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Whose Goa? Projection of Goan Identity in Rival Discourses

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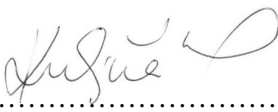(Palacký University Olomouc)

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MA Programme Euroculture
Declaration

I, Karina Kubiňáková, hereby declare that this thesis, entitled "Whose Goa? Projection of Goan Identity in Rival Discourses", submitted as partial requirement for the MA Programme Euroculture, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within it of works of authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the List of References.

I hereby also acknowledge that I was informed about the regulations pertaining to the assessment of the MA thesis Euroculture and about general completion for the Master of Arts Programme Euroculture.

Signed   ……………………………..

Date   15 February 2010
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Table of Contents

Preface

Before going to Goa in August 2009 during my studies in India, I had read a lot about its unique cultural identity, the supposed Indo-European blend. As I was thinking of doing my research on Goan identity, I was looking forward to find out through my own eyes what Goa is and who Goans are, and had imagined that Goa was very different from its neighboring states. India is a huge and diverse country and travelling across her is a multicolored experience. Nevertheless, at least when travelling by train, which was my case, I did not notice when we entered Goa from the state of Maharashtra. To my surprise, the Goan scenery and towns looking from the train window looked similar to those in the neighboring state which we had just come from but for an occasional change in the architectural style of houses. When I finally arrived in Panjim (Panaji), I was delighted to see that as to the Portuguese influence in Goa, it came, at least partially, to my expectations. Most of the old shop name plates in Portuguese language were retained (see the picture on the left side), and together with the Southern European architecture, such as the *azulejos* adorning the façades,[1] which in the capital is more strongly visible than anywhere else in the country, still reminded of the once famed Portuguese seaborne empire. For this reason, the Portuguese legacy has not vanished entirely, although gradually the Portuguese style is being superseded by the Indian way of life. Similarly, apart from the older generations, there is hardly anybody speaking the Portuguese language in Goa today. The Portuguese language is being replaced by the dominant global language, English.

Barber's with a Portuguese name plate, Panjim, Goa.

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[1] The Portuguese, the Spanish in a lesser extent, decorate their houses and actually whichever building with painted tin-glazed, ceramic tiles called *azulejos* (in Arabic "polished stone"). They are used for indoor walls as well as outdoor façades and are applied to floors and even ceilings. *Azulejos* were introduced to Portugal, via Spain, by Muslims, who had learnt this craft from Persians. The fashion of adorning buildings with *azulejos*, however, continued even after their departure from the Iberian Peninsula. The Moorish origin is seen through various motifs as floors and arabesque geometrical patterns, though *azulejos* can also depict famous events, figures, biblical scenes, etc., which are of Christian influence.

Nevertheless, although Anglophones, the younger generations of Goans look at the old Portuguese times with nostalgia. Whenever there is a football championship, I was told, one can be certain about their rooting for the Portuguese team. Although Goa is at present, no doubt, more Indian than Portuguese in its outlook, until 1961 this 'fact' was not quite evident. Hence, my thesis sets to investigate this very polemic conceptualization of Goan identity.

This thesis was written in the framework of the Erasmus Mundus MA Euroculture programme, which focuses on cultural and social developments and political processes within the European Union and reflects on integration, citizenship, values and cultural identity in Europe. Colonialism as a part of European expression, no doubt, constitutes a significant part in European history, and had a considerable impact on shaping the European society as well as on the processes of European identity formation. This thesis deals with the European culture, particularly the Portuguese culture, and its dissemination into the wider world. It also untangles the social processes and cultural transformations that took place during the enforcement of European values, social identities, and morals to non-European cultures. Through the analysis of Portuguese colonialism and Goan identity, this thesis provides a deeper understanding of the formation of cultural identity in present-day Europe.

1   Introduction

Goa, the smallest Indian state in terms of area, lies on the west coast of India. In the north it borders on Maharashtra, in the south and east on Karnataka and in the west it is bordered by the Arabian Sea. Due to its geographical location, embedded in the Indian Territory, it is supposed to be an Indian region with an Indian identity. However, 450 years of Portuguese colonial rule, during which different cultural and religious traditions met, reshaped the socio-cultural landscape of Goa; its history and culture became distinctive from other Indian regions. It is argued that because of this distinct past, Goa acquired a distinct Indo-Portuguese personality (Souza 33). Goans as a minority differ from other Indians in two respects. First, they constitute a relatively small minority in India, and are therefore not so well-known by many. According to the last census conducted in 2007, Goa with 1,347,000 inhabitants constitutes 0,13% of total population of India (Bhandari and Kale 3). And second, Goans are a minority that has in large embraced Christianity during colonialism, which meant for many a bridge to their 'alleged' Europanization through the contact with the Portuguese people and culture.

In 1947, India was granted independence from the British government. The newly established Indian government demanded that the Portuguese government did the same with respect to Portuguese Indian territories (Goa, Daman and Diu). However, António de Oliveira Salazar, the prime minister of Portugal at that time, refused to grant independence, arguing that these Indian territories were an inherent part of Portugal and Goan Indians were Portuguese as a result of a long interaction throughout the history. After all, Goa was the *sanctum sanctorum*, 'the Rome of the East', as it was the center of Christian activities in the East and the place where the Eastern and Western traditions met. Jawaharlal Nehru, the prime minister of India, however, saw the Portuguese enclave of Goa as 'the pimple on the face of Mother India' (Bravo 149). He challenged Salazar by claiming that Goa is geographically part of India and that Goans were Indians in all respects. Therefore Goa should be freed from the Portuguese colonial regime and be appended to the Indian Union. A long 'debate' between Nehru and Salazar over the territories reveals that different official discourses on the conception of Goan identity existed at that time, and that both sides claimed Goa as an issue of

6

national interest. The debate between the two statesmen, however, also has a symbolic meaning: it represents a stubborn attempt to assert and bolster nationalist ideologies. Last but not least, the discussion initiated by the 'debate' among scholars, points to the presence of polarized opinions regarding Goa and its people in cultural, scholar and political discourse that remains present even today.

Nations have been recently seen as 'imagined communities' (Anderson 6).[2] Such communities consist of narratives and discourses that are created through language and depend on the political context, and are then either suppressed or enforced by a colonial or national state (Bravo 126). Over the last decades, much has been written about Portuguese colonialism and its impact on Goan society (Angle; Axelrod and Fuerch; Correia; Correia-Afonso; Dias; Gaitonde; Mendes; Newman; Pearson; Penrose; Richards; Shirodkar; Souza; Xavier). General histories of India or South Asia written by Indian or British scholars, in general, somehow tend to omit (non-British) Portuguese bearings in their accounts (for some examples, see Nanda; Bose and Jalal; Spear; Panikkar). Their focus is limited to British possessions as the only colonizing power in the history of Indian subcontinent. Even if they dedicate a page or two to it, they restrict their accounts to the arrival of Vasco da Gama and render a poor account of the Portuguese presence as a trading power. What is also striking is that in these histories, including biographies of Jawaharlal Nehru, there is a striking absence of India's struggle to take control over Goa, Daman and Diu. From the above it can be concluded that as Goa was not in the sphere of British interests, it was not as important from the immediate 'national' perspective. In addition, owing to the vastness of India, in Indian and British historiographies, Goa has been perceived only as a minor event among the many pressing issues that post-colonial India had to face immediately after obtaining its independence. The British attitude is in contrast with Portuguese accounts where Goa is attributed great importance. This phenomenon stems partly from Portugal's smallness in terms of territorial size and partly from the ideological conviction to adhere to its colonies, as I will explain further in this thesis.

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[2] Benedict Anderson's theory about imagined communities has however been also placed under great stress. This socially constructive approach to nations and nationalism has been contested by advocates of, for example, national revival theory (primordialism, ethno-symbolism, etc.) who emphasize the national revival. For a comprehensive summary of theories of nationalism, see Leoussi.

Since India's independence in 1947 until well into the 1970s, Goa was the focus of the disputes between the governments of India and Portugal. It is interesting to note that much of the written propaganda of the two governments during the debate between Salazar and Nehru was written in English. This can be explained by the attempts of both governments to influence the world opinion on the issue of Goa. For this purpose, for example, many Portuguese documents were published or authored by the governmental *Agência Geral do Ultramar* (General Overseas Agency). These were either written or translated into English and other European languages in the period between the 1950s and 1970s.

In general, the scholarship on Goa may be divided into two rivaling groups, at least when the nationalist commitment is concerned. On the one hand, there are those who credit the Portuguese for introducing Christianity to the region of Goa, emphasize Indo-Portuguese cultural intermingling and celebrate the Portuguese empire (M.A. Couto, H. Kay, L. Lawrence, and K. Bhemró). On the other hand, there are those who deny any lasting effect of the Portuguese presence on the Goan cultural sphere or claim that the Portuguese domination only had a negative impact on Goa. In these accounts the relationship between Goans and the Portuguese is depicted as a constant resistance of the native population against the repressive colonial policies. In this approach, Goans are put in the forefront (for example, P.D. Gaitonde, R.P. Rao, P.P. Shirodkar, and T.R. de Souza). The former approach may be labeled as a Lusocentric (though not necessarily Lusophile) approach, and the latter as an Indocentric approach to the history of Goa. In addition to this strict one sided approaches, there are also scholars on Goa who try to combine both approaches, with inclination to either Lusocentric or Indocentric approach with respect to the Portuguese influence in Goa. These accounts either claim that Goans share a unique Luso-Indian heritage (Correia-Afonso) or that Goa had a distinct Hindu past (see, for example, G. Dias).

Goa, a former colonial possession, offers a good example of a space where colonial rule redefined the autochthonous conditions to create an allegedly hybrid (Indo-Portuguese, or Luso-Indian), society. According to Percival Spear, "they [Goans] are mainly Indian in blood, Catholic in religion, and partly western in outlook" (63). However, such a Eurocentric view is contested by Indocentric historians who emphasize the Indian and Hindu past of this region, and criticize the creation and generalization of

the Portuguese image of Goa. In this thesis I analyze historiographies and studies on Portuguese-Goan relationship during the Portuguese rule in Goa, and I deconstruct the debate between Salazar and Nehru over Goa, because I want to find out how Goan identity has been described in rival discourses in order to understand how nationalist commitment and ideology influence the interpretation of conceptions of identity of people in a post-colonial context. To find answers, a set of additional close-knit questions, that emanate from the central question by all being linked to interpretations of conceptions of Goan identity that are conditioned by nationalist commitment, will be posed in the thesis: How is Goan identity portrayed from the Lusocentric viewpoint as opposed to the Indocentric one? As a result of the 450 years of Portuguese rule over Goa, did the Portuguese succeed in transforming Goans into Portuguese? In what terms should the transformation of Goan social and cultural sphere as a result of the colonial encounter be described? What was the role of nationalism during the Portuguese rule in Goa? How is Goan identity projected in the rhetoric of Salazar and Nehru? In what ways did they defend their claims over Goa?

This thesis aims to answer these questions through an analysis of the discourse on the debate over Goa and on the Portuguese-Goan relationship during the period of Portuguese colonization of Goa. Discourse analysis in general has at its focus narratives, the use of the construction of social and political realities, and serves for a better understanding of the structure and organization of discourse itself (De Landtsheer 11; Feldman 202). As Matthew G. Sorley points out, in discourse analysis, "the focus is directed to the language, which is viewed as structured to reflect and perpetuate current power relations, structure ideology, and define the dominant version of subject reality" (119). However, the present study is not a discourse analysis in a strict sense: the analysis is not structural nor systematic but rather exemplary and interpretative. The thesis aims to touch only on certain issues, such as the nationalist orientations of scholars and actors of the debate, as well as the openness of social and historical realities to several, if disjointed interpretations. The corpus of the analysis consists of histories on Goa (Correia; Rao; Lawrence), a political bibliography (Kay), surveys (Bhemró; Souza; Correia-Afonso; Fisher), a narrative (Couto), a research study (Shirodkar), and speeches given by Salazar and Nehru in the period from 1949 until 1954. The choice of sources was determined, on the one hand, by pragmatic reasons, i.e.

availability of texts in library, internet or bookstores, as well as by language proficiency, and on the other hand, by their representativeness and significance in the debate about Goan identity. In spite of selecting exemplary texts for inclusion as a source in the corpus, the thesis encompasses rather a wide range of different sources. The decision to examine a wide scope is motivated by curiosity about the multiplicity of perspectives about Goan identity which the Portuguese-Goan encounter generated. What this means in practice is that I move from examination of Goan identity as described in academic writing, i.e. in socio-political and cultural studies and histories, to its description in popular science literature, and then further in political rhetoric, where following Feldman's observation that the political reality is represented by language (203), I examine the rhetoric of the debate over Goa. In the debate, I expose and explain the meanings and metaphors in Salazar and Nehru's speeches, and I focus on the motives and justifications of their positions which they used to convince international public of their legitimacy over Goa.

In the social sciences, the study of Goan identity is certainly not something unusual or rare. Actually, it has been covered in great detail. However, what is still absent with regard to Goan identity is a comparison and contrast of studies that examine Goan identity either through Indocentric or Lusocentric lenses. Hence this thesis compares rival discourses on the construction of Goan identity. More specifically, it focuses on the differences between indigenous and colonial perceptions of Goan cultural, religious, and social space through the analyses of the ways Goan identity has been constructed in socio-cultural studies, historiographies, nationalist discourse and in political rhetoric. As the focus of the present thesis is the rivaling nature in the scholarship on Goa, the more balanced and nuanced studies on the subject have been in general excluded from the research. The reason for limiting the scope of the research in such a way is to suggest that thinking and writing about a subject is almost never free of bias – the bias "of one's own subjectivity and one's own historical place" (Collier 137). The chronological span of the research is from the 1500s until the 1960s. However, the structure of this thesis does not strictly follow the rules of chronology. The focus is on the debate that took place during the 1950s between Salazar and Nehru on the nature of Goan identity. Therefore, the theoretical framework of this thesis serves to understand the exchange of arguments used by the two statesmen to justify their claims over Goa.

In order to make sense of the dispute, the intricate colonial relationship between Goans (the colonized) and the Portuguese (the colonizers) is analyzed through the historical and conceptual connection between identity, and colonialism, with recourse to colonial and postcolonial concepts such as syncretism, hybridity, creolization, mimicry and nationalism that are used to define the intercultural exchanges of the colonial encounter. In seeking to address some of these issues, this research unveils a process that, although situated in Goa during the Portuguese dominion, took place in the colonial and post-colonial periods in the colonized countries. This process was initiated by the European colonization of the Third World, with the attempts to refashion the indigenous population according to Western images, up to the point where colonial perceptions of the 'world order' started to clash with the anti-colonial narrative of self-determination and resistance to the hegemonic culture imposed by the colonialism. At this point, it is also important to clear up what this thesis does not attempt to accomplish. The research does not try to employ a historical approach in the analysis; rather it uses discussions and discourses on Goan identity which are deconstructed and analyzed. Likewise this thesis is not intended to give a general account of colonialism in Goa nor an extensive history of Goa's past, missionary work conducted there, and conversion processes of Goan traditions. These topics and approaches have been already covered exhaustively in the works of others more competent than me (such as, Xavier; Pearson; Larsen; Axelrod and Fuerch; Henn).

The thesis is organized according to three major concerns. The first concern is to make clear from the very beginning that the question of Goan identity and the acknowledgement of the impact that the Portuguese had on Goans have in no case been straightforward. Therefore, after setting Goa into the context of the Portuguese colonial expansion, an overview of recent studies on the Portuguese-Goan relationship during the Portuguese rule in Goa will be discussed. The second concern is the construction of a theoretical framework through which it will be possible to understand the debate on Goan identity between Salazar and Nehru. The theoretical framework is constructed in Chapter 2. The chapter starts with theorizing about the concept of identity and is followed by a brief discussion of the conceptualization of Indian identity. The focus is then turned to colonialism and colonial ideology, and their connecting concepts and processes which are based on intercultural exchange, interaction, and 'othering', namely

syncretism, hybridity, creolization, mimicry and nationalism. It is through these concepts that this thesis will attempt to understand the transformation of Goan social practices, traditions and social identities resulting from the colonial encounter. The third focus of the thesis, which makes up Chapter 3, is on the debate over Goa. Here, historiography and surveys on the Goa debate are examined in order to highlight the contradictory nature of the debate and explicate its particularities. And lastly, the actual debate as conducted by the two actors, Salazar and Nehru, is analyzed to illustrate how national ideologies influence the interpretation of 'people' and their national and cultural identity.

1.1 Portuguese overseas expansion and discovery of Goa

Indisputably, the Age of Exploration[3] was one of the most important eras in Portuguese history and had a considerable impact on the world history. Not only did it bring fame to Portugal but it also influenced many countries and nations all over the world.[4] In less than two centuries, from 1415 when Ceuta in Morocco was conquered by King John I, until 1600, the Portuguese came to dominate the seas of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans; they traded with countries along the African coast and southeastern Asia and India while the Spanish were their only competitors for a long time. The climax of their explorations was the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope by Bartholomew Diaz which opened the possibilities for discovering the sea route to India under the command of Vasco da Gama in 1498. Though only for a limited time, this dominant position allowed the Portuguese to dominate and develop trade in exotic goods highly desired in Europe. The last overseas territory under Portuguese administration, Macau in the South China Sea, was returned to China in 1999, two years after the transfer of sovereignty over Hong Kong by the British to China.

Located on the extreme southwest of Europe, Portugal was one of the first emergent nation-states in Europe to establish almost entirely its present-day borders. In 1249, the Portuguese king Afonso Henriques definitely reconquered the last Muslim-held territory in Portugal, Algarve, which allowed Portugal to focus on internal affairs

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[3] Also called *Age of Discovery* or *Age of Discoveries* (Descobrimentos) as the Portuguese prefer to call it.
[4] This view is contested by Michael Pearson and David Fieldhouse who argue that the importance ascribed to European explorations has been much greater in Europe than in Asia. Fieldhouse points out that these events "liberated Europe from a geographic and mental cell" (qtd in. Pearson 13).

and, consequently, on marine exploration and expansion.[5] Primarily, the Portuguese were interested in northern Africa from where goods such as cereals, textile, sugar and gold were exported. It is believed that the Portuguese found their inspiration in the conquest and plunder of the northern Moroccan port of Tetuan by the Castilian fleet (Klíma 99).[6] The reason that drove the Portuguese to western Africa was the need for protecting Algarve and the Iberian Peninsula from Muslim raiders from Africa as well as overtaking Castile in trade and prestige by seizing Morocco, which represented a foot-hold to dominate Saharan trade routes. By conquering Moroccan Ceuta in 1415, Portugal marked the beginning of its overseas expansion. However, the real impetus came with Prince Henry the 'Navigator' who sent expeditions to explore the west coast of Africa and the Atlantic Ocean in order to spread the Christian faith and enlarge the Portuguese empire, and who consequently ordered circumnavigation of the Cape *Bojador*, or Bulging Cape.[7] It took almost a decade until somebody dared to fulfill Henry's order and circumnavigate the Cape in 1434. Disappearance of many ships made people believe that ships venturing behind the Cape will perish in boiling seas or that ships that once passed the Cape will never be able to come back because of strong currents, or that they will fall from the edge of the world (Klíma 107; Arnold 3). The yet 'undiscovered' world was also emblazoned with legends of the lost island of Atlantis and of the kingdom of legendary powerful Christian king, Prester John, somewhere in Africa or Asia. These fantasies, no matter how chimerical, fuelled the Portuguese voyages of discovery in the 15th century.

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[5] Expansion had been made possible basically by virtue of the 'ill fortune' of others. In the 15th century, Ottoman Turks established themselves in the Eastern Mediterranean and blocked some of the traditional Genoese trading investment areas. Consequently, to compensate their 'loss', big Genoese bankers turned to Portugal, who was in need of capital to sponsor their voyages of discoveries, and provided the impetus – their investments – to Portugal (Pearson 7).

