

# WHOSE HERITAGE? CLASSIFICATION OF NATIONAL MONUMENTS IN THE FORMER PORTUGUESE *ESTADO DA ÍNDIA* DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD, AND ITS POST-COLONIAL DECOLONISATION

Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos

ARTIS - Institute of Art History, School of Arts and Humanities, University of Lisbon

joaquimr.santos@letras.ulisboa.pt

ORCID: 0000-0003-4036-9868

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## ABSTRACT

The study explores the process of studying and preserving the architectural heritage of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, examining the classification of the national monuments in Goa, Daman and Diu. This process occurred later than similar initiatives in the British Raj and Portugal, and it reflects various political, cultural, and historical factors. The essay investigates, for the first time and in a wide range, the reasons for the survey, study and listing of monuments in these territories by the Portuguese colonial regime, their effective applicability, and the post-colonial decolonisation of the existing heritage legislation. By analysing official bulletins, reports, newspaper articles, historical photographs, and conducting personal interviews, this article provides a comprehensive examination of the patrimonialisation process in the former *Estado da Índia*, shedding light on the listing of national monuments in 1932 and its ongoing consequences, namely its impact on the relationship between the Archdiocese of Goa and Daman and the Archaeological Survey of India in the post-colonial era.

## KEYWORDS

Classification of monuments | Indo-Portuguese heritage | Patrimonialisation |  
Portuguese *Estado da Índia* | Cultural legislation

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## PREAMBLE: THE BLOSSOMING OF HERITAGE CONCERNS IN PORTUGUESE INDIA

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, most of the buildings of the city of Goa, former “magnificent” capital of the Portuguese seaborne empire in the East, were already in ruins or had vanished, invaded by shrubs and palm trees, with a few major churches and convents still standing and stoutly resisting the inexorable ruination of the city [fig.01]. Goa was going through a process of depopulation since the middle of the seventeenth century; the Palace of the Fortress and the Palace of the Inquisition were both definitively abandoned by the Portuguese administration in 1812 and partially demolished in 1820, together with other ruined structures of Goa. The extinction of the religious orders in Portugal and its overseas territories, in 1834, aggravated the decline of the city, and the transfer of the capital of the Estado da Índia<sup>1</sup> to Panjim, in 1843, sealed the city’s unfortunate fate: from then on, the city of Goa would be known as Old Goa, and Panjim would be New Goa (Pinto, 2017; Pinto, 2016; Faria, 2007).

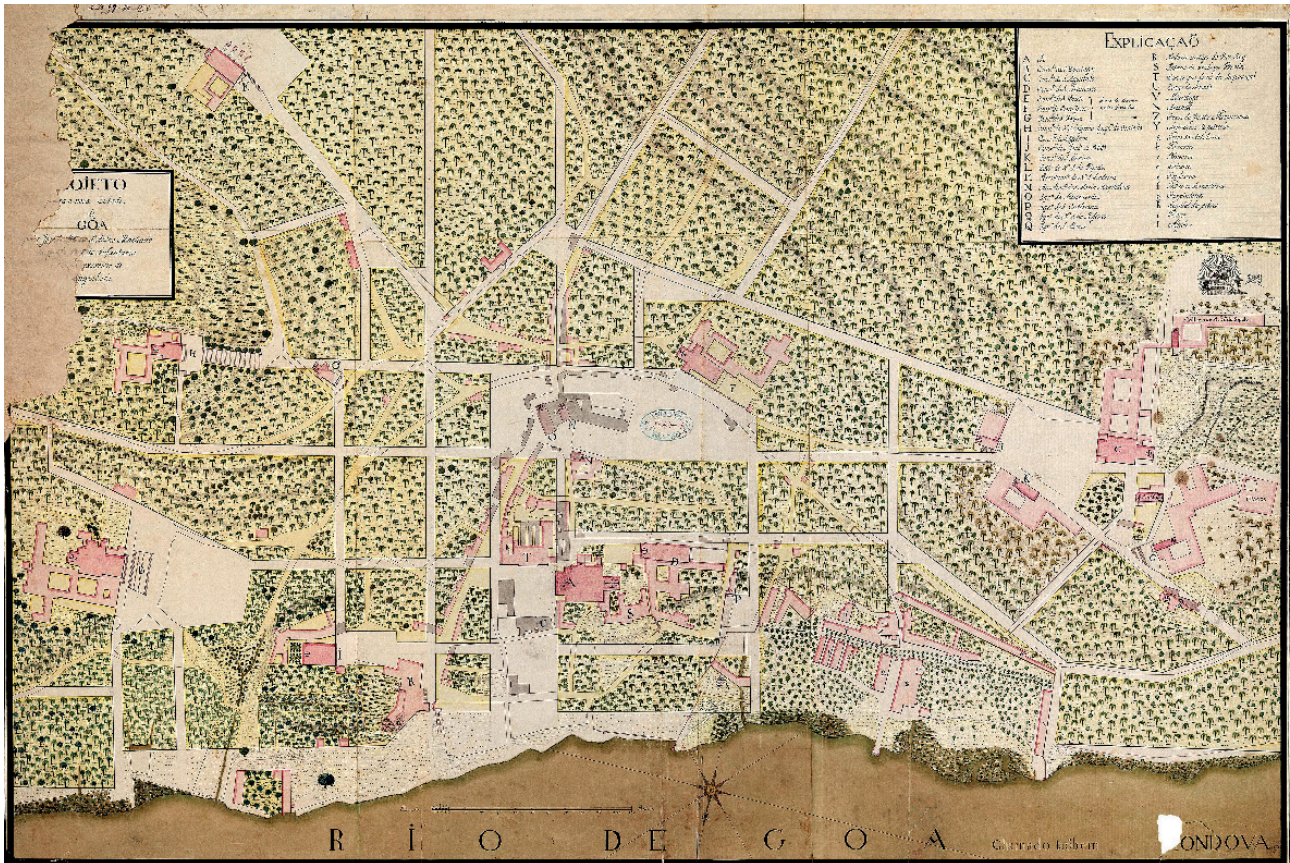


Fig. 1. "Projeto para a nova cidade de Gôa", por José de Morais Antes Machado, 1774  
(Source: Office of Archaeological Studies of Military Engineering, Lisbon)

1. "Estado da Índia" was the official name of the Portuguese territories in India, meaning "State of India".

However, in the second half of the nineteenth century, several Portuguese intellectuals arrived in Goa, in service commissions within the Portuguese administration. These public officials, such as Joaquim Heliodoro Cunha Rivara, Alberto Osório de Castro, Cláudio Lagrange Monteiro de Barbuda, or Tomás Ribeiro, were closely connected with the cultural heritage concerns then flourishing across Portugal, following Romanticist ideals combined with the debate on the Nation's roots, history, and traditions that were spreading all over Europe (Cabral and Caleira, 2018; Machado, 2018; Lobo, 2013; Pinto, 2007).

The attraction for the Past led to the study and preservation of ancient monuments, considered as testimonies from the birth and formation of Nations, and Portugal was not immune to these actions – neither some of its overseas territories, especially the Estado da Índia<sup>2</sup>. Furthermore, in 1851 a military uprising deployed in the Portuguese Government a political and ideological movement called *Regeneração* (Regeneration), with the aim of modernising Portugal and its domains, while intended to strengthen historic nationalist ties.

Together with Goan intellectuals in close contact with Portugal, such as José António Ismael Gracias Sr., António Bernardo de Bragança Pereira, Pandurang Pissurlenkar, Filipe Nery Xavier, or Ricardo Michael Telles, the Portuguese officials began a set of heritage actions in the Estado da Índia, such as the organisation of local archives, the implementation of historical and cultural studies, the creation of museums and cultural institutions, and the preservation of the architectural heritage of Goa, Daman and Diu<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, the reinstatement, from 1859 onwards, of the public expositions of the remains of Saint Francis Xavier (Xaverian celebrations)<sup>4</sup> was the opportunity to repair the remaining monuments of Old Goa [fig.02], as well as to undertake some improvement actions (Faria, 2014: 226).

In fact, the second half of the nineteenth century in Portugal was abundant in centenary celebrations of “national heroes”<sup>5</sup>, in a nationalist and positivist attitude that included the restoration of Portuguese architectural monuments. The most paradigmatic example would have been the restoration of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Belém, commonly known as the Jerónimos Monastery, in Lisbon: more than being a simple restoration, a revivalist creative component was also part of the restoration works, in Neomanueline style – considered then the “Portuguese national style” (Soares, 2019; Maia, 2007; Rodrigues, 1998; Rosas, 1995). These ideological celebrations were also extended to Portuguese overseas territories, especially to the Estado da Índia, always with propagandistic purposes associated with Portugueseness.

As part of the preparation for the Xaverian celebrations of 1859, the *Boletim do Governo do Estado da Índia* – the official bulletin of the Portuguese administration<sup>6</sup> – published two reports mentioning the inventory of the important buildings existing in Old Goa in 1835 and 1855, and detailing the demolition works during those two decades<sup>7</sup>.

