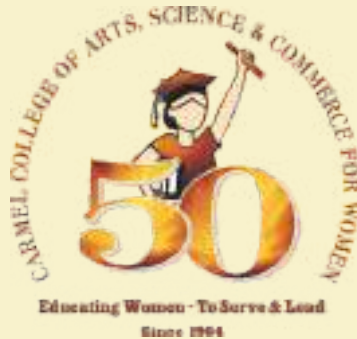


July 2021

Volume 3, Number 2

ISSN 2349-8358



Kruti / कृति

A Peer-Reviewed Multidisciplinary Research Journal



**CARMEL COLLEGE OF
ARTS, SCIENCE AND COMMERCE FOR WOMEN**

Re-Accredited by NAAC with 'A' Grade (3rd cycle)

Nuvem, Salcete, GOA
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Kruti

Every person in the world from birth to death does innumerable deeds. As one grows, one's personality also develops and meanings and references to such deeds keep changing. But those who concentrate on their deeds for the sake of acquiring knowledge and building character, they stand to acquire a higher level of excellence.

To gain knowledge, one of the most important skills is writing. To whom God has given the skill or gift of writing, to those people is given strength to light the flame in millions to be creative and thoughtful.

Any completion of creative work, appears in the form of Kruti. As per the nature of the deed we need to understand the creativity of the act. If Kruti is taken only in the literary sense as a piece of writing, then one is narrowing its meaning. Every particle of nature shows creativity. Kruti in a broader sense is creativity through any individual. Scientifically Kruti is connected to people with all branches of arts, science and commerce and where, deep thought analysis and valuation gives shape to creation.

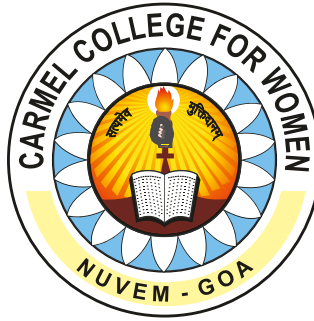
कृति

किसी भी सर्जनात्मक कार्य की पूर्ति कृति के रूप में रूपायित होती है। कृति की प्रकृति के अनुरूप हमें रचना की रचनाशीलता की थाह मिलती है।

कृति के निर्माण में क्रियाशीलता विद्यमान रहती है। यदि इस कृति के अर्थ को हम मात्र साहित्यिक स्तर पर ले तो इसके बृहद अर्थ को संकुचित करने जैसा होगा। प्रकृति के कण - कण में क्रियाशीलता नजर आती है। कृति का बृहद आयाम यह है कि वह किसी भी चेतन जीव द्वारा निर्मित क्रिया है लेकिन संशोधन के अंतर्गत यदि हम सोचे तो कह सकते हैं कि कला, विज्ञान, वाणिज्य या अन्यान्य शाखा से जुड़े विचारक विवेचन, विश्लेषण एवं मूल्यांकन के द्वारा अपने विचारों को मूर्त आकार देकर उसे क्रिया में परिणत करते हैं वही कृति है।

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ISSN 2349-8358

Printed by : Vijaydeep Graphics, Navelim, Goa 403707. Ph.0832-2730062

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Foreword

I am pleased to see that the research journal committee of the college has come out with another issue. I congratulate them for their dedicated efforts and express my gratitude. At a time when there is much to occupy our concerns, it is reassuring to note that there is refuge in research.

The cross-section of the papers truly makes it a multidisciplinary effort and points the way for all academic disciplines to move towards a holistic outlook.

Goa seems to be a primary focus of this issue with papers on the language, literature and colonial history of the state. This includes a joint paper from Portugal with Sandra Ataíde Lobo, Ph.D., Researcher, Centro de Humanidades, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Lisbon.

As we scale up to a digital version with this issue, I wish the research journal committee all the best to meet the needs of the local and global academic fraternity. This issue is being hosted on the Carmel College website.

It is encouraging to note that this issue includes papers by students as well. This will, I hope, motivate other students to recognize the value of research.

In a COVID-skewed world, academic timelines have been severely disrupted. My plea to all who peruse these pages is to stay safe and invest this time in fruitful research.

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Kruti / कृति: The Journey

छाए आकाश में काले काले बादल देखे,
झोंके खाते हवा में सरसी के कमल देखे,
कानों में बातें बेला जुही करती थी,
नाचते मोर झूमते हुए पीपल देखे।

- निराला

[Saw a dark sky laden with black clouds
Saw lotuses whirling with gusts of wind.
Bela and Juhi flowers whispered in my ears.
Saw dancing peacocks and the swaying peepal.]*

-Nirala

We are glad to bring out this monsoon issue of *Kruti*. The lyrical poetry of Nirala, which is considered in one of the papers in this issue, enjoins us to rededicate our efforts to research along with the resurgence in nature.

Over the years, since its inception as a peer-reviewed multidisciplinary research journal in 2014, the research journal committee has strived to live up to its mandate of inviting and delivering quality research.

The papers featured here have been through a rigorous screening process which includes a plagiarism check and internal review by the committee, followed by external blind peer-review. Successive proofs have been obtained to try to weed out errors. Readability has been kept in mind, both for the student and the researcher.

The selection for this issue is varied and absorbing. The first two papers reference the colonial period of Goa – one in terms of publishing and the reading habit; the second in terms of the social issue of alcoholism. Drink (and food) remain the *leitmotif* in the paper on how what you ate defined your class in nineteenth-century France. Coming home to Goa, food cultures in Konkani novels in English translation are explored. With respect to drama, the personality of Shylock is examined in a paper on Shakespeare. The spotlight is thrown on the fiction of Manohar Malgonkar -- a lesser known pre-Independence novelist of India. Rohinton Mistry is considered as a more recent novelist of the Indian diaspora. A theoretical overview of ecocriticism precedes the paper on land acquisition in writings from Goa.

This RJC has worked hard to bring *Kruti* to its present, revamped form. The team is a mix of young and young at heart, motivated faculty who will hold the reins of *Kruti* in the future and steer its course. This has been a learning experience for all to understand the dynamics of publishing a research journal.

At all times, the Carmel management has been inspiring us to persevere against all odds. We are hopeful that with a resurgent team, and a digital presence, *Kruti* is set to scale newer heights.

Research Journal Committee

*Translation by Gauravi Keni

Goa, the World and the Printed Page: History of the Book, Reading and Publishing in the Nineteenth Century

** Sandra Ataide-Lobo and ** Frederick Noronha*

Abstract

In the mid-sixteenth century, Goa was home to the first movable-type printing press in the whole of Asia. This paper briefly traces the history of the press in Goa, and points to some little-noticed facts of parts of the colonial period when reading could have been a dangerous activity. The fight for liberal institutions affected both Portugal and its colonies simultaneously. The latter section of the paper looks at the changing reality after the 1960's in Goa.

Keywords: Asia, Goa, history of the book, nineteenth century, printing

I. THE BEGINNINGS

The Press Shuts Down in Goa

Goa plays an important role in the history of print in Asia, with the first movable-type printing press in the entire continent being introduced in Goa way back in the year 1556. However, it was only in the nineteenth century that we come across consistent native activity in this field.

The beginnings of the contemporary history of the press in Goa can be traced back to 1821. This was preceded by a period of almost 70 years in which all presses were banned from the territory in 1754, by order of the Marquis of Pombal.¹ Portugal was then being ruled by an absolute monarchy, which was worried by the winds of political change that were spreading over Europe and America. Strict censorship was imposed on the circulation of books and periodicals in Portugal and its colonies, creating significant difficulties to access banned books, which included a vast range of enlightenment and liberal literature. Reading could, in such conditions, become a dangerous activity, promoting circuits of clandestine circulation, which are yet to be studied in the case of Goa.

Liberal Propaganda

There are, nevertheless, signs that those works reached the hands of the local intelligentsia, such as Luis de Menezes Bragança [1878-1938], the Goan Republican intellectual and critic of Portuguese colonialism of the early-twentieth century. This

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becomes obvious in several of his articles, relying on the records of his family's rich library. On the other hand, contemporary testimonies speak of liberal propaganda circulating, if needed, in the form of manuscript copies.²

This early clandestine introduction of forbidden literature could possibly have had some connections with the presence of British troops stationed in the territory for several years, since the end of the eighteenth century; the presence of Portuguese outcasts and dissidents who had been integrated into the local civil and military service; the proximity to Bombay which was home to a Goan community with access to alternative information channels; and the links with the small Goan intelligentsia residing in the Portuguese metropolis and other European spaces.

The Press Restarts in Goa

In any case, there is evidence that the news of the August 1820 liberal revolution in Portugal – which reached Goa only after almost a year – met the aspirations of a part of the local intelligentsia. This group, allied with the metropolitan liberals stationed in the territory, acted to force the proclamation of the new political order and assume control of the process. Soon after, the revolutionaries that overtook local government imported a press from Bombay and started the first local newspaper, named the *Gazeta de Goa* in 1821, acknowledging the central role played by the press in the dynamics of modern liberal societies.

II. THE PRESS AND THE FIGHT FOR LIBERAL INSTITUTIONS

What is particularly interesting about this process is the fact that the fight for liberal institutions simultaneously affected both Portugal and its colonies. In the following decades, this was marked by the Portuguese constitutional tradition initiated in 1822. These texts granted Portuguese citizenship rights to the natives of the colonies and considered all territories as Portuguese provinces run by similar institutions, even if they contained enough ambiguities to permit the exclusion, in a subtle manner, of a considerable part of those natives and the existence of illiberal government in parts of those territories. Through this statement of principles, the Portuguese liberals positioned themselves in the vanguard of the European colonial powers and were perceived as such by the Goan liberals.

Pioneers, Periodicals and Publishing

British historian Christopher Bayly emphasizes the need to evaluate the impact of the Iberian liberal revolutions, in particular the Portuguese revolution, among the Indian intellectuals under the British Empire. Bayly noted that contemporary Indian periodicals echoed the public commemorations of the Portuguese revolution's anniversaries, in cities like Calcutta and Bombay, promoted by Indian liberal pioneers, including Raja Rammohan Roy. Our personal conviction is that there is a need to study possible Goan links to these circles, through the migrant communities. We underline this environment, as it is

fundamental to understand the evolution of Goan publishing through the century.

In its early phases, this activity was totally dominated by political concerns. Only in the approach to the second half of the nineteenth century, when the Portuguese liberal monarchy stabilized, was some space created for other agendas.

The fact that the Goan Catholic intelligentsia immersed itself in the fights between the liberals and absolutists -- and, afterwards, between the conservative and progressive liberals -- not only created complexities and dissensions in the local society, and amongst colonizers and colonized, which defy the tracing of linear frontiers, but also contributed to the physical dispersion of Goan publishing activity.

Bernardo Peres da Silva

Here, we encounter the first known significant political text authored by a Goan in the nineteenth century, which was actually published in Brazil, in 1832. The author, Bernardo Peres da Silva (1775-1884), was one of the two natives elected to the Portuguese parliament when elections were held for the first time in Goa in 1822. After the setback to the first liberal monarchy in early 1823 by a counter-revolutionary movement, Peres da Silva was re-elected to Parliament in Lisbon after the restoration of the regime by the heir of the throne, Pedro IV. Pedro in 1826 granted a constitutional Charter to Portugal and abdicated in favour of his daughter, Maria da Glória. Pedro, himself, opted to stay on as the king of Brazil, where he had commanded the independence movement in 1822.

The year later, a new counter-revolution arose and many liberals were forced into exile, amongst them, Peres da Silva who first went to England and then headed to Brazil, under the protection of the king of Brazil. In 1831, Pedro again abdicated his throne, leaving for Europe to defend his daughter's rights to the Portuguese throne. In the middle of 1832, he entered Portugal to command a civil war that would last until 1834.

Peres da Silva, still in Brazil, but preparing to join the liberal forces in Portugal, published *"A Dialogue between a doctor in philosophy and a Portuguese of India in the city of Lisbon about the political constitution of the Portuguese reign, its advantages, and the means to retain it"*. In this text he tried to convince his fellow citizens in Goa about the importance of defending the liberal cause. He made it clear to his potential readership that this project should involve all citizens of the reign, pointing to the disappearance of the frontiers between colonizers and colonized, when the juridical guarantees of equal rights and duties would support the effective construction of a liberal society. In that context, he looked at the society to be built after the conflict, underlining the importance of investing in education as a means of creating local prosperity and of building a vigilant public opinion under the guidance of the most learned individuals and of "public writers."

In 1834, on the eve of the end of civil war in Portugal, Peres da Silva was appointed Governor of Portuguese India, this being the only time that a native Goan had such political

responsibility. Soon after arriving, Peres da Silva faced a revolt headed by a section of the Portuguese military and civil servants who did not accept the situation. Compelled into exile with his followers, he first fled to Daman and later to Bombay.

From this position he and his supporters tried, without success, to regain the government of Portuguese India.

What we seek to call attention to, is to the role played by the press in this civil conflict, which turned out to be, in great extent, a war of newspapers and pamphlets, published mainly in Portuguese language, in Goa, Daman and Bombay. This conflict opened a tradition in Goan political debate through the press, which defied the colonial frontiers.

Migration and Publishing

Moments of political crisis, such as the flight of political leaders to British India, particularly to Bombay, would be accompanied by the publication of new periodicals and intervention in others run by the Goan community. This would even happen in more peaceful periods, when current local debates would extend to the other side of the frontier through periodicals and pamphlets.

Given the virtual governmental monopoly of printing and typography until 1859, this resource was fundamental to create an independent press in the intervening decades, benefitting from a growing Goan migration to Bombay. By the turn of the century, other small migratory movements to cities like Calcutta, Poona (Pune) or Bangalore, created an opportunity for the further dispersal of Goan publishing activity. Though it is a matter yet to be studied, it is almost certain that the first Goan private presses made their appearance in British India to serve the community's demands.

As Rochelle Pinto³ has already emphasized, as against the monopoly of the Goan public sphere by dominant castes, the history of the Goan press in British India -- which was particularly significant in Bombay -- corresponds with a social diversification of actors intervening in public debates, accompanying the vertical characteristic of its migration. Also, it was first due to the initiative of migrant subaltern social groups that a vernacular periodical press, in Konkani, at times bilingual or even trilingual, made its appearance. As for the dominant groups, amongst whom professional activity frequently followed migration for educational reasons, one has to note their integration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with the intellectual circles of their destinies, and, as such, their capacity to move between the debates that marked the academic, political and cultural agenda of British India as much as those affecting the Portuguese sphere.

Though it is known that a significant number of Goan Catholic and Hindu intellectuals participated in some of the most relevant Indian newspapers and magazines in colonial times and gave birth to several others, contributing to the building of modern

Indian cultural and political life, the actual intellectual contents of this activity are yet to be consistently studied.

Goan Intellectuals in Portugal

When considering Goan publishing history, we have to move not only between Portuguese and British India, but also to the other spaces that accompanied their dispersion through the world. Of particular cultural and political relevance is the activity of Goan Catholic and Hindu intellectuals at the Portuguese metropolitan cities, where most headed to pursue their higher studies, in a movement that gained significance after the second half of the nineteenth century. Here, the capacity of integrating with the local intellectual circles gets once again confirmed.

In this case the personal, political and cultural agendas varied and sometimes got juxtaposed. Comprehending the intervention in metropolitan politics and cultural life, the attention called upon Goan interests and public opinion of the Indian cultural and political national movement, not rarely articulating it with local demands towards the Portuguese colonial politics. This was particularly in the period mediating the First World War and the first years of the Portuguese dictatorship (1926-1933).

Since the first decades of twentieth century, the movement towards other academic centres in Europe and the United States gained significance, with some of the most influential Goan intellectuals following these paths. They began their intervention in these circles marked by the confluence of students and ideologues of all parts of the world. Once again, their activity in these centres, namely in the press, remains to be studied and linked to the formation of cultures of resistance that germinated in the between wars period.

Similarly, yet to be studied is the Goan contribution to local histories of press in the Portuguese and British African colonies, though it is certain that, in several cases, Goan Catholic migrants integrated with pioneering movements in these areas.

The Explosion of Publishing in Goa

Moving back to Goa, it was only in 1859 that a private printing press was created by Bernardo Francisco da Costa - a former native Member of Parliament who represented Goa in the Portuguese parliament. This can be viewed as the creation of a local independent press. Since its beginnings, this press was linked to the foundation of a political newspaper, *O Ultramar* (The Overseas) that lasted until 1941; soon after its formation however, the press served wider publishing activity, both periodical and non-periodical.

Only two years later, another press was created to serve a rival political newspaper, *A Índia Portuguesa*, following a similar publishing path and longevity. In the years to come, several projects of the same character made their appearance, though more ephemeral. By the end of the century, Vicente Rangel founded one of Goa's most important printing presses of the period, the Tipografia Rangel, based in the village of Bastora in what today is North

Goa (Bardez), which would last until the decades after Liberation⁴ being the first relevant initiative not specifically linked to a periodical project.

We may speak of an explosion of publishing in Goa in the second half of the nineteenth century, in the form of periodicals, books and pamphlets, in the capital of the State and in other small urban centres. Together with this, there also was a diversification of the issues handled.

This meant that besides the political preoccupations (which continued to weigh heavily), there also were scientific, religious and cultural interests.

The year 1899 saw the founding of what seems to have been the first local publishing house, Casa Luso-Francesa (Luso-French House), in Goa. It counted on the crucial support of Bertrand, a publishing and bookstore company founded in Lisbon in the eighteenth century by a French migrant. The foundation of the operation in Goa was due to the initiative of two native intellectuals, Francisco Maria da Cunha and José Maria da Costa Álvares, who, like their Lisbon partner, at the same time inaugurated the first Goan bookstore. Later, several similar projects, of Catholic or Hindu initiative, came to light, reflecting a decentred publishing dynamic, both in geographical and linguistic terms.

Before that time, the local distribution channels depended on direct sales by the authors or typographies, as well as local agents who would maintain stock in their own houses or at commercial premises, which, in the case of books from abroad, perceived the business as one of the branches of their import/export trade.

In addition, we found evidence that contacts with Goan migrants or Portuguese agents constituted a significant channel to access Portuguese and foreign books and periodicals. The proximity and close links to Bombay, of course, constituted an additional and relevant resource. In the case of academics, journalists and other intellectuals, international intellectual sociability played a role in bibliographical upgrading, with a frequent resonance in local magazines and newspapers.

III. EDUCATION AND THE READING HABIT

This reality contrasts with the frequently-heard accusation, formulated by local intellectuals, that Goans disregarded reading and, hence, alienated themselves from the movement of a rapidly changing world. This accusation however finds evidence in the contrast between literate elites and other social groups, one that is visible in other societies too. It is also reflected in the concrete local reality of a population that by the end of nineteenth century hardly reached half a million in size, of which less than 20% had access to primary education. Besides, the multi-lingual reality of Goa further limited the potential book market. Local readership being divided between Portuguese and Marathi readers, created different reading publics, and thus limited the size of the market.

We find a significant trend among Catholic intellectuals, particularly from the third quarter of the nineteenth century, which views the promotion of the reading habit to shape

conscious and informed citizens. This was a response to the perceived importance of combating the situation described above, in an effort to surpass the colonial power's focus in the capital of the State of India.

This movement arose around the same time as a growing debate around the problems of self-government, an argument of colonial power which pointed to what it said was the lack of preparation of the local populations and their elites to ensure its success. In the case of Goa, nevertheless, the Portuguese opened the doors to such a path, recognising that considerable investment had been made by the local Catholic elites in the field of education, which needed to be consolidated through initiatives of civil society; the reinforcement of local mechanisms of political self-government; and the promotion of studies and debates viewing solutions to local problems.

The intellectual prestige conquered by these elites within the hierarchy of the empire, was seen as an incentive to pursue such a path, viewing not only local political aspirations and reformist activity, but also the widening of career prospects in the civil service.

As such, adding to family strategies to promote the formal and informal education of their descendants, in the subsequent decades, a number of associations appeared, viewing the need for the creation of reading habits and of cultural happenings through the foundation of small libraries or reading rooms, in the small urban centres spread through the territory of the Old Conquests. These initiatives were accompanied by significant incentives to promote the writing habit amongst the youth, through family and school manuscript magazines, the opening of the main periodicals to youth collaboration, or the appearance of short-lived printed cultural magazines run by young groups. Considering local statistics, the unexpected number of authors that lived in those times, publishing books or, more frequently, spreading collaboration through periodicals, should be linked to this cultural-political background.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Hindu community, had been considerably alienated from this dynamic, due to the religious character of public primary education,⁵ which created a resistance to the spread of Portuguese schools. There also was the non-written practical discrimination suffered in all fields of civil service and political careers. As a response, the Hindu community started mobilizing, greatly influenced by the Renaissance movement taking place in British India.

