

Colonial And Post/Neo-colonial Discourse In Two Goan Novels: A Fanonian Study

ANAND PATIL

FRANCISCO LOUIS GOMES'S *Os Brahamanes* (1866) was published in Portuguese in Lisbon. Lambert Mascarenhas's *Sorrowing Lies My Land* (1955) was published in English in Bombay.¹ I have chosen at random these two Goan novels written in two European languages during the period of Portuguese rule in Goa (1510-1961) for comparative study. The main objective of this analysis is to examine how fictional discourse changes in the different phases of colonialism, and especially to test whether the two texts fit into or deviate from the Fanonian paradigm (Fanon 190-96). In the multilingual and multicultural situation in the Indian subcontinent, the problematics of race and imperialism become complicated. The resulting paradoxes and contradictions can be adequately explained only by comparative studies. For instance, Meenakshi Mukherjee treats novels written by Christians—whether originally so or converts—as a recognizable product of mid-nineteenth-century India. She goes on to argue: "The whole body of such works constitutes Christianity's contribution to the development of the novel in India. A comparative discussion of the themes and their presentation in some of these novels will enable us to assess the nature of this contribution" (21).

My comparative study of nineteenth-century literature in British Bombay and Portuguese Goa supports Mukherjee's presumptions.² It also unveils how the European cultural conquest of India gave rise to cross-pollinated literary genres. It demonstrates how élite Brahmanical literature was transformed in the contact situation in order to retain the cultural hegemony of the small Brahman minority. The Brahmins imitated the colonizers'

generic repertory to preserve that hegemony. However, because of the different policies adopted by the Portuguese in Goa and the British in the rest of India, the Indian literatures put on different garbs and forms. On the whole, these literary types were, in Paulo Freire's words, the products of "antidialogic" education and "oppressive reality" (123). The oppressive present creates various creative tensions in the colony. It is not an accident that Hannah Catherine Mullens's *Phulmoni-O-Karunar Bibaran* in Bengali (1852), Baba Padmanji's *Yamuna Paryatan* in Marathi (1857), Gomes's *Os Brahamanes* in Portuguese (1866), Mrs. Collins's *The Slayer Stain* in English (1864-66; translated into Malayalam, 1877), Samuel Vedanayakam Pillai's *Prathapa Mudaliar Charitram* in Tamil (1879), and several other early novels in India, seek to "demonstrate the benefits available to Indians by converting to Christianity" (Mukherjee 21). Post-colonial critics and theorists will find in this cross-culture encounter fresh frameworks for their theories. All the problems interlock with imperialism of one sort or another, indigenous or alien. Edward Said's and Homi K. Bhabha's concepts such as "culture," "imperialism," "ambivalence," and "stereotype," are especially useful in this discourse analysis. According to Bhabha, "there is a theoretical space and political space for such an articulation—in a sense in that word itself denies an 'original' identity or a 'singularity' to objects of difference" (149). This "difference" makes the difference between Gomes's *Os Brahamanes* (1866) in Portuguese and Lambert Mascarenhas's *Sorrowing Lies My Land* (1855) in English. The "difference" between the fictional discourses of these two Goan writers reveals two distinct phases of Portuguese colonialism. The first shows how the master's discourse confined the colonised and destined them to a half-life of misrepresentation. The second one exemplifies Fanon's phase of violence and resistance. Both reveal the different creative tensions caused by various pulls in the process of literary acculturation in the colonial situation.

I

It is interesting to note here that until the mid-nineteenth century, all Goan writing, both in Portuguese and in the vernaculars,

remained mainly the literature of Christian proselytization. The Christian religion and the Portuguese language were predominant (see Xavier 184-92). Consequently, secular literature could hardly develop in Goa. In British India, however, English was made compulsory in 1835, and the first English-educated writers were encouraged to write in their native languages. Gomes's Chaddo-Kshatriya forefathers were converted to Christianity by force in the sixteenth century. His is a typical case of what Bhabha calls "the cooption of traditional élites into the colonial administration" (166). Inquisitions and language policies adopted for domination created, in Fanon's phrase, "the living haunts of contradictions" (175). These are the Goan exceptions to what Meenakshi Mukherjee writes of the converted Christians in nineteenth-century India (32). Baba Mule, who came from the Kasar minority, embraced the Protestant Church in Bombay willingly. His *Yamuna Paryatan* (Yamuna's journey) was inspired not only by the Widow Remarriage Act (1856) but also by his conversion to Christianity. It mainly portrays the sad plight of the upper-caste, especially Brahman, widows. Both *Yamuna* and *The Brahmans* end with the conversion of the Brahman protagonists to Christianity. The only difference is that Yamuna favours the Protestant and Gomes's Magnod the Catholic Church. A comparative study of these novels is a subject for further investigation. Non-literary determinants of a literary form like fiction can be easily traced in its paratexts. Moreover, the European rulers dreamed of converting all India to Christianity.³

Gomes was an experienced journalist, biographer, and politician who joined the opposition party in the Portuguese parliament. He is representative of "native intellectuals" in the colonies all over the world. His romance, written in Europe, reveals "the pitfalls of national consciousness" in the colonial situation which were systematically analysed by Fanon (148). Cultural estrangement, which is most characteristic of the colonial epoch, is more wide ranging in *The Brahmans* than in *Yamuna*. Gomes speaks as a Goan and as a Portuguese. He boasts of his "universal standpoint" and pleads for humanism in his novel. This dilemma is caused by his two nationalities. Fanon points out how intellectuals avoid painful choices. Further he observes:

“But most often, since they cannot or will not make a choice, such intellectuals gather together all the historical determining factors which have conditioned them and take up a fundamentally ‘universal standpoint’” (176). Gomes’s novel reveals how he had thrown himself upon Western culture. Like an adopted child he tried to make European culture his own. The dedicatory letter, a pretext of *Os Brahamanes* (English trans. 1-4), revealingly invokes Shakespeare, Castilho, A. Herculano and other European stalwarts (Gomes was also influenced by Alexandre Dumas.) His inferiority complex, born of his choice of the Portuguese language, is also mirrored in the dedicatory letter (3). We are told that he could write in Portuguese at the age of nine, and got his doctorate before he came of age. He stayed in Lisbon for eight years.

