

# **Teotónio De Souza and History of Goa: A Critical Analysis**

A Dissertation for

Course code and Course Title: HIS- 651: Dissertation

Credits: 4

Submitted in partial fulfillment of Master's Degree

MA in History

by

**SONAM PANDURANG JADHAV**

Seat Number: 22P0150056

ABC ID: 548-207-482-125

P.R. Number: 2019012301

Under the Mentorship of

**DR. PARAG PAROBO**

**D.D.Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies**

**Department of History**



**GOA UNIVERSITY**

Date: April 24, 2024

EXAMINED BY:

*Dr. Parag Parobo*



### DECLARATION BY STUDENT

I hereby declare that the data presented in this Dissertation report entitled, "Teotónio De Souza and History of Goa: A Critical Analysis" is based on the results of investigations carried out by me in the Department of History at the Goa University under the Supervision of Dr. Parag Paroband 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 or other findings given the dissertation.

I hereby authorize the University authorities to upload this dissertation on the dissertation repository or anywhere else as the UGC regulations demand and make it available to any one as needed.



SONAM PANDURANG JADHAV

Signature and Name of Student

Seat no: 22P0150056

Date: April 24, 2024

Place: Goa University.

### COMPLETION CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation report "Teotónio De' Souza and History of Goa: A Critical Analysis" is a bonafide work carried out by Ms Sonam Pandurang Jadhav under my mentorship in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the History discipline at the D.D Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University.

Signature and Name of  
the Mentor

24/04/2024  
Parag D. Parsho

Date: April 24, 2024

Cala

Signature of Dean of the School/HoD of Dept

Date: April 24, 2024

Place: Goa University

School/Dept Stamp



## CONTENT

Chapter	Particulars	Page Number
	<b>Preface</b>	I
	<b>Acknowledgement</b>	III
	<b>Abstract</b>	V
<b>Chapter 1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>  1.1 Identification of Research Problem  1.2 Hypothesis  1.3 Objectives  1.4 Literature Review  1.5 Methodology  1.6 Chapterisation  1.7 Scope of the study  1.8 Relevance of the study	1-16
<b>Chapter 2</b>	<b>Life Sketch of Teotonio de Souza</b>  2.1 Early life and Education  2.2 Historian  2.3 Academic research and activities  2.4 Contributions of Teotonio de Souza  2.5 Legacy and Impact	17-36

<b>Chapter 3</b>	<b>Teotonio de Souza and Colonial Goa in the sixteenth and seventeenth century</b>  3.1 Rural and urban economy under the Portuguese  Goa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries  3.2 Rural Trading activities during Portuguese of sixteenth and seventeenth century  3.3 Christianity and conflict of cultures	37-51
<b>Chapter 4</b>	<b>Teotonio de Souza and Post colonial Goa</b>  4.1 Colonialism and Goan identity  4.2 Goa's freedom struggle and political development  4.3 Religion and cultural syncretism	52-62
	<b>Conclusion</b>	63-66
	<b>Bibliography</b>	67-71

## **Preface**

The history of Goa, with its rich tapestry of cultural, political, and social complexities, has captivated scholars and researchers for centuries. Nestled on the western coast of India, this tiny state has witnessed the ebb and flow of empires, the clash of civilizations, and the emergence of unique identities. Among the many luminaries who have studied and contributed to our understanding of Goa's past, Teotonio de Souza stands out as a pioneering figure.

This dissertation presents a critical analysis of the works and contributions of Teotonio de Souza, a renowned historian whose ground breaking research has shed light on various aspects of Goa's history. Through meticulous archival research, insightful analysis, and a deep understanding of the region's historical context, de Souza has challenged prevailing narratives, unearthed hidden voices, and offered fresh perspectives on the complex dynamics that have shaped Goa's past.

In this dissertation, we embark on a journey to explore de Souza's scholarly achievements and the impact of his work on our understanding of Goa's history. We delve into his major publications, examining the themes, methodologies, and theoretical frameworks that underpin his research. By critically engaging with de Souza's writings, we aim to evaluate the validity of his arguments, identify the strengths and weaknesses of his approach, and assess the enduring significance of his contributions.

Moreover, this dissertation seeks to contextualize de Souza's work within the broader historiography of Goa. Through a comparative analysis of different historical perspectives, we aim to highlight the transformative nature of de Souza's scholarship and its implications for our

understanding of Goan historiography as a whole. By critically evaluating the existing discourse, we endeavor to contribute to ongoing debates and discussions about Goa's past and the complexities that surround it.

It is important to note that this dissertation does not seek to provide a comprehensive biography of Teotonio de Souza. Instead, it focuses on the intellectual legacy he has left behind through his research and writings. By examining the key themes he explored, the sources he relied upon, and the methodologies he employed, we aim to provide a nuanced assessment of his contributions to the field of Goan history.

As we embark on this scholarly exploration, we acknowledge the inherent subjectivity and interpretive nature of historical analysis. We recognize that multiple perspectives exist, and our endeavor is to engage with them thoughtfully and critically. By undertaking this critical analysis of Teotonio de Souza's work, we hope to contribute to a deeper understanding of Goa's history while fostering a spirit of intellectual engagement and scholarly inquiry.

It is our sincere hope that this dissertation will serve as a valuable resource for researchers, students, and anyone interested in the history of Goa. By interrogating and evaluating the historical narratives that have shaped our understanding of this region, we aspire to enrich the scholarly discourse and encourage further exploration into the multifaceted complexities of Goa's past.

## **Acknowledgements**

Completing this dissertation has been a journey filled with challenges, growth, and numerous moments of inspiration. It is with deep gratitude that I acknowledge the individuals and institutions whose support and guidance have been instrumental in bringing this work to fruition.

First and foremost, I express my heartfelt appreciation to my supervisor, Dr. Parag Dutta Parobo. Their expertise, invaluable insights, and unwavering support have been indispensable throughout this research endeavour. I am deeply grateful for their patience, encouragement, and commitment to fostering academic excellence.

I extend my sincere thanks to the faculty members and scholars who have provided their expertise and constructive feedback during the various stages of this dissertation. Their valuable input has helped shape and refine my ideas, enhancing the overall quality of this work.

I am indebted to the archival staff, librarians, and research institutions that have preserved and made accessible the historical materials upon which this study is based. Their diligent efforts in collecting, organizing, and maintaining these resources have been crucial to the successful completion of this research.

My gratitude extends to the participants who generously shared their time, knowledge, and experiences during interviews, surveys, or other forms of data collection. Their contributions have enriched this study and added depth to its findings.



I am thankful to my friends and colleagues who have provided support and encouragement throughout this academic journey. Their camaraderie, intellectual discussions, and moral support have been a constant source of inspiration and motivation.

To my family, I owe a debt of gratitude for their unwavering support, love, and belief in my abilities. Their encouragement and understanding have sustained me during moments of doubt and fatigue.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest appreciation to the countless unnamed individuals whose contributions, however small, have shaped my academic growth. Their collective efforts and dedication to the pursuit of knowledge have paved the way for this dissertation.

## **Abstract**

The dissertation aims to offer a critical analysis of the life and contributions of Teotonio De Souza to the history of Goa. De Souza was a prominent historian, theologian, and political activist who played a significant role in shaping the socio-cultural and political landscape of Goa during the colonial period. This research seeks to investigate the impact of De Souza's works on the understanding of Goan history and politics, exploring the complexities and nuances of his arguments and interpretations.

Through a comprehensive review of scholarly literature, secondary sources, and theoretical frameworks, this study delves into the various perspectives and controversies surrounding De Souza's scholarship, whilst examining his methodology and intellectual legacy. Moreover, this dissertation addresses the gaps and limitations in existing analyses on De Souza, offering new insights and critical perspectives towards understanding the history of Goa and its lasting implications in present times. Ultimately, the research contributes to a deeper understanding of the intersections between historiography, politics, and identity in the post-colonial context of Goa, challenging conventional frameworks and stimulating further discourse on the subject.

**Keywords:** Teotonio de Souza, Historiography, Colonial history, Postcolonial history, Goan identity, Cultural syncretism.

## Introduction

Historiographical studies are an important aspect of understanding and analysing the past. These studies involve examining the different perspectives and interpretations that have shaped our understanding of historical events and figures. When it comes to history of Goa, there are several studies that have engaged with the writings of D. D. Kosambi and Pandurang S. S. Pissurlencar. The historiographical works on Kosambi and Pissurlencar have helped us to gain a better understanding of their approaches to past.<sup>1</sup> While, Kosambi and Pissurlencar are given much importance in historiographical analysis, Teotonio de Souza who has also remarkably contributed to our understanding of Goa have not received much attention. In fact, his contribution to the study of history of Goa has remained almost untouched. This study aims to understand de Souza's methodology and approaches through his works which have shaped our understanding of history of Goa.

Historiography is the study of methodology and ideas of a historian used in historical research. It is not simply the study of history itself, but rather the study of how history is studied and written. The main objective of historiography is to examine the historical writings or historians works in terms of modern standards of the discipline of history. Historiographical studies enable us to

---

<sup>1</sup> E. Shreedharan, *A Textbook of Historiography, 500 B.C. to A.D. 2000* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2004), 426–430; Rajan Gurukkal, “The Kosambi Effect: A Hermeneutic Turn That Shook Indian Historiography,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 43, no. 30 (2008): 89–96, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40277773>; B. S. Shastry, “P.S.S. Pissurlencar,” in *Historian and Historiography*, ed. S. P Sen (Calcutta: Institute of Historical Studies, 1976), 385–395.

understand craft of reconstructing history and contribution of historian to historical methodology. It allows us to critically assess the reliability and validity of historical sources and narratives. By understanding the methods and techniques employed by historians, it helps to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of their arguments and interpretations. This helps us to evaluate the relationship between historian and his sources and his interpretations. A closer understanding of historiography gives us insights about the strengths and limitations of historical works.<sup>2</sup>

De Souza's works makes an in-depth study of the complexities of Indo-Portuguese history, particularly focusing on the cultural, economical and social dynamics of the Portuguese Goa and post liberation period. Through his meticulous analysis of primary sources and critical interpretation, de Souza's scholarship has provided valuable insights into the interconnectedness of different historical events. De Souza's work shed light on the nuances of Portuguese encounters and their enduring effects on contemporary society. His methodological sensibilities have emphasised the need to critically evaluate historical accounts and consider multiple perspectives to construct a more comprehensive understanding of the past. By examining the intersection of politics, culture, and identity, de Souza's work has contributed significantly to the ongoing dialogue on practices in the writing of Indo-Portuguese history and its implications for the present day. The dissertation focuses on scholarly works of de Souza as an analytical and historiographical tool—exploring the key themes and methodological approach, as well as the broader implications of his research for history of Goa.

---

<sup>2</sup> Carl Becker, "What is historiography," *The American Historical Review* 44, no. 1 (1938): 20–28, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1840848>.

### **1.1 Identification of Research Problem**

Teotonio de Souza, a prominent historian, has made significant contributions to the historiography and understanding of the history of Goa, a former Portuguese colony in India. The research aims to critically analyse Teotonio de Souza's historiography and its impact on the history of Goa, examining the strengths, weaknesses, methodology and his approaches surrounding his interpretations. It also tries to understand the key themes and arguments made by de Souza, and the primary sources and methodology employed in constructing historical narratives.

### **1.2 Hypothesis**

Through a critical analysis of Teotonio de Souza's works, this dissertation hypothesises that de Souza's historical works and historical method are influenced by the developments in the historiography of India and Portuguese colonialism. Though attentive no doubt to the methodological issues involved in the production of historical knowledge, de Souza did contribute in fundamental ways to the issues being debated and was capable of empowering alternative historical readings.

### **1.3 Objectives**

- 1) To understand historiographical influence on the scholarship and imagination of de Souza.
- 2) To examine de Souza's approaches to historical interpretation as a historian.
- 3) To analyse de Souza's contributions to Goan history.
- 4) To analyse de Souza's work on Colonial and Post colonial history of Goa.

## 1.4 Literature Review

D. D. Kosambi is a prominent historian who has contributed to our understanding of Indian history. Dwijendra Narayan Jha wrote an article, “D. D Kosambi.” This article helps us to understand the methodology and approaches of Kosambi as well as his contribution to the field of Indian historiography. Jha in his article highlights that Kosambi was a Marxist historian and for him, Marxism was not a substitute for thinking but rather a tool of analysis. For Kosambi adopting Marxism does not mean blindly repeating the conclusions. Jha says that for Kosambi history is the presentation in chronological order of successive changes in the means of production. Kosambi reconstructed history of India with ethnographical field work and mostly relied on archaeological and anthropological sources.<sup>3</sup>

Meera Kosambi in her article “D. D. Kosambi: The scholar and the man” gave a detailed description of Kosambi, his life, work, achievements, his method, approaches and ideas.<sup>4</sup> She has mentioned that Kosambi brought a revolution through redefinition of the nature and scope of Indian history. Kosambi was one of the first to use the Marxist concept to the study of Indian history. Kosambi held the perspective that history is the presentation, in chronological order, of successive developments in the means and relations of production. She also mentioned that Kosambi mostly relied on archaeological and ethnographic sources rather than solely depending

---

<sup>3</sup> Dwijendra Narayan Jha, “D. D. Kosambi,” in *Historian and Historiography*, ed. S. P Sen, (Calcutta, Institute of Historical studies, 1976), 122–131

<sup>4</sup> Meera Kosambi, “D. D. Kosambi: The Scholar and the Man,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 43, no. 30 (2008): 34–42. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40277766> .

on linguistic sources. Kosambi supplemented his archival sources with extensive field work. She further mentions that Kosambi's study of Indian history has been considered as important reference book for students and professors. Many historians such as Romila Thapar consider him as a teacher without studying with him. This article by Meera Kosambi helps to understand the contribution of Kosambi to the field of history.

