

CHAPTER 2

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE PRESS IN GOA

CHAPTER 2

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE PRESS IN GOA

Victor Hugo rightly observed that "The press is a huge and sacred locomotive of progress. The diameter of the press is the same as the diameter of civilization." The history of the press in Goa has been closely intertwined with the general history of Goan society and culture during the Portuguese rule in Goa. For the purpose of a comprehensive understanding of the subject undertaken in particular and for that of Goan history in general, it is apt and necessary to examine the origin, evolution and functioning of the press in Goa.

The Origin of the Press in Goa: the first phase

The art of printing reached Goa within one century after the Guttenberg had produced the *Vulgata*. The Society of Jesus introduced the first printing press in Goa in 1556 and it is considered to be the first in the whole of the East. In the early days of the printing press, it was generally taken out of Europe as an aide to proselytisation¹. In Goa, however, it appears that no urgent need was felt for the printing press, because political support was strong enough to aid in the spread of Christianity. The area of the Old Conquest was small enough for the Christian priests to convey the message of God to the locals personally. The printing press, which reached Goa on September 6, 1556, was in fact on its way to help missionary work in Abyssinia. A letter in 1536 was sent by the Emperor of

Abyssinia to D. Manuel, king of Portugal, requesting the latter to send to Abyssinia some artisans "skilled in preparing books" *mestres para a fazer de livros*². Since D. Manuel, died before this letter was received, the same request was repeated to his son D. Joao and Portugal responded by sending technicians along with a printing press in 1556. Circumstances, however, so conspired that this press brought by the Jesuits never reached Preste (Abyssinia).

A letter written on April 30, 1556 by Fr. Gaspar Calaza to St. Ignatius shows that some ships carrying a printing press and some technicians left for the East in 1556. This letter was published in the tenth volume of Jesuits by Fr. Beccari³. A synopsis of this letter given by Fr. C. G. Rodeles is reproduced here: "The first batch of Jesuit Missionaries embarked at Belem on the Tagus, and left for Ethiopia on March 29, 1556, four months before the death of St. Ignatius of Loyola. It consisted of Fr. John Nunes, Patriarch of Ethiopia, Fr Andrew de Oviedo, Bishop of Hieropolis, and appointed as successor to the Patriarch; Fr. John Gualdames, three brothers of the society, and some young man. One of the brothers was Juan de Bustamante, who knew the art of printing. King D. Joao, the royal family and other friends had been munificent towards the members of the expedition. The King adjoined to the Patriarch an Indian of good character, an able and experienced printer; to help Brother Bustamante, who was taking with him a printing press to Goa. An eye-witness gives us this information."⁴

Most of the fourteen Jesuits who embarked on this occasion were on their way to "Preste" or Abyssinia, according to contemporary

documents⁵. The Patriarch designate of Abyssinia accompanied the printing press. As the Suez Canal did not exist in those days, persons going to Abyssinia from Portugal followed the Cape route to India, touched Goa, and thence proceeded to Abyssinia. The Patriarch with the printing press halted at Goa. The relations between the Emperor of Abyssinia and the missionaries appear to have been somewhat strained at this time and, therefore, in January 1557, the Governor of Goa asked him to stay back. The Patriarch complied and neither he nor the printing press he was carrying ever left Goa.

Negus David, the ruler of Ethiopia from 1508 to 1540 on learning about the discovery of the art of printing in Europe had desired to have some books and asked the king of Portugal, D.Joao III by a letter sent to the ambassador of Lima, in 1524, for "me mandeis homeens officiaes de fazer imageens e livros de molde"⁶ (send me artisans who can make moulded images and books.) At the end of 1549 St. Francis Xavier also wrote saying that he was interested in "making a declaration on the articles of the faith in the language of Japan, rather copious to be printed, for all the important people know how to read and write so that a holy faith may spread across many parts, for we cannot help everyone"⁷ It is thus clear that there were demands for the press from many quarters and it was considered a necessary instrument to spread the faith. It was in 1556 that King D. Joao III decided to send a group of missionaries with the intention of bringing back the great King Negus of Abyssinia to the Roman Church.

Brother Joao Bustamante, a Spaniard of Valencia, born in circa 1536, who knew art of printing, was sent as a printer along with the

Patriarch Joao Nunes Barreto.⁸ Before the group of missionaries departed for Abyssinia on 27th March, 1556, the King presented to the Patriarch an Indian who was also a capable printer. *“Lhe deu El Rey hum indio mui habil impressor pera que ajudasse em a prensa ao Irmão (Bustamante) que de quá levou.”* (“The King gave him an Indian who was a very able printer to help Brother Bustamante whom he took for here”).⁹ From which part of India he was and where he had learned his art is not known. Probably he took part in the printing of *Cartilha que contem “brevemente ho que todo o christão deve aprender pera sua salvação”* (Pocketbook which contains briefly all that the Christian must learn for his salvation), which appeared in Lisbon on the orders of the king in 1554 *“em lingua Tamul e Portugues”* in the office of Germao Galhardo.

As stated above, the fleet left from Belem on March 27, 1556 and after halting for two weeks at Mozambique, reached Goa at the beginning of September of the same year. Negotiations began between the missionaries responsible for the mission to Ethiopia and the representative of Portugal Francisco Barreto and his advisers. To the good fortune of printing history in Goa, the Patriarch sent the bishop D. André de Oviedo with five Jesuits, to Abyssinia but the greater part of his missionaries, the printer and the press remained in Goa. Bustamante, who arrived in India along with the printing press, therefore, is considered as the pioneer of the art of printing in India. He lived most of his life in Goa being ordained in 1564 as a priest and died on August 23, 1588.¹⁰ In 1563, his name was changed to João Rodrigues.¹¹

There is some confusion in contemporary documents regarding the precise date on which the ships carrying the printing press reached Goa. Citing various documents, Priolkar concludes that the printing press reached Goa on September 6, 1556 and was installed at St. Paul's College, Old Goa¹² It appears that it was only by the middle of October that printing operations actually began. Fr. João Nunes Barreto, the Patriarch designate of Abyssinia, describes in a letter dated November 6, 1556, how soon after its advent in Goa, the press started functioning. He writes: "There were public discussions of theses which appeared as though they were held at Coimbra and were attended by a large concourse of people and priests. John printed these theses ("conclusões") and other things, which are doing good and will produce yet more fruit later on. The Indian is well behaved and is fond of going for confessions often; at sea he helped us a lot in the kitchen and has proved here to be competent in press work, and Father Francis Rodrigues is happy over it and desires to have another (press) in this College. Now they want to print Master Francis' Christian Doctrine, and I have hopes that this work will do much good in Ethiopia".¹³

Aires Brandão, a Jesuit priest, describes in a letter written on November 19, 1556, how certain theses on logic and philosophy were printed in this press on October 19: "... The *conclusões* were ordered to be printed here in the house and to be affixed to the Church doors, thereby giving to the Friars of St. Francis and other people desiring to be acquainted with them an occasion of reading them...."¹⁴ It is not clear whether the theses printed on this occasion were in the form of a book or loose sheets.¹⁵ Since they were affixed to the gates of churches, they were probably loose sheets. In that case the first known printed book in Goa would be the

Doutrina Christa by St. Francis Xavier, which was printed in 1557. No copies of the theses on logic and philosophy or *Doutrina Christa* are at present available.

The above facts show that other small works were printed and that the idea was to take this press to Abyssinia, which was its original destination and acquire another press for Goa. The phrase that “*em Ethiopia se fara muyto fructo*” (in Ethiopia it would be very useful) enables us to appreciate this new invention.¹⁶ The annual letter (*Carta Anua*) sent by Luis Fróis, S.J. on November 30, 1557 informs about what happened, how the press functioned and what purpose it served at that stage: “Here the Patriarch (Nunes Barreto) and Fr. Antonio de Quadros ordered during the Lent the printing of some confession aids, and an honourable man devoted to the Society offered to give the paper free of charge for the love of God, and that the college should bear the labour costs, and the collections were given to all those who wished to have them for the love of God. And they were also sent to all the forts for the Jesuits who live therein, to distribute them together with the doctrine which the Padre Mestre Francisco (Xavier) who is now with God, got here printed. This was a thing of greater benefit to the people, because of the few books and less knowledge which the men generally have for making a good confession.”¹⁷

This catechism was printed many times in Goa. Thus in 1557, some theses were printed on the feast of Saint Lucas as Fróis reported in the same above mentioned letter: “On the day of St. Luke Brother Francisco Cabral, student of Fr. Antonio de Quadros, defended here some public theses; I am sending herewith three printed copies of the same; ... Present

on the occasion were the Governor, Francisco Barreto, with many noble fidalgos and many Religious, high court judges and other legal entities from outside.”¹⁸ In 1556, Fróis talked about another application of the press, namely, to strengthen the image of Christianity among the neo converts: “The first Patriarch (Nunes Barreto) knowing this as he was very zealous for the honor of God and for the benefit of Christendom, ordered Fr. Francisco Rodrigues to print here, with moulds some images of crucified Christ with the Virgin Our Lady on one side and St. John on the other, to be distributed among these Christians, and thus to have with them a more fresh memory of the mystery of his redemption.”¹⁹ It would appear from the writings of Luis Fróis that by the year 1561, some work in Konkani was already printed in Latin characters though we do not have any examples.²⁰

Another early Jesuit printer was Brother João Gonçalves a native of Spain, who knew the art of founding types. He came to India in 1555. “He was the first who made in India Malabar types with which many books were printed”.²¹ It was with the types prepared by him that in 1557 Fr. Bernardino Ferrario and Pedro Luis put together a catechism, the first book printed in India in the Malabar language.²² The Patriarch Nunes Barreto wrote about him in 1559: “He made here moulds and matrixes and more artifacts of puncoes and other things from round letters (i.e. printed) and of the letters which are used in the kingdom of Preste and in which he has written his books, which I prize a lot to compose in them christian doctrines, confessions, and other necessary books, for it will not be possible to indoctrinate such a vast land except with many books printed in its language, which I will get printed in the press which I have here to take”; and further he wrote, “he knows also to manage the right hand press

(prensa direita) which is difficult, and to make other artifacts out of it, and many and varied things of his art and of other arts.”²³ In 1557 Gonçalves was appointed as “*Praefectus fabricae domesticae et faber ferrarius*”; and by the end of 1576 he was “*mestre da imprensa*”. He usually lived in Goa and died in 1578. In none of the works mentioned above does one find even the slightest mention of the poor Indian for being “*impressor habil*” (a capable printer) who had been sent by King D. João III to help Bustamante. He seems to have been deliberately ignored whereas he must have rendered valuable help to Bustamante who was then an inexperienced boy and to the Jesuit fathers who were busy printing a large number of religious books.²⁴

Most writers do not mention any other book published during 1557, besides the *Doutrina Christa* of Francis Xavier but the work “*Hist. das missões etc.*” mentions that one more book was published in that year. “The Patriarch Fr. João Nunes, Fr. Francisco Rodrigues and Fr. Antonio de Quadros composed in this year, 1557, a Confessionary which was very useful in India. As this was published, many Portuguese and Christians freed themselves through this means of much ignorance learnt their obligations what was legal and what was sinful and the mode of purifying their conscience through confession.”²⁵ There is evidence that no books were published during 1558-1559 because during this period the Jesuits were engrossed in other work including the reconstruction of the College of St. Paul which was finished in 1560. During this period the Order also had to face an internal agitation provoked by Fr. Antonio Gomes who having been appointed by Fr. Francis Xavier on the eve of his departure for Japan as his successor in the rectorship of this college, had dismissed from the Seminary all the local boys replacing them by the sons of the Europeans

and had received in the Society as novices 25 young men also Europeans who did not have the proper training for it. When the Apostle returned in 1559, he noticed these irregularities, reestablished the aims of the institution of the Seminary and replaced him by Fr. Gaspar Barzeu.²⁶ It appears that these conflicts in the Society prevented the priests from dedicating their time to the press in these two years.