The Golden Age of the European novel reached its peak in the mid-nineteenth century. Historical romances in the tradition of Sir Walter Scott’s Waverley novels were especially popular. According to Ernest Baker, a number of European writers, such as Bulwer-Lytton in England, Balzac, Victor Hugo and Dumas in France, wrote historical novels, plays and romances modelled on the Waverley novels (7, 63). Of course, the rise of the European novel is, as Edward Said has argued, closely connected with that of European imperialism (*Culture* ii-xv). Gomes’s dedication to Clio the Muse was shared by historians like David Hume, Gibbon, and Carlyle in Britain, Grant Duff in India, Hegel in Germany, and Washington Irving in America. Under such circumstances it is rather strange to say that Gomes was “influenced” by “Lamartine and Victor Hugo” only (Menezes 6). The year and place of publication of *Os Brahamanes* (1866) and the dedicatory letter are the paratexts which reveal how “the native bourgeois” created by colonizers was placed on the horns of a dilemma by setting his novel in British India. Postcolonial commentators such as Armando Menezes, Laxmanrao Sardesai, and Deepa Kolwalka have not grasped the complexities involved in a colonial discourse connected with the circulation of power as knowledge.

Before analysing this discourse, I should offer a few comments on the role of the colonized writer and reader. The situation of

the colonial Indian reader, deprived of writing for thousands of years, presents us with several problems. In such a society, every printed book was considered as holy as the scriptures. Very few could detect the weapons of conquest behind the masks. Nancy Vogeley writes:

. . . The colonial reader, whether a historical entity belonging to the days of the world's great empires or a present-day consciousness trapped in the prevailing linguistic systems and dominant artistic styles, finds it difficult to reach beyond these boundaries of control to embrace the texts. Critics using reader-response theories can only help in this task if they examine more closely the politics of a book's reception, if they acknowledge the varying degrees of text acceptance that the notion of the "colonial reader" represents. (796)

It can be easily judged that Gomes's implied or ideal reader was first the alien master and then the colonized élite. Gomes was constructing a myth of Indian life in fiction as the European Orientalists did. His choice of the Irish planter Robert Davis and the background of British Bengal is not intended to be a satire on the Hindu "brown" Brahmans and European "white" Brahmans, as some commentators believe (e.g., Menezes 9). It is a colonial paradox that a colonized and yet romanticized Irish peasant is juxtaposed against the Indian Brahman. A Brahman can hardly be a thug or disguised as a Jew. Magnod does not disguise himself as a money-lending Pathan. Gomes's antisemitism and his portrayal of the Catholic Irish planter were meant to please the colonizers. Even in his handling of the 1857 Revolt there was nothing that could hurt the sentiments of the white masters. Edward Hirsch has examined the romantic myth of the peasant in Irish literature (1116). In the nineteenth century, the British looked down upon the Irish peasant as a "white negro." Both the Jew and the Irish peasant were stereotyped characters used to get laughter. Gomes did not challenge these myths because he had internalized the model of the white master's literature which spread myths to maintain white superiority.⁴ His vehement demystification of the Brahmans can be well understood, of course, against the sociopolitical background of the struggle between two upper castes, Kshatriya and Brahman, for supremacy (Olivinu Gomes 212-14). Even though many of them had been

converted to Christianity, they never forgot their original caste identities.

The setting of his novel also reveals the politics of representing reality. Goan natural scenes, sounds and colours can be traced in its pages; but it is not set in Goa. Goan critics have put forth contradictory views regarding this issue. According to Deepa Kolwalkar (61), Gomes was a Chaddo, so he wanted to portray the martial race of Kshatriya in Oudh. But there was the history of great Shivaji and the Marathas or Rajpoot warriors. Gomes did not want to voice the newly rising nationalist spirit, as did M. M. Kunte in his epic *Raja Shivaji* (1871). Gomes's choice of subject, setting, and even narrative mode was determined by colonialism. The colonized writer was left little space for free experimentation in fictional discourse. Goa had to wait for another hundred years till the arrival of Mascarenhas, who challenged the series of myths manipulated by the Portuguese rulers in his counter discourse. The present writer has commented on the myths of learned European administrators in Bombay (*Western Influence* 80; *Marathi* 31). The majority of them were non-English. The Irish or Welsh poor were sent to the colonies. So the presence of the Irish Robert Davis in Gomes's romantic fabula is not accidental. A brief summary of this picaresque novel might help in the analysis of its content, structure, and style.

It is a simple, third-person narrative, set in Oudh (west Bengal). The omniscient narrator tells the tale of the clash between a poor Brahman, Magnod, and the Irish tobacco planter, Robert Davis. Magnod is insulted by Robert at the dinner table. Suddenly, and rather unconvincingly, the orthodox Brahman decides to become a Thug-highwayman to take revenge upon the white man. He abandons his wife and two children on the same night and secretly runs away to the jungle. Magnod's wife, Bima, reads the letter he leaves behind and immediately, and also rather unconvincingly, commits suicide. The Brahmans do not accept her anglicized orphans, but Frei Francisco, the Catholic Portuguese missionary, appears on the scene like an angel to save them. The conservative Brahmans are thus pitted against the "civilized" Christians. Gomes writes: "That same day Bima's body was buried. The Brahmanic faith refused her its prayers, and the

Christian could not offer her its own . . ." (31). Such apparently humanitarian touches are numerous in Gomes's discourse. A number of sermons on topics such as spinsters, revenge, tolerance, dandism, gambling, love, jealousy interrupt the action of his pseudo-historical-cum-detective fiction.

Robert repents for insulting Magnod, and under the guidance of Frei Francisco, Magnod's children are converted to Christianity. They are sent to London for further education. There the Catholic Hartman family is expected to "civilize" the Indians in the company of Robert's daughter Helen. (Robert's wife had expired soon after giving birth to Helen.) Robert gambles, and is left penniless. At this point, Gomes employs the conventional device of the will. Robert's uncle has made one, according to which Helen must marry the dandy Richard; but she loves Thomas, Magnod's son. Richard seduces Emily, Magnod's daughter, who thereupon gives birth to a son, and breaths her last. Meanwhile, Magnod, who has disguised himself as Sobal the Jew, detects all these crimes. Instead of taking revenge on Robert, he murders Richard. Finally he confesses his crime; but he is not punished. On the contrary, the romance ends on an optimistic note: "A month after the capture of Delhi, the French priest Lebrun blessed the union of Thomas and Helen in the Church of Saint Francis Xavier and administered baptism to Magnod with the name of Robert Davis." (181). Thus the long-awaited assimilation of white and black is achieved, at least in fiction. The great freedom struggle of 1857 is used as merely a backdrop. It has nothing to do with the main plot of the picaresque novel, which is full of disguises, weird caves and valleys, romantic love scenes, beautiful scenery and adventures patterned on the *Waverley* novels.