As such, a growing associative movement promoted by the Hindu elites targeted the spread of education, both in Marathi and Portuguese, and further education abroad by the creation of grants given to the Brahmin youth; the foundation of newspapers and magazines either in Marathi or bilingual; the opening of libraries to serve the community's particular educational and cultural demands; and the existence of cultural and political centres to promote a tradition of public debates and speech.

After the Republican Revolution of 1910 in Portugal, followed by the foundation of a secular State, new conditions came about to launch a new political agenda, which looked at the effective benefits of equal civil and political rights. Further, we see in the press, a growing approach and dialogue between the intellectual vanguards of the Catholic and Hindu elites, articulating sympathies, and in some cases positive integration, towards the Indian nationalist movement and the local demands for autonomy and affirmation of regional cultural rights. After the First World War, a growing connection became noticeable between groups stationed in Goa, in India, in Portugal and in other European academic centres, which would have a practical influence on the profile of several periodical projects.

All this political and cultural dynamics would suffer a deep depression in the years subsequent to the military revolution of 1926, by which a hundred years of liberal constitutional tradition was broken by a dictatorship that would last for the next 48 years. Soon after, not only were the hierarchy of colonial relations reinforced, but by virtue of the censorship and institutionalized political persecution, several of the most interesting editorial projects died, cultural and political associations were closed, and different strategies of cultural and political resistance had to be adopted, once more promoting the dislocation of criticism to the other side of the frontier.

IV. CHANGING REALITIES

The Situation after the 1960s

The next major break in Goa's publishing history comes about since the 1960s, particularly after 1961, the year which marked the end of Portuguese colonial rule in the region. This saw the arrival of a speedy change in the field of language, economics and the direction of the discourse that books published in Goa have taken.

Within a short time after 1961, Portuguese ceased to be the dominant language of the region. This is a trend which had strong implications on the local discourse, both in terms of its form and content, language used, politics, dependencies, and access to ideas to society as a whole.⁶ Following this, there has also been a change in the commercial networks, book outlets, publishing patterns, newspaper sector, and above all the languages used.

Depending on how one views the situation, it is possible to see Goa as either lacking in publishing potential or having more books per thousand population than most other parts of South Asia. Both perspectives can also be simultaneously valid, though this may seem contradictory. On the one hand, there has been a limited amount of organised book publishing happening; and yet, this does not seem to hamper new titles making it to print.

Challenges to Print Culture in Goa

Currently, Goa, on an average, produces over a hundred books each year in each of the three major languages used for print communication here – Marathi, Konkani and English. Few books meanwhile come out in the language of Portuguese.

Figures of books published recently are also of interest.⁷ Below is a comparative list of books published across recent years, giving language-wise figures.

Year ending	Konkani- Devanagari	Konkani- Roman	Marathi	English	Hindi	Portuguese	Comments
2011	109	17	141	361	25	3	Sanskrit 5; French 12
2010	66	19	83	53	4		
2009	106	38	158	102	3	5	
2008	64	18	57	44	1	1	
2007	92	39	89	66	4	NA	
2006	97	50	74	NA	5	2	
2005	62	1	54	27	6	--	Kannada 01
2004	32	2	40	35	--	--	
2003	55	04	44	33	4	01	Also four in Kannada, and one in Telugu
2002	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
2001	28	2	21	26			Konkani Kannada Script 01
2000	25	2	23	25	1	NA	
1999	22	1	34	19	NA	2	

Yet, like any small society, Goa (population 1.6 million, area 3700 sq.km) has faced strong challenges in promoting its own print culture. Resultantly, there have been times were few books have been published relating to Goa. This trend could be connected to the small and fractured size of the Goa market, and also the dislocations caused by shifts in the dominant languages used for education and communication, particularly in the 1960s.

Unlike the booming market for books in metropolitan India, Goa could be seen as a place on the periphery – geographically, economically and politically. This is a condition faced by many of the smaller regions of India, which find it difficult to promote books relating to their own areas. The growth of tourism-driven books has been another recent reality, though the impact here is felt more in fields such as magazines and periodicals, rather than books.

There are a number of challenges facing today's Goa – in terms of languages and the lack of translations happening between these; the neglect of texts in Portuguese, particularly felt with the decline of skills in that language; economic challenges of making books viable in a small market, the unfinished attempts at building a library movement, among others. There is also a positive side to the picture, and the growing diversity of books coming out of

Goa needs to be noted. So are attempts to build publishing alternatives such as PublishingNext⁸ -- a conference which attracts big and small names from across India, and has been held for the past three years annually.

Sustainability

Untypically, the changes in publishing locally are also being noted, and for a change, the sector even gets written about in the local media now. Goa has a plush new library complex, which is undertaking some interesting initiatives to promote a book culture locally. Yet, unless an effective library movement is created, sustainability is at stake. Likewise, scholars and others have repeatedly pointed to the need for better care to be taken, specially of old and rare books (oldest dating back to 1530s)⁹ and manuscripts, whether in the libraries or archives.

Writers who trace their roots to Goa, despite its small size, continue to network and influence the wider reality in the outside world. According to Peter Nazareth, Professor of English at the University of Iowa and the editor of an early anthology on Goan writing,¹⁰ writers from Goa have written in a total of 13 different languages. These include writers such as the intellectual giants D. D. Kossambi and his father Dharmanand Kossambi; US Conservative Dinesh D'Souza; the French-Konkani-Portuguese-English poet Manoharrai Sardessai; Margaret Mascarenhas - the novelist whose work *Skin* has a plot set in three continents; Aquino de Braganca, novelist - the rare Goan supporter of the Black African nationalist cause in Mozambique (who describes himself as an "African writer"); and Peter Nazareth himself, the author of books on topics ranging from Baroque architecture in Goa to Hindu theology or the sacred architecture of Islam and Goan traditional music. Dr. Jose Pereira and Sonia Faleiro have focused on a wider canvas taking up issues linked to a wider reality. Likewise, a recent translation made clear that the first description of Bombay to be penned (in Marathi) was by a writer also from Goa, Govind Narayan.¹¹ At the same time, there is the trend of Goa playing the role of a second-home to prominent writers from within India and beyond – such as Amitav Ghosh, Sunil Khilnani – and also occasional though hi-profile visits by writers such as Vikram Seth, Ohran Pamuk, Kiran Desai and others.

Without doubt, Goa can claim a unique role in the history of the book in Asia. But the question that needs to be asked is whether we do justice to our past by understanding it or let even memories of it fade away through neglect or forgetfulness.¹²

Notes

¹Marquis de Pombal (1699-1782), the powerful Secretary of the State (holding powers equivalent of a Prime Minister) in the government of Dom Joao I from 1750 to 1777, and the *de facto* head of government.

²Abreu, Miguel Vicente de, *Relação das alterações políticas de Goa desde 16 de Setembro de 1821 até 18 de Outubro de 1822*, ordenada por. Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1862.

³Pinto, Rochelle. *Between Empires: Print and Politics in Goa*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007. Print.

⁴The publications of this press tapered off after the 1960s, in part linked to the end of the use of Portuguese as a dominant language in Goa. However, Dr Jaime Rangel, the great-grandson of the founder of this press, notes that it continued publishing (at least some titles) till the 1980s. He has voiced an interest in reviving the activities of this once-vibrant press and publishing house. See "The Portuguese Language and Literature In Goa (2013) : A Seminar : Recorded by FN : Free Download & Streaming : Internet Archive." Internet Archive: Digital Library of Free Books, Movies, Music & Wayback Machine. N.p., 25 May 2013. Web. 20 Sept. 2013.

<<http://archive.org/details/PortugueseInGoa>>.

⁵At this point, Portugal and its colonies were not a theocratic state -- where political and religious power were undifferentiated -- but a "confessional state," or a state with an official religion, which was Catholic, whose morals and creed were taught in primary schools.

⁶Dr Carmo D' Souza, a retired professor of law, has argued that for Goa, Portuguese is a "researcher's repository". D' Souza notes that, in pre-1961 Goa, Portuguese was the official language, the language of courts, daily newspapers, the medium of instruction, books, party politics, manifestoes, appeals, political assemblies, novels, poems, recipes, home diaries and even invitations. Note circulated prior to the National Level Seminar Organized by V.M.Salgaocar College of Law in Association with Ismilda Research Consultancy, 2014.

⁷Konkani Devanagari and Marathi titles have been receiving official grants for some time now. In the last four years or so, the Directorate of Arts & Culture has launched a scheme to promote the work of Goa-based authors and publishers, regardless of language and script. This has helped to partly subsidise the publication of some English-language books too, in 2010. A maximum of Rs. 25,000 is given as a grant to an author, which, at best, is a modest amount. It can however help make a publication possible. In the case of Konkani and Marathi books, many titles released are creative works focussing on fiction or poetry. Some Marathi books are linked with topics of spirituality. In English, titles tend to follow the wider trend of most being non-fiction, perhaps since it is more of a challenge to market fiction and poetry. Occasionally, the number of books published in a year has been inflated in particular languages (for instance, English) due to the large number of educational "guides" (or study aids) published for school children.

⁸<http://www.publishing-next.com/>

⁹Apparently, this book reached Goa even before the printing press came here, probably on the long sea voyages of those times, it is now believed. See:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:State_Central_Library,_Goa_Dec_27,_2012_08.JPG and

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:State_Central_Library,_Goa_Dec_27,_2012_11.JPG

¹⁰Nazareth, P., and J. K. Henry. *Goan Literature: A Modern Reader*. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University (Journal of South Asian Literature), 1983. Print.

¹¹Noronha, Frederick. "Early Bombay... through Goan eyes." *The Navhind Times* [Goa, India] 3 Aug. 2013, sec. Panorama: V. Print. Govind Narayan (1815-1865) gives a detailed picture of "the current and past situation" of Bombay. From the lay of the land, to its people, famous places, the East

India Company, the original settlers, the coming of the Parsis, and the many localities that make up the city around the 1860s. There are sections on architecture and history, shipbuilding, attacks and riots, statues, Governors of the time, shrines and festivals, and even about the “enmity between the English and Portuguese people” or the “industriousness of the Parsis.” Govind Narayan moved from Margao to Bombay when still young. His father was “an apothecary of sorts and dispensed various medicines” in a Goa facing limited economic opportunity.

¹²For more see Noronha, Frederico Noel John. ‘From Text to Print: Case Study of Goa. Understanding Literary Production of Fiction and Non-Fiction Works in Twentieth-century Goa.’ Ph.D. thesis. Goa University, Goa 2021.

The Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa and the Problem of Alcoholism in Goa

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Abstract

This paper focusses on the role of the Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa, which was intended to be a Conference covering social needs and its role to solve the problem of alcoholism, which had reached epidemic proportions by the beginning of the twentieth century in Goa. Ironically, when the Congresso Provincial was formed and the issues were listed for discussion in the objectives, there was no mention of alcoholism. This was in spite of the knowledge that its tentacles as a scourge were reaching far and wide from proletariat to elite, without exception to gender, caste or creed. Alcoholism was included in the second Congresso where emphasis was laid on alcohol and *abkari* (tax) for creating revenue for the government and financial welfare of the people; the seventh Congresso was concerned about alcoholism and its related implications to the individual, government as well as the community. What was the contribution of the august body of intellectuals in trying to solve this social scourge? Did they take measures to stop this menace during the various meetings they had throughout its existence? and, what was the extent of success attained in this endeavour?

Keywords : abkari, alcoholism, Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa, social problem, elite

Introduction

What was the Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa? The Goan intelligentsia felt that they were away from the renaissance movement taking place in British India, which had a brilliant history that her intellectual elite wanted to show with pride to the colonialists and others. This was done through the Indian National Congress (INC), (1885), established as the great public manifestation, led and promoted by great men and visionaries, and constituted to defend its political hegemony. Many seminars and conferences, scientific, economic, political and social were held in British India under the aegis of the INC, where papers were presented which were useful in practical life.¹

However, Portuguese India remained away from this revival, though after the formation of the INC, some local newspapers had discussed and proposed the formation of the *Congresso Provincial* in Goa, in line with the INC, which unfortunately did not materialise at that time. It was in 1914, that a *Conferência Sanitária Provincial*, (Provincial

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Health Conference) was held to celebrate the 72nd anniversary of the formal Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Nova Goa.² This acted as a catalyst to future academic endeavours. The conference was not only an academic exercise. It tried to mainly inform and clarify in general, and the government in particular, important health problems. It was therefore concerned with the material and moral well-being of the territory (país), the best and highest interests of this land.

This conference was proposed by the Junta de Saúde (Health Board) and Escola Médica de Goa (Goa Medical College) and seconded and approved by the Governor General, Francisco Manuel Couceiro da Costa, who rendered official support and offered to cover all the expenses. Seventy-eight papers were presented during the six days.

The Provincial Health Conference

At the First Health Conference 1914,³ many scientific papers connected to health problems and administration were presented by doctors, administrators and others. These were published in two volumes.⁴ However, there was only one paper on alcoholism, titled "Suggestions to combat the alcoholic hazard in Goa" by Hipólito Policarpo Pegado.⁵ So we find that although it was a problem which had already extended its tentacles far and wide to cover a large number of the population, there was only one paper on alcoholism at this conference, which was supposed to discuss about health of the people in the community.

However, another two delegates mentioned alcoholism in their presentations. J.J. Roque Correia Afonso in his paper on rural public health, views the village as an administrative unit for public health management and discussed various points for the improvement of rural health like changes in the diet. He suggested that to eradicate alcoholism-which was essentially a social problem-depended on education of the masses.⁶ He added that it had ruined many and continued to do so daily amongst the people, and the importance of this aspect needed to be stressed, to improve the health of the people.⁷

Another paper on tuberculosis presented by A. Filipe Pinto Cordeiro,⁸ prayed that there should be vigilance and a war against alcoholism which is responsible for the spread of tuberculosis.⁹ Interestingly, despite there being references to the problem of alcoholism, in the conference on health and alcohol's consumption having reached a level that was considered as "epidemic" in Goa, it was not seen as one by the government authorities, which looked at alcohol as a revenue earner for the state coffers.

The Genesis and Objectives of the Congresso Provincial

In 1915 arrangements were being made in Portugal to commemorate the fourth centenary of the death of Afonso de Albuquerque. The learned members of the Goan society decided that this was the right time and encouraged by the success of the health conference, they approached the government to support and give financial assistance for arrangements to organise a conference, to discuss Goa and different aspects of Goan life. The committee

members pointed out that the British government had given this kind of support in the beginning to INC and with the support of the Governor Couceiro da Costa, inaugurated the first Congresso Provincial on April 2, 1916.¹⁰

The Congresso Provincial was intended to be a Conference covering social needs of the territory.¹¹ It was conceived as an autonomous body “free from any interference, either from the government or from any faction or party.”¹² It had two functions: to expose to the Government the true needs of the state and to promote through propaganda the results arrived at by the Congresso.¹³ A Committee was appointed to organise a conference and the first Congresso Provincial was held under the presidentship of the Governor, Couceiro da Costa and Dr. Miguel Caetano Dias, who was President of the Municipality at the time. Altogether nine Congressos took place every year or second year. The last one was in 1931.¹⁴

The objectives of the Provincial Congress, were various. A list of the issues to be discussed directly of interest to the economic and moral development of this territory (país) included: 1. Agriculture 2. Industry and Commerce 3. Public Transport 4. Primary Education 5. Taxes (Fiscal and Municipal) 6. Any other subjects not included in the list, but which had a close relationship with the social needs of the people. Ironically the list did not include alcoholism in its objective.¹⁵ This was inspite of the knowledge that the tentacles of alcoholism as a scourge were reaching far and wide from proletariat to elite, without exception to gender, caste or creed.

Probably, alcoholism was not considered a priority when the committee was formed and met to discuss the different issues that needed attention to solve the problems affecting Portuguese India. However, it was a major, if not the chief problem, among Goans, not only in the territory, but also within the emigrants' community. Besides, it was a known fact that the government was not taking any action to overcome this menace for obvious reasons – as production and consumption of alcohol benefitted the coffers of the government. It therefore, became an economic-political and a social problem for the government and the community. It is under these premises that the problem was debated in two of the Congresso Provincials of Índia Portuguesa i.e. the Second and the Seventh.

The Second Congresso Provincial

In the Second Congresso Provincial a panel on alcoholism titled "Alcôolismoe *Abcari*" was included. There were four papers related to alcohol, out of which two were on *abkari*,¹⁶ and a general paper on wines and salt. Only one was on the social problems and anti-alcoholism.¹⁷ The two on *abkari* were related to manufacture and taxation of the products of the alcohol industry.¹⁸ They mainly took up the importance of *abkari*, as an administrative and revenue earning matter of the territory and how to solve any issues connected to it - rather than the problem of alcoholism as a social problem and its effect on the addict, his family, the society and those around him. They also discussed the need to change the existing regime of *abkari* as it was outdated and not beneficial to the government

nor to the public or the businessmen. However, though they did not discuss about alcoholism and its effect on the addict or consumer, they pointed out that imposing higher taxes would reduce alcoholism.

Teodoro Miranda in "Regimen of Abcari for the district of Goa", suggested that if the reforms in the regime were accepted and implemented it would reduce alcoholism. According to him this could be achieved by not making available for sale, alcohol of higher grade, which was in fact harmful. It was assumed that the workforce would not be able to consume it because it was beyond their buying power and therefore caused less damage to those who were habitual drinkers. His argument meant that majority of the alcoholics were from the labour force.¹⁹

Azarias Condorcet Lobo in "Abcari in Goa: before the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty in Goa" recommended that the tavern owners should pay the taxes of *abkari* and if it was accepted and implemented, then this measure according to him, would improve the production of toddy and manufacture of jaggery. He felt that there would be no revenue loss as the tax would be directly collected from the tavern owners. Lobo had also suggested that the tax levied on alcohol could be reduced and instead, to decrease the consumption, an additional charge to be levied on tavern licenses, which would deter opening new ones. The amount collected could be used for public assistance for the sick. This measure would also help the alcoholics, who constituted a sizeable number of those seeking public assistance.²⁰

While Lobo suggested increase in taxes on the tavern to raise the revenue, L.M. Condorcet Pereira in "Anti-alcoholic campaign", suggested that the problem of alcoholism could be solved by decreasing the number of taverns in Goa."²¹ In the introduction to his paper he gives the example of an alcoholic who when questioned about his drinking vice, pointed his fingers at the number of functional taverns in and around his place. The drunkard's argument was "that if there were no taverns, he would not drink..."²² Pereira also argued that closing or reducing the number of taverns, would not be the only solution and many people might not agree to such decisions. If Pereira's suggestion of decreasing the number of taverns was accepted, government would lose revenue, which those present at the Congresso were trying to safeguard and augment.

When the papers were discussed and deliberations made, Pereira's suggestion was not even considered for discussion. This, despite a request that his proposal regarding fixing of number of taverns be voted. In fact, there was opposition from delegates Isidoro Alvares, and adv. Jose Antonio Pinto do Rosario, who observed that with a fine imposed on the tavern owner, alcoholism could be reduced.²³

In the same Congress, the problem of alcoholism was also mentioned in a session on "Emigration" by Socrates de Noronha, Junior and Francisco Correia Afonso in their paper "Fate of the Goan emigrant in the focus of emigration. (Suggestions for its improvement.)"²⁴ They focussed on the unhygienic and inadequate conditions faced by Goans who lived in

the various *cuddas* existing in Bombay, which were used by many, as they could not afford independent accommodation.²⁵ According to the paper presenters, one of the health problems faced by the emigrants was alcoholism.²⁶ They added that “some of the *cuddas* were dens of vice, where alcoholism and immorality reigned within unhygienic conditions and unruly behaviour.”²⁷ The problem of alcoholism was also broached by J. J. Roque Correia Afonso in the paper “Emigration: its causes and its remedies”,²⁸ which discussed measures to reduce and stop emigration. He suggested that people in Goa, should be kept busy and the government should establish village level industries, which would employ all the available hands and provide honest recreation to them and felt that such activities were expected to put a stop to the tavern and *zagores*.²⁹ These two papers showed how the vice was carried by the emigrants across the border. Instead of sobering down and saving their earnings and helping the family back home in Goa - which was the objective of their emigration - they spent on alcohol.

