

## Preface

THIS BOOK IS a shortened version of *A Invenção de Goa: Poder Imperial e Conversões Culturais nos séculos XVI e XVII*, published in Lisbon in 2008 by Imprensa de Ciências Sociais. It has been adapted to suit the needs of an English-speaking readership.

More than a decade has passed since its original publication, yet *The Invention of Goa* still provides essential clues for the study of Portuguese imperialism and its colonial expressions in India in general, and Goa in particular. The book discusses the multiple agencies at work in the empire, including the hopes and strategies of Europeans and local societies as they faced the challenges of colonialism. As a result, it de-essentialises the categories of coloniser and colonised, making visible instead their inner-group diversity of interests, their different modes of identification, the specificity of local dynamics in their interactions and exchanges – in other words the several threads that wove the fabric of colonial life.

At the same time, this work considers the inhabitants of Goa in the *longue durée*, zooming into Goan society as part and parcel of a long political tradition of dominance, from the Bijapur and Bahmanid sultanates to the Vijayanagar and Portuguese empires. It thus parts company from the assumption that the inhabitants of Goa shared centuries of political culture that had framed their mechanisms for coping with external political domination. I show that their experience allowed locals to occupy *the established* position – to use the vocabulary of the sociologist Norbert Elias – while naturally perceiving the Portuguese as yet another group of *outsiders*. However, since the Portuguese were also competing to

be *the established*, conversion policies were devised to allow them to become the point of reference for Goan society.

*Religion and Empire* focuses not on the city of Goa itself – the usual focus of traditional scholarship – but also on the rural hinterlands that became part of Goa. It contends that the relationship between the Portuguese Crown and the villages of Goa was a crucial factor in the persistence and durability of Portuguese imperial and colonial presence.

Between 2008 and 2022, new insights have appeared to enrich and complement the conclusions of the present book. Besides my own work, and one that I co-authored with Ines G. Županov, *Catholic Orientalism: Portuguese Empire and Indian Knowledge* (2015), various articles and books have been published by Ines G. Županov, Giuseppe Marcocci, Jorge Flores, Paolo Aranha, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Zoltán Biedermann, among others, adding new dimensions to the debate, frequently supporting the conclusions of this book and sometimes challenging them. Yet I believe *The Invention of Goa* continues to be of fundamental value to those interested in the Portuguese colonisation of Asia.

Many people and institutions helped me while I wrote the Portuguese version. Besides my PhD supervisors Kirti N. Chaudhuri and António Manuel Hespanha, members of the research group ARACNE – particularly Catarina Madeira Santos, Cristina Nogueira da Silva, and Pedro Cardim – were colleagues with whom I first discussed my work. Conversations with Aldo Mazzacane, António Camões Gouveia, Chandrakant Keni, Cristiana Bastos, Diogo Ramada Curto, Fernando Bouza Alvarez, Iris Kantor, Jaime Reis, Jean-Frédéric Schaub, José Pedro Paiva, Father Joseph Velinkar, Father Nascimento Mascarenhas, Paolo Prodi, Pedro Lains, Peter Ronald de Souza, Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, Rosa Maria Perez, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam helped me widen my perspectives, understand my limits, and enrich my knowledge of several subjects.

The Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian and Comissão Nacional para a Comemoração dos Descobrimentos

Portuguese of Portugal, and the École Française de Rome, offered me the financial aid to pursue research in libraries and archives across the globe.

This English edition has been made possible by the contributions of many people and institutions. I want to thank Cátia Antunes and Sanjay Subrahmanyam for encouragement to publish it, and Cátia Antunes, Tamar Herzog, and Ines G. Županov for helping me with some of the formal aspects of the book. I am grateful to FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (Portugal) – which financed the initial translation by Jason Keith Fernandes, and to the V.M. Salgaocar Foundation (Goa, India) for sponsoring the English revision.

I am also deeply indebted to Rukun Advani, editor at Permanent Black, for his refinement of the initial translation. Rukun's queries, observations, and corrections have been crucial to this book's readability.

Sanjay Subrahmanyam was the first reader of the English manuscript. He then gave a huge amount of his time and energy towards its perfection, continuing to re-read and help until the very end. I have no words to thank him for his generosity.

Through all these processes, family and friends have been of fundamental importance with their support and understanding. My husband Steffen and my children, Madalena and João, were my permanent *compagnons de route*.



All footnoted source citations are abbreviated, their full forms are given in the Bibliography. Citations of non-English sources appear in translation.

Parts of Chapter 2 were published in English in “Conversos and Novamente Convertidos: Law, Religion and Identity in the Portuguese Kingdom and Empire (16th and 17th Centuries)”, *Journal of Early-Modern History*, Vol. 15 (2011), 255–87; “Empire, Religion and Identity: The Making of Goan People in the Early-Modern Period”, in Denis Sindic, Manuela Barreto, and Rui

Costa Lopes, eds, *Power and Identity*, London and New York: Psychology Press, 2014, 13–30; and “Reducing Difference in the Portuguese Empire? A Case Study from Early-Modern Goa”, in S. Aboim, P. Granjo, and A. Ramos, eds, *Changing Societies: Legacies and Challenges, Vol. I – Ambiguous Inclusions: Inside Out, Inside In*, Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2018, 241–61.

Parts of Chapter 5 were published in English in “Disquiet in the Island: Conversion, Conflicts and Conformity in Sixteenth-Century Goa”, *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 44, 3 (2007), 269–95.

Parts of Chapter 6 were published in English in “Power, Religion and Violence in 16<sup>th</sup> Century Goa”, in Cristiana Bastos, ed., *Parts of Asia, Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, n° 19 (2010), 19–41.

Parts of Chapter 7 were published in English in “Race and Caste: Identity Narratives in Goan Elites”, in María Elena Martínez, Max S. Herring Torres, and David Nirenberg, eds, *Race and Blood in Spain and Colonial Hispano-America*, Berlin and London: LIT Verlag, 2012; and in Ângela Barreto Xavier and Ines G. Županov, “Orientalists from Within: Indian Genealogists, Philologists and Historians”, in Ângela Barreto Xavier and Ines G. Županov, *Catholic Orientalism: Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge, 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015.



I dedicate this book to my parents, and aunts Carmita and Manuela.