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निर्मोणें – देणें – झुजोवणें

मनशाचो जल्म देवाचें निर्मोणें अशें म्हणूं येता. एक ताकतदार व्यक्ती एका कुटुंबांत वा संस्थेंत देवाचें देणें म्हणल्यार चूक जाता? “साट सत्तर, फोंडा भितर” अशी एक सांगणी क्रिस्तांव लोकांच्या तोंडार घोळताली. आदल्या काळार सत्तर वर्सां जियेवप म्हणल्यार व्हडली गजाल. आतां दीस बदलल्यात. आतां 70 वर्सांचे मनीस उमेदीन जबाबदारेचो वावर करताना दिश्टी पडतात. केंसाचो रंग सैंबाच्या नेमा प्रमाणें बदलता. पूण मत आनी गिन्यान सदांच तरनाटी दवरून जियेवचे मनीस आमचे भोंवारी आसात. तसल्या व्यक्तींचे माळेंतलो एक व्यक्ती : तॉमास स्टीवन्स कोंकणी केंद्राचे माजी संचालक आनी केंद्राच्या ‘सोद’ संशोधन नेमाळ्याचे संपादक – फा. मातेव आल्मेद. 29 सेतेंब्र 2005 दिसा तांकां 70 वर्सां जातात. 70 पावलांचें नीब घेवन तांणी कोंकणी खातीर केल्ल्या वावराची नोंद करूंक हो सोद : 9 खाशेलो अंक तांकां आमी भेटयतांव. ‘मातेव’ ह्या हिब्रू नांवाचो अर्थ ‘देवालें देणें’. फा. मातेव जेज्वीत संस्थेक, कोंकणी केंद्राक आनी कोंकणी समाजाक देवालें देणें. कोंकणिचो वावर तांकां एक झुजोवणें (challenge) आसलो. तें झुजोवणें तांणी स्विकारून केंद्राच्या वावराक दिशा दिल्या.

कोंकणी लोक मूटभर आनी तो शिंपडोन पडला संसारभर. तांतूं कोंकणी वाचपी चिमटीभर. बरोवपी तीळभर. कोंकणींत सोद वावर करची परंपरा उणी आसलल्यान सोद वावर करतल्यांक सोदूंक दिसाची चूड घेवन भोंवची पडता. हाका लागून सोद नेमाळ्यांत इंग्लेज लेख छापचे पडतात. इंग्लेज लेख छापचें दुसरीं कारणां म्हणजे जें कितें छापलां तें चड लोकाक समजता आनी उपकारता. कोंकणी, कोंकणी मनशांच्या खाशेलेपणाची भास. ती तांच्या गिन्यानाची, तात्वीक आनी तांत्रिक विचारांची भास जांवक ना. तें घडसर आमकां हेर भासो, चड करून इंग्लेज गरजेची आनी फायद्याची.

गोंयचे कोमुनिदादिचेर बरयल्लो लेख, कोमुनिदादिची सुरवात, गांवचें जिवीत, गांवचें प्रशासन चलौवची रीत आनी संबंदीत विशयांचेर बरीच माहिती दिता. हे पद्धतीक गोंयांत राजवटकी चलयल्ल्या राजांची, उपरांत पुर्तुगेजांची मान्यताय हें सर्व इतिहासीक पुराव्यां सैत वर्णन केलां. इतिहासकारांक हो लेख खूब फायद्याचो.

मडगांव शाराचेर एक सुपुरलो लेख आसा. तांतल्यान मडगांवचो आदलो इतिहास कळता. हो लेख गोंयच्या हेर गांवचो इतिहास बरोवक प्रेरणा दिंवक शकता.

शावियेर इतिहासीक केंद्र गोंयांत इतिहासाक संबंद जाल्ल्या विशयांचेर वावर करता. त्या केंद्राची सुरवात, उद्देश, वावर, फुडें करूं येतात त्यो येवजणी हाचेर तॉमास स्टीवन्स कोंकणी केंद्रांत पदव्युत्तर कोंकणी डिप्लोमा करपी विद्यार्थ्यांन एक सोद निबंद बरयला.

Synopsis

The pioneering role of the Portuguese Discoveries in extending the impact of "modernity" was far from a secular exercise. The age of "Lights" was yet to dawn. The Portuguese "Padroado" system was a wedding of the State and Church interests on a world scale. The Society of Jesus played a pivotal role in the practical functioning of this joint venture, saving the State much cost in violent domination of the Eastern cultures.

The missionary activity of the Jesuits, and particularly their pedagogy of catching the youth to mould them more effectively, showed itself in the importance they gave to the sacrament of "Confession". Through this pastoral activity they tendered "delicate" consciences that would be submissive to colonial authorities and denounce any behaviour that could defraud or de-stabilize the State authority. The Jesuits produced "manuals" in vernacular languages to help the natives to make "good" confessions. This essay seeks to contextualize this type of religious literature and to examine the contents of some of them now preserved in the British Library (London) for the mid 17th century Goa (Portuguese India).