[6] In 1143, by re-conquering Lisbon and Santarém from the Muslims, Portugal secured itself independence from the Kingdom of León. But even after Portugal became independent, the border disputes among Iberian kingdoms lingered. As a result of diplomatic and political relations, it was customary to practice royal intermarriages between Portugal and the other Iberian kingdoms (Galicia, León, Castile and Aragon) which at the time of dynastic crises often led to warfare between successors to the throne. Commercial rivalry and political tensions between Castile (León was joined to the Kingdom of Castile in 1230) and Portugal culminated in an open conflict in the 14th and 15th centuries, which fuelled competition between the two kingdoms in North Africa and the Atlantic Ocean (Klíma 120-22; Arnold 15-16).

[7] In recent studies, scholars have suggested that Henry might not have been the driving force behind the commercial expansion in Portugal. According to these it was Pedro, illegitimate son of John I and the regent during the infancy of Alfonso V, who was responsible for establishing Portuguese overseas commerce. Henry was supposedly fixated on Moroccan conquest only. For more on Pedro's merit in the Portuguese expansion, see Newitt (*A History of Portuguese* 22-29) For alternative sources concerning Henry's role in the overseas discoveries see Russel.

The Portuguese seemed to have been tempted by the conquest and explorations for various reasons. The king saw it as a potential source of income which would enable him to bestow the patronage required for his patrimonial absolutism. For the nobility it meant glory, wealth, fiefs and prominent appointments under the Crown (Arnold 16). For the clergy it was an opportunity to evangelize heathens and to make a profit from invasions. Ordinary people could improve their standing by working in ports and dockyards. Private entrepreneurs, from whom the biggest impetus came, could only gain from economic benefits that the overseas expansion offered. Last but not least, the Black Death that swept through Europe in the 14th century left Portugal thinly populated. Portugal was now eager to receive (African) slaves who were perceived as a free source of manpower (Pearson 7). The slaves, according to the period's conviction, in fact, 'thrived' in captivity as they got 'dressed', were 'fed' and brought to the 'right' faith (Klíma 110). Perhaps due to above mentioned motives, overseas expansion gained in great political and economic importance by the end of the 15th century. Newitt, however, suggests that,

> [d]iscovery, of course, was not [simply] a disinterested scientific enterprise but was understood to involve opening new areas to commerce and isolating the Muslims of northern Africa by linking up with Christian communities supposed to exist in the East (…) [E]xploration and trade went hand in hand; the one opened up opportunities for the other (*A History of Portuguese* 49).

Although finding a new sea route to the Spice Islands in the East may have been of little interest to Henry, mainly because of the Crown's preoccupation with Morocco and Castile, it became pivotal to the politics of Henry's nephew, John II (1481-95), and later to Henry's grandson Manuel I (1495-1521).[8] During their reigns, the dream of redirecting trade caravans from western African countries to Portuguese trading centers instead of to the Muslim-ruled northern Africa was achieved. Trading exotic goods and sea expeditions brought great profits to Portuguese entrepreneurs, and from the Crown's viewpoint it brought influence and prestige to the small and once poor country.

In 1488, Bartholomew Diaz 'discovered' the sea-route to India by sailing around the extreme south of Africa to Kwaaihoek, located between the current-day cities of

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[8] Manuel's father, Infant Fernando, the second son of king Edward of Portugal, was adopted by Henry, who did not have children of his own.

Port Elizabeth and East London. However, a renewed interest in conquering Morocco and the Congo,[9] which could provide the Crown with more immediate profit, overshadowed Diaz's discovery and brought exploratory voyages to a standstill – a silence gap of ten years followed until the next expedition to the East was embarked upon. In the meanwhile, the Spanish managed to re-seize the last Spanish territories from Muslim rule and got interested in changing a completed reconquest to a conquest. A dispute over the newly discovered islands and territories between the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns resulted in signing the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. According to this treaty the sphere of Portuguese and Spanish interests was divided by an imaginary demarcation line. The Portuguese were allotted oceans and lands up to a line 370 leagues west of Cape Verde. The treaty, which was meant to encompass the Atlantic Ocean and its islands, Newitt argues, "soon became the basis on which claims to sovereignty were extended over lands and peoples not only unconquered but even undiscovered" (*A History of Portuguese* 57).

Originally the voyage to India was of low priority. For the first exploration, only four ships under the command of a minor *fidalgo* (noble), Vasco da Gama, and a few diplomatic gifts were dispatched in 1497. The king paid all heed to Castile and Morocco which were perceived as *the* main points of the Crown's interests; sending Vasco da Gama on a voyage of exploration to India was only to silence a small but bothersome pressure group led by the erstwhile claimant to the throne, Infant Jorge (Pearson 13). Vasco da Gama, a bad diplomat and an enemy of Islam, nevertheless proved that it was possible to sail to India; he succeeded in what the Portuguese had been aspiring for during more than eighty years. On his way to India he stopped in present-day Mozambique and realized that a base for replenishing supplies and energy was needed.[10] On his second trip to India, he established colonies in Mozambique and Sofala (nowadays part of Mozambique). Thereby, he marked out Portuguese trade routes in the Indian Ocean for centuries to come. In 1498 he dropped anchor in Calicut where he met

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[9] The kingdom of the Congo was discovered in 1482 by Diogo Cão. Cão, on behalf of king John II, made an alliance with the kingdom of the Congo and initiated evangelization there.

[10] An interesting insight into the Christian-Muslim relations is given by Pearson in his survey of the Portuguese in India. When the Portuguese arrived at Mozambique, the ruler of the kingdom allegedly mistook them for Muslims. When he eventually found out that they were Christians, he instantly changed his attitude towards the newcomers and started to treat them with open hostility. Pearson explains that the reason for the ruler's demeanor was an "old-age prejudice from North Africa, the Mediterranean and [linking of the Portuguese to] the Crusades" (11).

the Hindu ruler, Zamorin. Apparently, the Portuguese were not aware of the status and prestige of the Zamorin of Calicut, who was considered an opulent ruler of a grand port city, and dominant along all of the Malabar Coast, because gifts designated for him were at most trifling (Pearson 13). Although, the paltry gifts of cloth, hats and agricultural products did not make a big impression on the Zamorin, Gama nevertheless returned with a load of spices to Portugal (Klíma 132). Due to the animosity of Arab traders, it had not been possible to establish a trading subsidiary. Nonetheless, Gama's voyage enabled king Manuel I to extend his title to, 'King of Portugal and of the Algarves on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, Lord of Guiné and Lord of the Conquest, Navigation and Commerce, of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India' (Newitt *A History of Portuguese* 57).

Spices, however, were not the only reason that set the first Portuguese on their voyages to the East. The stories of Christian communities in the East, who were in need of help in the crusade against Muslims, had reached Europe a long time ago. While they found spices in abundance in India, the small Syrian Christian communities[11] they encountered there did not lead to the expected linking-up with the legendary Prester John, whom they counted as an ally of western Christians in their global war against Islam.[12] The contact between Christians and inhabitants of (the south of) India thus stretches back to long before the arrival of the Portuguese. Christianization of the indigenous population, together with the Portuguese expansions undertaken in Asia, as well as in Africa, were later perceived as a means of protecting the Christian world – Europe – against the Muslim 'menace', especially feared after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 (Richards 14). Therefore, the Portuguese Eastern possessions, one might argue, were not understood in the first place as an empire, but as a by-product of the protection and expansion of trade and of Christian gospel among the 'heathen' (Newitt *A History of Portuguese* 53; Klíma 132; Arnold 16; Pearson 5).

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[11] The history of Syrian Christians in India dates back to the 4th century. They were ostensibly converted to Christianity by Nestorian Christians who had come to Asia from Palestine. According to Richards these Indian Christians had never been under the authority of Rome, which the Portuguese tried to 'correct' but failed to achieve (14).
[12] Pearson questions the motives of Portuguese discoveries. He argues that the profit and religious motives cannot be seen separately because in the 15th century, religion, economics and politics were considered to be one unit (Pearson 10).

Two years after Vasco da Gama's exploratory voyage, Pedro Álvares Cabral managed to open a trading subsidiary in India.[13] Consecutively, the Portuguese rapidly gained commercial and military supremacy in the Orient. The Portuguese found a flourishing commercial system in the Indian Ocean. It was based on a system of free city-states, independent of any territorial power, though unprotected, and in the case of attacks willing to pay tributes to whoever emerged as a victor. Until the arrival of the Portuguese, there was nobody who aspired to control the trade with force. Newitt explains the Portuguese tactics in the Indian Ocean that enabled them to dominate it so fast:

> Whereas establishing themselves as a trading community would be a long and difficult process, as they [the Portuguese] would have to compete with those with long experience in the market, they might easily use military force to take control of the independent port cities and become the effective rulers able to dictate the terms of trade (Newitt *A History of Portuguese* 62).

In 1507, Alfonso de Albuquerque reached Persian Gulf and took over more commercial ports, Goa and Ormus among others, and forced them to pay taxes to Portugal. Initially, the Portuguese practiced a policy of aggression in the Indian Ocean – as they did in Africa – which might have been the result of their religious beliefs. However, with time they had to reconsider their policies. Arnold puts it:

> [I]t was religiously unacceptable for them [the Portuguese] to settle down to trade peacefully alongside Muslims, even if it was commercially possible. The intolerant spirit of the *Reconquista* was imported from the Iberian Peninsula to the Indian Ocean. But although the Portuguese at first showed considerable aggression against the Muslim traders and princes they encountered in the East, they made only feeble attempts to win Asia over to Christianity (Arnold 29-30).

Arnold's argument is based on the conviction that the Portuguese, whether willing or not, in the longer run had to tolerate other Asiatic religions, even Islam, for the sake of trade's interest. This 'mild' attitude of the Portuguese towards other religions reflects Portugal's negligible sphere of religious influence during their presence in Asia. Apart from a few exceptions, such as the conversion of the Parava fishermen of Kerala in 1537 by Francis Xavier, and apart from Goa and other

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[13] Cabral, on his way to India discovered Brazil in 1500, calling it *Terras de Vera Cruz* (Land of the True Cross) and laid the Portuguese claim to South American territory.

Portuguese colonies, Portugal did not spread or perhaps did not succeed in spreading its faith further in Asia.

When Alfonso de Albuquerque arrived in Goa in 1503, he had clear orders: to establish a fortress base from which the cargoes of spices collected for annual shipment to Portugal could be secured against Arab Muslim raiders. In order to strengthen their position, the Portuguese allied themselves with other Indian, Persian, Ethiopian and Indonesian states and destroyed the Gujarati-Egyptian alliance. This newly secured position, together with naval superiority, allowed the Portuguese to focus on building the *Estado da Índia* (the Portuguese Indian State) and to turn Goa into the administrational center of the Indies. The juridical foundation of the *Estado da Índia* lay embedded in Papal Bulls and in the king's title. The Papal Bulls gave birth to *padroado real*, or royal patronage, which established Portugal's claim to jurisdiction over overseas territories. The king, as a sovereign over the seas, was entitled to issue *cartazes*, letters of protection which the Asian merchants had to acquire if they wanted to be saved from being attacked by the Portuguese fleets (Kulke and Rothermund 217). Besides the jurisdiction over seas and the monopoly over certain trade commodities, the Portuguese Crown claimed to have authority over Portuguese overseas settlements where direct royal authority was exercised, as well as over church and through that over a hundred of thousands, and later perhaps even more than a million, of people.[14] Within a little more than fifty years after Vasco da Gama had arrived at Calicut, the Portuguese overseas territory stretched from the Indian Ocean till the South China Sea – from Mozambique through Malacca on the Malayan peninsula, to Ormus on the Persian Gulf and Macau in China.

Goa was not originally in the sphere of the Portuguese utmost interest as it lay too much northward from Portugal's main focus, the pepper trade. At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, it was, however, a rather important port where horses were imported from Arabia and Persia and further exported to Asia. Eventually, its coastal position and location between the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar and other Muslim sultanates, as well as Portugal's ambitions to meddle with and manipulate Indian politics, stipulated Portuguese interfering in Hindu-Muslim affairs (Newitt *A History of Portuguese* 82). The Portuguese took advantage of rivalries between local rulers, and

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[14] For implications of the different types of authorities of the Portuguese king over its overseas territories, see Newitt ("Formal and Informal Empire" 1-2).

after the expulsion of the Muslim ruling elite, they turned Goa into a Portuguese sovereign territory. For Portugal, the seizure of Goa meant establishing a perfect base for their seaborne empire and further domination of the Indian Ocean long before the arrival of the Dutch, the French or the English. Although Portugal's position as a seaborne empire cannot be challenged, the influence of the Portuguese rule in their subjected countries has been extensively questioned. A brief overview of the debate on the Portuguese-Goan relationship during the Portuguese rule in Goa will cast light on the complex nature of this relationship.

1.2 Goa as a part of the Portuguese Empire in literature

The influence of the Portuguese in Goa has long been disputed. What exactly did the Portuguese achieve in Goa? Did they create a Portuguese territory with Portugualized people and Portuguese identity? Or was the impact after 450 years in India only an ideological claim argued by proponents of Portuguese rule in Goa? How are the Goan people depicted in these accounts? How has the historiography and scholarship been treating this complex relationship? The objective of this section is to look at a number of different ways how Goa and its people have been described during the Portuguese rule in selected literature on Goa. I will argue that it is problematic to formulate uniform answers to the above listed questions.

This section will examine six studies describing the Portuguese-Goan relationship in the period from the 16th until the 19th century. I have drawn from Goan historians, scholars and writers, who can, in general, be categorized as either taking an Indocentric or Lusocentric approach regarding the impact of the Portuguese rule in Goa.[15] The authors of the first three studies, P.P. Shirodkar, T.R. de Souza and L.A. Correia, are proponents of the Indocentric approach. They argue that the Portuguese rule did not leave any lasting, and even if, then a negative impact on Goa and Goans, and therefore emphasize the Indian character of Goan identity. There are other studies, however, by authors who can be labeled as Lusocentric: K. Bhemró, J.S.J. Correia-Afonso and M.A. Couto argue that the Portuguese rule and Portuguese culture left a significant imprint on Goa and its people. To point at the multiplicity of the opinions on

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[15] Some scholars distinguish also a third group of scholarship on Goa. According to proponents of this group the Portuguese left an impact only on a particular community, i.e. Goans of higher status, while the majority of Goan population remained more or less 'unaffected'. See, for example, the work of Prabhakar S. Angle.

the subject in the corpus of literature, the overview contains examples of scholarly (Shirodkar, Souza, Correia, Bhemró and Correia-Afonso) and non-scholarly, or popular literature (Couto). However, one more account that does not belong to either of the groups is included and precedes the overview. It is a travelogue from the 16th century, *Suma Oriental*, by Tomé Pires. The reason for its inclusion in the following overview is (1) to depict how Goa and Goans were looked at by the Portuguese colonizers in the 16th century, and (2) to contrast the difference of viewing Goa, Goans and Portuguese-Goan relationship through the lens of a 16th century author as opposed to 20th-21st century scholars and writers.

Perhaps the earliest European description of the Portuguese East from a personal observation is the extensive and highly informative *Suma Oriental* written by Tomé Pires between 1512 and 1515. Thought it was written already in the 16th century, it had lain unnoticed until the beginning of the 20th century.[16] *Suma Oriental* is a compilation of historical, geographical, ethnographic and commercial information, as well as a description of coins, weights and measures used in countries Pires visited on his voyages throughout the East.[17] Tomé Pires was an apothecary to Prince Afonso, son of King John II of Portugal, who set on a voyage to India in 1511 and held the function of 'factor of drugs.' While in Malacca, where he was dispatched by Alfonso de Albuquerque and where he spent two years, he wrote a great part of *Suma Oriental*. Later he was sent to China as ambassador. However, things went wrong there, and Pires was imprisoned and died in China under mysterious circumstances.[18]

Pires's account of the early period of the capture of Goa describes a grand kingdom with civilized inhabitants. He claimed Goa to be civilized and "the most important [kingdom] in India, although they [other Muslim kingdoms] might not wish it

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[16] For a detailed explanatory account on disappearance and quest for re-discovery of the *Suma Oriental*, see the Introduction to *Suma Oriental* by Armando Cortesão (viii-xviii).

[17] The *Suma Oriental* that is available today, however, is not a complete copy of Pires's manuscript. Armando Cortesão, the translator of *Suma Oriental* from Portuguese to English, indicates that *Suma Oriental* was officially kept secret, and only parts referring to affairs already known in the public domain were allowed by Portuguese authorities to be transcribed. After all, it is a well know fact that the Portuguese, fearing Spain's aspiration to overtake them in the Asian spice trade, tried to keep their discoveries secret (Cortesão lxxiii-lxxvii).

[18] The life of Tomé Pires after 1524 is a disputed issue. Some sources claim that he died in a Chinese prison, while other accounts claim that he was banished from Canton in 1524. Then he travelled to Sampitay, where he married a Chinese woman, and died about seventy years old. For more on interpretations of Pires's life after 1524, see Cortesão (xlv-lv).

to be so" (Pires, Rodrigues and Cortesão 57).[19] He believed that Goa was better off under the Portuguese than previously under the Muslims because the Portuguese had created better conditions for the merchants. This belief might have driven Pires in his conviction that Goan people preferred to be ruled by the Portuguese. This is clearly a twist of facts because, as it is generally indicated, Goans did not expect the Portuguese to take over the kingdom after the expulsion of Muslim rulers from Goa. The Hindus misjudged the intensions of Albuquerque, whom they thought had come only to help to free them from the 'yoke' of Muslim rule (Bhembró 25).

Pires was convinced that in Goa there were more rich and honored citizens than in the neighboring kingdoms. However, when describing Goans, he uses the term 'heathen'. It is interesting to point out that under the term heathen he covers only Hindus, not Muslims. Even though Muslims were the main enemies of the Portuguese, they still considered Islam a religion while Hinduism was in their eyes only a pagan sect. Also the belief that Hindus were once Christians and worshipped Jesus Christ and Virgin Mary seems to have been current among the Portuguese in India at that time.[20] Having observed Goan higher society, Pires concluded that the Goan nobility was superior to the nobility of other Indian kingdoms who saw the conversion to Islam as a means to gain fame and prestige among the higher classes. Goan nobles, unlike the others, were "clever, prudent, learned in their religion. A Brahman would not become a Mohammedan [even] if he were made a king" (Pires, Rodrigues and Cortesão 59). Following Pires's beliefs and convictions, it can be deduced that in the beginning of the 16th century, the Portuguese had a higher opinion of Goans than of people from other Indian kingdoms, and the overall Portuguese impression of Goa was very positive.

Recently, a number of articles and books examining Goa and the Goan-Portuguese relationship have been published by various scholars. While in Pires's account Goa is described as a superb kingdom of India, with the Portuguese taking vigilance to maintain its prosperity and superiority over other places, a different perspective of Goa of the 16th century is presented by Prakashchandra Shirodkar in his article *Socio-Cultural life in Goa during 16th century* (1997). Shirodkar, in strong

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[19] According to Pires, the takeover of Goa by the Portuguese was a big blow for the Muslims: "there is no doubt that the Moors groaned when Goa was taken" (Pires, Rodrigues and Cortesão 56).
[20] Pires was convinced that the Hindus of South Asia believed in the Christian concept of the Holy Trinity. For more on the Holy Trinity and its alleged diffusion in South Asia, see Pires, Rodrigues and Cortesão (39, 66).

contrast to the opinion of Pires, claims that the Goan-Hindu society of the beginning of the 16th century was very much the same as its counterparts in the rest of India: "It was cast-ridden, tradition-bound, conservative, extremely religious-minded, pious, socially well-knit, morally at a higher level, much conscious about customs, rites and rituals and very possessive of its property and deities" ("Socio-Cultural Life" 25). In his article, Shirodkar focuses on Goa as the setting of brutal conversions and repressive policies by the Portuguese, who tried to efface traditional rights and customs of the local population.

Shirodkar examines the *Foral de Afonso Mexia*, or Afonso Mexia Charter,[21] and argues that it gave a "twist to the socio-religious life of the Goans besides making revolutionary changes in village administration" (27). As a result, the religious life of Goans was "totally disrupted and subsequently ruined on account of the terrible onslaught on Hinduism and the Hindus" (Shirodkar 29). Furthermore, "the introduction of the most unholy pitiless Holy Inquisition in 1560 was the greatest blow, the Goans could ever imagine," and the period during which the Inquisition operated was "the blackest period in Indian religious history [that] had no parallels elsewhere" (34). Shirodkar's account of Goa under the Portuguese is characterized as a 'dark age' that does not have equivalent in the history of the European expansion in India.