Adv. José Maria de Sá had to elaborate a report (Relatório) of the session *Alcoholism and Abkari*. In the very first line he writes that “the regimen of *abkari* is one of the important problems of public administration of this province, linked to other momentous problems.”³⁰ He calls them “important economic-political problems, which evidently need to be attended to with urgency”.³¹ After the papers were read and discussed and deliberations taken by those present, a proposal was sent to the Government Council (*Conselho do Governo*) to only tax the taverns and not the coconut trees which were used to tap the toddy. However, this was not implemented by the Portuguese government as it was not ready to lose the much-needed revenue it obtained from *abkari*. It was clear from the report, that the revenue from *abkari* was more important to the organisers than controlling or stopping the vice of alcoholism.

De Sá reported that the government should try to fill up the gap of the loss of revenue through increased taxes on alcohol and that the solutions to the problems by both the delegates who had presented the papers - Condorcé Lobo and Teodoro de Miranda - should be considered. He emphasised that both the speakers, had assured the interests of the Revenue department.

It was only at the end of the session that the need to control alcoholism was discussed by the delegates who suggested that the enhanced *abkari* taxes were meant to control alcoholism. The Second Congress Provincial voted that these should be imposed directly on the consumption of alcohol in the territory. It was also proposed that the extraction of sap from coconut trees and other products of cashew and toddy in Goa, should be free from the taxes, to overcome the problems faced by the manufacturing units.³² Another suggestion was to increase fees of licences (except for wine and beer) on non-native alcohol.³³ As can be seen, the increase in taxes was the only reference made to reduce alcoholism. Other proposals were all connected to improve and organise the services connected to collection of taxes to benefit the revenue department.

The local and central government seems to have paid heed to the protest of the paper presenters and accepted some of the proposals, as has been claimed by the report of the Committee of the Congresso Provincial which informs that a couple of legislative diplomas were issued linking to the conclusion and proposal. The Second Congress had voted for the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating drugs outside the pharmacies and drugstores and without medical prescription.³⁴ Another proposal which had approval of the government, was the application of a fine to be levied from the owners of the establishments which sell alcoholic beverages, and admit in its premises on any pretext, minors or apparently those with less than 18 years.³⁵ However, much was desired about implementation of these laws and the fact that the same were enacted in 1927 and 1928 shows the lethargy of the authorities to take action with regards to the orders.

The Seventh Congresso Provincial

The Comissão de Estudos of the Seventh Congresso Provincial included alcoholism as one of the topics for study and discussions at this event.³⁶ It was held in 1927 and had various themes on which to deliberate besides alcoholism. These were labour employment, fish industry, tourism, education, emigration, taxation and others. However, Prof. Francisco Correia Afonso in his report on the session, titled “Alcoholism in Portuguese India”,³⁷ highlighted that the most important theme of the Seventh Congresso, from those selected for study, was the issue of alcoholism in Portuguese India. He stated that “it was a major problem from those that so far had been studied in the earlier Congressos, as in some way or other it was connected, as either cause or outcome, of all other problems that we had to face”.³⁸

The very fact the Congresso took nine years to look into alcoholism as a social problem which was so important to the community, contradicts the statement of Correia Afonso. To begin with, the Congresso Provincial did not include alcoholism in its objective inspite of its seriousness. It made its presence in the Second Congresso, as already discussed, as a politico-economic issue and not social, and the subsequent Congressos, made no reference to alcoholism.

Was there any other reason why alcoholism was discussed, besides those elaborated by the paper presenters and delegates at the Congresso? In 1920s a climax was reached worldwide with people and government opposing the manufacturing and sale of alcohol, as it was causing havoc not only among those addicted but also on their families and the society. They wished to put an end to this evil drink and the United States went a step ahead to impose prohibition from 1920 to 1933. Though it had to be revoked, it was found that alcohol-related problems such as alcoholism and family violence were reduced during the period. On the other hand, crimes related to bootlegging increased.

In British India, Gandhi had started a movement against drinking. The Goan intellectuals were closely following what was happening. Gandhi was champion of the

temperance movement and viewed foreign rule as an obstacle to national prohibition and included stopping consumption of liquor in the constructive program in the non-cooperation movement.³⁹ He requested people's cooperation and introduced picketing, in which women and youngsters along with men stood near liquor booths and tried politely to enlighten intending customers.⁴⁰

The following papers were presented during the Sétimo Congresso in the session on alcoholism and deliberated by the delegates in the discussion which followed: "Campaign against alcoholism" by Bascora M.S. Borcar,⁴¹ "Repression of alcoholism" by Maria Ermelinda dos Stuarts Gomes,⁴² "Alcoholism (causes and its remedies)" by Nogar Prudente Lourenço⁴³ and "Reduction of alcoholism in Goa" by Solon de Quadros.⁴⁴ The titles of the papers do not leave any doubt that repression of alcoholism was the main objective of the delegates at this session.

Most of the delegates at the Congresso were of the opinion that alcoholism should be reduced and controlled. They knew that complete stoppage which would lead to prohibition like in the USA or attempts at it, by British India, was not possible in Goa. This aspect of the problem was discussed by the delegates, and Gomes commented that "our aspirations are modest as it was limited to be restricted to saving, specially the youth and women falling in excess".⁴⁵ Lourenço also added that "promulgation of dry law is not feasible in Goa, as long as it is ensconced in the British Territory".⁴⁶ Quadros suggested that the tavernas should be stopped and the government should have a centre for sale in each parish, after auctioning the rights in public.⁴⁷ Probably Quadros was looking at controlling the sale of alcohol, which would reduce the vice and the measure would also give revenue to the government. Most of the speakers and delegates discussed that for reduction in alcoholism to be achieved, limiting the number of tavernas was a must, a suggestion that had been reverberating from the time of the Second Congress, but not accepted for implementation by the government for fear of loss in revenue.⁴⁸

Dr. Borcar, supported his claim with statistics and showed that there was increase every year in production of alcohol, instead of reduction, which aided in rise of alcoholism and defeated the purpose of eradication. He argued that the production and consequently consumption of alcohol was increasing (according to him its export across the borders was smuggling and its use for industrial purpose was nil).⁴⁹ This, despite the increase of taxes on the coconut trees from two rupees to ten rupees. He also pointed out that "alcoholism was more pronounced amongst the Christians, where there was no distinction amongst the consumers: it included, the rich and poor, a proprietor and a manducar, the government employee and the proletariat, the teacher and the student, the director and the peon in the government department; sadly there is no exception to the women and children".⁵⁰

According to Borcar, the number of licences issued to sell native spirits was 2144. With regard to this number he commented that people, specially the proletariat, could not

move around in Goa, without approaching a tavern, as there were so many. In 1918 there were 1143; in 1923 it reached 1383.

But what was more alarming, was not only the increase in production of alcohol and the number of taverns but the death rate vis a vis the birth rate. Statistics showed that there was an increase in the deaths and presumably they were directly or indirectly due to alcoholism.

Going with the tune of the papers and the objective of the session on alcoholism, Antonio Taumaturgo Pereira in the presidential address urged eradication of alcohol, to solve all the problems faced by the Goan community and tagged it “as the scourge of the people which encompasses all the social layers of the community.”⁵¹ Pereira stressed that if one is looking for successful eradication there was need for people to come together, as it cannot be solved by individual action, however big was their good will to suppress alcohol. This was required because of the shaky attitude of the individual whose decision, many a time changed, when he saw that he was encircled by taverns, that the taxmen, in the unilateral interest of its income, fondled as that of *des enfants gâtés*.⁵² Pereira was probably following Gandhi, who had asked help of all the people to eradicate the vice.

Since individual efforts would make it difficult to handle successfully, in the concluding remarks on alcoholism, Pereira suggested using joint decisions by various means: firstly from the people - by collaboration of all the social forces, utilizing all the available means to eliminate alcohol from their habits - and secondly from the government, by reform of the regime of *abkari*, phase-wise, in which the administrators successively lost interest in the income they enjoyed at the cost of alcohol vice.⁵³ However, these suggestions remained only on paper as even the laws which were promulgated were implemented only where it benefitted the government. For example, in 1925, the Legislative Council had voted for taverns to be away from schools, public offices, temples and religious institutions far beyond 250 meters and also, for increase in taxes. While the new taxes were applied, that of maintaining distance was not, though it was approved unanimously by the members of the Council. It was implemented only when another Diploma Legislative issued measures by passing a law that within 1200 meters of the above institutions, no taverns could be established.⁵⁴ Another clause included in the same diploma was that of forbidding entrance to drunken people, ladies and minors of less than 15 years in the taverns. Besides, the timings were also reduced from nine in the morning to eight in the evening and would be closed on Sundays except if it was a festive day. This was issued during the tenure of Governor Massano de Amorim. However, it was not successful in thwarting alcoholism and even reducing the number of taverns, which went on increasing.

The first session on "Alcoholism in Goa. Its causes and its remedies"⁵⁵, was presided by Dr. Domingos Roque Sousa, who advocated radical change in the social habits and lifestyle to help fight alcoholism as the need of the hour. He added that this change should

come from the delegates, as they belong to the educated class and in turn pass on the habits to the labourer and the alphabet population.⁵⁶ He also suggested that decisions taken by the delegates should be viable and practical, for this was the only way the government would attend to the request for reforms of the existing *abkari*, so important to curb alcoholism.⁵⁷

There were also suggestions by Jaganata Visnum Camotim that the appeal to eradicate alcoholism should not only go to citizens and private bodies, but also to the Government's official and semi-official institutions. According to him, their support would give weightage to the movement as exemplary behaviour should begin with the higher ups. At official functions alcoholic beverages were served and the masses were ready to imitate. Another suggestion was to prohibit women and children to sell alcohol at the tavern. His argument was that if those dispensing medicine need to be qualified, then why not those who sell alcohol for consumption. The Congresso voted unanimously that the profession of *taverneiro* should be controlled by rules.⁵⁸

According to the delegates, the present regime functioned only under the fiscal criteria and not as per the motto proposed in the report of the Second Congresso, which advocated 'maximum revenue with minimum consumption'.⁵⁹ The delegates at this Congress also agreed that the restriction against alcoholism faced difficulties because the Government would have to stop production and sale of alcohol, directly and through the tavernas. This would mean a major loss of revenue to the coffers as no tax would be collected on alcohol. Leave aside eradicating alcoholism, the government was not ready to reduce the number of tavernas and instead fresh licences for new ones were issued.

However, the government failed to understand that the losses would not be big if they took into consideration the expenses incurred in administering the increase of madness, death, suppression of crimes and assistance towards those plunged into misery, due to alcoholism.

In the final session, the delegates at the Seventh Congresso suggested that there should not be sale of alcohol for local consumption with a percentage above 13 or 14 graus which were similar to *urraca* or *cajuló*. Another suggestion was the reduction in the production of native liquor/alcohol by 25% from the present rate. They did not fail to discuss, the increasing number of taverns which was also raised during the Second Congresso by Condorcet Pereira, whose suggestion to reduce them at that time was not even taken into consideration for discussion, let alone recommended. It was also decided to recommend prohibiting establishment of new ones in localities where public had easy access and restricting the hours to be kept open and closed during festive days. Prohibiting sale of alcohol to women and children was also mooted, and neither would they be allowed to sell. It was recommended to increase the tax amount on import of products as well as increase the license and make effective the legislation against drunkenness.⁶⁰

One would think after so much of exposure against the vice of alcoholism, by individuals to organised entities and the Congressos, the government would take some concrete action, but not much happened. Even the laws which were enacted were not implemented to the core.

Conclusion

The Congresso Provincial, in the beginning, had not paid much attention to the problem of alcoholism as a social scourge. Though it was included in the Second Congresso, it was with emphasis on improving government revenue through revision of *abkari* laws. However, mention was made to the problem of alcoholism and requests made to the government to enact some laws to overcome this problem. This approach was changed in the Seventh Congresso when a strong stand was taken by the committee and the delegates to take action against this social scourge. The paper presenters as well as the delegates were unanimous that alcoholism should be eradicated. The Congresso Provincial was successful in getting some legislation issued to fight this problem, though they might not have been implemented by the government. However, it was successful in creating interest and bringing to light the plight of the people who (in) directly had to bear the brunt of alcoholism, and in sensitizing others and institutions like the Church to take action.

Notes

¹ António Maria da Cunha, *Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa. Subsídios para sua história*, vol. I (Nova Goa, Casa Luso-Francesa-Editora: 1924), 3.

² The Escola Médica de Goa was formally established in 1832 in Nova Goa, now Panjim. A pioneer in western medicine education in Asia, had a beginning in the sixteenth century at the Royal Hospital in the City of Goa, today's Old Goa. The Conference was held from December 1 to 6, 1914.

³ Primeira Conferência Sanitária, 1914.

⁴ Serviço de Saúde da Índia Portuguesa, *I Conferência Sanitária. Em comemoração do 72º aniversário da Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Nova Goa. (1-12-1914 a 6-12-1914)* (Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional : 1917), 2 vols.

⁵ Ibid, “Sugestões para combater o perigo alcóolico em Goa”, p149-158.

⁶ Ibid, “O Saneamento rural da Índia Portuguesa na sua relação com a organização administrativa”, p332-340.

⁷ Ibid, 333.

⁸ Ibid, “A Tuberculose”, p.171-178.”

⁹ Ibid, 176.

¹⁰ Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa was created by Couceiro da Costa, by Portaria nº 282 dated June 22, 1915.

¹¹ Cunha, Antonio, *Congresso Provincial*, Vol.I, 5.

¹² Aleixo Manuel da Costa, *Dicionário de Literatura Goesa*, (Macau, Instituto Cultural de Macau and Fundação Oriente, n.d.), 192; Cunha, Antonio, *Congresso Provincial*, Vol.I, 13.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid, for details of the dates and papers presented in all the Congressos, refer Costa's vol.1, p.192-202.

¹⁵ Ibid, 193.

¹⁶ Abkari was a tax on distillation and sale of local alcohol, which was introduced in Goa by the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878. It was used in British India. After the revocation of the Treaty, the government continued using, as it benefitted from it, to the detriment of the people.

¹⁷ L.M. Condorcet Pereira, “Campanha anti-alcóolica”,

¹⁸ Teodoro Miranda, “Regimen do Abcari para o distrito de Goa” and Azarias Condorcet Lobo in “Abcari em Goa: Antes do tratado Anglo-Luso na Índia”.

¹⁹ Cunha, Antonio, *Congresso Provincial*, Vol.I, 119

²⁰ Ibid, 120.

²¹ Ibid, 119.

²² Ibid.

²³ Cunha, Antonio, *Congresso Provincial*, vol.IV, 271.

²⁴ “A Sorte do emigrante goês no foco da emigração. (Sugestões para o seu melhoramento)”

²⁵ *Cuddas* are rooms or a set of rooms in which the proletariat Goan emigrants lived in association and shared in paying rent and other expenses. This helped the emigrant who landed the first time in Bombay till they had a place of their own and seafarers who had a place before starting and when they came back from journey.

²⁶ *Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa (Segundo)* (Nova Goa, Casa Luso-Francesa: 1917), 2 (The papers are numbered individually).

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ “Emigração: suas causas, seus remédios”

²⁹ Ibid, 38. Zagor is defined by Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado as comic representation in Konkani by illiterate amateurs; rudimentary theatre in Goa. It was prohibited by the ecclesiastical authorities under severe penalties, since it was no more immoral than many European theatres. The penalties included excommugation as per Archbishopal decree of November 14, 1777 applicable to those who attend the zagor. In spite of this order, the zagor continued to be performed well into the twentieth century. Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, Vol.II (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1988), 436.

³⁰ Cunha, Antonio, *Congresso Provincial*, 266.

³¹ Ibid, 267.

³² Ibid, 268.

³³ Ibid, 317.

³⁴ Diploma Legislativo no. 234, dated 2.3.1927 In B.O. No.10, February 4, 1927.

³⁵ Diploma Leg.No. 334 dated 17.9.1928, Diploma Legislativo No.339, dated 17.10.1928, Portaria Provincial No.583 dated 10.12.1928.

³⁶ 7.º Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa. Comissão de estudos. Relatório. (Nova Goa, Tip. R.M. Rau & Irmãos: 1927), 2.

³⁷ *O alcoolismo na Índia Portuguesa*

³⁸ Francisco Correia Afonso, “O Alcoolismo na Índia Portuguesa-Relatório” In *Sétimo Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa*, Balcrisna Datarama Sinai Sacardandó ed. (Nova Goa, Tip. Bragança, 1927), 2.

³⁹ *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol.20* (New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1958), 119.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Campanha contra o alcoolismo.

⁴² A Repressão do Alcoolismo.

⁴³ “O Alcoolismo (causa e seus remédios)”

⁴⁴ A Redução do Alcoolismo em Goa; *Sétimo Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa*, Balcrisna Datarama Sinai Sacardandó ed. Nova Goa, Tip. Bragança, 1927, 2

⁴⁵ Ibid, 6

⁴⁶ Ibid, 9

⁴⁷ Ibid, 7

⁴⁸ Ibid, 8 and 11

⁴⁹ Campanha contra o alcoolismo. Memória para o 7o. Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa, p.3

⁵⁰ Borcar, Bascora M.S., Campanha contra o alcoolismo In *Sétimo Congresso*, 2 (the papers have been individually numbered in the book).

⁵¹ Antonio Taumaturgo Fernandes, Presidential address for the Sétimo Congresso Provincial In Cunha, Antonio *Congresso Provincial*, vol IV, 15.

⁵² Ibid, 16. *Des enfants gâtés* is used as a figurative expression to show that the taverns were fondled like a spoilt child.

⁵³ Ibid

⁵⁴ No.334 dated September 17, 1928,

⁵⁵ “Alcoolismo em Goa. Suas causas e seus remédios”.

⁵⁶ Illiterate persons were also called analphabets. Cunha, Congresso Provincial, vol IV, 27.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 290.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 46.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 30.

⁶⁰ Ibid, vol.V, 221.

Culinary Representations in Nineteenth-Century French Literature: Markers of Social Stratification

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Abstract

This paper examines the trope of food in select French literary works. France is known for its rich culinary tradition, having evolved over centuries of royal buffets. Historical forces of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries added a different aroma and brought the bourgeois table into centre stage. As French people moved up (and at times down) the social ladder, all they ate (and did not eat) became laden with significance. This paper looks at culinary and table habits as depicted in French literary works to bring out the full flavour of the symbolism behind the oft-ignored mundane evocations of a mere meal.

Keywords : culinary traditions, food, French literature, social mobility

Literature abounds with references to food. Essential for human survival and well-being, the aroma of food pervades the physical, social, psychological, cultural and metaphysical planes of existence. Authors attempting to paint realistic scenes into their fiction cannot afford to bypass food, and culinary scenes find a place in many literary works. French literature too is replete with texts dealing with food and eating.

This paper examines the representations of food in nineteenth century literary works as a reflection of the social stratification of the times. The culinary tradition in France enjoys worldwide renown. French people are attached to their gastronomic culture; hence it becomes pertinent to examine the effects of social change on representations of food. The nineteenth century is a fecund era in France and witnessed the popularizing of the French novel amid romanticist, realist, naturalist and symbolist literary movements. This century is also considered to be one of socio-political upheavals leading to wide-ranging consequences. We shall look at the phenomenon of social mobility as represented via scenes painting food and dining in major works of Honoré de Balzac, Guy de Maupassant, Gustave Flaubert, Stendhal, and Charles Baudelaire while drawing on references to other works of the gastronomic literature of the time.

In the light of this research question, it becomes imperative to begin with a brief overview of the evolving social conditions in France over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Under the *Ancien Regime* in France [prior to 1789] which was a caste society, opportunities for mobility were limited by social origins. The evolution towards a class-

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based society in the nineteenth century resulted in an opening up of opportunities. Despite a more liberal society, social stratification continued, as financial, social, and cultural capital as well as education came to play determining roles in social mobility (Bertaux et al, 2009). Cuin (1995) highlights the role played by the French school system and its democratisation, in the weakening of social heritage and the slow rise of meritocracy. Yet, social barriers although erodible through education, continued to exist. Sorokin (1998) maintains that social stratification is a permanent characteristic of society, despite the numerous efforts of historical movements aimed at equality. The vertical dimensions of social positioning evoke complex interrelations around hierarchy and ranks, as groups undergo promotion and/or degradation. Thus, studies on social mobility include diverse viewpoints ranging from the biological hereditary of social characters to the role of social transmission and education (de LaGorce, 1991). What seems indisputable is the fact that social mobility has far-reaching consequences. In this context, it is noteworthy that in his enumeration of the key aspects of the study of social mobility, Strauss (2017) highlights the changes in lifestyle associated with upward mobility.

Thus, we hypothesize that as French society evolved over the nineteenth century, lifestyle representations would see a change. Since culinary practices form an important component of lifestyle, we expect changes to reflect in this domain as well, and be mirrored in the writings of the time. The French *Grande Cuisine* was born at the Royal Court but with the sweeping socio-political changes ushered in by the French Revolution, French food depictions on all tables would become noteworthy. As social mobility became the order of the day and as everyone strove to move up the ladder and grow richer, the food on the plates, the wine in the glasses, the cutlery on the tables, the service and decor in the dining room would all become powerful indicators of class identities and social aspirations.