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"CONFESSIONÁRIOS" OR MANUALS OF CONFESSION

Missionary tools and their Colonial uses: The Case Study of Goa

— Teotónio R. de Souza*

Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara spent nearly two decades in Goa as Secretary-General of the Government of Portuguese India (1855-1877). In addition to his

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http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Forum/1503/teo_publ.html

Administrative duties, he found time to promote valuable publications on the History of Portuguese India, as well as on the local society. His multi-volume *Arquivo Portuguez-Oriental*, recently reprinted by AES, New Delhi, will remain a classic source of primary Documentation for the history of the Portuguese in India during 16th to 18th centuries.

Cunha Rivara was convinced that Portuguese language could be better promoted through the native languages. As a result of this conviction, he published *Ensaio Histórico da Língua Konkani*,¹ wherein he traced the difficult evolution of Konkani language. The missionaries called it *Língua Canarina*, and at times *Brachmana*, because they believed that the early inhabitants of Goa had come from Canara region² or because the language was written and cultivated by the Brahmins. Konkani continues to be spoken by the inhabitants of Konkani, widely dispersed among other regions where Marathi, Kannada, Tulu and Malayalam are spoken by the local populations. The influence of these languages upon Konkani are obvious. The same had happened to Konkani under the Portuguese political rule, particularly to Konkani spoken by the Goan Christians who had been closer to the Portuguese missionaries. It had become so corrupt that language researchers were generally convinced that it was a dialect of Marathi. Lack of rigour in the use of Roman script in Konkani written by Goan Christians further strengthened this opinion. However, Cunha Rivara, who knew about the similarity and difference between the Castilian and the Portuguese languages, was able to apply the same to the case of Konkani and Marathi.³ He pointed out that the contribution of the missionaries of the XVII century was unknown to the orientalists, and tried to make it known through his *Ensaio*, and other publications of that kind, in order to minimise the harm already caused to the language by the Portuguese colonial presence. It is worth quoting a passage in which he distinguishes Portuguese India from America "discovered" by the Iberians: "India was not America. In this latter region the European

conquerors could exterminate the simple and almost primitive races, and populate it with imported European settlers; the great distance which separated the Indian conquest from the home country, and above all, the unbeatable resistance offered by a numerous population, whose leaders possessed a high level of civilization, forced the conquerors to avoid open violence, and to choose subtle means, though not always mild, to attain the same goals".⁴

From what we know of the written history, open violence was not always eschewed. The same author confirms it also: "In the early fervor of conquest, Temples were demolished, the symbols of the pagan cult were pulverized, and the books written in vernacular languages were burnt, for being judged or suspected of containing precepts and doctrine of idolatry. The wish to exterminate all those who did not convert was not entirely absent. This was not just the case at that time, but even two centuries later there were some wise counselors who recommended such measures to the State authorities."⁵

One could conclude that the times were far from "ecumenism", as the Portuguese scholars seem to suggest at times, referring to the policy of mix-marriages adopted by the Portuguese conqueror of Goa.⁶ The fury of Reformation and Counter-Reformation tended to prevail, and the Inquisition in Goa proved to be the harshest among all that operated in the Portuguese empire.⁷

The policy of mix-marriages was a strategic need and a way of legitimizing the biological needs of the Portuguese soldiery. We cannot deny that some strata of the native society sought to benefit from this policy as a rare and welcome outlet from the traditional oppressive caste system or other socio-economic disadvantages. Thus, for instance, Timmaya who offered his collaboration to Afonso de Albuquerque is mentioned as despised by some sections of the Hindu population that regarded him as a man of low descent ("homem de sangue baixo").⁸ That the mixed marriages were a solution of last-resort, we can conclude from the following report of Afonso de Albuquerque to his king: "With the native women and the local heat, within

less than a year our caulkers and carpenters fail to restrain themselves as men".⁹ Even the strategy of legitimization was at times insufficient to satisfy the passions of his men.

He wrote to his king on another occasion: "Some of your men are tired of sleeping with Christian women and have been found sleeping with the Hindu females".¹⁰ Hence, it is difficult to judge to what extent the policy of mixed-marriages was an expression of "Portuguese ecumenism", as J. Verissimo Serrão wants us to believe. He may be right only to the extent of denouncing some modern readings of racism into the distant Portuguese past: "It is very obvious that the Portuguese were never motivated by feelings of racism as some tendentious authors want us to believe".¹¹

In the colonial context, it is undoubtable that there were relations of domination and subordination, and conflicts of interests. Hence, the relationships could not have been of exemplary equality, though not necessarily based on colour differences. We have enough evidence to prove that there was behaviour of colonial superiority, especially where the lower social strata of the Portuguese were concerned. They sought to make up for the inequalities and discriminations they had suffered in their home country. We need to take into account that most participants in the colonial enterprise were adventurers and even criminals. Among other many witnesses to this situation, we could quote João de Barros, when he refers to a famous renegade João Machado: "When king Manuel sent Pedro Alvares Cabral to India, he gave him this man and many other "degredados" (deportees) to be thrown on lands that were to be discovered".¹² He writes further, confirming this practice: "It pleased His Highness to release some prisoners who were condemned to exile, because the common people here are not interested in involving themselves in these dangers."¹³ This practice became a necessary routine in the XVII century and later. For instance, in 1621, there were no sufficient crew for

the ships leaving for India, the Overseas Council recommended to the king that the judicial authorities of Lisbon should find the needed manpower by catching the ill-behaved (mal costumados), those who had not fulfilled their Easter obligation (desobrigados) and others presently in the central prison (limoeiro), sentencing them to embark to India, completing thereby the 200 crewmen required for each vessel".¹⁴ What gentlemanly behaviour could be expected from such people in India? What respect could they elicit from the native people? The French traveler who spent a couple of years in Goa in the early XVII century, that most Portuguese considered themselves as "fidalgos" and as white men, as soon as they crossed the Cape in order to fool the Indians. He further states: "They despise these poor Indians, whom they treat underfoot. These Indians were greatly surprised when we would tell them that these Portuguese were sons of sailors, cobblers, water-bearers and of other such low professions".¹⁵

