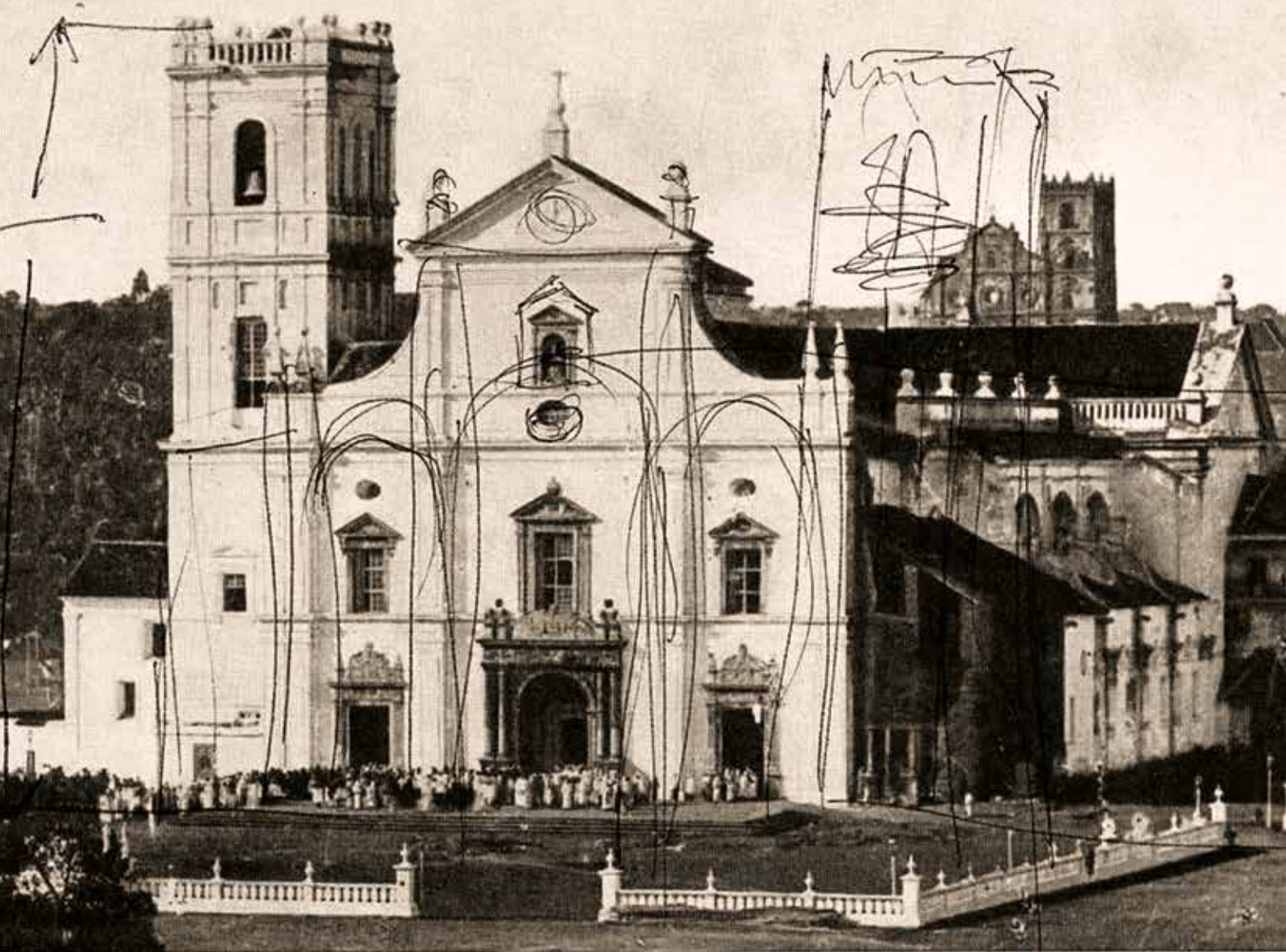


N.º15

2024

# ART IS ON

SAFEGUARDING OF HERITAGE DURING  
THE COLONIAL PERIOD



## SAFEGUARDING OF HERITAGE DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

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Mário Chicó, “Study of the reconstitution of the missing tower of Goa Cathedral”; drawing on photograph, 1951

(source: Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation, Mário and Alice Chicó’s documents, file 05519.000.104)

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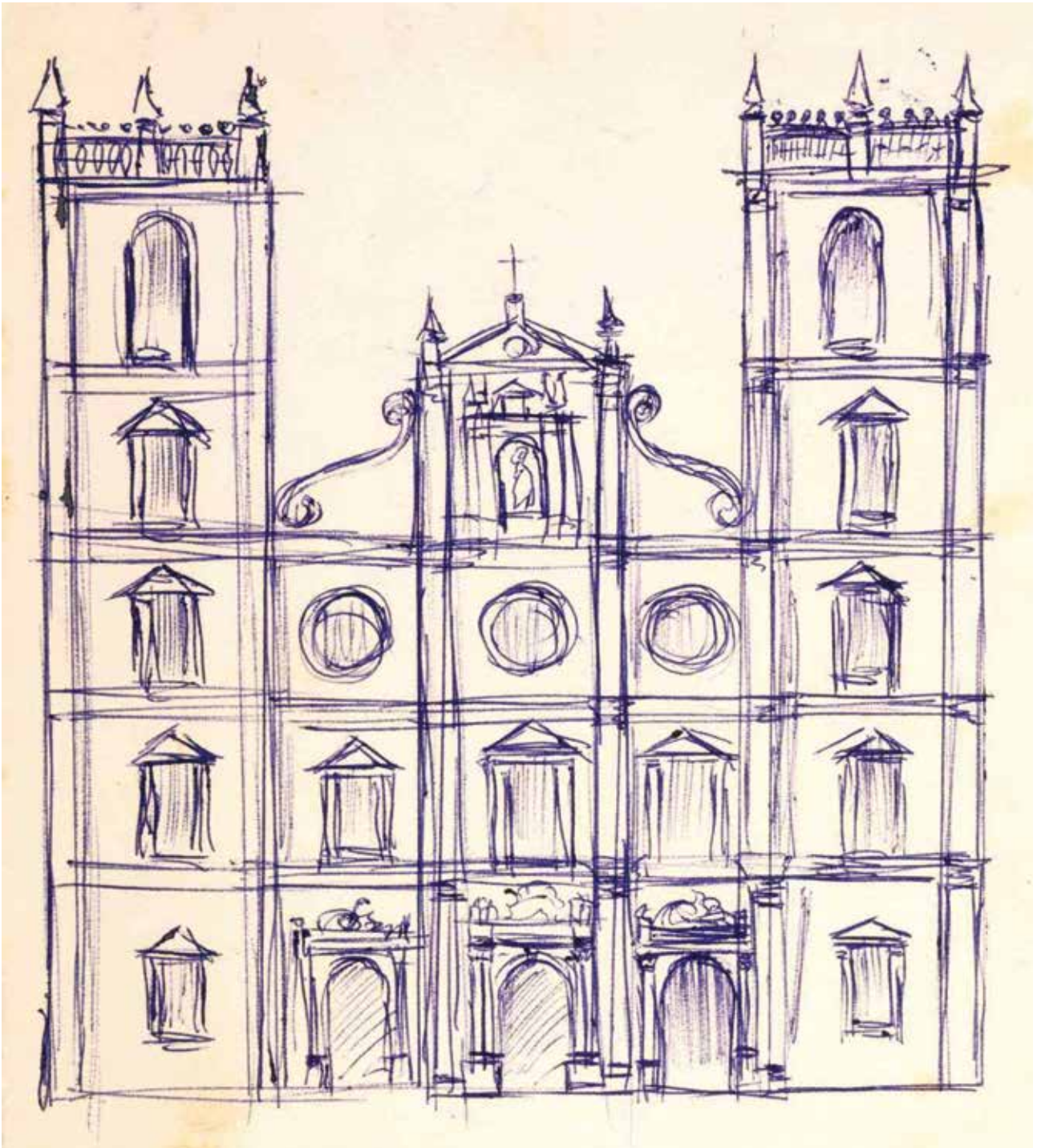


Fig. 01 - Façade of Saint Anne's Church in Talaulim, 1951, Mário Chicó; drawing with ink on paper  
(source: Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation, Mário and Alice Chicó's documents, file 07096.023)

# Editorial

Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos

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Half a century has passed since the independence of the last Portuguese colonies in Africa and the East, marking the end of Europe's longest colonial empire. Two generations have since grown up without direct experience of colonialism, yet postcolonial issues remain influential in contemporary society, especially in debates around heritage. On the one hand, there are discussions on decolonising European museum collections and repatriating art from the former colonies; on the other, there is ongoing debate over whether to preserve heritage created during colonial rule, alongside the complex symbolisms that such heritage evokes. However, this special issue of *ARTis ON*, published in collaboration with the **ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on Shared Built Heritage**, does not focus on these topics, important though they are. Instead, it addresses the **safeguarding of heritage during the colonial period**, examining the processes, ideologies, people, and institutions involved in preserving cultural heritage in colonies under European rule.

In some colonial territories, preservation efforts prioritised colonial heritage, but in many others, intensive studies and conservation of pre-colonial heritage were carried out, revealing monuments and artworks previously unknown to much of the world. In certain cases, approaches used in colonies later influenced heritage debates in the European metropolises. The extent and nature of heritage actions varied widely, depending on the colonial power and the cultural richness of the territories in question. This issue explores a range of topics, including cultural heritage missions in colonial territories, heritage safeguarding efforts, the ideological use of cultural heritage, colonial heritage legislation and institutions, and the exchange of heritage theories and practices between metropolises and colonies.

**Siegfried Enders**, former president of ICOMOS ISCSBH and guest author, offers insights on heritage preservation during the German colonial period, which, as is well-known, was significantly shorter than that of other European powers. Meanwhile, **Danilo Matoso Macedo** examines an early heritage approach in Brazil, which, during the Napoleonic invasions, became the centre of the Portuguese empire and began preserving its heritage as part of a broader identity-building process. At the opposite end of the colonial spectrum is Macau, with a unique colonial history that concluded only in 1999 when administration returned to China; **Maria José Freitas** details heritage preservation initiatives from the final decades of Portuguese administration there.

Also focusing on Portuguese colonial history in the East, **Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos** investigates the development of colonial legislation on heritage protection in Portuguese India, examining how Portuguese heritage laws were adapted to local conditions under a nationalist, imperialist regime. Again in India, **Mayur Thakare** presents a rare study of how the British preserved Portuguese-influenced heritage in the Bombay/Mumbai region. In Sri Lanka, British heritage efforts primarily focused on conserving pre-colonial Sinhalese Buddhist relics, as described by **Sagara Jayasinghe**.

Heritage activities by other colonial powers are also covered. **Tular Sudarmadi** explores how the Dutch studied and protected the historic Indonesian city of Yogyakarta, later recognised as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. **Samir Belgacem**'s essay reflects on how Algeria's current heritage practices echo the approach taken during the French colonial era. Lastly, **Manuel Parodi Álvarez** examines Spain's heritage activities in northern Morocco, its last colonial possession.

