

Goan Bakery Culture: Salcete Taluka and Tiswadi Taluka

A Dissertation for

Course code and Course Title: HIS 651: Dissertation

Credits: 16

Submitted in partial fulfilment of Master's Degree

M.A in History

by

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DECLARATION BY STUDENT

I hereby declare that the data presented in this Dissertation report entitled, "Goan Bakery Culture: Salcete Taluka and Tiswadi Taluka" is based on the results of investigations carried out by me in the History Discipline at the D. D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University under the supervision of Dr. Nalini Naik and the same has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of a degree or diploma by me. Further, I understand that Goa University or its authorities will not be responsible for the correctness of observations / experimental or other findings given the dissertation.

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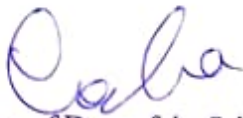
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This is to certify that the dissertation report "Goan Bakery Culture: Salcete Taluka and Tiswadi Taluka" is a bonafide work carried out by Ms. Sanaya Lisa Fernandes under my supervision in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Masters in the Discipline of History at the D. D Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University.



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PREFACE

The dissertation titled “Goan Bakery Culture: Salcete Taluka and Tiswadi Taluka” was undertaken as a part of my MA History Degree at Goa University for the academic year of 2023-2024. The reason behind my choosing this topic for my dissertation is, that this topic has not been extensively studied especially with a focus on the two talukas of Goa, Salcete and the Tiswadi Taluka. The bread-making process was introduced by the Portuguese to the Goans while they were in Goa and is one of the few jobs given to the Portuguese to the Goans. The Goan bakery culture has its roots in the coastal village of Majorda in the Salcete taluka and later spread all across Goa. The bakery which initially started from the house of the baker is now shifting towards a modern setup.

The Goan bakery has been evolving drastically with the introduction of modern equipment's and has been leading towards a decline in the traditional Goan Bakery Culture. This dissertation has focused on the Bakery Culture in the Salcete and Tiswadi taluka. The bakery culture started in the taluka of Salcete and spread even in the taluka of Tiswadi. The current bakery culture in these two talukas has been extensively researched by me in this dissertation.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to take the opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to my research supervisor, Prof. Dr. Nalini Naik for her valuable guidance. I want to thank her for giving me her time, support, and encouraging me throughout my dissertation.

I am also obliged to Prof. Dr. Pratima Kamat, Prof. Dr. Parag Porobo, Prof. Dr. Nagendra Rao, Prof. Vinod Kankonkar, Prof. Dr. Seema Risbud, and Prof. Sneha Gadi from the History faculty for assisting me and guiding me whenever I required help.

I would like to thank Mr. Bond Braganza, General Secretary of the All Goa Bakers Association for giving me invaluable information about the Goan bakery Culture. I would also like to thank Ma'am Sonia Filinto for giving me access to her documentary 'Bread and Belonging.' A hearty thanks to Mr. Fredric Noronha for sharing his valuable insights. I would also like to thank my college Professors Prof. Leila Ribeiro and Prof. Agnelo Dias for providing me with information and contacts.

A special thanks to all the bakery owners who have taken time from their business schedules and let me interview them and also allowed me to visit their bakeries. I would also like to thank Fr. Andrew Periera for sharing information about the *Poderachem Fest*.

I would also like to thank the Staff at Goa University Library, Krishnadas Shama Goa State Central Library, The Xavier Centre of Historical Research, The Archives Library, Ponda Municipal Library, and Fransisco Luis Gomes Library Navelim for providing the essential books required.

I would also like to my mother Elma Gonsalves, my father Alfredo Fernandes and my brother Adler Fernandes who have always been pillars of strength. I extend my gratitude to my friends Reagan Fernandes, Abigail Barreto, Sarah D'souza, Raysancia D'Cunha, Anincia Carvalho,

Ciya Fernandes, Elvira D’Costa, Elenita Rodrigues, Samson Fernandes, Alleshia Fernandes, Beverly Fernandes and Richa Mayekar. My aunts, Sera Martins and Fatima Dias, and my uncle Joel Dias. My cousins Janely Martins, Avlon Dias, David Fernandes, Blandina Fernandes, and Szewinska Albuquerque for their help and support.

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GLOSSARY

Almanac: A calendar that demarcates holidays.

Amazake: A delightful, low-alcohol rice wine.

Ambot tik: A gravy made in Goan households that is hot and sour.

Balchao: Prawns pickle.

Bathk: A cake made up of semolina and grated coconut.

Bebinca: A seven-layered Goan sweet dessert.

Bol: Sweet made of Jaggery and coconut.

Bolacha do padeiro: A biscuit that resembled a tongue, The bakers from Salcete called it the *patod biscuit* and the bakers from Tiswadi called it *torpiadam*.

Bolinhas: Sweet made out of semolina.

Bottam Biscuit: Biscuit in the shape of fingers.

Cashew Niro: Juice of cashew.

Chardo: The Kshatriya caste of the catholic community.

Cobai: An outfit which was worn by the *poder* made of flour bags.

Dhando: A stick.

Farsan: Gujrati snacks.

Fiat Panis: It is a Latin word which means Let there be bread.

Forn: A traditional mud furnace in which the baking takes place.

Ghaddo: A small shop or a stall.

Godd fatia: A sweet toast.

Goemcho Festkar: Marius Fernandes is an individual who takes the initiative to celebrate different festivals based on nature and the traditional occupations of Goa.

Halwahs: A jelly-like sweet made with sugar.

Horponn: A tool used in taking freshly baked bread out of the oven.

Jesuit missionaries: Catholic missionaries of the Jesuit order.

Kankon: A bangle-shaped bread.

Khari biscuits: A salty biscuit.

Khatro: Bread which is given shape with the help of scissors.

Kundo: Wheat Bran.

Meslin: Bread made primarily of wheat and rye, was a common food in medieval France.

Mithai: Indian word for sweets.

Mol: It is a seafood pickle, cooked in masala, oil and vinegar.

Padaria: A place where baking of bread is done.

Pandeiros: Portuguese word for breadmen.

Pao Bhaji: Bread accompanied by a gravy cooked with vegetables.

Pao: Bread.

Patties: A puff pastry with different kinds of fillings.

Poder: Baker in Konkani.

Poderachem Fest: Baker's feast.

Poi: Bread made up of whole wheat and dusted with wheat bran on the outside.

Revdi: Bread made in a circular shape.

Rissois de Camarao: A Goan snack introduced by the Portuguese with a filling made up of prawns.

Sadi fatia: Plain toast.

Sanna: Steamed rice toddy dish.

Sur: Coconut toddy.

Suricho Pao: Toddy is used as a fermenting agent to make bread.

Te poder ghele ani te unde ghele: It is a popular Konkani saying which means gone are the bakers and along with them gone are the bread.

Undo or *Pokso*: Round crusty bread.

Vada Pao: Bread stuffed with a potato filling.

Vedic bread: Flat unleavened bread made during the Vedic period.

ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the Goan Bakery culture in the two talukas of Goa namely the Salcete and Tiswadi talukas. It aims towards getting a better perspective of bakery culture in these two talukas of Goa. The Bakery Culture in Goan took its roots from the village of Majorda from the Salcete taluka and soon spread all across Goa. Tiswadi Taluka is one of the talukas to have a lot of traditional bakers even today. In this dissertation, the current bakery culture in the talukas of Salcete and Tiswadi has been thoroughly researched. The research shows the evolution which has taken place in the Goan Bakery Culture. Data collection was done by interviewing bakery owners across Salcete and Tiswadi Taluka. Books, newspaper articles, websites, and also YouTube videos were used to gain background knowledge of the topic.

KEYWORDS: *Poder, Pao, Forn*, Bakery, Salcete, Tiswadi.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Goa is a state situated on the western coast of India. The state is divided into two districts, North and South Goa. The state is further split into twelve talukas, which are Pernem, Bardez, Sattari, Bicholim, Tiswadi, Mormugao, Salcete, Ponda, Sanguem, Dharbandora, Quepem, and Canacona. The state has a unique culinary heritage. It has a varied culture, people from different professions, and dietary habits. Goa was once ruled by different dynasties which are the Bhojas, Chalukyas, Silaharas, Kadambas, Kings of Vijayanagar, Sultans of the Bahamani Kingdom, and last but not least, the Portuguese, who were the most prosperous of them all. In 1498 when the Portuguese sailor Vasco da Gama entered Calicut, the Portuguese became the first Europeans to set foot in India. They quickly established a trading colony with the sole goal of dealing with spices and cotton.¹

During the pre-Portuguese era, Goa's food habits depended on its geographical features and warm and humid climate. Rice is the staple food of the Goans regardless of their caste and religion. For the typical person, the main food items were rice, curry, and fish. The population mainly depended on farming and the population near the coasts took up fishing occupation.

Goa was conquered by the Portuguese in 1510 and gained independence on 19 December 1961. Throughout their colonization of the region, the Portuguese saw Goa as a part of Lisbon and not India. However, until then Goa remained a union territory, it got statehood on 30 May 1987.

¹ Alda Figueiredo, *Delights of Goa* (Panjim: Broadway Publishing House, 2011) Foreword.

Goans were forced to adopt Christianity during the Portuguese colonization. During this period, the converts were expected to dress, eat, and attend church like the Europeans. They were asked to imitate the Europeans. Throughout their dominance of 451 years over Goa, the Europeans brought new items with them that had never existed in Goa. They brought with them a variety of items from both their home country as well as their colonies, including bread, cakes, biscuits, confectionery items, cashews, pineapple, and others. They established several institutions such as hospitals, chapels, churches, and educational institutions. When the Christian missionaries Jesuits, Franciscans, and others arrived, their main goal was to spread the word of God by converting the locals to their religion and providing social services. The Portuguese started interfering in the lives of the people of Goa in all aspects.

The Portuguese entered Goa through the Sea and their ships had just enough food to last the voyage when they arrived. They soon set out to find local products and tried to recreate the meals that were prepared back home. This was not completely effective though, as they had to substitute local ingredients in place of a few of the original ones. Portuguese recipes were eventually given an Indian twist in Goa when the local kitchen matched the appetite of the colonialists. Therefore, to meet their wants, they started bread-making, and confectionery, they also introduced many new dishes to the Goan cuisine. This was initially consumed only by the Portuguese and the well-off Goans, they would have bread for breakfast along with butter. But eventually, the locals also developed a taste for *pao*². The Jesuits who were in charge of the Salcete sub-district in the 1550s only gave two occupations to the Goans: wine selling and bread making. They shared the bread-making and other baking techniques only with the *chardo* community of

² V. T Gune ed, *Gazetteer of India Union Territory of Goa Daman and Diu: part I* (Panjim: Government printing press.1979) 12.

Salcete taluka, specifically from Majorda, later the *chardos* of other neighboring villages took up the baking profession, who further went on to set up their bakeries in different parts of Goa. In case the baker had a brother, they would run the bakery on a rotation basis of four months, this system was done so that they do not have to work at the bakery throughout the year and also so that they can rest for four months, after their term got over, they would go back home if the bakery was situated in a distant place.³ The baker's house served both as a residence for their family and a bakery with a traditional woodfired oven. The bakery workers resided in the bakery itself.

Goan bakeries today have made a significant contribution to the development of the local cuisine. These bakeries have evolved into cultural and culinary landmarks by preserving age-old recipes and techniques passed down through generations. Goan Bakery reflects Portuguese colonial influence. In the complex structure of Goan culinary history, these businesses have served as more than just mere sellers of bread and pastries from Portuguese colonization to the post-liberation age; they have served as protectors of identity, culture, and history. Bakeries have been interwoven in Goan culture, whether they were established during the colonial era or after liberation. They represent a blend of several cultural influences, combining traditional Portuguese baking methods with local flavors, and the ingredients locally found in Goa. These establishments have not only endured but also flourished throughout the years, making a lasting impression on people's tastes and memories.

The bakeries which only baked different types of bread were called *Padaria*. The owner and the delivery boy were called *poder*.⁴ These bread were made in different shapes such as *pao* which is round, and *poi* made from whole wheat and rolled flat unlike the *pao*, which is then dusted

³ Fatima da Silva Gracias, *Cozinha de Goa* (Panjim: Broadway Publishing House, 2011) 33- 34.

⁴ Gracias, *Cozinha de Goa*, 33.

with bran or *kundo*, the *khatro pao* is kneaded into a ball, and with the help of scissors it is a given shape, the *undo* which is also known as *pokso* in some places it is slightly harder than the *pao*, the *kankon* which looks like a bangle hence it gets its name, then there is sweet bread and *revdi*⁵. The bakers also made toast they were, *sadai fatai* which was the plain toast, and *godd fatai* were the sweet ones. Various types of biscuits such as *bottam* biscuits gets its name because it was shaped like fingers. Some bakers in Salcete also baked biscuits in the form of objects and animals. Apart from baking bread, the bakers also baked confectionery items such as *bol* which were exchanged during marriages as a tradition, the bakers also gave these *bols* to their favourite customers when they went back home after their turn was over, *bathk* and *bolinhas* were also baked by the bakers.⁶

These breads are examples of the blending of cultures where the Portuguese techniques meet local ingredients. The one thing that binds the Goans together is the Goan *pao*. The bakery culture is one element that occupies a special place in the country's culinary heritage. Goan bakeries have a rich history that is interconnected with the colonial past of the region. These bakeries play an important role in the lives of Goans even today. Goan bakeries have proven to be strong as well as flexible in the face of challenges including changing consumer preferences, economic difficulties, and modernization. They have accepted innovation while maintaining the basis of traditional recipes and techniques that have been handed down through the ages. Their constant passion for maintaining the essence of Goan culinary legacy is evident. These bakeries are more than just places for baking; they are the protectors of culinary heritage, the repositories of nostalgia, and the links that bind the past and present together. These places don't just provide baked goods, but they also serve a sense of tradition and the spirit of community, as the aroma of

⁵ Melinda Pereira, "Dough-ing it right," *The Times of India*, (December 14, 2008), 4.

