

## Goan Literature in Newspapers and Magazines: A Rich Plurilingual Archive

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### The Press as a Literary Archive

Periodicals facilitate the circulation of literary works, representing an easier method of publication for the author and allowing readers cheaper access (Rubery, *Journalism*). At the same time, their pages become archives of the works of authors who are already famous and who will later become part of national or international canons, as well as of lesser known authors, who might not be of interest to a future generation of readers. Similarly, newspapers often archive the work of authors who go unrecognized in their own time until future generations acknowledge their value.

Periodicals also publish reviews of these works as well as articles on the state-of-the-art of literature, favoring or criticizing literary styles, authors or literary works; in so doing, they set literary trends and document the formation of literary histories and systems. Also, the singularity of newspapers as a medium of publication allows the juxtaposition of articles, ads, letters from readers and editorials that express the political, social, and cultural views of the day, helping to contextualize the themes and style of the literary works, often times on the same page (Lobo, *Periodical Press*). There is then a two-way relationship, since newspapers influence the way literary works are written even as writers also help improve the newspaper's language and style. In turn, plurilingual<sup>1</sup> communities have a differentiated style of journalism and concomitantly a more complex literary system depending on the stratified relationship between local and European languages. In these communities, political factors are decisive for both the language of the newspapers and the language of the literature published in them.

This article discusses how newspapers and magazines in plurilingual communities such as Goa, a former Portuguese colony in India (1510-1961), have become a vital archive for scholars to trace local literary histories and rescue worthwhile literary works that lie dormant on their pages. According to Chandrika Kaul, those working in this field face both conceptual and archival challenges (*Empire and Periodicals*). Specifically, Goa's newspapers and literary magazines are dispersed across libraries and private collections on different continents (See De Menezes, *Tomes; Research Libraries*). These collections are often incomplete because they have not survived the handling of several generations of readers and researchers, or the

inclement weather. Furthermore, not all the remaining articles have been digitalized.

Added to the fragility of newspapers as archives is the relationship between these languages, which has varied according to the political situation of the moment, affecting the language in which the newspapers were published. While it was newspapers that gave expression to the first Goan literary narratives in the Portuguese, the end of the colonial regime implied the fall of Portuguese, the affirmation of English, and the enthronement of Konkani as the state language, while Marathi, the other native language of Goa, continued to be the language of knowledge of Hindus in Goa. With the end of the Portuguese regime in 1961, teaching in the Portuguese language was discontinued and, consequently, publications in this language dwindled.

This transition is registered, at a linguistic level, in the changes of language that many newspapers went through, giving rise to a type of journalism typical of plurilingual communities: bilingual or even trilingual publications in which the hierarchy of languages, within the newspaper, or even the alphabet used, depend on the local political situation as well as the community to which they are addressed. At a literary level, these changes affected the number of literary works published in one language or the other, as well as the serialized literary works that appeared on their pages, which were often left unfinished, or had to change newspapers to continue and reach the end of the narrative.<sup>2</sup> Periodicals are thus silent recorders of the rise and fall of both languages and writers in Goa: hence, the need to preserve them as true literary archives that guard the literary past and present of a community.

## The Rise of the Bilingual Periodical

Multilingual periodicals thrive in communities such as Goa, where many times one of the official or dominant languages is foreign, such as Portuguese or English, while vernacular languages have often been marginalized, as with Konkani. Other languages, like Marathi, belong to a sector of the population that for various reasons does not align with power, as in the case of the Hindus during colonial times.<sup>3</sup> If colonial policies favor some languages, as was the case of Portuguese in Goa, and compromise the survival of others, as was the case of Konkani, newspapers develop different strategies in order to address different readerships. One of these strategies is, precisely, the bilingual newspaper or magazine. Bilingual journalism can then be defined as “a sustained and significant mixing of languages in news products to reach a minority-language market within a larger (often majority-bilingual) population” (Lewis, *News* 409). In this sense, journalistic bilingualism is the product of a historical situation, such as colonialism, postcolonialism and nationalist movements and, ultimately, becomes as Guha points out, “a vehicle of something larger and more enduring – namely, multiculturalism” (*Bilingual Intellectual* 5).<sup>4</sup>

Journalistic bilingualism depends primarily on the way in which the official language relates to local languages and vice versa. A given newspaper could be published in one main language, as was the case of the Goan periodical *O Heraldo* (1901), published in Portuguese, while a native language, such as Konkani, could be used in some sections of the newspaper. Also, the newspaper could be published in two languages: Portuguese and Konkani, Portuguese and Marathi, Portuguese and English, or an official and European language such as Portuguese in Goa could be replaced by another European language, non-official, but with greater circulation, such as English, as was again the case of *O Heraldo* that came to be known as *Herald* (1983) in postcolonial times, when it started being published in English; in these cases, one of the languages, English or Portuguese, was the front page language, and the other was restricted to the interior pages of the journal. These languages could be separated by sections or mixed on the same page of the newspaper or even in the same article.

The relationship between Goan languages largely depends on the relationship between the communities that speak each language. There has always been a relative proximity between the classes and geographies of Portuguese and Konkani speakers (Afonso, *Kônkânî*; Noronha, *Text*). Although generally belonging to different social classes and castes, many of them were Catholic and residents of the *Velhas Conquistas* [Old Conquests]: the area of Ilhas (today Tiswadi), Bardez and Salcete, conquered by the Portuguese in the first half of the sixteenth century, and where the Catholic community lived. Marathi is associated with the Hindu community and with the *Novas Conquistas* [New Conquests]: the areas of Pernem, Bicholim, Sattari Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem and Canacona conquered by the Portuguese in the eighteenth century and where most of the Hindus lived.