With the 1789 revolution and the ensuing crumbling of the monarchical order, nineteenth-century France saw the rise of a wealthy bourgeoisie empowered by newly-acquired titles, an urbanised working class, and an educated middle class. The demise of the monarchy effaced the cultural and political demarcation between Versailles and Paris. The increase in the capital's population led to a steep demand for eating establishments which came to be populated mainly by opulent *arrivistes* (social climbers). Private homes ceded to restaurants as the new venue for fine dining and public display of social status. Diners formed a social subgroup that stood in stark contrast to non-diners, and the ability to dine out defined the new elite of the nineteenth century (Ferguson, 2001). These new social realities pervaded especially realist literature which aimed at imitating real life. Nutritional and culinary discourse thus formed major elements of nineteenth-century French literature as writers took to painstakingly realistic depictions of everyday life. The French gastronome *Brillat-Savarin* had proclaimed "Tell me what you eat, and I will tell you who you are," thus affirming that what a person ate at ordinary meals spoke volumes about his personality. A wider interpretation of this meant that not only details of food preparations

but also evocations of dining rituals and company, table manners, and even stomach disorders would now find their way into books.

The nineteenth century is considered by scholars to be exceptionally long, being inaugurated with the 1789 Revolution which changed the course of French history and ushered in widespread change in French society of the nineteenth century. The tumultuous times in the wake of the Revolution, the Reign of Terror and the First Empire propelled travel as the more affluent and often at risk French people travelled to escape the instability at home. Although travel may have been out of necessity at first, it is interesting to observe that with the passing of time, as people became habituated to travel, and travelled not only out of compulsion, their outlook changed. Csargo (2011) explains that as travel intensified, expectations of travellers moved beyond mere nourishment of a fatigued body to the satisfaction of gustatory pleasure, as may be seen from the popularity of Grimod de la Reyniere's *Almanach des Gourmands* which recommends inns and eating establishments on the basis of quality food, wine, service and décor. This trend as seen from the literary production of the time is predicative of present day tourist expectations. The increased affluence led to travel for leisure and cultural exploration. Charles-Louis Cadet de Gassicourt proposed in 1809, the *Carte gastronomique de la France*. This map testifies to the first monumentalisation of food specialities via a graphical dissection of the national territory on culinary terms wherein regional specialties like *la truffe*, *le pâté de foie*, *la poularde* are elevated to the status of a tourist site, a cathedral or a castle.

The nineteenth century paradoxically views food through two opposing lenses - that of sensorial pleasure and good taste, as well as that of moral and dietary restrictions. Earlier on, gluttony was condemned notably by the religious authorities who termed it as a sin. As the nineteenth century progresses, there is a change in representations towards food and eating. The aforementioned *Almanach des Gourmands* and the work of French gastronome *Brillat-Savarin* who attempts to found a science of gastronomy, as well as the changing nature of children's literature (which grew less condemning of greed) and the development of the sweets industry, contribute to an evolution in peoples' perceptions. Creative packaging and publicity drive the sales of sweets as gifts among a younger consumer segment, and eating soon becomes attractive to a society that is increasingly able to afford the pleasures of food (Navarre, 2020).

According to Becker (2009), the omnipresence of the stout gourmand figure in nineteenth century literature points to a progressively gourmand society. The commercialisation of the food market; the richness and diversity offered by the market; and the rise of publicity -- are all factors that contributed to a propaganda campaign in favour of gluttony. The rich consumer gave in to tempting menus, and obesity (with its negative health effects) was not feared until the end of the century. On the contrary, bourgeois society considered corpulence and overweight as a sign of fortune and social success. This is amply illustrated through portrayals of Honoré de Balzac's bourgeois protagonists as seen in his *La*

Comedie Humaine. An interesting account may be made of the humorous representations of the miser's (M. Grandet) hesitancy to spend money on hospitality towards his young nephew. In the novel *Eugenie Grandet*, conversations between the domestic help and the daughter who secretly loves her cousin are about making arrangements for sugar to sweeten his tea; for flour and butter to make *galettes*; and for *frappe* to put on the bread.

Food scenes could be painted descriptively as done by Honoré de Balzac or evoked lyrically and even sensually as in the case of Emile Zola. Zola's roasted goose in *L'Assomoir* could well be taken to refer to his heroine Gervaise. His description of summertime fruit in *The Belly of Paris* appears to be an ode to feminine beauty. Writers deliver skilful descriptions of food and restaurants in realist and naturalist writing, often hinting to more than just food. The dishes served at the *Café Riche* are aphrodisiac and suggestive of more than just the pleasures of eating; the ambience in the private booths perfect for seduction, and the overall luxurious restaurant atmosphere simply magical according to Guy de Maupassant *Le Bel-Ami*. His short stories are populated by people wining and dining. In another of Maupassant's short stories, with a more frugal setting in the backdrop of the 1870 Franco-Prussian war, the poor prostitute Boule de suif (who is compared to a pig with sausage-like fingers), shares her food basket with fellow passengers of more favourable social backgrounds. Physical and psychological effects produced by the sight of food are highlighted as her generosity momentarily melts the aversion of the hungry middle-class and nobles and the mood is deceptively one of social fraternity. In Maupassant's signature style reflecting the harsh times, once stomachs are full, the story dips to its pessimistic end which was always faintly visible through the violent words following the initial description of the food basket. The odour of food is said to have evoked in this case dilation of nostrils, watering of mouths and painful contraction of jaws along with a scorn that could well drive the protagonist to a tragic and violent end. Food highlights ultimately the inevitable social barriers between Boule de suif and the rest of the passengers.

According to Becker (2017), Balzac and Maupassant draw attention to the gap between the food served in fancy Parisian restaurants and private provincial houses; they scrutinise table service rituals and examine the prejudices surrounding the slimness of the feminine body; or the risk of obesity and addictions. The discourse of food may be used to differentiate between social classes as does the nineteenth-century French writer Gustave Flaubert when he uses ceremonial dining as a marker of social status. In *Madame Bovary*, Emma's wedding feast stands in sharp contrast to the elegant banquet at La Vaubyessard where the elaborate dinner menu and refined ambience embody the elegance that she so pines for, whilst having to make do with the dreary existence that is hers. Her life and husband are mediocre and food is again put to use in the building of the ordinary atmosphere. The rural area around Yonville is described as the land of poor soil and inferior cheeses. Characterisations are also in terms of food – as Flaubert paints the image of a mediocre husband (Charles) unappreciated by Emma. Gluttony and poor table manners play a role in the portrayal.

On the other hand, Emma Bovary eats selectively or refuses food if the items on the menu do not reflect the refined upper-class taste. These anorexic-like symptoms may be paralleled and contrasted with other well-known heroines of nineteenth-century literature. Balzac's Madame de Mortsauf (*Le Lys dans la vallée*) also displays similar eating disorders while Emile Zola's Gervaise (*L'Assomoir*) often gives in to overeating. The three come from different social classes – the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie and the poor respectively, and Gervaise who lives in Paris' slums sees food as a sanctuary in a life of deprivation. Her gluttony although in some ways comparable to that of Charles Bovary, stems from a very different motivation, that of eating for security. The bourgeois Emma also displays via her eating style and food preferences, a profound dissatisfaction with her current status, and an aspiration to climb socially and gain access to the aristocratic milieu. The dramatic events of the nineteenth century opened the doors to higher milieu and inspired people to dream of socio-economic mobility, but the reality of deprivation, hardship and class barriers did not disappear.

Food is central to human survival yet eating was not always possible due to poverty. The legendary quest for bread is what led the French people to the walls of the Bastille and food, especially in times of famine, becomes an obsession for the poor. Eighteenth-century France saw numerous famines, food riots and a rise in food theft. Andries (1983) concludes that the abundance of recipes, alcohols, vegetables and ingredients that figure in the eighteenth and nineteenth-century popular readings point to the perpetuation of an idyllic illusion of food abundance to counter the deprivation of everyday life. It is easy to understand that the notion of abundance is primordial and that the average French common man employed neither restriction nor restraint while dealing with food. Simplicity of food and of service, a lack of cultural capital implies *gourmandise* rather than *gastronomy*. Post-French Revolution, the aristocratic *Grande cuisine* transformed into gastronomy and came with a price tag. (Clark, 1975). Brillat-Savarin gives 1770 as the year for the opening of the first restaurant in Paris; many more mushroomed in the nineteenth century. Restaurants as democratic public and private spaces were underlined by Balzac thanks to the *cabinets particuliers* (private booths). Eating together came to connote equality and this is brought out by Stendhal in *Le Rouge et le Noir*. The ambitious hero Julien Sorel insists on eating with the aristocratic Renals when he enters their house as a tutor. By virtue of its long association with the aristocracy, the *Grande cuisine* conferred prestige on the bourgeois. Balzac's Lucien Rubempré (*Illusions perdues*) too hastened to dine at elegant restaurants - a first step on the bourgeois' path to success. Eating out and in the right company thus prefigures the evolution of social status.

Gastronomy was now based on merit, the two being dependent on wealth. Gastronomy gave and was a social status - the gastronome had a new maxim - "*je mange donc je suis*". (I eat, therefore I am) The new *arrivistes* (social climbers) that populated the fine dining spaces possessed the necessary means to permit them an entry, but often lacked

savoir-faire. If French cuisine was to be instrumental in social legitimization, this new breed of the gourmand required education for he was not born eating truffles. Gastronomy thus gave birth to gastronomic journalism and cookbooks became popular. Brillat-Savarin came out with *La Physiologie du goût*, Marie-Antoine Carême, known as the Father of French cuisine and credited with having codified the four primary families of French sauces wrote *L'Art de la Cuisine Française au dix-neuvième siècle*. (Clark, 1975) Although literary history remembers Alexandre Dumas as the author of *The Count of Monte Cristo*, he was also a formidable gastronome. His *Grand Dictionnaire de cuisine* is more of a guide than a manual; details concerning the ingredients' quantities, the thermostat etc. are not precise. The author of adventure novels like *The Three Musketeers* invites his reader to embark on a culinary adventure. In the preface amidst meditations on the art, science, and psychology of cuisine, Dumas delivers a taxonomy of appetite. He also dwells on the perfect number of dinner guests. He fully understood the tragic and powerful grip of *bulimia nervosa* and called it a disease long before it was officially categorised as one.

Literary representations of food and drink reflected nineteenth century societal changes. Novels when describing the birth of children gave a brief mention of wet nurses (Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*). Nursing of infants by wet nurses was restricted to the wealthy in urban settings who could afford to, and believed that the nearly two-year stay in the countryside being nursed by a robust countrywoman would give the baby a healthy head start. Morel (2010) expounds that mother's milk appears to be a rare commodity and that later depictions of wet nurses are often accompanied with negative connotations and uncertainty concerning the safety and wellbeing of the child during the child's long stay with the nurse. Some accounts relate the departure of the baby and the return of the child in positive terms and testify to maternal love as seen in both the mother and the nurse. Drinks such as milk (and wine in the case of adults) are thus seen to be associated with social stratification, and employing a wet nurse was a privilege of the wealthy. Social distinctions and nutrition are thus closely linked right from the initial stages of human life.

Charles Baudelaire's symbolist poetry presents the duality of wine in *Les Fleurs du Mal* - a source of physical and mental rejuvenation - as well as a vehicle towards a corrupt world of depravity and debauchery. In *Benediction*, wine and meats are associated with the charms of a seductress. Through Baudelaire's *Le Vin de chiffonniers* the sad fate of rag pickers is vividly brought out. Wine is said to have been created by man to drown the bitterness of these poor people. (Avni, 1970).

In literary representation as in real life, food is equated with much more than just nutrition. Types of food and the extent or absence of table service, the quantity of food ingested, consumed or relished may be drily described, beautifully painted or sensually evoked in myriad ways. The author's choice in the manner of depiction speaks volumes about the layers of society represented in his work. In a socially mobile French sphere

obsessed with the upward economic climb, food symbolised much more than food. Culinary representations in literature bore witness to the social evolutions of the time.

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* श्रुति गाड़

सारांश

छायावादी कविता की धारा सन् १९१८ ई. के आसपास प्रवाहित हुई। उस समय की वर्तमान राजनीतिक, सामाजिक एवं साहित्यिक परिस्थितियों ने इस साहित्य को एक अभिनव दृष्टि और दिशा प्रदान की। छायावाद के चार मुख्य स्तंभ हैं - जयशंकर प्रसाद, सूर्यकांत त्रिपाठी 'निराला', सुमित्रानंदन पंत एवं महादेवी वर्मा। इन चारों कवियों ने छायावाद को अलग-अलग रूपों में ग्रहण किया है। छायावाद के पूर्व द्विवेदीयुगीन कविताओं का जो स्वर था वह कई मायनों में छायावाद से अलग था। विभिन्न आलोचकों ने 'छायावाद' को अलग-अलग परिप्रेक्ष्यों में परिभाषित किया है। प्रसाद जी ने विशेष रूप से मन पर मनन किया, निराला ने पौरुष की भावना को जागृत किया, पंत ने प्रकृति के रम्य चित्र खींचे और महादेवी ने जन्म से अभिशप्त भारतीय नारी की करुण-कथा अंकित कर छायावादी काव्य को विविध धाराओं में प्रवाहित किया। निराला जी के ओजस्वी व्यक्तित्व की अभिव्यक्ति हम उनके समस्त साहित्य में देख सकते हैं। निराला (१८९६-१९६१) के समस्त काव्य में छायावादी काव्य की विभिन्न प्रवृत्तियाँ परिलक्षित होती हैं। वे अपनी प्रखर एवं विद्रोही लेखनी के बल पर हिन्दी काव्य जगत में अमिट छाप छोड़ गए। निराला जी के काव्य का अध्ययन करके हम इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँच सकते हैं कि उनके काव्य में छायावाद की समस्त प्रवृत्तियाँ परिलक्षित होती हैं। अपने जीवन को सुव्यवस्थित करने के लिए निराला युग की चुनौतियों से निरंतर लड़ते ही रहे हैं।

बीजशब्द : छायावाद, काव्यधारा, रहस्यात्मकता, रहस्यवाद

आधुनिक हिन्दी कविता में एक युग ऐसा भी आया जब 'छायावाद' कविताओं पर पूरी तरह से छा गया। छायावादी कविता की धारा सन् १९१८ ई. के आसपास प्रवाहित हुई। उस समय की वर्तमान राजनीतिक, सामाजिक एवं साहित्यिक परिस्थितियों ने इस साहित्य को एक अभिनव दृष्टि और दिशा प्रदान की। “दो महायुद्धों के बीच अर्थात् सन् १९१४ से सन् १९३७ ई. के बीच हिन्दी कविता में नया भाव-बोध, नयी विचार-धारा, नयी सौंदर्य दृष्टि और नवीन भाषा-शैली का जो विकास हुआ, उसे ही छायावाद कहते हैं।”^१

छायावाद के चार मुख्य स्तंभ हैं 'जयशंकर प्रसाद, सूर्यकांत त्रिपाठी 'निराला', सुमित्रानंदन पंत एवं महादेवी वर्मा। इन चारों कवियों ने छायावाद को अलग-अलग रूपों में ग्रहण किया है। “प्रसाद जी ने विशेष रूप से मन पर मनन किया, निराला ने पौरुष की भावना को जागृत किया, पंत ने प्रकृति के रम्य चित्र खींचे और महादेवी ने जन्म से अभिशप्त भारतीय नारी की करुण-कथा अंकित कर छायावादी काव्य को विविध धाराओं में प्रवाहित किया।”^२ छायावाद के पूर्व द्विवेदीयुगीन कविताओं का जो स्वर था वह कई मायनों में छायावाद से अलग था। द्विवेदीयुगीन काव्यधारा में इतिवृत्तात्मकता, उपदेशात्मकता एवं गद्यात्मकता की भरमार थी जिसके फलस्वरूप यह काव्य निरस बन गया। मानव मन की कोमल भावनाओं, संवेदनाओं के लिए जहाँ पर कोई स्थान नहीं था एवं प्रकृति चित्रण भी ज़्यादातर तथ्यात्मक रूप में ही था। छायावादी कवियों ने प्रकृति का मानवीकरण करके अपनी कविताओं द्वारा उसके सजीव एवं मनोरम चित्र कागज पर उतारे। मानव हृदय की सूक्ष्म से सूक्ष्म ग्रंथी भी इन कविताओं में अपना स्थान पा गयी। काव्य भाषा में भी अभिनव प्रयोग किए गए।

विभिन्न आलोचकों ने 'छायावाद' को अलग-अलग परिप्रेक्षों में परिभाषित किया है। आचार्य रामचंद्र शुक्ल इसे रहस्यवाद के अर्थ में लेते हैं जहाँ कवि किसी अज्ञात प्रियतम को आलंबन बनाकर लिखता है। डॉ. नगेंद्र के अनुसार "स्थूल के प्रति सूक्ष्म का विद्रोह ही छायावाद का आधार है। छायावाद का जन्म ही विद्रोह में है, यह विद्रोह भावनाओं और विचारों में भी है और शैली और कला में भी।"³ छायावादयुगीन काव्य के भावपक्ष एवं कलापक्ष के अनुशीलन से हम इन मौलिकताओं से भली-भांति ज्ञात होते हैं।

सूर्यकांत त्रिपाठी 'निराला' (१८९६-१९६१) जिन्हें हम 'महाप्राण' कहकर भी संबोधित करते हैं छायावाद के एक महत्त्वपूर्ण स्तंभ हैं। वे अपनी प्रखर एवं विद्रोही लेखनी के बल पर हिन्दी काव्य जगत में अमिट छाप छोड़ गए। निराला जी के ओजस्वी व्यक्तित्व की अभिव्यक्ति हम उनके समस्त साहित्य में देख सकते हैं। उनके मुख्य कविता संग्रह हैं — अनामिका (भाग-१), परिमल, गीतिका, अनामिका (भाग-२), तुलसीदास, कुरुरमुत्ता, अणिमा, बेला, नये पत्ते, अर्चना, आराधना, गीतगुंज, सांध्य काकली।

निराला के समस्त काव्य में छायावादी काव्य की विभिन्न प्रवृत्तियाँ परिलक्षित होती हैं। छायावादी कवियों ने अपनी निजी भावनाओं को काव्य का विषय बनाया। उन्होंने अपने व्यक्तिगत जीवन के सुख-दुखों को कविता में चित्रित किया। 'राम की शक्तिपूजा' में कवि अपनी निजी जीवन की निराशा को अभिव्यक्त करते हैं;

धिक जीवन जो पाता ही आया है विरोध
धिक साधन जिसके लिए सदा ही किया शोध।⁴

निराला का जीवन बहुत ही संघर्षपूर्ण रहा है। अपने जीवन को सुव्यवस्थित करने के लिए निराला युग की चुनौतियों से निरंतर लड़ते ही रहे हैं, यहाँ पर कवि का निराशावादी स्वर नज़र आता है। कवि अपनी आंतरिक छटपटाहट को अभिव्यक्ति प्रदान कर रहा है, परंतु इन निराशा के क्षणों में भी कवि अपने अदम्य साहस से जीवन से संघर्ष करता हुआ दिखाई देता है।

छायावाद में प्रकृति बहुत ही व्यापक रूप में चित्रित हुई है। नारी सौन्दर्य एवं प्रेम चित्रण, प्रकृति के सौन्दर्य एवं प्रेम की अभिव्यंजना का चित्रण; इस प्रकार छायावादी कवि का मन प्रकृति चित्रण में बहुत रमा। निराला के काव्य में प्रकृति का सूक्ष्म चित्रण मिलता है।

छाए आकाश में काले काले बादल देखे,
झोंके खाते हवा में सरसी के कमल देखे,
कानों में बातें बेला जुही करती थी,
नाचते मोर झूमते हुए पीपल देखे।⁵

छायावादी कविता में प्रकृति आलंबन, उद्दीपन, पृष्ठभूमि नियामक, अलंकृत, रहस्यात्मक, प्रतीक इन रूपों में प्रस्तुत हुई है। प्रकृति का मानवीकरण छायावाद की प्रमुख विशेषता है, जहाँ पर कवि प्रकृति को मानवीय चेतना से युक्त देखता है;

दिवसावसान का समय
मेघमय आसमान से उतर रही है
वह संध्या सुंदरी परी-सी
तिमिरांचल में चंचलता का नहीं कहीं आभास
मधुर-मधुर हैं दोनों उसके अधर
किन्तु गंभीर, नहीं है उसमें हास विलास।⁶