⁶ Gune ed, *Gazetteer of India Union Territory of Goa Daman and Diu: part 1*. 12.

freshly baked items fills the narrow streets of Goa. In their skillful creation of traditional bread, cakes, pastries, and desserts. With its diverse traditions, the smell of freshly baked bread and the attraction of confectionery are essential components of the state's cuisine.

Many modern bakeries are coming up, which offer a wide range of baked items, savory and sweet, overtaking the traditional bakeries. They offer a variety of options which has eventually, attracted more customers to visit these bakeries rather than the traditional ones. People find it more convenient to visit modern bakeries as they can find different food items under one roof. The modern bakeries make use of modern technology. Today's bakeries focus more on aesthetics rather than the authentic taste and quality of the baked goods. Many bakery giants such as Cremeux, Carasid, etc. have been coming up that are more convenient as they provide better options ranging from cakes to pizzas. It is more of a cafe culture today rather than a bakery.

1.1 Identification of Research Problem

While there is existing research on several baked items, especially bread, there aren't many thorough studies that discuss the Goan bakery culture in the Talukas of Salcete and Tiswadi, which includes both traditional and modern bakeries in Goa. The present research involves a comprehensive knowledge of the cultural, social, and economic aspects of the Goan bakery operations. It has delved into the historical development of traditional bakeries as well as modern bakeries, the culinary methods, the cultural importance, and the effects of urbanization on their operations, which has not been studied extensively by previous researchers. This study has examined the difficulties and prospects encountered by traditional Goan bakeries which is more of a cafe culture today. Further how these bakeries manage the difficulties in maintaining cultural

legacy while adjusting to modern difficulties in the field of baking, which is always evolving has been studied.

1.2 Objectives

1. To study and document the declining Goan bakery tradition, its origins, importance, and development, by interviewing elderly residents, bakers, the workers at the bakery, and those who have experienced the growth of Goan bakeries.
2. To study the challenges faced by traditional bakeries in modernization, potentially leading to changes in bakery culture. The growth of modern bakeries may impact customer preferences and the challenges faced by traditional bakeries.
3. To study the overall bakery culture, including both traditional and modern bakeries in the talukas of Salcete and Tiswadi. The evolution of Goan bakeries and their culinary traditions in these two talukas.
4. To study the present bakery culture which is technologically advanced and what other factors make them different from the traditional bakeries.
5. To study the modern bakery culture which is slowly becoming a café culture, with not just baked items but also sweet and savory.

1.3 Literature Review

Author Fatima da Silva Gracias in her book *Cozinha de Goa: History and Tradition of Goan Food* discusses the history of Goan food. Goan cuisine is a fusion of different cultures and cuisines, Portuguese, Arab, etc. The author says Goan Cuisine is a rich blend of many cuisines

Konkan, Marathi, Kanada, Portuguese, Arab, Malay, African, and Brazilian, With Traces of French and Anglo - Indian Cuisines. The Glossary explains different food types and names in Goan cuisines. The author gives descriptions of different dishes, ingredients, and processes of food making. The author also talks about the Indo-Portuguese cuisine and the Portuguese specifically the Jesuit Missionaries teaching the people of Goa the art of bread making⁷. The author gives meaning to different food terms and how it got its name. The author explains that the process of baking was used in the pre-Portuguese Goa. Portuguese set up woodfired ovens that were used for baking, initially only the Portuguese consumed baked items such as bread and other bakery items but slowly even the converts introduced baking to their cuisine.⁸

Author Alda Figueiredo in the foreword of her book *Delights of Goa*, talks about the entry of the Portuguese in Goa in the year 1510 and the influence of Portuguese cuisine on Goa. The author has written this book in simple words. She discusses the Goan cuisine with a lot of information packed into each page. It provides a comprehensive collection of Goan culinary techniques. The author in her book, discusses different tips and recipes. The author discusses food from two continents, Europe and Africa.⁹

In the book *Tasty Morsels: Goan Food Ingredients and Preparation*, by author Maria Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues, in the chapter *Catholic Festal Foods*, the author talks about the different types of food items made or prepared for a catholic feast. This book deals with

⁷ Gracias, *Cozinha de Goa: A Glossary of Food*, 33.

⁸ Gracias, *Cozinha de Goa: A Glossary of Food*, 37-38.

⁹ Alda Figueiredo, *Delights of Goa* (Panjim: Broadway Publishing House, 2011)

different food items of Goa. In a chapter, the author also says that food helps in recollecting memories.¹⁰

Author Pantaleao Fernandes in his book *Goa Remembered* talks about various traditional occupations of Goa along with pictures. The author gives descriptions of the arrival of a local *poder* in the village of Aldona with a basket fastened to the cycle early morning. Here the author describes the attire of a modern-day *poder* and how it is different from the olden days. This book has pictures which makes the reader get a better understanding of the subject the author is discussing.¹¹

Author Pantaleao Fernandes in his book *Traditional Occupations of Goa*, documents the different traditional occupations of Goa which are slowly becoming extinct today. This book discusses the Goan traditional occupations which is a stunning example of the creativity of the people of Goa, which is sadly on the verge of extinction. The author's sincere attempt to capture Goa's rural beliefs serves as a window into the slowly disappearing lifestyle and cultural roots. The author adds pictures that give the reader a better idea about what he is trying to share in his book. The author discusses the dying bakery tradition of Goa and how modern technology has replaced the traditional one.¹²

Author Maria Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues in her book *Remembering Goa*, in a chapter talks about the travel constraints during the early days due to which only those who sold

¹⁰ Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa, *Tasty Morsels: Goan Food Ingredients & Preparation* (Merces: L &L, 2000) 20.

¹¹ Pantaleao Fernandes, *Goa Remembered* (Benaolim: The Word Publications, 2011) 86.

¹² Pantaleao Fernandes, *Traditional Occupations of Goa* (Benaolim: The Word Publications, 2015) 11-12.

goods such as bread, milk, etc, went house to house. The author also discusses the introduction of bread and the bakery to the Goan society.¹³

The *Gazetteer of India, Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu, part 1: Goa*, is a book with information on population, different occupations, people, etc, it gives references to different aspects of the Goan bakery industry, which the Europeans started. It also discusses the process, accessories, tools, and types of equipment. The author beautifully explains the process of baking. The author also mentions that in the year 1972, 94 bakeries were set up in different parts of Goa.¹⁴

Teresa Albuquerque in her book *Goan Pioneers in Bombay* talks about Goan Hindus as well as Catholics who went to British-ruled Bombay in the nineteenth century and, through hard work and dedication made a living. Goans set up their educational institutions, press, and various other things. The author mentions a fellow Goan Mr. Vitorino Mudot from Assagao who is said to be the pioneer of Goan bakers in Bombay. He set up an oven in the Goan quarter in 1819. The author also mentions that Mudot was the first Goan to celebrate the feast of the Patron of his native village St. Caetano, this was later followed by other Goans in Bombay to celebrate the feast day of their respective patron saints from back home.¹⁵

Mel D'Souza in his book *Feasts, Feni and Firecrackers: Life of a Village Schoolboy in Portuguese Goa*, talks about how our ancestors lived during the colonial period and in what way the life of the people has changed ever since the Portuguese conquered Goa. In chapter 10 the

¹³ Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa, *Remembering Goa* (Merces: L &L, 2007) 48.

¹⁴ Gune ed, *Gazetteer of India Union Territory of Goa Daman and Diu: part 1*, 466.

¹⁵ Teresa Albuquerque, *Goan pioneers in Bombay* (Saligao: Goa 1556 and Broadway Publishing House, 2012) 35.

author describes the baker, his daily routine, and the slowly disappearing Goan traditional baker from the society.¹⁶

In *Goa: A Social History (1510- 1640)* author P.D Xavier, talks about the social life of the Goans during the 16th century. The author discusses the food habits, culture, etc. of the Portuguese, converts and non-converts. The author discusses the lifestyle of the locals during the colonial era. In what way the Portuguese have impacted the lifestyle of the people.¹⁷

In the newspaper article *Dough-ing it right*, author Melinda Pereira Kamat explains the Goan traditional bread-making process. The author describes the different types of bread, their names, and how they are different from each other. The author also talks about the process of making them, the temperature required to bake, the ingredients used in the making, and the different equipment used by the baker.¹⁸

Author Nandkumar Kamat in his newspaper article *The Unsung Lives of Goa Poders*, talks about the freshly baked bread getting a sense of unity among Goans every morning. The author discusses the changing food habits of the Goans, the dietary habits getting replaced by readymade foods. Slice bread for its easy availability, getting common surpassing the traditional *pao*. However, if Goans were asked to choose between slice bread and *pao* they would still opt for *pao*. The author says the *poder's* bread is a local answer in the world of globalization. As long as the true Goans desire to have the traditionally baked bread only until then the bread will be made in the traditional process. According to the author, after liberation when the Portuguese left Goa, the saying '*Te poder ghele ani te unde ghele*' is incorrect *poders* have inherited the process of

¹⁶ Mel D'souza, *Feasts, Feni and Firecrackers: Life of a Village Schoolboy in Portuguese Goa* (Saligao: Goa 1556 & Golden Heart Emporium, 2007) 45- 46.

¹⁷ P.D Xavier, *Goa: A Social History 1510-1640*. (Panaji: Rajhauns Sankalpana Pvt. Ltd, 1993) 34.

¹⁸ Melinda Kamat, "Dough-ing it right," *The Times of India*, December 14, 2008, 4.

breadmaking. The author gives credit to the Portuguese for Gifting Indians with their baking technique. The author mentions that there are regional variants, in Salcete, Tiswadi, and Bardez the *pao* has a different taste and texture. Everybody in Goa consumes *pao* and *poie* including the politicians but nobody wants to support the traditional bread-making business. The author also appreciates the *poder* for delivering bread early in the morning with his basket full of bread, no matter how the weather is in the morning. The author also describes the bakery house, he says it is full of flour, entire house is covered with flour. The hazardous conditions they live in, they do not get any government support. The author describes the taste of the bread baked in the woodfired oven has a unique taste that cannot be found anywhere else.¹⁹

In the newspaper article *Goan Bakers: Losing the Big Slice* author Pervis De Souza discusses the bakery culture in Goa. The author talks about the overtaking of traditional bakeries by non-Goa bakery companies. The author talks about the modern-day bread production system which manufactures loaves of bread in bulk. The author mentions that the Bakers Association Goa, former Secretary Mr. Rosario says that this situation will bring an end to the traditional bread-making process and traditional bread makers. The author says these modern bakeries are given special subsidies hence this makes their bread-making process cheaper than the bread made in traditional wood-fired ovens. This would eventually finish the business of the traditional bakeries which have been running for a long time. People prefer buying these packed factory-made breads as they have a longer shelf life rather than the traditional bread which turns stale within two days. The author also talks about the breadmen during the early days who would walk from village to village with baskets of bread on their heads and a *dhandu* in their hand. Which is now replaced by

¹⁹ Nandakumar Kamat, "The Unsung Lives of Goan Poder's," *The Navind Times*, October 14, 2002, 8.

breadmen traveling with cycles and the basket full of bread fastened to their cycles. Along with the factory-made loaves of bread, confectioneries are being established, which have become a household name now. Housewives find the loaves, easily accessible at every *ghaddo*. The traditional bakeries that bake in woodfired ovens are rarely available today, there are only a few bakeries mostly in villages. The Baker's Association is trying its best to retain the traditional bread-making business however the companies that manufacture loaves of bread are supported by local government. He also talks about the bakery operational partners in traditional bakeries who work for a term of four months. There is no unity between these partners, they do not agree with one another on getting mechanized equipment in their bakeries even though they are closely related, resulting in the staff being forced to work in such an environment. However, he also mentions that there are bakers who even today have their fixed customers which enables the functioning of these bakeries.²⁰

1.4 Research Design and Methodology

1. Primary sources such as interviews and regular field visits have been conducted. By visiting different traditional as well as modern bakeries across Salcete and Tiswadi taluka. Spending time in bakeries, observing baking techniques, documenting the process, and interacting with bakers and workers. A questionnaire was designed based on the information acquired through literary sources and the objectives of the research. Bakery owners and workers have been interviewed to learn more about the present-day bakery culture. Visits to local bakeries, marketplaces, and traditional and modern baking communities in Goa to observe current

²⁰ Perviz de Souza, "Losing the Big Slice," *Goa Today*, June 11, 1987, 12.

baking practices and identify any remnants of Portuguese influence. To get the desired outcome, the primary data acquired has been cross-checked with the existing secondary sources.