Bustamante printed a treatise in Portuguese in 1560 in which Fr. Goncalo Rodriguez²⁷, with the support of the Councils and the Popes established the primacy of the Roman Church against the schismatic errors of the Abyssinians. The confraternity of the Holy Faith was established in 1541 in India, due to the efforts of the Fathers Diogo de Borba, and the College of St. Paul was established with the aim of imparting religious instruction and education of the youth. Later in 1560, during the rule of viceroy D. Constantino de Bragança and the Provincial of the Jesuits Fr. Antonio de Quadros, this college was reconstructed maintaining the same invocation. Fr. João Nunes Barreto who was Bishop of Hieropolis and first Patriarch of Ethiopia laid the foundation stone on January 25, day of the conversion of St. Paul.²⁸ Students came there to study literature and religion; at the same time the establishment of the printing press there helped the intellectual movement. Two famous printers João de Endem and João Quinquenio both Jesuits were incharge of the printing press established there.²⁹

D. Gaspar de Leao Perreira consecrated as the first Archbishop of Goa on April 15, 1560, presided over the destinies of the Archdiocese as well as the activities of the Press. He brought out the *Compendio Espiritual*

da Vida Christã in 1561.³⁰ According to the bibliographer, Innocencio Francisco da Silva this book was the first to be printed in Goa. However, Ismael Gracias refutes this. A second edition of this book was printed in 1600 in Coimbra by Manuel de Araujo. In 1563, João de Endem printed the *Colloquios dos Simples e drogas he cousas medicinaes da India* by Dr. Garcia d'Orta, who came to India in 1534.³¹ Its second edition was printed in 1872 by Francisco de Varnhagen in Lisbon which gives some information about the first edition including the fact that it was dedicated to Martim A. de Sousa and that it carried a sonnet dedicated to the Viceroy. It appears that this was the first printed poem of Camoes who was in Goa when Dr. Garcia D'Orta's book was published. This was another achievement for the printing press in Goa, which became the first to publish the verses of the national poet of Portugal.³² Dimas Bosque from Valencia, writes in the preface that the *Colloquios* was started in Latin but at the request of family and friends it was written in Portuguese in the form of dialogues. In the introduction to the second edition Varnhagen says that Garcia D'Orta "revealed in that century to Europe many truths which the same Europe was ignorant of or of which it knew only by less authenticated information of Greek and Arab writers and their commentators, who were all called to depose in judgment by the analytical spirit of the Portuguese observers."³³

The *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez* of I. F. da Silva states the purpose of the press publications. "The *Colloquios* are an admirable book for many reasons and a matter of pride for the Portuguese nation to have produced it. A monument to the intelligence and efforts of its author, in it appears the first and precise description of the epidemic *cholera*

morbus (as well observed by Dr. Lima Leitaó) and various other equally notable and important diseases and of Oriental plants which until then were unknown".³⁴ The Archbishop of Goa D. Gaspar published in 1565 his *a Carta ao Povo de Israel com traducção dos dois tratados contra os judeus de Mestre Jeronymo de Santa Fe*. The printer was João de Endem. It appears that this letter was written by the bishop with the aim of converting the Jews who had settled in Goa due to the commercial opportunities. Mr. A.C. Texeira d'Aragão mentions this book among others which were sent for a universal exhibition in Paris in 1867.³⁵

The Archbishop of Goa D. Gaspar de Leão Pereira held at the beginning of 1567 the first Provincial Council of Goa. When it was in session itself, the bishop of Cochim Fr. Jorge Themude succeeded him as Archbishop. Fr. Themude who concluded the Provincial Council decided that the actions of this council should be translated into Portuguese and printed so that all could read and understand. João de Endem, therefore, printed it with the title *O primeiro Concílio Provincial celebrado em Goa em o anno de 1567, trasladado de Latim em Linguagem, 1568*. The Archbishop issued an order on July 10, 1568, that "the volume of decrees (of the council) printed by João de Endem and signed by the Providor be given entire faith and credited as if they were original".³⁶ This *concílio* was published by councillor Cunha Rivara in *Arquivo Portuguez-Oriental* in 1862. In the prologue to it he says that he published it according to the edition issued "in Goa in the new College of St. Paul of the Society of Jesus in 1649"³⁷. In the fourth issue he published the proceedings of the other four provincial councils held in Goa in the 16th century and also those of the Diocesan Synod of Diamper.

The second Provincial Council was held in Goa in 1575, and the next three in 1585, 1592 and 1606, all in the Sé Cathedral. The Diocesan Synod of Diamper was held in Malabar in 1599, by Archbishop Aleixo de Menezes. The proceedings of the five Councils were printed in 1721. In the light of the decrees of the first Provincial Council, the Bishop D. Gaspar ordered the *Constituicoes Synodales do Arcebispado de Goa* which was published on April 8, 1568, by Joao de Endem.³⁸ The second edition of this work was published in 1643. One of the two copies of this work kept in the Central Library, Panaji, belonged at one time to the college of *Populo* containing 115 pages. This edition bears the licenses for printing in 1640 and 1643 by the Inquisitors Antonio de Faria Machado and George Seco de Macedo. It was followed by the printing of the proceedings of the first Provincial Council and at the end of the second volume has been attached a manuscript copy of the fifth council.³⁹ This second edition was printed in the new College of St. Paul and its third and last editions were printed in Lisbon. A copy of the first edition featured in the Universal Exposition at Paris in 1867.⁴⁰ According to Antonio Ribeiro dos Santos after the "*Constituicoes Synodales*", *O Mappa Mundi* was published by the Portuguese cosmographer Fernao Vaz Dourado in 1571.⁴¹ This Marine Atlas figured in the International exhibition at Paris in 1867 among other Portuguese manuscripts and miniatures⁴²

The Archbishop D. Gaspar de Leao Perreira published *the Desenganos de perdidas in* Goa by Joao de Endem in 1573. This book is in the form of a dialogue in which enter two pilgrims, a Christian and the other a Turk who meet between the Suez and Cairo. It is divided into three

parts, the first deals with the disillusion of the Muslims, informing them about their total destruction according to the statement of St. John, the second disillusion of spoilt and sensuous men according to the declaration of the moral fable of the mermaids and the third deals with the spiritual life by which one can achieve perfection.⁴³ It was examined by father Francisco Rodrigues, Provincial of the Society and approved by Dr. Bartholomew da Fonseca, Inquisitor. I. F. da Silva informs that despite being examined by these competent authorities this booklet was banned by the Inquisition in Portugal since it was mentioned on the list of banned books in the *Indice expurgatorio de 1581*.⁴⁴ The year 1573 was the last year in the 16th century in which a book was printed at press in Goa from which since 1556 ten publications were printed.⁴⁵ From that year there was a long break and the literary activities of the Jesuits were restarted only in 1616 when another press was established in the College of Rachol.⁴⁶

It appears from the facts cited that there were available in Goa three different printers: Joao de Bustamante, who printed the *Conclusoes* in 1556 and the *Doutrina Christa* in 1557; Joao Quinquenio, 1561 and Joao de Endem 1563 to 1573. Amancio Gracias tells that "at first sight it appears that three printers existed in fact, but none of the letters of the Jesuits (*Litterae Annuae*), nor the Chronicles of the Society of Jesus nor any other contemporary books mention that any persons with the last two names mentioned above came to India, Bustamante was certainly the true printer of all the works mentioned above, helped, no doubt, by the Indian to whom we have already referred".⁴⁷ He further says that Bustamante was quite advanced in ecclesiastical studies in the College of S. Paulo, having

been ordained as a Presbyterian in 1564. Amancio Gracias concludes that "if we admit the existence of these two printers as facts then we will also have to admit that presses besides the one brought by the Jesuits in 1556 also existed when there are no documents to prove that there was any press other than the one brought by the Jesuits."⁴⁸ Most other writers on the subject accept the existence of three different printers.

Most of the books mentioned above were printed with the prior censorship and license including the books of the Archbishop D. Gaspar.⁴⁹ This censorship and the need for licenses for books written even by persons of recognized scholarship indicates the terrible power of the Inquisition. Censorship and license did not exist only in Goa as the same also existed in the metropolis. "No foreign book", writes D. Antonio da Costa in his *Historia da Instrucao Popular em Portugal*, "could come out, could not even be owned by private people without the prior license of the delegates of the Inquisition on the penalty of punishment by a tribunal of the Holy office; no government book could be published without three successive approvals, the state censor, the religious censor of the diocese and above all the censor of the Inquisition. The same tribunal severely punished transgressors." He further informs that "With the intention to get out of this miserable state two notable reforms gave scope to the possibility of reading and to the publication of thought."⁵⁰ The first reform consisted of substituting "the three censors by only one, where the religious element was represented, but where the secular element predominated, it was the royal court of censors tribunal. The other reform equally important and complementing the first was the creation of an imperial printing press incorporating in it a workshop for founding types which would also help

the development of the private press.”⁵¹ The effect was positive and soon there appeared a group of many political, social, scientific and literary writers whose works were born due to the new atmosphere created by these reforms.

Printing in the 17th century: The second phase

The literary activities of the Jesuits, as referred above, were then restarted only in 1616 after the break from 1573. This second phase started when another press was established at Rachol. This and the one located at *Casa Professa do Bom Jesus* in Old Goa, printed many books and booklets, which were largely religious in character. Out of such works which were printed between 1616 to 1669, nineteen were in Portuguese, nineteen in Konkani, one in Abyssinian, one each in Latin and Chinese (*Sinarum Scientia politico-moralis*, by Intorcetta). The Chinese section was published in Quamchen (China) in 1667 and the Latin in Konkani in Goa in 1669.⁵²

Vernacular literature

The first book in literary Marathi (*Brahmanamarasta*) published in Goa (1666) was the famous *Purana* of Father Thomas Stephens, an English Jesuit who had a good knowledge of Konkani and was a dedicated missionary. He died in Goa in 1619 at 70 years of age. He was in the Society of Jesus for 54 years, of which he spent 40 years as a missionary in

Salcete being the Rector of the Colegio de Espirito Santo de Margao.

Father Thomas wrote and published following three books:

1) *Discurso sobre a vinda de Jesu Christo nossas Salvador ao Mundo.*

There appears to be some doubt about the language in which this work was originally written. According to Amancio Gracias “some say that it was first written in Portuguese and then translated into the vernacular”.⁵³ In the opinion of Prof. Mariano Saldanha, the book was first written in the vernacular and later translated into Portuguese. It was not translated in full but in summary to give some idea of its contents to the Archbishop and other authorities, who did not know the Konkani language. Amancio Gracias goes on to conclude that it does not appear that Fr. Thomas Stephens must have written the whole book in Portuguese and then translated it into the vernacular. He was an Englishman and definitely did not have mastery over the Portuguese language to write in Portuguese verse, whereas having studied the vernacular language deeply of which he even wrote a Grammar, it would appear that he was more fluent in this language than in Portuguese. As rightly noted by Prof. Mariano Saldanha, probably he must have written a summary in Portuguese for getting the approval of the ecclesiastical authorities.⁵⁴

This book had three editions. The first was brought out at Rachol with the license of the Inquisition and of the authority of the *College of All Saints of the Society of Jesus* in 1616. It was examined by Paulo Mascarenhas as ordered by the Inquisitors and by learned people of the Society. It was given the license to print by the Inquisitors, by the

Archbishop and by the Provincial of the Society by special permission of the *Prepositor Geral* (General Prefect) Fr. Claudio Aquaviva.⁵⁵ Its second edition began in 1646 and ended in 1649 at an unknown press. From censorship and licenses, it is seen that the book had begun to be called *Puranna*⁵⁶. It was examined by Fr. Gaspar de S. Miguel, a Franciscan who lived in Bardez and Fr. Manoel Baptista, rector of Colvalle. The Inquisitors who permitted the re-printing were Antonio de Faria Machado, Joao de Barros Castel Branco and Domingos Rebello Lobo. The third edition was printed in Goa with license of the Holy Inquisition and the Authority of the College of St. Paul in 1654. Inquisitors Fr. Lucas of Cruz and Paulo Castellino de Freitas assigned the license.⁵⁷ The *Puranna* was dedicated to the Archbishop D. Fr. Christovao de Lisboa by a letter dated April 29, 1616 (Rachol). This book was quite popular and Ismael Gracias tells that even in the 1880's, some people knew its verses by heart.⁵⁸

2) *Doutrina Christa* in Konkani (*Brahmana Canarim*) in the form of a dialogue for children. It was published after the death of the author in Rachol in 1622.

3) *Arte da Lingua Canarim* was expanded after his death by Fr. Diego Ribeiro another person fluent in the local language and was revised by four fathers of the Society. Fr. Stephens da Cruz examined it, with the prior license of the Holy Office. It was printed in the college of St. Ignatius in Rachol and 1649. It figured in the world exhibition at Paris in 1867.⁵⁹ It was reprinted by councilor J. H. da Cunha Rivara at the *Imprensa Nacional* 1857, preceded by a memorial on the geographical distribution of the main

languages of India by Sir Erskine Perry and a historical essay on the Konkani language.

Fr. Diego Ribeiro of the Society of Jesus, a missionary and Apostle of the Salcette mission also wrote the *Declaracam da Doutrina Christa* (A statement of the Christian doctrine) printed at the St. Ignatius college of Rachol in 1632. It was written in the Brahmin dialect of Goa. This work also figured in the Paris exhibition of 1867. Fr. Diego Ribeiro edited *The Arte* of Fr. Thomas Stephens and the *Vocabulario de Lingoa Canarim* prepared by the priests on the Society in Salcete in 1626. Fr. Ribeiro translated probably into Konkani the *Vidas dos Santos* written by Pedro Ribandeira and it was printed. In 1634, at the *Casa Professa de Bom Jesus*, the *Discursos sobre a vida do Apostolo S. Pedro*, (Discourses on the life of the Apostle St. Peter) were printed in which the author has refuted the main errors of the East, composed in verse in 'brahmana-marasta' by Estevão da Cruz in two volumes. . In December 1641, the *Discurso ou Falla* was published by Fr. Manoel da Cruz and the printer was a native of Coimbra. He was the Vicar general of the congregation in India, and an assistant to the Goa Inquisition appointed on March 7, 1633. It was a speech delivered by Fr. Manoel da Cruz when D. Joao IV was proclaimed the King of Portugal.

