

## HISTORY OF GOA for STD-XI

### Early history&legend –

GOA is called GOYM in Konkani. The roots of Konkani go back into the ancient Mundari language of the Indian aboriginals, whose remnants are still found in Goa, as *Gaуди*, *Kunbi* and *Vellip*. In Mundari 'Goym' means "a land full of food and fodder", which it must have been in those remote times. Later Goa came to be known as "Kova" to the Greek invaders and geographers like Ptolemy, and "Gomanchal" or "Gomantak", as recorded in our ancient Indo-Aryan texts. With the passage of time it became an important centre of learning, wealth and splendour for native culture. It developed into a commercial hub which attracted many a conqueror and sailor, merchant and mercenary. They were welcomed by the local people in times of peace and resisted in times of war. However, later these new entrants mingled with the native inhabitants to leave their influence on the political and cultural life of the local people. Vestiges of various types found in Goa confirm these apparent facts and record the existence and prosperity of this land from time immemorial.

Implements of the early palaeolithic or stone age, when man was essentially a hunter, have been discovered in the valleys of the Mandovi and the Zuari, the two principal rivers of Goa, and in the creeks and inlets along the coast. Arrowheads and scrapers of quartz found at Dabolim, Arli, etc. are proof of its settlement in the middle stone age. Blades, scrapers of silicious material, which are tools of the later stone age, were found at Old Goa, Mopa and Kudnem. Incidentally Kudnem may be the ground of an ancient civilization that flourished there, as can be suggested on the basis of excavations carried out around that area. The polished stone-axes discovered in Old Goa were reportedly used by the first settlers of the land during the neolithic period. These had also rock-cut dwellings with the entrance hole at the top being closed by a stone slab. That age is dated about 2000 B.C. The Iron age that came afterwards is placed in the historical period about the time of the composition of the Mahabharata. According to the *Harivamsha Purana*, a subdivision of that epic, Lord Krishna is reported to have fought a fierce battle with the demon Jarasanda, on the mountain of 'Gomanchal', which is identified with present-day Goa.

According to a myth, Parashurama, the sixth incarnation of Lord Vishnu, is credited with having reclaimed the Konkani tract from the sea and Govarashtra or Goa is one of its seven divisions. As narrated by another mythological tradition, Lord Shiva is reported to have deserted his wife, Parvati, and abandoned his abode in the Himalayas for a time to seek refuge in Goa

under the name of Gomantakesh or Mangirish or Mangesh. Until he was discovered by his wife who had roamed about the country in desperation, crying out for her Lord.

Another legend has it that the *Saptarishis* or the Seven Great Sages performed penance and offered oblations here for 'seven million years' and pleased God so much, that Lord Shiva himself came down personally to bless them. The *Suta Samhita*, an Indian classic, says at one place: "By the sight of Govapuri ( the 'city of Goa) all the sins committed in a person's existence, are destroyed, as at sunrise darkness disappears. Certainly there is no *kshetra* (region) equal to Govapuri." Such was its fame and divine association in those times of antiquity.

Remains of Buddhism of the Hinayana sect, belonging to the pre-Christian era, have been found at Rivona (*Rishi-van*), Lamgaon, Harvalem and near Priol. According to the Buddhist texts of *Amavatur* and *Saddarmaratmakare*, composed in a later period, the Buddhist monk, Purna or Punna, originally a resident of Sunaparant, identified with the present Goa region, a sandalwood merchant from the village of Zambauli, was received into the Buddhist fold at the hands of the Buddha himself. It was he who in his turn helped to spread that faith in this region and further south up to Sri Lanka of today. He is credited with having transformed the Goan people, reportedly once violent, into a peaceful and benevolent community. A stone statue of Gautama Buddha in the *dhyanamudra* (meditation) pose, was unearthed in Colvale village in Bardez county in northern Goa. It is believed to belong to the second century A.D., apparently influenced by Greek art. For the Buddhist monk, Dharmarakshita, deputed by emperor Ashoka to the Rashtrikas and Bhojas from the Konkan, was indeed a Greek convert to Buddhism.

Such vestiges of Jainism too in this area, have been found in Chandor, about 60 kms. from Panjim, in the Salcete county. For the Kadamba dynasty of kings who ruled from that city (and Gopakattan ) for a couple of centuries, had adopted Jainism wholeheartedly for a time before returning to their original fold. The earliest brick temple in Goa and probably in the whole of southern India was unearthed here, being built on the ruins of an earlier brick structure. At Brahmavtara in Mapusa, in the northern part of Goa, at the Shantadurga temple site, was found, on excavation, a tapering cup-like object in red earthen-ware having some resemblance to Roman cups that have been noticed in excavations in Karhad and Kolhapur in neighbouring Maharashtra. The temple of Mahamaya at Nundem (Sanguem county) also belongs to this period, for it has a ovramidical tower and is built of laterite stone, which construction is placed at around the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century A.D., as seen from a stone inscription in it in Brahmi characters.

A number of rock-cut caves have been found at Harvalem in Bicholim county, belonging to the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D. They are popularly known in Konkani as *Panddanvancyo Honvryo* (Pandava Caves). Rock-art specimens have been found in Usgalimol (Pansaimol), Karur on the banks of the Kushavati river in the Sanguem and Quepem counties of Goa and Maushi in the Sattari county. Stone sculptures of the Sun God were encountered in Kudnem. Similarly a temple belonging to the latter part of the early Medieval period, was unearthed at Kurdi, near the town of Sanguem, that was built of laterite and granite stones. Similar patterns of design and architecture are followed by the temples of Nagesha and Keshava at Priol, those of Narayana at Marcaim (Maddkai) and Saptakoteshwara at Narvem (Divar) in the Tiswadi Islands county, the latest being shifted to Narvem in Bicholim county across a branch of the river Mandovi. The structurally pure stone temple at Tambddi Surla, 65 kms. from Panjim, is a Shiva temple and perhaps the only ancient stone temple preserved in the State.