2. A glimpse on the influence of Romanticism in the Goan heritage was provided by: Santos, 2022: 56-68. On European Romanticism and colonialism, see also: Fulford and Kitson, 1998.
3. Following the extensive demolition of buildings in Old Goa during the nineteenth century, the finding of the empty tomb of Afonso de Albuquerque, second viceroy of the Estado da Índia and conqueror of the city of Goa, lying abandoned amidst the rubble of the recently demolished Church of Our Lady of Light, decisively contributed to trigger heritage concerns in Goa (Pereira, 1940: 1-4; Vaz, 1915: 159-162; Cordeiro, 1905: 619-634).
4. The first Xaverian celebration was held in 1782; from 1859 onwards, these celebrations periodically roughly happened every decade (1782; 1859; 1878; 1890; 1900; 1910; 1922; 1931; 1942; 1952; 1961; 1964; 1974; 1984; 1994; 2004; 2014). On the Xaverian celebrations, see: Vicente, 2018: 159-182; Gupta, 2014; Vicente, 2002: 55-66.
5. For instance: the centenaries of the death of Luís Vaz de Camões (1880), death of Afonso I of Portugal (1885), birth of Prince Henry the Navigator (1894), birth of Saint Anthony of Lisbon (1895), Vasco da Gama and the discovery of the sea route to India (1898), Pedro Álvares Cabral and the discovery of Brazil (1900). On these celebrations, see: Matos, 1998: 428-471.
6. On the publications about heritage in the official bulletins of the Estado da Índia and in the Goan periodical press, see: Santos, 2023: 230-260.
7. “Alguns Esclarecimentos Relativos aos Edifícios Públicos da Cidade Velha de Goa...”. *Boletim do Governo do Estado da Índia*, 98 (16 December 1859): 641-643; “Nota das Autoridades, em cujo tempo se verificou a queda ou demolição dos Edifícios da Cidade Velha de Goa...”. *Boletim do Governo do Estado da Índia*, 99 (20 December 1859): 647-648; “Despesas feitas com as Obras Públicas desde 1º d'Outubro de 1858 até ao Fim d'Outubro do Corrente Ano”. *Boletim do Governo do Estado da Índia*, 99 (20 December 1859): 648; [Decree]. *Boletim do Governo do Estado da Índia*, 100 (23 December 1859): 654-655.



**Fig. 2:** Souza & Paul, 1890. Religious procession, during the public exposition of the remains of Saint Francis Xavier, in the square between the Basilica of Bom Jesus, the Convent of Saint Francis of Assisi and the See Cathedral (source: Krishnadas Shama Goa State Central Library, Panjim)

One decade later, in 1870, another inventory was performed by the newly-created Committee for the Survey and Classification of Buildings Belonging to the Estado da Índia, aiming to survey the conditions of the historic buildings of Goa, Daman and Diu in order to determine which should be preserved, partially preserved or demolished, based on their historic, symbolic, artistic and economic value<sup>8</sup>.

These values reflected the nationalist and imperialist ethos with strong Catholic component that characterised the Portuguese presence in India at the time: the preserved buildings were essentially those with a strong Portuguese influence, which included buildings considered testimonies of the ancestral Portuguese greatness (forts, some palaces and a few ruined convents and churches), the Catholic religious buildings still in use, the buildings of artistic value, and those that could be reused for other purposes (as happened in Portugal with the religious convents which were converted into hospitals, barracks, universities, libraries, museums, etc. after the expulsion of the religious orders).

8. "Portaria n.º 126" *Boletim do Governo do Estado da Índia*, 46 (17 June 1870): 425; "Portaria n.º 268". *Boletim do Governo do Estado da Índia*, 83 (26 October 1870): 767-768; "Portaria n.º 268". *Boletim do Governo do Estado da Índia*, 84 (28 October 1870): 778-780; "Portaria n.º 268". *Boletim do Governo do Estado da Índia*, 85 (04 November 1870): 790-791; "Portaria n.º 268". *Boletim do Governo do Estado da Índia*, 86 (08 November 1870): 800-801.

## FIRST BREAK: THE HERITAGE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL

This committee in the Estado a Índia was possible because of the organic charter of the administrative institutions of the overseas provinces<sup>9</sup>, approved by Portugal one year earlier, in 1869, which allowed for the recognition of the cultural importance of the Estado da Índia (Gracias Sr., 1894). However, prior to this decree, similar heritage surveys had already been conducted in Portugal (Custódio, 2011; Rosas, 1995): in 1836 the Royal Academy of Sciences was charged with preparing the inventory of the religious buildings, recently incorporated in the National Treasury, that could be classified as national monuments due to their historic, symbolic or artistic value<sup>10</sup> – as mentioned before, the nationalist character was always present when defining the values to be considered for the classification of monuments; in the following year the Royal Academy of Fine-Arts became responsible for undertaking a graphic survey (plans, sections and elevations) of historical buildings (Rodrigues, 1998: 61). Nevertheless, the survey and classification of the Portuguese monuments would have to wait until the beginning of the twentieth century.

In 1863 the Royal Association of Portuguese Civil Architects and Archaeologists (Portuguese acronym - RAACAP) was created by Joaquim Possidónio da Silva; this notorious civic institution carried out several heritage actions: a reflection about the operating principles applied to heritage, awareness-raising campaigns, surveys of heritage buildings, investigations on cultural heritage, and lobbying within the Portuguese administration to take measures in favour of heritage. One year later, in 1864, the Archaeological Museum of Carmo was created by the RAACAP; and in 1874 the RAACAP began publishing the *Boletim de Architectura e Archeologia*, a bulletin containing historical studies and heritage-related news (Martins, 2003: 269).

The foundation of the Portuguese Ethnographic Museum<sup>11</sup> in 1893, with an archaeological section dedicated to monuments from prehistory up to the eighteenth century and, from 1895 onwards, the publication of the bulletin *O Archeologo Portuguez* became the opportunity to create the National Monuments Committee<sup>12</sup> in the following year. This committee lasted until 1898, having issued numerous notes on the situation of Portuguese heritage; however, criticisms of inoperativeness led to its substitution by the Supreme Council for National Monuments<sup>13</sup> in 1898, renamed as National Monuments Council (Portuguese acronym - CMN)<sup>14</sup> in 1901 and reorganised<sup>15</sup> in 1903.

This council was accompanied by legislation providing the fundamental basis for the classification of national monuments<sup>16</sup>, passed in 1902. In 1906 the Castle of Elvas was finally listed as a national monument<sup>17</sup>, the first one in Portugal. In the following year, 12 other buildings were classified as national monuments<sup>18</sup>, and in 1908 more buildings were added to the list<sup>19</sup>. In 1910, merely three months after the fall of the Portuguese monarchy,

9. [Ordinance]. *Diario do Governo*, 280 (09 December 1869): 1529-1531.

10. [Ordinance]. *Diario do Governo*, 51 (29 February 1836): 269.

11. [Ordinance]. *Diario do Governo*, 289 (21 December 1893): 3223.

12. "Regulamento para a comissão dos monumentos nacionaes". *Diario do Governo*, 46 (28 February 1894): 509.

13. "Plano orgânico dos serviços de monumentos nacionaes". *Diario do Governo*, 294 (30 December 1898): 3556-3557.

14. "Organização da engenharia civil e dos serviços da sua competencia". *Diario do Governo*, 246 (31 October 1901): 3020-3027.

15. "Organização da Secretaria de Estado dos Negocios das Obras Publicas Commercio e Industria". *Diario do Governo*, 46 (28 February 1903): 661-662.

16. "Bases para a classificação dos immoveis que devam ser considerados monumentos nacionaes, e bem assim dos objectos mobiliários de reconhecido valor...". *Diario do Governo*, 153 (12 July 1902): 2030-2031.

17. [Decree]. *Diario do Governo*, 228 (09 October 1906): 3534.

18. [Decree]. *Diario do Governo*, 14 (17 January 1907): 173.

19. [Decree]. *Diario do Governo*, 199 (05 September 1908): 2747.

the complete list of national monuments<sup>20</sup> was finally put together, comprising 465 monuments from pre-history up to the end of the eighteenth century. The first basic law for Portuguese cultural heritage<sup>21</sup> was enacted in 1911 by the republican regime, creating a framework for the Portuguese patrimonial realm. Meanwhile, legislation to prevent the deterioration and export of objects with historical and artistic value was enacted<sup>22</sup> right after the revolution of 1910.

## THE INFLUENCE OF PORTUGUESE HERITAGE LEGISLATION IN THE ESTADO DA ÍNDIA

The evolution of heritage concerns in Portugal was certainly followed with great interest in the Estado da Índia, by Portuguese officials in service commissions and by local intellectuals. For instance, Ismael Gracias Sr. was a corresponding member of several Portuguese institutions dealing with heritage, as the CMN or the Art and Archaeology Council of Lisbon, having sent over several reports on the monuments of the Estado da Índia (Custódio, 2011: I - 363 and II - 81).