यहाँ पर कवि संध्या सुंदरी का मनोहारी चित्रण करते हुए दिखाई पड़ते हैं।

निराला की प्रसिद्ध कविता 'जुही की कली' में कवि सुकुमार कली को कोमल तरुणी के रूप में देखता है;

विजन वन वल्लरी पर
सोती थी सुहागभरी स्नेह स्वप्न मग्न
अमल कोमल तनु तरुणी जुही की कली
दृग बंद किए शिथिल पत्रांक में।^१

छायावादी कवि प्रेम और सौन्दर्य के कवि हैं। उनकी सौन्दर्य भावना उदात्त है, जिसमें स्थूलता का अभाव है। सौन्दर्य चित्रण में छायावादी कवियों की वृत्ति आंतरिक सौन्दर्य के चित्रण में ही ज्यादा प्रवृत्त हुई है। निराला के काव्य में प्रेम और सौन्दर्य का सुंदर चित्रण हुआ है।

मिले तुम एकाएक;
देख मैं रुक गई
चले पद हुए अचल,
आप ही अपल दृष्टि,
फैला समष्टि में खिंच स्तब्ध हुआ।
दिये नहीं प्राण जो इच्छा से दूसरे को -
इच्छा से प्राण वे दूसरे के हो गए!.....
देखती हुई सहज
हो गई मैं जड़ीभूत।^२

छायावादी कवियों को प्रेम के क्षेत्र में जाति, वर्ण, सामाजिक रीति-नीतियाँ, रूढ़ियाँ और मिथ्या मान्यताएँ मान्य नहीं हैं। इनके प्रेम चित्रण में कोई छिपाव नहीं है। उसमें मिलन की अनुभूतियों की अपेक्षा विरह की अनुभूतियों का चित्रण अधिक हुआ है। 'अनामिका', 'परिमल', 'गीतिका' इन संग्रहों में ज्यादातर कवितायें प्रेम भावना से परिपूर्ण हैं।

छायावादी कवि नारी के प्रति उदात्त दृष्टिकोण रखते हैं। उनके लिए नारी दया, क्षमा, करुणा की देवी है और इन गुणों के कारण ही श्रद्धा की पात्र है। निराला ने नारी को निराश पुरुष के हृदय में आशा का संचार करनेवाली शक्ति के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित किया। 'राम की शक्तिपूजा' में राम के निराश हृदय में सीता की स्मृति से ही नवीन आशा का संचार होता है;

ऐसे क्षण अंधकार घन में जैसे विद्युत।
जागी पृथ्वी तनया कुमारिका छवि अच्युत।^३

छायावादी काव्य में रहस्यवाद की प्रवृत्ति भी प्रमुखता से दिखाई पड़ती है। सभी छायावादी कवि किसी अज्ञात सत्ता के प्रति आत्मीयता के भाव व्यक्त करते हैं। निराला 'तुम और मैं' कविता में उस परमात्मा के अस्तित्व की खोज करते हैं;

तुम तुंग श्रृंग-हिमालय और मैं चंचल गति सुरसरिता
तुम विमल हृदय उच्छ्वास और मैं कान्त कामिनी कविता।^४

भाषा में चित्रात्मकता एवं ध्वन्यात्मकता भी छायावादी काव्य की एक प्रमुख विशेषता है। इस दृष्टि से निराला की 'बादल' कविता हमारा ध्यान आकृष्ट करती है;

**झूम-झूम मृदु गरज-गरज घन घोर!
राग अमर अंबर में भर निज रोर!^१**

निराला जी के काव्य का अध्ययन करके हम इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँच सकते हैं कि उनके काव्य में छायावाद की समस्त प्रवृत्तियाँ परिलक्षित होती हैं। उनकी कविताओं में छायावाद मुखर रूप से उभरा है।

संदर्भ ग्रंथ सूची

^१युगकवि निराला, संपादक - डॉ. राममूर्ति शर्मा, श्री. गिरिराज शरण अग्रवाल, पृष्ठ क्र. १७३

^२युगकवि निराला, संपादक - डॉ. राममूर्ति शर्मा, श्री. गिरिराज शरण अग्रवाल, पृष्ठ क्र. १४१

^३युगकवि निराला, डॉ. कृष्णदेव झारी, पृष्ठ क्र. ४५

^४kavitakosh.org/kk/राम_की_शक्ति_पूजा/_सूर्यकांत_त्रिपाठी_“निराला”/_पृष्ठ_४

^५aaadii.blogspot.com/2014/03/nir.html

^६kavitakosh.org/kk/संध्या_सुन्दरी/_सूर्यकांत_त्रिपाठी_“निराला”

^७kavitakosh.org/kk/जुही_की_कली/_सूर्यकांत_त्रिपाठी_“निराला”

^८kavitakosh.org/kk/प्रेयसी/_सूर्यकांत_त्रिपाठी_“निराला”

^९kavitakosh.org/kk/राम_की_शक्ति_पूजा/_सूर्यकांत_त्रिपाठी_“निराला”/_पृष्ठ_१

^{१०}kavitakosh.org/kk/तुम_और_मैं/_सूर्यकांत_त्रिपाठी_“निराला”

^{११}hindwi.org/kavita/baadl-raag-suryakant-tripathi-nirala-kavita

Shylock: Villain or Victim?

* Dattaguru G. Joshi

Abstract

The character of Shylock in William Shakespeare's play *Merchant of Venice* (1596) has always attracted the attention of Shakespearean scholars and students alike. He is viewed both as a villain and a victim. The first is due to his unflinching adherence to revenge while the second is for being the spokesperson of the Jews - the persecuted lot since centuries. This study looks at the character of Shylock as an individual and also as a representative of the Jewish race. The issue of antisemitism provides a strong basis for the suppression of the minority by the majority. Shylock becomes the 'other', the marginalized. Issues like marginalization and the subaltern are also used as a sounding board to analyze the character and understand the standpoint and decisions of Shylock with respect to the textual, historical and post-colonial context.

Keywords: antisemitism, history, marginalization, other

Introduction

The question which will be raised here has been a bone of contention and an issue for debate since centuries, that is, whether Shylock is a villain or a victim. It is more profound today in the light of discrimination at various levels, especially the socio-cultural hegemonic forces suppressing the powerless. Perhaps this suppression of the minority by the majority, the manhandling of the powerless by the powerful, the validity of the blame game, especially blaming a whole race for certain ills or misdemeanor in the history, finds its presence in the portrayal of Shylock.

Interestingly, Shakespeare has borrowed the character of Shylock from the medieval literary tradition, just as Marlowe did in his *Jew of Malta* (1589). Characters like Shylock end up becoming stereotypes, and are thus portrayed as cruel, lecherous, greedy and selfish individuals. He becomes a synonym for a 'loan shark,' and a major hurdle in the way of love. He acts as a contrast to liberality and selflessness. He is again presented as a family man, a father, with a beautiful young daughter and in terms of his professional life, as a money-lender.

It is interesting to note that no other character in the play *Merchant of Venice* has attained as much fame and renown as Shylock, who according to Smith shares only 13% of

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the total lines in the play. The other characters' shares are Portia-22%, Bassanio-12% and Antonio-7%.

The character of Shylock is remarkable, because preceding the play is the violent history of fifteen hundred years. Hence, the play depicts antisemitism, i.e. an intense dislike for and against the Jewish people.

Merchant of Venice and Antisemitism

Shylock is ridiculed for being a Jew as Antonio comments: "Hie thee, gentle Jew" (1.3.190), and after he exits: "The Hebrew will turn Christian: he grows kind"(1.3.191). Modern audiences are troubled by its apparent antisemitism. Critics continue to argue over the play's stance on antisemitism.

English society in the Elizabethan era has been described as antisemitic. English Jews had been expelled in 1290; and they were not allowed to settle in the country until the rule of Oliver Cromwell. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Jews were often presented on the Elizabethan stage in hideous caricature, with hooked noses, bright red wigs and usually depicted as avaricious usurers.

During the sixteenth century in Venice and in other places, Jews had to wear a red hat at all times in public to ensure easy identification. Noncompliance was viewed seriously which even resulted in death penalty. They lived in a ghetto, probably for their own safety or possibly ethnic segregation.

The title page of the Quarto indicates that the play was sometimes known as *The Jew of Venice* in its day, which suggests that it was seen as similar to Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*. It is possible that Shakespeare meant Shylock's forced conversion to Christianity to be a "happy ending" for the character, as it 'redeems' Shylock both from his unbelief and his specific sin of wanting to kill Antonio. This reading of the play would certainly fit with the anti-semitic trends present in Elizabethan England.

Some critics believe that Shakespeare being a dramatist was neither concerned with anti- nor pro-Semitism, except in the way it shaped individual characters in his plays to produce the necessary drama that he was attempting to create. The play is thus emphatically not anti-Semitic; rather, because of the nature of Shylock's involvement in the love plots, it is about anti-Semitism. Shakespeare never seriously defined or condemned a group through the presentation of an individual; he only did this for the purpose of comedy by creating caricatures in miniature for amusement. Shylock is drawn in bold strokes; he is meant to be a "villain" in terms of the romantic comedy, but because of the multi-dimensionality which Shakespeare gives him, the reader sympathizes with him at times, loathes him at others. It is Shakespeare's genius as a creator of character that he manipulates the reader's emotions in favour of Shylock.

Although there is a doubt about the play being antisemitic or not, the character of Shylock gets foregrounded both as a victim and as a villain.

Shylock the Victim

The drama *Merchant of Venice* sees the shift of fortunes between who exactly is the victim and who can be referred to as the villain. Initially it seems that Antonio is the victim, both due to his fate and the sadist Jew Shylock. However, in the latter half, the tables turn against Shylock and he becomes the lone fighter to retain the position against the tirades of the powerful opponents.

The victim is the one that gets hurt while the villain is the cause of problems and stands out as the mean character. In the play, Shylock as a character attains such complexity. It is equally difficult to say whether he is the victim or villain. Shylock is the victim because he is seen as being morally lower than the other characters. Because he is a Jew, he loses his daughter and money to Lorenzo. He loses his land and possessions and is forced to convert to Christianity.

Throughout the play Shylock is criticized and rebuked. Solanio says, “Here comes another of the tribe; a third / cannot be matched, unless the devil himself turn / Jew” (3.1.76-78). They treat him like a dog. Gratiano says later:

*O, be thou damned, inexecrable dog,
And for thy life let justice be accused;
Thou almost mak'st me waver in my faith, (4.1.130-32)
...for thy desires are wolfish, bloody, starved, and ravenous (4.1.139-140).*

The continuous onslaught of comments towards Shylock, makes him a more sympathetic character. Shylock even says that Antonio spat on him.

No doubt Shylock is a wealthy man, rich enough to forgo the interest on three thousand ducats, and that Antonio is far from the chivalrous gentleman he is made to appear. He has insulted the Jew and spat on him, yet he comes with hypocritical politeness to borrow money. Shylock's fatal flaw is to depend on the law.

There are perhaps few disturbing lines in all of Shakespeare than Shylock's promise to Solanio and Salarino in Act III, Scene i, that he will outdo the evil that has been done to him. Shylock begins by eloquently reminding the Venetians that all people, even those who are not part of the majority culture, are human. A Jew, he reasons, is equipped with the same faculties as a Christian, and is therefore subject to feeling the same pains and comforts and emotions.

*I am a Jew. Hath not
a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions,
senses, affections, passions; fed with the
same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to
the same diseases, healed by the same means,
warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer
as a Christian is? If you prick us do we not
bleed? If you tickle us do we not laugh? If you
poison us do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall
we not revenge? If we are like you in the rest, we will*

resemble you in that. If a Jew wrong a Christian, what is his humility? Revenge. If a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance be by Christian example? Why, revenge! The villainy you teach me I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction. (3.1.57-72)

The speech is remarkable as it summons a range of emotional responses of Shylock. At first is the sympathy for the Jew, whose right to fair and decent treatment has been neglected by the Venetians. He must remind them that he has “hands, organs, dimensions, senses” similar to theirs (3.1.58-59). But Shylock's pledge to behave as badly as they, and, moreover, to “better the instruction,” casts him in a less sympathetic light (3.1.71-72). While one understands his inner enthusiasm, but it cannot be an excuse for the endless continuation of such wickedness.

Shylock of the play is no angel, demanding flesh to pay a debt; he is almost justified when one takes into account his description of the wrongs done to him. He is a good man that is, like many, prone to doing wrong, and unlike many, is oppressed by those surrounding him.

Shylock the villain

Shylock is not all that a simple character at the receiving end. He lashes out at Antonio when the opportunity arises. When, in Act IV, scene i, Antonio and Shylock are summoned before the court, the Duke asks the Jew to show his adversary some mercy. Shylock responds by reasoning that he has no reason. He blames his hatred of Antonio on “affection, / [that] Masters passion,” who is known to affect men's moods in ways they cannot explain (4.1.51-52). Just as certain people do not know why they have an aversion to cats or certain strains of music or eating meat, Shylock cannot logically explain his dislike for Antonio. The whole of his response to the court boils down to the terribly eloquent equivalent of the simple answer: just because.

*What if my house be troubled with a rat,
And I be pleased to give ten thousand ducats
To have it baned? What, are you answered yet?
Some men there are love not a gaping pig,
Some that are mad if they behold a cat,
And others when the bagpipe sings i'th' nose
Cannot contain their urine; for affection,
Mastersoft passion, sways it to the mood
Of what it likes or loathes. . . . (4.1. 45-53)
So can I give no reason, nor I will not,
More than a lodged hate and a certain loathing
I bear Antonio, that I follow thus
A losing suit against him. Are you answered?
(4.1.60-63)*

The speech merits consideration not only because it articulates a range of emotions that often cannot be verbally expressed, but also because Shylock's language patterns reinforce the impression of his character. The use of repetition in the passage is frequent. Shylock returns not only to the same imagery—the “gaping pig” (4.1.55) and the “woolen bagpipe” (4.1.57) but also to his adamant comment “Are you answered?” (4.1.63). Here, Shylock's speech reflects the restricted outlook and resolute focus of his pursuit to satisfy his abhorrence.

The speech's imagery is trivial. Other characters speak in dreamily poetic tones, evoking images of angels and waters scented with spice, but Shylock draws on the most mundane examples to prove his point. Shylock's complaints against Antonio are based on a carefully meditated catalogue of the Venetian's crimes. By relying on the defense that his actions are justified simply because he feels like them, Shylock appears unpredictable and whimsical, and he further fuels the perception of his actions as careless and cruel.

Shylock cleverly uses Venice's own laws to support his vengeful quest and enlisting society's cruelties in defense of his own. Shylock begins his speech on a humane note, yet this opening serves merely to justify his indulgence in the same injustices he references,

*You have among you many a purchased slave
Which, like your asses and your dogs and mules,
You use in abject and in slavish parts
Because you bought them. Shall I say to you
'Let them be free, marry them to your heirs.
Why sweat they under burdens?'*(4.1.91-96)

...
*You will answer
'The slaves are ours!'* So do I answer you:
*The pound of flesh which I demand of him
Is dearly bought; 'Tis mine, and I will have it.*
(4.1.98-101)

Shylock has no interest in exposing the wrongfulness of owning or mistreating slaves. Such property rights simply happen to be established by Venetian laws, so Shylock uses them to appeal for equal protection. If Antonio and company can purchase human flesh to “use in abject and in slavish parts,” (4.1.93) Shylock reasons, then he can purchase part of the flesh of a Venetian citizen. In his mind, he has merely extended the law to its most literal interpretation. Unlike the Venetians, who are willing to bend or break the law to satisfy their wants, Shylock never strays from its letter in his pursuit of his bond. His brand of abiding by the law, however, is made unsavory by the gruesome nature of his interpretation.

Portia reveals her skills by appealing to his methodical mind and follows the standard procedure of asking Shylock for mercy. Her argument draws on a careful process of reasoning rather than emotion. Although well-measured and well-reasoned, Portia's speech nonetheless casts mercy as a polarizing issue between Judaism and Christianity. Her frequent references to the divine are appeals to a clearly Christian God, and mercy emerges

as a marker of Christianity. Although it seems as if Portia is offering an appeal, in retrospect her speech becomes an ultimatum, a final chance for Shylock to save himself before Portia crushes his legal arguments.

Shylock as the Other

In its everyday usage, the term 'other' is seemingly unproblematic. It means that which is different – other than – ourselves or the myriad of established norms and practices that govern one's lives. Yet, in acknowledging the interdependence of self and other, norm and deviation, it hints at the underlying complexity of this concept. The 'other' is not, the direct opposite of the 'self'. Rather, the two exist in a complex relation that undermines any simplistic conception of self/other, inside/outside or centre/margin.

In general terms, the 'other' is anyone who is separate from one's self. The existence of others is crucial in defining what is 'normal' and in locating one's own place in the world. Foucault explains it in the context of searching a meaning in a painting. This meaning evolves through a complex interplay between presence (what one sees, or the visible) and absence (what one cannot see, what has been displaced within the frame).

There is the dichotomy of the Christian at the centre and the Jew at the periphery, who is the 'other', and has all those qualities a Christian should not. Christian values are pitched against Jewish values. Consider Portia's soliloquy on the greatness of mercy:

*The quality of mercy is not strained.
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath
... (4.1.190-208)*

This is actually the binary position vis-à-vis a Jew who lacks them. The Other – with the capital 'O' – has been referred to as the *grande-autre* by Lacan, the great Other, in whose gaze the subject gains identity. (Ashcroft, 168)

Shylock, the tragic villain of the *Merchant Of Venice*, a Jew, a minority in the Christian majority is huddled and 'beaten' - an individual, by the majority Christian community. He is manhandled, his belongings are confiscated. He is torn away from his family members because he is not following the faith of the majority. He is ultimately made into a villain who hungers for vengeance. Shylock is not born as a villain, but the circumstances make him one.

In a way, all those who approach him for assistance as a moneylender have no apprehensions whatsoever. His daughter too is accepted as a lover. His possessions confiscated at the end of the play are also taken without any hindrance. His daughter leaving him along with money/wealth for the sake of love, speaks of her opportunistic attitude. But ultimately, the decision of the Duke to confiscate all his belongings leads to a state of misusing the administrative powers to suit the well-being of the majority, as against the minority.

This Other is placed against the imperial center, in two ways: first, it provides the terms in which the subject gains a sense of his or her identity as somehow 'other', dependent; second, it becomes the 'absolute pole of address', the ideological framework in which the subject may come to understand the world.

While looking at the dichotomies, Antonio and all the majority Christian population represent the 'one' while Shylock 'belonging to the minority' is the 'other'. Shylock who had been so much sought after for ducats is referred to as 'an alien' (4.1.364) after all the decisions are taken and Shylock's belongings are confiscated. Portia rebukes him thus, 'Art thou contented Jew? What dost thou say?' (4.1.409).

It seems that there is a desire to impose hegemonic self on the other. This assumed superiority, destroys without any reservations the effectiveness of economic, social, political, legal, and moral systems and imposes the versions of these structures on the Other. By thus subjugating the 'alien', the Venetians place themselves as the master and show the rightful place of the 'alien' minority Jew in the context of the power politics.

What happens to the Jew when he converts to Christianity? Antonio in his request to the Duke asks for two things, 'he presently become a Christian' and the other is to pass away his possessions to Lorenzo and Jessica. In a way, either as a Jew or as a Christian, he remains the 'other' but the only difference is, in the first case, he is the 'The "bad" Other', the negative stereotype; and as a Christian, he becomes the 'the "good" Other' perhaps the positive stereotype.

Shylock though a victim or as the 'other' cannot be referred to as belonging to the subaltern.

Subaltern, means 'of inferior rank', is a term adopted by Gramsci to refer to those groups in society who are subject to the hegemony of the ruling classes which include peasants, workers and other groups who are summarily denied access to 'hegemonic' power (Ashcroft, 198).

Guha in his 'Preface' to the first volume of *Subaltern Studies*, suggests that there are two political domains: that of the elite and that of 'the people', the subaltern domain. Here 'the people' are referred to as the subaltern. Usually those belonging to the subaltern have no voice of their own; hence, they need to be 'spoken for'. But with Shylock who signs an agreement with Antonio in utter 'jest' cannot be referred to as belonging to subaltern. He is vocal in expressing his experiences and sharing the tribulations in the trial scene in the presence of the court. Shylock though a victim cannot be referred to as a subaltern.