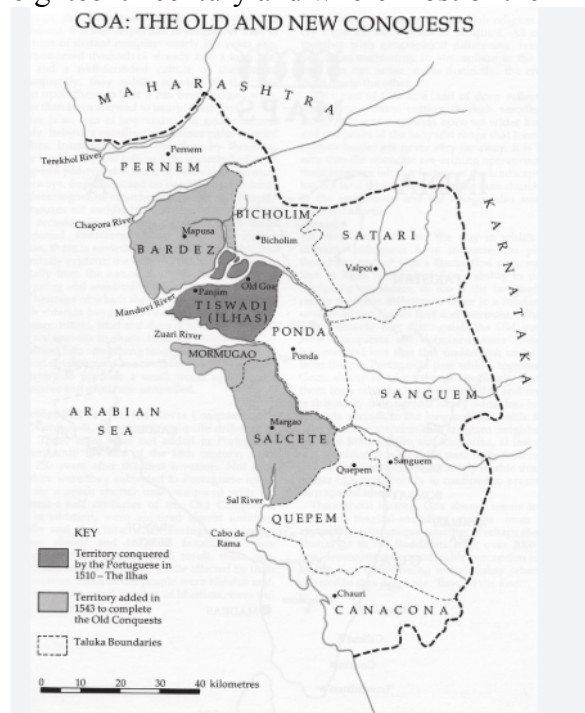


Fig. 1 Map of the old and new conquests in Goa.<sup>5</sup>

**Description:** This image is a map of the state of Goa, India. It shows in darker color the Old Conquests, the area of Ilhas (today Tiswadi), Bardez and Salcete and in lighter color the New Conquests, the areas of Pernem, Bicholim, Sattari Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem and Canacona.

**Alternative Text:** Catholics mostly lived in the *Velhas Conquistas* [Old Conquests]: the area of Ilhas (today Tiswadi), Bardez and Salcete, conquered by the Portuguese in the first half of the sixteenth century. Hindus mostly lived in the *Novas Conquistas* [New Conquests]: the areas of Pernem, Bicholim, Sattari Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem and Canacona conquered by the Portuguese in the eighteenth century.

In the case of the upper classes, Konkani was their everyday language while Portuguese was their language of knowledge. For the less favored classes, Konkani was their main language and their knowledge of Portuguese was more limited (Afonso, *Kônkânî*; Noronha, *Text*). Konkani is also written not only in Devanagari but also in Roman script, associated with the Catholic community. There is even a literary tradition in the Konkani language in the Roman alphabet, while Marathi in the Roman alphabet was limited to the first translations by the Portuguese for conversion into the Catholic faith.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, this difference in the script meant a wider distance from the Portuguese.

Regardless of the distance between the Portuguese- and Marathi-speaking communities, it was in the *Novas Conquistas* where *Luz do Oriente*, one of the first bilingual magazines in Goa in these two languages, was published. This publication was first issued by the Hindu elite residing in the area. Alongside the Catholic elite, they were part of the nationalist movement and in favor of reclaiming their Indian roots.



Fig. 2 Cover of Luz do Oriente.<sup>7</sup>

**Description:** This image is the cover page of *Luz do Oriente*. It is written in Portuguese, in Roman characters and in Marathi in Devanagari characters.

**Alternative text:** *Luz do Oriente* encompasses a set of four related publishing titles, all of them published in Pondá (Goa) by Ramachondra Panduranga Vaidya (Dada Vaidya). It was published by private initiative during the colonial period.

Lobo observes that “it was [the Hindu community] that first forced the issue of language policy and introduced the vernacular press in Goa, leading to a disjunction in the local public sphere” (Periodical Press 78). Lobo goes on to explain that the Hindu community, residing in the Novas Conquistas, had a strong relationship with the Marathi-speaking Hindu community in the Bombay Presidency, today the state of Maharashtra, and a more fragile relationship with the Portuguese-speaking Catholic elite of the Velhas Conquistas. Unlike Konkani, Marathi was taught in schools in the Novas Conquistas and had an established and developed literary system, always with the support of the neighboring Maharashtra. This strengthened the relationship between the Hindu communities in British India and Portuguese India, affirming the idea that it was they, the Hindus, who represented true nationalism, superior to Western nationalism in spiritual quality. This ideology was manifested in the press and in the literature published in it. Consecutively, as Lobo (Goan Periodical Press) also observes, it was in the 1910s that, inspired by the secularism of the new Portuguese Republic (1910-1926), the Hindu community of Goa, particularly in the Novas Conquistas, tried to assert its own cultural identity and, at the same time, enter the mainstream of Goan culture governed by the Portuguese-speaking Catholic elite. If education in the Novas Conquistas was in Marathi, Hindus were also interested in the Portuguese language, which they had studied at the Liceu in Goa.

The magazine *Luz do Oriente* is an example of a bilingual publication in Marathi and Portuguese. Bilingualism manifests itself in two ways: through the translation of Marathi texts into Portuguese and through alternate sections of the magazine in Portuguese and Marathi. The magazine’s protean name, *Luz do Oriente*, *Prachi Prabha*, *Vidiaprassar*, *Luz do Oriente*,<sup>8</sup> already shows the different periods of the publication as well as the intertwining between communities, cultural identities and the Portuguese and Marathi languages. It was published in Ponda, Goa, during the colonial period. Between 1907 and 1920 it was published as *Luz do Oriente* in Portuguese with sections in Marathi to affirm Hinduism and Ayurvedic culture among the Goan community. The first volume opens with an “Inaugural Invocation” (Vol.1, No1, 1907, 3) to Hindu deities in the Portuguese language, a clear ecumenical gesture. Immediately, in the best nationalist spirit of the time, there is an appeal to good moral and civil doctrines, taught by parents, including respect for all religions, even Catholicism. Thus, if one of the objectives of the magazine was to familiarize the Catholic and Portuguese-speaking community with Hinduism, it does so in a spirit of conviviality and not of apartheid.

Crossing language barriers was foremost for this enterprise, and the magazine was a suitable channel for this endeavor.

Speaking of Goan literature in Portuguese published in newspapers, Hélder Garmes (*Convenção Formadora*) points to the fact that these publications follow a certain pattern; in the beginning, they published literature in Portuguese, and also in Spanish and in French translated into Portuguese. This period is followed by a new phase of imitation, when stories and poems by Goan authors written in a European style begin to appear, in particular following the patterns of Portuguese Romanticism. In the 20th century, there is a new change when Goan authors begin to produce literature that is markedly local in theme, in a register of the Portuguese language that denotes a strong influence of Konkani. This is the result of the indigenization of European literary models as well as the desire to return to Indian literature. As Braga (*Súria* 13) explains, “[n]ow they could finally remember what their ancestors had been convinced to forget: classical Indian civilization, giving rise to a wave of Indianist poetry.”