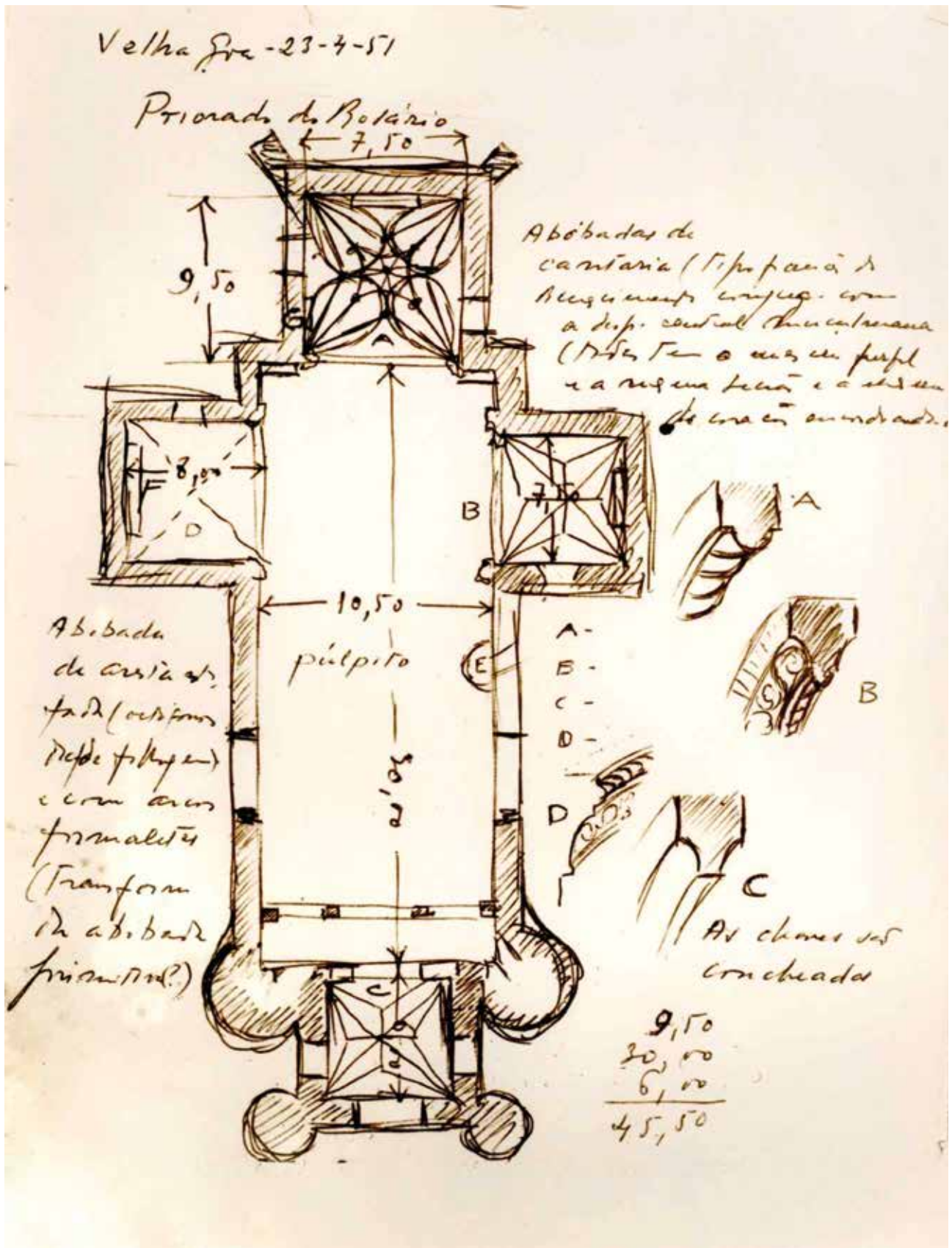


Fig. 02- Plan of Our Lady of Rosary Church in Old Goa, 1951, Mário Chicó; drawing with ink on paper (source: Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation, Mário and Alice Chicó's documents, file 07096.023)

This issue also includes two fascinating interviews offering insights into heritage concerns in former colonies. **Michela Decortes'** interview with **Massimiliano Munzi** highlights the Italian colonial administration's conservation of ancient Roman ruins in Libya, a project aligned with the Fascist regime's idealisation of Classical Antiquity. Another interview, conducted by **Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos** and **Clara Moura Soares**, with **José Manuel Fernandes** and **Maria de Lurdes Janeiro**, shares personal accounts from individuals involved in heritage work in former Portuguese colonies and explores heritage studies in the post-colonial period.

In the journal's "Varia" section, a collection of essays on diverse topics provides intriguing updates. **Carlota Cortesão** clarifies longstanding confusion around the Garvo family, Italian architects whose shared name (father and son) led to several misunderstandings. **José Pedro Tenreiro** discusses the work of **António Mendes Coutinho**, a relatively unknown 18<sup>th</sup>-century architect who worked in Viseu. Teresa Vale examines a silver statue crafted in Rome for the Patriarchal Basilica in Lisbon, while **António Cota** and **Sasha Assis Lima** introduce a collection of Chinese porcelain held at Lisbon's Ajuda National Palace. **Duarte Pedro** and **Pedro Freitas** propose a classification system for Portuguese tile patterns. Finally, this section includes critical reviews by **Vitor Serrão** of Sofia Braga's book on Cyrillo Volkmar Machado and by **José Carlos Meneses** on Eduardo Pires de Oliveira's study of the Palace of Dom José de Bragança in Braga.

Colonialism was – and, regrettably, still is in some regions – an age-old phenomenon that has touched nearly every corner of the globe. Yet, concerns over heritage, recognising the cultural value of artistic, architectural, historical, and landscape assets for future generations, are relatively recent, emerging just over two and a half centuries ago. Since the Romantic period, notions of nostalgia and a fascination with the exotic spurred more consistent historical and artistic studies, ultimately including cultural heritage not only within Europe but also in its colonial domains and beyond.

Whether shaped by cultural appreciation or ideological motivations, heritage concerns in most colonial territories originated during European rule, significantly influencing the post-colonial heritage landscape. This transcultural heritage, formed through cultural intersections, can evoke both aversion, due to colonial associations, and appreciation for the unique symbolic identity it represents within communities shaped by cultural miscegenation. Many examples of cross-cultural heritage, created during the colonial period, have since been recognised as UNESCO World Heritage Sites, alongside local heritage sites valued since the colonial era.

Preserving cross-cultural heritage associated with marginalised communities presents a greater challenge, particularly in regions where supremacist discourses are increasingly vocal against such minorities. These distinct identities often emerge from centuries of colonial influence, rooted in differences of history, religion, ethnicity, and culture – characteristics that have been absorbed and adapted through complex processes of cultural negotiation. With the added threat of climate change, this transcultural heritage linked to vulnerable groups stands as one of the most endangered in the world today, urgently requiring study and preservation. But this, too, may be a debate for a future issue of *ARTis ON*.

QVILOA

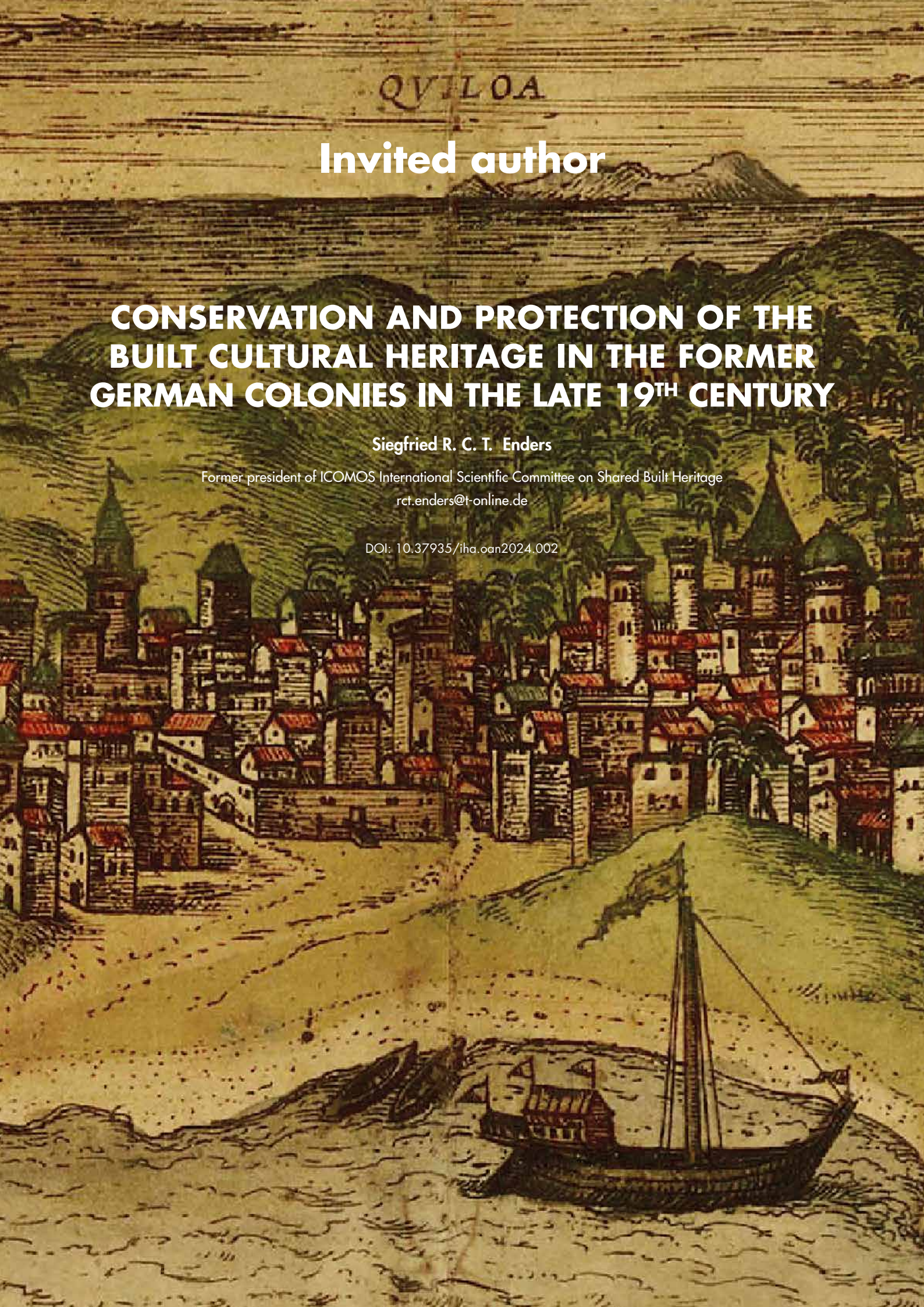
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# CONSERVATION AND PROTECTION OF THE BUILT CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE FORMER GERMAN COLONIES IN THE LATE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

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There is little documentation on the management and preservation of indigenous built cultural heritage in the former German colonial territories during the German colonial period (approx. 1880-1920), especially when compared to the practices of other European colonial powers<sup>1</sup>. This is partly because Germany became a colonial power later than most European nations and was such for a relatively short period. Additionally, with the exception of China, the territories under German rule contained few built cultural heritage sites considered valuable from a European perspective.