Printing in Abyssinian characters

As referred earlier, at the request of Preste in 1556, Lisbon was moved to send technicians who could make books in Ethiopia. But there is

no evidence to show that the printing press was introduced in Ethiopia. The missionaries there until the end of the 16th century continued writing to their superiors in Europe to send them a press. They wrote to their Cardeal Protector in Rome to send them a press with Ethiopian characters, as well as one or two individuals who knew the art of printing.⁶⁰ Since this request was not granted, Patriarch D. Afonso Mendes again wrote to the sacred congregation of the *Propaganda Fide*, which replied asking him to send to Rome the Ethiopian alphabets.⁶¹ This request was satisfied, because these Ethiopian types arrived in Goa with which was printed in Chaldean in 1642 a work titled *O Magseph assetatsive Flagellum mendaciorum*, (A Whip against falsehoods, a treatise against the Ethiopian Libel) authored by Fr. Antonio Fernandes, who was a missionary in Ethiopia and knew the languages of that land well. In this work, he refuted the errors in the book *Masysh Haymonot*, which means Treasures of the Faith written by a schismatic called Ras Athenabot. He wrote other books as well in the Ethiopian language at the request of Preste, the most famous was “*Vida da Santissima Virgem*” (Life of the most Holy Virgin Mary) dedicated to Fr. Vicente Carafa, Prepositor General of the Society of Jesus. It was translated into Portuguese by the Patriarch D. Affonso Mendes ten years after the death of the author and it was printed in 1652 in the College of St. Paul.⁶²

There is, therefore, no doubt that despite so many and so urgent requests from Preste to the king of Portugal to send technicians who could make books, the printing press was not introduced in Ethiopia and also none of the works above mentioned were printed there. For, when Ethiopian types founded in Rome were received in Goa, Catholicism in that

Empire was being violently persecuted and Preste had taken its sectarian hatred to the point of throwing out the priests who were missionaries there since a long time. It is therefore, certain that books meant for Ethiopia were printed in Goa in Ethiopian types.⁶³

In 1643 was published a letter by Manoel Jacome de Mesquita, *Relacam do que Socedo na Cidade de Goa....na felice acclamação del Rey Dõ Ião 0IIII de Portugal....* which is a report on what happened in all the forts and cities of *Estado da India* regarding the celebrations at the time of the acclamation of King D. Joao IV of Portugal and the swearing in of the Prince D. Theodosio.⁶⁴ It appears to have been printed in the 17th century in Goa in the Jesuit press. Cunha Rivara calls it the *Puranna da Bibliotheca*⁶⁵ Fr. João de S. Mathias, a native of Lisbon, who was the eighth Provincial of the S Thome Province in Goa, wrote the *Vida de Christo* (Life of Christ) in the Konkani language (*lingoa brahmāna*). Could this book be the one mentioned above (*Puranna da Bibliotheca*)?⁶⁶ Ismael Gracías says that three *Purannas* beginning with page 25 are known, the third being incomplete. This he says was published in the cited *Ensaio Historico da lingoa concani*⁶⁷

A distinguished priest of Salcete Antonio de Saldanha came to India from Mazgão, Africa, with the intention of joining the army but changed his mind and joined the Church. He could speak Konkani fluently and wrote: 1) *Archaryevanta Bragta Santo Antoniche or Tratado dos Milagres* (Life of St. Anthony). It was translated and composed in the local language in 1655 at the college of Rachol. Mr. A.K. Priolkar tells that this book was written in verse in Marathi and in prose in the spoken dialect of

Goa both printed in the Roman script.⁶⁸ 2) *Rosas e boninas deleitosas do Rosal de Maria e seu Rosario* translated and composed for moral profit and for the good of souls at Rachol. The year of printing is not mentioned.

Miguel de Almeida was another missionary of Salcete but a native of vila de Gouveia, province of Beira who entered the Society in Goa on 12th September 1624, at 16 years of age. He became rector of the college of St. Paul of Goa and later Provincial of the Society of Jesus. He published some books including: 1) *Jardim dos Pastores* (Garden of Shepherds) or *Festas do anno* in five volumes in the Konkani language (*lingua brahmana*). This doctrinal book containing lectures and sermons was published in the college of the Society in 1658. In an article published in the *Examiner* of Bombay in 1922, a detailed description of what is believed to be the first volume was given by Fr. Hosten⁶⁹ J.A. Ismael Gracias has given a detailed description of the third volume.⁷⁰ 2) *Sinco Praticas sobre as palavras = Exurgens Maria = Goa*. Another book attributed to Fr. Miguel de Almeida is *Diccionario da lingua Concanica* which Sotwell says is a translation of *Thesouro da lingoa portuguesa* by Bento Pereira; but what is more true is that this Dictionary and the *Vocabulario da lingoa concanica* which was added were one and the same work⁷¹

There is a book containing 270 pages in the Central Library, Panaji without the first and last pages and therefore the author, the place of printing and the year of publication are ^{not} known. It appears, however, to have been published at the Jesuit press in Goa and its author was a Jesuit because the sermons and lectures, which constitute this work were preached

in the churches of Salcete entrusted to the Jesuits.⁷² Fr. Bernardino de Villegas, of the Society of Jesus, professor of Theology in its college and an officer of the Inquisition composed *Soliloquios divinos*. It was translated into Konkani by Fr. Pedrosa of the same Society, a missionary in Salcete. The *Soliloquios* were revised by the fathers of the Society Antonio da Costa and Antonio de Saldanha. According to the author of *Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la compagnie de Jésus*, the *Soliloquios* were printed in 1640. Amancio Gracias gives the date as 1660. According to most sources, this was the last book published in Goa from the Jesuit Press. Fr. Hosten says⁷³ that since 1616 when the second printing press was installed at Rachol to 1669, in all 30 books were published. Moreover, C.R. Boxer mentions⁷⁴ two more books, namely, A.P. Prospero Intorcetta's *Sinarum Scientia Politico-Moralis* (36 leaves in Chinese characters printed at Canton in 1667 and 20 leaves in Roman types at Goa in 1669) and *Regras da Companhia de Jesu* (Rules of the Society of Jesus) printed at Rachol in 1674.

First Printing Types of an Indian Script

The motivating force behind all the Jesuit printing had been proselytisation. The South had a sizable native Christian population including a large number of the Syro-Malabarise or St. Thomas Christians. An attempt was therefore made to popularise Christian teachings by printing in Indic characters of this region. Information about early Indic printing is not very prolific.⁷⁵ A Spanish, Juan Gonçalves, cut 'Malabar' types in 1577. Fr. Souza writes about him, "He was the first who made in

India types of Malabar letters with which the first books were printed". These types were used to print a Catechism by Fathers Bernardino Ferrario and Pero Luiz a Brahmin priest.⁷⁶ Ismael Gracias cites Fr. Lucena who says that St. Xavier composed in the Malabar language the articles of faith and the commandments of the law of God with brief declarations after each one, a general confession and many prayers of Christian doctrine. It appears that this collection is the Catechism (*Doutrina Christa*), which was printed in 1577 about which Fr. Souza says, "*este foi o primeiro livro que a India nascer na sua propria terra e não ajudou pouco a novidade para grangeas o agrado dos naturais*". ("This was the first book which India saw being born in its own land and the good news helped to win over the approval of the natives.")⁷⁷

The Tamil characters were founded for the first time by Fr. João de Faria, the architect of the arches of the college of St. Paul in Goa. He died in Goa in 1582.⁷⁸ These characters were put to use in 1578 to print *O Flos Sanctorum*, (Holy Flowers), *A Doutrina Christa* a voluminous Confessionary, and other books by which the Fathers learnt to read and write.⁷⁹ The most expert in the Malabar and Tamil languages was Fr. Henrique, who was called the Apostle of Camorim, a distinguished companion of St. Francis Xavier. He came from Portugal in 1564 and died in India in 1582. Fr. Schurhammer concludes from these accounts that there were two contemporaneous centers of Indic printing in southern India, employing different alphabets. In the 16th century, the Portuguese applied the term "Malabar" both to the Tamil and to the Malyalam languages. Here, however, since Tamil is specified for Faria, the 'Malabar' of Gonçalves must be intended to refer to Malyalam.⁸⁰

The question is whether there were two presses at work simultaneously on either coast, one printing in Malyalam and the other in Tamil. "One might suppose, from the greater importance of Tamil, and the greater accessibility of the Malabar Coast, that the printing activity was concentrated in that language and centred on that coast."⁸¹ Evidence, however, is conflicting. A copy of the first Indic printing was found by Fr. Robert Streit, O.M.I. in 1928. The work was Fr. Marcos Jorge's *Doctrina Christiana* translated into Tamil by Fr. Henriquez and printed in Cochin in 1579.⁸² This work, in dialogue form, contains 4 unnumbered leaves and 112 numbered pages. Fr. Georg Schurhammer in his article in the Harvard Library Bulletin gives photographic reproductions of some pages from this work. Another copy of the *Doctrina Christiana* printed in the Malabar types was of 16 pages and was translated into Tamil by Fr. Henriquez and Fr. Manuel de São Pedro and printed at Quilon (Coulam) also on the Malabar Coast, in 1578.⁸³ It was a translation of St. Xavier's book of the same name. This book becomes the earliest example of printing in the character of one of the Indian languages and the earliest example of printing in a native language executed in India. Using Schurhammer's article, Priolkar concludes that the book published at Quilon was in the *Lingua Malabar Tamil*. He further says that the '*Lingua Malabar*' of which types were prepared by Gonçalves and the Tamil of which types were prepared by Faria were identical and infact both were used in the printing of this book.⁸⁴

Priolkar also examines why types of the local language of Goa (Marathi) were not prepared at this stage. Citing Fr. G.C. Rodeles, he says

that Gonçalves did actually think of preparing “*Canarese*” types, but did not pursue the idea on account of the clumsy shapes of the characters, the irregularity of pronunciation and the limited area in which the language was spoken.⁸⁵ It appears that Fr. Gonçalves had actually started preparing types of the Devanagari script, but brother João Gonçalves who prepared them died in the following year, and his companion Fr. João de Faria also expired in the year 1582. Thus, there was none who was able to undertake the work. For this reason the *Puranna* was printed in Latin characters in the college of St. Paul in the year 1654.⁸⁶ Fr. Schurhammer made this assertion on the basis of what Fr. Chutte has written in this connection: “The first attempt to start a press for the *Kanarim* language had for a while miscarried, although about 50 letters or moulds were already prepared. The multiplicity and difficult reproduction of letters, also the meager prospects of a wide publicity of books (printed) in *Kanarim* types however finally scared away the Brother printer.”⁸⁷ Priolkar concludes that, “Fr. Schurhammer has understood that *Kanarim* types mentioned by Fr. Chutte to mean *Devanāgari* types, and he is probably right in doing so. It must be remembered, however, that in Goa the Kannada or *Canarese* script was also in common use for writing Marathi. The fact that there were no subsequent attempts in this direction indicates that the need for *Devanāgari* types was not felt with sufficient urgency at this time.”⁸⁸

The Printing Press in Goa held tremendous potential for proselytisation work. Initially, however, it was not exploited to its maximum capacity since it was felt that political and economic coercion was sufficient to herd people to the faith. The Inquisition established in 1560 also served as an aid to strengthen the bonds of the neo-converts to

the Church through the medium of terror and horror. In due course, however, it dawned upon the authorities concerned that physical coercion was not a satisfactory method to achieve the ends of the missionaries. This led to a reorientation of policy and now emphasis was placed on the value of religious education of the converts in the resolutions of the *Concilio Provincial* at its sessions of 1567, 1575, 1585, 1592 and 1606.⁸⁹

In this new programme for religious education, the indigenous languages were given priority and every parish priest was required to be conversant with, and Christian literature was also to be printed in, the local languages. The impetus provided by this policy led Fr. Stephens, Croix, Saldanha and others to produce the *Christian Puranas* and other literature written in the literary and spoken languages of Goa but printed in the Roman script. Father Thomas Stephens desired that such literature should be produced in the Devanāgarī script. In a letter addressed from Salcete in Goa on December 5, 1608, to his superiors in the Society of Jesus in Rome he wrote: "Before I end this letter I wish to bring before your Paternity's mind the fact that for many years I very strongly desired to see in this Province some books printed in the language and alphabet of the land as there are in Malabar with great benefit for the Christian community. And this could not be achieved for two reasons; the first because it looked impossible to cast so many moulds amounting to six hundred, whilst the characters are syllables and not alphabets, as our twenty four in Europe. The other because this holy curiosity could not be put into execution without the order and concession of the Provincial, and they have so many things to look after that they have no time to attend to this, much more to take it in hand. The first difficulty has its remedy in this that these moulds

can be reduced to two hundred. The second will vanish if Your Paternity thought it fit to write to Father Provincial, recommending him that he may do it if he feels that it will be for the greater glory of God, and edification and benefit of this Christian community. ⁹⁰ Fr. Stephen's appeals did not meet with favourable response and, therefore, his *Puranna* was published in the Roman script in 1616.

