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The Status of Portuguese Language and Some Other Cultural Aspects in Goa

If one glances at the past happenings, one can observe that in the beginning, educational institutions were controlled by the church through the different religious orders, pioneers in this field being the Colegio de Santa Fé established by two priests namely Father Diogo de Borba and Fr. Minguel Vas¹. It was later handed over to St. Francis Xavier and the Jesuits later on appended it to *Colegio de S. Paulo*. The Domicians, Franciscans and Augustinians and the Oratorians did not lag behind and they set up their own institutions.

Pre-Liberation

However, a drastic change was to come with the Prime Ministership of Marques de Pombal who took the bold step to expel the Jesuits from Portugal and her overseas colonies², on account of which two posts of teachers for reading, writing and arithmetic, two teachers of Latin grammar, one of Greek and one each of rhetoric and philosophy were created.

The primary and secondary education within the Portuguese territory was supervised by the Real Mesa Censoria, which sent instructions to India. All the expenses incurred on the new educational system was met by a special tax called – *Subsidio Literário*, which was obtained by charging *one real* on every pound of meat and ten *reis* on canada de aguardente³.

However, the Governor Veiga Cabral suspended the payment of the teachers from the *subsidio literário* with effect from January 1798 on the grounds that the existing two seminaries were enough and the situation prevailing was not conducive to cover expenditure on education⁴.

Thus, in the beginning of the 19th century, the primary education was limited to parish schools, and secondary, to the existing seminaries.

^{1.} The Confraria of Santa Fé was established on 24th April 1541.

^{2.} Carta Régia of 6th November 1772.

^{3.} L. de Menezes BRAGANÇA, Educação e Ensino – In India Portuguesa, Nova Goa, Impresa Nacional, 1923 : 74.

^{4.} Op. cit. : 76.

This set up, improved during the Governership of Count of Sarazedas in 1808 and was given an impetus by Viceroy D. Manuel de Portugal e Castro who established six public schools to teach elementary subjects⁵.

As the governors/viceroys changed so did the educational system in Goa. They did not always follow the orders from the Center but rather decided on their own. For example, Lopes de Lima during his 19-month administration created forty-nine private schools, of which twenty-one were established in Bardez, seventeen in Salcette and eleven in Ilhas⁶. The Escola Normal was also established in 18417.

As for secondary teaching, he established schools of French, English and history, three of Latin, logic and rhetoric, five of Portuguese, grammar, arithmetic, history, geography and chronology of events.

On the other hand, his successor Count of Antas reduced the number of primary and secondary schools.

Of the primary schools there were only ten in Salcette, nine in Bardez and six in Ilhas, and of the secondary, only three of Latin in each of the capitals of the three Old Conquests talukas, six schools were created in the New Conquests - namely Pernem, Bicholim, Satari, Ponda, Zambaulim and Canacona⁸.

Lopes de Lima also reformed the Academia Militar de Goa, which was established by Count of Rio Pardo in 1817. Escola Matematica e Militar was also started which improved the method of teaching.

At the end of the 19th century, we have primary education and secondary education institutions administered by the Government with primary schools, religious, military, medical and teacher training institutions.

Here I would like to mention the parish schools which played an important role in imparting the 3 Rs to the students and in teaching music which gave many a Goan an opportunity to get employment in the neighboring Union of India and abroad to work as musicians, and which were responsible for the Goan's inclination towards music.

From this brief description we have noticed that the administration of education changed from that governed by religious orders to that administered by the State. The closure of all the religious orders in Portugal and colonies in the year 1835 were responsible for this change⁹.

However, institutions set up by the Government to formally educate people were not sufficient to cater to their needs neither were they accessible to all.

This gave rise to private institutions and individuals shouldering burden of responsibilities of teaching and educating the Goans. These used to prepare and train the students for the primary and secondary exams besides training people in different professions.

In the 50's of this century, the official educational set up consisted of primary, secondary which included the Lyceum and the Technical schools, seminary, and professional courses like medicine, pharmacy, nursing and teaching.

Op. cit. : 78. 5

Op. cit. : 84. *Op. cit.* : 83. 6.