Another study that claims that the 450 years of Portuguese rule were in vain and did not succeed in any lasting impact on the culture of Goa is the *Is there One Goan Identity, Several or None?* (2000) by Teotónio R. de Souza. Souza holds Portugal responsible for the destruction of traditional communities and their local heritage in Goa, as well as their subsequent replacement with "the globalization of ideas and structures, which installed a new era of fanaticism, racism and centro-centrism in their colonies" ("Is There One" 488). According to him, the communities under colonial rule were denied dignity and in the longer run also their existence as a result of the Western colonial model of superiority.

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[21] Afonso Mexia was the Overseer of Revenue in India during the first half of the 16th century. Mexia was in the committee that codified the first Indo-Portuguese document issued by the Portuguese that systematized the local uses, customs, laws and taxes for the *gaunkares* (hereditary shareholders), tenants and residents of Portuguese possessions in Goa. For a more detailed overview of the *Foral de Afonso Mexia*, see Rodrigues. For *Foral de Afonso Mexia* as a tool to Portuguese domination over the local population in Goa, see Shirodkar ("Socio-Cultural Life" 27-30).

While Souza acknowledges the impact of Portuguese culture on Goa and admits adverse consequences of Portuguese rule, he questions the extent of this impact of Portuguese culture on Goa. Whereas in Brazil and Africa, the Portuguese were both colonizers and emigrants, in Asia they merged into local societies and created the unofficial empire, where they allegedly "shed more sperm than blood" (Souza "Is There One" 490). Souza claims that this was the result of the catholic policies they had adopted, which placed the emphasis on procreation. Moreover, Souza ridicules the Portuguese colonizers by arguing that the Portuguese in Goa were too close to the colonies to be considered Europeans, since they had merged into the local societies, and too distant from Europe to be considered *serious* colonizers. Because Portugal was perceived as peripheral and backward by other European powers, the motherland, Portugal, served only as a pseudo-center for the Portuguese colonies (Souza "Is There One" 490).

By mocking the Portuguese rule and Portuguese culture, Souza attempts to underscore the Indian core of Goan identity. Collective identity in Souza's understanding is a blend of cultural uniqueness (language and historical experience constituting in part cultural heritage) and environmental characteristics of the land. In the case of the inhabitants of Goa "the Indian matrix of the [Goan] heritage is always present in a more or less diluted form" ("Is There One" 492). Souza's point is that Goa, despite a Portuguese interlude, was still more Indian than European.

A similar attitude towards the Portuguese-Goan relationship is shared by journalist Luis de Assis Correia. According to Correia, only "few Goans, outside of a small, economically and politically dominant *Lusophone* elite [ever] had any identification with Portugal" (340). However, the author's bias is chiefly reflected by the choice of words he uses throughout his book on history on Goa, *Goa: Through the Mists of History, from 10000 BC-AD 1958, a Select Compilation on Goa's Genesis* (2006). In the Prologue he sets the tone of the story by labeling the Portuguese as "conquerors", who besides attempting to Europeanize Goa, also tried "exterminating" the region's indigenous religion and culture (Correia 12). Correia maintains that the history of Portuguese Goa was full of Portuguese zealotry,[22] vanity and hatred. Goa was

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[22] For a detailed description of the Portuguese alleged fanaticism, see the chapter on the Portuguese Administration in Goa (Correia 160-81).

controlled by "bigoted" archbishops and powerful and "greedy" missionaries. Correia describes the situation of Goa under the Portuguese until the 18th century as one where:

> [W]ealth was accumulated by those in power, extravagant careers made, great houses built and there was much show and pomp, but built on a hollow foundation which fell with the first salvo from [a] well-equipped enemy that attacked its fortifications (…) [T]he Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans and others were allowed to amass wealth for their own religious houses (Correia 147-148).

Correia's account of the history of Goa zooms in on the Portuguese handling of Goa throughout its colonial history, which is depicted in rather negative terms. Correia believes that if it was not for an "unexpected" change in the course of history in Goa,[23] "the Portuguese would have annihilated the entire Hindu population" (Correia 170).

The Indo-Portuguese relationship is also the focus of Keshav Bhembró in his article *The Hindus of Goa and the Portuguese* (1978). In contrast to Shirodkar and Souza, Bhembró takes a more positive attitude towards the Portuguese rule in Goa. While Shirodkar and Souza argue that the Portuguese disrupted harmonious order in Goan society, Bhembró maintains that the Portuguese indeed had damaged the social-cultural structure of Goan Hindus, but their personal relations – in spite of that – were on friendly terms. In his opinion, the Inquisition was not fully responsible for the destruction of Hindu temples and shrines. That was supposed to have been undertaken by the newly converted Christians (Bhembró 27). He points out that when the new districts were added to Goa in the 18th century, the 'new' population of Goa, consisting mostly of Hindus, cooperated with the Portuguese administration in every way. Bhembró's approach to the Indo-Portuguese relationship is of a pragmatic nature. It is ground on the argument that the Portuguese succeeded in their propagation of Christianity in Goa, chiefly because of the assistance of Goans themselves. However, Bhembró is highly critical of Goans:

> The Hindus cooperated and regarded the Portuguese as their benefactors even though they had caused irreparable damage to the Hindu religious and cultural heritage. Nevertheless, the unstinted cooperation afforded by the Hindus at the cost of their religious and cultural life seems to

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[23] By the 'unexpected' change in the course of history, Correia presumably means the deterioration of Goa's sanitation in the 17th century which subsequently led to an outbreak of epidemics, and the growing British and Dutch interest in the East.

reveal their selfish, business-oriented and opportunistic nature (Bhembró 28).

From Bhembró's argument it seems that Goans got gradually accustomed to the new conditions imposed by the Portuguese rule, and their relationship with the colonizers was in general amicable and mutually beneficial.

John Correia-Afonso moves from studying Goans as a whole and focuses on Catholic Goans in particular. In his article, *To Cherish and to Share: the Goan Christian Heritage* (1995), he questions the uniqueness of Goans in comparison to other Indians. He points out that even though they cannot be regarded as totally dissimilar from other Indians, they cannot be simply categorized in the same way as other Indians. That is because Goa had an "unusual past", as a result of Portuguese colonization (Correia-Afonso 2). Goa was not only the first and the last Indian colony under the subjugation of European rule, but had also largely embraced Christianity. According to Correia-Afonso, the Luso-Christian heritage was the "fruit" of long Portuguese domination (4). He acknowledges that Portuguese missionary methods might have been rather harsh, the motivation of converts might have been based on opportunistic reasons, and the Inquisition might have used brutal techniques towards the New Christians, Hindus and other religions. Correia-Afonso nevertheless stresses that the most important "fact" is that the Christian Goans appropriated Christian faith fully and without reservations (4). However, Correia-Afonso does not limit the Portuguese influence on Goa and Goans only to faith. He assures that "there is no doubt that evangelization in Goa was accompanied by Europeanization, and a strenuous effort was made by Portugal to 'assimilate' the native Christian" (Afonso-Correia 4). This could be seen, for example, in the introduction of the Portuguese language as the official language used in State administration and in the Church, and as the language of higher classes (i.e. the colonial 'elite'). Even though Correia-Afonso regrets the banishing and disregarding of the local language, Konkani, by the Portuguese, he argues that the Portuguese language "opened to the Goan a door to the wider world, in as much as it was the lingua franca of the East in the Age of Discovery, and is still today one of the ten most spoken languages of the world" (4-5). Moreover, in contrast to the Indocentric authors who deny any positive impact of Portuguese culture on Goans, Correia-Afonso argues that:

> [Christian Goans are] clearly a product of acculturation, a highly
> selective process in which a group engaged in cultural contact maintains
> its social identity and to a degree its cultural distinctiveness and
> integrity. The Goan Christian has a cultural legacy in which Indo-Hindu
> and Luso-Christian elements are inextricably mixed (Correia-Afonso 3).

Portuguese culture, therefore, allegedly left a significant impression on Catholic Goans – on their attitudes and the lifestyles.

Last but not least, I will briefly consider how the impact of the Portuguese-Goan interaction is dealt with by Maria A. Couto in her social history *Goa: A daughter's story* (2005). In comparison to previous texts, Couto's account can be categorized as a creative writing. It is an autobiography, memoir and a collective history in the form of a narrative. In her book, the author argues that the arrival of the Portuguese in 1510 changed what once used to be a land of peaceful farming and fishing villages. Uncertainty, expediency, survival, aspirations – all became reality of Goan lives with the introduction of the Inquisition in Goa. Conversion fractured the identity of a Goan as he or she was compelled to embrace a completely new culture and abandon the previous way of life. Over time, converts have internalized anguish and fear, and a strong sense of a Goan Christian identity was born (Couto 113). Goan identity, as Couto argues, that remained true to its origins, to its culture and traditions. However, religion that sought an exclusive allegiance and a total break with the past, divided Goan society along religious lines. Goan Hindus, who did not break away and stayed after the Inquisition had been set up in Goa, had to adjust to the new 'hostile' conditions in order to survive. Couto describes the situation of the Hindu population in Goa under the Portuguese, as follows:

> The Goan Hindu retained all his traditions and developed a unique
> personality based on genial openness, a spirit of savoir-faire and palpable
> enthusiasm in expressing faith both in life and in the universe. While he
> did not entirely grow into a combination of the hedonistic aspect of the
> Mediterranean temperament and the pluralistic, accepting ways of
> Hinduism, the Goan Hindu personality unmistakably changed. Although
> they clung to their deities with a tenacity and humanity born of faith and
> fear of alien powers, religion and traditional culture were eventually
> leavened by the intellectual and spiritual traditions of the new rulers.
> This is particularly so in the Old Conquests and in the later years among
> those who came in closer contact through Portuguese education,
> employment and travel (Couto 251-52).

Conversion is a recurrent motif throughout Couto's book. The author stresses that baptism did not make Indians to convert to Christianity completely, therefore the Church authorities had to come up with a different approach to 'transform' Goans into Catholics. According to Couto, conversion became "an exercise in social engineering with enforced changes in food, dress, language, [and] music" (189). But even then the Church authorities did not entirely succeed, she argues, because Goan identity springs from land and the local language – Konkani. As a result a Goan is a 'product' of religio-cultural amalgamation of two different worlds, Indic and Iberian (Couto 94).

To sum it up, the Portuguese-Goan relationship throughout the history of the Portuguese domination of Goa, and its imprint on Goan identity, has been the focus of many recent studies and popular literature, as shown by the works of Shirodkar, Souza, Correia, Bhemró, Correia-Afonso, and Couto. The 16th century perception of Goa has long been contested and criticized. Present-day scholars see the relationship of Portuguese-Goan interaction in complex, controversial and disagreeing terms. Prakashchandra Shirodkar examined the socio-political life in Goa of the 16th century, and argues that Portuguese rule was manifestly brutal towards the local society. Shirodkar victimizes Goans as helpless objects of the repressive policies of the Catholic Church, refusing to attribute them any subjectivity. The character of Goan identity is also analyzed by T.R. de Souza. He questions the Portuguese impact on Goa and argues that in spite of the general conviction, the Portuguese left only a feeble imprint on Goan identity. L.A. Correia focuses on the Indo-Portuguese relationship during the history of Goa as a constant reinforcement of power on the part of the Portuguese. K. Bhemró, on the other hand, holds Goans and their opportunistic nature responsible for subordination and cooperation with the colonizers. In his view, both sides, the Portuguese and Goans, mutually benefited from the colonizer-colonized interaction. J.S.J. Correia-Afonso examines Goan cultural heritage by zooming in on Christian Goans. He maintains that the Portuguese, not always by means of exemplary methods, managed to 'imprint' Catholic tradition and European ways of life onto Goan culture. The last text dealing with the Portuguese-Goan topic discussed in here, is M.A. Couto's contribution. Couto focuses on cultural transformations of the Goan society as a consequence of conversions of the local population to Christianity and a long Portuguese influence over Goa.

The above examples, which offer a *tour d'horizon* of the positions taken on the relationship between Portugal and Goa, demonstrate that there are various ways on how to interpret the past. In the case of history of Goa, two main categories of approaches can be distinguished in respect to the impact of the Portuguese rule on Goa: Indocentric and Lusocentric. The former focuses on Goa as the setting of the repressive policies of the Portuguese rule imposed on Goans. In general, the proponents of this group deny that the 450 years of the Portuguese rule had any lasting impact on Goa, except for enforced Christian faith. The latter, the exponents of Lusocentric approach, also deal with negative aspects of the coerced conversion, but their main focus is on Goans as 'products' of the shared Indo-Portuguese culture.

The meeting of different cultures via colonialism entailed power relations. First and foremost among them was the attempt by colonizers to dominate or incorporate other people into their empires under the pretence of civilizing missions, evangelism, modernization, or development (Weedon 3). In the following chapter, a theoretical framework is constructed in which the relationship between identity, colonialism, and syncretism, hybridity, creolization, mimicry and nationalism will be examined. It will prepare the ground for an analysis of the debate between Salazar, the representative of colonialism, and Nehru, the 'indigenous' leader, that unfolded around the conflict between colonialism and nationalism.

2 Construction of theoretical framework

The central question of my thesis consists of two interconnected parts: projection of Goan identity in rival discourses, and the way nationalist commitment and ideology influence the interpretation of conceptions of identity of Goans. It has been already indicated in the previous section that the Portuguese-Goan relationship during the Portuguese rule is by no mean an uncomplicated topic, especially as the scholarship on Goa is divided according to ideological lines. Furthermore, the relationship between Goans and the Portuguese is also given a big importance in the debate over Goa between Nehru and Salazar. In Nehru's perception, Goans were Indians as their roots surpassed the Portuguese interlude in the history of Goa. On the contrary, Salazar argued that the Portuguese colonial presence had a great impact on Goans, in fact, he claimed, the coexistence transformed Goans into Portuguese. As the aim of the debate was to convince the public of their claim over Goa, the determination of Goan identity, which was to bear or bear not impact of the Portuguese colonial rule, played an important part in rhetoric of both actors. The present chapter builds a theoretical framework, through which it will be possible to apprehend the arguments used by Salazar and Nehru in their claims over Goa, by examining the concepts of identity, Indian identity, colonialism with the colonial ideology and representation of the other through Orientalism, then syncretism, hybridity, creolization, mimicry and nationalism.

2.1 What is identity?

The term identity has been widely used in sociological studies, but its use implies various ambiguous meanings ascribed to the concept. The concept of identity refers to a series of representations that are created within an individual's own self-perception in regard to roles performed (by virtue of social status and position, gender, etc.), to one's inclusion or exclusion in the social contexts (culture, nation, religion), and in regard to the way other people apprehend one's behavior and interpret and define who and what one is. However, before it gained a prominent place in the sociological vocabulary it had been first used in psychology. It was Erik Erikson, a socio-psychologist and psychotherapist, who introduced the term identity to the social sciences and brought about its popularization in the late 1950s. Following the Freudian tradition, he suggests that identity is embedded in the psyche of an individual (Gleason

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918). The concept of identity appeared in social scientific vocabulary in the 1950s, though, it had been an important issue for sociologists already much earlier, even though they did not explicitly employ the term itself. In the first half of the 20th century, James M. Baldwin, an American philosopher and psychologist, developed the idea that the auto-definition, 'the self', of a subject is relational, in the sense that it is influenced by the 'other'. Later, another American sociologist, Charles H. Cooley, formulated the idea that one's self-perception is shaped by the behavior, responses and reflections of the others, the so-called theory of 'looking-glass self'. [24] Erving Goffman conceived of social world as a play in which the various members of the society adopt certain roles and speak certain lines created by themselves. He also moved in terminology from 'the self' to identity. A different viewpoint on the concept of identity had Louis Althusser, a French philosopher highly influenced by Marxist theory, who enriched social sciences with the subject position theory. Althusser re-contextualized Marxist theory and argued that people are 'interpellated' into specific subject positions. Interpellation in this sense is conceived of as 'recruitment' as it invites the individual into subject position (Straker). He believed that ideological state apparatus interpellates the individual into ideological positions by the help of the education system and state institutions which interpellate us into particular subject positions that will be beneficial for those controlling the processes of production.

In the 1960s, the concept of identity became widely popular within the social sciences as well as in other fields, such as politics, historiography and daily language. The notion of identity gradually became to mean diverse phenomena. One extreme position was that identity was something internal, persistent through change, and the other, that identity was something that changes with circumstances. According to the former, the essentialist approach, identity is a static quality and property of every human that in its core stays the same over time, whereas according to the latter, the constructivist approach, identity is changing, constructed through difference, fluid and negotiable. Since the 1980s, objections have been raised towards the generality, over-use, underspecification and immense variety of meanings of this term.[25] John R. Gillis observes that psychologists, anthropologists, and historians lead a fierce battle over the

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[24] For more on the rudiments of the concept of identity, see works of James M. Baldwin, or Charles H. Cooley.
[25] For one of the first formulated critiques, see Philip Gleason.

meaning of identity. He points out that identity is often looked up to as if it had status of material objects, "as something that can be lost as well as found" (Gillis 3). Furthermore, Gillis argues that identity is of subjective nature, as it is highly selective, inscriptive, and serves particular interests and ideological positions as well as power (4). Another scholar of the notion of identity, Richard Handler, argues that one has to be cautious when using the concept of identity. In other words, "we should be as suspicious of identity as we have learned to be of 'culture', 'tradition', 'nation' and 'ethnic group'" (Handler 27), because none of these are unchanging entities and are context dependant. Moreover, he suggests that identity as an object is bound in time and space. In his understanding, it is distinctive to the Western tradition, therefore, "it cannot be applied unthinkingly to other places and times" and should not be used as "a cross-cultural neutral conceptual tool" (Handler 27). By analyzing historical works (among others novels of Jane Austen), Handler demonstrates that "more distant times and places, do [did] not use the concept of identity as we do, or at all; nor do [did] they understand human personhood and social collectivities in terms of what identity implies" (37). Stuart Hall, a well-known British sociologist, observes that the concept of identity, together with other key concepts, has been placed under erasure by deconstructivists to demonstrate the originary complexity of key concepts.[26] He claims that this is why it lost its functionality and is no longer "good to think with" in its original unreconstructed form. However, he admits that since there are no other concepts to replace the notion of identity, we have to continue "to think with it" albeit in its deconstructed form (Hall 1). Roger Brubaker and Frederick Cooper strongly disagree with Hall's assumption. By listing five general uses of the concept of identity, they point out that identity has acquired not only extremely diverse meanings but meanings that even contradict each other (Brubaker and Cooper 6-8). They distinguish *strong* and *soft* understandings of the concept of identity. The former, the essentialist position, denotes sameness over time and across people, and the latter, the constructivist one, discards notions of any basic sameness, and emphasizes "the constructivist nature, multiplicity, fluidity and instability of the identity" (Brubaker and Cooper 10). However, unlike Hall, Brubaker and Cooper disagree that the concept of identity is requisite for encompassing all the meanings that

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[26] To put a word under erasure is to write a word, and immediately following cross it out, but leaving both the word and deletion in the text. As Spivak puts it, "since the word is inaccurate, it is crossed out. Since it is necessary, it remains legible" (Spivak xiv).

the concept of identity has come to stand for. To make their case, they offer three alternative analytical sets of terms to replace the notion of identity in its *soft* understanding. The first two refer to various dimensions of 'personal identity', while the third one to 'collective identity'. It is largely the concept of identity in its 'narrow' or *strong* sense used by Brubaker and Cooper that is used in this work as a conceptual tool; however identity in here is understood as a specifically collective phenomenon. The concept of collective identity is an identity with a determinant collective dimension and differs from personal identity, which is derived from personal characteristics and individual relationships. In collective dimensions, people tend to think of themselves in terms of 'we' rather than 'I' (Seweryn and Smagacz 22-23).

