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**19th Century Periodicals of Portuguese India: An Assessment of Documentary
Evidence and Indo-Portuguese Identity.**

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of
Philosophy in Information Studies

by

Liladhar Ramchandra Pendse
2012

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Evidence and Indo-Portuguese Identity.**

by

Liladhar Ramchandra Pendse

Doctor of Philosophy in Information Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2013

Professor Anne J. Gilliland, Chair

Portuguese colonial periodicals of 19th century India represent a rich source of information that might be used by scholars in comparative literature, history, post-colonial studies, and other humanities and social sciences-related disciplines. These periodicals are markers of modalities of colonial dominance and the ensuing hybridities that led to formation of the complex Indo-Portuguese identity (-ies) in the 19th century Indian sub-continent.

Although the majority of these collections remain in India and Portugal, these periodicals also form a part of extensive South Asia collections held in academic libraries in the United States. These periodicals have often been overlooked as a source of information on the colonial milieu of 19th century India because access to them has been problematic for several reasons. Memories of a colonial past that could have been perceived as repressive might be one reason why these periodicals have been left to wither away in both India and Portugal. Since some of these periodicals are held in collections of academic libraries in the United States, questions about what responsibilities these libraries might have or take on to provide access to these

disappearing periodicals in their original or digitized form become important. This situation raises several questions about the nature of the stewardship concerning these periodicals in each of geographic location: India, Portugal and the United States, as well as the implications of the complex of intellectual property legislation in India, Portugal and the United States for any digitization initiatives.

This dissertation addresses several three distinct yet interlinked themes: First, it provides a history and description of 19th century periodicals of Portuguese India. Second, it demonstrates the use of 19th century Portuguese literary periodicals of Portuguese India as evidence of Indo-Portuguese identity formation and hybridities. Third, it examines stewardship issues related to collections of these periodicals held in libraries in India, Portugal and the United States.

The key findings of my research are as follows: There were hundreds of Portuguese language periodicals in the 19th century Portuguese India and Bombay, where the Indo-Portuguese diaspora lived and worked. These periodicals circulated for varying lengths of time and comprised multiple genres. A substantial number of Portuguese language periodicals also began appearing in Bombay in British India. This appearance of periodicals in diaspora, while not unique to the Portuguese periodicals of India, indicates the need of expatriates for news to be published from their homeland as well as their language affinities. Although the “Bombay” periodicals were initially published in Portuguese, over a period of time we see incorporation of English as well as other regional languages such as Marathi and Konkani. The findings also suggest that the perceptions of American and international librarians to issues of stewardship for these publications are as diverse as the libraries for which they work. In the United States, the 19th century Portuguese periodicals of India generally form a very small part of the overall collections of colonial periodicals. The librarians who worked as the curators of these collections were primarily interested in providing access to these periodicals in alternate forms as in many cases the originals were fragile. The issues of copyright were deemed complicated and the

librarians often quoted notions such as fair academic use, public domain, and local access to justify digital preservation of these materials where possible.

My interviews of these librarians and the ensuing data analysis for this particular study demonstrate that both the multiple transformational stewardship model and the component stewardship model, map inadequately. These models fail to capture the diverse viewpoints to which these librarians subscribed. Since the sample size was rather small for this study, further study is needed to refine our understanding of the role of the stewardship when it comes to collecting, preserving and providing access to low use but high value periodicals, such as these 19th century Portuguese periodicals of India. I would argue that my study is just the first step in the direction of gaining insights regarding the world view of librarians from several different countries. Similar research is needed to see how librarians in other former colonial possessions of Portugal perceive the importance of stewardship with respect to their own Portuguese language colonial periodicals.

The dissertation of Liladhar Ramchandra Pendse is approved.

Gregory H. Leazer

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Anne J. Gilliland, Committee Chair

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Dedication

In memory of my loving grandfather Madhukar P. Mondkar and grandmother Kunda M. Mondkar for their *īmān* or *shraddha* (faith) in the fact that education will disperse the clouds of ignorance and empower one's spirit to fly high.

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I want to thank Ms. Anurupa Naik of the French Institute of Pondicherry, India and other colleagues in Portugal, India and United States for their unwavering support during the process of dissertation writing. I want to thank Dr. Janaki Bakhle of Columbia University who constantly guided me during the early stages of my dissertation writing. I also want thank a close friend, Dr. Iman Al-Ayouty of the Egyptian Center for Economic Studies, who constantly and selflessly provided moral support during this difficult process of dissertation writing. Dr. Ronald Vroon, Dr. Gail Lenhoff and Dr. Roman Koropecykj of the Slavic Languages and Literatures of UCLA provided me with their insights on the techniques of literary analysis and close reading. Without their help, I would not have been able to conduct in-depth analysis of Indo-Portuguese poetry. I want

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Statement of Problem

Nations, like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully realize their horizons in the mind's eye. Such an image of the nation – or narration – might seem impossibly romantic and excessively metaphorical, but it is from those traditions of political thought and literary language that the nation emerges as a powerful historical idea in the west. An idea whose cultural compulsion lies in the impossible unity of the nation as a symbolic force.

–Homi K. Bhabha in *Nation and Narration*.¹

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive on the Indian sub-continent in 1492 and the last to leave in 1961. The arrival of Vasco da Gama in Calicut marks the beginning of the long process of colonization of India by Portuguese and other European powers. Although that colonization was dominated by the British, the Portuguese left behind an extensive documentary heritage that included 19th century periodicals published in Portuguese.

Some of these periodicals continued to be published for a limited time after the unification of these colonial enclaves within the Republic of India. The language policies

¹ Bhabha, Homi K. *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge, 1990. Print.

of the Indian Union that promoted the use of the local language, Hindi, or English, along with the demise of the subsidies from the former colonial masters, can be held partly responsible for the discontinuation of these periodicals since these periodicals eventually ceased to exist. Copies today continue to be held in various libraries in Portugal, India and also the United States.

These periodicals as a group are the primary object of study of my dissertation. This dissertation has a twofold purpose. First, it addresses the assessment of these periodicals as documentary evidence of Portuguese India -- to modern-day researchers of post-colonial studies, the history of South Asia, comparative literature, and other relevant social sciences and humanities disciplines, they serve as a repository of historical information and also provide a glimpse into the print culture in the Portuguese colonies of India. Second, it examines the issues that revolve around contemporary stewardship of these periodicals within library collections.

I have grouped my research questions under the following three separate yet interconnected themes in the chapters of this dissertation:

Theme 1: The history and description of 19th century Portuguese language periodicals of Portuguese India:

1. What led to the appearance of the first Portuguese language periodical in Portuguese India in 1821?
2. What are these periodicals and what kinds of information do they contain? What are the genres of these periodicals?

3. How did Portuguese language periodicals evolve in Portuguese India and Bombaim (Bombay/Mumbai) where there was an established Indo-Portuguese community in the 19th century?

Theme 2: Use of 19th century Portuguese-language literary periodicals of Portuguese India as evidence of Indo-Portuguese identity formation and hybridities:

1. What are the markers of Indo-Portuguese identity/-ies and hybridities as these appear in the literary periodicals of the 19th century Portuguese India?
2. How are the Portuguese colonization of India and Portugal's glorious past portrayed by those who wrote in these periodicals?
3. What are the "Indian" elements that we find in these periodicals?

Theme 3: Collecting and stewardship of 19th century Portuguese-language periodicals of Portuguese India in India, Portugal and the United States:

1. How did collections of 19th century Portuguese language periodicals of India come into being in the United States, India and Portugal? Where are these collections located in these countries?
2. What is the nature of collecting and stewardship of colonial-era periodicals in post-colonial settings today?
3. What preservation activities, if any, have been undertaken with these periodicals? Are such activities also directed towards providing access to these periodicals?
4. What is the understanding of stewards about the current copyright status of these periodicals?

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters that are separate narratives linked by an overarching meta-narrative. This dissertation is not intended to represent the progression of simple ideas into a gradual more complicated synthesis. Instead, I have written these chapters in the fashion of mini-vignettes. Each chapter can be read independently of the others and vice versa. The structure of this dissertation thus is based on a progression of ideas as they evolved from the original primary research questions. Beside these primary research questions, each chapter raises and addresses a set of subsidiary questions.

In the first chapter, I introduce the dissertation's guiding research questions and provide background information on what led to the discovery of India by the Portuguese and how Portuguese India came into being as a colonial enclave of Portugal in the sixteenth century. In the same chapter, I discuss the research significance of the questions that I have posed.

In the second chapter, I provide a literature review to situate my research questions in the context of prevailing theory and current historical research within post-colonial studies, and with regard to library collection development. In the third chapter, I examine the historical factors that led to the appearance of the first Portuguese language periodical in 19th century Portuguese India. In this chapter, I briefly survey the history of Portuguese publishing in India and provide historical context about the situation in Portugal and Portuguese India. In the fourth chapter, I assess the 19th century Portuguese language periodicals of Portuguese India and Bombay. The third and fourth chapters are primarily written in order to address the research questions that I have grouped under the first theme.

In the fifth chapter, I have tried primarily to answer the questions relating to the second theme through literary analysis and close reading of poems from selected literary journals of Portuguese India. The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate one possible use of these periodicals in an academic setting. The sixth chapter addresses issues that revolve around the questions that I have grouped above under the third theme.

Research Significance

There have been multiple works of critical discourse analysis that utilize periodicals for the construction of meanings.² However, none of these works takes into consideration the colonial and post-colonial realities of what I term as “in-production” and “post-production” realities for the Portuguese periodicals of the colonial period in India. By “in-production” realities, I am referring to the reaction of the public to the content of these periodicals during their circulation within these colonies. The reaction itself can be construed as a dialogic process as it was shaped by various factors that included not only policy changes mandated by the Metropole (the mother country), but also the influences of the other colonial powers in the region and the socio-economic changes within these enclaves. In the case of India, Portuguese colonial enclaves were surrounded by British India.

Although historiography-related studies of these realities, with a focus on the politics of print, have been conducted by Borges & Stubbe, 2000 and Pinto, 2007,³ none

² Henry, Frances, and Carol Tator. *Discourses of Domination: Racial Bias in the Canadian English-Language Press*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002. Print; Wodak, Ruth, and Paul A. Chilton. *A New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis: Theory, Methodology, and Interdisciplinary*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 2005. Print.

³ Borges, Charles J, Oscar G. Pereira, and Hannes Stubbe. *Goa and Portugal: History and Development*. New Delhi: Concept Pub. Co, 2000. Print.

of these studies critically addresses notions about the nature of record, historical repositories, stewardship, and preservation policies. Pinto's arguments about the structural weakness within the elite Catholic polity of Goa being one of the reasons for the lack of the strong national identity within Portuguese Goa also does not employ in-depth analysis of Portuguese language periodicals of the 19th century India.⁴

Historical background and early history of Portuguese India

The discovery of India by Vasco da Gama in 1498 was not an accident, rather it was a result of deliberate exploratory policies that were established and developed under the Portuguese king, Henry the Navigator, in the fifteenth century.⁵ The loss of Constantinople to the Ottomans, and thus the loss by Europeans of a land route to India and the East is often cited as one of many reasons for Portuguese exploration of a sea route to India.⁶ Subrahmanyam has examined the historicity and sources on Vasco da Gama in great detail.⁷ At the time of arrival of the Portuguese in India, the city of Goa was under the control of the Adil Khan of Bijapur, who ruled part of the Deccan plateau in the Indian subcontinent in the aftermath of the decline of the Bahmani Empire. Vasco da Gama did not arrive in Goa first, but rather in the port of Calicut with the help of Arab

⁴ Pinto, Rochelle. *Between Empires: Print and Politics in Goa*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007. Print.

⁵ Davies, Arthur. "Prince Henry the Navigator." *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)*. (1964): 119-127. Print.

⁶ O'Rourke, Kevin H, and Jeffrey G. Williamson. *Did Vasco Da Gama Matter for European Markets?: Testing Frederick [sic] Lane's Hypotheses Fifty Years Later*. Cambridge, Mass: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2005; Casale, Giancarlo. *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Print.

⁷ Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. *The Career and Legend of Vasco Da Gama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Print.

pilots from Mombasa.⁸ Vasco da Gama undertook three missions to India, and before his last mission in 1524, he was given the title of the Viceroy of India. During his last voyage to India he died in Cochin. Da Gama's exploits during his voyages to India, and the atrocities that were committed under his leadership, are well documented.⁹

However, da Gama's legacy should be combined with the proselytizing zeal of Catholic missionaries who came to India. The Portuguese policy of expansion in India also included capture and construction of a series of fortifications in Mozambique, Oman and at Hormuz in present day Iran.¹⁰ If da Gama's arrival "opened up" India for Portuguese expansion on the sub-continent, it was Afonso de Albuquerque, who consolidated the Portuguese hold on Goa. In 1510, Afonso de Albuquerque conquered Goa for Portugal. Cottineau de Kloguen notes that from 1510 until 1571, Goa continued to prosper as the metropolis of the Portuguese Orient.¹¹ He attributes the initial success of Portuguese colonization to the policy of Albuquerque that encouraged mixed marriages. In 1557, Goa was declared the Archbishopric of the Orient.

⁸ Gama, Vasco, and Ernest G. Ravenstein. *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco Da Gama: 1497-1499*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010. Print.

⁹ Berjeau, Jean P. *Calcoen: A Dutch Narrative of the Second Voyage of Vasco Da Gama to Calicut, Printed at Antwerp Circa 1504. with Introd. and Translation by J.ph. Berjeau*. London: B.M. Pickering, 1874. Internet resource.

¹⁰ Mathew, K M. *History of the Portuguese Navigation in India, 1497-1600*. Delhi, India: Mittal Publications, 1988. Print.

¹¹ Cottineau, de K. D. L. *An Historical Sketch of Goa: The Metropolis of the Portuguese Settlements in India: with an Account of the Present State of That Celebrated City, and of the Surrounding Territories Under Its Immediate Jurisdiction, Collected Froma [sic] the Most Authentic Sources*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1831. Print. Cottineau states that in 1570 there was an outbreak of a contagious disease that wreaked havoc on the population of Goa.

The Portuguese acquisition of the Northern Territories from the Gujarat Sultanate, that included towns of Chaul, Dadra-Nagar Haveli, Daman, and Diu, was a gradual process that continued until 1533. The Portuguese founded Vasai (Bassein) fort and city, located north of Bombay.¹² The islands that today constitute Bombay were also part of the Portuguese possession until 1668 and its transfer to the British.¹³ Bassein and Chaul were ceded to the Maratha Empire in 1739. Thus Portuguese rule in the Indian sub-continent was limited to Goa, Dadra and Nagar-Haveli, Daman and Diu. Dadra and Nagar-Haveli were landlocked with no access to the sea. After the defeat of the Marathas in 1818¹⁴ and the Treaty of Bassein, the Portuguese territories were surrounded by British India. After 1947, they were surrounded by an independent India until the military action in 1961 that led to the incorporation of Portuguese India into the territories of the Republic of India.

A Brief Note on Translation and Terminology

The term “nation” is used in this dissertation in the same way as it is by Homi Bhabha and as understood by Hannah Arendt.¹⁵ In Arendt’s view, the nation in the modern world is “that curiously hybrid realm where private interests assume public significance and two realms flow unceasingly and uncertainly into each other ‘like waves in a never-ending stream of the life process itself.’ It is important to note, however, that

¹² Cunha, J G. *Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein*. Bombay: Thacker, Vining & Co, 1876. Print.

¹³ *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*. Bombay: Govt. Central Press, 1894. Volume 26 Part 2.

¹⁴ Wellesley, Richard C. W, and Sidney J. Owen. *A Selection from the Despatches, Treaties, and Other Papers of the Marquess Wellesley During His Government of India*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1877. Print.

¹⁵ Bhabha, Homi K. *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge, 1990. Print. p. 2.

the nation is not a homeland for the purpose of this dissertation. “Colonialism” can be understood as aggression that led to possession of a territory.¹⁶ At the same time, the dichotomy of the aggressor and the subdued cannot be oversimplified in attempting to understand the complex modalities of a world system that was mercantile at the beginning of colonial relations.¹⁷ “Periodicals” are defined as print publications that are published periodically, whether in newspaper, journal or digest form.

All of the translations from Portuguese, Konkani and Marathi in this dissertation are my own. In some cases, instead of verbatim translations, I have taken the liberty of contextualizing my translation. I have used both Portuguese and their English variants for place names instead of using the modern day names. For example, for current Mumbai, known as Bombay in British India and Bombaim in Portuguese India, I have retained Bombaim.

I have created a chronology of important events in the life of Portuguese India to contextualize various issues that are discussed in this dissertation. Besides creating this chronology, I have created a glossary of Portuguese terms that are used interchangeably with English terms throughout this dissertation.

¹⁶ Lorenz, Konrad. *On Aggression*. Toronto: Bantam Books, 1969. Print. p.. 253.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Theories of Colonial Control and Colonial Print Media

The European colonial experience on the Indian sub-continent presents us with a unique opportunity to look at the mechanisms of colonization over the geographically, linguistically and religiously diverse groups of people that ultimately rose up against the colonial rules of different European nations, resulting in the creation of the independent states of India and Pakistan. During the colonial period, Great Britain was the preeminent colonial power, and the British colonial experiences of the Raj remain to this day far more studied than are the other colonial experiences under Dutch, French and Portuguese rule.

The historical evolution of the Portuguese Empire from the earliest period remains well documented and is usually divided into three periods.¹⁸ Clarence-Smith identifies the first Empire as being when the initial discoveries were made by Portuguese explorers. The term “Empire in the Orient”¹⁹ was used to define this period. The second Portuguese Empire was that of Brazil and the third Empire was understood to be the one that was primarily based on the African continent that became important for Portugal in the aftermath of the Liberal Revolution of 1820 and during the industrial revolution.²⁰

¹⁸ Clarence-Smith, W G. *The Third Portuguese Empire, 1825-1975: A Study in Economic Imperialism*. Manchester, U.K: Manchester University Press, 1985. Print.

¹⁹ Bernardes, Branco M. *Portugal E Os Estrangeiros: Adornada De Nove Retratos*. Lisboa: A.M. Pereira, 1879. Print. The term Empire in the Orient (Império no oriente) appears in the writings of early Portuguese writers when they referred to Portuguese expansion in Indian sub-continent, Malacca and Macau.

²⁰ Clarence-Smith, W G. *The Third Portuguese Empire, 1825-1975: A Study in Economic Imperialism*. Manchester, U.K: Manchester University Press, 1985. Print. p. 4.

Also, we should take into consideration the independence of Brazil in 1822 that resulted in a net loss of revenues to Portugal. The object of this study, as stated in the introduction, will be the newspapers and journals of Portuguese India in the period of the third Portuguese Empire.

Although the mechanisms by which each of the colonial powers and their administrations controlled the large masses of the colonized can be examined through the general patterns of domination and hybridity that were characteristic of colonial empires around the world, the experiences of the governed population under the Portuguese in the Indian context remain slightly different. This was due to varying administrative practices, global geopolitics, economic and social policies of the mother country, and the cultural diversity within the sub-continent. The Portuguese Empire was multinational, multicultural and multilingual in its essence.²¹ Its holdings spread from Macau and Timor in the East and its African possessions in the West.

Compared to the British, the Portuguese held geographically small areas of territory on the sub-continent. In this sense, when we specifically look at the Indian sub-continent, I would classify these colonial powers as minor when it came to their ability to influence the complex geopolitics of the sub-continent. The various aspects of information strategies of these minor colonial powers in the post-Napoleonic Europe remain understudied for several reasons. First, their impact on the outcome of the Indian national integration in the aftermath of the independence can be seen as minor except in the case of Goa, where there was a forced military action that expelled the Portuguese colonial authorities. Second, the decolonization practices within the regions, where

²¹ Barbosa, Rosana. *Immigration and Xenophobia: Portuguese Immigrants in Early 19th Century Rio De Janeiro*. Lanham, Md: University Press of America, 2009. Print.

English was not one of the administrative European languages, proceeded to implement English as one of the official languages at the cost of the eventual marginalization of Portuguese. Third, the impetus for extended study was simply not there as the other colonial powers were emerging from the shadows of the WWII and did not consider these colonial possessions to be an important part of their long-term geopolitical strategy.

Although the narrative news reports, as they appeared in the Western press of the time about the capture of Goa, have been studied by Scholberg et al., most scholars have not focused on examining the modes by which the national Indo-Portuguese identity as an amalgamation of both Portuguese and Goan culture was created, maintained and reflected upon in through the media published in Portuguese India. Nevertheless, there were several hundred Portuguese language newspapers and journals of different genres circulating in the colonial space of Portuguese India. Berger and Lukmann have argued that reality can be examined as a social construct; this dissertation argues that if reality is a social construct then the artifacts of this reality, such as newspapers and journals of colonial era, are likely to contain the “traces” of these realities.²²

Besides the complex dynamic colonial identities portrayed in the media of the time, we can see what kind of news was reported in these periodicals. How did the official periodicals evolve in the first half of the third period beginning in 1821 under the patronage and with subsidies from the Portuguese government in Lisbon? How did additional privately owned journals come into existence in subsequent years until the establishment of the Portuguese Republic in 1911? Can the patterns of the evolution and devolution of these journals be tied to political events in the history of Portugal? I believe

²² Berger, Peter L, and Thomas Luckmann. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday, 1967. Print.

that these questions warrant proper examination given that the role of the Portuguese language periodicals in India remains understudied. It is also interesting to see how events of global importance were portrayed in the media of the time. For example, how were both World Wars reported and what kind of editorial reaction can be seen to these events?

These newspapers and journals can be analyzed as snapshots and as records of selective historical, economic, and cultural events that transpired over a period of time as reflected from specific points of view.²³ There is practically no literature on the role of the local Portuguese language newspapers and journals in the context of Portuguese India, and the ways in which their reporting of various events had an impact upon the colonial realities of those who were colonized.

The earliest bibliography of Indo-Portuguese periodicals was published by Brito de Aranha in 1885.²⁴ His book focuses on subsidies for journalism and periodicals in the overseas territories of Portugal. Here we see a slightly different attitude about the understanding of the Portuguese Empire in the mind of the author as he refers to “these journals as a great way of development of strength of (western) civilization in the territories of Portugal outside of Europe, where the people had gained confidence in the

²³ Furner, Jonathan. "Conceptual Analysis: a Method for Understanding Information As Evidence, and Evidence As Information." *Archival Science*. 4 (2004): 3-4. Print. Furner states, “For Schellenberg, a record’s evidential value is an index of its utility in documenting the circumstances of its creation, whereas its informational value reflects the importance of its symbolic content. The possibility of confusion is thus introduced by Schellenberg’s use of the term ‘evidential’ to refer only to evidence of a real (rather than documentary) kind” (245).

²⁴ Aranha, Brito. *Subsidios Para a Historia Do Jornalismo Nas Provincias Ultramarinas Portuguezas*. Lisboa: Imprensa nacional, 1885. Print.

press as a precious token of their freedom and progress.”²⁵ It is interesting to note that the author is not explicit about which “people” he was referring to. Were these Portuguese colonizers in the ultramarine territories of Portugal or the local population? The other important effort to create a bibliography of Indo-Portuguese Periodicals as a part of a larger work titled, *Bibliography of Goa and Portuguese India*, was undertaken by Henry Scholberg, Archana Kakodkar and Carmo Azevedo in 1982. The authors assembled catalog cards in various themes such as general works, bibliography and other sources, and history.²⁶ In their introduction, the authors note that they did not include any of the works that “once might have existed, today they do not seem to be in anyone’s library”.²⁷ The authors cited the *Gazeta de Goa* (1821-1826) as the first Goan journal belonging to this category, but it was included in the bibliography along with the *Chronica constitucional de Goa* (1835-1837) for historical reasons.²⁸ Today we know that the National Library of Portugal has microfilms of the *Gazeta de Goa* in the holdings. The same applies to *Chronica constitucional de Goa* as its holdings can be found in the catalog of the National Library of Portugal.

I note that the authors had apparently included the holdings of the National Library of Portugal in their work. The point here is not to indicate that an individual important work is missing from the bibliography in order to justify this study, but to indicate the fact that the decisions to include a particular work, which was judged non-

²⁵ Aranha, Brito. *Subsidios Para a Historia Do Jornalismo Nas Provincias Ultramarinas Portuguezas*. Lisboa: Imprensa nacional, 1885. Print.

²⁶ Scholberg, Henry, Archana A. Kakodker, and Carmo Azevedo. *Bibliography of Goa and the Portuguese in India*. New Delhi: Promilla, 1982. Print.

²⁷ Ibid. p. ix.

²⁸ Ibid.

existent, yet included as an exception in the bibliography for historical reasons, might indicate the relative importance of the work in the context in which the work was produced. *Gazeta de Goa*, as an officially sanctioned government-produced newspaper, remains an important cornerstone in the appearance of news media in Portuguese India. The other example is that of a periodical title called *A biblioteca de Goa*.²⁹ There were references to it in several other scholarly works such as *A Literatura Indo-Portuguesa* by Vimala Devi and M. de Seabra, which I included it in my chapter on Indo-Portuguese literary journals.³⁰ The first newsweekly that appeared in India was in British-controlled Bengal in 1780, with the title *Bengal Gazette*.³¹ It was established by James August Hickey, who vehemently criticized the then Governor-General of India, Warren Hastings, and was thereafter arrested and fined.³² The first British-Indian newspaper was an enterprise of a single proprietor and the first Indo-Portuguese newspaper was a government-sponsored enterprise.

The other important aspect that remains understudied is to see what sort of information could have been withheld from the local population in the local newspaper

²⁹ Costa, Aleixo M. *Literatura Goesa: Apontamentos Bio-Bibliográficos Para a Sua História*. Lisboa: Agência-Geral do Ultramar, 1967. Print. This title is often credited as one of the first Indo-Portuguese literary journals of Goa; however, I was unable to locate a single copy of this journal in holdings of any library here or overseas.

³⁰ Vimala, Devi, and Manuel . Seabra. *A Literatura Indo-Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1971. Print.

³¹ Vann, J. Don, and Rosemary T. VanArsdel. *Periodicals of Queen Victoria's Empire: An Exploration*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996. Print.

³² Priolkar, Anant K, and Joaquim H. C. Rivara. *The Printing Press in India: Its Beginnings and Early Development, Being a Quatercentenary Commemoration Study of the Advent of Printing in India in 1556*. Bombay: Marathi Samshodhana Mandala, 1958. Print.

press. Here the debate about the relative freedom of the press within the mother country and the colony will take center stage for several reasons. First, Portugal went through a series of changes following the Napoleonic invasion and occupation, followed by the independence of Brazil in 1822, then in 1910 the establishment of the First Republic and the abolition of the monarchy, followed by the conservative regime of the New State (O Estado Novo) after 1926 and the dictatorship of António de Oliveira Salazar from 1932 through 1968. This meant that three distinct periods of historical significance have had great influence on the various aspects of reporting in the local journals and news media of the time.

Despite their limited resources, the Portuguese managed to retain their colonial possessions in India longer than any other European power. The Portuguese rule in Goa began in 1510, and continued with some temporary interruptions until 1961. How the Portuguese managed to control various territories that were separated geographically becomes an important proposition not only in the context of relationships and shifting alliances with local potentates, but also in the context of the governance of the population under their territorial control. One way to understand how the local population that far exceeded the numerical Portuguese presence on the sub-continent was managed is to look at the way the relevant information that was conveyed to the local populace by the administrators using different modes of information dissemination. These modes were realized through decrees, rulings and laws of the colonial administrative structures, and through the popular media of newspapers and journals, and the other cultural institutions of the colonies like institutions of higher education. These institutions were initially created and maintained by the Portuguese colonial authorities of India. However, as the

colonial period continued, these primarily Portuguese institutions emerge as not only the pedagogical centers but also the centers through which a desire to emulate the Metropole was propagated.

The Portuguese periodicals that were published and circulated within Portuguese India served as a means of conveying not only the news from abroad and the mother countries to those who were colonized, but also these periodicals, that lasted for various durations and had differing frequencies of publications, intended to convey the daily happenings within these colonies. These periodicals covered a wide spectrum of social topics that were of concern to those who were the officials of the colonies. The function of the newspapers as one of the indicators of the public sphere's viability has been discussed in great detail.³³

Habermas' discussion about the appearance of the press also alludes to the fact that these transformations were mediated by technological changes in the conveyance of information. The press thus was initially used by those who were in power to convey information about the issues that were believed to be important not only to maintain a sort of status quo of existing power relations and to aid the consolidation of power, but to

³³ Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1989. Print. p.20. Habermas states, "Within this political and social order transformed during the mercantilist phase of capitalism (and whose new structure found its expression precisely in the differentiation of its political and social aspects) the second element of the early capitalist commercial system, the press in turn developed, a unique explosive power. The first journals in the strict sense, ironically called "political journals", appeared weekly at first and daily as early as the middle of the seventeenth century. In those days private correspondence contained detailed and current news about Imperial Diets, wars, harvests, taxes, transports of precious metals, and, of course, reports on foreign trade."

a certain extent to manage the process of devolution of this power to the other parts of society that competed for it. The other public sphere participants in the later phases of capitalist development used the press as a tool of protest against various imposed expectations and norms. Was this the case in Portuguese India? However, one thing should be noted that in the case of Portuguese India, is that we see a time lag of a century from the period when the newspaper press and journals appeared in the mother countries and when these newspapers first appear in the colonies. The newspapers and journals arrived in the colonies on the sub-continent only in the nineteenth century.

While Habermas focuses on the role of the press as one factor that influenced the development of the public sphere, Benedict Anderson postulates that the growth in literacy as one measure of “vernacular linguistic unification” in the nineteenth century.³⁴ Anderson further continues that the development of the press was conducive to the development of vernacular languages. In the case of Portuguese India we see that vernacular languages existed side by side with the official language of India, Portuguese. However the initial official policy of “*Lusitanização*” or “Lusitanization” meant initial exclusive use of Portuguese as the lingua franca of the far-flung Portuguese Empire.³⁵ Goa and the other parts of Portuguese India were but one portion in the chain of Portuguese colonial enclaves in the world. Anderson further continues, stressing the

³⁴ Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1993. Print.

³⁵ "OLIVEIRA, Marilza de (2005) Para a história social da língua portuguesa em São Paulo: séculos XVI-XVIII." *Professora Titular Marilza de Oliveira: publicações*. .p., n.d. Web. 18 Sept. 2012. <www.fflch.usp.br/dlcv/lport/pdf/maril011.pdf>.

importance of early gazettes in American history, arguing that these began as “appendages to the market”.³⁶

He states,

“Early gazettes contained – aside from the news about the metropole – commercial news (when ships would arrive and depart, what prices were current for what commodities in what ports), as well as colonial political appointments, marriages of the wealthy and so forth. In other words, what brought together, on the same page, this marriage with that ship, this price with that bishop, was the very structure of market-system itself.”³⁷

Was this the case with early periodicals of Portuguese India? The other more relevant question that Anderson does not seem to answer is raised by Partha Chatterjee in his seminal article, “Whose Imagined Community?”³⁸ This question is of utmost importance to the purposive literary analysis of Portuguese colonial periodicals of India for these try to convey accepted typical Portuguese cultural attributes rather than an image of Indo-Portuguese and their incomplete amalgamated identities in the 19th century enclaves, where the veneer of European identities engulfed a broad, multilingual Indian substrate.

The press, as seen earlier, acted as a conveyer of the commercial interests; it also fulfilled different roles in 19th century. For example, in the princely states of India, the depiction of the royal ceremonies of the 19th century can be seen as an established social

³⁶ Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1993. Print.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 62.

³⁸ Chatterjee, Partha. "Whose Imagined Community?" *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*. 20.3 (1991): 521-525. Print.

practice of the time by which the royalty enforced certain world-views through the tradition of the ritual. The symbolism of the ritual might have evolved to be problematic as the local bourgeoisie developed gradually, competing with the royalty for the same social space.

Hobsbawm and Ranger, while examining the role of the press in Britain, have argued that the reporting of the various royal ceremonies, in both the metropolitan and provincial press, alludes to generally a hostile attitude of the press towards the monarchy in the late 19th century. According to the authors the press served as a barrier for the continuation of the grand royal ceremonies in London after 1870s.³⁹ Although Hobsbawm and Ranger use this example of the press in one specific context, it can be generalized to see if the Portuguese press of India served as a similar barrier to different social practices that were established in Portuguese held territories of India. Or did these periodicals rather serve as facilitators of certain traditions while barring the other social practices? How did these periodicals sanction certain discourse while the other discourse was either ignored or not discussed? The latter is a question that has never been studied in the context of the Portuguese periodicals of India.

Both Habermas and Anderson, however, do not discuss the ephemeral nature of these newspapers and periodicals as well as their legal status, while Hobsbawm and Ranger look at the press as if it was reflecting the will of the bourgeoisie as it came to compete against the royalty. These interpretations, while useful in enhancing our understanding the role that the press might have played in the evolution of the social relations of the late nineteenth century, do not really explain to us the various types of

³⁹ Hobsbawm, Eric J, and Terence Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition; Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. Print. pp. 109-112.

social relationships that could have evolved due to interaction with the reporting in this press. Moreover, there is a lack of literature that has specifically looked at the question of Portuguese colonial periodicals of India.

Decolonization and Sovereign Nation State Building Frameworks and Minor European Colonial Possessions on the Indian Sub-continent

A brief examination of the processes of colonization and decolonization in Portuguese India acquires importance in order for postcolonial information studies scholars to understand the eventual demise of Portuguese language periodical press in India. The demise of this press indicates that these publications proved to be economically unviable as a result of the departure of the Portuguese, and also due to decolonization practices of the Indian government. However, our understanding of the processes by which the decolonization was achieved on the local level becomes extremely important for the librarians and for the postcolonial studies information scholars who are engaged in preservation and access related issues of stewardship of these periodicals. The decolonization of South Asia was not an organized process. It evolved from local nationalist expressions of self-government to the economic realities of the colonial administrations. The decolonization and creation of new nation states remained a significant trend in the aftermath of World War II. Christopher notes that there were about 96 new states created in the aftermath of the WWII as a process of

decolonization in Asia and Africa.⁴⁰ Decolonization here cannot be solely defined through the loss of the colonies and creation of new independent states.

Decolonization should also be understood as a complex of policies and laws that were enacted and implemented by the newly independent states in order to mitigate the effects of colonization while striving to build a “new nation”.⁴¹ The long and short term patterns of the Western colonization have been quantitatively analyzed in studies by Bergeson and Schonberg (1980), and Boswell (1989); these studies have successfully managed to link colonial empires to the world system of capitalist production.⁴² These studies primarily support the fact that the aggregate number of formal colonies, also described as dependencies, is inversely related to hegemony in the interstate system and economic progress and upward swings in the world economy.⁴³ These authors usually look at the aggregate effect of colonization as the processes of simultaneous colonization and decolonization in 20th century in Asia and Africa. The net colonization is usually deduced from these competing processes. The fundamental difference that the minor

⁴⁰ Christopher, Anthony J. *The Atlas of States: Global Change 1900-2000*. Chichester: J. Wiley & sons, 1999. Print.

⁴¹ Chabal, Patrick, and David Birmingham. *A History of Postcolonial Lusophone Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002. Print. The decolonization that took place in Portuguese India can be considered to be different from the decolonization in Portuguese African possessions. The magnitude of continued warfare that was fought in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique is one differing point in the decolonization. Portugal was involved in three armed conflicts simultaneously in Angola (1961), Guinea (1963) and Mozambique (1964) (Chabal & Birmingham, 3)

⁴² Boswell, Terry. "Colonial Empires and the Capitalist World-Economy: a Time Series Analysis of Colonization, 1640-1960." *American Sociological Review*. 54.2 (1989): 180-196. Print.

⁴³ Strang, David. "From Dependency to Sovereignty: An Event History Analysis of Decolonization 1870-1987." *American Sociological Review* 55.6 (1990): 846-60.

colonial European powers in the Indian sub-continent exhibited was their quasi-dependent status on the status of the larger colonial power-Great Britain, which was omnipresent on the continent. For example, French-held Pondicherry was occupied by British forces on several occasions. The Portuguese colonial possessions in India were surrounded by and existed in the common economic matrix of the British India.⁴⁴ The Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1878 subjected the economy of Portuguese India to dual colonial controls through tariff and establishment of a new monetary convention in Portuguese India. The Portuguese money that circulated in the colonies was withdrawn and newly minted coinage from Bombay and Calcutta mints was introduced.⁴⁵ The British Empire was the preeminent power in the India's colonial context.⁴⁶ However this dependence should be perceived as a relative dependence because even after the departure of the British from the sub-continent, Portugal managed to retain their minor possessions until the end of 1961. If colonization is understood in the modern 19th and 20th century context as one necessity mandated by the inherent production efficiencies of the capitalist world economy, as it primarily evolved in the industrialized Western nations, then decolonization can be understood as the mechanism by which the colonized dependencies began to assert their own self-interests in this globalized system of production, and thus demanding and effectuating the removal of the original ties of dependencies to a newer level of ties where sovereignty became necessary to keep most

⁴⁴ Borges, Charles J, Oscar G. Pereira, and Hannes Stubbe. *Goa and Portugal: History and Development*. New Delhi: Concept Pub. Co, 2000. Print.

⁴⁵ Cunha, J G. *Contributions to the Study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1995. Print.

⁴⁶ Cohn, Bernard S. *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1996. Print. p 3.

of the localized resources for local distribution. The dependency can be strictly interpreted as the process of political sub-ordination on the Metropole over the colonized entity.

This basic change in the rules of the game, by which the Metropole and the colonized entity were connected, was fundamentally altered during decolonization. Decolonization cannot be simply understood as a reaction to colonization, but as a complex set of socio-political changes in the colonies as well as the mother countries. Decolonization involved the local intelligentsia and social elite defining the national interests of the decolonized nation and defending the political choices that these “independent” nation states had made.⁴⁷ The definition of national interests, as Krasner defines them, are usually set by the central plan makers in the processes of goal setting on economic and political levels.⁴⁸ On the other hand, decolonization also can be seen as a rupture of the basic core-periphery relationships between the dependent entities. I argue that although the dependent entity is politically subordinated to the mother country, both the center (the Metropole) and the periphery (the colony) can be perceived also to be co-dependent to an extent. The world economy argument of decolonization can be adapted from the center-periphery model.⁴⁹ Both of the above mentioned theories, i.e., world-

⁴⁷ Krasner, Stephen D. *Defending the National Interest: Raw Materials Investments and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1978. Print.

⁴⁸ Krasner, Stephen D. *Defending the National Interest: Raw Materials Investments and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1978. Print

⁴⁹ Berend, Iván T. *Central and Eastern Europe, 1944-1992: Detour from the Periphery to the Periphery*. Cambridge [etc.: Cambridge university press, 1996. Print. Berend primarily focuses on the Central and Eastern European nation-states that emerged in the aftermath of the demise of the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman Empires.

systems theory and decolonization as an economic necessity of a modern capitalist state can be applied to Portuguese possessions in India.

The Berend model, as proposed for the economic relationship that evolved between the agrarian Central and Eastern Europe and industrialized Western Europe, can be also applied to the case of Portuguese colonialism in India. In the initial stage of colonization, the industrial west colonized the agrarian “Orient”. According to Al Sayyad in his 1992 essay, “Urbanism and the dominance equation: reflections on colonialism and national identity:”

The distinction was not necessarily—and, indeed, was often rarely—reflective of actual differences. Rather, the colonizers had preconceived notions of the colonized, and there were articulated in literature, political discourse, and the built environment. A constructed static image totalizing and eradicating the native emerged as the basis of interaction between the two peoples. This artificial and superficial juxtaposition of “us” and “them”, or “us” and the “other”, was perpetuated in administrative policies, in literary discourse, and in architecture and urban form.⁵⁰

It is interesting to see how these differences found their expressions in the periodicals press of Portuguese India. The early dichotomies of differences, and how these were detailed in the Portuguese dictator’s speech below, helps us formulate the following: the colonization, that began as an extension of industrial capitalism to various other parts of the worlds, in theory was destabilizing for the states that colonized. These states and the ruling polity, that had initially “despised” the natives for being weak and

⁵⁰ Al Sayyad, Nezar. *Forms of Dominance on the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise*. Aldershot: Avebury, 1992. Print.

uncivilized, had to contend increasingly with educated “natives” that were answering the colonizers in their own “European” languages. The discussion of Goa, as being a part of Portuguese community, is a rather interesting point as most of the population of Goa was non-white natives. The discourse itself, as Guha defines it, is the discourse of dominance without hegemony, i.e., the force of persuasion exceeding the force of coercion, whereby the rule of the weak mother country was extended to the far reaches of her empire.⁵¹

Portuguese dictator Salazar admits in his speech to the population of Portuguese Empire, that was delivered on April 12th 1954, the following: “I shall begin with a simple and easily demonstrable proposition: whatever is moral value for us, it may be said that demographically, economically, and financially the Portuguese State of India does not count in the Portuguese world taken as a whole”. He further continues in his speech:

The figures cited thoroughly establish the thesis put forward: the Portuguese State of India is practically without value for the economy and population of Portugal and it is source of expense for the mother-country; not the smallest trace of economic or political imperialism can be found in its legal system or administration, which forces us to think that those who accuse us of such things are, to say at the least, not abreast of the times.

Some of the political and economic ideas that the Portuguese took to India disappeared with the age that produced them; but they gave rise to other realities—those we now assert. And these realities are that Goa constitutes a Portuguese community in India, and that Goa represents a light of the West in lands of the Orient. The territory is merely the space in which that community lives; the land,

⁵¹ Guha, Ranajit. *Dominance Without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India*.

Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997. Print. p. 62.

the tower where that light was kindled. Ours are purely moral interests-interests of Portuguese in the first place and Westerners in the second.⁵²

The essence of Portuguese colonialism cannot be more effectively stated as Salazar asserts with many exceptions. The exceptions to what Salazar was saying were greater than the rules that the New State had set up. Salazar's ideology of the New State centered on Catholicism's predominance.⁵³ In Portuguese India, despite the initial emphasis on the role of Church in early Indo-Portuguese society, both Hindus and Muslims were eventually allowed to retain their religious practices. The eventual economic stagnation of Portugal, and corruption in Portuguese India, meant that the Portuguese government from Lisbon had to subsidize its colonial administration in Portuguese India.⁵⁴ The economic realities, however, were such that the decolonization of Portuguese India was inevitable even if Portugal tried to hold on to the territories by force. Simply put, Salazar's policy speech in 1954 can be analyzed using the proposal of Hobson. Hobson argues that even if the anticipated capital accumulation helped some in the Metropole, overall it was an unprofitable venture for the population at large of the Metropole.⁵⁵

⁵² Salazar, António O. *Goa and the Indian Union*. Lisbon: Secretariado Nacional da Informação, 1954. Print. The excerpts from Salazar's speech were taken from pages 9 and 14.

⁵³ De, Meneses F. R. *Salazar: A Political Biography*. New York: Enigma Books, 2009. Print.

⁵⁴ De, Souza T. R. *Goa Through the Ages*. New Delhi: Concept Pub. Co, 1990. Print.

⁵⁵ Hobson, J A. *Imperialism: A Study*. New York: J. Pott & Co, 1902. Print. Hobson states, "In total contravention of our theory that trade rests upon a basis of mutual gain to the nations that engage in it, we have undertaken enormous expenses with the object of "forcing" new markets, and the markets we have forced are small, precarious and unprofitable.p. 70.

The specificities of early decolonization in the Portuguese colonies of India have been described in great details through the personal narratives by the authors like Maria A. Couto.⁵⁶ In the personal narrative, Couto describes the initial impact of liberation of Goa on the Portuguese speakers of the colony, the turmoil caused by the initial military occupation of Goa in 1962, and subsequent decolonization practices of the Indian Union. Some have argued that the liberation of Goa and other Portuguese territories in India marked the beginning of the third and final phase of the demise of the Portuguese overseas empire. We must note that the colonial act of 1930, that was passed during the regime of Salazar, tried to save the crumbling empire by making these overseas territories, that were previously considered to be the colonial entities, part and parcel of Portugal

The colonial territories in Portugal were termed as the ultramarine provinces of Portugal, thus leaving room for ambiguity for the interpretation of the term. The ultramarine provinces could be interpreted as the provinces of the mother country, thus reducing the subsidies that were provided to the colonies. Some have regarded this effort to designate the ultramarine provinces as colonies as an attempt to eventually create a community of Portuguese speaking nations.⁵⁷ The basic assumption was that the huge colonial territories of Portugal in Africa, and to some extent in South Asia, would create an integrated market based system for not only Portuguese goods, but also a sort of political commonwealth. The bonding of these provinces, that were linguistically, culturally and racially different, would then allow Portugal to retain and administer these

⁵⁶ Couto, Maria Aurora. *Goa: A Daughter's Story*. New Delhi [etc.]: Penguin books India, 2004.

⁵⁷ Mendes, F F. "Portugal and Her Colonial Empire (part I)." *Journal of the Royal African Society*. 39.156 (1940): 225-230. Print. pp. 225-30.

provinces efficiently. The tax base of the Portuguese ultramarine provinces, on the local level, served as one avenue to sponsor the local colonial development. This act was aimed towards curbing the spending on the ultramarine provinces and centralization of the powers of the Governor Generals of these colonies. The colonial act of 1930 that Portugal promulgated under the auspices of the Estado Novo or New State was markedly prejudicial in its character. The act clearly noted the differences between the civilized and primitive world.⁵⁸

Decolonization in the Portuguese territories in India, for Salazar, equaled the loss of prestige for the Portuguese state. The territories of adjoining British India became part of the Indian Republic. The leaders of newly independent India viewed Portuguese India as an occupied territory, and longed for its unification with the rest of the republic. There was a fundamental policy shift within the Indian Republic that led to assimilation of Indian princely states in the newly independent secular state, which had until then formed part of the British colonial arrangement. The colonial arrangement that British India had with a multitude of princely states, as well as with the Portuguese colonies, was such that these states were technically outside the jurisdiction of British India and subsequently outside the jurisdiction of the new Indian republic. There was a forceful assimilation of

⁵⁸ Com vista a redefinir as bases orgânicas e financeiras da Administração Colonial e também por formas, à demonstrar ao Mundo uma imagem de maior interesse e protecção dos direitos dos "Indígenas", foi aprovado em 1930, pelo Decreto n.º 18570, de 8 de Julho, "O Acto Colonial" que veio substituir todo o Título V da Constituição de 1911. No mesmo ano, aos 25 de Outubro, pelo Decreto n.º 18962, foi aprovada na Metrópole, o Tribunal de Contas em substituição do Conselho Superior de Finanças, com competênciajurisdiccional alargado a todo território de Portugal e suas Colónias.

the princely states in the new union. The policies of the new Indian government that was headed by Prime Minister Nehru were vehemently anti-imperialist.⁵⁹

The importance of decolonization, as applied to Portuguese periodicals of India, lies in the fact that many of these periodicals eventually ceased to exist and circulate. The economy of publishing in these specific colonies, lack of subsidies, and introduction of English as a mode of communication in the lusophone colonies, contributed to its demise.

This dissertation attempts to examine the process of decolonization without using the lens of perceived and projected binaries. The discourse of binaries that revolves around the concepts of center/periphery, exploiter/ exploited, colonizer/ colonized, oppressor/ oppressed and opposition is not conducive to critical examination of the contextual hybridity that Bhabha mentions. I argue that we should critically look at the proposed theories of decolonization by looking at the discourse of hybridity, as found in the newspapers and journals of Portuguese India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for several reasons. First, the Portuguese had a well-established foothold on the sub-continent by the time the first periodicals appeared in the colonies, For example, *Gazeta de India* was first published in 1821 in Goa. Second, the initial trauma of colonization gave way to degrees of compromises and acceptance from those who were colonized and those who colonized. However, the degree of this compromise cannot simply disregard the fact that the hegemonic relations that the colonizers had established within the territories they conquered and colonized didn't simply disappear.

