

Aspects of identity and hybridity in Carmo D'Souza's *Angela's Goan Identity* (1994)

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Just to begin with and about the framework of this study

The following essay wants to be read in the frame of a project in which I consider about the literatures of those countries and places which the Portuguese had claimed as their colonies ¹ In the future as well older texts will be regarded; the focus, however, will lie on contemporary literature and on how the colonial past is reflected in the texts concerned. I want to begin with introducing a novel from Goa by Carmo D'Souza, that is *Angela's Goan Identity*, printed in Goa in 1994 ² My main points are, to show the importance to look at the generally neglected literature of post-colonial Goa, and at the same time to reflect about its special features in terms of literature. As a first possibility for a contrasting comparison I shall make, introductorily, some short remarks on a novel from Cape Verde, that is Germano Almeida's *O Testamento do Sr. Napumoceno da Silva Araújo* which was originally published in Lisbon in 1991 ³ In a study connected to the following one I shall make an analysis of this novel in the context of other up to now published novels by G. Almeida.

When Sr. Napumoceno da Silva Araújo dies he leaves a testament of some '387 pages, 379 of them written with typewriter on ruled foolscap paper and the resting eight ones by hand in permanent ink' ¹ When the

text has been read, a process which takes the time of a whole afternoon, it has revealed an unknown aspect of Senhor Napumoceno da Silva Araújo's past, which now becomes considered as scandalous and at the same time with some malicious joy (p.11). However this testament is not only part of the chronicle of aspects of private lives on the Cape Verdian islands, it is, at the same time of political importance. It has been written ten years before the action in the novel begins and been sealed on "30. 11. 1974" (p.27), that is about half a year after the Carnation Revolution in Lisbon on April 25, 1974. In the testament Sr. Napumoceno da Silva Araújo himself reports about the circumstances of the genesis of the its text in detail ⁵ Already in these words is contained an immense weight of political events. Important implication of cultural politics is further contained in Sr. Napumoceno da Silva Araújo's comment about the hostility shown even against figures like "the great poet Jose Lopes ou Prof. Duarte Silva", and it is already here, as already has been pointed out by David Brookshaw, cf below, that the novel becomes meta-narrated narration, and that the testament reveals itself as an important document of the Cape Verdian process of becoming independent and for the development of 'post-colonial literarure' in a more general sense ⁶.

In the introductory chapter I the testament is read, and in this chapter, which in comparison to the other chapters is much shorter, the reader is informed about the unusual length of the text. It is further suggested that the testament has not been drafted in the way in which Carlos, the nephew of the deceased, had anticipated as a matter of fact,

and, still in a somewhat cryptical way, the existence of a certain Maria da Graça is mentioned. The suggestive character of these first pages makes already to understand that not only a story will be told from its beginning to its end but that as well the process of telling this story itself will be of importance, and a further narratological hint in this context is the comment of the notary who has to read the text, that "the deceased, thinking that he wrote a testament, rather had written his memoirs" (p.7)⁷

Sr. Napumoceno da Silva Araújo has written his testament in the crucial period of the ending of colonialism on the Cape Verdian archipelago and the preparation of independence⁸ David Brookshaw speaks about the "volatile climate of post-independence Cape Verde, in which the label of 'fascist' was easily attached to anyone who did not toe the line, and was even applied to lifelong democrats such as Baltasar Lopes ..."⁹

At the beginning of chapter III the narrated time and the time of narrating becomes discussed casting first doubts about the authenticity and sincerity of the episodes told. Why did Sr. Napumoceno write the testament already in 1974 when he had still ten years to live. For once there is the question of the lacking five suits, and together with this arises the problem whether Sr. Napumoceno had felt himself already not alive after 1974 (p.29). This has to be discussed with changes in society as well in Lisbon after the Carnation Revolution, and in the post-colonial society in the former Portuguese colonies as, what will be done here, in Goa.

In his interpretation of *O Testamento*, which most of my

observations are rendering here very closely, David Brookshaw departs from a more general consideration of the achievements of post-modernism:

One of the fundamental propositions of post-modernism is its challenge to this assumption [i.e. "the unquestioning assumption that fiction was history"] through the undermining of realism, and the re-establishment of the division between history and fiction, reality and art, while at the same time questioning the validity of history as a fixed objective truth rather than as a creation of our culture. In other words, history is what our cultural perception allows it to be. On this basis, post-modernist art reverses the conventional postulate that fiction is built upon a historical foundation and suggests that history is interpreted and reinterpreted fictionally. (p.190)

D. Brookshaw demonstrates the narratological process in which different variants of Sr. Araújo's life develop. If in the novel the different persons are conscious that they are recreating or even creating the life of Sr. Araújo, as does Graça (p., cf. Brookshaw, p.191), or have to confess that they finally do not really know who and what kind of person Sr. Araújo was, as does Carlos (p.160), there are even competing variations in the interpretation of facts and events in the accounts of one and the same person, that is, as already pointed out by D. Brookshaw, Sr. Araújo himself. This happens when the affair between Sr. Araújo and Adélia has come to an end and they try to find out in a crucial dialogue what their 'love' had been at last (cf. Brookshaw, p.192).