The missionaries and the Manuals for confessing

Even though it is not uncommon nowadays to read derogatory comments about the missionaries as accomplices of the Western colonial expansion, we need to admit that colonialism could have been a much more brutal reality without such a missionary accompaniment. The Church took upon itself the task of checking the colonial abuses, reducing thereby more situations of injustice and violence that could occur. In a report sent by the Vicar General Miguel Vaz to king John III in 1545, we read that "the Portuguese are accustomed to beach their fleet and take it to the sea with the assistance of the poor natives. These inhabitants are thereby prevented from working for themselves, cultivating their fields or in something else to earn their livelihood. I believe that none should be deprived from his gainful occupation, and certainly not for free services. These natives are very poor and pay rent for the fields they cultivate. I consider their plight a grave case of oppression. I know this situation well, and cannot bear to describe it in more detail to Your Highness."

The oppression was not always from the colonial agents, as we can read in the same report. There were also natives oppressing natives. The Vicar General defended the need of converting all the natives of Bardez and Salcete as a way of freeing them from the clutches of the all powerful Krishna and Gopu, the Brahmins and "great tyrants" known to me.

Francis Xavier, who started the activities of the Jesuits in the East after his arrival in Goa in May 1542, was writing the following to a colleague and superior in Portugal: "Please do not permit any of your friends to come to India as State official, because to them could be applied the biblical sentence: *Deleantur de libro viventium et cum iustis non scribantur* [may their names be deleted from the book of life and not be counted among the just men]. The Saint also expressed his sadness and frustration with the behaviour of the Portuguese. He wrote to the king of Portugal that as soon as these set foot in India they learn to conjugate the verb "to rob" (*rapio*) in all its moods, tenses and participles".¹⁶

The lack of exemplary behaviour of the Portuguese in India was seen by Francis Xavier as a serious obstacle to the success of the missionary efforts of the Society of Jesus. It was through confessions and preaching that the Fathers of the Society of Jesus sought to combat the vices and other customs that they saw as contrary to the teachings of the Church. Together with catechizing and baptizing (general baptisms were a common practice) the natives, hearing confessions of the whites and the natives was an important pastoral activity of the missionaries. Fr. A. Quadros, Provincial of the Goa Jesuits, was writing in his annual letter of 1555: "General confessions have begun. Many come with questions and to manifest their scruples. Praised be God for these blessings. So many come to our college for confession that it is hard for us to attend to all of them."¹⁷

The Jesuits did not treat the whites and the natives with the same degree of rigour in their spiritual treatment. They were convinced that the natives could be helped more

with confessions than with the punishments of the Inquisition (which Francis Xavier had asked the king to set up in Goa to check the crypto-Jews and to protect the native converts).¹⁸

While still in India, and before leaving for Japan, Fr. Melchior Carneiro wrote to the General Borgia of the Society of Jesus in 1555: "This Christianity is still a weakling and His Highness had decided to send the Inquisition. It will be the end of this Christianity. For God's sake, please write to the king that at least for another 20 years these natives should not be submitted to harsh procedures of the Inquisition. They should be handled with tenderness, and Our Lord would certainly not demand more from them than what is compatible with the capacity and nature He has given them."¹⁹

That same year the Jesuit Aires Brandão was writing to his colleagues in Portugal: "We see growing number of confessions in this college [St. Paul's] to the honour and glory of God our Lord. This is the main fruit of this land, where the people were not used to this practice and would rarely come for confession in the early days. Many even considered the practice repugnant. But now there are many who love confessing, and there is not a single day when our Church is not filled with persons who come every Saturday for confession and every Sunday for communion".²⁰

The correspondence of the Jesuits from India is replete with references to confessions. It permits us to gauge the importance they placed on this pastoral activity for the reform of life or to end well the Christian life. Fr. Sebastião Fernandes wrote to Fr. General in 1569: "Ours are also called to hear confessions of the sick and to assist them to die well. Such calls come from all over the city because Ours are known to be always ready to respond at any time. We visit the prisons and hear confessions of those who are condemned by justice... Those of Ours who understand native tongue do better in accompanying those condemned by the Inquisition, from the day they hear the sentence till the day of punishment. Also the other

prisoners in the *Sala*²¹ and the galleys are visited by Ours on Sundays and days of obligation to teach them doctrine, to hear their confessions and to help them with any material means at their disposal..."²² The missionaries faced the language problem when administering the sacraments to the natives. Not all were competent to provide spiritual assistance to the natives: "Ours who know the language move around the villages and parishes confessing the Christians and helping them in their spiritual needs. Since they are few and the needy are many, it means extra trouble. During the season of Lent they hear confessions in the city churches, and during the rest of the year in the churches outside, both those belonging to us and as well as to others."²³