Post-colonial Theory and Information Space

⁵⁹ Hagerty, Devin T. *South Asia in World Politics*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005. Print.

For over two hundred years, nation-states such as India have been born out of the legacy of a colonial past. The initial experiences that the formerly colonized nations had while being colonized and administered by European colonizers cannot be discounted by using the terms like “hybridity”.⁶⁰ However, these experiences can be understood through the notion of interstitiality, which is based on the fact that after the initial trauma of colonial exposure, there was a hybrid culture based on mutual understanding of each that evolved in these colonial enclaves. The degrees of acceptance of colonial realities, which the different colonial powers as well as those who were colonized exhibited, can be understood as the integrated subjectivities of the participants. This, however, does not mean that the power hierarchies that defined these relationships were absent; on the contrary, as Azim notes, “It (Edward Said’s *Orientalism*) shows how no form of intellectual or cultural activity is innocent of power hierarchies, highlighting the collusion between literary representation and colonial power.”⁶¹

Post-colonial theory can then be adapted to various representations of the colonizer and colonized that can be found in colonial era periodicals. These periodicals are indeed one source of evidence that contain within them information not only about the colonial realities as understood by the various writers who contributed to them, but also the local news that can be a source of information that is valuable in our understanding of the colonial modalities within the local context. These newspapers and

⁶⁰ Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London [u.a.: Routledge, 2000. Print. Bhabha states, “In disavowing the culturally differentiated condition of the colonial world- in demanding “Turn white or disappear’-the colonizer is himself caught in ambivalence of paranoid identification, alternating between the fantasies of megalomania and persecution.” p. 87

⁶¹ Azim, Firdous. "Postcolonial Theory." *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*. 1989. Print.

magazines of the colonial era in India played an important role in understanding of the Europe in Indian context. Dipesh Chakrabarty argues,

Two institutions helped move discussion of a *baithak*⁶² toward cosmopolitan concerns. One of these was the newspaper. Hutom mentions how the “Anglicized” people of the 1860’s were always excited about the “best news of the day”, but in those years the newspaper was something that distinguished the Anglicized. A sketch (Figure 1, c. 1920’s) by the Bengali artist Charu Ray , which depict a typical scene of a *baithak*, suggest the newspaper and books as permanent, defining, everyday feature of new, twentieth century *baithakkhana*.⁶³

The sub-altern voices that these periodicals may contain within them are still under-studied and thus the importance of preservation of these colonial era periodicals is paramount to the post-colonial studies scholarship. I am not arguing here that these periodicals are the ultimate and only source of all information about the processes of colonial administration and history of the colonies. However, neglecting these periodicals as the source of information, that would further our knowledge of the colonial practices, will not be conducive to understanding the colonial modalities in various other parts of the globe. I argue that we may possibly see some general patterns of colonial practices by looking at the information contained within these periodicals, irrespective of their locations, whether the location is India, Angola, Brazil or East Timor. The problem of

⁶² The word “*Baithak*” can be translated from Hindustani as the sitting down. This was usually the gathering of people to discuss the common concerns. In the context of the late 19th century colonial India, this gathering alluded to the gathering of intellectuals that sat down together to discuss the happenings in local as well as global context.

⁶³ Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton, N. J: Princeton University Press, 2008. Print. p. 196

access to these periodicals is governed once again by the copyright and intellectual property rights of the nation-state within which these periodicals reside.

I would further extend the application of postcolonial theory to the decolonized areas of India in order to explain and understand the question of postcolonial memories. Postcolonial memories have been studied extensively by Featherstone in the context of museums.⁶⁴ In the case study that is titled, “Information technology, orality and post-colonialism,” the author examines the role of UNESCO in lobbying for expansion of the internet communication technologies in third world countries. The following argument by the author can be applied during my analysis of information policy problems as they apply to the case of the periodicals of Portuguese India. Currently, as my study shows, these periodicals are held in Panaji, which is capital of Goa. This means that the access to these periodicals is problematic for other Indian scholars who might not be able to travel to study these periodicals. If one has to implement the findings of this case study, then the penetration of the internet technology in realm of not only preservation, but the provision of access to the content of these periodicals to researchers and students of Goa, will open up a new understanding of the colonial history of Portuguese India. UNESCO’s placement of information technology and literacy at the centre of its development project raises questions for postcolonial studies as well. It is predicated upon the internet allowing not just an improvement in Third World access to knowledge, but that access achieving a significant shift in global relations of power. Instead of older forms of “one way” cultural technology, such as television, which transmits the images and voices of

⁶⁴ Featherstone, Simon. *Postcolonial Cultures*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005. Print.

dominant cultures, digital technology potentially allows a dialogic, “two way vehicle” of communication.

Post-colonial Literary Analysis

The notion of “imaginative literary tradition” and its correlation to the authorial realities has been discussed in great details by several literary critics. Bloom has examined in-depth the question of influence as a process of internalization by the reader not only the lines of a particular poet but also several interpretations of the poet’s intentions.⁶⁵ Bloom reaffirms the fact that the “the cultural present both derives from and reacts against the anteriority.”⁶⁶ This dissertation, while trying to demonstrate one possible use of the 19th century Indo-Portuguese periodicals for the scholars who belong to the realms of comparative literature, Portuguese literature or another humanities disciplines, makes an effort to show precisely what Bloom has defined as the crossroads of the imaginative literary tradition with the cultural anteriority that influences both writers and poets. Although this dissertation belongs by its main genre to the Library and Information Studies domain, where I ascertain the need for preservation of and collection of this hitherto not widely known group of colonial periodicals of Portuguese India, also tries to examine the emergence of Indo-Portuguese identities.

Both Devi and Pope have examined certain aspects of the history of Portuguese language literary and non-fiction works in their research. Devi and Seabra in *Literatura*

⁶⁵ Bloom, Harold. *The Anatomy of Influence: Literature As a Way of Life*. New Haven [Conn.: Yale University Press, 2011. Print.

⁶⁶ Vimala, Devi, and Manuel Seabra. *A Literatura Indo-Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1971. Print.

Indo-Portuguesa have argued that their research on Indo-Portuguese literature was based on sociological perspectives while admitting the insufficiencies of their approach, where the individual opinions about the esthetics of individual authors are glossed over.⁶⁷

Literatura Indo-Portuguesa, as a two-volume work, provides historical background on the Portuguese presence in Goa in its first volume. These authors were the first to argue successfully for “*plurilingualismo*” or “multilingualism” that characterized the Indo-Portuguese writings.⁶⁸ However, I do not see any evidence that the Indo-Portuguese poets of 19th century admitting that the language they used in their writings was Portuguese Creole. Pope’s 1937 work, that is entitled, “India in Portuguese Literature,” describes the influence of India on Portuguese literature beginning in 1498, but it does not define the literature that was produced in India as Indo-Portuguese until for the last period, that according to Pope, began in 1827. The author divides the development of Portuguese literature as influenced by India in four distinct periods. The first period is called the Classic Epoch, 1498-1580. The second period is called that of the Gongoric School, 1580-1760 that was followed by the third period called, “the French or Arcadian School, 1706-1826.”⁶⁹ The last period was called the Romantic School and Contemporary

⁶⁷ Vimala, Devi, and Manuel Seabra. *A Literatura Indo-Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1971. Print.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 39. Vimala Devi and Manuel Seabra discuss in detail prevalence of Konkani language not only in Goa but other surrounding territories of British India. The authors argue that Goa was the only place in the Portuguese Empire of the East where a specific form of Portuguese Creole was born and this creole continued to serve as the language of communication between various Indo-Portuguese that were in Daman, Diu and other far flung territories like Malacca. p.39

⁶⁹ Góngora, y A. L, and Edith Grossman. *The Solitudes: A Dual-Language Edition with Parallel Text*. New York: Penguin Books, 2011. Print.

Writers. The chapters in Pope's book are structured around these four distinct periods. In the last chapter, Pope dedicates whole section to Indo-Portuguese poetry. This is the only work on Indo-Portuguese poetry, besides my present work, that I have found in contemporary literature. Although Pope's work is fundamental in understanding the spread of Romantic Movement from Portugal to its colonies in India, and its description of the lives of the key Indo-Portuguese poets, it fails to analyze in detail how these poems became the part of the periodicals press of the 19th century. Also, Pope does not quite reflect upon the questions of identity formation, women and minorities in Goa, for obvious reasons. The work was published in 1937, much prior to the advent of the notions of post-colonial studies and hybridity.

Boehmer examines one aspect of the post-colonial literary analysis that focuses on the impact of the metropolitan realities on the peripheral colonies. Boehmer, in her introduction to *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors*, states,

This is a book about the writing of empire, and about writing in opposition to empire. It looks at a historical series of imaginative acts involved with colonization and its aftermath. The subject is peculiarly large. And the project of critical overview is itself, ironically, almost imperialistic in scope. It appears to

This period was named Góngoric period after the Spanish write Luis de Góngora, 1517-1627. The Portuguese literature was influenced by the literary developments in Spain as both nations were part of the Iberian Peninsula. For example, an epic poem by Francisco de Sá de Meneses of Oporto called "Malacca Conquistada" belongs to the Góngoric schoo due to its fantasy like surreal character that often characterized the poetry of Luis de Góngora.

the demand from the critic a “grand narrative” of literature in English from the 1700s to present.⁷⁰

She characterizes this literature, quoting Ben Okri’s description, as the “literature of the newly ascendant spirit.”⁷¹ The focus of her work is “distinguishing the modes of literary interpretations between the colonial and anti-colonial experience.” While I can’t deny the fact that both colonial and the anti-colonial literary experiences naturally polarize the field of post-colonial literary analysis, I would add that the framework that I have used to analyze the subtleties of resistance and the depictions of women and other sub-altern groups, the glorious past of Goa, are derived from the 19th century Portuguese periodicals which primarily affluent Indo-Portuguese wrote. Armed with the imagery of their Indic history while conforming outwardly to the mandates of the Romantic normative poetry, some of the Indo-Portuguese poets could not in 19th century Goa outright reject the Portuguese cultural framework. Instead, these poets tacitly subverted in their writings the notional superiority of Portuguese by juxtaposing it against the history of India. This is where I find the hybridity that emerged in the confluence of both Portuguese and Indic literary traditions. This hybridity is thus a hallmark of the tensions that Boehmer alludes to as Ben Okri’s literary creativity in the spirit of new ascendant spirit in the imaginative literary tradition of Portuguese India.

⁷⁰ Boehmer, Elleke. *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. Print.

⁷¹ Ibid.

The other work that influences my analysis that will follow in the chapter of Portuguese poetry of 19th century is that of Ambreen Hai.⁷² Hai's argument, that "the unspeakable body of the tale" is one device, by the artist replaces the visual imagery by text, is similar to conveying the picture of the decay of Goa by the Indo-Portuguese poet through his words. Although Hai specifically refers to an effort by Pakistani intellectual and artist Haneef Ramay to portray the forbidden, i.e. the prophet of Muhammad using the Arabic calligraphy on a background of colored canvass, her frame of reference remains a valid point of inquiry in my analysis. Hai argues, "This pictorial representation of a human body act as a visual pun coinciding with the verbal text that names that body. What reflection does this startling convergence suggest between word and image, and word and body? How could one become other?"⁷³

I would further argue that the authors and poets of Portuguese India applied the logic reverse to those that Hai uses. They created textual alterities that inform the picture of what Portuguese India was like. How women lived in the upper echelons in Portuguese India. Almost exclusivists in their "textual paintings", the poems and texts, as they appeared in the literary journals, nevertheless serve as one source of information on colonial realities.

⁷² Hai, Ambreen. *Making Words Matter: The Agency of Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009. Print.

⁷³ Hai, Ambreen. *Making Words Matter: The Agency of Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009. Print. p.1.

Assessment of Indo-Portuguese Periodicals

The literature on assessment or evaluation of library collections is scant when compared to the literature on the appraisal of archival collections.⁷⁴ This dissertation uses the terms assessment and evaluation interchangeably. Nineteenth century periodicals of Portuguese India, as noted earlier, form part of collections of a select group of both academic and non-academic libraries. The evaluation of the documentary evidence of Portuguese India, as reflected upon in these periodicals, becomes paramount for several reasons. First, not all libraries today collect these materials. Second, these materials are exceedingly hard to find. The libraries in the United States, that have these collections in their holdings, are primarily libraries of the research level academic institutions. There is no active collection development of these materials elsewhere. The steps in the assessment of a particular print collection consist of sense-making about the scope and depth of collection.⁷⁵ This step is followed by decision-making about which title one keeps and those that one doesn't keep. I would suggest keeping all available issues of these periodicals, even if these periodicals do not form the current collection related interests of that particular institution. For the most part, these periodicals in a given collection form the "legacy component."

⁷⁴ Anderson, Kimberly Doris. "Appraisal Learning Networks: How University Archivists Learn to Appraise through Social Interaction." University of California, Los Angeles, 2011. United States -- California: *Dissertations & Theses @ University of California; ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (PQDT); ProQuest Dissertations & Theses A&I*. Web. 15 Jan. 2013.

⁷⁵ Kovacs, Beatrice. *The Decision-Making Process for Library Collections: Case Studies in Four Types of Libraries*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990. Print.

Despite the legacy nature of these collections, each constituent periodical in the collection has a specific relation with other periodicals titles in the same collections.⁷⁶ These specific collections contribute to the ability of a library to provide service to its audience. Thus the appraisal of colonial era periodicals collections should also take into consideration programmatic needs. The appraisal of a particular newspaper should take into consideration following fact: newspapers can provide current and up-to-date information on various subjects and other important topics.⁷⁷ In the case of Portuguese India, the newspapers have historical value and provide information on various subjects generated by journalists, poets, authors and governmental authorities, etc. Therefore, the importance of the history of newspapers cannot be ignored.

There have been several recent studies that focus on the appraisal of a particular periodical or even the collection of periodicals, but these studies focus rather on the appraisal of the role of a particular periodical and group of periodicals in the societal as well as political process of particular nation-states.⁷⁸ In this dissertation, the chapter dedicated to the Portuguese periodicals of India focuses entirely on bibliographic analysis; however, my dissertation, in general, also appraises the role played by these periodicals in modernity as well as during the colonial period.

⁷⁶ Sheila Corral, (1995) "Academic libraries in the information society", *New Library World*, Vol. 96 Iss: 3, pp.35 - 42

⁷⁷ Sutar, D B. "History of Newspapers." *Srels Journal of Information Management*. 44.1 (2007): 83-94. Print.

⁷⁸ Dickens, M. E. "Bringing Books to the Public: British Intellectual Weekly Periodicals, 1918--1939." University of Toronto (Canada), 2010. Canada: *ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (PQDT)*; *ProQuest Dissertations & Theses A&I*. Web. 15 Jan. 2013.

Chapter 3: Historical Development of Portuguese Language Periodicals in 19th Century India.

The importance of print media as a vehicle for the expression of popular culture and the associated rise of nationalism is a well-studied fact. Often print culture reinforced the paradigms of national identity as it aided in the standardization of the language along with the legal structure, the import of foreign goods, music, literature and other commodities.⁷⁹ The print culture within a colonial framework evolved differently in different colonies. The rise of the Portuguese press in India can be used to document not only the evolution of popular culture in Goa and other territories of Índia Portuguesa, but it can also be viewed as a valuable tool in understanding various mechanisms that led to the rise of a complex national identity.

In its initial phases, the development of the press in the colonial territories can be examined as a function of the initiatives that the mother country implemented as well as that of the interests of the local elite as permitted by the mother country, and Goa was not an exception. It is generally assumed that the appearance of Portuguese language periodicals in Portuguese India facilitated the enhanced circulation of ideas from the Metropole and the rest of the Europe. The term “O *Metrópole*” or “the Metropole” is used by Portuguese colonial writers to denote Portugal. This term is also used by historians and post-colonial studies scholars to signify a colonial power.⁸⁰ We can state that the set of historical conditions, that existed in Metropole, which when transported and

⁷⁹ Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1993. Print.

⁸⁰ Hall, Catherine. *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1830-1867*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002. Print.

implemented in Goa, blossomed into a different end product than it did in the Metropole. It would be erroneous to assume that Goa and the rest of the Portuguese India were purely Lusitanian in cultural sense. One cannot also ignore the facts that the colonial enterprise was far from being a peaceful one.

In the 19th century Indo-Portuguese context, these periodicals can be considered to be means for practical dominance and control. The idea of a totally free press in the colonial setting, along with Indo-Lusitanian cultural amalgamation, does not explain the function of these periodicals. Was then the rise of these periodicals in Portuguese India considered to be function of changes that were happening in Portugal and British India? I posit that the Portuguese language periodicals could have acted as information-vectors that disseminated not only the information but various ideas to the colonial population.⁸¹ This dissemination of information at times complimented the goals of the Portuguese administrators of the ultramarine territories. Can one assume that in the long run this information dissemination could have led to the internalization of various “Portuguese” ideas by the literate populace of Goa? Sometimes the ideas that circulated through these newspapers led to the dissemination of dissent against the colonizer, whereby the native elite reflected upon their own social and cultural similarities and differences when compared to Metropole.

First, Goa was not a peaceful colony. Moreover, Estado da India, that also at one point included the territories of Mozambique, experienced constant rebellions and revolts

⁸¹ Stein, Sarah A. "Creating a Taste for News: Historicizing Judeo-Spanish Periodicals of the Ottoman Empire." *Jewish History*. 14.1 (2000): 9-28. Print.

from the beginning in the 16th century through the early years of 20th century.⁸² For the purpose of this dissertation, I have focused on the periodicals that were produced and circulated in the Portuguese controlled territories of India.

The Evolution of the Print Culture in Goa

The print culture in India evolved with arrival of the Portuguese in Goa albeit slowly despite the early introduction of the printing press in Goa. Although there is debate about the exact date of the publication of the first book in Goa⁸³, the fact remains that the Portuguese language publications played an important function in the development of national consciousness within Índia Portuguesa. There is agreement on when and how the art of printing was introduced in Goa.⁸⁴ C.R. Boxer in his “A tentative check-list of Indo-Portuguese Imprints, 1556-1674” notes the first book printed in Goa was *Conclusões de logica e philosophia, Colegio de São Paulo, Goa, October 1556*. There is no known surviving copy of this book. The earliest book with a surviving copy was printed in 1561 in Goa with the title, “IESV.COMPENDIO SPIRITVAL DA VIDA Christãa, tirado de muitos autores pello primeiro ARCEBISPO de Goa, e per elle pregado no primeiro anno a seus fregueses, pera Gloria e horra de IESV CHRISTO nosso

⁸² Kamat, Pratima. *Farar Far =: Crossfire : Local Resistance to Colonial Hegemony in Goa, 1510-1912*. Panaji, Goa: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999. Print.

⁸³ Devi, Vimala, and Manuel De Seabra. *A Literatura Indo-Portuguesa*. 1st. Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1971. Here the authors state, “Não há dúvidas de que a primeira tipografia instalada no Oriente foi portuguesa. Parece que tal acontecimento se deu em 1556, havendo, porém, dúvidas sobre a primeira obra impressa em Goa.” p.90.

⁸⁴ Saldanha, Gabriel. *Historia De Goa (politica E Arqueológica)*. Nova-Goa: Livraria Coelho, 1925. Print. Saldanha states, “ A infatigavel e bene merita Companhia de Jesus introduziu a arte tipografica em Goa.” p.102..

SALVADOR, e edificação de suas OVELHAS...”⁸⁵ Boxer indexed 37 early books with an acknowledgement that the list is not complete.

The initial consumers of these periodicals could have been, as Hélder Garmes in his chapter states, citing Vimala Devi & Seabra 1971, the European administrators, their families and descendants, people of mixed descent and finally and importantly “the Catholic Brahmins, both male and female Catholics that were converted from the Brahmin families that reconciled Hinduism with Christianity and those that had the support of the majority of the *Chardos* (Catholic Kshatriyas).”⁸⁶ It is important to note that the last group constituted a majority of the Catholics that were governed. The Goan Catholics and the Hindu elites played undeniably an important role of salient cultural resistance to the super-imposed Portuguese dominated governmental structure. This ideological resistance along with the delayed and incomplete ideological amalgamation can be understood as one factor that contributed to the rise of a complex societal identity within the population of *Índia Portuguesa*.

What makes periodical publications so different than single monographic editions? In the temporal sense each edition of these serials is unique, and we can observe a gradual shift in the ideological norms that are contained within any given periodical publication. This evolution of ideas is evident in the Portuguese periodicals of Goa right

⁸⁵ Boxer, C R. *A Tentative Check-List of Indo-Portuguese Imprints, 1556-1674*. Bastora, Goa: Tipografia Rangel, 1977. Print.

⁸⁶ Garmes, Hélder. *Oriente, Engenho E Arte: Imprensa E Literatura De Língua Portuguesa Em Goa, Macau E Timor Leste*. São Paulo: Alameda, 2004. Print. The author states the following, “os bramanes catolicos, cristos oriundos de familias bramanes convertidas, que conciliavam o hinduismo com o cristianismo e que tinham, na maior parte das disputas, o apoio dos chardos (ou chatrias).” p.22.

up to 1961. On the one hand, one may rightfully argue that the books, being monographic publications, can have successive editions. These successive and often enhanced editions may end up playing the same role of conveying modified information similar to periodicals. I argue that not all monographs have successive editions. The book, as a disseminator of author intended information, played an important role earlier in colonial society, provided there was a concerted state policy of literacy dissemination combined with literacy programs.

On the other hand, periodical publications at a fixed interval have a unique ability to package information in successive flexible layers. This layered information packaging allows periodical media to be constantly changing and evolving in its context matter. The evolution of a particular community that is served by a serial will demand change in content presentation and organization of information if a particular serial is to survive the socio-economic changes that are unleashed in a community due to perhaps ideological paradigm shifts within the community or due to technological changes. Thus the limited expressivity that was imposed by monographic book culture seems to have been overcome by serials publications in *Índia Portuguesa* as well as the rest of world. The Indo-Portuguese periodicals press thus serves as an important point of entry in the literary, social and political histories of the Portuguese colonies of India.

Gauging the impact of Portuguese Periodicals Press

By direct impact, I mean the number of readers of the Portuguese periodicals in the region. Although it is difficult to determine how many copies were published in the daily, weekly, bi-weekly and monthly Portuguese periodicals from India, and also the circulation statistics for these periodicals, one may still research the direct impact using

qualitative methods. Content analysis will allow us to fathom the evolution of the contents and editorials over a specific period of time. The content had to suit the needs of the audience over time. If a periodical maintained the same content and continued publishing for a long amount of time, then one could say that the periodical was successful in serving the information needs of its audience. However if a periodical became defunct after the publication of several issues, one could argue that the periodicals' editor could not anticipate the needs of its audience. This meant that the demand for a particular title withered away. This is only one of many factors that could explain the direct impact of audience's needs on a particular periodical.

The indirect impact is much harder to gauge. The information vectors for indirect impact do not follow traditional paths from the paper to the reader that periodicals intend to do as information medium. The indirect impact may be caused by the word to mouth information transmittal i.e. one literate person can convey news that is contained within an information medium using speech to the others, thus creating a kind of ripple effect in information transmission. Thus the periodicals may in turn facilitate dissemination of information in a slightly different manner than monographs. The trajectory of the impact of the periodicals is correlated to the number of periodicals, and their circulation within a given space. The period of appearance of periodicals thus presents us with a unique opportunity to analyze the impact of the information that might be contained within the periodicals on the milieu within which they circulated.

Índia Portuguesa or Goa Lusitanizada?

The Portuguese language periodical publications from Goa offer a unique insight into a culture that is effectively termed by some as Indo-Portuguese culture. I specifically

used the term Indo-Portuguese culture instead of the term Portuguese Diaspora, because the cultural amalgamation that took place in Goa over the period of five centuries was undoubtedly both Indian and Portuguese.⁸⁷ The Portuguese encounter with the Indian subcontinent, which began in the early 16th century, came to an end with the surrender of Goa, Daman and Diu in 1961. The other term that is used by Pe. Filinto Cristo Dias in his *Esboço da História da Literatura Indo-Portuguesa* is “Goa lusitanizada.”⁸⁸ The term “Goa lusitanizada” alludes to changes that initially took place in Goan culture under the Portuguese rule.

Although, in theory this term “Goa lusitanizada” can be understood as a rough equivalent to the term “Indo-Portuguese”, it is narrower in its scope. The term, “Goa lusitanizada” can be translated as the Lusitanized Goa. The term, “Indo-Portuguese” speaks more to the hybridized identities of the residents of Goa and the other territories under the Portuguese control. The Portuguese Empire in 20th century India included, besides Goa, the territories of Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar-Haveli. Besides these

⁸⁷ The term Indo-Portuguese has been used in variety of contexts. There are multiple interpretations of the term “Indo-Portuguese”. If searched in the WorldCat database using a simple keyword search for the term “Indo-Portuguese” we find various results. One particular monograph by Da Cunha, Joseph Garson that was published in 1880(3) named “Contributions to the study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics” denotes the use of term Indo-Portuguese as early as 1880s. Of course WorldCat is by no means a complete database that indexes all of the Indo-Portuguese publications. For example a weekly journal named “A India Portuguesa” whose editor was José Ignacio de Loyola appeared in 1861 in Orlim, Goa and continued to publish till 1898. The founder of this journal was M.L. De Miranda Franco. (Source: Lopes, António M. *Imprensa De Goa*. Lisboa: Edição do Comissariado do Governo para os Assuntos do Estado da Índia, 1971. Print.)

⁸⁸ Dias, Pe. Filinto Cristo. *Esboço da História da Literatura Indo-Portuguesa*. Bastora-Goa: Tipografia Rangel, 1963.

territories, during the five centuries of Portuguese presence on the subcontinent, there were other territories including Bassein (Baçaim) and its vicinity that were grouped as *Províncias do Norte*⁸⁹, Chaul and other enclaves. The Portuguese language publications were most extensive in Goa. Moreover, due its large size, Goa was the most lusitanized part of Portuguese India.

The Early Periodicals and the Goan Consciousness

The analysis of the contents and the illustrations of Portuguese periodicals that were published in Goa during this time period will demonstrate only a partial conformity to the dialectics of the socio-political situation in the Metropole as well as in the periphery. The view from the periphery that is reflected in these publications must be understood within the context of Índia Portuguesa. On the periphery, Goa itself was a center for the Portuguese dominions of the orient. This identity that emerged within Índia Portuguesa was not static, but changing and dynamic. Goa was the first major territorial holding of the Portuguese on the Indian sub-continent. Goa served as a transit point and a hub for the goods from China, India and the Southeast Asia to Portugal and vice a versa. Goa's opulence as a 16th century Portuguese city has been described by several travelers to it.⁹⁰ Goa also acquire importance in Portuguese geopolitics in the region as the Portuguese were able to supply and rebuild their flotilla of ships and launch their

⁸⁹ Leão, Mário C. *A Província Do Norte Do Estado Da India*. Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1996. Print. "*Províncias do Norte*" in the context of Portuguese India denoted the fortress of Bassein (Vasai) and the territories that were adjacent to it. These territories were ceded to Maratha Empire in 1739.

⁹⁰ Fonseca, José N. *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa: Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa*. Bombay: Thacker, 1878. Internet resource.

expeditions of conquest to other cities in the region such as Hormuz in present day Iran, Malacca, and Timor.

Besides this conformity, one can get a sense of the vision and beliefs of the editors of the respective journals and newsprint. The diversity of the opinions, and the diverse types of periodicals that were published during the periods from 1821 to 1900, provide us with unique evidence that will help enhance our understanding of a gradual formation of the Goan national identity within the context of Portuguese colonialism. The formation of Goan national identity was a gradual evolutionary process that proceeded from “Goa lusitanizada” to “Indo-Portuguese identity formation” to eventual recognition of the specificities of a “Goan Identity.” This one significant experience of protracted identity formation is a key that allows us to analyze critically the metropolitan Portuguese attitudes towards their overseas provinces and vice versa.

One way to examine these attitudes is to look at various pivotal events in the history of Portuguese India and compare them to the reporting of these events in the Metropole press with the reporting in Portuguese Indian periodicals. This comparative approach will allow us to either see the dichotomy of perceptions or similarity of reporting in the Metropole and Índia Portuguesa presses.

Does the Goan identity that is contained within these editorials reflect a critical view-point of the contemporary situations of the period? Or does this Goan identity instead of criticism place emphasis on the conformity with the Metropole? The lack of linearity makes it interesting to analyze popular culture as a cross-section of spaces, i.e., the colonial and the metropolitan. Was Goa really an equivalent appendage of the Metropole or was it simply a colonial periphery that was historically relegated a

secondary role, which allowed independent media expressions throughout the history of Goa?

Role of Portuguese language in Goa and Renaissance of Goan Identity

The evolution of a Portuguese press in Índia Portuguesa cannot be explained simply by using concepts like cultural translation,⁹¹ or vernacular national identity formation, because initially the goals of the Portuguese press in Goa were subordinated to those of the proselytizing efforts of the church and later to the economic, social and political aspirations of Metropole. The fact, however, remains that the rise of the multitude of Portuguese periodicals in Goa in the 19th century opened doors to various ways of expressing popular cultural sentiments including dissent against the colonial administration in Portuguese India.

These cultural sentiments eventually helped in the amalgamation of the complex fabric of Goan national identity without ever replacing the vernacular languages of the region. Did the Portuguese administration in India not envision creation of Portuguese as the lingua franca of the administered territories? Can one consider the quantity of the periodicals that were published in Goa to be an accurate indicator of the vibrancy of Portuguese press in India?

In order to answer the above-mentioned questions one has to deal with the multiple interpretations about the role that the Portuguese language, the periodicals and the press played in Goa under the Portuguese Rule. These interpretations vary from

⁹¹ Ghosh, Anindita. "An Uncertain 'Coming of the Book': Early Print Cultures in Colonial India." *Book History*. 6.1 (2004): 23-55. Print. 15 June 2012

<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/book_history/v006/6.1ghosh.html#FOOT9>.

acceptance of a role that Portuguese administration and language played in the overall enrichment of the press culture in Goa to partial denial of that role given the frequencies of the revolts that Goa faced under the Portuguese rule.

For example, in an anthology about the press in Goa, Lopes states:

One of the most salient aspects of Portuguese colonization is the creation of an environment conducive to cultural responsiveness, more extensive and free, in all overseas provinces, principally in India, where the phenomenon is coated in a special psychological nature.

In a land where there were no schools or professional courses, the journalist was made by intuition, by self-education, putting at the service of its mission the sum of his powers and skills, improving itself increasingly through the press contact in Metropole (Portugal) and neighboring British India, (through) irrepressible continuing training and professional ethics.⁹²

Lopes's reflections about the absence of schools in Goa before the arrival of the Portuguese are inaccurate. One can counter-argue that Goa did not have schooling

⁹² Lopes, António M. *Imprensa De Goa*. Lisboa: Edição do Comissariado do Governo para os Assuntos do Estado da Índia, 1971. Print.

These two paragraphs that I have translated in the main body of the dissertation are as follows,

“Um dos aspectos mais salientes da colonização portuguesa é a criação de um ambiente propício para a receptividade cultural, mais ampla e livre, em todas as províncias do Ultramar, principalmene na Índia, onde o fenómeno se revestiu de um carácter psicológico especial.

Numa terra onde nao havia escolas nem cursos profissionais, o jornalista fez-se por intuição, por auto-educação, pondo ao serviço da sua missão o somatório da suas faculdades e aptidões , aperfeiçoando-se cada vez mais ao contacto da imprensa metropolitana e da vizinha Índia Inglesa, numa irreprímviel conduta de formação e deontologia profissional (Lopes 8).”

infrastructure as understood in the occidental sense, but schools definitely existed in Goa before the appearance of the Portuguese on the scene. For example, Fr. Dias states:

“With regard to higher education, it is known that, although there were no high culture centre in Goa, as the University of Taxila that represented [the tradition of] wide mental projection at this time throughout India, were *shastris*, or learned men that were devoted to in-depth study not only of religion but also of science and medicine. The sciences and medicine of the time in India showed remarkable progress.

The Portuguese naturalist Garcia de Orta was in Goa in 1542, and the Dutch traveler Linschotten confessed have found among the Hindus of Goa very skilled physicians in the treatment of several diseases, whose services were used by their own royalty.⁹³

Did the Portuguese colonization of Goa created conditions that were proportionate to the cultural sensitivities of Goa? Lopes does not describe to us what this “special character” was? He alludes to the following key fact: that there was self-education of the journalists that evolved within the Goan journalistic milieu after its initial contact with the metropolitan and the press of British India. This self-education became possible because there was a relevant autonomy of the Portuguese periodical press in Goa in the

⁹³ The original Portuguese text is as follows, “*No tocante ao ensino superior sabe-se que, embora não houvesse em Goa centro de alta cultura, como a Universidade de Taxila de tãao[sic] larga projecção mental nessa época em toda a Índia, encontravam-se xastris, homens doutos que se votavam ao estudo profundo nao só da religião mas também das ciências e nomeadamente da medicina que marcara na Índia avanço notável.*

O naturalista português Garcia de Orta que em 1542, se achava em Goa e o viajante holandes Linschotten confessam ter achado em Goa médicos indus muito hábeis no tratamento de várias moléstias e cujos serviços eram utilizados pelor próprios reinois.”

late 19th century. Of course, it is but natural that there was an amalgamation of ideas that eventually gave birth to the Indo-Portuguese identity. The periodical press' audience initially can be understood to be those who were literate and proficient in Portuguese.

Although the first printing press in Goa is dated to the late sixteenth century⁹⁴, its religious purposes not only limited its printing efforts, but also impaired its ability to broadly choose materials to be printed in various subject areas. This impairment was defined by the mission of the first printing press, which was brought by the Jesuits to Goa. The first periodical in Goa appears in 1821 under governmental supervision. How can we explain this gap of 265 years between the first book printed in Goa and the appearance of the first periodical named *Gazeta de Goa*?

The Press in Metropole

The time lag after the appearance of the first books printed using the movable types versus periodicals is not necessarily specific only to Goa. On the contrary the first Portuguese language newspaper that appeared was titled "A *Gazeta*".⁹⁵ This periodical has been cataloged in the OCLC database as "*Gazeta do mes de ianeiro de 1642 [-agosto de 1647]*". The publisher is indicated as D. Lopez Rosa; however, the language of the publication is Spanish.

⁹⁴ Priolkar, Anant K, and Joaquim H. C. Rivara. *The Printing Press in India: Its Beginnings and Early Development, Being a Quatercentenary Commemoration Study of the Advent of Printing in India in 1556*. Bombay: Marathi Samshodhana Mandala, 1958. Print.

⁹⁵ Belo, Andre. "Between History and Periodicity: Printed and Hand-Written News in 18th-Century Portugal."

e-journal of Portuguese History. Brown University. 15 Jun 2012

<http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue4/html/belo_main.html>.

There are different accounts about which newspaper appeared first in Portugal. Tengarrinha in his “*História da Imprensa Periódica Portuguesa*” states:

One of the first things that one can tell about the inauguration of journalism in Portugal is through the long title of this newspaper as it was a custom of that time. The tile like the newspaper in which whatever new had happened at the court was reported in the month of 1641 (It was published in Lisbon by Lourenco de Anvers under the Royal license by Manuel de Galhegos) continued with few interruptions until the September of 1647.⁹⁶

The fact remains that the periodical(s) that disseminated information about the “happenings” appeared in 1641. This perhaps excludes any publications that might have been published using the woodcut types and would have appeared as almanacs etc.

The first printed book in Portugal was “*O Pentateuco*” in Hebrew that was published by Gacon in 1487.⁹⁷ Thus the time-lag between the appearance of a monograph and a print serial in the case of Portugal was 155 years, and in Portuguese India, it was even larger. The print culture can be considered to be an important paradigm in the

⁹⁶ Tengarrinha, José. *História Da Imprensa Periódica Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Portugália, 1965. Print.

“a primeira das quais, que pode dizer-se inagururar assim o jornalimso em Portugal, tem o título, longo como todos os desse tempo, de *Gazeta em Que Se Relatam as Novas Todas Que Houve Nesta Corte e Que Vieram de Várias Partes no Mês de Novembro de 1641* (Lisboa, na Ofic. de Lourenco de Anvers, com privilégio real concedido a Manuel de Galhegos por Alvara de 14 de Novembro de 1641). Ao contrario dar relacoes de Serverim de Faria as gazetas tiveram periodicidade, porque foram, com poucas interrupcoes, viveram desde Novembro de 1641 ate, pelo menos, Setembro de 1647.” pp. 31-32.

⁹⁷ "Museu Virtual da Imprensa, Porto Portugal." Museu Virtual da Imprensa. N/A. 7 Jun 2012<<http://www.imultimedia.pt/museuvirtpress/port/frame3.html>>.

evolution of nationalism as proposed by Benedict Anderson in his seminal work “Imagined Communities”, where the author proposes the following:

It remains only to emphasize that in their origins, the fixing of print-languages and the differentiation of status between them were largely unselfconscious processes resulting from the explosive interaction between capitalism, technology and human linguistic diversity. But as with so much else in history of nationalism, once ‘there’ they could be formal models to be imitated, and, and where expedient, consciously exploited in a Machiavellian spirit”.⁹⁸ There is a common agreement among various authors that the periodicals appeared in significant numbers in the 19th century Portugal.⁹⁹ This resurgence in Portugal during the period from 1801-1810 has been explained as follows:

In relation to journalistic development and introduction of new techniques in the manufacture of paper, that began using vegetable fibres, it is important to point out that the newspaper appears to have arisen from a need for current information. The appearance of the first daily newspapers *Diario lisbonense*, *Gazeta de Lisboa* and *o Mensageiro*, was influenced by foreign newspapers like *Le Moniteur*. The newspaper had a utility used by the Government as a means to control public opinion, belying rumors and seeking to maintain social stability.”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Anderson, Benedict R. O. G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991. Print.

⁹⁹ Motta, de S. J. M, and Lúcia M. M. Veloso. *História Da Imprensa Periódica Portuguesa: Subsídios Para Uma Bibliografia*. Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, 1987. Print p. 7

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* The text in Portuguese is as follows, “*Em relação ao desenvolvimento jornalístico além da introdução de novas técnicas no fabrico do papel que passou a utilizar fibras vegetais, é importante assinalar que o jornal surge como uma necessidade de informação corrente.*

Aparecem os primeiros jornais diários (<<Diário Lisbonense>>, <<Gazeta de Lisboa>> e o

One cannot definitively say that all of the populace had access to these print materials that appeared at the dawn of the printing. The costs of printing these books and levels of literacy of the audience became other limiting factors that may have played a role in the delaying of the appearance of the periodical news media. The circulation of the news in-print format depended on the ability to rapidly print the media, thus in turn the technology would have been a limiting factor. All of these factors could have delayed the appearance of the newsprint media. The technological limitations per se cannot be simply used to explain this delay satisfactorily. Besides the technological limitations, we must also consider the historical conditions that existed in the Metropole when it comes to the delayed appearance of the periodicals in Goa.

Explaining the Delay

Did the expulsion of Jesuits from Goa in any way delay the further development of printing that they had introduced? Antonio Maria Da Cunha in the essay “*A Evolução do Jornalismo*” in the anthology called “*A Índia Portuguesa*” laments,

Would these printing presses have, by chance, stayed absolutely silent during one century from 1654 to 1754? It would not be natural; but it is not known what preoccupied these presses during that long period of time. The lengthy investigations might shed some light on the (conditions) of these printing presses

<<Mensageiro>>), *influência também dos jornais estrangeiros sobretudo <<Le Moniteur>> muito lido entre nós. O jornal tinha um carácter utilitário usado pelo governo como forma de controlo da opinião pública, desmentindo boatos e procurando manter estabilidade social.*”

even if the short space of days are remaining for (my) this memory. This matters should not be devoid of any interest.¹⁰¹

There are several authors who have provided us with some of the answers that explain this delay. José Nicolau da Fonseca in his 1878 book *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa* states the following:

From a document bearing the date of 1754, it appears that the Home Government was averse to the establishment of printing presses in the territory of Goa, either by the local Government or by private individuals, and accordingly, instructions were issued to then viceroy, the Count of Alva, recommending the adoption of stringent measures in the matter. For nearly a century this narrow-minded policy was rigidly followed, regardless of the intellectual and moral advancement of the settlement; and it was only in 1821, the same year in which the constitutional system of government was introduced, that a Government press was established for the first time.¹⁰²

There are two components to this observation. First, Fonseca mentions a document that was dated 1754 that shows that the Metropole government was against the establishment of printing presses in Goa, but he fails to give us the name of the

¹⁰¹ Cunha, António M. *A Evolução Do Jornalismo Na Índia Portuguesa*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1923. Print. “*Teriam, acaso, ficado absolutamente silenciosos êsses prelos durante un seculo, de 1654 a 1754? Não seria natural; mas não se sabe em que se ocuparam durante esse longo periodo de tempo. Investigações mais demoradas, que o curto espaço de dias designado a esta Memória não permite, devem fazer alguma luz sôbre este ponto, que não é despido de interêsse.*” p. 505.

¹⁰² Fonseca, José N. *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa: Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1986. Print.

document. Most probably the document he alludes to is “A decree by Marques de Pombal,” who claimed perhaps that typography was a dangerous weapon in the hands of the society of Jesus. The press was thus not to be allowed in any of the institutions but also in convents, colleges or any other community that was privileged.”¹⁰³

Second, and more understandably, he attributes the appearance of the printing press in Goa to constitutional changes that took place in Portugal in 1821. The observation itself is of interest to us as it points towards the establishment of the government press and the appearance of the first periodical that is named *Gazeta de Goa*. *Gazeta de Goa* was an instrument by which the Metropole government asserted its information interests in the community that it ruled.

On the other hand, in Brito Aranha’s 1898 work, *A Imprensa em Portugal nos Seculos XV E XVI*, states, “But, if we see the notable development of press in the Metropole, the Portuguese arrived to the East with their heroism and with the Holy light of the Gospel that came of these presses.” and he further continues, “it should be noted that, while the wonders of this new invention were introduced in e the Kingdom and its the overseas possessions, its implementation was measured (limited) ...” .¹⁰⁴

These observations by Fonseca and Aranha, on the surface, seem to contradict one another. If we look at the contexts in which these statements were written it becomes clear that either way, the government played an integral role in the establishment of

¹⁰³ Lopes, António M. *Imprensa De Goa*. Lisboa: Edição do Comissariado do Governo para os Assuntos do Estado da Índia, 1971. Print. P.12 “*Uma ordem dimandada do marques de Pombal, que reputava porventura a tipografia uma arma perigosa nas mãos da Companhia de Jesus fez que nao se consentisse estabelecimento algum de imprensa <<não só particular mas ainda nos conventos, colégios ou qualquer outra comunidade por mais privilegiada que fosse>>.*”

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. Aranha 7

printing presses in Goa. In the beginning, the monographic forms of publications evolved, as indicated by Aranha using the term “*muitas obras*” or many works. Also, the purpose of the press itself in the beginning was to produce works that were needed for proselytizing the population. We also need to correlate the production of the first printed books in Goa with the levels of literacy of the period. While one can ignore the embellishing language that was characteristic of the some of the works of period, one can say that there were two differing views on the nature of Portuguese governmental intervention in the realm of the press and printing.¹⁰⁵

If the lack of the government sponsored printing presses in Goa until 1821 was at the root of the delayed onset of the print serials in the Índia Portuguesa, then the conditions that supported this late arrival can be complicated by the inadequacy of the Portuguese educational system in Goa. This inadequacy of Portuguese language instruction in the early periods of the creation of Portuguese rule IN Goa is mentioned several times in a later anthology named “A Índia Portuguesa”¹⁰⁶ Was this numerical

¹⁰⁵ Aranha, Brito. *Subsidios Para a Historia Do Jornalismo Nas Provincias Ultramarinas Portuguezas*. Lisboa: Imprensa nacional, 1885. Print.

The language that seems embellishing today would have been considered to be within the parameters of normal language usage during the late 19th century. I am quoting here few lines of Aranha’s introduction in French, “*Il a eu une époque de renaissance dans la période homérique de l’établissement définitif du gouvernement constitutionnel en 1834. Après, il continua avec quelques intermittences en se faisant remarquer surtout dans l’Inde portugaise, à Macau et à Angola, les vastes contrées ou le pouvoir et le prestige des portugais doivent se maintenir dans toute leur énergie et dans tout leur éclat.*”

¹⁰⁶ A Índia Portuguesa. 1st. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1923. On page 17 we find the following, “*É de crer que as primeiras escolas de Albuquerque se não foram desenvolvendo expandido. Foi pena que assim fôsse. A verdade é que, trinta anos depois da conquista de Goa, o ensino publico nesta India era um monopólio eclesiástico, para, daí a nada, ser congreganista ou*

inadequacy of Portuguese language speakers in India a major factor that determined delayed the dawn and protracted dusk of Portuguese language periodicals in India? To an extent, the number of subscribers to these journals would have been one determinant that ultimately defined the dawn, and dusk of the Portuguese periodicals in India along with the decolonization practices of the Indian government.

Portuguese Language Revisited and the Demographics within Goa

The dynamics that prevented the Portuguese language being a *lingua franca* in Goa was determined in part and parcel by the policies of the Portuguese administration. Although my dissertation is about 19th century Portuguese India and its periodicals press, the available data from the 20th century sheds light on the status of Portuguese language as an everyday medium of communication within these colonial enclaves

monacal". Another observation pertains to year 1840 as follows, "Fôra á vista desta insuficiência que , em 1840, o governador Barão de Candal, firmado nas instruções dadas por D. Manuel de Portugal e Castro, e que regulavam o ensino das pouquissimas escolas de português então existentes, determinara: "Que os mestres de canto das paróquias se absenham de ensinar a ler e escrever (portugues), para o que nao sao idoneos por falta de exame..."p. 19.

Table 1 the distribution of population within Portuguese India by first language in 1950.¹⁰⁷

Mother tongue by Population above age of 5	Male	Female	Total	% of Total
Unaccounted	30,828	32,213	63,041	11.11%
English	177	162	339	0.06%
Konkani	217,500	251,261	468,761	82.82%
Marathi	14,711	13,349	28,060	4.96%
Portuguese	3,206	3,517	6,723	1.19%
Total Population	266,422	300,502	566,924	100%

The number of Portuguese speakers remained relatively small as compared to the number of Konkani speakers. For example, the data available from the Census of Goa in 1950 shows us that the total population above the age of 5, who considered their mother tongue to be Portuguese, was approximately 1.19 % of the total population of *Índia Portuguesa*. The total number of people who spoke Konkani and Marathi was 82% and 5% approximately (*Recenseamento*).¹⁰⁸ This census document does not take into

¹⁰⁷ 8°. *Recenseamento Geral Da População: Realizado Em 15 De Dezembro De 1950*. Goa: Índia Portuguesa, Repartição Central de Estatística e Informação, 1956. Print. The table is entitled, “*População, presente de 5 ou mais anos de idade, segundo a lingua materna e o sexo, por religiões.*”

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* pp.28-29. *População, presente de 5 ou mais anos de idade, segundo a lingua materna e o sexo, por religiões*. Table 6. Total number of male and female population above 5 years of age was 599,924, Concanim (Konkani) was mother tongue according to this census was 468,761, Marathi speakers were 28,060, and Portuguese speakers according to the table was 6723. It is unclear, if this census included population of Portuguese speaking soldiers that were serving in Goa at the time. .

consideration the population who spoke two or more languages at the same time.

However, if 1% population of Goa identified with Portuguese in 1950, then it is very difficult to imagine how many individuals in Goa or in the other parts of Portuguese India could have identified Portuguese during the 1881 census.