Globally, the German colonial period was one of the shortest and affected only a small proportion of the world's colonial territories. By the time Germany founded its first colony in around 1880, much of the world had already been divided up among the first colonial powers: Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, the Ottoman Empire, and Russia. During the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, new players like Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Denmark, and Italy joined the colonial race, and by 1900, Japan, China (the Qing Dynasty), and the USA had also joined in.

The Portuguese colonial period spanned over 584 years, beginning in 1415 with the conquest of Ceuta – Portugal's first possession outside Europe – under King John I. It continued from 1418 under the leadership of Prince Henry, *the Navigator*, with voyages of discovery along the African coast, the colonial era eventually drawing to a close in 1999 with the handover of Macao to China.

The Spanish colonial period began with the establishment in Canary Islands in 1477, followed by the discovery of the Americas in 1492. For over 545 years, the Spanish colonial empire expanded across the Americas, Africa, Asia, and Oceania, with its main territorial focus in the Americas. At its height, the empire was one of the most extensive in history and Spain was one of the first truly global powers.

The French colonial empire has spanned 495 years, beginning in 1530, and is divided into two colonial phases: firstly in North America (1530-1763) and secondly the colonial empire (1830-1960) founded in the Napoleonic era, with possessions in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. Today, it consists mainly of a few islands in the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific region, which are referred to as *Départments d'outre-mer* (overseas territories).

The Netherlands began its colonial expansion with Voorcompagnien's first voyages to the East Indies in 1594, Dutch presence around the world lasting over 430 years. All that remains of the empire is six Dutch-administered islands forming the Netherlands Antilles.

Great Britain, the largest colonial power in the history of the world, ruled over colonies and protectorates on every inhabited continent for 390 years, from 1607 to 1997, the British Empire accounting nearly a quarter of the world's land area by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

1. This article reflects the author's observations, studies, and experiences during his presidency of the ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on Shared Built Heritage (ISCBH) from 2009 to 2020, including study trips to Namibia, Zanzibar, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, and Qingdao.

In contrast, Germany joined the ranks of European colonial powers relatively late, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Before that, apart from an unsuccessful attempt by Brandenburg-Prussia to establish colonies in Africa (Ghana and Mauritania) and the Caribbean (Puerto Rico) between 1683 and 1721, most German-speaking states showed little interest in colonisation. They lacked both the military power and the financial resources necessary for establishing colonies, despite ambitions to participate in the slave trade and raw material trade (in for example: rubber, ivory, gold, and salt).

Some German rulers, however, participated in global colonial ventures by supplying mercenaries for use in foreign colonies. For example, the Duchy of Württemberg provided the Cape Regiment to the Dutch East India Company (1787-1808), and the Counts and Princes of Waldeck sent troops to England in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. During the American War of Independence (1775-1783), around 30,000 soldiers from six German principalities (Hesse-Kassel, Hesse-Hanau, Waldeck, Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Ansbach-Bayreuth, and Anhalt-Zerbst) were hired out to England, of which more than a third never returned.

Thus, in comparison with other European powers in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the German Empire was a latecomer, the colonial period lasting only about 30 years, from 1884 to 1914, officially ending in 1919 with the Treaty of Versailles following Germany's defeat in World War I. The duration of German colonial rule in different regions varies depending on how treaties, agreements, and annexations are interpreted under international law.

Similar to processes in other European nations which joined the colonial scramble at a late stage, such as Belgium, Italy, and Austria-Hungary, as well as the United States of America, Germany was only unified in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (1871), and large-scale colonisation efforts began only after this. The territory that formed the unified Germany consisted of numerous independent states, which were part of a number of confederations, such as the German Confederation (1815-1866). Before unification, some German states were involved in individual colonial adventures on a small scale.

The activities in the colonies of German trading houses and associations which began to form from 1848, grew in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, they could only successfully compete with other colonial powers after the unification of Germany and the increase of its ambition as a global power. There were four main drivers behind Germany's colonial pursuits:

- Economic participation in global trade;
- Missionary work;
- A desire to assert itself as a global military power;
- The relocation and emigration of German citizens.

Colonial propagandists like Friedrich Fabri and Wilhelm Hübbe-Schleiden argued that colonies would provide markets for German goods, sources of raw materials, and destinations for German emigrants, who had previously migrated primarily to the Americas.

From the 18<sup>th</sup> century, German trading houses attempted to establish trading posts along key global trade routes. Agreements with local rulers allowed them to acquire land for commercial purposes, but the resulting properties needed protecting from both former owners and rival colonial powers.

Hamburg-based firms like C. Woermann, G. L. Gaiser, and Jantzen & Thormählen were major players in West Africa, including territories which later became German colonies, importing palm oil and rubber and exporting alcohol, cotton goods, weapons, and manufactured items. In 1880, Adolph Woermann took over the family business, which had established trading stations at the mouth of the Wouri River in Cameroon in 1868. C. Woermann soon became the most important German company in West Africa, and he saw the burgeoning colonial movement as an opportunity to expand his enterprise.

During a lecture to the Geographical Society in Hamburg in 1879, Woermann spoke of the “hidden gems” of interior Africa: “There are two great undiscovered treasures in Africa: the fertility of the soil and the power of the labour of millions of negroes. Whoever manages to harness these riches will not only make his fortune but also fulfil a great cultural mission”.

Adventurers and explorers sought to link their discoveries to political and economic interests, often presenting their proposals for land acquisition to the German government, and in return they sought the government’s protection for their ventures. The German government protected colonial ventures by deploying military forces and establishing territorial administration, appointing officials. As a result, the German colonies were commonly referred to as “protected regions” (Schutzgebiete).

By 1900, the following regions had come under German control [fig.01]:

- 1884: German Southwest Africa (now Namibia);
- 1884: Togoland (now Togo and parts of eastern Ghana);
- 1884: Cameroon (now Cameroon and parts of modern Nigeria, Chad, Central African Republic, Republic of the Congo, and Gabon);
- 1885: German East Africa (now Tanzania and parts of modern Rwanda, Burundi, and Mozambique);
- 1885: German New Guinea (encompassing parts of present-day Papua New Guinea, the Marshall Islands, Solomon Islands, Northern Mariana Islands, Palau, and Micronesia);
- 1898: Kiautschou (now Qingdao, China);
- 1900: German Samoa (now Samoa).



Fig. 01· Map of the German colonial territories (source: Pinterest)

## CONSERVATION AND PRESERVATION OF BUILT MONUMENTS DURING THE GERMAN COLONIAL PERIOD

In 1884, when the German Empire established its first colony, the primary figures involved showed little interest in or consideration for the local culture or its built heritage. They were mostly merchants focused on securing trade routes and exploiting local resources and populations. Adventurers and politicians sought to accumulate and wield power, while military and administrative officials showed no interest in regional culture. Missionaries from various churches, intent on spreading Christianity, rejected the existence of other gods and indigenous temples. Later, emigrants arrived, mainly concerned with economic survival and displaying little interest in the local culture. Occasionally, scientists, geographers, botanists, doctors, and ethnologists were involved in the colonial enterprise, but their scientific interest only partly extended to the local cultural heritage.

Surveys of monuments, involving the classification of cultural monuments, the assessment of their artistic and historical value, and the exploration of methods for restoration, had been carried out in Germany since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the preservation and conservation of historical buildings had been already recognised as the responsibility of the state, and government bodies had been established to manage them in accordance with specific laws and regulations.

The foundations for state preservation of the built heritage were laid in 1815 by Karl Friedrich Schinkel, a Prussian civil servant and an expert in architecture and construction. He drew up a memorandum establishing a framework for an administrative system and the involvement of specialists in preserving monuments, establishing the responsibility of the state for this function. Prussian practice was incorporated into nationwide legislation in 1871. Most German states had already produced and enacted monument protection laws and regulations, forming the basis for monument administration within the German Empire: examples include the Kingdom of Bavaria (from 1827), the Landgraviate of Hesse-Kassel (1780), Brandenburg-Bayreuth (1780), the Duchy of Baden (1840), and the Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt (1902).

Despite these advances in the homeland, there was no form of monument protection or preservation developed in the colonies – neither by the Foreign Office in Berlin nor at the level of colonial district administration. Most German colonies, with the exception of China, were perceived as lacking a building culture worthy of recognition in accordance with Eurocentric values in the field of architecture and art; however, a few ethnologists and explorers did take an interest in the richly decorated vernacular architecture they encountered. This was in stark contrast to heritage recognised in the territories colonised by the five major European colonial powers: Portugal, Spain, Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands. Consider, for example, the architectural riches of the advanced civilisations in Central and South America, and the religious and regal architecture found across Asia (Central, South, Southeast, and East Asia).

Some monument preservation was carried out by scientists in the German colonies as part of wider research endeavours. In conjunction with ethnological research at museums and universities, a growing interest in collecting cultural relics led to three notable preservation projects associated with pre-existing monuments: the survey and research of the ruins of Kilwa in Tanzania, a port city which was around 1.200 years old and had been under the successive rule of the Persians, Yemenis, Portuguese, and Arabs; research into the rock paintings at Twyfelfontein, Namibia; and archaeological research on the ruined city of Nan Madol off Temwen Island, a smaller island of Pohnpei in the Caroline Islands archipelago (now part of the Federated States of Micronesia).

## KILWA KISIWANI

Founded in 975 by the Persian Ali ibn Hasan from Shiraz, Kilwa Kisiwani was the most important harbour city on the east coast of Africa in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. It prospered under the rule of the Yemeni Mahdali dynasty from around 1300, particularly during the reign of Al-Hasan ibn Sulaiman Abu'l-Mawahib (approx. 1310-1333), when numerous important buildings were constructed. Kilwa played a key role in Indian Ocean trade, dealing in gold, silver, pearls, perfumes, Arab earthenware, Persian ceramics and Chinese porcelain [fig.02,03,04].

However, by the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, it had begun to decline. In 1505, the city came under Portuguese control following conquest and plunder by Francisco de Almeida, though this only lasted until 1512. By the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Kilwa had fallen into disrepair. Nevertheless, in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the city experienced a resurgence due to the slave trade, coming under the rule of the Busaidi dynasty of Oman in 1784. A Liwali (governor) was appointed, whose official residence was later moved to Kilwa Kivinje, which replaced the island town as the main marketplace and port for the slave trade. The ruins of the former port city of Kilwa Kisiwani, located 280 km south of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania's Lindi region, are situated on an island separated from the mainland and the capital, Kilwa Masoko, by an inlet of the Indian Ocean just 1.5 km wide. In 2007, about 500 people still lived on the island in simple mud huts. Important historical buildings in Kilwa include two mosques and a large town hall.