Broken or full pieces of sculptures of Gajalakhsmi, Saptamatrakas, Ganesha, Narayana, Mahishasurmardini, Kartikeya, Brahmadeva, Saraswati, Mahalaskhmi, etc. that span a period of about 1500 years, have been unearthed and found scattered all over the State. A large number of *sati*-stones in different designs and *veergallas* or hero-stones depicting naval battles, war scenes, wherein cavalry and elephants are used, have been found too in several places. Similarly ancient sculptural remains of the lion, which is considered as a vehicle or *vahan* of goddess Durga, and was also adopted as their royal emblem by the Kadambas of Goa, have been noticed at some places in the State, particularly in and around their ancient capitals, which were Chandor in Salcete and *Vhodlem-Goem* or Goa Velha in the Goa Islands county.

Our ancient village communes or *Gaunkari* in Konkani, probably originated around this time or earlier, founded by the earliest proto-australoid settlers of Goa, the first *Gaunkars*. These age-old institutions, veritable rural republics, held the village land in common and utilised it for the benefit of the collectivity, farming it out among its constituents. Later came into them others who were called in to assist the initial settlers in the performance of various tasks needed by the village and on that account were also allowed a share in the commune surplus. These institutions have survived to the present age, withstanding the trials and tribulations they had to undergo.

Ancient dynasties of kings –

The earliest recorded history of Goa begins from the time of the Mauryan empire. For the Girnar rock-cut edicts of the great Mauryan emperor Ashoka of Pataliputra (Patna) refer to the people of the Konkan, and their rulers as the Bhojas. However, very little record is found about the Bhojas of the early Mauryan period. The earliest evidence regarding them found to-date, is that of the copper-plate grant issued from Chandroura or Chandrapur (modern Chandor) by King Devaraja Gominam, in the third century A.D., bestowing the right to collect toll-tax from a village, on two priests, along with the gift of a house site for them and pasture land for their cattle. Record of a grant to a Buddhist *vihara* (house of worship) by the Bhoja kings, was found south of Goa at Kumta in the North Kanara district of Karnataka.

From the above it appears that the Bhoja kings ruled over much of what is Goa today and adjacent parts of North Kanara and Belgaum districts of Karnataka. According to tradition handed down through several generations, they belonged to the sub-division of Yadavas of the Aryan race of the Kaikeyas and seemed to have settled down in the Konkan by the third century B.C. in the flourishing days of the great Mauryan Emperor Ashoka. In the post-Vedic Sanskrit literature and in the epics the Bhojas figure as a clan of rulers in this area.

Earlier the Satavahana dynasty that ruled supreme in the Deccan (Dakshinapata) and the south of India about the second century A.D., held power in the Konkan through its feudatories, the Bhojas, who had matrimonial relations with their overlords. Remains found in Chandor around its old fortress walls, of old bricks, shards of pottery of ring-shaped forms and bowls of a nature similar to the ones found in Kolhapur and tiny pieces of gold found in the rivulet nearby during the rainy season and the particular types of tiles found there, attest to this probability. With the fall of the Satavahanas in the fourth century A.D. the seaborne trade of the western coast of India suffered a decline. They were replaced in the Konkan by the Kshatrapas and the Abhiras. The Abhir king, Ishwarsena, founded an era which continued in use for over a thousand years and became known later on as Kalachuri or Chedi Samvat, starting in 249-50 A.D.. From them the Traikutas of Konkan took over the reins of power and later the Kalachuris did so, succeeded by the Mauryas of the Konkan, who had been placed in charge of the region by the former, according to records dating back to the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D. in respect of them.

Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas and Shilaharas –

We get a clearer picture of Goa's history with the rise of the Chalukyas of Badami (540-757 A.D.), as records have been discovered in Goa relating to their emperor, Pulakesi-II dating back to 610 A.D. Vikramaditya, Pulakesi's second son, succeeded him to the throne, and his elder son, Chandraditya, appears to have been appointed as a viceroy of the Konkan, as evidenced by several grants and inscriptions found in and around Goa. Vinayaditya succeeded him to the throne and later Vijayaditya followed his father in 696 A.D. He in turn was succeeded by Vikramaditya-II who reigned supreme up to 744-45 A.D. The first woman to rule over the Goa region was Queen Vijayabhatarika or Vijayamahadevi of the Chalukyas of Badami.

While the Chalukyas of Gujarat, another branch of this family, were ruling there, two princes of the Rashtrakuta clan were placed by them in charge of some districts of present Maharashtra. Govindaraja was entrusted with Chiplun in Ratnagiri district of south Konkan during 741-42 and Dantidurga, the founder-to-be of the dynasty of the Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta or Malkhed, with Chandanapuri in 742. Later, they had to serve as vassals of the Rashtrakutas in their turn, with Vikramaditya's daughter, Vinayavati, becoming the queen of the Rashtrakuta prince, Govindaraja. Dantidurga revolted against the might of the Chalukyas and defeated the forces of the latter. Dantidurga's successor, Krishna, changed the great boar, which was the Chalukyan symbol, into a fawn and etched it on his coat-of-arms.