If we look at the available statistics on education in Portugal we find no available data about the total number of children and teachers in Portuguese schools until year 1849. In 1849, Portugal had 42,000 primary school children and 1169 teachers, then from year 1850 to 1871, there are again no data available for Portugal according to “International Historical Statistics: Europe 1750-2000.” In 1872 125,000 pupils attended primary schools, but the data for the number of teachers is unavailable. The data set available for primary schools is unavailable from 1883 to 1888. The data then resumes once again in the year 1920. These holes in the statistics create a large number of questions regarding actual levels of literacy in Metropole.¹⁰⁹ The data for the year 1849 for Portugal shows the university enrollment was 1,008 students (“Number of Students in Universities, 894”).¹¹⁰ This data, when examined with respect to the total population of Portugal for the thirteen years from 1841 to 1854 (which did not include the population of *Índia Portuguesa*), shows that the total number of students who were in the universities would have been approximately 0.02% of the total population. We see the

¹⁰⁹ Mitchell, B R. *International Historical Statistics: Europe, 1750-2000*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. Print. Table: "Children and teachers in schools (in thousands, except as otherwise indicated).

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* p.894

percentage of students, who were in school, was 1.09% of the total population.¹¹¹ I was unable to locate official literacy rates for the period.

The recording of the earliest official literacy rates in Portugal that I was able to locate using the virtual library of the Instituto Nacional de Estatística of Portugal begins from 1890. In 1890, the percentage of the illiterate population was 76.6% in the Metropole. In 1900 the literacy rate in the Metropole was 24.30%.¹¹² This data does not offer a concrete explanation for the delayed appearance of periodicals either in Portugal or in Índia Portuguesa.

The literacy rates from Índia Portuguesa that I used for the purpose of this work were derived from the “*Censo da população do estado da Índia em 26 Fevereiro 1931: Volume II, Conselho das Ilhas*” or hitherto referred to as 1931 census. Besides this, I have included the data from 1940 and 1959 censuses. The data that contained in table five of the 1931 census is extremely important to us and is titled “*População de facto Segundo a instrução nos recenseamento de 1900, 1910, 1921 e 1931*” and sub-titled “*Sabem ler e escrever.*” This provides us with the literacy rates of Índia Portuguesa. Three limitations to this dataset can be identified. First, the data set starts in 1900. I was unable to find literacy rates before 1900 for Índia Portuguesa. Second, this particular dataset does not

¹¹¹ The population of Portugal according to “International Historical Statistics: Europe 1750-2000” by B.R. Mitchell, Palgrave 2003 indicates the population of Portugal according to census in 1841 was 3,397,000 and in 1854 it was 3,844,000. The 1841 population census did not include Azores and Madeira.

¹¹² One can use the virtual library of the Statistical institute of Portugal to download the tiff files that relate to the social conditions in the Metropole.

"INE Biblioteca Geral." Statistics Portugal. INE, n.d. Web. 15 June 2012.

<inenetw02.ine.pt:8080/biblioteca/logon.do;jsessionid=6D32727EEDCD9>.

provide us with language specific information. Thus one cannot derive language specific literacy rates for *Índia Portuguesa*.

The third limitation is that these data are not arranged by age groups except in the case of the 1959 Census. This makes it difficult to assess the relationship between the age, literacy and the circulation data of Portuguese periodicals. It is interesting to look at the quantitative levels of overall literacy as this information may help us understand the relativity of direct and indirect social impacts of the Portuguese language periodicals.

The literacy rates in Goa show increase in overall literacy from 1900 to 1959.¹¹³ However, when we examine the data from the 1881 *Índia Portuguesa* census we find the following interesting facts. In table 5, we find that the district of *Ilhas* (Panaji and its surrounding was one of most populous districts in Goa). The population of this district was 48,847, and the total number of Europeans in the district was 512 individuals. Out of these Europeans 410 individuals were males and 102 were females. The Europeans constituted roughly 1% of the population. The census failed to record the mixed population. The literacy rate for the district is 20%, which is higher than the rest of the districts of Goa. There were 4 booksellers and 1 lithographer according to the 1881 count. The later censuses of Goa fail to record population by the professions. Although the correlation between the literacy rates and appearance of the periodicals is not a well-studied fact, one might state the following hypothesis: The appearance of periodicals within *Índia Portuguesa* is related to the historical realities of changes that took place in

both the Metropole and Goa. The literacy rates of Goa could have had an influence in the longer run on the rise, growth and demise of various periodicals.

The Dawn of the First Periodical in Goa

As mentioned earlier we do not see an appearance of Portuguese language periodical in *Índia Portuguesa* during the periods of 1801-1810, but instead during the second flowering of Portuguese periodicals during the period, 1821-1830.¹¹⁴ The appearance of the first government-sponsored periodical in Goa in 1821 allows us to draw the following conclusion. The *Gazeta de Goa* arose in Goa with the advent of liberalism in Portugal after the revolution of 1820. The liberalism unleashed an array of periodical publishing activity in Portugal, and in Goa this activity translated into the publication of first periodical on 22 December 1821. Its main contents are described in Lopes' "Imprensa de Goa" as follows, "*as deliberações do Governo, o cadastro mensal da receita e despesa do tesouro público, do Senado da Câmara, da Santa Casa de Misericórdia e outras notícias nacionais e estrangeiras*".¹¹⁵ This sentence can be translated as follows, "the deliberations of the Government, the register's monthly income and expense of the public treasury, the Senate of the camera, the Holy House of Mercy and other national and foreign news." This newspaper primarily included the

¹¹⁴ Ibid. Please see note 25. The chart on page 23 on Motta de Souza and Veloso book titled *Movimento da Imprensa Periodica Portuguesa (Por décadas)* tracks appearance of periodical titles from 1641 through 1980. The chart shows the first flowering around 1801/1810 when there were total of 62 periodicals. This trend continued in 1811/1820 with 62 periodicals. However from 1821 there is a second flowering. There were 221 total periodicals in the interval form 1821 to 1830. The data is provided by Veloso. p. 33 (*Movimento da Imprensa Periodica Portuguesa-1987*)

¹¹⁵ Lopes, António M. *Imprensa De Goa*. Lisboa: Edição do Commissariado do Governo para os Assuntos do Estado da Índia, 1971. Print. p. 13.

deliberations of the government, reports of public treasury, the senate, the hospital along with the news from the other provinces of Portugal and overseas. The *Gazeta* continued to be published till 1826. Jaime Rangel and António dos Mártires Lopes in their respective works *A Imprensa em Goa* and *Imprensa de Goa* are silent about why the “*Gazeta*” ceased publication. Rangel simply states,

“Its duration was not long and the Gazette in 1835 became the *Chronica [sic] Constiitutional de Goa*, from 1837 it became *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India* (the Bulletin of the Government of the State of India) and in 1869 it was renamed *Boletim Oficial* (the Official Bulletin), that was published quarterly. The same became daily from 1882 through 1887. In 1889, a section on news and history was removed and the *Boletim* becomes a bi-weekly publication until 1939. Now it continues to be a weekly publication.”¹¹⁶

Lopes goes into the details about the history of the *Gazeta de Goa* without giving the details about the political conditions in Goa under which the first periodical appeared.¹¹⁷ Although the editor Luís Prates and his actions are mentioned in great

¹¹⁶ Rangel, Jaime. *A Imprensa Em Goa: Conferência*. Bastorá, Goa: O autor, 1957. Print. p.47
“A síncope não foi longa e a *Gazeta* breve recuperava a vida para em 1835 passar ser *Chronica Constitucional de Goa*, daí em 1837 *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India* e em 1869 *Boletim Oficial*, de edição trisemanal, para passar a ser diária de 1882 a 1887, deixando de ter a secção noticiosa e histórica em 1889, para se tornar bissemanal desde o ano anterior até 1939 e seamanal daí em diante.”

¹¹⁷ See note # 8. Lopes documents the names of the editors of *Gazeta*. This includes a paragraph about editor Luís Prates who was deported to Brasil in 1819 because of his “extreme-liberal” ideas. Apparently he was back in Goa by 1821. Lopes goes on stating that “Luís Prates, barbaramente assassinado a baionetadas, o qual “advogava no jornal princípios são fulminando

detail, Lopes fails to mention that, “a series of disorders and revolts broke out in Portuguese India following the revolution that occurred in Portugal and Brazil in 1820.

The Goans took a leading part in them. The leaders of the disturbances seized the Viceroy Conde do Rio Pardo and having deposed him, appointed on the 16th of September 1821 a provisional junta composed of five members. The acknowledged leader of the Goans, Bernardo Peres da Silva, took an active part in the revolt. A new constitution granting constitutional powers to the colonies, the “*Carta Organica*,” was promulgated in Portugal.”¹¹⁸

This new constitution guaranteed freedom of the press in the Portuguese territories as stated in article no. 8: “The free communication of thoughts is one of the most precious rights of man. All citizens can, without depending on the habit of previous censorship express their opinions in whatever medium while carrying the responsibility for the abuse of this freedom. In those cases the law will be determining these violations.”¹¹⁹

as diferenças de nascimento e outros prejuízos da aristocracia, não duvidando mesmo criticar dessaombradamente os actos governativos e com tudo a junta o nomeou oficial maior interino da secretaria geral em substituição do que fora suspenso por exigencia da tropa, certamente porque reconhecera nele habilidade para bem se desempenhar desta comissão”(Lopes 13)

¹¹⁸ Ali, B S. *Goa Wins Freedom: Reflections and Reminiscences*. Bambolim, Goa: Goa University, 1986. Print.

¹¹⁹ Amaral, Manuel. "DOCUMENTOS POLÍTICOS DA." O Portal da Historia. 2005. O Portal da Historia-ANAIS. 15 Jun 2012 <<http://www.arqnet.pt/portal/portugal/liberalismo/bases821.html>>.

Article 8 “*A livre comunicação dos pensamentos é um dos mais preciosos direitos do homem. Todo o cidadão pode, conseqüentemente, sem dependência de censura prévia, manifestar suas opiniões em qualquer matéria, contanto que haja de responder pelo abuso desta liberdade, nos casos e na forma que a lei determinar.*”

Thus the milieu of liberalism and local aspirations of self-determination can be considered some of the few factors that led to a slightly belated arrival of Goa's first periodical.

Conclusion

The following chapter will show that once the first periodical was published in Goa in the 19th century, it was followed by hundreds of other Portuguese language periodicals with varying goals, aspirations, subject matters and trajectories. Henry Scholberg lists approximately one hundred fifty journals and newspapers in addition to government serials that were published in Goa under the Portuguese rule in the 19th century.¹²⁰

Although the many of these Portuguese language publications were published in Goa, there were some that were published in Bombay by the Goan diaspora. The lifespan of some of these periodicals was relatively short, nevertheless the impetus these periodicals might have given to the circulation of ideas and information in *Índia Portuguesa* is immeasurable. After all it was this circulation of ideas led to an ever-increasing formation of national consciousness within the framework of *Índia Portuguesa*.

¹²⁰ Scholberg, Henry, Archana Ashok Kakodker, and Carmo Azevedo. *Bibliography of Goa and Portuguese India*. New Delhi: Promila & Co., 1982.

Chapter 4: An Analysis and Evaluation of the 19th Century Periodicals Press in Portuguese India.

Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I provided a brief comparative and historical overview of Portuguese publishing in Portuguese India from its beginning in 1556 until the appearance of the first Portuguese language newspaper, *Gazeta de Goa* in 1821. This newspaper was followed by the appearance of numerous Portuguese language periodicals in Portuguese India in the 19th century. These periodicals are of varying genres and predominantly belong to the categories of news and literature related periodicals with the exception of strictly governmental reports or statistical periodicals.

In this chapter, I will analyze the Portuguese language press of 19th century Portuguese India. The research questions that I address in this chapter are as follows:

1. What are these periodicals and what kinds of information do they contain? What are the genres of these periodicals?
2. How did Portuguese language periodicals evolve in Portuguese India and Bombaim (Bombay/Mumbai) where there was an established Indo-Portuguese community in the 19th century?

The purpose of this chapter is to survey the periodicals press rather than to provide comprehensive historical background on each of the numerous periodical titles that were published in 19th century Portuguese India. In this chapter I will not explain the various reasons that could have led to the appearance of these periodicals. Secondly, this survey is limited to the Portuguese language press of Goa, Daman and Diu, and does not

take into consideration the periodical periodicals in the regional languages.¹²¹ The periodicals in regional languages are considered where they appear as the bi- or tri-lingual editions. Thirdly, during my research, I was unable to find the data on their circulation in the colony.

This chapter on the evaluation of the 19th century periodicals of Portuguese India serves as an introduction for bibliographers who collect or could potentially collect these materials for their libraries. In the United States, Portuguese periodicals of India are generally considered to be the purview of South Asian Studies bibliographers. This chapter is also related to the penultimate chapter that analyzes librarians' attitudes towards these periodicals. My research highlights the attitudes of the librarians who are the stewards of periodicals that evolved as discrete collections in the United States over the time period. Currently these collections are used by students, scholars and faculty members in several disciplines such as history, sociology, comparative literature, Spanish and Portuguese literatures, post-colonial studies and others. I propose a theoretical framework that is similar in argument to that of Fritz Machlup in his seminal work, "The Production and Distribution of Knowledge in the United States."¹²² I argue that these 19th century periodicals from Portuguese India served their audience by providing information that could have led to the creation of a specialized form of knowledge. Machlup's

¹²¹ Shastry, B S. *Goan Society through the Ages: Seminar Papers*. New Delhi: Asian Publication Services, 1987. Print. In the compilation of these seminar papers, S. S. Dessai in his essay entitled, "Language and Literature: Portuguese influence on Goan language and vice versa" states that the first Marathi language periodical appeared in Goa in 1877. Since then there were 37 different periodical titles in Marathi were published in Portuguese India.

¹²² Machlup, Fritz. *The Production and Distribution of Knowledge in the United States*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1962. Print.

definition of knowledge production is related to the process of learning. According to Machlup, it is the process by which one learns something new for the first time despite the fact that someone would have already known it.¹²³ In the case of Indo-Portuguese periodicals, I argue that the reintroduction of the history of ancient India to their readers of the 19th century Portuguese India can be cited as one example of the process of knowledge creation. The Indo-Portuguese authors as well as historians were clearly aware of their Indic past; however, the reintroduction of this past to the readers of the journals that they edited can be understood as the process of knowledge creation as described by Machlup.

I further argue that the processes of knowledge creation and its distribution remained a contested space in Portuguese India where the consumption of information was partially indirect. As my analysis will show in this dissertation, the majority of the population of Portuguese India could not read Portuguese, yet Portuguese remained in the 19th century the primary language of governmental transactions and the periodicals that were published in the colony. The governmental periodicals in 19th century Portuguese India were not published in the regional languages.

The popular journals were also primarily published in Portuguese. Thus the direct consumption of information that was contained within them can be defined as a function of the knowledge of Portuguese by the local population. Sufficient knowledge of Portuguese allowed the local elite to consume the information directly as it came to them through these various periodicals. The same information could have led to indirect information consumption by those who did not possess the sufficient knowledge of

¹²³ Machlup, *ibid.* 7.

Portuguese yet had access to these periodicals through those who could read and translate them for local consumption.

Furthermore, the intentions behind and impetus for the creation of these periodicals can be examined through the lens of audience/s they thought to serve. The examination of demand for these periodicals perhaps can shed light on why so many periodicals circulated in relatively small colonial space of Portuguese India. I was unable to gauge the demand for these periodicals as the circulation data on how many copies were published and how many actually circulated during the 19th century was absent. Although some periodicals had prices printed on them, I was unable to find the comprehensive data that could have allowed me to perform cost and effectiveness of their market penetration.

I argue that the large number periodical titles attests to the fact that the dissemination of information that was contained in these periodicals was a function of the local colonial realities in the 19th century Portuguese India and that there was a definite demand for these periodicals. The information contained within these periodicals was used by those who were able to access it. Through the periodicals they were able to gain insights on what was happening in Portugal, Portuguese India, and other parts of world. The periodicals also functioned as a vehicle of entertainment in a colony that was physically far away from the dynamic Metropole.

Why certain information was contained while other kinds of information was not contained speaks to the relative freedom of the editors' decision making ability to include the materials that they thought would be of interest to their respective audiences. I further posit that it will be inaccurate to propose that there was a deliberate intention on part of

the colonizers to create information asymmetry through these periodicals. By information asymmetry in this particular context, I mean that the lack of information that the colonizers had and that the colonized population did not possess. This asymmetry was not deliberately maintained by reporting only certain things in these journals. However, the information asymmetry, that characterized colonial milieu due to limitation to the access of these periodicals, allowed those who colonized to hold the power over those they colonized. Until the late 19th and early 20th centuries in case of Portuguese India, knowledge production and information dissemination through these periodicals began to “democratize” the process of colonial interactions; the changes began to transpire in conjunction with economic changes that were characterized by the emigration of Goan/Indo-Portuguese population to British India. On surface, my statement that correlates emigration from Goa to Bombay with the process of democratization of knowledge creation through the development of local press in Portuguese India may seem to be contradictory. However, I would argue that these emigrants from Goa and other parts of Portuguese India to British India in late 19th century brought back ideas and even perhaps the technical know-how from British India. This meant that some of the ideas that had begun circulating in British India reached Portuguese India.¹²⁴ For example, in the editorials of the first private newspaper in Portuguese India, “*O Ultramar*,” we often see criticism of local colonial authorities. We also see comparison between the politics and social problems that existed in the 19th century Bombay and Goa.

¹²⁴ Owen, Nicholas. *The British Left and India: Metropolitan Anti-Imperialism, 1885-1947*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. Print.

The Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 in Bombay. The discussion of nationalist agenda that spread in aftermath could have influenced the members of Indo-Portuguese diaspora.

I also posit that the illiteracy of local inhabitants of Portuguese India does not speak to the ability and sophistication of the local population to understand the information that reached them through alternative means such as word of mouth communication of the narratives of the local anti-colonial revolts, dissenting Catholic priests, intellectuals, the expatriate community from Bombay and the Hindu dissidents.¹²⁵ These collections, as my chapter on interviews with South Asian Studies librarians and other subject specialists' shows, form an integral part of the research collections of large academic institutions.

As I have argued above, there are several ways in which data can be extracted from these periodicals and used to further the scholarship on the history as well as the literature of Portuguese India. The following chapter is dedicated to successfully demonstrating one of the many potential uses of these periodicals in great detail.¹²⁶ The chapter will also address the several questions that speak to the notion of the Indo-Portuguese identity as they appear in the literary periodicals of Portuguese India.

Prior to this dissertation, there were several studies that were dedicated to the 19th century Portuguese periodicals of India; however, these studies were limited in their scope and objectives. To my knowledge, there has not been any study dedicated to the Portuguese language periodicals of India in the field of Library and Information Sciences. The first known study of Portuguese press in Goa was by José Antonio Ismael Gracias. The title of this 1880 study was *A imprensa em Goa nos seculos [sic] XVI, XVII e*

¹²⁵ Neill, Stephen. *A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to Ad 1707*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire: Cambridge University Press, 1984. Print.

¹²⁶ Hühn, Peter, and Jens Kiefer. *The Narratological Analysis of Lyric Poetry: Studies in English Poetry from the 16th to the 20th Century*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005. Print

XVIII.¹²⁷ The study focused on history of printing in Goa in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. This study was not devoted to the periodicals press of Portuguese India; however, its importance is in its description of the historic printing presses of Portuguese India. For example, on page 90 of this study, the author cites the National Printing Press in Goa as the place that had published 752 titles including several periodical titles by 1876.

Five years later, Brito de Aranha undertook the first study that tried to evaluate Portuguese periodicals of the colonial period : *Subsidios para a historia do jornalismo nas provincias ultramarinas portuguezas*. The title of this study can be translated as “The study is about journalism in Portuguese colonies and it indexes some of the Portuguese Periodicals of India.” The study, as its title suggests, examines various subsidies that the Portuguese government provided for the establishment of periodical press in her colonies. The study is not specifically about Portuguese establishments in India. The study indexes periodicals from colonies like Angola, Cape Verde, etc. This study examines the Portuguese periodicals that were published in Bombay in British India and Portuguese India as one group. It can be argued that the Portuguese periodicals of Bombay are in a certain way an extension of the Indo-Portuguese cultural framework in Bombay. The Indo-Portuguese community, especially of the former Northern provinces of Portuguese India, including those of Bassein, were always been part of Bombay diaspora.¹²⁸

However, for the purpose of my study, I have not made such a distinction between the

¹²⁷ Gracias, José A. I. *A Imprensa Em Goa Nos Seculos Xvi, Xvii E Xviii: Apontamentos Historico-Bibliographicos Por José Antonio Ismael Gracias*. Nova-Goa: Imprensa nacional, 1880. Print.

¹²⁸ Cunha, J G. *Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein*. Bombay: Thacker, Vining & Co, 1876. Print.

Indo-Portuguese from Goa and other parts of Portuguese India and those who already were living in Bombay in the aftermath of the fall of Bassein in 1739. These periodicals were published by the Indo-Portuguese, primarily the Goans that had immigrated to British India in the late 19th century. Aranha's study does not provide any documentation on the nature of subsidies that these periodicals had received. The study identified 70 periodical titles that were published in Portuguese India along with 15 titles that were published in Bombay. There were several other studies that appeared following the work by Brito de Aranha.¹²⁹ These works addressed different aspects of press in Portuguese India such as the role the press might have played in the formation of national consciousness in Goa,¹³⁰ and a simple listing of these periodicals that emulated card catalog.¹³¹ However none of the works to this day has comprehensively addressed the research questions that I am proposing to analyze in this chapter.

I have identified 141 periodicals that were published in Portuguese India in 19th century. Out of these 141 periodical titles, 129 titles are non-governmental publications and 12 are publications by various governmental departments. I would argue that in 19th century Portuguese India, the number of ephemeral periodicals produced was larger than 141 as sometimes there were single issues produced by various parishes for local consumption. I could not and did not identify these single issues as these were unlikely to

¹²⁹ Lopes, António M. *Imprensa De Goa*. Lisboa: Edição do Comissariado do Governo para os Assuntos do Estado da Índia, 1971. Print.

¹³⁰ Rangel, Jaime. *A Imprensa Em Goa: Conferência*. Bastorá, Goa: O autor, 1957. Print.

¹³¹ Scholberg, Henry, Archana A. Kakodker, and Carmo Azevedo. *Bibliography of Goa and the Portuguese in India*. New Delhi: Promilla, 1982. Print.

be indexed by the catalogs on colonial Portuguese periodicals.¹³²¹³³ I examined both the 19th and 20th century sources on Portuguese colonial periodicals as well as searched in the online catalog of the National Library of Portugal to create a list of periodicals that was then analyzed.

There are seven historical periods in the development of Portuguese journalism that were identified in the work entitled, *O Jornalismo Portuguez: Resenha Chronologica De Todos Os Periodicos Portuguezes Impressos E Publicados No Reino E No Estrangeiro, Desde O Meiado Do Seculo Xvii Até Á Morte Do Saudoso Rei Senhor D. Luiz I; Bem Como Dos Jornaes Em Lingua Estrangeira Publicados Em Portugal Durante O Mesmo Tempo* by A.X. Pereira Silva in 1896. Since his work was published in 1896, I have left these periods as they are, but I have expanded this work by adding an eighth historical period. The table below shows the historical periods with respect to development of journalism in Portugal. For my analysis, only the last five periods are used as the first newspaper in Portuguese appeared in 1821. I have mapped the periodicals to these periods to see if there is any co-relation between the events in the Metropole and the colony. The first three periods that are depicted below were not used as Portuguese language periodicals in Portuguese India did not circulate before 1821.

¹³² *Catálogo Dos Periódicos Políticos E Noticiosos E Das Revistas Litterarias E Scientificas*. Lisboa: Typ. da Companhia Nacional Editora, 1893. Internet resource.

¹³³ Silva, Pereira A. X. *O Jornalismo Portuguez: Resenha Chronologica De Todos Os Periodicos Portuguezes Impressos E Publicados No Reino E No Estrangeiro, Desde O Meiado Do Seculo Xvii Até Á Morte Do Saudoso Rei Senhor D. Luiz I; Bem Como Dos Jornaes Em Lingua Estrangeira Publicados Em Portugal Durante O Mesmo Tempo*. Lisboa: Antiga casa Bertrand, J. Bastos, 1896. Internet resource.

Table 2 Periods in the history of Portuguese journalism (adapted from Silva, 1896).

Period	Name	Years	Historical Event/s
1	The period of infancy of Portuguese Journalism	1625-1760	The death of King João V in July 1760.
2	The Pombaline period	1761-1807	The departure of the Portuguese Royal Court to Brazil in 1807
3	The period of foreign domination (French)	1808-1820	The Liberal Revolution in Porto in August of 1820.
4	The period of internal struggle between the Absolutists and the Constitutionals	1821-1833	The entry of the Constitutionalist forces in Lisbon in July 1833.
5	The period of struggle between the Chartists and the Septembrists	1834-1850	The establishment of military government in Porto in April of 1851
6	The period of regeneration.	1851-1860	From the establishment of constitutional monarchy by the military junta in Porto to the death of King D. Pedro V in November of 1861.
7	The reign of D. Luis I	1861-1889	The death of King D. Luis I in October 1889. The abolishment of slavery in Portugal.
8	The reign of Charles I	1890-1900	The British pressure on Portugal to cede the territories between Angola and Mozambique. The establishment of conservative government and assassination of Charles I in Lisbon in 1908.

The distribution of periodicals by the date of the commencement of publication in Portuguese India is depicted below.

Table 3 The distribution of the 19th century Portuguese periodicals from India.

Period	Years	Total Number of 19 th century Portuguese language periodicals	Published in Bombay	Published in Portuguese India.
The period of internal struggle between the Absolutists and the Constitutionalists	1820-1833	2	1	1
The period of struggle between the Chartists and the Septemberists	1834-1850	13	2	11
The period of regeneration.	1851-1861	7	1	6
The reign of D. Luis I	1862-1889	72	9	63
The reign of Charles I	1890-1900	45	14	31
unidentified	no date	2	0	2
Total		141	27	113

The period of internal struggle between the Absolutists and the Constitutionalists in Portugal continued from 1820 through 1833 was primarily a hallmark of reaction to the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte and independence of the Brazil. The French had occupied Portugal from 1807 until 1814. From 1808 until 1821, Brazil and Portugal were under the protection of the British. The loss of Brazil ushered Portugal into an internal power struggle and Miguel I was declared the king of Portugal. The struggle between those who were conservative supporters of the monarchy and the others who wanted constitutional reform led to the eventual replacement and exile of Miguel I in 1834. Maria, who was daughter of the Pedro IV of Brazil, was installed as the queen of Portugal. There were

only two journals that were published in Goa during this period.¹³⁴ The first journal was called *Gazeta de Goa* and it was as explained in the previous chapter was the first government sponsored periodical. It continued to be published until 1826. The only other periodical that was published in this period was *Mensageiro Bombayense* that was published in Bombay. The internal struggle for the crown that played out in Portugal did not seem to have direct effect on periodical publishing in Goa.

During the second period from 1834-1850 where we see continuation of power struggle between various Portuguese factions.¹³⁵ The year 1834 marks the beginning of the period of counterrevolution that began in September. The primary goal of this revolution was to establish a constitutional monarchy. However, Queen Maria initiated her own counterrevolution to bring back the Charter that allowed Portuguese monarch to conservatively rule Portugal. In Goa, this period was reflected in appointment of native of Goa, Bernardo Peres da Silva, as the Prefect of Goa.¹³⁶ He was not accepted by those who were of Portuguese descent and was deposed by the Chartist counterrevolution. However, during this period the periodicals press in Goa continued to evolve.

The next three periods were periods where one sees the flowering of the periodicals press in Portuguese India, primarily in Goa, where the majority of periodicals were published. Although the political events that transpired in Portuguese India could

¹³⁴ Bollaert, William. *The Wars of Succession of Portugal and Spain, from 1826 to 1840: With Résumé of the Political History of Portugal and Spain to the Present Time*. London: E. Stanford, 1870. Print.

¹³⁵ Cabral, Ricardo. *The Development of Teacher Education in Portuguese Goa, 1841-1961*. New Delhi: Concept Pub. Co, 2009. Print.

¹³⁶ Danvers, Frederick C. *The Portuguese in India: Being a History of the Rise and Decline of Their Eastern Empire*. New York: Octagon Books, 1966. Print.

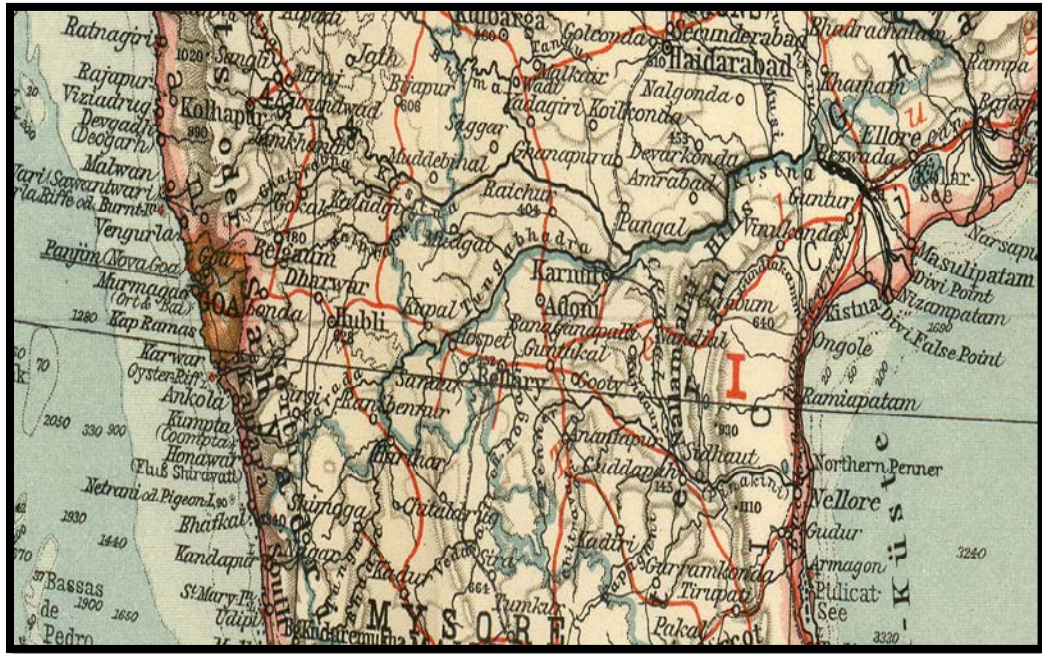
have been important for their detailed examination, these fall outside the scope of this dissertation. I have highlighted principal events in the history of Portuguese India in Appendix IV.

From the distribution of the dates when the majority of periodicals in Portuguese India commenced publishing, one can conclude that the majority of publications (83%) began publishing after 1862. Before 1862 i.e., the period that was preceded by the period of regeneration of journalism in Portugal as identified by Silva, only 17% of Indo-Portuguese periodicals began publishing in Portuguese India. I would argue that this renaissance of periodicals publishing in Portuguese India in the period following 1862 cannot be solely explained as the consequence of the period of relative stability that had returned to Portugal during the reign of D. Luis I. The renaissance of publishing of periodicals also can also testify to private proprietorship of printing presses in Portuguese India, especially in Goa. In the 19th century, out of a total of 141 Portuguese language periodicals, 27 were published by the Goan/ Indo-Portuguese expatriate community in Bombay. We also see that in Damão (Daman), that also constituted the part of Portuguese India, only one title was published.

The map of Portuguese India below shows the location of Portuguese territories on the Indian sub-continent.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Aguilar, Lisa. "Permission to use map images from Perry Castaneda collection for dissertation" to Liladhar R. Pendse. 5 2012. E-mail. This map is a part of the larger map of South Asia that was digitized by the Perry-Castañeda Library from the 1914 edition of Baedeker's Indien. I have acquired written permission to use these images from the library through email.

Map 1 Portuguese India-Goa, 1914.¹³⁸

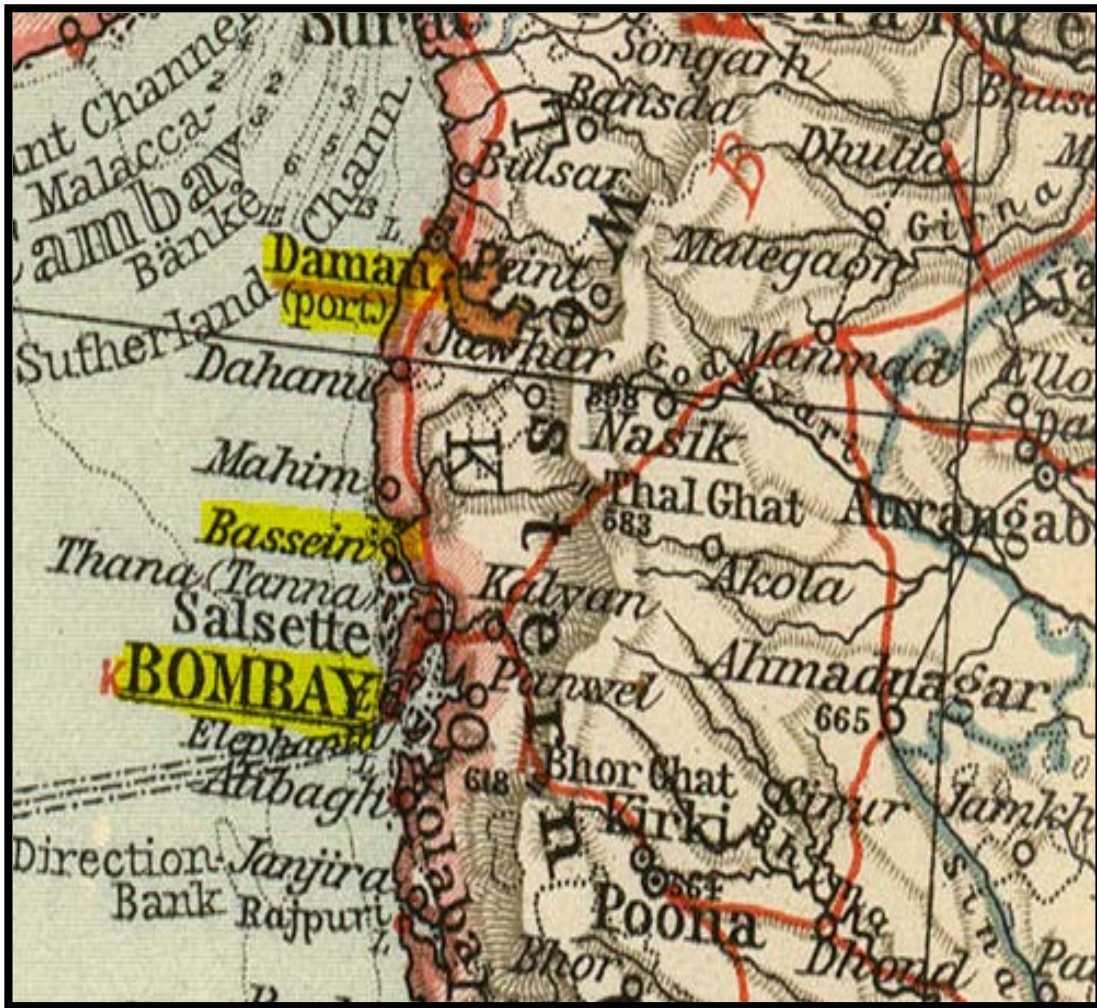


¹³⁸ "Maps from Baedeker's Indien: Handbuch Für Reisende, 1914." Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection. Baedeker, n.d. Web. 27 Dec. 2012.

<www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/baedeker_indien_1914/txu-pclmaps-south_asia_1914.jpg>.

Below is the map of Daman, also a Portuguese enclave in India, which was adapted from the Baedeker's *Indien*.

Map 2 Portuguese India-Daman, 1914.



The distribution of periodical titles by their places of publication within Portuguese India and Bombay shows the following pattern.

Table 4 The distribution of the 19th century Portuguese language periodicals by place of publication.

Place of Publication	No. of titles
Bombaim (British India)	27
Assagão, Bardês	1
Bastorá	3
Calangute, Bardês	5
Camorlim, Bardês	2
Candolim	1
Damão (Daman)	1
Goa, Nova Goa.	67
Mapuça, Bardês	6
Margão	12
Multiple locations (Nova Goa, Mapuça, Orlim)	2
Orlim	2
Parcém	1
Perném	2
Ribandar	6
S. Thomé	1
Saligão	1
Vaddem, Bardês	1
Total	141

We can see from the table above that the majority of periodical publications arose and circulated from Goa and Nova Goa. Here the term “Goa” is used to denote *Velha Goa* or Old Goa that became the first major city and center of the Portuguese Empire in the East from the 16th century onwards, until the capital was moved in the 18th century to Panaji or Nova Goa (New Goa). The city of Ribandar is also a township that is located between the cities of Goa and New Goa. We can state that out of 141 periodicals, 74 were published in the vicinity of Goa and Nova Goa. The term “Goa” can be quite confusing as it is also used to refer to a larger territory and also the old city of Goa in the context of

Portuguese Indian history. The map of Goa circa 1862 below gives us a better idea about the geographic locations of these cities within Portuguese India.

Map 2 Goa (1862)¹³⁹



¹³⁹ Patrício, Helena. "Permission to use digitized map of India Portuguesa." Message to Liladhar R. Pendse. 21 January 2013. E-mail.

"Carta chorographica da India Portuguesa, Lisboa, 1862 - Biblioteca Nacional Digital." Uúltimas obras disponibilizadas na BND. N.p., n.d. Web. 29 Dec. 2012. <<http://purl.pt/1509>>. This map is provided with permission from the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal.

If these periodical titles are to be considered one of the major sources that represented a niche of the field of cultural production in the 19th century Portuguese India, then it is safe to say that more than 52% of periodical titles of 19th century were published in the heartland of Goa. This trend was followed by the townships and city of Mapuça, located in the district named Bardês, which accounted for the printing of 11% of the periodical titles. This was followed by the city of Margão, where approximately 9% of periodical titles in Portuguese India were published in the 19th century.

One way to explain the concentration of these periodicals by the places of publications due to the fact that the *Imprensa Nacional* or the State Printing Press was located in the city of Nova Goa. In fact, 43 out of 141 titles were published at the *Imprensa Nacional*. This constituted approximately 30% of the published periodical titles. The rest were published at the different privately held printing presses.

These non-governmental, private printing presses began appearing in Portuguese India in the second half of the 19th century. The stimulation of the private press in Portuguese India was a complicated and protracted process and it cannot be simply explained as the result of the fundamental changes in Portuguese society in the post-Napoleonic period. The introduction and the evolution of Portuguese printing in India are well-studied.¹⁴⁰ The recent work by Rochelle Pinto entitled “Between Empires: Print and Politics in Goa” sheds light on the role of press in the political elite, colonial interactions

¹⁴⁰Priolkar, Anant K, and Joaquim H. C. Rivara. *The Printing Press in India: Its Beginnings and Early Development, Being a Quatercentenary Commemoration Study of the Advent of Printing in India in 1556*. Bombay: Marathi Samshodhana Mandala, 1958. Print.

D'Souza, Bento G. *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1975. Print.

between the Metropole (Portugal) and periphery (Goa).¹⁴¹ However all these works do not provide much detail on the rise of literary press in Portuguese India and the possible role the literary journals could have played in “consolidation of Indo-Portuguese” identity or their role in asserting the status quo of Portuguese preeminence in the colonies for several possible reasons. First, the term Indo-Portuguese identity is highly ambiguous and it cannot be simply equated with the Goan national identity despite of the fact that in the 19th century, Goa constituted the major portion of Portuguese holdings in India. I will argue in the next chapter that the evolution of Indo-Portuguese identities has a clear trajectory in the literary periodicals that were published in the 19th century Goa and Bombay. I also posit that the private printing presses that emerge in Goa in the 19th century played an important role in publishing the literature that helped in the reinforcement of these identities.

Some of the notable private printing presses included “Tipografia Rangel” and “Tipografia Ultramar”. “Tipografia Ultramar” was the first private printing press in Portuguese India and was established in 1859 by Bernardo Francisco Da Costa.¹⁴² Bernardo Francisco da Costa also established a weekly that was called “O Ultramar” that continued publishing until 1941 with a few interruptions. This printing press was also used to print several other works such as *Quadros historicos de Goa: tentativa historica* by Jacinto Caetano Barreto de Miranda (1865), and *Arte da grammatica da lingua portugueza: seguida de um appendix de noçoes indispensaveis a esta grammatical* by

¹⁴¹ Pinto, Rochelle. *Between Empires: Print and Politics in Goa*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007. Print.

¹⁴² Vaz, J C. *Profiles of Eminent Goans, Past and Present*. New Delhi: Concept Pub. Co, 1997. Print.

Antônio José dos Reis Lobato (1866). “Tipografia Rangel” was another prominent private printing press that was founded by Vicente João Janin Rangel in 1866. A short-lived periodical whose title was *Indispensável* (o) was published by Rangel from 1894-1895. This periodical reappeared in the early part of the 20th century. The subjects covered in this periodical varied from the arts to family-related issues to the sciences. There were several other important works printed at this press. These works include *Regulamento das comunidades agrícolas de Goa* (Regulations of the agricultural communities of Goa) (1904), *Gramática da língua Concani* (Grammar of Konkani language) (1933), etc. Rangel also published in 1915 a book on musical notation of Portuguese India. Its title was “*Elementos de música compilados do pequeno solfejo metódico, teórico e prático de Eduardo Baptista adoptado para o uso das escolas paróquias deste estado (1914)*”. This title can be translated as follows, “Elements of music compiled from [solfege]¹⁴³ of methodical, theoretical and practical of Eduardo Baptista adopted for the use of schools parishes of this state. The private, non-governmental printing presses of 19th century, besides publishing periodicals, continued to publish monographs, pamphlets and other ephemeral items.

From the analysis of 141 titles, I was able to identify 27 privately owned printing presses that were identified by their names and 24 printing presses that were simply identified as “*Tipografia própria*” or private printing press. The total of private printing presses that published periodicals amounts to 50. There were also journal titles where I was unable to identify printing press information either directly from the issues of

¹⁴³ Solfege, also called solfeggio, sol-fa, solfedge, or solfa) is a singing technique used to teach pitch.

periodicals that I had examined or from other bibliographic sources. The number of these titles amounted to 40. Thus one can state that out of 141 periodical titles, approximately 35% of titles were published at the governmental printing press. In 19th century Portuguese India, although the first periodical was initiated and published by the colonial government, the subsequent periodicals appearing after 1859 were through the efforts of private individuals. Although the government continued to publish several periodicals of statistical nature, the bulk of the periodicals was published by private individuals during the last four decades of the 19th century.

This group of periodicals exhibits a varying amount of diversity in their frequency of publication. From the table whose title is “the distribution of the 19th century Portuguese Periodicals from India”, we see that the bulk of these periodicals were published in two periods following the period of regeneration of Portuguese journalism in the Metropole (1851-1861). Thus I argue that there was some lag in the appearance of a large number of periodicals in Portuguese India when compared to those in the Metropole. In case of Goa and the rest of the colony, we see that in the period between 1862 and 1889 roughly 51% of the total number of all 19th century periodicals was published. In the period beginning 1890 until the end of the 19th century, 31% of all periodicals were published. Thus approximately 82% of all periodicals that appear in 19th century Portuguese India were published from 1862 onwards. This can be attributed to several factors. First, the time it took for the news to travel from Portugal to Portuguese India decreased when the first telegraph line was established between Bombay in British India and Panaji, the capital of Portuguese India, in 1859. This, along with the relatively large number of Goan immigrants living and working in Bombay, led to the facilitation

of news exchange. In 1875, direct underwater telegraphic cable was established between Lisbon and Panaji. All these technological advances, along with the establishment of railway line in Goa in 1886, meant news could now travel faster than before. All of these factors likely contributed to the increased number of periodicals circulating in Portuguese India in the late 19th century.

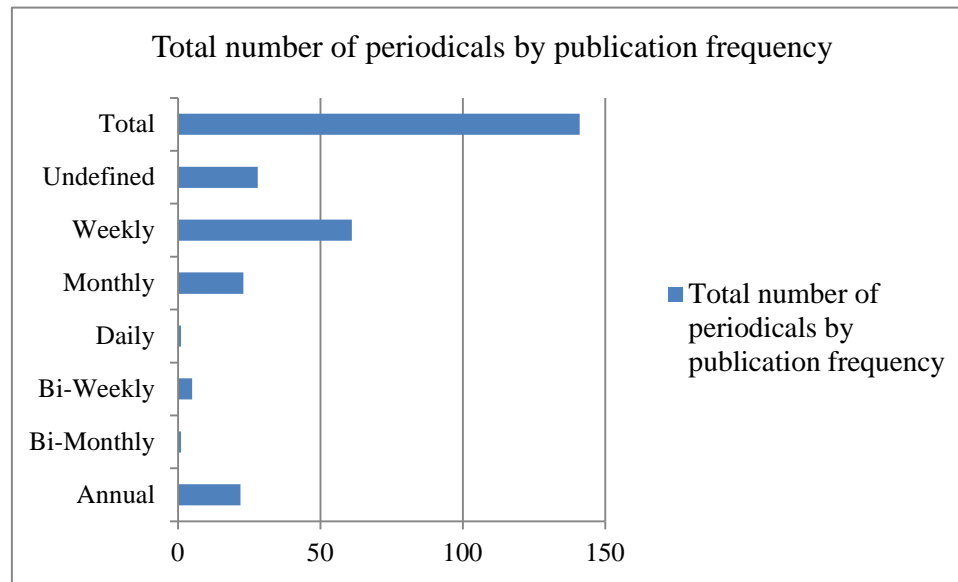
I have analyzed the frequency of these periodicals, when the data was available, based on the same periods that I had used and modified from their original conceptualization by Pereira Silva. The data that I collected about the frequency of the publication of these periodicals is represented below in the table.

Table 5 Frequency of publication of Portuguese periodicals in 19th century Portuguese India.

Period	Annual	Bi-Monthly	Bi-Weekly	Daily	Monthly	Weekly	Undefined	Total
1820-1833	1	0	0		0	1	0	2
1834-1850	1	1	0		2	5	4	13
1851-1861	1	0	1		2	4	1	9
1862-1889	12	0	2		12	32	14	72
1890-1900	7	0	2	1	7	19	9	45
Total	22	1	5	1	23	61	28	141

The data above clearly show that out of 141 total periodicals, 44% were weeklies, 16% were monthlies, 1% bimonthlies, and 4% were bi-weeklies. The same data is graphically represented below. I was unable to establish the frequency of publication for 28 (20%) of the periodicals that I inventoried as some of these periodicals could not be examined at the Portuguese National Library due to their fragile conditions, and some of the periodicals did not have a clearly marked frequency of publication.

Graph 1 Distribution of periodicals by publication frequency.



There was only one daily that appeared in 1900 in Portuguese India. Its title was “*o Herald*o.” This daily newspaper continued to be published until 1987 in Portuguese. From 1987 onward it appeared only as a daily in English. It is currently published in the Indian state of Goa as a daily newspaper.¹⁴⁴ The daily as a periodical appeared only on the cusp of the 20th century, seventy-nine years following the publishing of the first newspaper in Goa in 1821.

If the frequency of publications of these periodicals points to the dominance of the weeklies, the subject analysis of these periodicals will inform us about the contents of these periodicals as well as about their intended audiences.

¹⁴⁴ "Oheraldo Goa's complete online news edition." Oheraldo Goa's complete online news edition. N.p., n.d. Web. 6 Jan. 2013. <<http://oheraldo.in/>>.