No wonder, then, that the heritage evolution in the Estado da Índia followed, in numerous aspects, the metropolitan heritage panorama: in 1894 a temporary committee<sup>23</sup> was created to analyse the establishment of an archaeological museum in Goa [fig.03], leading to the creation, in 1896, of the Royal Museum of Portuguese India<sup>24</sup> installed in the Palace of Saint Cajetan (former official residence of the Portuguese viceroys and governors in Old Goa); the provisional committee gave rise, in 1895, to the Permanent Archaeological Committee (Portuguese acronym – CPA)<sup>25</sup>, composed of senior officials of the Estado da Índia's administration tasked with proposing safeguarding measures, performing surveys and preparing reports on the Indo-Portuguese heritage, to study its history, to determine which monuments should be classified and, finally, to audit the works carried out in monuments by the Service of Public Works. However, this committee only became truly active in 1903, after being reconstituted<sup>26</sup> and having its responsibilities confirmed<sup>27</sup>.

As happened with the RAACAP and the CMN in Portugal, the CPA was intimately related with an archaeological museum. Moreover, it sponsored the publication of a periodical bulletin, *O Oriente Portuguez*<sup>28</sup>, published for the first time in 1904. But while the RAACAP was a civic institution, the CPA had been appointed by the government, having thus similarities with the Portuguese CMN.

It is also important to notice that the Committee for the Monuments of Diu District<sup>29</sup> was created in 1902, along with the Archaeological Museum of Diu installed in the former Church of Saint Thomas; the two amount to a replica, at a smaller scale, of the CPA and its museum. As for the territory of Daman, one may wonder why this territory did not have a monument committee or a museum, despite the large quantity of historic buildings...

20. [Decree]. *Diário do Governo*, 136 (23 June 1910): 2163-2166.

21. "Reorganização dos serviços artísticos e archeologicos e das Escolas de Bellas Artes de Lisboa e Porto". *Diário do Governo*, 124 (29 May 1911): 2245-2247.

22. [Decree]. *Diário do Governo*, 41 (22 November 1910): 514-516.

23. "Portaria nº 331". *Boletim Oficial do Governo-Geral do Estado da Índia*, 63 (12 July 1894): 471-471.

24. "Portaria nº 460". *Boletim Oficial do Governo-Geral do Estado da Índia*, 57 (23 May 1896): 512.

25. "Portaria nº 491". *Boletim Oficial do Governo-Geral do Estado da Índia*, 76 (18 July 1895): 628.

26. "Portaria nº 133". *Boletim Oficial do Governo-Geral do Estado da Índia*, 41 (25 May 1903): 371.

27. "Portaria nº 203". *Boletim Oficial do Governo-Geral do Estado da Índia*, 63 (11 August 1903): 544.

28. "Portaria nº 203". *Boletim Oficial do Governo-Geral do Estado da Índia*, 63 (11 August 1903): 544.

29. "Portaria nº 43" (12 February 1902), mentioned in: Quadros, 1907: XI-XII.



Fig. 3. Mário Chicó, 1952. Carved stones inside the Museum of Portuguese India (Source: Mário Soares e Maria Barroso Foundation, Lisbon)

Connections between the CPA and metropolitan heritage institutions were recurrent: for instance, the first archaeological excavations carried out by the CPA in Old Goa were funded by the Martins Sarmiento Society<sup>30</sup> through its member Osório de Castro, who, before arriving in India, was involved in archaeological excavations and had collaborated with the eminent archaeologists Francisco Martins Sarmiento and José Leite de Vasconcelos (Fabião, 2015: 77-78) – in fact, the latter was the founder of the Portuguese Ethnographic Museum. On the other hand, the RAACAP followed these activities enthusiastically and collaborated with the CPA, congratulating its members for the creation of the archaeological museum and exchanging information and publications with them (Martins, 2003: 104 and 109).

30. "Portaria n.º 491". *Boletim Oficial do Governo-Geral do Estado da Índia*, 76 (18 July 1895): 628.

## SECOND BREAK: A BRIEF OVERVIEW ON THE HERITAGE SITUATION IN BRITISH (AND FRENCH) INDIA

Despite the connections with Portugal, one cannot forget the closer influence of the neighbouring British Raj (Pant, 2012; Sengupta and Ali, 2011; Keay, 2011; Singh, 2004; Chakrabarti, 2001; Cohn, 1996; Roy, 1961). In 1784, William Jones had created the Asiatick Society (later renamed as Asiatic Society of Bengal) in Calcutta, then the headquarters of the East India Company. This civic institution, dedicated to the study and protection of monuments in the Indian subcontinent, became also responsible for the publication of the bulletin *Asiatick Researches*, in 1788, and the creation of a museum in 1811, which was the basis for the Imperial Museum at Calcutta, founded in 1814; furthermore, the Asiatick Society had surely influenced the first regulation for the protection and restoration of monuments in India, the *Bengal Regulation XIX*, enacted in 1810 (or even the *Madras Regulation VII* of 1817). However, although both regulations granted the government the power to intervene in public buildings remarkable for their antiquity or their historical or architectural value and under threat due to misuse, private buildings remained unprotected.

Despite the *Bengal Regulation XIX* of 1810 and the *Madras Regulation VII* of 1817, only with Alexander Cunningham's memorandum<sup>31</sup>, addressed to Viceroy Charles Canning in 1861, could the basis for a heritage preservation discourse in India be found. Apart from his call to empower the government to prevent damages both in public and private buildings with heritage value, Cunningham also highlighted another important matter: the renouncement of the management of religious endowments, certainly to prevent contentious disputes on religious buildings still in use. This renouncement became official two years later, with the proclamation of the *Religious Endowments Act*<sup>32</sup> of 1863, establishing that "living religious monuments" would be left in the care of their liturgical users.

Therefore, only religious monuments already abandoned by their congregations – the "dead religious monuments", most of them ancient Buddhist temples – could undergo preserving interventions by the government. However, in the case of non-religious buildings under private ownership, the government was empowered to prevent damages in valuable monuments. This decision concerning religious monuments might have also been related with the British legislation, namely the *Ecclesiastical Exemption*, included in several *Ancient Monuments Protection Acts* of Britain.

The *Indian Treasure Trove Act*, focused on the protection of archaeological remains, was promulgated in 1878<sup>33</sup>. During the 1880s, several monuments with archaeological and architectural significance were listed by categories, in an attempt to manage their preservation more efficiently; however, being listed did not mean being classified as a national monument and, moreover, almost no religious monuments still in use were listed. But it was after the ASI restructuring of 1902 that specific legislation for heritage preservation was enacted by the British administration: the *Ancient Monument Preservation Act*<sup>34</sup>, decreed in 1904. This act defined the meaning of "ancient monuments", the way to acquire rights for the guardianship of protected monuments, the control over the traffic of antiquities, the management of archaeological excavations and the designation of the ASI to undertake preservation actions on protected monuments, among other issues.

31. "Memorandum by Colonel A. Cunningham, of Engineers, regarding a proposed investigation of the archaeological remains of Upper India".

32. "Act n° XX of 1863 - An Act to enable the Government to divest itself of the management of Religious Endowments". *The Calcutta Gazette*, 23 (21 March 1863): 959-962.

33. "Act n° VI of 1878 - An Act to amend the law relating to Treasure Trove". *The Gazette of India*, 7 - IV (19 March 1904): 30-32.

34. "Act n° VII of 1904 - An Act to provide for the preservation of Ancient Monuments and objects of archaeological, historical, or artistic interest". *The Gazette of India*, 12 - IV (19 1904 March): 23-28.

Religious monuments still in use continued to be generally excluded from the lists of monuments, and even private monuments could be placed under the ASI guardianship only with the permission of their owners, through a written agreement; however, a compulsory purchase could be authorized for a public purpose, in case a monument was in jeopardy of being injured – as long as it was not a “living religious monument”. Nevertheless, none of the listed monuments was classified as national monument.

It is essential to note the creation of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) in 1861 by Alexander Cunningham, with the intention of surveying, studying and protecting the Indian architectural heritage; after an interregnum with little activity, the ASI was restructured in 1902 by Viceroy George Nathaniel Curzon, who nominated John Hubert Marshall as its general-director. This decision had immediate results: in 1902 the ASI’s bulletin *Annual Reports* was created, publishing studies on Indian heritage; the *Ancient Monument Preservation Act* was proclaimed in 1904; and some museums were established, as the ones at Sarnath (1904), Agra (1906), Delhi Fort (1909) or Bijapur (1912).

In the *Établissements Français dans l’Inde*, however, few heritage safeguarding actions were accomplished, since the French considered the European culture superior to the Indian native ones. In addition, the unimportant, meagre and scattered territories of French India were not suitable for investments in notorious buildings, and neither were the buildings erected by the French ancient enough, at that time, to be considered as cultural heritage (Étter, 2012; Aldrich, 2011: IV - 200-209; Toulhier and Pabois, 2005).

## HERITAGE AS AN IDEOLOGICAL PROPAGANDA INSTRUMENT USED BY THE PORTUGUESE REGIME

After analysing briefly the heritage panorama in Portugal and the British Raj, the examination of CPA’s regulations immediately shows a strong influence from Portugal, rather than from the British Raj: by analysing the regulations, it is immediately clear that Art. 2 of the CPA’s regulations – the most significant item – is roughly a copy of Art. 24 of the CMN’s regulations of 1901 (which reproduced, in turn, Art. 2 of the Supreme Council for National Monuments’ regulations of 1898), although with the addition of several sub-items closely related to the local conditions. These facts allow us to conclude that the CPA was somehow the equivalent, in the Estado da Índia, of the Portuguese CMN – and of which Ismael Gracias Sr. was a corresponding member.