Interregnum to Printing Activity in Goa.

As mentioned earlier, the printing press was established in Goa accidentally but was subsequently utilized as an aid to proselytisation activities. A number of books were published in Portuguese, Konkani, Marathi, Tamil and Malyalam from 1556 to 1674. Then came a period of decadence when the printing press was neglected and in fact ceased to function. In Goa the last known printed work in the 17th century from the Jesuit Press appears to be the *Soliloquios* of Fr. João de Pedrosa. No work seems to be mentioned after it. Printing was then continued by the Jesuit missionaries for some time along the Malabar Coast. The earlier batch of Christian missionaries were motivated with religious zeal for conversion and did their best to master the local languages and to print literature in the vernacular to aid their missionary work. However, in course of time this missionary zeal declined and dissipated by affluence, avarice and lack of moral discipline. Priests in India succeeded in persuading the ruling powers that, Indian languages far from furthering were actually an obstacle in the work of proselytisation. For some time priests were urged to learn the local language as an aid to their missionary work.

The Provincial Councils and the Goan Constitutions recommended and ordered the use and the study of the language of the land.⁹¹ The first Constitution of the Archdiocese of Goa written in conformity with the first Provincial Council, which was held in Goa in 1567 contains the following, "We order that no catechumen who has not been instructed in the doctrines of our Holy Faith should be baptized. Before imparting baptism, he should be taught very clearly in his own vernacular all that he has to believe viz. the Commandments. Without this instruction, irrespective of the time to be spent for such an instruction, no catechumen should be baptized". The second Council of Goa (1575) in its Decree of the second Act recommended to the Prelates that they should use the services of persons who know the language to spread the word of God in private homes of the Hindus and at their public meetings. The third Council of Goa (1585) in its 25th Decree of the second Act ordered that a compendium of catechism be made in the Portuguese language, and the doctrine contained therein be taught in all parts of India with a view to maintaining uniformity. This catechism should be translated into the vernacular of the place and taught to the people where conversions may be taking place.⁹² This Council also ordained in its third Act the translation into Malabar languages of various books for the use of the Christian Community of St. Thomas and priests of the Angamalee.

The fourth Council (1592) in its fifth Decree of the Act two reiterated the need and desirability of teaching catechism to those about to be baptized and ordered that a compendium of Christian doctrine and instruction be made, and translated in the most common languages of the

province and that churches where all or a greater number of people were Christians be assigned to no one but to those priests who are well qualified and know well the vernacular of the place. The *Concilio Provincial* of 1606 (fifth Council) in the ninth Decree ordered that no cleric should be placed in charge of a parish unless he learnt the local language and further that parish priests who were ignorant of local languages would automatically lose their positions if they failed to pass an examination in the local languages within six months to be given for that purpose beginning from the date of publication of this Decree⁹³ Infact Cunha Rivara goes to the extent of saying that the Konkani literature, chiefly religious, owes its existence exclusively to the Portuguese missionaries.⁹⁴

However, in course of time missionary zeal abated and especially the Franciscans and Jesuits became very cavalier in their attitude and finding it inconvenient to learn local languages worked hard to get regulations demanding its knowledge removed. They finally succeeded when the Viceroy Francis de Tavora, Count of Alvor, on June 27, 1684, published a Decree of Law which stated, "in order to put an end to all inconveniences, it would be suitable to set aside the use of the vernacular idiom and to insist that all apply themselves to speak Portuguese since the use of both the languages at one and the same time gives cause to various inconveniences, including that of not being understood. Thereby the Parish Priests would be able to suitably explain the mysteries of faith which may not be properly explained as their importance demands, either because the Parish Priest cannot speak freely the vernacular, or the people are unable to understand Portuguese....and to make inter-communication easy, the people of the place shall try to learn the Portuguese language; the Parish

Priests and the school teachers shall impart instruction in that language so that in course of time the Portuguese idiom will be common to one and all, to the exclusion of the mother tongue; and to achieve this end the language used in sermons and meetings shall be Portuguese, until it comes into daily use; and, therefore, I assign three years, a period within which the Portuguese language ought to be studied and spoken. Moreover, this language alone should be used by the people in these parts in their dealings and other contracts, which they may wish to enter into, those using the vernacular being severely punished for not obeying this mandate.⁹⁵

The principal authors responsible for the promulgation of this order were the Parish Priests who were ordered to learn the vernacular and who being more interested in their own comforts than in the interests of religion gave the Viceroy to understand that it would be easier to force all the people to learn Portuguese and thus remove from the few the burden of the study of the vernacular.⁹⁶ This decree badly affected printing activity in India since the impetus to print in Indian languages to provide handy study and teaching material to the missionary friars was now lost.

The progress of the Press in India was brought to an abrupt end in the 17th century by a notable document. The Secretary to the Government, Diogo de Mendonça, Corte Real, wrote on March 20, 1754, the following letter to the Viceroy of Portuguese India, Count of Alva: "To his Majesty were made many representations according to which it was intended to set up in this Estado many printing presses to print books and to which the same lord did not agree and he orders me to advice you not to allow the establishment of any of these presses in this state not only by private parties

but also in the Convents, Colleges or any other community, however privileged."⁹⁷ It was during the ministerial term of the inimitable Marquis de Pombal, an implacable enemy of the Jesuits, that such an extreme and repressive measure was issued. By the order of September 3, 1759, the Jesuits were expelled from the Empire. Much later, the Pope Clement XIV banned the Order in the whole world by his **Brief *Dominicus ac Redemptor*** of July 21, 1773. Pombal added to the woes of the Jesuits by gradually undertaking measures to withdraw their influence from all sides. He was aware that the Jesuits were very powerful in India and the printing press, a handy instrument was in their control. In order to break their power he decided to issue the said Order. The missionary press as a "phase" in the evolution of printing activity in Goa was in this manner brought to an abrupt and compulsory suspension.

The Evolution of the Periodical Press.

The press reappeared in Goa only in 1821 as an indirect result of the prevailing atmosphere in Portugal and in Goa. On September 16, 1821, Viceroy Conde Rio Pardo was removed after a popular struggle and the new liberal regime took the initiative in bringing a press to Goa from Bombay. A weekly called ***Gazeta de Goa***, was published, which heralded a new phase of printing activity in Goa. Within five years, however, this policy was reversed and Viceroy D. Manuel de Camara "put an end to the existence of the press as well as of the Gazette by an order dated August 29, 1826".⁹⁸ According to the Order, "the government continued to exist without a press and without the Gazette until the unhappy epoch of the

revolution, and during these disastrous times they only produced evil results. Therefore, if at present the types are found to be unusable there would be no inconvenience in suspending the publication of the Gazette.⁹⁹

As mentioned above, the press brought from Bombay by the Provisional Government reached Goa in December 1821 and on 22nd of the same month the first official publication "*Gazeta de Goa*" appeared¹⁰⁰. It was installed in one of the godowns of Adil Khan palace. Since its establishment, until the present times the official press formed a department of the state called *Imprensa Nacional de Goa*. Its first editor was the chief physician Dr. Antonio José de Lima Leitão, followed by the chief Secretary (*O Official Maior da Secretaria*), Luis Prates de Almeida Albuquerque and finally José Aniceto da Silva. From 1821 to October 1876 this Press had printed 752 publications including books, pamphlets and journals,¹⁰¹ which also included the works of Councillor Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, the secretary general of the government and the works of Fillipe Nery Xavier, senior official of the same government. They were both great officials and profound researchers of the history of Portuguese India.

The official bulletin *Gazeta de Goa* reported in detail the discussions of the Government, the receipts and expenditure of the Public Treasury, the Municipality, Santa Casa de Misericórdia, including local and international news. Goa was undergoing a difficult phase due to a change in the political regime in Lisbon. The language of the *Gazeta* was too high for the common people and hence it did not command a large circulation. It operated for just under fifty-six months and after this period was taken over by a new team of editors, Dr. Lima Leitão, Luis Prates da Almeida

Albuquerque, a senior official of the civil administration and José Anacleto da Silva, a military captain.¹⁰²

The *Gazeta de Goa* was suspended by the Viceroy D. Manuel da Câmara in 1826 under the pretext that “*nestes tempos desastrosos só produziu males*” (in these disastrous times it only produced ill effects). The government justified its actions by saying “*sempre o governo passara sem imprensa e sem gazeta*” (the Government always continued without a press and without a gazette)¹⁰³. The Council was presided over by Archbishop Fr. Manoel de S. Galdino. The *Gazeta* was reestablished on June 13, 1835, under the title *Chronica Constitucional de Goa* which lasted for two years uptill November 30, 1837. It was edited by José Aniceto da Silva. A ministerial decree of December 7, 1836, renamed this official publication as *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India*. It was edited by Secretary Antonio Mariano de Azavedo helped by Caetano João Peres and Claudio Lagrange Barbuda. Like the *Gazeta* and the *Chronica Constitucional*, the *Boletim* was also a weekly except for the first five months when it was a biweekly and again weekly from 1856 up to August 1879. In 1869 its nomenclature was changed once again to *Boletim Official* and its periodicity was triweekly. It continued upto 1961. It was converted into a daily from 1882 to 1887, canceling space to news and history in 1889. From 1889 to 1939, it was a biweekly and a weekly since then.¹⁰⁴ Aleixo Costa on the other hand gives slightly different dates¹⁰⁵. According to him the *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India* continued up to 1879 and the *Boletim Official do Estado da India* established in September 1879 was a weekly upto April 30, 1880; triweekly upto May 1, 1883, it continued as a daily up to November 30, 1887 and triweekly once again from December 1,

1887 to 1897 and finally biweekly since 1898. This was a Government Gazette. Historical information was published under the heading 'Non official'.

The *Anuário do Estado da Índia Portuguesa* was published for the years 1929, 1930, 1932, and 1933. *Notícias do Estado da Índia* was a publication of the Central department of Statistics and Information brought out by the Information section. It consisted of sixteen illustrated pages and was published from August 1950 to December 1961. The chief editor was António dos Mártires Lopes. *Anuário da Índia Portuguesa* was published for the period 1936-1939, and in 1941. All these official publications were published in Nova Goa at the Government press i.e. *Imprensa Nacional*.

In 1886, Vicente João Janin Rangel established the *Tipografia Rangel*,¹⁰⁶ which became an important private printing press. It became a leading printing press due to the variety of services that it provided. It brought out various religious booklets and other works of scholarship, and introduced for the first time in Goa types for music to help students and preserved and defended regional sacred music, especially the popular mandó.

Political press

The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed a lot of political turmoil in Portugal as well as in Goa. The liberal regime that installed itself only served to divide the country into several groups which quarrelled

among themselves violently. Goa was administered by the Viceroy Conde do Rio Pardo. A group of liberal enthusiasts deposed the viceroy for having proclaimed the Constitution, because orders had not been received from the King to this effect. This was followed by a rapid succession of provisional governments. After varying fortunes of revolutions and counter-revolutions, Constitutionalism installed itself in Portugal, and Bernardo Peres da Silva, an eminent son of Goa who had taken an active part in the movement was named as Prefect of the *Estado da India*, in January 1835. The Prefect was a man in a hurry to introduce reforms. This annoyed the absolutists and others who could not adjust to the laws. Some of these antagonised people got together to plot his fall and they succeeded in overthrowing him by a military revolt on 1st February, 1835. The exiled Prefect after attempting some unsuccessful moves to come back, established his administration in Daman. His administration had lasted for just twelve days.

This period of political and ideological turmoil provided a very fertile ground for the emergence of a host of journals, being the mouthpieces of different groups critical of the political situation. The *Chronica Constitucional*, in its non-official section fought against the Portuguese papers in Bombay, which defended the cause of Perismo i.e. of Prefect Bernardo Peres da Silva.¹⁰⁷

The first political newspaper of Portuguese India without official patronage was *Echo da Lusitania*,¹⁰⁸ (Lusitanian Echo). It was printed in the Government press and it was edited by high Court Judge Manuel Felicissimo Lousada de Araújo with an orientation similar to that of

Chronica Constitucional. There were many other political periodicals¹⁰⁹, all being printed at the Government press. These included ***O Vigilante*** (The Vigilant), of Army Major of Moçambique, João de Souza Machado; ***A Voz dos Povos da India*** (the voice of the people of India) brought out by José Aniceto da Silva and others; ***O Defensor da Ordem e da Verdade*** (The Defender of Order and of Truth), of José António de Oliveira and others; the ***Abelha e os seus Correspondentes*** (The Abelha and its Correspondents), a series of leaflets published in the ***Imprensa Nacional***, or the Government Printing Press and signed by José Paulo Teles, defending the financial orders of the governor Vila Nova de Ourem against ***Abelha*** of Bombay.