In the case of *Luz do Oriente*, nonetheless, the literary works to be translated and literary styles to be imitated are first Eastern and then Western and in this endeavor a third language, Sanskrit, is included. As part of the editors’ policy of reconnecting the Goan population with Hinduism, short stories from the Panchatantra with sections in Sanskrit and Portuguese are published such as “Apotegmas do Panchatantra” [Apothegms of Panchatantra] (December, 1909, Vol. III, No. V, pp.141-143), or the “Contos do Puranna” [Tales of the Puranna] (1907, Vol. I, No.1,124), as well as an explanation of the epic poem Ramayana, “The enigma of the Ramayana”, Chapter I (1911, Vol. IV, No. 5, 93), or “Kanika Niti, an episode from the Mahabharata” (1912, Vol V, No. VIII, 281) translated into Portuguese and rewritten in prose to better approach readers of the Catholic bourgeoisie. The choice of these narratives is not random. As these epics had not only literary but also religious value in India, their translation into Portuguese can be construed as part of the editorial policy to deconstruct the negative image of Hinduism propagated by the Catholic Church and show that in spite of their differences, both religions shared the same moral principles. Nonetheless, to show the non-sectarian spirit of the publication, little by little, secular poetry in Portuguese started to appear on the pages of *Luz do Oriente*, such as the poem “Lágrimas” [Tears] by Antônio Nicolas Gomes, (1909, 3 (5), 115), or “Cantares” by the Portuguese historian, journalist and poet, Alfredo da Cunha (1911,5 (1), 96).

The translation of Indian literature into Portuguese reaches its greatest expression when Goan poets of the level of Paulino Dias (1874-1919) and Nascimento Mendonça (1884-1926) align themselves with the magazine’s objective and dedicate all their literary talent for the publication of poems that combine Eastern themes with Western poetic style. Coming from a Catholic family, he was one of the great Goan figures in favor of the resurgence of Indian culture in Goa, to the point that it can be said that if his poetry illustrates the ideals of *Luz do Oriente*, it was the political aim of the publication that shaped his

writing style in what has been defined as *Indianism*: “... the literary representation of mythical-religious, literary and cultural elements from Vedic, Classical and Medieval India, taken and developed as polarizing signs of an Indian literary patriotism, even with clear exoticizing contours” (Braga, *Súria* 13). Thus, the return to Indian roots, and in the Portuguese language, becomes an anticolonial and nationalist strategy through which a single homeland is promoted beyond any type of borders: cultural, religious or linguistic (Lobo, *Reencontro*; Braga, *Súria*).

Dias’s identification with Hindu culture was such that he even adopted for his Indianist poems the Hindu pseudonym Pri Das, Priti Das or Pritidassa which means “slave of love” in Sanskrit (Braga, *Súria*, 16-17). It is the case of the poem “No Crishna” (9 (8), 1918, 220-221), in which East and West intertwine in the theme, language and name of Krishna with Portuguese spelling and in which there is a direct appeal to Goans, as represented by Goan young ladies [“Moças do Canará”], to follow the God. Dias was not alone in this endeavor. The poet Nascimento Mendonça not only published Indianist poems such as “Hymno a Prithivi” (Vol. III, No V, November 1910, No 12, 4), but like Dias also adopted the Hindu pseudonym, “Nitipal Muni,” following the initials of his name (Braga, *Súria* 54) to emphasize the Indianist quality of his poetry.

*Luz do Oriente* also holds in its pages literary treasures like the novel *O Hinduismo Perante a Civilização Moderna* [Hinduism in the Face of Modern Civilization]. It was translated from Marathi into Portuguese and serialized between August 1907 and November 1912. It was transcribed from the pages of *Luz do Oriente* by a group of researchers, who crossed the linguistic divide by joining forces: Adelaide Vieira Machado and Sandra Ataíde Lobo, whose mother tongue is Portuguese, and Varsha Kamat, whose mother tongue is Marathi. They were able to verify that the novel was published with some interruptions and is unfinished. A very important detail about this novel, noted by the researchers, is that neither the author’s nor the translator’s names are included in this publication. As Francesca Orsini observes, “though literature transcends time and place, [it] is the product of a particular location [...]” (*World Literature* 57). She adds that “by location [she] means both a location and time [...] as well as an intellectual or political perspective” (57). As such, the literary text is the result of the dialogue it establishes with the other narratives and discourses circulating in the same place. Then, she further develops the concept by adding to the physical and geo-political location of the particular language world to which the literary belongs and the platform and medium in which it was published, the journal or magazine (57). Hence, in Maharashtra and Goa in the first decade of the nineteenth century, when the Indian and Goan Nationalist movements were looking for their Indian roots, and were moving against the grain of the colonial governments, “the zeal of social reform [and] the spirit of resistance to alien rule” (Bapat, *Marathi Literature* 62) were the most important aims of the Marathi literary agenda of the day, as expressed in *Luz do Oriente*. This might explain

the absence of the author's or translator's name, either because they were afraid of retaliation or because the content of the narrative was more important than the name of the author, even when the Western concept of authorship was relatively well-established in the Indian literature at the time.<sup>9</sup>

*O Hinduismo perante a Civilização moderna* is a novel in the first person and in a confessional style, with a clear moral purpose, as Machado *et al* (*Hinduismo*) point out. The narrator's confession and reflections go hand in hand with the Nationalist agenda, which was to defend Hinduism from the attack of Western civilization. This also accounts for the translation into Portuguese, "in a moment when the Hindu community in Goa felt their religion threatened at the end of the Portuguese Constitutional Monarchy" (Machado *et al*, *Hinduismo* 8).<sup>10</sup> Although the essay was the genre that flourished in Marathi literature at the time for reformist reasons (Bapat, *Marathi Literature* 62), the author chose the novel, showing once more his inclusive gesture, regarding Western literature. The novel tells the story of a Hindu, Vidhiadhar Pant, who moves away from Hinduism, influenced by the Anglicization of Indian culture. However, when he begins to analyze those aspects of his ancestral religion and culture that Westerners criticize, such as child marriage, the marriage of widows and caste differences, among others, this Hindu writer realizes the cultural logic of certain customs and he, the reformist, ends up being reformed, as he starts to see Hinduism from a different perspective.