2. Secondary sources such as newspapers, books, e-books, dissertations, thesis, newspaper articles, and journal articles have been collected by visiting various libraries across Goa such as the Goa University Library, Krishna das Shayma State Central Library, Government Taluka Library Ponda, Dr Francisco Luis Gomes District Library Navelim, Archives Library, Xavier Centre of Historical Research Library. An extensive review has been conducted of the existing literary sources such as books, articles, etc. Relevant background information on the topic has been gathered.
3. Document and photograph the baking processes, tools, and ingredients used in traditional Goan bakeries in the talukas of Salcete and Tiswadi. Photographs have been added to get a broader perspective on the topic.

1.5 Scheme of Chapters

This dissertation is divided into five chapters.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The first chapter which is the introductory chapter, provides an overview of the topic, stating the objectives, methodology, Chaptalization, literature review, scope, and relevance of the study. In this chapter, the topic will be briefly described and explained as to why it is important or relevant for further research. To provide a brief description of Goa and to talk about the colonial past and how they have impacted the food habits of the Goans.

Chapter 2: Historical Background

The second chapter deals with the Historical background of the colonizers. World Bread Day will be briefly discussed. The Portuguese introduced bread to their colonies, how this humble bread has been an integral part of the Portuguese cuisine. The food habits of the people of Goa. Background about the Goan bakeries and the bakery culture coming to existence in Goa. The Portuguese left a lasting impact on Goan cuisine, particularly baking, by introducing new ingredients, cooking methods, and culinary customs. They introduced bread-making processes and other baking techniques. Goan bakeries were established during the colonial era and have since maintained their baking traditions by passing recipes and methods from one generation to the next. Numerous of these bakeries developed into important local institutions that maintained the Goan society.

Chapter 3: Bakeries in the Salcete Taluka

The third chapter focuses on the bakeries in the Salcete Taluka. While Goa was under Portuguese rule, the bakery culture came into existence. The bakery culture in Goa started from the Salcete taluka where the Jesuit missionaries taught the people of Salcete the bread-making techniques. These bakeries today, undergo a lot of challenges and difficulties which has eventually led to the evolution of bakeries in the Salcete taluka. The development has taken place in the traditional bakery culture. How the traditional bakers have still retained their business and are still trying to carry on their traditional process of baking. How these bakers continue with the age-old baking practices. While there are new individuals entered the bakery business.

Chapter 4: Bakeries in the Tiswadi Taluka

The fourth chapter deals with the bakeries based in the Tiswadi taluka. The Goan bakery culture which started from the Salcete taluka further went on to spread its roots across Goa. Tiswadi taluka is one such taluka which has managed to retain the bakery tradition however there are many challenges the bakery owners face that will be covered in this chapter. In Tiswadi even today many bakeries have tried their best to retain the business. The changes which have taken place in the bakery culture in this taluka will be covered. Many new bakeries have come up over time and have made a name for themselves.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The fifth chapter is specifically the concluding chapter which will sum up the research findings. To highlight the difference between the present bakeries in Salcete and Tiswadi talukas. This chapter will give a summary of the contributions, changes, and preservation of Goan baking customs made by bakeries in the talukas of Salcete and Tiswadi.

Study of their importance in preserving the region's culinary variety and cultural character. To illustrate the role that bakeries founded in Goa have had in establishing the modern culinary landscape of the state, in this chapter attempts will be made to represent the development, cultural importance, difficulties, and contributions of these establishments. It recognizes its attempts to maintain traditional baking techniques while welcoming innovation and adjusting to the changes. The measures that are taken to preserve the bakery culture today.

1.6 Scope and Relevance

The present research work has focused on understanding the bakery culture in the talukas of Salcete and Tiswadi. This research will give a better understanding of the Goan bakery culture and its development, and how today's bakeries are different from the ones that were introduced by the Portuguese.

The Goan bakeries hold cultural significance in maintaining the region's traditional culinary history, and how these bakeries contribute to community identity and act as cultural centers. The culinary legacy of Goan bakeries has been studied by investigating the Portuguese influences in baking techniques. Examine how Goan bakery products have been influenced by these factors. To research the traditional baking techniques and equipment used in Goan bakeries. To document the methods employed in creating traditional Goan baked goods. Examine how Goan bakeries have adapted to modern tastes, globalization, and changing customer preferences. To study how new components, technology, and marketing tactics are incorporated. Study how Goan bakeries support Goa's cultural identity and encourage tourism. To study how these bakeries attract both local and international visitors.

This research is a comparative study of Goan bakery culture in Salcete and Tiswadi and to get a better understanding of the overall bakery culture in these two talukas. How the development in the bakery culture is leading to the decline in the traditional Goan occupation. The study has focused on how economic factors, technological advancements, and socio-cultural shifts that have shaped the traditional and modern features of Goa's baking businesses. The current research has also deal with the history of Goan bakeries, looking at several aspects such as understanding the origins of Goan bakeries since their introduction during the Portuguese colonial era and tracing their progress over time. To know about the blending of Goan culinary customs with Portuguese

baking traditions, as well as how cultural exchanges have shaped baking methods, preferences, and products.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 History of Bread

Bread has been an essential part of the life and is one of the oldest consumed food items. Bread is consumed in most of the parts of the world. Before farming and agriculture were invented, bread was first used more than twenty centuries ago. A basic mixture of water and crushed grains cooked on hot stones to produce a firm, flat piece was probably the oldest bread. But when wheat was cultivated and yeast fermentation was discovered, a revolution in bread-making occurred, enabling the production of risen bread.

Bread was a staple food for people of all socioeconomic groups during the Middle Ages, including peasants, monarchs, knights, and monks. In addition to being an essential food source for human survival, this common food item also gave rise to disputes between religions. The history of bread dates back around 22,500 years. Ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian diets, as well as the Roman Empire's extensive use of bread, proves its importance. Grinding cereal grains like wheat, millet, or barley into flour and then kneading the result with a liquid were the steps required in making bread.¹

Early in the Middle Ages, there was a general trend toward the use of white bread made from wheat, which was recommended by medieval doctors due to its alleged health advantages. People with limited resources, however, turned to making darker breads made with rye or oats. To

¹ "Bread the Most Important thing in Human History." Grants bakery. co. uk, accessed February 17, 2024. <https://grantsbakery.co.uk/blogs/posts/bread-the-most-important-thing-in-human-history>

make the bread combination more accessible to people in need, other components like grains, peas, lentils, chestnuts, or other foods might be added. Meslin, a sort of bread made primarily of wheat and rye, was a common food in medieval France.²

Within medieval civilization, bread had great social and cultural significance and nutritional value. Acting as a communal symbol, it promoted connections among individuals from different socioeconomic backgrounds and places. Sharing a meal was a fundamental part of creating a sense of community and collective identity, which in turn strengthened social bonds. Whether it was shared at feasts, festivals, or religious ceremonies, bread functioned in medieval society as a material and a symbol of unity. In Christianity bread served as the body of Christ.

As bread was important to medieval civilization, many laws and rules regulating its distribution and manufacturing were created. These actions were taken to make sure that bakers followed fair procedures and upheld standards of quality. Tight rules were imposed on bakers to preserve the integrity of their trade. Price controls on bread were implemented in some areas to guard against abuse and guarantee that the general public could afford it. These laws recognize bread's vital role in maintaining social unity and highlight its status as a staple meal.

Bread was prominent in medieval society, serving as a symbol, a measure of social standing, and a topic of law. It served as a link between reality and symbolism, offering both cultural and religious importance in addition to providing nourishment. The various functions that bread served in medieval civilization provide light on the complex interactions that exist between food, culture, and social dynamics while also providing insights into the complexities of the past.³

² "Bread in the Middle Ages." Medievalists.net, accessed February 17, 2024.

<https://www.medievalists.net/2013/07/bread-in-the-middle-ages/>

³ Marcella, "How Bread was made in Medieval times." Dvaita. Accessed on February 17, 2024.

<https://www.dvaita.org/how-bread-was-made-in-medieval-times/>

2.2 World Bread Day

World Bread Day, established on October 16th by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in 1945, embraces the Latin motto '*Fiat Panis*,' translating to 'Let there be bread.' The core objective behind this day is to address global hunger issues. Bread, a universal staple consumed across the globe, manifests in diverse forms reflecting regional culinary traditions.

This occasion serves as a poignant moment to celebrate the rich diversity of bread, highlighting not only its cultural significance but also its nutritional benefits. Additionally, World Bread Day strives to increase awareness about the vital role local bakeries play in sustaining communities and advocates for promoting eco-friendly and sustainable bread production practices.

In essence, World Bread Day is a collective call to appreciate the artistry behind bread-making, recognize its nourishing qualities, and foster support for local economies and environmentally conscious production methods.⁴

2.3 Pre-Portuguese food habits of the Goans

The pre-Portuguese Goan cuisine was completely based on the geographical settings of Goa. The diet of the people was based on locally found food items, rice being the staple accompanied by fish, curry, and vegetables. This was consumed by most of Goa's population regardless of caste and religion. People also took up jobs such as fishing, and farming based within Goas territory. The caste system was based on the occupations the people practiced.

⁴ "World Bread Day." International Days, Accessed on February 17, 2024.
<https://www.internationaldays.co/event/world-bread-day/r/recDiyCxuqKiWsAdu>

The food habits of the Goan Hindus, Christians, and Muslims to some extent are very different, sometimes the same dish has different names and might have slight differences in ingredients based on the religion, such as the steamed *sanna*, for which the Hindus make use of *urad dal* while Christian make use of toddy for the process of fermentation of rice.⁵

2.4 Introduction of the Bread by the Portuguese to the Colonies

The Indian fishermen were more eager to taste the Portuguese bread and gathered around the Portuguese ships when Vasco da Gama arrived in Calicut, they traded fish for Portuguese bread. From ancient times, wheat bread has been made in the northern parts of India, where wheat is farmed, unlike the raised loaves made in the West, Vedic breads were flat and unleavened.⁶

Bread was an important part of Portuguese cuisine, when the Portuguese were exiled from Japan, making bread was forbidden. The Japanese used a similar fermenting agent called amazake, an extremely sweet, low-alcohol rice wine, after learning to bake bread from Jesuits in Nagasaki. The Jesuits required bread for the eucharistic celebrations which was provided by the local bakers in Nagasaki and Hirado. Bread consumption in Ceylon expanded beyond the Portuguese community to the general population, resulting in the development of 'bakery hotels,' tiny village eateries. People from various ethnic backgrounds in Sri Lanka enjoy a variety of breads, cakes, and pastries made by these ubiquitous businesses. Bread is sold on the street by bicycle merchants

⁵ Fatima da Silva Gracias, *Cozinha de Goa* (Panjim: Broadway Publishing House, 2011) xix.

⁶ Janet P. Boileau, "A Culinary History of Portuguese Eurasians: The Origins of Luso-Asian in The Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Centuries". (PhD dissertation, University of Adelaide, 2010) 211.

who operate from wooden pannier cabinets. Like rice, bread is used as a side dish with curries and has become a secondary staple for Sri Lankans.⁷

All of the former Portuguese colonies in Asia and other regions with a history of Portuguese incursions include cakes, biscuits, pastries, and sweets that are rooted in the conventual sweet-making traditions of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Portugal. During the sixteenth century, several of the less perishable varieties of Iberian sweets produced in Portugal and Madeira were transported to Asia and traded there.

2.5 Bread in Goa

The Portuguese arrived in Goa in 1510 to set up a trading network and spread their religion, Christianity. Throughout their 451-year rule in Goa, they introduced many new things while they were in Goa, both from back home and from the territories they had colonized. The Portuguese left a very strong legacy in Goa. The Goan cuisine has been influenced by different cuisines.⁸ One of the most important parts of the Portuguese cuisine was the bread. The bread has been an important part of the Portuguese cuisine. Bread was made out of wheat and wheat was not produced in Goa, wheat was brought from Cambay.⁹ The Portuguese also introduced many other baked goods, such as the sisters at the Santa Monica convent at Old Goa made the seven-layered sweet Bebinca to commemorate the seven hills of Lisbon. The bebinca today has a GI tag. Historian Lizzie Collingham says the sweets made of eggs and sugar were something new in

⁷ Boileau, “A Culinary History of Portuguese Eurasians”. 220.

⁸ Gracias, *Cozinha de Goa*, 25.

⁹ Francios Pyard, *The Voyage of Francios of Laval: To the East Indies, The Maldives, The Moluccas and Brazil*, trans. Albert Gray (London: Hakluyt Society, 1869), 433.

India.¹⁰ Eggs were avoided by Indian Hindus as eggs were considered impure or unclean in medieval Asia. However, Eggs and sugar are the main ingredients in many Portuguese sweets and desserts.¹¹

The Portuguese also introduced many different food items such as *Rissois de Camarao*, *Ambot tik* which is a sour and spicy fish gravy, *Balchao*, and *Mol* which are pickled curries made using fish. While the Portuguese were in Goa, they wanted to recreate meals made back home but due to the lack of availability of the original ingredients, they had to substitute the locally found items. The Portuguese capital was in Old Goa, with the convents coming up they also set up ovens where they carried out their bread-making process.¹² In places where there were larger Portuguese settlements, the Jesuit houses and monasteries had bakeries attached to their kitchens. The brothers were expected to carry out other duties as well in addition to their religious obligations and baking bread for the sick and the poor was one of the duties.¹³

It was only in the 1550s when the Jesuit missionaries were given control over the Salcete sub-district they went on to share their bread-making technique with the *chardo* community of Majorda village, later the *chardos* of other neighboring villages took up the baking profession, who further went on to set up their bakeries in different parts of Goa. The *chardos* had land and palm trees and the Jesuits wanted to give the locals business. Later the *chardos* of other neighbouring villages also took up the profession and went to other parts of Goa to set up the business and a few *Shudras* also tried to get into the business. And was passed down from

¹⁰ Lizzie Collingham, *Curry: A Tale of Cooks and Conquerors* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 61.