. ***O Português em Damão*** (The Portuguese in Daman) was a political periodical founded by Prefect Bernardo Peres da Silva and Secretary to the Prefecture Constâncio Roque da Costa to take up issue against ***Chronica Constitucional de Goa***; ***O Investigador Portugues*** and ***A Sentinela da Liberdade na guarita de Damão*** of João de Sousa Machado, who in Goa had distributed the manuscript paper the ***Constitucional de Goa*** (The Constitution of Goa); ***O Mensageiro Bombayense*** (The Bombay Messenger) of António Filipe Rodrigues; the ***Investigador Portuguez em Bombaim*** (The Portuguese Investigator in Bombay), of José Valerio Capela, later substituted by ***Pregoeiro da Liberdade*** of António Simeão Pereira; the ***Índio Imparcial*** (Impartial Indian) of António Filipe Rodrigues; ***O Observador*** of the same António Simeão Pereira; ***A Abelha de Bombaim*** of the militant journalist Luis Caetano de Menes. ***Brado Indiano***, Panaji (1894-95), aroused the feeling of the people during Rane's Revolt of 1895. Its editor was prosecuted. ***A Voz da India*** (Margao), 1946,

annoyed the Portuguese Government in 1950 and its chief editor Gajanan Porob Desai and sub-editor Purushottam Gaonkar had to flee to Bombay in order to avoid arrest.

Private Press:

The first private Press in Goa was introduced by Bernardo Francisco da Costa. He also founded the first non-official journal *O Ultramar* (The Overseas).¹¹⁰ Its foundation was a landmark in journalism in Goa with repercussions on the social life of the territory. The *Ultramar* launched on April 6, 1859 from Margao, discussed political and economic issues. Press and literary life became intense in Goa, subsequent to its launch. It lasted upto 1905. In general it was pro-Government but liberal. Its editor was deported to Diu during Ranes Revolt of 1895 and its publication was banned for two years. He was a multifaceted personality and a strong defender of local interests in the field of cultural, economic and political interests. He was elected to the Portuguese Senate for two successive terms, from Daman and Goa. He was the founder of *Clube Harmonia* in Margao. He made his contribution to education as rector of the Lyceum and Inspector General of primary schools. Bernardo also founded the “*Montepio Geral de Goa*” and was responsible for linking Liverpool and Goa with a merchant fleet. As entrepreneur, he introduced machinery for extracting sugarcane juice, coconut oil and continuous distillation as well as setting up a canned foods industry.¹¹¹ By establishing the first private press, first nonofficial newspaper and with his publication

of several books he became a formidable force in the cultural life of the land.

Two years later, on January 4, 1861, the Journal *A India Portuguesa* ¹¹² (Portuguese India) was released in Margao by Manuel Loureço de Miranda Falcão and after his death on May 13, 1865, it was transferred to Orlim and its publication was taken over by Dr. José Inacio de Loiola. He was a sharp journalist and an active politician with a good grasp of local problems, which was reflected in his writings. It was the periodical of the Christian masses. The conflict between aristocratic Christians and others was reflected in its writings. His brother Avertano de Loiola Furtado succeeded him and directed the publication from June 1902 to August 1911. Political activity led to the temporary suspension of this journal, but it reappeared the following year under the direction of Dr. Miguel de Loiola Furtado. When he died, the publication was stopped for some time. It reappeared under the direction of Vicente Bragança Cunha in the village of S. Tome in Salcete. *A India Portuguesa* expressed novel ideas and novel thoughts on various aspects of human life. The journal was an important organ of the popular party *Partido Indiano* (Indian Party) and survived with varying fortunes and under different directors for 114 years. After the liberation of Goa the Journal assumed the title *A India* and was directed by Ms. D. Leonor de Loiola Furtado e Fernandes from Majorda.

These two pioneering journals of the periodical press exercised great influence on the political life of Goa and were followed by a host of others which though of ephemeral duration adequately reflected the politics and thought of various groups and communities in Goa. *Nacionalista e*

Comércio (Nationality and Commerce), *Pracasha*¹¹³ (Light) (1918-1929) and *O Debate* (Debate)(1911-1921) were the periodicals through which the eminent Luís de Meneses Bragança displayed his nationalism, humanism and prodigious intellect. He was one of the closest to being a perfect journalist. Edited by Hindus *Pracasha* was in favour of social reforms, opposed dictatorial regime and was banned. *O Debate* advocated rural and religious reforms. *Horas Vagas* and *Gazeta da India* and some other journals, which highlighted social, religious, political and economic issues, were edited by another journalist of repute Leopoldo Cipriano da Gama.

Daily Press

The birth of the idea to start a daily press took place during the course of the Anglo-Boer war in 1889, when the Journal *O Portugues* published from Panaji used to sell printed news for six reis. Those printed pieces of news published and sold daily inspired the birth of a daily newspaper. The nascent 20th century saw the birth of the first daily press in Goa. *O Herald* was born on January 22, 1900. It was the first daily not only in Goa but also in all Portuguese territories¹¹⁴ and survives with varying fortunes to date. This daily was founded by Messias Gomes with the aid of a group of young enthusiasts like Dr. Costa Alvares, Tomás Botelho and others., Messias Gomes had before him the ideal of a journal with an impartial stance. However, it tended to be pro-government during the Portuguese regime. This publication maintained with greatest esteem the prestige of the Indo-Portuguese press giving ample coverage to the problems of the day and stressing the need for the economic growth of the

territory. With a clear approach, it could hold the interest of the public with its well-written editorials.

The main irritation for this daily was lack of funds. Dr. José Maria da Costa Alvares approached a well-known financier in this territory and was rebuffed with the excuse that a daily would not survive for long. Costa Alvares chasing his dream went to Europe and to Lisbon. After many discussions, the idea to found a library, print books of value and then go into the matter of taking up a Press took shape. At this stage, *Casa Luso Francesa* a bookshop came into being. In 1901 Messias Gomes the principal founder, moving spirit and the first editor of this first daily in *Estado da India* left Goa and Dr. Costa Alvares invited Dr. Antonio Maria D'Cunha to take over as editor. Under his stewardship, the circulation improved markedly and the newspaper evolved. The Journal became an instrument "*fazer do jornal um instrumento de educação popular, ensinar ao povo o caminho das actividades construtivas, levantar o nível mental das massas*", i.e. to make the journal into an instrument of popular education, teaching the people a host of constructive activities, raising the mental standards of the masses. **O Herald** proved to be a learning school where many young men received training, honed their skills and later made a mark in the annals of the Goan Press. From January 7, 1902 many noted journalists were involved as collaborators with this publication. Its contribution to the social and cultural life in Goa grew with the times.

On May 8, 1908 António Maria D'Cunha left **O Herald** and founded the second daily in Goa called **Herald**, on May 21, 1908. He had passed from *Escola Medica* of Goa and started his practice in Portuguese

Africa. Also a keen journalist and writer he has a few books to his credit in the field of Medicine and also two works of a historic nature including “**The Evolution of Journalism in Portuguese India**”, and “**The India of Ancient and Modern Times**”, with 500 pages and some illustrations.

The other great newspaper, which exercised a strong influence in Portuguese Goa, was ***Diario da Noite*** established by Luis de Menezes on December 1, 1919. He was a man of uncommon ability and in his ***Anotações***, (Annotations) he showed his argumentative and critical powers. It was the first evening paper not only in Goa but also in ***Estado da India***. It enjoyed a comparatively long life of fifty years. When Luis de Menezes died on June 30, 1962, the daily continued to be printed under the stewardship of his sons. Luis de Menezes in his columns discussed problems of public administration with great skill. ***Diario da Noite*** also played a key role in electoral campaigns for Parliament and Municipal corporations. It became the first Journal in Goa using automatic machines and the first to bring out issues in color with well-illustrated pages. There were other dailies as well which despite their ephemeral existence registered on the intellectual map of Goa.

Literary publications

Goa was never short on literary writers. Initially hesitant and timid the literary activities gradually gathered momentum. A group of young writers made their mark in ***Tirocínio Literário*** of Joaquim Mourão Garcês Palha (later Viscount of Bucelas). Another group showed its

initiative in *Ilustração Goana* of the brilliant writer L.M. Julio Frederico Gonçalves where artistic talents were displayed by Socrates da Costa, Antonio Ferreira Martins, Fernando da Cunha Pinto, Jacinto Caetano Barreto Miranda, J. Fernandes Arez, José Francisco de Albuquerque, J.F. de Assa Castel Branco, Gerson da Cunha, José Maria do Carmo Nazare, Manuel Joaquim da Costa Campos and others. Another association of studious youth of Margao had a monthly magazine, *Estrea Litteraria*. Father Narciso Arcanjo Fialho and Antonio Felix Pereira founded a monthly magazine, *O Album Litterario*, printed at the press of the *India Portuguesa* of Orlim. Leopoldo Francisco da Costa, who died at the young age of 22 years, founded *O Divan Litterario*, in which his brilliant poems revealed the fine sensibility of the poet. Another magazine of poetry was the *Revista da India*, directed by the great poet, Paulino Dias and by Dr. Adolfo Costa. An Ayurvedic doctor Ramchandra Pandurang Vaidya started a literary and scientific magazine called *A Luz do Oriente* (1909-1914) for the diffusion of oriental literature, little known until then.

Jacinto Caetano Barreto Miranda through his large volume of works published in the weekly *O Ultramar* and in the literary magazines and almanacs of Goa became one of the moving spirits of the literary movement in early 19th century. His elder son, Joaquim Vitorino Barreto Miranda, founded *O Cavaco Instrutivo* a fortnightly, the *Farpas*, the newspaper *Ortigas*, and finally *O Notícias*, which became in course of time a very good forum for literary and artistic expression. The literary press too reached its apogee in the establishment of the Instituto Vasco da Gama, which published works of a very high quality. The four volumes of the Institute Vasco da Gama became a repository of valuable works of

literature, art and science besides being a rich source for a study of Indo-Portuguese history.

Scientific press

In a land and in an age in which there were scarce resources for the exchange of specializations, with few means for positive and experimental studies, it might appear that there would be few journals of a scientific nature. However, the truth is that there were many magazines devoted to the study and popularization of the sciences. The first publication was *O Jornal de Pharmacia e Sciencias Medicas da India-Portuguesa* (the Journal of Pharmacy and Medical Sciences of Portuguese India). Antonio Gomes Roberto a professor of Pharmacy in the Medical School of Goa edited this Journal. It was later substituted by the *Archivo de Pharmacia e Sciencias Accessorias da India Portuguesa* (archive of pharmacy and associated Sciences of Portuguese India).

These were followed by *Revista Medico-Militar da India-Portuguesa* (The Military-Medical Magazine of Portuguese India) edited by the chief surgeon Augusto Carlos de Lemos; *O Periodico Militar do Ultramar Portuguez*, (the Military Periodical the Overseas Portuguese), edited by Joao Philipe de Gouveia; *O Jornal de Pharmacia, Chimica, e Historia Natural Medica* (the Journal of Pharmacy, Chemistry, and the History of Natural Medicine), by the first pharmacist of the board of Health, Joao Herculano de Moura; *O Archivo Medica da India*, established by two doctors from Bardez, Luis Napolião de Ataide and Angelo Custodio Martins; *A Clínica Moderna* (practical notes on medicine and

surgery), published in pamphlets by Dr. Paulino Dias. In 1911, Prof. Froilano de Melo started a medical magazine *Boletim Geral de Medicina e Farmacia*, which through its original work by its contributions of high scientific value was well accepted by similar publications in the Metropolis and other foreign countries. In 1917, it became the official magazine of the *Associação Médico-Farmacêutica* of Portuguese India. In 1912, the same professor, who had a good reputation in leprology, started a publication, *Arquivos Indo-Portugueses de Medicina e História Natural* (Indo-Portuguese Archives of Medicine and Natural History), as the organ of the *Instituto Bacteriológico de Nova-Goa* (the bacteriological Institute of Nova Goa.) Prof. Wolfango da Silva initiated another valuable magazine in the field of medicine, *O Boletim Sanitário*, (The Health Bulletin) as the organ of the Health Services of Portuguese India.

Judicial Press

One of the aspects of intellectualism in Goa was the judicial culture. Many journals carried a judicial section. Judicial magazines included *Arquivos da Relação*, *Revista dos Tribunais* (Magazine of Tribunals) established in 1893 by Ascânio Sebastião dos Remédios Costa, famous advocate, who was a member of the association of advocates of Lisbon; *O Foro Indiano* under the direction of advocate Lingu Roguvir Dolvi; and the judicial magazine, *Gazeta Relação de Nova Goa*, organ of the association of advocates of Portuguese India, established in 1920, by the President of the Department, advocate José Maria Pereira.

The Historical -Archaeological Press

Goa has had the privilege of having had a relatively a large number of illustrious figures who have contributed to Goan historiography. Over the years these have included people like Camões, Cristovão Falcão, Bocage, Garcia da Orta, Diogo de Couto, João Lopes Leitão e Castanheda, Tomás Ribeiro, Cunha Rivara, Miguel Vicente de Abreu, Barreto Miranda, Filipe Néri Xavier, Francisco Luís Gomes, Gerson da Cunha, Bernardo da Costa, Ismael Gracias, Tolentino Ferrão, Nicolau da Fonseca and more recently people like Bragança Pereira, Amâncio Gracias, Pandurang Pissurlencar, Ricardo Micael Teles and many others who made use of unedited and unprinted material for a study of the Portuguese in the East. Filipe Néri Xavier published a useful magazine, *O Gabinete Literario das Fontainhas* (The Literary Cabinet of Fontainhas), which dug up from the dusty archives unpublished documents.