Dantidurga, their monarch, laid the foundations of the imperial dynasty of the Rashtrakutas in 753. It ruled over a great part of the country that included the Deccan, Karnataka and Gujarat for over 250 years, from 753 to 973. They are credited by some historians with a Goan origin, as being originally *Chadhi* Kshatriyas from the Goan village of Loutulim or Lottli in Salcete county. They had their ministers in their Goan fellowmen of the *Saraswat* group, as attested by several documents and copper-plate grants. Lattalur of their coins and orders has been identified with the said village of Lottli. The Rashtrakutas were overthrown by the Kalyani Chalukyas around 980 and the hegemony of the Deccan went back to the old masters, although in a different branch of them. However, the Konkan was treated as their feudatory province and ruled over by the Shilaharas and later on by the Kadambas of Goa, from 1020 onwards.

The Shilaharas had three families, one of which, known as the South Goan Shilaharas, belonged to Goa or South Konkan, and ruled Goa and its environs from 750 to 1020 A.D., styling itself as *Simhaleshwar* or the lords of Simhala, which meant the Goa island (Tiswadi) of that time

known as *Simhaladvipa* or the lion island. They are reported to have ruled from their capital at Balli, in today's Quepem county of Goa, or from nearby Vell'lli, in Salcete, in the opinion of two historians, Shenoi Goembab and Prof. George Moraes respectively. They had as their standard the golden eagle or *suvarna-garuda-dvaja*. They worshipped the goddess Mahalakshmi, whose temple was built during their time at Neturlim, in Sanguem county.

The Goan Shilahara branch of kings was founded by Shanaphulla, as stated in the Kharepattan plates. He acquired the South Konkan as a favour bestowed on him by the Rashtrakuta emperor, Krishna-I, who had succeeded Dantidurga in 759. Rattaraja, the last-known king of the dynasty, ruled up to 1020. Modern Goa-Velha or *Vhoddlem Goym* or Gopakattan of old of the Kadambas from the Govadvipa or the Tiswadi or Goa islands, might have been its capital under Shanaphulla. Dhammiyara (750-820), who had succeeded Shanaphulla, is reported to have fortified Ballipatana or Balli and added some more territories to his kingdom towards the south. The Goan Shilaharas were overthrown by the Chalukya king Jaisimha-II when the latter invaded the Konkan in 1024 and appropriated their possessions.

#### Socio-economic and cultural developments

The Bhojas had a well-organised administration with concerned officials entrusted with their respective domains, linked from the central power down to the villages. They promoted agriculture and made grants of marshy lands to those who brought them under the plough. They had an organised system of taxation and levied duties on imports and exports through their ports. During the reign of the Goan Shilaharas, the emphasis was on trade and commerce, internal and external, as well as on rural and town administration. Committees were constituted for this purpose, with the participation of all the stakeholders including guilds of merchants and craftsmen and representatives of temples. They gave equal consideration for all religions in their domain, that included Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, and generously endowed their houses of worship. Art and culture were encouraged and temple architecture in particular and other artefacts in wood and metal in general were provided with generous assistance from the State.

#### The Goa Kadambas -

The dynasty of Kadamba kings ruled over Goa and South Konkan as the feudatories of the Chalukyas of Kalyani, to begin with, from 973 to 1162, and later on of the Yadavas of Devagiri. Taking advantage of the disturbed political situation in the Deccan, the Kadambas settled down by the end of the tenth century in the Halshi district of Karnataka, before shifting to the

Chandramandal area of Goa. Chandor or Chandrapur, the ancient capital of the Bhojas, on the banks of the Kushavati river, overpowered by them, served as their base capital during the period of their rise and expansion.

About the year 1029 King Viravarmadeva appears to have moved it to Gopakpattan, modern *Vhoddlem Goym* (Goa-Velha) on the banks of the river Zuari, on its wide estuary and close to its mouth near the Arabian Sea, with easy access to the sea. His younger brother, Jaykesi-I, who ascended the throne after him there, organised a strong navy for its defence by sea in 1052. Goa or rather '*Vhoddlem-Goym*' is referred in their records as 'Govem'. The Arab leader of a merchant, Chhadama, who commanded its merchant fleet, was appointed governor of the city. The empire had by then grown quite powerful and prosperous. The '*Kodzmu-rayacem Tollem*', the 'lake of the Kadamba king', still extant near Pilar, is a vestige of this period.

In 1312 emperor Allaudin Khilji of Delhi sent an army under his general Malik Kafur, which laid waste all the area south of the Vindhya including the Konkan. In 1327 emperor Mohammad-bin-Tughlak brought under his control distant provinces along the west coast bordering the Arabian Sea. It is probable that Gopakpattan might have been destroyed or occupied in any case during that first invasion. For the capital of the Kadambas was shifted during this time to their old Chandrapur, which was located on the upper reaches of the Zuari river and on that account, protected better strategically. But the Muslim invaders of Tughlak during their second invasion of Goa in 1328 devastated it, as copper coins of the Tughlak dynasty found in its ruins attest. The memory of this tragedy which befell the city, now Chandor village, still lingers on in the consciousness of the people in the form of legend and beliefs relating to it, in story and song.

The Arab chroniclers and traders of the period refer to Chandrapur as Sandabur. But it is taken to refer to the whole kingdom of Maabir, as mentioned in *Ferishta*, which included the second capital of the Kadambas, which was Gopakpattan, on the banks of the same river Zuari, nearer the sea than the first. The Kadamba ruler, Kamadeva, brother-in-law of Shastadeva-II, might have been killed in the battle of Gopakpattan. But his grandson had gone on to establish himself at Chandrapur. If this ruler survived the onslaught of the Muslims, then he might have, after the return of Tughlak's forces to Delhi, revived what was left of the Kadamba kingdom, and lived on until his death in 1334. His son, being Kamadeva's great-grandson, who succeeded him, might have moved again the seat of his power to Gopakpattan. For that city was again re-built and thriving by that time, as reports suggest. For the Arab traveller-chronicler Ibn Batuta describes

Sandabur as on an island on which there are thirty-six villages (Tiswadi and others), in the centre of which are two cities, one built by the 'infidels' (Hindus) and the other by the Muslims, obvious references to Gopakpattan – now Goa Velha – and Ela, now Old Goa, then the city of Goa in the possession of the Muslims.