Language and Subject Analysis of the Periodicals Press of 19th Century Portuguese India

As stated previously, I conducted an appraisal of Portuguese language periodicals of 19th century Portuguese India and Bombay and I did not focus on the purely regional language periodicals of Portuguese India. However during my appraisal, I discovered that some of the Portuguese periodicals were also either bilingual or trilingual, employing English, Konkani and Marathi as well as Portuguese. Konkani and Marathi are both languages of the region of Goa and present day Maharashtra where Bombay is located. There were only 3 titles out of 141 titles that were published in Marathi and Portuguese. In a few instances, contents of periodicals were primarily in one language with a small section in other language/s. In order to analyze the language content of the periodicals, I used the following criteria. I examined the issues that were available to me. Then I examined these periodicals to identify the languages in which a particular issue was published. If that particular issue was in two languages then I looked at the content and pages to determine which was the primary language of that periodical. If the content was 60% in Portuguese and remainder 40% was in other language like Marathi then I would mark that periodical issue to have Portuguese and Marathi. If the ratio was the other way around then I would mark that issue as being in Marathi, Portuguese, and so forth.

I have arranged below the issues by their languages. Although the majority of publications as expected were in Portuguese, there were 19% of these periodical titles that were published in more than one language. Out of these 27 periodicals, 30% were published in Marathi and Portuguese, followed by 22% in English and Portuguese languages. The percentage of titles that were published in Konkani and Portuguese comes to 15%. Although the percentage distribution does not speak to generalizable trends in the

preferential use of one regional language over the other, it could allude to the influences of the Marathi language because it was one of the major languages of the Bombay Presidency in British India. Marathi language periodicals were published in great numbers in the neighboring Bombay Presidency following the establishment of the *Chitrasala Steam Press* in 1878.¹⁴⁵ The periodicals, where English was the other language, were published in Bombay for obvious reasons. Out of 13 such periodicals, 10 were published in Bombay and the other 3 were published in Goa.

One of the reasons is the fact that English remained a major language of intellectual pursuits and governmental affairs in the Bombay Presidency. The Goan migrant diaspora had to learn English in order to succeed. Publishing in English could also indicate the diversification of the audience for these titles. Also, generations of Indo-Portuguese, who might have grown up in Bombay, perhaps did not possess adequate knowledge of Portuguese and thus there was a need for the English language section.

¹⁴⁵ Pinney, Christopher. *Photos of the Gods: The Printed Image and Political Struggle in India*. London: Reaktion, 2004. Print

Table 6 Distribution by languages of 19th century Portuguese periodicals from Portuguese India and Bombay.

Languages	No. of periodical titles
English	0
Konkani	0
Marathi	0
Portuguese	114
Portuguese, English	6
Konkani, Portuguese	1
Portuguese, Konkani	4
Marathi, Portuguese	8
Portuguese, Marathi	1
Portuguese, English, Konkani	4
Portuguese, English, Marathi	1
English, Konkani, Portuguese	1
English, Marathi Portuguese	1
Total	141

The subject analysis of 19th century Portuguese language periodicals of Portuguese India involved several steps. First, when possible, I looked at each individual issue of particular titles, where multiple issues were available; I looked through the issues that were available. I also looked at the table of contents when available to see what could have been the dominating subjects of a particular title. When a table of content was not available, especially in the case of newspapers, I created a table of content based on the headlines and other sections of a particular newspaper. In this way, I was able to

assign one or more subjects to these periodicals. For the governmental serial publications, I also looked at the content. If a periodical was statistical then I marked it accordingly. The subject terms, I assigned, were generic keywords that reflected the content of these periodicals. I often had to assign more than one subject terms to reflect the contents of the periodicals that I examined. For the subject analysis, I did not use the Library of Congress Subject Headings (LCSH) as these were inadequate to accurately capture the subjects of these periodicals. For example, the Library of Congress subject heading for Indo-Portuguese literature does not exist. The heading that is used instead is Portuguese literature--Goa. Thus if a periodical was published in Bombay, I could not find subject heading as Portuguese literature—Bombay. I also saw similar limitation when the following LCSH was used to denote history of Portuguese India Goa, Daman and Diu (India) --History. This subject heading did not take in consideration the historical context of colonization of India by Portuguese. Also, the subject heading did not take in consideration that Dadra Nagar Haveli was part of Portuguese India. The uncontrolled vocabulary that I used allowed me to survey this group of non-governmental periodicals. The ranked findings of most popular subject terms are arranged in a table below. For ranking, I used only the non-governmental publications (n=128).

Table 7 Distribution of non-governmental 19th century Portuguese periodicals of Portuguese India and Bombay.

Rank	Subject Categories	Frequency	Percentage
1	News	43	34
2	Literature	20	16
3	Politics	13	10
4	Catholicism	9	7
4	Sciences (includes Pharmacy, Medical Sciences, etc.)	9	7
5	Indo-Portuguese Community	7	5
6	Law	6	5
7	Commerce	4	3.125
8	Library Sciences	2	1.56
9	Agriculture	1	0.78
9	Hinduism	1	0.78
9	Education	1	0.78

The distribution of periodicals by the subject keywords above shows that the majority of non-governmental periodicals were dedicated to news, followed by literature and politics. Besides these three subject categories, there were other notable categories that I would like to note. These categories were Religion, Sciences and Indo-Portuguese community. The journals that were dedicated to religious matters can be divided by religions. The majority of journals in this genre were published as the journals dedicated to Catholicism, Hinduism and Catholics in diaspora.

In 19th century Portuguese India, we see that 7 % of total periodical publications were dedicated to different branches of sciences that include subjects like Medicine, Pharmacy and others. The first periodical dedicated to pharmacy and medicine to appear was entitled, “*Farmácia e Ciências Acessórias da Índia Portuguesa.*” Its first issue appeared in 1861 and it ceased in 1862. Only two issues of this journal were published. This journal was followed by “*Arquivo de pharmacia e ciencias accesorias da India Portuguesa.*” This was to be the first journal that was dedicated to Western medicine in the context of Indian sub-continent. The Portuguese established their first medical school in India in 1842.¹⁴⁶ This journal was edited by Antonio Gomes and its first issue appeared in February 1864. It ceased publishing in August 1871 with its 8th volume.¹⁴⁷ This publication was followed in 1872 by “*Jornal de pharmacia chimica e história natural medica,*” dedicated to issues around pharmacy, chemistry, natural history and medicine. This journal ceased publishing in 1873. In 1894, another journal arose in Goa that was dedicated in its entirety to internal medicine. Its title was “*Arquivo médico da Índia.*” The journal also contained information on the medicinal plants of the region.¹⁴⁸

Besides the journals that were dedicated to medicine and sciences, there were journals that were published in other applied fields such as agriculture, education and library sciences. Based on my analysis, news-related periodicals were the largest group followed by periodicals dedicated to literature. This second largest group was

¹⁴⁶ Silva, Gracías F. *Health and Hygiene in Colonial Goa, 1510-1961.* New Delhi: Concept Pub. Co, 1994. Print.

¹⁴⁷ Rafael, Gina G, and Manuela Santos. *Jornais E Revistas Portugueses Do Século Xix.* Lisboa: Ministério da Cultura, Biblioteca Nacional, 1998. Print.

¹⁴⁸ Silva, Gracías F. *Health and Hygiene in Colonial Goa, 1510-1961.* New Delhi: Concept Pub. Co, 1994. Print.

approximately 16% of the literary periodicals of Portuguese India. This particular group of periodicals, and the writing that is contained within them, serve not only as the evidence of the literary activity of Indo-Portuguese, but also highlight the cultural hybridity that will be examined in the next chapter.

The 19th century Portuguese periodicals of India represent a group diverse in their formats, frequency of publications and subject contents. The majority of these periodicals began to appear in the second half of the 19th century after the establishment of the private printing press of Ultramar. The sheer number of these periodicals and their appearance in a period of roughly forty years points to the fact that there was an interest on the part of the Indo-Portuguese community of Goa, and other colonial enclaves of Portugal in the Indian sub-continent. We also see that a substantial number of Portuguese language periodicals began appearing in Bombay in British India. This appearance of periodicals in diaspora, while not unique to the Portuguese periodicals of India, indicates once again to the need of expatriates for the news from their homeland as well as an affinity to the language. Although the “Bombay” periodicals were initially published in Portuguese, over a period of time we see incorporation of English as well as the other regional languages like Marathi and Konkani in them. The process of knowledge creation as defined by Machlup can be used to understand the appearance of Portuguese periodicals in India. These periodicals represent a repository of textual data that can be mined to understand the purpose of information that is contained in these periodicals. These periodicals contained within them news along with various trends that existed in the Metropole. The appraisal of the documentary evidence through the periodicals press of 19th century Portuguese India, as I have conducted above, gives us an idea about the

extent of the Portuguese language press in India. These periodicals provide us with an opportunity to understand society as it existed in Portuguese India in the 19th century.

The purpose of the next chapter is to demonstrate one potential use of these periodicals in highlighting the evidentiary value of the information that is contained within them. It reports on an analysis of selected periodicals to answer the following questions:

1. What are the markers of Indo-Portuguese identity/-ies and hybridities as they appear in the literary periodicals of 19th century Portuguese India?
2. How are the Portuguese colonization of India and Portugal's glorious past portrayed by those who wrote in these periodicals?
3. What are the "Indian" elements that we find in these periodicals?

Chapter 5: Analyzing 19th Century Indo-Portuguese Literary Journals: A Case Study of *Harpa Do Mandovi: jornal de poesias, Recreio das damas* and *Goa Sociável*

Early Indo-Portuguese Literary Periodicals

The 19th century literary periodicals, as noted in the previous chapter, form one large body of print materials from Portuguese India. The information that is contained within these periodicals can be of interest to scholars in multiple fields. Thus the information that is conveyed through them can be extracted in different ways with different end purposes in mind. In this chapter, I demonstrate one potential use of these periodicals when it comes to understanding the formation of Indo-Portuguese identity in colonial India. In this chapter, the following questions will be examined and answered,

1. What are the markers of Indo-Portuguese identity/-ies and hybridities as they appear in the literary periodicals of 19th century Portuguese India?
2. How are the Portuguese colonization of India and Portugal's glorious past portrayed by those who wrote in these periodicals?
3. What are the "Indian" elements that we find in these periodicals?

In this chapter, literary analysis has been employed to identify how the poets of nineteenth-century Portuguese India associated their writings using the romantic era Portuguese literary tradition along with concepts that were Indic in their essence. I posit that the hybridity that emerges in the writings of these Indo-Portuguese poets is a function of their Portuguese education in a predominantly Indic milieu of the colony. A similar type of analysis has been recently conducted by Gibson in the context of British India.¹⁴⁹

These Portuguese language literary periodicals in theory “replicated” a similar type of writing that appeared first in the Metropole. However, as my analysis will show, it was not the simple internalization of the values of the Metropole by those who wrote and published in Portuguese India of the 19th century that led to the amalgamation of identities in the colonial settings. The process of identity amalgamation was gradual and selective. My analysis will further show that the authors and poets who contributed to these periodicals were cognizant of their “Indianness” and thus were aware of some aspects of history of India.¹⁵⁰ The choices that they had made to include certain themes in their writings were a result of this literary and cultural hybridity. This process of inclusion of internalized cultural attributes was both unconscious and deliberate. These

¹⁴⁹ Gibson, Mary E. *Indian Angles: English Verse in Colonial India from Jones to Tagore*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2011. Gibson has examined in detail the works of first Indian poet who wrote English poetry in 19th century- Henry Louis Vivian Derozio.

¹⁵⁰ Prasad, Amar N. *Indian Writing in English: Critical Explorations*. New Delhi: Sarup & Sons, 2002. Print. Similar to Indo-Portuguese poets, an Anglo-Indian poet with Portuguese lineage Henry Louis Vivian Derozio wrote poems that alluded to India as his country. His poem “The Fakeer of Jungheera” (1828) reflects upon the topography of his native Bengal, traditions of Sati and love. Similar poems were also written by Indo-Portuguese poets.

authors, while recognizing the Portuguese colonial framework as the overarching theme of their writings, often times subverted it by using Indic terms that could be only understood by the local population in Portuguese India.

The census data that I examined in the chapter entitled “Analysis of the factors leading to the nascence of *Gazeta de Goa*: the first Portuguese language periodicals in Portuguese India” points to the fact that the majority of the inhabitants of Portuguese India were “ethnic Indians” who spoke and communicated in their own distinct Indic languages, such as Konkani, Marathi and Gujarati. Despite the fact that in the 19th century readership was limited, we see a total of 20 periodicals that can be classified as literary.

There are significant discrepancies in our understanding of what was the first literary journal in Portuguese India. Some have argued that the first literary journal was “A Bibliotheca de Goa,” published in 1839 as a single issue in the *Imprensa Nacional* that was edited by João António de Avelar and others.¹⁵¹ Others have argued that the first literary journal was (o) *Encyclopedico* that was edited by Claudio Lagrange Monteiro de Barbuda, a native of Portugal who had come to India.¹⁵² The period from the introduction of the press in Portuguese India in the 16th century by Jesuit priests until their expulsion by the crown in 1759 was characterized by publishing that was limited to genres of

¹⁵¹ Costa, Aleixo M. *Literatura Goesa: Apontamentos Bio-Bibliográficos Para a Sua História*. Lisboa: Agência-Geral do Ultramar, 1967. Print.

¹⁵² Barreto, Miranda J. C. *Quadros Historicos De Goa: Tentativa Hist.* Margão: Dr.: Typ. do Ultramar, 1864. Print.

proselytization,¹⁵³ that is, books that were published in Portuguese India for the purpose of either spreading the word of Christ in the region or to facilitate the understanding of “ethnic Indian”¹⁵⁴ languages and cultures for those who engaged in the act of spreading the Catholic faith among the local Hindu and Islamic populations. However, the process of proselytization and the use of books as the tools of the trade or as a mode of spreading the “word” cannot be simply understood as a symbolic act of violence or as a simple dichotomy between the church authorities and ethnic Indians who followed either Hinduism or Islam that were supposedly under their tutelage. However, some of the factors with which the local Indo-Portuguese elite of Goa had to contend included the expulsion of Jesuits in the 18th century, changes in the trade with Goa following the discovery, and the gradual colonization of Brazil and political upheavals in Portugal.

The limited geographical extent of the Portuguese colonies in India, compounded with a status of neglect by Lisbon, did not mean that the zones of contact between Indo-Portuguese and Portuguese in the Metropole or even with Goan migrants to Bombay were impermeable. On the contrary, the “displacement” of Goa and other colonial Indian possessions to the periphery of the Portuguese Empire can be correlated with the increased desire on the part of members of the colonial elite to overcome the deficiency of contact through literary affirmations. One must also take in consideration the rise of constitutionalism in Goa from 1821 through 1834. As noted in the previous chapter, the rise of the first government-sponsored Portuguese newspaper, *A Gazeta de Goa*, took

¹⁵³ Fonseca, José N. *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa, Written by the Authorization of the Government, by José Nicolau Da Fonseca*. Bombay: Thacker, 1878. Print. p. 58.

¹⁵⁴ De, Souza T. R. *Essays in Goan History*. New Delhi: Concept Pub. Co, 1989. Print.

place in 1821 as a direct result of the liberal revolution that took place in Portugal in the post-Napoleonic period, when the Portuguese Royal Crown was still in Brazil. In Goa, we note a short-lived five-member *junta* that also enforced such constitutionalism until its abolition.¹⁵⁵ The year 1821 was the years of successive juntas and disturbances in Goa. This political turmoil continued in Goa until 1834 when Goan born Bernardo Peres da Silva-an Indo-Portuguese was appointed as the prefect of Goa for the first time.¹⁵⁶ Thus the amalgamation of Indo-Portuguese identity that I continue to note in this chapter was a protracted process. This did not necessarily mean that Portuguese India was a bucolic and tranquil place.¹⁵⁷ There was ongoing tension among the European factions of Goa and the Indo-Portuguese who had succeeded through education and bureaucratic service that ultimately led to the removal of the prefect.

The aftermath of the 1878 Anglo-Portuguese treaty led to the change in the economy of Portuguese India from predominantly agricultural to subsistence that was dependent on money sent by the émigrés to British India, primarily to Bombay. This also played an important role in spread of influences of literary traditions of the English- and Portuguese-language press of Bombay. These influences continued with the displacement of some of the dissenting Goan intellectuals, who disagreed with the politics of

¹⁵⁵ Abreu, Miguel V. *O Governo Do Vice-Rei Conde Do Rio Pardo No Estado Da India Portugueza, Desde 1816 Ate' 1821: Memoria Historica*. Nova-Goa: Imprensa-Nacional, 1869. Print. p.72.

¹⁵⁶ Costa, Roberto B. *A Hidra Do nativismo!' Para a História Política Da Índia Portuguesa*. Nova Goa: Tip.--Bragança & C.a, 1920. Print. p.7.

¹⁵⁷ Larsen, Karin. *Faces of Goa: A Journey Through the History and Cultural Revolution of Goa and Other Communities Influenced by the Portuguese*. New Delhi: Gyan Pub. House, 1998. Print. p.151.

Portuguese colonial government, from Goa to the territories of British India.¹⁵⁸ The editors had to keep in mind not only the preferences of their consumers, but also the economic realities of literary consumption.¹⁵⁹ Not all Indo-Portuguese would have been able to afford subscriptions to these journals. The Bombay High Court deliberated on the rights of Indo-Portuguese in Bombay and argued for the application of English laws to the Indo-Portuguese community.¹⁶⁰ However, the court did not limit the ability of the Indo-Portuguese to publish in Portuguese. There were several Portuguese-language periodicals circulating in Bombay in the late 19th century. These periodicals are documented in Maria Couto's *Goa, a Daughter's Story*.¹⁶¹

Furthermore, it would be erroneous to assume that the notion of Romanticism as understood from the nineteenth-century literary history of Europe was the only cause of influence on the cultural production that bloomed in Portuguese India in the late 19th century. However, one cannot also completely refute such influences because they trickled down from the center to the periphery and were internalized by Goan intellectuals and reflected upon in their journals. That the 19th century Portuguese

¹⁵⁸ Saradesāya, Manohararāya. *A History of Konkani Literature: From 1500 to 1992*. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2000. Print.

¹⁵⁹ Xavier, Francisco J. *Breve Noticia Da Imprensa Nacional De Goa: Seguida De Um Catalogo Das Obras E Escriptos Publicados Pela Mesma Imprensa*. Nova-Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1876. Print.

¹⁶⁰ "Bombay High Court reports: reports of cases decided ... v. 5 1868/1869. - Full View | HathiTrust Digital Library." *Collections | HathiTrust Digital Library*. N.p., n.d. Web. 1 July 2012.

<<http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?u=1&num=191&seq=14&view=image&size=100&id=mdp.35112103641868>>.

¹⁶¹ Couto, Maria. *Goa, a Daughter's Story*. New Delhi: Viking, 2004. Print.

language literary press in India was influenced by Portuguese Romanticism cannot be simply dismissed as a complacent reflection upon Goa's "idyllic" past. As a literary analysis of the *Harpa do Mandovi (o)* and *Recreio das damas (a)* and *Goa Sociavel* would show, elements of dissent were also present, interspersed with nostalgia for what the idea of Goa or Portuguese India was for the Indo-Portuguese in the 19th century.

In order to answer the principal questions that I have proposed in the beginning of this chapter, I have used other interrelated questions. Can we, for instance, correlate and see specific influences of early Portuguese religious press in the later nineteenth-century secular press and its writings? Was the secular press responsive to the changes in Portugal that trickled down to its colonies on the periphery? What were some of the differences in the press from the period of beginning of the first government-controlled newspaper, *Gazeta de Goa*, in Portuguese India in 1821? How did various literary journals begin circulating in the period following the establishment of *Gazeta de Goa*?

I have identified a group of 22 Indo-Portuguese literary periodicals that exclusively focused on literature and poetry.¹⁶² Out of these 22 periodicals, the two last titles (*Revista da India*, and *Revista Academica*) were in reality supplements to *Boletim do Comércio*. These periodicals circulated on the territory of Portuguese India in the period between 1839 and 1875. The first literary journal to circulate in Goa was indeed *Bibliotheca de Goa (A)*, contrary to the previously presented argument; however, I was unable to locate any extant copies in the Portuguese National Library or in any Goan library. Thus for all practical purposes, *O Encyclopedico* can be considered the first

¹⁶² *A Índia Portuguesa*. Nova Goa: Imprensa nacional, 1923. Print. I created the list of the Indo-Portuguese literary journals from the chapter authored by Antonio Mario de Cunha, pp. 527-532.

extant literary journal in Portuguese India. These journals and their period of circulation, when available, is indicated in table 7 below:

Table 8 Periods of circulation of Portuguese language literary journals of Portuguese India in months.

Title	Duration in months
1839: Bibliotheca de Goa (a)	1
1841-1842: Encyclopedico, O	12
1843-1844: Compilador, O	14
1848: Mosaico, O	7
1854-1855: Revista Illustrativa, a	9
1858: Vergel, O	1
1859-1860: Recreio, O	9
1862-1863: Tirocinio Litterario, O	13
1863: Recreio das damas, O	6
1864-1866: Illustração Goana	25
1865-1866: Harpa do Mandovi, A [sic]	10
1865: Recreio, O	12
1866: Goa Sociavel	9
1875: Jornal de Instituto Vasco da Gama	12
1875: Album Litterario	22
1875: Estrea Litteraria (a)	7
1887: Cavaco Instructivo	n/a
1894: Divan Litterário (o)	8
1894: Republicas	n/a
1906: Luz do Oriente (o)	n/a
1913: Revista da India (Suplemento do semanario Boletim do Comércio)	17
1919: Revista Academica (Suplemento do semanario Boletim do Comércio)	n/a

As one can see from the above table, most of these literary journals circulated an average of about 11 months and that 2 journal titles circulated for a period of only one month. The longest circulating journal was *Illustração Goana* that circulated for 25 months. Most of the journals stopped circulating before a new title came into circulation except during 1865, 1875, and 1894. In 1865 and in 1875 we see three journals

circulating for some overlapping period of time. From the table above we see that in 1894 only two journal titles, *Divan Litteráro (o)* and *Republicas*, circulated side by side during the same period.¹⁶³ The choice of journals for the intended literary analysis was determined by the questions that I was trying to address. The journals I have chosen for the analysis are *Recreio das damas (o)*, *Harpa do Mandovi (a)*, and *Goa Sociavel*. *Recreio das damas (O)* was published in 1863 and is considered to be first journal in Portuguese India and for that matter in the entire Indian sub-continent to be dedicated to women's issues. *Harpa do Mandovi* was chosen for analysis because it was the only journal in Portuguese India that was exclusively dedicated to poetry. *Goa Sociavel* was chosen as it contains both poetry and stories.

The research questions that I have posed from the onset are about the relationship between the society and literary periodicals of Portuguese India and must be understood in the context not only of the early colonization dynamics in Portuguese India, or in the context of the national composition or small size of the territories of Portuguese colonial holdings in India, but also of the historical narratives and events that took place in the post-Napoleonic Portuguese space and its colonial holdings across Latin America, Africa and Asia. It would also be erroneous to neglect the influence of emigration out of Portuguese Indian territories to a cosmopolitan city such as Bombay in the British India.

¹⁶³ Costa, Aleixo M. *Literatura Goesa: Apontamentos Bio-Bibliográficos Para a Sua História*. Lisboa: Agência-Geral do Ultramar, 1967. Print.

I was unable to locate an existing copy of *Republicas* also at the Portuguese National Library. In his work, Alexio M. Costa also does not mention the title "Republicas" in his bibliographic essay on Roque B. Barreto Miranda, who was the editor of the journal as described by Antonio Mario de Cunha in his 1923 book *A Índia Portuguesa*.

The composition of the society of Portuguese India was provided in “*A Índia Portuguesa: breve descrição das possessões Portuguezas na Ásia dividida em dois volumes Illustrados cm 382 gravuras e 7 mappas*” of A. Lopes Mendes that was published in Lisbon in 1886.¹⁶⁴ According to statistics, the population of Portuguese India in 1864 was 385,124 inhabitants, and out of that 555 were classified as Europeans (0.14%), and 2,440 (0.63%) as descendants of Europeans. Most probably these were the consumers of the periodical press of Portuguese India. However, as the literacy rates among the European population of India Portuguesa were not provided by A. Lopes Mendez, one cannot attest to the actual number of readers of these periodicals. The rest of the population was broken down by the author as follows: 252,203 as “asiaticos-christãos”, 127,746 Gentiles, 1,637 mouros (moors), 346 Africans and 197 were descendants of these Africans.

Brief Historical Background of Portugal (1820-1851)

The history of Portuguese colonies around the globe was affected by the defeat of Napoleon and end of the Napoleonic system in 1814. The Portuguese crown had left Portugal for Brazil in 1808 under the protection of the British. The declaration by Don João of the unification of Brazil and Portugal in 1816 meant the resurgence and reaffirmation of liberal ideas.¹⁶⁵ As a consequence, the liberal revolution in 1820 meant the spread of the same ideas to various colonial entities that were under Portuguese

¹⁶⁴ Lopes, Mendes A. *A Índia Portuguesa: Breve Descrição Das Possessões Portuguezas Na Ásia, Dividida Em Dois Volumes, Illustrados Com 382 Gravures E 7 Mappas*. Lisboa: Imprensa nacional, 1886. Print. p.35.

¹⁶⁵ Cardoso, José L, and Pedro Lains. *Paying for the Liberal State: The Rise of Public Finance in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Internet resource.

control and the emergence of local media in the form of newspapers and periodicals in other parts of the Portuguese Empire, which included Goa. The Liberal Constitution of 1821, the constitutional charter of 1826, 1836, and then the 1838 Constitution did not preclude printing presses from operating in the colonies.¹⁶⁶ Hence the renaissance of the Portuguese-language press in Portuguese India can be seen as the function of the ideas of enlightenment from the mother where liberal revolutions of the time were fomenting change. The first parliamentary elections in Goa were held on January 14th, 1822. But this event did not mean that an era of lasting democratic institutions was ushered in. However in 1828, the revocation of constitutional liberties by Miguel I ushered in the era of terror in Portugal and by extension in Goa,¹⁶⁷ which eventually culminated in the restoration of the liberal constitution of Portugal.

At the end of the 1834 Civil War in Portugal, “ethnically Indian” Bernardo Peres da Silva was appointed by Dona Maria II as Goan Governor-General. The reasons for this appointment are sometimes quoted as a loyalty to Dona Maria II and the House of Bragança during the civil war.¹⁶⁸ Following the Anglo-Portuguese of 1878, Goa and other territories of Portuguese India became dependent on the “good will” of British India. The tax-free imports from surrounding British India meant that local producers had to compete against British Indian goods and continue to pay increased taxes to the Portuguese government in order to compensate for the loss of income that Portuguese

¹⁶⁶ Almeida, Fortunato . *História Das Instituições Em Portugal*. Porto: Livraria Magalhaes & Moniz, 1903. Print.

¹⁶⁷ Murray, Christopher J. *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era, 1760-1850*. New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2004. Print.

¹⁶⁸ Hunter, William W. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*. London: Trübner & Co, 1885. Print.

faced.¹⁶⁹ The history of nineteenth-century Portuguese India can be described as periods of revolts interspersed with periods of relative calm. It is in this milieu of social, economic, and political changes that the Portuguese press of the region should be examined. These changes continued to have their effect on the ways these periodicals arose, circulated and eventually become defunct.

Harpa do Mandovi: jornal de poesias

Harpa do Mandovi: jornal de poesias was published in Nova Goa from June through October of 1865. The journal was edited by Ubaldo da Costa Campos. This was one of the first journals of Portuguese India that was exclusively dedicated to poetry.¹⁷⁰ In the introduction to the first issue (“*Advertencia*”¹⁷¹), the editor declared his hope that the journal has provided a “new feature” to the progress of history of “our country” which begins to meditate on the high and honored mission of the “press” in Goa “today”.¹⁷² I believe that if we critically look at what exactly the editor means by his

¹⁶⁹ Borges, Charles J, Oscar G. Pereira, and Hannes Stubbe. *Goa and Portugal: History and Development*. New Delhi: Concept Pub. Co, 2000. Print.

¹⁷⁰ *Catalogo Dos Livros, Opusculos E Manuscriptos Pertencentes À Bibliotheca Nacional De Nova Goa*. Nova Goa, 1907. Print.

¹⁷¹ *Advertencia* can be also translated as a warning.

¹⁷² “*hoje aqui se começa a meditar detidamente na lata e honrada missão da imprensa; hoje finalmente que tambem em Goa, como na totalidade das nações cultas, não poucos obreiros da civilização trabalham afincadamente por excavar essas tantas preciodades soterradas por excavar nas ruinarías do esquecimento... é nossa fé que a HARPA DO MANDОВI, cujo primeiro n.º vai agora a prelo, logrará benigna aceitação geral, e nomeadamente dos nossos patricios, a quem consgrâmos esta publicação.*” (ADVERTENCIA) in No. 1 of *Harpa do Mandovi* by U. Da Costa Campos, the editor, published on June 7th 1865. I have translated this particular paragraph as follows, “Today (one) begins to meditate at length about the honorable mission of the press; finally today that also in Goa, as in all the cultured nations, not a few workers of civilization are

narrative in “*Advertencia*”, we would begin to understand the sub-text that underlined Indo-Portuguese mediations in the sphere of literature in the context of “our country”. By mediations, I define an effort by Indo-Portuguese writers to define their own identities through their fictional literature and poems that incorporated cultural elements from both Portugal and India.

What did editor mean by “our country”? Here “our country” doesn’t seem to be applied selectively to Goa but to all of the possessions that belonged to Portuguese India as the author uses the term, “*nossa India [sic]*”. This concept of “*nossa India [sic]*” further gets clarified in the contents of the journal. However, in his introduction we feel premonition and lamentations combined at the same time. The premonition revolves around the worry by the editor about the future sustainability of his periodical. This mixed sentiment is expressed by the editor as the following dilemma: the editor continues on in his self-declared mission of the journal that it was a sort of mining or excavation on the general ruinous background and that this mission would continue until either the favor of public (the readers) ran out or the editor runs out of poems

The journal was published in Nova Goa at the Imprensa Nacional from June 7, 1865 through October 20, 1865. A total of 6 numbers published in one volume entitled 1.a serie issued in 73 pages. This was the first literary journal in Portuguese India that was exclusively dedicated to poetry. There were several notable poets who published in this journal, among them, Tomás de Aquino Mourão, A.J. de Lima Leitão and C.

working hard to excavate these precious (works) that are buried in the field of oblivion. It is our faith that the *Harpa do Mandovi*, whose first number is now forthcoming, will achieve benign general acceptance, and in particular with our patrons (subscribers) to whom we dedicate this publication.”

Barahona e Costa.¹⁷³ This journal can be characterized in literary terms as representative of Indo-Portuguese romanticism.

The term *Indo-Portuguese* and its application to the 19th century is highly nuanced, as the analysis of poems in *Harpa do Mandovi* will show. Furthermore I would argue that on one hand, we see the recognition of the fact that the land in which these poets existed, worked and created was indeed part of the fabric of larger India, while on the other hand, selected representatives of the Portuguese/ Indo-Portuguese elite that published in this journal seemed to be aware of the specificities of the historical colonization of the region by the Portuguese. This is where the nuance of Indo-Portuguese identity blends into the hybridity that was coined by Bhabha.¹⁷⁴ Besides the concept of hybridity, I use Bakhtin's conceptualization of zones of contact as a theoretical apparatus of analysis.¹⁷⁵

The journal volume had an alphabetical index at the end that contained information on the eighteen poets and their poems that were contained within this journal. For the purpose of this analysis, I have used critical content analysis combined with close reading of the selected poems. I have also coded each poem that was published in this journal by the subject area/s to which each of the poems belongs. Beside subject analysis, I also examined the distribution of the years of creation of each poem as supplied by the poets as a measure of the vibrancy of the contributions of the time.

¹⁷³ Sá, Mario C, and Lourdes B. C. Rodrigues. *Great Goans*. Piedade, Goa: N.N.A.P. Publications, 1986. Print. Volume 1-3.

¹⁷⁴ Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994. Print.

¹⁷⁵ Shields, Carolyn M. *Bakhtin Primer*. New York: Peter Lang, 2007. Print.

Fourty-four poems were published in this journal, which included previously published poems as well as contemporary works. The earliest was from the year 1819 and there were three poems that were written in 1865. Out of 44 poems, there were 18 poems that were written in Goa, 8 in Nova Goa, 1 in Velha (Old) Goa and 5 in Ribandar.¹⁷⁶ This means that the majority of poems (approximately 73%) were conceived in the vicinity of Pangim (the capital of Portuguese India). The rest of the poems were written in Pondá, Chimbél, Dandolim and other parts of Goa. None of the poems published in this journal were written in other territories of Portuguese India such as Damão and Diu.

However, we find that the journal contained several poems that were written in Bombay and Surat, two cities in British India with a sizable number of Goan/ Indo-Portuguese community. There were 4 poems that were written in Bombay (Bombaim) and 2 in Surat (Surrate) and out of these 6 poems that were written outside of Portuguese India, 4 were authored by Thomas D'Aquino Mourão [Garcez Palha], whose honorific title was *Visconde de Cambarjua*.¹⁷⁷ He was also the editor of another Indo-Portuguese journal, “A Imprensa” and also the brother of of Joaquim Mourão Garcez Palha.¹⁷⁸ Both brothers came from a Portuguese family of prominence in Goa. Joaquim also served as a

¹⁷⁶ Albuquerque, Afonso, and Walter G. Birch. *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India*. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1875. Print. In Portuguese India, Goa was used loosely to denote the “Ilha da Goa” or the territories of the Old Conquest of the 16th Century. These territories were located near Pangim.

¹⁷⁷ Lopez, Mendes A. *A India Portuguesa: Breve Descripcao Das Possessoes Portuguezas Na Asia*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1886. Print. p.171.

¹⁷⁸ Leal, Silva. *Jornaes Indo-Portuguezes: Publicação Commemorativa Da Exposição Da Imprensa Realizada Em Maio De 1898 ; Contendo a Descrição Dos Jornaes Publicados Em Goa, Damão, Diu E Bombaim Desde 1821 Até Ao Presente*. Lisboa: Imprensa de Libanio da Silva, 1898. Print. p. 20.

governor of Diu and in 1822, he was elected to local provisional governing council of Goa following the liberal revolution in Portugal.¹⁷⁹ Joaquim's poems were also contained within the same journal. The distribution of the poems that were written outside of Portuguese India is shown below in the table.

¹⁷⁹ Pinto, Celsa. *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India: A Study of the Portuguese Country Trade, 1770-1840*. New Delhi: Concept Pub. Co, 1994. Print.

Table 9 Poems produced outside India Portuguesa from *Journal Harpa do Mandovi*.

Poet	Title	Place of Publication	Date	Subject
Thomas D'Aquino Mourão	O Desejos de um bebado	Bombaim	1861	Alcohol, India, Feni. ¹⁸⁰
Thomas D'Aquino Mourão	O Convite d'um Anjo	Bombaim	1861	Religion-Goa
Thomas D'Aquino Mourão	Amor e dores	Surrate	186*	Romanticism-Poetry
Anonymous	A Rica e A Pobre	Bombaim	1862	Romanticism-Poetry
L.J. De Souza e Britto	Os desejos de uma velha	Bombaim	1862	Life Experience-Portuguese India
Thomas D'Aquino Mourão	Num Cemitério	Surrate	1864	Requiem to Joaquim Mourão Garcez Palha

Goa historically served as the primary seat of cultural production of Indo-Portuguese literary works in the 19th century for obvious reasons. First, Goa was the largest constituent part of Portuguese India and Panaji (Pangim) served as the capital of the Indian possessions. Second, by the 19th century, the secularized education system of Portuguese learning in Goa catered to the elite, their descendants and also to the members of local population that could potentially serve as intermediaries between the majority of ethnic Indians and the Portuguese colonial administrators. The acquisition of Portuguese language thus served as one way to advance one's career prospects in nineteenth-century

¹⁸⁰ Feni is an alcoholic drink that is typically brewed from cashew fruit.

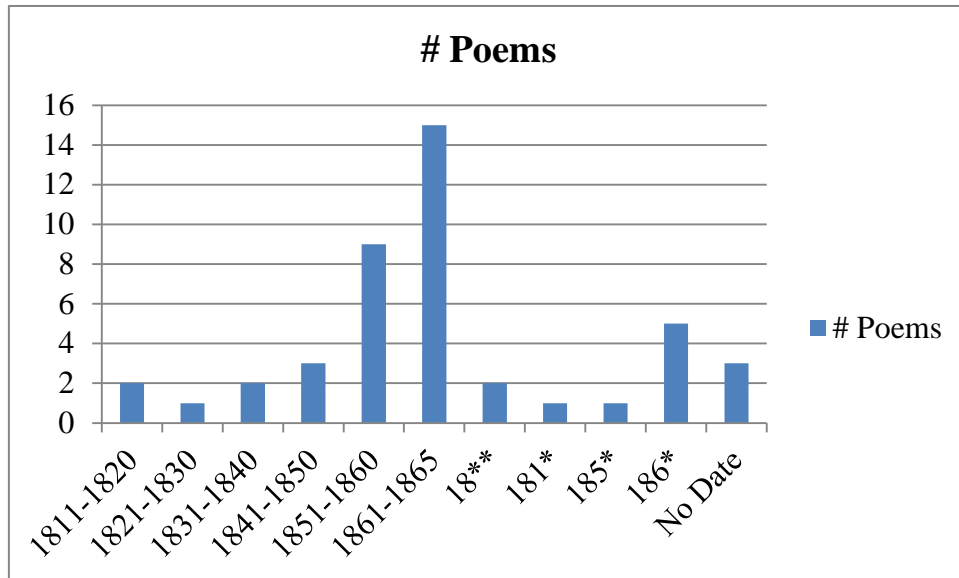
colonial Goa. The initial goal of the colonial administrations to educate cannot be simply dismissed as the altruistic mission of the enlightened colonial masters but as a practical need.

The deliberate proselytization efforts and the creation of an assimilated population was the direct policy of the first colonizers.¹⁸¹ As the subject analysis and the content analysis of the poems that are contained within this journal will show, the initial desire to create a “new society” in the late 16th century was replaced by lamentations that were common in the aftermath of “explosion” of Portuguese language periodicals published in Portuguese India in the second half of the 19th century.

¹⁸¹ Bragança, Menezes. *A Educação E O Ensino Na Índia Portuguesa*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1922. Print. p. 17.

The overall distribution of the 44 poems as plotted by the time interval of 10 years beginning in 1819 when the first poem was written can be seen below:

Graph 2 Distribution of poems by the year of their writing.



At first glance, the graph above appears to show almost a standard distribution. However there are several problems with the distribution of data. First, there were 12 poems (27%) that lack precise dates. Second, the 17 poems (approximately 39%) of poems were written five years before publishing of the journal, and 15 (34%) of the poems that were published were written within five years of publication. Third, 3 poems (.7%) were written in the year of publication of the first issue of this journal. Since this was the only volume of the journal published, we can probably say that the lack of supply of various poems that were written in Portuguese India ultimately led, perhaps, to its unsustainability in practical terms.

Subject Analysis of Poems in Harpa do Mandovi

For the subject analysis, I read through all 44 poems in this journal and ascribed to each poem one or more specific subject themes. I also indicated various subject themes that emerged upon a close reading of these poems. These themes include patriotism, nostalgia towards the past of Portuguese India, politics, love and affection; however one must recognize the limitations of such analysis. First, the process of ascribing the subject terms to a specific poem is subjective. Second, the terms themselves can be ambivalent in their meaning. For example, how would one interpret a subject term such as patriotism? In the case of Portuguese India, the period of civil war could not have been interpreted as that of patriotism; however after the exile of Miguel I and publication of the journal in 1865, we see several panegyrics to Maria the Queen. The patriotism, however, did not mean absolute loyalty to the Portuguese crown but also loyalty to local realities and to recognition of the fact that Portuguese India was indeed a part of something larger that was understood as India.¹⁸² The close reading was also combined with critical discourse analysis whereby some of the facts that emerge in some of the poems contained within this journal were also correlated to historical events in Portugal and Portuguese India.

I assigned these poems one or more dominant subject terms. In order to assign the subject terms, I used the Library of Congress Subject Authorities to denote the appropriate term. I further coded each of these poems by assigning each poem only one dominant subject term. I further analyzed these poems by the date of their writing as provided by the authors and organized them by the decade. This was primarily done to

¹⁸² One could argue that the repetitive portrayal of a lost past and nostalgia towards it was used as a device for not reporting several revolts that continued in nineteenth-century Goa. Instead, these poets focused on the representation of Goa as a sort of lost paradise of initial Portuguese glory.

see if specific themes dominated a particular ten-year period. Also, to further increase the granularity of the analysis, I looked at the poets who wrote these poems since in this volume one poet contributed several poems.

For example, I used the term “Panegyric” to classify poems of praise that were dedicated to particular Portuguese monarch, and the term “Religion” was used when the term was primarily of religious nature irrespective of what that religion was. Where a poem was dedicated to a specific substance such as camphor, or alcohol, etc., then I used it as a subject term. The subject terms that I used were left as broad as possible. The use of the subject term Romanticism for the poems was based on the fact that these poems primarily had the following elements that revolved around notion of “nature”, “mythical”, “idealizing”, yet these poems reflected the sensibilities of the poet that were combined with the situations that were based on “common life” (Page 1).¹⁸³ The majority of poems (19 out of 44) that were published in this journal had Romanticism as their primary subject.

¹⁸³ Curran, Stuart, and Stuart Curran. *The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Print. In the chapter entitled, “Romanticism and the Schools of criticism and theory”, Jerrold E. Hogle introduces the reader to the themes that were common in literary works of the Romantic period in European literature.

The analysis of poems by subject areas and decades breaks down as shown in the table below:

Table 10 Subject analysis of Poems in *Harpa do Mandovi*.

Years	Total Poems	Subject
1811-1820	2	Panegyric, Religion
1821-1830	1	Elegy (Local Social Conditions)
1831-1840	2	Panegyric
1841-1850	3	Albuquerque Monument, Race Relations, Religion
1851-1860	9	Panegyric (3), Religion (2), Romanticism (3), Patriotism (1)
1861-1865	15	Alcohol (1), Paneyric (2), Religion (1), Requiem (1), Romanticism (10)
18**	2	Social Conditions (1), Romanticism (1)
181	1	Religion (1)
185*	1	Romanticism (1)
186*	5	Romanticism (4), Politics (1)
No Date	3	Camphor (1), Panegyric (1), History of Goa (1)
Total	44	

The other way I represent these poems is by poet, quantity of poems published by a particular poet that were included in the volume of the journal, along with place and year of publication. As we see from the table below, only three poets, Joaquim Mourão Garcez Palha, Thomas D'Aquino Mourão, and M.J. Da Costa Campos, constituted approximately 45% of the total poems were published in this journal. Manuel Joaquim da Costa Campos was also the editor of a journal entitled *Goa Sociável*, 11 issues of which were published in 1866. As an author, he had published numerous works and

collaborated on several journals like *Mosaico* and *Estreia Goana ou offerta litteraria* (1859-1860).¹⁸⁴ For the purpose of the content analysis of the poem, I analyzed the poems using the purposive sampling method¹⁸⁵ in order to be able to answer questions related to identity that I had posed in the beginning of this chapter.

¹⁸⁴ Pereira, Esteves, and Guilherme Rodrigues. *Portugal; Diccionario Historico, Chorographico, Heraldico, Biographico, Bibliographico, Numismatico E Artistico*. Lisboa: J. Romano Torres, 1904. Print. p. 689.

¹⁸⁵ Adler, Emily S, Roger Clark, and Emily S. Adler. *An Invitation to Social Research: How Its Done*. Australia: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2011. Print.

Table 11 Distribution of poems by poet in *Harpa do Mandovi*.

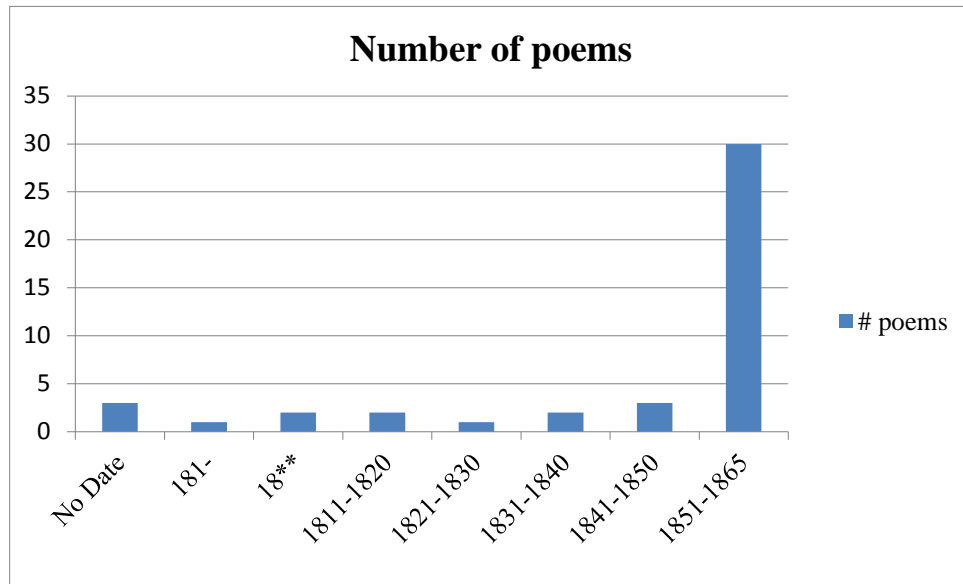
Poet	# of Poems	Years of publication	Subject Analysis	Place
Joaquim Mourão Garcez Palha	7	1853, 1857, 1858, 1860, 1865, 186*, ND (1)	Panegyric (1), Politics (1) Religion (2), Romanticism (2), Social Conditions (1)	Goa (1), Ribandar (3-53, 58, 65), [Nova Goa, 1857], [Velha Goa- N.D],
A.J. De Lima Leitão	1	1820	Patriotism (1)	
Anonymous	2	186*, 1862	Race Relations (1), Romanticism (1)	
**Mourão	4	1848 (1), 1862 (1), ND (2)	Camphor (1), Panegyric (1), Romanticism (2)	2 (Goa) 1(Nova Goa), S.L (1)
C.S. Vasconcelhos	1	1856	Romanticism (1)	Nova Goa (1)
Carlos Pedro Barahona E Costa	2	1862, 1857	Panegyric (1) Romanticism (1)	Pondá (1), Nova Goa (1)
D. M. De Sampaio	1	1848	Religion (1)	Goa (1)
F.L. Carreira	1	1838	Panegyric (1)	Goa (1)
Fr. João de Santanna	1	181-	Religion (1)	Goa (1)
J. P. Da Silva Campos e Oliveira	1	1865	Romanticism (1)	Goa (1)
J.F. Barreiros	1	1838	Panegyric (1)	Goa (1)
J.J. Lopes de Lima	1	1825	Elegy (1)	Goa (1)
J.P. Da Silva Campos e oliveira	1	1861	Romanticism (1)	Goa (1)
José Ferreira Pestaná	1	1847	Albuquerque Monument (1)	Goa (1)
José Maria Sarmento	1	18**	Social Conditions (1)	Goa (1)
Julião Da S. Viera	1	18**	Romanticism (1)	Chimbel (1)
Julião S. Viera	1	1819	Panegyric (1)	Goa (1)
L.J. De Souza e Britto	1	1862	Romanticism (1)	Bombaim (1)
M.J. Da Costa Campos	6	185-, 1858, 1861,	Panegyric (1), Romanticism (4), History of Goa (1)	Nova Goa (1-185-, 61, 62), S.L. (1858), Nova Goa (63), Aguada (65),
Mourão	1	1853	Panegyric (1)	Goa
Thomas D'Aquino Mourão	7	186*, 1861, 1863,1864	Alcohol (1), Panegyric (1), Romanticism (3), Religion (2),	Ribandar (186*), Bombaim (2-61), Dandim (1-63), Surrate (1-6*, 1-64), Goa (186*)

V. De M. De Sampaio	1	1856	Panegyric	Nova Goa (1)
Total	44			

In order to answer these questions,¹⁸⁶ I first focused on the context of the writing of these poems. Besides analyzing the context of writing, I will also briefly postulate upon the placement of the poems in this journal volume. As the analysis of the dates of writing of the poem shows, the majority of poems that were included in this journal volume fall in two time periods: first, from 1851-1860, where there were 9 poems; and from 1861-1865, where there were 15. However, there were also poems published that had dates like 186* (5 out of 44) and 185- (1). So if we add all of the poems for the periods from 1851-1865 and the poems with incomplete (?) dates, then 30 out of 44 poems fall within this category. The more realistic distribution of the poems is shown in Graph 3 below.