The Counselor Cunha Rivara, an excellent writer used his critical faculties in the service of history. His name is linked with immortal works like *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*, *O Chronista de Tissuary* and many essays, articles and chronicles published in journals, magazines and almanacs of the period. Another work of great value is the *O Oriente Portuguez*, to which is linked the name of another historian, José Antonio Ismael Gracias. Miguel Vicente de Abreu was the translator and annotator of *Bosquejo Histórico de Goa*, by Cottineau de Kloguen and *Narração da Inquisição de Goa* of Dellon and author of many articles of a historical nature. The first issue of *Quadros Históricos de Goa*, (The Historical Times of Goa) of Jacinto Caetano Barreto Miranda appeared in 1863. He

was a highly talented man and wrote in "*O Ultramar*", in the magazines *Ilustração Goana* (Illustrious Goan), *Arquivo Pitoresco* (Picturesque Archives), and *Revista Contemporanea* (Contemporary Magazine) and in almanacs of a literary and historical nature current at that time. Bragança Pereira was a true historian who submitted his facts to the rigorous examination of a historian. His outstanding contributions can be found in the pages of *Oriente Português*, organ of the Archaeological Commission of which he was a president for many years. Pandurang Pissurlencar and Amâncio Gracias have left behind invaluable contributions of historical investigation in *Oriente Português* and in *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, especially on the doings and the administration of the Portuguese in the East.

Religious Press

The religious press played a useful role in the education of the Christian population in Goa in the fields of doctrine and apologetics. Father Casimiro Cristóvão de Nazaré, a missionary and a clergyman of Goa, established a college in Tuticorin, and started the first religious journal in Goa called *O Oriente Catolico* (The Eastern Catholic). He was the Vicar general of Canara. He enriched the archives of Goa with his valuable contributions. The *Jornal da Santa Igreja Lusitana do Oriente*, (Journal of the Holy Portuguese Church of the East) was committed to the support of the interests of the Padroado. The publication of *A Cruz* appeared in 1877, the editors being the military chaplain father Manuel Agostinho de Carvalho and father António Francisco Xavier Álvares. *O*

Crente (Believer) was founded in 1883 by Mons. Francisco Xavier de Loiola and later had as director Mons. Excelso de Almeida. In 1894, it became the official mouthpiece of the archdiocese. Canon Castilho de Noronha directed *A Voz de S. Francisco Xavier* (The Voice of St. Francis Xavier). Another religious journal published from Goa was *Boletim Eclesiástico da Archdiocese de Goa* (Religious Bulletin of the Archdiocese of Goa). The religious press enjoyed a special place in Bombay city and other parts of India where a Goan Catholic population had settled. Two such journals included "The Catholic Register" and The Angelus" which had a Portuguese section under the direction of father António da Cruz, a Portuguese missionary who did a lot of religious work in these territories.

Vernacular press

Vernacular press developed more slowly as compared to the Portuguese press. The main reason cited is that the Marathi newspapers from Maharashtra especially from Pune and Bombay were able to satisfy the readers of Goa. *Kesari* was well received in Goa¹¹⁵. In fact, before liberation, there was no daily in Marathi published from Goa. Much before the arrival of *Kirloskar* and *Kesari* in Goa a number of weeklies and monthlies in Marathi were published here. The monthly *Deshasudharanecchu* published in 1872 was thought to be the first Marathi periodical to be published from Goa. The 1870 issue of *Keralakokila*, however, gives information about *Anandlahri* a monthly published from Panaji.¹¹⁶ Its editor is said to be Suryaji Sadashiv Mahatme. Therefore, the first Marathi periodical to be published from Goa was not

Deshasudharanecchu but *Anandlahri*. *Anandlahri* was a periodical devoted to the spread of different branches of knowledge¹¹⁷.

Soon after this first periodical in the Marathi stopped, in 1872 the second publication was started with the self-explanatory title of *Deshasudharanecchu* (Desire to improve the Nation). It was sponsored by a Portuguese citizen, Tomas Mourao Garcez Palha, also known as the Baron of Cumbarjua.¹¹⁸ Living in Ribandar, he took pride and interest in Hindu religion and culture. He was of the view that Goan Hindus should take to education, become aware of the new world and should progress along with the Christians.¹¹⁹ To help achieve these goals he established a Marathi printing press, published the literature of Marathi saints and set up Marathi educational institutions. Printed at his Oriental printing press at Ribandar, *Deshasudharanecchu*, initially a monthly, due to poor response from readers was stopped after three issues. However, it reappeared in 1877, as a weekly. Atmaram Narayan Sukhthankar of Sanquelim was the editor of the monthly periodical. The weekly had two sections, Portuguese and Marathi. The Baron himself edited the Portuguese section while the Marathi section was under the charge of Yeshwant Phondoba Naik Danait. It closed down after a year. In the issue of January 24, 1877 of this periodical the Baron wrote, "In order to bring the down trodden from the darkness of ignorance to the light of knowledge, Marathi primary schools should be established."¹²⁰

The foundations of the Marathi periodical press, especially the weekly press, were thus laid by these stalwarts. The Baron himself was deeply interested in Indian education and culture and Yeshwant Phondoba Naik Danait who was educated in Bombay brought to Goa the cultural

influence of Bombay. Having had personally witnessed the efforts at social reform through the media of language, literature, education and newspapers, he wanted similar efforts to be made in Goa¹²¹.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, a number of Marathi weeklies and monthlies began publication. Subray Lakshman Nayak started *Goa Mitra*, a Marathi monthly in 1882 from Margao with the aim of projecting the difficulties encountered by the Hindu Society. *Jornal das Novas Conquistas* (Journal of the New Conquests), a bilingual Marathi-Portuguese weekly, edited by Govind Bhaskar Parsekar (Ramkrishna Shriram Prabhu Parsekar Desai, according to Shinde) commenced publication on April 9, 1882, from Parse, Pednem. *Aryabandhu*, a weekly under the editorship of Raghuvir Kamat Parsekar started publication from Mapusa in 1885. Its Portuguese section was edited by F.J. da Gama Botelho, Ismael Gracias and others. *Goatma* edited by Subrao Nayak from Margao and *Goa Panch* from Mapusa under the directorship of Sripada Vencesha Wagle were brought out in 1885. *Shrikhand*, a monthly periodical was published from 1888 in Margao. *Nyayachakshu*, a monthly bilingual started publication in 1889 from Panaji. Its editors were C. Cadio, and Colvalcar. It started a Portuguese section from the fourth issue. *Gomantak*, a monthly with a Portuguese section, edited by Venkatesh Yeshwant Singhal, and *Suvichar* edited by Bhimjirao Deshpande came out from Panaji (Gazeta de Pernem) in 1890. *Pedne-Gazette* published in 1893, was a bilingual fortnightly edited and directed by Ramchandra Purshottam Deshprabhu. *Hitachintak* edited by Mangesh Mukundrao Deshpande (Martires Lopes gives the name of the editors as N.M. Rau.), started publication in 1900. *Sudarshan*, a monthly periodical published only one issue from Panaji in 1900 under the editorship of B.M. Rau

(Prabhakar Angle in **Goa: Concepts and Misconcepts** gives the name of the editor as Bhimaji Mukundrao Deshpande) . **Pathyabodh**, a monthly, on the subject of health appeared in 1888 from Keri under the editorship of Dr. Dada Vaidya. **Kala Darshan** published from Panaji was edited by R. P. Nagvekar.

Goa Panch, a periodical started by Ramanand Ajrekar with the assistance of Kakasaheb Danait, Shambarao Sardessai, Krishnaji P. Sakhalkar and Shriram Amonkar deserves a special mention for taking up social reform as its mission through its pages. Leopold da Gama looked after its Portuguese section. Befitting its name, its members were called **Panchmandali** (Association of Five). It survived until 1899 with small gaps in between. This periodical did good work in the field of propagating social reforms. This periodical finds a place in the educational work of Kakasaheb Danait. Ramchandra Pandurang or Dada Vaidya who was active in the field of social work for about fifty years brought out **Pathyabodh** which was his first publication. He started his Journalistic writing through *Jornal das Novas Conquistas*, which had started publication in 1882. The period 1882 to 1900 was the most active period of his social work and as a writer.¹²² He made efforts at the all round progress of Goa. This medical monthly Journal was started from Ponda with an aim to provide information and guidance for public health.

The ban imposed in 1895 affected the Marathi Press as much as the Portuguese. Once the ban was lifted, the second phase of Marathi press began. with the publication of two periodicals **Kalikadarshan** (1898) and **Sudarshan** (1900), both monthlies. Dada Vaidya started ⁱⁿ 1901 another monthly periodical in the name of his wife, Saraswatibai and named it

Haladkumkum. It discussed women's issues. He also started another magazine in the name of his wife called **Prachi-Prabha** (Light of the East), which was a bilingual weekly published from Ponda (1909-1914). Its goal was to introduce Indian culture, especially to the Christian and the European readers. Therefore **Luz de Oriente**, the Portuguese version of **Prachi-Prabha** was started. Dr. Vaidya's assistants included Sitaram Vishwambar Kerkar, Bhaskarrao Sardessai, Gopalkrishna Gude and Shambarao Sardessai who wrote Portuguese articles in the periodical.

Prachi-Prabha was published until 1914 after which Dada Vaidya brought out in 1915, a weekly called **Vidyaprassar** (Popularization of Science), which continued to be published until 1921. It was the organ of 'League de Propaganda da Instrucao em Goa', i.e. Literary Society of Goa' founded by Dada Vaidya and Sitram Kerkar in 1911. This periodical was the mouthpiece of the educational Trust started in Ponda, the Goa **Vidyaprasarak Mandal**. A number of writers like D. V. Apte, Shri Haribhava Phatak, Dada Vaidya, Ramchandra Kamat, Chandgadkar, Bhaskarrao Sardessai, B.B. Sawardekar, V.K. Priolkar and Raghunath Talwadkar wielded their pen through the **Prachi-Prabha** and **Vidyaprasar**.

Dr. Dada Vaidya, Dr. Ramchandra Waman Naik and Phondushastri Karande in 1902, started the monthly periodical **Satsang** from Kumbharjua. Karandesastri brought out **Satsang** but Shrinivas Lakhu Bhandari of Cumbharjua had initiated its publication.¹²⁴ According to M. Lopes its editor was L.P. Bhandari. Dada Vaidya's work in Goa has been compared to that of Maharshi Ranade and the work of Karandesastri has been equated with that of Chiplunkar of Maharashtra.¹²³ **Satsang** was like a smaller version of the **Nibandhmala**. The purpose and style of

writing was the same i.e. Indian culture, social reforms etc. Many writers like Dattaram Jagannath Borkar, Shambarao Sardessai, Purshottam Anant Salkar, Keshav Ladu Shiveshvarkar, Mukund Sadashiv Sheldekar and others found expression through it. It condemned opponents of social reforms and some religious institutions of the Saraswats. It advocated ban on liquor, national progress, independence, patriotism and *reformation*. "Ancient history" a series of articles written by Dattaram J. Borkar, affected the British so much that they brought pressure upon the Portuguese to ban this periodical in 1910.¹²⁵ An entertainment monthly periodical was started in 1906 from Panaji by Shivram Balwantrao Deshpande who was also its editor. The poet, Bhimaji Mukundrao Deshpande, Jivaji Dattu Mahatme, Ramchandra Sadashiv Wagle and Vinayak Karapurkar and some others regularly contributed their creative writings through this periodical which lasted for around five years.

The establishment of the Republic in Portugal in 1910 also inaugurated the third phase of the Marathi Press in Goa. This phase is marked by the establishment of the most important periodicals before the liberation of the territory. Many of these periodicals were of long duration and played an important role in bringing about social awareness. *Hindumat* was one of the first periodicals during this period. Sadashiv Manguesh Wagle and poet Bhimaji Deshpande started a weekly periodical called *Suvichar* which did not last long. An association called *Hitachintak* had been established in Panaji in 1890 and three years later started a weekly periodical called *Hitachintak*. The first writings of Karandeshastris were published through this periodical. He continued writing under the name "Dwiref" for the next 50 years. In 1895, *Hitachintak* closed down by order of the government. This same *Hitachintak* association made another

attempt in 1910 and brought out a periodical under the new title of *Hindumat*. It closed down after four years. Govind P. Hegde Dessai had his first articles published through this periodical.

Prabhat (Dawn) started by Dr. Purshottam Vaman Shirgaonkar in 1911, at Panaji was the first periodical which aimed at arousing political awakening in the Hindu society. At that time, he was the leader of the Goan youth whom he trained for social and political work. He welcomed the revolution in Portugal and provided shelter to many extremists from British India.¹²⁶ He was critical of the ways of the Luso-Indian community in Panaji. He was put in jail during the visit of the viceroy of British India. *Prabhat* published by such a bold person created history by providing a medium for a number of bold writers, including Dattaram J. Borkar, G.P. Hegde Desai and Shambarao Sardessai among others. A difference of opinion led to the breakup of the group. However, Dr. Shirgaonkar continued to publish the periodical until 1916. It was revived in 1930 by Janardhan N. Asnodkar and again revived in 1936 by Vinayak Parsekar.