^{8.}

Op. cit. 184. P.S. VARDE, History of Education in Goa from 1510 to the Present Day, Panjim, Goa Vidya

The primary education was made compulsory by a decree of the Government and the teaching had to be exclusively administered in Portuguese or Portuguese-Marathi, Portuguese-Guzerate and Portuguese-Urdu combinations¹⁰.

The statistical report of 1953 gives us the following break up

Primary education in	schools	teachers
Portuguese	128	221
Portuguese-Marathi	4	4
Portuguese-Guzerate	9	9
Portuguese-Urdu	11	12

The total number of students in the schools was 11,868 in the year 1952.

English education was started by Father Lyons, when he established a school at Arpora, namely Sacred Heart of Jesus High School. In the course of years, more schools teaching in English medium were opened. In 1950, twenty-five schools in Goa had students who appeared for Senior School Certificate exam of the Poona Board. Of these, thirteen were in Bardez, eight in Salcette, two in Tiswadi and one each in Marmagoa and Sanguem *Taluka*. The students appearing for this exam could opt for Portuguese language as a second language.

A student who wished to study through a medium other than Portuguese, had to necessarily pass his *primeiro grau* exam and only then he could continue his studies in whichever medium he wished to.

It would be interesting to note that Portuguese language was made compulsory at the primary level and the institutions teaching secondary and professional courses were through Portuguese medium. In spite of this, we will find that the percentage of those who knew to read and write the language was very small.

The myth that Portuguese was the language of the local populace, specially the Catholics is wrong. Only the educated people spoke the language, the majority continuing to speak in Konkani.

The Franciscans were successful in convincing the viceroy Francisco de Távora to issue a decree in 1684, ordering the native people to learn the Portuguese language. The parish priests and the school teachers were asked to impart instruction in that language, so that in the course of time the Portuguese language would be spoken by all and would replace their mother tongue. A time-limit of three years was provided for realizing for this project.

By a subsequent decree it was made known that persons admitted to priesthood, in addition to satisfying all other canonical requirements, had to know and speak portuguese. This was required not only from the candidate, but also from his close relations of either sex. The decree also placed impediment to the marriage of any person who did not know or speak the

^{10.} Later the Government issued an order N° 7361 dated 13th October 1958, which made primary education through Portuguese compulsory for all children in the age group 7 to 13, who had a school within a radius of three kilometers, unless they were sick or, otherwise physically or mentally unfit. Different levels of fine would be imposed for those not obeying the order.

portuguese language. The impediment applied immediately to Brahmins and Chardos, and to other castes after six months, which was the period given to such persons to learn the language.

The Portuguese archbishop D. Fr. Manuel de S. Galdino in 1812 ordered that the teachers should be well versed in Portuguese and they should not communicate to the students in a language other than Portuguese. In this connection, Cunha Rivara, the well known Portuguese orientalist and promoter of the Konkani language said, « the students learned to read and write automatically Portuguese, without understanding a single word »¹¹. This comment was made in the middle of the last century and continues to be the same in the middle of this century.

In 1940, the daily A Vida from Margao published an article in which it says, « the majority of the students speaks and thinks in Konkani from the cradle ». And in 1950, Sebastiao Morao-Correia, who was the principal of the Lyceum Afonso de Albuquerque, Panjim and later Director of Education commented « the majority of the students learn by heart the stereotyped rule of phonetic, morphology and sintax, but the principal is missing: the spirit of the words ».

And on the depth of the influence that the Portuguese language had in Goa, Morao Correia concluded, « never in Goa the spoken Portuguese is currently used by the masses. Those who speak, do so out of necessity and with certain reservations ». This only confirms what S.R. Dalgado wrote in 1900, « Very rare, with the exception of a few "descendente", who constitute a small parcel of the population, who utter it in childhood, and even this with influence of Konkani ». Portuguese in Goa, was the language of a few educated Goans who patronised it.

Post-Liberation Period

This was the scenario of Portuguese language and education in Goa before liberation in December 1961.

Soon after the takeover by the Indian Army in its successful operation Vijay, the military rulers promulgated and issued orders taking over the governance of Goa, Daman and Diu under the Removal of Difficulties Act, and conferred the powers and functions previously exercised in the territory of Goa, Daman and Diu by the President of Portugal, Overseas Minister *(ministro do Ultramar)*, Governor General of the State of India on the Administrator, and those exercised by the Secretary General and the Police Commandant on the Chief Civil Administrator of Goa and the Senior Superintendent of Police¹².