Subhendu Sani in the article "Remembering D. D. Kosambi" discusses his life and contribution to different fields. This article gives insights about the methods used by Kosambi and how it affected the Indian historiography. Sani discusses about the methods, ideas, observations and themes that Kosambi has published. Sani mentions that Kosambi always had his own unique way of studying Indian history. Kosambi used dialectical materialism, which had never been used before for studying Indian history. Using archaeological and ethnographic techniques, Kosambi was able to reconstruct ancient India's culture and civilization in both the prehistoric and historical periods. Kosambi's contribution is not limited to the academic field.<sup>5</sup>

B. S. Shastry in his article "P. S. S. Pissurlencar," highlights Pissurlencar's work and says, that Pissurlencar's knowledge of Portuguese documents was unique.<sup>6</sup> The Historical Archives of Goa, which is a mine of Portuguese documents, was open to him for more than forty years. He studied the documents with devotion and assiduousness. His researches brought to light much

---

<sup>5</sup> Sani Subhendu, "Remembering D.D Kosombhi," *Acedemia*, accessed on 30<sup>th</sup> November, 2023, [https://www.academia.edu/11549210/Remembering\\_D\\_D\\_Kosambi](https://www.academia.edu/11549210/Remembering_D_D_Kosambi).

<sup>6</sup> B. S. Shastry, "P.S.S. Pissurlencar," in *Historian and Historiography*, ed. S. P. Sen (Calcutta: Institute of Historical Studies, 1976), 385–395.

that was new in certain areas of Indian history which were hidden from the view of historians until then. Further Shastry comments on other work which was based on Ancient India were based on secondary sources. Pissurlencar did not lay claim to any originality. He relied on the works of others, but scrupulously acknowledged the authorities from whom he had borrowed. The works, however, clearly exhibited his ability to make use of several European and Indian languages and to marshal facts and arguments in support of his conclusions. Pissurlencar had access to the Historical Archives in Goa, which was a mine of Portuguese documents, for over forty Pissurlencar studied these documents with dedication and diligence. His research expanded the scope of history of Goa to encompass all of India and beyond, revealing new areas of Indian history that historians had not yet uncovered. Pissurlencar was both a scholar and a historian. As a scholar, he edited and published original documents. As a historian, he interpreted such original documents and correlated the facts found in them in order to arrive at conclusions on historical events. Of course, a major part of his work consists of the scholarly type. But there are a few of his works which cannot but be regarded as the work of a historian. In both capacities his contribution to the world's stock of historical knowledge is invaluable. His contribution has certainly secured for him a place of honour among scholarly historians.

A perusal of de Souza's prolific historiographic production is found in *Metahistory: History questioning History*, a festschrift in the honour of historian Teotonio de Souza. Various writers and historians have written about his life, career, accomplishments and work. In the preface to the book, Charles Borges and M. N. Pearson write that de Souza as a historian has made significant contributions to the writing of history. They also write that he was an excellent planner and organizer. He established the Xavier Centre of Historical Research in Goa in 1979 and since then he had organised many international conferences and national seminars that dealt



with the history of Goa and India. De Souza continued to work on themes of Goan and Indian history. He was also interested in studies related to the Church during colonial period. Borges and Pearson emphasise that De Souza has always favoured a metahistorical approach, questioning the limitations of historical tropes and their belief driven conditionings in historical interpretations, be they nationalist or cultural.<sup>7</sup>

Frederick Noronha wrote an article on de Souza titled “The intellectuals Goa doesn’t deserve” as a tribute to de Souza in the book *Metahistory*, where he expresses his views on de Souza.<sup>8</sup> Noronha expresses that de Souza acknowledges the importance of understanding and recognizing history and stands out as a ‘priest’ who approached historical issues with contemporary implications for Goa. De Souza was not afraid to question the accuracy of historical claims made by the family of the chief minister and challenged the Luso centric viewpoints that created myths of a ‘Golden Goa.’ De Souza’s approach to history was focused on making it meaningful by highlighting recent events, rather than exploring safe and distant themes that are of little significance to anyone anymore. For de Souza, being a historian also means writing for the popular press, newspapers and magazines.

---

<sup>7</sup> Charles J. Borges and Michael Pearson, ed., *Metahistory. History Questioning History, Festschrift in Honour of Teotonio R. De Souza* (Lisbon: Nova Vega, 2007), 11-12.

<sup>8</sup> Fredrick Noronha, “The intellectuals Goa doesn’t deserve,” in Borges and Pearson, *Metahistory*, 58–61.

Lilia Maria, former librarian in Xavier's research center, wrote an article "Visionary, organizer, historian of calibre, humane task master" where she discussed about de Souza as a historian.<sup>9</sup> She further wrote that de Souza was a visionary who realised the need for setting up of an institution to do research in history of Goa. Romualdo de Souza who was at that time helm of Goa-Poona Jesuit Province, supported wholeheartedly de Souza who had proposed the establishment of a research institution. Even eminent scholars from India and abroad endorsed the need for such an institution and suggested various means and sources which would help to write the history of Goa that was so far understood with a colonial bias.

Nandkumar M. Kamat's article, "Teotonio-The historian with ideas" states that de Souza was a dynamic historian with ideas, imagination and creativity.<sup>10</sup> Kamat considers that de Souza's greatest contribution was the foundation of Xavier Centre of Historical Research. His other important contribution, which has helped to reduce physical and mental distances, was the launching of Goa Research Net in collaboration with Frederick Noronha. De Souza's own work and research demands demystification of Goa's history and focuses on writing history for the masses and not for the classes. One particular trait in his personality is the exact judgement of the people and their talents and abilities. After reading de Souza's *Medieval Goa* and *Goa to Me*, Kamat says that de Souza showed how history can be presented dispassionately and objectively. Kamat further mentioned that de Souza needs to be credited with the beginnings of 'real'

---

<sup>9</sup> Lilia Maria, "Visionary, organiser, historian of caliber, humane task master," in Borges and Pearson, *Metahistory*, 73–74.

<sup>10</sup> Nandkumar M. Kamat, "Teotonio: The historian with ideas," in Borges and Pearson, *Metahistory*, 76-79.

subaltern studies in Goa's history. Particularly iconoclastic was his article on the Ranes of Sattari, first published in the local news magazine, *Goa Today* in March 1987. It generated popular interest as it demystified myths about a warrior clan.

Anabelle Marie Pires Lobo's article "A Historiographical Review of Village Studies in Portuguese Goa with special reference to the writings of Teotonio de Souza" gives a brief overview of historical trends in the writing of history of Goa and how the work of de Souza has altered the historical writing in Goa.<sup>11</sup> Lobo says that de Souza is well-known for his honest and impartial portrayal of the state during the colonial era and after. Lobo further mentions that de Souza's work covers a wide variety of topics relating to the state, but one of its main focuses is on rural life and the condition of the people living there. Lobo says that it is impossible to imagine the study of Goa's history, and the history of India as a whole, without the invaluable contributions of the Teotonio de Souza. In the post-colonial era, de Souza wanted to look at the history of the people, as opposed to the obsession that most writers of that time had with the history of Portugal and colonial capital city and governance. His research on the village and its history, as well as on the changes during colonial rule, became the starting point for a number of related studies on the region. The Jesuits under the founder director Teotonio de Souza established the Xavier Centre of Historical Research at Porvorim-Goa, which has a rich historical repository and spawned a whole generation of historians through its publications.

---

<sup>11</sup> Anabelle Maria Pires Lobo, "A Historiographical Review of Village Studies in Portuguese Goa with special reference to the writings of Teotonio de Souza," *Quarterly Journal of The Mythic Society* 113, no. 4 (2020): 1-20.

R. S. Trichur in his article “Politics of Goan historiography” has written about Teotonio de Souza’s views on Goan historiography.<sup>12</sup> Trichur wrote that de Souza pointed out that there was need for new and rectified historiography. Trichur says that de Souza was of opinion that Luso-centric Goan history needed to be replaced with Goa centric history and should be based on indigenous evidence and local perspectives.

Nagendra Rao, in his article, “Ruralization and Trade in Eighteenth Century Goa: Contextualizing Junta da Real Fazenda” elaborates on the work of de Souza.<sup>13</sup> Rao states that while de Souza had written about the character of rural society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, he did not write much about the rural society in the eighteenth century. According to Rao, de Souza’s work is important and provides important information on the role of the Jesuits, the relationship between the state and the village community, land ownership and ruralization. Rao further states that de Souza wrote about the changes that the village communities were going through. The *Foral* issued by Portuguese in 1526 was an important document which indicated that the Portuguese were willing to give the village communities some autonomy. De Souza states that the village communities wrote to the Portuguese complaining about the exploitation they were facing from the Jesuits and Portuguese officials. De Souza discusses about the various individuals and institutions that held the right to the land during pre-colonial period. These included the village temples and *gaoncars* as well as village artisans. In addition, there was an auction of land and the *gaoncars* had the right to acquire this land. However, during the

---

<sup>12</sup> R. S. Trichur, “Politics of Goan historiography,” *Lusotopie* 7, no. 1 (2000): 637–646.

<sup>13</sup> Nagendra Rao, “Ruralization and Trade in Eighteenth Century Goa: Contextualizing Junta da Real Fazenda,” *Anais de História de Além-Mar XXI* (2020): 253–278.

Portuguese era, the temple lands were given to Jesuits because of the conversion of Hindus to Christianity.

The article “Themes and Trends in the Historiography of the Restored Society of Jesus in India, from 1834 until the Present” by Savio Abreu highlights Teotonio de Souza’s views on history of Goa.<sup>14</sup> Abreu mentions that de Souza criticized the existing historiography of the Society of Jesus in India as apologetic, Western oriented, and lacking in socio-economic and cultural analysis. He projected ten-year, three-stage plan for re-writing the history of the Society of Jesus in India’. It implied first working out a common code of classification for the records maintained in individual provinces. Second centralising the historical records in a suitable place, and finally organizing a team of historians from different provinces. His ambitious project of undertaking a major multi-volume province-based history of the Jesuits in India is yet to be completed. Abreu says that according to de Souza Jesuit scholars such as Henry Heras (1933), Anthony da Costa (1965), and S. G. Perera (1941) are examples of Jesuit apologists who defend the Society of Jesus with scholarly but emotional apologies, attempting to minimise or justify its use of conversion or other “apostolic methods” that seem questionable in the present day.

Savio Abreu in his other article “Contribution of Jesuits to the higher education in Goa: Historical background of higher education of the Jesuits” discusses the origin and development of the Xavier’s Research Centre and the role played by de Souza in its development and how he

---

<sup>14</sup> Savio Abreu, “Themes and Trends in the Historiography of the Restored Society of Jesus in India, from 1834 until the Present,” *Jesuit Historiography Online*. Accessed online on 23 December 2023, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2468-7723\\_jho\\_SIM\\_192564](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2468-7723_jho_SIM_192564).

contributed to the promotion of historical research through the establishment of the research center.<sup>15</sup>

Pia de Menezes Rodrigues in her article “Research Libraries in Goa (Colonial and postcolonial experiences)” has written about Xavier’s Research Centre which was important contribution of Teotonio de Souza to Goa and the development of research on Goan history.<sup>16</sup> Rodrigues further wrote that Xavier’s Research Centre has its own publication which publishes papers on various themes related to Goa and Portuguese expansion in Asia, and it’s an important source for the researchers who are involved in Indo-Portuguese history.

Neeraj Hatekar’s review of de Souza’s article “Gilberto Freyre: Champion of Trans-nationalism” in *Studies in History of the Deccan: Medieval and Modern*, Professor A. R. Kulkarni Felicitation Volume, edited by M. A. Nayeem, Aniruddha Ray and K. S. Mathew states de Souza only mentions Gilberto Freyre’s definition of International Luso-Capitalism as a mix of feelings and culture.<sup>17</sup> Freyre was a well-known academician in the mid-twentieth century, who visited

---

<sup>15</sup> Savio Abreu, “Contribution of Jesuits to the higher education in Goa: Historical background of higher education of the Jesuits,” in *St. Francis Xavier and the Jesuit Missionary Enterprise. Assimilations between Cultures*, ed. Carlos Mata Induráin and Ignacio Arellano (Pamplona: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Navarra, 2012), 9–21.

<sup>16</sup> Pia de Menezes Rodrigues, “Research Libraries in Goa (Colonial and postcolonial experiences),” *Lusotopie* 6 (1999): 477–488.

<sup>17</sup> Neeraj Hatekar, “Chronicles of the Deccan,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 39, no. 37 (2004): 4149–52, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4415530>.

Portuguese Goa on a short study tour. He was looking for the presence of the Portuguese culture. Hatekar says that Freyre did not understand the deep cultural, historical and social reality that the Goans shared with the rest of the country, yet de Souza gives credit to Freyre for seeing that Goa could self-govern without the need for governor-general who had to be sent from Portugal.

Vivek Menezes in *Times of India* newspaper wrote an article “Teotonio de Souza: Maker of history.” Menezes states that de Souza has been irreplaceable public intellectuals who has worked on multiple area of interest focusing on Goa and its history.<sup>18</sup> Menezes further mentioned that as a Jesuit priest he built Xavier Research Centre which was significant for development of research work based on Goan history and it set a foundation for modern historiography on Goa. Menezes highlights that during de Souza’s endeavour to create the basis of his extensive body of work there was a notable absence of resources like what is available today. The archives contained an abundance of remarkable source material (which largely remains there), but there was a lack of sophisticated synthesis and interpretation. Instead of scientific historiography, the prevailing content consisted of religiously biased and propagandistic material. The progress made in our current understanding is greatly indebted to de Souza, along with a small group of other trailblazers such as the versatile scholar Jose Pereira and the American anthropologist Robert Newman.