The Jesuits' pedagogy was based on the principle of catching the people young. The same pedagogy was applied in the spiritual care. Fr. Sebastião Fernandes describes how they started in the village of Cortalim: "Wishing to confess the parishioners, he started with the young boys and moved them to such a sense of devotion and repentance of sins, which they lacked until then, that one lad of barely 10 years of age, had found a piece of cloth of no great value some six months earlier brought it to the priest to return it to its rightful owner. The same boy had some days earlier robbed a needle and wanted now to return it."²⁴

Francis Xavier had foreseen the need of learning native languages in order to enable the Jesuits to perform with greater efficacy their activities in the East. He had initiated a school for the boys, attached to the College of St. Paul in Goa. Boys from all over the East were brought there for education, and some of them became interpreters for Francis Xavier himself in the Fishery coast and in Japan. It was known as the "colégio dos moços da terra" (school for the native boys). It had 645 boys in 1563. Some years later the number had reached 800, including many ethnic groups.²⁵ Fr. Lourenço Pires was writing to Portugal in 1563, describing the services rendered by these boys: "One is a Goan *canarin*,²⁶ and is already able

to preach to the natives in various parishes in their own language. He also teaches the language to some of our Brothers with the help of a grammar he has composed. Some of these Brothers are already showing progress and could very soon converse with the natives in their language."²⁷ In this manner a native boy helped the Jesuits to prepare the first grammar of Konkani and assisted to teach the language to some Jesuits. The Jesuits had been working hard at learning the language, and the younger ones were chosen and given time to devote themselves to that study in a residence at Chorão, where the Jesuits owned a parish, and later a Novitiate. Fr. Gomes Vaz was writing to the Provincial in Portugal about this place in 1556: "Five are presently learning Konkani language (*lingua canarin*). They are considerably good in writing, and their ability to speak it will soon allow them to preach and hear confessions. Two among them are doing so well that they can preach the Gospel and teach catechism during Mass. Fr. Pero d'Almeida does it also when he gets an opportunity. Three other Brothers have been residing there and doing the same. As they need more practice than just learning the grammar, those who have made more progress are advised to go to our parishes and get into direct contact with the Christians and gentiles."²⁸

In order to facilitate the use of vernacular languages in their pastoral activities, the Jesuits composed vocabularies, grammars and manuals for confessing ("confessionários") in those languages. Fr. Henrique Herinques was a pioneer in this sense. Fr. João de Mesquita was writing about his work to the Jesuits in Portugal in 1558: "Fr. Henrique Henriques had composed a grammar (*arte*) in Malabar language [read Tamil] which is a great help for those who wish to learn that language. He speaks better than the natives, and has no need of interpreters [*topazes*]."²⁹ Henrique Henriques also wrote about his own activities: "Some years back I sent a copy of the same grammar. I have improved on it by now, but could not finish it due to my many occupations. I have

also prepared some catechisms in Tamil. Since we have no preachers, they are read in churches on Sundays. I wish I could do more in this line, but I have no time for it. I want to finish a vocabulary on which I am working, and also a "conficoneyro" to help in confessions, a *Flos Sanctorum*,³⁰ and a few other such things."³¹

Confessionários in the British Library

I chanced to find a small sized, leather-bound codex (4.5" x 7") in the *Additional Manuscripts* collection of the British Library some years ago. It begins with "*Arte do Canarim, composta pelos nossos Padres, e tresladada pola mão do clérigo António da Silva Brâmane de Margão*". The title page mentions that this cleric copied it with much care and without any mistakes, to send it with Fr. Antonio Magalhães to Rome, when he went there as Procurator. It was brought back by Fr. Francisco Carvalho, when he went as Procurator.³² Since both left Portugal for India in 1630, we could date this manuscript as belonging to mid XVII century. It has 164 written folios. The "confessionários" are found in fols. 67-121. The codex also includes: "A doutrina Christã abreviada com todo o essencial q hu xpão deve saber. A cartilha é Doutrina toda intr^a tresladada da impressa, composta pello Padre Thomas Estêvão" (fols. 109-121v). Follows "Doutrina Christam em língua Bramana Canarim ordenada a man^a de dialogo përa ensinar os mininos" (fols. 122-163). The ending text on pp. 164-164v is the "bênção das redes dos pescadores" [blessing of the fishing nets] in Latin.³³ The codex is invaluable as a contemporary copy of *Arte* and *Doutrina* of Fr. Thomas Stephens.³⁴ Even though the confessionários printed in 1557 may have been distributed quite generously, and without knowing if there were any in Konkani,³⁵ the absence of any earlier known confessionários makes us consider the copies in this codex as unpublished. It is very likely that the style of composing the confessionários would have remained substantially the same during long period of time.