Brubaker and Cooper describe identity as an inherited quality that predicates "sameness over time and across persons" and "strong notions of group boundness and homogeneity," distinguishing the self in relation to the 'other' (10). The sameness among members of a group is manifested in solidarity, in shared habits or perception, and/or in collective action.[27] Although one of the attributes of identity indisputably is its inner persistent continuity, one cannot deny the concept of identity to be subject to changing shades of meanings and gradual transformations (Santos 122). The constant re-identifying of Goans to non-Indians by the colonizers influenced Goan self-imagery in such an extent that they started to perceive themselves and be perceived as having a composite identity (Couto 66).

In this work, the term identity is applied to encompass conceptions of Goan identity in general; it covers identity of both Christian and Hindu Goans. On the other hand, when specifically referring to either of these 'groups', the concept of identification is employed. Until now the term identification has been used in here without specification. The concept of identification is understood as a process of categorization of, or identifying, an individual with a group that shares some categorical attributes, such as ethnicity, language, gender, etc. Brubaker and Cooper claim that the identification, unlike identity, necessitates specification of the agent of identifying, but it does not have to automatically result in the internal sameness across the group (14). This view is further developed by Stuart Hall who suggests that the process of

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[27] Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner claim that in each group prevails the concept of positive distinctiveness. In their 'Social Identity Theory' they argue that group membership creates in-group/self-categorization and enhancement in ways that favor the in-group at the expense of the out-group. For more on 'Social Identity Theory', see Tajfel and Turner.

identification operates across difference and therefore it binds and marks symbolic boundaries (3). He draws on the Freudian understanding of identification, according to which the identification is "the earliest expression of an emotional tie with another person", and is based on projection and idealization (Freud qtd. in Hall 3). An example of identification is the Goan Catholic elite who were the first to adopt ways and behavior of the Portuguese rulers identifying themselves with the Portuguese. In the 20th century, the Goan Hindu elite then appropriated some aspects of the Christian elite, such as language, dress code and lifestyle, nevertheless retaining its commitment to Hinduism, and Hindu practices and traditions.

Any attempt to write about local identity needs to be set against a national identity of which the local one creates an inseparable constituent. Therefore, I will now look briefly at conceptions of Indian identity.

2.1.1 Indian identity

Sixty years since independence from the British, the political, conceptional and ideological contestations over the nature of the Indian subcontinent have, more than ever, intensified with the rise of nationalism in India. It is a general trend to view India as a Hindu country. Indeed, according to statistics, Hindus comprise the majority of the population of India.[28] However as Amartya Sen observes "seeing India as a pre-eminently Hindu country is based on a conceptual confusion: our religion [Hinduism] is not our only identity, nor necessary the identity to which we attach the greatest importance" (56). Before moving on with an exploration of Indian identity, it is necessary to ponder briefly on the question of religion as a marker of cultural identity to preclude confusion of deriving Indian identity via Hindu identity. Although religion belongs among the elements that constitute identity, such as culture, language, race, gender, politics, etc., the problem arises when religion becomes the pre-eminent element, the marker of cultural identity, i.e. when thinking about cultural identity is done in terms of religion, or the other way round. The question that arises is the possibility of substituting identity by culture, and claiming it to be the same. In other words, if a certain group of people shares a religion, does it also mean that they share culture, and vice versa? I would argue that in reality it does not work that way. It can

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[28] According to the latest census conducted on religious creeds in India, Hindus comprise 80,5%, Muslims 13,4%, Christians 2,3%, Sikhs 1,9%, Buddhists 0,8%, Jains 0,4%, other religions and not stated 0,7% (Government of India).

hardly be presumed that just because a person, for example, is a Catholic, he or she has to share culture with other Catholics elsewhere. Would it be correct to claim that an Italian Catholic shares cultural identity with a Finnish Catholic? Certainly not. If that were true, it would follow that Italian culture equals Finnish culture, and Finnish culture equals Italian culture, which based on common knowledge of European cultures is surely not the case. It is hence important to separate religious identity from its relevance in the cultural context. Now let us look at the problem the other way round: Does a shared culture presuppose congruence with religion? Taking Goa as an example, it would be bizarre to claim that all Goans as they share relatively similar culture emanating from shared traditions, customs, race, ethnicity, morals, etc., share the same religion. Otherwise the religious diversity of Goa, encompassing such religions as Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, Sikhism, Jainism, would have to be considered paradoxical. Turning back to Indian identity and its general misreading as Hindu identity, it follows that even if religious identity was somehow 'prior' to other markers of identity, one cannot derive the view of Hindu identity as Indian identity based on the argument of religious identity alone. If Hinduism was the only marker of 'Indianness', the culture and religious diversity of India would have to be secondary, and it would not play a role in terms of shaping Indian identity. Therefore, as Sen argues, viewing India as purely a Hindu state is a misconception (308). In other words, to avoid confusion, a clear cut has to be made between conceptions of Hindu identity and a more general conception of Indian identity. The term 'Indian' implies a multicultural sphere encompassing Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Jains, Parsees, atheists, agnostics and others. The Indian tradition as such, therefore, naturally stretches back in history further than that of the Hindu tradition.

The Indus civilization, also called Harappa civilization, arrived in the region around the 3rd millennium BC, whereas the ancient Indo-Europeans, speaking the variant of early Sanskrit (the Vedic Sanskrit), the historical antecedent of Hinduism, arrived in the region only in the 2nd millennium BC. In ancient India, Buddhism had been the dominant religion in the region for nearly a millennium.[29] Later, it was supplanted by the arrival of Islam in India in the 8th century. According to Sen, India could not have been labeled a 'Hindu' country until only relatively recently (56).

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[29] It is argued that Buddhism and Hinduism have the same inheritor, as both share the some beliefs drawing from the earlier Indian traditions of the Vedas and the Upanishads (Sen 56).

Nonetheless, it would be erroneous to claim that there exists something like a homogenous view on the concept of Indian identity. Scholars in general agree that Indian identity is seen as an accretion of multiple dimensions of identities, that tolerates, protects and celebrates diversity within a pluralist India (Khilnani; Sen). Any Indian is seen as a 'member' of multiple communities – cultural, linguistic and religious. However, with the rise of Hindu nationalism in India in the 20th century, the pluralistic perception of identity has been constantly threatened, especially after the emergence of the Hindutva movement which presupposes the congruence of Hindu and Indian dimensions of identity: [30]

> In the early years after independence, the broad and inclusive concept of an Indian identity which had emerged during the long struggle for freedom commanded sweeping allegiance. The determination to preserve that capatious identity was strengthened by the deep sense of tragedy associated with the partitioning of the subcontinent (Sen 51).

The self-image of a particular community, nation or identity is strongly influenced by the outside imagery. India, as a post-colonial society, has been deeply influenced by colonial structures – British, Portuguese, French and Danish – and by their various forms of thought and categorization. Western images of India have often tended to highlight "the [various] differences, real or imagined, between India and the West" (Sen 139). Sen argues that India, as a part of the East (or Orient), has been viewed by the West as the 'other', and was set against "Western rationality" (139). Sen points out that the 'irrationalism' of India had been perceived by Westerners as "crude and defective," while Indian cultural separatists might have believed it to be "cogent and penetrating" (140). These two frames of reference on Indian society describe well the rival view on Indian history and identity. Nevertheless it seems that both Eastern and Western perceptions of Indian identity have been fashioned against the colonial experience.

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[30] The biggest 'trial' for pluralistic Indian identity came with the electoral victory of coalitions led by the Bharatyia Janata Party (BJP) to the Indian Government in 1998 and 1999. The Indian history had to be rewritten to suit the Hindu narrative. Legends became facts, and new proofs of the Hindu primacy in the region were 'deciphered.' The new school textbooks portrayed the freedom struggle as a religious combat against Christian missionaries and Muslim usurpers (Srinivas 69-71).

2.2 Colonialism

Much attention has been paid to colonialism and its relation to power, knowledge, culture, othering, control and resistance (for example: Dirks; Comaroff and Comaroff; Prakesh; Memmi). Nevertheless, it is very hard to define what colonialism is owing to its regional variations as well as variations in time. It cannot be thought of as a monolithic formation, because the character of colonialism depends on the particular location, perspective and specific context in which colonialism is studied. Moreover, it is tricky to make systematized statements about the nature of colonialism as multiple forms of colonialism have been observed in the past which differ considerably from one another. Nevertheless, scholars agree that colonialism, "in its modern guise, had to do, above all, with the extension of political, economic, social, and other forms of control by metropolitan European powers over so-called 'third world' peoples" (Comaroff and Comaroff *The Dialectics* 17). Jean and John Comaroff, American anthropologists who study colonial evangelism and modernity, further pin down colonialism to the exploitation of the native population, the imposition of sovereign authority, and the establishment of a permanent colonizer population, usually marked off as racially distinct from the 'natives' (*The Dialectics* 17). There are, however, also those who do not agree that colonialism necessarily always imply exploitation and that there was always a racial distinction between the natives and colonizers (see works of Freyre and Kay). This is manifested in historical, sociological and political works on Portuguese colonialism that closely follow the ideology of the Portuguese *Estado Novo* (New State). According to these accounts the Portuguese colonial relationship towards their subjects was anti-racial, as will be explained below.

Turning back to colonialism in general, the Comaroffs point at the complex nature of defining colonialism by grouping theories on colonialism into seven major groups. Each of these theory groups focuses on different aspects. Based on these, Jean and John Comaroff conclude that colonialism was definitely not:

> a simple exercise in domination and resistance (…) [C]olonial encounters everywhere consisted in a complex dialectic: a dialectic, mediated by social differences and cultural distinctions, that transformed everyone and everything caught up in it, if not in the same way; a dialectic that yielded new identities, new frontiers, new signs and styles – and reproduced some older ones as well; a dialectic animated less often by coercive acts of conquest, even if violence was always immanent in

it, than by attempts to alter existing modes of production and reproduction, to recast the taken-for-granted surfaces of everyday life, to re-make consciousness; a dialectic, therefore, founded on an intricate mix of visible an invisible agency, of word and gesture, of subtle persuasion and brute force on the part of all concerned (Comaroff and Comaroff *The Dialectics* 28).

The Comaroffs look at the dialectics of everyday life at the imperial frontier and these they read in relation to the rise of modernity, capitalism and 'civilization' in Europe. They emphasize that it is the very habitual activity that is the base of power. They claim that the practice of reforging routine customs and habits was appropriated by all social reformers such as colonial missionaries (Comaroff and Comaroff *The Dialectics* 31). The 'exploitation' of habitual practices by missionaries and the ruling class was noticeable also in the relationship between the Portuguese and its Goan subjects. The Portuguese influenced and reshaped everyday activities, such as the way of dressing, eating habits, religious and agricultural practices, architecture, and also the education system. These 'reshaped' practices were used to introduce the European thinking into the Goan psyche. Through this the Portuguese had hoped to raise people that would be loyal to its master, and function as an excellent example of the Portuguese ability to turn 'savage' people into 'civilized' beings. When in the beginning of the 20th century, Portuguese colonial possessions became threatened as a result of decolonization, the Portuguese relied on the fact that in Goa they had created people with affiliation to the mother country, Portugal, and its culture. Therefore the accusations of brute colonialism were perceived as absurd and insubstantial (Freyre *Portuguese Integration* 34).

The colonial rule and their possessions in India became criticized towards the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. To challenge the criticism, the rationale for colonialism had to be defended. In the 19th century, G.W.F. Hegel, the famous German philosopher wrote: "the English, or rather the East-India Company are the lords of the land; for it is the necessary fate of Asiatic Empires to be subjected to Europeans" (142). Although Hegel writes about the British India, this view can be applied to other colonizers of India, be it British, French, Danish or Portuguese. This attitude may be explained by the Western imagination, according to which India has always been part of the *Orient*, the part of Europe's other. The Orient as such was exoticized and ascribed to possess great riches that could be exploited to serve the economy of the West. The Orient, according to Edward Said, "is an idea that has a

history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West," and a binary opposition between the familiar (the West, the 'us') and the unknown (the East, the 'other') (5). This regularized manner of writing and study of Orient from a Western colonial perspective became to be known as *Orientalism*.[31] In the 19th and early 20th centuries, a great interest in the Orient arose. A large amount of literature was written on the Orient and many oriental writings were translated to European languages. Said argues that these translations of oriental writing were used to demonstrate the West's dominance over the East, and to present Westerners as apt colonizers (42).

In this way, the Westerners wanted to demonstrate their knowledge of their subjects and their subjects' cultures in order to prove their superiority over 'indigenes'. By studying and narrativizing colonial others, Dirks observes, Europe's history and culture could be glorified "as unique and triumphant" (6). Orientalism thus served to "denigrate the present, deny history, and repress any sensibility regarding contemporary political, social, or cultural autonomy and potential in the colonized world" (Dirks 9). Today, there is a tendency on the part of scholars to dissociate themselves from being labeled as orientalist, as it denotes the attitude of former European colonialism. However, Said argues that Orientalism, even though not so widespread as in the past, "still lives on academically through its doctrines and theses about the Orient and the Oriental" (2), as it does outside of Academia in popular culture.

Although Said's *Orientalism* has influenced thinking about colonialism and the Orient, it has also provoked debate ever since its publication. There has been critique in part by some scholars that his concept of Orientalism is too Western-oriented, too restricted or too vague (Habib; Irwin; Halliday; Prakash). Irfan Habib argues that if we were to follow Said's assumption that an Orientalist is to be a western person who focuses on western audience only (Said 336), we would have to acquiesce with the fact that there are no researchers in subjects regarding Orient and no oriental studies within the Orient itself (Habib 40). Another critic of Said's Orientalism, Fred Halliday, points out that Said's concept of the Orient is too vague with regard to such aspects as its imperialist or oppressive way of writing about the colonized people. Halliday disagrees

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[31] Amartya Sen argues that the Western imagination of the Orient was not so uniform and consistent as Said had proposed. According to him, the Western interpretations of India on which Said focuses, can be divided into three major categories: exoticist, magisterial and curatorial approaches. For more information on the Western categorization of Western interpretations of India, see Chapter 7 in Amartya Sen.

with Said that this kind of imperialist and bigoted kind of thinking about the colonized people and their cultures is exclusive to the Middle East (Halliday 158). According to Halliday, the assertion that "a special European animosity to Arabs – let alone Palestinians – or to Muslims does not bear historical comparison, such ideas of persecution rest on some implicit yardstick, a comparable massacrology in which the wrongs done to one people are greater" (158). In other words, the small-mindedness and racism present in colonial writings can be found in all the colonized cultures, notwithstanding them being Islamic or not.

Besides Said's Orientalism, a wide array of studies has treated colonial ideology and the symbolic representation of the 'other'. One of such studies is Stephen Greenblatt's *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (1991) which deals with the 'enforcement' of a new identity to indigenous population by the colonizer. In his work, Greenblatt examines the nature of representations of non-European peoples, particularly the Native Americans, by and to Europeans at the time of European exploration and conquest. He argues that these representations of native people were not mere products but were also producers of social relations, "capable of decisively altering the very forces that brought them into being" (Greenblatt 6). Moreover, he deals with the function of wonder in European explorations and in the appropriation of the newly discovered territories. Wonder was used by colonizers as a tool for a tolerant recognition of difference, i.e. "articulations of the hidden links between the radically opposed ways of being and hence to some form of acceptance of the other in the self and the self in the other" as well as for domination, meaning "articulations of the radical differences that make renaming, transformation, and appropriation possible" (Greenblatt 135).

In contrast to Said or Greenblatt, that is Eurocentric understanding of the period of colonialism, stands the compilation *Europe Observed: Multiple Gazes in Early Modern Encounters* (2008) edited by Kumkum Chatterjee and Clement Hawes, which offers a reverse gaze at the colonial encounter. It argues that "Europe did aggrandize itself at the expense of the rest of humanity, and no impulse to sanitize that past – whether stemming from guilt of humiliation – can now produce historiography worthy of the name" (Chatterjee and Hawes 11). The authors argue that at no time in the colonial history was the colonial presence of the West marked by evenness or

monolithic character in any part of the world as argued by Said in *Orientalism*. Furthermore, the authors claim that indigenous people have been objects of observation far more often than they have been agents of observation. Hence, nontraditionally, *Europe Observed* looks at the ways Europe has been represented as the symbolic other.

The experience of the Anglophone world with regard to colonialism as discussed above, however, cannot fully account for the Portuguese colonial experience. The dogmas and internal experience of both colonial enterprises differed considerably, as will be discussed later. Nevertheless, Portuguese interpretations of their colonial subjects definitely fall under the orientalist framework;[32] however they have not been studied with the same rigor. The early Portuguese accounts of the 16th and 17th centuries regarded the indigenous population as performing religious practices full of idolatry and diabolical inspiration, and considered their social customs as perverted and in need of atonement. These were outlawed with the set up of the Inquisition in Goa, which lasted until the end of the 18th century. Axelrod and Fuerch, in their study of Portuguese orientalism, suggest that the Portuguese orientalists of the 19th century have developed a distinctive way of interpreting their colonized cultures. It differed from British orientalism due to distinct "intellectual traditions, colonial goals, and cultural currents" of the two colonial powers (Axelrod and Fuerch "Portuguese Orientalism" 439-40). Whereas the British saw pre-colonial India as a collection of rigid, corrupted village republics ruled by despots that called for enlightened Europeans to bring peace and justice to Indian society, among Portuguese orientalists in general prevailed the opinion that the structure of villages, or *comunidades*,[33] were superior to Western forms of community.[34] This was because they, unlike the European municipalities, managed their own financial and judicial affairs, and at the same time contrived to remain autonomous under the insatiate Portuguese administration (Rivara qtd. in Axelrod and Fuerch 458). Axelrod and Fuerch suggest that this different approach to Indian communities had

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[32] If we were to strictly follow Said's supposition, the Portuguese tradition should not be thought of as purely orientalist as that is limited only to British and French traditions (3-4). Orientalist scholarship of these two countries is believed to be different from other European countries as they, Britain and France, used to have greater colonial engagements with the East.

[33] *Comunidade* is a Portuguese term, denoting a Goan village. *Comunidades* are based on communal ownership of land administered by hereditary shareholders, *gauncares*.

[34] This attitude towards Goan *comunidades* was not always so 'positive'. Before adopting the view that *comunidades* should be retained, there were dissenting voices who wanted to abolish the collective ownership to increase productivity of these *comunidades* (Axelrod and Fuerch "Portuguese Orientalism" 459).

mostly to do with the different positions in world politics, which was inter-linked with possibilities for different colonial styles, that Great Britain and Portugal held in the 19th century. Britain was a "powerful industrializing nation in search of resources and imperial expansion," while Portugal, on the contrary, was "a declining mercantile power clinging to a far-flung empire" (Axelrod and Fuerch "Portuguese Orientalism" 460). For the functioning of the *Estado da Índia* it was therefore important that the village economic structure was preserved. Beside the economic dimension of Portuguese orientalism there was also the religious dimension present. The conversion of Goan subjects to the Catholic faith played an important part in Portugal's presentation of itself as an evangelizing nation. While the British favored the policy of 'segregation' as a dogma of their colonial enterprise, the Portuguese, driven by evangelizing zeal, adopted the ideals of 'assimilation' to define their colonial policies (Fry 118).

In general, the scholarship on Goa has focused on the heydays of Portuguese rule. It has tended to focus mainly on the period between the 16th and beginning of the 17th century when Goa was conceived of as 'Golden Goa', 'Queen of the Orient', 'Jewel of the Portuguese Crown', and 'Rome of the Orient'. Perhaps most of the attention has been paid to *Estado da Índia*, which has been presented as a genuine polity without parallel in the whole world (Boxer; Pearson; Rémy; Gaitonde). At the centre of these Portuguese orientalist studies have been the Christian Goan elite, and only rarely the lower-rung native population which was mainly Hindu. In these accounts, the identity that comes to the forefront is that of a 'Portugualized' Goan as opposed to the identity proposed by indigenous interpretations that emphasize the Indian identity.[35] Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley argue that glorification of the past and exaggeration of the Portuguese impact on natives, in the writings of Portuguese authors from the later 17th century onwards, was only a way to cover their frustration over the empire's decline: "In their bitterness over the decline of the earlier empire, [the Portuguese writers] tended to glorify the past unduly and to deprecate the present unqualifiedly" (354).