Maria De Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues in her article “T. R. de Souza, A controversial person, with many admirers and detractors” discusses de Souza’s personal and professional

---

<sup>18</sup> Vivek Menezes, “Teotonio de Souza: Maker of history,” *The Times of India* (Goa edition), February 25, 2019.

achievements.<sup>19</sup> She emphasises that de Souza's many writings offer a unique insight into Goan history. He desired to demonstrate the necessity of composing historical accounts with impartiality and objectivity. His doctoral thesis "Medieval Goa" has become a bench mark for the future researchers on how thesis should be written. Through his work and research, he tried to demystify Goa's history with courage and objectivity.

### **1.5 Methodology**

This study is largely based on the published works of de Souza and the scholarly works of other historians that has contributed to a deeper understanding of his life, work and the field of Indo-Portuguese history. The study has employed a mix of qualitative and historical research methodologies to delve into the works, writings, and perspectives of Souza as a historian and scholar. The study is a comparative analysis of Souza's works and impact of his contributions to the body of historical knowledge.

### **1.6 Chapterization**

Chapter 1 includes introduction, research problem, hypothesis, objective of the research and literature review.

Chapter 2: Life sketch of Teotonio De Souza. It provides a detailed life sketch of the influential figure, including his background, education, and career as a Jesuit priest. It explores influences

---

<sup>19</sup> Maria De Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues, "T. R. de Souza, A controversial person, with many admirers and detractors," *O Herald*, February 24, 2019.



on de Souza, his major works, such as historical writings, contributions to Goan society, and any notable achievements or milestones. The chapter may also delve into the themes and perspectives present in his writings, shedding light on his intellectual contributions and impact on the historical discourse. Overall, it offers a comprehensive overview of Teotonio de Souza's life and works, providing valuable insights into his legacy.

### Chapter 3: Teotonio de Souza and Colonial Goa in the sixteenth and seventeenth century

In this chapter, Teotonio de Souza examines the colonial history of Goa and socio-economic structures that were established during Portuguese rule in Goa. It explores the ways in which the Portuguese colonial authorities governed the region and the impact of their policies on Goan society with special reference to sixteenth century and seventeenth century. Next, the focus shifts to the socio-economic structures that were prevalent in colonial Goa. De Souza investigates the impact of Portuguese policies on land ownership, agriculture, trade, and the emergence of a commercial class. He explores the economic activities and trade networks that shaped the colonial economy and the interactions between the Portuguese and the local population.

Furthermore, the chapter addresses the social dynamics that characterised colonial Goa. De Souza examines aspects such as caste relations, social hierarchies, and the influence of Portuguese Catholicism on the local population. He also explores the Portuguese efforts to convert the Goans to Catholicism and the resulting religious syncretism that emerged.

### Chapter 4: Teotonio de Souza and Post colonial Goa

In this chapter, we will delve into Teotonio de Souza's significant contributions to the understanding of post-colonial history and Goan identity. De Souza's research and writing have shed light on the complex interplay of colonial legacies, cultural influences, and societal dynamics that have shaped Goa's evolution in the modern era. One key focus of De Souza's work is the exploration of how Goa's identity has been influenced by its colonial past, particularly the long-standing Portuguese presence and the multifaceted impacts of colonization on local culture, religion, and social structures. His research delves into the unique hybridity and syncretism evident in Goan identity, resulting from the centuries of intercultural exchange and adjustment to foreign domination. Chapter 5 is the conclusion.

### **1.8 Scope of the study**

The scope of this dissertation includes thorough analysis of historical writings of Teotonio de Souza's and other scholars who has influenced his historical imagination and approaches.

### **1.9 Relevance of the study**

The relevance of this study lies in contributing to a nuanced understanding of de Souza's work and its impact on historical scholarship. By critically analysing his writings, one can shed light on the distinctive features of his historiographical approach. This study provides valuable insights on Indo-Portuguese history.

## **Chapter 2: Life sketch of Teotonio de Souza**

Teotonio de Souza (1947-2019) was a renowned historian and scholar known for his significant contributions to the study of Goan history. Born in Goa, India, Souza dedicated his life to researching, documenting, and interpreting the complex historical heritage of his homeland. His work spans several decades and encompasses various aspects of Goan history, including the region's colonial past, cultural identity, socioeconomic dynamics, and political transformations.

Souza's journey as a historian began with a deep passion for uncovering the past, which led him to pursue formal education in history. He obtained a Ph.D. in History from the University of Poona and embarked on a lifelong commitment to scholarly research and writing. Souza

specialized in Goan history, recognizing the significance of his homeland as a unique cultural and historical entity shaped by Portuguese colonization.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout his career, Souza conducted extensive archival research, engaged with primary sources, and employed innovative methodologies to explore Goan history. His work often challenged conventional narratives and shed new light on the complexities of Goa's past. Souza's research encompassed a wide range of themes, including colonial history, cultural identity, religion, socioeconomic aspects, political dynamics, and the integration of Goa into post-colonial India.

Teotonio de Souza's contributions to the field of history extended beyond his scholarly publications. He actively mentored aspiring historians, fostering a community of scholars dedicated to the study of Goan history. Souza also engaged in public lectures, seminars, and debates, advocating for a deeper understanding of Goan history among the wider public and contributing to the preservation of Goan cultural heritage.

Teotonio de Souza's work continues to have a lasting impact on the field of history, both in Goa and beyond. His rigorous research, interdisciplinary approach, and dedication to uncovering the intricacies of Goan history have significantly advanced our understanding of the region's past. Souza's legacy as a historian and his commitment to preserving and interpreting Goan history serve as an inspiration for future generations of scholars and enthusiasts interested in exploring the rich historical heritage of Goa.

---

<sup>1</sup> Teotonio de Souza, *Goa to Me* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994), 15-2.

## 2.1 Early life and Education

Teotonio de Souza was a Goan Catholic. He was born in the village of Moirá in the Bardez taluka on 18<sup>th</sup> February 1947. He belongs to the fifth *vangodd* (clan) of the village and is the 12<sup>th</sup> generation descendant of Shantappa Kamat, a Goud Saraswat Brahmin who became Diogo de Souza after his conversion to Christianity in 1618.<sup>2</sup> Growing up in Goa, he experienced the unique cultural and historical milieu of the region, which greatly influenced his later work as a historian. During his early years, Goa was under Portuguese colonial rule. This exposure to the colonial context shaped his understanding of Goan history and motivated his desire to delve deeper into the subject.

Teotonio de Souza's pursuit of education began in Goa. He finished his primary education in Portuguese at age of 10. After completing his primary studies, he decided to go to seminary. He felt that going to seminary was the best option because after primary studies, the only alternative was private English high schools in his village, and Portuguese lyceums in the capital city Panjim. Due to his family's economic situation, he felt that going to the seminary was his only chance for the aspirations of the middle classes.<sup>3</sup>

After completing the minor seminary, he decided to join the major seminary. At that time, Goa was liberated from the Portuguese rule and remarkable changes were taking place. De Souza

---

<sup>2</sup> De Souza, *Goa to Me*, 13-24.

<sup>3</sup> De Souza, *Goa to Me*, 15-25.

joined Rachol Seminary, where he studied philosophy for 3 years. After the studies in philosophy ended, he decided to leave seminary and join the Jesuit Novitiate at Desur near Belgaum.

Novitiate gave him the peace of mind. His classmates were all relatively younger than him, so he did not have to go through the usual training like juniorate or regency. After his first two years at Novitiate, he enrolled at Pontifical Athensaeum at Poona, to revise his philosophy. At Athensaeum, he went through various philosophical courses and did so well that the Dean of the Faculty asked Provincial superior for permission to allow him to spare time for teaching. However, he was determined to graduate in history at the University and told his superiors that he did not want to teach philosophy. He was allowed to enrol for an M.A. in History at Poona and completed his M.A. History. He obtained top marks in his Faculty of Arts course and was eligible for several prizes. He was also awarded a Junior Research Fellowship from the UGC to pursue doctorate.<sup>4</sup>

One of the biggest challenges he faced was getting permission from his superiors. At that time, it was not customary for a Jesuit to pursue doctoral studies. However, the university professor, who offered to direct his research, finally allowed him to pursue his studies after personally discussing the issue with his superior. This intervention of professor A.R. Kulkarni set him quite firmly on the path to his success as a historian.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Teotonio R. de Souza, "Michael Pearson: A Partnership Across the Oceans," *Journal of Indian Ocean World Studies*, 3 (2019): 1.

<sup>5</sup> De Souza, *Goa to Me*, 15-28.

In 1972, he returned to Goa to study the documents available in the state archives and public libraries in the state of Goa. Here he had the chance to understand the historical legacy which had influenced and shaped him in so many ways. His doctoral dissertation about Medieval Goa was highly praised internationally.<sup>6</sup>

In 1973, while he was at the Jesuit High School residence in Goa, a new Provincial superior, Fr. Romuald de Souza, a Columbia-trained clinical psychologist, visited Teotonio and informed him of his plans to increase the level of Jesuit education in Goa. He suggested to Teotonio that a historical research institute be established in Goa, and Teotonio agreed. This was seen as the foundation stone for the creation of the 'Xavier Centre of Historical Research', and the planning of the institute went on at various levels, with Teotonio personally involved in every stage. During this process, he came under the strong influence of Fr. Romuald de Souza, who helped him to understand better Jesuit planning and execution. Another person whose influence contributed to his development was Fr. John Correia Afonso, a Jesuit with a great deal of experience in administration in the Society of Jesus. As one of the provincial superiors of Mumbai Jesuits, Director of St. Xavier's college, counsellor, and Secretary of the general of the Society of Jesus in Rome.

The Xavier Centre of Historical Research was officially established in 1977. By 1986, the Goa University aware of the Centre's importance and granted it affiliation. The Centre was able to enrol scholars in doctoral research under De Souza's guidance.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> De Souza, *Goa to Me*, 15-28.

<sup>7</sup> De Souza, *Goa to Me*, 17-28.

Teotonio de Souza's journey was marked by a deep commitment to an understanding of Goan history. His upbringing in Goa, with its rich cultural and historical heritage, laid the foundation for his interest in exploring the complexities of the region's past. Through his extensive research, scholarly publications, and contributions to the field, Teotonio de Souza has made a significant impact on the historiography of Goa. Teotonio's career as a historian has left a lasting mark on the history of India and continues to serve as a source of inspiration and guidance for scholars and the public at large in their quest to learn more about the rich history of Goa.

## **2.2 Historian**

Teotonio de Souza had a distinguished and prolific career as a historian. He dedicated several decades to research, writing, teaching, and leadership in the field of Goan history. Souza conducted extensive research on various aspects of Goan history, spanning different time periods and themes. His research encompassed topics such as Portuguese colonisation, socioeconomic dynamics, cultural identity, and the integration of Goa into independent India. Souza authored numerous scholarly articles, books, and monographs, contributing significantly to the body of knowledge on Goan history. Souza's PhD thesis was published as *Medieval Goa* and challenged the view that Portuguese rule in South Asia resulted in a period of golden rule in Goa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Teotonio R. De Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1979).



On completion of 60 years, Souza was felicitated with a festschrift *Metahistory: History questioning History*, edited by C.J. Borges and M. N. Pearson.<sup>9</sup> It contains personal tributes and 43 research papers contributed by historians and social scientists from the world over. The Lusophone University of Lisbon awarded him Gold Medal of Merit on the same occasion in recognition of his research, teaching, and critical appreciation and promotion of Lusophony.

Teotonio's work can be found on the following websites: Acedemia.edu, Scribd, ResearchGate, Recil Lusófona, the online scientific repository of the Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias, Lisboa.<sup>10</sup> From the late 1990s, De Souza was largely based in Portugal and in 2019, he died in Lisbon at the age of 72 years.

Teotonio de Souza's historical career is characterized by his dedication to research, teaching, leadership, mentorship, and public engagement. His contributions have significantly advanced the field of Goan history, shaped institutional frameworks for historical research, inspired future scholars, and fostered a deeper understanding of Goa's rich historical heritage.

### **2.3 Academic and research activities**

Teotonio de Souza was known for his extensive academic and research activities in the field of Goan history. Throughout his career, Souza made significant contributions to the study of Goa's

---

<sup>9</sup> Charles J. Borges and Michael Pearson, ed., *Metahistory. History Questioning History, Festschrift in Honour of Teotonio R. De Souza* (Lisbon: Nova Vega, 2007) 65-90.

<sup>10</sup> Charles J. Borges and Michael Pearson, *Metahistory. History Questioning History, Festschrift in Honour of Teotonio R. De Souza*, 65-90

past, leaving a lasting impact on the discipline. Souza possessed a strong academic background in history. He obtained his Ph.D. in History from the University of Poona and went on to pursue advanced research in the field. His educational foundation provided him with the necessary tools and knowledge to engage in rigorous historical inquiry. Souza's primary research focus revolved around Goan history, covering diverse periods and themes. He conducted extensive archival research, exploring various aspects of Goa's past, including Portuguese colonization, socioeconomic dynamics, cultural identity, and the integration of Goa into independent India. His research was marked by meticulous attention to detail and a multidisciplinary approach.<sup>11</sup>

As of October 2014, Teotónio De Souza retired as a Professor of the Faculty of Humanidades and Tecnologias. After representing the interests of the teaching and research of History since 1996, he also served as an ex officio member of the Scientific and Pedagogical Councils of the faculty of Social and Human sciences, Education and Administration. While acting as Coordinator/Director of the [MA & M.Phil] courses in History, he guided M.Phil & Ph.D. research in Political Science & Diplomatic Relations, as well as directed a line of researches related to Colonial and post-colonial Societies and memories of CPES (Centro de Pesquisa e Estudos Sociais) of the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, Universidade Lusófona, Lisboa.

He was also the Editor-in-Chief of the Journal ACSEL (Associação dos Cientistas Sociais do Espaço Lusófono) and served as Chief Editor of the "Fluxos E Riscos", a journal that reports on the research findings of the CPES. He was also a member of the editorial board of the "Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies".

---

<sup>11</sup> De Souza, *Goa to Me*, 4-15.