Cunha Rivara refers to a confessionário belonging to the end of the XVII century and composed by father and

son, both natives of Chorão.³⁶ I tend to agree with Mariano Saldanha, and to believe that existing confessionários are translations or improvements in Konkani and composed by the major Jesuit Konkani experts of the first half of the XVII century, such as Tomas Stephen, Miguel D'Almeida, Diogo Ribeiro, Antonio Saldanha, João de Pedrosa and Etienne de la Croix.³⁷ They worked in parishes of Salcete during long periods of time and knew well the routine life-style of their native parishioners. That is the reason why these manuals can be considered also as very useful source for the socio-economic history of Goa. The questionnaire of the manuals for confessions makes sense only in the context of the daily lives of the people, with reference to the localities, to relationships, to certain practices that were deemed pagan, violation of certain fiscal rules, etc. Let us start reading parts of the text entitled *O Confessionario em Canarim*. The sub-title reads: *Algumas perguntas que se fazem no princípio* [Some initial questions] The rest is in Konkani and extends from fl. 67 to fl. 78v. Here begins the next "Confessionário, ou interrogatório p^a confissões ordinarias" in Portuguese language. From fl. 83 to fl. 88v we have "Interrogatório përa confissoens ordinárias em Canarim", and from fl. 89 to 92v: *Outra versão deste interrogatório* also in Konkani. Hence, we have three questionnaires in Konkani. We shall concentrate here largely upon the first one and comment upon the peculiarities and implications of its contents, noting the use of the Portuguese terms to denote certain objects and practices of the new religion, and pointing to some elements which could be considered as characteristic of the daily life of village folks. From the nature of the questions one could conclude that they are addressed to newly converted, and as such they seem to belong to the period when the conversion drive was still on, that is, from second half of the XVI century till mid XVII century. This is suggested by the following questions:

Christão keleari tuka kitule kalla zale? Konny Igrezê kelelo? Kossiena Christão zâlolo mã? [Since when are

you Christian? In which Church did you become Christian? Did you become Christian willingly?]

Following some initial questions there is a brief instruction about the sacrament of Penance. The penitent is told that the sacrament was instituted by Jesus Christ to cure the diseases of the soul just the same way as the doctors (vaida) cure the physical ills (ângâchi ballalika). The penitent is also told that Jesus Christ appointed the priests to be doctors of the souls and to forgive sins (tankâ Paramesparana hukuma diliâ patakâ bhagasunchi). And goes on: Zaisso yecu mannussu vaidâ lâguy vetâchi, âpanna zari animâna zâtalo, taka kâi lipainâ, sâmesti âpuki ballalika sângatâ... tâissechi confessor zâu'k gueleâri samestâ patakâ Padrika sânguchi'. Tâkâ kâi lipauche' nhoe. Anny confessor karitati Padry mannussa zâlei tari, lazena, ou behâna kâi' tâka lipauche' nhoe. Quite a confessor karite velle Parameshparâchie suâteri, zituqui' patakâ' tâkâ sa'nguili', tituli tâcheâna ziteâ zivâka sângavanâti. [Just like a person that goes to the doctor wishing to be cured and tells him all his sickness without hiding anything... so also he who goes to confession tells all his sins to the priest without hiding anything. Even though the priest confessor is human, nothing should be hidden from him with shame or fear, because at the time of hearing the confession he is in the place of God, and all the sins told to him he cannot tell to any living being.]

The section that follows about introductory instructions seem to indicate that both the penitent and the confessor need this manual for confession: the penitent for being new to the new doctrine and in need of knowing where he failed; and the priest confessor who has difficulties with language and needs to understand what the penitent wants to say, even when he responds with just Yes or No to the questionnaire. One could conclude that not all Jesuits were yet very familiar with Konkani and would not easily follow a normal response of the penitent. It was therefore important that the questions were brief, precise and direct. The manual begins with

questions about the first commandment, defining it as: Yeca satevantâ Paramesparakâ manu diu'cho [Honour the only and holy Lord]. Follow 21 questions about this commandment and the most curious questions proposed for an examination of conscience are: Did you oppose the conversion of others? Did you wish to return to your caste or suggested to a convert to do so? Did you advise a convert to prostitute with Hindu females from across the border? [Bhallateâka zâti gheu'ku, ou pellatâddy konkannea' laguy zâu'ka vachu' sânguilalem?] Did you think that a Hindu or a Muslim who did good works could go to Heaven? [Conkanne mussalmâna pune' keleâri, dana-dharma keleâri vaincuttâ vety se tukâ distâti?] Did you go across the border for any Hindu festival? Did you deny when asked if you were Christian? Or had the intention of denying? Did you mix water with sura or milk, believing that the palm-tree or the cow would not be productive otherwise? Did you resort to any diviner (ghâddy, zhoysy) or to witchcraft to seek any cure or to fix auspicious day for a feast or a wedding? [tâche lâguy kâi paraba assamy ou vhaârâddika sobana karunka murtu nîmiguilâlo?]³⁸ Did you make use of salt to ward off the evil eye when you thought your daughter was affected by it? [Tugelea cheddvâka distti zâlia mhonnu kâi mittha bittha vuâllnu ghâlâlê'?]³⁹

Questions relating to the second commandment want to find out if the penitent swore falsely invoking God, land, parents, children, eyes, or life. It was common practice among Hindus to use such invocations and expect harm to result to the invoked subjects in case of perjury.⁴⁰

As regards the third commandment it was asked if the penitent attended the Mass and did not work without need or made others work on a Sunday or day of obligation. Another question points to the practice of frequent abstinence in those times: Sucrarâ, Sanivâra, ou yekâ bhagtachêâ dissa, ou kâresmaântu mâssa khelâlê' ? [Did you eat meat on a Friday, Saturday or a day of penance during the Lent?] In the same context could be read

another question: Did you drink wine or toddy [sura] till losing senses or causing unpleasant situations?