D. Brookshaw does not only point out the postmodern aspects of *O*

Testamento he mentions as well "Parody of the thematic conventions of Cape Verdean literature" as a "hallmark of Almeida's fiction" (p.197). While he illustrates this technique more for the case of Almeida's novel *O meu poeta* he recalls the episode in which Sr. Araújo has mistakenly ordered ten-thousand umbrellas, a mistake which, however, is the beginning of Sr. Araújo's fortune and success. D. Brookshaw comments this

The rules of Cape Verdean literature [Brookshaw thinks here especially of the realistic conventions of the Claridade literature] are, so to speak, inverted: the staid figure of Araújo makes a killing through rain, rather than being driven out of the islands by drought." (p.197).

D. Brookshaw shows the influence of *Don Quixote* in *O meu poeta* (p.196), he mentions as well, if indirectly, "the ironic Machado de Assis or the irreverent satirists of Brazilian modernism" who, if they are said in *O meu poeta* to have lost their influence on Cape Verdian literature, still "would have approved of this poignant and comic voice from Cape Verde". For the case of *O Testamento* Brookshaw mentions, of course, the poetical œuvre by António Nobre which is mentioned repeatedly in *O Testamento*, but he does not go into a deeper interpretation of this book.

Chabal and Brookshaw, and others have underlined the immense difference of the PALOP states due to geographical conditions and the socio-political developments. For him the almost only common feature of these countries seems to be the fact that they have been claimed as colonies by the same Portuguese. A comparison between the development of a national literature in these African countries can, thus,

be only a contrastive one. The conditions in the respective African countries and in Indian Goa must of course be still much more different. One of my aim here is to demonstrate how Carmo D'Souza's novel may be seen as a documentation of the brutal Portuguese manipulation on Goan culture, which becomes reflected in a way of narration which rather traditionally is still, much more than in G. Almeida's novel, relying on European standards.

Entering Carmo D'Souza's novel — a short note on the historico-polical events in its background

The Portuguese reached the various islands of the Cape Verdian arquipelago at the beginning of the 1460ies¹⁰, Goa was invaded and occupied in 1510, which marked the beginning of a period of 451 years of colonial oppression for the common people in Goa.

Angela's Goan identity tells the story of the Goan girl Angela who, as it is said, in December 1961 is fourteen years old (p.30), and so must have been born in 1947¹¹ The novel begins with her birth and concludes with her marriage in about the middle of the 1960ies. These dates must have been chosen intendedly by the author because the novel is meant to tell as well the story of Goa's becoming independent from Portugal and, here meet the two strings of narration, through the portrayal of Angela's growing up, the story of the development of a changed Goan identity. When India finally got free in the night of August 15, 1947 Portugal was still not willing to release Goa and the other Indian territories it claimed as its colonies, and the Salazar regime fiercely tried to resist all attempts by the Indian government to integrate Goa into the new Indian state¹²

This state of events continued for the following fourteen years, the years of Angela's youth, until December 1961 when Goa was liberated by the Indian army¹³. P.P. Shirodkar relates the events of that moment in the following way:

As Portuguese left no choice open to India, by its intransigence, aggressiveness and provocations it decided to give a decisive blow to Portuguese colonialism at zero hour on December 17-18 when its defence forces moved into Goa, Daman and Diu. In the words of the Army Staff, Gen. P.N. Thapar, they had gone there "not as conquerors of a foreign land but as part of the Indian defence forces, who have always served our people." They had been instructed to take special care to respect the sanctity of places of worship and see that no damage was done to them. The swift Indian action, later christened 'Operation Vijay' which ended on December 19, met with a very feeble resistance from the Portuguese forces. But Portugal had plans to hold on to Goa by seeking diplomatic [sic] means and military aid. The Governor-General's message to Lisbon that "Goa will be defended upto the end by all available means" showed the determination with which the Portuguese were planning to stay on there.¹¹

Directly after their liberation, on December 20, 1961 "Goa, Daman and Diu were integrated into larger India under the designation of Union Territories. The territories would remain as such until the people reached a decision as to how they would like to integrate into larger India"¹⁵ In 1963 a referendum was held whether Goa would remain an

independent territory or become part of the state of Maharashtra. The majority voted for an independent Goa, however, even a 44 percent voted for integration into Maharashtra¹⁶ Goa became an independent state of India in 1987¹⁷

Angela is born into a Bhadkar¹⁸ family, that is into the *Goan Voiz Bhadkar* (The doctor landlord)¹⁹ (pp.3,et al.) family. At the time of her birth the landlord class was estimated as the socially and culturally leading class in Goa, the families had become Christians and were thought to be imbued with European ways of thinking. In the novel the latter aspect is expressed somewhat ambiguously: "The landlord class drank deeply (as it was believed among them [i.e. the masses]) the ideas of Rousseau, Voltaire, Victor Hugo and Kant" (p.4). In short it had become estimated by certain people that the landlord class' standart of living represented downright the Goan identity: "The landlord class considered it their duty to maintain the so-called standard of their culture, which they identified as the "Goan Identity"" (p.4). Karin Larsen describes the situation of the so called leading class in Goa at the evening of liberation:

Reports circulated that the people in Goa were also receptive to the idea of integration [i.e. into the Indian Union], except for approximately over 200 families who were totally culturally assimilated to the Portuguese ways and enjoyed high political positions in the Goan administration. They were the Brahmin and some Ksyatria families who had converted to Catholicism and felt they had the most to loose if Goa was transferred to India.²⁰

The approximate population of Goa at this time was about one million²¹

Cultural assimilation and confrontation

Angela's family too has become quite assimilated to Portuguese culture, however, despite the fact that the family is Christian Angela's four elder brothers and sisters bear typical, even programmatic, Indian names as Rajendra, Khalidas, Shakuntula, and Indira. While Rajendra is as well the name of one of the famous rulers of the Chola dynasty²², Khalidas is too the name of the poet²³ who created a very well known drama about the mythical girl Shakuntala²⁴, and Indira, finally, meaning translated Lotus, is as well one of the names of Lakshmi, wife of Vishnu²⁵. By the way, Khalidas is said to have been born as one of the many ""idiots"" and "imbeciles" of the "landlord class" (p.4) which may be read as a symbol for the degeneration of that group in Goan society.