Gomes's inspiration is wholly European. We can link his romance with definite trends in the European novel. He himself chose the label "romance," which appeared on the title page of the original novel. Thus his only novel belongs to what Fanon describes as "the period of unqualified assimilation" whereas Mascarenhas's fiction belongs to the third phase, "which is called the fighting phase" (178). The desire of the natives to assimilate with the culture of the alien masters was stronger in Goa than

in British India because nativistic movements were ruthlessly uprooted by the Portuguese.⁵ In Goa, the forces of resistance gathered rather late. (In British India, neo-Hinduism counter-checked the onslaught of Christianity.) Gomes's attitude to religious and other reforms was determined by his understanding of the history of the European Reformation and Renaissance.

There is a peculiar ambivalence in Gomes's delineation of themes, in his portrayal of characters, and even in his attitude towards Indian history. Although he pleads for the liberty of the enslaved Africans and Asians, he fails to voice an indictment of the white imperial rulers in India. One can understand his harsh satire on Brahmans and condemnation of Maharajahs (22, 23); but the tone of this discourse changes suddenly when he consciously juxtaposes the European masters with them. The following excerpts demonstrate his tug of war between loyalties:

Cholera and the Thug were born in the same country and in the same year. India is their native land; the year 1818, the date of their birth. . . . (36)

Frei Francisco did not approve of the English rule in India, but he preferred it to the despotism of the Nawabs and Rajahs.

With Magnod, whom he treated as his friend, Frei Francisco used to discuss at length the system of castes and slavery. The Sheridans and the Wilberforces might speak more eloquently; but never with greater indignation or more sincerity than the humble priest of Fyzabad; for conviction is worth more than the showy fineries of eloquence. (63)

Gomes seems to interpret Indian history and politics through Portuguese eyes (174-77). The myth of the "White man's burden" makes him somewhat inconsistent. For instance, he offers a sincere plea in his novel as well as in his essays for the enslaved Africans (131) but entitles Chapter XVI of the second part of *The Brahmans* (which fails to interpret the 1857 Uprising in the nationalist spirit): "1857—The Sepoy Mutiny." The Title echoes British policy. To show his humanism he criticises the policies of the white "Brahmans of Europe and America." But the alien pull is stronger than the native one in his analysis of historical events. Consequently he concludes the chapter on the epoch-making event of 1857 revolt with the pro-colonialist sentiment: "The Society of Jesus was all this" (177).

As a novel of the first phase of colonial “unsuccessful assimilation,” *The Brahmans* gives proof that Gomes has assimilated the culture of the occupying power. Gomes refers to his native Goa only twice in it. These passing references are necessarily meant to project the superior image of the Catholic Church, possibly as a reaction against the native imperialism of the Brahmans. In order to expose native Brahmanism, Gomes has juxtaposed to it a larger-than-life portrait of Frei Francisco. His praise for the priest is unbounded: “At a very tender age he had gone to Goa, where the Order of the Hermits of Saint Augustine possessed a stately convent and the college de Populo” (60).

At least fifty percent of Goans, mostly Christians, continue to maintain the image of the Portuguese Goans. The Christian press helped to manipulate the myth of the Vatican Goa in India. However, Mascarenhas’s fictional discourse of the fighting phase exposed many such myths. These differences are born of colonial history. Gomes’s discourse exhibits a number of the tactics of colonialism. Although his vision was historically conditioned, his views were progressive for his own time. But he could not escape the dichotomy of rejection or assimilation of alien culture. The dual heritage disintegrates his creative process. The resulting inconsistencies and dislocation of sensibilities can be discerned from the following mode of narration:

To men of liberal principles and to mankind it is perfectly indifferent whether India is called English or Brahminical; what they cannot consent to is, that the domination be exploitation instead of paternal tutelage. . . . Europe ought to sympathise with the land that formulated democracy in the game of chess, the land that sang with the voice of angels all the sublimities of Heaven, and with the voice of the nightingale all the beauties of earth; in its poem, the *Mahabharata*—the true Himalaya of literature. England fortunately comprehends what is her mission in India. (175)

The narrator hardly comments on the “double game” played by the colonizers to exploit India; but he takes every care to appreciate England’s divine “mission in India.” He repeatedly professes that “The most powerful instruments of civilisation are two: the Christian religion and education” (176). Deepa Kolkalkar has rightly observed Gomes’s neglect of the other down-trodden Hindu castes. She argues: “However, Gomes himself was

guilty of believing in this Brahmanism. He advocated that the lower castes should be converted to Christianity in order to liberate them from the ancient prejudices of their religion. Why could Gomes not advocate for them education as a means of liberating them as he did for the upper castes? Perhaps he felt that they could not be educated as he might have thought that their intellect was weak" (51-52). Kolwalkar does not explain the causes of this cultural dilemma in the mind of the creative writer. We get the answer to her question in Freire's theory of oppression: "Cultural invasion, which serves the ends of conquest and the preservation of oppression, always involves a parochial view of reality, a static perception of the world, and the imposition of one world view upon another. It implies the 'superiority' of the invader and the 'inferiority' of those who are invaded, as well as the imposition of values by the former, who possess the latter and are afraid of losing them" (129). In fact, the Portuguese "lost" Goa too late to the Indians.

Gomes shows some awareness of the art of characterization (3). He tells us how he would "create one or two characters and breathe life into them, clothe them as best" as he could (3). But his novel is populated by European administrators, women, dances, missionaries, and soldiers. On the native side, only one Brahman and a few Thugs are depicted, and with less ingenuity and skill. Gomes delightfully portrays "the festivities at Cawnpore"; but he never questions their economic and social implications. He simply states, "The Englishman in India travels like a Nawab" (111), bypassing all other, more complex sociopolitical realities. The handling of character, incident, and setting is in the Romantic mode. The characters tend to be types which symbolize some abstract principles. Very few of them grow into round characters.

Even the artificial or contrived scenes show how characters are made to play as puppets in the author's hand. Magnod's test of killing his pet dog and Frei Francisco's decision to sell canaries to Sobal make the melodramatic stuff much needed for a popular romance. The world in this romance is divided into two compartments. The colonial world is divided in turn by barracks and police stations. All the aesthetic expressions in Gomes's fictional

discourse show respect for the alien established order. They serve to create around the exploited characters an atmosphere of submission and of inhibition. This point can be further explained by weighing the elements of native and alien intertextuality in Gomes's colonial discourse.

