

JESUIT EDUCATIONAL STYLE IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY GOA¹

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At the beginning of 1541 AD a very important meeting took place in Goa: of cathedral preacher Master Diogo Borba, Vicar General Miguel Vaz, the paymaster and registrar Cosme Anes, chief judge Dr Pedro Fernandes and Frei Paulo de Santarem. They agreed to form the confraternity of the Holy Faith under the patronage of St Paul in order to promote the training of priests. They realised that funds would be needed to build a college in which indigenous boys would be educated for the priesthood to work all over the country.

Diogo Borba had sheltered a number of Christian boys in the house of Cosme Anes. He himself taught them the Christian doctrine, to read and write Portuguese, and some elementary Latin. The boys were already acting as interpreters and through their effects many had been converted to the Christian faith.

After obtaining the permission of D. João de Albuquerque, first bishop of Goa, and of the representative of the absent governor, Superintendent of the Treasury Fernão Castelo Branco, the Confraternity was to be founded. Part of the income of the destroyed temples on the Goa Islands was to be given to it. Finally the Confraternity was founded on April 24, 1541.

Soon it was decided that a 'college' should be built near the church of Our Lady of Light, headquarters of the Confraternity, and that the education of the boys be entrusted to a Religious Order. The number of students should be limited to 30. The boys should be under 13 and should be taught reading, writing, Latin and moral theology. They should live in the college until they were ordained to the priesthood. These were the norms for the Holy Faith Seminary, which would later be called the College of St. Paul.

Miguel Vaz had prevailed upon the Confraternity members to entrust the college to the Franciscans. But the Franciscan chapter declined the offer.² Just then Francis Xavier arrived at Old Goa on 6 May 1542, struck a friendship with the Confraternity members

and visited the site of the building under construction. He immediately wrote to the Superior General Ignatius indicating “the need there is that some of our Society come to instruct the pupils of this college, and the task of providing spiritual foundations pertains to you, and that of completing and enlarging the material structures to His Lordship.”³ At the end of September Francis sailed for the Fishery Coast. His two companions of the voyage round the Cape, Misser Paulo and Mansilhas, reached Goa soon after. They were lodged at the Holy Faith Seminary. On 25 January 1543, feast of the Conversion of St Paul, the College building was completed and inaugurated. When Francis returned to Goa by the end of 1543, the destination of the two Jesuits was decided. Mansilhas had to go to south India, but Misser Paulo would remain at St. Paul’s College. He stayed on mostly as a kind of spiritual (cum-temporal) Father to say Mass, administer the Sacraments, teach Latin grammar and give spiritual instruction, besides attending to the corporal and other spiritual needs of sick and healthy students.⁴ Francis Xavier accepted the running of the College, but appointed only one man to the job. From 1545 Fr. Nicolò Lancillotto joined the staff to teach the boys Latin grammar and the classics like Virgil and Terence. After some time he was appointed Rector of the College and Superior of the Jesuits.⁵ Thus lay persons or diocesan priests were administrators and Rectors up to January 1547 only.

In 1545 there were about 60 students, some of about 20-21 years of age, and others of less, even 7-8 years old. Some enrolled of their own choice to learn reading, writing and grammar; the rest, slaves, were admitted to the College at the request of their masters.

From 1548 with Fr. Antonio Gomes as Rector, the College was totally in the hands of the Jesuits. After a severe crisis in the administration caused by Gomes’ trying to refashion St Paul’s upon the Paris University model, the indigenous and Oriental students were separated from the Portuguese and the two groups housed in different quarters.⁶ Gomes had sent away many Oriental students for whom the college was meant, and had replaced them with Portuguese,⁷ because the former could get a sufficiently good

education in other Goan schools. He thought that the indigenous students were not properly screened. Their wild character and the advanced age of some, was a barrier to the high attainment of knowledge, “contemplation and devotion.” So he dismissed 27 of them and received in their place 27 Europeans who were admitted to the Society of Jesus.⁸

An elementary school for the poor was soon annexed to St Paul’s College. By the end of 1552 the school had 300 students.⁹ They learnt reading, writing, Christian doctrine and other necessary instruction.¹⁰ The director of the school for many years was Bro. Amador Correia.¹¹ We can say that for all practical purposes there were two institutions on the campus of St. Paul’s: one, for those who proceeded to the priesthood, to learn Latin classics, philosophy and some moral theology; the other, for all those who wanted to be literate and know some basic mathematics. The latter gave a solid basis to all those who desired to pursue studies for the priesthood in the former.