The promulgation was issued in the *Boletim official* which is now called *Government Gazette*, and the same was issued in both Portuguese and English languages. This system continued for a couple of years and it was discontinued in the year 1966. Besides, the administration was conducted in the Portuguese language since most of the staff, was not adequately conversant with either English or Hindi, both national languages of India,

^{11.} M. SEABRA & V. DEVI, *Literatura Indo-Portuguesa*, Lisbon, Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, 1971 : 49.

^{12.} Government Gazette, Sr. I, n° 12, dated 22nd of March, 1962.

and gradually changed to English. Some of the staff who gave up jobs out of fear or even left the country, were invited to rejoin, and their absence condoned by the Absorbed Employees Act¹³.

The educational institutions in Goa continued to teach courses in the Portuguese medium although some institutions changed to the English medium from the following academic year, i.e. 1962-1963, while others like medical, pharmacy, teachers training had parallel courses in both languages till the date there were students for the Portuguese course.

Government primary schools continued to teach in Portuguese till the year 1967. The *Liceu* in Panjim, continued regular courses in Portuguese till the year 1967. However, after this year the courses were discontinued for want of students for the Portuguese medium. *Liceu* had in the meantime been affiliated to the All India Board of Higher Secondary Education, New Delhi, and conducted classes simultaneously for those who wished to study through English medium.

Teachers at both levels – primary and secondary, had to learn English. Teachers teaching in primary had to learn to teach it to the students. Similarly, Government employees had to undergo training in English language.

Students were caught in the transition period, and for most who had had all their education in Portuguese, it became a difficult task to cope with their studies.

Similarly, professional courses in medicine, pharmacy, seminary, teacher training and nursing, continued to be imparted in the Portuguese medium till they had students for the courses although the institutions also started parallel courses in English.

The regular Lyceum course, i.e. 7^e ano, continued till 1964. Repeaters, however, were allowed to appear and clear their exams as external students till 1967. The students of 5^e ano continued regular courses upto 1965 and, repeaters were allowed to answer the exams up to 1967. In the year 1963-1964, a new batch of 1^o *ciclo*, i.e. first and second year was started. But it did not continue. In the year 1963, the students of Escola tecnica industrial e comercial were transferred to Lyceum, and the institution stopped conducting courses in Portuguese.

The Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, had promised a special status for Goa and this was achieved in the form of a Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu. When in 1967, the opinion poll (the only one) was held in Goa, Daman and Diu, people voted against the merger of the territories with any of the neighboring states thereby reconfirming the status of a Union Territory.

Maintaining the uniqueness of Goa, Daman and Diu was one of the promises that the Prime Minister had made, and saw to it that Portuguese was taught in these territories. Hence the Delhi Board made arrangements to teach in Goa Portuguese as a second language along with French and other Indian classical languages.

The books adopted during the Portuguese regime were not found to be satisfactory. A committee of three teachers, namely Messrs. Joaquim de Silva, Alfredo Dias and Pedro Noronha, were given the task of putting

^{13.} Absorbed Employees Act published in *Government Gazette*, Sr. I, n° 43, dated 21st of January, 1966.

together different texts, with emphasis on Goan authors writing in Portuguese and Portuguese Writers' Classics. This compilation was called *« Selecta Literária »* and was recommended for the students from 5th to 8th standard. In the intervening period before the *Selecta* was published, the teachers of the school made a cyclostyled compilation. These included selected texts which later were printed in the *Selecta Literária*. From 9th to 11th, the books recommended were *Selecta* by Anvekar, and the text *Frei Luis de Sousa* of Almeida Garrett.

Portuguese was also taught in some secondary schools as a second language. The colleges affiliated to the University of Bombay had facilitated option of Portuguese as second language up to inter. Dhempe College in Panjim went ahead by offering additional Portuguese instead of additional English for those students who opted for it. These students had to use as text *A Musa em Férias* by Guerra Junqueiro and *A Cidade e as Serras* by Eça de Queiroz.

Xavier's College, Mapusa offered a Bachelor of Arts in Portuguese and the post-graduation centre of the Bombay University, had a combination of French, six papers and Portuguese, two papers for Master of Arts.