Concerning the fourth commandment the penitent was asked if he respected the parents and cared for them. The married penitent was asked if he cared for his spouse and children. He/she was also asked if there was any family member who was not yet baptized.

Regarding the fifth commandment the penitent was asked if he/she had desired to kill or actually killed anyone, or had tried to poison anyone, or had taken any poison with the intention of committing suicide. Did he /she commit or helped committing abortion? [Bhaltate' bâllasse' mæcheâ pottântu' marasî quelem? Ou hollunu bhâira paddu'cheâka okhada ghetalâle'?] ⁴¹

When it comes to questions about the sixth commandment entitled Paraduara caru' naye, it distinguishes illicit sexual relations with four types of women: kazary, solteri, ankvâri and cheddy. Tries to define solteri: "mhannazi dâduleachy nhoe, anny âncuâri nhoe."⁴² Asks if the penitent desired to have sexual relations with other women, with or without their wish. Another questionnaire on the same commandment on fl. 91 asks if he had winked to a woman on the road (Vattê vetanâ conny bâileka dekhleâri tikâ ddollo moddilo?)⁴³ This questionnaire goes even deeper into details of homosexual relations, asking if he had genital contact in front or from behind: Bhallateâ cheddeâ lâguy guelâllossii, mukhâ veleâna, ou mâguileâna? There is also a question about masturbation: Apuleâ hatâna modu poro ghâlâlô? Dussrea lâguy tennepramânni kele'?⁴⁴ Apnnapeâthâi kâi âphaddâ-sâphaddy quelâlô? Mhannaze tuve'chi tuzea ângâca âtu bottu lâunu câi paâtaca quelâlô? Tâvalli pollução zâlâlô' mhannaze vrahe madhu paddalâlô?⁴⁵

The seventh commandment which prohibits coveting goods of others, is covered by the confessionário with the greatest number of questions, including some about cheating the State treasury, when the açca-groves (kullagar) were rented out, or by influencing the decisions of the village councils [Gavâyantu bhalla-teâgule' kullâgra

sidâyâka pâvatâ tâvalli zâvo karu' nakâ mhonnu' bhalteâka sânguilâlale' toddeâchi mola dharnu tuzielaguy pâucheâka? Kâi lanchu kanchu guetalâlô bhallatca lâguy âpanna gâvancho nemu gheunu dina ou ânnyeki kâi mazati karina mhonnu'?].⁴⁶ Some of the other questions are: Were you responsible for cheating in the construction of bunds and sluiceways, causing flooding of paddy fields? [Tuve' kâi bându kelâlô? Bându baro kornu nâbândilea pâssâvata bhateâlê' setakamatu nâsslale'?]⁴⁷ Did you manipulate any accounts or tear any page of the village account-book? (kai' vâyeche' tallata chirilale'? pinzunu kâddunu annyeka ghâlele'? bhalateaka kâi nasta yeu'cheaka ou vaitta zau'cheaka?)⁴⁸ When the village gânvkars take some administrative decision (nemu) in the village council, was it recorded fully in the proceedings, or was it modified while recording? [Gau'karâcho nemu gâvatu ditâti to taissochi vayeri baraitâssi, ki nâ? Hou kâi adika unne' karitassi?]⁴⁹ This question implies the collective responsibility of the village elders, each one being held responsible for the collective action. Hence, the implication of individual responsibility to denounce any collective misbehaviour. Those responsible for collecting village dues are asked if they collected anything more in silver or by cheating in exchange rate. [Gâviche' pota queleari lokâri kâi' adika ukhalilale ou rupeache nânne' ghetalalea pâssavata ânnyeku vâttau ghetakâlô? Tu' anny kullakaranny' mellunu lokâri adiku phallo quelâlô? Ou kâi adika prazeri ukhallilâlô? Maguiri dogâny vântunnu vharu'cheâka?]⁵⁰ The Province captain and the clerk treasurer are asked if they forced a debtor to pay in kind by surrendering more cattle or chicken than their dues, or if received any bribes for not doing so. [Capitana, ou escrevâona, ou konneitari gâi dharu'ka dhaddileari, ou kombiyo dharu'ka dhaddileari lhâte mola naditanâ haddillio? ou na haddu'cheaka kâi lanchu kanchu ghetalâlô?]⁵¹

The questions about the eighth commandment relate to respecting the rights of others. The penitent is asked if he tried to harm the reputation and interests of others or

had intention of doing so. Questions about this and the last two commandments do not provide any specific insights about the daily life of Goan people.

Another interesting feature in the confessionário consists of two lists: one of numbers till 100, and the other with degrees of family relationships (by affinity and by consanguinity). The numbers were required to let the confessor know how many times a sin was committed or the amount involved in cases of robbery or cheating. The knowledge of the degree of relationship was also important to decide about the gravity of some sins. I have organized the second list into an Appendix for easier reference. I have opted for keeping the Portuguese terminology as it occurs in the confessionários.