¹¹ Boileau, "A Culinary History of Portuguese Eurasians", 62.

¹² Sonia, Filinto. "Meal." Posted 2020. Vimeo, 07:51. <https://vimeo.com/375417813>

¹³ Boileau, "A Culinary History of Portuguese Eurasian". 171

generation to generation. The bakers were from the catholic community. The baker was called *poder* in Konkani and *padeiros* in Portuguese. The baker and the bread seller were both called *poder*. First, they would bake the bread and then go door to door to sell the bread.¹⁴ The *poder* wore a peculiar outfit called *cobai*, made out of flour bags, they also wore knee-length pants. The *poder* would go around to sell bread with the bread basket on his head and a bamboo stick in his hand. The bamboo stick had a metal disc, which he would bang on the ground to announce his arrival to the people and the stick was also used as a stand to keep the basket (Fig 1.1).¹⁵ The bakery house which baked only bread was known as *padaria*. Previously there were no boards that indicated the existence of a bakery but instead, the *poder's* cycle with a bread basket parked outside the house indicated the bakery house (Fig 1. 2).

Initially, bread was only consumed by the Portuguese and the wealthy Goans, they would consume bread and butter for breakfast. eventually, others also developed a taste for the bread.¹⁶ The Jesuit College in Goa had bread spread out on the dining tables, according to German traveller Johan Albrecht de Mandelslo.¹⁷ According to Pyrard's book, patients at the Hospital in Goa were allowed to eat as much bread as they wanted, the loaves were small hence sometimes even three or four loaves were given to every patient. The bread was made by the bakers of the town by contract, it was very delicate.¹⁸ Richard Burton mentions the bread made in Goa was the best

¹⁴ Gracias, *Cozinha de Goa*, 33.

¹⁵ Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa, *Tasty Morsels: Goan Food Ingredients & Preparation* (Merces: L &L, 2000) 49.

¹⁶ V. T Gune ed, *Gazetteer of India Union Territory of Goa Daman and Diu: part I* (Panjim: Government printing press.1979) 12.

¹⁷ Boileau, "A Culinary History of Portuguese Eurasians", 63.

¹⁸ Francios Pyrard, *The Voyage of Francios of Laval*, Vol II, Part I, 8.

compared to other parts of western India.¹⁹ The daily meal of rice, curry, and pepper water was offered at the city's orphanages, along with bread rolls at the start of the nineteenth century.²⁰

Breadmaking required teamwork, an operation involving several people, including the mixers, moulders, and bakers themselves. Everything was to be done manually, it was a hands-on work since the dough would have to be physically kneaded. The bread had regional variations depending on the place. The ovens for baking were made of mud and had a dome structure with a small opening where the bread was placed (Fig 1. 3).²¹ The construction of the oven involved a thoughtful layering process beneath it. The first layer comprised two meters of sand, providing a foundation for the subsequent elements. Above the sand, the second layer featured a special kind of stone. The third layer consisted of broken glass bottles. Following this, the fourth layer was crafted with salt. This layering continued with another round of broken glass and then salt. Towards the end, the layers were covered with tiles. The tiles required periodic replacement, with a six-month ensuring the oven's continued efficiency. The fitting of tiles was a very long process it would consume an entire day.²²

The bread was baked on two to three shifts per day, bread was made using wheat and toddy. Toddy was used as a leavening agent until the Portuguese were in Goa, after Goa's liberation yeast was used as it was economical.²³ The technique of leavening bread with Palm toddy was introduced by the Portuguese to the subcontinent, in Goa there were plenty of palm groves and yeast was also not available. A European traveller in the 1630s reported the wheat bread made in Goa was the

¹⁹ Richard F. Burton, *Goa, and the Blue Mountains; or, Six Months of Sick Leave* (London: Richard Bentley, 1851) 104.

²⁰ Boileau, "A Culinary History of Portuguese Eurasians", 206.

²¹ Gracias, *Cozinha de Goa: A Glossary of Food*, 33.

²² Caitano Fernandes, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, January 21, 2024.

²³ Rodrigues, *Remembering Goa*, 49.

best as the toddy used in the fermentation gave good results. The Portuguese went to extremes to produce bread in a country where it was challenging. In the sixteenth century wheat bread was considered to be of religious significance as it was permitted to celebrate mass with bread.²⁴

The Portuguese word for bread is *pao*, in Goa bread is made of different kinds such as *Undo* or *pokso*, *poie*, *khatre pao*, *kankon* (Fig 1.4), *godd fatti*, and *sadi fatti*. Bread making had to be precise, skilled workers were required, and ingredients had to be added using accurate measurements, each type of bread required a certain amount of temperature to bake.²⁵ The furnace took around four to five hours to get heated, the firewood was placed in the oven and with the help of a newspaper the fire was lit. Once the wood is completely burnt, the ashes are taken out and with the help of a cloth attached to a stick, the surface of the oven had to be wiped.²⁶

The *poie* or flat bread made out of wholewheat is rolled flat and dusted with wheat bran and is the first one to go in the furnace as it requires high heat and less time to bake. Then it goes in the *pao* it is round and soft. Later goes the *undo* or *pokso*, which is a round bread crusty on the outside and soft on the inside. *Khatro* is a scissored bread, it is cut on two sides and opened which looks similar to the shape of a butterfly. The last one to go in is the *kankon*, which is a bangle-shaped crusty bread, that requires less heat and more time to bake, hence it goes in last. It is said that the *kankon* is had along with evening tea. The bakers also made *bol* which is a sweetened bread, this was given as a gift by the bakers to their regular customers at the end of their term. Another specialty was a long, thin biscuit known as *bolacha do padeiro*, which resembled a

²⁴ Lizzie Collingham, *Curry*, 60.

²⁵ Melinda Kamat, "Dough-ing it right," *The Times of India*, December 14, 2008, 4.

²⁶ Dolton Coelho, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, December 5, 2024.

tongue; in English, it is known as tongue biscuit. The bakers from Salcete called it the *patod biscuit* and the bakers from Tiswadi called it *torpiadam*.²⁷

Additionally, bakers prepared cakes and roasted peanuts that customers sent during festivities. Cakes and other confections were very popular in the Catholic Luso-Asian societies. The Twelve Days of Christmas introduced an extensive range of marzipans, *halwahs*, breads, cakes, and confections with unique names like nun's belly, sighs, and heavenly bacon. Popular Easter and Baptisms, cakes, and bread symbolized development and fresh beginnings. Sweets were produced by the ladies of the house or bought from the nuns in wealthier houses as a sign of piety. A cake baked at home was a sign of the care taken to treat visitors with respect. Another chance to show loyalty towards the Catholic religion and gain favour with the clergy was by baking.²⁸

Towards the end of March 1972, there were more than ninety-four bakeries and there were six confectioneries in Goa.²⁹ The bakers received their pay every month. People with education maintained the account on a wall-mounted *almanac* or a lengthy calendar that was produced specifically for that purpose.³⁰

In the regions once inhabited by the Portuguese in India, bread accompanies both European and Indian dishes. Bread goes along with any Goan dish, it is often accompanied with gravies for breakfast and dinner as well. Different types of bread have different accompaniments such as *pao* goes well with *pao bhaji* and *vada pao* (Fig 1.5). The diet-conscious people opt for *poie* along with vegetables which are mostly consumed for dinner as it is made up of whole wheat. Many street food vendors in Goa and even in other parts of India sell bread with different fillings such as cutlet

²⁷ Rodrigues, *Remembering Goa*, 50.

²⁸ Boileau, "A Culinary History of Portuguese Eurasians: The Origins of Luso-Asian in The Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Centuries". 255-256.

²⁹ Gune, *Gazetteer of India Union Territory of Goa Daman and Diu: part I*, 466.

³⁰ Gracias, *Cozinha*, 34.

pao (Fig 1.6), *cafreal pao* (Fig 1.7), *vada pao* (Fig 1.8), etc. When Goans moved out of Goa for work they would carry bread with a homemade filling to have on the way.

Today there is a shift seen from the woodfired oven to ovens which are run on electricity, diesel, and even gas. In modern times people set alarm clocks to wake up but back in the day in Goa, the *poders* horn would be like a way-up call to the people, the bread sellers would arrive every morning honking to announce their arrival and push the bicycle loaded with bread has been seen in every village. Today some customers hang a bag at the gates (Fig 1.8) of their houses for bread sellers to keep the bread and go without disturbing their sleep.



(Fig 1.1)

Poder selling bread, placing the basket on the stick.

PC: Selma Carvalho (Joao-Roque Literary Journal)



(Fig 1.2)

Cycle and scooter placed outside the bakery house.

PC: Sarah D'souza



(Fig 1.3)

The outer structure of the *forn*.

PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 1.4)

Commonly baked bread types in the Goan bakeries.

PC: Sanaya Fernandes



Fig 1.5
Vada Pao
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 1.6)
Cutlet Pao
PC: Blandina Fernandes



Fig 1.7
Cafreal Pao
PC: Blandina Fernandes



Fig 1.8
Bread and Milk delivered early morning
PC: Sanaya Fernandes

CHAPTER 3

BAKERIES IN THE SALCETE TALUKA

The bakery culture is one such element that was started with bread-making, by the Jesuit missionaries while they were in Goa and were given charge of the Salcete sub-district, they shared their baking techniques with the *chardo* community of Majorda. Later the *chardos* of other neighbouring villages took up the profession and went to other parts of Goa to set up their bakeries.⁵¹ This culture started with bread baking for the Portuguese, as they longed to have food that was prepared back home, hence the Jesuit missionaries shared their techniques only with the *chardo* community for purity purposes and also, they were the ones who had a business background.⁵²

Today this traditional occupation of bread making has eventually with time started evolving into a bakery culture by introducing confectionery items. This occupation today is on the verge of extinction in the Salcete taluka where the occupation had initially started and spread in Goa. There are many factors responsible for it today. This chapter will discuss the changes and challenges which are faced by the *poders* of Salcete Taluka.

3.1 Godinho Bakery, Majorda

The exact founding year of the bakery is not known; however, it is currently in its third generation owner Joao M Godinho, a retired government employee, now runs the bakery's

⁵¹ Fatima da Silva Gracias, *Cozinha de Goa* (Panjim: Broadway Publishing House, 2011) 33.

⁵² Leila Ribeiro, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, January 19, 2024.

traditions as the present generational owner, representing his dedication at the age of 77 years. Located opposite the Majorda Railway station, in an old shop, which has three rooms one is where the mixing or kneading of the dough takes place, the other is where the *for*n is placed and the last happens to be the storage room.

After his retirement, Godinho has devotedly maintained his father's baking legacy. With only one worker, a fellow Goan from the same village, Godinho maintains the tradition of having Goan bakers in his bakery. While the bread-making process remains authentic to the past, a modern touch is added with the use of an electric mixer (fig 2.1), for its hygiene benefits. This bakery still makes use of toddy for the fermentation process (fig 2.2). Even though toddy is more expensive than yeast, the bread is sold at a price similar to other bakeries, the *poie* is still made out of wheat and dusted with wheat bran on the outside. This shows the dedication of Godinho to keeping the tradition alive even today. Godinho says that his motive is not to gain profits but rather to preserve the age-old traditional Goan occupation.⁵³

3.2 Margao Bakery, Margao

This bakery is also a family-run bakery. The bakery is situated in Margao, on the main road. The owners are from Margao itself but they were in Africa when they were chased away in the nineteenth century, they took up the baking business in Goa. This bakery only bakes bread.

The bakery owner's wife says they used to bake bread thrice a day, they had two woodfired ovens but as the bakery was shut down due to some personal reasons the traditional oven had to be repaired, so the only option was to demolish one of the traditional ovens, and instead set up an

⁵³ Joao M Godinho, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, December 7, 2023.

electric oven (fig 2.3). The bakery is facing some legal problems due to the construction of a building, the residents want the bakery to shut down as they feel the smoke emitted is causing ill effects on their health. ‘Whatever they had saved they had to spend to pay the advocates.’ Before there were thirteen workers, they had to be paid at half rate, they had to pay the workers by taking loans and making them work for another 15 months says the owner.

Now the bread is baked twice a day only and the delivery boy goes from house to house to sell bread. Many home bakers would come to bake their cakes, bolinas, etc to earn a living and even during Christmas time many people would prepare sweets and would get them to bake them at the bakery by paying a small fee. This had to be stopped as one of the woodfired ovens had to be demolished, even though they have replaced it with an electric oven, they are still learning how it is to be used. The owner says the *poie* have to be baked in the traditional oven as when they are baked in the electric oven they do not rise. The owner says only if the children are willing to continue this family business, they will have it or they will give it on rent by demolishing the other *forn* and setting up a complete modern bakery.⁵⁴

3.3 Gomes Bakery, Margao

This bakery was established in the year 1940. The owner, Mr. Agostinho Gomes says it is not just a bakery but the pride of the ancestors. The bakery was initially situated at a different location but today the bakery shifted, due to the construction of a new building. In its earlier days, the bakery operated under a rotation system with a partner. But as time went on and the situation changed, the bakery eventually found its current location next to Mr. Agostinho Gomes' house.