In 1556, the higher section of the college (or simply, the college) had three classes of language and literature: in the third and last there were over 40 students, who studied Virgil, Cicero and Ovid, Latin prosody, and rhetoric; in the second there were 40 and in the first and lowest 70 students.¹² After literature study came the three-year philosophy course, which began with the study of logic, as was customary in Western colleges and Universities. The students studied Aristotle’s *Logic* and other aspects of contemporary philosophy, and finally the *Physics* or Natural Philosophy of Aristotle.¹³ At the end of the philosophy course was another in moral theology in which they studied the principles of morality and how they were applied to each case.

There was a general dearth of professors, chiefly to teach philosophy. By and large, Latin language and literature were allotted a larger number of professors, as can be seen from the variety of treatment of the subject. In the highest humanities class of 1557, there were 27 students: 8 Jesuits, 6 boarders and 13 day-pupils. They commenced the course with morning classes on the Gospel according to St. Luke and Cicero’s speech to Herennius. In the evening they studied Schest’s *De Bello Jugurino* and Virgil on

alternate days. By the end of the year, they learned prosody and to compose verse. In the second class there were 39 students: 3 Jesuits, 8 boarders, and 28 day-scholars. They studied Cicero's letters to Atticus, and some *Eclogues* of Virgil with syntactic and composition exercises. Later in the year they studied Caelius Sedullius and the 'familiar' letters of Cicero. In the lowest class there were 72 students: 5 Jesuits, 14 boarders and 53 day-students. They studied the Latin grammar written by John Van Panteren and the Letters to Atticus.¹⁴

Between and after classes, there was an oral repetition of lessons: the first year students had exercises of syntax, gender and tenses, conjugations and declensions from noon to 1.00 p.m. After the midday rest, the second and third year students had repetition exercises from 7.00 to 8.00 p.m. Every Saturday there was a repetition and oral test. On every first Saturday of the month there was a more formal repetition: one from each class had to answer difficulties and objections put by other students and some made speeches.¹⁵

The classes were held from some time after seven till 9.00 a.m. and from 3.00 to 5.00 p.m. At the beginning some professors were Jesuits: the very first Jesuits to teach Latin were Misser Paul (Camerino) and Nicolò Lancilotto, Italians. The latter was soon appointed Rector of the College.¹⁶ By 1557 there were three professors: Marcos Nuñez to teach the third year students, Ayres Brandão the second year and José Rebeiro the grammar class. The young priest students who had just been ordained, had an hour daily of solving 'cases' under the direction of their professor Melchior Carneiro.

The students of philosophy were taught by Antonio de Quadros. Once a year a student was chosen to defend a certain number of 'theses' in the presence of the public. It is such printed 'conclusions' of the theses that are the first printed work of the first press in India.¹⁷ Usually more than one student argued against the conclusions and the defender had to refute the objections. The public defence of the conclusions was a great occasion. It was held in a big hall or open place which could accommodate a large audience which included ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries like

the Bishop, Governor, high court judges, doctors, diocesan priests and the Dominicans who held a defence of conclusions in their own Seminary. The place was well decorated the carpets, rich silks and tapestries from Flanders and China. Several of the authorities and the Governor stayed on after the public defence for dinner with the professors and staff.¹⁸ In 1578 the Goa College was granted the faculty to confer ecclesiastical degrees.¹⁹

In 1556, the elementary school, which formed the lower section of the college, had on its rolls over 450 boys. It had three classes. Those who finished their primary education turned to be good clerks in the city and were considered fit candidates to pursue studies for the priesthood in the upper section of the college. In the school they learned to read and write. They also had practices of singing the doctrine. Later, they studied elementary arithmetic too in this primary section.²⁰ However not everybody studied mathematics, for in the year 1575 we are told that there were 700 boys in the primary school, but only 50 of them learnt arithmetic. Hence we can conclude that the subject was taught to only a few who completed the other two R's and showed aptitude for and interest in it, because arithmetic was important in a central emporium like Goa.²¹ For festive occasions students of the lower classes used to display specimens of excellent calligraphy, using for the matter epigrams and riddles. Prizes were offered for the best exhibits. Catechism contests and dances were also held,²² as the students had to learn the Christian doctrine and good habits.²³