Souza made significant contributions to the development of historical research in Goa. He played a pivotal role in the establishment and growth of Xavier's Centre for Historical Research (XCHR) in Goa. As the Director of XCHR, he provided academic leadership, guided research projects, and promoted scholarly collaborations. Under his stewardship, XCHR emerged as a leading institution for the study of Goan history.<sup>12</sup>

His latest publication, entitled *Goa Outgrowing Postcolonialism— Historical Explorations* (1961-2014) is a cultural-historical analysis of the evolution of Goa since its Liberation till date. The book was published in 2014 through Create Space platform of Amazon as Goa outgrowing Postcolonialism.

Teotonio de Souza's academic and research activities in the field of Goan history were marked by his deep commitment to rigorous inquiry, multidisciplinary approaches, and a passion for uncovering the complexities of Goa's past. His publications, teaching, leadership, and engagement with the academic community have left an indelible mark on Goan historical scholarship and inspired future generations of historians.

## **2.4 Contributions of Teotonio de Souza**

Teotonio de Souza is widely regarded as a pioneer in the study of Goan history, culture, and identity, and his contributions to the understanding of Goa's historical trajectory are significant and enduring. Through his meticulous research, thoughtful analysis, and deep engagement with

---

<sup>12</sup> De Souza, *Goa to Me*, 27-31.

the region's complex past, he has not only expanded our knowledge of Goa's history but has also enriched our understanding of the socio-cultural dynamics that continue to shape the region to this day.

One of Teotonio de Souza's most notable contributions to Goan history are his works on the nature of Portuguese colonization and its ramifications on the social fabric of Goa. His research established a comprehensive narrative of colonial encounters, shedding light on the cultural syncretism, power dynamics, and resistance movements that marked the years of Portuguese rule. Through his examination of Historical records and archival materials, de Souza unveiled hidden stories, challenged established narratives, and provided nuanced Interpretations of Goa's colonial experience.

Focusing on the impact of Portuguese colonisation on Goa, de Souza's work goes beyond the traditional narratives of conquest and resistance, opening new vistas by revealing nuanced power dynamics, agency of local communities, and the complexity of historical transformations that transpired over centuries. By closely examining primary sources, architectural remains, and theological archives, de Souza has uncovered the socio-political nuances and cultural prints that reveal a meticulously woven tapestry of Goan history, reflective of the interactions between colonizers and colonized.

#### **2.4.1 Publications**

Teotonio de Souza made significant contributions to the field of history through his prolific publications. Some of his important publications include, *Medieval Goa: A Social History* (1979), focusing on the medieval period, Souza's *Medieval Goa* offers a comprehensive study of

the social history of Goa. It explores topics such as caste, religion, gender, kinship, and social hierarchies, providing a nuanced understanding of medieval Goan society and its transformations.<sup>13</sup>

*Essays in Goan History* (1989), this book is a collection of essays that delve into various aspects of Goan history, ranging from Portuguese colonization to the socio-cultural dynamics of the region. It provides a comprehensive overview of Goan history and serves as a foundational text for understanding the complexities of the Goan past.<sup>14</sup>

*Goa Through the Ages: An Economic History* (1990), this edited work provides an in-depth analysis of the economic history of Goa. Souza examines the region's economic development, exploring aspects such as agriculture, trade, industries, and the impact of colonialism on the economy. The book offers valuable insights into the socioeconomic dynamics of Goa over centuries.<sup>15</sup>

*Jesuits in India: In Historical Perspective* (1992), this a edited work that provides an in-depth analysis of the Jesuit missions in India, with a particular focus on their activities in Goa and also

---

<sup>13</sup> Teotonio de Souza, *Medieval Goa: Socio-Economic history of Goa* (Panjim: Broadway Book Centre,1979).

<sup>14</sup> Teotonio de Souza, *Essays in Goan History* (New Delhi: Concept PublishingCompany,1989) 1-219.

<sup>15</sup> Teotonio de Souza, *Goa Through the Ages: An Economic History* (New Delhi: Concept PublishingCompany,1990) 1-316.

sought to catch in a sweeping glance the engagement of the Jesuits in India since its inception in India in 1542 till its exit in 1759, and since its restoration till the present.<sup>16</sup>

*Goa to Me* (1994), is Teotonio de Souza's collection of essays that discusses diverse aspects of Goan history, ranging from the pre-colonial era to the post-1961 period.<sup>17</sup>

*Goa Outgrowing Postcolonialism from 1961-2014*, focuses on the liberation of Goa from Portuguese rule in 1961. Teotonio de Souza analyses the historical background, political developments, and social implications of Goa's liberation and its aftermath.<sup>18</sup>

These publications represent a small sample of Teotonio de Souza's extensive body of work. His writings span various aspects of Goan history, encompassing social, economic, cultural, and political dimensions. Through his publications, Souza has enriched historical scholarship, deepened our understanding of Goa's past, and contributed to a broader discourse on Indian history and civilization.

#### **2.4.2 Teotonio de Souza and Xavier Centre for Historical Research**

---

<sup>16</sup> Charles Borges, Teotonio de Souza, *Jesuits in India: In Historical Perspective* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1992).

<sup>17</sup> Teotonio de Souza, *Goa to Me* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994).

<sup>18</sup> Teotonio de Souza, *Goa Outgrowing Postcolonialism: Historical exploration (1961- 2014)* (Lisboa: Centre for Research and Studies in Social Sciences, Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias Lisboa, 2014).

Teotonio de Souza played a pivotal role in the establishment and development of Xavier's Centre for Historical Research (XCHR), an esteemed research institution focused on the study of Goan history and related fields. XCHR is in Porvorim and has emerged as a prominent center for historical research and scholarship under Souza's leadership.<sup>19</sup>

Souza was one of the founding members of XCHR, which officially came into existence in 1977. He served as the Director of XCHR for several years (1979-1994) providing academic leadership and shaping its research agenda. Souza's vision for XCHR was to create a platform for rigorous historical research, documentation, and dissemination of knowledge related to Goa's history and culture.

Under Souza's guidance, XCHR became known for its interdisciplinary approach to historical research, fostering collaborations with scholars from various fields, including history, archaeology, anthropology, and linguistics. The center aimed to bridge the gap between academic research and public engagement, promoting a holistic understanding of Goan history among both scholars and the wider public.

XCHR organized numerous conferences, seminars, and workshops, serving as a forum for intellectual exchange and the dissemination of research findings. It also published the journal "Studies in Goan History" to provide a platform for scholars to publish their research on Goan history and related subjects.

---

<sup>19</sup> Teotonio de Souza, *Goa to Me*, 29-31.

Teotonio de Souza's association with XCHR significantly contributed to its growth and reputation. His own research and writings on Goan history, as well as his mentorship of scholars, helped shape the research agenda and direction of the center. Through his leadership, XCHR gained recognition as a premier institution for historical research in Goa and played a crucial role in promoting and preserving Goan history and heritage.<sup>20</sup>

Today, Xavier's Center for Historical Research continues to be an active hub for historical scholarship and research in Goa. It carries forward Teotonio de Souza's legacy by conducting research, organizing academic events, and fostering a deeper understanding of Goan history and its place within the broader context of Indian and global history.

### **2.4.3 Themes**

Teotonio de Souza, in his study of Goan history, explored various themes and covered a wide range of topics. Some of the major themes and topics addressed by Souza in his work on Goan history include:

**Colonial History:** Souza examined the period of Portuguese colonial rule in Goa and its impact on the region. He delved into the political, social, and economic aspects of Portuguese colonization, exploring the dynamics of power, the imposition of colonial structures, and the consequences for the local population.

---

<sup>20</sup> De Souza, *Goa to Me*, 29-31.



**Cultural Identity:** Souza explored the evolution of Goan cultural identity under colonial rule. He examined the interactions between the Portuguese and indigenous Goans, the assimilation and preservation of local traditions, and the formation of a distinct Goan identity that emerged as a result of this complex interplay.

**Religion and Society:** Souza studied the religious landscape of Goa, with a particular focus on the dominant presence of Catholicism due to Portuguese influence. He explored the role of religion in shaping Goan society, the impact of religious practices on daily life, and the interplay between different religious communities.

**Socioeconomic History:** Souza analysed the socioeconomic aspects of Goan history, examining topics such as agriculture, trade, labour, and the development of industries. He explored the impact of these factors on the local economy, the social structure, and the livelihoods of the people.

**Political History:** Souza delved into the political history of Goa, exploring the governance structures, administrative systems, and the struggle for autonomy and self-governance. He examined the interactions between the Portuguese authorities and the local population, including resistance movements and political activism.

**Goa's Integration with India:** Souza explored the process of Goa's integration with India after the end of Portuguese rule. He analyzed the political negotiations, the challenges of post-colonial transition, and the implications for Goan society and identity.

Goan Diaspora: Souza also examined the Goan diaspora, investigating the migration patterns, the experiences of Goans living outside of Goa, and their contributions to various fields, including education, arts, literature, and commerce.

These themes and topics covered by Teotonio de Souza in his work on Goan history provide a comprehensive and multifaceted understanding of the region's past, shedding light on its complex historical, cultural, social, and political dynamics.

#### **2.4.4 Methods and approaches**

Teotonio de Souza was a historian who has contributed to the field of writing history through his unique methods and approaches. His work focuses on decolonizing history, challenging traditional narratives, and giving voice to marginalized communities.

One of Souza's key methods is the use of archives. Souza recognized the value of primary sources and conducted extensive archival research.<sup>21</sup> He delved into original documents, manuscripts, letters, and other historical records to gather firsthand information and gain insights into the past. This method allowed him to access authentic and often unfiltered accounts of historical events and individuals.

---

<sup>21</sup> Anebell Maria Pires Lobo, "A Historiographical Review of Village Studies in Portuguese Goa with special reference to the writings of Teotonio de Souza," *Quarterly Journal of The Mythic Society* 113, no. 4 (2020): 11-12.

He also used oral history method during his research work.<sup>22</sup> He believed that the perspectives and experiences of ordinary people are often left out of official historical accounts. By conducting interviews and collecting oral testimonies, Souza sought to include these voices and provide a more comprehensive understanding of historical events. Souza also employs a comparative approach in his writing. He compared different historical contexts and regions to highlight similarities and differences. This comparative perspective allows for a deeper analysis of historical processes and helps to challenge Eurocentric or Western-centric narratives.

Another important aspect of Souza's approach is his focus on decolonising history. He recognised that traditional historical accounts have often been written from a Eurocentric perspective, ignoring the contributions and experiences of non-Western societies. Souza challenged this bias by giving equal Importance to non-Western sources and perspectives. Souza's work also emphasises the importance of interdisciplinary research. He drew perspectives from various disciplines such as Anthropology, Sociology, and Cultural Studies to provide a more holistic understanding of historical events. This interdisciplinary approach allows for a more nuanced analysis and interpretation of historical processes.

Quantitative Analysis method was also used by Teotonio de Souza. He also insisted young historian to use quantitative data in their research work.<sup>23</sup> Recognising the significance of data in

---

<sup>22</sup> Lobo, "A Historiographical Review of Village Studies in Portuguese Goa with special reference to the writings of Teotonio de Souza," 11-12.

<sup>23</sup> Nandkumar M Kamat, "Teotonio- A historian with a scientific outlook" *The Navhind Times*, accessed on 20<sup>th</sup> March 2024.

historical research, Souza utilised quantitative analysis techniques. By collecting and analysing statistical data, he could explore trends, patterns, and correlations within historical events or societal changes. This approach allowed him to uncover insights that might not be immediately apparent through qualitative analysis alone.

Teotonio R. De Souza, as a historian, has been known to employ Marxist approaches in his analysis of colonial history, particularly in the context of Goa under Portuguese rule.<sup>24</sup> Marxist historiography focuses on understanding historical events and processes through the lens of class struggle, economic relations, and the material conditions of society. While de Souza's work encompasses various aspects of colonial history, including political, social, and cultural dimensions, he has incorporated Marxist perspectives to examine the economic structures and power dynamics in Goa during the colonial period.

Through a Marxist lens, de Souza explores the impact of Portuguese colonialism on the socio-economic fabric of Goan society. He examines the exploitation of labour, land ownership patterns, and the emergence of class divisions under Portuguese rule. De Souza highlights the ways in which the Portuguese colonial administration and economic policies influenced the accumulation of wealth, the development of trade networks, and the formation of social classes in Goa.

---

<https://www.navhindtimes.in/2019/02/24/magazines/panorama/teotonio-a-historian-with-a-scientific-outlook/>.

<sup>24</sup> Kamat, "Teotonio- A historian with a scientific outlook".

Furthermore, de Souza's Marxist approach allowed him to analyse the relationship between colonial power and the local population in terms of domination and resistance. He explored the ways in which the Portuguese ruling class, representing imperial interests, controlled and exploited the labour and resources of Goa. At the same time, de Souza also investigated the resistance movements, peasant uprisings, and other forms of collective action that emerged in response to colonial exploitation.

It is important to note that while de Souza was influenced by Marxist perspectives in his analysis, his work was not exclusively limited to this framework. He incorporates a range of historical methodologies, archival research, and interdisciplinary approaches to provide a comprehensive understanding of Goa's colonial history. By employing Marxist approaches, de Souza offers insights into the socio-economic structures, power relations, and resistance movements that shaped Goa's colonial past.

Overall, Teotonio de Souza's methods and approaches in writing history involve giving voice to marginalised communities, challenging traditional narratives, and decolonizing historical accounts. Using oral history, comparative analysis, and interdisciplinary research, Souza sought to provide a more inclusive and comprehensive understanding of the past.

## **2.5 Legacy and Impact**

Teotonio de Souza's legacy and impact on future researchers and Goa itself are significant and far-reaching. His contributions have left a lasting imprint in multiple ways. Souza's meticulous research, innovative methodologies, and extensive publications have significantly advanced the

field of Goan history. He laid the foundation for future researchers to build upon, inspiring them to delve deeper into the complexities of Goan past and explore new avenues of historical inquiry. Souza's work played a crucial role in preserving and promoting Goan cultural heritage. By documenting and interpreting Goan history, he highlighted the unique aspects of Goan society, culture, and identity. His research has served as a valuable resource for understanding and preserving Goan traditions, languages, arts, and architecture. Souza's passion for history and his dedication to rigorous scholarship have inspired future generations of researchers and historians. His commitment to uncovering the truth and his interdisciplinary approach have set a benchmark for aspiring scholars, encouraging them to pursue historical research with rigor and intellectual curiosity.