⁵⁴ Anonymous, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, December 2, 2023.

The operating structure changed as a result of this move, with Gomes now serving as the bakery's sole owner.

Gomes who is also part of the All Goa Bakers Association (AGBA) shares the problems that were regarding the increase in the price of bread. He says that the *poders* do not have to pay taxes, unlike the confectioners, in case the bakers had to be taxed for the bread today bread would have been sold at Rs 8 or even at Rs 10. The members had different opinions regarding the pricing of bread and other problems in the Goan Bakery Culture. The Government does not help the bakers in any way so all the bakers who are a part of the AGBA make decisions without the involvement of the government. During Late Chief Minister Manohar Parrikar's tenure, he promised the AGBA that he would give a subsidy of bread provided the bakers should sell the price at Rs. 3. But this never happened and kept the bakers disheartened.

According to the owner, the bakery follows the same recipes the only change is toddy is replaced by yeast as the toddy is not easily available, Gomes also mentions that the bakery makes use of the best quality flour available in the market in making the bread. At the bakery's new location, there are still issues with neighbours regarding the smoke emission yet we continue the business says Gomes.

Today the bakery bakes only bread such as *pao*, *poie*, *undo* or *pokse*, *katre*, and *kankon* which are all baked in the traditional furnace (fig 2.4). They already have an electric oven in which they would bake patties but after the COVID-19 pandemic hit they stopped making patties as it was very difficult to manage bread making as well as patties with very less workers, however during the pandemic when everything was shut down and people could not move out of their houses, Gomes tried his best to help the people, he would bake bread and deliver it to his customers

even though he did not have much manpower. The owner says they have their fixed customers due to which their business is functioning smoothly. The workers here are all non-Goans (fig 2.5). In the future, the bakery operations probably might not be continued by his children as they are already settled in the United Kingdom⁵⁵

3.4 Sirlim Bakery, Sirlim

This bakery has been in business for 70 years. Mr. Joaquim Rodrigues and his family currently operate it. It's a family-run bakery, even the workers are part of the family. At this bakery there are different types of breads are baked. This bakery is situated on the highway to Karwar. The owners are originally from Colva to set up the bakery their ancestors had come to Sirlim.

Rodrigues and his wife have been managing this bakery for the past two years. Before them, Joaquim's sister looked after the bakery, but due to health issues, she had to step back. Initially, the bakery operated on a rotation system involving another partner, but now the partner has lost interest in continuing with this system. The bakery maintains its legitimacy by having all its workers come from the same family (fig 2.6).

While the traditional oven remains a constant, a recent addition is a mixer used in dough kneading. Bread baking occurs once a day, specifically in the evening. Once ready, the freshly baked bread is sold both at the bakery and delivered door-to-door on bicycles. The owner expresses his nostalgia about the premium quality of raw materials they used to receive back in the day. The bakery maintains the traditional baking methods, believing they preserve authenticity and align

⁵⁵ Agostinho Gomes, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, December 5, 2023.

with customer preferences. Another challenge is the presence of rumblers placed across the main road (fig 2.7), causing vibrations that impact the oven, as it is made of clay.⁵⁶

3.5 Lacarda Bakery, Deussua

This bakery has been in business for over 90 years, the bakery is located in the interiors of Chichinim village in Salcete (fig 2.8). Proudly family-run, the current owners of this bakery are Carmo Lacarda and his wife, Alana Lacarda.

This bakery has been following traditional baking methods without the incorporation of any modern equipment. They continue to rely on a woodfired oven, although the challenge lies in sourcing wood from Maharashtra as it is not very easily available in Goa. The kneading process is done manually. The bakery is solely run by Carmo Lacarda and his wife Alana Lacarda. According to the owner, they have no plans to switch to an electric oven because their customers have a deep liking for the unique texture and flavour of bread baked in the traditional woodfired oven. The owner also mentions that despite the family tradition of baking, the younger generation of the family do not seem interested in pursuing a career in this field.⁵⁷

3.6 Jila Bakery, Ambora

This bakery is a family-run bakery, established in 1972 (fig 2.9) by Mr Jose Fransisco Antao who worked with European pastry chefs at the Taj Hotel in Mumbai in the 1930s. He also

⁵⁶ Joaquim Rodrigues, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, December 2, 2023.

⁵⁷ Alana Lacarda, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, December 2, 2023.

worked at a Parsi Bakery where he learned more about the baking industry. Today this bakery is run by Mr. Reginaldo Antao along with his wife and other family members, this is currently the third generation in the business. The bakery is situated a little bit further from the busy Ponda-Margao highway.

Initially, the bakery started with bread-making, this bakery gradually expanded its offerings to include a range of items. Among these, the *éclairs* (fig 2. 10) has emerged as a bestseller, this was something new in the Goan bakery culture which dragged people to give it a shot. Other items include the melting moments, apple pies, rich plum cakes, and the signature *genua* pastry. The bakery also sold the popular toast and *khari* biscuits. Although the beginnings centered around bread, evolving consumer preferences led to a focus on the growing demand for a diverse range of confections.

Unfortunately, the production of bread has been discontinued. One of the secrets to the success of the bakery is that everything is baked in the *forn*, using a traditional oven that gives a unique flavour that is not easily replicated by modern alternatives. Antao reflects on the challenges posed by the changing demand for sourcing of ingredients is that certain premium elements, such as essence from Parsi companies, are no longer available due to discontinued manufacturing.

Looking ahead, Antao mentions at the possibility of a shift from the traditional oven in the coming years, as the government no longer permits licensing to set up a *forn*. Antao mentions if the children want to continue the family business in the future, they might introduce alternative baking options and machinery. The bakery has dependent on word-of-mouth promotion rather than using modern marketing techniques. However, social media has become a tool for customers to

share their delightful experiences and purchases, contributing to the promotion and success of the bakery.⁵⁸

3.7 Anjona Bakery, Betalbatim

This bakery was founded in 1995 by Mr. John Fernandes, the bakery stands as evidence of his dedication and passion for presenting the Goan delights to the people of Betalbatim. The bakery is situated along the streets of Betalbatim, the establishment has been a local favourite for nearly three decades. Fernandes, despite not being a trained baker, has dedicated the past twenty-nine years to the bakery business. His journey is a witness to his distinctive skills and commitment to delivering quality baked goods to the community. In the heart of Betalbatim, the bakery continues to thrive under the guidance of Fernandes, providing quality Goan delicacies to valued customers.

Fernandes started his entrepreneurial journey with a *ghaddo*, initially offering basic items such as tea, coffee, *pao-bhaji*, and omelette to the locals. As the demand for his offerings grew, he took the opportunity to expand the business and established a small bakery at the same location (fig 2.11). The bakery soon became a hub for a diverse range of baked goods and authentic Goan snacks. While the business flourished, Fernandes shares the challenges he faced in sourcing skilled labour, which is a common struggle. Despite the hurdles, the bakery has embraced modernization by incorporating advanced machinery and equipment, ensuring efficiency and maintaining the quality of its offerings.

⁵⁸ Reginaldo Antao, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, October 30, 2023.

Fernandes acknowledges the initial support received from the government in the form of startup loans, which played an essential role in laying the foundation for the bakery. However, at present there are issues arising from the involvement of neighbours, posing serious challenges to the bakery's smooth operation.⁵⁹

3.8 Cedric Bakery, Chichinim

Founded in 1995 by Mr. Menino Fernandes, Cedric Bakery has become a common name in the market of Chichinim (fig 2.12). Menino Fernandes, despite lacking formal training as a baker, ventured into the world of baking, showcasing a passion and commitment that have defined the bakery's legacy. The bakery is currently under the management of Cedric Fernandes, carrying on the family tradition and steering the business toward continued success. The transition to the new generation represents a seamless blend of tradition and innovation, ensuring that the bakery remains a valued establishment in the local community. Cedric Bakery stands as a witness to the dedication and entrepreneurial spirit of the Fernandes family, providing a delightful range of baked goods to the residents and visitors of Chichinim for nearly three decades.

The bakery began its journey by selling simple bread, but now it offers a wide variety of Goan baked goods, including cakes, patties, bebinca, and more. The bakery is located in Salcete and handles three outlets: Carmona, Chichinim, and Benaulim. The production takes place in Carmona. A traditional oven is still used for baking. Both Goans and non-Goans are working here. The bakery proudly operates three outlets located in Carmona, Chichinim, and Benaulim. The

⁵⁹ John Fernandes, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, December 7, 2023.

production process takes place at Carmona, where baking takes place in a traditional oven, preserving authenticity. The workforce at the bakery is both Goans and non-Goans contributing their skills and dedication.⁶⁰

3.9 Masterchef Victoria Bakery, Majorda

This bakery was started in the year 2004, by Mrs Victoria Andrade and under the guidance of her husband Mr Joaquim Santano Fernandes in Majorda (fig 2.13). Andrade comes from a baker's family; her father was a traditional Goan *poder*. Andrade started her entrepreneurial journey by selling bebinca during Christmas even before the bakery was set up. Fernandes left his job in Saudi to support his wife's business.

Initially traditional oven was used which was imported from Belgaum and three OTGs were gifted by Andrade's father. At the initial stage carrot cakes and plum cakes were baked, and later patties, biscuits, and other items were introduced. The existing ovens were not sufficient to produce the amount of response they got which gradually introduced better and bigger machinery (fig 2.14) to bake the items.

'The promotion was done by word of mouth' says Fernandes. The bakery has managed to attract customers by adding uniqueness to the existing items such as heart-shaped pizza, football-shaped burgers, apple cakes, paneer patties, etc. Fernandes says 'the majority of their orders were snacks for Our Lady, where customers wanted to distribute something unique to their guests.' However, after COVID-19 the bakery business has gone down.

⁶⁰ Cedric Fernandes, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, December 10 ,2023.

‘We have children who have inherited the baking techniques’ says Fernandes. The bakery has expanded its business by ditching from traditional Goan delights and embracing a contemporary western patisserie concept, named 'Patisserie Victoria' by Wilton Fernandes (son of the bakery's founder) he is a trained pastry chef, this new venture has gained prominence with two outlets in Salcete, specifically in Margao and Colva. The Margao outlet serves as more than just a retail space; it houses a manufacturing unit on the fifth floor of the same building. This was made to accommodate the massive quantity of production required for the extensive menu offered by 'Patisserie Victoria.'⁶¹

3.10 Nicolau Bakery, Raia

This bakery is situated in Raia on the Ponda- Margao highway (fig 2.15). Started in the year 1964 by Mrs. Albetina Cardozo’s father-in-law. This bakery had started as a *padaria* where only bread and *bol* was sold but today it is more like a café with a seating area. The bakery offers various Goan sweets and snacks with a long menu. Baking takes place in both traditional *forn* and mechanized ovens. Firewood is not easily available; truckloads of firewood have to be brought from the neighbouring states, which is not economical. The mechanised ovens are run on diesel and electricity, and the cost of electricity is increasing. There is no future for woodfired ovens as firewood has to be sourced from out of Goa and the government no longer permits licensing for traditional ovens, says the owner. The bakery was active soon after the lockdown was lifted, there

⁶¹ Joaquim Santan Fernandes, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, December 7, 2023.

was slightly less demand but it was sufficient. The owner has one son, who has already extended the business by setting up another outlet in Aquem-Margao.⁶²

3.11 *Poderachem* Fest

On the occasion of International Baker's Day, there was a Thanksgiving mass held on the 7th of October 2023. Bakers from Salcete taluka and some even from Tiswadi and Bardez participated in the eucharistic celebration at the St. Sebastian Church Aquem, Margao. The mass was celebrated by Fr. Andrew Periera. After mass was done, there was the blessing of bread where some bakers got bread of different types. This was held because in this parish one of the AGBA (Salcete) members Agostinho Gomes owner of the Gomes bakery, happens to be a parishioner of St. Sebastian Church. The mass was held the previous year as well at St. Sebastian church but before that, it would be held at Grace Church Margao. Fr Periera believes that the authentic Goan flavour of bread can only be baked by the traditional Goan Bakers, migrants who have taken up the business do not give the same quality as the Goan bakers do.⁶³

3.12 Ancestral Goa Museum, Lotoulim

The Ancestral Goa Museum also referred to as Bigfoot is a privately owned museum by Maendra Alvares, and is an open-air museum that offers a glimpse into the rural life and traditional occupations of Goa. Situated in the village of Lotoulim of Salcete taluka. This is a place where Goan traditional occupations are shown in the form of Art sculptures. This museum gives both the

⁶² Seby Cardozo, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, January 20, 2024.

⁶³ Fr Andrew Periera, personal interview by sanaya Fernandes, January 20, 2024

locals and the tourists a piece of ancient Goa or Goa before modernization. The theme here is to convey the traditional occupations of Goa that have almost vanished, the younger generation will no longer have access to see these occupations in person but rather will have to see them at places like these.

Sadly, in today's world, traditional occupations do not have the same meaning, there is the use of modern equipment, and the new generation does not want to take up the traditional occupations. The Goan *poder* who was once and still is an essential part of the Goan society is unfortunately seen in this museum today (Fig 2.16). Due to modernization, the traditional occupation is battling to retain its business. Migrants have taken up the business due to which the bread and the bakers have lost their authenticity.