By way of Conclusion, we hope that this brief presentation will rouse the interest of Konkani linguists and social scientists interested in Goa to pursue further their research by exploring this type of religious source material. We know for instance that "direct contact with God" was frowned upon by the spirit of Counter-Reformation which prized "mediation". The sacrament of Penance, that was belittled by the Reformed Church was thus reinforced by the Catholic Counter-Reformation. One could also study the use of Prayer Manuals over centuries among the Catholics, till at least the Vatican II made them largely obsolete. While the common folks said their beads, it was a common sight to see the educated faithful reading their Manuals during the Masses and Liturgy in Latin. The predominant themes of those Prayer Manuals at various times could be analysed to check what were the chief worries of the faithful as individuals and communities at the corresponding times.

¹ Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1858, pp. XLIII+[1]+ 496.

² João de Barros, Da Ásia, Dec. II, P. 1^a, Lisboa, Livraria Sam Carlos, 1973, p. 440.

³ J.H. Cunha Rivara, *Ensaio Histórico da Língua Concani*, p. XLIII.

⁴ *Ensaio*, p. XLXL.

⁵ Loc. Cit.; Documenta Indica, VI, ed. J. Wicki, Roma, 1969, pp. 387-96. The Jesuit Gomes Vaz gives us a contemporary picture of the happenings. "E porque destruirem-se todos juntos não deixaria de causar algum escandalo nos gentios moradores e alteração da terra, buscou-se modo de pouco e pouco se fossem destruindo". The Jesuits soon lost patience with the slow pace of demolitions and adopted a more aggressive posture which cost them lives of the so-called "martyrs of Cuncolim", in 1583.

⁶ J. Veríssimo Serrão, Portugal e o Mundo nos séculos XII a XVI, Lisboa, Verbo, 1992, p. 244. operated in the Portuguese empire.

⁷ A. Baião, *A Inquisição de Goa*, 2 vols., Coimbra, 1930-45; A. K. Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, Bombay, 1961; Francisco Bethencourt, *História das Inquisições: Portugal, Espanha e Itália*, Lisboa, Circulo de Leitores, 1994, p. 273, passim.

⁸ João de Barros, Da Asia, II, p. 546.

⁹ *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, Vol. I, ed. A. Baião, Lisboa, Acad. de Ciências de Lisboa, 1884, p. 21.

¹⁰ Afonso de Albuquerque - *Cartas*, ed. A. Baião, Lisboa, 1942, p. 40.

¹¹ J. Veríssimo Serrão, *História de Portugal*, Lisboa, Verbo (4th ed.), II, p. 195.

¹² João de Barros, op. cit., II, P.2, pp. 134-39.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, P.1, pp. 3-4.

¹⁴ Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa - Cod.33 (*Consultas das partes*), fls. 43-43v.

¹⁵ *Viagem de Francisco Pyrard de Laval*, trad. J.H. Cunha Rivara, II, Nova Goa, 1862, p. 104.

¹⁶ *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta*, I, ed. G. Schurhammer & J. Wicki, Roma, 1944, pp. 281-2.

¹⁷ Documenta Indica, III, pp. 351-2.

¹⁸ *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, trans. M. Joseph Costelloe, Anand Press, 1992, p. 149; *Epistolae*, I, pp. 346-7: Francis Xavier had written to the king John III about it in 1546.

¹⁹ Documenta Indica, III, p. 357.

²⁰ Documenta Indica, III, p. 369.

²¹ *Viagem de Francisco Pyrard de Laval*, II, ed. J.H. Cunha Rivara, Porto, Liv. civilização, 1944, p.21: Describes Sala as one of the four prisons in the city of Goa. It was a complement to the major State prison or *Tronco*. Pyrard de Laval had a taste of Sala, which he describes as the "dirtiest place on earth".

²² Documenta Indica, VIII, pp. 48-52.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

²⁵ Documenta Indica, VII, p. 49.

²⁶ Designation for native Goan Christians. It acquired later a pejorative sense, especially due to frictions with the *descendentes* and *mestiços*. It was equivalent to *canecos* in Mozambique.

²⁷ Documenta Indica, VI, p. 111.

²⁸ Documenta Indica, VII, p. 58.

²⁹ Documenta Indica, IV, p. 127.

³⁰ Was published in Tamil in the Fishery Cosat in 1587 and a copy is preserved in the Vatican Library.

³¹ Documenta Indica, IV, p. 159.

³² J. Wicki, *Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer 1541-1758*, 1967, p. 293.

³³ British Library, Add. Mss. 10359.

³⁴ See the *Doutrina Cristã* edited by Prof. Mariano Saldanha, Lisboa, Agencia Geral das Colónias, 1945. Says that the Confessionários mentioned by L. Frósi could not be more than one, and adds that the use of plural was stylistic. Contrarily, we see in the codex of the British Library that there were in fact various manuals of confession, with different formulae, some meant for general confessions, and others for ordinary confessions. In this codex we can find three in Konkani and two in Portuguese.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 5. Mariano Saldanha is of the view that they were only in Portuguese, because there were no Jesuit experts in Konkani yet.

³⁶ *Ensaio*, p. CCXXX-CCXXXI. This too contained 3 questioning models. Cunha Rivara found them all in a single manuscript book of the XVIII century. The 2nd was entitled "breve confissionário na lingual vulgar" he starts with the same question as the main manual of this codex. The question is: Confessar zatalossi? Probably it was already a standard formula.