This great-grandson of Kamadeva might be the king Biravarma known through a *veergall* (hero-stone) lying in the archeological museum in Old Goa at present, ruling at the time of the attack of the Nawab of Honnawar, on Gopakpattan. This hero-stone commemorates the death of Biravarma's feudatory chief (*Samant*) who reportedly died in a sea battle. According to the eminent historian, Henry Heras, that *veergall* should belong either to 1294 or 1354. He is of the opinion that it should pertain to the Kadamba king who fought against the Nawab of Honnawar at Gopakpattan. For this city (now village) was situated virtually at the mouth of the river Zuari as it meets the sea. Hence the hero-stone's reference to a sea battle.

Ibn Batuta describes graphically the battle in question, to which he himself was a witness. That was destined to be the last of the Kadambas of Goa and sounded their death-knell. An internal feud arose in the Kadamba family and one of the sons of the king invited, in retaliation against a grievance, the Muslim king of Honnawar at the time, to invade Goa. In a letter he wrote to the Nawab, the king's son, while requesting Jamal-ud-din to send an expedition to besiege his town, promised that he himself would embrace Islam and marry the Nawab's daughter. Acting swiftly on this message, Jamaluddin sailed with his fleet into the mouth of the Zuari river and mounted a fierce attack on the town of Gopakpattan. Though he met with stiff resistance from its defenders, he ultimately conquered it and along with it the whole kingdom of Sandabur.

The Kadamba king, though defeated in that battle, retreated into the interior and made fresh preparations to re-capture his capital. Finally he appears to have succeeded in his designs, though it might have been a pyrrhic victory, gained at a very high cost indeed. But a decline had set in already in their fortunes. That final confrontation of a battle razed to the dust the mighty Kadamba empire that had reigned unchallenged from two famous cities - Chandrapur and Gopakpattan – in Goa, for over three centuries of unparalleled power on land and sea.

#### Administration and socio-cultural achievements

The administration was well-organised, with the chief administrator being assisted by deputies and ministers who were learned in the *Sastras*, grammar, logic, polity and philosophy.

The kingdom was divided into districts, each headed by magistrates with civil and military powers. They were further divided into villages, run by the collectivity and presided over by headmen. The towns and cities had their own organisation, with guilds of artisans and merchants supporting them. Different types of taxes, duties and tolls were levied on merchandise and ships at the ports and river transport in internal waterways. Trade of horses from Arabia was the most valuable and revenue-earning. Agriculture as well as trade and commerce were actively promoted by the government. Education was imparted at the primary level through the village schools and higher education through the *maths* and *agraharas*. Art, sculpture and architecture were promoted in the building of temples and other civil constructions. Justice was meted to the subjects by magistrates appointed for the purpose who also dealt with law and order and their problems in the kingdom.

The Bahamani and the Vijayanagar empires & Adilshahi rule –

With the fall of the Goa Kadambas there was a tussle between the rising power of the Vijayanagar Hindu empire and the Bahamani Muslim sultanate, for the possession of Goa. Sultan Alauddin Hasan Shah Gangu-I of the Bahamanis dealt a severe blow to the kingdom of Sandabur and brought it under its control. By 1369 the Bahamanis had recaptured Goa from the Vijayanagar rulers who had snatched it over from them in 1356, taking advantage of the dissatisfaction prevailing in it over the bypassing of the Kadamba chieftains in the appointment of governors of their *rajyas* (States), one of which was Goa, by King Bukka-I of Vijayanagar.

Harihara-II conquered Goa in 1377 for the Vijayanagar empire again, from the Bahamani Sultan Mujahid. In 1440, however, the people of Goa, headed by the remnants of the Goa Kadambas, erupted in a revolt against the Vijayanagar satraps and drove them away and declared independence of Goa under Madhav Mantri, safeguarding it for a period of 25 years.

With Virupaksha-II as emperor of Vijayanagar in 1465, Goa was again brought under his control. But the Vijayanagar power was on the verge of decline by that time. There was general dissatisfaction in the land and Arab merchants who had earlier enjoyed prosperous days in Goa, were being scared away. In these precarious circumstances, around 1470, under orders from the Bahamani Sultan Mohammad Shah-II, his general, Kwaja Gawan, marched into Goa and encircled it by land and sea. Goa capitulated to his superior power in 1472.

In 1472, Vikram Rai, the king of Belgaum, attempted to recover Goa from the Muslims at the request of the Vijayanagar rulers. A similar bid for Goa was made by the Vijayanagar ruler himself, but his attempt was in vain, for the Bahamanis held steadfastly to it. However the Bahamani Sultan Mohammad Shah himself was facing revolts against his dynasty which came to a critical head after his death. His empire soon collapsed and was split into five principalities.

Goa was taken immediately in 1498 by Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur, who assumed the title of Khan. He maintained his summer capital at Ela (later the city of Goa, now Old Goa), the flourishing riverine port, already mentioned by Ibn Batuta at the time of the attack on Gopakpattan. That city had buildings of imposing architecture and new docks for the construction of large ships to maintain a commercial intercourse with the rest of India and even with foreign countries. For it was the main centre for trade of all variety, especially of horses imported from Hormuz which were eagerly sought after by the neighbouring kingdoms. Every ruler in the area had cast covetous eyes on this city on that account.