The bakery culture started by the Portuguese in Salcete reflects a changing scenario today, which is influenced by various factors. The *poder* no longer wear the same outfits they wore before, today they work wearing modern-day clothes such as t-shirts and 3/4th pants, and sometimes they are also seen wearing an apron.

The common problem of replacing the traditional *form* has been proven to be an issue often leading to the closure of these bakeries as the firewood required for the furnace is not easily available and whatever is available has to be brought from the neighbouring states. Bakeries today have adapted to modern trends and consumer demands, for which there is a need for advanced equipment and technology. Some traditional bakeries may find it difficult to invest in these upgrades.

Globalisation is another factor affecting the Goan bakery culture, the younger generation wants to try new international cuisines and desserts which has affected the traditional bakeries that

focus on local delights, now these bakeries are forced to introduce innovative ideas to continue the business⁶⁴. While there are a few bakeries who are continuing the business in its traditional manner. Due to urban development, there is a lot of chaos caused between the bakery owners and the residents, even though these bakeries have been there for almost a century⁶⁵. Some owners find it easier to shut down operations than move to a new location.

The next generation of the *poder* is hesitant to continue the family businesses, due to taking up higher education or alternative career paths. The dedication required to run a bakery is very challenging. The lack of successors is another factor leading to the extinction of the traditional occupation. Economic factors such as rising costs of ingredients, and labour, have also impacted the bakery culture⁶⁶.

The *poder* or the delivery boy who was once the first person in the morning who would go from house to house with the basket on his head⁶⁷ slowly was replaced by a basket fastened to the bicycle and now on scooters to sell the bread, before but today there are only a few who continue to provide while many have opted for selling bread and other products either in a shop or standing in one place at the junction (Fig 2.17 & 2.18)

The *Poderachem Fest* is an annual gathering where the busy *poders* from all over Goa come together for an eucharistic celebration. There is the blessing of bread and after mass, there is a small celebration where the bakers meet each other and share their hardships with fellow bakers and sometimes even have discussions regarding any ongoing issue.

⁶⁴ Joaquim Santan Fernandes, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, December 7, 2023.

⁶⁵ Anonymous, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, December 2, 2023.

⁶⁶ Reginaldo Antao, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, October 30, 2023.

⁶⁷ Gracias, *Cozinha de Goa*, 34.

The rich bakery culture in Salcete Taluka stands as evidence of the hard work and dedication of the past bakers and the present generation of bakers who are keeping the bakery culture alive by continuing the family-owned business. Even though the Bakery culture started from the Salcete Taluka there are only a few traditional bakers in Salcete today. The journey of bakers is very difficult as they have to work throughout the day with very minimum hours of sleep, which affects the overall health of the bakers. The hard work of the bakers goes unnoticed and they often have to listen to the complaints of the customers regarding the size of the bread. Many bakers also say that people want the best quality of food items at a reasonable price. The traditional bakers do not compromise on the quality of the bread but rather they choose to make bread of smaller sizes.



(Fig 2.1)
Electric mixer used for kneading of the
dough
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 2.2)
Mr. Godinho holding a bottle of
toddy
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 2.3)
The bakery house having both traditional and
electric ovens.
PC: Sarah D'souza



(Fig 2.4)
Woodfired oven at the Gomes bakery.
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 2.5)
Migrant worker at the bakery.
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 2.6)
Members of the family working at the bakery.
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 2.7)
Ramblers placed near Sirlim Bakery.
PC: Janely Martins



(Fig 2.8)
Lacarda Bakery Deussua.
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 2.9)
Jila Bakery, Ambora
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 2.10)
Jila Bakery's specialty Eclairs.
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 2.11)
Anjona Bakery, Betalbatim.
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 2.14)
Cedric Bakery, Chichinim.
PC: Janelly Martins



(Fig 2. 13)
Masterchef Victoria Bakery, Majorda.
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 2.14)
Electric oven at Masterchef Victoria bakery
Majorda.
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 2.15)
Nicolau Bakery Raia.
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 2.16)
The *poder* diorama at Ancestral Goa
Museum
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 2.17)
Poders bicycles lined at the Margao junction.
 PC: Sanaya Fernandes



Fig (2.18)
Poders bicycle lined at the Nuvem Junction.
 PC: Elvira D'Costa

CHAPTER 4

BAKERIES IN THE TISWADI TALUKA

Tiswadi Taluka formally known as Ilhas, is in the district of North Goa. when the Portuguese arrived in Goa Tiswadi was the first taluka to be annexed. Tiswadi in Konkani refers to the thirty settlements of the Gaud Saraswat Brahmanas who migrated to go and settled thereafter. Goa's capital Panjim comes in the Tiswadi Taluka and has been one of the most active talukas in terms of its cultural aspect. Tiswadi taluka is known for its rich heritage. Soon after the bread-making occupation spread across Goa, bakers from Salcete set up bakeries and made a home in different parts of Goa. Tiswadi was one of the talukas that even today has many traditional *poders*, as well as some people started baking after imitating their owners or have even taken qualification in the field of baking. Today, Tiswadi has more traditional bakeries compared to Salcete. The bakery culture in Tiswadi is also changing.

4.1 Jacob Bakery, Santa Cruz

Currently, the bakery is run by Mr. Dolton Coelho and Lucas Coelho, this tradition has been passed down through generations, representing the fifth generation in the family business. This bakery exclusively makes bread, the bakery is located in Santa Cruz, Tiswadi. However, the exact establishment year remains unknown. The operational aspect of the bakery involves a rotation system, where ownership alternates every four months. This tradition has been followed by previous generations. The owners are originally from Betalbatim, Salcete. One partner resides

in a flat near the bakery, ensuring closeness during their turn in managing operations. Meanwhile, the other partner returns to Betalbatim once the term ends. When it's their turn to run the bakery, they temporarily reside in a room within the bakery house.

The bakery currently employs two non-Goan workers and operates in two shifts. Preparation for baking begins late at night to ensure fresh bread for sale in the morning. The first baking shift starts at 7 am, followed by the second shift at 5 pm. The bakery provides door-to-door delivery, using scooters, and also supplies to regular customers such as in hotels and educational institutions such as schools and colleges. A recent addition to operations includes the introduction of an electric mixer, which has significantly resulted in reducing the time and effort required for kneading compared to the previous manual process. Despite this modernization, the bakery continues to use a traditional wood-fired oven for baking (Fig 3.1). The owners have refrained from introducing a mechanized oven due to customer preferences. Customers are fond of the authentic taste of bread baked in a wood-fired oven. However, a challenge has emerged with constructing a building directly behind the bakery (Fig 3.2). The builder is advocating for the bakery's demolition, citing concerns about the bakery obstructing the view of the building and causing air pollution. While the builders are willing to compensate and provide a new shop in the next building, the bakery owners are hesitant. The owner believes that relocating the bakery would result in a loss of business, given its prime location on the main road, which facilitates easy access for customers. Coelho says the next generation may not continue the business, as they are currently working abroad. This might be the last generation in the family-run business.¹

¹ Dolton Coelho, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, December 5, 2023.

4.2 Antonio Periera Bakery, Taleigao

This bakery is situated in the lush green fields of Maddar waddo, Taleigao in Tiswadi taluka, away from the busy city, but this was not always the case. The bakery was placed on the main road of Caranzlem. The owner Mr. Antonio Periera has continued his family-run business, he is originally from Colva Salcete, and to set up a bakery his ancestors had shifted to Caranzalem and have been living here ever since. The exact year of establishment is not known but the business has been carried out for more than 100 years however since 2002 was shifted to its new location. Before shifting the bakery was run on a rotation system but now it is run by a single owner.

Today, the old bakery house is only used for selling bread. The bakery had to stop its functioning at the old location as a new building had come up due to which the bakery had to be shifted. The owner says the government is encouraging them to take up electric ovens yet, they are not willing to set up an electric oven as they are used to baking in the woodfired oven (fig 3.3) and the customers prefer the traditional oven-baked bread. The baking here is done in three shifts, the preparations start at 1 pm, 5 pm, and 8 pm. The firewood used for baking is brought from Karnataka, in truckloads. As this bakery is situated in the interior of Taleigao, they do not face many interruptions from the government and the neighbours regarding pollution norms at the new location. Mr. Periera says the quality of flour they got before was very good but today it is not the same. The workers at this bakery are non-Goan, the owner and his wife have to work full-time in the bakery. Mr Periera says they face problems regarding the workers here as they do not want to work in such an environment because they have hardly any time to rest or go out. In the future, the bakery owner wishes to introduce cakes and other products if they get good workers. Periera adds

his children do not have much interest in continuing the business, as it is very difficult to look after the bakery, the workers also need to be supervised, or else they do not work effectively.²

4.3 Mr. Baker 1922, Panjim

This bakery is a century-old bakery, situated opposite Jardim Gracia de Ortha in Panjim (3.4). The bakery was started by Mr. Pedro Vincent Vaz at Moira. The bakery would bake different types of bread, biscuits, and toast while it was situated at Moira. Vaz was also a trader; he would import flour and other bakery ingredients from outside Goa and then supply them to bakeries all over Goa. Later the Bakery was shifted to Panjim by Mr. Valentino Vaz who is the son of the founder. It was only when the bakery was shifted to Panjim it got its formal name ‘Mr. Baker 1922’. The bakery is currently run by Nenette Fernandes the granddaughter of the founder. Before Fernandes took over the bakery operations all the production was looked after by her late mother Mrs Delia Vaz.

The bakery has been serving Goan sweets and snacks, has stuck to its authentic Goan menu, and has not modernized with the changing trends. The bakery has been known for its delicious delights such as the Goan specialty Bebinca, *Bathk*, *Dodol*, and others. The Bebinca here is made in both woodfired as well as electric ovens (Fig 3. 5). The production of the baked goods takes place at Pilerne while there is a kitchen in the shop where the snacks and hot beverages are prepared. The owner proudly says that the rum balls at the bakery are the best in all of India. During the summers the bakery also keeps stock of the season's fresh cashew *niro* (Fig 3.6). Lately,

² Anthonio Periera, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, December 1, 2023.

Fernandes' son has also joined his mother in running the bakery, he introduced the Goan *chorizo* samosas to the bakery's menu, the bakery is in this fourth generation.³

4.4 Confeitaria 31 de Janeiro, Fountainhas

This bakery was established on 31st January 1930 in the UNESCO World Heritage site of Fountainhas (fig 3.7). It is a family-owned bakery the present owner is Mrs. Gletta Mascarenhas, she is the daughter-in-law who has continued the business of her father-in-law Mr Andrew Mascarenhas. She is a certified baker; she has taken up her degrees from well-established institutions from abroad. Currently, this is the third generation in business. They live in the nearby ward of Sao Tome.

The work starts at 4 am every day. Over the years the bakery has undergone a lot of changes in its interiors, the seating space was never there before it is only recently that the seating area was opened otherwise it was just open for takeaways with the counter space and the bakery area inside. They have continued using the woodfired oven, which makes it special, the traditional way of baking that attracts tourists and keeps them amused. Their food is different from the other bakeries around. Even though this bakery is situated in a congested area, neighbouring it there are private residential houses many of which have a common wall yet the bakery has managed to attract locals as well as tourists. This has happened because of the settlement in this area which was unplanned. This bakery serves a wide range of confectionery items, such as authentic Goan sweets, pastries, patties, etc.

³ Nenette Fernandes, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, December 21, 2023.

The owner finds joy in the lively atmosphere surrounding the bakery during the final days of Lent. The owner enjoys spending time carefully forming dough into consistent balls to bake in the oven, even if her schedule is demanding. A cross made out of flour paste is used to decorate the bun, representing the cross on which Christ died, it is placed on top of each bun. The bun is distributed during the Maundy Thursday mass to celebrate the last supper of Jesus with his disciples. Mascarenhas says, ‘The spices in hot cross buns are supposed to symbolize the spices used to embalm Christ following his crucifixion.’⁴

4.5 Café Central, Panjim

This bakery situated in the busy city of Panjim (Fig 3.8) was founded by Mr. Atmaram Gaitonde in the year 1933. In the past cakes and patties were baked and they also served *bhaji-puri* eventually, they made many items such as biscuits, samosas, etc. During the initial years of the bakery which was situated near the Municipal Garden in Panjim. While the bakery was at its previous location it provided seating to the customers. The bakery attracted customers including the Portuguese officials.

Later in 1971, the bakery was relocated to its current location. Here the bakery saw a huge shift in its operations. The bakery added more items to its menu and even have a separate section for *mithai*. Today the bakery sells some unique items such as corn patties, cheese *rissois*, and paneer rolls. The bakery also sells coconut oil, pure ghee, pickles, *farsan* and even has a separate counter for *matai*.

⁴ “The Humility of the Hot Cross Buns,” O Heraldo, accessed on February 18, 2024. <https://www.heraldgoa.in/Cafe/The-humility-of-the-Hot-Cross-Bun/203418sons of the founder>.

Currently, the bakery is run by Mr. Abhijeet Gaitonde and his partner Mr. Kedar Bandekar, they are the grandsons of the founder. The production of the snacks and baked goods takes place in a unit beside the bakery shop. The production starts early morning at 6 am with the baking of bread, cake, and snacks. The snacks at the bakery sell out soon after the opening. The owners of the bakery face problems in finding skilled labour as people now do not want to work in bakeries as it is a lot of work. The price of raw materials has also risen which is also a major factor affecting the bakery operations.