A close scrutiny of intertextuality at various levels reveals the nature of the writer's colonial consciousness, which depends on his level of linguistic and literary acculturation. In *The Brahmans*, allusions to European scriptures and literature include: the biblical image of Christ (173), the gospel (106, 132), Job, Paul, Noah, St. Xavier (23), Eden (123), Eve (144), Paradise (105); Alcibiades and Byron (79), Machiavelli (80), Dante (122), Mozart, Cameons (145), Virgil (137), and so on. There are a few figurative expressions such as a "bastard son of Hyppocrates" (152), and the fire of Helea, David, and Goliath. Among the Indian allusions include: the *Vedas* (21), the *Shakuntala* (122) the *Hitopadesha* (138, 190), the *Mahabharata* (39, 175). Very few native words and expressions such as "a sacred noose," "nachny," "apas," "cruel Vishnu," "the mild Shiva" (175), find place in this discourse dominated by the European texts. Gomes's use of Sanskritic literary devices (for example, the characters scream and swoon) shows that he was not completely alienated from the tradition of Indian classical literature. Although he is called a Konkaniophile, his novel exhibits very little use of Konkani words, idioms and proverbs. Naturally in this élitist discourse we find hardly any folkloristic intertextuality. The novel is set in Fazabad but it was not possible for Gomes to use Hindi or Bengali heteroglossia. Ironically, we do not find a rich variety of Sanskritic or Brahmanical literary intertextuality in a novel named after the Brahmans. Both Gomes's urge to demystify the dominant Brahmanism and his alienation from native culture must have contributed to these incongruities in his prose style. (This judgement is based on his novel's English translation.)

As pointed out before, Gomes's centre of inspiration is European. We can link his novel not only with definite trends in Europe, but also with Indian romantic novels like Bhikaji Gunjekar's *Mochangad* (1871), and Romesh Chandra's *Jiban Prabhat* (1873). Gomes's novel may seem far superior to a

number of contemporary Indian novels. Many of them do not fulfil the primary conditions of a good novel. Even Gomes's romance, however, tends to be a religious tract. Its proselytizing purpose is clearly stated by Gomes (176, 177) and is further confirmed by his letter to Lamartine, written on 15 January 1861 (183-85). Many of its chapters are independent journalistic essays. It abuses history. Meenakshi Mukherjee observes that underlying "the use and abuse of history in Indian fiction of this period there must be intimations of the cultural crisis that was overtaking Indian society as a result of the impact of Europe" (39). Gomes imitates the Waverley model to achieve an authority in that craft of fiction. That makes his work ironic today. It does not show any use of indigenous modes of narration.

Gomes was aware of the limitations of his novel. We are told that there was not any "outstanding Portuguese novel with a clearly articulated liberal message" before *Os Brahamanes* (5). Owing to my lack of an adequate knowledge of Portuguese language and literature I cannot comment confidently on its reception. The secondary sources reveal that it was patronised by the white masters. It was "interesting" to different culture groups for different reasons (11). A comparative study of its reception in Lisbon and Panaji might throw more light on the colonial consciousness of both the dominators and the dominated. Sudhir Chandra's recent comparative study of nineteenth-century prose in Indian languages examines the dichotomy of West and East in that oppressive present. The West assumed a civilizing mission and the East was perceived as in need of civilization. The spectre of the polarity between tradition and modernity still haunts our literary culture today. Very few men of letters have consciously attempted the task of decolonization.⁶ In this context, Mascarenhas's *Sorrowing Lies My Land* is a striking example of the novel of the "fighting phase."

II

After *Os Brahmans*, for the next hundred years we do not find any remarkable novel in a Goan language. The Portuguese tyrants suppressed native voices and encouraged only Christian religious literature. T. B. Cunha has examined "the denationaliza-

tion of Goans" in detail (59-109). It was Lambert Mascarenhas who fictionalized this reality in his Dickensian novel *Sorrowing Lies My Land* (1955). This Chaddo-Kshatriya, whose ancestors were converted to Christianity long ago, is a living Goan journalist and a prolific writer. He was exiled from Goa by the Portuguese rulers in the 1950s, when the freedom-for-Goa movement had gathered full momentum all over India. He sought refuge in Bombay and published *Sorrowing Lies My Land* in English. It shows how the colonial counter-discourse could change and challenge what Gomes believed a century ago. In fact, *Sorrowing Lies My Land* is not really postcolonial, although it was published in independent India. Goa was still not free. The place of publication of this novel and its alien medium seem to have influenced its partially postcolonial discourse. It stands in contrast to *The Brahmans* in many ways. However, both Goan fabulists share a condition which Gareth Griffith describes as "a double exile" (9-19). It is a paradox of the colonial history of Goan literature that the first novel was published in Lisbon and the second one in free Bombay. The first was set in British Bengal, the latter in Portuguese Goa. Both were written in alien tongues. This bilingualism is a special problem.⁷ It is not, however, possible to isolate it from its political contexts.

Sorrowing Lies My Land is more realistic than *The Brahmans*. It is the tragic saga of a Christian peasant family. Its contemporary reviews (i-x), reprinted with the text, enthusiastically allude to modern novels by Pearl S. Buck, Charles Morgans, Tolstoy and others, and place Mascarenhas in their rank. We should not be misled by such enthusiastic reviews in free India. They show how anti-Portuguese militant movements were making progress there. This acute consciousness of the resistance to colonial forces is absent from Gomes's romance.

The third edition of *Sorrowing Lies My Land* (1970) does not contain any pretext except a subtitle: "a novel of Goa." As noted before, it does provide an epitext, consisting of ten pages of extracts from newspapers and periodicals. Its division into two parts and the numbers given to the chapters are peritexts in it. But it does not have chapter headings or sub-titles like *The Brahmans*. On the whole, its paratext does not provide any infor-

mation about the “historical author” or about his creative process. We have to construct the image of the “implied author” from the text. Since the novel is in the first person singular, the narrator is likely to be identified with the writer himself. It depicts the narrator’s and his father’s experience of the last phase of Portuguese colonial rule in Goa. The narrator reminisces, “May 28, 1926. What a gay and carefree day it was; yet what misery, ignominy and terror did it usher in for us, in years to come . . .” (59). Thus he slowly develops an anticolonial discourse by constructing effective dramatic scenes. The novel has an episodic structure. Its discourse design is determined by the paradigms of anglicization rather than those of nativization. The Portuguese cultural conquest overshadows it; but it is intended to shake the people. The narrator seems to adopt the role of awakener of the people. Fanon aptly analyses the salient features of the rise of the “fighting literature.” What he says in general is applicable to Mascarenhas in particular. Fanon states, “During this phase a great many men and women who up till then would never have thought of producing a literary work, now that they find themselves in exceptional circumstances—in prison, with the Maquis or on the eve of their execution—feel the need to speak to their nation, to compose the sentence which expresses the heart of the people and to become the mouthpiece of a new reality of action” (178). Gomes stood poles apart from this stage of the colonial consciousness.