The academic year began on October 21, the feast of the 11,000 virgins, with a solemn inauguration ceremony and a drama. On that day the pillars of the cloister were draped with rich tapestries and carpets on which were stuck epigrams and riddles composed by the students. The boys of the primary school also displayed their transcriptions in a very fine hand, embellished with gold letters, ornate drawings and some difficult arithmetical sums at the bottom.²⁴ The hall was decorated with tapestries. The function was attended the Governor, the Archbishop, the Inquisitor General, and others who remained for a meal with the staff. Representatives of religious orders, noblemen and important and educated persons too attended the drama. In 1575 the students acted the parable of

the prodigal son with magnificent costumes and great eclat. The audience was usually well impressed and sometimes even moved to tears.²⁵

Within the College campus were the College premises, the Jesuit noviciate, the residence of the Jesuit staff and students, boarding houses of the Portuguese and native boys and the servants' quarters. St Paul's was situated in a healthy area on the confines of old Goa City, but the atmosphere got polluted after the continuous sieges by the Adil Shahs.

The College, built wholly of laterite bricks and mortar, had two long and two short corridors with offices and 50 rooms on either side. At the end of the principal corridor was the Jesuit Noviciate, big and commodious. In it lived 80-90 persons. On the upper story was a big hall divided into little rooms by wooden and cloth partitions. In them 25 novices could live comfortably. Each novice had his own table and bed. Next to the hall upstairs was one room of the novice master and another for the retreatants. In a part of the same hall, was a room with benches on which the novices could sit and listen to the instructions of the novice master. There was also an infirmary, which had access to the College infirmary. Under the hall were a spacious and comfortable chapel, workrooms and the refectory of the novices. Food was served to the novices from the College kitchen through a door in their garden. The Noviciate garden adjoined their rooms on the lower story and was close to the College kitchen.²⁶

The College infirmary with its kitchen and sick rooms was separated from the academic block of the College. At the end of the latter was a hostel where 30 Portuguese youths, usually orphans, and another 60-70 Indian boys resided. Each group had its dormitory, dining room, chapel, infirmary, kitchen and other rooms of work separated from the College. They were supplied with provisions from the College storeroom. The Indian boys' dormitory was a little separated from the College, while the Portuguese orphans lived close to the central building.²⁷ On the farther side of the college were the houses for the servants and slaves.

In the courtyard was a door leading to the cloister of the

Jesuit residence, which was quite far from the College cloister, which had another courtyard. There was an open square in front, which was common to the parlour of the residence and to the church. The church that had been built by the founders was insufficient for the students. Though the work was begun only in 1541-42, it was very small (some 82 ft. long) and had to be pulled down in 1560.²⁸ The new church was big and spacious, had three naves, a central vault and was of a very fine architectural style. It had a loft, which went right round the church inside. It also had a very richly decorated panel depicting the conversion of St. Paul, which covered the whole front wall of the sanctuary. The college got its name from the patron of the church and even the Jesuits were called Paulists. The College, Noviciate and church were ready about the year 1572. The College church was easily the biggest in India. The price of the panel was estimated at over 12,000 cruzados and the panel itself was prepared by two Jesuits.²⁹ In another part of the College, which adjoined the parlour and the Noviciate garden, was the school with six spacious classrooms. One of them had a capacity for seating over 700 boys. Ordinarily two teachers, mostly Jesuit brothers, taught the 3 R's. Three professors taught the humanities and Latin literature, two taught philosophy, theology, and moral theology in particular. The schools and house of the boys were of little value. The boys' hostel was very old and made of mud. It had to be rebuilt.³⁰

The boys of St. Paul's wore a uniform whenever they went outside for any special, particularly public, functions, like processions. The uniform consisted of a white garment with a Red Cross on the breast and a white hat with a Red Cross on it. But the white garment was later changed to a black sleeveless gown. Many parents were so fascinated by the dress and the prestige attached to it that they requested that their sons be admitted to the College and if that were not granted, that at least the boy be allowed to wear the uniform.³¹

Since the Seminary was started with the intention of forming priests, of whom there was great dearth, St. Paul's became the Seminary for the whole Orient and boys from various countries were sent thither for their sacerdotal studies: Goans (*Canarins*),