4.6 Old Bakery, Ribandar

The bakery was founded in 1947, it is situated in the narrow street of Patto-Ribandar in Tiswadi Taluka. Mr. Paulo Gonsalves laid the foundation, and today, the bakery is under the ownership of Mrs. Alzira Gomes and Mrs. Paula Gonsalves. This bakery observes a rotation system lasting four months. This system is passed down through the years.

The unique thing about this bakery is, that this bakery today is looked after by the daughters of the family as they did not have any male heirs. In the past, there used to be three workers who were Goans, they would first bake and then go around with the bicycles. But today there is only one worker who is a non-Goan. They no longer provide door-to-door services due to lack of workforce. They make use of the electric mixer for the kneading while the baking is still done in the woodfired oven (Fig 3. 9). Before the kneading was done manually in a huge tub-like structure. The other family members also equally help in the making of these breads. Alzira's mother Mrs. Tomazina Gonsalves despite old age takes a keen interest in keeping the family tradition alive, she

occasionally helps in the process of making the age-old traditional bread.⁵ Alzira's daughter Shaeen Gomes has been trying to preserve the age-old family occupation and wants to change the perspective of people towards the humble *poder*. Shaeen hosts interactive sessions where a group of people is taught the basics of bread making and the different types of shapes of bread.⁶

The Old Bakery has also been featured in '*Bread and Belonging*' which is an excellent documentary by Sonia Filinto, showcasing the Goan tradition of baking. Through this documentary, the near-extinct Goan occupation is explained beautifully. There are three different situations shown, one is the Traditional Goan baker where Alzira and her family are seen struggling to find good labour to work at the bakery, the second is how the migrants have made a living out of something they had never tried before until they came to Goa, and the third is the *poderachem fest*, at Succour village where one of the organizers is trying his best to get the *suricho pao* to the festival. The documentary also highlights the migration of the Goans and the next generation of *poders* moving out of Goa for better prospects of life. The existing *poders* trying to meet the end with the minimum price fixed by the government while the hike in the price of raw materials and the difficulties they face in finding skilled labour. The migrants not just taking up the traditional business but also changing their diet as it is more economical than other food items.⁷

⁵ Alzira Gomes, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, December 8, 2023.

⁶ Emma, Ryan. "The Lost Art of Goan Bread Making." Accessed on February 18, 2024.
<https://yesterdayscurry.substack.com/p/the-lost-art-of-goan-bread-making>

⁷ *Bread and Belonging*, directed by Sonia Filinto (2018; Bangalore, Street Katha, 2020), Vimeo.

4.7 Marita Bakery (ICM Food), Divar

This bakery on the island of Divar has been in business since 1973 (Fig 3. 10). It was established by Agapito Menezes, who is from Divar itself. Menezes has not got any formal culinary training; he says he was fascinated by his uncle who worked at Hotel Mandovi as a chef. However, Menezes learned baking techniques from his friends and neighbours. Menezes is also the President of the All Goa Bakers Association. During Rane's era, there were schemes for small-scale businesses, wherein we had to register as small-scale businesses to avail of a 60% subsidy on machinery says Menezes.

The owner also mentions that they were the first in Goa to get the Canon rotary or revolving oven (fig 3.11), an oven that can easily accommodate up to thirty-six trays. This bakery was also the first in Goa to introduce the selling of sliced cakes says Menezes. Today there are four workers at the bakery, and most of them are non-Goans. The bakery started baking bread and sliced bread later other bakery products were introduced.⁸

4.8 St. Lawrence Bakery, Agacaim

This bakery is situated in the Agacaim market. It was established in the year 1986 by Anthony Vales. This bakery has been serving Goans for the past 38 years, being situated on a busy road and close to Pilar Church it attracts customers from all across Goa (Fig 3.12). Vales had been working in the hotel industry for a long time and after an experience of a few years, he set up his

⁸ Agapito Menezes, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, January 20, 2024.

bakery in Agacaim where he is originally from. Today the bakery has two outlets, one which is in Agacaim and the other in Siridao.

This bakery started by selling various types of bread which included slice bread and other Goan breads. Vales says they were amongst the first few to start selling sliced bread in Goa when it was not very common. Gradually there was the introduction of other Goan baked sweets and snacks. initially, the bakery had a traditional furnace but now it is replaced by an electric oven and other modern machinery.

This is a family-run business today as the other members of the family help in operating the business. Vales mentions that his children have taken up this as a profession and help in continuing the family business. Vales also adds that they are famous because they have been in business for almost four decades.⁹

4.9 St. Francis Bakery, Old Goa

This is a *padaria* situated in Old Goa (Fig 3.13), established by Mr. Manuel Caetano Fernandes in the year 1971. The owner's parents were into the fishing business. Fernandes used to work for a bakery in Ribandar before starting a business of his own. Hailing from Betalbatim Fernandes came to Ribandar in search of work, he worked at a bakery in Ribandar for a few years where he learned the skill of making bread while working in Ribandar he would come to deliver bread at Old Goa, he asked one of the residents to give him a small piece of land to set up a bakery.

⁹ Anthony Vales, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, February 18, 2024.

In the beginning, when Fernandes started the business, he would bake less bread. Gradually he started supplying to the nearby houses, and later even houses towards the end of Old Goa, when there was more demand, he had to set up one more bakery house (Fig 3.14). At present, there are five workers out of which only one is a Goan. Today Goans do not want to take up the bakery business as it is a tough job and many have moved out of Goa to earn a living says Fernandes. There is not much profit in this business today as the workers have to be paid and the basic amenities have to be provided to the workers such as food and accommodation. The raw materials have to be bought; it is difficult to manage as the bread is sold at Rs 5. A few years back the bakery made use of a mechanized oven, it worked on a gas cylinder, and it would require per day one cylinder which was not economical, the monthly expenditure of the cylinders itself would come up to Rs 30,000, plus other raw materials, whereas a truckload of firewood is sufficient for a month and it cost somewhere around Rs 18,000 to Rs 20,000. The texture of the bread baked in a mechanized oven was not the same as traditionally baked bread. Working in a bakery is hectic, the workers do not get enough sleep, the process starts late at night and the bread is ready by early morning, then the boys have to go around cycling to sell the bread, says the owner.

Fernandes discusses the then Chief Minister, late. Manohar Parrikar, in 2013, acknowledged the presence of several migrants managing bakeries in Goa, expressing concern over the potential impact on the region's heritage. He emphasized the importance of safeguarding this business and encouraging the local youth to practice the business and continue the Goan tradition. Parrikar announced plans to collaborate with the Bakers Association to develop a subsidy for this purpose, highlighting the necessity for modernization within the industry but unfortunately, this never happened.

Fernandes has two children; his daughter is a teacher while his son is a trained pastry chef settled in the UK and has no intentions of carrying out the bakery business. The owner has decided to give the bakeries to two of his most loyal workers in the future. One is a fellow Goan while the other is from Karwar, they have been working with the owner for more than a decade.¹⁰

4.10 Kishore Bakery, Corlim

This bakery is situated away from the busy streets of Corlim, it was established by the brother of the present owner Kishore Gaonkar in the year 1981. The owners are originally from Khandola-Marcel. The brother of the owner used to work at a bakery in Cumbharjua, and after gaining experience he set up his bakery in Khandola in the mid-1970s. They would have to cycle to Corlim to deliver bread. That is when they thought of shifting the bakery to Corlim itself. After the bakery was established the other two brothers also got into the bakery business.

Today, there are four workers at the bakery all are non-Goans, and finding a good workforce is very difficult, if they are left unsupervised, they don't work properly. After the lockdown was lifted, the bakery was kept closed as there were no workers. The owner's brother is not keeping well so now Kishore Gaonkar the younger brother of the bakery's founder has taken the leadership along with his younger brother. When asked about Hindu brethren consuming bread during religious occasions Gaonkar says that was followed in the past, now people have been modernized and they do consume bread even during religious occasions, however, the bakery is shut only during Ganesh Chaturthi.

¹⁰ Manuel Caitano Fernandes, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, January 21, 2024.

“We had invested in all the required machinery such as the electric oven and generator but the bread does not turn out the same as the one baked in the *for*n”, says Gaonkar (fig 3.15). The firewood is obtained from Sawantwadi in truckloads. In the future, the bakery will be shut down as the next generation in the family is not interested in carrying forward the business and we have no plans on selling it out as these types of bakeries are very difficult to look after, says Mr. Kishore.¹¹

4.11 Central Bakery, St. Estevam

This bakery was established in the year 1967 by Mr. Anthony Fernandes’ grandfather. They are originally from Majorda but the family had come to St Estevam to set up a bakery (Fig 3.16). After retirement, the bakery is looked at by Fernandes. Previously his brother was a partner at the bakery but now he had moved out of Goa.

Fernandes says, that making bread is a long process. The preparations start with kneading the dough, then adding yeast, then rolling the dough into balls, then again, the balls have to be kept for proofing, all this is done in intervals of 30 minutes. For the traditional ovens, the heating process takes a long time, they start at 5 pm, and by the time the furnace is heated up, it gets around 10 pm, by midnight the baking of bread starts and by 4:30 am the bread is ready, for items such as *bolinhas* require very less heat hence it goes in towards the end. In case of emergency, the bakery has a mechanized oven but it is not usually used, only when there is a last-minute order, the electric oven is used. This is because the owner prefers to bake the bread traditionally as the taste is more authentic. The workers at the bakery are migrants working for the past fifteen to twenty years along

¹¹ Kishore Gaonkar, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, January 21, 2024.

with their families. Fernandes says no Goans want to work in a bakery now. Firewood is very expensive, a truckload costs around Rs. 25,000 which is sufficient for more than a month. Fernandes also mentions that earlier they would bake around six thousand breads but now they only bake three thousand breads due to the rising cost of raw materials and less customer demand.

The owner has two sons, who do not have much interest in continuing the family-owned business. However, one of his sons has done a course in food production so he might someday open his restaurant. Fernandes says Goans should continue with their traditional occupations as there is a lot of scope with dedication and hard work. He also adds that there is not much scope in interior villages, if one wants to extend their business by introducing various Goan delights then it is a must to start from a city, as there are very less people and they do not want to spend money, in villages selling bread is profitable but no other baked goods.¹²

4.12 J. B Bakery and Stores, Mala

Late Mr. Joao Baptista Gonsalves popularly known as J.B Gonsalves, hailing from Colva. Salcete. Late Gonsalves established a bakery in Mala, Panjim (3. 17). Gonsalves was a former MLA of Panjim, and even though he was involved in politics, ran his bakery by himself. He also fought for the cause of Goan Bakers with the government. Gonsalves' bakery was famous for the *pokshe* which is the most popular type of bread consumed in the locality.¹³ However today this bakery has been leased out to a migrant who sells various food items from his native state as well as other food items such as *mithai*, ice creams, chips, biscuits, etc.

¹² Anthony Fernandes, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, January 22, 2024.

¹³ Perviz, De Souza, "Losing the Big Slice." *Goa Today*, June, 1987. 14.

4.13 Cremeux, Panjim

Cremeux is a bakery company which was established by Mr. Vincient Dias in the year 2006. Dias started baking from his home in Santa Cruz, Panjim (Fig 3.18). Dias is a pastry chef and after graduating from the Oberoi Centre of Learning & Development in New Delhi has worked at many five-star hotels in India, Maldives, and Dubai. After gaining the required experience Dias started baking from his home and today has outlets across Goa with four outlets in Tiswadi and three in Salcete Taluka. The production takes place at a unit in Corlim industrial estates, where more than 50 workers are employed and the production goes on for 24 hours. They specialize in the production of Bread, cakes, pastries, and many other items including pizzas. The production centre has the best machinery and equipment to ensure premium quality fresh goods. At Cremeux they believe in serving their customers delicious food items by using the best quality ingredients. The baked goods are not just sold at the Cremeux outlets but also supplied to various hotel and retail chains. At the outlets, they also provide various offers such as buy one get one free on selected pizzas, and many others, this helps in attracting young customers. Cremeux has taken the Goan bakery culture to another level, this is not a traditional Goan bakery but a modern bakery with Western items on the menu.

4.14 All Goa Bakers Association

The All Goa Bakers Association Founded in the year 1965. Headed by Agapito Menezes as the President, and Bond Braganza as the General Secretary. According to Bond Braganza, the General Secretary of the All Goa Bakers Association, the government's subsidy on sacks of flour, categorized for bakers under three classifications, sees limited utilization. Braganza points this

underutilization to the reluctance of many bakers, who do not get into the matter to engage in monthly paperwork to avail of the subsidy.¹⁴ He emphasizes that compromising on the quality of flour is not an option, as it plays a crucial role in determining the taste of bread, highlighting the difficulty of balancing between the breadmaking process and maintaining product quality in the baking industry.¹⁵ The All Goa Bakers Association (AGBA) reports that over 40% of local bakers have exited the profession, leaving only 1,200 practitioners and many have leased out to the migrants which results in the quality of the bread. According to Bond Braganza, the General Secretary of AGBA, the decline in numbers is attributed to factors such as the inability to embrace modern techniques, an increase in ingredient costs, low selling prices, and stiff competition from sliced bread manufactured by major brands. These challenges collectively contribute to the diminishing presence of home-grown bakers in the industry.¹⁶

The bakery culture in the Tiswadi taluka is slightly different from that of Salcete. The bakeries selling only bread might be facing problems of continuing their business but the ones who have extended their business by adding other bakery products have a better profit. However, Bakeries in Tiswadi face legal issues and often tend to lose interest but individuals such as Dolton Coelho and his business partner (Jacob Bakery, Santa Cruz) have been fighting for the cause of their bakery and serve their customers with a smile.