The CPA, which had a number of Goan intellectuals among its most prominent members, was one of the visible signs of the Goan elites’ increasing yearning for autonomy. In fact, the promulgation of the organic charter for the Estado da Índia, in 1917 (although established only in 1919), intended to decentralise the administration from Lisbon to the local administration (Lobo, 2013: 325-358; Costa, 2013), and was later complemented by legislation<sup>35</sup> promulgated in 1920 (Custódio, 2011: II - 81); however, this autonomy proved ephemeral. The enormous difficulties caused by the First World War (1914-18), together with the volatility of the new republican regime, motivated a great instability in Portugal and, by extension, in its colonies. These difficulties may have been the cause for the decreasing activity of the CPA and the cessation of the publication of *O Oriente Português*, in 1920.

35. “Lei n.º 1.005”. *Diário do Governo*, 151 (07 July 1920): 950; “Lei n.º 1.022”. *Diário do Governo*, 161 (20 August 1920): 1001-1003.

The military revolution of 1926 in Portugal put an end to the previous instability, establishing a dictatorship. In 1930 António de Oliveira Salazar was enthroned as the country's new leader; three years later, in 1933, a new Portuguese Constitution was established, institutionalising the Estado Novo dictatorial regime. The regime's ideological programme, spread by its propaganda machine, was conservative and traditionalist, as well as nationalist and colonial-imperialist.

The approval of the *Colonial Act*<sup>36</sup> in 1930, included later in the Portuguese Constitution<sup>37</sup> of 1933, was a clear sign of the dictatorship's imperialist agenda. The Portuguese overseas territories, from then on referred to as the Portuguese Colonial Empire, saw their autonomy further restricted in favour of a largely centralised control. However, this did not mean the abandonment of the cultural heritage in the Portuguese colonies; on the contrary, the interest of the dictatorial regime in the colonial monuments was very high.

In fact, monuments in Portugal were seen by the regime as privileged testimonies of the nation's formation, and those in the Portuguese overseas territories were witnesses of the Portuguese expansion. Hence, by valuing the remains of Portugal's "glorious Past", promoting its study and preservation, the regime was associating itself to this Past. The use of monuments as a powerful instrument of propaganda, mainly through reintegration works and major celebrations associating monuments with historic events, became an easy and powerful way to convey the regime's ideological messages (Tomé, 2002; Neto, 2001).

Gradually, the interest in the Portuguese overseas monuments started to increase, which led to several heritage actions across the Portuguese Colonial Empire (Garcia, 2022; Santos, 2017; Mariz, 2016). In the Estado da Índia, the Xaverian celebrations of 1931, coinciding with the Fifth Eucharistic Congress of India, was once again an opportunity to advance the regime's ideological purposes: several monuments were repaired, improved and embellished (Costa, 1958: 17). This time, however, the authorities of Portuguese India were more sensitive with regard to the monuments, echoing the propagandistic agenda of the metropolitan government.

The works carried out on Old Goa's monuments related to Xaverian celebrations were probably the trigger for a greater emphasis on heritage, according to the regime's ideals. Therefore, the CPA was reformed in 1931, receiving a new boost under the direction of Goan judge Bragança Pereira; the publication of *O Oriente Português* was also resumed<sup>38</sup>. Soon after being revitalised, the CPA promoted several actions: surely in connection with the Xaverian celebrations, name plates were placed next to the most important buildings, ruins and historical sites of Old Goa, complemented by some archaeological excavations (Pereira, 1932: 139) [fig.04]; and an inventory of the contents of Old Goa's religious buildings was also accomplished (Costa, 1958: 17; Pereira, 1934: 7; Pereira, 1932: 134-149). The CPA maintained its position as independent advisory body for issues related with cultural heritage, also monitoring heritage works implemented by the Directorate for Public Works.



Fig. 4. Emile Marini, 1957. Name plate placed in 1931 next to the Viceroy's Piers  
(Source: Overseas Historical Archive, Lisbon)

36. "Decreto nº 18.570". *Diário do Governo*, 156 (08 July 1930): 1307-1312.

37. "Decreto nº 22.241". *Diário do Governo*, 43 (22 February 1933): 227-236.

38. "Portaria nº 1.241". *Boletim Oficial do Governo-Geral do Estado da Índia*, 27 (13 October 1931): 1267.

## CLASSIFICATION OF NATIONAL MONUMENTS IN THE ESTADO DA ÍNDIA

Still, the most prominent action was undoubtedly the classification as national monuments of a set of buildings and historic structures in the Estado da Índia<sup>39</sup>, a decision promulgated in 1932. Following CPA's proposal, the authorities granted "the category of "National Monument" to buildings [from Goa, Daman and Diu] whose conservation represents a national interest because of their artistic, historical or archaeological values"<sup>40</sup>. Four years later, in 1936, some other buildings were added to this list (Pereira, 1936: 247).

The Portuguese influence was clear, once again, in Decree n.º 532, of 19 February 1932: as can be seen in Table 01, the items from Art. 1 up to Art. 9 of the Estado da Índia's classification decree are directly emulated from Art. 42 up to Art. 51 (except for Art. 45), related to the Portuguese reorganisation decree for the artistic and archaeological services in Portugal; as for Art. 15 and the items from Art. 20 until Art. 25 of the classification decree, they correspond to Art. 2 until Art. 12 (except for Arts. 4, 7 and 11) of the Portuguese decree regulating the decay and exportation of works with artistic and historical value. The remaining items are stipulations intimately related with the specific patrimonial panorama of the Estado da Índia, although some of them were based on scattered Portuguese legislation [table 01].

### COMPARISON OF DECREE NO. 532 (10-02-1932) WITH SIMILAR PORTUGUESE LEGISLATION

D. 532	Portuguese legislation	D. 532	Portuguese legislation	D. 532	Portuguese legislation
Art. 1	Art. 42 (A)	Art. 14	–	Art. 20.2	Art. 12.3 (B)
Art. 2	Art. 43 (A)	Art. 15	–	Art. 21	–
Art. 2.1	Art. 43.1 (A)	Art. 15.1	Art. 5 (B)	Art. 22	Art. 2 (B)
Art. 3	Art. 44 (A)	Art. 15.2	Art. 6 (B)	Art. 22.1	Art. 3 (B)
Art. 4	Art. 46 (A)	Art. 16	–	Art. 22.2	Art. 3.1 (B)
Art. 5	Art. 47 (A)	Art. 16.1	–	Art. 22.3	Art. 3.2 (B)
Art. 6	Art. 48 (A)	Art. 16.2	–	Art. 23	Art. 9 (B)
Art. 7	Art. 49 (A)	Art. 17	–	Art. 24	Art. 10 (B)
Art. 8	Art. 50 (A)	Art. 17.1	–	Art. 25	Art. 8 (B)
Art. 9	Art. 51 (A)	Art. 18	–	Art. 26	–
Art. 10	–	Art. 18.1	–	Art. 27	–
Art. 11	–	Art. 19	–	Art. 28	–
Art. 12	–	Art. 19.1	–	Art. 28.1	–
Art. 13	–	Art. 20	–	Art. 29	–
Art. 13.1	–	Art. 20.1	Art. 12.1 (B)	Art. 30	–

(A) *Diário do Governo*, 124 (29-05-1911) – Decree enacting the reorganisation of the artistic and archaeological services

(B) *Diário do Governo*, 41 (22-11-1910) – Decree regulating the decay and export of works with artistic and historical value

**Tab. 1.** Comparison of Decree no. 532 (10-02-1932) from the Estado da Índia with similar heritage legislation in Portugal

39. "Portaria n.º 1.360". *Boletim Oficial do Governo-Geral do Estado da Índia*, 27 (01 April 1932): 405.

40. "Decreto n.º 532". *Boletim Oficial do Governo-Geral do Estado da Índia*, 15 (19 February 1932): 205.

This decree listed a set of public and private buildings and ruins, taking into consideration the possibility of the compulsory purchase of monuments (and surrounding lands, if necessary) by the government, in case of opposition by private owners. Disposal, demolition or any kind of works on the national monuments, after being classified, could not be implemented without the CPA's agreement. Also relevant is the fact that the classification decree ordained similar measures for movable heritage (art pieces or historical documents) and defined the regular functioning of Goan museums, and the guardianship of Old Goa's ruins.

Table 02 allows us to draw some interesting conclusions concerning the classification ratified by the Portuguese regime. A total of 85 buildings and archaeological remains were classified as National Monuments in Goa, Daman and Diu – 81 in 1932 and 4 in 1936; of these monuments, 60 were in Goa, 14 in Daman and 11 in Diu. Another important fact is the classification of 72 monuments with a Portuguese influence – although 3 of them, as a matter of fact, had a non-Portuguese origin, despite having been adopted by the Portuguese (the fortifications of Alorna, Terakhol and Cabo de Rama) – while only 9 monuments did not have Portuguese influence. The listed monuments with Portuguese influence are distributed as follows: 40 have a religious origin, 27 have a military origin and 13 have a civil origin; as for the listed buildings without Portuguese influence, 8 have a religious influence and only 1 a military origin [table 02].