In the beginning, soon after liberation, the interest in the language continued. However, the expectations of the teachers being very high, and the students' performance not being up to the mark, the markings for final exams were not very high. Whereas those who opted for French, Marathi, Konkani, an better easier syllabus, which ensured that students scored good marks. This probably led the students to shy away from Portuguese. In 1980, there were hardly 100 students who opted for Portuguese as against 29,940 soon after the liberation.

1984-1985	Scl	nools	7th	g_{th}	10th
Tiswadi	2	54	45	39	138
Bardez	7	26	41	21	88
Salcette	9	98	65	32	195
Mormugao	1	6	03	09	
Daman	1	45	30	10	85
Diu	1	-	5	-	5
	21	223	192	105	522

The following is the *taluka*-wise and class-wise break up given for the year 1984-85 of the students who opted for Portuguese :

However, later on we find a higher number of students opting for Portuguese¹⁴. Why this change ? Probably the incentives given as prizes to the students scoring highest marks might have been responsible for this change. The Portuguese Embassy offered prizes for the students in the form of up and down airfare and stay in Lisbon. However, later the prizes were only in cash and at present it is Fundação Oriente which gives the prize. The coordinating committee of Portuguese Language of Goa Board also saw to it

14. Students declared successful in Portuguese at the Goa Board High and Higher Secondary School Certificate Examination :

	March 1996	March 1997	March 1998
SSC	66	85	98
HSSC	37	48	56

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that new books were prepared for the students to suit today's needs. Their efforts were realised when *O Passo Novo, Primeiro,* was published in the year 1991 for 8th standard students. In the next two years, *O Passo Novo, Segundo* and *Terceiro* were made available to the students. There are fifteen schools where Portuguese is an optional language. The university has MA degree with eight papers and also conducts courses for beginners, intermediate and advanced levels. One can also opt for Portuguese at BA level and the classes are conducted at the university.

Newspapers and Journals

The Portuguese newspaper on the otherhand continued to publish in spite of competition from the English and vernacular press and decrease in readership. However, due to financial burden it was too difficult for the owners who were mostly well-to-do individuals to continue publication.

At the time of liberation there were five dailies in Goa, namely *O* Heraldo, Heraldo, *A* Vida, Diário de Noite and Diário de Goa. With the exception of *A* Vida and Diário de Goa, which were published from Margao, the other three were published from Panjim. It was Heraldo, established by Antonio Maria da Cunha, and was editor in 1961, Alvaro de Santa Rita Vaz, which first pulled down the shutters with the last issue dated 15th April 1962, N° 15.703. The paper had completed fifty-three years, and the first issue had appeared on 21st May 1908.

A Vida and Diário de Noite, the second an eveninger published till the year 1967. A Vida started in 1963 an English and Konkani supplement in order to increase the readership and arouse interest in the Konkani language. The Konkani supplement appeared on Sundays and carried a column entitled Aprenda o Concani (« Learn Konkani »). When the management of A Vida decided to cease the Portuguese edition, it started a Konkani paper called Divit which also closed down after a few years.

Diário de Noite established by the journalist Luis de Menezes, which started publication in 1919, wound up in December 1967. It had also started a page in English.

O Heraldo was the first private daily in Goa and in the year 2000 it will complete its centenary. The daily changed to full-fledged English edition from 10th October 1983. The paper was founded by Prof. Aleixo Clemente Messias Gomes and the first issue was dated 22nd January 1900. After liberation, the owners' left for Portugal and Mr Antonio Caetano Fernandes, a city businessman, bought the newspaper. In order to improve the sale, the paper started with Konkani and English supplement which existed in the erstwhile regime and was the only paper that continued publication in Portuguese as late as 1983. The English edition under the old registration, retained the same name with « *o* » written on the extreme of the title i.e. *o* Herald o.

Diário de Goa, a daily was founded by Dr Alvaro Costa, from Margão who also was the editor. The first issue appeared on 1st February 1953 and it ceased to publish in *A India Portuguesa* a weekly, was started in 1850. It was the official party paper of the *Partido Indiano*. The person at the helm of the *« Partido »* was Jose Inácio de Loyola. In 1950, D. Leonor Loyola Furtado e Fernandes took over as director. After liberation it was renamed *A India*. The paper ceased publication in the 60s. In 1964, it was subject to press

censorship by the Government of Chief Minister D. Bandodkar, as the paper had inclination towards favoring the Portuguese.