#### Portuguese arrival, conquest and aftermath –

The Portuguese had already landed in India at Kapad, twelve kms. north of Calicut (Kozhikode) on the Malabar coast, in today's Kerala, on 17<sup>th</sup> May, 1498, with the ostensive aim of spreading the Christian faith and trading in spices, under the command of Vasco da Gama. Later their annual fleets began to arrive in India with a view to search for opportunities along the coastal territories for trade, with the ultimate objective of taking it over from the Muslims, their sworn enemies, who dominated it at that time.

The first Portuguese Viceroy was appointed in the person of D. Francisco de Almeida, to build factories and forts at Anjediva (off the coast of Karwar and belonging later to Goa) and Cannanore in Kerala, and to develop friendship with the emperor of Vijayanagar. All this was done effectively. As a matter of fact they appeared to have been so organised in their operations that they managed to defeat the combined fleets of Egypt and Gujarat, which had attacked them, though with deadly casualties on their part, and succeeded in wresting the domain of the sea from the latter, going on to establish their naval supremacy in the Arabian Sea. Almeida was succeeded at the helm of Portuguese affairs in the East by Afonso de Albuquerque (1509-1515), the ablest of the Portuguese conquerors sent out to the East. He conquered Goa in 1510, Malacca (in Malaya) in 1511, and Hormuz in 1515, the three port-cities that held the key to the trade in the East from

China to the Persian Gulf. His efforts to take Aden at the mouth of the Red Sea, however, did not meet with the desired success.

Though the Portuguese were planning to take Goa, which enjoyed a strategic and commercial position of importance in the region, from 1508 onwards, their plans finally crystallized in 1510, when they heard that some Goan native Hindu leaders and others had wished to invite them to capture it and free its people from the allegedly tyrannical rule of the Muslim Turkish and Rumi officers of the Adil Shahi regime. A meeting of Timoja or Timayya, their Konkani linguistic relative, who was the naval commander of the Vijayanagar fleet at Honnawar, with Albuquerque cruising in the Gulf, gave the final stamp of approval on their moves in this direction. The Portuguese fleet led by Afonso de Albuquerque, with Timayya accompanying him, entered the Mandovi river on 1st March, 1510, stormed the fortress of Panjim, and proceeded upstream in the river, to take the capital city of Goa, as the garrison defending it had fled, on 3<sup>rd</sup> March of that year. Albuquerque immediately set about organizing the administration, listened to the grievances of the people, gave assurances of maintenance of their customs and religious practices, particularly its self-governing socio-economic institutions of the village communes or *gaunkari*, later termed 'comunidades', lowered their prescribed taxes and minted fresh coins of Portuguese form.

However, the successor of Yusuf Adil Shah, Ismail Adil Shah, did not take the defeat of the Muslims lying down. He made preparations to re-capture Goa from the alien invaders. He took recourse to diplomacy, to begin with, then sent his envoy to warn Albuquerque about the great might of the Adilshahi army and the help they expected from the local Muslims in the event of attack from his forces. While this psychological warfare was on, the Adilshahi forces in a surprise move entered the Goa island simultaneously at different points and put the alarmed Portuguese to flight in May of the self-same year. Albuquerque, caught unawares, reacted by setting fire to the city, and then retreated in good time to his fleet which had meanwhile sailed down the Mandovi and anchored off the fortress of Panjim near the mouth of the river, as it was obstructed by the sand bar that formed there at that period of time.

In the meantime the Adilshahi ruler had strengthened his defences in Goa and went on harassing the Portuguese by hitting at their fleet from Panjim. But Albuquerque retaliated successfully, though with considerable casualties in his ranks. Acute shortage of provisions, illness that they suffered and a state of siege which harassed their fleet of ships, forced the

Portuguese to sail out to the sea after attempts in that direction failed in June and July owing to the intensity of the monsoons at that period of time. Albuquerque rested for a while on the Anjediva island south of Goa and made preparations for his second attack on Goa. This happened on 25<sup>th</sup> November, in the self-same year, when he definitively took it, being given a rousing welcome by the people of Goa.

However, the Adilshahi ruler kept up his pressure on Goa, invading it once more while Albuquerque was away in 1511 to capture Malacca. But his forces were expelled again on the latter's return. With these victories Portuguese prestige in the area rose to great heights and the Sultan of Gujarat and the Samudrim(Zamorim) of Calicut as well as the emperor of Vijayanagar sought their hand of friendship. Goa became the centre of trade for the whole of the East, as all ships from any part of the world which crossed these seas, were directed to report to Goa, before proceeding on their onward journey. That brought all sorts of goods, especially horses, to this port, and the taxes on them filled the treasury of the city and of the government.

Albuquerque introduced several measures intended to consolidate the Portuguese foothold in Goa. He had his soldiers marry local women, particularly choosing for the purpose the Muslim widows of slain soldiers, and allotted them land so that they would settle down here comfortably and be useful to its rulers. These men were known as *Casados* (literally married gentlemen). He built a chapel in honour of St. Catherine, on whose feast day Goa had been finally conquered, which chapel still stands besides the Cathedral See of imposing proportions built later, the latter still the biggest church in Asia. He founded a hospital with an endowment fund attached to it ; established a Municipal Council which he called *Senado de Goa* (Senate of Goa) for the city of Goa; and banned the practice of *Sati* or widow burning among the Hindus of Goa. But he assured them protection for all their other rights and privileges relating to religious beliefs and customs.