DECREE NO. 1.360 OF 01 APRIL 1932  
(CLASSIFICATION OF NATIONAL MONUMENTS IN THE ESTADO DA ÍNDIA)

GOA			
Religious origin	Military origin	Civil origin	Non-Portuguese origin
Chapel of Our Lady of the Mount in Old Goa	Fort of Alorna	Arch of Our Lady of Conception in Old Goa	Buddhist Cave of Aquem
Chapel of Our Lady of Pity in Panelim	Fort of Marmagao	Arch of the Viceroys in Old Goa	Buddhist Cave of Arvalem
Chapel of St. Anthony in Old Goa	Fort of Naroa	Arsenal's Greenhouse in Old Goa	Buddhist Cave of Lamgau
Chapel of St. Catherine in Old Goa	Fort of the Magi in Reis Magos	Gate of Moula in Old Goa	Buddhist Cave of Rivona
Chapel of St. Francis Xavier in Old Goa	Fort of St. Stephen in Juá Island	Gate of the Palace of the	Ruins of the Kadamba capital of Chandrapura, at Chandor
Chapel of St. Jerome in the Seminary of Chorao	Fort of Terakhol	Fortress in Old Goa	Ruins of the Kadamba Tirtha of Brahmapuri, at Ella
Church and Convent of Pilar	Fortified wall of Old Goa and its forts	House of Bulls in Old Goa	<b>TOTAL: 6 monuments</b>
Church and Professed House of the Good Jesus in Old Goa	Fortress of Aguada	Monument in St. Lazarus Camp in Old Goa	
Church of St. Lawrence in Sinquerim	Fortress of Anjediva	Monument to Afonso de Albuquerque in Panjim	
Church of Our Lady of the Rosary in Old Goa	Fortress of Cabo de Rama	Monument to Vasco da Gama in Panjim	
	Fortress of Chapora	New Pillory in Old Goa	
	Ruins of the Fort of Cola in Issorcim		
	<b>TOTAL: 12 monuments</b>	<b>TOTAL: 10 monuments</b>	

GOA			
Religious origin	Military origin	Civil origin	Non-Portuguese origin
Church of Penha de França			
Church of the Magi in Reis Magos			
Church of St. Anne in Talaulim			
Church of St. Peter in Panelim			
Convent of St. Cajetan in Old Goa			
Convent of St. Francis of Assisi in Old Goa			
Convent of St. John of God in Old Goa			
Cross of Mordongodo in Ponda			
Cross of St. Dominic in Old Goa			
Cross of the House of Catechumens in Betim			
Cross of the Mother of God Monastery of St. Monica in Old Goa			
Patriarchal Cathedral in Old Goa			
Ruins of the College of Our Lady of Popolo in Old Goa			
Ruins of the College of St. Paul in Old Goa			
Ruins of the Convent of St. Augustine in Old Goa			
Ruins of the Convent of the Cross of Miracles in Old Goa			
Ruins of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites in Old Goa			
<b>TOTAL: 28 monuments</b>			

DAMAN			
Religious origin	Military origin	Civil origin	Non-Portuguese origin
Former Convent of St. John of God	Bastion of the Abyssinians	Ruins of the former House of the Noblemen	–
Chapel of Our Lady of Anguish	Fort of St. Jerome in Nani Damán	Ruins of the Old Pillory	
Church of Our Lady of Remedies	Fort of Varkund	<b>TOTAL: 2 monuments</b>	
Church of Our Lady of the Rosary	Fortified wall of Moti Damán		
Church of Our Lady of the Sea	<b>TOTAL: 4 monuments</b>		
Ruins of the Convent of St. Augustine			
Ruins of the Convent of St. Dominic			
Cathedral			
<b>TOTAL: 8 monuments</b>			
DIU			
Religious origin	Military origin	Civil origin	Non-Portuguese origin
Church of the former College of St. Paul	Fort of Gogola	Monuments in the fortress yard	–
Former Convent of St. Francis of Assisi (hospital)	Fort of Nagoa	<b>TOTAL: 1 monument</b>	
Former Church of St. Thomas (prison)	Fort of Passo Seco		
	Fort of St. Anthony in Simbor		
	Fort of St. Anthony of the Sea		
	Fortified wall of Diu		
	Fortress of St. Thomas		
	<b>TOTAL: 7 monuments</b>		

CLASSIFICATION OF ADDITIONAL NATIONAL MONUMENTS IN 1936			
Religious origin	Military origin	Civil origin	Non-Portuguese origin
Ruins of the Church of Sancoale  <b>TOTAL: 1 monument</b>	–	–	Ruins of the Maratha Fort of Ponda  Ruins of the Jain Temple, at Cudnem (Portuguese: Templo de Guziranchem Deul)  Ruins of the Kadamba Temple of Mahalasa, at Verna (Portuguese: Templo de Malsadevi)  <b>TOTAL: 3 monuments</b>

Tab. 2. List of National Monuments in the Estado da Índia, according to Decree no. 1.360 (01-04-1932)

Some other findings must be mentioned: most of the Catholic buildings were still in use – or at least well preserved enough to be used, except for some major ruined convents; the fortifications were no longer used for military purposes, despite the existence of barracks in some of them; and most of the civil monuments were not buildings, but memorials and remaining structures of vanished historical buildings.

As for the monuments without Portuguese influence, almost all of them were archaeological ruins of religious buildings. Any monument from Daman and Diu without Portuguese influence was listed as a national monument, despite the existence of significant buildings in those territories (a few Hindu temples and Muslim mosques in Daman and Diu, or even Parsi structures in Diu). In Goa, the first classification decree only listed four Buddhist caves and two Kadamba archaeological ruins; in 1936, following a proposal to list the ruins of the Church of Sancoale (related to the revered Fr. Joseph Vaz), the illustrious Goan historian Pandurang Pissurlenkar – a Hindu from Sattari – recommended the additional inclusion of a couple of ruined temples (one Jain temple and one Kadamba temple) in the list of national monuments, as well as the ruins of a Maratha fort. Despite the existence of some ruined ancient mosques, none of them were classified.

Therefore, no non-ruined ancient mandirs or mosques were listed, nor the well-known Hindu temples in the New Conquests territory; on the other hand, most of the Catholic churches spread across the Goan territory were also not listed. In fact, only in Daman and Diu were the majority of the churches listed as national monuments, while in Goa the listed churches were essentially the ones in Old Goa and a few ancient churches scattered in the surrounding areas, excluding important ones in Salcete and Bardez – namely in Margao and Rachol. The main focus of the classification process was on the monuments of Old Goa, once known as “Golden Goa”, and the fortifications, both seen as symbols of the former Portuguese power. Even in Portugal, the heritage emphasis was on medieval castles and major cathedrals and monastic complexes, symbols of the formation of the Portuguese nation (evoking the defence of Portugal and the Catholic faith).

The criteria used by the Portuguese dictatorial regime to list the monuments of Goa, Daman and Diu were based on ideological, nationalist and imperialist ideals. By listing mostly monuments with a Portuguese influence, the regime was displaying the Estado da Índia as a Portuguese territory. Local monuments, now raised to the rank of Portuguese national monuments, were seen as visual landmarks of the Portuguese rule in Goa, Daman and Diu, and were instrumentalised in the same way as the monuments in Portugal. As a matter of fact, a couple of decades later these monuments with Portuguese influence, spreading throughout the Portuguese Overseas Empire, became a key component of the Lusotropicalist ideals developed by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre. Therefore, it was crucial to study, protect and restore these monuments, used by the regime in its propaganda (Santos, 2020).

After the classification of the first national monuments in the Estado da Índia, in 1934, a CPA committee led by Ricardo Michael Telles was tasked with the inventory of the goods belonging to the churches and convents of Old Goa and Pilar<sup>41</sup>. New legislation was decreed in 1935, aiming to strengthen the role of the CPA and to render the heritage conservation measures more efficient<sup>42</sup>.

## THE INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA AND THE REGIME'S ATTEMPTS TO RETAIN PORTUGUESE INDIA

The Second World War (1939-45) had a tremendous, albeit indirect impact on the Estado da Índia: the end of the war produced a wave of pro-independence feelings across the European colonies, and soon after several new countries became independent of their former colonial masters. About two years later, in 1947, the independence of the Union of India, the Federation of Pakistan and the Union of Burma put an end to the British Raj; the territories in the subcontinent still under Portuguese and French rule were reclaimed by the Union of India.

While France negotiated the restitution of its Indian territories and returned them in 1950 (Chandernagor) and 1954 (the remaining possessions), the Portuguese regime refused to follow the same path, since relinquishing the Estado da Índia could open a precedent and lead to independence claims by the Portuguese colonies in Africa (Colaço, 2017; Lopes, 2017; Stocker, 2011 ; Bègue, 2007; Couto, 2006). Therefore, an assertive strategy of ideological propaganda was implemented by the Portuguese regime, aiming to display a "Lusitanised" Estado da Índia by embracing Lusotropicalist arguments and even revising the Portuguese Constitution<sup>43</sup>, in 1951: Portugal became a pluricontinental nation, its former colonies were converted into overseas provinces and its natives became, from then on, Portuguese citizens (Santos, 2020: 108-140).