¹⁸⁶ There are several works that have conducted literary analysis of the 19th century periodicals press. See Ledbetter, Kathryn. *Tennyson and Victorian Periodicals: Commodities in Context*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007. Internet resource. Ledbetter has analyzed Tennyson's poems and their locations on particular pages of Victorian periodicals and other texts.

Graph 3 Distribution of poems by the year of publication.



As the majority of the poems in this journal fall in the period from 1851-1865, one should look at the happenings both in Portugal and Goa at the time. In the decades during the Napoleonic efforts of continental dominance, the seat of the Portuguese Empire was transferred to Rio de Janeiro. The ensuing independence of Brazil and problems with the succession of the crown eventually led to a civil war that ended in 1838 with the proclamation of the 1838 charter.¹⁸⁷ However this charter and the restoration of Maria II that led to the secularization of the monasteries in Portugal and its possessions could have had its effect on various aspects of life in the 19th century Portuguese India. Until then, the presence of missionaries and of religious orders had played an important role in the eventual establishment of hybrid Indo-Portuguese identities. Second, one cannot discount the various revolts that took place in the

¹⁸⁷ Gouveia, Jorge B. *Constitutional Law in Portugal*. Alphen aan den Rijn, The Netherlands: Kluwer Law International, 2011. Print.

territories of Portuguese India in the 18th and 19th centuries. For example, in these revolts, the local chieftains participated in the Ranés revolt. The intellectual and local clergymen participated in “A *Conjuração dos Pintos* (the Pinto Revolt).”¹⁸⁸ These revolts disrupted the daily life in Goa; however the success of the Portuguese in extinguishing them meant the further amalgamation of Portuguese identity (-ies) with Indian.

Nineteenth-century Goa was also affected by the establishment, in 1851, of the constitutional monarchy and parliament in Portugal. The ideas of nineteenth-century constitutionalism, the dilapidated churches in the aftermath of secularization, the influence of liberal romantic ideas of the idyllic past on the background of revolts and the efflorescence of a private press in Goa were the context in which Indo-Portuguese writers and poets created their poetry. This poetry was not created in isolation from Portuguese India as it was economically integrated with surrounding British India in the late 19th century.

I looked at each of the 44 poems for the purpose of content analysis and coded the keywords that appeared in the poem before proceeding to do the selective close reading of these poems. In order to understand how the past of Portuguese India was perceived by the poets who contributed to the journals, a set of key words that would allude to affect, nostalgia, sense of belonging to a particular place were chosen. This set of keywords consisted of the following 10 terms, {*Antiga, Casa, Goa**, *Grato, Indi**, *Minha Terra, Patria, Portu**, *Povo, Terra*}.¹⁸⁹ The frequency analysis showed the following trend in

¹⁸⁸ Rivara, Joaquim H. C. *A Conjuração De 1787 Em Goa: E Varias Cousas Desse Tempo : Memoria Historica*. Nova-Goa: Imprensa-nacional, 1875. Print.

¹⁸⁹ The set of Portuguese words that I chose can be translated as follows, *Antiga*- Ancient/ Old, *Casa*- H ome/ House, *Goa*, *Grato*- with gratitude, *Indi** can be India, Indian-a/o (the Indian),

the set of 63 occurrences of the above words: The word *Terra* or Land appeared 18 times while the term *Povo* (*o*) or People appears 15 times. Both of these terms in total make up 52% of the terms that are chosen from the set.

If we add to the frequency of term Terra, occurrences of terms like *Minha Terra* (my land) or *Meiga Terra* (sweet land) then the same ratio of $\{Terra+ minha terra + meiga terra + povo\} / \{\text{The set of keywords above}\} = 62\%$.

The word frequency analysis of a particular corpus does not necessary allows us to draw sweeping conclusions about the nature of the poems and thus I also performed a close reading of the selected poems from *Harpa do Mandovi*. For close reading, I emphasized themes, characters in the poem, and word usage. I also paid some attention to the context of the poem as often times the context alludes to the probable state of mind of the poet. The process of interpretation of the authorial intention for the poems, unless explicitly stated in the poems that were of dedicatory nature, is an iterative project. The process of interpretation alludes to fact that we construct meaning about a particular text based on our ability to interpret.¹⁹⁰

Lamentations, Acceptance and the Indian Sub-Text:

Exclamação by Joaquim Mourao Garcez Palha was dated 18** and it was the first poem that was published in this journal. By self-admittance, this poem apparently was a result of an emphatic interjection that the poet felt after the visit to the dilapidated ruins of the city of Old Goa. I would analyze this particular poem as a sort of lamentation

Indi-a/o (the Indian), *Minha Terra*- my land, *Patria*- the homeland, *Portu**-Portugal, Portuguese, *Povo* (*o*)- the people

¹⁹⁰ Hirsch, E D. *Validity in Interpretation*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967. Print.

intermixed with romantic nostalgia about the glorious past of the Portuguese presence in Goa. The poem characterizes Goa as the seat of opulence and glory of the Portuguese Emporium (*Empório lusitano*) that was also inhabited by thousands of Heros. In this particular context, the poet's reference to Heros and the Portuguese Emporium refers to Camões' *Os Lusíadas*. Here the poet memorializes the feats of the early Portuguese navigators and settlers in India by referring to the past of once glorious city of Old Goa using the words that are intertextual to the terms from *Os Lusíadas*. The depiction of Goa as the source or an emporium of initial wealth and prosperity of the Portuguese empire serves to remind the reader of the poem of the past that was romanticized but did not exist anymore in the 19th century. The juxtaposition of the past against the present acts as a literary device that creates an illusion of lamentation and of heightened tension that is released in the last two stanzas, which I have translated as follows,

“Monuments of our old glory,

Patterns of grand, splendid opulence,

Memories of high feats, of prodigal...

Oh! Everything lies by Earth in ruins, everything¹⁹¹

¹⁹¹ Myles, Ashley E. *Anthology of Indo Anglian Poetry*. New Delhi, India: Mittal Publications, 1991. Print. Page 1. Similar lamentations were expressed by Anglo-Indian poet Derozio who published in Calcutta in the first half of the 19th century. For example, the opening stanza of his poem, “To India My Native Land” is as follows,

“My Country! in thy day of Glory Past

A beauteous halo circled round thy brow,

And worshiped as deity thou wast.

Where is that Glory, where is that reverence now?

Thy eagle pinion is chained down at last,

And grovelling in the lowly dust art thou:

In a tomb, a luxurious sepulcher,

That eternal mutely expresses pain! ...

And what remains, therefore, that it is now,

Of this brilliant and lucky epoch?

The echo of my voice responds ... NOTHING."¹⁹²

In the second line of the penultimate stanza we see that the adjective “*prodigio(s)*” or “prodigious” followed by the dots (please see footnote below). These dots refer to the heroes that were mentioned earlier in the third stanza of the poem.

This poem has the following structure; first three couplets are followed by a single strophe. This single strophe indicates in my opinion a transition of the idea of the

Thy minstrel hath no wreath to weave for thee,
save the sad story of thy misery!
Well-let me dive into the depths of time,
And bring from out the ages that have rolled
A few small fragments of that wreck sublime;
Which human eye may never behold;
And let the guerdon of my labor be
My fallen country! One kind wish from thee!

¹⁹² Garcez Palha, Joaquim Mourão. "EXCLAMAÇÃO." *Harpa do Mandovi: Jornal de poesias*. 1. (1865): 3-3. Print

*“Monumentos da nossa antiga gloria,
Padrões de magna, esplendida opulencia,
Memorias d'altos feitos, de prodigios ...
Oh! tudo jaz por terra, em ruinas tudo,
Num tumulo, um sepulchro luctuoso,
Que mudamente eterna dôr exprime ! ...
E o que nos resta, pois, que fica agora,
D' esta época brilhante e afortunada?
O écho á minha voz responde NADA.*

glorious past to the nineteenth-century decaying present as perceived by the poet. The strophe is as follows, “*Eu vos saúdo e Choro a vossa sorte.*” This strophe can be translated as; “I salute you and cry to your luck”. The reference is to now dead heroes of the past who conquered and colonized Goa. However, does the act of crying in a text function as a device that informs the reader that the emotions of the poet invoke lamentations? It is not clear at initial reading whether this cry of happiness or of pain. The transitional strophe also doesn’t indicate that the heroes are dead or alive. The poem’s conceptualization of heroes is not exclusively ethnocentric. The poet does not allude to the people of mixed ancestry that Affonso Albuquerque has encouraged during the initial phase of conquest. The poet directly avoids the question of defining who these heroes were. Until the transition from this single strophe, the reader does not necessarily know that these heroes are probably long gone.

The next stanza is a sestet and it focuses on the state of ruin of what was glorious in the past. The last stanza is the stanza of revelation, where the reader can clearly perceive the poet’s intentions, i.e., that nothing remains of the past glory that was once old Goa’s opulence. The intentions thus come full circle and culminate in nothingness. The nothingness here denotes not the failure but reaffirmation of nostalgia for the foregone past.

The other characteristic of the Indo-Portuguese writings can be summarized as that of the interstitial interaction between the two zones of contact. The one zone of contact, distinctly Indian, and the other, Portuguese, constantly interacted in not only literary sphere but also in social spheres and sometimes one zone dominated the other and

vice versa.¹⁹³ The constant interplay of zones of contacts meant the gradual amalgamation of cultures. However the loyalties to those who ruled, and those who were in the positions of power were formed by the culture in the mother country. The perception of the past thus became even more acute during the time of vacillations and uncertainties that plagued the Portuguese crown. The eventual stabilization of Portugal and thus in turn of the colonies meant panegyrics from Indo Portuguese poets that were directed towards glorification of the monarchs that had saved the day for Goa.

These panegyrics do not necessarily differentiate themselves from other panegyrics in the subject matter, but the peculiarity of the order of their appearance in the journal mandates further examination. There were a total of 9 poems that were panegyric or dedicatory in their genre. The first panegyric to appear in the journal was written by Joaquim Mourão Garcez Palha and it was dedicated to Dom Pedro V of Portugal. The title of the poem, “*Saudação*,” can be roughly translated as “Salutations”. This poem appears second in the order in which the poems are arranged in the journal. The poem’s obsequious language is typical for a panegyric in honor of Dom Pedro V; however, what makes this poem significant for the purpose of answering the posed questions is in fact the claims made by the poet. For example, the poet salutes the Portuguese monarch as follows: “an idolized monarch, receiving cordial salutations from your nation that is forever grateful.”¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ Shields, Carolyn M. *Bakhtin Primer*. New York: Peter Lang, 2007. Print.

¹⁹⁴ Garcez Palha, Joaquim Mourão. "SAUDAÇÃO." *Harpa do Mandovi: Jornal de poesias*. 1. (1865): 3-3. Print

Monarcha idolatrado!

De um povo sempre teu e sempre grato

A saudação recebe

Here the monarch, “a living entity,” is idolized and “worshiped” by a grateful nation. The reference of idolized monarch alludes to both Catholic and Hindu worship practices in Portuguese India.¹⁹⁵ However, who constituted that nation as understood by the poet is a key question that requires some analysis. The poet continues to use an analogy between *Tejo* (the Tagus river on whose bank Lisbon is located) and *Mandovi* (Pangim or Panaji was located on the bank of Mandovi river.) by stating that both *Tejo* and *Mandovi* hug each other today.¹⁹⁶

The poet further concludes that the residents on the banks of both rivers are Portuguese. The poet argues that these are the same Portuguese similar to da Gama, Nuno. Portuguese like Gama and Nuno are capable of traversing the margins of the Empire ushering in the Golden Age. The poet affirms in the last stanza that both nations were essentially Portuguese in their outlook in the following manner: “The Illustrated Gatherer, our hearts and our language do not exist divorced. Born to be always Portuguese, full of humility but ingenuous. My voice rises in your name just like my expressions. Just like my heart corresponds to repeating your name. Live long the monarch Pedro V live!”¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ For Catholics, the images of the trinity, and saints play an important role.

¹⁹⁶ *Tejo e o Mandovi se abraçam hoje,*
Sam [sic] ambos portugueses ;
E quanto é português neste almo dia.

¹⁹⁷ The original text of these two stanzas that I have translated is as follows,

“Ilustre Ajuntamento!
O nosso coração e a nossa lingua,
Não vivem divorciados,
Nasceram, serão sempre portugueses
Humilde mas, ingenua

Despite the geographical separation, the author claims that essentially both “nations,” one in India and the other in Portugal, were both Portuguese in their essence. This revelation should be only understood in the context of an élite worldview. Joaquim Mourão Garcez Palha indeed represented the Portuguese elite that ruled Goa and thus the panegyric, that he had constructed, inherited to the full extent the worldview that he ended up defending. The “denial of Indianness” on the part of the Portuguese who were born and raised in India in the early 19th century, as it appears in the panegyric above, cannot be considered peculiar or exceptional when compared to other European colonizers that administered other portions of India. The construction of Indo-Portuguese identity thus can be considered as a process of gradual cultural amalgamation that was inevitable during the course of colonization.

The amalgamation of cultures, where the dominant discourse of the colonizer was to affirm his love towards the mother country by various means such as Indo-Portuguese journals in the late 19th century, can be thus understood in the context of the Portuguese colonial enterprise on the local level that presented the sanitized literary expressions of love and affinity to the crown while failing to negate the underlying larger Indian sub-text. Whether it was Tejo or Mandovi, the cultures that came in contact with each other could not be surgically excised from the literature that these ended up creating. The portrayal of the glorified past of Portugal that extended its presence through the literary

A minha voz ergui em vosso nome..

Que as minhas! expressões

Ao que nutris no peito correspondem,

Provai-o, repetindo:

O excelso Pedro Quinto viva viva!

space of the time affords us a sort of the glimpse in worldview of those who essentially lamented the physical distances between the two continents.¹⁹⁸ The picture of what this meant for the audience that read Portuguese language periodicals was more nuanced than the initial assumptions about the colonial assumption of difference and resistance from those that were ruled.

It is interesting to note that the panegyrics that are published in this journal do not appear in the order of their date of origin. The earliest panegyric that was published in this journal was from 1819, almost 46 years before the publication of the journal and it was written on the occasion of the birth of some official in the administration. The panegyric closest to the date of publication of the journal was in 1865. It was written on the occasion of the birthday of a cousin of the poet. Thus the purpose of panegyric or dedicatory poems here veered from traditional poems of praise that were usually reserved for the administrators of higher standing. Out of the 9 dedicatory poems, 4 were dedicated to Portuguese monarch, 3 were dedicated to government officials such as viscounts, and 2 were dedicated to relatives of the poets who had written these.

If the panegyric served a purpose of establishing the superior status of those to whom these were dedicated and to the construction of the concept of Portuguese dominion and unity with Goa, one poem in *Harpa do Mandovi* singularly stands out. Dedicated to the notion of “my land,” the poem “Minha Terra” was written by M. J. Da Costa Campos in 1858. It is one of the longest poems in this journal. The poem consists of 15 stanzas. Each stanza is an octave that describes for the reader the land of India Portugueza as imagined by the poet. The land that poet has portrayed in “Minha Terra” is

¹⁹⁸ V. De M. De Sampaio. “DEDICADO AO Ill.mo E EX.mo Sr. VISCONDE DE TORRES-NOVAS.” *Harpa do Mandovi: Jornal de poesias*. 1. (1865): 3-8. Print

very distinct from the mother country that was envisioned in the panegyric “Saudação” discussed earlier. The land here is distinctly “Indian” in its essence yet different from the rest of the sub-continent.

The land that the poet envisioned is highly idyllic and romanticized. The opening stanza evolves as follows,

“My land-very beautiful
Gentle [like] an oriental fairy,
Based on the edge of Hindustan
That the western sea washes
How are thee rich in exquisiteness
[Just like] Perfume and thousand flowers
My Goa, my love(s).
O my homeland.”¹⁹⁹

“

Here we learn about the location of Goa, the poet’s homeland that is essentially a part of India whose shores are washed by the “western sea.” The Old Portuguese maps of

¹⁹⁹ M. J. Da Costa Campos. “Minha Terra” *Harpa do Mandovi: Jornal de poesias*. 1. (1865): 15-18. Print. The original lines that I have translated above are as follows,

“*Minha terra-mui formosa.
Gentil fada oriental,
Do Indústão na beira assente
Que o mar banha occidental
Como és rica de primores,
De perfumes e mil flores,
Minha Goa, meus amores.
O minha terra natal*”.

India generally refer to the Arabian (Western) sea as the “*Mar da India*”.²⁰⁰ However, the author’s use of the term “Western Sea” here denotes the zone of contact where the Portuguese West met Indic East, yet the territory of Goa remained a part of the sub-continent with a special flavor. The stanza further continues describing the landscapes of Goa, including its landmarks such as Dudhsagar Falls [Dud-Sagar] and the sea that surrounds it. However the whole romantic description transitions in the end of the eight stanzas abruptly. This abrupt transition to the moment of conquest by Albuquerque and the use of such words as arquebuzes, other valiants that conquered Goa in the name of Jesus, acts as a poetic device that denotes the rupture from the serene landscape and functions as the tool that heightens the reader’s anticipation. The culmination of tension in this poem is a lengthy process just like the Portuguese colonization of India. The end of the stanza does not relieve the tension, instead sets up a stage for the reader as follows: “That you remember your history, when a banner and a cross was raised in Asia for glory!”²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ *Carta chorographica da India Portuguesa [Material cartográfico] / resumo do mappa do tenente James Carling. 1860. Map. <http://purl.pt/1438>, [Lisbon].*

²⁰¹ *Do teu sólo em qualquer' parte,
Que co'o montanté e o arcabuz
Albuquerque e outros valentes.
Conquistaram p'ra Jésus,
Tes alguma alta memoria
Que recorda a tua história
Quando ergueram pela gloria
Na Azia o estandarte e a cruz.*

The poet continues to represent the city/ cidade [Goa] as the queen of the Orient on the Mandovi River by comparing it to four cities with different personalities, i.e., Delhi, Granada, Lisbon and Venice. However the city is referred to by its Indic name *Gopacpur* [sic], which was lost by the Moors, Dutch and Marathas. The narrative of losing the city is followed by the acceleration of time in which the poet jumps from the distant past to the present. This jump in literary sense ends up creating an illusion of distance. The distance itself serves as a trajectory of the demise of former glory.

The poet continues his lament by stating that the former “Palmyra” was in ruins. The action of meditation as indicated below on the lost past, when the Portuguese were shining and beautiful women fulgurated leads to the cathartic release that is represented by tears:

“When I was born, only the ruins
Of that Palmyra I found;
And I sat next to them alone,
And meditated.
Upon the centuries that have passed,
The centuries in which the Portuguese shined,
And beautiful damsels glittered (fulgurated).
And I cried for long time.”²⁰²

²⁰² *Quando nasci, só ruínas
D’essa Palmyra encontrei;
E junto a ellas eu sentado.
Um dia a sós meditei
Sôbre [sic] os séculos que passaram,
Em ques lusos lá brilharam,*

The transformation of the “Palmyra” into “Palmeira” or a palm-grove indicates not only the decay but also the sense of nostalgia that continues to dominate the poet’s imagination about virgin damsels and captivating dawn. The last stanza of the poem is essentially a repetition of the first stanza.

The poet’s claim that despite the dilapidated conditions that were prevalent in Goa at the time when the poetry was conceived, the poet still loved Goa. Goa was the land that had given birth to him. This poem in my opinion can be seen as an expression of embryonic nineteenth-century nationalism in its literary form. The nationalism that was essentially expressed in the Portuguese language, but had an Indic mindset encapsulated in following strophe of the penultimate stanza: “Eu te adoro, que em teu seio, Eu nasci, teu filho sou;” This strophe can be translated as “I love you, in your bosom I was born, I am your son.” The love for one’s land does not necessarily indicate the nationalist attitude; however “recognition of affirmative awareness of national character” as reflected upon in this poetry alludes to such possibility.²⁰³

In this connection, then, I would like to briefly dwell upon the word frequency analysis of a set of keywords that denote the concept of land in various poems in this journal. For the set representative of both the Metropole and Portuguese India, I used the set of following terms, “Albuquerque, Gama, Goa (*Nova, Velha, Antiga, Gopacur, Cidade*), India (Indiano, Industão, Dio, Coromandel), Konkani words and terms (Indic), Mandovi (y), Monumentos, Palm* (Palma, Palmeira), Ruinas, Terra (minha terra), and

Lindas donas fulguraram,.

E longo tempo eu chorei.

²⁰³ Schumpeter, Joseph A, and Richard Swedberg. *The Economics and Sociology of Capitalism*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1991. Print.

Ruinas.” The previous set refers more to India than Portugal. However, there are several limitations for this assumption as Gama Albuquerque and other heroes like Nuno were obviously equally related to Portugal. However, the focus of their activities without a doubt was the Portuguese Empire in India, and thus these were grouped in the set of terms that can be predominantly attributed to India. The process of this coding is of a subjective nature and also dependent on the context of the appearance of each term in the fixed set of 44 poems.

For the set that denoted predominantly Portugal, I used the following terms, “Lus* (Luso, Lusitano, Lusitania), Occidente, Port* (Lisboa, Nação, Portuguezes, Portugal), Povo, Paiz, Tejo (Tagus river), Fado”.

For the purpose of the analysis, I looked not at the actual frequency distribution of the term in the whole selected corpus of the poems, but instead looked at the distribution of the poems in three separate groups.²⁰⁴

Group 1:

Poems with the keywords exclusively from the India set= 14/44 (32%)

Group 2:

Poems with the keywords only from Portugal=4/44 (9%)

Group 3:

Poems without any keywords from either set (Hybrid Set) = 17/44 (approximately 39%)

Group 4:

Poems with keywords from both sets =9/44 (approximately 20%).

²⁰⁴ See Appendix I as an example of text analysis of individual poems.

For the purpose of the analysis that is depicted above, I first conducted content analysis of each of the 44 poems according to the set of the terms that defined either predominance of Indian or Portuguese influences in each poem. For the purpose of analysis, I used an online text analysis tool.²⁰⁵ The construction of this set of terms is an iterative and subjective process. Once the frequency of the chosen terms was established for each set, I proceeded to look at the number of poems that did not have any of the chosen set of keywords in them. Upon closer subject analysis of these poems, I realized that these so-called “neutral” poems were either of a romantic nature or had religious characteristic to them.

The poems without keywords from any of the sets may indicate that the most of the contributors to the journal did not write poems that can be clearly classified as either belonging to the India or Portugal set and these poems had some other impetus for their creation. The distribution of the poems as marked above shows that the majority of the poems (39%) that were included in *Harpa do Mandovi* did not use keywords from either the India set or Portugal set. The other group of poems had both Indic and Portuguese terms. Lastly, the fourth group was defined for the purpose of this analysis as a hybrid group where both Portuguese and India related terms co-existed within a particular poem. From the analysis above it becomes obvious that the total of the India, Portugal and Hybrid sets constitutes 27 out of 44 poems, i.e. 61%. The second most prevalent group of the poems was that of the poems that contained the most terms from the India keyword set (32%). Only 9% of poems contained solely terms that characterized the Portuguese

²⁰⁵Adamovic, Mladen. "Online Text Analysis Tool." *Online-Utility.org*. N.p., 2009. Web. 4 Feb 2012. <<http://www.online-utility.org/text/analyzer.jsp>>.

set. And only 20% of poems were unique as these contained keywords from both India and Portugal set.

The influence of India and her traditions on the poets of Portuguese India informs us that the poets who wrote poetry in Portuguese were influenced by their surroundings. The worldview that they tried to portray was formed by the traditions of India.²⁰⁶ Despite being Portuguese in their education, the hybridity that was the result of the zones of contact between two different civilizations had ultimately given rise to Indo-Portuguese hybrid identity. Precisely this identity had a thin Portuguese veneer with an Indic core. The Portuguese veneer acted like glue until the Portuguese dominance in the sub-continent ended. The Indo-Portuguese identity was only one aspect of the multiple linguistic identities of those who were the part of this colonial enterprise. The process of hybridization was a result of the initial *lusitanization* of those who were colonized. This process cannot be essentially seen as a simple binary inter-exchange of the culture; however, the adoption of the Portuguese language and eventual rise of an educated intelligentsia led to the acceptance and selective rejection of various Portuguese as well as Indian traditions.²⁰⁷ The territories of Portuguese India were also held by the British during the Napoleonic war.²⁰⁸ The continual industrialization of Bombay and migration

²⁰⁶ Sampaio, D.M. De. "AROTO ou O Hymo do Ganez." *Harpa do Mandovi* 1.1 (1865): 41. Print. Aarti is a devotional song sung traditionally to Hindu Gods. In the region of Maharashtra and Goa, Lord Ganesha is one of the most worshipped gods. This devotional hymn is dedicated to him.

²⁰⁷ Morton, Patricia A. *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, Paris*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2000. Print.

²⁰⁸ Foy, Maximilien, and Elisabeth A. D. Foy. *History of the War in the Peninsula, Under Napoleon*. London: Treuttel & Wuřtz, Treuttel, jun. and Richter, 1827. Print.

of workers from Portuguese India meant that the processes of hybridization of culture were much more complicated than simplified interactions between the two groups.²⁰⁹ The reflection on various aspects of “India” of which Portuguese India was a part and parcel, combined with increased migration of Goan workers to nearby British India, could have had its effect on the worldview of Indo-Portuguese poets from the early 19th century. I would define this worldview as the one that was fully cognizant of the Indianized roots of their Portuguese traditions in the milieu of Goa, Daman and Diu.

Recreio das damas

This was a weekly whose title can be translated from Portuguese *Recreio das damas* (RD) as Recreation for Women. It is often described as the first journal for women in India. The journal on its title page claimed the following, “*As damas da India Portugueza e ás damas Portuguezas de toda a India*”.²¹⁰ The first issue of the journal appeared on May 9th, 1865. The editor of this journal was J. F. De Gouveia. Despite the fact that it was the first journal in Portuguese India that was dedicated to the subject of women, all of the poets that published in it were males. It was an effort of Portuguese and Indo-Portuguese male writers to define through their narratives the social imaginary that revolved around women. A total of 16 issues were published; however issue number 8 was unavailable for analysis at both the Portuguese National Library or at any of the libraries in North America.

²⁰⁹ De, Souza T. R. *Essays in Goan History*. New Delhi: Concept Pub. Co, 1989. Print.

²¹⁰ "As damas da India Portugueza e ás damas Portuguezas de toda a India." *Recreio das damas* [Nova Goa] 9 May 1865, sec. Title Page: 1. Print.

For the uniformity of the intended analysis, I have examined the available sixteen issues of *Recreio* to posit answers to the same research questions that I posed for the analysis of *Harpa*. These research questions were as follows,

1. How was the past of Portuguese India perceived by those whose work was published in “*Recreio das damas*”?
2. How was the Metropole or Mother Country portrayed in Indo-Portuguese texts in the journal?
3. How did these male poets narrate and illustrate women in “*Recreio das damas*” that can help us shed light on the formation of Indo-Portuguese identity in 19th century Portuguese India?
4. What are the “Indian” elements that we find in the Indo-Portuguese poetry that is contained within this journal?

The cultural signifiers that were attributed to what was hypothesized, defined and understood by the male writers, and expressed as the essence of Portuguese and Indo-Portuguese females in Portuguese India, were characterized by the repetitive use of certain terms and idealization of womanhood as prescribed the norms of romantic society. For example, we find the use of the terms such as, “*Bello Sexo*” (the fair sex). However, the editor was aware of the “risks” he might be taking by choosing certain poetry or certain works of Portuguese poets for the readership that was largely conceived to be women of Portuguese India.

The disclaimer on the first page of the first issue of this journal starts with the proclamation that it is “rather a tricky exercise of choosing the poems as it runs into the risk of losing the female subscribers”.²¹¹

The editor from the first issue on builds an expectation of the female colonial subscribers in order to avoid any kind of surprises or disappointments by inserting a disclaimer about the choices of the literary works in Portuguese translation that he intended to include in the following issues.

²¹¹ Ibid.

The distribution of the romantic works that are included in the journal run is as follows:

Table 12 Distribution of stories in translation in *Recreio das damas*.

Author	Title	Original Language
Bresciani, Antonio	Lionello. Obra historica escripta em italiano.	Italian
Dumas, Alexandre	Murat	French
Féval, Paul	Banqueiro de Cera (o)	French
Féval, Paul	Leão d'ouro	French
Chateaubriand, François-René , vicomte de	Derradeiro Abencerragem [sic]	French
Saint-Pierre, Bernardin de	Paulo e Virginia	French
Sand, Jorge	Rosa e branca	French
Fellens, J.B.	Luiz Napoleão	French
Dumas, Alexandre	Branca de Beaulieu	French
Maynard, Felix Doutor	De Delhi a cawnpore	German

As we can see from the table above, not a single Portuguese language work was chosen by the editor in *Recreio das damas*.

The first issue of the journal also contains reflections on the past of Portuguese Goa. These reflections also help us answer the question about how the past was perceived by those whose work was published in “*Recreio das damas*,” The description of Old Goa, as it appeared in 1822, is in a poem that was published in May 9, 1863. In this description, some of the terms that were used to describe the residents of Portuguese India were *mouros* (the moors) for the crew members of ships, while the residents were

described as indolent, badly dressed, and vain.²¹² There is a general recognition in the text of the loss of the Golden Goa.

The narrative also accepts the fact that the Goa, that was often glorified, was no longer in existence. However, while the Goa was in relative decline from its sixteenth-century glory, Portugal was portrayed as the seat of heroes. This was typical of the writing of nineteenth-century Indo-Portuguese periodicals as the superiority of the mother country was established over the periphery using literary devices where the squalor of colonies was intensified through comparison. Although not particularly Portuguese as a literary device, the sense of loss of the past was exacerbated through phrases like, “*Gôa onde Camões soffreu e canton, não e ao presente mais do que uma grande sepultura, que erva cobre inteiramente, e esta triste e fraca população de frades, que aqui se encontra, não parece ter sido poupada se não para celebrar o officio do mortos sobr’os [sic]*”²¹³ *restos das gerações extinetas [sic].*”

Above is the sad testimony about Goa, the seat of Portuguese India. Goa was described as follows: “Goa where Camões suffered is a caton (district), presently it is not more than a sepulchre which is completely covered with grass (herbs), and it is (composed of) sad and poor population of friars that are found here.” This particular excerpt might seem to be insignificant in the larger imperial context of the time. However, the text was written in 1822 in post-Napoleonic era, when Brazil had become the seat of the Portuguese Empire and eventually an independent monarchy. Second, the

²¹² Britanique, R. "A cidade de Goa em 1822." *Recreio das damas*. 1.1 (1863): 2-3. Print. “Os habitantes tinham um ar indolente, estavam todos quasi mal vestidos, ainda que nos seus costumes, se descobria uma certa affectação, que demonstrava serem vaidosos” (Page 2 and 3).

²¹³ = *Sobre os restos*

loss of Empire was mediated by reminiscing on the glorious past. Third, invoking the name of Portuguese poet Camões “forces” its reader to think about the “Os Lusíadas” from the 16th century. However, I would caution against these surface conclusions. The name Camões, that is mentioned here, is not of the poet but it is that of the poet’s father who died in Goa as the sentence reads as “Goa where Camões suffered”. Portuguese India was a creation of Portugal on Indian soil. The creation went through the process of imaginary populating of physical space through text. The physical space that was part and parcel of the Indian sub-continent, but reimagined and internalized by those who saw it as a natural extension of the Portuguese self becomes Portuguese India in literary texts. While the Metropole or the mother country remained an object of glory in these texts, the primary concern of the editor of *Recreio das damas* was how to sustain the publication for the women subscribers of Portuguese India.

The conceptualization of Portuguese in *Recreio das damas* does not distinguish between Portuguese and Indo-Portuguese identities for several reasons, but it does portray separation between Portuguese and Indian identities.

The journal also contained essays on fashion through which the questions of identities could be potentially reflected upon. For example, in the issue published on May 16, 1863 in the essay entitled, “*Ensaio sobr’ [sic] as modas*”, i.e. “An essay about fashion”, we find a self-assessment of the Portuguese nation as reflected upon by the author who is also the editor of *Recreio*.²¹⁴ The essay begins with a rhetorical question about who would explain to us (the readers), why the Portuguese are considered the “worst” imitators of the foreign fashion? The author further explicates that the

²¹⁴ De Gouveya, J.F. "Ensaio sobr'as modas." *Recreio das damas*. 1.2 (1863): 1-3. Print.

internalization and imitation of the foreign fashion leads to mediocre imitation.²¹⁵ The act of borrowing is however not considered to be a culprit; however, the vicious cycle of dependence on foreign fashion resulting in the cyclical presentation of fashion in Portugal is blamed for Portuguese complacency when it comes to fashion. On the other hand, we see that the “Orient” and its people are described as those who while residing in the hot climate wear furs (*pellicas* [sic]) and robes.²¹⁶ The Orientals (ethnic Indians and also Indo-Portuguese) are further described as those who eat spicy foods and are idle (*occiosos* [sic]). The orientalist imagery invoked by the author of the essay is not atypical of the period, however, instead of looking at the merits of the fashion and the practicality of the clothing that was worn by “Indians” in the hot climate, the essay acts as a detractor from its principal thesis. Instead of analyzing the alarming expenses that revolved around the cycle of fashion, the “Orientals” were labeled as detractors.

The “Orientals” and/or the Portuguese speaking Indians thus become a point of comparison for the Portuguese nation against the act of copying fashion from Paris. And the process of adaptation of European fashion in Goa might mask the relative poverty of fashion in mid- and late nineteenth-century Portugal. Portugal that was marred by the loss of Brazil and loss of its prestige. Portuguese state was also, burdened by its unprofitable “oriental colonial enterprise.” Instead of dwelling upon fashion as one more area of interest for women, the essay in the end calls for the establishment of a national

²¹⁵ “A rasão [sic] nos diz, que cada povo, cada paiz, e cada seculo [sic] tem o seu caracter proprio; que é preciso modificar com arte os prestimos, que lhes pedem, sob pena de reproduzir [sic] os mais extravagantes disparates; e qeu uma imitação servile, é sempre um signal de medicoridade” (Page 1).

²¹⁶ The correct spelling in contemporary Portuguese is *Pelicas*.

costume for both men and women that would be a combination of simple practical fashion that values the imagination.²¹⁷

The general structure of the issues of the *Recreio das damas* includes a rubric called “*Maximas Moraes*” or “Moral Maxims,” which served as a sort of advice column for women. These moral prescriptions might not be of interest individually, but as a group of precepts written by men, present a sort of dilemma for our analysis. The basic question thus remains: can the nineteenth-century Indo-Portuguese, Portuguese male authors adequately represent the interests of Indo-Portuguese and Portuguese women residing in Portuguese India?

The act of capturing the essence of womanhood and the life of women in the colonies, as reflected upon by the male authors in this journal, remains incomplete. The inability of male authors to give voice to women who themselves are silent in this particular journal becomes even more apparent when one critically analyzes the terms that were used to depict women in the writings that are contained in this journal. To this end, I used the following criteria. I looked for keywords that depict women in the headlines and in the editorials. I counted each specific term that described women in some qualitative fashion. However, when specific words were used to depict a particular persona or an idealized quality of a woman, I omitted them because these words/ terms were used not as general signifiers.

²¹⁷ De Gouveya, J.F. "Ensaio sobr'as modas." *Recreio das damas*. 1.2 (1863): 1-3. Print.

“Muito seria para desejar, que só estabelecesse um costume Nacional, que pronunciasse todas estas diferenças, e que mais favoravel [sic] ao exterior do homem tisesse[sic, tivesse] tambem em que as Damas acabassem d’uma [sic de uma or duma] vez reunir ás formas mais convenientes á bellezas, as que lhe conservam o respeito e os prestígios da imaginação.

In the poems that were published in this journal, we see extensive use of terms that would qualitatively describe women or womanhood. For example, in the first issue of the *Recreio das damas*, we see the use of terms such as *pudor*, *piedade* (piety), *devoção* (devotion), *lua* (the moon), *lyra* (a lyre), and verbs like *murmurar* (to murmur). The use of these terms to define various aspects of idealized femininity in this nineteenth-century journal is not unique in itself. However, what is unique in the context of this particular journal is the fact that the male poets and writers were defining the images of women as they saw fit in this journal. A journal that was exclusively advertised as recreation of the “fair sex” ended up becoming a tool for the expression of “male” perception of women. Essentially, the “fair sex” never got a chance to represent the everyday life of Indo-Portuguese women through any of these journals. For the purpose of this analysis, I did not utilize or count these adjectives and verbs as they appear in the poetry that was included in the issues of this journal. Instead, I targeted editorials and the headline of the essays, to collect a purposive sample of terms that would highlight the attitudes of editors and writers towards the women to help us understand the way the women were perceived by those who described them.

The editor of this journal uses the following terms about women: “*Bello Sexo*”, “*Damas*”, and “*Subscriptoras*”. These terms can be translated in to English as “fair sex”, “dames” and “subscribers”. The frequency of their appearance is very insignificant when compared to the whole corpus of words in 16 issues.

The journal’s financial troubles seem to be exacerbated by the release of its fourth issue on May 30, 1863, where we see for the first time a gentle reminder on the first page to the subscribers to renew their unpaid subscriptions in timely manner in order to

prevent an interruption of service.²¹⁸ A similar plea can be found in the issue of July 4, 1863, where the editor asks the reader of the journal to also support a newly proposed journal called *Rosmaninho*, noting that in India there is little entertainment and that these journals, when supported, can also serve for educational purposes.²¹⁹ The editor continues to raise similar points in subsequent issues while trying to address various complaints from the subscribers. The publication of this weekly journal was irregular. For example, we do not find evidence of any issues published between May 30, 1863 and June 20, 1863. During the last week of August of 1863, no issue was published.

The last issue of this journal was published on October 8, 1863 and as one reads through the issue, there isn't any indication that this issue was going to be the last. The issue begins with the usual opening essay and has features similar to the rest of the journal issues. It contains an essay entitled, "*Virtudes heoricas d'algumas Rainhas e Damas Portuguezas*" (The heroic virtues of some of Portuguese queens and ladies).²²⁰ The essay focuses on the heroic virtues of Portuguese queens and women. The article focuses on portraits of three royal ladies, i.e. the mother and the wife of Portuguese king Dom Manoel and the wife of Dom João III. The focus of the article is on such virtues as establishing institutions of charity and mercy, or crocheting. The author exalts the mother of Dom Manoel for not interfering in matters of the State. The author considers this non-interference and non-usurpation a virtue in an ideal woman. The article also speaks to the establishment of hospices in Portugal by some Portuguese women as a virtuous act. The

²¹⁸ De Gouveya, J.F. "Aos sehnorees assignantes." *Recreio das damas*. 1.4 (1863): (13). Print.

²¹⁹ De Gouveya, J.F. "Aos sehnorees assignantes e aos publico." *Recreio das damas*. 1.7 (1863): (25). Print.

²²⁰ "Virtudes heroicas d'algumas Rainhas e Damas Portuguezas.." *Recreio das damas*. 1.16 (1863): 62. Print.

article does not highlight any virtuous activities of women living in Portuguese India. Were the Portuguese women who were born in India or living in India treated differently on a societal level by their male counterparts as compared to the upper class women of Portugal? One cannot simply infer from this one article that the omission of Indo-Portuguese or Portuguese women living in the colonies meant that they were less virtuous than those who lived in the Metropole.

Here we also see was a marked omission of women from various other colonies and Portuguese India in *Recreio*'s 16 issues. This could have meant that there was a thin undefined line of distinction between the women in the colonies and the mother country. The journal that was meant for the entertainment of women in Portuguese India did not focus on those it maintained that it entertained. Instead, it focused on novels in translation, some historical essays and the moral precepts that were chosen by nineteenth-century Portuguese and Indo-Portuguese men. This lack of substantive representation of Indo-Portuguese and Portuguese women of Portuguese India in *Recreio das damas* can be portrayed as a sort of imposed censorship that was controlled, modified by the men in the colonies who acted as brokers of information for their readers.

The lack of Indian elements in the poetry that was contained within the *Recreio das damas* is self-evident. There were 25 poems included in this journal and not a single poem had any Indian and/ or Indo-Portuguese themes, in contrast to *Harpa do Mandovi*. All poems were in Portuguese with the exception of one French poem. The poems where the poets' name was available were primarily from Portugal. The percentage distribution of the poems that were published in this journal by subject categories was as follows: 1/25 (4%) was irony and 2/25 can be classified as moral poetry (8%). The charade poems

were a constant feature of *Recreio das damas* and these poems constituted 7/25 (28%) of total poetry. Only one poem can be classified as religious poetry (1%) and another 7 (28%) poems belong to the Romantic poetry subject category.

The distribution of the poems by itself is not important since the dominant feature of the journal was Romantic poetry. However, what might be of interest to us was the fact that none of the poems that were published in this journal had any Indic themes. The lack of Indic themes, when taken in consideration with the essays that were published in this journal, alludes to the fact that its editors perhaps wanted to focus on exposing the local colonial readers to the literary traditions of Europe. The whole purpose of *Recreio das damas* can be then summarized as targeting colonial female readers through its title, however the contents were meant to be for universal consumption in Portuguese India. The novelty of this journal could have worn off once various articles that were published in this journal represented life in the Metropole. A Metropole that was far away yet present through the colonial administrator that was supported by the local Indian elites could have stimulated temporary interests for some duration for many of the citizens of Portuguese India. However, a significant lack of local content meant the eventual faltering of local interest in this journal. Although meant to entertain women of the Portuguese India, *Recreio das damas* was envisioned to appeal to a broader Portuguese-speaking audience in the colonies.

Goa Sociável: Jornal de litteratura [sic] amena e variedades

Goa Sociavel [sic]²²¹: *Jornal de litteratura*²²² [sic] *amena e variedades* was published in Panaji from March of 1866 through November of the same year. As the title suggests, the journal presented “litteratura [sic] amena” to its readers along with a variety of other materials. In nineteenth-century terms, the genre of this literature meant stories and romances that constitute a sort of light reading.²²³ *Goa Sociavel* was one journal that was truly dedicated to various issues about Portuguese Goa. The journal’s editor was Manuel Joaquim da Costa Campos.²²⁴

In his editorial for the first issue, the editor spends substantial time defining why the name *Goa Sociavel* was chosen for the journal instead of some other. The most important reason the editor provides is “*ter a honra de associar-se com todas as pessoas*”

²²¹ The word *sociavel* in modern Portuguese is accentuated as follows, “*sociável*”.

²²² Leal, Silva. *Jornaes Indo-Portuguezes: Publicação Commemorativa Da Exposição Da Imprensa Realizada Em Maio De 1898 ; Contendo a Descrição Dos Jornaes Publicados Em Goa, Damão, Diu E Bombaim Desde 1821 Até Ao Presente*. Lisboa: Imprensa de Libanio da Silva, 1898. Print.

²²³ Silva, Innocencio F, Brito Aranha, de B. J. J. Gomez, Alvaro Neves, Ernesto Soares, and Martinho A. F. Fonseca. *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez*. Lisboa: Na Imprensa Nacional, 1858. Print. On page 67, we find a reference to D. Anna Augusta Placido who was an editor of a journal called *Civilisador* that was published in Porto in 1862-63 and in which the editor inserted some stories of *Litteratura amena*.

One of the first Portuguese journals that belonged to the class of journals that included romantic literature for easy reading was “*A Minerva ou Jornal de Ilustração Amena e Proveitosa*”. It was published beginning 1836 in Lisbon. Rafael, Gina G, and Manuela Santos. *Jornais E Revistas Portugueses Do Século XIX*. Lisboa: Ministério da Cultura, Biblioteca Nacional, 1998. Print. p 97.

²²⁴ M.J. da Costa Campos was editor of following Indo-Portuguese journals, *Estreia goana ou offerta litteraria[sic]*, *Almanach do christianismo para ano de 1863*.

*desta terra, que na leitura buscam um honesto passatempo e um saudavel repasto no espirito; com a gente moça e velha; e com os homens e com as mulheres; com os previligiados da fortuna, e com desvalidos della; que quer ser de todas classes, de todas as castas e partidos e grupos que desunem infelizmente a familia indo-portugueza neste paiz e que procurará harmonisar-se com todos, ...*²²⁵ Here for the first time we see a distinct use of the term Indo-Portuguese. In the other two journals, i.e., *Harpa do Mandovi* and *Recreio das damas* that I have analyzed; I was unable to find a clearly defined and explicit goal of reaching out to all members of the Indo-Portuguese society. In this editorial, one sees a sense of loss in the term “the Indo-Portuguese family.” The Indic element of this Indo-Portuguese family is depicted as fragmented by various castes, groups and (political parties).

The intentions of the editor, no matter how idealistic, must be taken into consideration when one analyzes this journal. The word “*sociavel*” [sic, *sociável*] can be translated as social-minded. The editor thus recognizes the importance of the journal’s mission by explaining the choice of title. The journal was intended to highlight the local flavor of Goan society (*colorido local*). In the introduction one sees the first allusion to the past of Portuguese India as perceived by the editor. The editor comments that Goa was the “theatre of the grand part of the Portuguese conquests of the Orient” and that the journal will in great detail document and presents these histories to its readers.²²⁶ The decline is also recognized in the introduction:

²²⁵ Costa Campos, Manoel Joaquim da . "Introdução." *Goa Sociavel*. 1 (1866): 1. Print. , “*noticias ácerca de seus filhos, sejam de qualquer condição, ainda a mais humilde, e bem assim de estranhos, que habitaram estas margens, os quaes pelo seu merecimento proprio, distincto, real, isto é pelo seu engheno, pelas suas virtudes e boas obras sejam dignos de menção, virão ennobrecer as columnas desta publicação.*”

²²⁶ Costa Campos, Manoel Joaquim da. "Introdução." *Goa Sociavel*. 1 (1866): 2

“This sentence can be translated as, “to have an honor of associating with all of the people of this land, who in the search in literature for a good to pass the time and (the journal) serves as a refuge for the souls of both old and young, for the people of all castes and classes, and (political) parties that unfortunately (leave us) disunited in a large family of the Indo-Portuguese. This journal tries to harmonize with all...”

In other words, the editor realized that the Indo-Portuguese in essence existed in the margins of the Portuguese Empire as a disunited group. And the journal was trying to unite them in one “harmonious” entity called Indo-Portuguese society. It is worth mentioning that the existence of Portuguese India on the margins of the Portuguese Empire was understood by the editor of this journal, who was himself Indo-Portuguese.²²⁷

This journal was published by the National Printing Press of Portuguese India. This printing press was a governmental entity and thus the extent to which any editor could have published criticism of Portuguese administration in India was limited. As one way to elude the possibility of a loss of printing privileges, the editor of *Goa Sociavel* acknowledged that the journal would not include discussion of politics in the colonies.²²⁸ This explicit statement meant that the ability of an editor to include materials on the history of Portuguese India was restricted. The journal could not include the historical

²²⁷ Silva, Innocencio F, Brito Aranha, de B. J. J. Gomez, Alvaro Neves, Ernesto Soares, and Martinho A. F. Fonseca. *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez*. Lisboa: Na Imprensa Nacional, 1858. Print. In the 16th volume of this series, we find reference to M.J. da Costa Campos.