In its original Marathi version, the novel is aimed at the Hindu community of Maharashtra which, due to their English influence, had moved away from the Hindu religion and had started appraising their own culture from a Western perspective. In its translation into Portuguese, it had as one of its objectives not a policy of reconversion, but to make Goans see Hinduism in a new light. At the same time, by explaining Hinduism to Catholics, the novel aligns with the magazine's ideology which was that, despite linguistic and religious differences, everyone was part of the same fatherland (Machado *et al*, *Hinduismo*). Hence, in *Luz do Oriente* literature became a space for rapprochement between members of different communities, and the magazine provided the perfect support for such an encounter.

It was in cities like Bombay, where the largest number of Goans in the diaspora were concentrated, that bilingual newspapers in Konkani flourished – in Konkani and Portuguese, Konkani and English or even Konkani, Portuguese and English – and where also some Konkani journals from Goa circulated. According to Prabhudesai (*Konkani*), the Konkani sections of these newspapers, in the Devanagari or Roman alphabets, were mainly literary: poems, short stories and serialized novels. Since there were few books published in Konkani at the time, it was in these newspapers that literature in Konkani found its own space.



## *Porjecho Adar*. Poetry and Political Consciousness in Konkani and Portuguese



Fig. 3 Cover of *Porjecho Adar*<sup>11</sup>

**Description:** This is the cover page of *Porjecho Adar*. It is written in both Konkani, in the Roman script with an editorial in the centre of the page in Portuguese. In the middle, there is a photograph of General João Carlos Craveiro Lopes, governor of the Estado da Índia at the time.

**Alternative text:** *Porjecho Adar. Auxílio do Povo* began to be published in Nova Goa, Panjim, on January 1, 1930. Published during the Depression of the 1930s, the newspaper's objective was to give voice to the causes of those less privileged in terms of class or caste, beyond any religious divide.

Literature written in Konkani took longer to solidify for several reasons. One of them is the fact that this language was displaced socially when it was marginalized because it was not considered a language of knowledge. As Lobo explains, “the longing for proficiency in Portuguese led to the introduction of the language in the private domain, with several householders attempting to ban, quite unsuccessfully, the use of Konkani indoors” (*Periodical Press* 72). Konkani was also displaced geographically when many Goans began an internal displacement by settling in other states for religious, political or economic reasons: Maharashtra, in particular in the city of Bombay, Karnataka and Kerala. As a result, Konkani was written in various alphabets, not only Devanagari and Roman, but also Persian-Arabic and Malayalam (Prabhudesai, *Konkani Periodicals*). If, as it has been noted, this difference in alphabets was an obstacle to the development of a uniform literary tradition written in Konkani, it favored the development of an oral tradition through the performing arts: poem recitals, *tiatr* (a local form of theatre), films and radio presentations (Prabhudesai, *Konkani Periodicals*).

According to Remy Dias (*Amchó Gão*), the second bilingual newspaper in Konkani,<sup>12</sup> in the Roman alphabet and in the Portuguese language published in Goa was *Porjecho Adar. Auxilio do Povo*. This newspaper found inspiration in the first Goan newspaper in Konkani, *Amchó Gão* (1929-1933), published as a supplement to the Portuguese-language *Diario da Noite* (See Remy Dias, *Amchó Gão*). If *Luz do Oriente* was a publication of the Hindu community and aimed at the Hindu and Catholic elites, *Porjecho Adar* was a newspaper published by Baptista Caetano Vaz who, although a Catholic intellectual, did not belong to the dominant castes. This newspaper was aimed at the working classes of the *Velhas Conquistas* and the Goans in the diaspora who lived in the *kudds* – dormitories where Goans working in Bombay resided. Machado (*Colonial Act*) explains that the *kudds*, also called *cuds* or *clubs*, gave lodging to the most disadvantaged Goan immigrants, thus contributing to the creation of a class consciousness among Goans.

*Porjecho Adar. Auxilio do Povo* began to be published in Nova Goa, Panjim, on January 1, 1930. Then, on August 12, 1948, it moved to the city of Mapuça.<sup>13</sup> Published during the Depression of the 1930s, the newspaper's objective was to give voice to the causes of those less privileged in terms of class or caste, beyond any religious divide. Unlike other newspapers in which Konkani was limited to a section of the newspaper or only to literary works, this newspaper was written in Roman Konkani with a relatively short editorial in Portuguese, in the center of the first page, about news of political, social or economic relevance, such as the condition of Goan workers, the need to rescue the Konkani language from its marginalization, the empty promises of the government and the land owners, the speculation in the price of rice, which caused the people to starve, and the need to emigrate for lack of work, among others. Therefore, one of the most prominent characteristics of *Porjecho Adar's* journalistic style was that, following the example of *Amchó Gão* (Dias, *Amchó Gão*), it offered to its readers short articles in an easy-to-understand language about problems that affected the day-to-day life of the less favored, unlike Portuguese-language newspapers that aimed at a more educated public and so carried longer articles on national and international politics. The subject matter of the editorials was then recreated in the poems published in the Konkani section of the newspaper, establishing a dialogue at a linguistic, literary and cultural level. This interplay between languages eased the understanding of government policies to the readers as both editorials and poems were written in a language and style accessible to most of them. In some cases, the same authors of the editorials were the authors of the poems, moving between the two languages and styles. Thus, the newspaper presents a wide variety of poems in Konkani that recreate in their stanzas the problems that troubled the proletariat at that time.