Conclusion

Shylock is the most vivid and memorable character in *The Merchant of Venice*, and he is one of Shakespeare's greatest dramatic creations. On stage, it is Shylock who makes the play, and almost all of the great actors of the English and Continental stage have played

the role. But the character of Shylock has also been the subject of much critical debate: How are we meant to evaluate the attitude of the Venetians in the play towards him? Or his attitude toward them? Is he a bloodthirsty villain? Or is he a man "more sinned against than sinning"? Such questions arise due to two crucial views Shylock serves in the play: first, there is the stage "villain" who is required for the plot; second, there is the human being who suffers the loss of his daughter, his property, and, very importantly for him, his religion.

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Elements of Suspense and Thrill in the Fiction of Manohar Malgonkar

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Abstract

Owing to the popularity of fiction involving suspense, one may say that the element of suspense is a criterion for the reader's choice and evaluation of a work along with other reasons. Indian-English writer, Manohar Dattatray Malgonkar's gamut of works, has the element of suspense in his novels, short stories, play and even in his non-fiction, particularly the books of history. This paper tries to understand what suspense is, its cause and effect on readers in relation to the fiction of Malgonkar (1913-2010). Suspense in fiction can be understood as an exercise of engrossing the reader by allowing the plot to unfold slowly, bit by bit. It is an event where the mind is captivated with the quest to find answers, assume probabilities, imagine scenarios, and ask a lot of questions, all of these, while balancing a condition of wilful suspension of knowledge and truth. Malgonkar's plots are replete with suspense, and along with it, often comes the experience of thrill.

Keywords : cataphora, Malgaonkar, suspense, Wulff

The presence of suspense in fiction plays a significant role, in that it has an effect on the choice-making process of the prospective reader. This observation is based on the simple premise that a reader picks a book to read in order to get to know something. This 'something' may range from facts to fantasy. In fiction, suspense may be analysed in two ways: Firstly the presence of elements of suspense in the text skilfully embedded by the author, and secondly the reception process. The talk about the juju man from Potiskun in Malgonkar's short story collection called *Rumble-Tumble* is surrounded by an air of suspense while the manner in which the reader perceives his presence dictates the degree of suspense that might be generated.

The generation of suspense from a theoretical perspective depends on three factors. The uncertainty of the outcome as may be seen in the short story 'Monal Hunt' from *Rumble-Tumble*. Here the reader is uncertain if Hueng Lee would kill Banbir or will Banbir win the fight. Here Malgonkar skilfully introduces a twist, one which creates a surge of thrill with Norman Skellie coming to Banbir's rescue. The second factor of danger to the protagonist and the third factor of time delays also can be seen at work in 'Monal Hunt.' Banbir is in danger of being killed in the fight with Lee and Malgonkar introduces time delays in the progress of action so as to intensify and prolong the experience of suspense.

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Analysed from a cognitive or reception-oriented approach - suspense shows itself to be dependent upon the cognitive activities of the reader: expectation, curiosity, emotions of fear and hope, and relationship with the protagonist. Thus in his play *Line of Mars*, Malgonkar masterfully stokes the reader's expectation that Maharaja Manaji Mangal would succeed in having an heir to his throne and thereby succeed in saving his vast kingdom. Sumati's presence in the play right from the beginning and talk of her horoscope dictating that she was to marry a king incites the curiosity of the reader. For, a commoner marrying a king was practically unthinkable. Sumati gets married to Manaji. This provides reassurance to the reader that good will prevail. The reader experiences the emotions of fear and hope when Manaji dangles Sumati's son Arjun from the fort balcony and lets him hurl down to his death. Sumati is the protagonist of this play and owing to Malgonkar's skilful depiction of her life after marriage to royalty the reader is able to empathize and feels suspense and thrill as the story unravels. It can be said that generation and experience of suspense and thrill depends on the activity of the reader related to specific features and characteristics of texts.

Analysis of suspense in a text requires the answers to three questions: 1) How is suspense generated? 2) Why does it occur? 3) Which unit in the text causes it? To answer these questions one may be guided by Wulff's perspective. Wulff places emphasis on the dramaturgy of suspense, which refers to the activity of anticipating: it provides the material from which the viewers can extrapolate future developments. He says the experience of suspense essentially lies in equally calculating, expecting and evaluating a coming event. This anticipation consists of different acts:

- 1) The given information in a text should be taken as information and also as a starting point for future developments in the story, social situation or course of events.
- 2) The reader needs to draw up a scenario based on the given information and what readers know as human beings.
- 3) The future course is a mix of possibilities that are more or less probable and in anticipating, the degree of probability can be calculated.
- 4) Possible counter-actions by the protagonist calculated.

The reader experiences suspense while reading another short story from *Rumble - Tumble* 'Suliman's Courier' because the reader anticipates a negative result for an illegal activity like smuggling goods. In this case, a package meant for Suleman Pasha – chief of a tribe in Ukraine. The readers take in the information provided in parts and bits as the story progresses and use it to anticipate what might happen next. This anticipation is shaped by the reader's knowledge that smuggling goods that are taxable or banned across international borders would entail a criminal charge. In the present case, the package for Pasha is to travel from India to Ukraine with an army officer named Mansingh. Now, since the contents of the parcel are not known and have been delivered to Mansingh with an air of secrecy, the degree of anticipation steadily rises and so the experience of suspense gets stronger as Mansingh

travels with the package towards Zahidan. The reader is bound to wonder about the contents of the said package. As this is happening and while the package is *en route*, news is received by Mansingh that Pasha has turned out to be a traitor and has fled. This bit of information triggers the reader's mind to calculate the probability and possibilities of the future course of events. The question arises, what if the package contained explosives, and if so, what are the possible counter-actions that Mansingh would take to save himself? Colonel Holland's arrival at the scene and his assumption that the package might contain a ticking bomb drives the experience of suspense to its peak. It is sustained for a considerable period of time before a resolution comes about and the contents of the package are declared to be harmless. The package simply contained cigars, perfumes, bottles of medicine, *surma* (kajal) and tobacco. This example then provides substance to Wulff's perspective on the steps to generate suspense.

The idea that one can gather from the discussion of anticipation is that suspense is not in the text but it is in what the text triggers. The knowledge a reader holds of legalities and regularities acts to make a prognostic judgement of future events. The fact that the probabilities are multiple and dependant on future events actually generates suspense. Bits of information that set the readers mind to work are called pre-information and the activity of the author in skillfully adding pre-information is called foreshadowing. These bits along with narrative kernels -- those scenes and episodes that propel the narrative forward-and satellites-scenes that prepare the way for the kernels -- are an integral part of the dramaturgy of suspense.

These integral parts, in action, may be observed by analysing the progress of the plot of Malgonkar's novel *Spy in Amber* chapter one, of this espionage novel provides a description of the Ragyabas Monastery, the Panchen Lama, the Amber lama's order, treasure, secret escape route and explosives. The mention of all these things are part of foreshadowing for all these elements will have a definite and shaping part to play in the plot. Chapter 5 depicts a scene where no-man's land between India and China is being guarded. This scene is a satellite which makes way for the kernel i.e. Chomo Jung's entry into India. Here the narrative technique used by Malgonkar to generate suspense incorporates the use of foreshadowing, satellites and kernels splendidly. When there is talk about a monastery, an elusive lama, treasure, escape routes and explosives, it triggers the reader to immediately gauge the probabilities and anticipate the events to follow. This is the starting point of the novel and it is also the starting point for the generation of suspense, which is sustained till the very last page of the novel. The scene in chapter 5 begins with a satellite scene. Here because it is no-man's land and is being actively guarded, the reader knows that there is soon going to appear a kernel and sure enough the satellite scene is followed by a kernel scene that describes the entry of a man dressed in lama's clothes entering India. The man escapes being shot for he appears to be a holy man however, the reader is aware that he is really a Chinese spy. Thus the reader who observes this action-packed chapter experiences a great

deal of suspense due to the activity of anticipation and the calculations of the probable outcome.

If suspense can thus be considered as an activity of anticipation fuelled by strategic placement of bits of information, then there is need to observe how Malgonkar's narrative technique makes advance attempts to influence the area where the anticipation of the following events can happen. Much also depends on how the reader is guided through the plot, its instruction that is most important, and such instruction is made possible by the use of cataphora - textual references, pointing to the subsequent information in the text. They help to shape the viewer's scope of expectation. Cataphora are used for the manipulation of the anticipated course of events. They operate naturally in the textual process in an open textual field of reference where further developments have not yet become manifest and where they can only be forecast with more or less probability from the respective place of reading. In the short story 'Tactical Surprise' the narrator blurts out the fact that he is going to dance with Carmen Sheridan right at the beginning and nothing more is said about her in the next three paragraphs. This thus becomes an example of Malgonkar's skilful use of a cataphora, to influence and guide the reader to think about, who she is and why the narrator is elated to be dancing with her. A little later the identity of Miss Sheridan is made clear and it is established that she is a young American actress on a visit to India. No sooner the answer to the first cataphora induced question is given Malgonkar skillfully uses another such cataphora. The narrator, is told to be an army officer, hence this point indicates that the narrator will meet Miss Sheridan in some capacity as an officer. Cataphora also plays the function of preparing the reader for the possible future course of events; they are put in the mood for the web of possible events, the probability of future events and intrigues are altered by their presence. Cataphoric advance references are a central means of developing a field of anticipation in readers.

The nature of a story's development is an open number of possibilities, moving either towards a good or bad ending, open to enlargement by the introduction of new informational elements. This is generally the result of productive calculation of alternative textual developments. The reader experiences suspense due to the strategy of referential showing and is, thus, always orientated by the text. Readers are continuously subject to a domain of controlled information. Such an example may be found in Malgonkar's short story 'The Nut Pickers.' The first paragraph describes two men as being, too well-known, and hence forced to change their country of operation and business. This cataphoric reference, in the form of sarcasm, prepares the reader to meet two cheats or the like. The reader is still however uncertain of exactly what to expect. Thus the reader is introduced to a domain of controlled information and is simultaneously put in the mood to see a con unravel. In the subsequent paragraphs of the story the reader is guided by other cataphoric bits of information. There is talk of the cheats being warned by the Commissioner of Police in Singapore because they are suspected of having cheated buyers. Once the reader knows

that the two men are cheats, a field of anticipation is developed that introduces a feeling of suspense. Subsequently in the story the referential showing of information drives the plot on. The two men -- Captain Dev Kumar and Shumboo Dass -- almost manage to swindle Girdhari Lal but Major Hukum Singh discloses to Mr. Lal the truth about the two men being con artists.

The next factor that influences the generation of suspense is the atmospheric framework of a narrative. Malgonkar's novel *Combat of Shadows* for example could simply not be as suspenseful as it is, if it were not for its atmospheric framework that incorporates tea estates, dense forests, and isolated locations. Henry Winton would not be able to show Kistulal's death as an accident if it did not happen in the dead of night in the deep of forest. Nor would Sudden Dart and Ruby Miranda be able to extract revenge for Eddie's murder, if Winton was not in the tree house in an isolated part of the forest. Here it is important to mention that such an atmospheric framework generates suspense because it evokes collective fears as recognized by critic Mikos. Experience of suspense also depends on the scenic comprehension of the reader. For the degree of suspense experienced by a reader who is familiar with deep forest experience may be far more intense than the one who has no such experience. Mikos says that an individual reader's life - experience dictates whether a past experience of collective fear will be reactivated and will generate suspense and thrill. Past experience also determines if dangers - the not yet of a catastrophe will arouse a suspenseful feeling or not. When a dramatic danger is introduced in the story however it generates suspense because of the multiple possible outcomes that it implies. These outcomes must be calculated by the reader. It is the job of the narrative to give hints as to which possibilities are nearer than others. Such a danger looms continuously over Kiran Garud in Malgonkar's *Bandicoot Run*. The novel is an espionage thriller that finds Garud's army career in jeopardy, as he is suspected of leaking military secrets to Pakistan. Danger constantly looms as the plot reveals itself. This danger is in fact the primary source of suspense in the novel, in being the central question the reader tries to answer with every new bit of information provided by narrator.

Information is also provided to the reader via narrativization of objects. Here objects are used by writer to influence expectations. Correct choice of vivid and appropriate objects helps generation of suspense. A definite meaning is given to objects otherwise open to interpretation. In *Spy in Amber* the presence of a regular typewriter - actually a radio transmitter - implies that Pempem Kachin is a spy. If true, then the reader is made to wonder if Colonel Jeet Mansingh is in danger. Similarly, in *Combat of Shadows* Malgonkar skillfully lets Pasupati find the empty cartridge on the site, where his father Kistulal was murdered by the elephant. This makes clear to Pasupati, that Winton's negligence led to Kistulal's death. Here the reader's expectation is stoked as to Pasupati's course of action, to avenge his father's death.

The suspense a work of fiction arouses can be seen as a result of deliberate and

calculated effort on the part of the writer. It takes great skill and meticulous calculation to be able to write suspenseful fiction and Malgonkar's narrative technique is necessarily dominated by suspense and thrill. An analysis of the mechanism that generates suspense includes a part played by the reader and the text. The reader anticipates, expects and creates scenarios of possible outcomes. They take on the challenge that the text sets before them and are inadvertently guided by elements in the text. Such guidance is provided by the text via cataphoras, satellites, and kernels. Suspense therefore can be understood as a result of the interaction between the text and the reader wherein the elements skillfully embedded in the text instruct the reader how to calculate probabilities and possibilities. This is not the only task of the text but also that it must be precise in its instructions so that the reader doesn't make, too far off assumptions and calculations, than what the writer wants them to do. Malgonkar displays a mastery over the technique of generating suspense.

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Tracing the Aroma of Food in Konkani Novels in English Translation

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Abstract

Konkani novels (in the Devanagari script) in English translation may be just a handful, but they reveal to us the cultural flavours of the state of Goa which has its own identity revealed through traditions, festivals, folk media and food. The very mention of Goan food brings to mind its multi-faceted and heterogeneous culture. The food is different for the affluent *bhatcar* (landlord) and the poverty-stricken potter. The ubiquitous *xitt-codi-nustem* (fish-curry-rice) is for the average middle classes and the *pez* with picked mango for the farmer. The fish-filled cuisine of the *rampunkaar* (traditional fisherman) is distinct from the potter who makes Ganesh idols for Chovoth.

This study will use five Konkani novels in English translation viz. Pundalik Naik's *The Upheaval* (2002), Mahabaleshwar Sail's *Kali Ganga* (2003) and *The Kiln* (2011); Damodar Mauzo's *Karmelin* (2004) and *Tsunami Simon* (2013). The specificities of food and their relation with festivities; caste-class and economic indicators; food-culture linked to traditional occupations and livelihood, will be critically studied by substantiating from relevant texts. Since all the five novels are works in translation, the problems of translating food and culture-specific terms will also be highlighted. Using relevant critics, the untranslatability of food - related terms deeply rooted in regional cultures, will be appropriately drawn. The conclusion will reinforce and appreciate this unique amalgam of various food cultures in Konkani fiction to showcase its culture-specificities, uniqueness and untranslatability.

Keywords: Konkani novels in English translation, culture, food, untranslatability.

A tiny dot on the map of India, Goa is a prominent tourist destination due to its pristine geographic location and warm and sunny climate. Swaying palms, sandy beaches, Portuguese-influenced architecture, historic temples, churches and festivals are tourist attractions no doubt, but what seldom gets noticed are the unique culinary specialities of the state which is known alliteratively speaking, for its food, football and *feni*. The aroma of delectable food pervades not just in the various Goan kitchens and restaurants, but also the literature written in Goa's official State language, Konkani.

In this paper an attempt has been made to study the various references of 'food' and its related aspects in the Konkani novels translated into English. Five Konkani novels in

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English translation viz. Pundalik Naik's *The Upheaval* (2002), Mahabaleshwar Sail's *Kali Ganga* (2003) and *The Kiln* (2011); Damodar Mauzo's *Karmelin* (2004) and *Tsunami Simon* (2013) are used to for this study. As Konkani is the language used by of the common, the *lingua franca* of the land, the traces of food from a culture - studies and translation studies perspective will help to highlight the fact that 'food' in the Goan context has much more to offer than mere satiety to the hungry and nourishment for the body. It unravels a plethora of issues related to caste, class, occupation and gender. The economic and climatic conditions of the land and household determine the kind of food which is served and consumed. With this hypothesis in mind, this study will take a voyage through select literary texts in order to understand how cuisine is linked to culture and living.

Pundalik Naik's *The Upheaval* - a translation of the Konkani novel *Acchev* (1977) - is a prophetic novel which foreshadows the aftermath of environmental destruction caused due to mining on the economically-impooverished peasants of the imaginary village of Kolamba. In this novel there are interesting references to food and food preparations. In fact, the English translation retains almost a dozen words related to food and food preparations made particularly on festive occasions. The sowing rituals require the recitation of *bhajans* and *abhangs* amidst the distribution of *panchakhadya* (22) or a *prasad* distributed to the gathered devotees. This *panchakhadya* is prepared using five ingredients viz. grated coconut, jaggery, *moong*, gram lentils and nuts. The *Baras* festival (60) includes the moulding of rice dolls smeared with vermilion paste in order to symbolise the prosperity and well-being of the village. During the *Baras*, the first meal called *naivedya*, is offered to the Gods. Likewise at the time of the *dhalo* festivities, a local alcoholic brew called *bhang* is freely available to the menfolk. While the young girls twirl and clap to the rhythm of the *phugaddis* and *kacchey* dances, the others enjoy delicacies like *khichdi* (a preparation of lentils and rice in pure ghee) and *pattolis* (steamed rice smeared with rice dough with a filling of jaggery and grated coconut) (57). These traditional preparations made on auspicious festivals are typical of those residing in the Konkani region, particularly in the mining belts of Goa like Ponda, Bicholim and Sattari talukas.

Most of the food preparations among the peasants are vegetarian in nature. The farmers now entering into the mining quagmire have no time for elaborate meals even if they may be able to afford it. *Pez* or *cunjee*, a gruel made with locally-grown rice and a sliver of pickled mango, is a staple food for the farmers. For those who are slightly above the poverty line, rice-curry with an occasional piece of fish is the staple meal of those living in the villages where agriculture is the main source of sustenance. Whenever there is a *Satyanarayan Puja* or a *Samsar Padvo*, a special *Prasad* made from jaggery and coconut is distributed. Thus, in Pundalik Naik's *The Upheaval*, food preparations are linked to festivities and the economic and social class of the villagers. The *bhatkar* (73) can afford to have a lavish spread; the poor peasant can barely squeeze a square meal. However, it is interesting to note that the diet of the farmer comprises of the quotidian consumption of

bhakri made of *nassney* or millet grain, rich in iron and vitamins. They even prepare the delectable *khatkatem* a mixed vegetable curry using several vegetables cooked in a spicy coconut paste.

A curious reader is amused and awestruck by the numerous local delicacies served to the men in Dada's country bar, where the characters like Yeso-Pandhari and others are sitting. Slivers of salted mango, *conge* or shell fish from flooded fields and roasted jackfruit seeds are relished over a sizzling brew of distilled *feni* (7). It is this reckless consumption of alcohol which destroys the sensibility of the menfolk and entraps them into being chronic cases. Women, who regularly use *ragi* or millet flour in their cooking by way of preparing *ambil* or black *bhakri* (15), are often seen pounding the rice/millet or whirring grinding stones (*ibid*).

In Mahabaleshwar Sail's *Kali Ganga* (2003) and *The Kiln* (2011), the focus is once again on the lives of peasants and potters respectively. Hailing from the Majale district which flanks the Kali river near Karwar on the Goa-Karnataka border, the novels are set in the same area familiar to the author. Rituals, sacrifices, beliefs and traditions ear-mark the different food preparations and condiments used in cooking for respective occasions. For instance, seven coconuts are broken before the sacred *kalash*, one in honour of the *mulpurush*. Villagers are served a festive meal, and they posit themselves as *jevankaars* (17). Similarly in *Kali Ganga*, Jairam master attracts little children to school by feeding them pieces of jaggery and coconut (56-57).

The staple meal of the middle class farmers in *Kali Ganga* is rice-curry and fish. Even village girls, who are married off in hinterland areas, are unable to eat well if there is no fish in their plate. Lila, who is married to a forest ranger, lacks appetite for the vegetarian food she has to manage within the forest she lives. "Can't eat a morsel of rice without fish", she laments (47). However, as a present from the forest, she offers her childhood friend Manjul some honey for her baby sister, Bayul. Honey from the forest being pure, would serve as a perfect nourishment for babies. "Give her a spoonful everyday. See how her problems vanish", she recommends (48).