²²⁸ Costa Campos, Manoel Joaquim da . "Introdução." *Goa Sociavel*. 1 (1866): 2 “A politica será completamente estranha a Goa Sociavel.”

description of various revolts nor issues surrounding the inquisition in Portuguese India. Instead, we see that the journal published on a regular basis some historical descriptions of the formation of Portuguese India and the glorious feats of the Portuguese in the Orient. One regular feature was entitled “Nova-Goa.” Under this title, the editor published essays on development of Panagim (Panaji), which served as the capital of Portuguese India in the 19th century.

A total of 11 issues were published (issue no. 7 was not available for this analysis). The table below also shows that initially the journal was published at regular intervals and after July the last issue was published in November of 1866. These issues included historical descriptions of various conquests and of monuments of Portuguese India.

Table 13 List of essays on history of Portuguese India in *Goa Sociavel*.

Issue	Date	Title of Essay
1	March 1866	Nova-Goa
2	April 1866	EGREJA DE N. S D'AJUDA DE RIBANDAR. Part I
3	April 1866	Nova-Goa
4	May 1866	Nova-Goa
5	May 1866	EGREJA DE N. S D'AJUDA DE RIBANDAR. Part II
6	May 1866	Fonte Phenix
7	not available	not available
8	July 1866	Nova-Goa
9	July 1866	Nova-Goa
10	July 1866	Nova-Goa
11	November 1866	TOMADA DA PRAÇA DE ALORNA

The selective conceptualization of the past, as it was presented in *Goa Sociavel*, was supplemented by various short stories written by local authors and were published

serially in *Goa Sociavel*. For example, in the first issue of this journal we see a short story entitled, “*A Valsa Sophia*” by the same Thomas Aquino Mourão who was the author of numerous poems included in the “*A Harpa do Mandovi*”.²²⁹

The other recurring feature of this journal was the presentation of new titles being published in Portuguese India. This feature acquainted readers briefly with the contents of a particular journal that was either being published or was about to be published. In the first issue, under the title, “*Bibliographia*,” we see a description of a journal entitled “*O Chronista de Tissuary*.” The editor of *Goa Sociavel* continues to promote the journal, stating that it will “satisfy or bridge the big gap between the government of her Excellency and the country.”²³⁰ Here the word “*patria*” or fatherland is used to denote the fact that the journal was published to represent various slivers of the Portuguese history to its reader. The journal was “sponsored” by the *Ministério da marinha e ultramar* and its explicitly stated purpose was to introduce readers to the vast history of Portuguese feats both ancient and modern in the Asian theatre. In the second issue of the journal, we see a bibliographic description of *Almanach Litterario [sic] para o ano 1866*. This journal was published by the private printing press Ultramar.

The lack of direct government control did not mean that the editor was free to publish whatever he chose. Instead, one must note that Portuguese-language publications in Portugal’s overseas territories were subsidized by the governmental agency.²³¹ The

²²⁹ Saradesāya, Manoharārāya. *A History of Konkani Literature: From 1500 to 1992*. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2000. Print.

²³⁰ Campos, M.J. Da Costa. “Bibliographia.” *Goa Sociavel*. 1 (1863): 8. Print.

“a grande divida, segundo declara no prologo, com o governo de s. magestade e com a patria”

²³¹ Aranha, Brito. *Subsidios Para a Historia Do Jornalismo Nas Provincias Ultramarinas Portuguezas*. Lisboa: Imprensa nacional, 1885. Print.

journal was applauded by the editor of *Goa Sociavel* as follows, “*e uma estreia de juvenisissima pena, que folgamos de saudar sinceramente*” (“that we should salute the youngest star’s i.e., the journal’s debut.”) The appearance of new Portuguese-language journals in Portuguese India did not ensure that these journals would last for a long time.

However the appearance of each new Portuguese-language periodical could have meant that the chance of one of these periodicals surviving as a testimony to Indo-Portuguese culture was relatively greater than the possibility of their demise. In the long run, one can argue that these periodicals, irrespective of their genre, constitute an “incomplete archive” of the historical and social events in the colonies.

The common features of journals such as *Bibliographia* or an index was geared toward selective representation of the Portuguese past. Omitted in these journals were past acts of violence of the Portuguese colonizers against the ethnic populations of the region. Thus, the past that these poets and writers reminisced about was the “sanitized, censored past.” A past that had once countenanced the institution of the inquisition was swept under the rug by the feats of heroes. Was the representation of Portuguese glory meant to blind to the violence, construction and amalgamation of Indo-Portuguese identities over three centuries in Portuguese India at the time when the *Goa Sociavel* was published?

There were only four poems published in the run of *Goa Sociavel* that was available for my analysis.

Table 14 Poems in *Goa Sociavel* (May-November 1866).

Issue	Month/ Year	Title of the poem	Poet
5	May 1866	A caridade	Amorim, Francisco Gomes de
6	May 1866	Sê Feliz (vertido livremente do Francez)	Campos, M. J. Da Costa
9	July 1866	Ultimo Canto (Imitação livre)	Mourão, T.
11	November 1866	A voz do Mandovi a' memoria do exm.o Conde de Torres-Novas	Mendes, Lopes A.

The first poem appears in this journal only in its fifth issue (no. 5 of May of 1866). The title of the poem is “*A Caridade*” (“To Charity”).²³² The poem was written by F. Gomes de Amorim, who was a Portuguese poet of the Romantic period.²³³ The poem is made up of two octaves. The first octave defines what the attributes of charity are and the second octave validates the definition of charity through the experiences of the poet that reflects on the nature of charity and of God. However, the poet does not reflect in any way on Portuguese India or Portuguese in India. The poem thus serves as a placeholder in *Goa Sociavel* as it claims primarily to highlight everything that was associated with Goa. One must keep in mind that Goa in the mind of the nineteenth-century Indo-Portuguese intellectual was as much a part of Portugal as of India. However, the editorial

²³² Amorim, Francisco Gomes de. "A Caridade." *Goa Sociavel*. 05 1866: 53. Print

²³³ Ford, Jeremiah. "Francisco Gomes De Amorim." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 6. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909. 8 Jun. 2012
<<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06632b.htm>>.

recognition of the Indo-Portuguese as a distinct category in theory allows us to attribute this particular poem with non-specific Indian characteristic as a placeholder in the context of the journal.

The next two poems, i.e. “*Sê Feliz (vertido livremente do Francez)*” [Be happy (free rhymes that are adopted from French)] and “*Ultimo Canto (Imitação livre)*” [The Last Song (a free imitation)] are also non-specific when it comes to depicting Portuguese India and its culture. These two poems are typical of nineteenth-century Romantic poems. The first poem “*Sê Feliz*” is a free adaptation from French as the title suggests. Its poet is the editor of *Goa Sociavel* M.J. Da Costa Campos. It is a confession of love to a woman who had apparently rejected the love of the poet. The second poem is entitled “*Ultimo Canto*” or the “Last Song” and is also a romantic poem that follows a theme similar to the theme in “*Sê Feliz*” except it is a sort of lamentation of a poor poet who was refused love by the woman he idolizes.

The last poem that was published in the journal run has a geographically distinct title. The title, “*A voz do Mandovi a' [sic]²³⁴ memoria [sic] do exm.o Conde de Torres-Novas,*” refers to the river Mandovi on whose banks Panaji was located. This is the only poem in the issues of *Goa Sociavel* that directly relates to Portuguese. The author of this poem was also an established author named A. Lopes Mendes.²³⁵ This poem is essentially an elegy.

²³⁴ Should be *á Memória*

²³⁵ Antonio Lopes Mendes was also the author of work entitled “*A India Portuguesa*”. Lopes, Mendes A. *A India Portuguesa: Breve Descrição Das Possessões Portuguezas Na Asia, Dividida Em Dois Volumes, Illustrados Com 382 Gravures E 7 Mappas*. Lisboa: Imprensa nacional, 1886. Print.

The title can be translated as “The Voice of Mandovi.” The poem opens with the following sentence from Ezekiel 37, “*Ossa arida audite verbum Dei*”.²³⁶ This was the prophecy about dry bones. Why would the poet use these lines as the introduction into the main corpus of the poem? One way to interpret this is to simply state that the poem seems to be dedicated to the first anniversary of the death of the Count of Torres-Novas. Conde de Torres-Novas was the honorific title of the governor general of Portuguese India António César de Vasconcelos Correia. The Count of Torres-Novas had passed away in November of 1865.

One way to interpret the poem is to this look at the situation of decline in the economic fortunes of Portuguese India as compared to the initial perception of opulence of Portuguese rule in India in the 16th century. Old Goa was abandoned by the Portuguese and the new Goa, i.e., Panagim, was established in the 16th century.²³⁷ The prophecy in Ezekiel about the Lord resurrecting the bones of the dead thus constitutes a metaphor to denote the resurrection of Goa. The poem speaks about the death of Goa in following manner,

Goa is a bronze warrior,
I heard him salute to the living.
Heard (sound of) hoarse mortar-
That he mourns the death,
In the immense sea lost,

²³⁶ “*Ossa arida audite verbum Domini*” is another variant form.

²³⁷ Pyrard, François, Pierre . Bergeron, and Jérôme Bignon. *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil*. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1887. Print.

I heard in immense tossing,
the groaning of Portugal.”²³⁸

The second stanza of the poem alludes to the “pains” and “groaning” of Portugal and depicts Goa as a bronze warrior. Did the color bronze mean the color of the skin of the people who inhabited Goa?

The poem further refers to the Count of Torres-Novas as the warrior that was sent forth by God to represent the banner of freedom under the clear blue heavens (“*Qual guerreiro vindo de Deus, Respeitar livre bandeira do azul-claro dos seus.*”²³⁹

The references to “*Heide erguer o ceu*” in the poem bring to mind an ode of Camões.²⁴⁰ In his *Os Lusíadas*, we see the reference to Heide in the fifth and tenth songs. I mention this intertextual echo in order to illustrate that the worldview of those poets, who wrote in Portuguese, was heavily influenced by ideas from Portugal. In the late 19th

²³⁸ Mendes, Antonio Lopes. "A voz do Mandovy a' memoria do exm.o Conde de Torres-Novas ." *Goa Sociavel*. 11 1866: 86. Print.

“*É Goa, o bronze guerreiro,
Ouvi salutar-lhe o viver;
Ouvi rouco morteiro-
Que lhe carpia [sic] o morrer!—
No mar imenso perdido,
Ouvi, no immenso bramido
Das turbas o alarído,
De Portugal o gemer*”

²³⁹ Mendes, Antonio Lopes. "A voz do Mandovy a' memoria do exm.o Conde de Torres-Novas ." *Goa Sociavel*. 11 1866: 86. Print.

²⁴⁰ Almeida, Garrett J. B. S. L. A. G. *Camões: Poema Em Dez Cantos*. Lisboa: Empreza da Historia de Portugal, 1904. Print.

century the exposure of the elite of Portuguese India to these ideas left its imprint on the poetry that they created.

One of the subsequent stanzas of the poem uses elegy to elevate the sense of loss:

Torres-Nova: no stigma (on you)

stained thy sword loyal,

Ilhas, Bardez and Salcete

Mourn your death fatal.

(The mourning) does not stain your memory

you (were) the betrayer of the dark history ...

Oh! Enjoy, angels in Glory,

who weeps here Portugal!”²⁴¹

This stanza appears above before the penultimate stanza and it is where we see the dedicatory words to the Count of Torres Novas.

The penultimate stanza can be translated as follows,

Nostalgic *Pangy* [Panaji] is crying,

Humbling it slavishly.

²⁴¹ Should be *memória*.

“Torres-Novas: nenhum ferrete

Manchou tua espada leal,

Ilhas, Bardez e Salcete

Choram tua morte fatal.

*Não mancha a tua memoria [sic]*²⁴¹

D’um traidor a negra historia...

Oh! Gozae, anjos, na Gloria

Quem chora cá Portugal!”

That the waves of Mandovy
(There) Goes mutterings of pity!
Even the cold ashes cry
In the funerary harmonies
I give you laments of one Jeremiah
Give me the moans of Job.²⁴²

The poet, instead of using standardized Portuguese variant of Panagim, uses the local form of the same name, Pangy.

The references to geographic features of Portuguese India continue in the last stanza of this elegy.

“Along this infinite space,
My waters will gush
(From) these Ghats of granite²⁴³

²⁴²

*Chora saudoso Pangy:
Roja essa fronte no pó!
Que as vagas do Mandovi
Vão murmurando de dó!
Choremos-lh'as cinzas frias
Com funérias harmonias:
Dou-te o carpir d'um Jeremias;
Da-me os gemidos d'um Jó!*

²⁴³ Gattes here denotes the Western Ghats of India. This is a mountain range that separates topographically the Deccan plateau from Kokan.

The original text is as below,

*“Sobre esse espaço infinito
Minhas águas rugirão:*

In one abyss these will fall.
I want to flood the crests (ridges),
Of the Old and New Conquests,
To show to everyone
The sad wails of Konkan.”

The last stanza idealizes Goa as an infinitely vast space. In reality we know that when compared to the extent of the British India, the nineteenth-century Portuguese enclaves of India were insignificant in a geographic sense. The poet uses the literary space in an elegy to the memory of the late Governor of Portuguese India to “conquer” and “extend” the reality of the limited geographic space of the colonies. This was one of many ways to convince the Metropole of the greatness of a colony that had lost its former splendor.

The only poem that contained truly Indo-Portuguese elements in *Goa Sociavel* in my opinion remains deficient in giving voices to the larger Indian substrate on which Portuguese India rested. The Portuguese veneer, which hybridized into an Indo-Portuguese identity, was the consequence of a long arduous process of acclimatization of those who were colonizers and the colonized.

*E esse Gattes de granito
N'um abysmo arrojãõ.
Eu quero inundar as cristas,
Das Velhas e Novas-Conquistas,
Mostrar a tod'as vistas.
Tristes prantos do Concão.*

Conclusion

To elucidate the answers to the questions posed for this research, I used a mixed method approach. I completed a thorough content analysis of the journal runs that were available in print. Besides, I selectively performed targeted close readings of the poems that were published in these journals. The analysis of each of the journal runs show that the protracted process of building the national identity of Indo-Portuguese through the late 19th century remained an incomplete process for several reasons. First, there were multiple value systems at work in Portuguese India that were the result of multiple cultures meeting in the same geographic space. Second, the process of national identification in a colonial space is that of the gradual generation of selectively shared experiences, common values and self-images that ultimately end-up contradicting one other.

The common language aspect of Portuguese in these colonies as the official language of the Estado da India or Portuguese India was highly nuanced. A thin veneer as mentioned earlier of those who wrote in Portuguese in these literary journals meant limited exposure to the general populace of Portuguese India whose mother tongues were Konkani, Marathi, Gujarati and other Indic languages. The influence of neighboring British India was felt throughout Portuguese India beginning in the 19th century. Despite these limitations, various Portuguese language journals continued to be published in Portuguese India in the late 19th century and early 20th century.

Portuguese India was not an isolated entity nor was it in decline as some of the authors in the journal suggest when reminiscing about the glorious past of opulent Portuguese India. The literary Portuguese language journals that prospered during the late

19th century and the contents that were chosen by their editors needed to conform to the perceived needs of their audiences. There were multiple audiences to these journals that included not only the colonial administrators, but also their families, and also the Indo-Portuguese and other residents in the colonies irrespective of religion.

I note that the circulation of these journals could have been relatively limited to the audiences that knew the Portuguese language in Portuguese India. The effort to popularize these journals among the masses was one way of furthering an amalgamated identity. The Indo-Portuguese authors who contributed to these journals were part and parcel of the land they considered to be their home. The land, that nurtured them along with Portuguese influences, was the end result of the education that these authors had received. This comes across as one reliable marker of their creativity in their poems and other works. The majority of Indo-Portuguese writers did not break away from Romantic traditions of the time. Those who may have tried to do so were unable to since their framework of expression was additionally controlled through editorial choices. One way to differentiate their Indo-Portuguese identity was to use different philosophical concepts from the sub-continent. The other way to indicate a clear difference was to use various terms from local languages such as Konkani or even from the classical languages of India such as Sanskrit.

The relationship to the past of the Indo-Portuguese was also nuanced since the *gestalt* in which they functioned was qualitatively different from the past from which they arose. However there was recognition of a much larger Indic past that was continued by the Portuguese influences in the colonized territories. The Indo-Portuguese meditated upon their relationship to their Indic past in their poems. The fracture that was caused by

the initial conquest did not seem to be of major concern for those who wrote within these periodicals; instead, the questions were often about the glorious feats of the Portuguese in the Orient. Women were described from the point of reference of mostly 19th century Portuguese and Indo-Portuguese males. None of the poems that were used in these periodicals was created by poetesses. The male understanding of Indo-Portuguese female behavior and demeanor should be read through the lens of Indo-Portuguese male poets.

There is no single way to answer how the ethnic Indian identities were perceived in the issues of the journal titles that were analyzed as the poets who wrote in these issues were multicultural. The other important observation that one could make from the analysis of these three literary journals is that most of the poets that contributed in one journal also contributed to other journals. One of the poets from *Harpa do Mandovi*, i.e. M.J. Costa da Campos also served as the editor for *Goa Sociavel*. The perception of self as it appeared in these journals was problematic. The topics of the writings, and poems that were analyzed, articulate feelings of nostalgia for those who had left their homeland to go to Portugal and vice a versa.

The representation of ethnic Indians of the region that the Portuguese colonized is only marginally present in these periodicals for the number of those who did not speak Portuguese in these colonies was much larger than those who spoke and functioned in the Portuguese-language milieu. This was simply due to the fact that these journals primarily tend to circulate within the upper echelons of the colonial Indo-Portuguese who could read and dwell upon the notion of Indo-Portuguese identities. Their writings do not reflect upon the differences that would point to what it means to be an ethnic Indian and what it means to be an Indo-Portuguese. This can be tied to the initial sixteenth-century

policies of Afonso de Albuquerque that encouraged mixed marriages between the Portuguese and ethnic Indians.²⁴⁴ Thus the question of Indo-Portuguese identities surfaces in these journals only in the context of the internalization of non-Portuguese, non-Catholic Indic values in their writings.

In the final analysis, one can state that the Portuguese-language literary journals of late 19th century Portuguese India functioned in a strictly limited manner as a repository of social and cultural memories of the Portuguese colonial enterprise in India. These journals and the poets who wrote in them can be understood as pioneers of Indo-Portuguese modernity and embryonic nationalists. In the next chapter, I will focus on the stewardship challenges as these apply to 19th century Portuguese periodicals in a library setting. As my analysis will show, there are multiple challenges in preserving these periodicals for posterity.

²⁴⁴ Silva, Gracias F. *Kaleidoscope of Women in Goa, 1510-1961*. New Delhi: Concept Pub. Co, 1996. Print. p. 106.

Chapter 6: Stewardship Challenges in the Preservation of the 19th Century Portuguese Colonial Periodicals of India: Different Loci and Multiple Foci.

“The importance and novelty of a subject, of which we have hitherto had imperfect and inaccurate accounts, induced me to seize every opportunity of making myself acquainted with the transactions in the East Indies by the perusal of authentic papers. The satisfaction, I received from those I had already seen, excited an eager desire for further enquiry, and urged me to agree to any conditions under which I might be enabled to gratify my curiosity.”²⁴⁵

--Richard Owen Cambridge.

In the opening lines of the preface for his 1761 book, “An account of the war in India between the English and French, on the coast of Coromandel, from the year 1750 to the year 1760...”, Richard Owen Cambridge discusses his use of “authentic papers” in order to provide his reader with relevant historical analysis. His desire to use the papers also includes his desire for access to such papers. The book was written in the immediate aftermath of the war between the English and the French on the Indian sub-continent. However, Cambridge did not take into consideration the presence of the Portuguese in the

²⁴⁵ Cambridge, Richard O. *An Account of the War in India: Between the English and French, on the Coast of Coromandel, from the Year 1750 to the Year 1760. Together with a Relation of the Late Remarkable Events on the Malabar Coast, and the Expeditions to Golconda and Surat; ... Illustrated with Maps, Plans, &c. ... by Richard Owen Cambridge, Esq.* London: Printed for T. Jefferys, 1761. Internet resource.

sub-continent, and in 1761, Cambridge would not have known about the development of Portuguese periodicals press in 19th century India. The periodical press in Portuguese India began with the appearance of *Gazeta de Goa* in 1821.

However, the narrative of the late eighteenth century war itself might not be relevant as an introduction to this chapter on the stewardship challenges in preservation of Portuguese colonial periodicals of India. The fact remains that these periodicals remain a viable source of official information produced by the colonial enclaves of French and Portuguese in the 19th century. The journey of these documents through time until the present day could be considered to be a journey that was relatively precarious in the aftermath of decolonization. In this chapter, I argue that the survival of some of these ephemeral periodicals cannot be simply defined as an oversight or accident. The current presence of these periodicals in several large academic libraries in the United States, as well as their presence in the national and other libraries of Portugal and India, alludes to the stewardship whereby these periodicals were collected, made accessible and preserved for posterity. This chapter addresses the following theme and research questions.

Theme 3: Collecting and stewardship of 19th century Portuguese-language periodicals of Portuguese India in India, Portugal and the United States:

1. How did collections of 19th century Portuguese language periodicals of India come into being in the United States, India and Portugal? Where are these collections located in these countries?
2. What is the nature of collecting and stewardship of colonial-era periodicals in post-colonial settings today?

3. What preservation activities, if any, have been undertaken with these periodicals? Are such activities also directed towards providing access to these periodicals?
4. What is the understanding of stewards about the current copyright status of these periodicals?

In order to examine these interrelated research questions, this chapter briefly examines the prevailing literature on stewardship theory, which is a subset of both human behavior and economic theories.

Donaldson and Davis argued in 1991 that stewardship theory is grounded in the fact that the managers of a particular economic process are motivated by more than their own economic self-interest.²⁴⁶ The theory also postulates that the “stewards” or “managers” of a particular process continue to excel at their jobs in order to facilitate the achievement of a particular organizational objective(s).²⁴⁷ In the case of librarians, one can state that both of the postulates of this theory are applicable to certain extent. For librarians, their work cannot be simply explained in terms of economic gains in most cases. The librarians, whether they work at a National library, and or in academic or public libraries, share common values that characterize their vocation. Most librarians have to work within the matrix of their organizational goals. Librarians also excel within

²⁴⁶ Lex, Donaldson, and Davis James H. "Stewardship Theory or Agency Theory: CEO Governance and Shareholder Returns." *Australian Journal of Management*. Sage Journals, n.d. Web. 5 July 2012. <<http://aum.sagepub.com/content/16/1/49.short?rss=1&ssource=mfc>>.

²⁴⁷ Bender, Marko. *Spatial Proximity in Venture Capital Financing*. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien, 2011. Internet resource.

their jobs in order to meet the organizational goals and strategic plan objectives.²⁴⁸ In many libraries, individual librarians have annual work plans that they propose in consultation with their supervisors and these are aligned with the library's overall annual goals.

The theory serves as a counterbalance to the economic theory of agency or principal agent theory that maintains that the managers of an organization are motivated by their ability to convert their work into additional or increased financial gain. However, the motivations for the financial gain are not as acute as that of the owner.²⁴⁹ In case of many librarians, with exception perhaps of those who function in corporate and legal environments, usually work in a non-profit setting. The libraries, with exception of private libraries, represent a public good where the direct financial gains are difficult to track.²⁵⁰ The librarians usually act as stewards of the collections on behalf of the principals, i.e., the public, are motivated to act in the best interests of public.²⁵¹ The information asymmetry that is a function of the lack of complete transparency (?) of managerial behavior and owner motivation creates a sort of conflict that can be resolved

²⁴⁸ Strong, Gary. "Library Work Plans Now Available to Staff « UCLA University Librarian." *UCLA Library Blogs*. UCLA, 4 Aug. 2009. Web. 16 Sept. 2012. <<http://blogs.library.ucla.edu/universitylibrarian/2009/08/04/library-work-plans-now-available-to-staff/>>.

²⁴⁹ Durant, Robert F. *The Oxford Handbook of American Bureaucracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Print. p.183.

²⁵⁰ De, Witte K. Evaluating Efficient Public Good Provision: Theory and Evidence from a Generalised Conditional Efficiency Model for Public Libraries. WZB Berlin, 2010. Internet resource.

²⁵¹ Davis, J H, F D. Schoorman, and L Donaldson. "Toward a Stewardship Theory of Management." *Academy of Management Review*. 22.1 (1997): 20-47. Print.

through drafting a compact whereby the manager acts as an agent for the owner. Here the librarians act as agents and or stewards on behalf of the public that are in reality indirect owners of the libraries. Is it possible to adapt this theory of stewardship in case of the management and preservation of the colonial periodicals of 19th century Portuguese India? In her article entitled, “Neutrality, social justice and the obligations of archival education and educators in the twenty-first century”, Anne Gilliland has argued that:

In a world of increasingly diverse, mobile and digitally facilitated communities and activities, with ever-more encompassing conceptualizations of “the record” and “the archive,” there is a fundamental tension between the narrower archival mindset and practices that are associated with the construct of neutrality, and the complexities of advocating for, stewarding, and curating the greater human record.²⁵²

Although my dissertation is not about examining the attitudes of archivists but rather those of the librarians, the point that Gilliland makes can be applied in case of libraries that engage in the activities of collecting and preserving the colonial era periodicals. Specifically, in those libraries that have legacy collections of these newspapers the following basic question remains: can stewardship be neutral? Can a librarian proactively act as a steward of these colonial era periodicals in the post-colonial setting? Building upon the Dr. Gilliland’s argument I would postulate that in the major repositories of these periodicals, i.e., academic and national libraries, the librarians who have curatorial responsibilities for ensuring the survival of ephemeral information objects should act like stewards in that they are the custodians of these materials. I would further

²⁵² Gilliland, Anne. "Neutrality, Social Justice and the Obligations of Archival Education and Educators in the Twenty-First Century." *Archival Science* 11.3 (2011): 193-209. Print.

this argument as follows: these repositories have ethical obligations and should step up to take on more of a stewardship role, even if it takes them beyond the scope of their collecting and preserving. I argue that these librarians have ethical obligations to shed light on the value of these periodicals to their researchers.

Thus, for the purpose of my research, I have decided to adapt Donaldson and Davis' theory to the job duties of area studies librarians who manage and preserve colonial era periodicals. The same model of curatorial ethics can be certainly extended to archivists under certain circumstances. As an example, I would cite a case study by Maria da Conceição that compares the *Fazenda* archive of Portuguese India²⁵³ and the archives of the Diocese of Cochin and various preservation efforts related to these archives. As noted by the author in her study, "Portuguese and Indian Archives, a common heritage to be conserved: comparing case studies," an intervention by archivist to ensure preservation of bio-damaged Portuguese archive of Cochin through proper environmental controls and using the adequate storage conditions when possible can lead to positive outcomes.²⁵⁴ In this particular role archivists took on stewardship responsibilities that go beyond their traditional domain of collecting or selecting the materials, arranging, describing, and preserving them. The similar logic can be applied in the activities of the librarians. For example, in the immediate aftermath of the Iraq War, the American

²⁵³ The Fazenda Archive consists of 25 boxes of documentation from 1711 until 1930 that was sent by the Government of Portuguese India to "*O Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*" or the Overseas Historic Archive of Portugal in 1951.

²⁵⁴ Conceição, Maria Da. "Portuguese and Indian Archives, a Common Heritage to Be Conserved: Comparing Case Studies." *EURINDIA*. The European Commission under the Economic Cross Cultural Programme, n.d. Web. 14 Sept. 2012.

<http://eurindia.pc.unicatt.it/english/public_results/publications/EU_INDIA/4-2_Casanova.pdf>.

librarians took initiative in providing training to Iraqi librarians that would enable them to preserve their manuscripts and books.²⁵⁵ By highlighting these collections, the librarians and archivists did not simply act in their economic interest but in the interest of the scholarly community.

The group of 19th century Portuguese periodicals that were the product of the Portuguese colonial enterprise in India requires a multilayered stewardship with the area studies librarian acting as a principal steward. If one argues that the 19th century periodicals of Portuguese India as a group constitute a social memory repository, then one can apply the stewardship theory to them.²⁵⁶ Are there any differences in notion of stewardship in three different countries that I have chosen as the loci for this case study, where these periodicals are located, i.e. the USA, India and Portugal? The second set of questions is whether one can interpret these periodicals as a social memory repository where the choice of including a particular viewpoint of colonial administrations obviously dominated the discourse. The stewardship concept is also applied by Duranti in context of digital preservation and InterPARES3²⁵⁷. Duranti's argument about digitally publishing in the cIRcle repository the works of authors who have failed to respond to copyright related queries, after the due diligence is performed in contacting these authors, can perhaps only be applied under the stewardship model to the periodicals of Portuguese

²⁵⁵ Garcia, Eric P. "The destruction of a cultural heritage: with reference to the problems of Iraq." *New Library World* 108.7/8 (2007): 354-369.

²⁵⁶ Buckley, L. (2005), Objects of Love and Decay: Colonial Photographs in a Postcolonial Archive. *Cultural Anthropology*, 20: 249–270. doi: [10.1525/can.2005.20.2.249](https://doi.org/10.1525/can.2005.20.2.249)

²⁵⁷ Duranti, Luciana. "The Long-Term Preservation of the Digital Heritage: A Case Study of Universities Institutional Repositories." *Jlis.it: Italian Journal of Library and Information Science* 1.1 (2010): n. pag. *Letteratura Elettronica Online*. leo.cilea.it/index/jlis/article/view/12

India under the fair academic use clause. Here the institutions, along with the individual librarians, serve as the stewards of such collections.

As noted in earlier chapters, the Indian sub-continent was colonized by multiple European powers that included the British, Danish, French and Portuguese. With the exception of the Danish, all other colonial powers controlled India until middle of the 20th century. This meant there were several thousand periodical titles circulated in the colonized territories that were published in English, French, and Portuguese. The purpose of this chapter, as noted earlier, is to look at the Portuguese language periodicals of India. Thus the gathering of data and purposive sampling involved only the collections that had these periodicals along with strong South Asian Studies programs.

Data Collection

In order to elucidate differences in professional approaches that have been taken relating to the custodianship and stewardship of these periodicals, I identified and interviewed several area studies librarians as well as some preservation officers and special collections managers. In identifying who to interview, I employed purposive sampling to identify relevant potential interviewees. This approach allowed me to select informed participants who have first-hand knowledge of the issues that are related to the acquisitions, accessioning, and preservation of these periodicals.²⁵⁸

The total number of professionals that I interviewed in the United States was thirty-two. All worked in academic libraries and had more than five years of work experience except one librarian who had less than five years of experience. Sixteen were

²⁵⁸ Bernard, Harvey R. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Lanham (MD: AltaMira, 2011. Print. p. 145.

South Asian Studies librarians, and the other thirteen were subject specialists in Africana Studies, European Studies with an emphasis on French and/or Iberian Studies, Latin American Studies or History. The other three librarians belonged to preservation or special collections department in academic libraries. In the United States, Iberian Studies subject specialists often also serve also as Latin American Studies librarians. There were several reasons for interviewing these specialists. First, in many academic libraries in the United States, Iberian Studies librarians collect materials from Portugal, and thus could have been involved in purchases and the curation of Portuguese colonial era periodicals. Secondly, these librarians also develop Brazilian collections and their insight about the Portuguese colonial era periodicals of Brazil could be potentially helpful in relation to Portuguese language periodicals of India.²⁵⁹ The European Studies librarians were chosen as many of these librarians specialize in collecting French periodicals of the colonial era.

I also interviewed Africana Studies librarians because both Portugal and France had extensive colonial holdings in Africa and published periodicals during the colonial period.²⁶⁰ The reason for interviewing special collections librarians was the fact that some of these publications are also located in the Special Collections of academic libraries. I chose to interview available preservation officers as they could offer insight into preservation workflows within an organization and how a particular organization handles fragile periodicals.

²⁵⁹ Sodré, Nelson W. *História Da Imprensa No Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1966. Print. p. 29.

²⁶⁰ Motta, de S. J. M, and Lúcia M. M. Veloso. *História Da Imprensa Periódica Portuguesa: Subsídios Para Uma Bibliografia*. Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, 1987. Print.

South Asian Studies librarianship in the United States

South Asian Studies constitutes an interdisciplinary field of Area Studies librarianship that developed in the United States in the post-World War II and later Cold War era. However, in some academic institutions the study of the region started in the late 19th century. For example, at the University of Chicago, the first South Asian Studies program and collection development of the books in Sanskrit was launched in 1892, motivated by missionary concerns.²⁶¹ Professor E.E. Salisbury began teaching Sanskrit in the United States in 1844.²⁶² South Asian Studies librarianship evolved in 1960s with the establishment of the PL 480 program under the leadership of the Library of Congress.²⁶³ The PL 480 program was also known as Food for Peace program and in 1957, the Library of Congress shepherded a meeting of “Conference on American Library Resources on Southern Asia (CALROSA). During the meeting, one of the resolutions that were passed by the librarians asked that funds be dedicated to “cultural exchange programs” for the purchase of South Asian books for US libraries.²⁶⁴ The required funds for this collection development came from the money generated as interest

²⁶¹ Davis, Richard H. *South Asia at Chicago: A History*. Chicago, IL: Committee on Southern Asian Studies, University of Chicago, 1985. Print. Chapter 1. Pg. 1

²⁶² Davis, Richard H. *South Asia at Chicago: A History*. Chicago, IL: Committee on Southern Asian Studies, University of Chicago, 1985. Print.

²⁶³ Saran, Richard D. "Om Prakash Sharma 1930-1998." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 58.2 (1999): pp. 593-594. Print.

²⁶⁴ Patterson, Maureen L. P, and Martin Yanuck. *South Asian Library Resources in North America: Papers from the Boston Conference, 1974*. Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation, 1975. Print. Pg. 11

on wheat sales-related loans to India under Public Law 48 from 1951. This law allowed several libraries to acquire books from India until 1965.²⁶⁵

In 1965, PL 48 was modified into PL 480 program.²⁶⁶ Thus the vigorous collection development of print works from India started in the 1960s. One of the working groups that emerged in the South Asian Librarianship was the CONSALD (the Committee on South Asian Libraries and Documentation) and it currently has several major academic libraries as members. The self-description of CONSALD is as follows:

CONSALD, the Committee on South Asian Libraries and Documentation, is organized as a committee of the South Asia Council of the Association for Asian Studies, Inc. The primary objective of the Committee is the development of North American library resources on South Asia. The Committee shall facilitate library cooperation, collection development, bibliographic control, access and preservation to benefit the use of South Asian research and teaching materials.²⁶⁷

The South Asian Studies subject specialist librarians who were interviewed for this study were identified using this list as well as the directory of AAMES (Asian, African, and Middle Eastern Section of the Association of College and Research Librarians).

²⁶⁵ Patterson, Maureen L. P. *South Asian Library Resources in North America: A Survey Prepared for the Boston Conference, 1974*. Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation, 1975. Print. p. 12.

²⁶⁶ "Public Law 480, Title I — ." *USDA Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS)*. N.p., n.d. Web. 13 July 2012. <<http://www.fas.usda.gov/excredits/foodaid/pl480/pl480.asp>>.

²⁶⁷ "CONSALD." *CONSALD Committee on South Asian Libraries and Documentation*. N.p., n.d. Web. 06 July 2012. <<http://consald.org/newsite/node/4>>.

Open-ended semi-structured interviews

The interview questionnaire used is available in Appendix I. Some of the interviews were conducted by telephone while the others were conducted during the American Library Association's Annual and Mid-winter meetings or through site visits. For the interviews, I had obtained Institutional Review Board of UCLA permission before conducting any of the interviews.²⁶⁸ In some cases, I sent out email solicitations to the potential subject-specialists and the interviews were conducted during the follow up telephone calls. For the overseas holdings of these periodicals, I interviewed librarians at the Goa State Central Library as well as the National Libraries of Portugal in Lisbon. The overseas interviews were conducted over the phone.

Description of the overseas library sites

I interviewed a librarian in Goa State Central Library, which serves as a major repository of the colonial era Portuguese periodicals. The Goa State Central Library is located in Panaji and was established in Portuguese India as a *livraria publica* or public library in 1832. Since then it has been renamed several times and also served as the National Library of Goa.²⁶⁹ The library relocated into a new building in 2012. There are 180,000 books in the library along with numerous manuscripts, microfilms and rare

²⁶⁸ Levine, Nancy. "UCLA IRB # G10-06-023-01 Approved". 27 July 2010.

²⁶⁹ Rodrigues, Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa. "Central Library: Fond Recollections | iGoa." The Navhind Times Goa | News and Information on Goa. N.p., 29 Apr. 2012. Web. 31 July 2012. <<http://www.navhindtimes.in/panorama/central-library-fond-recollections>>.

books in English, Marathi, Konkani and Portuguese languages.²⁷⁰ The Portuguese language book and periodicals collection in the library is extensive and was initially organized into two distinct groups. These groups were books and periodicals that were published in Portugal and in Portuguese colonies before the liberation of Goa; and Portuguese books printed in India after the liberation of Goa. These periodicals now are organized in alphabetical order. I am not certain if this rearrangement strictly speaks to the change in the library's mindset from colonial to postcolonial, but it does indicate a shift in the local practice. These newspapers and periodicals form part of the local history collection that is housed in the department of Rare Books in the library. There are 167 pre-liberation titles of periodicals in the same department. This makes it a one-of-a-kind collection of materials of Portuguese India in Goa. In India, I interviewed a total of 4 librarians from the above-described libraries.

For Portugal, I chose the National Library of Portugal because it is the major repository of the colonial-era periodicals of Portugal. It has extensive holdings of periodicals in Portuguese, Konkani and Marathi from Portuguese India, as well as colonial-era periodicals from the former Portuguese colonies of Africa and Asia.²⁷¹ The interview questionnaire was translated into Portuguese for those who preferred to be interviewed in Portuguese. In addition to the National Library of Portugal, I also looked at the collections of various other libraries in Portugal. Among them was the municipal library of Porto. The online catalog of the library indicated that it had significant holdings

²⁷⁰ "Central Library, Goa." *Central Library, Goa*. Goa State Central Library in Panaji, n.d. Web. 6 Aug. 2012. <www.goacentrallibrary.gov.in/collection.htm>.

²⁷¹ Rafael, Gina G, and Manuela Santos. *Jornais E Revistas Portugueses Do Século Xix*. Lisboa: Ministério da Cultura, Biblioteca Nacional, 1998. Print.

of newspapers from the 19th century Goa. Both the National Library of Portugal in Lisbon and Porto Municipal Library served as sites for gathering the information that I had needed for this research. Phone interviews with 2 librarians from the municipal library and 2 from the National Library of Portugal were conducted.

Table 15 Countries and librarians interviewed.

Countries	Librarians planned to be interviewed initially	Librarians interviewed in actuality
India	3	2
Portugal	3	4
USA	30	32
Total	36	38

The number of librarians as it appears in Table 16 indicates that the majority of the librarians that I interviewed were in the United States. For this project, initially I had planned only to interview three librarians each from India and Portugal. However, as the research progressed, and in order to have better understanding of the how the librarians in other former colonies dealt with the similar type of newspapers, I was able to interview 4 librarians in Portugal instead of 3 that I had initially envisioned. In India, however, I was able to interview only two librarians.

In the United States, academic libraries supported various related programs including but not limited to South Asian Studies, Comparative Literatures, European Studies, Latin American and Iberian Studies. Thus, the collections historically evolved to

support the teaching and research on the campus. However, the location of these collections overseas was primarily in academic libraries, as indicated in Table 17. The distribution of librarians that I interviewed outside of the United States indicates that most are not academic librarians. In Portugal, collections of print materials from the former colonies were housed in the National Library. In Portugal, with the exception of Porto Public Library, the other Portuguese libraries did not have significant collections of the 19th century Indo-Portuguese periodicals. In India, as a discrete group, periodicals of Portuguese India formed a part of the local history collection that was housed in a public library, i.e., Goa State Central Library in Panaji.

Table 16 Number of librarians interviewed by type of libraries in India and Portugal.

Librarians	India	Portugal	Total
Municipal Library	2	1	3
National Library		3	3
Total	2	4	6

As all of the interviewed librarians in India, and Portugal worked in non-academic settings and as the main point of this research was to elucidate if there were any differences between US and Indian and Portuguese librarians in terms of how they viewed these colonial periodicals in post-colonial setting, I made the decision to analyze the interview responses as two distinct groups. The first group consisted of 32 librarians from the United States who worked in 14 different academic libraries that included a mix

of private and public institutions and the second group consisted of 6 overseas librarians from India, and Portugal.

All but one librarian requested and was provided with the transcript of his or her interview. I have indicated the institutions with South Asian Studies holdings in the US in the table below along with the number of the subject specialists who were interviewed. According to the ethics stipulations of this study, I did not distinguish these specialists by their subject areas within institutions.

Table 17 US academic libraries represented and number of interviewed librarians.

No.	US Institutions	Total No. of Librarians
1	Columbia	2
2	Duke	3
3	Emory	1
4	Harvard	1
5	John Hopkins	1
6	Kansas	2
7	Miami	2
8	NYU	1
9	Princeton	6
10	Rutgers	1
11	Syracuse	1
12	UC Berkeley	1
13	UCLA	4
14	UNC	2
15	Urbana Champaign	2
16	U Washington	1
17	Yale	1
	Total	32

All of the librarians that I interviewed in the United States were able to answer the question about the institution's history and recommended several online as well as print resources related to history of the institution. There were a total of seventeen US institutions of higher learning, all of which had mission statements publicly displayed, although in some cases it was difficult to find library-specific mission statements. The principal goal of this study was not to analyze library mission statements in their institutional context. However, a brief analysis of mission statements perhaps could shed light on the service philosophy that can lead to the collection development and retention of these 19th century periodicals of Portuguese India. These were primarily obtained as legacy collections and thus retained by various libraries.

Of the fourteen academic libraries in the United States, I was able to find the discrete mission statements for all of the libraries while browsing the web with exception of Columbia University Libraries. In case of Columbia University Libraries, the mission implicitly was reflected in its strategic plan.²⁷² I performed a limited content analysis of these missions and organized them by three distinct themes: collections and access, instruction and public services, and preservation. This does not mean that all of these themes were mutually exclusive, however these missions emphasized one theme over the others: collections and access (84%), instruction and public services (15%), preservation (1%). Although one cannot conclusively correlate these findings with respect to the collection development of Portuguese language periodicals that were published in India,

²⁷² Jaggars, Damon, Patricia Renfro, and Robert Wolven. "Strategic Plan: 2012-2013." Columbia University Libraries/Information Services. Columbia University, Jan. 2010. Web. 19 Aug. 2012. <http://library.columbia.edu/content/dam/libraryweb/general/documents/strategic_plan_2010-13.pdf>.

the predominance of the focus of library-specific missions on collection development and access to these collections reinforces the fact that gradual need-based collection development over the long period of time in these libraries, when combined with the departmental research focus, can lead to collection of colonial-era periodicals.

One problem that all of interviewees faced had to do with identifying collections with “Portuguese India” as a corporate author, or identifying individual authors who published in both Portuguese India. Only one of the subject specialists was able to identify any author and none of the librarians were able to answer my questions about specific editors. For example, a search for Portuguese India as a corporate author in the UCLA Library catalog yields 10 search results. However, using “Nova Goa” as a place of publication yielded 35 results. However these results also included both monographs and periodicals and “Nova Goa” was not the only place of publication in Portuguese India. There were several other places of publications in Portuguese colonial enclaves in India. The librarians who worked with the South Asian Collections of the colonial period in India were primarily familiar with the periodicals of British India. In order to gain insight into the collections of Portuguese colonial print materials in the 14 academic institutions from which I drew my sample, I conducted searches in the library catalogs after the interviews were conducted. During the interview process, I discovered that for most of the librarians interviewed, these collections were niche collections with a narrow, specific focus.

I used the following keywords: India Portuguesa, India Portugueza, Portuguese India and British India. I used these keywords across all field options to see how the obtained search results might reflect on the extent of the collections in the area of

Portuguese colonies in India. This method of data gathering has several limitations. First, the keyword searches usually do not necessarily reflect whether or not the materials were published in the colonies. Second, the search I performed does not necessarily indicate the language of the publication. With the faceted searches that are currently prevalent in many academic libraries, one can get a rough breakdown by the format of materials. However, there might be duplication of listing by format. For example, if a book is available online, in some cases it was also reflected under the format of book and also separately as an online resource. Third, the searches do not reflect the uncataloged backlog or incompletely cataloged books. Despite these limitations, the set of keywords and the findings of this search demonstrate that collections related to French and Portuguese India in this particular setting form a relatively minor niche when compared to the collections about the British India.

I also gathered data for the sample of 14 American academic libraries that was broken down by format of the materials. The primary object of this study is a group of periodicals from Portuguese India. Also, based on the keyword search, we can see that these periodicals form an even smaller group of the total material on French and Portuguese Colonial India.

Table 18 Keyword terms and search results in OPACs of academic libraries.²⁷³

No.	Institutions	India Portuguesa	India Portuguesa	Portuguese India	British India
1	Columbia	19	18	30	809
2	Duke	41	10	128	969
3	Emory	7	6	70	564
4	Harvard	65	22	541	4531
5	John Hopkins	6	2	58	370
6	Kansas	7	3	9	228
7	Miami	2	0		264
8	NYU	5	3	38	424
9	Princeton	12	8	16	321
10	Syracuse	21	5	9	247
11	Rutgers	3	0	84	900
12	UCBerkeley	34	32	270	1096
13	UCLA	27	13	29	510
14	UNC	11	2	81	498
15	Urbana Champaign	9	3	14	414
16	Uwashington	7	6	109	636
17	Yale	25	12	20	612

²⁷³ I did not search for keywords like “Estado da India” in these catalogs due to time constraints.

As an example, I used the data obtained from the case of Columbia University Libraries. The total keyword searches for Portuguese and British Indias for the keyword set that I had defined previously were 6,370 hits. For the set of keywords for Portuguese India (India Portuguesa, India Portuguesa and Portuguese India) the total was 67. This constituted 1.05% of the total keyword searches. I then analyzed keyword searches and restricted them by “journal” as format, and obtained the results as depicted below.

Table 19 Colonial periodicals (%) of total keyword searches by journal as a format.

Institution/ Keywords	India Portu- guesa	India Portu- gueza	Portu- guese India	British India	Total of journals	Total ²⁷⁴	%
Columbia	2	0	7	30	39	908	4.30
Harvard	1	2	14	101	118	6202	1.90

Out of 32 US librarians that I interviewed, the direct working experience of the librarians with these periodicals of Portuguese India is depicted in the table below. I divided these librarians into four separate groups. Group A was the group of librarians who worked directly with colonial periodicals of India. Group B was a group of those librarians who did not work directly with the colonial periodicals of India, and Group C was a group of those librarians worked with other colonial-era periodicals than those of the British India. The last group included the number of librarians who did not work at all with any colonial era periodicals.

Table 20 Distribution of librarians who had worked with colonial periodicals.²⁷⁵

Subject Specialists/ Librarians	A	B	C	D
South Asian Studies	10 (16)	6(16)	1 (16)	15
Latin American/ Iberian Studies	0(4)	0(4)	4 (4)	0
African Studies	0(5)	0(5)	5(5)	0
Preservation	1(2)	(2)	2(2)	0
History	1(1)	0(1)	1 (1)	0
Special Collections	0(2)	0(2)	2 (2)	0

I also inquired about the context in which the work of the interviewed librarians was associated with this group of periodicals. Most of the librarians and primarily subject specialists dealt with these periodicals in two associated contexts. First, most of the subject specialists also served as collection development specialists and also provided targeted reference service when a need arose. Of 16 South Asian Studies librarians interviewed, only 2 actively pursued collection development of Portuguese language periodicals of Colonial India. However, these librarians had several difficulties in acquiring these periodicals as a group. Although singular issues can be found for sale,

²⁷⁵ There was a total of sixteen South Asian Studies, four Latin American and Iberian Studies, five African Studies, one librarian for preservation, one librarian for history and two librarians who worked in the Special Collections department in academic libraries were interviewed.

these periodicals as a group are rarely on sale. Based on the information that most of the librarians that I interviewed have provided me, I can say that in almost all cases the acquisitions of these periodicals had taken place before the current librarians had joined their respective institutions.