³⁷ Bibl. Nac. Vittorio Emanuele: Ms. Gesuitici 1153 — *De Sasatana Península* by Ignacio Archamone, fls. 81v-84v. Contains biodata of these Jesuits and their literary productions in Konkani.

³⁸ Bibl. Nac. Vittorio Emanuele: Ms. Gesuitici 1153 — *De Sasatana Península* by Ignacio Archamone, fls. 81v-84v. Contains biodata of these Jesuits and their literary productions in Konkani. The term Konkanno appears already to designate a Hindu. Pelatádi meant literally across the river (Zuari), but implied border separating the non-Portuguese jurisdiction. The terms ghâddy and zhoysy referred to the temple servants practicing astrology and divination.

³⁹ Add. Mss. 10359, fl. 70, question n. 15.

⁴⁰ Felipe Nery Xavier, *Repertório Geral ou Índice Alfabético das diferentes providencias, resoluções, usos e costumes... das Nova Conquistas*, vols. III, Nova Goa, 1851, p. 65. Faz parte da Collecção de Bandos.

⁴¹ Add. Mss. 10359, fl. 73, question n. 4.

⁴² Ibid., fl. 86, question n. 3.

⁴³ Ibid., fl. 91, question n. 4.

⁴⁴ Loc. Cit.

⁴⁵ Add. Mss. 10359, fl. 86, questions n. 10-11. The proceedings of the Pastoral Visits provide many details about prostitution in Goa. Cf. Teotonio R. de Souza, "The Voiceless in Goan Historiography: A Case for the Source Value of Church Records in Goa", *Indo-Portuguese History: Sources & Problems*, ed. John Correia-Afonso, Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1981, pp. 114-131.

⁴⁶ Add. Mss. 10359, fl. 75, question n. 8.

⁴⁷ Ibid., fl. 75v, question n. 11.

⁴⁸ Ibid., fl. 76, question n. 17.

⁴⁹ Ibid., fl. 76, question n. 18.

⁵⁰ Ibid., fl. 76, question n. 20-21.

⁵¹ Add. Mss. 10359, fl. 76, question n. 22. Many of these details tend to confirm the kind of abuses that prevailed in the villages as studied by Teotonio R. de Souza, *Medieval Goa*, New Delhi, Concept Publ. Co., 1979 with the help of the 17th century village community books in the Goa Historical Archives.

APPENDIX

KINSHIP BY CONSANGUINITY

1 st DEGREE	2 nd DEGREE	3 rd DEGREE	4 th DEGREE
Father = <i>Bapu</i> Mother = <i>Māe</i>	Paternal grandparents - <i>Azo, Bapazo / Azy</i> Maternal grandparents = <i>Azo, Māeazo / Azy,</i> <i>Maey</i>	Great grand parents <i>Pannzo / pannzy</i> Great-grandchildren = <i>Pannat / Pannaty</i> (Pl.) (m/f) <i>Pannatarā</i>	Great great-grandparents - <i>sanzzo / sanzy</i> Great great-grandparents = <i>Sennatu / Sennaty</i>
Son = <i>Putru,</i>	Grandson = <i>Natu</i> (pl.) (m/f) <i>naturā</i>	Grandfather's brother / Sister = <i>Azeacho bhau / Azeachi</i> <i>bhainni</i>	Great grandfather's brother/ sister <i>Pannazacho Bhau /</i> <i>Pannazeachi bheinni</i>
Daughter = <i>Dhruva</i>	Grand-daughter = <i>Nati</i>	Grandmother's brother / sister = <i>Aziechobhau /</i> <i>Aziechibhainni</i>	Third cousin = <i>Bhapalabhau</i> <i>/ bhapala bhainni</i>
Brother = <i>Bhau</i>	Father's brother / sister = <i>Bāpolio / Mavalnny</i>	Grand-uncle's son / daughter = <i>Bhapalabhau /</i> <i>Bhapalabhainni</i>	Third nephew/son of great grandfather's brother = <i>Putannio / Dhuvaddy</i>
Sister = <i>bhainni</i>	Mother's brother / sister = <i>Māullo / Mavcy</i>	Grand-Aunt's son / daughter = <i>Maucibhau /</i> <i>Maucibhainni</i>	
Half-brother = <i>Santibhau</i>	Uncle's son / daughter = <i>Bapalabhāu /</i> <i>Bapalabhainni</i>	Second cousin's son / daughter = <i>Putannio / Dhuvaddy</i>	
Half-sister = <i>Santibhainni</i>	Aunt's son / daughter = <i>Maucibhau /</i> <i>Maucibhainni</i>	Second niece's son / daughter = <i>Bacho / Bachy</i>	
	Brother's son/daughter = <i>Putannio / Dhuvaddy</i>		
	Sister's son / daughter = <i>Bācho / Bāchy</i>		

KINSHIP BY AFFINITY

Stepfather	= <i>Bapolio</i>
Stepmother	= <i>Maucy</i>
Father-in-law	= <i>Māu</i>
Mother-in-law	= <i>Māy</i>
Son-in-law	= <i>Zamvai</i>
Daughter-in-law	= <i>Suna</i>
Brother-in-law	= <i>Meunno</i>
Sister-in-law	= <i>Meunny</i>