The newspaper's first editorial, “Palavras Necessárias” [“Necessary Words”] (January 1, Year I, No1, 1-2), already marks the trend of this newspaper, which defines itself as “the newspaper for little people.” In this editorial in Portuguese, the editor explains that

the newspaper is written in the Konkani language because unlike Portuguese, English and Marathi, which are spoken by a few, Konkani, though without an established literary tradition, is the language of the people. Therefore, it is the language that should be used to enlighten the people, daily, about what was happening in Goa and the diaspora and directly affected their lives. The editor makes a point of highlighting that it is a newspaper written by humble people, “who know better than anyone the pain of deprivation, the embarrassment of poverty, the obstacle of ignorance, as well as the terrible public indifference, against which the unfortunate, those born lower on the social scale have to fight if they don’t want to sink forever” (2).<sup>14</sup> However, it is not in his interest to fight against anyone, but “to count on the unconditional sympathy and unanimous applause of everyone, including the government” (2),<sup>15</sup> to the point that he thanks the Portuguese representative in India, General João Craveiro Lopes, in particular, for his support of Konkani-language journalism. Immediately afterwards, the Editorial is followed by the poem “Amchi Bhas” [Our language]<sup>16</sup> which reaffirms in Konkani what had been stated in Portuguese in the Editorial. The poet, who signs as J. J. C., laments that Goans do not like to speak Konkani and asks for a reappraisal of their mother tongue. Then, in the edition of January 9, 1930 (Year I, No. 2, 2) is published the rhymed fable, “Gaddum Gheta” [What the donkey saw...].<sup>17</sup> In it, the poetic persona ironically describes how the donkey covers himself with the lion's skin and goes out into the woods trying to scare the other animals. However, his plan is short-lived because the fox soon discovers his stratagem. Thus, the poem establishes an analogy with the editorial “Avante, pois!” (1930, Year I, No 2, 2), from the same volume, in which the editor who signed with the pseudonym, Khalteancho lxtt [Friend of the Humble], describes the government and elites as inefficient because, like the donkey in the skin of a lion, they want to make the people believe that their empty speeches and regulations, that never get off the ground, will improve the condition of the proletariat when, in fact, everything remains the same. It is the function of the newspaper, “Auxílio do Povo” [Help for the People], to play the role of the fox and reveal the scheme to its readers.

In the third volume of *Porjecho Adar* (Year I, January 16, 1930, 2), Luisa C. Vas published the poem “Goa” in which, as is common in Indian literature, Goa is personified as a mother, speaks of the hardships of her children and is grateful that, through all their suffering, God has always protected them. But if before this land was covered with riches, today it is a victim of the mistakes of its children and the poetic person asks God to return its past glory and, in the style of the Irish poet William Butler Yeats, imagines a Second Coming in this case, from São Francisco Xavier, so that Goa will become Golden Goa again.<sup>18</sup>

The lamentable state of Goa is the theme of the poem “Bettoitam” [Dedication]<sup>19</sup> (Year I, Vol. 3, January 16, 1930, 2) in which the poet, Roque Santana Fernandes, dedicates his verses to everyone who contributes to the newspaper *Porjecho Adar* to improve

the conditions of the humble and, in the footsteps of Gandhi, wishes that truth will prevail over all the problems that plague Goa. As in previous issues, the poems are directly related to the theme of the newspaper's Editorial – in this case, the “Alcistas” [Speculators] (Costa, *Food History*), who speculated about the price of rice and the hunger of the people: “Once more we see the emergence of official efforts to put an end to the *alcistas*, which positively is a scourge for the poor peasant, making his life, already overwhelmed by a thousand setbacks, even more, difficult and suffocating” (Year I, Vol. 3, 16 January 1930, 1).<sup>20</sup>

This small selection of poems is a sample of the great importance of newspapers in a plurilingual community since they not only preserve literary works by well-known writers, such as Paulino Dias' *Luz do Oriente*, but by authors who never reached the pages of books, like some of the poets of *Porjecho Adar*. On another level, they help us understand the relationship between literary works written in various languages on the same themes, as well as from different perspectives of class, caste and religion, and in a local, combining local elements with Eastern and Western modes of literary writing. In turn, this style is influenced by the limitations imposed by the theme of the newspaper, as expressed in the editorials, to which the poems are directly related, by the frequency of the publication, which does not allow much time for reflection and poetic elaboration, and by the type of language and metaphors used, so that poems can be meaningful to the greatest number of readers. Thus, in many cases, there is almost no difference between the linguistic register of articles and poems. Most of these poems have never left the pages of the newspaper and are still awaiting the work of researchers.

*O Anglo-Lusitano*. A Literary Mosaic in English, Portuguese and in Translation



Fig. 4 Cover of *O Anglo-Lusitano*<sup>21</sup>

**Description:** This is the cover page of *Anglo-Lusitano*. It is written in Portuguese with two ads on the first column on the left in English. The first is about a medical dispensary and the second about a warehouse.

**Alternative text:** *O Anglo-Lusitano* is a Bilingual newspaper (Portuguese, English), founded on July 8, 1886, in Bombay. Although this newspaper followed events in British India, and, later, in independent India as well, it was mainly focused on the interests of the Goan community and its political life.

In the case of bilingual newspapers in Portuguese and a local language, as we have just seen, the editors' desire was one of inclusion, as in *Luz do Oriente*, in which the editors sought a better integration between the Catholic and Hindu communities of Goa, while in *Porjecho Adar* the main objective was to inform the less favored classes and castes about the situation in the colony. In both cases, these journalistic policies were the result of the nationalist spirit of the Goan intelligentsia in the first decades of the twentieth century (See Machado, *Colonial Act*). In turn, both attitudes broadened literary horizons to include new styles and cultural registers; in the first case, by bringing Goans closer to Indian narratives and, in the second case, by bringing the conflicts of the less privileged classes into literature. This undoubtedly marks the relevance of journals as repositories of literary works and the formation of literary histories (See Spina, *Literary Histories*).

Bilingual newspapers in Portuguese and English, two European languages associated with the colonizer, have different objectives. Lobo (*O Anglo-Lusitano*) explains that the objective of the bilingualism of the *O Anglo-Lusitano* (1886-1955) published by the Catholic Goan elite, residing in Bombay, was to cover the two languages of the two empires, British and Portuguese, and thus was addressed to two communities of readers who belonged to the bourgeoisie. English was necessary for the Goan residents in Bombay to integrate themselves into the local culture and Portuguese continued to be the language associated with Goa. If, on the one hand, this type of publication increased the number of readers and affirmed a certain political and intellectual identity, on the other, it showed the conflicts of a community divided between loyalty to the regime and nationalist feelings. These Goans had been educated either at the Lyceu in Goa or in the prestigious schools in Bombay. Not only did they master the two European languages, Portuguese and English, but they were also familiar with the culture and literature of both metropolises. In turn, as Lobo (*O Anglo-Lusitano*) continues to explain, as these Goans emigrated to Bombay and started the process of integration into the local community, their ties with Portugal began to lose strength as they started exploring their Indian roots.