When the elder sister Manjul is married off, the younger one (Suman), who has taken cooking lessons from her sister, tries her hand at making fish *humman*. Each fish type has a specific method to prepare the curry. The mackerel curry requires the use of the aromatic *teflam* berries. Some fish curries require no onion. *Bhakris* and *polis* are different, one uses only rice and coconut paste, while the other requires *udid dal*. When Manjul returns to her husband's home after the wedding, the newly-married bride is welcomed with a tasty preparation of rice and sweet semolina. The extra food is served to the low-caste poor, and that food which gets bad is thrown out (84). The man in Manjul's marital home holds the key to the store-room and regulates the flow of provisions into the kitchen. Though the woman here becomes the so-called 'kitchen-queen', she has no freedom to cook what she wants as

the man or father of the household determines the kind of food which is going to be cooked (86). Thus patriarchy is embedded in the enterprise of cooking.

Mahabaleswar Sail's *The Kiln*, dwells on the life of potters who are battling with utter penury in the wake of industrialization and mechanization in an age when people prefer aluminium and steel instead of mud pots. The potters are actually making earthen ware used as utensils to cook food or even distil liquor. "Food cooked in clay vessels is good for health. It's tasty too"(38), claims Anandi the potter woman who struggles to sell her wares to buyers who prefer the unbreakable and convenient aluminium and steel utensils to clay pots. However, mud pots were preferred over the metal ones for cooking *humman* (fish curry) and *pez* (ibid). "Anandi reassured herself with the thought that people cooked porridge in clay pots in honour of the guardian spirits of the fields and forests. They also cooked rice in clay pots during the funerary rituals"(41). Thus, one can see a close connect between pottery and food cooked in earthen pots vis-à-vis those cooked in metal ones, to assess the survival of traditional occupations.

Rice in the form of *pez* (cunjee) or *bhakris*, is the staple meal of the potters who can barely afford even this. Potters who made Ganapati idols would refrain from cooking fish or meat in their homes when the idols were made. Such was the respect towards tradition (73). The use of natural foods like coconut and mango fruit is also seen among the potters. Coconut is offered to the Gods on festive occasions. "People would come and give a coconut as a token offering when they placed an order for an idol"(72). Coconut was broken to seal a marriage alliance (87). The mango tree which provided shade and succulent fruit would give a bounteous produce and juicy fruits to the weary villagers on a hot and sultry day. During monsoons, when potters had no buyers to buy their wares, they would face starvation and become thin like skeletons. The resourceful women would pacify the wailing children with a wild tuber called *pettaro* found on the hilly terrains (70).

It is interesting to note that there is a clear play of patriarchy which operated in the preparation of food among traditional communities like potters. On a festive occasion like marriage, the women would do all the cooking in a ceremonious manner. The rituals were symbolic and elaborate:

The priest led the bride and her parents to the makeshift kitchen to worship the hearth on which the wedding meal would be cooked. The bride lit the fire in the hearth and five married women put fistfuls of five different grains and cereals into a new pot that was placed on it. A large pan was placed on another hearth and spices such as chilly, coriander, turmeric, pepper and fenugreek were roasted in it. (89)

Being extremely poor, the festive marriage meal of the potters had only four items: 'a sweet porridge of rice flour and jaggery...a thin curry cooked with breadfruit and drumsticks and peas...a dry *bhaji* made of raw jackfruit and a gravy of ground lentils cooked with asafoetida, green chillies, garlic and tamarind' (91). In the entire enterprise of preparing the food, there are gender-specific roles assigned. The men break coconuts, the

women scrape them; the women cook the food, the men lower the vessels and drain the water from cooked rice; the women sweep and smear the courtyard with dung, the men arrange the leaf platters and serve the guests (ibid). From this it is evident that the males are assigned grandiose roles which show them prominently, while the women do the hardy, sweaty and not-so-noticeable tasks and are thanklessly relegated to the periphery. Hence, from a feminist point-of-view, food and its preparation is tinged with patriarchal constructs which valorize the male and subordinate the woman.

There is an entire cultural shift in the two novels by Damodar Mauzo viz. *Karmelin* and *Tsunami Simon*. They give the reader a peek into the Roman Catholic food cultures of the middle class villagers particularly from South Goa. In *Karmelin* we see the female protagonist Karmelin cooking food in her kitchen in Goa which is either *cunjee* or rice-curry and an occasional fish with pickle. However, in Kuwait Karmelin works as a cook for her Arab boss Nissar and skilfully prepares his *suleimaini* (an Arabic brew). In Goa, the festive meals for weddings, *bhikareachem jevonn* (meal for poor), necessarily include pumpkin vegetable, *doce* and pork. Also, Christmas is incomplete without the seven layered *bebinca*, which Karmelin prepares painstakingly.

In *Tsunami Simon* too, the Catholic community of fishermen cook similar meals. However, the presence of fish in their meals goes without second thoughts as they are into the trade. Here, there is a comparison made with the fishermen of Goa and those from Tamil Nadu. The former have *sannas* and *sorpotel* (74), while the latter eat *idlis* and *chutney*. The novel makes a mention of numerous varieties of fish, some which have English equivalents and are thus translated into English eg: sardines, mullet, swordfish, snapper, prawn and pearl spot, while there are others which the translator Xavier Cota, has preferred to retain, eg: *hiskadi* (16), *khampi*, *burantto*, *konkor*, *bombil* and *moddso* (50). The fisher women prepare delicious fish curry ground on the stone. The novel opens with Dulcin grinding curry paste on the traditional grinding stone while her sister Marcelin rattles on about the advantages of using an electric mixer (9). There is also the mention of rice vermicelli cooked in coconut milk or *shirvolleo* (8) in the first chapter itself; a delicacy which is lovingly prepared by mothers for their growing children to be relished with afternoon tea. Interestingly, there are references made to traditional Christmas sweets like *nevreos*, *dodol* and *kormollam* (65) in the novel.

Pratibha Ray remarks: "Translation of a literary text is always a challenge. The translation of a novel poses a typical problem, as it requires one to recreate a whole universe in a different cultural context..." (Gupta, 106). Derrida's idea of '*difference*', reiterates the impossibility of precise meaning behind words in translation, where in defiance to equivalence, translation is undertaken to endow a target text with a new life and meaning (Bassnett, 64). In the texts translated, several words related to food and culture, are retained in Konkani. These words are 'untranslatable' as they have no cultural equivalents in English,

yet they add a new liveliness to the translated text. Words for festivals and rituals, food and folk forms and certain typical local delicacies, flora and sayings are very difficult to translate. Here, the translator has retained the original source text word in the target text and has tried to transport its sense through translation.

Food as depicted in Konkani fiction in English translation is embedded in traditional cultures and trades. There are vast differences in the culinary preparations of the Hindu potters and Catholic fishermen. Fish and flesh are a quotidian part of a Catholic platter, especially on festive occasions. This is not so in the case of the Hindu farmers and potters, who consider fish more of a luxury. However, the use of spices and coconut in curries becomes a commonplace feature in Goan cooking. Food not only provides nourishment, but is also teeming with symbolism and religious beliefs. There is also a clever play of patriarchy embedded in the processes of cooking and serving, more so on festive occasions. While the aroma of food pervades the entire gamut of Konkani fiction translated into English, a researcher is left to savour enough titbits as 'food for thought' in order to reach a relevant conclusion. Food and its varied aspects unravel a host of new ideas and views which can be seen through a critical lens.

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Literary Theory and Eco-cultural Activism: Mapping the Theoretical Development of Ecocritical Theory

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Abstract

The development of literary theories has been linked mainly to historical or socio-cultural movements and changes in literary tastes. It is a well-known fact that ecology and environment are critical parameters and have evolved into a literary theory. This paper attempts to map the development of ecocriticism into a full-fledged literary theory, changing the face of literary critical theory. The question is whether ecocritics restrict themselves to literary engagements or step into the interdisciplinary world which borders on eco-cultural activism. This paper proceeds to explore the idea whether activism preceded the literary framework or whether the literary theory prompted the development of environmental eco-cultural activism. The epistemological concerns of ecocriticism have contributed to its growth. Ecocriticism as a literary theory entails finding parameters that go beyond the anthropocentric world, into the eco centric world. Ecocritical theory goes beyond just critical readings and transforms into an application-based theory. The paper tries to systematically probe the factors that lead to the development of ecocritical theory. Ecocritics try to evaluate the progress of literary and cultural concerns vis-à-vis ecological concerns thereby transcending the purely literary world to emerge as a multi-disciplinary approach and theoretical practice.

Keywords: eco-centric, ecology, ecological activism, interdisciplinary, literary theory.

Introduction

The development of literary critical theories traditionally has been attributed to historical or socio-cultural movements and changes in literary taste. Today ecocriticism has made forays into the world of literary theory and literary critical enterprise. Initially, this began with the modern environmentalist movements in the late-nineteenth century. The portrayal of physical environment and human interactions has always been a part of literary discourse and has been looked upon as settings in literary texts. Environment, place, location have been commonly existent in all genres of literature. Literary forms like the pastoral, the travelogue have often been looked upon as nature-based literature. The development of a literary theory has been at the centre of any research endeavour ever since

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literary theories and criticisms have emerged from sources like poetics, history, society, human psychology, etc. All parameters of critical theories have been based or have rallied around either the text or social and cultural milieu. Usually the process has always been a text-oriented one and a deeper discourse-oriented process. This paper makes an attempt to map the development of ecocriticism into a full-fledged theory and also tries to outline its growth.

The Development of Ecocriticism

The development of ecocriticism has brought about a shift in the purely text-oriented disposition of theoretical discourse. Many critics like Scott Slovic, Arran Stibbe, Cheryll Glotfelty and others look upon ecocriticism as a comprehensive, eclectic, pluriform and cross-disciplinary initiative that aims to explore the environmental dimension of literature and other creative media in a spirit of environmental concern, not restricting itself to any one method or commitment. Ecocriticism as a literary theory bases itself on the fact that all arts especially literature have the power of the word, story, form and image and can redeem, correct and enliven environmental concerns. Therefore, it almost becomes a resource for transformation and change giving impetus to eco-cultural transformation. To quote the great American poet Walt Whitman (1891), 'I swear there is no greatness or power that does not emulate those of the earth /There can be no theory of any account unless it corroborates the theory of the earth.'

Ecocriticism is the study of literature and environment from an interdisciplinary point of view where all sciences come together to analyze the environment and brainstorm possible solutions for the correction of the contemporary environmental and cultural situations. Ecocriticism as an area was officially heralded by the publication of two pioneering works, both published in the mid-1990s viz. *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology*, (1996) edited by Cheryll Glotfelty and *The Environmental Imagination* (1996) by Buell Laurence.

Eco-critics study the fundamental ecological values, and also what is meant by the word 'nature', and whether the examination of 'place' and 'setting' should be a distinctive category, much like class, gender or race. Eco-critics examine the human perception of wilderness and how it has changed throughout history and whether or not current environmental issues are accurately represented or even mentioned in popular culture and modern literature. Other disciplines, such as history, philosophy, ethics, and psychology, are also considered by eco-critics to be possible contributors to ecocriticism. The eco-critics make readings of literary works and the multiple meanings possible. An ecocritical analysis of any text brings to light the possibility of studying parallels in the development of the themes, characters and plot alongside the development or destruction of environment.

The Context of Ecocriticism

The origin of the term ecocriticism can be traced back to William Rueckert's essay

'Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism.' This was followed by the contributions of the Association for the Study of Literature and Environment (ASLE) which contributed greatly to this enterprise. But it was Glotfelty and Fromm (1996) who revived the term and urged its adoption. This was followed by Glenn Love who wrote extensively and gave it definite structure in his essay 'Revaluing Nature: Toward an Ecological Criticism' (1990). Today the term ecocriticism is an inclusive term rather than an exclusive one. It can be looked upon as a study of culture and cultural products including literature, art and theory which is in some way connected with the human world.

Literature has always shown deep closeness to nature, however, the academic critical pursuit of ecocriticism as an interdisciplinary field of enquiry has developed fairly recently. It has come to be known as ecological criticism or ecocriticism in short. Among the many factors that led to this development are nature and environmental writings that have been published in recent times and the growing public awareness of the ecological crisis globally. Many conservation and Green movements too, have remarkably contributed in the historical development of this contemporary eco-critical theory. It is in this context, that the work and critical practice of most eco-critics who endeavour to direct public attention to the ecological values embedded in literary texts become prominent and relevant. Satterfield and Scott (2004) have drawn attention to the fact that despite traditional interactions between humans and the land that figure prominently in the literatures of the world, literary scholars and other specialists in the arts and humanities (the visual and performing arts, history, philosophy and related disciplines) have almost solely concentrated their studies on human experience and expression, seldom considering the ramifications of human behaviour for the planet and the impact of nature on human experience. Ecocriticism is an attempt to organize and understand the human and non-human interactions and interrelationships. Ecocriticism is further an attempt to reintegrate the human and the non-human and the lost links between humanity and the environment.

Glotfelty in her introduction to *The Ecocritical Reader* states that 'all ecological criticism shares the fundamental premise that human culture is connected to the physical world, affecting it and affected by it.' Ecocriticism takes as its subject, the interconnectedness of human beings and their environmental commitments in the world. The significant aspects of the eco-critical study include a basic awareness of nature, environmental concerns and a re-reading of history and texts. Eco-critics seek to reclaim the past and trace the roots of environmental writing and create awareness. They study individual writers and place their works in the contexts that extend well beyond the usual details of their environment. Eco-critics conduct inter-disciplinary studies of religion, society, philosophy, mythology, and do not restrict themselves only to questions of nature, landscape, or place. Rather, they make it a theory that is committed to effecting change.

Ecocriticism definitely advances the idea that today, literary theory has moved out of the realm of nation-state and entered into the arena of environmentalism. Ecocriticism

collaborates with other branches of humanities like anthropology, geography, ethics, religion, etc. The reason being, there is a need for comprehending the vast array of environmental problems, and phenomena which may be studied, remedied and addressed qualitatively and quantitatively through literary discourses. There is an 'ecological holism' in ecocriticism which Mellor (1997) defines as 'nothing but seeing humanity as a part of a dynamic, interactive ecological process where the whole is always more than sum of its parts.' Therefore eco-critics study the scope of literary framework and also include a cultural analysis of environmental problems through an earth-centred approach. They also try to combine cultural analysis explicitly to a green, moral and eco-cultural agenda which borders on activism. As Kerridge and Sammells put it, 'the eco-critic wants to track environmental ideas and representation wherever they appear to see more clearly a debate which seems to be taking place, often part-concealed in a great many cultural spaces. Most of all, Ecocriticism seeks to evaluate texts and ideas in terms of their coherence and usefulness as responses to environmental crisis.'

Traditionally, beliefs have rallied around the idea that all ecological problems are scientific problems and are to be tackled with scientific rigour and enterprise. But eco-critics propound the idea that an eco-cultural analysis can help and alleviate ecological problems and this becomes a unique resource for activating concern and creative thinking about the planet's future.

To quote Kerridge and Sammells, (1998) Ecocriticism cannot contribute much to debate about problems in ecology but it can help to define, explore and even resolve ecological problems'. This develops ecocriticism into a theory with its epistemological concern not only becoming interdisciplinary in nature and bordering on eco-cultural activism.

Passmore (1974) makes a distinction between problems in ecology and ecological problems. According to him, 'problems in ecology are properly scientific issues to be resolved by the formulation and testing of hypothesis in ecological experiments, while ecological problems are features of our society arising out of dealings with nature from which we should like to free ourselves and which we do not regard as an inevitable consequence of what is good in that society.' Eco-critics try to address ecological disasters not only mentioned in literary texts but also existent in the world around us. This kind of eco-cultural analysis often becomes a moral and political necessity even though sometimes the problem undermines all probable solutions.

The Working of the Theory

The theoretical methodology of eco-criticism can be broadly divided into three parts- theory, analysis, and action. Ecocriticism today is a broad term engaged even in examining cultural contributions of environment. As a theory it helps its practitioners revalue their own constructs in the literary world. Therefore it has evolved into an all-encompassing approach that goes beyond a mere 'ism'. Ecocriticism as a theory resists

traditional focus of other literary theories on literary styles or trying to place aesthetic and literary work into a canonical framework. Literary theory which usually deals with the context, the milieu influences of the author and the cultural background of the reader have been replaced by an all inclusive approach in Ecocriticism. The theoretical basis of ecocriticism is not an ideological construct but the realistic concepts of environment and its interaction with the human world.

As far as analysis goes, Buell et al (2011) have distinctively discussed the analytical methodology of the eco-critics. In their article the analysis by eco-critics has been mentioned as operating at two different levels. The first level attaches special value to the aesthetics and environment ethics of a place attachment at a local or a bio-regional level with importance being given to self/culture relation and forms of literary imaginations. The second marked a more socio-centric concern especially prioritising issues of environmental justice on a collective level rather than individual level hence making a global - almost cosmic - concern and approach. This dynamism and growth potential of the eco-critical theory has made it inclusive in nature rather than exclusive in form.

Eco-critical theory stands on the premise that literature is not meant to be floating above the material world. Instead, it plays a vital part in a complex global system in which matter, creative ideas, and energy interact. Literary theory and theoretical scholarship including all humanities have a significant role to play. This view points to the fact that the eco-critical theory in its methodology borders on a sort of eco-cultural activism. It differs from other critical theories as it is action-oriented and reality-based. And yet, non-action is also a choice for the eco-critic. Ecocriticism seeks to transform the purely literary and academic by promoting a conscious environmentalism which comprises of a range of practices that promote the upkeep of the earth. It also brings back the dynamic interconnectedness of all areas and worlds. Human beings inhabit a social and material world in which issues of race, class and gender will inevitably intersect in multiple ways with ecological resources. Therefore, eco-cultural activism that evolves out of the eco-critical enterprise can be looked upon as response to a felt need-inclusive of moral and ethical components-and being less ideological and more value-centred with a great potential to deal with real crisis.

Conclusion

Ecocriticism specializes in questioning of values, meanings, traditions, points of view and language, making a substantial contribution to a new environmental thinking. It becomes a viable and worthy enterprise directed towards modes of thinking, consciousness, and awareness of issues, often prioritising and transmitting values and ecological wisdom. It is a theory with a deep seated eco-cultural awareness both in its form and methodology and reconnecting the process with the problems inherent in human life and all of human

creative art. Ecocriticism as a method is often looked upon as demystifying theory with concrete and specific goals. With change as its motive, ecocriticism transforms into activism and looks beyond the anthropocentric world into the eco-centric world and one can say it promotes the idea of art for ecology's sake, far removed from the idea of art for art's sake.

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Development and its Aftermath in Recent Goan Writing

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Abstract

'These are my children' by Damodar Mauzo serves as a parable for today's modern times. The story paints a bittersweet image of the lives of most Goan households. Every village in Goa has Rosalina *mai* residing in their homes. Mauzo shows how Goans are deeply connected to the coconut trees in all aspects of their lives --livelihood and companionship. On similar lines, the story 'Legacy of Love' by Laxmanrao Sardesai sheds light on the human-soil relationship. Villages are the primary reservoir of ethos on which the traditions and cultures dwell. Through the story 'Village Vibes', Melinda Coutinho Powell fears that in the process of urbanising the villages, we may tend to lose our idyllic village lifestyle. These stories mirror the social evils of land acquisition whereby the locals are at times evicted from their own land and there is extensive loss of property driving us into insanity - just as the case of Rosalina. We put a strain on the biodiversity in the name of development. In this paper I am going to dwell on the issues of the post-development environmental aftermath.

Keywords: biodiversity, eviction, Goan villages, land acquisition, social evils

Introduction

The term *ecocriticism* was possibly first coined in 1978 by William Rueckert. By ecocriticism Rueckert meant “the application of ecology and ecological concepts to the study of literature.” Eco-criticism is known as green studies, eco-poetics, and environmental literary criticism and is often informed by other fields such as ecology, sustainable design, bio-politics, environmental history, environmentalism, and social ecology, among others.

Ecocriticism was not identified as a discipline by itself. Ecological concerns had not been unveiled in literature until the mid-eighties. Critics found it difficult to put it in a particular slot. Literary and cultural scholars have been developing ecologically informed criticism and theory since the seventies, however, unlike humanities disciplines which have been “greening” since the 1970's, these scholars did not organize themselves into an identifiable group. Hence, their various efforts were not recognized as belonging to a distinct critical school or movement. Each critic was inventing an environmental approach to literature in isolation. Finally, in the mid-eighties, as scholars began to undertake collaborative projects, the seeds of environmental literary studies were planted, and in the early nineties it grew.

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The study of nature is presented in literature. Ecocriticism served as a new movement in literary theory for people to raise awareness and bring to light the issues concerned particularly with nature through the works of literature. Eco-critics emphasize nature and believe that nature is connected as a force which affects our evolution directly as a society. If the harmony of nature is disrupted then this can take a toll on the society, the village lifestyle, human life and the environment itself. This paper focuses on these issues concerning nature and uncovers them through the collection of Goan short writings analyzed in this paper.