Maharashtrians (*os Dacanis*), Keralites (*Malabares*), Sri Lankites (*Chigalas*), Bengalis (*Bengalas*), Gujaratis, Armenians, Burmese (*Pegus*), Malays, Javans, Chinese and negroes from Abyssinia (*Abexins*), etc. The one eastern country not mentioned is Japan, probably because the Portuguese had not yet come in contact with it. And even though Antonio Gomes had sent away most of the Indian boys, that state of affairs lasted only a short time. Soon after there was an influx of Indians sent from various parts of India.³²

The duration of class was mostly an hour and this must have been judged during the early years with the aid of an hourglass. But by the end of the year 1549, Fr. Antonio Gomes, rector of the College, wrote to the king of Portugal João III expressing the need of a clock for the better running of the institution. By 1552 it had arrived and thereafter the timetable of the College was regulated by that mechanism.³³ In 1567 we find the clock being set right, by calculations regarding the time at which a lunar eclipse should begin.³⁴ Not long after there were watches in Goa.³⁵ Jesuit mechanics that were able to repair and even make watches and clocks³⁶ were available too.

For their textbooks, the little boys of the primary school used the newly printed catechism brought by Fr. Pedro Parra from Portugal in 1564.³⁷ In 1567 a large supply of the same catechism as well as another composed by the archbishop of Braga arrived.³⁸ Though in later years there was a sufficiency of Portuguese and Latin books, at the beginning there were not enough to go round.³⁹

The matter to be studied was taken from the lives of Saints, of the Fathers of the desert and from the virtuous deeds and lives of persons culled from various sources. The saints whose popular lives were studied were Francis of Assisi and Bernard together with friar Luis of Granada. Church history was also studied and used for reading and writing practice. The Psalms, Book of Proverbs, sentences from the Gospels and the life of Jesus were also used. In order to prepare books for this purpose, some boys bought a ream, others half a ream and the poorer 25 double sheets of paper. And that they might have books to read, 16 boys were continuously engaged in transcribing the books mentioned above.⁴⁰ The boys had also to learn from memory the catechism translated

by Francis Xavier, which was printed at the College (St. Paul's) press. Some of the boys already knew it by heart.⁴¹ The book was printed in 1557 and only later substituted by the catechism of the most Rev. Marcos Jorge, Archbishop of Braga. This catechism was originally composed in Portuguese. Later Fr. Thomas Stephens translated it into Konkani.⁴² The arithmetic taught in the school was of great use to the local population because old Goa was a trade emporium and the residing place of many merchants. It is not surprising that many grown-up men came to school and sat on the same benches as the boys. There were other schools too in the city. But most people preferred to come to St. Paul's because of the fame of the College, the erudition of the masters, and the good discipline and habits imbibed by its students.⁴³

Because of the transforming effect of St. Paul's College education on the people of old Goa and the surrounding area, and because it catered to the needs of Portugal's Oriental empire, it was decided that the Jesuits should open another College in Goa in the taluka of Salcete, not far from the capital. Cochin and Bassein had their own Colleges already.

After the King D. Sebastião granted the requisite permission, the governor Antonio Monis Barreto set aside 10 plots of cultivable land, which could generate a 1000-cruzado revenue for the new College. The College was constructed in 1574 at Margão, capital of the taluka from olden times, where there already existed a church, a hospital for poor natives and the residences of four Portuguese gentlemen who would be of use to watch, defend and help the Christian houses and lands in the peninsulas, as the Portuguese had been subjected to constant attacks by the Adil Shahs. The houses of the Christians and the church of Margão had been razed to the ground when the Adil Shah's troops besieged Goa and captured Salcete and Bardez in 1570-71.⁴⁴

The new College was called Holy Spirit College and was attached to the church of the same name. It was small (*'pequeno colegio'*) and not comparable in size to St. Paul's. It had a small primary school, which was attended by 'some children' who learned to read and write.⁴⁵ The small construction was capable of accommodating 14 resident Jesuits who would learn Konkani.⁴⁶

The language school was started soon after the departure of the ships for Portugal (probably in January 1576!) with a class of 8 Jesuit students. Though a whole wing of rooms was planned to be put up together with the church, all the rooms were not yet ready at the start.⁴⁷ The Jesuits studied moral theology and Konkani, thus receiving the finishing touches to their training.⁴⁸