A number of actions were taken in the Estado da Índia to reinforce the Portuguese claims: investment in infrastructures and economic activities; sponsorship of study missions intending to highlight the "Portugueseness" of the territory; ideological celebrations of major events; and, of course, heritage-related procedures, following the ones carried out in Portugal.

41. [Information note]. *O Oriente Português*, 30 - 12-13 (1936): 252.

42. "Portaria n.º 773". *Boletim Oficial do Governo-Geral do Estado da Índia*, 14 (15 February 1935): 247-248.

43. "Lei n.º 2.048". *Diário do Governo*, 117 (11 July 1951): 407-412.

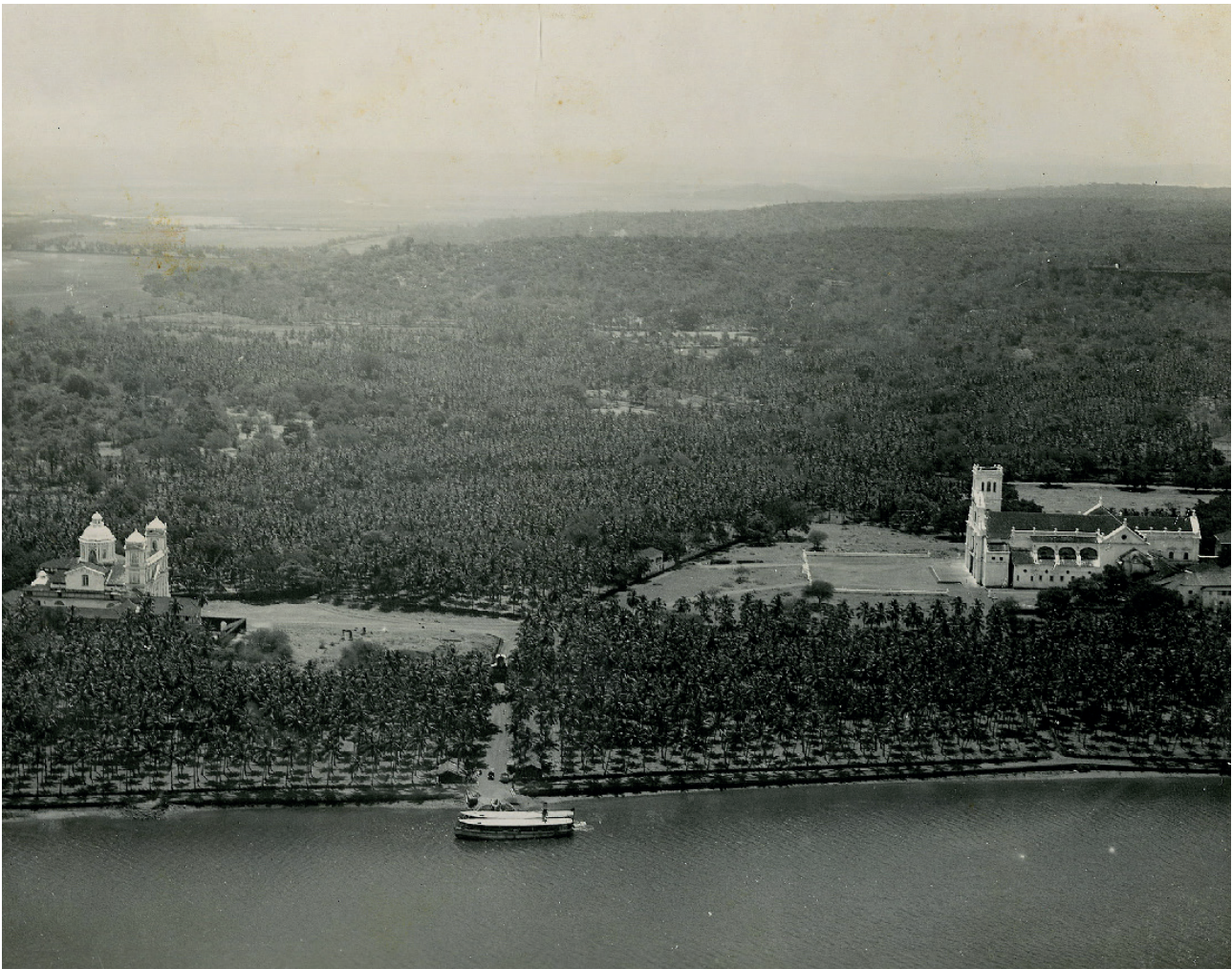


Fig. 5: Comissão Pró-Aviação, 1953. Aerial view over Old Goa (Source: National Archive of Torre do Tombo, Lisbon)

The extinction of the CPA<sup>44</sup>, in 1950, triggered the creation, in that same year, of the Study Mission for the Restoration of Monuments. Under the direction of Baltazar da Silva Castro, a famous Portuguese restorer and the former director of the Monuments Division within the General-Directorate for National Buildings and Monuments, several monuments of Old Goa were reintegrated during the following years, in preparation for the Xaverian celebrations of 1952. In 1958, another ambitious aim was pursued for the celebrations of 1960 (Fourth Centennial of Prince Henry the Navigator's Death and 450<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Portuguese Conquest of Goa by Alfonso de Albuquerque, with another Xaverian celebration in 1961): the musealisation plan of Old Goa, promoted by the general-governor Manuel Vassalo e Silva and developed by a committee led by the Goan judge José António Ismael Gracias Jr. [fig.05]. This plan was never finished, as the regime's efforts to retain the Estado da Índia crumbled on 17 December 1961, when Indian troops entered Goa, Daman and Diu and took control of these territories (Santos, 2016: 1-21).

44. "Portaria n.º. 5.200". *Boletim Oficial do Governo-Geral do Estado da Índia*, 5 (01 February 1951): 16.

## DECOLONISING THE HERITAGE LEGISLATION IN GOA, DAMAN AND DIU IN THE POST-COLONIAL PERIOD

The end of the Estado da Índia resulted inevitably in a change of jurisdiction over the former Portuguese national monuments of this territory. The drastic change of rule from Lisbon to Delhi led the ASI to take over the custody of the monuments in Goa, Daman and Diu. However, India's distinct approach to the classification of built heritage introduced some idiosyncrasies.

The independence of India in 1947 did not entail a deep transformation of the Indian heritage panorama, but the consolidation of the new country did have an impact on its heritage (Pathak 2022; Gibbon 2020; Shroff and Shroff 2015; Krishna 2014; Chadha 2007; Guha-Thakurta 2004; Roy 1998). Besides the reorganisation of the administrative structure, operative procedures, bureaucratic practices and all other aspects required for the proper functioning of the new country, its Past was a major concern, since it provided an ideological validation of the country's origin and its present existence. Therefore, built heritage was considered a privileged testimony of the national historic past, and its preservation was imperative. A few months prior to the independence of India and Pakistan, the *Antiquities (Export Control) Act*<sup>45</sup> was promulgated to regulate the export of antiquities.

The first legislative document on heritage preservation in India was enacted four years after its independence: in 1951 a decree finally classified a set of built structures and archaeological monuments of national importance<sup>46</sup>, chosen from several different lists of monuments. The shortage of religious buildings in this list of national monuments is evident, continuing the legislative options of the colonial period: among the 441 listed monuments (365 as ancient and historical monuments and 76 as archaeological sites and remains), only a few Hindu temples can be found, most of them already out of liturgical use, as well as quite a few Muslim mosques and Jain temples, also mostly inactive; some Buddhist archaeological remains were also listed; finally, no Christian churches were included<sup>47</sup>.

In 1958 new legislation for the preservation of monuments of national importance was enacted<sup>48</sup>; however, it inherited the main issues of the 1904 act, embracing aspects of the British colonial vision on Indian heritage, namely the ones related with religious monuments still in liturgical use, as well as the need for agreements with the monuments' owners to allow for their classification and the restriction of works in classified monuments not carried out by the ASI (or with its consent). In the following year, complementary regulations for monuments of national importance were sanctioned<sup>49</sup>, establishing their proper functioning.

By the time of the integration of Goa, Daman and Diu in India, in the end of 1961, the Indian legislation panorama on monuments was regulated by the legislation mentioned above. The drastic replacement of the Portuguese administration by the Indian government, moderated by local officials and some sensitive Indian officials, also affected the heritage of the former Estado da Índia. The Goan heritage was placed in 1964 under the superintendence of the ASI Aurangabad Circle, which took over the Goan national monuments in 1968;

45. "Act n.º XXXI of 1947 - An Act to control the export of antiquities". *The Gazette of India*, 16 - IV (19 April 1947): 372.

46. "Act n.º LXXI of 1951 - The Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Act, 1951". *The Gazette of India*, 55 - II (29 November 1951): 505-519.