In 1515 Albuquerque was replaced by Lopo Soares de Albergaria as Viceroy, in a sudden development. For apparently his strategic policies had made many people his enemies. He passed away on receiving the sad news of his dismissal, on board a ship proceeding to and at the sight of his beloved Goa. Later his policies were reversed leading to a lot of strife. Hostilities relating to this coveted territory continued for several decades thereafter, with local chieftains and rulers of Bijapur and even Vijayanagar constantly pestering the Portuguese. The counties of Bardez in the north and Salcete in the south, were finally secured by the latter in 1543.

However, the Goa region handed over to the Portuguese on paper, under the treaty between their Viceroy D. Pedro de Mascarenhas and the Adilshahi heir, Prince Mealkhan Abdullah, had been a big chunk of territory that comprised about nine-hundred villages of the Konkan coastal tract, stretching from Dabhol (Ratnagiri district) of present Maharashtra State, down to Chitakul on the banks of the river Kali in what is now Karnataka State, including of course the present Goa State, as we had occasion to note earlier. However, frequent nibbling at this territory by neighbouring rulers, ensured that this big territorial region did not remain in their physical possession, parts of it exchanging hands from time to time. Yet, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the other territories forming part of the State of Goa today, were ultimately confirmed as Portuguese domain. These two sections of territory were labelled on that account as 'New Conquests' and 'Old Conquests' respectively, rather inaccurately.

In 1570, once again a grand alliance was formed against the Portuguese by the Adil Shah of Bijapur, the Nizamshah of Ahmednagar and the Samudrim of Calicut, they being joined by the other princes of the area, like the Queen of Gersoppa in North Kanara, the Queen of Ullal near Mangalore and the king of Achin in Sumatra and the Queen of Japara (Java) in the East Indies. Their various possessions from Bassein in the north of Bombay to Cochin-Quilon in the south of India, were attacked simultaneously in a concerted effort to dislodge them. But they were stoutly defended under the overall command of the redoubtable Portuguese Viceroy, D. Luis de Athaide, a heroic achievement indeed, given the enormous combined strength of their adversaries.

#### Loss of Portuguese independence –

In 1580, just ten years after that remarkable defence of its eastern possessions, Portugal lost its independence for want of an heir to its throne at home, and was taken over by Spain's King Phillip-II. In these circumstances the Portuguese overseas territories fell rather easy prey to the conquering plans of the Dutch and the English, who for a period of sixty years, till the restoration of Portugal's independence in 1640, continued to inflict losses on its commerce and territory. Goa was particularly vulnerable to their attacks, given its importance as a commercial centre. The Dutch blockades of the sand-bar at the mouth of the Mandovi river at Aguada, in Goa, became very frequent during 1636-40 in particular, and caused heavy losses to the Portuguese in terms of men and material. These attacks continued even after the restoration of Portuguese independence. And peace could finally be established by 1668-69, by which time the Portuguese had suffered the loss of their biggest possession in the East that was Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and all the forts and territories along the west coast of India south of Goa.

Only Goa could face and repel the Dutch attacks, in spite of the latter being assisted by several Indian rulers like that of Bijapur. The Portuguese in Goa had also to defend themselves against the rising might of the Marathas who made frequent incursions into Goan territory in the 1660s. At the end of this intense rivalry and multi-pronged warfare they were engaged in, added to the duplicity of their men on the ground for personal profit, draining the exchequer in the process, they lay exhausted and prostrated. Their territories in India as part of the empire in the making, shrunk drastically and finally remained confined to only Diu, Daman, Bassein(excluding the island of Bombay which had been ceded to the British as a dowry given at the time of the marriage of Princess Catherine of Braganza&Gusmao to King Charles-II of England in 1661), Chaul (now Revadanda), Bardez, Salcete(including Mormugao) and the Islands of Goa or Tiswadi. Finally, the Portuguese-held territory came down to only Goa, Daman and Diu.

#### Dissemination of Christianity -

The view that the religion of the ruler should also be that of the ruled, was dominant in the Europe of the sixteenth century. In consonance with it, the King of Portugal had decreed that that norm should be followed in his Indian possessions as well. For the purpose of Church administration, Goa and other territories acquired by the Portuguese in the East were included in the diocese of Funchal, in Madeira (Portugal), created in 1514. Later Goa was raised to a bishopric with an ample spiritual jurisdiction that covered all the lands east of the Cape of Good Hope. But its first bishop could take office only in 1538 and a higher functionary in rank, an archbishop, with full ecclesiastical powers, twenty years later, with Cochin, Malacca and subsequently even Macau in China and Funai in Japan and Mylapore(near Chennai) in India, being added to the area under his religious control.

The religious Orders that landed in Goa in the wake of the Portuguese conquest, in pursuance of the royal policy in this regard, began the work of inducting Goans into the Christian fold in right earnest, by methods persuasive as well as pressure-bound, with destruction of temples and violence to their customs. The Franciscans were the first to arrive in Goa in 1517. They were followed by members of the new Jesuit religious Order in 1542 led by their charismatic chief, St.Francis Xavier, by the Dominicans in 1548 and later by the Augustinians and others. All of them set up their headquarters in the then city of Goa and launched their mission from there, assisted materially by the civil authorities. A policy of preaching, persuasion, discussion, instruction, followed by subtle pressures of a varied order, was implemented from 1543 onwards,

despite the promises of Albuquerque, in the matter of conversion. Incentives were always available to the dominant upper castes of Hindu society, the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas in particular, to embrace the new religion of the rulers, which they did on their own in many cases and on pressure in others, expecting the rest to follow suit and utilizing effectively the mechanism of the village commune system of Goa, where a decision had to be taken in unanimity and one member's *naka* (veto) was enough to annul it, to their own advantage.