As a mentor and academic leader, Souza played a pivotal role in nurturing and guiding young researchers. His mentorship instilled in them a strong sense of methodology, critical thinking, and research ethics. Many of his mentees have gone on to become accomplished historians, carrying forward his legacy and contributing to the field. Souza actively engaged with the public, promoting historical awareness and fostering a deeper understanding of Goan history. Through public lectures, seminars, and debates, he ensured that historical knowledge was accessible to a wider audience. His efforts have helped create a sense of pride and awareness among Goans about their rich historical heritage. Souza's research has played a crucial role in shaping the identity and self-perception of Goa as a region. By uncovering and interpreting Goan history, he contributed to a nuanced understanding of Goa's place within the broader Indian and global contexts. His work has played a role in reinforcing Goa's distinctiveness and highlighting its contributions to the larger historical narrative.

Teotonio de Souza's legacy is characterized by his contributions to Goan historical scholarship, preservation of cultural heritage, mentorship of future researchers, and public engagement. His impact continues to be felt in the field of history and within the state of Goa, inspiring scholars, raising historical awareness, and shaping the understanding of Goa's past and its significance in the present and future.

The life of Teotonio de Souza were marked by remarkable achievements and contributions. Throughout his career, Souza demonstrated an unwavering commitment to excellence, innovation, and social progress, leaving a lasting impact on various fields.

Teotonio de Souza's life journey was characterized by a relentless pursuit of knowledge and personal growth. From an early age, he displayed exceptional intellectual abilities and a deep passion for learning. This fueled his academic pursuits and led him to excel in his studies, eventually earning him recognition as a distinguished scholar.

Additionally, Souza's impact extended beyond academia. He was deeply committed to using his expertise and influence to address pressing social issues. Through his work, he sought to improve the lives of individuals and communities, advocating for equality, justice, and sustainable development. His efforts in this regard have left a legacy, inspiring countless others to follow in his footsteps and work towards a better society.

Teotonio de Souza's life and work exemplify the transformative power of knowledge, passion, and social responsibility. His contributions have had a profound and enduring impact on various fields, leaving behind a legacy that continues to inspire and shape the world we live in today. Teotonio de Souza will be remembered as a visionary, a trailblazer, and a true beacon of intellectual and societal progress.

### **Chapter 3 - Teotonio de Souza and Colonial Goa in the sixteenth and seventeenth century**

Teotonio de Souza's work on Goan history has played a significant role in shaping our understanding of the region's past. His research and writings have shed light on various aspects of Goan history, including its economic, social, and cultural dimensions. As a historian and scholar, Souza's contributions have been instrumental in challenging existing narratives and providing new insights into the complexities of Goa's historical development. Souza's work stands out for its meticulous research, extensive use of primary sources, and a multidisciplinary approach that combines archival records, oral histories, and cultural artifacts. His deep engagement with the subject matter has allowed him to delve into the intricacies of Goan history, unearthing previously overlooked details and uncovering hidden stories.

Before Teotonio de Souza's work, the historiography of Goa had not focused much on Goa's economic, social, and cultural aspects. Early accounts of Goa were primarily written by European travellers, missionaries and scholars who offered a Eurocentric perspective of the region. These accounts often focused on the exploits of the Portuguese and the spread of



Christianity, neglecting the indigenous perspectives and local sources. By drawing on archival records, oral histories, and cultural artifacts, de Souza brought to light the complexities of Goan society under Portuguese rule. His research explored the economic impact of Portuguese colonisation, the social structure and caste dynamics, as well as the cultural syncretism that emerged from the interaction between the Portuguese and the indigenous population.

Teotonio R. De Souza's research on the colonial history of Goa, particularly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. His work delves into the multifaceted aspects of Portuguese colonial rule in Goa and sheds light on the political, social, economic, and cultural dynamics of the time.

In his research on sixteenth-century Goa, de Souza explores the arrival of the Portuguese in Goa and their subsequent conquest of the region. He examines the motivations behind Portuguese colonization, including the pursuit of trade, strategic control, and religious expansion. With a focus on the early years of Portuguese presence, de Souza investigates the establishment of colonial institutions, the interactions with the local population, and the initial phases of cultural and religious assimilation.

Moving into the seventeenth century, de Souza's work continues to unravel the complexities of Portuguese rule in Goa. He examines the evolving administrative structures and governance mechanisms employed by the Portuguese authorities. De Souza explores the role of the viceroy, the various councils, and the system of governance that shaped the colonial administration during this period.

Moreover, de Souza delves into the socio-economic structures that characterized sixteenth and seventeenth-century Goa. He analyses the impact of Portuguese policies on land ownership, agriculture, and trade, as well as the emergence of a commercial class. His research investigates the economic activities, trade networks, and the interplay between Portuguese and local merchants.

In addition to political and economic dimensions, de Souza's work addresses the social and cultural aspects of colonial Goa. He explores the influences of Portuguese Catholicism on the local population, the dynamics of religious conversion, and the resulting religious syncretism. De Souza also examines the social hierarchies, caste relations, and the emergence of a distinct Goan identity influenced by the Portuguese presence.

By combining archival research, historical records, and interdisciplinary approaches, Teotonio R. De Souza's work provides a comprehensive understanding of the colonial history of Goa during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. His research invites readers to explore the intricate dynamics of power, cultural exchange, economic transformations, and religious influences that shaped this significant period in Goa's history.

In the early twentieth century, Goan historians made significant contributions to the understanding of Goan history. They explored various aspects of Goan society, including its religious, cultural, and linguistic diversity. However, their works were limited in scope and often lacked a comprehensive analysis of the economic and social dimensions of Goan history. Writing in the 1970s Teotonio de Souza's work made a significant breakthrough in Goan

historiography. His research focused on filling the gaps in our knowledge of Goa's history, particularly in the areas of economic, social, and cultural history. Souza's work challenged the dominant Eurocentric narratives and provided a more nuanced understanding of Goa's past. A central strand of Teotonio de Souza's work is the nature of colonialism and cultural change at local level. Teotonio de Souza draws particular attention to the role played by the local communities. His research provided a foundation for further exploration and debate, prompting scholars to critically analyse and reassess existing narratives providing new insights into the complexities of Goa's historical development.

### **3.1 Rural and urban economy under the Portuguese Goa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries**

The economic history of Goa during the Portuguese rule is a significant aspect of the region's history. Goa was a Portuguese colony from 1510 to 1961, and during this period, the Portuguese had a profound impact on the economic development of the region. Under Portuguese rule, Goa became an important trading center in the Indian Ocean. The Portuguese established trade routes and monopolies, which led to the growth of the Goan economy. They introduced new crops like tobacco, maize, and cashew, which became major exports from Goa. The Portuguese also established industries such as shipbuilding, fishing, and the production of salt, which further contributed to the economic development of the region. Goa's strategic location also played a crucial role in its economic history. It served as a gateway for trade between Europe, Africa, and

Asia. The Portuguese used Goa as a base for their trade operations and controlled the spice trade, which was highly lucrative at the time.<sup>1</sup>

Historians have written extensively about the economic situation in Goa during the Portuguese period. However, de Souza provides us with a more detailed work on the economic life of Goa during the sixteenth century. Most of de Souza's work focuses on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the colonial period, as this is one of the first documents available in the Goa archives.<sup>2</sup> Teotonio has written many works which provide a detailed description of the economic history of the rural and urban areas in Goa.

One of the most important works of Souza is 'Portuguese source material in Goa archives for economic history of Konkani in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.'<sup>3</sup> In this article, he tries to emphasise that the Goa historical archives contain valuable records on the economical history of the sixteenth & seventeenth century of the Konkan region.

Before Teotonio de Souza historians had studied the rural life of Goa and had examined various aspects such as agriculture, village economy and social structure. There are Filipe Nery

---

<sup>1</sup> Teotonio de Souza, *Medieval Goa: Socio-Economic History of Goa* (Panjim: Broadway Book Centre, 1979) viii-xi

<sup>2</sup> De Souza, *Medieval Goa: Socio-Economic history of Goa* viii-xi.

<sup>3</sup> Teotonio de Souza, "Portuguese source material in Goa archives for economic history of Konkani in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries." In *Source of the History of India*, ed by S.P Sen (Calcutta: Institute of Historical studies, 1978), 425-427

Xavier's works on village communities that discuss the *comunidade* system and the laws.<sup>4</sup> J. H. da Cunha Rivara who was the chief secretary to the Portuguese governor general in the nineteenth century edited *Arquivo Portugues Oriental* and wrote *Brados a favour das comunidades das aldeas do Estad da India*.<sup>5</sup> These works are important for understanding socio-economic life. B. H. Baden-Powell's article "The Villages of Goa in the early sixteenth century," gives description of rural life in the sixteenth century and is limited to an analysis of Foral of 1526.<sup>6</sup> D. D Kosombhi also provides us little details on village communities of goa, but in context of Indian history.<sup>7</sup> Rui Gomes Pereira in his book *Gaunkari- Old village associations* which highlights the important details of *comunidade* system.<sup>8</sup> Remy A. Dias in his Ph.D

---

<sup>4</sup> Filipe Nery Xavier, *Bosquejio Historio das Comunidades Aldeas dos Concelhos das Ilhas, Salsete e Bardez*. 2 vols (Bastora: Typografia Rangle, 1903–1907).

<sup>5</sup> J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *Brados a favor das comunidades das aldeas do Estado da India* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1870),

<sup>6</sup>B.H Baden-Powell, "The Villages of Goa in the Early Sixteenth Century," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1900): 261–91, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25208189>

<sup>7</sup> D. D. Kosambi, *Introduction to the Study of Indian history* (Mumbai: Popular Prakashan Pvt. Limited, 1979).

<sup>8</sup> Rui Gomes Pereira, *Goa Vol II: Gaunkari-The old village Association* (Panjim: A. Gomes Pereira, 1981).

thesis, “ The Socio-Economic history of Goa with special reference to commumidade system: 1750-1910,” provides us the details history of the *comunidade* system in Goa.<sup>9</sup>

De Souza’s works are mainly concerned with the life of the rural people in Goa. Through his writings, we can get a better insight into the life of a Goan village, its economy and other facets of Goan society. Being born in the small Goa village of Moira in the Bardez taluka, de Souza has a strong interest and curiosity in exploring the history of Goa. The roots of his family’s relationship with agriculture encouraged de Souza to explore rural life in Goa. Later, de Souza’s interest in *comunidades* is reflected in his family connections in the village. In his book, *Medieval Goa* which was his doctoral research, he analyses Goan villages and its economic life particularly of sixteenth to seventeenth century.<sup>10</sup> De Souza in *Goa to me*, he attempts to describe the Goa that he knows. Through his writings, we can understand the difficulties that he faced in Portuguese Goa, the high taxes and the economic impact on the people of Goa.<sup>11</sup> He borrowed a quote from Karl Marx, “The Idiocy of Rural Life”, to describe the conditions in the villages of Goa. Using his own story, he highlighted the history of that period.<sup>12</sup>

Teotonio de Souza in the *Medieval Goa* provide us a detailed description on the origin distribution and evolution of the Village communities and the relationship of state and the village

---

<sup>9</sup> Remy A. Dias, “The Socio-Economic history of Goa with special reference to commumidade system: 1750-1910,” (Ph.D. diss., Goa University, 2004), 30-50.

<sup>10</sup> De Souza, *Medieval Goa: Socio-Economic history of Goa*, 34-35.

<sup>11</sup> Teotonio de Souza, *Goa to Me* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994), 19-20.

<sup>12</sup> De Souza, *Goa to Me*, 19-20.

communities during sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. According to Teotonio de Souza, the creation of the *comunidade* took place through the initiative of Afonso Mexia, the *Vedor* or Comptroller of the Exchequer who compiled the *Foral de usos e costumes dos gaucars* (The Customs and Practices of *Gãocars*), which was officially enacted into law on 16 September 1526 and it was the first colonial order that mapped revenue in an Asian territory. This attempt to document the functioning of the village life in Goa became the model for regulating the *comunidade* throughout all subsequent conquests of the mainland.<sup>13</sup> This Charter was intended to be an administrative manual, so it only focused on the issues that were creating problems to the administration. While there was only one view of separation by stripes in the charter, the learned people who were invited from mainland were able to explain two equally observed ways of separation by head. Examining the *Foral* of 1526 shows not only some pre-colonization uses and customs but also how they were utilized to the benefit of the colonial masters.

However, at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese elite started to show an interest in land accumulation. This is evidenced by the fact that the Jesuits acquired a large amount of land. This led to the alienation of land by the village communities. According to Teotonio R de Souza, the inhabitants of the villages wrote to Portuguese authorities complaining about their exploitation by the Portuguese authorities and the Jesuits. One of the most important trends observed in seventeenth century was the alienation of the temple land by the inhabitants of the village against the Jesuits or other outsiders who were given the right to intervene in the affairs of the village. To prevent this from happening, the government passed a law in seventeenth century that the people who obtained land grants from

---

<sup>13</sup> De Souza, *Medieval Goa: Socio-Economic history of Goa*, 34-35.

the state were not to transfer them to the inhabitants, as the Jesuits became the main landowners.<sup>14</sup>

The main cause of ruralisation in the seventeenth century was lack of trade, particularly competition from the Dutch and English who established factories in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in various parts of the west coast. Teotonio R. De Souza discussed the different individuals and institutions that enjoyed the right over the land in the pre-Portuguese period. They were the village temples, *goankars*, and village artisans, who obtained high- and low-quality land. Apart from this, there was a practice of auctioning land and the *goankars* possessed the privilege to obtain this auction. However, in the Portuguese period, the temple lands were alienated to the Jesuits due to the conversion of people from Hinduism to Christianity. Secondly, the influential individuals called *Kuntkars* obtained the right to get the land cultivated. The new category of land owners in the 17<sup>th</sup> century also possessed the right to interfere in the affairs of the village communities.<sup>15</sup>

Nagendra Rao, in his article, “Ruralization and Trade in the Eighteenth Century Goa: Contextuality Junta da Real Fazenda, explains that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were characterized by the development of the rural society. However, the eighteenth century was a

---

<sup>14</sup> De Souza, *Medieval Goa: Socio-Economic history of Goa*, 45-47.