The group, which left *Prabhat*, started *Bharat* weekly in 1912. It was shut down for some time and then was taken over by Adv. Govind Pundalik Hegde Desai who started its publication from Quepem. It continued upto his death in 1949. *Bharat* proved to be the longest lasting Marathi periodical in Goa. The periodical was bilingual and for some time trilingual and it had sections in Marathi, Portuguese and for some time in Konkani. The Portuguese and Konkani sections were looked after by Mr. Hegde Desai himself. His writings were so caustic that the government and opposition parties were wary of him. *Bharat* lasted for 35 years and during this period around 25 -30 cases were slapped against the editor for

expressing his views in a forthright manner and he was put behind bars on three occasions.¹²⁷ The Marathi section of *Bharat* does not seem to have been too effective. However, a number of famous writers of the period had their first writings published through this periodical. Dharmanand Kosambi was one such writer.

In 1915 two periodicals were published from Ponda. These included Dada Vaidya's *Vidyaprassar* and V.K. Priolkar's trimonthly, *Swayamsevak* (The Volunteer). The latter was shut down after one year and started again as a monthly in 1920 only to be converted into a weekly in 1930. Bhaskarrao Sardesai managed the Portuguese section and Mr. Priolkar, the Marathi section. The first prose and poetry writing of Mr. A.K. Priolkar were published through the *Swayamsevak*. Though the Priolkar brothers were staunch supporters of Marathi, the Konkani writings of Shenoy Goembab were also published. The popularity of this periodical like that of the *Satsang* stretched beyond the borders of Goa into Maharashtra. Other notable periodicals published during the period 1921-1930 included *Gayakmitra*, *Pragati*, *Navajeevan*, *Gadgadat*, *Napitodaya*, *Nabhikodaya*, *Vaishya*, *Bharatodaya* and *Hindu* among others. Like the Portuguese periodicals, some of them were supporters of their own caste interests. *Swadesh* started by Ramchandra Manguesh Rao Deshpande in 1917, ran just for one year. *Navjivan*, a weekly, was started by Janardan Narayan Pai Asnodkar in 1920 in the memory of his teacher, Dr. Shirgaokar with the assistance of Vinayak Keshav Pai. A year later, it was transformed into a monthly in which form it survived for two years.

After the Republic, a lot of schools and libraries were set up and a number of caste-based organizations also came into existence. The *Maratha*

Gayak, today's *Gomantak Maratha Samaj* had its mouthpieces in the form of *Maratha Gayak Mitra*, a monthly periodical, which came out in 1918 and *Pragati*, which came out in 1920 as a weekly. Due to the efforts of people like Krishna Fatarpekar, Narayan A. Karwarkar, and Motiram Zambawlikar, these periodicals lasted for some time. The year 1928 saw the birth of a long lasting periodical, *Bharatmitra*, published from an interior village like Rivona. N.B. Naik started this monthly periodical of small format and despite the various obstacles posed by the Salazar regime continued to bring out this periodical. It was in the format of a magazine carrying essays, articles on Goan and Indian history, spiritualism, and write-ups about books, articles on diseases and health, poems, thoughts, news in brief about Goa and India, tips on life, health, biographies etc. The magazine must have been quite popular for it usually had over 20 advertisements. It was also a very readable magazine, informative but non-controversial because it was apolitical and small sized with between 20-28 pages. Dr. Pissurlencar's articles on history were very frequently published.

The *Hindu*, a weekly, was started in 1924 and the editors were originally Purushottam Sukerkar and later D.V. Pai. In its seven years of existence, it exercised a strong influence on government and society. Writers like Subrao R. Samant, Mr. Bhai Desai, Gajanan Savordekar, J.V.Kamat etc. wrote well-studied articles in this periodical. D.A. Kare and Mahabaleshwar Sardessai were assistants of Datta Pai. Datta Pai not only advocated the independence of Goa but also its merger into Maharashtra. The periodical was ultra nationalistic. The periodical strongly opposed the 400th birth anniversary celebrations of Vasco da Gama. Besides Goan political affairs, Indian political developments also found comment in the

Hindu. Its publisher Jaywantrao Sukerkar had to suffer for this nationalism. The periodical had to be closed down due to financial difficulties. With the closure of the **Hindu** the Marathi, weekly periodical in general ended as no new Marathi weeklies were issued until liberation.

Literary monthly periodicals.

The year 1913 was an important year in the cultural life of the Goan Hindus. In that year, the 15th session of the Maharashtra **Sahitya Sammelan** was held in Margao under police observation. Discussions on language and literature were held. The interest generated by this meet created a strong generation of Goan writers among the Hindus especially in creative literature.

Subodh brought out by S.G. Katak was the foremost among the creative periodicals, which emerged after 1930. It started the trend of the modern Marathi periodical. S. G. Katak had started this periodical earlier in 1928 with the title **Subodhmala** which was changed to **Subodh** in 1930. Lasting for a short duration of four years, nevertheless, **Subodh** provided the opportunity to the newly emerging group of creative writers to see their work in print. R.M. Pai was his associate and some of these writers included Jaiwantrao Sardessai, Lakshmanrao Sardessai, Kare, Borkar, Ghode, and Barve. Eminent writers of Maharashtra also contributed articles to the **Subodh**. Katak also took out a supplement to the periodical called **Kolhatkar**. Despite all efforts, the periodical had to be closed down due to lack of funds.

In 1933, *Prabhat*, a monthly and *Yugantar* a bimonthly were started from Panaji. Janardhan Pai Asnodkar and Sakharam P. Pissurlencar brought out *Prabhat* in memory of Shirgaonkar who used to run a periodical called *Prabhat* earlier. The assistant editor was B.D. Satoskar. Besides the group from *Subodh*, Bhai Dessai also wrote in this periodical. Manohar Sardessai published his first articles through the *Prabhat*. Dr. Pissurlencar's articles were regularly published. *Yugantar*, a bimonthly, was edited by Vishnu K. Shinkre. Its format was similar to that of *Subodh* and *Prabhat*. N.R. Kelkar started the monthly periodical *Brahman*, which was published from Mandrem. Mr. Patankar, an astrologer from Sanguem started a monthly periodical called *Aryavigyan*. A monthly periodical, *Kala* like *Subodh* was literary and artistic. It was started by Baburao Agshikar, Radhakrishna Shetye and Anant Samant in 1935, from Panaji. Colored front page, attractive interior, neat white paper, were adopted by this magazine. Besides Goan writers, those from out of Goa also contributed to the periodical. Older writers like Shambarao Sardessai, Samant, Sanvordekar, Krishnarao Keni, and younger generation writers like Kantak, V.A. Pai Raikar among others were contributors in this periodical. It lasted around ten years.

The period 1910-1935 was perhaps the best for Goan journalism, in terms of quantity as well as quality of the periodical press. After 1935, the features of the Portuguese Republic were destroyed and the Salazar dictatorship firmly entrenched. Censorship was imposed on the press. There were restrictions on thought, behavior, association etc. In the atmosphere of rigidity, many old newspapers closed down and it was difficult to start new

ones. A deposit of Rs.8000 had to be kept while seeking permission to start a new paper. To accept or to reject such a proposal lay with the governor. The deposit remained with the government as long as the periodical ran. The deposit was returned if the periodical closed. The fourth phase of the Goan Press lasted for the period 1935-1961. During this phase, with the exception of *A Voz da India*, not a single regular periodical emerged. The old Portuguese periodicals somehow managed to continue but there was a very negative effect on the Marathi periodicals.

In the earlier periods, even if Marathi periodicals closed down enthusiastic people started new ones. Under the Dictatorship, however, the enthusiasm to start new periodicals died. *Bharatmitra* the monthly periodical, which was apolitical, and *Bharat*, a weekly, which continued publication up to 1949 despite problems, were the only Marathi periodicals to survive under the Dictatorship.

Konkani Periodicals:

The Inquisition tried to suppress the local languages under pain of suffering to the users. In 1648 its efforts were rewarded when Viceroy Count de Alvor decided to abolish the use of the local languages altogether. However, Konkani and Marathi survived as they were the language of the masses. In 1745 Archbishop Lourenco de Santa Maria declared that all Christians should speak Portuguese or they would not be allowed to marry, or become priests. The coming to power of Marquis of Pombal, as seen earlier brought better days for these vernaculars. He banished the Jesuits

from the overseas colonies of Portugal and restored Konkani to its old position.

A few Konkani periodicals were published. *Udentichem Salik*, the first Konkani periodical in the Roman script appeared in Pune (Maharashtra) in the year 1889 under the editorship of Eduardo Jose Pereira. *Roti* 1914; *Ave Maria*, 1919; *The Goa Mail*, 1919; *The Goa Times*, 1930; *Vauradeancho Ixt (Ecvot)* 1933; *Udentichem Nakhetra*, 1946; *Konkani Dayz*, 1958; *Porjecho Avaj*, 1953; *Mirg, Novem Goem* were all published in the Roman script, with the exception of the *Porjecho Avaj* which was in the Devanagari alphabet. *Novem Goem* was published in the Roman as well as the Devanagari scripts. The publication of the latter was soon stopped. *Vauradeancho Ixt* has a peculiar story. It was published from Pilar under the editorship of a clergyman. Its first title was *Vauradeancho Ecvot*. But the dictatorial regime of Salazar saw Communism in the periodical and by a Government order the clergy of Pilar was forced to change the word *Ecvot* for *Ixt*.¹²⁸

Goan periodicals of short duration.

It will be observed from the foregoing paragraphs that generally the Goan periodicals were of short duration. Many periodicals were brought out during the period 1821-1961 by individuals, by families, by social reformers, social workers, political leaders, and others. Periodicals were often reflective of the opinions and interests of the caste to which the proprietor/editor/director belonged. They often got involved in

bitter duels with other castes through their newspapers. Papers also often served as the mouthpieces of political parties. This is especially evident in the Portuguese language newspapers. "Prominent among these were two Portuguese weeklies published at Margao, *O Ultramar* (1859) and *A India Portuguesa* (1861). These served as the mouthpieces of the two major communal parties among the Goan Catholics, Brahmins and Chardós."¹²⁹ Often periodicals supported one candidate or the other at the time of elections and there would be bitter criticism of the opposite candidate. Periodicals would also frequently be used to settle scores with a rival caste, family or party. A lot of personal criticism was noticed in the press. Landlords also started periodicals. Once their funds were exhausted the periodical stopped. In terms of news, besides local politics and gossip most local Portuguese language newspapers downloaded their news from Portuguese newspapers published in Portugal, All India Radio, and Voice of America.

In an attempt to analyze and understand the causes responsible for the short life of the periodicals in Goa, the *Subodh* started a series of articles of a contributory nature on this theme. Many writers contributed their opinions. The editor of *Subodh* wanted to learn from these opinions so that he could make *Subodh* a long lasting periodical. Unfortunately for him, it closed down even before the series got over. The series was continued in *Prabhat*, which also shut down soon.