A Vanguarda was published first on 25th November 1954, by Tipografia Economica de Mapusa, Bardez. It had two sections; the Portuguese managed by Carlos Pegado e Sousa and the Konkani by Prabhakar Tendulkar. It continues to be published till date, but in English and appears only on some occasions like Republic, Independence, and Liberation Day. The present editor is Mr Bonifacio Dias.

Porjecho Adar (Auxilio do Povo), weekly, started its publication on 1th January 1930 at Nova Goa. Its founding editor was Jose Batista Vaz, it was in Konkani and meant to mainly cater to the masses, had a small section in Portuguese, and meant for governmental information. The paper also promised to defend the cause of the downtrodden. It stopped publication when the owner died.

Vaurandecho Ixtt (Amigo dos Operários) started publication on 20th December 1933, as a bilingual weekly in Margão. The founder editor was Fr. Arsenio Lucio Fernandes. Most of the coverage is in Konkani and some articles in Portuguese. It continues to be published till date but only in Konkani at Pilar Convent.

A number of attempts were made by individuals to start newspapers or magazines in Portuguese. However, due to paucity of funds and lack of readers, the attempts were unsuccessful. These included *A India Hoje, Era Nova, Ressurge Goa, Voz de Goa.* There were also some magazines that had the same fate, like *Harpa Goesa, O Globo, Revista da Academia e da Cultura e Língua Portuguesea.*

It would be interesting to note that two of those who started the paper were freedom fighters and nationalists who vociferously fought against the colonial rulers. Dr Carmo Azevedo started *A India Hoje*, a weekly for the Portuguese speaking world in 1965. From May 1967, it became a monthly and gradually stopped. He also started another weekly, *A Era Nova* in 1969 and the first issue was dated 9th November. The editorial mentions that the aim of the weekly was to narrow the gap between the daily *O Heraldo* and the monthly *O Globo*. The weekly from 31st May 1970, became fortnightly and quickly stopped its publishing.

Dr Telo Mascarenhas was deported and jailed in Peniche, Portugal for long years for his anticolonial activities. During his years of exile in Bombay, he published clandestinely *Ressurge Goa*, a political newspaper from 1950 to 1959. On his return to Goa from Portugal in 1970, he restarted *Ressurge Goa* as a cultural and political paper. The first issue was dated 26th January 1972 and the last 30th December 1977. The paper was supposed to be fortnightly but later on, from January 1976, it became monthly. He aimed it to be an *Orgão quinzenário do povo Goes* in Portuguese, Konkani and English languages.

The last attempt was made by a group of individuals who were lusophones and decided to form an association and start a paper. The president was Dr Maximo Menezes and Dr Benicio Nunes, a physician by profession, and an ex-editor of *O Heraldo*, was the associate editor. They suitably named the paper *A Voz de Goa (The Voice of Goa)* and it's aim was to be *Orgão de cultura e difusão da lingua Portuguesa*. This paper was a weekly, which appeared on Thursdays, but unfortunately it too had to close down. The paper was published from 10th March 1983 to 5th April 1984. A Luta was another weekly started by Dr Eduardo Dias, which lasted for a couple of years, even though it was published at irregular interval of time.

An interesting queer story is that of *A Voz de Fontainhas*, a paper that was published by Junot Fonseca. Having lived in the *Bairro de Fidalgos* as Fontainhas, as the Latin quarter of Panjim was known, he wished to name it *A Voz de Fontainhas* and he was keen that the paper would come to light on 25^{th} December. By the time his request for registration was given approval by the Central Government, a number of years passed and his dream materialised on 25^{th} December 1982. It was to be a weekly, but it only survived a couple of issues.

Victor Telles had started the publication of *Segunda Feira* (« Monday ») in 1983 and lasted but with irregular publication for two years.

Journals

Some of the old journals continued to publish in Portuguese or were later on bilingual, to finally become solely English. *Renovação* the church official publication continued in Portuguese till 1976, with Fr. Dr. Lucio da Veiga Coutinho as editor. Presently it is entitled *Renewal*. The *Renovação* which started in 1970 and was published by the Instituto Pastoral S.Pio X, at Old Goa, began as a supplement to the *Boletim da Arquidiocese de Goa* which had started publication in 1940, and ceased in 1971.