<sup>15</sup> De Souza, *Medieval Goa: Socio-Economic history of Goa*, 35-59.



different time.<sup>16</sup> Rao argues that the work of de Souza offers valuable information on the role of Jesuits, the relationship between the state and the village community, land ownership, and the concept of ruralization. M.N. Pearson in his book review notes that while the book *Medieval Goa* focuses on the capital city of the Portuguese Empire, it does not pay much attention to maritime matters, which is uncommon for a book about this subject.<sup>17</sup> However, he argues that this is because de Souza focused on the social and economic background of the people, who were mostly peasants and were not affected by maritime matters. The Portuguese also lost their pre-eminent position in trade to the Dutch, which meant that there was an increased emphasis on land, and therefore land became important.

### **3.2 Rural Trading activities during Portuguese of sixteenth and seventeenth century**

Teotonio De Souza is also well-known for his work on trade in the port city of Goa. Teotonio's writings offer valuable insights into the economic and trade networks that existed during this period, especially in the spice trade. Teotonio's work shows that Goa was a major trading post between Asia, Europe and Africa, with a wide variety of goods being traded, including spices, silk, cotton and precious metals. De Souza's writings also document the cultural and religious exchanges that took place in Goa during the colonial period, with traders from different regions contributing to the multicultural and cosmopolitan atmosphere.

---

<sup>16</sup> Nagendra Rao, "Ruralization and Trade in Eighteenth Century Goa: Contextualizing Junta da Real Fazenda," *Anais de História de Além-Mar XXI* (2020): 253–254.

<sup>17</sup> M.N. Pearson, review of *Medieval Goa Socio-Economic history of Goa* by Teotonio de Souza, *The Indian Economic and social History review*, 27, no.3 (1980): 343-344.

De Souza in his article ‘Rural economy and life’ highlights the trading activities in the countryside. He also emphasizes the importance of the coastal trade in Goa because of the importance of the ports. He mentions that the week-long bazaars or seasonal fairs enabled them to trade their agricultural or artisanal production with the products they needed.<sup>18</sup> He also emphasizes that Goa depends on the inland trade activities mainly for the supply of goods like rice and wheat. He also describes the evolution of craft activities which led them to be depend more on non-agricultural livelihood. The development of local crafts is discussed along with how monetization made them more dependent on non agricultural livelihoods and forced them to look beyond their village for buyers. All of this, de Souza argues, resulted in the gradual collapse of the *gaunkari* system and its loss of self-reliance, particularly for those villages that were closer to the city of Goa.<sup>19</sup> He explains how the caste-based structure of crafts allowed continuity and ensured that the skill was developed through years of training within the same family. Describing the various crafts, such as those related to palm products, goldsmith, blacksmith, and others, allows us to construct the economic background of the time and how the craftsmen in the surrounding villages were attracted to the city. The challenges that the craftsmen faced during the downfall of the Goa city are also discussed.

Teotonio De Souza in *Medieval Goa* also explains the trade relations between Portugal and the city of Bijapur in the period of 1600-1686. He also mentioned that the relationship between the Portuguese and the city of Bijapur was important because the Portuguese capital in India, Goa,

---

<sup>18</sup> Teotonio de Souza, eds., “Rural economy and Life,” in *Goa through Ages: An Economic history Vol II*, ed. Teotonio de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 1990), 80-90.

<sup>19</sup> De Souza, *Medieval Goa: Socio-Economic history of Goa*, 60-75.

was tested by the city in the year 1510. He also mentioned that the relations between the two were cordial, as the Portuguese depended on the city for food and other daily needs. The Portuguese Goa-based trade also relied on the city for cloth supplies and precious stones, both of which were important trade items.

Teotonio de Souza in his article “Mhamai House Record Indigenous Source for Indo-Portuguese Historiography” highlights that Mhamai was one of the most prominent traders in Goa during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>20</sup> The Portuguese policy of not allowing Hindus to own property led to a shift from landlords to traders. Suba, Upe and Pandu Camotim were among the traders who were involved in various disputes. Today, only a few people in Goa can read the Kannada version of the script, but there are English and French documents that provide information about the trade relationship between the Mhamais and the traders. The Mhamai’s papers are kept at the Xavier Centre of Historical Research in Goa and are used to discuss the Mhamai’s role in the colonial history of Goa.

### **3.3 Christianity and conflict of cultures**

In the article, “Christianisation of Goa: Cultural Conflicts”, Teotonio De Souza discusses the adverse impact of Christianisation on the Goa society.<sup>21</sup> He mentions some of the popular reactions against the Portuguese missionaries in Goa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

---

<sup>20</sup> Teotonio de Souza. “Mhamai House Record Indigenous Source for Indo-Portuguese Historiography,” *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 41 (1980): 435–45. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44141866>.

<sup>21</sup> De Souza. “Christianisation of Goa and Cultural conflicts,” in *Goa to Me*, 86-89.

He states that the arrival of the Portuguese missionaries caused resentment among the local population. He argues that the activities of the Portuguese missionaries cannot be solely attributed to religious reasons as they also had economic and political motivations. In the article, he analyses the cultural conflicts that the natives had to face in the course of Christianisation under the influence of the European missionaries.

According to De Souza, the Portuguese began their rule in Goa by wooing Hindu local leaders in order to drive out the Muslim rulers. In the Jesuit annual report, as well as other missionary writings, it was mentioned that opposition to the missionary activities or the practice of non-Christian religions would be “devils at work”. This article tried to analyse the culture conflicts that native had to undergo in the process of Christianisation at the hands of European missionaries. Portuguese in Goa began their rule by wooing the Hindu local leaders to defeat Muslim rulers. Afonso de Albuquerque made public promises to uphold the traditional practices of the Hindu faith. However, as Portuguese came to dominate Goa, they saw no need to uphold these promises. The establishment of the confraternity of holy faith and the rise of the Jesuit militia in Goa led to an organisation conversion drive. This forced Goans who did not want to convert to leave, while others agreed to the conversation in order to overcome their social and economic disadvantages. Portuguese attempted to prohibit Hindu cults and other cultural activities in Goa.

De Souza highlighted about the social life of the people of Goa with the advent of Portuguese and how it affected the society and culture of Goa. During the sixteenth century, the Portuguese adopted a policy of conversion which shattered the peace of the people. Three hundred Hindu temples were destroyed by the Portuguese. He also highlights that the arrival of the Portuguese

church and state had negative effects on the Hindus living in Goa. The methods used to spread Christianity disrupted several social ties and traditional lifestyles of the Goa communities. The Portuguese sought to convert the Goa communities and spread Christianity. As a result, Hindus temples were destroyed, social and religious celebrations of Hindus were prohibited and Hindus had to wear dresses different from those of the converts. The converted *ganvkar* gained higher ranks in the social hierarchy of the society. The Portuguese official did not hire any Hindus in the Government or private service. Hinduism was virtually eliminated within the Portuguese jurisdiction of Goa. Christianity was introduced and majestic churches were beginning to take over the places where the temples used to stand.<sup>22</sup>

Souza also discusses the transformation of education from a temple based religious education in local/Sanskrit languages to a western, church-based, and Portuguese-dominated one. He emphasises the work of the Jesuits in learning the local languages and the literature produced by them. De Souza explains that although the Portuguese did introduce some western judicial institutions in sixteenth century, matters concerning the village were mostly dealt with by the village councils. Social welfare for rural areas is also discussed. De Souza describes how the village councils, the Church, and the government contributed to this by making and enacting various provisions and laws to provide care for the poor, the displaced, the destitute, the

---

<sup>22</sup> De Souza, *Medieval Goa: Socio-Economic history of Goa*, 67-77.

forgotten, and the indebted. Although the second half of Medieval Goa focuses on the urban areas, the rural areas are not forgotten and the interdependence of these two areas is discussed.<sup>23</sup>

To sum up, the work of Teotonio De Souza on colonial Goa history offers a deep and comprehensive insight into the multi-layered and complex dynamics that Goa experienced during Portuguese rule. Through meticulous historical analysis, the integration of various sources and critical analysis, de Souza reveals the complexity of colonialism, the political instability, religious conflict, and the cultural exchange that took place in the region during the colonial era. Souza's research reveals the impact of Portuguese colonization on Goa's social, economic, and identity systems, such as the eradication of local tradition, conversion of Goa to Christianity and the propagation of European ideologies. In addition, his work sheds light on the various resistance movements, rebellions, and insurrections that occurred in Goa during Portuguese rule. All in all, de Souza's work in colonial Goa history is of great value to the field of study, as it provides important insights on the history of the region, challenges prevailing narratives, and promotes a more balanced understanding of colonialism's impact and legacy. The work of de Souza serves as a valuable academic resource that explains the intricate interactions between local and European powers in the colonial

---

<sup>23</sup> Anebelle Maria Pires Lobo, "A Historiographical Review of Village Studies in Portuguese Goa with special reference to the writings of Teotonio de Souza," *Quarterly Journal of The Mythic Society* 113, no. 4 (2020): 11-12.

#### **Chapter-4 Teotonio de Souza and Post colonial Goa**

Goa was a prominent Portuguese colony for over four centuries until 1961, when it was finally liberated and became an Indian Union Territory. The designation of “post colonial” Goa refers to the period after its liberation from Portuguese rule and the complex socio-cultural and political changes that followed. In this era of transition, Goa underwent many adjustments and challenges as it integrated into the Indian republic. This marked a pivotal moment in the history of its people as they navigated new systems of governance, identity, and cultural traditions. Teotonio de Souza’s works offers insights into this significant period through his extensive research and analysis. He explores the impact of colonialism on Goan society and the lingering effects of Portuguese rule, noting the legacy of both on the region’s development and identity.

For understanding post Colonial Goa, de Souza provides a nuanced view of the dynamics at play in post-independence Goa, shedding light on the ongoing debates surrounding issues such as language, religion, and cultural heritage. Through his scholarship, he seeks to uncover the complexities of Goa’s colonial past and illuminate the factors shaping its present and future trajectories. Overall, post colonial Goa provides a compelling account of a historic juncture in Goa’s narrative, offering valuable perspectives on the challenges and opportunities that have emerged as the region forges a new path forward in the post-colonial era.

#### 4.1 Colonialism and Goan Identity

Colonialism, particularly the Portuguese colonisation of Goa from the early sixteenth century until the mid-twentieth century, had a profound influence on the culture, economy, and society of the region. The imposition of new institutions, as well as the introduction of Christianity, resulted in significant changes to the traditional way of life in Goa. De Souza has argued that these changes brought about a sense of confusion and conflict in Goan identity.<sup>1</sup>

Many Goans were left torn between their Indian heritage and the European influences imposed on them through colonialism. This dichotomy often created a sense of dislocation and disconnection from their roots. Furthermore, de Souza has highlighted how the lingering effects of colonialism continue to impact Goan society today, particularly in terms of issues such as language, religion, and cultural practices. The legacy of colonialism has left a lasting mark on Goan identity, shaping the way in which many Goans perceive themselves and their place in the world.

Goan identity refers to the cultural, social, and historical characteristics that shape the identity of the people from the state of Goa, India. Goa is a small coastal state located on the western coast of India, known for its unique blend of Indian and Portuguese influences.

---

<sup>1</sup> Teotonio de Souza, *Goa Outgrowing Postcolonialism: Historical exploration (1961- 2014)* (Lisboa: Centre for Research and Studies in Social Sciences, Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias Lisboa, 2014) 5-6.



Goan identity is deeply influenced by its history and colonial past. Goa was a Portuguese colony for over four centuries until it was liberated in 1961. This long period of Portuguese rule has left a lasting impact on the culture, architecture, cuisine, and even the religious practices of Goans. The fusion of Indian and Portuguese elements is evident in various aspects of Goan life, making it distinct from other regions of India.

Religion plays a significant role in shaping Goan identity. The Catholic faith, along with the celebration of Christian festivals, is an integral part of Goan culture. However, there is also a significant Hindu population in Goa, and Hindu traditions and festivals are widely celebrated as well. This religious diversity contributes to the multicultural fabric of Goan identity.

The Konkani language is the mother tongue of most Goans. It is a unique mix of Indian languages with Portuguese, English, and Marathi influences. Konkani serves as a unifying factor among the diverse communities in Goa. Goa's scenic beauty, with its beaches, palm trees, and tropical climate, has contributed to the development of a relaxed and laid-back lifestyle. The concept of "susegad," which roughly translates to "enjoying life at a leisurely pace," is often associated with Goan identity. Goan cuisine is renowned for its distinct flavors and variety. The blend of Indian spices and Portuguese culinary techniques has given rise to a rich and diverse culinary tradition. Goan dishes like fish curry, vindaloo, sorpotel, and bebinca are famous for their unique taste and are enjoyed by both locals and tourists.

Goa's history as a former hippie destination and its reputation as a party hub have also shaped its identity.<sup>2</sup> The state attracts a significant number of domestic and international tourists, especially for its vibrant nightlife and music festivals. This has led to the development of a cosmopolitan and open-minded outlook among some sections of the population. It is important to note that Goan identity is not homogeneous and varies among individuals based on factors such as religion, caste, socioeconomic background, and exposure to different cultures. There are rural and urban variations, as well as differences between coastal and inland regions of Goa.