The Konkani course was rigorous: (a) the students had to speak only Konkani among themselves the whole day long; (b) at certain determined times they had to practice speaking in Konkani with the Salcete people too; and (c) they had to learn to read and write in Indian (nagari or Canarese?) characters. With these means, says Francisco de Sousa in his *Oriente Conquistado*, “they learned to speak and write Konkani perfectly within six months. When the Fr. Visitor went to Salcete, after 3 months of their stay in Margão they welcomed him in the dining room with prayers in Konkani and soon after went to preach to the lay-Catholics in public...”⁴⁹ In the first six months they gave themselves entirely to learning Konkani: they had two periods of class daily, one in the morning and another in the evening. After they acquired some knowledge of the language, they had to devote a certain amount of time daily practising it with the locals. With these means, they became so fluent in Konkani that they began to preach in the church. After having progressed satisfactorily in the local language, they went on to learn moral theology and were able to learn simultaneously some more Konkani from a Goan diocesan priest.⁵⁰

The primary school of Margao had two sections: in one the boys learned to read and write Portuguese under a Jesuit Brother; in the other, they learned to read and write Konkani. Fr Valignano added the second section in the year 1576.⁵¹ It is probably in this section that a salaried layman taught.⁵² It is precisely this section which differentiated Holy Spirit College from St. Paul’s and gave a great fillip to the learning, writing and publishing of books in Konkani. Both sections however taught arithmetic.⁵³

In 1579 the Adil Shah’s troops invaded Salcete and with the help of their sympathisers burned down Holy Spirit College. Because of disturbed conditions, the College had been closed long before. The villages too were deserted. The Konkani Language

School for Jesuits had been shifted to Old Goa already by 1577. Since the houses adjoining the College had been burnt too, the College was transferred to its new site inside the fort at Rachol where a new building was constructed by 1580. But when Fr. Visitor Nicolao Pimenta went to inspect the College some years later, he was moved to order its re-transfer to Margão in 1597. The Salcete inhabitants who were intent on the education of their children left their hamlets and gardens and came to Margão in order to give their children the opportunity of a good education and to receive the affection of the Jesuits.⁵⁴

By 1594, when the Holy Spirit College was still at Rachol, a Seminary had been added to the College to which boys of a very young age were admitted. They were 40, all natives. They received an education, imbibed discipline and helped in the religious services.⁵⁵

In 1595 Fr. Thomas Stephens, an adept in Konkani, was Rector of the Holy Spirit College, Rachol, and gave a fillip to its study. Writing on 25 November 1595, he states, "And so Salsete is well provided with good people [Jesuits] for the present. All can hear confessions in Konkani, except one old priest who does not know the language...."⁵⁶ The material buildings too wore a more presentable look. From 1597 the College building had three new rooms, a verandah, a water-storage room and a fenced garden.⁵⁷

"But as Margão is a place exposed to sudden attacks of the enemy and the Rachol village is already enclosed in walls,"⁵⁸ it was decided to shift the College back to Rachol. In 1606 the new College was begun there, though the Old College still functioned for the time being at Margão. In 1610 the College was definitely transferred to its new site inside the fort at Rachol.⁵⁹ There it was safe behind the cannons and defences. Only the church with its steeple, bells and clock and the parish remained behind.⁶⁰

By 1605 the practice of engaging the services of a lay-master to teach the young schoolboys Konkani was not only followed by the management of the College, but imitated by each parish. By 1608, there must have been 15 schools⁶¹ where they learned to read and write Konkani. The policy 'Every parish must have a school' was catching on. By 1679 the lay-master also taught

the boys sight singing and to play musical instruments.⁶²

Many of the later famous Konkani writers were posted at these Salcete parishes: Frs. Thomas Stephens, Rector of Holy Spirit College (1595), Miguel d'Almeida, Rector of Rachol College (1653), Diogo Ribeiro, Vicar of Colva (1596), Antonio de Saldanha (1653), Etienne de la Croix, Rector of Rachol College, Ignatio Arcamone, Vicar of Benaulim (1664), etc. We can conclude that the Salcete parishes were the nurseries of Konkani language and literature till 1684, when a viceregal decree banned the use of Konkani and sought to make Portuguese the only language of Goa.