One reason for the short life of the periodicals was the low level of literacy and a lack of the buying habit even among those who could read and write. Another reason perhaps was that these periodicals especially the

vernacular ones could not generate much revenue through advertisement and were almost entirely dependent on the resources of the owner/publisher. A third reason perhaps was the fact that most of the periodicals were started by individual persons due to interest in politics, social reform, literature or social status and therefore they were not professionally run. When the individual exhausted his funds or died, the periodical stopped. However, where there was continued interest shown by family members in keeping the periodical going, it enjoyed a longer life, for example *O Ultramar*, *A India Portuguesa*, *Bharatmitra*, and *Diario da Noite*.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- ¹ Priolkar, A.K., **The Printing Press in India- Its Beginnings and Early Development**, Marathi Samshodhan Mandala, Bombay, 1958. P.2.
- ² Correa, Gaspar, **Lendas da India**, Tomo III, Academia Real Das Sciencias De Lisboa, Lisboa, 1862. P.58.
- ³ **Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptures Occidentais Inediti a Seculo XVI and XIX**, as mentioned by Priolkar, A.K., **Op. Cit.** P.4.
- ⁴ Rodeles, C. G., Early Jesuit Printing in India, **The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal**, Vol. IX, No. 4 April 1913. Pp. 154-5.
- ⁵ Wicki, Josephus, **Documenta Indica**, Vol. III (1553-1557), Rome, 1954. P.473
- ⁶ Wicki, Jose, S.J., **IV Centenário Da Primeira Imprensa De Goa**, Edições Brotéria, Lisboa, 1956. P.4.
- ⁷ Ibid. P.4. "hazer una declaracion sobre los articulos de la fe en lengua de Japán, algún tanto copiosa para hazer la ymprimir, pues toda la gente principal sabe leer y escribir, para que se extenda nuestra Santa fe por muchas partes pues o todas no podemas acudir. "
- ⁸ Ibid. P.4.
- ⁹ Calaca, Gaspar to Fr. General Inácio de Loyola, in Beccari's **Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales**, unedited, Rome, 1910. P.59. Written on, April 30, 1556, Lisbon. Quoted in Ibid.
- ¹⁰ Gracias, Amancio, "Os Portugueses e o estabelecimento da Imprensa na India", **Boletim do Institute Vasco da Gama**, no. 37, 1938. Rangel Press, Bastorá
- ¹¹ Rangel, Jaime, "A Imprensa Em Goa", **Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama** Commemorativa do IV Centenario de fundacao da Imprensa em Goa, 1956. P.151
- ¹² Priolkar, A.K. **Op.Cit.** P.6.
- ¹³ Wicki, Josephus, **Documenta Indica. Op. Cit.** Vol. III P.514
- ¹⁴ Ibid. P.574
- ¹⁵ Gracias, Amancio, **Op.Cit.** P.16.
- ¹⁶ Wicki, Jose, IV Centenario da Primeira Imprensa de Goa. **Op. Cit.** 575
- ¹⁷ Ibid. "Hordenarão aqui o Pe. Patriarcha (Nunes Barreto) e o Padre Francisco Rodriguez e Antonio de Quadros nesta Quaresma huns confeccionarios que se mandarão imprimir, e offereceu se hum homem homrrado devoto da Companhia

a dar o papel de graça pelo amor de Deus, e que pusesse o collegio o trabalho da impressão de casa, e se davão a todos os que os pediao pelo amor de Deus. E também se mandarão por todas as fortalezas aos Padres da Companhia que nellas, rezidem pera la os repartirem, juntamente com a doutrina que o Padre Mestre Francisco (Xavier), que Deustem, cá ordenou empremada. Foi isto cousa de que o povo muito se aproveitou pelos poucos livros e menos conhecimento que os homens comummente tem pera o modo de se bem confesarem."

- ¹⁸ Ibid P. 7. "Dia de sao Lucas sustentou aqui o Irmão Francisco Cabral, discipulo do Padre António de Quadros, humas conclusões publicas: dellas vai lá o treslado impreso por tres vias, nas quais presidido o Padre Antonio de Quadros. Acharão-se a ellas o Guovernador (Fransisco Barreto) com muitos fidalgos nobres e muitos religiosos, desembargadores e outros letrados de fora".
- ¹⁹ Ibid P.8. "Acertando hum Irmão nosso de entrar en huma pobre casa destas novos christãos, achou lhe em lugar de retabolo hum rey d'ouros muyto enrramado e concertado pregado com belmazes, e elle muyto contente tendo para se que estava rico com aquele imagem; em casa doutro estavam cincoo cartas de jugar, postas tãobem na parede em cruz por oratoryo. Parece que as acharão pela rua, e, cuidando que erao santos e que os perdera alguem, determinrão aproveitar-se deles. Ho Padre Patriarcha (Nunes Barreto) sabendo isto, como tinha grande zelo da honra de Deus e do bem desta Christandade, ordenou com o Pe. Francisco Rodryguez que se imprimissem aqui, de forma, algumas ymagens de Christo curcificado com a Virgem Nossa Senhora de huma parte e São João da outra, para se repartirem com estes christãos, e asi terem com ellas a memorya mais fresca do mistério de sua redenção".
- ²⁰ Ibid. P.9
- ²¹ Oriente Conquistado, 1, c, v, d11, pp22-67
- ²² Gracias, Amancio, *Op cit* P.13 also De Souza, Francis, Oriente Conquistado o Jesus Christo.
- ²³ Wicki, José, IV Centenário Da Primeira Imprensa De Goa. *Op Cit* P. 10.
- ²⁴ Gracias, Amancio, *Op Cit* P. 20. Con V-1-2-33, Bombay, 1881. P.81.
- ²⁵ Quoted in Ibid P.20.
- ²⁶ Vid. Pa. Gabriel Saldanha, **Historia de Goa**, Vol 11, P.50.
- ²⁷ Father Gonçalo Rodriguez was a Portuguese born in Calheiros in 1527, came to India in 1551, was a missionary in Goa, Hormuz and Ethiopia. He died in Goa on March 5, 1564. cf. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Companhia*.
- ²⁸ Gracias, Jose Antonio Ismael, *A Imprensa Em Goa Nos Seculos XVI, XVII, XVIII: Apontamentos Historico-Bibliographicos*, Imprensa Nacional, Nova Goa, 1880. P. 6.
- ²⁹ Ibid. P.7.

- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Ibid. P.9.
- 33 Ibid. P. 10.
- 34 Ibid. P. 11.
- 35 Exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris-Description dos monnaies, médailles et autres objets d'art concernant l'histoire portugaise. P. 155, Vide Ibid. P.12.
- 36 Ibid. P.13.
- 37 Ibid. P.14.
- 38 Ibid. P.19.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Description of Mr. Teixeira d'Aragão, P.156 as cited by Gracias, Ismael. P.19.
- 41 Ibid. P.19.
- 42 Ibid. P.21.
- 43 Ibid. P. 22.
- 44 Vide, Ibid. P.23.
- 45 Fr. Hosten, cited by Gracias Amancio, Op cit P.23.
- 46 Gracias, Jose Antonio Ismael, Op cit P.26.
- 47 Gracias, Amancio, Op cit Pp.22-23.
- 48 Ibid. P.23.
- 49 Gracias Jose Antonio Ismael, Op cit P.23.
- 50 Costa, Antonio da, Historia de Instrucao Popular em Portugal as cited in Ibid. P.23
- 51 Cited from Ibid. P.24.
- 52 Gracias Amancio, Op cit P.23.
- 53 P. Rodeles, Op cit and Mr. Leao Fernandes, Bol. IVG No. 30, 1936. P.68.
- 54 Cited from the article in BIVG No. 30, 1936. P.53.
- 55 Gracias, Jose Antonio Ismael, Op cit P.39.
- 56 Ibid

- 57 Ibid
- 58 Ibid p.40.
- 59 Ibid p.42.
- 60 Gracias Amancio, op cit, p. 18.
- 61 Ibid, p. 19.
- 62 Gracias, Jose Antonio Ismael, p.47. D. Affonso Mendes, native of S. Aleixo joined the Society of Jesus on February 2, 1593. He went to Ethiopia on June 12, 1625. He came to Goa where he died on June 29, 1656, after becoming archbishop of Goa.
- 63 Gracias Amancio, op cit p.20.
- 64 Gracias Jose Antonio Ismael, p.47.
- 65 Ibid, p.48.
- 66 Ibid, p.48.
- 67 Cunha Rivara, J.H., Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concanim, Goa, 1858. p.132-72
- 68 Priolkar, A.K., The Printing Press in India, p.21
- 69 The Examiners, Vol 73, Bombay, 1922, p. 29, vide Priolkar, A.K., Ibid, pp21-22.
- 70 Gracias, J.A. Ismael, Um Semonario do Oriente Portuguez Vol 11, VvNova Goa, 1905, pp290-301.
- 71 Gracias, J.A. Ismael, A Imprensa Em Goa, p.56.
- 72 Ibid, p.56.
- 73 Article titled, "The earliest printing in India" published in The Catholic Herald of India, Calcutta, January 19, 1916, as cited by Amancio Gracias op cit, p.28.
- 74 Boxer, C.R., A Tentative checklist of Indo-Portuguese Imprints 1556-1674 Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama, No. 73-1956, pp36-37.
- 75 Sacchini Francesco, Historia Societatis Jesu Pars IV (Rome 1652) 1.5 no. 181 and de Souza Francisco, Oriente Conquistado, con V2-33 p.81. Also, Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus of the Province of Goa II, Lisbon, 1710.
- 76 Oriente Conquistado, t. 2 P.110.
- 77 De Souza Francisco, Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo, Con 1-2-12, P67.
- 78 Citing Souza Gracias, J.A. Ismael.
- 79 Oriente Conquistado t 2, p. 179.
- 80 Schurhammer, Georg, S.J. and Cottrell, G.W. Jr. The First Printing in Indic Characters, Harvard Library Bulletin, Vol VI, No. 2, Spring, 1952, p.148.

- 81 Ibid, p.150.
- 82 Ibid
- 83 Ibid, p. 151.
- 84 Priolkar, op.cit. p. 10.
- 85 Rodeles, op.cit. p. 161; as cited by Priolkar.
- 86 Schurhammer, Georg, "Uma obra rarissima impressa em Goa no ano 1588", Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama No. 73-1956, p.8.
- 87 Schutte, "Christliche Japanische Literatur, Bilder and Druckblätter in einem unbekanntem Vatikanischem codex aus dem Jahre 1591", Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesus Vol. IX Rome, 1940, p. 268 as cited by A.K. Priolkar in his book, The Printing Press in India, p. 12.
- 88 Priolkar, A.K., op. cit., p.12.
- 89 Vide Cunha Rivara J. H. e. Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fransciculo IV, Goa, 1862.
- 90 Priolkar, A.K., "Two recently discovered letters of Fr. Thomas Stephens", in The Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol XXV, Part II, Sep. 1956, p. 123, vide, Priolkar, A.K. Printing Press in India, pp13-14.
- 91 The decrees passed by these Provincial Councils are published in the fourth fascicule of the Arquivo Portuguez Oriental edited by Cunha Rivara.
- 92 Vide Priolkar, A.K. "The early Marathi books on Doutrina Christa", in Indica (Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume, The Indian Historical Institute), Bombay, 1953, pp. 320-334.
- 93 Cunha Rivara J.H., Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concanim, Goa, 1858.
- 94 Translated by Lobo Theophilus, An Historical Essay on the Konkani Language, p. 167, published as part II of Priolkar, The Printing Press in India, Marathi Samshodhana Mandala.
- 95 Ibid, p.154
- 96 Ibid, p.183. Ibid, p. 184
- 97 Livros das Monções, no. 127, p.415. This document is also published in the Chronista de Tissuary, Vol. 2, p.95.
- 98 Priolkar, A.K., History of the Printing Press in India, op. cit., p.26
- 99 Cunha, Antonio Maria da, "A Evolução do Jornalismo", in A India Portuguesa, Vol.II, Nova Goa, 1923, p.508.
- 100 Gracias, José Antonio Ismael, op.cit. p.90.

- ¹⁰¹ Xavier Francisco João, Breve Noticia da Imprensa Nacional de Goa, Imprensa Nacional, Nova Goa, 1876.
- ¹⁰² Rangel, Jaime, A Imprensa em Goa, Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama, No. 73, Rangel Press, Bastora, 1956, p.158.
- ¹⁰³ Ibid, p. 159.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 160.
- ¹⁰⁵ Da Costa, Aleixo Manuel, Literatura Goesa: Apontamentos biobibliográficos para a sua história, Agência Geral Do Ultramar, Lisboa, 1967.
- ¹⁰⁶ Rangel, Jaime, op.cit. p. 160.
- ¹⁰⁷ Lopes, António Dos Mártires, Imprensa de Goa, Edição do Comissariado do Governo para os Assuntos do Estado da Índia, Lisboa, 1971, p.16.
- ¹⁰⁸ Da Costa, Aleixo Manuel, op. cit. p. 469.
- ¹⁰⁹ Information for and list of these periodicals have been derived from Ibid, various pages; Cunha, Antonio Maria da, "A Evolução do Jornalismo", op.cit. , various pages and Lopes, António dos Martires, op.cit. , 1971, p.16.
- ¹¹⁰ De Menezes, Antonio, The Press in Goa through the Centuries, Globo.
- ¹¹¹ Da Costa, Aleixo Manuel, op.cit. P480
- ¹¹² Ibid.
- ¹¹³ Ibid, various pages.
- ¹¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁵ Captain Shinde, M.K., Maharashtratil Gomantakatil Marathi Vrutpatravayavasaya Va Shastra (1828-1976), Tridal Publishers, Mumbai, 1977, p. 81.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibid, p.81.
- ¹¹⁷ Ibid, p.82.
- ¹¹⁸ Angle, Prabhakar, S., Goa: Concepts and Misconcepts, The Goa Hindu Association, Mumbai, 1994, p. 85.
- ¹¹⁹ Ibid, p.85.
- ¹²⁰ Quoted in Ibid, p.85.
- ¹²¹ Capt. Shinde, M.K., op.cit. p.82.
- ¹²² Ibid, p.83.
- ¹²³ Ibid, P.85.
- ¹²⁴ Martires Lopes gives the name of the editor as L.P. Bhandari, whereas Prabhakar Angle gives the name of the editor as Lakshman Pandu Bharné.
- ¹²⁵ Shinde, M.K., op.cit. p.85.

¹²⁶ Ibid, p.86.

¹²⁷ Ibid, p. 87.

¹²⁸ Sardesai, *Konkani Bhas ani Sahityancho Itihas*; Goa Hindu Association, *Ajkalcha Gomantak*, 1955

¹²⁹ Priolkar, A.K., *Goa Rediscovered*, Bombay, 1967. p.70.