A Confraternity of the Holy Faith was set up in 1541 by Frs. Miguel Vaz and Diogo de Borba, ex-Franciscans, to safeguard the rights of the neo-converts to Christianity and to ensure that they did not lose caste and thereby suffer in status on conversion. It set up a College of the Holy Faith to train boys from India and all the countries of the East for the priesthood and higher education, later taken over by the Jesuits and re-christened St. Paul. In course of time it became famous as a University-like institution of higher education comparable to the best of such institutions in Europe. But, in view of the discrimination meted out to them, many industrious people of Goa left the soil, with adverse effects on the Goan economy of the time. Later some provisions of the harsh laws were relaxed or were cleverly circumvented by the people, some of whom came back to their homeland, while others preferred to settle down wherever they had landed, mainly in what is today's Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra. The Dutch traveller, Linschoten, who was in Goa during 1583-89, reported that there was considerable freedom of conscience for all, provided the non-Christians performed their rites indoors. In 1560 the establishment of the dreaded Inquisition in Goa had sent shock-waves through Goan society, as it burnt Christians accused or suspected of maintaining their old customs in a public *auto da fe* (literally "act of faith"), an euphemistic name for a bonfire, while it deported or whipped non-Christians on flimsy violation of its draconian legislation relating to customs that were mostly of a socio-religious character. As a matter of fact the Inquisition hindered rather than promoted the dissemination of Christianity that had already roped in a majority of the people in the Portuguese territory of Goa by the end of the seventeenth century.

#### Maratha invasions –

Goa had become the headquarters of the Portuguese empire in the East under a Viceroy, for their various possessions along the coast of Africa and Asia up to Malacca and Macau. But the Portuguese were frequently attacked by the local chieftains and principally by the Marathas, with whom they tried to have some treaty or the other, to pacify them, but with little success. In 1664 there were attacks in Pernem, Sattari and Bicholim counties by the Dessai chieftains. In 1667

Shivaji himself attacked Bardez county, looting and burning some villages for three consecutive days, taking prisoners many men, women and children and killing some of them, there being among them four Catholic priests and other persons from that community, and withdrew after it. In 1668 his men entered Goa secretly and wished to spring a surprise on the Portuguese garrisons with a sudden attack. But that was not to be, as that plot was uncovered by the latter before it could materialize. The hostilities between the two adversaries ceased for some time on the death of Shivaji in 1680.

Shivaji's successor, Sambhaji, his son, was engaged in reinforcing his own position against his rival, Rajaram, and sought assistance from the Portuguese in Goa in this move, which request was acceded to promptly. However, negotiations in this matter failed owing to some wrong moves on the part of the Marathas who planned clandestinely to occupy the island of Anjediva, which plan was scuttled effectively by the latter. In the meantime the Moghuls had befriended the Portuguese and asked for supply of provisions for themselves and unharmed voyage to their ships from Surat to Bombay from the latter, which was done readily. Sambhaji's forces entered the Bardez county in 1683 and robbed and burnt churches and village dwellings, lifted cattle and caused much damage, taking over in the process the forts of Tivim and Chapora. On the other side, they also invaded the Salcete county of Goa and carried away a huge quantity of food grains and cattle, attacked and looted the fortified and armed churches of Margao and other places. Assolna and Cuncolim were also captured by the Marathas and their revenues collected for the twenty-six days they managed to remain encamped in that area.

Sambhaji had already occupied the fort of Zuverm(Jua). Santo Estevam. on 24<sup>th</sup> November, 1683, inflicting considerable losses on the Portuguese who attempted to expel his forces, but he retreated two days later. The Portuguese found themselves in a weak position in this area. Realizing this condition, the Viceroy, D. Francisco de Tavora, Count of Alvor, knelt at the tomb of St. Francis Xavier, in the city of Goa, and sought the help of the saint to save Goa from the threat of the Marathas. Soon thereafter the Viceroy was informed that Sambhaji had lifted the siege of Goa and withdrawn his forces in order to face a large Moghul army that had come down into his Konkan area. Later, a Moghul army headed by Shah Alam, a son of Aurangzeb, arrived in Bicholim on 15<sup>th</sup> January, 1684, with a fleet following him in the Mandovi river, and looted it, pulling down Sambhaji's fortification there. Once again Sambhaji contacted the Portuguese with a view to sign a treaty of peace with them, after withdrawing from all Goan territory and restoring the arms, vessels and provisions taken from them, in return for payment of

the *chauth* (fourth portion) tax from Daman and on an assurance not to permit the Mughal vessels to dock at the Portuguese-held ports. But the provision of this treaty, as of others, were not always observed, with the result that the friction between the two forces continued.

#### Revolts against the Portuguese

Several revolts against the Portuguese rule, after the initial welcome and acquiescence in it, marked its long period of four and a half centuries, punctuating harshly their otherwise peaceful yet dominating co-existence with the people of Goa. The religious intolerance that was practised by the rulers in the early years of their regime, the havoc that the dreaded Inquisition wrought on the psyche of the people, Hindus and Christians alike, and discrimination in religious and social spheres at that time, contributed to the unrest and a sense of pervading injustice felt by the people. Even the converts to Christianity, notwithstanding the fact that they were drawn initially from the upper strata, were treated as social inferiors in those times; and the priestly class, exclusively European, of the Franciscan, the Jesuit and the Dominican religious Orders in the main, had assumed domineering power over the affairs of the State, that being one of the causes of their suppression later in all Portuguese territory.