With their Indian names the Vhoiz Bhadkar family becomes suspected by the Goan "officials and the police" (p.5), that is when Goa is still portuguese colony. That the newly appointed priest insists in Angela's case that she is baptized with a Christian name should be seen before the background of the political events. In 1947, in the context of India becoming independent, the Portuguese fascist administration became nervous about the developments in Goa. Karin Hansen writes: "the dictator Salazar had delivered a speech which spread throughout Europe the image of Goan people as 'European'; culturally, socially and religiously connected to Portugal"²⁶. This kind of mendacious propaganda became, for the Portuguese fascists, necessarily, more and more

important, not only with regard to Goa but as well for what they claimed as Portuguese territories — meanwhile the so called colonies became, untruthfully, renamed Portuguese oversea provinces —²⁷ in Africa and Asia because of the, if slowly, beginning decolonization of the states and territories invaded and occupied by the English, French, Spanish, Belgian, Dutch, and Italian nations respectively which brought considerable pressure upon the Portuguese regime. It should be mentioned already here that the situation became still more crucial for Portugal with the liberation of Goa which the Portuguese administration had even tried to prevent with an involvement of the United Nations and the NATO²⁸. At the beginning of the for Goa decisive year 1961, revolt — which should bring the colonial war in Africa to its climax and, after a most atrocious bloody war dragging along over more than a decade ending in the Carnation Revolution in April 1974, this, again, marking the beginning of Portuguese decolonization in Africa — began in the Angolan Capital Luanda²⁹. In that time the Portuguese government launched publications, which cannot but called propaganda pamphlets, which should make the world believe that Portuguese colonization had always been an impartial and benefitting process in order to civilize. A publication from 1961 concludes with a series of photographies which are arranged in a way in order to verify the following epigraph proceeding the pictures:

In all Portuguese territories, contrary to what has happened in most of those countries who regard themselves as paladins of the independence of peoples, racial or religious differences have never given rise to any discriminatory incident or measure.³⁰

The first photography in this pamphlet shows the dictator Salazar, as this photography wants make to be believed, *enthusiastically embraced* by a black woman (here, see Figure 1 at the end)³¹.

In her family Angela's name is changed to Anjali, and in this context becomes alluded her "dual identity" (p.13). An important aim of the novel becomes the process to show how Angela will find from here to her Goan identity, which, while its *authentic* elements are continually stressed, assumes as well a number of hybrid features.

Angela is sent to a Marathi school where she has to learn that there are schoolmates, like Atmaran, who claims to be Goan without playing an instrument like the piano, eating without using fork and knife, and instead of singing fados singing "patriotic songs about our brave Ranes"³² (p.17).

With the colonial situation becoming more strained Angela has to undergo a by now "compulsory Portuguese primary education" (p.18). In the new school she first becomes confirmed in her world view. One day the children have to draw a man for their Portuguese teacher Professora Filomena. Atmaran, as often, clandestinely helps Angela who is without great skill in drawing, in putting skillfully a man in a dhoti and with a Gandhi cap into the picture. When she shows the picture to the teacher she is told, that if this picture, as Angela jokingly has explained, should show Atmaran, then she must make him wear "suit and boots" if he is intended to be a "Goan gentleman" (pp.21-22).

In geography lesson the Indian children are taught that Goa is part of Portugal, and they are made to be convinced that they themselves are Portuguese (pp.24ss), and when, in the Marathi school, pages about

Gandhi have been "pasted together or torn off from the text book" by order of the Portuguese (p.16), the children are given an image of Goa as a "lovely piece[] of Portugal floating in the Indian Ocean" (p.25).

But already here begins Angela's 'education' in order to find to her real Goan identity. The halwa vendor³³ who regularly comes to the house of Angela's family comes from an other part of India, which becomes expressed by his different language and clothes. On one of his visits Angela becomes involved in a discussion about the geography of India, and, to her surprise, is told that India is much bigger than Goa, and of India's richness in landscapes, animals and plants. Soon after that incident, to her still greater unbelief, she has to learn from her uncle John, who has come from Bombay, that Bombay is not only bigger than Panjim but as well several times as large as Lisbon (pp.26-29).

Some remarks on narratology

The weak points of Carmo D'Souza's novel lie exactly in episodes like the last two just mentioned above. After passages of Angela's experiences in everyday life, with the various incidents during school lessons, which already speak for themselves, their message becomes 'enforced' in dialogues between Angela and figures who all too obviously show the duty to contribute to political enlightenment attributed to them by the author. In addition there are repeatedly inserted informations by the narrator which appear somewhat too directly and resemble in a certain sense a little bit in the form of an over-stressed 'statement', like:

At the age of eleven, she [Angela] could locate Panjim, Lisbon, Paris and Moscow but not Bombay.