Fig. 02. "QVILOA" from *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1572-1617, Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg (source: Wikipedia)



**Fig. 03.** "Kilwa Kisiwani, German East Africa: old royal castle", Tanzania, postcard, c.1913, unknown author (source: Wikipedia)



**Fig. 04.** Gereza Fort in Kilwa, Tanzania (source: Wikipedia, photo by Gustav Graves)

## TWYFELFONTEIN ROCK CARVINGS

Twyfelfontein, in Namibia, has been inhabited for 6,000 years by hunter-gatherers and later by Khoikhoi herders, who produced over 2,500 rock carvings at this sacred site as part of their shamanistic rituals. These petroglyphs, along with a few rock paintings, represent one of the largest manifestations of rock art in Africa. Following its exploration by German surveyors Volkmann and Reinhard Maack in colonial times, Twyfelfontein became Namibia's first UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2007 [fig.05,06,07].



**Fig. 05.** Rock carvings at Twyfelfontein, Namibia (source: Wikipedia, photo by Joachim Huber)



**Fig. 06-07.** Rock carvings at Twyfelfontein, Namibia (source: Wikipedia, photo by Thomas Schoch)

## NAN MADOL

An archaeological site located near the eastern shore of Pohnpei Island, Nan Madol is now part of the Madolenihmw district in Pohnpei State within the Federated States of Micronesia in the western Pacific Ocean. Serving as the capital of the Saudeleur dynasty until around 1628, the city was constructed within a lagoon and comprises a series of small artificial islands interconnected by a network of canals. The core of the site, enclosed by stone walls, spans roughly 1.5 km in length and 0.5 km in width and includes 92 artificial islets – platforms of stone and coral bordered by tidal canals. During the German colonial period, Paul Hambruch (1882-1933) researched the ruins, publishing his findings in 1911 in Ponape, which included Ponapean stories of the ruins [fig.08,09,10].



Fig. 08· Map of Nan Madol, Federated States of Micronesia, map by Paul Hambruch, 1911 (source: Pinterest)



Fig. 09· Map of Nan Madol, Federated States of Micronesia, map by Holger Behr (source: Wikipedia)



Fig. 10· The ruins of Nan Madol and surroundings (source: Wikipedia, photo by Uhoep)

## QINGDAO

Like Hong Kong, the land at Kiautschou (Jiaozhou) Bay in northeast China, including Qingdao, was forced to be leased to the German Empire for 99 years, allowing the establishment of a naval base, port city, and coal mining operations in the neighbouring Shandong Province to fuel the fleet and develop the necessary infrastructure (for example, railways). This region, rich in cultural history – home to the Imperial Canal, Confucius's birthplace, and significant architectural heritage such as historic towns, villages, temples, and houses – was nonetheless altered under German colonisation. The German authorities conducted no monument preservation; rather, Chinese historical structures were demolished if they obstructed German planning and development.

To assert its imperial power, the German Imperial Navy sought a port and base in East Asia, selecting Kiautschou (Jiaozhou) Bay in Shandong Province after extensive surveying. However, several fishing villages, temples, and a Chinese military base already existed there. During Qingdao's planning, which imposed strict segregation between German and Chinese settlements, all Chinese structures on German-claimed land were removed. Between 1898 and 1905, the German government purchased nine Chinese villages from their owners to construct new housing in Taidong Zhen, a German-planned workers' settlement. Yet, this demolition met considerable local opposition, as the population resisted having "civilization" imposed on them [fig. 11].

An exception was made for a traditional Chinese courthouse, known as the Yamen, which had served as the residence and headquarters of the ousted Chinese commander. It was repurposed as the German governor's residence, preventing its destruction. It is, however, debatable whether this can be regarded as an act of monument preservation. By contrast, the Bismarck Barracks were built where the Chinese military camp once stood, leaving no trace of the original Chinese buildings [fig. 12].



Fig. 11· Historic map of Tsingtau (Qingdao), 1899 (source: Pinterest)



Fig. 12: The Government House in Qingdao: a semaphore before the temporary Government House in Qingdao, which previously was as a *yamen* of a Chinese general (source: Ernst Hesse-Wartegg's travel report - Shantung and German China, 1898)

## GERMAN EMPIRE AND ITS COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE IN ITS BEGINNING

German colonisation brought an extensive wave of construction, creating demand for architects, planners, and engineers. This led to a colonial construction and planning industry that attracted young architects. Private companies, often employing architects and engineers, undertook the planning and building of the German colonies. Colonial construction companies emerged to produce prefabricated components, even entire buildings, specifically for use in the colonies. Manuals on colonial construction were published. Despite minor local architectural adaptations for climate, such as verandas, roof overhangs, ventilation options, and the use of native materials, the indigenous building culture was disregarded and held in disdain, and seen as disposable.

Back in Germany, the "guild" of German architects and art historians had been instrumental in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century monument protection and preservation movement. However, within the colonies, there was no interest in studying, preserving or promoting the indigenous building culture. However, scientific interest in local building cultures grew during the colonial period, especially among ethnologists. Cultural researchers, colonial administrations, museums (like the Berlin Ethnological Museum), and universities began researching, documenting and inventorying the built heritage of the colonies, often as part of efforts to attract European settlers.

International and colonial exhibitions, such as the 1896 event in Berlin – viewed as inhumane by today's standards – were also meant to disseminate knowledge about local built heritage. However, the reconstruction of indigenous vernacular architecture from African colonies and the South Seas in so-called “native villages” can scarcely be considered an act of monument preservation. These reconstructions served, at best, as illustrative material for insights into indigenous building culture [fig. 13-17].

In summary, during the German colonial period, there was little significant effort to preserve or conserve the indigenous built heritage of the colonies.



**Fig. 13.** Colonial Exhibition of Berlin: main entrance to the Colonial Exhibition in Treptow, 1896 (source: Horst Kleinert, *Die Kolonialausstellung von 1896 in Berlin: Afrika und die Südsee vor der Haustür*, 2023)



**Fig. 14.** Colonial Exhibition of Berlin: replicas of mosque, pyramid, and souk (market), 1896 (source: Horst Kleinert, *Die Kolonialausstellung von 1896 in Berlin: Afrika und die Südsee vor der Haustür*, 2023)



Fig. 15. Colonial Exhibition of Berlin: Togolese doing domestic work (source: Horst Kleinert, *Die Kolonialausstellung von 1896 in Berlin: Afrika und die Südsee vor der Haustür*, 2023)



Fig. 16. Colonial Exhibition of Berlin, meeting house from New Guinea, 1896 (source: Horst Kleinert, *Die Kolonialausstellung von 1896 in Berlin: Afrika und die Südsee vor der Haustür*, 2023)

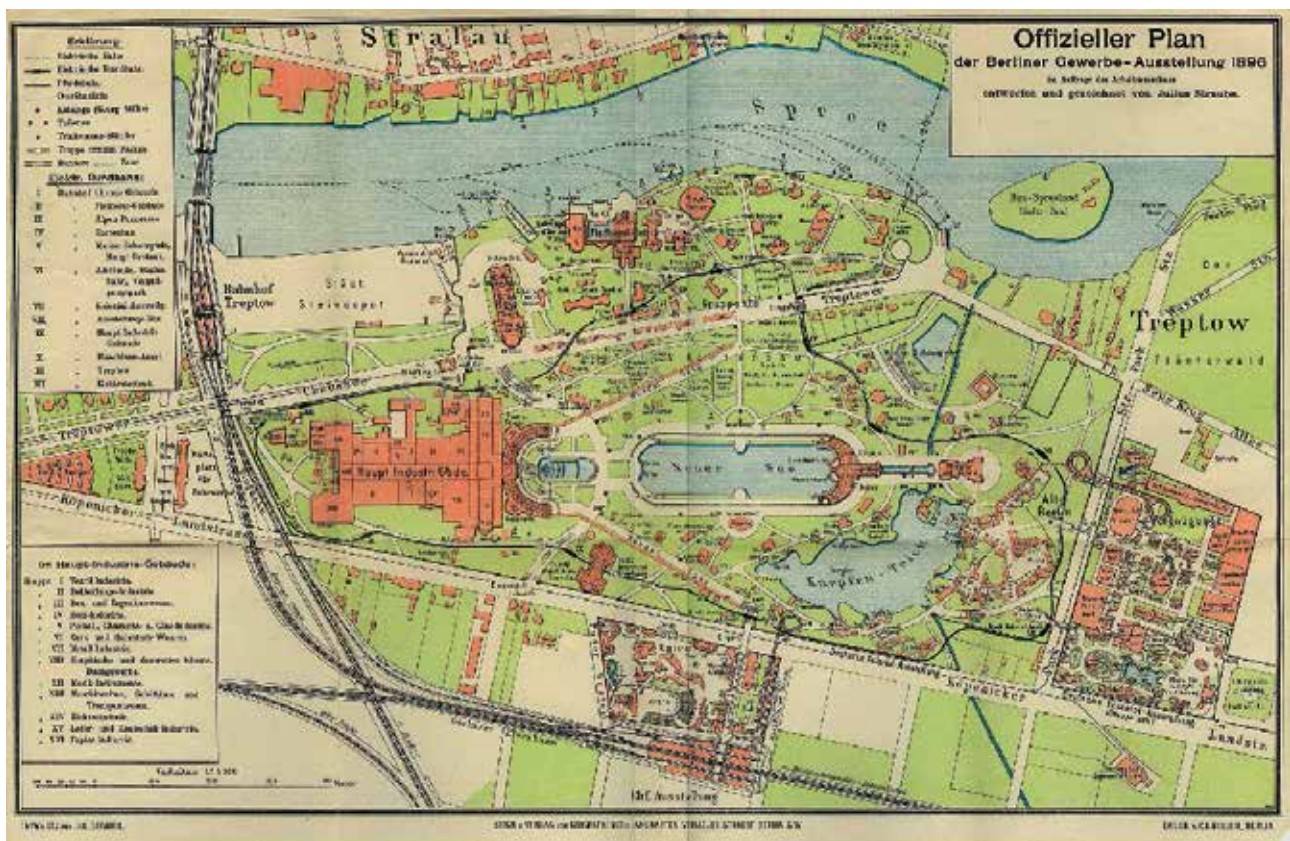


Fig. 17· Map of the Colonial Exhibition of Berlin, by Julius Straube, 1896 (source: Wikipedia)

## CONSERVATION AND PROTECTION OF THE BUILT CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE FORMER GERMAN COLONIES POST-1918

With the Treaty of Versailles of 28<sup>th</sup> June 1919, Germany lost all its colonies, and all Germans had to leave, except those in Namibia. These former colonies were designated as mandated territories by the United Nations. The infrastructure and architecture left behind – such as railways, roads, bridges, and port facilities – became colonial built heritage, valued for historical, technical, urban, and in some cases, artistic reasons. However, preservation and conservation efforts for these structures varied significantly across the territories and depended on the policies of each mandate country, including Great Britain (parts of Togo and Cameroon, Tanzania, South Africa – Southwest Africa/Namibia), Belgium (Rwanda-Burundi), France (parts of Togo and Cameroon), Australia (Bismarck Archipelago, Kaiser Wilhelm Land), New Zealand (Samoa), and Japan (Kiautschou with Qingdao, Caroline Islands, Mariana Islands).