In Portugal, after the Second World War, the Portuguese believed that their policy towards their colonial subjects differed significantly – it was considered superior – from that practiced by other colonial powers. This position was justified through a narrative of the five centuries of 'peaceful' coexistence of the Portuguese with

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[35] These do not necessarily exclude identification with Portuguese culture (see, for example, Couto; Correia-Afonso; Dias).

colonized people. Arguments about a common cultural heritage shared between Portugal and its colonies – the Portuguese language and Catholic faith – which was capable of elevating the racially and culturally inferior nations to become civilized, was likewise used (Oliveira 197; Kay 184). Present-day scholars argue that this idealized picture of Portugal being so 'intimate' with its colonies, was really a defense mechanism against the pressures from the Western Allies and the United Nations which categorically rejected colonialism (Fernandes 344). To avoid being expelled from the United Nations for not ceding Goa nor its other Asian and African colonies, Portugal issued the Colonial Act of 1930. The Act aimed at the centralization of the colonial administration in Lisbon and the transformation of Portuguese overseas territories into integral parts of the nation, though at the same time preserving a clear cut between the metropolitan and colonial institutions. This approach towards the colonies, according to Huge Kay, was mainly intended "to preserve the tribal traditions and usages, but at the same time it served to separate natives from Europeans. The ultimate objective [of the Colonial Act] was that all natives should be assimilated into Portuguese society" (213). The Colonial Act, however, was not perceived by all as a tool for enhancing assimilation. Conversely, its critics claim, that the Act "encoded an increasing differentiation between Portugal and the colonies. This was no better than second class citizenship, (…) affecting the quality and degree of political rights, an unacceptable differentiation between colonies and Portugal" (Couto 387).

Likewise, the critique was directed against the re-employment of the term 'colony' in the constitution when referring to overseas territories.[36] This move, it was argued, created tensions in defining the status of Portuguese overseas territories and was perceived as a reversion to Portugal's civilizing mission. Supporters of Salazar's stance of retaining colonial possessions, on the other hand, argued against the negative connotation to the term colony in the Portuguese context, and claimed that the Portuguese use of the term had been generally misunderstood. Kay argues that the term colony in the Portuguese perception designates having an "equivalent status with the home base" and had its foundation in Roman law (185). He further explains this phenomenon by referring to Portuguese Africa where, according to him, the Portuguese used the terms 'colony' and 'province' interchangeably, and therefore had used the two

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[36] Between 1911 and 1933, the term 'province' was used in relation to Portuguese overseas territories.

terms, more or less, indiscriminately. He laments that due to a general contextual misinterpretation of the term colony, the Portuguese Government "decided to amend the Constitution [of 1933] and restore the traditional 'province'" in 1951 (Kay 185).

The practice of colonialism, as argued earlier, generates the domination of some 'other' whether in a direct or in a concealed manner. This domination, however, is not necessarily of a military or political character. It often has been based on a complex web of cultural interaction. Thinking of colonialism as a cultural practice for exercising control over the colonized people and the actual result of this practice has been thought of on various levels. Some treat it as a smooth coexistence of different elements under one roof, while others treat it as a constant confrontation with colonial patterns. What is the case with Goa? Did Goans adopt Portuguese beliefs and behavior in unison? Was it a bidirectional process? Were Goans seen as the hybrid result of the colonial encounter during Portuguese rule, or did they rebel and resist this domination? In the following subsections the sets of colonial and postcolonial concepts, such as syncretism, hybridity, creolization, mimicry, and nationalism, that have been used to define the intercultural exchanges and interactions as a result of the colonial encounter between the Portuguese and Goans, will be analyzed, in order to understand the transformation of the Goan practices, traditions and social identities.

2.2.1 Syncretism, Hybridity, Creolization, or Mimicry?

During the early years of the Portuguese rule in Goa, the Portuguese set up the Inquisition to transform the predominantly Hindu population into Christians. Public confessions other than that of Roman Catholicism were forbidden; local temples were destroyed and new Christian churches arose in their place. Hindu deities, spiritual beings and symbols were abolished and instead new saints and crosses were introduced. Hindus had to practice their religion secretly or flee. During the 16th and 17th centuries, a large number of Hindus left the Portuguese territories, taking with them also their village deities and reinstalling them outside of the Portuguese power (Henn 335; Axelrod and Fuerch "Flight of the Deities" 390; Xavier 271). When the situation in Goa became more tolerant in the 18th century, many returned and reinstalled their divine images and icons.

However, many Goans had also been victims of mass conversions that took place in Goa since the mid-16th until the 18th century. With the conversion, the Indian

names of converts were changed to Portuguese ones, the Portuguese language was installed as the official language, although in practice Konkani still dominated, hereby creating a form of a diglossic society, and a whole set of cultural and social changes was introduced. Pundlik D. Gaitonde argues that the aim of the conversions was "to change Goans in such a way that they should regard the foreign language like Portuguese as their own; forget their history, their culture, their sentiments and behave in every way like Portuguese" (138). A complete assimilation to the Portuguese way of life was attempted only by a small group of wealthier Christian Goans, who soon became the most educated constituent of Goa,[37] and began to look increasingly to the West (Richards 27; Kale 2054). The majority of Christian Goans, however, were not taught catechism of their new religion at the conversion. Therefore they retained elements of their centuries old rites which, allegedly, gradually coalesced into their newly 'emerging' identity.

Identifying the character of Goan identity is nevertheless problematic. In what terms should the transformation of Goan social practices, traditions and social identities that resulted from the colonial encounter be described? A conceptual framework for understanding of Goan-Portuguese interaction and co-existence that shaped Goan identity needs to be constructed. This is done by taking recourse to the concepts of syncretism, hybridity, creolization and mimicry by which I will 'search' for possible conceptualization of Goan identity via Portuguese-Goan relationship.

Robert Newman argues that throughout the centuries, Goans have fashioned a common Goan identity that is syncretic:

> Though in content the Catholic and Hindu traditions differ greatly, in form and style they have tended to move closer together over the past few centuries in Goa. There has emerged a syncretic Goan style, which has helped to forge a common Goan identity despite religious differences. This development has been most pronounced among the lower castes, but large numbers of higher caste Hindus and Catholics also take part in certain key religious festivals, worshipping and honoring the same deities – in particular, the goddess Shanta Durga and Our Lady of the Miracles (Newman "Goa: The Transformation" 447).

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[37] Approximately at that time, education became more widespread in Europe and the Jesuits, who perceived it as a key to creating Catholic communities, paid much attention to education. They established parochial schools and colleges all over Goa. For more information on this issue, see Newitt, chapters 4 and 5 (*A History of Portuguese*).

Syncretism, as a concept to describe religious amalgamation, is understood as "borrowing, affirmation, or integration of concepts, symbols, or practices of one religious tradition into another by a process of selection and reconciliation" (Berlin qtd. in Van der Veer 196). Yet Van der Veer argues that its nature is highly disputable. It can either be regarded in positive terms, as enhancing tolerance among groups of different faiths, or in negative terms, as promoting the decline of the pure faith (Van der Veer 196). In the context of Goan identity, syncretism has in general been perceived in positive terms (Newman; Axelrod and Fuerch; Couto; Dias). Newman, in particular, sees Goan cultural syncretism as a typical feature of Indian culture. He argues that India is a synthesis of many cultures, therefore Goa, as a part of India, shares the syncretic heritage (Newman "Goa: An Anthropologist's"). Axelrod and Fuerch, furthermore, apprehend of syncretism as a force that worked against the Portuguese who had tried to erode Hindu activities in Goa and prevent contacts between converts and Hindus during the first two hundred years of their colonial rule ("Flight of the Deities" 396).

As syncretism involves mainly religious blending, the conceptions of Goan identity can be further considered in terms of hybridity. Hybridity "unsettles the introverted concept of culture that underlies romantic nationalism, racism, ethnicism, religious revivalism, civilizational chauvinism, and cultural essentialism" (Nederveen Pieterse 71). Conversely, Young indicates the negative associations linked with hybridity. He points out that in imperial and colonial discourse, hybridity was used in detrimental reports about the union of different races until, ultimately, it became part of a colonialist discourse of racism (Young 79). Nevertheless, hybridity has been widely used in postcolonial studies to refer to "the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonialism" (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 118).[38] The concept has penetrated the social science vocabulary from horticulture, where a hybrid is a creation of inter-breeding of two different species. However, Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin stress that postcolonial studies tend to limit hybridity to a mere cross-cultural exchange. In this restricted usage, the term implies negation and neglect of imbalance and inequity of the power relations it refers to (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 119).

Following the description of the concept of hybridity, Couto argues that Goa is "an extended family – shared traditions, icons, mythologies and rituals have been

[38] However, many anthropologists and social scientists consider hybridity and syncretism as synonyms, and use them interchangeably (Gomes 16; Comaroff and Comaroff *The Dialectics* 59).

internalized and have found expression in architecture, music, literature, spiritual traditions and the home" (410). As Couto suggests, in Goa, the coexistence and intermingling of different influences took place. However, these did not occur merely between Catholic and Hindu communities but also between Goans (the colonized) and the Portuguese (the colonizers). Delavignette underscores that "the countries colonized have had just as much influence on the colonizing powers as these prided themselves on spreading overseas. Colonization has never been a one-way affair" (qtd. in Comaroff and Comaroff *The Dialectics* 23).

Closely related to hybridity, the Portuguese-Goan cultural experience can be described by means of the concept of creolization (Havik and Newitt; Mendes). Creolization as a process which involves intermixing and cultural change, also known as the 'unconscious' hybridity, creates a particular society that can be termed c*reole* (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 51). Although creolization was first used to describe racially mixed societies in the Caribbean and South America, it can be loosely applied to peoples, cultures and languages that came into existence by European social, cultural and biological intermingling with non-European peoples elsewhere, whether Africa, America or Asia. The term creole has been borrowed by the social sciences from the linguistic study of 'Creole' languages. Édouard Glissant conceives of a creole society as a composite society, touched by another culture that "entered into" its composition and shapes it through the erosion of assimilation (144). In his view, creolization derives from a multiplicity of sources, a limitless métissage, "its elements diffracted and its consequences unforeseeable" (Glissant 34). However, many sociologists and anthropologists have condemned its usage. Gomes points out that the usage of the concept of creolization has become problematic, because it came to be associated with slavery and racial prejudice (Gomes 16). Therefore, terms such as 'mixed-race ', 'amalgamation', 'métisse', or 'mélange' of races are preferred by the social scientists to denote the hybrid societies. Interestingly, there are also scholars, such as Justin Infanger, who approve of the usage of the term creolization, and they even prefer it to the concept of syncretism with respect to religious blending. From their perspective, syncretism is considered to have a negative connotation and describe religions as historical objects, while creolization, on the other hand, is held to refer to the process of

blending, therefore making it a more functional, precise and "respectful" term (Infanger).

In addition to syncretism, hybridity, and creolization, another term has been employed for describing the colonizer-colonized relationship: mimicry. It was believed that natives ought to learn the ways of their 'masters', and therefore the natives were encouraged to adopt the colonizer's cultural expressions (Comaroff and Comaroff *The Dialectics* 59). In other words, the colonized were to 'ape' the habits, values and ways of the colonizer. The result of mimicry, however, is never a straightforward reproduction of these attributes. As Homi Bhabha points out, the reproduction is "almost the same, but not quite" (Bhabha 86). In Goa, it was chiefly the elite that strived to imitate the ways of the West. They saw it as an opportunity to become 'civilized', i.e. as a means to acquire European education and European culture. This indeed was only possible once they embraced Christianity. In addition to the work of the missionaries, the aim of colonial policies was to entice the natives to imitate the European culture and European way life. This strategy served a double purpose: to fasten and perfect the transformation of locals into Christians, and to strengthen the power relation between the colonizer and the colonized. However, the 'eager' emulation of the ways of the West by a section of the Goan population has been widely criticized by the objectors of the Portuguese rule in Goa. Tristão de Bragança Cunha, the supposed father of the freedom movement in Goa, sees the roots of Goan mimicry in the Portuguese regime. Portuguese authorities were allegedly responsible for the alienation of the Goan population from India through the implementation of the Portuguese educational system, press and Church (Desai 470). Moreover, he argues that "[t]he peculiarly tyrannical and intolerant ways of the Portuguese have destroyed and disfigured the national character of the Goan people," and created a wholly imitative culture of Goan Catholic elites (Cunha 96). While it is no doubt true that the Portuguese compelled Goans to take over the ways of Europeans, the Catholic Goans nevertheless did not entirely abandon their 'original' culture. Through misrecognition of the colonizer's expression they inconspicuously retained some of the aspects of ancient traditions by distilling these into their new culture. The Comaroffs point out that these misrecognitions of the colonizer's expressions point to "the complexities of cultural exchange across colonial frontiers, and to the process of hybridization to which they give rise" (*The Dialectics* 59). In other

words, it is likely that the mimicry and subsequent refashioning of colonizer's forms led to emergence of new hybrid practices.

By describing various aspects of the colonial encounter, it is clear that the character of the Goan-Portuguese relationship can be thought of in various terms. These terms, i.e. syncretism, hybridity, creolization and mimicry, can be used as a kind of 'conceptual tool box' to understand and interpret Goan identity. The term one chooses highlights a particular aspect or dimension of Goan identity. The conception of Goan identity can be described as a whole only if all the concepts and aspects are taken into consideration and thought of simultaneously. While it can be argued that the character of Goan identity is syncretic due to blending of different religious traditions, it can also be seen in relation to the hybrid or creole process that are manifested in the coexistence and intermingling of Portuguese and Indian influences. At the same time the encouragement to imitate from the part of colonizer gave way to the rise of mimicry in the Goan expression. Apart from these, however, the Portuguese colonialism of Goa gave rise to another expression, that of Goan nationalism.

2.3   Post-colonial Nationalism

Colonialism as a system of political, economic and cultural dominance over indigenous people has been recently studied against the notion of post-colonial nationalism. If colonialism was seen as a trope for domination and violation (Dirks 5), post-colonial nationalism could be considered as the resistance to this colonial regime of power. Post-colonial nationalism as such is therefore seen as an emergence, struggle and effort to liberate nations from and against oppressive forces of colonialism, and at the same time it is a demonstration of the power of colonialism to replicate "clones in new nations throughout the postcolonial world that have often been as repressive as the worst colonial regime" (Dirks 25). At this point it is necessary to make a distinction between the Western nationalism and post-colonial nationalism of the colonized peoples of the 'Third World'.

Nationalism, as a desire for self-government based on shared aims, nationality and a common culture, dates back to 18th century Europe, where it is linked with the foundation of the modern nation-state. The Enlightenment and the French and American Revolutions are believed to have shaped nationalism through the ideas of nation-hood and self-determination. Fernandes argues that European nationalism "seemed to inhere

in itself an inbuilt logic of extension of state power" (Fernandes 343). The implication of Fernandes's assumption is seen already in the 19th century, when nationalism came to play a crucial part during the establishment of colonial practice. Hobson, in contrast to Fernandes, has a more moderate view of nationalism and its link with colonialism. He argues that,

> colonialism, where it consists in the migration of part of a nation to vacant or sparsely peopled foreign lands, the emigrants carrying with them full rights of citizenship in the mother country, or else establishing local self-government in close conformity with her institutions and under her final control, may be considered a genuine expansion of nationality, a territorial enlargement of the stock, language and institutions of the nation (Hobson 6).

Hobson, however, does not have illusions about nationalism. He argues that it is the debasement of nationalism, "by attempts to overflow its natural banks and absorb the near or distant territory of reluctant and unassimilable peoples, that marks the passage from nationalism to a spurious colonialism on the one hand, Imperialism on the other" (Hobson 6). This very experience and effect of the colonial rule were instrumental in the construction of nationalism in the colonized countries. As a result of colonial experience, post-colonial nationalism became an expression of colonized people to overcome the colonial regime and find political and cultural unity for creating a modern nation.

Theories of nationalism have tended to represent nations as 'imagined communities' through emphasizing common historical and cultural roots via imaginative representations communicated through newspaper, literature, media, etc. Benedict Anderson defines the concept of nation as an "imagined political community that is imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (7). The nation is seen as an imagined community because the members of the community presume an image of a communion – a unity consisting of common race, language, geography, culture, and history. The members of this community imagine boundaries of a nation that marks them off from some 'other', even though at the moment of creating the nation there might not have been any physical boundaries yet. Within these boundaries the nation is sovereign, free from any oppressive rule (Anderson 7). Hence an involvement in nationalist movements could be seen as symptomatic of a strong imagined bond among

the members of an imagined nation that pulls the members together against an alien regime.

Handler argues that a nation is considered to have definite historical origins, or at least historical roots that can be traced back in the past (29). In order to legitimize its claims, the discourse of post-colonial nationalism has to be based on hegemonic historical narratives, assumptions, and invented traditions as well as on nationalist politics that differ from those proposed by the colonizer. Moreover, nationalist and historical narratives are bound in time and space which allows the nation to be the central category by which one understands the past, the present and imagines the future (Bravo 142). One way of doing this is by compiling histories that help to support and at the same time reinforce the ideology proposed by the nation-state. This ideology serves to assert the nation-state against a dominant order or group, for example against the ruling colonial regime, and to reverse existing relations of inequity (Comaroff and Comaroff *Christianity , Colonialism* 24). Étienne Balibar argues that the very myth of origin and national continuity seen in the contemporary history of modern states which emerged with the end of colonialism, such as in India, "is an effective ideological form, in which the imaginary singularity of national formations is constructed daily, by moving back from the present into the past" (Balibar 87).

2.3.1   Goan nationalism

Because post-colonial nationalism is seen as a struggle for liberation and resistance against the oppressive forces of colonialism, the nationalist narrative emphasizes historical events in which the 'natives' reject the colonial power and seek to restore the local control. Rebellions that occurred during the colonial rule, which might have been manifestations in which a mere section of the population participated to protect their own interests and needs, are in nationalistic discourse appropriated and explained as sites of self-determination and freedom invocations. Throughout the Portuguese dominance of Goa, there have been several rebellions against the colonial rule. The reason for these rebellions in general was the discriminatory policies towards the local population. Indocentric scholars and historians, in general, tend to ascribe a nationalistic undertone to these rebellions (Gaitonde; Shirodkar *Goa's Struggle;*

Esteves).[39] As an example serves the *Sublevação dos Pintos* (Uprising of the Pintos) also known as the Pinto Rebellion or *A Conjuração de 1787* (The Conspiracy of 1787) which is considered one of the most important rebellions in Goa's history (Shirodkar *Goa's Struggle* 27; Gaitonde 3). This uprising was led by three prominent priests and a group of army officers of Goan origin who used to meet at the house of Pintos of Candolim, a prominent church family, to plan their strategy. However, the plotters were betrayed and the rebels, 47 of them, were arrested and jailed on accusation of plotting against the Portuguese rule. In general, historians agree that the reason of the rebellion was the discontent of the local priests with the top posts being reserved for the European clergy only. Pundlik D. Gaitonde, a leading protagonist in modern Goa's freedom struggle, pushes the matter further in arguing that the rebels were driven by nationalistic passions. They allegedly intended to overthrow the Portuguese rule and establish "a new republic in which the people of the country would have ruled themselves by exercising all the ruling powers through a popular assembly" (3).[40] Lambert Mascarenhas, a former editor of the Goan newspaper *Goa Today*, is of the same mind, and argues that if the plot had not failed, the leaders would have overthrown the Portuguese rule and established a sovereign republic of Goa on the basis of principles of the French revolution: "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" (396).

Alongside these rebellions, an awareness of human rights and civic sense arose among Goan elite circles in the 19th century. It was a result of the influence of ideals of the French Revolution, and reforms in education introduced during the governing of Marquis of Pombal in Portugal in the 18th century. The desire for a more liberal political situation in Goa was uttered by two Goan representatives to the Portuguese Government. In 1842, Father Jeremias Mascarenhas, by referring to the independence of Brazil, demanded freedom for Goa. According to Mascarenhas, "emancipation was a natural evolution common to both individuals and colonies" (qtd. in Gaitonde 6).