However, one has to understand that kind of style in the text as well before the historical background that people in Goa, including the children, were indeed made to sing "Our Angola (Angola é Nossa)", and repeat phrases like "Aqui é Portugal (This is Portugal)" (p.24) (here, see Figure 2 at the end)³¹

Another type of narratologically not so skillfully integrated passages are those in which the narrator appears suddenly almost distanced from the story and makes observations in a style fitting more into a textbook. This happens e.g. when he informs about the changes in the economical situation in Goa, when foreign products became much more expensive and unavailable for many who had been able to afford them before. In passages like this the ideological message by the narrator/ author is issued without direct relation to the novel:

Foreign goods were very cheap in Goa. Even the common domestic items, like cheese and sardines came from overseas. There were drinks, such as scotch and champagne, to adorn the table. Yet, most of the Goans, as a rule, preferred their rice and curry and cheered off their blues with the local *feni*.³⁵

Then there are quite theoretical, in the same way poorly integrated passages. In Chapter VI appears John who, while finally being portrayed positively, is shown more as a type than a character, that is as a typical sailor with his stories adorned with exaggerations and full of inconsistencies. But this same John is made to pronounce observations about the development of culture which do not fit to the atmosphere which is created in the novel, for other reasons, around his figure. More

disturbing is that the narrator, here as well after a dialogue, enters with his meta-observations: "The doctrine was indeed interesting. The hypothesis assumed a dormant Goan culture. The culture had to be evolved" (p.65).

It may be observed already here that the many words from Indian languages, Konkani, Marathi, Kannada, Hindu and Portuguese words, including from the Portuguese language typical for Macau, indeed illustrate the hybrid atmosphere of Goan culture. Feni and other words from the gastronomic terminology give a hint at the mixture of various cultures as well during the period of Portuguese colonization. And this mixture has remained an important reality after the different regions have become independent. However, it has to be remarked as well that the welcome effect of hybridity in the novel itself is diluted in the narrating process because those concepts and words are printed in italics. By not following the tendency to avoid italics and similar modes of emphasizing, as has become almost the rule in recent publications, the novel betrays here and there a certain kind of exotism.

Carmo D'Souza's novel as a *lesson* in postcolonialism

Chapter for chapter following the historical events, which attribute to Angela's story as well its narratological linear structure, is told an experience which is meant, in the first chapters to change and then to 'enrich' Angela's understanding of Goan identity. In Chapter III the eve of the liberation of Goa is told, and Angela is shown anxiously expecting a "Portuguese victory" In Chapter IV are depicted the events of the 19th and 20th December, and a disappointed Angela becomes witness of the

quick and even smooth liberation due to the lack of Portuguese resistance (p.43). In addition she has to learn about the decadent state of the Portuguese army. This last aspect is illustrated in dialogical form with observations put into the mouth of various Goan witnesses, one of whom remarks: "A Portuguese General was found drinking when the planes came in", upon which follows the reply "And he thought that it was the drink that was playing tricks" (p.44). Here, again, one may criticize the lack of literary finesse; but here as in many other similar cases, one must as well acknowledge that this passage transmits an authentic essence, too. James M. Anderson reports an episode from the time of Goan's liberation which, may it be an authentic event or a mere anecdote, reflects that same decadent state of affairs in the Portuguese administration in Goa:

The story is told that just before the invasion the commander urgently sent a message to Lisbon asking for more artillery shells and using the code word for them, chouricos or "sausages" The Ministry of Defense in Lisbon, which had long forgotten the code word, complied and sent thousands of sausages!⁶

One more important aspect of these days is brought in only with a brief remark from Angela's brother Rajendra to her sister Shakuntala which is overheard by Angela too, that some people "even garlanded the [Indian] soldiers". For Angela such a fact is, at that moment, reason to be "angry" (p.43); however the narrator indicates here the content and joy in part of the population about the arrival of the Indian army.

After the liberation of Goa English education begins for Angela;

Chapter V gives a glimpse at the question of language in Goa in the 1960ies. There remained the possibility to learn Portuguese, and in addition Rajendra's case is shown as an example for a Goan citizen who opted for Portuguese citizenship and is now preparing to emigrate to Portugal. This again illustrates a situation in which there were diametrically opposed positions in one and the same family, because the father has shown himself as a prominent freedom fighter (p.55).

The circumstances in Goa were and are of course not limited to the option for English or Portuguese. What does not become discussed here is the fact that the pro-Portuguese, mostly, Christians had a tradition of speaking Konkani, and that the pro-Indian, in much cases, Hindu population tended to speak Marathi; and one must not overlook the fact that there was also the southern neighbourhood of Karnataka with the there spoken Kannada, belonging to the Dravidian family of languages. And as can only be alluded at here, the option for one of these languages had its social implications in political, religious, economic and further levels³⁷ However, in this same chapter there appear changes in Angela who, while being said still "pro-Portuguese at heart", at the same time begins to "admire Gandhi" (p.52). A decisive change takes place during the Indian-Chinese war in 1962 when Angela takes a leading role in the collection of a "defence fund ... in her school" for the Indian soldiers suffering on the Himalayas (p.54).

Chapter VI is dedicated to the problem of social change and integration with Terezinha, the servant of the family as the hero. Following tradition, Terezinha, whose "ancestry" is unknown (p.58), had been adopted in the family. Traditionally she is expected to remain

unmarried and continue into her old age working in the kitchen, which would ensure her social security. Terezinha however falls in love with the already mentioned sailor, John, who is momentarily rejected by the family because of his as 'low' estimated standards. But as happens in all the following chapters this one too ends happily, with Terezinha's marriage to John. John, as a sailor, is at the same time portrayed as a typical Goan representant who has helped to enrich Goa's culture with "new ideas and values" from outside (p.65). Important is as well that the Christian Don Manuel, Angela's father, discusses the problem around Terezinha with Senhor Naik a "Hindu Botto"³⁸ (p.82).