A few of the main revolts against the Portuguese are detailed here-below for illustration:

- i) The people of Cuncoim, Velim, Ambelim, Assolna and Veroda rose against the Portuguese in 1583, killing Fr. Rodolfo Aquaviva and his companions, in protest against their proselytising (conversion) activities. They were punished by confiscation of their commune lands and their leaders were executed.
- ii) The native Goan Catholic priests, who were ordained to that office from 1558 onwards, though learned and conscientious in the performance of their duties, were denied promotion to higher posts in the religious hierarchy. And military officers too among Goans were refused their due for promotion to higher ranks. Resentment in this regard came to a head when a group of the Goan clergy and military officers banded together in a conspiracy to overthrow the white hegemony in 1787. Their leaders were two learned priests, Fr. Caetano Francisco Couto of Panjim, and Fr. Jose Antonio Gonsalves of Divar, both of whom had been denied elevation to the post of bishop, despite their admittedly possessing the deserving qualifications for that position. They had earlier been to Portugal to plead their case before the King but returned empty-handed without their demand being acceded to. On their way back home they had contacted in Paris their compatriot, that great Goan, Jose Custodio Faria, a learned and

influential priest, known there as Abbe Faria (who would take part in the storming of the Bastille and subsequent events of the French Revolution and figure as an important character in the novel *The Count of Monte Cristo* of the celebrated French writer Alexandre Dumas, and later formulate the science of hypnotism). Inspired by the latter's advice they returned home and hatched a plot to drive out the Portuguese and establish an independent republic of Goa, where they could breathe freely.

They had a number of native Catholic priests on their side and some army officers including some Hindu Desai chieftains. It is said that the Pinto family of Candolim had provided support for the rebels, owing to which the revolt has come to be known as the "Conspiracy of the Pintos". It is reported that they also had the assurance of support from Tipu Sultan of Mysore, and of the French in India, and that a fleet of French ships had left the port of Brest in France, to go to the aid of the conspirators at the request of Abbe Faria. It is also reported that the French emperor Napoleon had plans to set up a base in Goa to fight the British in India. A certain day had been fixed for the general uprising but unfortunately prior intelligence had leaked out through one A. Toscano, the clerk of the Aldona village-commune, to the Governor of Goa. The revolt was swiftly nipped in the bud by the arrest of forty-seven persons including seventeen priests and seven army officers. They were all drawn and quartered and thus punished severely for what was perceived as a manifest act of treason, while it was for them a bold blow for liberty.

#### British designs on Goa -

The British in India had their eyes on Goa through the period 1785-1793, when they had offered to help the Portuguese against the French who had been growing powerful under emperor Napoleon in France. But when the assistance came without asking, the then Governor of Goa politely refused it in 1798. Notwithstanding it, in the following year, Sir William Clarke entered Goa with a large army equipped with artillery and walked, uninvited, into the Fort of Aguada with it, as well as into the Government Palace at Panjim, the capital. The Governor of Goa, Veiga Cabral, then requested the British Governor-General of India, Lord Wellesley, to order withdrawal of his forces from Goa, as they were not required here. However, the latter expressed the fear that they might be needed as Goa was in danger of being invaded by the French. Soon, however, peace was restored in Europe under the treaty of Amiens, and Wellesley called back his men from Goa. In spite of that decision, a small contingent of that army remained behind in Aguada and in the government palace in Panjim, until 1815.

Another attempt to take Goa was made by the British on the pretext of flushing out some rebels from its territory, who had reportedly taken refuge in this State. That was flatly rejected by the Portuguese authorities. It was known that the Portuguese at this time owed a big debt to the British, owing to which the former were intimidated and exploited with lucrative offers for the 'purchase' of Goa. The British intentions came dramatically to the fore when they offered to buy Goa, Daman & Diu for 500,000 pounds sterling. The preposterous offer that was felt to be revolting was, needless to say, turned down contemptuously.

The British appetite for prime land had no doubt been whetted with the gift of the island of Bombay from the Portuguese by way of the dowry given to their Princess Catherine on her marriage to the English king Charles-II, to the great opposition of the government of Goa and its people in 1661. Still another attempt was made by the British to threaten Goa in 1842, when Phond Sawant of the neighbouring Sawantwadi State, had rebelled against them and taken shelter in Goa. That asylum was granted to him for having been a close neighbour on friendly terms with the Portuguese. The British Captain Arthur came to Panjim with a posse of soldiers, trained his guns on the city of Goa and threatened to blow it off if Sawant was not surrendered to him. The Governor of Goa politely pointed out to him that this behaviour of his was violative of international law. The British Political Agent in Sawantwadi also made an attempt to get Sawant arrested and extradited but did not succeed. At last in 1847, at least some of the Sawants were, at the request of the Portuguese, pardoned by the British.

#### Political situation in Goa around 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries -

By the middle of the 17th century Goan society was divided into five main categories in a situation that was politically very fluid. The Portuguese coming from the metropolitan country for purposes of administrative and other services, were known as *Reinois* or rulers' class, for they went back to their home in Portugal after retirement. Those of the Portuguese who remained in Goa seeking higher positions in local government were called *Casticos*, followed by those of Indo-Portuguese or mixed descent or marriage, called *Mesticos* on that account. Then came the Goans converted to Christianity who were called *Canarim*, a misnomer, and the last class was made up of the Hindus of Goa, who were called *Gentios* meaning 'Gentiles'.

The first two classes were the most privileged. Thus discrimination in political and economic spheres ruled the day. It was only after the Marquis de Pombal, the greatest

administrator of European fame that the country has known, took over as Prime Minister of Portugal, that rights similar to the European element in Goa were granted to all Goans in 1761.. Pombal did away with the hated Inquisition too and decreed in favour of the local language, Konkani, being preferred for appointment and necessary for ecclesiastical posts in particular, and expelled the all-powerful Jesuits from Goa. Pombal himself was later removed from office, by high-powered moves made by his enemies.

In 1820, Portugal got a new liberal constitutional government with representation in Parliament to all its colonies also, called 'overseas provinces'.

---