From the work undertaken by the Jesuits in their very first years in Goa, it is possible to conclude that their principal work in Goa was to educate and train priests for the ministry. From this, it expanded to educating the people by means of a College opened in the metropolis. The College with its spacious building and trained staff was intended to educate the laity in primary and the clergy in higher education. With time, primary schools were opened in many parishes (both in Tiswadi and Salcete). To complement the schools and Colleges, printing presses were imported and operated. This whole organisation led to the promotion and spread of Latin, Portuguese, and finally of Konkani too. Composition of works, literature and books was encouraged. To support the educational system a whole infra-structure was set up; constructing buildings, engaging teachers, setting up the press, importing clocks, paper, ink, etc., providing cloth and costumes to the students, growing and buying food for the boarders, importing medicines for the sick, etc., which made the educational system compare favourably with the very best in Europe.

Notes

¹ Paper presented during the Third International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History, Panjim, 29-31 January, 1983, and published in *Indica* ?? 17-27. The paper is being reprinted here with permission of the author.

² G. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier II*, tr. J. M. Costelloe (Rome, 1977) 257 (=FX).

³ G. Schurhammer and J. Wicki, eds., *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii*, I (Rome, 1944) 134.

⁴ *Ibid.* 169.

⁵ J. Wicki, ed., *Documenta Indica* I (Rome, 1948) 61 (= *DI*); Francisco de Souza, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Christo*, 2nd ed. (Bombay, 1881) 25 (= *OC*).

⁶ *DI* II 10.

⁷ *DI* II 10.

⁸ *DI* II 10.

⁹ *DI* II 468

¹⁰ *DI* II 613; III 16*.

¹¹ *DI* III 16*.

¹² *DI* III 573.

¹³ *FX* I 113, 143.

¹⁴ *DI* III 704-705.

¹⁵ *DI* III 704-705.

¹⁶ *DI* I 61.

¹⁷ *DI* III 514.

¹⁸ *DI* VI 704.

¹⁹ *DI* XI 250.

²⁰ *DI* XI 250.

²¹ *DI* X 80.

²² *DI* XI 660-61.

²³ *DI* XI 268.

²⁴ *DI* V 593.

²⁵ *DI* X 79-80.

²⁶ *DI* X III 14-15.

²⁷ *DI* X III 152; *DI* II 1*.

²⁸ *FX* II 274, fn 33.

²⁹ *DI* X III 152-53.

³⁰ *DI* X 156.

³¹ *OC* I Conq. 1, div. II, para 3; *DI* II 467.

³² *OC* I, Conq. 1, div. I, para 25; *DI* II 148; *DI* III 483-488.

³³ *DI* I 528; *DI* II 342, fn 12.

³⁴ *DI* VII 176.

³⁵ *DI* X 427.

³⁶ *DI* XI 652.

³⁷ *DI* VI 609.

³⁸ *DI* VII 385.

³⁹ *DI* I 58.

⁴⁰ *DI* V 582-583.

⁴¹ DI V 583.

⁴² OC I, Conq. 1, div. II, para 19 sqq; Conq. 1, div. I, para 23.

⁴³ DI V 595.

⁴⁴ Pe. Amaro Pinto Lobo, ed., *Memoria Historico-Eclesiastica da Arquidiocese de Goa (1533-1933)* (Nova Goa, 1933) ch.8, 275 sqq.

⁴⁵ DI VIII 70.

⁴⁶ DI IX 507-508.

⁴⁷ DI X 731-732.

⁴⁸ DI X 467.

⁴⁹ OC II, Conq. 1, div II, para 9.

⁵⁰ DI X 732-733.

⁵¹ DI X 732-733.

⁵² Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, *Goa* 24, vol. II, f. 306a (=ARSI).

⁵³ DI XIV 475.

⁵⁴ ARSI, *Goa* 16, f. 126, para 1.

⁵⁵ ARSI, *Goa* 24, vol. I, f. 213 a-b.

⁵⁶ ARSI, *Goa* 14, f. 298b.

⁵⁷ ARSI, *Goa* 14, f. 402a, para 1.

⁵⁸ Amancio Gracias, “Primeiros cristãos em Salsette” in A.B. de Bragança Pereira, ed., *O Oriente Portugues* VI, 311.

⁵⁹ S. Gonçalves, *Primeira parte da Historia dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus e do que fizeram com a divina graça na conversão dos infieis a nossa sancta fee catholica nos reynos e provincias da India Oriental* (Coimbra, 1957-62) III, 9.

⁶⁰ Gonçalves 91.

⁶¹ ARSI, *Goa* 24, vol. II, f. 386 a-b.

⁶² ARSI, *Goa* 25, f. 353a.