With the introduction of the Dutch girl Merlin, Chapter VII is dedicated to the desenvolvement of touristical industry in Goa which has played an important role in the economical and cultural development of Goa³⁹. The message of the chapter is that the people in Goa have to understand that not all Western foreigners are degenerated hippies. Merlin learns to cook Goan dishes like the bebinca⁴⁰, and is accepted by the family and the Goan community as wife of Rajendra, who had met Merlin while travelling through Europe after "compulsory military service" in Angola — which had been the price for his opting for Portuguese citizenship (p.93)⁴¹. As for Angela, she is said to have learnt to understand the West as is really was; she has overcome her romantic admiration of the Portuguese culture and later her bias that all Westerners were decadent hippies (pp.106-107).

The last three chapters of the novel are a sequence of happy marriages which — how much the events related should be welcome — transmit a somewhat over-optimistical estimation of the success of a hybrid culture in

Goa. In Chapter VIII Shakuntula marries the English professor of the college K.K. Joseph from Kerala, and Angela and her family are described in their process of understanding and accepting that as well in Southern Kerala, which up to then had been despised as 'culturally underdeveloped', culture does exist. Part of the family can experience this in an episode (with some touristical overtones), in which they witness the Onam races during the Onam festival ¹² during their visit to Kerala (pp.120-121). In Chapter IX Indira marries Doctor Mervin the son of a fisherwoman who had formerly been the *mundkar* ¹³ of the family (p.125). Obviously one is expected to recognize that certain social barriers have become obsolete in Goa, that social ascent is not limited to certain castes and levels, and that this development has become accepted as well by the traditional Christian families. Finally, in Chapter X Angela herself marries the Hindu Milka from North India which represents the happy union of different regional cultures including religions.

Despite all these happy endings for most of the members of the Vhoiz Bhatkar family I cannot resist to ask what should have become of Khalidas, the "imbecile" who from a certain point on vanishes from the story. However, despite the weak elements in the structure of the text, as shown above, Carmo D'Souza's novel is a very welcome introduction, in various meanings, to the hybrid culture of Goa.

*1 In the same framework should be seen my modest contributions E.J., "Goa as a literary motif and as a historical subject in Captain Marryat's *The Phantom Ship*: Preliminary considerations of a Goan identity in contemporary literature", in: Charles J. Borges, Óscar G. Pereria,

- Hannes Stubbe, eds., *Goa and Portugal. History and Development*, XCHR Studies Series No.10, New Delhi, Concept Publishing, 2000, and E.J., "Chasing the Charming Ghosts of the Past —M. Mukundan's *On the banks of the Mayyazhi* (1974)", in: 『京都大学総合人間学部紀要』平成14年(2002)第9巻, pp.37-63.
- *2 Carmo D'Souza, *Angela's Goan Identity*, Panaji, New Age Printers, 1994.
- *3 Germano Almeida, *O Testamento do Sr. Napumocento da Silva Araújo*, Lisboa, Caminho (1991), 3.1998.
- *4 "...o testamento está escrito em 387 laudas de papel almaço pautado, sendo as primeiras 379 laudas à máquina e as restantes manuscritas com caneta de tinta permanente", Germano Almeida, *O Testamento do Sr. Napumoceno da Silva Araújo*, Lisboa, Caminho, 1991, p.27.
- *5 "Aconteceu, porém, que no período que precedeu a independência uma nunca antes vista onda de criminalidade assolou a cidade, juntando ao desassossego dessa grave decisão política o outro ainda maior da insegurança de pessoas e bens numa terra até ali conhecida pela temperança dos costumes. Vinha ... pp.20-21.
- *6 "E em semelhante clima, ninguém de senso poderia optar em consciência e por isso quando vira os bustos de pessoas respeitáveis como o grande poeta José Lopes ou o Prof. Duarte Silva serem arrasados ou arrastados pelas ruas da cidade, como se em vez de dilectos filhos desta terra fossem grandes criminosos a merecer a mais ignominiosa punição, decidiui fechar-se em sua casa, redigir o seu testamento em sossego e esperar com paciência pela morte", p.21.
- *7 "...o falecido, pensando que fazia um testamento, escrevera antes um livro de memórias", p.7.
- *8 Cape Verde became "independent as a separate entity from Guinea Bissau" (M.E. Chamberlain, p.190) on July 5, 1975. One has to consider the close connections between the two countries when ruled as Portuguese colonies. Connections existed as well because the PAIGC

(African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, or Partido Africano da Independência de Guiné e Cabo Verde) had operated in both countries. Then, figures like General António de Spínola, one of the leading militaries in the April 25 revolution and President of Portugal from May 15, 1974 on, and even the later Socialist Prime Minister Mário Soares, had uttered opinions that Cape Verde, because of the historical development of its population with many immigrants from Portugal, had to be considered closer related to Portugal than other African regions (for these aspects and developments see: N. MacQueen, pp.142ss). Cf. Muriel E. Chamberlain, *The Longman Companion to European Decolonisation in the Twentieth Century*, London and New York, Longman, 1998; Norrie MacQueen, *A Descolonização da África Portuguesa. A revolução metropolitana e a dissolução do Império*, Mario Matos e Lemos, trsl., Mem Martins, Editorial Inquérito, 1998 (I could not use the original edition: *The Decolonization of Portuguese Africa*, London, Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1997). For the crucial situation in Cape Verde immediately after independence because of the insufficiently developed economy, education etc. by the Portuguese cf., Chapter 7 in: Patrick Chabal with David Birmingham, Joshua Forrest, Malyn Newitt, Gerhard Seibert, Elisa Silva Andrade, *A History of Postcolonial Lusophone Africa*, London, Hurst and Company, 2002, pp.264-290. For an historical embedded overview of the 1974 events cf. James M. Anderson, *The History of Portugal*, Westport, Connecticut, London, The Greenwood Press, 2000.