If Mascarenhas’s realistic, traditional *Sorrowing Lies My Land* met with such critical acclaim, it was because of the subject rather than the treatment. Mascarenhas did not write an imaginary romance to entertain the European masters and to spread their message, as Gomes had. Neither he did write “tourist fiction” to introduce Goa to foreign visitors. In recounting the travails of Tobias Costa, the peasant protagonist who wants nothing more than to escape from Portuguese domination, Mascarenhas created a novel which is not only predominantly realistic but also nationalistic. It is a plain narrative which unfolds the tale of the sorrowing Goan land, as represented by the family of an ordinary Catholic farmer. Tobias is an educated, but hardly westernised, peasant. He is a patriot of the village called Copena. He heads a

family of nine members. His first daughter dies on the eve of her marriage, and the second one's engagement is cancelled because of difficulties created by the colonized élites, who dislike nationalists. She joins a convent. The eldest son marries a Hindu convert of a low caste and migrates to Bombay. The narrator himself is the second son. The vagabond third son is lured by the masks of conquest put on by the colonizers and migrates to Africa, never to return. The fourth son swallows the bait of the colonizers' agents. He is used by them against his own nationalist father in a court case filed by the Portuguese soldiers against the freedom fighters. The narrator himself somehow survives an attack of paralysis; but he is crippled forever. Emma, Tobias's humble, God-fearing wife, cannot stand such upheavals. She dies, leaving Tobias alone with a crippled son, Babush. Finally Tobias concludes that his nativism and patriotism have driven all the members of his family to despair. Yet he never betrays the native freedom fighters to the alien rulers. It is the basic feature of colonization that those who resist it are slowly alienated and ruined. Tobias courageously faces these ordeals when he is arrested and tried. He dies cherishing his dream of a Golden Goa freed from Portuguese chains.

The sociopolitical, economic, and religious tensions under alien rule are well brought out in this partially postcolonial discourse. Gomes's colonial discourse is quite different from it. Gomes voiced the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity which were never practised by the colonizers. Otherwise, after the fall of the Portuguese monarchy, Salazar would not have reduced Goa to misery. The narrator's paralysis in *Sorrowing Lies My Land* symbolically presents the sufferings of generations of Goans crippled by colonization. The narrator's awareness of the cultural invasion by the Portuguese, of the effects of acculturation, and of imperialism, is disclosed in the course of the narrative. Compared to Gomes's borrowed European humanism and liberalism, Mascarenhas's transparent counterdiscourse adopts a strong, ironic, anticolonial tone. This is why his treatment of characters is more complex than Gomes's. Whereas Gomes's characters remain abstract types, Mascarenhas's become more "round". They grow with every new experience.

Mascarenhas's indictment of Portuguese colonialism becomes apparent at various levels. The narrator hardly needs to comment directly on the conflicts caused by the cross-cultural encounter, because the tensions are revealed through situations in which the characters are made to act. The words and actions of the colonizers never match, and this tension varies from character to character. The attitudes of the colonized towards their rulers assume diverse and complex forms, ranging from total acceptance of Western culture—like that of Emma, to the staunch refusal to submit to it—like that of the nationalist Tobias. As the text is populated by Catholics, the voices of the Goan Hindus are rarely heard in it. It is one more colonial paradox that whereas Gomes's fictional discourse concentrated on the demystification of Brahmanism, Mascarenhas emphasises the ideology of nativism by exposing the myths manipulated by the alien dominators. Gomes's evaluation of European imperialism remains at the verbal level and is restricted to his parliamentary scenes, but Mascarenhas portrays fiery fights against imperialisms of all kinds.

Gomes did not show a consciousness of the crisis of identity faced by a conquered people. He did not expose the myth of the lazy native implied by the Portuguese in their use of the degrading word "sossegad" for the Goans. He glorified the victory of the British in the 1857 war. On the contrary, Mascarenhas's protagonist wants to drive the Portuguese "pests" out of Goa. His narrator's double name—Babush and Felipe—points to his dual identity. When is a boy of seven he asks Anastasio:

"What was it like during the Monarchy, Ansu? What's the difference between then and now?"

"... To me it's all the same... We drank a lot during the Monarchy and we are drinking the same quantity now during the Republic. That's a liberty, isn't it?" (5-6)

Such dialogue, which comments ironically on European imperialism and Christianity, is not to be found a hundred years earlier in *The Brahmans*. Gomes greedily fell upon Western values and recommended the Christian religion and Western education as remedies for India. Mascarenhas finds them futile and at many places parodies them. For example, he ridicules the shal-

low effects of the Europeanization of the Goans. Emma discovers her son Antonio kissing Dona Propercia's daughter, Clara. Although caught red-handed, Antonio pretends that he was "learning English with her" (8). The narrator comments: "But worried my mother really was. For nothing worse could have happened to her, religious and God fearing as she was, than to see her children drift from the straight and narrow path of recitude" (9).

Gomes's idealised images of the Catholic Church and the European conquerors come under vigorous attack in *Sorrowing Lies My Land* (22, 30, 33, 36). The Europeans ruthlessly divided the natives and ruled them. Their school system encouraged distinctions among the sons of peasants, labourers, and élite landowners. The poor learned to read and write in the vernaculars while the élite were taught Portuguese. The condition of the native teachers was, as usual, bad: "Old Jairam was a good soul. Teaching was not his sole means of livelihood which he actually eked out by selling provisions and groceries to the village folk" (13). Among the socio-cultural problems featured in Mascarenhas's anti-colonial discourse are the poverty of the peasants and labourers, their exploitation by the rulers, and their dislike of learning the alien language (14-15). Gomes dispatched Magnod's children to London for their education, which he glorified; but Mascarenhas boldly condemns the "miseducation" of the Goans: "English education was not much encouraged in those days in Goa, and in our village every son of landlord and the well to do had pursued higher studies in Portuguese. A few who had gone to English schools and studied up to the fourth or fifth standard, and then gone to Africa or Bombay to take up a job . . ." (24). In short, this education has no relevance to Goan life and culture. Gomes pleaded at length for Western education, but did not clarify his idea of such an education. Mascarenhas exposes the myth of educating the "savage" natives. Moreover he touches upon the problems of unemployment and migration, which Gomes never dreamed of.

