natives of Bardez owned about four thousand oxen for making trips to Balghat... Manuel Luis from Parra in Bardez was one of the chief caravan owners with about seventy oxen of his own" ■



## **CONSERVATION OF WORLD HERITAGE MONUMENTS IN OLD GOA**

**BY PERCIVAL NORONHA**

*Percival Noronha is a widely recognized expert on Goa's culture and history. He is a founder member of Indian Heritage Society, Goa Chapter and in that capacity submitted the report that is reproduced below;*

The monuments of Old Goa represent an important architectural landmark of XVI and XVII centuries in Goa where the classical canons of western art – unity, coherence and harmony – are reproduced in every specimen transcending the bounds of idealism and delights of extravagance of the bygone period, leaving to posterity a dream of grandeur of the past.

In 1964, prior to the Exposition of St. Francis Xavier, the Government of India took special interest in these monuments and extended to Goa "The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958". From then till date, the conservation management of the following important monuments is in the hands of the Archaeological Survey of India (GOI) which has its branch office in Old Goa:-

i) Arch of Viceroy; ii) Church of Our Lady of Divine Providence attached to the old convent of St. Cajetan (now Institute Pius X); iii) See Cathedral, iv) Chapel of St. Catherine; v) the old convent of St. Francis de Assisi; vi) Church of Holy Spirit; vii) Basilica of Bom Jesus; viii) remains of the Church of Our Lady of Grace and the ruins of the convent of St. Augustine; ix) Chapel of Our Lady of Rosary and the x) Ruins of the old church of St. Paul.

In 1972, UNESCO adopted a resolution for the identification and protection of the World Heritage, both in natural and monumental form. In 1977, India became an active member-state on the World Heritage and holds fifteen World Heritage Monuments (the group of churches in Old Goa is one of them), and four natural Sites.

It is noted with regret that the conservation of architectural heritage in India is yet to be a professional concern. In fact, it is an unfamiliar discipline among the ASI's so called professionals. What in reality is being practised, at least in Old Goa, is a criminal assault on the principles of conservation and preservation of those monuments.

During 34 years of ASI's intervention in the heritage monuments in Old Goa, serious lapses were noticed leading to irreparable damage. For instance, the roof over the chapel of Blessed Sacrament in the See Cathedral, was substituted by an RCC slab (just imagine), which due to climatic conditions of Goa, started leaking to the point of impairing the rich Venetian paintings of the XVII century, exposed on the vault of the chapel. After heavy pressure of NGOs and others, ASI realised their blunder and after 33 years, reset the roof, though the work is far from the original make up.

The other insensible acts on the part of ASI, like whitewashing of walls of the Cathedral which had beautiful paintings along with the attractive gold-coated shield and crown in relief on the vault of the cross-aisle; the oil painting of basalt stone pulpit; the raising of the garden level to a height of one meter towards the Archiepiscopal Palace thus endangering the stability of the walls of the palace, are just a few examples.

The destructive tendency of ASI continues unabated even in present days of awareness

of conservation processes. The systematic removal of the wonderful set of wooden railings that till recently adorned the interior of Basilica of Bom Jesus, followed by the setting of the bronze statue of St. Catherine in the middle of the courtyard of the convent of St. Francis di Assisi; the erection of a bastion in front of the church of Holy Spirit to serve as a canon mount and the opening of a large cistern very close to the historic chapel of St. Catherine for storage of water for the garden, are clear breaches of conservation of the World Heritage Monuments. Also, the construction of a Circuit House under the guise of a chemical laboratory and a restaurant over the site of the ruins of the old palaces of Sabaio, later turned into the Inquisition Tribunal, and the construction of guest rooms within the old convent of St. Francis di Assisi in RCC are but examples of processes for increasing the vulnerability of the heritage area to undesired development.

The conflict between the aims of conservation and craving for modernisation is patent in the systematic removal of age-old stone pavement around the See Cathedral and its substitution by an apron of RCC.

Of late, the Archaeological Survey of India (Goa) has encircled with stone the garden hedge on the plea that pigs, dogs and goats are making their entry in the garden. The hedge carries wire-mesh inside for preventing the intrusion of animals. It is surprising that after 34 years, the ASI got up from their slumber and thought of encircling the area with a stone compound wall. The general principles for garden conservation are well established in international fora which lay down simple practices to minimize physical interventions and recreate appropriate spatial contexts by means of green hedges around a garden and not raising stone walls.

Architectural conservation and archaeological preservation, though not mutually exclusive, differ in scope and intention. Therefore, an archaeologist unfamiliar with the discipline will never be able to work with the necessary vision and skill. In fact, the performance of ASI's office in Old Goa is a reflection of the amateurish work which they are dabbling in.

Fortunately, the concept of conservation of these monuments is emerging strong among Goan NGOs, intellectuals, architects and engineers who thought of organizing a Seminar in Old Goa with the participation of a large batch of superintendents of ASI offices of the whole country, along with a group of seven foreign experts, from 11th to 14th December 1995. The areas of study in the Seminar covered :- i) Architectural conservation with special reference to structural aspects and actions; ii) Causes of decay in materials and structural; iii) Internal environment of historical monuments (mural paintings, frescoes, graffiti, stucco, woodwork, gilt of retables, altars, pulpits, canopies etc.); iv) Rehabilitation of historical monuments of Old Goa. These participants inspected and identified areas of intervention and made several recommendations which have not been so far followed by the office of ASI in Old Goa. Interestingly, during the Seminar, it was revealed that the ASI does not even have the influential Conservation Manual of Sir John Marshall (1923), which was stated to be out of print and not available in the office.

Dr. Juke Jokilehto in his study "The Impact of Policy on Historic Conservation," says: "The complexity of important historical and archaeological settlements and their multifaceted problems of conservation and preservation, require the contribution of many disciplines. In addition to building up the required skills, these disciplines need to be able also to communicate with each other, and to form effective teams capable of short-term and long-term collaboration. This range of collaborators is well reflected in the UNESCO Recommendation (Par.17) concerning the safeguarding and contemporary role of historic



areas (Nairobi, 1976).

As stated earlier, the conservation management of these important monuments is, unfortunately, in the hands of the Archaeological Survey of India (GOI) which is not duly equipped for the task in hand. In fact, the UNESCO recommendations are very particular that plans and documents should be drawn up, once all the necessary advance scientific studies have been carried out by multi-disciplinary teams composed of: 1) specialists in conservation and restoration, including art historians; ii) architects and town-planners; iii) sociologists and economists; iv) ecologists and landscape architects; v) specialists in public health and social welfare; vi) all specialists in disciplines involved in the protection and enhancement of historic areas; vii) the authorities should take the lead in sounding the opinions and organizing the participation of the public concerned.

From the above, it clearly emerges that Conservation is held to be an interdisciplinary activity involving a wide range of professionals all of whom need to be formally trained to be given a common frame of reference. Again, the Archaeological Survey of India is least bothered to hear public opinion. It is now high time that the ASI revamps their present outdated working system and follows strictly the UNESCO recommendations for the World Heritage Monuments of Old Goa.

The Archaeological Survey of India is least bothered to hear the public opinion. It is high time the ASI revamp their present outdated working system and follow strictly the UNESCO recommendations for the World Heritage Monuments of Old Goa. ■