The social and environmental issues are highlighted by Damodar Mauzo in his collection of Goan short stories *These Are My Children*. The idyllic Goan village lifestyle is brought about in the article 'Village Vibes' by Melinda Coutinho Powell. In 'The Legacy of Love' Laxmanrao Sardesai gives us an insight into a loving relationship that a human has with Mother Earth.

Environment

Through the story 'These are my children' Mauzo brings to light the devastation caused in the lives of the people when land is forcibly grabbed from them. In such a situation the land owners are dragged into the whirlpool of insanity. An article on land acquisition posted on the internet by Times of India quoted Savio who wrote, "Before people used to give land willingly for development but now they oppose what is called development because now development is not development of those who lose land but trouble for the surrounding." Indeed his opinion holds a lot of truth. The surrounding flora and fauna will be facing a major threat. The whole equilibrium of the peaceful biodiversity will be destroyed with reckless felling of trees and the heads of the age-old mountains and hills being slaughtered mercilessly to pave the way for widening of roads, railway tracks and building bridges. Felling of trees will further add on to rise in temperature and deforestation. Road construction projects are destroying Goa's traditional wetlands and lakes. There is no doubt that the roads, railways and bridges will facilitate modes of transport merging distances but on the other hand we are being insensitive and ignorant to the damages we are causing to the surrounding environment by displacing the indigenous plants and animals from their habitat. Little do we care about the animal kingdom, the unfavourable conditions we make them live in. From the microscopic organisms i.e. fungi, worms, insects to macroscopic organisms all are severely affected thus destroying the balance of the ecosystem.

Nature *is* silent in our culture, in the sense that the status of being a speaking subject is jealously guarded as an exclusively human prerogative. We humans out of our sheer greed have compressed the rustling, howling, chirping voices of nature. In contrast, for animistic cultures, those that see the natural world as inspirited, not just people, but also animals, plants and even "inert" entities such as stones and rivers are perceived as being articulate and at times intelligible subjects, able to interact with humans for good or ill. This can be

evidently seen as an example where the Brahmin in the story 'Legacy of Love' is closely in tune with the soil and his farm. He strongly believes that nature speaks to us: 'The trees would speak to me. I understood their joys and woes.' Thus he remarks, 'Our gaze, our touch, they have power even the best fertilizers can't match.' (77) The Brahmin beckons all of us to be one with mother earth, venerate her, and nurture her bounty and most importantly safeguard her from our selfish interests.

Social Issues

Besides causing a strain on the environment, land acquisition aggravates other social issues such as land-related conflicts. The land owners are being given inadequate and late compensation. There is disruption of the economic activities of the indigenous peoples. Their means of livelihood suffers a major setback. For the farmers whose life solely depends on the land, the mere amount of compensation won't help them sustain themselves for too long. The locals are forcibly driven out from their own lands. At times these communities are relocated to poorly-developed areas making their lives all the more difficult. Poor implementation of provision of land was one the main sources for dispute over land acquisition. Construction of dams leads to menace in the lives of tribal people and also people who reside in the outskirts of that particular place. The Narmada dam project of central India, for example, is set to force around 3,20,000 to find new homes whilst many more would have their livelihoods affected.

Tribal people depend on this river for their daily activities. They derive their sources of livelihood from this river. When they get relocated their livelihood gets crippled. Through development that particular place progresses but in the bargain the livelihood of the indigenous people of that place suffers a setback. They sacrifice their land for us.

There is extensive loss of private property. This can be clearly seen in the case of Rosalina. She had to give up on a large part of her fence, and her three dear coconut trees which were named fondly after her three children. This was to create space for the railway tracks which would be passing through their village. This is also reflected in the story 'Legacy of Love' where the Brahmin had to sacrifice his farm which he nurtured with so much love his entire life. This a sad scenario where people have to sacrifice their lands in the name of development.

Foucault has amply demonstrated that social power operates through a regime of privileged speakers, having historical embodiments as priests and kings, authors, intellectuals and celebrities. The words of these speakers are taken seriously as opposed to the discourse of "meaningless" and often silenced speakers such as women, minorities, children, prisoners and the insane. The protests of Rosalina fell on deaf ears. She fought till the very end in order to save her dear children -- coconut trees. She bravely fights the policeman and even goes to the extent of manhandling the people who were ordered to chop off her trees. Rosalina embodies the quality of ecofeminism. She becomes a testimony of

how mother earth is exploited and women are oppressed. French feminist Françoise d' Eaubonne coined the word 'Ecofeminism' in 1974. Eco-feminism draws a connection between women and nature. Ecofeminism emphasizes the way patriarchal society treats and subdues women. Foucault states that the easy alliance of power and reason that sustains those institutions involved in environmental destruction also sustains their discourses.

Village Lifestyle

'The real heart and soul of Goa is found in the villages . . . All manners of Indian festivals and feasts are celebrated in the village' (86). This is an excerpt taken from the story 'Village Vibes' by Powell. The author gives a beautiful description of an idyllic Goan village. It is true that villages are reservoirs of traditions and cultures which bond the village folk together. Every Goan heart lies in the village. There will be complete decimation of village life if the villages are urbanized. In the story, the residents of the Chaddo Vaddo, Davorlim retaliated and managed to get a resolution passed against the mega-housing project in the Gram Sabha. As Foucault puts it, "we should not need to wait for bureaucracy or concentration camps to recognize the existence of such relations." Our villages are becoming vulnerable to mega projects, road widening projects and so many other projects which are causing a threat to it. This is a message to all of us to stand up for our rights and protect our villages from the hands of the builders. It is our responsibility to preserve our villages in their pristine form.

Human Cost

These two stories 'Legacy of Love' and 'These are my Children' reflect upon the deep connection the protagonists share with mother earth. In order to replace the void created in Rosalina's life after her children left she planted coconut trees in their names. She nurtured the coconut trees with love and affection. Similarly, the Brahmin in the story 'Legacy of Love' was so passionate about his farm. He spent his entire life in close contact with the soil. When their lands were forcefully grabbed from them, they were in a state of turmoil. Rosalina fought with all her strength to protect her three coconut trees. She even went to the extent of giving up her life in order to protect her trees. The Brahmin too was in a state of shock when he lost his farm. For three nights he wandered amongst his trees like a madman. They were in a completely devastated state. This shows that the development projects not only take a toll on nature, but also on the people who are nurturing it. They suffer immensely. Like the protagonist we too resort to nature as a companion in terms of sorrows and loneliness. When our companion is taken away from us forcibly we too feel lost and take life to be meaningless. The Brahmin had left a legacy of love for the land for his children after he had turned a rocky arid land into a blooming orchard. As conscious citizens we have a responsibility of sustaining resources and preserving the lush green wealth for our future generation.

Conclusion

It is rightly stated by Mahatma Gandhi that earth can satisfy our needs but not our greed. Development taking place is good but the builders should also take the flora and fauna into consideration. They should make it a point to consult the board of Ministry of Environment to ensure that the indigenous plants and animals are not affected. When constructing bridges and widening of roads they should take into account that the trees that have been there for generations should be preserved. As conscientious citizens we should make it a point to plant at least two trees, to replace the loss of trees that were chopped in the name of development. Instead of letting deforestation continue to take a toll on the environment we should strive for afforestation to maintain a balance in the biodiversity.

Many people have sacrificed their land in the name of development. Many people have lost an extensive amount of property and at times they are not given the full compensation. Often this is reduced to a meagre amount. This becomes a common source for disputes to arise. The government should ensure that the people who are evicted from their own lands are relocated to a developed place and are compensated for the loss.

Villages are the primary source for traditions and cultures. The identity of a state lies in the village. The villagers should take an initiative to raise their voices and join hands together to fight against projects that would hamper the idyllic village lifestyle. By our selfish demands we should not consume all the resources and ensure that we have left some resources for our future generations that are yet to come.

Whenever development projects are undertaken the authority ensures the citizens that the loss of the trees will be compensated by planting more trees in place of them. Sadly, the ground reality shows a different picture. Very often the trees are planted but they are not taken care of and they end up dying. We as citizens should plant at least one tree and take utmost care of it. Ultimately trees are our lungs. In the name of development there is extensive loss of flora and fauna. We should use the natural resources resourcefully and thoughtfully keeping in mind our posterity.

Villages are the reservoirs of traditions and culture. They live in close relationship with nature. They preserve and worship nature. The villagers should ensure that whenever their idyllic village life is threatened they should come together and fight for their rights.

The Brahmin affectionately tilled the soil and lovingly nurtured his farm, thereby leaving a legacy of love for land for his children and the future generation to cherish the nature. The story urges us to use our resources in a sustainable manner. Some humans share a deep connection with the mother earth. They seek a companion in the trees and animals. They undergo a traumatic situation when their trees are chopped. It is like a part of their life is gone missing creating a void yet again. This is evidently seen in the case of Rosalina and the Brahmin.

Man and the environment are interdependent on each other. If one is exploited the other gets affected. If nature is disturbed the lives of the humans is further aggravated mentally and physically. When development takes place one should ensure that there should be less devastation caused by development and the harmony of the biodiversity is not destroyed to a large extent.

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Rohinton Mistry: His Journey and Literary Matters

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Abstract

The present research paper focuses on the literature of the Indian diaspora, particularly the works of Indian-born Canadian writer Rohinton Mistry [b.1952]. The study shall focus on the displacement of the Indian diaspora and their memory of the 'nation' or 'identity' will be presented. After the definitions of a few key terms, the paper will move on to analyse the themes found in diasporic works by briefly mentioning Anita Desai, Jhumpa Lahiri, Salman Rushdie and Rohinton Mistry, who is the main focus of study. The researcher will then analyse Mistry's 'distanced' and 'observant' method of storytelling of his hometown Bombay and the Parsee community. The research paper also studies the effect of the Indian Emergency and Mistry's subsequent global appeal through his works, viz. *A Fine Balance*, *Tales of Firozsha Baag*, *Family Matters* and *Such a Long Journey*. The research paper will then conclude on the note that the collective memory of the last moments of the author's original hometown played a major effect in Mistry's presentation of India and the Parsee community. The paper will also comment on Mistry's unique way of writing as a 'distanced spokesman' of the 'Bombay of his childhood.'

Keywords: Bombay, displacement, identity, Indian diaspora, memory, Rohinton Mistry

Understanding Diaspora

Man has always been a wandering creature. Through his wanderings he learned about new cultures, traditions or ways, which he then proceeded to note down. Traditionally, one aspect of the diaspora were these travellers in search of new cultures which they could speak of or learn about. The term is derived from the Greek word '*diaspeirein*', from the words '*dia*'- 'across' and '*speirein*'- 'scatter'. The term 'diaspora' was originally attached to Hebrew culture, having emotional overtones of dislocation and Jewish search for a homeland. Over time, with change in the political climate, society and history, the term began to be associated with any group forced into exile or any group that chose to live outside their country of origin.

The word diaspora, today, is commonly used as a synonym for migration. Yes, there is a relation between the two, but the terms cannot be interchanged. Migration of a 'people'

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leads to the formation of a diaspora. The diaspora—post-migration—then begins to assimilate itself into the ways of the host country despite the possible culture shock or dislocation from the home country. In the case of Mistry, the point to remember is that he belongs to the Zoroastrian Parsee community—originally a diasporic community in India—who landed on the shores of Sanjan, Gujarat in 850 A.D, fleeing Islamic persecution from Iran.

Diasporic literature, has become a much-loved sub-genre of writing by readers everywhere. It is a vast concept that is rooted in nostalgia, longing and rootlessness. Within the umbrella term, any author who remains outside his/her place of origin but still remains connected to it, through his/her work, is termed a diasporic author. Deep within diasporic works there is a sense of alienation in the host country and the effort taken to assimilate to the new culture in order to fit in. What then does 'identity' or 'nation' mean to the diasporic writer? G.M. Madhukar, states that an expatriate exhibits a diasporic sensibility which showcases a dual identity, i.e. 'a constant shifting between two worlds'. The expatriate writer in the end, in reality, exists between two worlds. This statement can be seen through Canada-based author Uma Parameswaran's *Trishanku*. The tale speaks of a man suspended between two worlds, neither belonging to both worlds nor to the place where he lives. In the end, diasporas everywhere are very much like *Trishanku*; suspended between two cultures, possessing a fluid identity and then in the end, accepting the merging of cultures. A diasporic individual cannot be limited to geographical borders, for in the end he/she belongs to both (the host and original home) but through a uniquely different lens compared to the rest of us. The migration affects the relatives left behind as well, who wish for an insight into the lives of relations gone abroad. This phenomenon is clearly presented in short stories 'Swimming Lessons' by Rohinton Mistry from the *Tales from Firozsha Baag*, and through the life of Ashima from Jhumpa Lahiri's novel *The Namesake*, for example.

As Salman Rushdie elucidates:

It may be that writers in my position, exiles or emigrants or expatriates, are haunted by some sense of loss, some urge to reclaim, to look back, even at the risk of being mutated into pillars of salt. But if we do look back, we must also do so in the knowledge—which gives rise to profound uncertainties—that our physical alienation from India almost inevitably means that we will not be capable of reclaiming precisely the thing that was lost; that we will, in short, create fictions, not actual cities or villages, but invisible ones, imaginary homelands, Indias of the mind. (Rushdie: 10)

In the case of Mistry, his animated suspension belongs to Bombay and Canada. He presents this in the last story of *Tales from Firozsha Baag*. In the book, it is Kersi—probably a representation of Mistry himself—who tries to gain comfort in Canada, while back home, his parents wait for the postman, longing for letters full of stories of his new life.

Collective Memory and Rohinton Mistry

The final moments experienced during events or in this case a country, is what we commit to memory. These final moments can also be termed a 'collective memory' and

much of the socio-cultural background and characterization in diasporic works is based on this form of memory. Collective memory is the collection of memories shared by a group of people who have undergone a common experience. Therefore, if we are talking of the Indian diaspora, each 'Indian' fictional geographical location and 'Indian' character, in its creation, is the sum total of many parts. In this sense Kersi from *Tales from Firozsha Baag* or Manekh from *A Fine Balance* form the central core of what Rohinton Mistry is trying to represent.

A significant historical moment of post-independence Indian politics and history was the era of the Emergency (1975-1977) declared by Indira Gandhi. The forced vasectomy drives by her 'favourite' son Sanjay Gandhi under the guise of effective family planning; the SBI bank embezzlement scandal in which the PM was alleged to be directly implicated; the arrogance with which she declared elections; her absolute rejection by the people; the Nagarwala; the rise of Shiv Sena in Mumbai; Operation Bluestar and Indira Gandhi's subsequent assassination; is the time period of Mistry's novels. Rohinton Mistry's last living memory of India was the end of the said Emergency. This volatile climate forms the basic theme of all his works. Antagonism is portrayed towards authoritarian political leaders through characters like Gustad Noble from *Such a Long Journey*; the horrific experience of those forced into 'Family Planning' and the debilitating poverty represented through characters such as Ishvar or Omprakash from *A Fine Balance*.

In his works, Rohinton Mistry presents a realistic view of Bombay, his childhood city as well as the 'home-town' of the Parsee community. He showcases the beliefs, frustrations and lives of not only the Parsee community but also those of lower-middle class India. Voices from a miniscule minority are his medium of representation. In both *A Fine Balance* and *Tales From Firozsha Baag*, collective memory is explored. It is in the streets and bylanes of a 'city that never sleeps' and the lanes of a casteist 'village by the sea' just 150 kms. distant from the city during the Indian Emergency; or the way people live in matchbox homes and tenements in this 'maximum city'. Sometimes as many as a family of four in a one room kitchen with the kitchen often carved out in one corner of the living room cum children's bed/study room and the kitchen converted into a bedroom that would allow a married couple some privacy.

The gated Parsi colony with low rent housing for Parsees only, built by philanthropists like the Tatas, Wadias and Camas, assumes the mantle of the village of yore. The *baug* becomes a living, breathing character assuming lifelike proportions of its own and its denizens have common aspirations and dreams. The inhabitants grow up and grow into roles that display whimsical behaviours, eccentricities and quirks that have come to be associated with this very Anglicised, uniquely different yet fiercely patriotic Indian citizen. The regret however is that this genteel face of Bombay is fast fading due to emigration, low birth rate and the adherence to a promise given to Jadhav Rana, the king of Gujarat who gave Zoroastrians asylum almost 1,150 years ago. In this picture Mistry paints an India that is

going down the drains of rampant corruption. He is ahead of his time. He foreshadows the mire we are trapped in today. Mistry worked in a bank in Bombay and also initially in Toronto and warns of the nexus between banks, politicians and businessmen but this gentle caution goes unheeded. Most specifically he turns the spotlight onto the mess that is Bombay city, one of the richest municipalities in the world with an annual budget of over 5 Billion dollars; land of champagne wishes and caviar dreams, of Bollywood and Dalal Street but also the city that became a sitting duck for terrorists and charlatans, a city treated often by the thousands that pour into it every day as a prostitute to be used and abused, milked dry for profit to be sent to build homes and lives in other native places and hometowns across India. In a sense, most Bombayites are also a diaspora from Indian hinterlands and the city reveals the truly diasporic traits of stoicism and resilience, features common to the characters that people the pages of Rohinton Mistry's novels. Thus, Bombay or Mumbai city is a central character, formed by the collective memories of its residents.

A Little Bit of Eliot and Joyce

In T.S. Eliot's essay, 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' Eliot states that it is not the business of a poet or a writer to express new emotions, but to use ordinary ones in his work and also that every truly talented writer uses all the tradition that precedes him and in which he has stewed, to create something new. Mistry is firmly set in this mould. His prose also screams out for comparison to the Joycean command, "the artist like the God of creation remains within or behind or beyond or above his handiwork, invisible refined out of existence, indifferent, paring his fingernails".

Mistry's novels are set in a historically factual background, with 'everyday' characters, who become heroes as the books evolve, living and loving with grit and determination in a society that is rapidly turning hostile to common hopes and aspirations. Traditionally belonging to a known anglophile community, Mistry presents a resistance to the colonial masters even though he has made the master's language his own. While his ancestors took to the British like moths to a flame, Mistry is on middle ground, from where he works against contemporary religious and societal hegemony. This is seen through Dina from, *A Fine Balance*, who resists the supposed 'help' from her domineering brother; Daulat from 'Condolence Visit', who rejects the proper Parsee mourning rituals and ignores the scorn she is presented with; and Manekh from *A Fine Balance* who finds himself socially alienated from his relations on his mother's side. In addition, the Khodhabad building from *Such a Long Journey* is a mirror of *Firozsha Baag*, the difference being that in the former the narrative focuses on one family while in the latter there is a mingling of all the residents.

As in real life, Mistry's Baag and building are peopled with typical Parsees, gregarious as well as acrimonious, argumentative and vociferous men and women. This is a community in which men and women, boys and girls are as equal in every respect as you can find, probably anywhere in the world outside of the Scandinavian countries. Also, in all the named books : *A Fine Balance*, *Family Matters*, *Such a Long Journey* and *Tales of Firozsha*

Baag there is disagreement within the family. Dina and Manekh deal with disillusionment and independence, in *A Fine Balance*, Sohrab leaves the family and stops speaking to Gustad for the majority of the plot-line; in *Such a Long Journey*, Jehangir a character from the *Tales of Firozsha Baag* quarrels with his mother over his girlfriend and in *Family Matters* the strained relationship Roxana shares with her step-siblings is echoed later when her husband and elder son regret the presence of her father in their apartment. The author remains an omniscient presence over the residents of Khodabad building or Firozsha Baag. Working with contemporary English as well as contemporary events, Mistry presents rituals, dressing, regional languages, sometimes even grammar lessons.

Conclusion

Rohinton Mistry expresses a longing for his 'lost city' Bombay while also presenting himself as a gentle observer over his creations. His global appeal is plainly due to his uncanny ability to capture human emotions in regular characters, who experience daily hassles and universal problems such as worrying over rent or taxes. Rohinton Mistry presents very detailed and realistic descriptions of family life and interactions. Mistry presents 'survivor tales' of not only his Parsee community but also of Dalits and women, in the midst of economic, political and, social problems. Mistry constantly produces works that are similar in content but ever- evolving in spirit. His novels stand testimony to Eliot's words, 'Tradition is a matter of much wider significance. It cannot be inherited, and if you want it you must obtain it by great labour. It involves, in the first place, the fact that art never improved, but that the material of art is never quite the same.' Tradition, art, diaspora, citizenship, loss and belongingness all blend seamlessly in the works of Rohinton Mistry.

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