In *O Anglo-Lusitano*, bilingualism was manifested in sections of the newspaper in English and Portuguese. Each had its own editor and although there was thematic continuity, the articles were not the same and opinions could differ. On July 7th, 1934, *O Anglo-Lusitano* published a commemorative issue for the periodical's 48th anniversary. As Machado (*Colonial Act*) remarks, in this issue there was an open attack on the Portuguese dictatorship<sup>22</sup> and a defense of Goans' Indo-Portuguese identity. A survey of the literature published in *O Anglo-Lusitano* at the time seems to illustrate this issue as it responds to three literary strands: Goan Literature in the Portuguese

language called Indo-Portuguese Literature at that time, Indian Literature in translation into Portuguese, and Goan Literature in English on topics directly related to the Goan community in Goa and Bombay.

In the same issue of July 7th, 1934, there is an English language article, “Indo-Portuguese Literature” (13-14) by the Goan writer and critic Armando Menezes (1902-1983) who, as Noronha points out, “...made a case for the Konkani language, even while speaking in English” (*Text* 110). In it, Menezes laments the fact that a history of Indo-Portuguese literature had not yet been written due to the lack of political freedom, cultural hybridity and the provincial outlook of the population and not due to lack of intellectual activity in Goa. Though nowadays cultural hybridity is considered an asset in literary studies, at the time Menezes saw it as a setback since what his words imply is that he saw the Western-style monolingual national literary tradition as an asset to affirm Goan identity. As he goes on to say, if Goa had excellent poets, Floriano Barreto, Paulino Dias, Nascimento Mendonça, and Joseph Furtado, among others, the best prose writers were devoted to journalism. Although he understood the relationship between journalism and literature as being two-way, “so much creative work appears in journalism while, on the other hand, so much literature has been invaded by journalism” (14), he also saw the periodical column as the vantage point for these writers because it was easier to write and cheaper to publish than a book. For Menezes, the article required “less organization, less discipline, less persistence, which was in line, with the *sossegado*<sup>23</sup> character of the Goan” (13). This was one of the reasons, as Menezes points out, why in Goa there were not many fiction writers in Portuguese, while short stories in Konkani filled the pages of newspapers in that language. For the critic there was another, even more, relevant reason: writers in Konkani wrote in their mother tongue, while writers in Portuguese or English not only wrote in a foreign language but also followed a literary model and foreign ideology that, instead of freeing them, enslaved them. As a result, many of the members of the Goan intelligentsia who wrote in Portuguese were journalists, while the real literary writers were the sons of the soil who wrote in Konkani. In other words, the political and philosophical writings could be in Portuguese, but Goan literature was in Konkani which, again, is misleading, as some of the Goan writers who excelled at that time and devoted themselves to Goan issues wrote in Portuguese, one of their mother tongues.<sup>24</sup>

A series of poems and short stories in Portuguese, written by Goan authors, appeared on the pages of *O Anglo-Lusitano* in the special Christmas edition of December 1934. The choice of authors and subject matter was not just to fill up the pages of a Christmas issue but to promote the union of Bombay’s Goans, both Catholic and Hindus, from the higher and lower rungs of society (Machado, *Colonial Act*), after Salazar’s inclusion of the Colonial Act of 1930 in the 1933 Portuguese Constitution which marked the start of the Estado Novo. The aim of this document was “to establish an organic relationship of submission of the colonies to the metropole and the

stabilisation of the difference between first-class citizenship for people from the metropolis and a colonial second-class citizenship for assimilated natives subject to the same duties but without the same rights” (Machado, *Colonial Act* 120).

Hence, the literature published in this issue of *O Anglo-Lusitano* can be read as a front of opposition to the Colonial Act through a defense of the Goan lifestyle and values. Among the best-known writers published on this occasion are Beatriz Ataíde Lobo e Faria (1913-1994) with the short story “Um Presente de Natal” [A Christmas Gift] (75). Most of her short stories, published in the “Section for Ladies” in the Portuguese-language newspaper, *A Vida*, had a didactic purpose (Festino, *Rosario de Contos*). If the stories of Ataíde Lobo e Faria are not conspicuous for their literary value, they nevertheless have great cultural worth, articulating the beliefs of Goan society at the time. In the same issue was also published the poem “Estupendo” [Great] (76) by Vitorino Barreto Miranda (?-1949). Barreto Miranda was a poet, prose writer, journalist and author of several books: *Livro de um Crente* [Book of a Believer], *Poems of Yesterday* (1899), *Cavatinas. Versos* (1909), and *100 Sonnets* (1949). It is not clear how his poems circulated between books and newspapers, but an interesting detail is that Manuel Aleixo da Costa, in his *Dicionário de Literatura Goesa* (103), indicates that these books were mentioned in the newspapers *A Índia Portuguesa* and *Diário da Noite*. This shows that da Costa used Goan newspapers as a source to create the only dictionary, to this day, of Goan literature in Portuguese. In this same Christmas anthology was also published the short story “Uma atribulada chronica de Natal” [An Upsetting Christmas Tale] (77), similar to the works of Beatriz Ataíde Lobo e Faria, by the writer Açucena de Graça, a writer about whom there is no information and whose literary works can be found only in periodicals and magazines. Along the same lines, already in the edition of December 1931, *O Anglo-Lusitano* had published the poem “Cenas da Aldeia. Casamento em Goa” [Village Scenes. Wedding in Goa] (December 1931, 9) in which the author, Floriano Pinto, recreates in the Portuguese language an idyllic wedding scene from rural Goa.