In Germany, interest in colonialism waned after World War I, and it faded from the public and political discourse. Nonetheless, during the Weimar Republic, colonial societies and associations persisted until 1943, pushing for colonial revisionism and the return of the territories, although they exerted little political influence. From 1933 to 1945,

the National Socialist regime shifted its colonial aspirations to expansion eastward, essentially moving away from traditional colonialism. Following World War II, Germany's colonial history was overshadowed by the country's reckoning with its Nazi past. Colonialism rarely appeared in educational curricula, politics, or media, leaving a generation largely unaware of Germany's colonial activities.

However, the political upheaval of the 1960s and 1970s, especially the independence struggles of other colonies, spurred academic interest in German colonialism. Researchers delved into archival sources to re-examine the impact of German rule on African societies, which led to a shift in understanding of colonial history. Student protests in 1968 also spotlighted imperialism, with Hamburg students famously toppling monuments of colonial figures like Governor Hermann von Wissmann and military commander Hans Dominik. Only in the 1980s did German architects and researchers begin to investigate and catalogue the architectural legacy of former German colonies. As African states achieved independence, some initiated efforts to evaluate and preserve colonial-era buildings.

In a few former colonies, legislation and heritage administrations emerged for safeguarding built cultural assets, including the following:

- Namibia: National Heritage Act, 2004, and a historical monument commission dating back to 1949;
- Cameroon: Federal Act No. 63-22, 19<sup>th</sup> June, 1963;
- Togo: Law No. 90-24, 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1990, National Cultural Heritage Protection;
- Papua New Guinea: The National Cultural Property (Preservation) Act, 1965.

The preservation of German colonial architecture varies widely; while some buildings have been destroyed to make way for new development, others remain remarkably well-preserved. In Namibia (Swakopmund and Windhoek) and Qingdao, many historical structures have even become valuable for tourism. The quality and state of preservation of these structures, including administrative buildings, churches, schools, hospitals, and transportation infrastructure, underscore their architectural significance. Many were repurposed by subsequent administrations and even became hotels or tourist attractions, while high-rise development was confined to areas outside of historical zones.

The typology of German colonial architecture includes government buildings like governors' palaces, administrative offices, banks, trading houses, churches, schools, hospitals, and barracks, alongside infrastructure such as ports, railway lines and stations, roads and bridges, and residential buildings [table 01, fig. 18-33].

Since the 1990s, there has been a renewed interest in studying, inventorying, preserving and restoring colonial architecture, spurred by building researchers, art historians, and ethnologists at universities and museums. A clear interest in preservation exists across various parts of society. In former German colonies evacuated in 1919, the immediate successors of the German colonists initially valued these buildings for their practical use and adaptability to their own needs. In Namibia, German descendants took a vested interest in maintaining these buildings, which had become integral to their identity. The unique architectural style also appealed to the new owners and helped fuel tourism, which became an economic boon.

After World War II, German colonial history and its architectural legacy held no place in the cultural or foreign policies of either the Federal Republic of Germany or the GDR. As a result, colonial-era architecture was not seen as a shared heritage, leaving no incentive for the government to offer economic or financial support for its preservation. To date, Germany's official development aid has provided no funding specifically for maintaining these structures. Occasionally, support has come from private groups, church communities, or associations, sometimes even leading to collaborative restoration projects. Meanwhile, there was occasional support from private groups, church communities or associations and sometimes even joint restoration projects.

The built cultural heritage serves as a historical record and, for many, is a visible reminder of the injustices and economic exploitation imposed by colonial powers. In many countries, historical importance is one of the primary criteria for evaluating cultural monuments, alongside artistic, scientific, technical, and urban planning considerations. As debates on cultural appropriation and exploitation by the European colonial powers unfold, the treatment and conservation of colonial architecture represent an ongoing task for future generations.



**Fig. 18.** Governor's Palace in Duala, Cameroon, by Wolfgang Lauber, 1905 (source: Wikipedia, photo by Steve Mvondo)



**Fig. 19.** Government Office Building in Windhoek, Namibia, by Gottlieb Redecker, 1912-13 (source: Wikipedia, photo by Zairon)



**Fig. 20.** Deutsche-Asiatische Bank in Qingdao, China (source: Wikipedia, photo by StefanTsingtauer)



**Fig. 21.** Wormann's Trading House in Swakopmund, Namibia, by Friedrich Höft, 1894 (source: Wikipedia, photo by Patrick Giraud)



**Fig. 22.** Christ Church in Qingdao, China, by Curt Rothkegel, 1910 (source: Wikipedia, photo by StefanTsingtauer)



**Fig. 23.** Queen Charlotte Hospital in Lomé, Togo, 1909 (source: Wikipedia)



**Fig. 24.** Advanced Training School in Lomé, Togo, 1912 (photo by J. Makali Bruton)



**Fig. 25.** Courthouse in Qingdao, China, c.1900 (source: Wikipedia, photo by Zhiqiang)



**Fig. 26.** German Fort in Swakopmund, Namibia, 1905-06 (source: Wikipedia, photo by Olga Ernst)



**Fig. 27.** Jetty in Swakopmund, Namibia, 1899 (source: Wikipedia, photo by Diego Delso)



**Fig. 28.** Mwanza Railway Station, Tanzania (source: Wikipedia, photo by Hansueli Krapf)



**Fig. 29.** Bridge of Edea over the Sanaga River, Cameroon, 1911 (source: Wikipedia, photo by Carlos Braga)



**Fig. 30.** Hohenzollern House in Swakopmund, Namibia, by Hermann Dietz, 1904-06 (source: Wikipedia, photo by Martin Cígler)



**Fig. 31.** Hotel Prinz Heinrich in Qingdao, China, 1899 (source: Wikipedia, photo by StefanTsingtauer)



**Fig. 32.** Villa Goerke in Lüderitz, Namibia (source: Wikipedia, photo by Bgabel)



**Fig. 33.** Residential House in Windhoek, Namibia (photo by Wander Luster)

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# PORTUGUESE AMERICA AND HERITAGE SAFEGUARDING IN COLONIAL TIMES (1721-1822)

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## ABSTRACT

The aim of this text is to map a body of practices and institutions related to safeguarding policies in Portugal and Brazil through extensive bibliographic and legal research. This research includes the issuing of the first Portuguese law directly regulating the preservation of Cultural Heritage in August 1721, the reconstruction of Lisbon, and the establishment of academies and museums. The growth of a shared scientific culture gained particular importance in Brazil during the period when the Portuguese Court resided in Rio de Janeiro, on the brink of independence in 1822. The text sheds light on a variety of sources, providing a foundation for new narratives in Portuguese-Brazilian heritage history.

## KEYWORDS

Architecture | Cultural Heritage | Art | Portuguese Law

The concept of Cultural Heritage is neither universal nor static. Thus, since Brazil gained its independence from Portugal in 1822, talking about “Heritage safeguarding in colonial times” implies searching for multiple concepts, values, practices, and objects that preceded what is understood in that country today as *Patrimônio Cultural*, which were undoubtedly substantially different<sup>1</sup>. The taste for classical Roman antiquities, for instance, can be tracked back to the late Middle Ages, and it was very much alive in 16<sup>th</sup> century intellectuals such as João de Barros (1496-1570) André de Resende (c.1500-1573) [fig.01]; Diogo Mendes de Vasconcelos (1523-1599), Damião de Góis (1502-1574); as well as in painters such as Francisco de Holanda (1517-1584) or later Félix da Costa (1639-1712) (Costa, 1967)<sup>2</sup>. That historicist taste, so to speak, became a whole style much later named “Portuguese Plain Architecture” (Kubler, 1972).

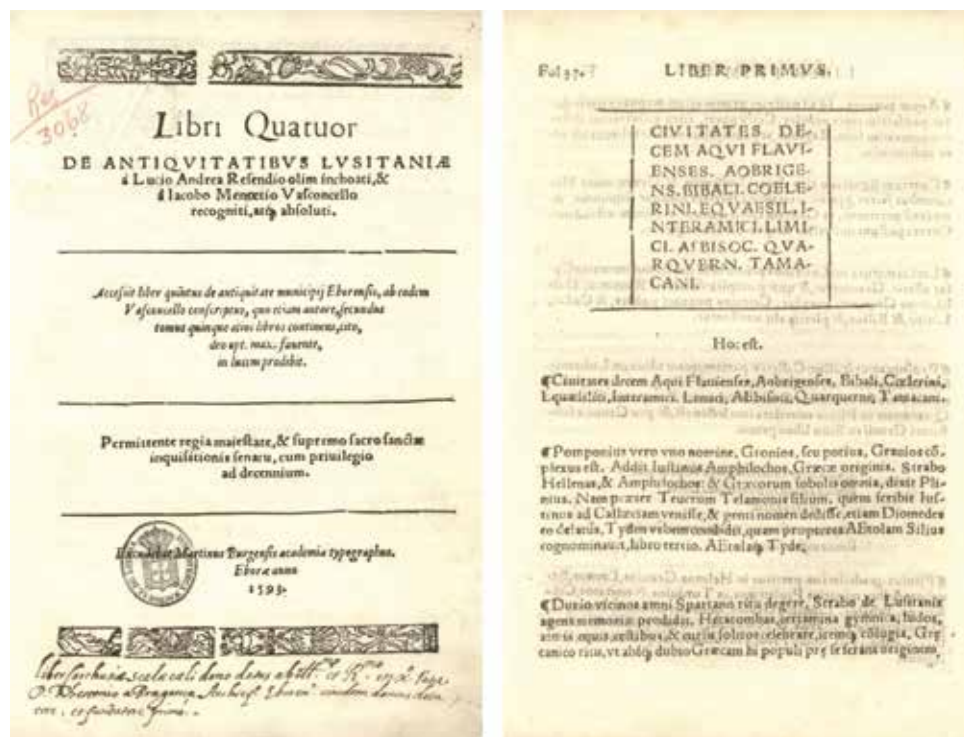


Fig. 01: André de Resende (c.1500-1573). *Libri Quatuor de antiqvitatibvs lvsitaniæ* [...]. Eboræ: Excudebat Martinus Burgensis, 1593. Title page and bk.1/fl.37 (source: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal).

1. The Ecclesiastical History, while undoubtedly connected to the preservation of Cultural Heritage, has its own distinct tradition that has been excluded from this study for the sake of concision and focus on civil public policies directly related to the subject. As a result, we will not discuss the regulations of the Canon Law or the contributions of historians such as Simão de Vasconcelos (1597-1671), João Filipe Bettendorff (1625-1698), Vicente do Salvador (1636-1639) or Monsenhor Pizarro (1753-1730).
2. *Libri Quatuor de antiqvitatibvs lvsitaniæ* à Lucio Andrea Resendio olim inchoati, & à Iacobo Menœtio Vasconcello recogniti atque absoluti. [...]. Excudebat Martinus Burgensis academia typographus. Eboræ anno 1593. *Libro das antiguidades e cousas notaveis de antre Douro e Minho, e de outras m[u]ltas de España e Portugal*. Por loão de Barros. Composto no an[n]o de 1549. [manuscript] *Vrbis Olisiponis descriptio* per Damianvm Goem eqvitem lvsitanum, In qua obiter tractantur nō nulla de Indica navigatione, per Græcos, et Pænos et Lusitanos, diuersis temporibus inculcata. 1554. [Colophon:] Eboræ, apvd Andream Burgensem [...]. Mense octobri. 1554. Francisco de Holanda's manuscripts were published many times later, based on copies, from the 19<sup>th</sup> century on (i.e. Holanda, 1984).