A fine satirical scene in *Sorrowing Lies My Land*, which reminds us of the opening of Dickens's *Hard Times*, brings out several contradictions in the colonial approach to education. An alienated young Brahman teacher faces the problematics of linguistic

identity when Babush asks her whether their language is Konkani or Portuguese (28-30). Her true answer is suppressed by the fear of losing her job. She hesitantly tells the inquisitive student that their language is Portuguese, and that he should always speak in it at home. Babush faithfully follows the teacher's advice; but his patriot father beats him for using the tyrants' language in his house. Such confrontations and contradictions are many (18-19). The novelist seizes every opportunity to ridicule superstitions and blind Christian faith. Emma likes Christian rituals. But Tobias asks a pointed question about why the Christian converts have never shed their original Hindu or Muslim caste distinctions.

In *The Brahmans* the conversion and baptism of the Brahman orphans are glorified. Mascarenhas depicts a similar scene with greater depth and insight, and brings out the complexities involved in poor Laxmi's forced conversion to Christianity (30-36). There is a great difference between Thomas's marriage with the white (Irish) Helen and the black Laxmi's marriage with Tobias's son. The former symbolizes the colonized's desire for total assimilation with the superior European culture; and the latter, the impossibility of such assimilation. It is Emma who arranges for Laxmi's conversion. She never does willingly accept her as her daughter-in-law. Tobias wants to leave "Laxmi alone as far as religion was concerned, and let her decide for herself when she [grows] older . . ." (34). His criticism of Christianity in Goa stands in contrast to Gomes's divine mission to spread it all over India. Tobias calls it a farce and prefers a peasant's primitive paganism to corrupt Christianity. On the auspicious occasion of Laxmi's conversion he frankly tells the vicar and the congregation: "Who are the Christians? Are we? No! We are only supposed to be Christians. Let me tell you that I would rather be a pagan than a Christian of this type—for that would amount to one and the same thing . . ." (36). This type of religious counter-discourse was imaginable neither in Gomes's era nor in the Portuguese Goa of Mascarenhas's period of exile. The empire was writing back from Bombay. How strange are the ways of colonial history!

According to Mascarenhas's vision of reality, problems like migration and the absence of an authentic culture or identity are

consequences of exploitation by the Portuguese. Gomes did not interpret colonial reality in these terms. Adriano, a boy of nineteen in *Sorrowing Lies My Land*, is "promised a clerkship in the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Abadan, and he [leaves] for this Persian town . . ." (40). Aunt Aspulquel is the native spokesperson for the Portuguese rulers. She prefers to be associated with them in order to prosper in her business. She looks down upon Tobias's peasant status, and advises him to abandon it to start a new business under the grace of the white masters. She goes on gossiping and influencing the non-Europeanised Goans. The Carbral girl elopes with the soldier. Carlos becomes a priest. According to the decree issued by the Vatican in 1684, it was compulsory for at least one son from every family to become a priest.

The Konkani language was banned and Portuguese was imposed. Aping Europeans became the convention (46-51). Ligorio's match-making business unravels the mystery of colonial acculturation. He is a tailor but succeeds as a match-maker. Caesar joins the seminary. Francisco goes to Africa with Leandro. Donato goes to Burma. Only the crippled Babush resolves to stay with old Tobias to continue the tradition of cultivating the land of their forefathers. For all the others, foreign things are more attractive. Babush observes, "Young and impressionable as he was, Francisco was dazzled with Leandro's talk, mannerisms and possessions" (53). Tobias's ardent love of the land fails to prevent his sons from being entrapped by colonialism. His family slowly falls apart. Colonized people are people without a centre. Antonio's decision to marry Laxmi is convincing, but it is a last stroke that kills the sentimental Emma. Tobias's fight for the freedom of Goa ends with his own death. Babush is left alone; yet he concludes the tale on an optimistic note: "When that happens, I shall perhaps not be here, but I shall be happy in the knowledge that those who will tread on my grave, will be free men—free as my father always wanted them to be" (179). A century ago Gomes might have dreamt of an independent India but did not mention it in his novel.

The difference between the political consciousnesses of these Goan writers becomes clearer in their attitude to Europeans and

their institutions. Gomes's discourse frequently echoes Orientalists and humanists from the West. His device of the disguised Jew Sobal is not incidental. Like that of the Irish (represented in the novel by the planter Robert), the image of the Jew has a long cultural history. Edward Said writes:

Whereas in the past it was European Christian Orientalists who supplied European culture with arguments for colonizing and suppressing Islam, as well as for despising Jews, it is now the Jewish national movement that produces a cadre of colonial officials.

(*"Orientalism"* 221)

It is interesting to compare Gomes's Robert with Rudyard Kipling's Kim, who was an Irish outcast boy and later an essential player in the British secret service. Both Kipling and Gomes present a false picture of the "mutiny of 1857." What Said writes of *Kim* is equally applicable to *The Brahmins*: "*Kim* is a major contribution to this Orientalized India of the imagination, as it is also to what historians have come to call 'the invention of tradition'" (*Culture* 181). Under such circumstances, Mascarenhas's challenge to that Orientalism and colonialism is a challenge, in Said's words: "to the muteness imposed upon the Orient as object." Where his predecessor feared to tread, he dares to develop a counter-discourse, albeit at the periphery of Portuguese Goa.