These narratives often reconnect Goans to their land of origin and, adhering to the idea of an idealized “Golden Goa.” At another level, if they belong among “the great unread” (Cohen, *Narratology* 59) of Portuguese literature because they never transcended the small Portuguese-speaking Goan community, they attest to the existence of a group of Portuguese-language writers from Goa who were not journalists, but used the newspaper to make their literary work known among Goans. After Cohen, it can be stated that though many of these literary narratives have been forgotten, when reconsidered they might change the way we understand literature.

If the literary narratives just mentioned appeal to the Portuguese side of Goans who resided in Bombay at the time, they were published side by side with Propécia Correia Afonso de Figueiredo’s (1882-1944) translation into Portuguese of the Indian narrative, “A Flor de Lótus” [The Lotus Flower] (62-67), on the sacred

flower of Hinduism and Buddhism and the national flower of India. What is interesting to note here is that rather than translating Western literature into English, “the medium rather than the paragon of literariness” (Orsini, *World Literature* 58), following its nationalist agenda, *O Anglo-Lusitano* chose to translate Indian narratives into Portuguese. This translation brings Figueiredo closer to the editors of *Luz do Oriente* and writers like Paulino Dias who, as we have seen, were bent on reconnecting with their Indian roots, the other side of Goan identity. Correia Afonso de Figueiredo is another author whose works are still awaiting publication in book form.

To these two literary trends, the newspaper adds a third: literature in English by Goan authors, still a rarity at the time, but already connecting Goan literature to Indian literature in English. One of the main representatives of this trend was Joseph Furtado (1872-1947). According to Garmes (*Joseph Furtado*), Furtado, who wrote mainly in English, acquired renown in English India and his work was even reviewed in England. Along with his books of poems in English, he also published the book *Principais Poetas Goanos* [Principal Goan Poets] (1927), which also shows his command of the Portuguese language. One of the characteristics of his poetry is the adoption of the English language in its indigenized version. Although his literature does not fall within Indianism, the Indian theme is also part of his repertoire as reflected in the ballad “Moghul Holiday” (6 Dec. 1931, p.10), which, as the literature published in the Portuguese section, also privileged Goan culture. This ballad narrates the story of Bandel, a village in Bengal, where there was a Portuguese convent. The great Shah Jahan condemns one of the Portuguese monks to be eaten alive by a lion for stealing slaves from his wife and denying Allah. Revealing the poet’s Christian roots, the tale has an unexpected twist as the terrible lion becomes as meek as a lamb in the presence of the Christian man.

Philip Furtado (1951-2020), Joseph Furtado’s son, also wrote in English and Portuguese. His poems and articles were circulated in newspapers in Bombay and Goa. Unlike his father’s literature, his writings had a more critical view of Goa. On October 17, 1931, *O Anglo-Lusitano* published his narrative “Only a Posquem” (10). Its theme is the tragic story of many girls adopted in their childhood by families of the Goan bourgeoisie to carry out domestic tasks at home. Their lives, since childhood, were dedicated to serving the adoptive family and many of them ended up having a tragic end when trying to escape their fate. The following year, on April 9, 1932, and from a similar perspective, the article “The Devadasi System in Goa” (6) was signed by P. G. Naik, a social worker from Bombay. In it, he describes the condition of these women, caretakers of the temple but also engaged in prostitution.

The publication of these three literary trends in *O Anglo-Lusitano*, Goan literature in Portuguese, Indian literature translated into Portuguese and Goan literature in English, show that, through literature, the editors intended to reach and unite all Goans living in Bombay to reaffirm Goan identity. These narratives made visible to the



readership different aspects of their own culture at the time and familiarized them with Indian culture. At another level, the intersection of all these literary narratives is a rich sample of the process of formation of plurilingual Goan literature.

## Conclusion

Through my analysis of two Goan newspapers, *Porjecho Adar* and *O Anglo-Lusitano*, and one Goan magazine, *Luz do Oriente*, I meant to show their relevance as repositories of Goa's plurilingual literary tradition in its main languages, Konkani, English, Marathi and Portuguese. As these publications are addressed to different linguistic, religious and social communities and, as such, are written in more than one language and in different alphabets, they represent as argued by Kaul (*Empire and Periodicals*), not only an archival but also a conceptual challenge that demands the collective work of scholars who are familiar with the different literary traditions and fluent in the different languages. Nonetheless, it is worth the effort as on their pages the reader comes across some of the most outstanding writers of the culture, those who passed the test of time and have been translated into the other languages of the culture, as well as less-known writers who were only known to the readership of the time and never left the pages of the publication but whose work, if and when studied, might change how the literary tradition is conceived.

If the pages of *Luz do Oriente* still house writers unknown to future generations, like Gomes and Cunha, they are also the main repository of writers who marked an era, as would be the case of Paulino Dias. Precisely, *Luz do Oriente* has been one of the main sources for the publication of *O Pais de Súrria. Collected Work of Paulino Dias* by Duarte Drumond Braga. Many of Paulino Dias' poems, which are now part of this important work, had only existed on the pages of *Luz do Oriente*. Likewise, it is on the pages of these periodicals and magazines that new literary trends sometimes take shape. Hence, in the case of Dias and Mendonça, what the pages of *Luz do Oriente* hold is more than the names of two important writers or their poems: it is the creation of a literary style, Goan Indianism, that served as a bridge between the two sides of Goan identity, the Portuguese and the Indian.

As already stated, newspapers and magazines are meant for readerships belonging to different social classes and in the case of Goa and India, different castes. Miriam Costa (*Democratização*) describes newspapers as spaces that contributed to the democratization of literary reception, particularly in peripheral contexts marked by colonialism. Due to the development of technology, these publications began to reach previously excluded communities such as women, children and workers. This was the case of *Porjecho Adar. Auxilio do Povo*. As already discussed, all the poems published in the newspaper are in the Konkani language because there was a clear desire on the part of the editors for this language, the language of the people, to be affirmed

and, for this, the development of a literary tradition written in Konkani was a weighty argument, and newspapers had an important part in this process.