Harpa Goesa was the official publication of the Centro da Cultura Latina, and its editor Farm. Renato de Sá. Fourteen issues were published before it was discontinued, on his death.

O Globo edited by the journalist Antonio de Menezes, first came in July 1968 and stopped in October 1977. It was a monthly and from July 1972, it became *Globo* the only Portuguese-English monthly in India.

The Academia da Língua e Cultura portuguesa had its publication in the form of a biannual *Revista* (a journal). Twelve issues in six volumes were published from 1981 to 1985. The editor was Dr Miguel Caetano de Miranda and principal publisher Professor Carlos Xavier and it was devoted to publish articles on Portuguese language, culture and history.

Associations

Various cultural associations were established during the course of time by individuals or group of individuals to promote and maintain the Portuguese language and culture in Goa. Most of them organised cultural programmes and language courses for students willing to learning Portuguese. Some of them also had publications in Portuguese. However, most of them did not last long and some had very little noteworthy activity.

A Centro de cultura latina was established by Farmaceutico Renato de Sá, in the year 1964. This centre was housed in a room, in one of the two houses the Municipality had in the Garcia de Orta Municipal Garden, Panjim. It conducted courses in Portuguese and French, and organised competitions for students in essay writing, poetry and other literary forms. The Centre also had a library with books in Portuguese and periodicals received from Portugal and Brazil. *A Harpa Goesa* was the publication of the centre and de Sá its editor. Fourteen issues were published annually, the first one was issued in December 1968. It ceased after his death.

The Associação de estudos e amizade dos povos e comunidades de língua portuguesa (ACELP) of Portugal established a branch in Goa in the year 1981. The moving force behind was Dr. José Rangel.

Academia da língua e cultura portuguesa was established on 31st October 1981 with the aim and motto of developing the dying Portuguese language and culture in Goa. It was the outcome of the centenary celebration of Camões, the writer of the great Portuguese epic Os Lusiadas. The Academia also celebrated the death centenary of Marquis de Pombal. Exhibitions, musical programmes, cultural meets, competition for students at different levels were organised by the Academia. Courses in Portuguese language were also conducted and a biannual periodical called Revista da Academia published twelve issues in all. The president of the association was Mr Froilano Machado, then speaker of the Goa Legislative Assembly with Professor Carlos Xavier as the Secretary. Some of the aims of the « Academia » were to promote the study of Portuguese language, to study the Portuguese occupation of India, to publish a magazine in Portuguese and English for wider publicity; to translate into Portuguese works in Indian languages. The Academia went a step further by requesting the Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting to reintroduce an external feature programme in Portuguese, to be broadcast from New Delhi, as was done before the liberation of Goa. Similarly, to introduce a five-minute news programme in Portuguese on all days of the week from the Panjim Radio Station.

Dr Carmo Azevedo set up the Centro informativo, cultural indo-latino (CICIL), which was inaugurated on 26th March 1966, with an entertainment programme held at the Institute Menezes Bragança, Panjim. CICIL periodically organised talks.

Circulo de amizade indo-portuguesa (Indo-Portuguese Amity Circle) was instituted to promote friendship and cultural ties between India and Portugal. They also had grand plans to establish Portuguese Elementary, Primary schools with a view to preparing the candidates for their admittance to the Institute of Portuguese language, which the Portuguese Government intended to start in Goa. To promote lectures and publicmeetings on Portuguese language and culture, as well as an exchange of musical, dramatic and folk-dance programmes and film-shows. It also aimed at conducting friendship and study tours to Portugal and at granting scholarships to the students who secured the highest number of marks in Portuguese. It set up a theatrical group for performing cultural programmes and were successful in organising a sarau cultural a musical evening at the Institute Menezes Braganza. The group was led by Mr Eustaquio Afonso de Sousea from Mapusa. The President of the Círculo was Dr Telo de Mascarenhas, the Vice President was Mohan P. Tamba, and the Secretary was A. Ribeiro Santana. The Director of the Association Dr Cicálio Costa.