*9 David Brookshaw, "Cape Verde", in: Patrick Chabal with Moema Parente Angel, David Brookshaw, Ana Mafalde Leite, Caroline Shaw, *The Postcolonial Literature of Lusophone Africa*, pp.179-233, here, p.186.

*10 There still remain some uncertainties about the exact dates when Portuguese saw and entered the respective islands. The historical discussion has, in addition, not always been free of polemical undertones.

Much discussed has been e.g. the role of the Venetian Alvise da Ca' da Mosto (as well Cadamosto) whose claim to have been one of the first Europeans of his age to have arrived at some of the islands have been put into doubt (as has happened, as well not always without polemic, with the role of other Italian merchants and navigators who, like Ca' da Mosto, sailed on Portuguese ships). For an overview of these problems cf. Mariana Lagarto, "Descobrimento do Arquipélago de Cabo Verde", in: Luís de Albuquerque, ed., *Dicionário de História dos Descobrimentos Portugueses*, Vol.I-II, Lisboa, Caminho, 1994, here, Vol.I, pp.148-152. Less important are here the exact dates, but it deserves attention that the concept of 'discovery', 'descobrimento' continues to be used in contemporary Portuguese history as a matter of fact and, as not only M. Lagarto's overview, they are shown as achievements of Portuguese historical greatness and this without any reference e.g. to the slave trade which accompanied these "discoveries". For the informations given by A. Ca'da Mosto, I have used here: *Le navigazioni di Alvise da Ca' da Mosto e Pietro Sintra*, in: Marica Milanese, ed., Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, Vol. I, Torino, Einaudi editore, 1978, pp.461-542.

*11 The year of her birth is not told explicitly, but at the beginning of the novel it is said that Angela is born in spring, s. p.l.

*12 For a most detailed account of the fierce refusal to decolonize on side of the Portuguese fascist Salazar regime which, after having supported the German Nazi regime—of which, again it had adopted many features as with the PIDE (Policia Internacional da Defesa do Estado) fashioned after the SS and SA and the *mocidade portuguesa* as a parralel to the *Hitlerjugend*—tried to involve the NATO and the United Nations—as it had, successfully, in the 1940ies the Vatican—in order to retain the territories it claimed as its territories cf. P.P. Shirodkar, *Goa's Struggle for Freedom* (1988), Revised Edition, Belgaum, Impressions, 1999.

*13 It is quite revealing for a continuing Eurocentred view on history that

even in latest studies, pretending to be scientific, one finds mention of an event like this as e.g. in the, at least with regard to the geographical reference, following almost absurd manner. "1961 (December) India occupied Goa and subsequently declared it to be Indian territory", Muriel E. Chamberlain, *The Longman Companion to European Decolonisation*, op.cit., p.190

*14 P.P. Shirodkar, *Goa's Struggle for Freedom*, op.cit., pp.240 and 241.

*15 Karin Larsen, *Faces of Goa. A Journey Through the History and Cultural Evolution of Goa and other Communities Influenced by the Portuguese*, New Delhi, Gyan Publishing House, 1998, p.167

*16 Cf. J M Richards, *Goa*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1982, p125. The events around the referendum are told in the novel in "Chapter VIII" About a year after the referendum Angela's sister Shakuntala marriages and not so long after that Angela's own marriage takes place, from what results that the novel ends in the middle of the 1960ies.

*17 Cf. K. Larsen, *Faces of Goa*, op. cit. p.170.

*18 In the novel itself the spelling is "Bhadkar", in the "Foreword" it is "Bhatkar"; in Angelus Francis Xavier Maffei, *Konkani English Dictionary* (1883), New Delhi, Madras, Asian Educational Services (1983), 1990, it appears as "[... <given in Kannada>] batkar, -ra, m. Landlord", p.82.

*19 "[... <given in Kannada>] voiz, -za, m. Physician (native)", A.F.X Maffei, *Konkani English Dictionary*, op.cit., p.110.

*20 K. Larsen, *Faces of Goa*, op.cit., p.161.

*21 As for the population of Goa J M Richards, in the Revised edition from 1993 in his *Goa* (1982), op.cit., gives the figure of "approximately 14, 68, 622", with a Hindu majority, about one third of Christians, and about ten percent Muslims", J M R., p.132.

*22 The Chola dynasty followed that of the Pallava in the Tamil region in the ninth century. Under Rajendra I (1012-1044) the Chola expansion included Ceylon and in the North up to the Ganga. Noteworthy is as well

that under Rajendra I the Chola engaged as well in maritime enterprise. A.L. Basham, whose historical relation I am here relying on, writes: "Finally, under Rajendra, a great naval expedition sailed across the Bay of Bengal and occupied strategic points in Sumatra, Malaya, and Burma. This Chola maritime empire, the only certain instance of Indian overseas expansion by force of arms, was not an enduring one", A.L. Basham, "Medieval Hindu India", Chapter VI in: A.L. Basham, ed., *A Cultural History of India*, pp.51-59, here, p.57; cf. as well, "Rajendra I", in: Sachidananda Bhattacharya, *A Dictionary of Indian History*, Vols.I-II, New Delhi, Cosmo Publications, 1999, Vol.II, p.712.