In Portuguese America, printing was prohibited during colonial times, and those books today known as *classical treatises* (Lamers-Schütze, 2003) were scarce. Architectural culture primarily circulated through other literary genres, with the most prevalent being legal and religious texts (Macedo, 2017). The interest in Classical Antiquity was closely connected to the revival of classical Roman Law, which provided a solid conceptual foundation for the emerging national state. This development was driven by advancements in commerce and navigation technologies that supported colonial expansion. Therefore, the concept of legally reserving property for its memorial value was not entirely new to Portuguese legal scholars, as they were already familiar with the principles of Roman Law. For instance The *Codex Theodosianus* [Theodosian Code] (429-438) stated:

“all the buildings that have been founded by the ancients as temples and as other monuments and that were constructed for the public use or pleasure shall not be destroyed by any person, and that it shall transpire that a judge who should decree that this be done shall be punished by the payment of fifty pounds of gold. If his apparitors and accountants should obey him when he so orders and should not resist him in any way by their own recommendation, they shall be subjected to the punishment of cudgeling, and they shall also be mutilated by the loss of their hands, through which the monuments of the ancients that should be preserved are desecrated” (Pharr et al., 2001: Nov. Maj 4.1).

## THE CONSERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE AND THE POST-EARTHQUAKE RECONSTRUCTION OF LISBON

In the Modern Age, the valuation and conservation of cultural heritage, meaning property of historical value, was instituted as a public policy by the Royal Decree [*Alvará*] of 20 August 1721, along with the creation of the Royal Academy of Portuguese Ecclesiastical and Secular History [*Academia Real da Historia Portugueza Ecclesiastica, e Secular*] [fig.02]. This seminal law aimed to protect Antiquities from ancient times, establishing that from them on:

“no person of any status, quality, or condition whatsoever shall destroy or demolish, in whole or in part, any building that shows to be from those times, even if partially ruined, and likewise statues, marbles, and gravestones, in which are sculpted some figures or have Phoenician, Greek, Roman, Gothic, Arabic, or plates of any metal that contain the said inscriptions or characters, as well as medals or coins that show to be from those times, not even from the lower ones up to the reign of King Sebastian [1577-1578], nor cover up or conceal any of the above”<sup>3</sup>.

According to that Decree, anyone who damaged, destroyed or concealed the antiquities would be subject to the same penalties as those who melted coins, namely death. The City Councils were tasked with preserving these antiquities, reporting their existence to the Academy or sending it directly, if they were engraved metal plates. The Academy’s Director and Censors were responsible for their conservation. The numerous records of the conferences held in the Academy during the next 15 years indicate that this mechanism was put into practice to some extent from that time on.

3. “Hey por bem que daqui em diante nenhuma pessoa de qualquer estado, qualidade, e condiçãõ que seja, desfaça, ou destrua em todo, nem em parte qualquer edificio, que mostre ser daquelles tempos, ainda que em parte esteja arruinado, e da mesma sorte as Estatuas, Marmores, e Cippos, em que estiverem esculpidas algumas figuras, ou tiverem letreiros Fenices, Gregos, Romanos, Goticos, Arabicos, ou Laminas, ou Chapas de qualquer metal, que contiverem os ditos letreiros, ou caracteres, como outro sim Medalhas, ou Moedas, que mostrarem ser daquelles tempos, nem dos inferiores atè o reinado do Senhor Rey D. Sebastiaõ, nem encubraõ, ou occultem algũa das sobreditas”. [*Alvará* de 20 ago. 1721, “Dá providencias sobre a Academia da Historia Portugueza”, in: *Academia Real da Historia Portugueza*, 1721–1736: v. 1).

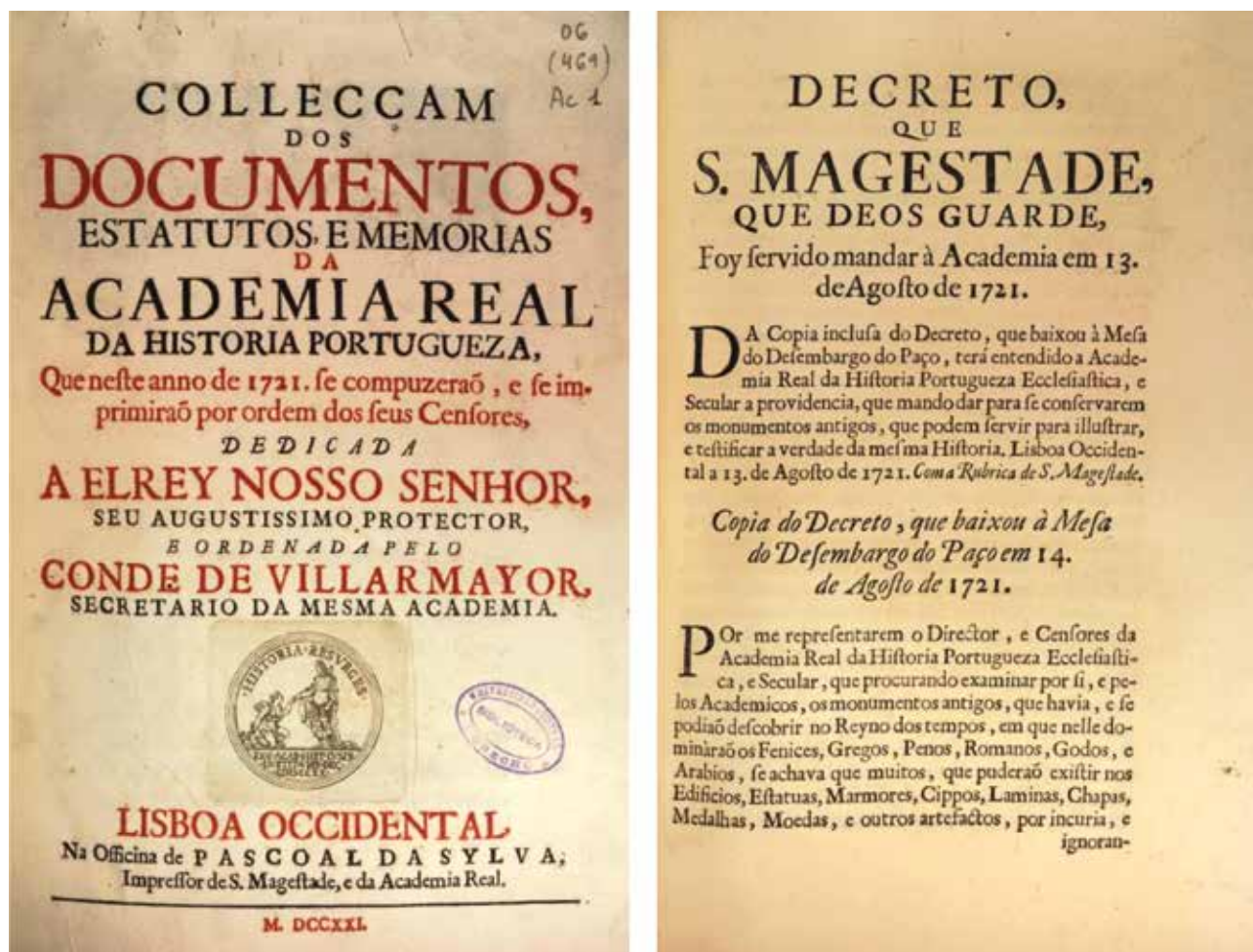


Fig. 02. *Collecção dos documentos, estatutos, e memorias da Academia Real da Historia Portugueza* [...]. Lisboa Occidental: Na officina de Pascoal da Sylva, 1721. Title page and “Alvará de 20 ago. 1721, Dá providencias sobre a Academia da Historia Portugueza” (source: Google Books; Universidad Complutense de Madrid).

The earthquake that devastated Lisbon on the 1 November 1755, followed by a tsunami and a fire, led to new developments in Portuguese architectural practice, especially regarding the preservation and restoration of remaining buildings and their relation to the new ones. For example, Mathias Ayres Ramos da Sylva de Eça (1705-1763), a Brazilian intellectual, wrote a book named *Problema de architectura civil*, which was published in 1770 by his son [fig.03]. The book addressed the question: “why ancient buildings had, and have more durability than modern ones? And why are the latter are less resistant to movement when earth trembles?”. Eça’s answer was relatively simple: “the reason ancient buildings last longer is that they were made of good materials, while modern buildings do not last as much because they are usually made of inappropriate materials”<sup>4</sup>. Preserving and restoring ancient construction techniques was therefore also a matter of survival.

An earthquake that occurred in the Madeira Islands on the 24 May 1614, had already required the approval of special legal measures<sup>5</sup>. However, nothing before or after the 1755 Lisbon Earthquake can be compared to the great effort of restoration, reconstruction, and renewal of the Portuguese metropolis. More than 35 regulations related to it were issued between 1755 and 1787. The first significant regulation issued a few weeks after the tragedy was the decree “Regulating the Plan of the Places and Houses in Lisbon”<sup>6</sup>, which ordered a detailed and extensive survey of the losses.

4. “O problema de Architectura Civil, que devemos resolver, e demonstrar, he o seguinte. Porque razaõ os edificios antigos tinhaõ, e tem mais duraçaõ que os modernos? e estes porque razaõ resistem menos ao movimento da terra quando treme? [...] a razaõ, porque os modernos não tem a mesma duraçaõ, he porque são cõmummente fabricados com materiaes improprios” (Eça, 1777: 1/1-8). See also: Macedo and Ficher, 2015].