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[39] The political history of Goa written by Sarto Esteves in 1986, is an instructive example of an 'overstatement' of the impact of rebellions in Goa. In the introduction he writes: "Goa was the first 'nation' to raise its voice against political slavery and alien domination in the sixteenth century (…) It is the Goans who in a way were the predecessors of a long line of political scientists and philosophers, and public leaders who later propagated the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity" (Esteves 5-6).
[40] A complete listing and study of Goan upheavals is beyond the scope of this thesis, however there are a number of other upheavals of Goan natives worth mentioning, such as the Dom Mateus Castro Mahale rebellion (1654), Ranes' revolts (1775-1882) and last but not least the dissent of Father Francisco Alvares (second half of the 19th century). For more information on Goan upheavals, see works of Couto or Gaitonde.

Twenty years later, Francisco Luis Gomes, a Goan writer and committed nationalist, demanded complete freedom for India from the colonial yoke. In his novel, *Os Brahmanes* (1866), he wrote: "Impartial men, who are moved by justice and by racism, want India to be ruled by Indians" (qtd. in Gaitonde 6). It is noteworthy that historiographies and studies on Goa fail to focus on any other Goan politicians with the same aspirations (Gaitonde; Esteves; Shirodkar *Goa's Struggle*). Drawing from this, it can be assumed that in the 19th century, the majority of Goan politicians and civil servants presumably did not share the same Indian patriotism with the above mentioned nationalists and willingly settled for various governmental and cabinet posts which could bring them more immediate benefits.

From the mid-19th century onwards, as a result of constitutional reforms and a more intense migration by Goans to Mumbai, Europe and Africa, which broaden their horizons about the political situation elsewhere, political parties and newspapers were established by the Goan elite in Goa. In the second half of the 19th century two major parties emerged, both catholic and both taking their names from existing newspapers. The first political party to be established in Goa was the governmental *Partido Ultramarino* (The Overseas Party), which stood for the preservation and strengthening of the bonds of Goa with Portugal. The second party, *Partido Indiano* (Indian Party) was founded by José Inácio de Loiola in 1865; it supported greater administrative autonomy for Goa. A similar party in British India, the Indian National Congress, emerged only in 1885, i.e. twenty years after the *Partido Indiano* was established in Goa. Couto ascribes great importance to this event, seeing it as evidence that the Goan Catholic elite was ambitious and had been aspiring for self-determination from under the Portuguese rule much earlier than the Indian nationalists elsewhere in India (294). Couto's conjecture is no doubt a hyperbolic assumption. How, otherwise, would one explain that throughout its colonial history, Goa, unlike British India, had never witnessed the emergence of a mass nationalist movement? Nevertheless, both of the political parties feverishly communicated their opinions through newspapers in an attempt to appeal to the general public. Dissemination of new ideas and nationalistic themes within Goa was facilitated by the fact that the press of Goa was relatively free. Political parties and newspaper no doubt shaped the national consciousness by encouraging and fortifying the imagination of 'nation-ness'. In Goa, until almost the

independence of India from the British, however, complete freedom from Portugal was never an issue; the theme that dominated the Goan nationalist scene until the early 20th century was the demand for greater administrative and financial freedom (Mascarenhas 396).

With Salazar's ascent to the post of Prime Minister of Portugal in 1932, a highly authoritarian regime was established in the Portuguese Empire which revoked all the freedoms and rights the colonized people had enjoyed during the first years of the Portuguese First Republic. This reversal of circumstances led many of the Goan elites to migrate to Mumbai, where opposition to the Portuguese colonial regime was organized and a relationship with the Indian Nationalist Congress was established. It was generally believed that once the British departed from India, Portugal will no doubt follow British example. Cunha describes that in Goa, "the wide belief, which existed before in the mind of many people that freedom would come to Goa automatically with the achievement of national independence in India [prevailed]" (178). This belief in Portugal's voluntary withdrawal from Goa could explain why Goan nationalists have never organized themselves against the Portuguese rule and no Goan mass freedom movement was formed.

The five centuries of European colonialism fragmented India into several imperial possessions. Until the 1940s, however, Goa's integration into India was largely an irrelevant matter to the Goan as well as Indian national freedom movements (Fernandes 342). Only with the anti-colonial nationalist mood taking root in Africa and Asia, and with the establishment of an independent India in 1947, as well as with Salazar's refusal to relinquish Portuguese colonies in India, did Goa's integration come to play an important role in Indian nationalism. After the French Government finally signed an agreement to transfer the *de facto* sovereignty over its colonial possessions to the Indian Union in 1954, it was expected that Portugal was to follow the de-colonization trend. Portugal, to the surprise of the Indian leaders, however refused to cede control over its colonies on the basis that Goa and other Portuguese colonies were provinces of Portugal and its inhabitants were Portuguese. For more than a decade, the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, and the Prime Minister of Portugal, António de Oliveira Salazar, fought to persuade the international audience of the legitimacy of their claim over Goa.

In the next chapter this debate between Salazar and Nehru will be discussed in order to find out how Goan identity is described in rivaling discourses, and examine how nationalist commitment and ideology influence the interpretation of identity of a particular group of people. The theoretical framework constructed in the present chapter serves to make sense of the debate which unfurls around the arguments and allusions to Goan identity, colonialism and nationalism. The intricate relationship between Goans the colonized and the Portuguese the colonizers throughout the Goan history plays the central role in the Goa dispute. While Salazar built his argument on the conviction that Goan identity is inextricably linked to the Portuguese milieu, Nehru argued that Goans, although they acquired a particular identity due to a long co-existence with the Portuguese, were, in their core, nevertheless Indian. The colonial relationship between the Portuguese and Goans described in this chapter is, therefore, appropriated and used accordingly by the two debaters to justify their right over Goa.

3   Claim over Goa: Nehru versus Salazar

After having pointed at the complexities of the relationship between the Portuguese and Goans, and having constructed a conceptual tool box for understanding and interpreting Goan identity, I will finally turn to the debate between Salazar and Nehru. The debate itself is helpful for two main reasons: it shows how two competing discourses treat Goan identity and examination of it shows how interpretation of conceptions of identity depends on nationalist commitment and ideology. To deal with these issues, I will first examine the academic discussion that arose from the 'debate' to show how the Goa debate has been treated by scholars, and will continue by an analysis of the debate as conducted by the two statesmen.

3.1   Liberation or Invasion? – Description of historiography of the debate about the claim over Goa between New Delhi and Portugal

In 1947, after centuries of colonial domination and decades of freedom struggle, the British withdrew from India, and subsequently, the Indian Union was established. It was expected that it would only be a matter of time until Portugal followed the British example and ceded Goa, Daman and Diu to the newly independent India. Therefore, soon after the Indian independence, an Indian legation in Lisbon was established to negotiate Portugal's handing over of the three enclaves to India. However, Portugal under the premiership of António de Oliveira Salazar refused to negotiate their sovereignty.

Salazar was a catholic traditionalist and an adherent of the authoritarian, anti-communist and nationalist regime. He came to power in the early 1930s and established a regime that was authoritarian in nature. He clarified the character of his regime by declaring: "We are anti-parliamentarians, antidemocrats, anti-liberals, and we are determined to establish a cooperative state" (Salazar qtd. in Kay 70). This lack of democratic principles, however, did not alleviate the difficult situation in which the Portuguese economy had been caught. Although Salazar managed to steer Portugal away from the financial crisis afflicting the state since the 1920s, the relatively backward state economy remained. The resources of the Portuguese African territories, mainly its abundance in raw materials such as oil, natural gas, diamonds, gold, titanium, and hydroelectric power became a requisite for sustaining the state. In order to

strengthen grip over Portugal's colonies, Salazar introduced the controversial Colonial Act of 1930, which centralized the Portuguese empire. As Simon Smith has noted, "at a time when other European colonial powers were planning the demission of their empires Portugal clung tenaciously to her imperial possessions" (30).[41] Playing a major role, economic factor was only one of several reasons of Portugal's clinging to its colonial territories. As the Portuguese-controlled possessions served to boost the prestige which was absent at home, emotional and historical motives continued to move Portugal to hold on to the colonies. The colonies represented the national pride of the past centuries when Portugal was a seaborne empire. In the words of Henriksen, "as the first European nation in Africa [as well as in the Orient], Portugal strove not to be the first pushed from the continent" (408). Salazar believed that he could achieve the national revival, i.e. revival of imperial consciousness of the Portuguese, by highlighting the colonialism as a means of national regeneration, which after all was not anything new in the history of nations. Without colonies, namely the African territories, which were over twenty times the size of the mother country, Portugal would hardly have managed to maintain its relative importance in the international sphere. Besides, the attention on the colonies as an instrument of pride and national regeneration, was to turn the attention away from discontent from poverty and authoritarian policies in the metropolis itself (Henriksen 409). However, the propagandists of colonialism did not really admit these motives, rather they advertized Portugal's civilization mission and transmit of Christian values as a justification for unyielding colonial rule.

Therefore, when the Prime Minister of the newly independent India, Jawaharlal Nehru, requested the Portuguese Government to open negotiations for the transfer of Goa to the sovereignty of India, he was told by the Portuguese Government that Goa constituted an integral part of the Portuguese nation. Because of this 'reality', the Portuguese Government could not discuss, let alone accept, the solution put forward by the Indian Government. Under Article 2 of the Portuguese Constitution, the State could by no means "alienate any part of the national territory or of rights of sovereignty which it exercises" (Salazar "Goa and the Indian Union" 422). To Nehru, this reasoning was totally fictitious. In his view, Goa was indisputably a part of India based on

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[41] The process of decolonization was initiated by Britain who conceded independence to India in 1947. It was followed by the Dutch expulsion from the East Indies in 1949, then by Britain granting independence to its colonies in West and East Africa in the 1950s, France bestowing independence on its African colonies in 1960, and finally in the same year, the Belgian withdrawal from the Congo.

geographical, historical and racial facts. Therefore, he refused to settle down with the idea of Goa remaining under foreign control. Because India won its independence through Gandhi's philosophy of *Satyagraha* and *Ahimsa* (commitment to truth and nonviolence), was an adversary to colonial regimes, and the leader of the Non Aligned Movement, a military solution to the Goa issue was out of the question for Nehru. Such an action would indisputably have undermined India's credibility, and Nehru would not have escaped being accused of hypocrisy (Bravo 135; Fernandes 345).

With the repeated endeavors of the Indian Government to open negotiations with Portugal regarding the transfer of Goa having totally failed, in the summer of 1953, India's Legation in Lisbon was impelled to close down. The following year, Indian military forces marched into the tiny enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli and 'freed' the local population from the Portuguese domination. From 1955 the severed Indo-Portuguese relations resulted in an economic blockade of Goa by India. In the meanwhile, an unpredicted economic 'boom' occurred in Goa due to an international demand for lower grade ore (Bravo 134). In 1961, driven by the conviction that the Indo-Portuguese negotiations came to a deadlock, Nehru took the advice of his Defense Minister, Krishna Menon, and gave consent for a military invasion of Goa.

Even though the debate on Portugal's 'possession' of Goa was not the most significant issue post-colonial India had to face, it has received attention from a group of Goan, Indian, and international scholars and historians. The scholarship has been dedicated to recounting and examining the political and diplomatic exchanges between the governments of India, Portugal and other important international players such as the USA, Britain and Russia, as well as to describing the events leading to the Indian invasion of Goa. Similar to the historiography on the Portuguese presence in India, the historiography on the 'Goa debate' can, unsurprisingly, be divided into two categories: the pro-Indian (favoring India's annexation of Goa) and the pro-Portuguese writings (supporting Salazar's position in denoting Goa part of Portugal). In the following section, several books and an article will be discussed to shed more light on arguments used by the principal actors in the dispute over Goa as well as to see what others have written about the debate. It is not the intention to list and discuss every book, article and study written, but to list and discuss only the most significant and exemplary works on

the Goa debate before proceeding to the debate as it was conducted by the two statesmen themselves.

Hugh Kay's *Salazar and Modern Portugal* (1970) pays homage to Salazar's personality. It is a pro-Portuguese full-length portrayal of Salazar and Portugal, as well as an analysis of Salazar's political actions, foreign relations and the reasoning behind Portugal's adherence to its colonies. The book, written by a British BBC journalist and editor of Catholic publications in Britain, was published nine years after the annexation of Goa by India, and five years after the full-fledged war in African Portuguese colonies erupted.[42] For a fuller understanding of Kay's account, the political context in which the book was written will be examined briefly.

Since the struggles for liberation broke out in Portuguese Africa during the 1960s, the pressures for decolonization from the UN intensified, and Portugal's NATO allies adopted a more hostile attitude towards Portuguese repressions in its 'rebelling' colonies. As the Colonial war continued to rage on, Salazar – suffering from health problems – was replaced by Marcello Caetano as Prime Minister in 1968, two years before Salazar's death. Although Caetano's regime did not introduce any major changes in the government's political relationship on its African colonies, it differed from Salazar's regime in that it brought changes into the domestic and international situation. Caetano initiated reforms that reduced censorship and strived to bring flexibility into institutions. However, as the diminution of control in the colonies would no doubt lead to the loss of African territories, the upholding of the colonial empire necessitated the continuation of authoritarianism in Portugal at the time when Portugal's further integration into Europe demanded expedited decolonization and democratization (Henriksen 412). After considering the political situation in which Portugal found itself in the late 1960s, it seems that Kay's account served to downplay the unrest in the Portuguese Africa and the condemnation of Portugal's intransigence by the international

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[42] When anti-colonial wars erupted throughout Africa in the 1950s, Portuguese Africa was still enjoying a relative peace. However, the independence moods sweeping through Africa soon found groundwork in Portuguese colonies via founding of the Front for Liberation and Independence of Guinea-Bissau (FLING) in 1953, the Union of Peoples of Northern Angola (UPNA) in 1955, the African Independence Party of Cape Verde (AIGC) in 1956, and finally in 1962 the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). Thus the foundation for the freedom struggle in Portuguese Africa had been set in the early 1960s. In 1961, the Angolan war erupted, and no doubt, it acted as a stimulant for independence movements, because by 1965 guerrilla wars also broke out in all the other African Portuguese colonies. The Portuguese colonial war lasted until the collapse of *Estado Novo* in 1974. However, the civil wars among the different movements continued in some parts until the ceasefire in 2002.

community by praising Salazar as a leader struggling for recognition of his country after an era of decadence.

Despite almost a decade having passed since the invasion of Goa, Kay's depiction of the Goa debate is full of embittered and sarcastic observations about Portugal-Indian dispute regarding the right over Goa. Adopting an apologetic stance to Portugal's claim over its colonies, Kay questions Nehru's intensions regarding Goa and accuses him of duplicity:

> One of his [Nehru's] major complains had certainly been that Portugal represented an outdated colonialism, but although strongly backed for this reason by Afro-Asian bloc, he was not proposing to grant the Goanese[43] their independence. He was proposing to absorb Goa into India, where, he argues, it belonged; and that is what he precisely did (Kay 294).

Kay believes that the Portuguese had succeeded in creating an inter-racial society in its colonies, and therefore, he conceived of India's claims over Goa insubstantial. To emphasize the irony of the situation, Kay compares the case of Goa with the case of British Gibraltar. He admits that the cases were not identical: Britain had proven by referendum that the majority of the Gibraltarians wished to stay under British governance, whereas Portugal refused to carry out a similar poll. Nevertheless, he argues that Nehru was not able to provide more convincing evidence of Goans' will to become part of the Indian Union than Salazar, who claimed that they wished to remain under the Portuguese jurisdiction (Kay 310).[44]

Nonetheless, Kay's tilt to Salazar's position is mostly noticeable in the lighthearted consideration that the terms 'province' and 'colony' are in a synonymous relationship (185). In his treatment of them, the terms colony and province seem to mean the same: a home base. The difference between the two words might have meant little to Kay, but the degradation of a territory to the status of colony, no doubt, created an obvious restlessness within Portuguese overseas territories. After all, it would be

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[43] The term 'Goanese' has been widely used as a synonym to 'Goan' in English literature. However, Goanese is a morphologically incorrect borrowing from Portuguese language, where the word for Goan is 'goês' for male, 'goesa' for female, and 'goeses' for plural. Recently, its usage has been condemned by scholars for its supposedly derogatory meaning as Goanese is associated with serving positions such as cook, butler, etc. (Noronha).

[44] One of the reasons why Salazar refused to carry out a plebiscite in Goa was cautiousness. He was aware that if he allowed a plebiscite in Goa, he would be obliged to carry out similar polls also in other colonial territories, outcomes of which might not be as positive with regard to Portugal as they might have been in Goa (Nogueira 276).

unimaginable that the Portuguese Government or even Salazar himself would ever have denoted Alentejo,[45] or even Madeira[46] as a colony.

Although Kay maintained that Goa was a part of Portugal, Indian scholars have a different opinion on the issue. Two years after the incorporation of Goa into the Indian Union, R.P. Rao published a book called *Portuguese rule in Goa* (1963), in which he tries to convince the readership that the 'liberation' of Goa by India was justified. Rao holds the opinion that Goa was never isolated from the rest of India. Therefore, he argues, it is understandable that the newly independent India wanted to free Goa, and other dependant territories, from colonial oppression (Rao 2-4). He rebuffs the arguments of cultural intermingling between the Portuguese and Goans so vehemently claimed by Salazar and his adherents. According to him, there had never been such a thing as a common Portuguese-Goan culture. Hence, it was absurd of Portugal to build its claims on cultural or even religious grounds (Rao 4). Following these arguments, Rao maintains that Portugal ought to have surrendered Goa, and since it failed to do so, India was entitled to use force to liberate Goa.

Interestingly, Rao refutes Nehru's earlier declarations of his commitment to nonviolence. He explains that the argument, on which India based its strategy of nonviolence, was founded on a wrong assumption (Rao 6). Nehru, supposedly, never adopted the commitment of nonviolence, as interpreted by Mahatma Gandhi, as his creed. Instead, he preferred peaceful methods to dealing with foreign affairs issues (Rao 6). "When peaceful means fail," Rao reasons, "as they did in the case of the Portuguese [in Goa], force is used" (6). Nevertheless, it is strange that Rao ignores Nehru's statements of previous years in which he asserted that India would not take Goa by force as violence and war had never solved any problem (Parliament of India *Lok Sabha Debates* 230; Akbar 503).

Furthermore, since the de-colonization trend was prevalent in the world politics at the time, Rao claims that India had full right to have annexed Goa (3). In his opinion, colonial territories dominated by the Portuguese had to be freed like any other liberated area in Asia or Africa. However, Rao fails to see that the decolonization has not always brought peace or stability to the newly independent countries. Exemplary are the still ongoing territorial disputes between India and Pakistan or China over places such as

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[45] Alentejo is the largest region of Portugal, located in the south-central part of the country.
[46] Madeira is an island in the Atlantic Ocean and an autonomous region of Portugal.

Kashmir, Junagadh, Aksai Chin or Arunachal Pradesh, not to mention the border quarrels in other post-colonial countries of Africa or South Asia.

To return to the Goa debate, Rao sees Britain as an instructive example with respect to the decolonization process:

> If Great Britain could allow the sun to set on its empire and grant freedom to India, always described as the brightest jewel in the British Crown (…) it was unrealistic on the part of Portugal to cling to a 1,537 square-mile area in the Indian subcontinent and put forward the fantastic argument that these areas were a part of metropolitan Portugal situated about 6,000 miles away (Rao 4).

Indisputably, Britian made a big step with granting independence to *some* of its colonies. Nevertheless it would not be fair to hold Portugal solely responsible for refusing to hand over its colonies. As a matter of fact, Hong Kong stayed under British jurisdiction until 1997, Ceuta in Morocco is still considered an autonomous city of Spain, Hawaii became the 50th state of USA against the will of the Hawaiian people, and there are other examples of overseas territories, such as the French Martinique in the Caribbean, the Dutch Antilles also in the Caribbean, French Guiana in South America, French Réunion in the Indian Ocean, or territories that are still considered non-self-governing territories, such as, British Gibraltar, the British Cayman Islands in the Caribbean, French New Caledonia or Tokelau under New Zealand administration. These examples of territories that even at present are under a 'foreign' rule show that Portugal's case of having colonies in the 1960s was actually not so exceptional in the international sphere at that time.