The Prospero-Caliban and Crusoe-Friday complexes were not developed during Gomes's times. But Mascarenhas's *Sorrowing Lies My Land* needs to be interpreted in terms of these complexes (see 59-60). Tobias, the author's mouthpiece, bluntly tells his wife: "Well I want this land of my fathers to be free of this Portuguese pest, so that Goans may rule it the way we choose" (60). He has suffered the ravages of an alien imperialism. He is aware of the lack of strong nativistic movements in Goa. He is "sick to see our people so emasculated, so complacent, so devoid of self respect and political consciousness." According to him, "these damned Portuguese" have done nothing for the Goans during their four-hundred-year regime. A hundred year ago Gomes had good words about British rule in India, and was very silent, or let us say "muteness was imposed," regarding Portuguese rule in Goa. In Mascarenhas's view, the Revolution in

Portugal (1926) brought for Goans "a life of repression and humiliation." The narrator's mature analysis of the political fate of Goa (65-66) is the exact opposite of what Gomes wrote of the role of the British in Indian politics. Tobias rightly diagnoses the ills of imperialism:

"These damn Portuguese have so denationalised us that we may as well have no soul of our own!" commented my father bitterly and helplessly. "We, the Christians in particular, are really a sorry sight! More than four centuries of colonial oppression have made us foreign in our own country! Pffah!" (67)

We have already commented on the limitations of Gomes's attitude to Indian history. Mascarenhas has outgrown some of the limitations imposed on it by Oriental myths. Tobias always speaks proudly of native history. In particular, he glorifies the pre-Portuguese native rulers. He tells his children: "Do you know, children, that Goa was fabulously prosperous before the Portuguese arrived here? Our forefathers were already reading and writing and painting when the Europeans were still eating raw fish and meat and wearing skins" (29). Further he narrates tales of the brave Kadamba kings before Albuquerque invaded Goa in 1510. Children ask him not to "tell yarns" because their teachers never tell them such heroic tales of the Indian heroes. Instead, they always speak highly of the Portuguese warrior-heroes. Their textbooks are designed to impress the superiority of the white race and inculcate inferiority among the black. Compare Gomes's devaluing remarks on Indian Nawabs and Rajahs with Tobias's views. His romance reflects the hope of the regeneration of India under alien domination, while Mascarenhas throws light on the sinister side of it.

The second part of *Sorrowing Lies My Land* shows how an ideological system can operate beneath the surface of an imaginative fiction. It depicts the last phase of the freedom movement in Goa. Its leader was Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. "'Jai Hind' became anathema to the colonialist and Gandhi cap like the red flag to a bull" (152). The chapters on the mock elections, *Satyagraha* and the court trial are charged with intense conflict, suspense and high drama. Once again the absolute demarcation between East and West is reinforced. The saga of the Catholic

family might have ended with the protagonist's defeat and sad demise. But the invalid narrator's epilogue sounds a new optimistic note. He declares, "India is free. Asia is asserting itself. Britain, wise and perspicacious, has bowed to the will of the people. So has France. Yet the Portuguese still holding down with a brutality that is inconceivable." (179). Finally he expresses his belief that the land of his forefathers, which now lies sorrowing, will soon be free and smile again. He has traversed a long path from where Gomes stood.

From the sociological viewpoint, *The Brahmans* did not incorporate all the varied cultural and socio-economic groups in Indian society. Gomes intended the idealised characters in his romance to be taken as real human beings. They were larger than life, as almost all characters in nineteenth-century European novels were. They were élite types rather than individuals. Individualism was unheard of in Indian feudal society. Gomes's characters were not the natural products of the socio-cultural conditions of the time. They cannot be related to the history or geography of that period. *Sorrowing Lies My Land* presents a richer variety of characters. Many voices are heard in it. The hierarchy of characters in both novels is dependent not only on the caste system, but also on the authors' degree of loyalty to the alien rulers. Very often the interests of castes and classes clashed. The present revolts were suppressed due to such frictions among Indians (*Sorrowing Lies My Land* 68-70). Mascarenhas's narrator elucidates:

Economic conditions had deteriorated in Goa a great deal during the last two years, and the price of coconuts having reached a new low, the landlords of our village whose income depended mainly on the sale of it, called a meeting to decide upon the reduction in the wages of the labourers. (68)

Portugal, which was systematically suppressing us, introduced in the Parliament a bill which meant to put last nail in the coffin of our slavery. (85)

These novels echo contemporary politics in different ways. Yet mass culture is not represented in them at all.

Mascarenhas's style is neither rhetorical nor bombastic like Gomes's. It is plain and simple. Occasionally it takes lyrical flight,

especially when he describes the beauty of Goan nature (30, 57, 121). The twin processes at work in the nineteenth-century Goan prose style were Westernization and Sanskritization. The impact of these processes is deeper on Gomes than on his successor. By the mid-twentieth century the indigenous elements of style were weakened by strong alien forces. Since Mascarenhas has chosen English as his medium, a strong process of Anglicization is inevitable. Yet his use of several Konkani and Portuguese words and expressions in his English fiction marks a new phase in the process of stylistic acculturation. In a separate research paper (1993) I have examined folkloric intertextuality in *Sorrowing Lies My Land* and a Marathi novel, *Jogin*. This comparative study revealed that both these Goan writers were equally alienated from native folk literature and culture. Gomes's novel retained some allusions to the Indian classical heritage. Folkloric intertextuality, however, was absent from it. The intertextuality of Goan song, music, dance, drama, tales, and rituals is greater and richer in *Sorrowing Lies My Land*. Perhaps this is the outcome of the nationalist movements. In this sense *Sorrowing Lies My Land* displays more features of realism and Indianness than Gomes's romance. Briefly put, the prose styles of both writers are representative of the different phases of literary acculturation in the colonial situation.

From the point of view of narratology, these novels stand apart from each other. Gomes is a detached and distant observer. His omniscient narrative and authorial intrusions, contrived plot and digressions, typed characters and dramatized dialogue, make his discourse artificial. To the postcolonial reader it seems to be a historical document, an imitation of European forms, devoid of Indian reality. Mascarenhas's realistic fiction is more authentic. Babush is the eye-witness of this colonial drama.

Sorrowing Lies My Land is postcolonial literally. It was produced in the independent part of India. It depicts the colonial reality of Portuguese Goa. *The Brahmans* is fully colonial. What is distinctive about the languages and genres to which they both belong is that they are produced for the West. Their readers are educated in the Western style. Their critical revaluations—even

of *Sorrowing Lies My Land*—are not really fully postcolonial, in Kwame Anthony Appiah's terms (336). Although Mascarenhas tries to escape from Portuguese domination and construct an anticolonial discourse, his theories of fiction are irreducibly informed by his interpellation in a British-American literary tradition. All aspects of Goan cultural life have been influenced by the passage of Goan society through Portuguese colonialism. Now a writer can not easily escape the traps of neocolonialism. Not all Indian societies today are in the fullest sense postcolonial. The same is true of Indian literatures. So more space-clearing gestures are needed to decolonize the canon. The revaluation of the Indian literatures of the colonial period from a comparative perspective would be a first step in this direction.