47. "An amendment act was decreed in 1956, without changing the substance of the previous legislation: Act n.º LXX of 1956 - The Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Act, 1956". *The Gazette of India*, 70 - II (17 December 1956): 1139-1141.

48. "Act n.º XXIV of 1958 - The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958". *The Gazette of India*, 221 - II (29 August 1958): 155-169.

49. "Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Rules, 1959". *The Gazette of India*, 261 - II (15 October 1959): Extra.

the ASI Goa Mini-Circle was created in 1984, and from 2007 was raised to a full-fledged Circle, for better management. As for the heritage of Daman and Diu, its administration was taken over by the superintendence of the ASI Vadodara Circle.

The new Indian authorities in Goa, and particularly the ASI, received a set of buildings listed as national monuments by the Portuguese administration; although they were listed as Portuguese monuments partly under imperialist ideological premises, the Indian authorities accepted the classification, but went on to introduce some revisions, in a process of decolonisation of the heritage legislation. While the Indian heritage legislation of 1958 was transposed to Goa, Daman and Diu, and applied to buildings already classified as national monuments, the first legislation addressed to the heritage of Goa<sup>50</sup> was finally published in 1979, after the autonomisation referendum of 1967 (Goa became a new state in 1987).

A list of buildings classified as monuments of national importance was published<sup>51</sup> in 1982, leading to the reorganisation of Goa's listed monuments. As can be seen in Table 03, from the 86 national monuments listed in the Portuguese period, only 14 remained as Indian national monuments, and 3 new monuments were added by the Indian government – 2 ruined Kadamba temples and 1 ruined mosque. All the monuments that remained listed as national monuments were in Old Goa, with the exception of 1 fort, 1 cave and the ruins of Chandrapura; therefore, the new list of national monuments was composed by 11 monuments with Portuguese influence and 6 monuments without Portuguese influence (the former Gate of the Palace of the Fortress became the Gate of the Palace of Adil Shah, mistakenly transforming a structure from the Portuguese period into a remain from the Bijapuri period), which meant a rate of about 2/3 of monuments with Portuguese influence and 1/3 of monuments without Portuguese influence – completely different from the lists made during the Portuguese period, in which there were 8 times more monuments with Portuguese influence [table 03].

### REORGANISATION OF THE NATIONAL MONUMENTS OF GOA LISTED BY THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT, AFTER THE INTEGRATION IN INDIA

GOA			
National Monuments that remained listed	National Monuments added to the list	National Monuments reclassified as State Monuments*	National Monuments declassified
Arch of the Viceroys in Old Goa	Ruins of the Mahadev Temple, at Curdi	Cave of Aquem	Arch of Our Lady of Conception in Old Goa
Basilica of the Good Jesus in Old Goa	Ruins of the Mahadev Temple, at Tambdi Surla	Cave of Rivona	Arsenal's Greenhouse
Cave of Arvalem	Ruins of the Safa Shahouri Mosque, at Ponda	Chapel of Our Lady of the Mount	Cave of Langau
Convent of St. Cajetan in Old Goa	<b>TOTAL: 3 monuments</b>	Chapel of St. Jerome in the Seminary of Chorao	Chapel of Our Lady of Pity in Panelim
Church and Convent of St. Francis of Assisi in Old Goa		Church of the Magi	Chapel of St. Anthony in Old Goa
		Church of St. Anne in Talaulim	Chapel of St. Anthony in Old Goa

50. "Notification LD/Bill/13/78 - The Goa, Daman and Diu Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1978". *Official Gazette - Government of Goa, Daman and Diu*, 47 - I (22 February 1979): 634-640.

51. "Notification 9-4-79-WET". *Official Gazette - Government of Goa, Daman and Diu*, 22 (26 August 1982): 183-184.

National Monuments that remained listed	National Monuments added to the list	National Monuments reclassified as State Monuments*	National Monuments declassified
<p>Church of Our Lady of the Rosary in Old Goa</p> <p>Chapel of St. Catherine in Old Goa</p> <p>Fortress of Aguada</p> <p>Gate of the Palace of the Fortress (now: Gate of the Palace of Adil Shah) in Old Goa</p> <p>House of Bulls in Old Goa</p> <p>Patriarchal Cathedral in Old Goa</p> <p>Ruins of the College of St. Paul in Old Goa</p> <p>Ruins of the Convent of St. Augustine in Old Goa</p> <p>Ruins of the Kadamba capital of Chandrapura, at Chandor</p> <p><b>TOTAL: 14 monuments</b></p>		<p>Chapel of St. Francis Xavier in Old Goa</p> <p>Church of St. Peter in Panelim</p> <p>Fort of Alorna</p> <p>Fort of Naroa</p> <p>Fort of the Magi</p> <p>Fort of Terakhol</p> <p>Fortress of Cabo de Rama</p> <p>Fortress of Chapora</p> <p>Monastery of St. Monica</p> <p>Ruins of the Church of Sancoale</p> <p>Ruins of the College of Our Lady of Popolo</p> <p>Ruins of the Temple of Mahalasa, at Verna</p> <p>Ruins of the Tirtha of Brahmपुरi, at Ella</p> <p>Ruins of the Jain Temple, at Cudnem</p> <p><b>TOTAL: 20 monuments</b></p>	<p>Church and Convent of Pilar</p> <p>Church of St. Lawrence in Sinquelim</p> <p>Church of Penha de França</p> <p>Convent of St. John of God in Old Goa</p> <p>Cross of Mordongodo in Ponda</p> <p>Cross of St. Dominic in Old Goa</p> <p>Cross of the House of Catechumens in Betim</p> <p>Cross of the Mother of God in Old Goa</p> <p>Fort of Marmagoa</p> <p>Fort of St. Stephen in Juá Island</p> <p>Fortified wall of Old Goa and its forts</p> <p>Fortress of Anjediva</p> <p>Gate of Moula in Old Goa</p> <p>Monument in St. Lazarus Camp in Old Goa</p> <p>Monument to Afonso de Albuquerque in Panjim</p> <p>Monument to Vasco da Gama in Panjim</p> <p>New Pillory in Old Goa</p> <p>Ruins of the Convent of the Cross of Miracles in Old Goa</p> <p>Ruins of the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites in Old Goa</p> <p>Ruins of the Fort of Cola in Issorcim</p> <p>Ruins of the Maratha Fort of Ponda</p> <p><b>TOTAL: 27 monuments</b></p>

\* MONUMENTS LISTED AS STATE MONUMENTS OF GOA  
(Notification 9-4-79-WET of 1982, enacted by the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu)

* MONUMENTS ADDED TO COMPLEMENT THE LIST OF RECLASSIFIED NATIONAL MONUMENTS			
Religious temples in use	Religious temples in ruins	Archaeological caves	Ruined fortifications
Mallikarjuna Temple, at Canacona	Ruins of Manguesh Temple, at Cortalim	Cave at Ishwarbhat	Fort of Colvale
Nagesh Temple, at Bandora	Ruins of Saptakoteshwar Temple, at Khandepar	Cave at Mangueshi	Fort of Sanquelim
Kamakshi Temple, at Shiroda	Ruins of Shantadurga Temple, at Quelossim	Caves at Khandepar	Gate of the Fortress of Rachol
Saptakoteshwar Temple, at Naroa	Ruins of Jaina Basti Temple, at Bandora	Caves at Naroa	<b>TOTAL: 3 monuments</b>
Mahadeva Temple, at Agapur	<b>TOTAL: 4 monuments</b>	<b>TOTAL: 4 monuments</b>	
<b>TOTAL: 5 monuments</b>			

**Tab. 3.** Reorganisation of Goan National Monuments after the integration of Goa in India, and structures listed as State Monuments according to the "Notification 9-4-79-WET", of 1982

As for the buildings listed as Goa's state monuments, all the remaining buildings without Portuguese influence were listed (except for the Cave of Lamgau): 5 structures without Portuguese influence, 12 buildings with Portuguese influence and 3 existing fortifications adopted by the Portuguese; 16 new monuments were added to the list of state monuments, almost all of them without Portuguese influences (with the exceptions of the Fort of Covale and the Gate of the Fortress of Rachol). Therefore, the list of state monuments comprised 36 structures: 27 religious monuments (only 8 still in use) and 9 fortifications; of these monuments, 19 were structures without Portuguese influence, 14 were structures with Portuguese influence and 3 were pre-existing fortifications adopted by the Portuguese. The ratio between monuments without Portuguese influence and monuments with Portuguese influence was almost equal, although with a small advantage for the non-Portuguese monuments.

Finally, 27 Goan buildings listed as national monuments by the Portuguese regime were declassified after the integration: 25 monuments with Portuguese influence and only 2 buildings without Portuguese influence. Most of the declassified buildings had a religious origin, and 7 of them were still in use.

As for the monuments of Daman and Diu classified by the Portuguese government, after their integration in India, 5 monuments remained listed as national monuments in Daman and 2 in Diu (5 were religious monuments – 4 still in use – and 2 were fortifications); in addition, 2 buildings without Portuguese influence were added to the list of national monuments in Diu (both were religious monuments, although only 1 was still in use). The other 18 monuments were declassified (9 in Daman and 9 in Diu) [table 04].