Similarly to Rao, Indo-Portuguese diplomatic relations are also the main focus of Prakashchandra Shirodkar's book, *Goa's Struggle for Freedom* (1988). Shirodkar argues that it was natural and appropriate that all colonial possessions in India should become part of the Indian Union. In his view, the Government of India "aimed at elimination of colonialism in the world, [and] played a major role in ultimately driving out the Portuguese from Asia" (Shirodkar *Goa's Struggle* xv).

A significant part of Shirodkar's book is dedicated to the Goan national movement. Through its consideration, he demonstrates the existence of opposition to the Portuguese rule, and justifies India's annexation of Goa. He writes that with India's freedom struggle at its peak,

a silent revolution was taking place in the Portuguese territories. The people in Goa, the main Portuguese colony, were evincing keen interest in the liberation struggle on the mainland and trying to identify themselves with the Indians (Shirodkar *Goa's Struggle* 22).

Although Shirodkar describes the national awakening and rise of nationalism in Goa, his argument is not convincing. In British India, national awakenings and liberation struggles, unlike in Goa, persisted over time, and later under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, transformed into a mass movement. In Portuguese Goa, however, neither a strong leader nor a collective nationalist movement ever emerged.

While Rao and Shirodkar present the Indian view on the Goa debate, *Nehru seizes Goa* (1963) by Leo Lawrence is a survey of the Goa 'problem' from a pro-Goan perspective, which in the author's understanding means taking a pro-Portuguese perspective. Lawrence argues that from a geographical point of view, Goa, together with Nepal and Pakistan, is part of the Indian subcontinent but politically, Goa has been part of Portugal for almost five hundred years. To expect Goans "to be anything other than Portuguese, is much the same as expecting a Frenchman to be against France and on the side of France's enemies" (Lawrence iii). Lawrence argues that Goans share a unique culture which is different from the rest of India:

> [D]espite common Asian origin which they have with the other people of India, and despite certain undeniable similarities of culture and race which they still retain, the Goans are nearer to Europe than any other race of the east; and except for their color of their skin, could pass as Europeans, a circumstance that has been often stressed in international circles (Lawrence 21).

As a result of this common history and mutual co-existence, Goans have – so Lawrence argues – become a close-knit unit of the Lusitanian family (21).

Even though the book contains much information and casts light on various aspects of the Goa debate, it is ridden with exaggerated statements that are difficult to take serious, such as:

> The only difference (…) between the city of Luanda and the city of Lisbon in the political set-up is that one is situated on the African continent and the other on the European. Otherwise, their respective inhabitants are equal in status in all respects (Lawrence 12).

Despite Lawrence's assurance, it is debatable whether the author himself really believes that Lisbon and Luanda were ever treated on equal terms in the Angolan-Portuguese history. A similarly hyperbolic statement is found a couple of pages later. Describing the positive aspects of the Portuguese-Goan interaction, Lawrence regards, embittered, the prospect of Goa being incorporated into the Indian Union:

> How then could the Goan people accept the prospect of giving up their proud place in the Portuguese sun, and consent to join the Indian Union whose teeming millions are still lagging some hundreds of years behind in the scheme of civilization, being inured to blind superstition, orthodoxy, poverty and hunger? Over a long and uninterrupted period of four and a half centuries of common socio-political evolution, they had shared with fellow Portuguese from Europe all rights and responsibilities of national life on a basis of absolute equality (Lawrence 22).

Though, far from being an objective survey, the valuable aspect of Lawrence's book is the incorporation of Goan people into the narrative, as the opinions and actions of ordinary Goan people are rarely taken into consideration in studies on the Goa debate.

The last survey on the Goa debate to be referred to here is the article *Goa in Wider Perspective* (1962) by Margaret Fisher. Fisher's article is perhaps the most reasonably objective assessment of the Goa case. She argues that the whole Goa issue is overridden by confusion: "The Goa affair is either torn completely from its context and judged as a moral issue itself, or the context has been too narrowly defined in terms of the Indian general elections" (Fisher 3). As India was preparing for general elections in the beginning of 1962, the Goa issue unavoidably got caught up in party politics. Almost every Indian party included the question of Goa as an issue in its election campaign; the ruling party, Indian National Congress, not being an exception.

Fisher is highly critical of Portugal's policy of Goa's retention at all costs. She points out that, "had the Portuguese been willing to grant Goa autonomy, a reasonable arrangement with India could undoubtedly have been worked out" (Fisher 4). Although Fisher expresses pity over Portugal's stubborn attachment to its colonies, it remains questionable what she means by the "reasonable arrangement". If Fisher drives at the possibility of Goa's sovereignty under India, another question arises. Would this step, made by Portugal, have induced Nehru to reconsider his 'plan' of incorporating Goa into the newly established Indian Union? The potential action of Nehru remains

obscure, but if one was to follow Sarvepalli Gopal, the biographer of Nehru, the Prime Minister of India allegedly would not have settled for any solution short of a merger with India (411). Nevertheless, Fisher concludes that Nehru acted as he did because he was forced to it by international circumstances, i.e. by the pressures from the Afro-Asian block for whom Nehru was a leader who could initiate the African freedom process by taking action on Goa. In addition to boosting its influence in Africa, the Indian military invasion of Goa served "as a timely demonstration to doubting neighbors (…) that India is prepared to move decisively and forcefully should circumstances warrant it (Fisher 10).

The Indian invasion of Goa in 1961 has aroused much debate over the legitimacy of India's possession of Goa. On the one hand there are those who strictly condemned India's action as an act of aggression, and on the other, those who rejoiced at Goa's 'liberation' from the colonial yoke. Regardless of reassurance that the accounts were objective and empirical, the historiography on Goa as illustrated above, is marked by an overt pro-Salazar or pro-Nehru position. Today, it seems that the agitation that gained momentum shortly after India's annexation of Goa has diminished. However, there are still reactions and arguments on blogs concerning India's annexation of Goa. These are mostly by Goan contributors who are not very satisfied under the Indian 'rule', and nostalgically recall the times of Portuguese rule in Goa. As Bravo points out, historical narratives play a big role in sustaining a national identity (Bravo 140). This, indeed, is visible in the opposition between the colonial imagination represented by adherents of Salazar and post-colonial histories of re-unified people exemplified by Nehru's followers. To conclude, the historiography on the Goa debate abounds with contradictions and bias stemming from a nationalistic commitment on both sides. As a result, the debate is characterized by Lusocentric and Indocentric positions.

3.2   Whose Goa? Analysis of the debate as conducted by the two main actors

The 1950s saw the disintegration of the British, French and Dutch empires as a result of pressures for decolonization from the international community and the colonized countries. Portugal resisted this trend. António de Oliveira Salazar's policy was clear. Portuguese overseas territories were 'Portugal Overseas': "an extension of Portuguese soil, and not colonies" (Kay 183). The inhabitants of these lands were perceived as Salazar's 'children', they were the so-called Portuguese "of color" (Cabral

9).[47] Incorporating the peoples of the overseas territories into a narrative of Portuguese belonging played an important role in Salazar's rhetorical attempts to persuade the international audience, the UN, and India of his right over Goa. Clearly, Salazar was well aware that only by claiming the unity of and equal rights within the empire, and by stressing the cultural intermingling, he might maintain his authority over these territories. Jawaharlal Nehru, on the other hand, denounced colonialism as an outmoded social form and emphasized the obsoleteness of the Portuguese regime. He held on to the geographical facts and stressed the Goan wish to join independent India. He advocated that it was India's mission to "free" those parts of India which were still "under colonial rule" (Parliament of India *Parliament of India Debates* col. 2176). The 1950s were marked by a tense exchange of arguments between Salazar and Nehru. Particularly, both actors conducted their arguments through speeches in parliaments, additionally also through journal publications, in an attempt to present their claims as the 'truth' and to induce the national and international audience of the appropriateness of their arguments and the benefits their successful undertaking would bring.

Despite a number of similarities in their lives – both were born in the same year in 1889, both held the post of Prime Minister, and both were highly nationalistic – Nehru and Salazar were two very different statesmen. While Nehru is considered to have been a modern political leader of the recently decolonized Third World, Salazar embodied a conservative dictator of a grand but decaying colonial empire. Before proceeding to the analysis of the multi-year debate over Goa between Salazar and Nehru, the profiles of both leaders will be discussed briefly to outline the background that determined both leaders in their lines of reasoning during the debate. Because the Indian side initiated the debate, the portrayal shall start off by introducing Nehru. Jawaharlal Nehru served as the Prime Minister of the Indian Union from 1947 until his death in 1964. He was chosen by Mahatma Gandhi, and the choice was later endorsed in free general elections in 1952. Nehru was born to a well-off family, and as it was common for wealthier Indian families at that time, he received a British education in the West. In spite of being educated in the spirit of western values, Nehru became a severe critic of colonialism, and played an active part in the freedom movement against the

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[47] The regime of the Portuguese *Estado Novo* had its foundation in the 'God, Father, and Family' trinity. It was based on a Catholic rigidity, in consolidation of the hierarchical position of the father, Salazar, towards his children, the Portuguese. For more on the foundations of the *Estado Novo*, see Oliveira (196).

British rule. He described India's struggle for freedom as a part of a revolution of Afro-Asian nations against the Western expressions of imperialism and colonialism (Nanda 294). Therefore, he advocated the view that freedom should not have been reality only for India but also for all subjected territories of Asia and Africa. Nehru was a left-nationalist, and he conceived of political freedom as a prelude to a new socialist order of society. In his opinion, India should have moved along the lines of socialism and democracy, because those were the only means to challenge poverty. Moreover, he believed that democracy was an end in itself and not merely a means to an end (Gopal 454-57). During his political career – thirty years as a nationalist leader and seventeen as the head of the Indian Government – he advocated policies of non-alignment, political democracy, anti-colonialism, antiracism, disarmament as well as freedom of thought and expression, and fundamental human rights. Gopal claims that Nehru, together with Mahatma Gandhi, was the architect of India's freedom. Nehru also believed in unity, democracy, civil liberties, secularism, scientific and international outlook of India's future, and carried a vision of socialism which was eventually to transform the traditional Indian society into an open and participant modern society (Gopal 459-72).

Turning to Jawaharlal Nehru's opponent, António de Oliveira Salazar came to power during a military coup which had imbibed the country after the overthrow of the monarchy in Portugal. He was called to office by the military government to bring the state out from the financial crisis. Salazar assumed the post of Minister of Finances in 1928 which he held until 1932, when he became the Prime Minister of Portugal. Salazar came from a humble background and until his death in 1970, he lived a life of a "bachelor peasant" (Kay 3). Yet his modest origins had an immense impact on the establishment of the future *Estado Novo*. Marcello Caetano remarks: "As is common with people who come from rural areas, Salazar instinctively realized the importance and dignity of Power" (35). Caetano further explains that because of his rural upbringing, Salazar's political conduct was characterized by straightforwardness and firmness, as by his conviction in rigidity and sacrifice in achieving the higher good (35-42). The 1933 Constitution created the *Estado Novo* which had as its tenets a corporative regime with an authoritarian government, nationalistic unity, Christian morality and values, and work ethic, with rejection of liberalism, capitalism,

communism and democracy. However, his rightist dictatorship, which lasted for forty years, was also characterized by censorship, activities of the secret police, repression of the opposition, lack of freedom of expression, denial of fundamental human rights and rigged elections. Although elections were held regularly and women were given suffrage, the literacy and property qualifications, let alone the off-site opposition, limited the enfranchised section of the Portuguese population (Solsten 56). Furthermore, as Portugal was an impoverished country which was forced to adhere for survival to what remained of her age-long colonial empire, Salazar tightened the control over the colonies during his rule.

Salazar's speech presented to the Portuguese National Assembly on 20 October 1949, on the occasion of the upcoming elections to the National Assembly as well as the forthcoming Portuguese Constitution reform, clearly illustrates the stance Salazar was to take regarding Goa during the following twelve years:

> The situation in Goa is the most serious and the most awkward (…) I am not referring to the campaign in the Indian press, since the press is free but without responsibility, but rather to official statements by absorbing Goa into Great India with an ease that we find, to say the last, extraordinary (…) India is impelled by desire for geographic unity in which she has been frustrated and this, for reasons unconnected with ourselves, she has not yet obtained. This is an ideal, a point of view, but not a reason and much less right because by right Goa has formed an integral part of the Portuguese Empire for centuries. India herself has racial problems but she cannot lay this charge against us, for everywhere in our Empire we have set our face against racial discrimination of which India's own sons are victims (…) The truth is that Goa can only choose between being an important component of the Portuguese Empire and a tiny district of India, with a total reversal. The Portuguese or Indo-Portuguese culture that grew up there during the centuries would have no chance of survival. The Hindu population would possess an entirely different outlook (Salazar *Reforming* 19-21).

In his speech, Salazar founds it "extraordinary" that the Government of India was disseminating false rumors that Goans were Indians, and that Goa should be appropriated by the "Great India". In his opinion, the only reason why India wanted Goa to become part of its Union was because of "frustration" that it could not attain the geographic unity of the whole Indian subcontinent it had set its mind on. The plan of unity fell through when Pakistan separated from India in 1947. However, according to Salazar, the idea of Indian unity was an "ideal", not a "reason", let alone "right"

because geography does not entitle a sovereign nation to acquire other nation's territory, especially when it was an "integral part" of an empire for centuries, as was the case of Goa. By "integral part of the Portuguese Empire for centuries" Salazar was driving at the fact that Goans had been Portuguese citizens, equal under the law, since 1757 by Royal Decree signed by King Joseph I. As a result, Salazar felt that the charge of Portugal's racial discrimination against Goans was invalid. On the contrary, the very India was the "victim" of this prejudice, he claimed.[48] Salazar maintained that Goa was an "important" part of the Portuguese empire, as it was truly "Portuguese". The union of Portuguese and Indian cultures, he argued, slowly reshaped Goan identity from Indian to Portuguese. Once absorbed by the Indian Union, he stated, the unique Goan identity and culture would have "no chance of survival".

Nehru contested this view in an address to Lok Sabha, the lower house of the Parliament of India:

> Although it does not require that anything should be said in justification of our claim to Goa, I shall nevertheless, venture to mention a few facts (…) There is of course the geographical argument. The Portuguese Government claims that Goa is a part of Portugal. That remark is so illogical and absurd that it is rather difficult to deal with (…) It has no relation to facts (…) I am not going into the old history of the Portuguese possession of Goa; but I think many members will remember that this history is a very dark chapter of India's history (Nehru *India's Foreign Policy* 112).

Moreover, Nehru, in an earlier speech, had declared that he conceived of Portuguese territories in India as an anachronism as their existence was discrepant with historical developments that had, after all, resulted in the end of imperial reign in India itself (Parliament of India *Parliamentary Debates* col. 4808).

Nehru's bewilderment, no doubt, stemmed from Salazar's conviction that history is superior to geography. According to Nehru, however, geography does play an important role and he thus refused to accept Salazar's argument that Goa was part of Portugal. He found it "illogical" and "absurd" because, as he argued, Goa was a geographical part of India, which was a self-evident "fact". Nehru also called Goa's colonial past "dark" and "anachronistic" in opposition to the modern decolonized

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[48] Although Salazar vehemently argued that Goans were on equal footing with other Portuguese citizens of the metropolis, this was not true until 1950 when the discriminatory Colonial Act of 1930 was finally revoked, and an equal status of Portuguese citizenship for Goans was restored.

democracy of India during his rule. He advocated that the time of colonial rule was over, and Portugal should follow and not resist natural forces of history. Clearly, Nehru refers to India as described in his *The Discovery of India*, in which he presents a nationalist construction of history. His account sets the nationalist historical narrative against the colonial discourse. Nehru's nationalistic discourse, however, is not an isolated one in the postcolonial context. It was common during the era of anti-colonialism that nationalist intellectuals were profoundly concerned about the interpretation of their own past. They offered new images of their country's culture and history that highlighted the nation's unity as a purely collective feature. In nationalist discourse, continuity played an important opposition to 'transient' regimes of colonial powers (Bravo 149). Therefore in elements, such as religion, culture, language and natural environment was 'ascertained' continuity which served to legitimize their claims of sovereignty. The similar nationalist narratives were constructed by African leaders and intellectuals during their struggle for independence from colonial rule, for example, by the former Angolan president António Agostinho Neto, the Angolan writer Luandino Vieira, the revolutionary leader Amílcar Cabral from Guinea Bissau or the anti-colonial Martiniquian thinker Frantz Fanon who fought in the Algerian revolution. These intellectuals criticized the colonial policies of assimilation and violence, and encouraged Africans to re-Africanize, to rediscover their African roots. What is perhaps idiosyncratic of Nehru's nationalist discourse is his preference for decolonization via peaceful methods, which is in contrast with opinions of his contemporaries, who perceived of violence as a legitimate means of liberation.

Turning back to Nehru's position in the debate on Goa, Nehru asserted that India's heritage surpasses the colonial era in India by claiming that "the continuity of cultural tradition through five thousand years of history," made the 180 years of British rule in India (which was the biggest concern of his at the time of writing the book) seem like "just one of the unhappy interludes in her long history" (*The Discovery of India* 43-44). Therefore, Salazar's argument that Goa had been part of the Portuguese empire for many centuries was, according to Nehru, irrelevant. The ancient civilizations of India were still alive and their cultural heritage of thousands of years still reality, which implied a relation between India's ancient and contemporary inhabitants. Although ancient, Nehru stressed that since the beginning of civilization India had embraced the

values of cultural diversity and tolerance. According to him, the diversity and syncretism of India "is obvious (…) Some kind of dream of unity has occupied the mind of India since the dawn of civilization (…) The widest tolerance of belief and custom was practiced and every variety acknowledged and even encouraged" (Nehru *The Discovery* 54-5). Through this premise of 'unity in diversity', Nehru contradicted Salazar's conviction about the inevitable perish of the Indo-Portuguese culture that had evolved in Goa as a result of long coexistence of the two cultures once Goa came under the Indian Union, and claimed that the Goan unique culture *did have* a chance of survival in the Indian Union. Based on these arguments, it follows, that the identity in Nehru's perception, as opposed to Salazar's, was stable and unchanging, persistent to external influences with only changing shades of meanings. Nehru maintained that Goans, whether Hindus, Christian or Muslims, were Indians and had Indian identity. The Portuguese interlude in Goa's history, during which the Portuguese exercised power to refashion the local population, did not have significant impact on Goan cultural identity which stems from syncretic nature of Indian tradition. Hence, as Nehru argued, Goans could not have been uprooted from the land and traditions in such a short time as 450 years and by an alien power that even geographically pertained to another world.

To rebut this argument, Salazar unflaggingly repeated that geography had never been a legitimate base for sovereign rights, and it were always historical realities and not the geographical demarcation that determined borders, otherwise small states could not possibly coexist next to big states (qtd. in Nogueira 343). He reasoned that, if the history of the last five centuries was not to be taken into account, no state or nation in Europe, America, Africa or Asia could be today called legitimate (Salazar *The Case* 128-30). As a result of failure to represent the entire Indian subcontinent, the Indian Union sought to absorb Goa to fulfill its dream of the Great India and territorial aggrandizement at the expense of preexisting sovereignties. This dream, Salazar argued, however clashed against the alleged Goan wish to remain under the Portuguese rule ("Goa and the Indian Union" 423). Four hundred and fifty years of co-existence and shared experience, Salazar argued, created a "distinct" culture which was not Indian but distinctly Portuguese. In one of his later writings, Salazar claims:

The Christian atmosphere, the Western culture, the transplantation of other customs and institutions, the spread of the language, the political relationship with a European country of standing, helped in the formation and deep rooting of a people which was perfectly differentiated from the ethnic group of Hindustan (…) No qualified traveler passing into Goa from the Indian Union can fail to gain impression that he is entering an entirely different land. The way people think, feel and act is European. There may not be no geographic or economic frontier but there is indubitably a human one: Goa is the transplantation of the West onto Eastern lands, the expression of Portugal in India (Salazar "Goa and the Indian Union" 420).