¹⁴ Bond Braganza, personal interview by Sanaya Fernandes, February 3, 2024.

¹⁵ Nida Khan, "Breaking bread: Traditional pav fights for survival in Indian birthplace Goa." Hindustan Times. Accessed February 18, 2024. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/breaking-bread-traditional-pav-fights-for-survival-in-indian-birthplace-go/story-K9Dltn8DxVkaqcsvygeOWL.html>

¹⁶ Nida Khan, "Breaking bread: Traditional pav fights for survival in Indian birthplace Goa." Hindustan Times. Accessed February 18, 2024. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/breaking-bread-traditional-pav-fights-for-survival-in-indian-birthplace-go/story-K9Dltn8DxVkaqcsvygeOWL.html>

The rotation system is more widely practiced in Tiswadi, which has been followed for generations before it would be brothers who would run the bakery on rotation while today it is the cousins who continue with the system. The rotation system can be hectic if the owner does not have any alternative business as the profits made in four months have to be utilized for the next four months as well because the bakers after their turn is over tend to be mostly unemployed. Bakers such as Antonio Periera from Taleigao have relocated their bakery to avoid interruption from residents and the government.

Even though the cost of raw materials is rising and also the cost of firewood is also not economical and the price at which the bread is sold remains the same which is Rs 5, the Bakers continue to bake the bread in the traditional oven as the taste of the bread is much better than the bread baked in the mechanized oven.

While bakers such as Antony Vales owner of St. Lawrence Bakery Agacaim have shifted from traditional methods of baking, they still attract a lot of customers as they are situated on the main road and they also offer other Goan snacks on their menu, they are amongst the pioneers in Goa to start with the baking of sliced bread which can be stored for a longer time than the bread. Agapito Menezes' Marita Bakery is also one of the bakeries that has shifted to modern machinery but has extended the business by introducing various other Goan items. These two bakeries have their next generation already in business. The traditional practices today face a lot of difficulties yet the bakers try their best to continue the generational business. Even though the next generation might not continue the business the present owners are trying to keep the traditions alive.

Bakers who have opted for modern types of equipment have to face a lot of financial issues as they have to take loans to get the desired machinery. The machinery goes a waste sometimes as

people prefer to buy traditionally baked bread as the flavour of the bread is much better than that of bread baked in modern ovens.

The people of Tiswadi are more into promoting the traditional occupation. As Tiswadi taluka has many antique bakeries and cafes, more tourists want to experience the beauty of Goa, this can have both a positive and negative effect, positive because the history enthusiasts or the ones who have a liking towards the culture choose to visit the bakeries which have a touch of the past. Bakeries such as Confeitaria have kept the traditional look of the bakery and continue with the bakery in the narrow lanes of Fountainhas. The negative effect is that the younger tourists want to experience a better place the new bakeries coming up tend to go to places and bakeries or cafe which are Instagram-able. This demotivates the younger generation of Goan bakers wanting them to start a new and Westernised venture ditching the traditional bakery setup. Shaeen Gomes (Old Bakery, Ribandar) has been trying to promote the Goan bakery culture with a modern touch. There is another individual Alison Jane Lobo from the Tiswadi taluka who has learned the art of bread making through trial and error, she was a regular bread buyer but once the local *poder* stopped coming to her locality this is when she thought of making her bread by experimenting. Lobo slowly developed a skill in bread making, she makes her bread using toddy as the fermenting agent, she says that by doing so the bread retains its authenticity and also gives the toddy tapers a boost to their occupation to keep it alive.¹⁷

Many traditional bakers have leased out their bakeries and given them to migrants to run, these migrants not just sell baked goods or bread but also various other things such as *mithai*, cold drinks, chips, etc. Traditional business tends to disappear replacing it with newer alternatives. The

¹⁷ Basil D'Cunha, "Bread Making Alison Jane Lobo Interviewed by Basil D'Cunha". Posted 2019. CCR TV, 17:50. https://youtu.be/r-Any2SAfVI?si=6dbIloPt_tVwYEG7

next generation of bakers who do not show interest in carrying forward the business will eventually tend to the extinction of the traditional occupation.

Cremeux is one such bakery that has turned into a company today, it has outlets in various parts of Goa. The cozy ambiance and the wide range of options on the menu attract people. The options here are not just Goan delicacies but from international cuisine.



(Fig 3.1)
Building right behind Jacob Bakery.
PC: Avlon Dias



(Fig 3.2)
Woodfired oven at Jacob Bakery.
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 3.3)
Woodfired oven at Antonio Periera Bakery.
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 3.4)
Mr. Baker 1922, Panjim.
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 3.5)

Bebinca made in both traditional as well as electric oven.

PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 3.6)

Cashew *Niro* sold at Mr. Baker 1922.

PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 3.7)

Confeitaria 31 de Janeiro, Fountainhas.

PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 3.8)

Café Central, Panjim.

PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 3.9)
Woodfired oven at Old Bakery, Ribandar.
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 3.10)
Marita Bakery (ICM FOOD), Divar.
PC: Anincia Carvalho



(Fig 3.11)
Rotary oven at Marita Bakery.
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 3.12)
St. Lawrence Bakery & Café, Agacaim.
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 3.13)

Traditional oven at the St. Francis Bakery,
Old Goa.

PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 3.14)

Wood placed in the furnace at the St. Francis
Bakery, Old Goa.

PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 3.15)

Freshly baked bread at Kishore Bakery,
Corlim.

PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 3.16)

Central Bakery, St. Estevam.

PC: Avlon Dias



(Fig 3.17)
J. B Bakery and Stores, Mala.
PC: Sanaya Fernandes



(Fig 3.18)
Cremeux at the owner's house, Santa Cruz.
PC: Avlon Dias

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The bakery culture in Goa took its roots from Salcete and spread to other parts of Goa. The *poder* is very familiar in the Goan society. The bakery culture in Goa is one such element that binds the people together, people from all walks of life consume the humble bread. The European lifestyle in Goa is seen through the bakery products. Initially, the bakeries were set up by the Portuguese to satisfy their own needs but eventually, as the Goans got into the business, the locals started liking the new food item introduced to them. The bread was not consumed by the Hindu brethren previously as they felt it was European and might have a role in the conversion process, but today it is consumed even by the Hindus, however, some still refrain from consumption during festive occasions.

The Portuguese who introduced the art of bread making in Goa are fondly remembered by the elderly people of Goa. The Jesuits were the masters of bread making, they shared their techniques with the *chardo* community of Salcete. The elderly people often use the phrase “*te poder gele, ani te undie gele*”, this means after the Portuguese left Goa along with them the bread also left. The bread that was produced while the Portuguese were in Goa was the best in quality as well as taste. The bakers who have been following the age-old recipes are good enough, they have managed to retain the bread-making process passed down to them by their ancestors.

Urbanisation and modernisation have led to a change in bakery culture in both Salcete and Tiswadi Taluka. Due to urbanisation, many traditional bakeries have been shut down, and the ones still functioning have to undergo a lot of hardships if they are based in cities and if commercial

projects are coming up, the common reasons for the shutting down of the bakery are either because the bakery obstructing the view of the building or due to the emission of smoke which the residents are highly against it due to its toll on the health. However, the bakeries based in villages do not face many interruptions by the neighbouring residents.

The bakeries that have expanded their menu rather than just selling bread are more profitable. As there is more demand for confectionery items. In modern society where both husband and wife work, they do not have much time to devote towards baking or even sometimes for cooking, and even people who do not like to bake, these bakeries come to the rescue, resulting in them having to depend on the bakeries for the Goan sweets and snacks and these bakeries have a wide range of options on the menu almost every day. As there is more demand for confectionery products the bakery owners opt for a seating area to promote their business. In Salcete, bakery owners prefer keeping the shop open even on Sundays as customers prefer to have their breakfast after mass at these cafe sort of bakeries. Cremeux is another classic example which is promoting a cafe culture, having more than four outlets in Tiswadi and three in Salcete.

There are only a few *poders* left who continue making whole wheat *poie*, today migrant bakers, as well as traditional Goan bakers, make use of refined flour to make *poie* and dust it with wheat bran as refined flour is more economical than wheat flour, and also because they do not have to separately knead the wheat flour as it will consume more time. People who are health conscious will always opt for whole wheat *poie* over refined flour one.

The size of the bread is getting smaller day by day, this is happening because the price which the government has fixed is Rs. 5 per bread which is not economical as the price of raw material to bake bread is going higher, for traditional ovens the firewood has to be exported from

neighbouring states the price per truckload goes up to Rs. 25,000. If it is a mechanised oven run on electricity, it is even more expensive same goes with ovens which function on diesel and gas. The traditional oven might not have a future as the firewood is not easily available and new bakers who want to introduce the traditional oven do not get permission from the Government.

Previously the bread seller would walk miles to sell bread, slowly it was replaced by bicycles, and today many choose to deliver bread using scooters, motorbikes to far-off distances, and even four-wheelers if they have to supply in bulk to shops, to the canteens of schools, colleges and hotels. Due to the coming up of new residences door to door service may be difficult to provide hence bread sellers from different bakeries halt at one place, mostly on busy streets.

The workers at the bakeries owned by Goans are mostly migrants from the neighbouring states, they don't like working in such conditions because there is no rest and they also have to cycle to far distances. Some of the migrants who work at these bakeries establish bakeries of their own, where they also sell products that are from their native places. The present generation of bakery owners are facing some serious issues as finding skilled labour is very difficult and also their children do not want to carry out the age-old family-run business. As the children have opted for alternative careers. Many children of the bakers have moved out of Goa and have settled in different parts of the world for better prospects of life. Some have done culinary courses but do not wish to work in bakeries forcing the owners to either lease the bakery to the migrants or a permanent closure of the bakery. Many bakers believe that Goan Bakers should be declared a heritage profession as bakers' children who are educated do not want to be called *poder*. As the baker is not treated the way they deserve, anybody who is not dressed up to the mark is often referred to as a *poder*.

However, in Tiswadi the bakers have taken up initiatives to preserve the generational occupation, individuals such as Shaeen Gomes (Old Bakery, Ribandar), who is trying to preserve her family-owned business and to promote the bakery culture among more and more people, by conducting interactive sessions with history enthusiasts and also those who have a keen interest in knowing about the Goan culture.

Tourism also plays a measure role in the functioning of the bakeries. There are tour guide companies such as Make It Happen and Soul Traveling that have come up promoting Goa's cultural heritage to tourists. These companies take their guest on heritage trails and halt at local Goan bakeries to showcase local Goan delicacies. These companies have collaborated with many local Goan cafes and restaurants one of which is Confeitaria 31 De Janeiro, which is a local bakery based in the Fontainhas. These companies present Goa with a different perspective, promoting Goa's rich cultural heritage and showcasing Goa beyond its beaches. At Confeitaria 31 de Janeiro the guests from these companies are served a welcome drink and they get to explore and try the Indo-Portuguese sweets and snacks. The companies also provide a musical evening to their guest at the bakery.

The Bakery culture in Salcete is towards decline while there are a few bakers who have tried to retain the business even after facing various legal issues many bakers believe that if the bakery expands its menu and offers Goan sweets and snacks there will be more demand and more profit and the future bakery culture will improve.

The All Goa Bakers Association and All Goa Bakers and Confectioneries Association are two independent bodies, while some years back they might have been affiliated with the Government they no longer continue to do so as the government shows no interest in helping the

bakers even though some years back when Goa's former Chief Minister late. Manohar Parrikar had assured them a subsidy on the price of bread but this never happened to keep the bakers in a false hope says Agostinho Gomes, member of AGBA and owner of Gomes Bakery Margao.

The bakery culture in Salcete and Tiswadi are facing similar issues in maintaining the business, regarding various legal matters, in finding skilled labour and who will continue to work at the bakery for quite some time, as many bakers say that the workers do not want to work in the bakery and often tend to run away without the knowledge of the owner. Finding quality firewood is also very expensive and not easily accessible. The rising prices of raw materials are also another factor leading towards smaller sizes of bread. Many bakers who are newcomers in the business do not know the exact procedure of baking often leading to poor quality of products.

However, the bakery culture in Tiswadi is much better than that of Salcete, few bakers from Tiswadi are taking initiatives towards preserving their age-old bakery culture. The government should give a boost to the bakers to maintain the profession and should give the bakers a better status in society for all their hard work and dedication.

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Appendix

Questionnaire

1. Name of the Bakery.
2. How long has your bakery been in operation.
3. Where is the owner(s) originally from.
4. Owner / Co-owners name.
5. Have you introduced any new techniques in your bakery.
6. Does the bakery continue using the traditional oven.
7. What are the problems faced by you due to the smoke emitted by the traditional oven.
8. What is the reason behind not introducing a mechanised oven.
9. What are the challenges faced due to the introduction of mechanised ovens.
10. Does the government support the bakery in anyway.

11. Has COVID-19 affected the business.
12. How have you expanded your business.
13. The labour at the bakery is Goan or are they migrants.
14. Apart from bread what other bakery items have you introduced.
15. What is the future of the bakery are your children interested in taking up the bakery business.