*23 For the poet Kalidasa and his play "*Abhijnanasakuntala*", "Token Sakuntala" cf. A.K. Warder, "Classical Literature", in: A.L. Basham, *A Cultural History of India*, op.cit., Chapter XIV, pp.170-196, here, p.182 (s. as well the *Index*, p.549).

*24 Sakuntala is said to be the daughter of a nymph, Manaka, and a sage, Visvamisra. She grew up in the woods. One day the a king, Dushyanta, met her, fell at once in love with her, and, with mutual consent, made had sexual intercourse with her. On leaving he left a ring with her. Coming home Sakuntala, unintendedly did not greet, as expected, a Brahmin, Durvasas, who upon this threw a curse on her that the king would not recognize her without the ring. (It goes without saying that) Sakuntala loses the ring, which is consequently eaten by a fish. (And it should not surprise that) the same fish is brought to the palace by a fisherman after Sakuntala had come with her son, Bharata, to whom she has meanwhile given birth, to the king who, as predicted, could not recognize her. After finding the ring the king sends for Sakuntal and they both find together again. For the story I have followed here, abbreviatingly (and addingly), Jan Knappert, "Shakuntalaa", in: J.K., *An Encyclopedia of Myth and Legend Indian Mythology* (1991), London, Diamond Books, pp.220-221.

- *25 For the meaning of Indira, cf. the entrances "Indira" and "Lakshmi", in: J. Knappert, *An Encyclopedia*, op.cit., p.122, 148-150 respectively.
- *26 Cited from Karin Larsen, *Faces of Goa*", op.cit., p.160.
- *27 The name of *colonies* was changed into *oversea provinces* in the 1950ies.
- *28 For the attempt by the Salazar regime to involve the United Nations and the NATO cf. P.P. Shirodkar, *Goa's Struggle*, op.cit., pp.140-145; K. Larsen, *Faces of Goa*, op.cit., pp.50-55.
- *29 For the events about the beginning revolt in Angola, Luanda, cf. David Birmingham, *Portugal and Africa*, London, New York, Macmillan Press, 1999, especially pp.133-140; as well D. Birmingham "Angola", in: Patrick Chabal, ed., *A History of Postcolonial Lusophone Africa*, London, Hurst & Company, 2002, pp.137-184.
- *30 António Alberto de Andrade, *Many Races—One Nation Portugal. Racial-Non-Discrimination Always the Cornerstone of Portugal's Overseas Policy*, Lisbon, February, 1961.
- *31 The white, seemingly blood-drained face of António Salazar can remind of a vampire trying to suck, because of Portugal's growing economical crisis, in vain new energy from his victim. Diametrically opposed to such pictures is the illustrated documentation by Horácio Caio, *angola. os dias do desespero*, Lisboa, 1961. The photographs in this publication show disgracefully and monstrously mutilated human bodies of Angolan people who became victims of the colonial war.
- *32 The caste of the Ranes had moved into the northern Goan region of Sattari in the 15th century. During the 17th and 18th century they had repeatedly sided with the Portuguese in order to get rid of impositions by the caste of the Bhonsles. However, already in the midst of the 18th century they had rebelled against the Portuguese, and such rebellions became frequent from the midst of the 19th century, until 1912. For information about the Ranes I am indebted here to: Pratima Kamat, *Farar Far (Crossfire). Local Resistance to Colonial Hegemony in Goa*

1510-1912, Panaji, Goa, Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999, especially pp.160ss. P. Kamat writes about the end of the Rane revolts: "Such uprisings continued till 1912 when the saga of Rane revolts came to a close with the rebels being imprisoned, deported or killed by the colonial regime" (p165). P. Kamat gives as well an illustrating account of the almost mythical imprint of some of the figures from the Ranes, like a certain Kushtoba, with features of a "Robinhood" and a "Dacoit" (Kamat, pp.180ss), whose name has remained in popular songs like:

"The laws of Goa are very crooked.

By the cunning of the Bhat [here a proper name]

and the sentence of the Judge,

His (Kushtoba's feet are clamped in chanis." (from Pratima Kamat, p.183)

Another song ends with lines revealing his double character: "Someone is saying that Kushtoba/ is coming to rob,/ playing a lot of music." Still in another song the legend of Kushtoba's life becomes cobined with the first line of a famous song about the Ranes fighting the Portuguese, which appears in the title of P. Kamats book, that is *Farar Far* (Crossfire):

"Shots are being fired in the forest

Kushtoba is coming a-plundering,

blowing the horn.

Hearing this sound

the people have fled to the forest,

Others have fallen in the tank

The church bells are a-ringing." (from Pratima Kamat, p.184)

All citations are made here from Pratima Kama's book, pp.183-184. Especially the *Farar Far* variation reveals interesting details of hybridity as the 'unavoidable' effect of the colonial condition with the European sounds of Indian and Portuguese guns, a horn which would fit, indeed, Robin Hood, and a Catholic church bell reveberating over Goa's

subtropical forest.

The entrance "Ranes" in: Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático* (Vols.I-II, 1919, 1921), Hamburg, Helmut Buske Verlag, 1982, reveals the historically ambiguous relationship between the Portuguese and the Ranes. They are called a "noble caste" ["casta nobre"], with bellicose tendencies", and both views appear as well in the following illustrating citations from historical texts of different periods.