The point I am trying to make about the data from the Tables 20 and 21 is that none of the US academic libraries, from which I had interviewed librarians, have large collections of colonial era South Asian periodicals. However, most of the librarians that included the subject and area studies specialists primarily provided reference help with respect to patron queries. One of the problems that these library specialists had to face, while providing the reference help for these periodicals, was the limitations of language knowledge.

More importantly, conditions in which these periodicals existed prevented access up until the digitization of selected titles became widely available along the open-access models. All of the librarians in the United States that I interviewed, except the preservation librarians, alluded to several North American projects such as Google Books, Hathi Trust and Archives.org. All librarians interviewed were familiar with Europeana digital library project, and also with the existence of French and Portuguese National Libraries. However, eighteen of thirty librarians were unfamiliar with specific projects revolving Portuguese periodicals of Colonial India. Three librarians, who were interviewed and who did not know about the possibility of open access to a selected group of digitized periodicals, asked me to provide them with the links to these resources.

I was able to interview one preservation librarian who had limited interaction with the actual paper copies of these periodicals in context of stabilization and preservation

efforts for only two titles that were published in Colonial India in the 19th century. The Preservation librarian agreed that he had very limited experience dealing with the contents of these periodicals.

Opinions about the stewardship of the collections of the selected group of periodicals

This question that I asked during the interview was as follows: “Who should be a steward of the collection of Portuguese Colonial era periodicals - an archivist, a librarian, or a preservation person? Why and Why not? Please describe your reasoning/rationale.”

This question evoked a multitude of responses from different librarians who were in different academic settings. I have coded the responses based on the responses that I received below. The stewardship landscape in the United States, as noted by Farb, consists of representatives from different institutional landscapes.²⁷⁶ In the case of print copies of these periodicals, the library professionals that primarily serve as custodians of these periodicals should in theory act as the stewards of these periodicals. However, I would also argue that these librarians work within larger institutional frameworks of various types of libraries. These libraries in which they work also act as institutional stewards. The academic libraries are not merely the cultural memory repositories as noted by Jeannette Marie Mageo, but the libraries become specific sites for collecting the cultural memory objects.²⁷⁷ Acting as a site for collecting the cultural memory objects, like the museums that collect various historical physical artifacts representing a cultural

²⁷⁶ Farb, Sharon E. *Negotiating Use, Persistence, and Archiving: A Study of Academic Library and Publisher Perspectives on Licensing Digital Resources*. 2006. Print. See chart on page 241.

²⁷⁷ Mageo, Jeannette M. *Cultural Memory: Reconfiguring History and Identity in the Postcolonial Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001. Print.

production of the era, libraries similarly collect the print items including periodicals that they deem of research value to their users. Towards this end the library missions usually serve as general guiding principles that advocate a particular worldview to workers that work in libraries as well as to the audience that uses the materials.

The distribution of perceptions of the interviewed librarians about who should be the stewards of these collections of periodicals is depicted below in Table 22. However the table does not indicate the quality of the whole plethora of varied answers that I have coded below. Among the interviewed librarians, 62.5% provided an answer that revolved around the dynamic nature of their work. These librarians viewed the issues of stewardship in conjunction with the issue of custody of these periodicals. This particular group of librarians argued that one must take into consideration the fact that these periodicals have gone through various stages of processing and preservation. The librarians further explained that based on various workflows or the state of ingestion of these materials in the library, description and organization of these periodicals in a library meant there could be multiple stewards instead of one steward.

Twenty interviewed librarians postulated that the “multiple transformational stewardship concept” best defines the role of a steward in the context of group of ephemeral periodicals like those from Portuguese India. Out of these 20 librarians, five argued that a “multiple transformational stewardship model” should be also seen simultaneously as a “component stewardship “model. These librarians further elaborated that the “component stewardship model envisions steward at each step of processing of particular material in an organization such as library. For example, if a particular periodical title is purchased, then it is received by the order division or the acquisitions

department. Thus, in the processing or ingestion chain, acquisitions person/s acts a steward during that period. When cataloging receives these items for further treatment, the stewardship then is transferred to the cataloger. The component stewardship does not emphasize dominance of one steward over the other, but instead relies on a designated steward during the each step of the processing.

The “multiple transformational stewardship” model can be defined in the context of library as stewardship that is under the mandate of several stewards at each stage of processing. In this way, each librarian or support staff member who is involved in processing of these periodicals will share series of responsibilities and act as a steward for each step. At each step, there can be several stewards of these periodicals. The differences in applications of these theories to Portuguese colonial periodicals of India might be in individual workflows and sharing of responsibilities as these are set up slightly differently in different libraries.

According to these librarians’ perceptions, component stewardship leads to increased accountability for individuals. The librarians argued that component stewardship increases inter-organizational interactions and thus could potentially foster cooperation with different individuals and units. However, with a follow-up question about what might be the nature of institutional stewardship, all librarians said that the institutional notion of stewardship also relates to the custodianship of these materials. If a particular cultural memory institution such as an archive or library owns these materials, then the responsibility of stewardship becomes implicit.

Table 21 Distribution of answers about stewardship by categories.

Response/ Stewardship by profession	Africana Studies Librarians	European Studies Librarians	History	Iberian and Latin American Studies Librarians	South Asian Studies Librarians	Special Collections Librarians	Preservation Librarians
Area Studies/ Subject Librarians	1			3	7		
Special Collections Librarian					1		
Preservation Librarian							
Digital Projects Librarian/ Coordinator							
Multiple Stewards/ Custodians	4	3	1	1	8	2	1
Total	5	3	1	4	16	2	1

The remaining 11 (34%) librarians answered that the sole steward of this specific group of periodicals should be an area studies librarian or a subject specialist. In a follow-up question about why only the area studies librarian or a subject specialist should be the steward of this collection instead of other librarians, the answers varied. Five of these eleven librarians stated that since they are familiar with the area and since South Asia as an interdisciplinary area is assigned to them as a part of their ongoing collection development and management responsibilities, they are the ones who should be able to provide the most focused reference service. However, when questioned further about their knowledge of Marathi, Konkani, and Portuguese languages, the answer was given by one librarian in the following manner, “It is not a responsibility of a bibliographer to know all the languages of the sub-continent that is so diverse, and the expectations are

unrealistic. These expectations of language expertise should not be the concern, but the concern should be about the librarian's ability in providing enough information so that the user can make informed choices about selecting and utilizing a particular resource. The librarians are stewards and should not be doing the "actual research for the users".

The burden of knowing these required languages, as the periodicals from the Portuguese India that were also published in some cases as bi-lingual editions, lies with the researcher. The librarian's job is to mediate the information need with information demand. The other South Asian Studies librarian stated that these periodicals were acquired in perhaps the 1940s and 50s by the academic institutions where the person worked, not as the librarian for the South Asian Studies budget, and since then the responsibility of managing these periodicals has been transferred to the librarian who is responsible now for the management of that collection.

The other strong argument that these librarians made was about their academic liaison roles on the campus.²⁷⁸ The function of academic librarians revolved around their triage role or a role of dispatcher when it comes to preservation, access, location and acquisition decisions about the collections they manage. In the interview with the librarians that emphasized a single steward model, one can see that the differing roles of a multitude of librarians/information professionals within large academic libraries were emphasized. The librarians in the same group argued that the clarification of these roles by the administrators is crucial in managing differing perceptions among the professional

²⁷⁸ Thull, James, and Mary Anne Hansen. "Academic Library Liaison Programs in US Libraries: Methods and Benefits." *New Library World* 110.11 (2009): 529-40. *ABI/INFORM Complete*; *Banking Information Source*; *Los Angeles Times*; *MEDLINE®*; *ProQuest Central*; *ProQuest SciTech Collection*. Web. 3 Sep. 2012.

librarians, other than those who engaged in collection development, irrespective of their status as area studies or subject specialist librarians.

The whole plethora of arguments that these librarians made above while asserting their primacy as the sole stewards of these collections can be correlated to their perceptions about the roles and centrality of bibliographer's decision-making abilities about the collections they curate in a large academic library setting. On the other hand, most of the subject librarians argued that there is a need for reevaluation of the traditional bibliographer's role and they were not wedded to the idea of having a single steward.

The special collections and preservation librarians answered that since the majority of these periodicals constituted in the American setting part of the library general collections, the stewardship of these periodicals for day to day management can be with the subject librarian who is responsible for location decision making when it comes to housing them within the specific part of library or in an off-site storage. However, if these periodicals need preservation work, then the preservation librarian should have consultative and decision making rights.

Colonial Periodicals of Portuguese India and Librarians

For the purpose of the analysis, I decided to collapse responses to these three interrelated questions. These questions were as follows,

1. What do these periodicals constitute for you in your subjective opinion?
2. How would you define a record? Would you consider these periodicals to be records of colonial period? If yes, please explain why do you think that these periodicals constitute a record of colonial society that existed during the time?

3. How would you describe these periodicals as a source of information on the bygone era? What do these periodicals tell us about colonialism and post-colonial modalities/events and meaning making?

The question, about what these periodicals constitute, invoked multiple responses due to the open-ended nature of the questions. The responses were based either on the nature of these periodicals and the information that was contained within them or based on perception of the format of these periodicals. Most of the librarians answered the question about what these periodicals constitute in multiple ways. On the one hand, some librarians stated that these periodicals are like any other periodicals and should not be considered as a separate group. On the other hand, some of the same librarians argued that these are the artifacts and records of the colonial interactions constitute an archive of colonial memories from the perspectives of those who wrote in them and those whose writing was allowed to be published. The distribution of the answers that I coded from the answers to the interview question was as follows:

Table 22 Distribution of librarians' responses about the colonial periodicals of Portuguese India.

Colonial Periodicals of Portuguese India	African Studies Librarians (5)	European Studies Librarians(3)	History (1)	Iberian and Latin American Studies Librarians (4)	South Asian Studies Librarians (16)	Special Collections Librarians (2)	Preservation Librarians (1)	Total
Archive	1	2	1		6	0	0	10
Historical colonial record	5	3	1	4	16	1	1	31
Collection of newspapers and journals	1	3		4	15	2	1	26
Primary source	1	3	1		15	1	0	21
Both primary and secondary source	3	3	1	4	16	2	0	29
Secondary Source	5	3	1	4	16	2	1	32

In some cases, I had to group the responses together due to the conceptual similarities. For example, out of 10 responses that denoted these periodicals as an archive, 6 respondents used the word *archive* while the other 4 used the phrase *colonial archive*. Sixteen South Asian Studies librarians noted that these periodicals represent, as a group, a colonial record, a record that was created in the process of colonization and it served various purposes then. As a historical colonial record these periodicals should be considered to be hallmarks of the time for which they were created. The ephemeral value

of these periodicals of the past has migrated and evolved as time passes. Thus these periodicals, despite of whatever the reasons for their creation, might present us with a sort of snapshot of the mindset of the people of that time. When I further questioned librarians, stating that they were not archivists and that the use of term “*an archive*” might be problematic, the librarians responded that they are using this term not to denote a physical place or an archival theory or practice. The librarians responded that the colonial newspapers or periodicals are a sort of holders of information that is waiting to be mined by a historian or post-colonial studies scholars.

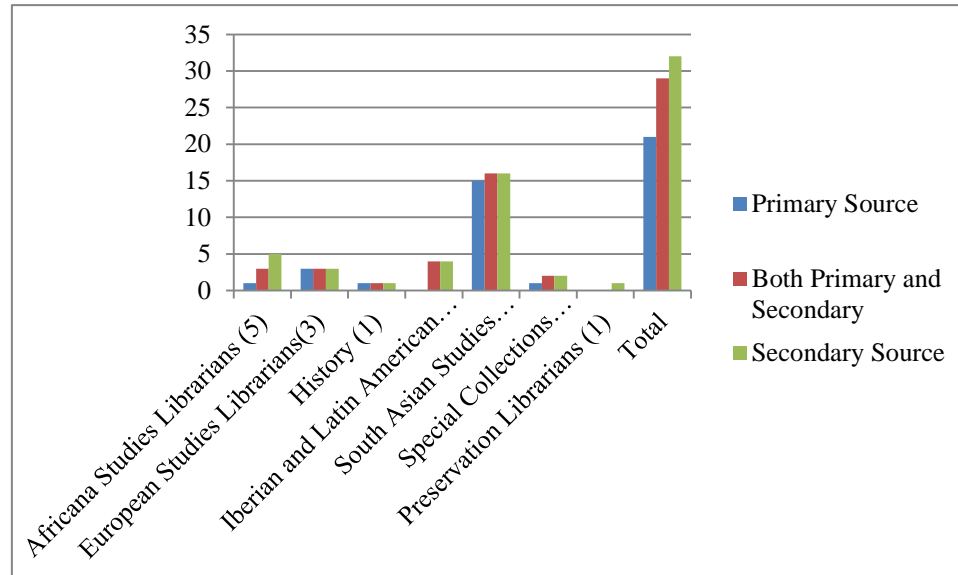
All of the interviewed South Asian Studies librarians, with exception of one, maintained that although these periodicals can serve as a snapshot of the era that produced them, one must account for the biases and selective representation of colonial realities in them. Often times, earlier on in the 19th century, the disagreements and resulting rebellions that happened in the colonial territories of Portuguese India were not reflected upon. The lens that the editors used was often formed by the worldview of the editors of these journals. In that sense, these periodicals serve as an incomplete snapshot of the time that they represent. One librarian of those who agreed used the term “an incomplete archive that consists of manipulated records.” According to this librarian, “it might not be even appropriate to use the term an “archive” in a narrow sense as it is used in archivistics. However, these periodicals provide us with the information about life in the colonies, interactions between various nodes of colonial enterprise, and how “the old India” was transformed into “the new India.” One must however be extremely careful in using the terms like “Old India” or “New India” in the context of colonization.

One of the area studies librarians that I interviewed argued that one way to look at these newspapers or journals is to look at them as bibliographic entities and treat them such. The librarian further concluded, “Let the scholars worry about the meaning making. The notion of stewardship is overrated and the librarians should simply be responsible for collecting, preserving and providing access to the information. The librarian as a steward cannot be held responsible for the conclusions drawn from data sources that these periodicals represent.”

The librarians were pretty much in agreement with the nature of these periodicals. Most librarians, as noted in table 23 above, agreed that these periodicals can be both primary and secondary sources for the students in various humanities and social sciences fields. One cannot simply look at them as the primary source for information and that these periodicals should be used in conjunction with other archival sources that are available to the researchers. These archival sources include letters from the administrators, and other papers and policy documents of the colonial governments, official statistical publications and documents produced during the colonial administration of Goa, and other territories. In some cases the librarians answered the same question multiple times.

The distribution of the answers about whether these periodicals were primary or secondary sources of information is depicted graphically below in figure 4. From the graphical distribution of answers, one can see that the majority of the answers indicate that the most of the librarians considered these periodicals as secondary source of information.

Graph 4 Responses by US librarians about primary or secondary sources.



Periodicals of Portuguese India: Reference, preservation and collaboration

The next set of questions, which I have examined, is as follows:

- How these collections are used currently? What are the problems associated with the access to these collections?
- What kind of reference queries do you get usually with respect to these periodicals?
- Briefly describe preservation related activities for these periodicals at your institutions.
- What do you think will be impact of preservation?

The South Asian Studies librarians and history librarian were able to answer questions that were considered very specific by the other interviewed area studies librarians. The other librarians, such as those from the special collections and

preservation departments deferred answers to the South Asian Studies librarians citing that the reference consultations that were conducted using this specific group of periodicals were the domain beyond their specialization.

These collections were considered by most South Asian Studies librarians to be “high value and low use” collections. The librarians argued that during their daily work, queries regarding these periodicals are minimal. The librarians argued that these periodicals are generally used as any other periodicals in the collections of their academic libraries. Most of these periodicals do constitute part of general collections, and since these are in open stacks as bound volumes, there was no way for the librarians to track their daily usage.

The librarians argued that the queries mostly originated from historians, post-colonial studies, comparative literature and other social sciences related scholars and advanced graduate students. One librarian noted that there were several queries with respect to census and other statistical sources of Portuguese India medical scholars who were studying history of medicine and science in Colonial India. The other scholars, who initiated the queries about the access and sought reference help regarding these periodicals, were visiting scholars with specific research questions that they wanted to investigate. In extremely rare cases advanced undergraduate students at their home institutions inquired about these periodicals.

These librarians further informed that the limited use of these periodicals by many North American undergraduates had to do with several factors. First, these periodicals often presented undergraduates with language specific challenges. Second, not all of the undergraduates possessed enough knowledge of Portuguese and regional languages in

which these were published. Thus, the use of these periodicals was usually mediated through South Asian studies librarians who possessed some language expertise. However, not all of the South Asian studies librarians possessed expertise in multiple Indic languages, such as simultaneous knowledge of Konkani, and Marathi. In some cases, these periodicals could not be accessed as a complete collection as there were stray issues that formed a collection. Third, many of the institutions did not lend these periodicals through the interlibrary loan channels. However, the access to these periodicals could be selectively gained through the Europeana Digital Library or through the national digital libraries of France and Portugal.

Two of the interviewed South Asian Studies librarians, who worked at Ivy League universities, focused on the Borrow Direct mechanism that allowed the interested patrons to request materials from a consortium of primarily Ivy League libraries. The Dartmouth Library's site provides the following information on the Borrow Direct,

Borrow Direct is a patron-initiated rapid book request and delivery system. It enables faculty, staff and students to search the combined library catalogs of Brown, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Harvard, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, University of Pennsylvania, Princeton, Yale and the Center for Research Libraries, a collection of over 50 million volumes, and directly request expedited delivery of circulating items.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁹ "Borrow Direct." *Dartmouth College*. N.p., 16 Aug. 2012. Web. 16 Sept. 2012.

<<http://www.dartmouth.edu/~library/res-share/borrowdirect/?mswitch-redir=classic>>.

Borrow Direct is a patron-initiated rapid book request and delivery system. It enables faculty, staff and students to search the combined library catalogs of Brown, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Harvard, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, University of Pennsylvania,

However, upon noting that Borrow Direct does not provide periodicals, the librarians argued that one could potentially request the bound volumes of these periodicals if these are treated as monographs.

The South Asian studies librarians argued that they consulted with preservation officers when it was deemed necessary. If any of the specific titles from the group of the Indo-Portuguese periodicals needed preservation, then the librarians followed the advice of the preservation librarian at their academic institutions. The current preservation efforts varied by libraries and there wasn't a specific schedule for periodic preservation of this group of periodicals. The preservation librarian that I interviewed agreed that depending on the library, there are planned ongoing preservation efforts for all library materials; however, area studies librarians, curators, and subject specialist periodically brought to the attention of preservation officer those books and periodicals that needed immediate attention. None of the librarians that I interviewed spoke about specific digital preservation efforts for this group of periodicals

The results gained from the use of multiple preservation techniques for these particular periodicals are a complex function of many factors. These factors vary from the actual physical condition of the periodicals, if there was a preservation lab on site, or if preservation was outsourced, or if there was a dedicated budget for preservation at a particular institution, and what projects were already in process at the time of the assessment of the physical condition of these periodicals. Since the subject specialist librarians that I interviewed did not directly deal with actual preservation related budgets,

Princeton, Yale and the Center for Research Libraries, a collection of over 50 million volumes, and directly request expedited delivery of circulating items.

the only role these librarians were able to highlight was that they had consulted preservation officers on the basis of their needs. If a particular periodical title had several damaged issues, then it was sent to the preservation librarian for evaluation. If the damages were deemed minor then the librarians requested that these be housed in an acid-free envelopes or boxes until further decision can be made. The digital preservation of these periodicals was considered a low priority project as there were several other competing projects deemed more important for the value added image of a particular library. One of the librarians, who worked at an institution in California, stated that if these periodicals were published in California, and were today out of the copyright restrictions, then as a part of California history and heritage preservation projects, the library would consider them for digital preservation. These digitized versions potentially would attract some funding from benefactors or donors of that institution.

The other librarian that I interviewed stated, “Why would the US libraries give such a high priority for digital preservation of these periodicals is beyond me. Instead we should focus on preserving the memories of the Native Americans or even our own local historical newspapers, some of which have had very few surviving copies.” When the librarian was asked if some kind of relevant statistical data was available to find out more about these local periodicals, the librarian said that it would be rather easy to check these facts with a local history archive or something.” The librarian further continued, “Perhaps it might be easiest if newly emerging nations should undertake such digital preservation projects as they had relatively large funds available for heritage projects in their own countries.” The librarian further continued as follows, “Perhaps if an US institution undertakes this process then a large institution like the Library of Congress or a

collaborative consortium like the Center for Research Libraries should undertake such a project in collaboration with the library or libraries that would provide these periodical issues to consortium for preservation.”²⁸⁰

Local and global inter-institutional collection development and preservation collaboration

- a. Are there similar collections at other institutions in your city/town?
- b. Do you collaborate with these or other institutions in your city/district and state or nation to enhance your collection development and preservation related activities?

What is the nature of these activities and how do these activities relate to mentioned colonial periodicals?

The answers to this question varied according to the geographic location of a particular library. For example, the Princeton University Library is the only large library in the township of Princeton. However besides Princeton, there is Rutgers University in Princeton. The librarians whom I interviewed at Princeton stated that there wasn't any close collaboration in the area of South Asian Studies collection development including the collection development and preservation of any French and Portuguese publications from Colonial India. Each librarian acted as steward of his or her respective collection.

The other larger library is Princeton Public Library. In case of Columbia and NYU, there are other large libraries within the NYC metropolitan area. Triangle Research Libraries Network (TRLN) is a collaborative organization of Duke University, North Carolina Central University, North Carolina State University, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill that allows libraries to pool and share their resources in order to

²⁸⁰ A librarian in a North American academic library. Phone Interview. September 2010.

further develop their collections and services. In case of the TRLN network, there was only one South Asian Studies librarian housed at Duke University Library, who served as curator for all three libraries. The John Hopkins University library participates in the Chesapeake Information and Research Library Alliance (CIRLA) that grants the participating institutions mutual borrowing privileges. One notable member of this consortium was the librarian interviewed at the John Hopkins University told me was the Library of Congress.

All of the 17 institutions had several levels of collaborative consortial activities on both regional and national levels. These activities served as a complex net of collaborative initiatives that were not only limited to South Asian Studies, but to the broader acquisitions, preservation related goals of these institutions. For French and Portuguese colonial periodicals of India, I could not find specific active collaborative efforts in the areas of stewardship on the national and regional levels in the United States.

Access, intellectual property rights and stewardship

In order to understand how the US librarians act as the stewards for the collections of periodicals of Colonial India, I interviewed them regarding the issues of access in relation to intellectual rights.²⁸¹ I asked the following two related questions for this case study.

- a) Are you familiar with the intellectual property rights related issues in your country as these pertain to the periodicals of Portuguese India?

²⁸¹ I note that throughout this dissertation, I have used the word intellectual property rights and copyright intermittently.

- b) If yes, what would you think would be some important factors that would allow the users to access the information that is contained within these periodicals of Portuguese India?

The answers to these questions varied greatly based on the professional responsibilities of the librarians that I had interviewed. These answers varied from it is not really my area of expertise to the answers like what the intellectual property rights of the periodicals, produced by entities that are long defunct, have to do with today. In one of the interviews, the librarian referred to 1923 as a cutoff date for providing the digital access to these periodicals. The answers that I received during these interviews were context specific. During these interviews two specific and mutually nonexclusive contexts emerged. First context revolved around the importance of the intellectual property regulations in the United States for the librarians, who acted as the stewards of this specific group of periodicals, were interviewed. Second context pertained to actual knowledge of intellectual property regulations that governed these periodicals.

In the table below, I have grouped the answers from the interviewed libraries. The perceptions of librarians about the importance of intellectual property legislation in their home country, as well as the other countries in which these periodicals were located, varied. However, not all of the American librarians were familiar with the intellectual property rights related legislation in India and Portugal. It was not expected of the librarians to know the details of the copyright related legislations in the countries other than their home country. Also, the librarians were familiar with general outlines of the copyright related legislation as it stands today in the United States. None of the librarians

had thought that the intellectual or copyright legislation and their interpretations across three nations might be problematic.

Table 23 Librarians’ perception of the importance of intellectual property legislation.

Librarians by field	Importance of Intellectual Property Legislation by librarians.			
	Not Important	Somewhat important	Important	Very important
African Studies (5)			1	4
European Studies (3)				3
History (1)				1
Latin American Studies (4)		1	2	1
South Asian Studies (16)	1	1	4	10
Special Collections (2)				2
Preservation (1)				1
Total	1	2	7	22

From the data above we can see that the majority of the librarians perceived that intellectual property rights-related regulations are important when it comes to determining the status of Indo-Portuguese colonial periodicals. One of the South Asian Studies librarians insisted that the intellectual property right legislation should be considered part of decolonization in India. The librarian further continued that, “In case of these states, no matter how one can characterizes them, the fact of colonial brutality, that we today perceive, gave away to hybridity of sort essentializes and trivializes the natives that now wearing shirt and pants started to be called *babus*. Precisely, this is the mentality that continues to plague psyche of many South Asian when it comes to

expressing their rights within the framework of a sovereign state. These periodicals serve as a testimony of imperial violations and creations of trans-border realities where the perception of belonging to a big large Empire was based in case of Portugal on various factors including religion, caste and color of skin. This was the space that created, maintained and perpetrated these organs of colonial control. These newspapers should be persevered so that they can serve as testimonials to the memories that the modern Europe would like to shelve in a forgotten corner with other human tragedies. Why then one should even waste time considering what legislation govern as these are now property of decolonized state and they can do what they want with these? However, in the United States, we must follow certain standards and uphold to standards that allow us to provide access to our users.”

Only one of 32 librarians interviewed gave such a long narrative answer that perhaps requires further inquiry that was out of the scope of this case study. If the first question was about the perceptions of importance of the copyright or intellectual property rights related legislation, the follow up question was about self-reporting the factual knowledge of the intellectual property legislation in the United States.

The answers to the question about the knowledge of intellectual property rights related legislation were essentially self-reported by the librarians. The librarians expressed that there were often separate legal experts in the library and also in the institutions that dealt with the issues pertaining to copyrights and licensing agreements. When librarians had specific questions to which they did not have an answer, it was referred to the specialist librarians. The librarians seldom engaged in the matters of interpreting these copyrights related issues.

The librarians answered that this does not mean that the knowledge of relevant copyright related issues were not important for their work. On the contrary, the librarians had differing view point on how to apply their own knowledge to this specific group of periodicals. These opinions varied from we could easily perhaps digitize the periodicals that are in the public domain, i.e., the works that were published before the 1923 cutoff date.²⁸² However, when informed that these publications have to be published in the United States and not elsewhere, the librarians said that they would refer the matters for further clarification to the University counsel's office.²⁸³

Table 24. Librarians' perception of the knowledge of copyright or intellectual property legislation.

Librarians by field	Knowledge of intellectual property		
	Somewhat important	Important	Very important
African Studies (5)		1	4
European Studies (3)			3
History (1)			1
Latin American Studies (4)	1	2	1
South Asian Studies (16)	1	4	11
Special Collections (2)			2
Preservation (1)			1
Total	2	7	23

²⁸² "Case 2: Pre-1923 publications | The Art Institute of Chicago." *The Art Institute of Chicago*. N.p., n.d. Web. 21 Sept. 2012.

<<http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/exhibitions/Ryerson/CopyrightLaw/2>>.

²⁸³ "Case 3: Beware pre-1923 foreign publications | The Art Institute of Chicago." *The Art Institute of Chicago*. N.p., n.d. Web. 21 Sept. 2012.

<<http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/exhibitions/Ryerson/CopyrightLaw/3>>.

The purpose of this question was not necessarily asking the librarians the specifics of how to apply their knowledge of copyright when it comes to identifying potential copyright related issues that pertain to the group of Portuguese language periodicals of Colonial India. All of the interviewed librarians in the United States, with exception of one librarian, had worked in academic libraries for more than five years. However, based on the answers above, one can see that the majority of the librarians that I interviewed valued the importance of the knowledge of the intellectual property rights related issues, especially when it concerned the digital preservation of these periodicals. The librarians were aware of the fact that some of the faculty members or research scholars could potentially demand the digitization of these periodicals. Convincing a particular faculty member, that some of these periodicals might be under the copyright protection, might be problematic in some circumstances according to several librarians.

The general lack of understanding of the copyright related issues by faculty might be one factor that could contribute to the perceptions about the importance of knowledge of copyrights and intellectual property rights related matters.²⁸⁴

Discussion of copyright related issues

The copyright related issues form a complicated set of legal circumstances that could potentially prevent the US librarian from digitally preserving these materials. Based upon my interviews with the librarians, I realized that their perspectives and

²⁸⁴ Schlipp, John. "Coaching Teaching Faculty: Copyright Awareness Programs In Academic Libraries." *Kentucky Libraries* 72.3 (2008): 18-22. *Library Literature & Information Science Full Text* (H.W. Wilson). Web. 21 Sept. 2012.

knowledge about the copyright regulations in the United States were often uninformed and sketchy. Some librarians assumed that all types of pre-1923 works that were in public domain can be safely digitally preserved. This argument was further extended to state that since I was concerned with the 19th century periodicals from Portuguese India, one would be safe to assume that these were now part of the public domain. The others mentioned that some of these works could not be preserved for three distinct reasons. First, despite the fact that Portuguese India doesn't exist, the copyright could have been transferred either to India or to Portugal. Second, these periodicals often contained works of different authors that are now dead or the whereabouts of their descendants are not known. Thus these works in theory are orphan works. Third, United States copyright law generally allows preservation of these periodicals either as microfilm or digital copies for local use if the library is the owner of the originals of these periodicals.

The American librarians that I interviewed, and their responses to the questions pertaining to colonial era Portuguese India illustrate, several key points. First, the notion of stewardship is understood as something that is context-specific. While some argued for “multiple transformational stewardship model,” others focused on “component stewardship.” In the final analysis, the need for stewardship in the context of colonial periodicals and varied workflows within a library setting was recognized, by most librarians.

International perspectives on the 19th Portuguese colonial periodicals of India and stewardship boundaries

One of the two purposes of this study was to see if there were any differences in the perspectives of international librarians on the issues of stewardship, preservation as

compared with their counterparts in the United States. The other purpose was to also see how these periodicals and their future were perceived by the overseas librarians who I interviewed. Additionally, I wanted to see if the differences in perspectives reflected the workflow within the libraries where the interviewed librarians from India, and Portugal worked.

Interviews of Librarians in India and Portugal: Some reflections

As noted earlier, I was able to interview two librarians from India who worked at the municipal library in Goa and were associated with the collections of Portuguese colonial era periodicals. The narratives that I gathered during these two trips were the result of informal conversations that I had with librarians as well as with the technical staff that were responsible for this project.

The Goa State Central Library is a public library subsidized and sustained using state funds. The librarians were familiar with the history of their institution. They were proud of the fact that their library was the first public library on the Indian sub-continent. The initial collection of this library was originally from the Military Academy of Portuguese India.²⁸⁵

The librarians informed me that one of the goals of the collection development policy at their institution was to support the local history collection. However, one of many problems generally faced by the librarians was the lack of sufficient knowledge by some of the librarians that worked at the library. Also, being a state institution, its bureaucracy had somewhat different priorities and plans when it came to the collection of materials from Portuguese India. This was obviously not intentional, but it was a function

²⁸⁵ "Central Library, Goa: About us." *Central Library, Goa*. N.p., n.d. Web. 5 Oct. 2012.

<<http://www.goacentrallibrary.gov.in/aboutus.htm>>.

of the post-colonial realities of Goa. When I asked the librarians who should be the steward of these collections, and also how they define a record, both of the librarians answered slightly differently.

One of the interviewed librarians informed me that the steward of these local history collections should be ideally a professional librarian, who besides English knows Konkani, Marathi and Portuguese. He or she should be familiar with the local traditions of Goa. The librarian noted that, “a steward should be the person who is familiar with the extent of these collections and certainly not someone who has been appointed from above. The stewardship is a product of love for a particular collection and an individual’s capacity to make decision with respect to the future of that collection. The knowledge about the collection is also very important. It is steward’s role to make sure that the collection and its integrity is preserved for the posterity. This person should also have a level of decision-making and financial capacity to execute these decisions. In an ideal setting of North America many librarians have their individual collection development budgets; here in India our budget scenario is slightly different. We do not directly manage any budget. To be a steward in true sense, I believe that one should have a level of financial decision-making authority when it comes to purchases of those titles that are lacking from the collection. What we have here in our local history collection is only a portion of 19th century periodicals that ended up in our collections during the Portuguese period. Of course, a few titles came in after the liberation of Goa. Thus I would not characterize myself as a steward of this collection. I think of myself as a curator for this

collection or an agent or an intermediary that finds information for the patrons when needed.”²⁸⁶

The librarian further continued, “These colonial periodicals in their totality represent a part of the culture based production that was produced by the intellectual elites of Goa. One must understand that this elite was highly influenced by the tragic loss of the glorious past of Goa and also it was aware of the diminishing importance of Portuguese India in the larger scheme of things within the constituents of Portuguese colonial enterprise. The initial missionary soldier enterprise had to accommodate with the diverse group of population and it was but natural an amalgamation of culture would take place. However the 19th century Goa was a very different place than it was in the 16th century. Within these periodicals one could clearly see a desire of the local elite that composed of the visiting administrators, local Portuguese and their hybrid population and then a large number of local converts to emulate the culture of the Mother country. These periodicals represent that niche of the population that could read and write in Portuguese. As there is very little information available about the statistics of the circulation of these periodicals, one can only draw somewhat incomplete conclusion about their overall effect on the consciousness of the majority of those who were in reality excluded in one way or another from the colonial decision making. If one considers these 19th century periodicals to be the record of colonial era of Portugal in Indian sub-continent, then one must accept the fact that these are incomplete records. In theory, most of the historical records we see are incomplete.”²⁸⁷

²⁸⁶ A librarian in the Central Library, Goa. Phone Interview. August 2010.

²⁸⁷ A librarian in the Central Library, Goa. Phone Interview. August 2010.

The other librarian had a slightly different understanding of the record. According to this librarian any record can be interpreted as a sort of inscription for an audience with a purpose that is not dependent on the medium through which it was expressed. The librarian postulated as follows, “When it comes to the 19th century periodicals of Portuguese India, one can state that these are records in a textual form that, when we apply Ranganathan’s theory on documents as expressed in his work entitled, “Documentation and its facets,” would require some sort of preservation in order to sustain them through time.²⁸⁸ This brings us back to your initial question about the stewardship of these periodicals. The librarian is obviously steward of these periodicals as he or she would know how to best proceed with ensuring that the information that is contained within them is accessible to those who would like to use it.”²⁸⁹

Despite the fact that I was able to interview only two librarians from India, who in reality dealt with 19th century Portuguese periodicals, the answers that I received from them represented a range of opinions that were differing from one another. While in no way one could generalize about the librarians in India who handled periodicals of British or French India, one can see that stewardship remained a diffuse concept for the interviewed librarians. One way to explain these differences of opinion is to perhaps look at the educational background of these professional librarians. Usually individual institutional cultures influence the viewpoints of the librarians that work there. However, in case of Goa, it was interesting to see differing opinions in the same institutional settings.

²⁸⁸ Ranganathan, S R. *Documentation and Its Facets: Being a Symposium of Seventy Papers by Thirty-Two Authors*. Bombay: Asia Pub. House, 1963. Print.

²⁸⁹ A librarian in the Central Library, Goa. Phone Interview. August 2010.

Portuguese librarians: Perspectives and challenges

I was fortunate to conduct my research at the National Library of Portugal (*Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP)*) in the summer of 2008 for a week. During my research, I was able to establish a channel of contacts in the *BNP*. Mostly the support staff who worked in the reading room of the library served as an excellent source of information. The support staff colleagues often went out of their ways to help me with my requests for several Marathi and Portuguese language periodicals of Portuguese India that were in a fragile state. These support staff member also helped me by identifying the key librarians who usually worked with the colonial periodicals of Portuguese India and other Portuguese colonies for phone interviews. Out of the four librarians that I managed to interview, three worked at the *BNP*. The fourth librarian worked at the municipal Library of Oporto (Porto). I had chosen this particular public library as it had several holdings of Portuguese periodicals that were published in Colonial India. There were other institutional options, such as *Fundação de Oriente* library or the University of Coimbra library. However, I was unable to search in the online catalog of the library of the *Fundação de Oriente* as the catalog remained inaccessible each time when I tried to access it for performing searches. When I searched in the online catalog of the periodicals at the library of the University of Coimbra, my searches by place of publication produced no hits. For these reasons, I did not contact the librarians at these universities.

The *BNP* is the major repository of the colonial era periodicals that were produced in various parts of the Portuguese Empire.²⁹⁰ Besides this the *BNP* serves as the Portuguese Agency that issues the ISSN numbers in Portugal and as the legal depository

²⁹⁰ Rafael, Gina G, and Manuela Santos. *Jornais E Revistas Portugueses Do Século Xix*. Lisboa: Ministério da Cultura, Biblioteca Nacional, 1998. Print.

for the publications that are published on the territories of Portugal.²⁹¹ The library has in its holdings over 50,000 periodical titles.²⁹²

These interviews were conducted over the phone in an informal way. Each librarian was asked the same set of questions as in the Appendix I. Two of these librarians spoke English and tried to answer my questions in English when possible. There was a back and forth switching to Portuguese when needed. When my questions in English seemed unclear to my Portuguese colleagues, I asked them the same questions in Portuguese.

The librarians at the *BNP* were able to point me to several online as well as print resources that provide comprehensive information about the history of collections at the *BNP*. As for the mission statement of the library, these librarians pointed me to the online mission statement of the *BNP*. The mission statement can be translated as follows, “The *BNP*'s mission is to collect, process and preserve the documentary heritage of Portugal, in the Portuguese language, in various types of media on which it is present, as well as ensuring its study, dissemination and conditions for your enjoyment and ensure the classification and cataloging of national bibliographic heritage.”²⁹³ The collection of

²⁹¹ "Editores." *Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal*. N.p., n.d. Web. 7 Oct. 2012.

<http://www.bnportugal.pt/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=156&Itemid=173&lang=pt>.

²⁹² "Periodicos." *Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal*. N.p., n.d. Web. 7 Oct. 2012.

<http://www.bnportugal.pt/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=100&Itemid=105&lang=pt>.

²⁹³ "Missão e actividades." *Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal*. N.p., n.d. Web. 7 Oct. 2012.

<http://www.bnportugal.pt/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=85&Itemid=29&lang=pt>.

periodicals from the former Portuguese colonies was formed over the period of time as these periodicals were deposited in the BNP. All of the three librarians that I had interviewed mentioned that there wasn't any specific distinction between the treatments of Portuguese periodicals of the historical period. All of these periodicals were handled as the rest of the periodicals at the National library provided their condition allowed such handling. As far as the contents of these periodicals are concerned, these were left for researchers to study. One of the interviewed librarians mentioned that whether a periodical was from the 19th century Porto, or Goa or even Macau, it made no difference to one. These periodicals equally served as textual representation of the past. Why then does one have to give some sort of special treatment to the periodicals of Portuguese India?

At that point, I reminded the librarian that Portugal was a colonial power in India and perhaps these periodicals meant something to those who wanted study the modes of colonization and the representation of the locals in these periodicals. The librarian replied, "Probably what I was suggesting made sense for those who want to take into consideration the Portuguese experience in India, but one must also remember that one cannot generalize from this experience. And that the periodicals will be perhaps an incomplete source of such information. Portuguese colonial experiences varied from country to country. However in the 19th century, Portuguese language periodicals from Angola, Brazil and India might have some common features that were reinforced to the

"A BNP tem por missão proceder à recolha, tratamento e conservação do património documental português, em língua portuguesa e sobre Portugal, nos vários tipos de suporte em que este se apresente, bem como assegurar o seu estudo, divulgação e as condições para a sua fruição e garantir a classificação e inventariação do património bibliográfico nacional."

predominance of the Metropole in many decisions that were made by the local élite. The Metropole continued to rule the minds of those bureaucrats in the far flung areas of this multicultural enterprise that these bureaucrats ended up recreating the similar structures of governance and spread of information as were available to them back in Portugal. In that specific sense, perhaps a periodical produced in the 19th century Portugal might not differ from the periodical from Goa. At the *BNP*, as the librarians, we do not get involved in the analysis of these periodicals. Our job is to provide information as needed by our patrons to the best of our possibilities and abilities.”²⁹⁴

The librarian at the *biblioteca pública municipal*, in Oporto mentioned that the current collection of the Portuguese newspapers from Goa was a result of the historical collection development in the library, for no new newspapers were being added or purchased from that historical time period when Goa and other Portuguese enclaves in India were part of Portuguese India. According to this librarian there were 45 publications from “*Nova Goa*” in the catalog of the municipal library of o Porto. Out of these 45 publications, there were 36 individual periodical titles. In addition to these 36 periodicals titles, there were two titles that were classified as the monographs although potentially periodicals. The librarian mentioned that the *Boletim Estatístico*,²⁹⁵ which was published quarterly, was classified as a monograph along with the 1928 Census of Portuguese India (*Censo da população do Estado da Índia em 1928*). The librarian stated that these publications are now used primarily by historians and other visiting scholars. The librarian was able to provide me with several online and print sources that documented its institutional history.

²⁹⁴ A librarian in the National Library of Portugal, Lisbon. Phone Interview. January 2010.

²⁹⁵ *Boletim Trimensal Da Repartição Da Estatística*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1938. Print.

The question about who should be the steward led to a discussion on several key points during the interviews. Since each of the librarians from Portugal was interviewed separately, I would like to highlight the slight differences that emerged during the interviews. The responses from the librarians about who should be the steward of this particular collection varied from everyone should be the steward of this publication to why there is a need to define the stewardship? Three out of the four interviewed librarians said that there should be multiple stewards. The concept of “multiple stewards” model is audience specific. For example, a collection development librarian who is familiar with the collection can act as a point person or primary steward. However, the institutions, where these librarians worked, have a different model. Stewardship was defined as “diffused stewardship” or “gestão difusa”.

The librarian stated, “Each of the librarians is de-facto steward of the collections of these periodicals. There cannot be just a single person who can act as a steward. The model that we have here is that of the diffuse management. Instead of using word like steward, I would have used the terms like an administrator or an intendant.”²⁹⁶

The other two librarians that I interviewed at the *BNP* mentioned that the model of diffused stewardship was more in alignment with the functions and job responsibilities

²⁹⁶ A librarian in the National Library of Portugal, Lisbon. Phone Interview. June 2010. “*Cada um dos bibliotecários é de fato o mordomo da coleção desses periódicos. Não pode haver apenas uma pessoa que age como um mordomo. O modelo que temos aqui é o da gestão difusa. Em vez de usar o mordomo como um termo, eu teria usado o termo administrador ou intendente.*”

This sentence can be translated as, “Each of the librarians is de-facto steward of the collections of these periodicals. There cannot be just a single person who can act as a steward. The model that we have here is that of the diffuse management. Instead of using word like steward, I would have used the terms like an administrator or an intendant.”

of these librarians. The librarian who worked at the public library of Oporto mentioned that he had really not thought about who should be and who should not be the steward of this collection. According to this librarian, it was a rather unimportant question, when it came to serving the audience who used this collection. For the internal workings of the library, perhaps the best way to look at the concept of stewardship is that of collective responsibilities at the each step of the processing of these periodicals as a group.²⁹⁷

When I asked these librarians what these periodicals constituted in their perspectives, the librarians asked me to clarify the question. For the librarians at the *BNP*, these were simply periodicals and were getting treatment as such. However, one of these librarians clarified, “*Essas publicações são parte do património nacional português. Goa foi afinal uma parte dos territórios ultramarinos portugueses para mais de 300 anos. Portanto, esses periódicos para mim também representam uma produção cultural de Portugal. A produção desses periódicos, como eu sei que foi subsidiado pelo governo português.*”²⁹⁸ I have translated this sentences as follows, “These publications are part of the national patrimony Portuguese. Goa was after all a part of overseas Portuguese for over 300 years. Therefore, these journals to me also represent a cultural production of Portugal. The production of these journals, as I know that was subsidized by the Portuguese government.”

The claim that the librarian made about these periodicals, that these were the part of Portugues heritage, was based on his justification that Goa and other territories of Portuguese India were under the control of Portugal for more than 300 hundred years, He further added that these periodicals represented the cultural production of Portugal, and

²⁹⁷ A librarian at the biblioteca pública municipal, Oporto. Phone Interview. June 2011.

²⁹⁸ A librarian in the National Library of Portugal, Lisbon. Phone Interview. June 2010.

that this cultural production i.e. publishing was subsidized by the Portuguese Government. The claim had a level of validity, however when I asked about the participation of the local elements in the formation of this hybridized Indo-Portuguese culture, the librarian informed, “*As narrativas de encontros culturais que estão localizadas nos periódicos portugueses na Índia podem ser entendidas pelo que revelam da sobre a formação de identidade portuguesa na Índia. Também, todos sabemos que no começo a identidade portuguesa na Índia foi reconstituída pelos soldados e prelados. Mais depois nos anos de século XIX, a mesma identidade se tornou numa identidade mestiça. Essa identidade não foi reconhecida numa maneira jurídica pelo estado português. Mas a identidade foi sempre internalizada pelos grupos do Indo-português ou seja Goanos.*”²⁹⁹

As far as the collaboration is concerned, there are several library-wide initiatives at the National Library such as projects like “Portuguese Culture.”³⁰⁰ The purpose of these projects is to highlight Portuguese heritage through print. Also, the *BNP*

²⁹⁹ A librarian in the National Library of Portugal, Lisbon. Phone Interview. June 2010. This excerpt can be translated as follows, “The narratives of cultural encounters that are located in the journals Portuguese in India can be understood in the context of what they reveal about the identity formation of Portuguese in India. Also, we all know that in the beginning the Portuguese identity in India was reconstituted by the soldiers and prelates. More after the years of the nineteenth century, the same identity became a mestizo identity. This identity was not recognized in a legal way by the Portuguese state. But the (Indo-portuguese) identity has always been internalized by groups of Indo-Portuguese i.e. the Goans. ”

³⁰⁰ "Portuguese Culture - PURL.PT." *As ultimas obras disponibilizadas na BND*. N.p., n.d. Web. 9 Oct. 2012. <<http://purl.pt/index/porCulture/EN/index.html>>.

participates in the Europeana Digital Library program. The BNP is also engaged in the digitization of fragile Portuguese periodicals irrespective of their origin.

The way the notion of stewardship is understood by the Portuguese interviewees presents us with an interesting dilemma. This dilemma revolves around the fact that the use of the term “steward” might be understood differently in Portugal. While the librarians agreed that there is a need for an intendent or a manager of these collections, it was not clear to me about what this niche group of Indo-Portuguese colonial periodicals represented in the mind of the Portuguese librarians. One of the interviewed librarians asked why there was a need for characterizing the work of a librarian with respect to the 19th century periodicals as that of the steward. The whole notion of a steward was basically subsumed in that particular interview to the notion of serving the audience. The audience which utilized these periodicals for research reasons mandated the reenvisioning of these periodicals in the mind of those I interviewed. These periodicals however, in the mind of Portuguese librarians who worked with them, were not any different than the other periodicals from the other parts of the Portuguese Empire.

For some of the librarians, these were simply like any other periodicals while for the others, these were a part of the national heritage of Portugal.