REORGANISATION OF THE NATIONAL MONUMENTS OF DAMAN AND DIU  
LISTED BY THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT, AFTER THE INTEGRATION IN INDIA

DAMAN		
National Monuments that remained listed	Monuments added to the list of National Monuments	National Monuments declassified
<p>Church of Our Lady of Remedies</p> <p>Church of Our Lady of the Rosary</p> <p>Fortified wall of Moti Daman</p> <p>Ruins of the Convent of St. Dominic</p> <p>Cathedral (now: Church of the Holy Jesus)</p> <p><b>TOTAL: 5 monuments</b></p>	<p>–</p>	<p>Chapel of Our Lady of Anguish</p> <p>Church of Our Lady of the Sea</p> <p>Former Convent of St. John of God</p> <p>Bastion of the Abyssinians</p> <p>Fort of St. Jerome in Nani Daman</p> <p>Fort of Varkund</p> <p>Ruins of the Convent of St. Augustine</p> <p>Ruins of the former House of the Noblemen</p> <p>Ruins of the Old Pillory</p> <p><b>TOTAL: 9 monuments</b></p>
DIU		
National Monuments that remained listed	Monuments added to the list of National Monuments	National Monuments declassified
<p>Church of the former College of St. Paul</p> <p>Fortress of St. Thomas</p> <p><b>TOTAL: 2 monuments</b></p>	<p>Karao Jami' Mosque in Diu</p> <p>Parsi Towers of Silence and Bangli</p> <p><b>TOTAL: 2 monuments</b></p>	<p>Convent of St. Francis of Assisi (hospital)</p> <p>Church of St. Thomas (museum)</p> <p>Fort of Gogola</p> <p>Fort of Nagoa</p> <p>Fort of Passo Seco</p> <p>Fort of St. Anthony in Simbor</p> <p>Fort of St. Anthony of the Sea</p> <p>Fortified wall of Diu</p> <p>Monuments in the fortress yard</p> <p><b>TOTAL: 9 monuments</b></p>

Tab. 4. Reorganisation of the national monuments of Daman and Diu, after their integration in India

## AFTERWARDS: TODAY'S PRESERVATION OF TRANSCULTURAL HERITAGE IN GOA, DAMAN AND DIU

The heritage preservation in the Estado da Índia has its own way, which nevertheless finds parallels with Portugal and the British Raj. The Archaeological Survey of India (India) was founded in 1861, the Permanent Archaeological Committee (Estado da Índia) in 1895 and the National Monuments Council (Portugal) in 1901; while the National Monuments Council was an operative council since its beginning, in the British Raj the Archaeological Survey of India restarted its activities in 1902, after an interregnum, and in the Estado da Índia the Permanent Archaeological Committee became active in 1903. The National Monuments Council's predecessor launched its bulletin in 1895, the Archaeological Survey of India in 1902 and the Permanent Archaeological Committee in 1904. Finally, the Asiatic Society (India) created a museum in 1814, the Royal Association of Portuguese Civil Architects and Archaeologists (Portugal) in 1864 and the Permanent Archaeological Committee in 1896, while and the Portuguese Ethnographic Museum was created in 1893 and the Archaeological Survey of India created its first museum in 1904.

However, the heritage legislation of the Estado da Índia was clearly linked to Portugal, while that of the British Raj received direct influences from the United Kingdom heritage legislation. The differences between both legislation systems were quite visible, especially with regard to the classification of ancient buildings as national monuments: the listing procedure in the Estado da Índia was pragmatic, allowing the Portuguese administration to classify all public and private buildings (as long as they had heritage value), whereas in the British Raj the classification process was more limited – especially when it concerned the living religious buildings.

It is important to note that in the British dominions in India, a major importance was attributed to the architectural heritage, used as a symbolical means to consolidate British power: the British Empire was considered the heir of the Mughal Empire, according to the British colonial discourse, and therefore the Indian monuments were preserved as venerated symbols of the British occupants' predecessors (Cohn, 1996: 166). Therefore, while the British considered India as a separate realm sharing a monarch with Britain, and where the local population were not British subjects but rather Indian citizens of a territory ruled by the British crown, in the Portuguese India the most Westernised people were often considered Portuguese subjects, and this difference had enormous repercussions in the way different colonial powers acted over their Indian territories' heritage.

The Portuguese ideological agenda (especially during the nationalist and imperialist dictatorship) essentially used the Portuguese-influenced monuments of the Estado da Índia for its propaganda programme, intending to show a territory intensely "Lusitanised" and with a strong connection to Portugal rather than India. The fact that many Portuguese buildings in India can be traced back to the early sixteenth century, while British and French buildings were built much later, was therefore used as a demonstration of Portuguese rights in keeping the Estado da Índia under their administration. In fact, the greater antiquity of some Portuguese buildings when compared to the Taj Mahal – India's *ex libris* – was sometimes mentioned informally to bolster Portuguese claims.

The decolonisation process concerning the heritage legislation of Goa, Daman and Diu in the post-colonial period can be considered quite balanced in the decades following the integration in India. The excessive proportion of "Portuguese monuments" listed by the Portuguese dictatorial regime, as part of its ideological agenda, was indeed reconfigured to achieve a balanced ratio between monuments with and without Portuguese influence (Kadamba, Bijapuri, Buddhist, Maratha, Gujarati, etc.). Because of their cultural value, the major churches remained listed as national monuments, as well as the most outstanding fortifications.

Nevertheless, the decolonisation process had a few snags, not only because of eventual colonial anathemas<sup>52</sup>, existing always in countries where the colonial presence was intense, but also due to the unexpected situation resulting from the entire process of reorganisation of the listed national monuments, which sometimes led to a kind of tense relationship between the Archdiocese of Goa and Daman and the ASI.

As seen previously, Portuguese legislation allows for the classification as a national monument of any kind of structure with extraordinary heritage value, be it public, private, disused or still in use – private owners do not take part in the classification decision. After being listed, all kinds of works carried out on these monuments must be performed or authorised by governmental heritage institutions. In fact, endangered monuments can be expropriated on behalf of the public interest. This legislation was applied in Goa, Daman and Diu up to their integration in India, in 1961. In India, however, religious monuments with liturgical usage needed the consent of their owners to be listed as national monuments; once these monuments became classified, all the works would be carried out by the ASI or under its strict authorisation.

After the integration of Goa, Daman and Diu in India, the buildings listed as national monuments came under the ASI's guardianship, including major Catholic churches still in use, after the reorganisation of the national monuments list. The reorganisation of the list of monuments made in the post-colonial period, removing the classification of buildings directly related to the previous Portuguese presence and including new monuments, accentuated the dichotomy between the classification of Catholic churches and the classification of temples of other religions according to the Indian legislation: despite the heritage value of temples such as the ones of Saptakoteshwar (Narvem), Nagueshi (Bandode), Manguesh (Priol) and Shantadurga (Kavlem), these were not classified as monuments, most probably because they were still used for religious functions – only non-used mandirs or mosques were listed as national or state monuments.

Some of these churches listed as monuments – namely the Cathedral and Basilica of the Good Jesus in Old Goa, the Church of Our Lady of Remedies and the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary in Daman, and the Church of Saint Paul in Diu – were still used for religious purposes by the Catholic Church, both in the Portuguese period and after the integration in India. The mere acquisition of these monuments by the ASI, without the needed consent applied in other “living religious monuments” across India, was a cause of some friction between the Archdiocese of Goa and Daman and the ASI.

Besides possession and religion issues<sup>53</sup>, by being national monuments under the jurisdiction of the ASI, the major churches of Goa, Daman and Diu became touristic hotspots, attracting massive cultural and religious tourism. The intense touristic pressure brings consequences such as eventual clashes between tourists and religious practices, higher degradation by massive use and, consequently, higher maintenance costs; in fact, nowadays the sensed lack of a sustainable touristic management seems to be also a problem. The apparent differences between the ASI and the Archdiocese of Goa and Daman render the conservation of these monuments more difficult, but fortunately the resentment from both sides has so far been moderate, allowing for a dialogue encompassing all stakeholders.

The classification of some of these national monuments as World Heritage Sites by UNESCO<sup>54</sup>, in 1986 [fig.06], brought further responsibilities to the ASI, the Archdiocese of Goa and Daman, the political authorities and, especially, the local communities, forcing them all to collaborate and work together, to preserve a heritage that belongs to the whole of humanity and, especially, that is part of the Goan history, memory and culture.

52. For instance, during our research it was observed that, among some strata of the Indian population, monuments with Portuguese influence used to be seen as symbols of former colonial oppression.

53. In personal interviews driven during the research in Goa, Daman and Diu, some Catholics felt discriminated against in relation to other religions in India: while the most significant churches in Goa, Daman and Diu are classified as national monuments, making it impossible to undertake any work on its own churches, worship places still used by other religions were not listed as national monuments – with some exceptions, such as the Great Living Chola Temples in Tamil Nadu – and therefore their believers can carry out the works they wish and use them as they want. On this subject, see: Santos, 2017: 283-294.

54. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/234> (Access: 18 April 2022).



Fig. 6. View over Old Goa, 2015 (Source: author)

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