5. Carta Régia, Providencias sobre reedificaçaõ da Villa da Praia, 31 maio.1615 (J. J. de A. e Silva, 1854–1859: 2/123).

6. Decreto de 29 nov. 1755, “Regulando o Plano das Praças e Casas de Lisboa” (A. D. da Silva, 1825–1847: 1750–62/401).

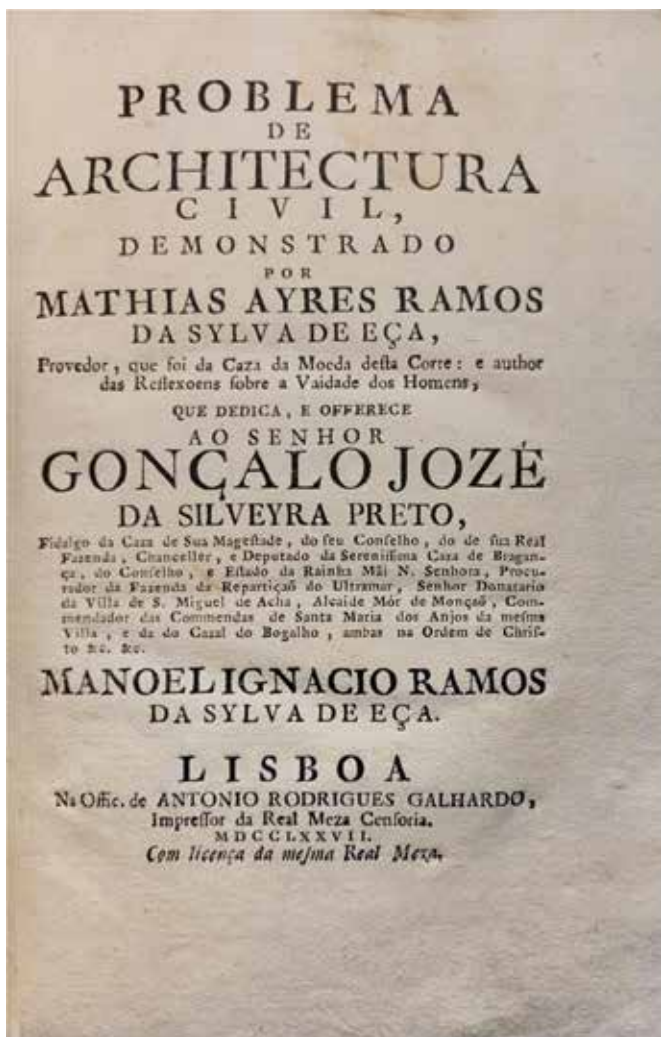


Fig. 03· Mathias Ayres Ramos da Sylva de Eça (1705-1763). *Problema de architectura civil* [...]. 3ed. Lisboa: Na Offic. de Antonio Rodrigues Galharado, 1777. [1ed. 1770] (source: author's collection).

Some safeguards were provided for the remaining assets with the Public Announcements of the House of Appeals "So that the pieces that may be found in the Fire are sent to the General Deposit", of 10 December 1755<sup>7</sup>; and "Prohibiting the construction of houses in Lisbon without completing the Land Registry and measurement of the burned ones", of 30 December 1755<sup>8</sup>. The experienced architect Manuel da Maya (1677-1768) immediately wrote his influential "Dissertations" on the reconstruction of the Capital (França, 1989: 16). The Prime Minister, Sebastião José de Melo, Marquis of Pombal (1699-1782), issued the decree "Regulating the reconstruction of the Town of Lisbon" issued only on 12 May, 1758<sup>9</sup>.

7. Edital da Casa da Supplicação de Lisboa de 10 dez. 1755, "Para que as peças que se encontrarem no incendio irem para o Deposito Geral" (A. D. da Silva, 1825-1847: 1750-62/406).  
8. Edital da Casa da Supplicação de Lisboa de 30 dez. 1755, "Prohibindo levantarem-se casas em Lisboa sem finalizar o Tombo, e medição das incendiadas" (A. D. da Silva, 1825-1847: 1750-62/406). This Public Announcement was usually printed with the Aviso of April, 20<sup>th</sup> of 1759, *Acerca da reedificação da Cidade de Lisboa*.  
9. Alvará de 12 maio 1758, "Regulando a reedificação da Cidade de Lisboa" (A. D. da Silva, 1825-1847: 1750-62/602; Sousa, 1785-1818: 4/265).

One of the greatest cultural treasures lost on the fire was the Royal Library, containing over 70,000 books, maps, manuscripts, and works of art gathered in three lavishly decorated rooms of the Palace of Ribeira, the Royal Palace facing the Tagus River (Schwarcz et al., 2002: 68-79), which was now reduced to rubble. King John V (1689-1750) had put forth a special effort to enhance the collection in every possible way, as a demonstration of a cultural power equivalent to the richness conveyed by the colonies. For the new king, Joseph I (1714-1777), and his powerful Prime Minister, Marquis of Pombal – an institutional beacon of the Portuguese Enlightenment –, to reconstruct the Royal Library was a matter of state as important as rebuilding Lisbon (Schwarcz et al., 2002: 117).

## THE LIBRARY AND THE MUSEUM

Using as a new start point the preserved library at the Palace of Ajuda, in the surroundings of Lisbon, the Crown would promptly acquire large collections of books, such as the one gathered by the notorious bibliographer, the abbot Diogo Barbosa Machado (1668-1772). This intellectual, author of the monumental *Bibliotheca Lusitana* (1741-1759)<sup>10</sup>, was one of the former members of the then extinct Royal Academy of Portuguese History. Since 1771, the Portuguese Crown envisaged the opening of a public library subordinate to the newly created Royal Board of Censorship [*Real Meza Censória*], to which every book printed in Portugal or imported into its domains must then be submitted for approval.

However, it was only with the ascension of Queen Mary I (1734-1816) to the throne in 1777 that a truly enlightened state policy began to take shape. In 1779, her uncle, João Carlos de Bragança, Duke of Lafões (1719-1806), founded the *Real Academia de Sciencias de Lisboa* (Ribeiro et al., 1871-93: 2/37). For over a century, the academy served as the cornerstone of Portuguese science and culture, with its own press and a continuous production of scientific and historical research by its members, which were compiled *Collecções and Memórias*<sup>11</sup>.

In 1781, the members of the Academy planned to create a National Museum in Lisbon. For this ambitious project, they published “Short instructions for the correspondents of the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon on the shipments of products and news related to the History of Nature to form a National Museum”. This publication included valuable directions on the reports that should be made on the culture of countries “that may be in some way useful for improving the commerce and Arts”, including “serious examinations on the morale of the peoples that inhabit them”. This included studying aspects such as “Religion, Politics, Economy, Arts, Traditions etc.”.

Regarding Economy, they should refer to: 1º The way of educating children, the quality and form of their homes, and their common exercises; 2º Their food and how to prepare it, the material and style of their clothing; 3º The properties of their language and the form of its characters, if they use any type of writing.

Regarding the Arts, they should show: 1º The state of their agriculture, the uses and defects of their farming tools; 2º The way they hunt and fish; 3º The plants they use for sustenance, clothing, remedies, dyes, etc.; 4º The animals they employ for work and other domestic services; 5º The minerals they extract from the earth, the uses to which they apply them, and the way to reduce them to those uses; 6º The perfection or imperfection of the arts, crafts, and all kinds of industry and commerce existing in the country.

10. *Bibliotheca Lusitana Historica, Critica, e Cronologica. Na qual se comprehende a noticia dos Autores Portuguezes, e das Obras, que compuserão desde o tempo da promulgaçã da Ley da Graça até o tempo prezente. Offerecida à Augusta Magestade de D. Joaõ V. Nosso Senhor por Diogo Barbosa Machado Ulyssiponense Abbade da Patriarchal Igreja de Santo Adriaõ de Sever, e Academico do Numero da Academia Real.* Tomo [I]. Lisboa Occidental: Na Officina de Antonio Isidoro da Fonseca Anno de M. D. CC. XXXI [1741-1759]. 4v.

11. For instance, the *Historia e Memorias da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa*, 12v., 1797-1839; *Memorias de Litteratura portugueza* 8v., 1792-1814; *Memorias Economicas para o adiantamento da agricultura, das artes e da industria portugueza*, 5v., 1789-1815 (Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1865).

Regarding Traditions, they should examine: 1º Their origin, antiquity, universality, probability or extravagance; 2º The way to preserve and defend them; 3º If there is any kind of monument in the country, an accurate description of it shall be given. Finally, an idea of the best possible way of the customs of the peoples, whose knowledge may somehow influence the good of society, shall be provided<sup>12</sup>.

A few years later, the Royal Museum of Natural History of Ajuda [*Real Museu de História Natural da Ajuda*] was effectively established. In 1791 Antonio das Neves Pereira (m.1818) was appointed as its Chief-Steward [*Guarda-Mór*] (Ribeiro et al., 1871-93: 2/121). Prior to its establishment, the scientist Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira (Bahia, 1756-1815), graduated in Coimbra, was already working on its collections between 1778 and 1783. During that time, Ferreira embarked on a ten-year “Philosophical Journey” to the Amazon and Center-West Brazil. In this expedition, he catalogued the fauna and the flora of that vast region, registering as well the agriculture and the ways of live of its native peoples in a truly anthropological study made in accordance to the Academy’s *Short instructions* (Ribeiro et al., 1871-93: 2/122). In Belém, Ferreira likely came into with Giuseppe Antonio Landi (1713-1791), an architect who had studied under Ferdinando Galli da Bibiena (1657-1743) at the Bolognese *Accademia Clementina*. Landi was highly knowledgeable about Italian architectural heritage and had published at least three albums on the subject<sup>13</sup>. In his “Philosophical Journey”, Ferreira reproduced some of Landi’s architectural projects for buildings in Northern Brazil, many of which involved interventions on preexisting or ongoing constructions (Ferreira, 1970-74) [fig.04].

On the other hand, those scientists were in touch with the latest European scientific and cultural developments. For example, the Brazilian intellectuals José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva (1763-1838), Manuel Ferreira da Câmara Bittencourt e Sá (1762-1835), Manuel de Arruda Câmara (1752-1810) and the Portuguese Joaquim Pedro Fragoso da Motta de Siqueira (1760-1833) traveled through Europe between 1790 and 1800 on a scientific travel through France, England, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Hungary, Italy and Turkey. They made contact with most of the scientists, mathematicians and probably artists of that time who attended the national Academies of those countries (Ribeiro et al., 1871-93: 2/128; Blake, 1883-1902: 6/31,75; I. F. da Silva, 1858-1923: 4/143). The Museum of Ajuda, along with its botanical garden, was directed by the Italian naturalist Domenico Vandelli (1730-1816), also a professor at the University of Coimbra.

12. *Breves instruções aos correspondentes da Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa sobre as remessas dos produtos e noticias pertencentes à historia da natureza para formar hum Museo Nacional:*

“todas as observações, que tiverem feito sobre o fisico do paiz, serão bem acceitas, principalmente aquellas, que possão de algum modo ser uteis para o augmento do commercio e das Artes.