Goan identity is an extremely complex issue. Even Goans themselves cannot agree on a definition of who is Goan. A. K. Priolkar states that he cannot define a Goan to his satisfaction. Not only is there the issue of who is considered Goan, but also the problem that the territory of Goa was kept expanding when it was under Portuguese rule. Priolkar states that Goa defines more than just the original island and it include all the land that the Portuguese conquered that later became the state of Goa. The second issue the Priolkar confronts, determining who is a Goan, is much define to define than the borders of Goan territory.<sup>3</sup>

Goans have long disputed amongst themselves whether they are Goan. Portuguese, or Indian. Priolkar states that even if the groups of people who claim to be Portuguese or Indian should still

---

<sup>2</sup>Patrick De Vos, "Goa Trance and the Hippie Legacy: Life Style Consumption, Identity Formation and Travel Culture" *Academia*, accessed on 5<sup>th</sup> April. 2001. [https://www.academia.edu/35116356/Goa\\_Trance\\_and\\_the\\_Hippie\\_Legacy\\_Life\\_Style\\_Consumption\\_Identity\\_Formation\\_and\\_Travel\\_Culture](https://www.academia.edu/35116356/Goa_Trance_and_the_Hippie_Legacy_Life_Style_Consumption_Identity_Formation_and_Travel_Culture)

<sup>3</sup> A.K. Priolkar, "Who is a Goan?," *Journal of South Asian Literature* 8, no. 1 (1983): 269-271.

be considered Goan. Without giving a reason, he finally decides that a Goan is, anyone, whatever his present whereabouts, whose forefathers have been domiciled in Goa, at anytime in history and who is aware of his connection and cherishes and values it. In other words, this broad definition does not eliminate those of Goan descent or those who hold other citizenships being defined as Goan, especially in the literary community.<sup>4</sup>

Teotonio de Souza argues that “cultural identities” are not “dead realities” and, as such, are always changing.<sup>5</sup> Cultural identities are defined as “transient phases of identification.” Even “stable” cultural identities, which appear to have a sense of permanence, are subject to shifting shades of meaning and to gradual or rapid changes in their content. In addition to their distinctive variety, cultural identities are obsessed with difference and with hierarchical distinctions. When people talk about their identity responses to hegemonic relationships in society, there is always an implicit or implicit sense of subordination. Someone in a dominant position rarely cares to ask questions about self-identity, as they seek self-assurance and recognition from the dominant group or groups.

De Souza sees the Goan identity as a baggage of the ambiguities and contradictions in the history of the people.<sup>6</sup> From the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards, Goa was under Kadambas. It was connected to a large network of African seaborne trade and hinterland trade via Deccan passes. After 1510, Goa became part of the Portuguese empire. It was the headquarters of an early

---

<sup>4</sup> De Souza, *Goa Outgrowing Postcolonialism Historical exploration from 1961-2014*, 5-6.

<sup>5</sup> De Souza, *Goa Outgrowing Postcolonialism Historical exploration from 1961-2014*, 5-6.

<sup>6</sup> De Souza, *Gos Outgrowing Postcolonialism*, 36-40.

modern European empire from 1530 and its inhabitants were very early exposed to the modern globalisation. Even though the Portuguese power declined early, economic pressure and cultural acquisitions allowed Goans to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the British Empire in the neighbouring territories, especially with the advent of the railway link. The Hindu community of the Saraswats sustained the Portuguese fiscal-commercial structure in Goa and their Hindu *dubhashis* served their diplomatic needs in Asia.

Teotonio de Souza states that at its core, identity in the modern era is a subjective experience. It is characterised by a tension between the individual and the communitarian identities. It is a tension between a particular reality in space and time and a universal. The goal of modernity is to reconcile these two tensions. According to de Souza no identities are limited to state boundaries, nor is any culture indiscriminate open. However, no community is free from cultural exchange with other historic partners in the process of its evolution. Goan culture is not coterminous with the present state borders and continues to benefit from cross cultural interactions.

De Souza emphasises that four and half centuries of colonial ruler have left a mark on Goan identity. Further he emphasised on understanding the Portuguese culture to reduce the misunderstanding regarding the Goan influence in Goa. Portuguese cultural identity was different from other national cultures. While the colonial populations of Portugal were considered primitive and backward by the northern European colonial powers, Portugal was also considered backward by the northern colonial powers. Portugal was both a coloniser and an emitter in its colonies. In Brazil, and in Africa and Asia, the Portuguese assimilated into the local

societies in what came to be known as the “shadow empire”.<sup>7</sup> Portugal was too close to its colonies to be seen as fully European and too far away from it to be seen as a serious coloniser. Portuguese culture moved between local and translocal, bypassing national boundaries. Portuguese cosmopolitanism consists of a plurality of local cultures. Portuguese acted as pseudo-centric for its colonies because it’s always peripheral in Europe politics.

In 1956, a Portuguese geographer, Orlando Ribeiro, leading a group of researchers to study Goan society, submitted a report to Salazar, in which he described Goa as much less Portuguese than it was stated. “There are intelligent people in Goa,” Ribeiro wrote, “with none of the rudeness that is common among the rural people of Portugal.” National and international politics enabled Goans to find freedom from yet another stage of their history, and to gain a degree of political and economic cultural autonomy within the Indian union. However, the change did not only result from largescale and unified efforts on the part of the people of Goa. Several Indians from all over the country, facing Portuguese prisons and machine guns, and through their involvement in the satyagraha, gave their lives to bring freedom to Goa. In addition, some Goans living abroad, calling themselves “Goa Freedom Movement”, with political support from Salazar’s regime.<sup>8</sup> Teotonio discusses about reflections about the identity issues that bothers Goans today. According to him identity of any community is basically made up of its cultural uniqueness including the environmental characteristics of the land of ancestors. The mother-tongue and the historical experience of one’s ancestral community are important constituents of cultural

---

<sup>7</sup>De Souza, *Goa Outgrowing Postcolonialism*, 8-14.

<sup>8</sup> De Souza, *Goa Outgrowing Postcolonialism*, 8-14.

heritage. Teotonio de Souza mentions Chandrakant Keni's views and suggests that Goans are those whose ancestors were here in Goa before 1961.<sup>9</sup>

De Souza argues that if the Goan language and the love of the identity of the Goan people cannot be shared by these other groups, then why are they not shared by the Goans in the soil? According to de Souza, the components of the diaspora are more concerned and anxious than the Goans who have remained in Goa about the preservation of the Goan traditions which are changing or disappearing in Goa. If they had stayed in Goa and participated in the change, they may not have felt the loss as much as they feel now.<sup>10</sup> For the people of Goa or descendants of the Goan ancestry, the Indian matrix of heritage is always present. The Portuguese rule of four hundred and fifty years did not only leave its mark on the converted part of the population, but also on the majority Hindu component. The fact that the Goa Christians and Hindus are conscious of their differences does not mean that they deny what they have in common.<sup>11</sup>

De Souza argues that identity images are often created by interested groups. For example, the image of the Salazar regime or the image of the tourism industry.<sup>12</sup> De Souza also argues that identity has no definitive definition and is a result of changes brought about by continuous historical processes. However, at any given moment, different in-groups and perceptions of identity can develop because of experiences of integration and exclusion within the group or an

---

<sup>9</sup> De Souza, *Goa Outgrowing Postcolonialism*, 8-14.

<sup>10</sup> De Souza, *Goa Outgrowing Postcolonialism*, 8-14.

<sup>11</sup> De Souza, *Goa Outgrowing Postcolonialism*, 8-14.

<sup>12</sup> De Souza, *Goa Outgrowing Postcolonialism*, 12-14

outside group. Some will include only the virtues and positive features in their definition of identity.

Teotonio de Souza also highlights the issue of Goans and non Goans, often referred as *ghatti* or *bhalie*. Teotonio says that several *bhalie* who have adopted Goa could give lessons on Goan identity to many old time Goans.<sup>13</sup> Teotonio de Souza says that there are various facets of Goan identity associate themselves with Goa. Whatever the intensity of involvement, whether from inside or outside its geographical boundary. Goan identity accompanies the myriad of hearts and minds with the myriad talents and potentials to keep Goa young and new.

#### **4.2 Goa's freedom struggle and political developments**

Teotonio de Souza also emphasises on the political struggle in Goa, and the complex dynamics of the region's political landscape. He has written extensively on the legacy of colonialism in Goa, the struggle for liberation, and the governance challenges in the post-colonial era. De Souza has focused on the historical background of Goa's struggle for independence from Portuguese colonisation, and the effects of decolonisation on the political and social development of the region. He has also studied the role of various parties, civil society organizations, and the Indian government in shaping the post-colonisation trajectory of Goa. He has also critically analysed the governance issues faced by post-colonised Goa, such as corruption, governance failures, and the absence of effective institutions and mechanisms of political participation and accountability. De

---

<sup>13</sup> De Souza, *Goa Outgrowing Postcolonialism*, 13-17.

Souza has also studied the challenges of modernisation and development in the region, and the tensions between tradition and progress that shape the future of Goa.

Teotonio de Souza highlights that the arrival of the Portuguese led to the arrival of various missionaries who came to Goa. The violent conversion drive, the arrests and punishments by the Office of Inquisition, and repeated forced levies by the village communities to pay for the war against the neighbouring rulers forced many Goan inhabitants, Hindus and Christians to move away from Goa and settle in different parts of the Konkani and other parts of the Indian subcontinent. The conversation of the locals led to the clash between the locals and the Portuguese, which led to various resistance movements. It was their pressure that finally brought the Portuguese colonial rule in Goa to an end in 1961.<sup>14</sup>

The evolution of Goa from the colonial era to the post-colonisation period is also highlighted by Teotonio de Souza. He pointed out that the colonial rulers had transformed the system of *Comunidade*, which was called '*ganvkari*', to suit the interests of colonial power, rather than the interests of the majority of the people of the country. In the post-liberation period, the 'Panchayati raj' system was introduced based on the vote of every citizen. This made the upper class of the rural leadership less powerful and increased the presence of people from the economically weaker and the educated classes. He also mentioned the Gram Panchayat, the 'Zilla Panchayat' and its structure and regretted that there was little participation in the 'gram

---

<sup>14</sup> Teotonio de Souza, "Goa's Trail of Many Liberations" *Acedemia* accessed on 10<sup>th</sup> March 2024.

[https://www.academia.edu/2396745/Goas\\_Trail\\_of\\_Many\\_Liberations](https://www.academia.edu/2396745/Goas_Trail_of_Many_Liberations)



sabhas'. He noted that the *comunidade* though still in existence, had lost its importance due to the 'land reforms' implemented by the government after 1964 and the sale of land to real estate.<sup>15</sup>

### 4.3 Religion and syncretism

Teotonio de Souza, has also written extensively about the phenomenon of religious conversion and syncretism in post-colonial Goa. His work provides a unique insight into the complexities of religious identity and practice in this region's history. In the context of Goan history, religious conversion has been a significant factor, with multiple waves of conversion taking place over the centuries. The Portuguese arrival in the 16<sup>th</sup> century brought about a forced conversion of many Goans to Christianity, as part of their efforts to spread the religion in their colonies. This led to a process of syncretism, whereby elements of earlier religious traditions in Goa were incorporated into the practice of Christianity.

However, as De Souza points out, the story of conversion in Goa is not a simple one. While many Goans embraced Christianity, others resisted and held on to their traditional beliefs and practices. This created a complex religious landscape in which syncretism coexisted with staunch adherence to old traditions. De Souza's work sheds light on the motivations behind religious conversion in Goa, and the ways in which it shaped the identity of the population. He also explores the role of Catholicism in Goa's cultural and social life, and the tensions that emerged between different religious communities.

---

<sup>15</sup> Teotonio R De Souza, "Panchayati Raj: Descentralização para Desenvolvimento: O paradigma democrático em Goa pós-colonial" *Fluxos & Riscos*, no.2 (2011) 57-97.

De Souza in the book *Goa outgrowing Postcolonialism* writes an article “Hinduism Rediscovered”, he highlights that the Goan Catholics may be the inheritors of the Portuguese explorers, but there is a new interest in re-creating the cultural origins that predate the Portuguese. De Souza’s analysis extends to the religious dimension of Goan identity. He explores the complex interactions between Portuguese Catholicism and indigenous religious practices, resulting in unique syncretic traditions. His research sheds light on the religious dynamics in Goa and how they have influenced the construction of Goan identity.

Teotonio de Souza’s research highlights the multi-faceted nature of religion in post-colonial Goa, demonstrating how conversion and syncretism have contributed to the diverse of religious practices in the region. His work provides an important perspective on the complexities of religious identity and coexistence in a historically religiously diverse society.

To sum up, the key aspects of Teotonio de Souza’s analysis is the examination of Goa’s identity in the post-colonial era. Having been under Portuguese rule for over four centuries, Goa’s identity had been deeply influenced by the colonial experience. De Souza’s work aimed to unravel the layers of this identity, exploring the fusion of Indian and Portuguese elements that shaped Goa’s unique cultural fabric. Furthermore, de Souza delved into the post-colonial narrative of Goa, analysing the impact of Portuguese colonialism on the region’s socio-political landscape. He examined the legacy of colonialism, including the effects of religious conversion, cultural assimilation, and economic exploitation. De Souza’s analysis highlighted the struggles faced by Goans in the post-colonial era, as they grappled with the remnants of colonialism and sought to redefine their identity and place in the world.

In his writings, de Souza also critically examined the role of the government in the post-colonial period. He explored the tensions between the central government and the aspirations of the Goan people, particularly in relation to issues of language, culture, and governance. De Souza highlighted the challenges faced by Goans in asserting their distinct identity within the larger Indian nation-state, and the need for a nuanced understanding of Goa's history and aspirations. Overall, Teotonio de Souza's analysis of Goa's identity and post-colonial narrative provides valuable insights into the complex dynamics of the region. His work sheds light on the historical and socio-cultural factors that have shaped Goa's identity, while also highlighting the challenges faced by the Goan people in the post-colonial era. De Souza's writings continue to be influential in understanding the rich and diverse heritage of Goa, and its ongoing struggle for self-determination and recognition.