Salazar was convinced that in Goa a special Goan-Portuguese cultural union was created on the basis of which Goans thought of themselves as Portuguese, not as Indians. Interestingly, his conviction of a 'distinct' culture seemed to have also academic support. During the 1950s, a well-known Brazilian sociologist and anthropologist, Gilberto Freyre, developed the concept of *lusotropicalism*. Lusotropicalism is a belief that the Portuguese, in contrast to the Northern European colonizers, possessed a 'unique' capacity to intermingle with the conquered peoples and coexist with them on non-racist terms. As a result of this attitude, the Portuguese and their colonial subjects shared a 'distinct' culture which, according to Gilberto Freyre, was a hybrid of cultures and religions emanating from Africa, Brazil, India and Portugal itself.

Although the notion of the Portuguese inclination towards inter-racial mixing had already been a theme in Freyre's publication about the Brazilian heterogeneous society, *The Masters and the Slaves* (1933), the term lusotropicalism was not dubbed until the 1950s. It was in the very beginning of 1950s, that Freyre was invited by the Portuguese Minister of Overseas, Manuel Maria Sarmento Rodrigues, to visit and write about the Portuguese colonies in Africa and India. Through comparison and analogy between the social, cultural and sexual interactions between the people of Brazil, Portugal and the Portuguese colonies, he developed the theory of *lusotropicalism* already outlined in his previous work (Almeida 1-2). According to Freyre's arguments, the Portuguese were supposed to have a special capacity for miscegenation which predisposed them to a synthetic coexistence with other races. This interpretation fitted well in the construction of the colonial myth of the *Estado Novo* by representing the Portuguese empire as a multiracial and multicultural nation, stretching over four continents. Through it, Salazar could legitimize his claims in Africa and India against

the growing anti-colonial pressures of the UN of the late 1950s. In 1960, to tone down the critique of Portugal's persistence regarding retaining its colonies, the Portuguese government organized a conference in Lisbon and a vast body of literature was published to celebrate the 5th centenary of the death of Prince Henry the Navigator. On the occasion, Freyre's *The Portuguese and the Tropics* was published by the quincentenary commission. In this book, Freyre develops his concept of lusotropicalism further by claiming that the Portuguese, and in general all Hispanics, were a tolerance driven, ruling elite without any racial prejudice,[49] who brought universal Christian, or better said Roman Catholic values to the tropics to form a unique psycho-social and socio-cultural relationship between the Portuguese and the indigenous population (*The Portuguese and the Tropics* 45-56). Freyre argues that these features were shared only by the Hispanics, denying them to Northern Europeans, namely the Dutch and the British. He held the latter Europeans responsible for the racial superiority syndrome which, as he argued, is lacked by the Portuguese, who are dominated only by a Christocentric spirit (Freyre *Portuguese Integration* 18).[50] Thus, Freyre's theory of the Portuguese as adherents of racial equality, tolerance of other cultures, cultural intermingling and evangelization, was inserted into the rhetoric of the political discourse and found a stable place in Salazar's narrative of Portugal as a modern colonial power.[51]

Irrespective of these rather wide ideological differences, it is interesting that both actors, Salazar and Nehru, used similar arguments in the debate over Goa. Although having claimed to the international audience that their arguments were extraordinary and dissimilar from each other, in essence, both claimants were driven by nationalist commitment. As a remarkable example serve the mutual accusations made by Portugal and New Delhi against one another of fascist and Hitler-like conduct in the case of Goa. In 1956 in the United Nation General Assembly, Salazar argued that by the

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[49] Racial prejudice towards the colonized people is a highly disputed issue among the scholars on Portuguese colonialism. The opinions of scholars on Goan-Portuguese relationship, in particular, differ considerably. What makes the issue more problematic is the actual fragmentation within the approaches themselves. For contrasting views on Portuguese discrimination against native populations on account of color, see Souza ("Portuguese Impact" 247), and Mascarenhas (397).

[50] Freyre saw the Portuguese colonialism in terms of a Christocentric sociological character rather than ethnocentric one. According to him, the Portuguese did not aspire to Europanize the people of tropics and the East but rather to Christianize them (Freyre *Portuguese Integration* 17).

[51] Miguel Vale de Almeida, a Portuguese anthropologist, comes with an interesting observation in his paper on lusotropicalism in Brazil and Portugal. He claims that the narrative in which discovery, expansion and colonization played the central role "became hegemonic and part of people's representations too, not just an imposed propaganda" (Almeida 5).

written and oral propaganda, street manifestations, economic blockade of Goa, border disturbances, and India's alleged right to protect and incorporate population of the same racial affinity into one state, Nehru had been using the same methods once used by Hitler in Sudetenland (Nogueira 301; Shirodkar *Goa's Struggle* 212). Equally, a few years earlier, Nehru had accused Salazar of ruthless authoritarian administration over the Indian people of Goa by means of a racist, fascist, and last but not least, colonial regime (Akbar 502; Bravo 128).

From the above it can be concluded that each side considered itself having the moral, spiritual and legal right to possess Goa, and that for both, Nehru and Salazar, control over Goa meant an affirmation of their nationalist ideologies. Salazar saw Goa as a reminder of a glorious past that could be revived. It was a reminder of 'Age of Discoveries', when Portugal, a small country, turned into an imperial power. Goa, as a part of the Portuguese Empire, represented the national pride, the 'junction' where traditions of East and West met, 'a light of the Occident in the lands of the Orient' (Nogueira 342). As a result, Portugal felt it had a moral obligation towards Goa; hence, it could not negotiate Goa's cession to India. Moreover, colonies also abounded with immense riches in natural resources and thus served as financial backbone of the Empire and as means of national regeneration.[52] Last but not least, Goa, symbolized the very existence of the Portuguese colonial system. If Portugal rendered Goa to India, would it not indicate that the Portuguese rule there had been illegal? And, as a result, if the Portuguese sovereignty over Goa was illicit, how could Portugal claim sovereignty over other overseas territories of the same status?[53] Salazar was aware that a failure to retain Goa would gradually lead to the loss of all of the colonial territories, which would be perceived as a political degradation of Portugal's position in world politics. However, Portugal's position in India was precarious. As Goa was adjoined by the colossal Indian Union, Salazar relied on the fact that Nehru was not willing to damage his reputation as an international leader of pacifist ideology and commitment to non-violence by using military force in Goa (Nogueira 275).

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[52] Although Goa was not of great commercial value to Salazar, he was aware of the fact that once Goa was lost, Angola, Mozambique and other colonies would soon follow too.
[53] The designation 'overseas province' had been shared in the Portuguese empire by Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau (the then Portuguese Guinea), Macau, Goa as a part of the Portuguese India, São Tomé and Príncipe, and East Timor.

Conversely, for Nehru, Goa symbolized the last visible trace of colonialism on the Indian subcontinent and was a reminder of a very dark past, a past that was to be surpassed. Goans, as members of a greater Indian nation, could fit well into the Indian nationalist narrative according to which empires were victims of time, while nations were believed to be eternal with a "hoary" past (Bravo 149). Moreover, with its alleged hybrid identity, Goa by all means represented the heterogeneity of Indian culture, which showed that Goans were nothing but full-blooded Indians. Nehru, however, failed to persuade Salazar to withdraw from Goa on the basis of his arguments. Nevertheless at the close of 1961, forced by the domestic as well as international circumstances he had to act. The urgency to act emerged from the domestic scene because of the prospects of winning of the ruling party in the national elections planned for February 1962 (Souza "The Church in Goa" 62). Nehru had to regain sympathies of his voters after the failure to settle the border question with China. Besides, India's reputation as the leader of the Asia-African block was at stake due to India's alleged idleness with respect to its anti-colonialism. Nehru was aware that a failure to act would mean defeat of the aspirations of Afro-Asian nations to gain their freedoms from the colonial regimes. However, a more important role was perhaps played by Nehru's awareness that an inability of action by India would give off a wrong message to belligerent neighbors, namely Pakistan and China (Fernandes 345). After more than a decade of fruitless negotiations, on 14 December 1961, Nehru eventually abandoned his pacifist rhetoric and, amid international contestation, ordered the 'liberation' of Goa by military means.

The Indian invasion into Goan territory ended the fourteen year debate between Salazar and Nehru over the possession of Goa. The invasion also ended the conflict between colonialism and nationalism, as well as the conflict between history and geography. While Salazar argued that Goa was an integral part of Portugal and hence it was absurd of India to ask for its cession, Nehru maintained that the times had changed and Portugal's colonial attitude was unacceptable in the new de-colonized world order. This conviction was demonstrated by the 'liberation' of Goa by which the first European colony on the Indian subcontinent ceased to exist. While the UN had excoriated Portuguese colonialism, several Western countries which would again support Portuguese government regarding the African colonies at the beginning of the 1970s, were shocked by India's action and deplored it. Shortly after the annexation,

Richard R. Baxter, an expert on international law, intoned that the Indian Union had no right to use force against the Portuguese territories in India, even after Portugal had refused to reconcile. He argued that "stability may, on occasion, be more important than justice" (qtd. in Greene). On the other hand, in most of the Third World countries, including India, the enthusiasm ran high. Although India's military action in Goa was a hard blow for Portugal, Salazar did not launch a counterattack to re-seize Goa. Instead he severed diplomatic relations between Portugal and India, and became more intent on fighting freedom movements in Portuguese Africa. Despite having turned his attention away from the Indian peninsula, Salazar never recognized Indian annexation of Goa (Brettel 144). In fact, Goa continued to have its representatives in the Portuguese National Assembly. It was only after the Carnation Revolution of 1974 that the new government in Lisbon recognized the annexation of Goa, Daman and Diu, and restored diplomatic ties with India.[54]

To conclude, the overview of the historiography as well as the debate over Goa itself have clearly shown that the nationalist narratives play a significant role in identity building. It confirms Gillis's presumption that identity sustains particular subjective positions as it is "a political and social construct" (5), and is indispensable when making claims over a territory. Furthermore, the opposition between colonial and post-colonial (post-nationalistic) imaginations, be it political representations or scholarly works, point at absolutes, paradoxes and controversies that result from oppositional nationalist commitments. Although the arguments used by both parties are presented as different, because of being based on dissimilar traditions and driven by different motives, it nevertheless remains questionable whether they really are so different *au fond*, especially when considering that the nationalism and a strong urge to assert one's own 'truth' were the driving forces in the debate.

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[54] After 1975, former Portuguese India (Goa, Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli) was given a special status under the Portuguese Nationality Law. The governmental regulation n.308-A/1975 of 24 June states that those born in the former Portuguese India who declare their intention to preserve their Portuguese nationality are entitled to do so (Government of Portugal). Interestingly, citizens of other former Portuguese overseas territories were given a limited period of time to determine whether they wanted to retain their Portuguese citizenship or they preferred to adopt the nationality of the newly independent territory (Brettel 144).

Conclusions

This thesis analyzed contested representations of Goan identity, and discussed how nationalist commitment and ideology influence the interpretation of conceptions of identity. As a case study served the diplomatic contest over Goa, which took place between 1947 and 1961 between Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of the Indian Union, and António de Oliveira Salazar, the Prime Minister of Portugal. The arguments used to justify their claims over Goa provide a useful example of how differently group identity can be conceived of, depending on the nationalist commitment and ideology associated with that identity. An analogous binary opposition of opinions exists also among the scholars of the debate and on Goan identity. This thesis compared these rival discourses and discussed the construction of Goan identity in historiography, surveys, and political rhetoric represented by the debate between Salazar and Nehru in order to demonstrate how national ideologies influence the interpretation of the concept of 'people', and national and cultural identity.

As stated before, reaching a singular conclusion about Goan identity is problematic because interpretations of it almost always reveal the author's own subjectivity. Nevertheless, contradictory perspectives on the same subject do not necessarily mean that one version is more correct or more wrong than the other. On the contrary, the disjointed viewpoints provide an interesting jigsaw of representations and convictions. Although the march of the Indian troops into the Portuguese colony of Goa in December 1961 marked the end of tense diplomatic negotiations between the governments of the Indian Union and Portugal, the contestation over the nature of Goan identity has not ceased. Scholars continue to see Goan identity in controversial and disagreeing terms. On the one hand, there is a group of scholars upholding an Indocentric approach. These scholars emphasize the Indian nature of Goan identity and argue that the imposed Portuguese colonialism influenced Goan culture either only in negative terms or that it did not leave any lasting impact (for example, Shirodkar; Souza; Correia; Rao). While the way of dressing, eating habits and other externally visible traces were taken over from the Portuguese culture, the traditions, habits and mentality remained Indian, they argue. Even when Goans tried to imitate the ways of the Portuguese, their Indian identity could not have been suppressed. Correia criticizes

the western image of Goans that remains circulating in popular imagination today. He argues that even during the Portuguese rule of Goa "the overwhelming majority of Goans were not 'Luso-Indian' but Indian by race, religion and culture. The majority of Goans were Hindus and spoke no Portuguese" (350). It is therefore not surprising that this group of scholars celebrates the Indian takeover of Goa as liberation of Goan population from an oppressive Portuguese domination. On the contrary, there are Lusocentric scholars who are convinced that the long-lasting coexistence with the Portuguese left a strong imprint on Goan identity due to intercultural exchange and intermingling between the two cultures (Bhemró; Correia-Afonso; Couto; Kay; Lawrence). They argue that the way Goans think and live is irreconcilably different from that of other Indians. Hence, the Indian annexation of Goa of 1961, as they claim, was an invasion into a Portuguese territory as it marked the end of the peaceful Portuguese-Goan coexistence. Couto's description of the nature of Goan identity is exemplary of the Lusocentric approach:

> The long period of Portuguese cultural interaction in Goa gave rise to osmosis. Goan society emerged from these centuries as a cohesive community despite the social engineering and aggressive policies of the past. The spirituality of the traditional society, a relaxation of colonial policies and the non-aggressive nature of the Portuguese who do not, as a rule, suffer from delusions of superiority, brought about creative transformations (Couto 232).

It is this polarity of opinions among scholars on Goan identity that points at the complex nature of thinking about collective identity. The lack of objectivity on both sides, as discussed in the thesis, reminds that personal commitment plays an important part in interpreting issues of identity.

Moreover, this thesis argued that the transformation of Goan social practices and its cultural sphere, as a consequence of colonialism, can be understood by means of various, mutually non-exclusive terms. The thesis utilizes four of them. First, the embracing of Christianity on the part of a section of the Goan population, and its close coexistence and merging with Hinduism, has led to a process of syncretism. Second, the interracial crossover and cultural interaction between Goans and the Portuguese in general, and specifically between Goan Catholic and Hindu communities, it is argued, created a hybrid Goan society. Third, for some scholars the cultural mingling and mixture is better described in terms of creolization, which is closely related to hybridity,

the so-called 'unconscious' hybridity. Fourth, the transformation of the Goan social and cultural sphere as a result of colonizer-colonized confrontation has also been viewed in terms of mimicry. The Goan elite imitated the ways of colonizer in order to become 'civilized'.

Colonialism as a practice of the imposition of a hegemonic culture by the colonizer upon the colonized gave way also to a different expression in Goa – the rise of nationalism. The thesis showed that nationalism played a significant role in Goa during the Portuguese rule, although a mass nationalist movement never emerged. Moreover, from an Indian-wide perspective, Goan nationalism was largely ignored until after the independence of India when the integration of Goa became of prime interest. Especially in the debate between Nehru and Salazar, the issue of nationalism became to play a central role. The nationalist expressions of Goans were used by Nehru to make his claim that all Goans wished to be 'liberated' by the Indian Union, as well as by Salazar who argued that all Goans wanted Goa to remain under Portuguese jurisdiction.

By analyzing the debate over Goa, the thesis also considered the conflict between nationalism and colonialism. It has been shown that Nehru and Salazar conceived of Goa as being a territory of national interests for both, through utilizing arguments of Goan identity. While the one side claimed Goans to have an identity that was profoundly Indian (despite any Portuguese influences), the other argued that Goans are intrinsically Portuguese. Nehru, committed to India's nationalist narrative, claimed that Goans were part of the Indian cultural tradition that was considerably more ancient than the 450 years during which the Portuguese occupied Goa. He maintained that it was India's duty to free Goa from the obsoleteness of Portuguese regime. Besides, geographically it could not be disputed that Goa was an inseparable part of India. Salazar, on the other hand, rebuffed this argument based on Goa's geographical location and stressed that Goa was an integral part of Portugal. In Salazar's narrative, the 450 years of coexistence are ascribed as having had a major impact on Goa because a distinct culture in Goa was created, as a result of which all Goans had become 'Portuguese'. To support his claim, Salazar based his argument on the concept of lusotropicalism which is an approach to Portugal's colonial past, based on an interpretation of Portugal's colonial actions as efforts to create a highly tolerant, equal and racially mixed colonial empire. Perhaps the diplomatic contestation would have

continued for much longer, judging from the obstinate positions of both actors and their urge to bolster their national ideologies, if Nehru eventually did not abandon his commitment to peaceful methods. Bravo pertinently remarks on Nehru's order of a military takeover of Goa, by noting: "When the 'mobile army of metaphors' failed to persuade Salazar and the Goans themselves a 'real' army accomplished the task" (Bravo 150). Thus the Indian invasion of Goa ended the debate between Salazar and Nehru about the legitimacy of their claims over Goa and ended the conflict between colonialism and nationalism. From another point of view it can be claimed, that in case of Goa the Portuguese national identity-making project has failed. The Portuguese tried to Portugualize Goa, and clearly succeeded in 'implanting' Portuguese cultural identity on a section of the population (Goan Christian elite), nevertheless, on a large scale, they failed to shape the local population into their image, i.e. they did not manage to turn Goans into Portuguese.

This thesis had set out to explore the disputed identification of Goans in the cultural, scholarly and political discourse on Goa and in the debate between Salazar and Nehru. It was argued that the commitment to a nationalist sentiment, evident in all the various discourses, of the statesmen as well as of the scholars, influenced their interpretation of Goan identity. Yet the question that has remained unresolved in this work concerns the opinion of Goans during the debate. While there were definitely Goans who cheered the march of the Indian troops into Goa, there no doubt were also those who sobbed. This point of view of the 'ordinary' Goans themselves has not been explored in this thesis. For a more complete picture of Goan identity, it would have been interesting to find out what the majority of Goans would have voted for if a referendum had been held. Would they have decided to stay with Portugal or would they have preferred to join the Indian Union? This matter, however, will remain unsettled since it is impossible to turn back the time. Even if it was, it is questionable whether a referendum would have provided genuine results. After all, the Indian-Goan borders were too easily crossed, and as Scholberg points out, "it was too easy to slip over the border and stack the count one way or the other" (409). Although the majority opinion of Goans during the debate cannot be elicited, there are still many other topics on which investigation can be done. Due to Goa's 'Portugalized' past, Goa and its people have constantly been stereotyped in representations of Goa: stereotypes imposed

by tourist agencies, in Bollywood film, and even by Indian politicians – a Goan 'wears only western clothes', wears 'short hair', has 'loose morals', is 'alcoholic', 'butler' or 'cook', etc. In follow-up research, it would be interesting to carry out a study on Goa's representation in, for example, tourist brochures (Indian, Portuguese) as opposed to Indian political publications, and examine the ways Goa and Goans are at present perceived in popular imagination. Research of this kind would help to understand how and in what ways the markers of Goan identity change depending on official, unofficial, activist or tourism discourse, and also how the historical experience defines perception of people. Moving on from the Indian subcontinent to the European continent, Goan communities are widely spread in the European Union, especially in the former colonial motherland, Portugal. After 1961, when Goa became part of India, a considerable section of Goan population, namely those of Catholic creed, departed to Portugal and settled there. Although a contemporary census of Goans residing in Portugal accessible online seems to be rather difficult to come to, the estimations are that the current Goan population in Portugal is between 11,000 up to 50,000 (Lobo; Malheiros 140). Goans constitute only a small percentage of the big immigrant community that is found in Portugal. It consists mainly of immigrants from the former Portuguese colonies, such as Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, etc. who came to reside in Portugal for various reasons: mainly in search of better qualified education, more job possibilities and a 'better' life in general. It would be therefore interesting to study the role and place of Goans in this rich immigrant community bound by the same language, the Portuguese, and to investigate how this 'old-new' environment has influenced their 'Goanness'. Indeed, much research on such scarcely known but rich topic as is Goan identity is still to be undertaken.

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