*33 Following I. Lewis, "Halwa, hulwa, halva ...['sweetmeat']" entered India as an Arabic word in the 17th century. Its "usual[] ingredients" in India are here given as "milk, sugar, almond paste and ghee, flavoured with cardamon". He mentions as well "Also *halwai*, sweetmeat-seller", see: Ivor Lewis, *Sahibs, Nabobs and Boxwallahs. A Dictionary of the Words of Anglo India*, Delhi, Calcutta, Chennai, Mumbai, Oxford UP (1991), Oxford India Paperbacks, 1997, p.123. K.T. Achaya explains that the word "halwa" was "first used in English" for "Turkish confection of ground sesame seeds and honey" As ingredients used in India he gives: "wheat flour, wheat grits... wheat strainings...and vermicelli, Bengal gram flour..., fruits like the banana and date, vegetables like the carrot and white pumpkin...and nuts like the almond...", a list which mirrors the great regional varieties of this popular sweetmeat, cf.: K.T. Achaya, *A Historical Dictionary of Indian Food*, New Delhi, Oxford UP (1998), 2.1999, pp.98-99.

*34 The picture next to the last in A.A. de Andrade's *Many Races One Nation Portugal*, op.cit., shows a large mass of Goans holding the Portuguese flag and posters with inscription like: "Todos Unidos por Portugal" (All united for Portugal) and "Viva a India Portuguesa" (Long live Portuguese India).

*35 feni is usually defined as a strong alcoholic drink distilled from coconut or cashew, cf. e.g. Ivor Lewis, *Sahibs, Nabobs and Boxwallahs*, op.cit., p.110. More precise it is defined by K.T. Achaya: "feni Distilled liquor with a

distinctive flavour developed in Goa by Catholic monkss from the red 'fruit' of the cashew (q.v.) tree. Distilled coconut toddy is also sometimes loosely termed feni", K.T. Achaya, *A Historical Dictionary of Indian Food*, op.cit., p.67. "toddy A simple anglicization of the Hindi term tari (itself from the Sanskrit tala), the fermented sweet sap of the tar or palmyra palm (q.v.) ...", K.T. Achaya, *A Historical Dictionary*, p.253.

*36 Cited from James M. Anderson, *The History of Portugal*, The Greenwood Histories of the Modern Nations, Westport, Connecticut, London, Greenwood Press, 2000, p.153. As well J.M. Anderson's use of concepts like "invasion", i.e. by the Indian troops instead of *liberation*, and later "loss of Goa" instead of e.g. *returning to India* shows the obstinacy with which a traditional Eurocentristic vocabulary remains as well in scientific texts.

*37 K. Larsen discusses many of the problems alluded here in her *Faces of Goa*, op.cit., Chapter 4, "Liberation: Causes and Consequences", pp.145-182, special attention, again, deserves here the sub-chapter 'Post-Liberated Goa', pp.167ss.

*38 For Botto cf. the entry "BOTTO, bôttö ... Sacerdote hindu" (Hindu Priest) in: S.R. Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.141. Of interest are the historical citations, illustrative for the historical use of the concept by Europeans from the late 16th century to the beginning 20th century.

*39 For recent developments and for the actual situation of tourism in Goa, cf. Óscar G. Pereira, "Tourism in Goa. Risks and Opportunities", in: Ch. J. Borges, Ó. Pereira, H. Stubbe, eds., *Goa and Portugal*, op.cit., pp.91-107

*40 S.R. Dalgado cannot give the origin of "Bebica ou bibica; bebinca", but estimates that the word has come from outside because this sweetmeat is given the same name in Konkani. He mentions two varieties, a very voluminous one and a smaller one which, described with a citation from

"Alberto O. de Castro, A Cinza dos Myrtos, p.170" from 1906, there explained as a "Sweetmeat (Doce) of Goa, made of wheat flour, eggs, almonds, and coconut milk", S.R. Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, op.cit., Vol.II, p.466. Dalgado observes that "bebinca" is used as a word in, the as well by him so called, "India Portuguesa" (a problematic concept not be discussed here). But I want to mention that "bebinca ...bebinga" appears, too, in Graciete Nogueira Batalha, *Glossario do Dialecto Macaense*, Macau, Instituto de Cultura de Macau, 1988, p.71, as a different local variety. Referring herself to R.J. Wilkinson, *A Malay-English dictionary*, London, 1955, she hints at the possibility that the word might come from "bingka 《a Malay cake made of rice flour, coconut cream, eggs and sugar》”, what, according to her, seems similar to the "bebinca of milk of Macau"

*41 This fact is worth to be compared with a similar event in M Mukundan's novel *On the banks of the Mayyazhi* (1974). In this novel it told how the people in the little French town Mayyazhi, which the French claimed as colony up to 1954, were given the option to vote for Indian or French citizenship. Some of those who voted for the French one, it is said, were sent subsequently to fight in Indochina from where they returned mutilated to Mayyazhi; cf. my study on that novel mentioned above in footnote 1.



The dictator António Salazar in what I see as a mere staging for his propaganda. It is worth to look attentively at Salazar's face. The original caption reads: "Salazar embraced by a Portuguese woman from overseas, when the liberated liner "Santa Maria" arrived in Lisbon", from A.A. de Andrade, *many races one nation Portugal*, op.cit., first photography (without paging).



One more picture in which I see nothing but a staging. The original caption reads: "Massed Goans carry Portuguese flags during patriotic demonstration", *ibidem*, photography next to last.