## **Conclusion**

This study has critically analysed the work of Teotonio R. De Souza and his contributions to the history of Goa. Through meticulous research and a multidisciplinary approach, De Souza has

significantly enriched our understanding of the colonial history of Goa and its complex interactions with Portuguese colonialism and Indian culture.

De Souza's work has made noteworthy contributions to historiography of Goa. Firstly, his exploration of the administrative structure and policies of colonial Goa provided valuable insights into the governance mechanisms and the impact of Portuguese rule on the region. His research shed light on the political dynamics and the role of colonial policies in shaping Goan society.

Secondly, De Souza's examination of the religious and cultural dimensions of colonial Goa highlighted the influence of Portuguese Catholicism on the indigenous population. His research deepened our understanding of the process of religious conversion and the resulting syncretic elements that emerged from the fusion of European and Indian traditions. This analysis contributed to a broader understanding of the cultural dynamics and religious practices in colonial Goa.

Furthermore, De Souza's research on the socio-economic history of Goa revealed the economic transformations and social structures that characterised the region under Portuguese rule. His analysis of trade patterns, agricultural practices, and labour systems provided valuable insights into the impact of Portuguese colonial policies on the local economy and society.

Teotonio R. De Souza's research on the colonial history of Goa, with a special reference to the sixteenth and seventeenth century, offer valuable insights into this crucial period. Through

meticulous analysis and extensive research, De Souza has enhanced our understanding of the political, social, economic, religious, and cultural dynamics of colonial Goa during this time. De Souza's examination of the sixteenth and seventeenth century in Goa has shed light on the transformative nature of Portuguese colonialism in the region. His research has revealed the intricate political landscape, including the role of the viceroy and other colonial officials, as well as the complex power dynamics between the Portuguese authorities and indigenous rulers. His analysis has illuminated the economic transformations brought about by Portuguese colonial policies and their impact on local communities.

De Souza's exploration of the religious and cultural aspects of Goa during this period has been instrumental in understanding the impact of Portuguese Catholicism and the process of religious conversion. His work has highlighted the interactions between European and Indian religious practices and the emergence of syncretic traditions, offering valuable insights into the religious landscape of colonial Goa. Furthermore, De Souza's examination of the literary and linguistic aspects of colonial Goa has revealed the development and evolution of the Indo-Portuguese language, particularly Konkani, during this period. His research has highlighted the contributions of Goan writers and poets, providing a glimpse into the literary traditions and linguistic changes that occurred under Portuguese rule.

Teotonio R. De Souza's research on colonial Goa with a focus on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has significantly enriched our understanding of this pivotal era. His work has brought to the forefront the intricate dynamics that shaped Goa during this time, providing a nuanced perspective on the political, social, economic, religious, and cultural dimensions of the region.

Scholars and researchers can build upon De Souza's contributions to further explore and deepen our knowledge of Goa's colonial history in this important period.

Additionally, De Souza's exploration of the linguistic and literary aspects of colonial Goa demonstrated the development and evolution of the Indo-Portuguese language, Konkani. His research highlighted the contributions of Goan writers and poets and offered a deeper understanding of the literary traditions and linguistic changes that occurred during the colonial era.

De Souza has also made significant contributions to the study of Goan identity. His research and analysis have provided valuable insights into the formation, evolution, and complexities of Goan identity, considering both historical and contemporary perspectives. Here are some key aspects of De Souza's work on Goan identity, De Souza's research delves into the historical factors that have shaped Goan identity over time.

He examines the influences of Portuguese colonialism, Indian cultural heritage, and global interactions in the formation of Goan identity. By exploring the historical context, De Souza helps us understand the roots and historical trajectory of Goan identity. De Souza's work emphasizes the cultural hybridity inherent in Goan identity. He explores the interplay between Portuguese, Indian, and indigenous cultural elements, highlighting the synthesis and unique blend that characterizes Goan culture. His research illuminates the ways in which different cultural influences have contributed to the formation of a distinct Goan identity.

Overall, this dissertation critically evaluated Teotonio R. De Souza's work and its significance in the field of Goan history. By delving into various aspects of colonial Goa, his research has provided a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the complexities of Portuguese colonialism and its impact on Goan society, culture, and identity.

Teotonio De Souza has published extensively on Goan history, but it is essential to acknowledge some limitations in his work. One potential limitation of De Souza's work is his focus on certain aspects of Goan history while perhaps neglecting others. For example, critics may argue that his emphasis on certain communities, events, or themes could lead to a skewed or incomplete understanding of the overall historical narrative of Goa. Moreover, being a prominent public figure in Goan politics, theology, and academia, there might be concerns about bias or subjectivity in De Souza's interpretations. His personal beliefs, ideologies, or affiliations could have influenced the way he presents historical facts or analyses events, potentially impacting the objectivity of his writings.

## **Bibliography**

- Abreu, Savio. "Contribution of Jesuits to the higher education in Goa: Historical background of higher education of the Jesuits." In *St. Francis Xavier and the Jesuit Missionary Enterprise. Assimilations between Cultures*, edited by Carlos Mata Induráin and Ignacio Arellano, 9-21. Pamplona: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Navarra, 2012.
- Abreu, Savio, "Themes and Trends in the Historiography of the Restored Society of Jesus in India, from 1834 until the Present." *Jesuit Historiography Online*. Accessed online on 23 December 2023, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2468-7723\\_jho\\_SIM\\_192564](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2468-7723_jho_SIM_192564).
- Baden-Powell, B. H. "The Villages of Goa in the Early Sixteenth Century." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1900): 261–91.
- Becker, Carl "What is historiography," *The American Historical Review* 44, no. 1 (1938): 20–28.
- Borges, Charles J. And Michael Pearson., ed. *Metahistory: History Questioning History, Festschrift in Honour of Teotonio R. De Souza*. Lisbon: Nova Vega, 2007.
- Da Costa Rodrigues, Maria De Lourdes Bravo. "A controversial person, with many admirers and detractors." *O Heraldo*, February 24, 2019.
- Da Cunha Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoro, *Brados a Favor das Comunidades das Aldeas do Estado da India*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1870.
- De Souza, Teotonio R. *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1979.
- De Souza, Teotonio R. *Goa to Me*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994.
- De Souza, Teotonio R. "Rural Economy and Life." In *Goa Through the Ages: An Economic History Vol II*, edited by Teotonio R. De Souza, 78–116. New Delhi. Concept Publishing Company, 1990.



- De Souza, Teotonio R. "Portuguese Fiscal Administration and Monetary System." In *Goa Through Ages: An Economic History Vol II*, edited by Teotonio de Souza, 177–212. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1979.
- De Souza, Teotonio R. "French Slave-Trade in Portuguese Goa (1773-1791)." In *Essays in Goan History*, edited by Teotonio de Souza, 102–118. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1989.
- De Souza, Teotonio R. "The Christian Mission in the Aftermath of Discoveries: Tools for shaping the colonial other?" In *Discoveries Missionary Expansion and Asian Cultures*, edited by Teotonio de Souza, 20–32. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994.
- De Souza, Teotonio R. "Voiceless in Goan Historiography: A case for the Church records in Goa", In *Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems*, edited by John Correia-Afonso, 114–131. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- De Souza, Teotonio R. "Why Cuncolim Martyrs? An historical re-assessment." In *Jesuits in India: In Historical Perspective*, edited by Teotonio R. De Souza and Charles Borges, 37-47. Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1992.
- De Souza, Teotonio R. "Foreign elements in the Rural Economy of Goa during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." In *Western Colonial Policy*, vol. II, edited by N. R. Ray, 269-284. Calcutta: Institute of Historical Studies, 1983.
- De Souza, Teotonio R. "Portuguese Records for Indian History at Goa and Lisbon." *The Indian Archives* XXV (1976): 24-36.
- De Souza, Teotonio R. "Goan Agrarian Economy in Crisis." *Itihas* I (1976): 55-70.
- De Souza, Teotonio R. "Marine Insurance in Indo-Portuguese Trade History." *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* XIV, no. 3 (1977): 24-36.

- De Souza, Teotonio R. "A Tentative Check-list of Abbreviations in Portuguese Archival Records." *Indica* XIV (1977): 117-24.
- De Souza, Teotonio R. "Foreign elements in the Rural Economy of Goa during sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." *Western Colonial Policy*, vol. II, edited by N. R. Ray, 269–84. Calcutta: Institute of Historical Studies, 1983.
- de Souza, Teotonio R. "Goa's Trail of Many Liberations" Acedemia accessed on 10<sup>th</sup> March 2024.  
[https://www.academia.edu/2396745/Goas\\_Trail\\_of\\_Many\\_Liberations](https://www.academia.edu/2396745/Goas_Trail_of_Many_Liberations)
- De Souza, Teotonio R. "Panchayati Raj: Descentralização para Desenvolvimento: O paradigma democrático em Goa pós-colonial" *Fluxos&Riscos*, no.2 (2011) 57-97.
- De Souza, Teotonio R. "Portuguese Source-Material in the Goa Archives for the Economic History of Konkan in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries." *Sources of the History of India*, vol. I, edited by S. P. Sen, 426-41. Calcutta: Institute of Historical Studies, 1978.
- De Souza, Teotonio R. "Jesuit Records in Portuguese on Shivaji's South Indian Campaign and its impact on the people." *Indica* XXIII (1986): 89-100.
- De Souza, Teotonio R. "Jesuits and Trade." *The Times of India*, January 14, 1979.
- De Souza, Teotonio R. "Mhamai House Records: Indigenous Sources for Indo-Portuguese Historiography." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 41 (1980): 435-45.
- De Souza, Teotonio R. "Mhamai House Records: Indigenous Sources for Indo-Portuguese Historiography." *The Indian Archives* XXXI, no. 1(1982): 25-45.
- De Souza, Teotonio R. "Michael Pearson: A Partnership Across the Oceans," *Journal of Indian Ocean World Studies*, 3 (2019): 1–12.

- Dhavalikar, M. N. "Professor D. D. Kosambi: The Father of Scientific Indian History." *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* 66/67 (2006): 1–13. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42931437>.
- Habib, Irfan. "Kosambi, Marxism and Indian History." *Economic and Political Weekly* 43, no. 30 (2008): 85–88. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40277772>.
- Hatekar, Neeraj. "Chronicles of the Deccan." *Economic and Political Weekly* 39, no. 37 (2004): 4149–52. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4415530>.
- Howsam, Leslie. "What Is the Historiography of Books? Recent Studies in Authorship, Publishing, and Reading in Modern Britain and North America." *The Historical Journal* 51, no. 4 (2008): 1089–1101. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20175216>.
- Jha, Dwijendra Narayan. "D. D Kosambi." In *Historian and Historiography*, edited by S. P. Sen, 122–131. Calcutta: Institute of Historical studies, 1976.
- Kamat, Nandkumar M. "Teotonio: The historian with ideas." In *Metahistory: History Questioning History, Festschrift in Honour of Teotonio R. De Souza*, edited by Charles J. Borges and Michael Pearson, 76–79. Lisbon: Nova Vega, 2007.
- Kosambi, Meera. "D. D. Kosambi: The Scholar and the Man." *Economic and Political Weekly* 43, no. 30 (2008): 34–42. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40277766>.
- Lobo, Anebell Maria Pires. "A Historiographical Review of Village Studies in Portuguese Goa with special reference to the writings of Teotonio de Souza." *Quarterly Journal of The Mythic Society* 113, no.4, (2022): 1–20.
- Maria, Lilia. "Visionary, organiser, historian of caliber, humane task master." In *Metahistory: History Questioning History, Festschrift in Honour of Teotonio R. De Souza*, edited by Charles J. Borges and Michael Pearson, 73–74. Lisbon: Nova Vega, 2007.

- Menezes, Vivek. "Teotonio de Souza: Maker of history." *The Times of India* (Goa), February 25, 2019.
- Noronha, Fredrick. "The intellectuals Goa doesn't deserve." In *Metahistory: History Questioning History, Festschrift in Honour of Teotonio R. De Souza*, edited by Charles J. Borges and Michael Pearson, 58-61. Lisbon: Nova Vega, 2007.
- Rao, Nagendra. "Ruralization and Trade in Eighteenth Century Goa: Contextualizing Junta da Real Fazenda." *Anais de História de Além-Mar* XXI (2020): 253-278.
- Robinson, Rowena. "Cuncolim: Weaving a tale of resistance." *Economic and Political Weekly* 32, no. 7 (1997): 334–340. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4405091>.
- Rodrigues, Pia de Menezes. "Research Libraries in Goa (Colonial and postcolonial mmm. . .)." *Lusotopie* 6 (19v,99): 477–488.
- Shastri, B. S. "P. S. S. Pissurlencar." In *Historian and Historiography*, edited by S. P. Sen, 385–395. Calcutta: Institute of Historical Studies, 1976.
- Sreedharan, E. *A Textbook of Historiography, 500 B.C. to A.D. 2000*. New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2004.
- Subhendu, Sani. "Remembering D. D. Kosambi." *Academia*, accessed on 30<sup>th</sup> November, 2023, [https://www.academia.edu/11549210/Remembering\\_D\\_D\\_Kosambi](https://www.academia.edu/11549210/Remembering_D_D_Kosambi).
- Trichur, R. S. "Politics of Goan historiography." *Lusotopie* 7, no. 1 (2000): 637–646.
- , Patrick De, "Goa Trance and the Hippie Legacy: Life Style Consumption, Identity Formation and Travel Culture" *Academia*, accessed on 5<sup>th</sup> April. 2001.
- Xavier, Felipe Nery. *Bosquejo Historio das Comunidades Aldeas dos Concelhos das Ilhas, Salsete e Bardez*. 2 vols. Bastora: Typografia Rangle, 1903–1907.