Newspapers are also important sources to show how the formation of a literary tradition is directly related to the local political scene. This would be the case of *O Anglo-Lusitano*. The newspaper's coverage of mainly Goan literature, though in different languages, is directly related to the desire of the Goan community residing in Bombay at the time of the Salazarist regime to affirm their own cultural identity with roots not only in Portuguese but also Indian culture. At a literary level, this mosaic of narratives in two different languages and in translation already reveals the emergence of a Goan plurilingual literary tradition, as in the rest of India, in which Goan literature in Portuguese would be read side by side with Goan literature in Konkani, Marathi and English.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> According to Canagarajah & Ashtraf (2013), plurilingualism treats languages not as having separate and autonomous systems, as in the case of multilingualism – a sum of languages according to Western monolingualism – but as being deeply related and forming a hybrid of grammars and communicative practices that the speaker uses in one or another given context, which already shows the hierarchy between languages if one of the languages is used routinely in the home or on the street, while another is used following the registers of the cultured language in areas of knowledge or knowledge like school.

<sup>2</sup> One example of the way in which the change in language in a periodical had a direct effect on literary publications is the case of the work of José da Silva Coelho (1889-1944). Paul Melo e Castro narrates the setbacks suffered by this author's work during the 1970s, when a compilation of his work was published in the then *Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança* [Bulletin of the Menezes Bragança Institute] under the significant name of *Obra Quase Complete de José da Silva Coelho* [Almost Complete Works of José da Silva Coelho]. The lack of interest in themes related to the Portuguese language and colonial culture meant that although several of Coelho's works were published in the *Bulletin* in 1979, 1981 and 1983, many of them were lost when the *Bulletin* changed its name and language. After 1961, the then *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, [Bulletin of Vasco da Gama Institute] continued to be published in Portuguese, but changed its name to *Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança* (1926-1996), adopting the name of one of Goa's most illustrious intellectuals. Then, the publication changed its name once again to *Govapuri*—the name of ancient Goa, under Hindu rule (100 BC to 1469 BC)—and its focus was now on literary works in Marathi and Konkani translated into English. At this point, literary works in Portuguese, such as those by Coelho, were soon forgotten. (Castro, *Melodias e Harmonias* 164-179).

<http://goaheritageactiongroup.org/> [Accessed 12 December, 2023].

<sup>3</sup> For further references see Nivedita Majumdar's *The World In A Grain of Sand: Postcolonial Literature and Radical Universalism*. Verso, 2021

<sup>4</sup> For further references see Vivek Chibber's *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital*. Verso, 2013.

<sup>5</sup> Sourced from: [https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-Goa-old-and-new-Conquests-From-Hall-1992-14\\_fig1\\_299437296](https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-Goa-old-and-new-Conquests-From-Hall-1992-14_fig1_299437296) [Accessed 12 December, 2024].

<sup>6</sup> S. M. Tadmokdar. "Christian Marathi Literature". *People's Linguistic Survey of India*. Volume Eight, Part Two. The Languages of Goa, edited by Madhavi Sardesai and Damodar Mauzo. Orient Black Swan, 2018, pp. 207-222.

<sup>7</sup> Sourced from:

[https://expoimpressacolonial.fcsh.unl.pt/ind.html#luz\\_do\\_oriente](https://expoimpressacolonial.fcsh.unl.pt/ind.html#luz_do_oriente) [Accessed 30 Nov. 2024].

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<sup>8</sup> Information supplied by the researchers Kaustubh Naik and Varsha Kamat.

[https://expoimprensacolonial.fcsh.unl.pt/ind.html#luz\\_do\\_oriente](https://expoimprensacolonial.fcsh.unl.pt/ind.html#luz_do_oriente). Accessed 20 November, 2024.

<sup>9</sup> This is attested by Bankin Chandra Chatterjee's publication of the first Indian novel in English, *Rajmonah's Wife* (1864), and Rabindranath Tagore's winning of the Nobel Prize in 1913 for his poem, *Gitanjali*, one year after the last chapter of Hinduismo was published in *Luz do Oriente*.

<sup>10</sup> My translation.

<sup>11</sup> Sourced from:

[https://expoimprensacolonial.fcsh.unl.pt/ind.html#luz\\_do\\_oriente](https://expoimprensacolonial.fcsh.unl.pt/ind.html#luz_do_oriente) [Accessed 30 Nov. 2024]

<sup>12</sup> As I do not speak Konkani, for the reading and analysis of the poems published on the pages of *Porjecho Adar. Auxilio do povo*, I relied on the help of several Goan scholars –Remy Dias, Maria de Lourdes Fátima Fernandes Bravo da Costa, Lorraine Alberto and Brenda Coutinho-- plurilingual speakers. This comes to show the collective characteristic of scholarly work in a plurilingual community like Goa.

<sup>13</sup> Please refer to

[https://expoimprensacolonial.fcsh.unl.pt/ind.html#porjecho\\_adar](https://expoimprensacolonial.fcsh.unl.pt/ind.html#porjecho_adar).

Accessed November 23, 2023.

<sup>14</sup> My translation.

<sup>15</sup> My translation.

<sup>16</sup> Translation of “Amchi Bhas” by Dr Maria de Lourdes Fátima Fernandes Bravo da Costa.

<sup>17</sup> Translation of “Gaddum Gheta” by Professor Lorraine Alberto, University of Goa.

<sup>18</sup> Goa Dourada or Golden Goa is the image of Goa as conceived by the Portuguese Colonizer in their construction of the Portuguese Empire” (Trichur, *Refiguring Goa* 19).

<sup>19</sup> Translation of “Goa” and “Bettoaitam” by Professor Brenda Coutinho Navelim, Quepem College, Goa.

<sup>20</sup> My translation.

<sup>21</sup> Sourced from:

[https://expoimprensacolonial.fcsh.unl.pt/ind.html#luz\\_do\\_oriente](https://expoimprensacolonial.fcsh.unl.pt/ind.html#luz_do_oriente) [Accessed 30 Nov. 2024]

<sup>22</sup> The coup d'état in Portugal of 1926 marks the beginning of the Estado Novo, with the end of the military period and the start of Salazar's dictatorial regime (Vieira Machado, *Colonial Act* 125).

<sup>23</sup> Laid-back.

<sup>24</sup> Lynn Mario Menezes de Souza observes that in a plurilingual culture, citizens have more than one mother tongue, as was in the past the case of many members of the Goan Catholic bourgeoisie, who spoke Portuguese and Konkani (Menezes de Souza, *Kshetra*).