NOTES

¹ Owing to a lack of knowledge of the language I have not consulted Francisco Louis Gomes's *Os Brahamanes* (Lisbon, 1866) in Portuguese. All references to the text are taken from the English translation, entitled *The Brahmans*. The name of the translator is not mentioned; but the introduction is written by Armando Menezes, who must have done the translation for the Dr. F. L. Gomes Centenary Committee. Gomes (1829-1869) was a medical practitioner, administrator, journalist and politician. Before 1866, he had published three biographies and some essays in Portuguese. In 1861 he became a member of parliament. In 1865 he suffered from tuberculosis and went to the Portuguese island of Madeira for a rest cure. He must have written *Os Brahamanes* during this period.

Lambert Mascarenhas is the leading contemporary Goan writer in English. All references to *Sorrowing Lies My Land*, first published by Hind Kitab, Bombay, 1955, are taken from its third edition, published by Goa Publications, Panaji-Goa, in 1970. Both novels have been translated into Indian languages and have been placed on post-graduate curricula in some universities.

² My research project on "The 19th Century Literature in British Bombay and Portuguese Goa: a Comparative Study" was sponsored by the Dr. S. G. Malshe Research Centre of S.N.D.T. Women University, Bombay, through a Dr. Malshe Research Fellowship (1993-94). The paper was presented and discussed on 24 September 1994 in a Seminar organised by the Centre.

³ Books by British writers like Mary Carpenter, Dennis Kincaid, and others of the colonial period present similar views. I happened to read many references of the same kind in the unpublished letters, memoirs, and other manuscripts housed in the India Office Library, London. It is apparent that after the 1857 Revolt the British rulers adopted more neutral policies in native religious matters than their Portuguese counterparts in Goa. The differences between their policies have left long-lasting marks on the literatures produced in these neighbouring regions.

⁴ It is interesting to note that the romantic myth of the Irish peasant prevailed because of the Celtic Movement. Similarly, the Indian peasantry and village life were glorified after the nativistic movements gathered momentum in the early twentieth century. Only recently have the Dalit and rural writers begun to interrogate this élitist myth-making.

⁵ My study of Western influences on Marathi drama (1818-1947) confirmed that the native generic elements do assimilate with or resist the alien literary kinds accord-

ing to the phases of acculturation. The colonial textual politics of representation is another interesting topic for study. In "Appropriate (d) Discourse: Plagiarism and Decolonization," Marilyn Randall argues: "In the pre-revolutionary phase, colonial theory posits an inevitable double bind situation in which the colonized culture, desiring assimilation, is condemned either to a sterile and disempowering repetition of the discourse of the colonizer, or a cultural self-devalorization: the notion of Culture cannot exist outside of the validating influence of the institutional center which is its source and guarantee."

⁶ In two research papers, "The Whirligig of Taste: Decolonization of Teaching and Research in India" and "The Whirligig of Literary Taste: Impact or Alienation?" I have explained various aspects of literary, inter- and intra-cultural imperialism in the neocolonial situation and emphasised the need to decolonize literature.

⁷ In Goa, multilingualism is common, but it has not been studied from the sociological viewpoint. Jane Miller's *Many Voices: Bilingualism, Culture and Education* provides a model for such a study (110-42). Goans have been facing the crisis of their linguistic identity since 1510. It has affected their literature and culture deeply; and their fiction is no exception.

WORKS CITED

- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. "Is the Post in Postmodernism the Post in Postcolonial?" *New Literary History* 2.17 (1991) 336-57.
- Baker, Ernest A. *The History of the English Novel*. 1936. London: Barnes and Noble, 1968.
- Bhabha, Homi K. "The Other Question: Difference, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism." *Literature, Politics and Theory*. Ed. Francis Baker, Peter Hulme et al. London: Methuen, 1986. 148-72.
- Chandra, Sudhir. *The Oppressive Present: Literature and Social Consciousness in Colonial India*. Delhi: Oxford UP, 1992.
- Cunha, T. B. *Goa's Freedom Struggle*. Bombay: Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, 1961.
- Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. First published in French 1961. Trans. 1967. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982.
- Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Trans. Myra Bergman Ramos. 1972. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977.
- Gomes, Francisco Louis. *Os Brahamanes*. Lisbon: Typographia da Gazetta De, 1866. English trans. *The Brahmans*. Bombay: Sindhu Publications, 1971.
- Gomes, Olivinu. *Village Goa*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Co., 1987.
- Griffith, Gareth. *A Double Exile: African and West Indian Writing Between Two Cultures*. London: Marion Boyars, 1978.
- Hirsch, Edward. "The Imaginary Irish Peasant." *PMLA* 105-06 (1991): 1116-33.
- Kolwalkar, Deepa U. "Francisco Louis Gomes: His Contribution to the Growth of Political Consciousness in Goa." M.A. Diss. Goa Univ. 1991.
- Mascarenhas, Lambert. *Sorrowing Lies My Land*. 1955. Panjim-Goa: Goa Publications, 1970.
- Miller, Jane. *Mary Voices: Bilingualism, Culture and Education*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983.
- Mukherjee, Meenakshi. *Realism and Reality: The Novel and Society in India*. New Delhi: Oxford UP, 1985.

- Patil, Anand. *Marathi Natakawaril Ingraji Prabhav*. Bombay: Lokwangmaya, 1993.
- . "Perspectives on the Folkloristic Intertextuality in Goan Novel: A Case Study." *Indian Scholar* 15.2 (1993): 19-42.
- . *Western Influence on Marathi Drama*. Panaji-Goa: Rajhauns, 1993.
- . "The Whirligig of Literary Taste: Impact or Alienation?" *Indian Literature* 156 (Aug. 1993): 156-61.
- . "The Whirligig of Taste: Decolonization of Teaching and Research in India." *New Quest* 96 (Nov. 1992): 341-56.
- Randall, Marilyn. "Appropriate(d) Discourse: Plagiarism and Decolonization." *New Literary History* 22 (1991): 525-39.
- Said, Edward. "Orientalism Reconsidered." *Literature, Politics and Theory*. Ed. Francis Baker, Peter Hulme et al. London: Methuen, 1986. 221.
- . *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1993.
- Viswanathan, Gauri. *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India*. London: Faber, 1990.
- Vogeley, Nancy. "Defining the 'Colonial Reader': *El Periquillo Sarmiento*." *PMLA* 102.5 (1987): 784-99.
- Xavier, P. D. *Goa: A Social History*. Panaji-Goa: Rajhauns, 1993.