The notion of Indo-Portuguese identity was perceived by one librarian as the one that lacked “internal stability” and according to this libraiian the process of the identity formation was a gradual process. This process was dependent on the “mestizofying” of the local population. However, one can say that the process of “mestizofying” in the context of Portuguese India was an incomplete process. The majority of the population of Goa and other enclaves remained primarily those of Indian origin. Thus the Indo-

Portuguese identity was can be construed to be also the product of the local elite's need for recognition and desire to become the part of culturally and politically accepted norms with the colony.

Discussion of international perspectives of stewardship

The above interviews of the librarians from India, Portugal and the United States of America show several differences in the way these librarians define and understand the concept of stewardship in the context of both the Portuguese language periodicals of Colonial India. The answers to the question of stewardship and who should be the steward of these periodicals varied from do we really need a steward to the attested need for an individual steward. From the discussions with these librarians, I noticed that there were several nuances that led to the lack of the standard understanding of the stewardship. For example, in certain institutional context of the United States, stewardship was understood as either a multiple transformational or a component based initiative that led to the discussion of the individual roles of a librarian or curator within the context of the framework of the institution. The model for institutional stewardship was discussed and brought up by some of the US librarians. The focus of discussion during the interviews remained on the collaborative work of multiple stewards that was workflow dependent.

The opinion of the librarians in India were somewhat different from the opinions of those in the United States and Portugal. The librarians in India questioned the validity of the notion of stewardship in the milieu in which they worked. The librarians even went far to state that the notion of stewardship for this narrow specific group of periodicals might be important but it cannot be more important when compared to the present work

these librarians are engaged in their libraries. The librarians in India stated that the most of the librarians who worked at their institutions did not know enough Portuguese to be able to determine even the general subjects of these periodicals. For the librarians, who did not possess enough knowledge of Portuguese yet worked with these periodicals, the point was in stabilizing and preserving these periodicals for the users. These librarians didn't necessarily distinguish these periodicals as something special or something that represents perhaps one "wealthy" source of information on the history of the 19th century Portuguese India and Indo-Portuguese cultural traditions. The librarians that I interviewed in India did know Portuguese well to recognize the value of these periodicals as a rich descriptive resource that highlights the development of Indo-Portuguese identity(-ies) in the 19th century Portuguese India.

The Portuguese librarians who I managed to interview showed that the Portuguese librarians preferred that perhaps I should consider the terms like manager or intendant of these periodicals. The manager, in the opinion of the librarians that I interviewed, could act as the steward and provide direction when it comes to preservation related activities. This way, one person can guide others through the workflow from the accession, cataloging, preservation and access to these and other colonial era periodicals of Portugal.

Conclusion

The analysis above shows that the perceptions of American and international librarians to the issues of stewardship are as diverse as the libraries for which they work. In the United States, the 19th century Portuguese periodicals of India generally form a very small part of the collections of colonial periodicals. These periodicals are primarily

located in the academic libraries that support teaching and research at various universities. The librarians who worked as the curators of these collections were primarily interested in providing access to these periodicals in alternate forms as the originals were fragile in many cases. The issues of copyright were deemed complicated and the librarians often quoted terms like the fair academic use, public domain periodicals and local access to justify digital preservation of these materials where possible. The main emphasis of librarians who were interested in various issues of preservation of these periodicals was primarily on digital preservation. The US librarians justified digital preservation stating that it would thus enable multiple users to simultaneously use these periodicals.

In Portugal, the librarians who I interviewed were not aware of the complexities of international copyright law. Some Portuguese librarians argued that these periodicals were published as the direct result of the subsidies by Portuguese colonial government. Librarians that I interviewed in Portugal suggested that these periodicals, although protected under the Portuguese copyright act, are also protected by the European Union's copyright regulations. This further complicated matters of providing access to these periodicals in the digital environment. However, the librarians quoted one open access initiative that was launched in Portugal such as the RCAAP project.³⁰¹ The librarians argued that if the RCAAP project is dedicated to disseminating the scientific knowledge

³⁰¹ "OPEN ACCESS IN PORTUGAL (English) 2009." *RCAAP - Repositório Científico de Acesso Aberto de Portugal*. N.p., n.d. Web. 19 Jan. 2013.
<http://projecto.rcaap.pt/index.php?option=com_remository&Itemid=2&func=fileinfo&id=96&language=pt>.

that was currently produced in Portugal to users along the lines of open-access, the similar logic can be applied to these 19th century Portuguese periodicals of India.

In India, the librarians who I interviewed were aware of the complexities of copyright regulations as they apply to these periodicals. According to these librarians, the copyright matters should be clarified with the help of lawyers if one envisions some kind of international collaboration on the fronts of preservation.

My interviews of these librarians and ensuing data analysis for this particular study demonstrate that both models of stewardships i.e., multiple transformational stewardship and the component stewardship, map inadequately. These models fail to capture the diverse viewpoints to which these librarians subscribed. Since the sample size was rather small for this study, further study is needed to refine our understanding of the role of the stewardship when it comes to collecting, preserving and providing access to low use high value periodicals, such as the 19th century Portuguese periodicals of India. I would argue that my study is just the first step in the direction of gaining insights in the world view of librarians from several different countries. Similar study is needed to see how the librarians in other former colonial possessions of Portugal perceive the importance of stewardship with respect to their own Portuguese language colonial periodicals.

I would posit that all of the librarians that I interviewed agreed that the copyright related matters, when it comes to defining the status of these periodicals in international context, should involve consultation with attorneys when and if possible. Some librarians in their interviews stated that the copyright matters were outside of their area of knowledge domain. The librarians also argued that the interpretation and correct

implementation of the copyright legislation in their respective countries should perhaps be responsibility of either the legal department within their institution or knowledgeable administrators.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

My dissertation had multiple objectives that can be grouped within three broad yet distinct themes:

Theme 1: The history and description of 19th century Portuguese language periodicals of Portuguese India:

1. What led to the appearance of the first Portuguese language periodical in Portuguese India in 1821?
2. What are these periodicals and what kinds of information do they contain? What are the genres of these periodicals?
3. How did Portuguese language periodicals evolve in Portuguese India and Bombaim (Bombay/Mumbai) where there was an established Indo-Portuguese community in the 19th century?

Theme 2: Use of 19th century Portuguese-language literary periodicals of Portuguese India as evidence of Indo-Portuguese identity formation and hybridities:

1. What are the markers of Indo-Portuguese identity/-ies and hybridities as these appear in the literary periodicals of the 19th century Portuguese India?
2. How are the Portuguese colonization of India and Portugal's glorious past portrayed by those who wrote in these periodicals?
3. What are the "Indian" elements that we find in these periodicals?

Theme 3: Collecting and stewardship of 19th century Portuguese-language periodicals of Portuguese India in India, Portugal and the United States:

1. How did collections of 19th century Portuguese language periodicals of India come into being in the United States, India and Portugal? Where are these collections located in these countries?
2. What is the nature of collecting and stewardship of colonial-era periodicals in post-colonial settings today?
3. What preservation activities, if any, have been undertaken with these periodicals? Are such activities also directed towards providing access to these periodicals?
4. What is the understanding of stewards about the current copyright status of these periodicals?

In reference to the set of questions grouped under the first theme, this dissertation evaluates and describes the historical development of Portuguese periodicals of 19th century India. In chapters three and four, I have traced the appearance of the first Portuguese periodical in 19th century Goa and also provided in-depth analysis of the historical conditions in Portugal and Portuguese India that eventually led to the flowering of the Portuguese language periodicals press in the 19th century. The fifth chapter is devoted to answering the set of questions that I have grouped under the second theme. I had grouped these questions with two separate goals in my mind. The first goal was to demonstrate one potential way in which literary periodicals of Portuguese India can be used by literary and post-colonial studies scholars to inform, posit and enhance understanding of complex processes of hybrid identity formation that take place when two distinct cultural paradigms intersect with each other creating various zones of contact. The second goal was to highlight how information extracted from literary

periodicals could serve as evidence of the evolution of complex Indo-Portuguese identity. Similar to Bakhle's work, "Two Men and Music: Nationalism in the Making of an Indian Classical Tradition,"³⁰² I have used literary analysis and close reading of poems to demonstrate precisely that the cultural landscapes of fiction in 19th century Portuguese India consisted of both Portuguese and Indic elements. These writers and poets were essentially trained in Portuguese literary traditions but the resulting cultural amalgamation recognized their predominantly Indic milieu. These poets were cognizant of the hybrid past that had resulted from the "transplantation of the culture from the banks of the river Tagus to the banks of river Mandovi in the Indian sub-continent."³⁰³ No prior research of this kind and on this subject existed. My research suggests that the hybridization of identities as it appears in the selected sample of periodicals was a gradual and incomplete process. However, the process of hybridization that led to the formation of Indo-Portuguese identity included exchange of ideas between the diaspora that resided in the British India and the population of Portuguese India. This in turn allowed for ideas from British India of the late 19th century to circulate in Portuguese India. The emergence of an embryonic nationalist literature in Portuguese India was informed, therefore, by the colonial interactions between the British and Portuguese India.

This 19th century literature, especially its poetry, reconciled the perceived stagnation of 19th century Portuguese India with the imagined glorious past of the Portuguese in India. Through these poems, poets express their understanding of their "Indic" past. I

³⁰² Bakhle, Janaki. *Two Men and Music: Nationalism in the Making of an Indian Classical Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. Print.

³⁰³ Garcez Palha, Joaquim Mourão. "SAUDAÇÃO." *Harpa do Mandovi: Jornal de poesias*. 1. (1865): 3-3. Print

suggest that the Indian elements that appear in news reporting, governmental regulations and literary works were part and parcel of the colonial realities of 19th century Portuguese India. Although my research primarily focused on the analysis of poetry as it appeared in the chosen literary journals, rather than on governmental regulations, it still paves the way for a more comprehensive examination of Portuguese India's regulations and laws as these appeared in the governmental periodicals of the 19th century.

I also note that these periodicals as they circulated in the colonial milieu of the 19th century often represented the views of those who sponsored and subsidized their publications. However, these periodicals also indicate dissent from colonial rule in a subtle fashion. In the literary works of the 19th century Indo-Portuguese authors we find elements that often fracture the monolithic view of Portuguese colonial dominance. Thus these publications can also be considered to be an incomplete source of colonial histories and colonial memories for contemporary readers.

In reference to answering my research questions relating to stewardship and intellectual property rights as these applied to this specific group of Indo-Portuguese periodicals, it became clear that there were no specific clear-cut legal guidelines for the digital preservation of these periodicals in the context of prevailing national and international laws. On the one hand, in the period of decolonization, these periodicals could have served as a bitter reminder of the colonial dominance of Portugal in the colonial enclaves within the Indian sub-continent in the pre-independence period. On the other, these periodicals would have lost their appeal to mainstream Portuguese readers in the Metropole due to their ephemeral nature and colonial relationship to the Metropole. The interpretations of the intellectual property rights became even more complicated

when a library in the United States collaborated with libraries in India to digitally preserve these colonial era periodicals. Did the institution in India possess copyright clearance to digitally preserve and provide access to the periodicals when these periodicals will be eventually lost to the effects of heat, humidity and lack of optimal storage was the question that proved to be the most challenging to answer for the librarians that I had interviewed? I would argue that despite my preliminary gathering of interview data on the various legal aspects of intellectual property right legislation in India, Portugal and the United States, in-depth study is needed to establish the status of these colonial Indo-Portuguese periodicals that hopefully will be deemed to permit collaborating libraries in other jurisdictions to provide access to the contents of these periodicals.

Furthermore, the findings of this research indicate that although the interviewed librarians are familiar with the concept of stewardship, there is no general consensus about what is meant to be a steward of this specific group of periodicals. The notion of stewardship was understood differently by individual librarians in the three countries. In some cases, the librarians even rejected the idea of stewardship. These differences in understanding of stewardship by different librarians are functions of their differing domains of expertise, their specific areas of specialization, and their educational and national backgrounds. The cultural aspects of ones upbringing and differing national backgrounds also influence individual librarians understanding of issues that revolve around stewardship of colonial era periodicals in the post-colonial setting. I would strongly argue for a standardized curricular component in library and information studies education in the United States, Portugal and India whereby students entering professional

programs take a class that reinforces the concept of librarians--steward in their future professional roles. This early reinforcing of the librarian-as-steward concept, when combined with leadership and stewardship related activities within the professional organizations like the American Library Association, the Association of College and Research Libraries can lead to the formation of a cadre of new LIS professionals that would be aware of some of the issues that are associated with postcolonial preservation and access issues and the roles they might place in a postcolonial world.

The colonial Portuguese periodicals of India, with the exception of a few journals that were scholarly in nature, are ephemeral in their nature. They are intended to serve as a medium for conveying information such as news, events of local importance to their audience. However, as these materials travel through time, there is a change in their audience. The information that they had initially intended to convey acquires different relevancy. This is certainly the case for the 19th century Portuguese language periodicals of India. The flowering of the Portuguese periodical press in India eventually withered away when the decolonization of the Portuguese territories took place following the events of 1961. Since Portuguese India was the colonial extension of Portugal, these periodicals ended up in the National Library in Lisbon and copies were also collected by what was at that time the National Library of Portuguese India in Goa. After decolonization, the National Library in Goa became the Municipal library of Panaji. The periodicals thus ended up in Panaji. In the case of the United States, the major impetus for systematically collecting materials from South Asia came later in the 1960s after the foundation of the PL 480 program.

The issues of stewardship, as I discovered through the analysis of data that I extracted from my interviews of the librarians in India, Portugal and the United States, do not map precisely to the stewardship models that I used. I would argue that further research is needed to tease out and enhance our understanding of the various facets of issues that this lack of mapping includes.

The applicability of international intellectual property rights to this specific group of periodicals that now “reside in” three geographically distinct locations requires further in depth study of the international legislation. Thus the question of who should be the steward of these periodicals remains open. These issues also point to perhaps a fundamental lack of global consultative stewardship that is backed by the financial guarantees from the developed world. Such stewardship might involve the creation of a preservation facility for materials that are endangered around the globe in order to preserve the world’s cultural objects. Perhaps the reason for lack of this facility is the fact that the librarians or the administrators of the libraries are afraid of the untested assumptions that are usually combined with the established practices within their institutions. UNESCO might be one such authority that could take a leadership role in promoting and preserving the diversity of endangered print heritage of colonial eras. However, if one looks at UNESCO’s recent 2012 conference program called, “the Memory of the World in the Digital Age,” one can clearly note that the program focuses only on the preservation of a selected group of print materials.³⁰⁴ In her introduction to the conference program Irina Bokova, the Director of the UNESCO states the following,

³⁰⁴ "The Memory of the World in the Digital Age: Digitization and Preservation | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization." *Unesco.org*. UNESCO, n.d. Web. 09 Feb. 2013. <<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/events/calendar-of->

“Maintaining access to knowledge is a core UNESCO priority that guides our work to develop and encourage policies ensuring the survival of the world’s memory. This International Conference, Memory of the World in Digital Age: Digitization and Preservation, is a key initiative to facilitate the transmission of knowledge in support of global development goals.”³⁰⁵

Although colonial histories, colonial literature and periodicals, and post-colonial literary reaction to these histories form a major part of human cultural experience for many developing world nations over the past several hundred years, Ms. Bokova’s lack of attributing importance to the preservation of memories of colonial oppression shows a serious lack of general understanding of the importance of these periodicals as sources of colonial dominance. Not a single program presentation specifically addressed issues of colonial periodicals that were published in the developing world with the exception of a poster entitled, “Retrieving a part of Danish colonial history –from dust to digital copy” by Asger Svane-Knudsen and Jiri Vnoucek.³⁰⁶

It is not possible to draw any conclusions from the program of a single UNESCO conference. However, the lack of examination of the colonial era periodicals that

events/events-websites/the-memory-of-the-world-in-the-digital-age-digitization-and-preservation/>.

³⁰⁵ "The Memory of the World in the Digital Age: Digitization and Preservation." *Unesco.org*. UNESCO, n.d. Web. 9 Feb. 2013.

<http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/mow/mow_vancouver_programme_en.pdf>.

³⁰⁶ "The Memory of the World in the Digital Age: Digitization and Preservation." *Unesco.org*. UNESCO, n.d. Web. 9 Feb. 2013.

<http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/mow/mow_vancouver_programme_en.pdf>.>. Page 39.

constitute cultural heritage objects for former colonies as well as for former colonial nations reaffirms the fact that not all librarians and information specialists are contemplating these aspects of stewardship. The diverse opinions of the librarians that I have interviewed for this dissertation indicate a lack of clarity about drawing any concrete conclusions with respect to the applicability of the multiple transformational and the component stewardship models.

Implications for Future Research

This dissertation was an initial venture in gaining better insight into how the periodicals of the time might provide evidence of the processes of hybrid identity formations in the 19th century milieu of Portuguese India. If one wants to comprehensively assess the modes of colonial interactions in Indian sub-continent between those who colonized and those who were colonized, it should also take into consideration these periodicals along with the English and regional languages periodicals press of British India. Another interesting comparative study would be to look at the French language literary periodicals of French India.

As a part of my future research agenda, I would like to explore further colonial modalities as these appear in the literary as well as governmental journals of French and Portuguese Indias. I plan to examine the regional language press of both of these colonial powers and explore possible differences manifested through reporting in the regional language press of the same colonies. There were several hundred titles that were either bilingual such as in Marathi and Portuguese, Konkani and Portuguese, or French and Tamil as well as solely in the regional language. In the case of French India, these periodicals potentially could exhibit even richer diversity in their language-based

contents as the French enclaves were located in the different regions of India that were separated by large distances in the 19th century terms. I believe that through my original research in chapter 5, I have conceptualized a sound analytical framework for the literary analysis of Portuguese periodicals of 19th century India and I plan to further develop this framework for analyzing the colonial era periodicals press in the regional languages of India.

This dissertation also provides impetus for further study about the understanding of stewardship by other cultural information professionals such as archivists and museum professionals. What are the ethical norms and traditions within the archival and museum professions and to what extent do they provide guidance with regard to stewardship concerns in such contexts? What might be the differences in other regions where colonialism acquired a slightly different character? For example, how do archivists, librarians and museum professionals in other non-English speaking countries understand and integrate the notion of stewardship in their daily activities? How might other marginalized groups in the Indian sub-continent integrate their understanding of their cultural heritage that is available in print and how do the professionals from these same communities decolonize the archive?

In the final analysis, I plan to work on a publishable work that is entitled: Understanding the other colonial: periodicals press of the British, French and Portuguese in 19th century India. In this work, I plan to evaluate further the periodicals presses of French and Portuguese India and compare these to English language periodicals press and its evolution in Indian sub-continent.

Appendix I

Semi-Structured Focused Interview Questions for Librarians and Archivists in India, and the United States of America

I. Respondent Information:

- a. Name of the person completing the interview:
- b. Current Title/ Role
- c. Name and Address of Institution of work
- d. Would you like to receive the transcripts of this interview?

II. Indo-Portuguese Periodicals in Institutional Repositories in India and the United States.

- a. Please describe your institution and its history. Does your institution have a mission statement? If yes, would you please provide either a link to it or the document?
- b. Briefly describe your collection of Indo-Portuguese periodicals.
- c. Briefly describe your experiences working with these periodicals.
- d. Who should be a steward of the collection of Portuguese Colonial era periodicals- an archivist, a librarian, a preservation person? Why and Why not? Please describe your reasoning/rationale.
- e. What do these periodicals constitute for you in your subjective opinion?
- f. How would you define a record? Would you consider these periodicals to be records of colonial period? If yes, please explain why do you think that these periodicals constitute a record of colonial society that existed during the time? (Leading question?)

- g. Do you have a collection development policy at your institution? Will you please provide a copy of your collection development policy for the purpose of this research? How does this collection development policy reflect on the collection of these periodicals as a group?
- h. How often do you work and have you worked with the colonial periodicals of Portuguese India? Would you briefly describe the overall condition of the collection?
- i. How these collections are getting used currently? What are the problems associated with the access to these collections?
- j. What kind of reference queries do you get usually with respect to these periodicals?
- k. Briefly describe preservation related activities for these periodicals at your institutions.
- l. What do you think will be impact of preservation
- m. Are there similar collections at other institutions in your city/town?
- n. Do you collaborate with these or other institutions in your city/district and state or nationally to enhance your collection development and preservation related activities? What is the nature of these activities and how do these activities relate to mentioned colonial periodicals?
- o. Are you familiar with the intellectual property rights related issues in your country as these pertain to the periodicals of Portuguese India?

- p. If yes, what would you think will be some important factors that would allow the users to access the information that is contained within these periodicals of Portuguese India?
- q. How would you describe these periodicals as a source of information on the bygone era? What do these periodicals tell us about colonialism and post-colonial modalities/events and meaning making?

Thank you for participating in the interview.

Appendix II.

Perguntas Focadas Semi-estruturadas de entrevista para os bibliotecários e arquivistas em Portugal.

I. Informações Reclamado:

- a. Nome da pessoa que completou a entrevista:
- b. Título Corrente / Papel
- c. Nome e endereço da instituição de trabalho
- d. Gostaria de receber as transcrições da entrevista?

II. Indo-Português e Indo-francesa periódicos em repositórios institucionais na Portugal.

- e. Por favor, descreva sua instituição e sua história. A sua instituição tem uma missão? Se sim, você poderia fornecer tanto um link para ele ou o documento?
- f. Descreva brevemente sua coleção de jornais Indo-Portuguêses.
- g. Descreva brevemente suas experiências trabalhando com esses periódicos.
- h. Quem deve ser o mordomo da coleção de periódicos colonias portuguesas de uma es arquivista, uma bibliotecária, uma pessoa de preservação? Por que e por que não? Descreva o seu raciocínio / lógica.
- i. O que esses periódicos constituem para você em sua opinião subjetiva?
- j. Como você definiria um registro? Você consideraria esses periódicos para ser registros do período colonial? Se sim, explique por que você acha que esses periódicos constituem um registro da sociedade colonial que existia durante o tempo? (Pergunta principal?)
- k. Você tem uma política de desenvolvimento de coleção da sua instituição? Será que você forneça uma cópia de sua política de desenvolvimento de

coleções para o objetivo desta pesquisa? Como é que esta política de desenvolvimento da coleção refletir sobre a coleção desses periódicos como um grupo?

- l. Quantas vezes você trabalha e você já trabalhou com os periódicos coloniais de Português / Francês Índia? Quer descrever brevemente o estado geral da coleção?
- m. Como essas coleções estão sendo utilizados atualmente? O que são os problemas associados com o acesso a estes conjuntos de?
- n. Que tipo de consultas de referência você começa geralmente com relação a esses periódicos?
- o. Descreva brevemente as atividades de preservação relacionadas para esses periódicos em suas instituições.
- p. O que você acha que será o impacto da preservação
- q. São coleções há similares em outras instituições em sua cidade?
- r. Você colaborar com estas ou outras instituições na sua cidade / bairro e estadual ou nacional para melhorar o seu desenvolvimento de coleções e atividades de preservação relacionadas? Qual é a natureza dessas atividades e como estas actividades se relacionam com periódicos mencionados coloniais?
- s. Você está familiarizado com os direitos de propriedade intelectual relacionados com as questões do seu país como estes pertencem aos periódicos de Indias Francês e Português?

- t. Se sim, o que você acha que vai ser alguns fatores importantes que permitem aos usuários acessar a informação que está contida dentro desses periódicos Portugêses da India?
- u. Como você descreveria desses periódicos, como o fonte de informações sobre a época passada? O que esses periódicos nos dizer sobre colonialismo e pós-coloniais modalidades e eventos e significados fazendo?

Appendix III

The IRB approval from UCLA



APPROVAL NOTICE

OFFICE OF THE HUMAN RESEARCH PROTECTION PROGRAM
11000 Kinross Avenue, Suite 102
Campus Mail Code 109607
www.www.ucla.edu/ohrp

DATE: July 27, 2010

TO: Liladhar R. Pendse, M.D., M.A.
Principal Investigator

FROM: Nancy Levine, Ph.D.
Chair, North General Institutional Review Board

RE: UCLA IRB #G10-06-023-01
Approved by Expedited Review
(Approval Period from 07/26/2010 through 07/25/2011)
Peripartals of Portuguese and French Infants and Issues of Stewardship, Preservation, and Mediating
Colonial National Identities: A Case Study

Please be notified that the UCLA Institutional Review Board (UCLA IRB) has approved the above referenced research project involving human subjects in research. The UCLA's Federalwide Assurance (FWA) with the Department of Health and Human Services, Office for Human Research Protections is FWA00004642.

Approval Signature of the UCLA IRB Chair

PRINCIPLES TO BE FOLLOWED BY PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS:

As the Principal Investigator, you have ultimate responsibility for the conduct of the study, the ethical performance of the project, the protection of the rights and welfare of human subjects, and strict adherence to any stipulations imposed by the UCLA IRB. You must abide by the following principles when conducting your research:

1. Ensure that the personnel performing the study are qualified and appropriately trained. key personnel have completed the CITI training program and will adhere to the provisions of the approved protocol.

Appendix IV

The time-line of Portuguese in India: 1498-1961

1498: Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut (Kozhikkode) in Kerala, India.

March 1500: Pedro Cabral, Portuguese navigator, departed to India. He left Lisbon with 13 ships headed for India and was blown off course.

April 1500: Pedro Cabral discovers and claims Brazil.

1502: Vasco da Gama's second voyage to India

February 1510: Afonso de Albuquerque wrestles the province of old Goa (Velha Goa) from the Sultanate of Bijapur (Adil Shahi Dynasty) for the first time.

November 1510: Afonso de Albuquerque re-captures the city of Old Goa (Velha Goa).

1511: Portuguese capture Malacca.

December 1515: The death of Afonso de Albuquerque.

1517: The arrival of Franciscans in Goa.

1534: Bisphoric of Goa was established by Pope Paul III.

December 1524: Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama, who had discovered a sea route around Africa to India, died in Cochin, India.

1536: Beginning of the Portuguese Inquisition.

1541: The establishment of the Seminary of the Holy Faith (*Seminario de Santa Fé*). This “university” was administered by the Jesuits and it was funded from the income on the properties of the demolished Hindu temples.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁷ Fonseca, José N. *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa, Written by the Authorization of the Government, by José Nicolau Da Fonseca*. Bombay: Thacker, 1878. Print.

1545: The elementary parochial schools were established.

1542: Arrival of Francis Xavier in Goa. Later in 1619 the same Francis Xavier was beatified as the St. Francis Xavier.

1556: Introduction of the first printing press in Goa by D. João Nunes Barreto.

1557: The first book on Catechisms was published in Goa. The copies of this particular title have perished. Only the bibliographic record exists.

1575-1625: The Golden Age of Goa (Goa Dourada).

1583: The Cuncolim Revolt against the Portuguese rule in Goa.

November 1606: The Rachol Seminary (it was known as *Colégio de S. Inácio at that time*) was established.

1683: The Maratha king Sambhaji invades Goa to take Chapora, Tivim and Rachol in Goa.

1738: Epoch of Pombaline reforms of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, 1st Marquis of Pombal, and 1st Count of Oeiras.

1739: The Marathas conquer the Northern Territories of Portuguese India that consisted of the fort-city of Bassein that was located in the north of Bombay.

1759: Marquis de Pombal expels Jesuits from Goa. Maratha-Portuguese treaty was signed ensuring the Portuguese rule in Goa.

1773: Public grammar schools were established in Portuguese India.

1774-1778: Temporary suppression on inquisition in Portuguese India. Also the Rachol Seminary was suppressed until its restoration in 1781.

1787: The Pinto Revolt began. It was led by the catholic priest Fr. C. F. Pinto. This revolt is also known as *A Conjuração dos Pintos*.

1802: The British troops enter Goa and the other parts of Portuguese India to protect it from falling in the hands of French. This occupation of Goa continued until 1813.

1812: Mathematical school was established in Goa.

1816: The death of Portuguese queen Maria I. D. João begins ruling the Portuguese Empire from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

1817: *Academia Militar de Goa* was established.

1820: The establishment of the parliamentary government in Portugal.

1821: The first official government press (Imprensa Nacional) was established in Goa.

1821: The first government sponsored newspaper in Goa was established. Its title was “*Gazeta de Goa.*”

September 1832: Establishment in Panaji of the first public library (Livraria pública) by Vice Roy Dom Manuel de Portugal e Castro. The initial collection of this library composed of the books confiscated from the Church libraries that had become defunct since the foundation of Goa.

1834: The death of D. Pedro IV and D. Maria II is proclaimed as the Queen of Portugal. All religious orders in the territories of Portuguese Empire including Portuguese India are annulled by the order of D. Maria II.

May 1835: Bernardo Peres da Silva-the first elected native governor was expelled by the Portuguese elites of Portuguese India.

June 1835: A government weekly entitled the *Crónica Constitucional de Goa* was published. It continued as a publication until November of 1837.

1837: The territories of Portuguese India are legally codified in Lisbon as the overseas provinces of Portugal (*provincías ultramarinas*). The official governmental weekly of

Portuguese India that was entitled *Crónica Constitucional de Goa* was replaced by *Boletim do Estado da Índia*.

1842: Medical school was established in Portuguese India.

1838: A new constitution is published in Portugal.

1839: The Government of British India accuses Portuguese India of harboring Indian rebels-fugitives from Bombay.

1840: The technique of lithography is introduced in Goa.

1841: The Military Academy of Goa (*A Academia Militar de Goa*) is renamed as the School of Mathematics and Military (*Escola Matemática e Militar*).

1844: The Governor General of Portuguese India refuses to repatriate Indian rebels from the Bombay Presidency to British India. The law is passed in Portuguese India allowing the government to dispose of the properties of the secularized convents.

1844: The Governor General José Ferreira Pestana orders establishment of a vernacular school to provide instructions in Marathi.

1845: The Governor General of Portuguese India José Ferreira Pestana orders the establishment of school for girls.

1846: The beginning of the large immigration of Portuguese speaking Goan intelligentsia to the British India in search of better employment prospects. The first school where the medium of instruction was English was created.

1850: The northern borders of Portuguese India were agreed upon and ratified with the princely state of Savantwadi (in Bombay Presidency).

January 1852: The beginning of Rane revolt in Portuguese India. Rane revolts were series of rebellions by the local chieftains against the Portuguese rule in Goa.

1854: *Lyceu Nacional de Nova Goa* was established. It functioned as a High School in Portuguese India.

1857: The creation of the diocese in *Damaõ* (Daman). The first telegraph line with Belgaon in Bombay Presidency (British India) took place.

1858 Bernardo Francisco da Costa (who was a member of the Portuguese Parliament from 1853–1869) founded his own printing press in Margão that was called *Tipografía Ultramar*.

1859. At the *Tipografía Ultramar*, Bernardo Francisco da Costa began publishing the first privately held newspaper in Portuguese India. The title of the newspaper was *O Ultramar*. A direct telegraph line with Bombay was established.

1875: The first under-water direct telegraphic line established between Lisbon and Panaji (the capital of Portuguese India).

1878: The first Luso-British treaty regulating trade in Portuguese India was signed. The British India reserved exclusive rights to regulate both selling and trading of alcohol and salt in these Portuguese dominions. In return the Bombay Presidency government agreed to provide to Portuguese India compensation for 400,000 rupees over 12 year period of the treaty. The treaty was non-renewable.

1880: The currency accord established between the British and Portuguese Indias whereby the currencies of both states were granted equal exchange rates.

1881: The first census of Nova Goa was conducted. It shows population of 8,478 that consists of 5,431 Christians and 3,047 non-Christians. The government of Portugal sells the rights to exploit the railroad potential in Portuguese India to a British company whose

title is West India Portuguese Railway Company. The code on customs and marriage of the Gentiles (predominantly Hindus) became effective.

1886: The Archbishop of Goa and Daman was bestowed the honorific title of Patriarch of the East Indies. The first telephone network began functioning in Goa.

1886: The first railroad in Goa becomes operational between the port city of *Mormugão* (Marmagao) and the British India.

1890: The first expo of industry and agriculture of Portuguese India was opened in Goa. The first religious order of purely Goan origin established in Goa. It was named “a Sociedade Missionária de S. Francisco Xavier.

1891: The Luso-British treaty of 1878 is annulled. The impact of the failed Republican revolution that took place in o Porto in Portugal was minimally felt in Goa.

1892: The reforms of primary and secondary education in Portuguese India are carried out.

1893: The school of Arts is established in Goa. Three new official periodicals were begun publishing in Portuguese India. These were a *Revista dos Tribunais*, *o Foro Indiano*, a *Gazeta de Relação de Nova Goa*.

1894: The first issue of *Arquivo Médico da Índia* was published.

1895: 298 Maratha soldiers of Portuguese India refused to embark on their journey to Mozambique. The brief rebellion by these soldiers continued as these combined their forces with Ranés (the village chieftains from the revolt of 1852).

The Governor General of Portuguese India in response suspended all constitutional guarantees in Goa. The revolt continued until November 1896.

1896: The Royal Museum of Archaeology of India (o Museu Real Arqueológico) is established in Diu. The amnesty to the Maratha soldiers that had rebelled was extended.

1897: A new law on the regulation of the National Press (Imprensa Nacional de Goa) is passed.

1898: Major urban centers of Portuguese India are linked using telegraph lines.

1900: The first overseas Portuguese language daily entitled “*o Herald*” began to be published in Goa. Its editor and founder was professor Messias Gomes.

1901: The law regulating *Liceu Nacional* of New Goa and other institutions of secondary education is published. Konkani was introduced as the medium of instruction in *Liceu Nacional*.

The members of Rane revolt assassinate Lieutenant Bastos e Silva. However the revolt doesn't spread.

1902: The commercial interests of the West India Portuguese Railway line are aligned to the British Indian Railway's Southern Maratha Line.

1903: A regulation protecting historical edifices of Portuguese India is promulgated.

1907: The Southern Maratha line merges with Madras Railway line. All municipalities of Portuguese India were connected by telegraph.

1908: A new Rane Revolt outbreak is suppressed by the African troops from Mozambique.

1909: The museum of Art of Portuguese India is established in Pangim, Goa.

October 1910: Revolution in Portugal and Portuguese Republic is established.

Steamboats are introduced for the river navigation in Goa.

The Church and the State are separated by a decree. The Freedom of Press act is published in Portugal and her colonial possessions.

1911: A new Republican constitution is adopted and approved by the National Assembly.

The Ministry for the colonies is created by the Republican government.

The Satari insurrection begins once again prompting the Government to suspend all of the constitutional guarantees.

1912: The first volume of *Arquivos Indo-Portugueses de Medicina e Historia Natural* is published in Goa.

The Rupee of Portuguese India is declared as the only official currency of Portuguese India.

The department of agricultural inspection is created in Portuguese India.

1913: Two new schools (Liceus) are founded in Margão and Mapuça. The constitutional guarantees that were suspended in 1911 are re-established.

1914: The law that guaranteed administrative and financial autonomies of the Ultramarine provinces of Portugal is passed.

1915: The deputy from Portuguese India-Gouveia Pinto as in an ironic statement declares in Portuguese parliament that only one head and two soldiers are sufficient to manage the law and order of Portuguese India. The statement is denounced in Portuguese India.

1916: Germany declares war on Portugal. The postal service and telegraph services are merged in one service.

1918: The great influenza epidemic spreads to Goa killing the multitudes.

1919: The Liceu Nacional de Nova Goa is now called the Liceu Central of Goa.

In a report on the status of military in Portuguese India a strong criticism about the diminishing presence of the White Portuguese in the military is lamented upon.³⁰⁸

1922: The association of the lawyers of Portuguese India is established.

1923: In accordance to the agreement between the British and Portuguese Indias, the telegraph line between the Bombay and Panaji is declared as the national heritage of India.

1924: The renovation of the *Instituto de Vasco de Gama*. This was the first institute that was established with the goals to promote both letters and sciences in Portuguese India.

1926: The military dictatorship in Portugal is established.

1928: The roads and highways of Portuguese India are declared as the national Portuguese roads and highways.

1929: Portugal permits the entry of the religious orders that were expelled during the secularization. Portugal passes the Colonial Act.

The National Archive of Portuguese India (o Arquivo Geral e Histórico) was established.

1932: The act regulating the functioning of the National Archive of Portuguese India is passed.

The first feature length film with sound is shown in Nova Goa.

1933: The Colonial Act enters the force in the ultramarine territories of Portugal. The status of the Estado da Índia is now changed from the ultramarine province of Portugal to the colony of Portugal.

1934: The first flight from Goa to Lisbon, Portugal takes place. The total duration is that of the 65 hours and 40 minutes.

³⁰⁸ Morais, Carlos A. *Cronologia Geral Da Índia Portuguesa: 1498-1962*. Lisboa: Estampa, 1997. Print.

1935: The international radio-telegraphic service is established in Goa.

1936: The first asphalted roads appear in Portuguese India with the length of 21 kilometers.

1937: The National Archive of Portuguese India is renamed as the Office of the Notary (Cartório) of the Governor General of Portuguese India.

1938: The Radio starts broadcasting in Portuguese India.

1939: The Portuguese Youth Organization (*Mociedade Portuguesa*) is established in Goa.

1940: The census of Portuguese India registers the population of 624,177 inhabitants.

1941: The customs law and regulations of the import duties legislation is passed and enforced in Portuguese India.

1942: The Japanese forces occupy Timor leste, thus forcing Portugal to send additional troops to Portuguese India.

1943. All roads that were designated to be the National Highways of Portuguese India were asphalted. The total length of these highways was 329 kms.

1944: A public library is formed in the city of Vasco de Gama.

1945. The internal territorial reorganization of Portuguese India is completed. The newly drawn internal boundaries consist of 11 counties of Goa, 2 counties of district of Daman (Damão), and district of Diu. The Portuguese Consulate in Bombay is established that would support the needs of Indo-Portuguese immigrants.

1946: The Civilian Police corps is created. The Medical School of Goa is given the status of an autonomous university and teaching establishment that is independent of the department of the Public Health of Portuguese India.

1947: India becomes independent from the UK. The prime-minister of India Nehru affirms in the Goan Marathi Literary Conference that the newly independent India will give different types of aids to the residents of Portuguese India in order to facilitate the liberation of Portuguese India.

1948: Mahatma Gandhi is assassinated. The Colonial Act is denounced by Anastácio Bruto da Costa who was lawyer in Portuguese India. He writes a letter to Salazar criticizing Portugal's overseas colonial politics.

The Radio, Postal and Telegraphic services are united in one service.

1949: Nehru declares that the Goa is an integral part of the Indian Union and it should be returned to Free India.

1950: The Republic of India is proclaimed. The government of the Republic of India solicits peaceful negotiations with the Portuguese government to discuss the eventual handing over of Goa and the other Portuguese colonial territories.

A census is conducted in Portuguese India that shows that the population of goa was 637,846 with 547,703 in Goa and the others in Daman and Diu.

There were 388,741 Hindus, 234,021 Catholics and 15,084 from the other religious denominations.

1951: The Government of India requests to the Vatican that the archdiocese of Goa should be eliminated.

1952: The School for the Technical Education is established in Portuguese India.

1953: The Portuguese dictator Salazar concedes the fact that Portugal could not defend Goa militarily. He proclaims that the military intervention in Portuguese India will go against the peaceful declarations of Indian prime-minister Nehru.

The Republic of India embarks on the blockade of Portuguese India. The Portuguese enclave of Dadrá and Nagar-Aveli is isolated from the rest of the Portuguese India.

1954: The police-action against Dadrá and Nagar-Aveli unites these to the territories of the Republic of India.

Salazar approaches NATO for help against this police action. The fort of Tiracol in North Goa is occupied temporarily by Indian *Satyagrahis* (Freedom Fighters). However, the Portuguese open fire on the occupants of the Fort and Indian flag is lowered.

1955: The penetration of the territories of Portuguese India by Indian Freedom fighters intensifies. The Portuguese Embassy in New Delhi is closed at the request of Indian government. Portugal launches case against India in the International Court in Hague and also in the United Nations.

1958: Nehru reaffirms his doctrine on unification of Portuguese India with the other territories of the Republic.

1959: The President of the United States, General Eisenhower visits New Delhi.

1960: The notable members of Goan intelligentsia prepare a petition asking autonomy from the Central rule from Lisbon and this petition is rejected by Portuguese government. The *Liceu Nacional de Nova Goa* is attended by 820 students.

1961: A revolt breaks out in Angola. Manifestations against the Portuguese rule in Goa. On 18th November Indian Army launches “Operation Vijay (Victory)” Goa and the other Portuguese enclaves in India. The 3,500 Portuguese troops continue fight against 50,000 troops of the Republic of India and eventually surrender on November 19 at the order of the Portuguese Governor General Manuel António Vassalo e Silva.

Appendix V

Glossary of Terms

Adil Shah: The honorific title of the Sultan of Bijapur. The Sultanate of Bijapur ruled Goa prior to the Portuguese conquest of Goa.

Aldeias: villages

Bailadeira: The nautch girl.

Baithak: The sitting down of ethnic Indians to discuss the common economical, political and social concerns.

Bebado (o): a drunk, an alcoholic.

Biblioteca/ Bibliotheca: A Library.

Bijapur Sultanate: Adil Shahi or Adilshahi dynasty ruled the Sultanate of Bijapur in the Western area of the Deccan region of Southern India from 1490 to 1686.

Canarins: Native Christians of Goa.

Carta regia: The Royal Letter

Casado: A married settler.

Castiço: One born of Portuguese Parents.

Chardo: Kshatriya

Conde: Count

Conselho: Council and also can be used to denote a district.

Damas: Ladies

Estado civil: Marital Status

Estado da Índia (a): Portuguese State of India.

Estado Novo: "New State" or the Second Republic was the corporatist authoritarian regime installed in Portugal in 1933.

Fazenda, Departamento da: The Revenue department.

Fidalgo: Nobleman

Ganesh Chaturthi: Festival to honor Hindu God- Ganesha.

Gazeta(a): a newspaper

Gentios: Gentiles.

Goa dourada (a): The Golden Goa

Goa, Velha: A historical city in North Goa district in the Indian state of Goa. The city was constructed by the *Bijapur Sultanate* in the 15th century, and served as capital of Portuguese India from the 16th century until its abandonment in the 18th century due to a plague. It is about 10 kilometers away from Nova Goa or Pangim.

Goa, Nova: Pangim or Panaji is the capital of the State of Goa in India. In 1843 it was named *Nova Goa*.

Idade: Age

Īman (from Arabic), *Shraddha* (Sanskrit): Faith

Imprensa: Printing Press

Imprensa Nacional: The governmental printing press in Nova Goa.

Índia Portuguesa/ Portuguesa: The Portuguese India.

Língua maternal: Mother tongue

Metropole (o): Portugal or mother country of a particular colony.

Mestiços: Persons of Indo-Portuguese ancestry.

Padroado Real: The protection and sponsorship of Church orders and missions by the Royal Court.

Periódico: a periodical.

Periódico mensal: a monthly

Periódico semanal: a weekly

Reinois/ Landins: Portuguese born in Portugal.

Rupia (Rupee): A monetary unit of Portuguese India. Before 1871, the rupia was subdivided into 750 bazarucos, 600 réis (singular: real), 20 pardaus or 10 tangas, with the xerafim worth 2 rupias. After 1871, 960 réis or 16 tangas (worth 60 réis) equalled 1 rupia. The rupia was equal in value to the Indian rupee. This meant the tanga was equal in value to the Indian anna. In 1958, the currency was replaced by the escudo at the rate of 1 rupia = 6 escudos³⁰⁹

Salazar, António de Oliveira: A Portuguese professor and politician who served as the Prime Minister of Portugal from 1932 to 1968. He also served as acting President of the Republic briefly in 1951. He founded and led the Estado Novo (New State), the authoritarian, right-wing government that presided over and controlled Portugal from 1932 to 1974.

Senado: Municipal council.

Tipografia/ Typografia: Typography.

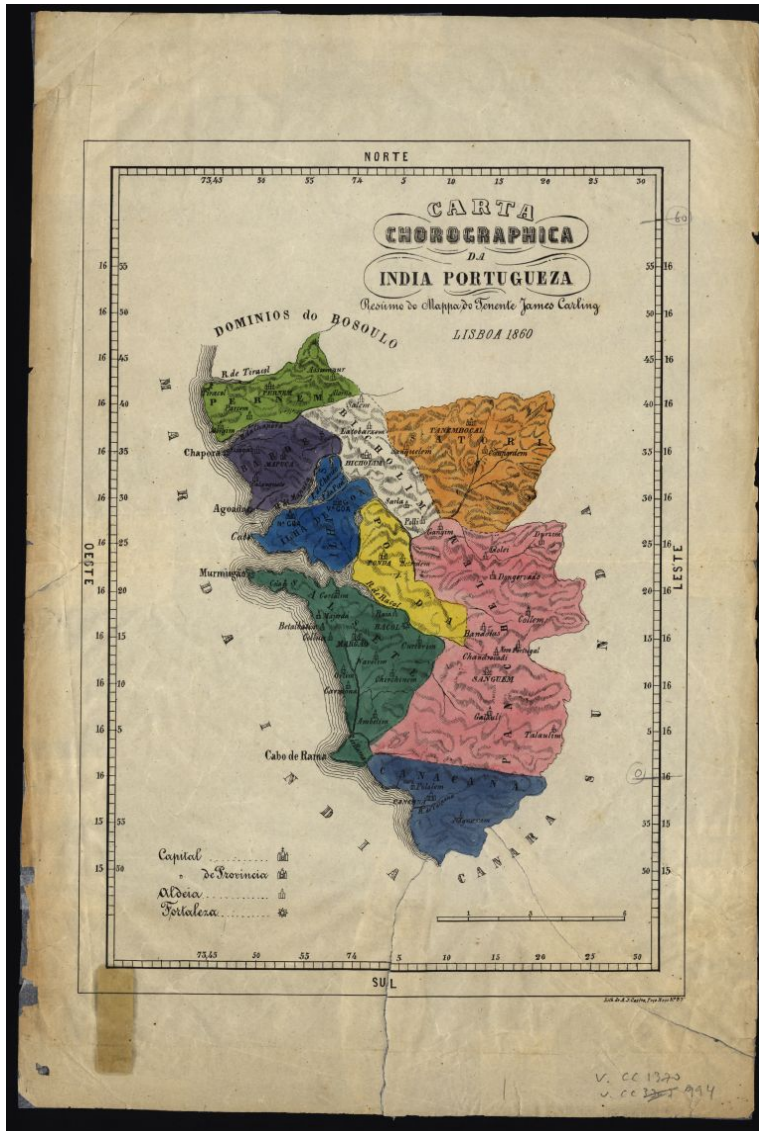
³⁰⁹ Krause, Chester L, Clifford Mishler, and Colin R. Bruce. *Standard Catalog of World Coins*. Iola, Wis: Krause Publications, 1991. Print.

Tipos somáticos: Race (approximate) or the somatic types such as European, African, Mixed, Indian, and Yellow (since 1940 census).³¹⁰

³¹⁰ 8 [oitenta] Recenseamento Geral Da População Realizado Em 15 De Dezembro De 1950.
Goa: Imprensa Nacional do Estado da India, 1956. Print. Pg. 63.

Appendix VI

The Map of Portuguese India, 1860.³¹¹



Appendix VII

³¹¹ "Biblioteca Nacional Digital - Carta chorographica da India Portugueza, 1860." *Últimas obras disponibilizadas na BND*. N.p., n.d. Web. 16 Jan. 2013. <<http://purl.pt/1520/2/P1.html>>.

This map belongs to the public domain or *ficha pública* as stated by the National Library of Portugal where this image is hosted.

An outline map of Portuguese India and Bombaim/Bombay/Mumbai, Delhi and Calcutta.³¹²



³¹² "Portuguese India." *Wikimedia Commons*. Wikipedia, 16 Aug. 2008. Web. 5 Feb. 2013.
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Portugease_India.png>. I had to modify this map to show an approximate location of Bombay/Bombaim/Mumbai, Delhi and Calcutta.

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