Centro de estudos indo-portuguese Voicuntrao Dempo (Center of Indo-Portuguese Studies Voicuntrao Dempo), was inaugurated in April 1988. A trust was constituted in 1987 with Vasantrao S. Dempo as the President, Dr. José Rangel as the Director and Advocate Manohar S. Usgaocar and Vassudeva V. Dempo as members. The Centro is housed in its own premises at Rosary Apartments Miramar, and conducts regular classes in Portuguese besides having a reference library for those interested. It proposes various programmes where Indo-Portuguese history and culture are involved. It is also responsible for publishing the *Goa Law Times* since January 1988, a monthly legal journal reporting judgements of the Supreme Court of India arising therefrom. Another important publication of the Centro was the Civil Code translation of laws relevant to Goa.

Instituto indo-portuguese was established in the year 1989 and inaugurated on 10th January 1990, by a group of individuals led by Maria de Lourdes Figueredo. They have their own premises at the Gharse Building in Panjim. The Instituto conducts regular classes in Portuguese simultaneously in Panjim, Margao, Vasco and Mapusa. They also have different cultural programmes, like talks, Indo-Portuguese cookery contests, etc.

Dr Jorge Renato Fernandes, who is also the President of the local branch of Cidade de Lisboa, which has Dr Carlos Abececias as the President in Lisbon, and his associates established in 1991 the Sociedade dos amigos de Portugal which besides conducting different cultural activities also teaches Portuguese by bringing resource persons from Lisbon. It also conducts tours for young people to Portugal, where accommodation, boarding and internal journeys are arranged by the Sociedade. It had also organised festival of Portuguese food, with cooks specially flown from Portugal in 1996.

In 1993 ELO^{*} inaugurated its Goa branch with Dr Carmo Azevedo as its President. Some talks on Portuguese culture and language were organised under its aegis. However, at the moment it is dormant. ELO was brought to Goa by a Goan Dr. Judas Barros who is settled in Brazil. Probably not being happy with its functioning, he opened in 1995 a branch of International Relations of the Portuguese Speaking, with Jorge Nuno Colaço as its President. However, no activity whatsoever was organised by the branch.

Besides the above associations it would be worthwhile mentioning the Institute Menezes Bragança (earlier Instituto Vasco da Gama), Xavier Centre of Historical Research (XCHR), Central Library, Panjim and Goa Historical Archives, which in one way or the other are responsible in maintaining the Portuguese language and culture, be it by publishing journals in Portuguese or conducting language courses or by having good and extensive collection of books and manuscripts in their collections.

The social clubs e.g. Vasco da Gama, Nacional, Harmonia also participated in maintaining the Portuguese language and culture by organising *Noite de fados, Récitas* and musical programmes.

We even have in Goa a representation in the form of a *nucleo* of the Portuguese Soccer club Sporting at the *Confeitaria italiana* in Panjim, which was inaugurated on 26th February 1997.

The only official representation of a cultural organisation of the Portuguese Government are the lecturers at the Goa University who are deputed by the Instituto Camões. It would be pertinent to mention that since Dr. José Lume took charge as the lecturer at the University, things have changed for

Note from the editor : ELO is a portuguese non governmental organization.

the better. With the collaboration of the Department of Portuguese, regular courses at three levels i.e. basic, intermediate and higher, are conducted. The Instituto Camões also organises lectures, various cultural programmes and exhibitions.

The Consulado geral de Portugal was opened in Goa in the year 1995, but till date the much awaited Cultural Centre, attached to the Consulate has not materialised.

The Fundação Oriente with a delegation in Panjim is working hard to maintain the Portuguese culture in Goa, Daman and Diu. Various cultural programmes and exhibitions are organised with artists from Portugal. They have instituted prizes to those students securing highest marks in Portuguese language. They also pay the salary of the teachers who are not on the payrrol of a school.

Another important activity is the book-fairs organised for books, specially flown from Portugal on language, literature, history, arts, etc. The Foundation has also funded restoration of various buildings with Indo-Portuguese architecture and historical value, e.g. the Chapel of Our Lady of Mount at Old Goa and the Custom House in Panjim. During the tenure of Arch. Paulo Varela Gomes, as the delegate, the library and cyber café were inaugurated in 1998, which offer free service to the citizens.

The present delegate Dr Rodrigues da Costa has successfully organised the 3^{rd} Book-Fair and it is hoped that more activities will be added to the existing ones.

Further Aspects

Portuguese language had and is being used as an attraction for the tourists by the tourism industry in Goa. The hotels and restaurants have names, which are typical Portuguese names e.g. Rio Rico, A Prainha, Cidade de Goa, Paraíso de Goa, A Cavala, O Cozinheiro. Old Portuguese names have been retained though some of them have changed e.g. Lavandaria portuguesa became Lavandaria indiana, Café Remanso became Café Aram. It would not be surprising to read on the nameplates *Bebidas geladas, Taverna licenciada, Café central* or *Tató, Confeitaria italiana*. Another one reads Bar Sousa – *Estabelecimento de venda de vinhos europeus*. Portuguese food is offered to the guests by various restaurants.

The local Government attempted to change the name of the cities, which spelt Portuguese culture. Panjim became Panaji. However, the orders changing the name of Vasco da Gama to Sambhaji, evoked reaction from the Central Government, which ordered the state authorities to reverse the order and continue calling it Vasco da Gama. Most of the roads underwent a change e.g. Rua Afonso de Albuquerque – Mahatma Gandhi Road, Avenida Vasco da Gama – D.B. Bandodkar Marg, Rua Heróis de Dadra – 18th June Road.

The *Corridinho* and *Malhão* the Portuguese folk dances are an integral part of the performances presented by folk groups at hotels and cultural shows though the authenticity of these dances is dubious.

The Portuguese influenced the dress code of the Goans, who started wearing western clothes. Many of our Hindu brethren were seen wearing a coat and *topi* and instead of trousers, a *dhoti*. The women changed from the traditional sari to dresses and skirt and blouses. In the food, especially the catholic food, the Portuguese left an indelible mark. We have dishes that are Portuguese, or from their colonies, that have been adopted to our taste.

Some of the parts of the Portuguese Civil Code are still in practice in Goa. The law of succession, the family laws and inventory proceedings are according to the Civil Code of 1867.

In 1968, the Vatican in an effort to bring the faithful closer, changed from conducting the liturgy in Latin to the local language. In Goa the masses were lead in Konkani, English and Portuguese. However, it is a slow death to the Portuguese mass which now is held only at the Panjim Church, St. Sebastian Chapel, Panjim and Holy Spirit Church, Margao.

Portuguese has turned into a status symbol for some of those knowing the language. It is perceived by many that those who speak Portuguese belong to the higher strata of the social hierarchy. I know of an incident where the groom was asked by the mother-in-law-to-be if he knew Portuguese, if not, then he would have to learn it, if he wished to be a member of the family.

* * *

We may conclude that throughout the years, after 1961, it has been some of the Goan people's interest in the language and culture that is responsible to maintain both of these in Goa. Unfortunately, Portuguese Government could not do much in Goa after liberation and before 1974, the year when Dr Mário Soares, the then Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs signed the bilateral cultural accord and visited Goa. However, after 1974 nothing much has happened. The promised Instituto da língua portuguesa was not set up. In spite of all the odds, the interest in the language has increased, instead of decreasing. More students opt for Portuguese, more people are interested in learning and speaking Portuguese.

> March 1999 Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa RODRIGUES Central Library, Panaji, Goa

	Schools teaching Portuguese as optional third language	Higher Secondary Schools		
Bardez	St. Mary's Convent, Mapusa St. Britto's High School, Mapusa	Xavier's Higher Secondary, Mapusa		
Salcette	Presentation Convent, Margão Fatima Convent, Margão Loyola High School, Margão Holy Spirit Institute, Margão	Chowgule Higher Secondary, Margão Carmel College, Nuvem		
Tiswadi	Our Lady of Rosary High School, DonaDhempe Higher Secondary, Miramar Paula			
	People's High School , Panjim	Dhempo Higher Secondary, Miramar		
	5 0	l, T.B. Cunha Higher Secondary Scholl,		
	Panjim	Panjim		
	Don Bosco High School, Panjim	People's Higher Secondary School, Panaji		
	Red Rosary High School, Miramar	Rosary Higher Secondary School, Dona Paula		
	Mustifund High School, Panaji	Don Bosco Higher Secondary		
	Auxilium High School, Caranzalem	2		
	Santa Cruz High School, Santa Cruz			

APPENDIX

Note : All the schools do not have full-fledged teachers for Portuguese. Therefore teachers are engaged on lecture basis. Some of these lecturers are paid by the Fundação Oriente.