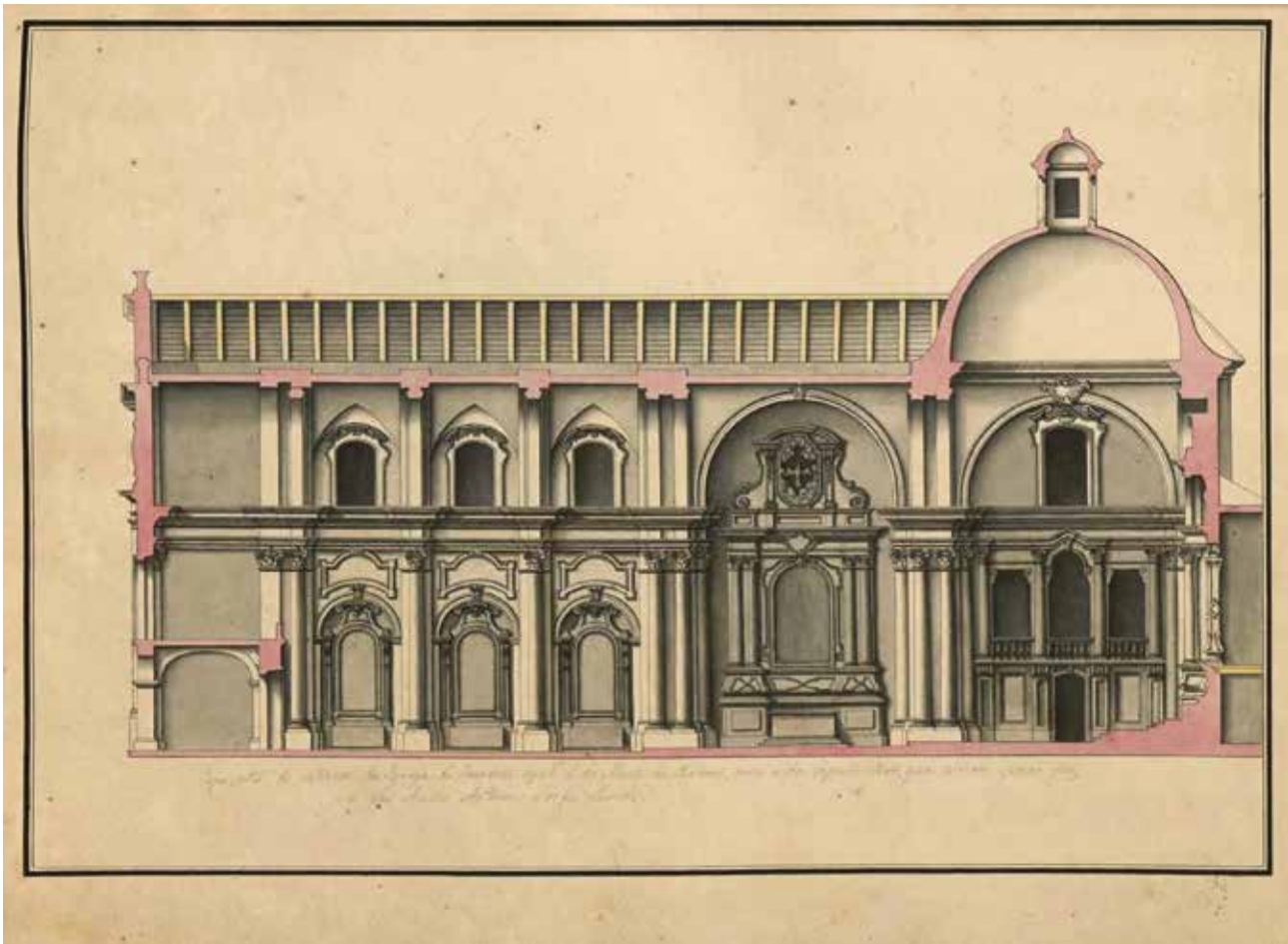
Para satisfazer a este importantissimo fim, que a Academia se propõe, não será menos conveniente, que os seus Correspondentes ajuntem ás noticias Geograficas do fisico do paiz todas as que puderem alcançar, depois de serios exames, relativas ao moral dos povos que o habitão.

E para observarem nesta relação a ordem, que em tudo he necessaria, poderão reduzir todas as noticias, que examinarem, a titulos diversos, preferindo sempre a divisão mais natural; v.g. Religião, Politica, Economica, Artes, Tradições, &c. Em quanto á Economica, devem referir 1º a maneira de educar os filhos, a qualidade e fórma de suas habitações, os seus mais communs exercicios; 2º os seus alimentos, e o modo de os preparar, a materia e feito de seus trajes 3º as propriedades da sua lingua, e fórma dos caracteres, se usarem de algum, genero de escritura. Em quanto ás Artes, mostrarão 1º o estado da sua agricultura, os usos e defeitos de seus instrumentos de lavoura; 2º o modo de fazerem as suas caças e pescas; 3º as plantas, de que se servem para sustento, vestido, remedios, tintas, &c.; 4º os animaes que empregão no trabalho, e em outros serviços domesticos; 5º os mineraes que extrahem da terra, os usos a que os applicão, e o modo de os reduzir a esses mesmos usos; 6º a perfeição ou imperfeição das artes, manufacturas, e de todo o genero de industria, e commercio que houver no paiz. Em quanto ás Tradições, devem examinar 1º a sua origem, antiguidade, universalidade, probabilidade ou extravagancia; 2º o modo de as conservar, e defender; 3º se no paiz houver algum genero de monumento, se dará delle huma exacta descripção. Finalmente dar-se-ha huma idéa do melhor modo possivel dos costumes dos Povos, cuja noticia possa influir de alguma sorte no Bem da Sociedade” (Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1781: 43–45).

13. *Racolta di alcune Facciate di Palazzi e Cortili de più riguardevoli di Bologna.* In Bologna nella Stamperia di Lelio Dalla Volpe. Bologna: Stamperia di Lelio della Volpe, [1743].

*Disegni di architettura tratti lo più da fabbriche antiche e intagliate* da G. L. [Bologna]: [1746].

*Alcune prospettive disegnate ed intagliate* da Giuseppe Antonio Landi e dal medesimo dedicate alla gloriosa Madre Sant’Anna sua particolare avocata. [1750]. See also: Mendonça, 2003; Macedo, 2017: 1743/1, 1746/1, 1750/1.



**Fig. 04.** Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira (1756-1815). Projeto para a igreja da ordem de Nossa Senhora do Monte do Carmo, por Giuseppe Antonio Landi (1713-1791). In: *Viagem filosofica pelas capitãias do Grão Pará, Rio Negro, Mato Grosso e Cuiabá 1783-1792*. v.2, p.12 (source: Museu Nacional / Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro).

Queen Mary's reign was short-lived, as she was declared insane in 1792, when her son, Prince John, took over as Prince Regent. He continued and even intensified the Enlightened policies of his mother, with the support of other influential statesmen such as Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho, the Count of Linhares (1755-1812). In 29 February 1796, a decree was issued creating the Royal Public Library of Lisbon [*Real Biblioteca Pública de Lisboa*], which incorporated the new collections gathered since the earthquake. The Library was established with the purpose of “promoting efficiently the progresses of Portuguese literature”, serving as:

“...a treasure of all Arts and Sciences, and where may be found, along with the most precious books due to their rarity and esteem, also the most respectable monuments of the same Arts and Sciences, that shall constitute a very rich deposit, not only of all human knowledge, but also of the most appropriate means to guide men to achieve virtuous wisdom”<sup>14</sup>.

14. “...sendo hum dos objectos, que occupão a Minha Real consideração, o cuidado de promover efficazmente os progressos da Literatura Portugueza; e conhecendo quanto será util, e vantajoso para se conseguir este fim, o estabelecimento de huma Livraria Pública, a qual sirva como de hum thesouro de todas as Artes e Sciencias, e aonde se achem, com os Livros mais preciosos pela sua raridade, e estimação, os monumentos mais repetaveis das mesmas Artes, e Sciencias, que constituão hum riquissimo deposito, não só de todos os conhecimentos humanos, mas tambem dos meios mais proprios para conduzir os homens a conseguirem a virtuosa sabedoria” [Alvará de 29 fev.1796, “Creando a Real Bibliotheca Publica de Lisboa,” in: A. D. da Silva, 1825-47: 1791-801/259).

It is no coincidence that these goals are reminiscent of those of a museum or an academy. In fact, in 1802, the Prince instructed the Head Librarian to create a “Great Collection of Pieces of Antiquity and Rarity”, which would be important “not only for the knowledge of the Sacred and Political Antiquities and for the enlightenment of the Arts and Sciences, but also for the ornament of that Library”. The prince then referred to the decree of 1721, which assigned the Royal Academy of Portuguese History and its Secretary the task of conserving the Cultural Heritage, and reassigned the same responsibilities to the Royal Public Library and its Head Librarian, now responsible for collecting every antiquity found in the reign<sup>15</sup>.

## ACADEMIES AND THE PORTUGUESE COURT IN BRAZIL

That extensive and valuable Library, predominantly located at the Palace of Ajuda and at the Palace of Necessidades, was packed and transported in ships to Rio de Janeiro starting from 1809. This relocation was a result of the Portuguese Court’s momentous escape to Brazil in 1808, following the Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. In Rio de Janeiro, the Library was installed in the Carmo church, which was in close proximity to former Governor’s Palace in Rio de Janeiro. This site was now converted into the Royal Palace, where the Bragança Monarchy continue to reign for 80 years, first as an European Kingdom and, after 1822, as the Brazilian Empire.

During the colonial period, Brazil witnessed various cultural initiatives that indicated a relatively vibrant cultural life. Brazilian authors usually travelled extensively and, although they were not allowed to print in Brazil, they did publish their literature in Europe. Brazilian intellectuals also created several amateur Academies throughout the 18th century: Brazilian Academy of the Forgotten [*Academia Brasilica dos Esquecidos*] (Bahia, 1724); Academy of the Happy [*Academia dos Felizes*] (Rio de Janeiro, 1736); Academy of the Selected [*Academia dos Seletos*] (Rio, 1752); Academy of the Reborn [*Academia dos Renascidos*] (Bahia, 1759); Scientific Academy of Rio de Janeiro [*Academia Scientifica do Rio de Janeiro*] (1772) (Ribeiro et al., 1871–1893: 1/166-167).

An *Academy* was then more commonly an association of literary enthusiasts who gathered regularly to recite poetry, share praiseworthy texts, compose epigrams and occasionally present historical and scientific dissertations. It was not a public institution with a specific mission of research, arts or sciences. As a precaution against potential accusations of conspiracy, these Academies were often housed by local aristocrats and Crown Officials. Nevertheless, it is possible that they exerted some influence on the cultural policies of the Kingdom.

15. “...por Me representar o Bibliothecario Maior da Real Bibliotheca de Lisboa a importancia de que seria não só para o conhecimento das Antiguidades Sagradas e Politicas, e para illustração das Artes e das Sciencias, mas para ornamento da mesma Bibliotheca, formar-se nella huma grande Collecção de Peças de Antiguidade e raridade, que possa servir aos indicados fins; e Querendo que com effeito se forme em utilidade pública a referida Collecção, Hei por bem suscitar a disposição do Alvará de Lei de 20 de Agosto de 1721, pelo qual o Senhor Rei D. João Quinto, Meu Avô, ordenára em beneficio da Academia Real da Historia Portugueza a conservação e integridade das Estatuas, Marmores, Cippos, Laminas, e outras peças de antiguidade, em que se achassem figuras, letreros, ou caracteres, o qual Alvará Mando novamente publicar para se pôr em inteira e plena observancia, a bem da Real Bibliotheca de Lisboa. Determino porém, que nas funções no mesmo Alvará declaradas pertencentes ao Secretario da dita Academia, quanto á correspondencia com as Camaras sobre os monumentos que se acharem, fiquem pertencendo ao Bibliothecario Maior da dita Real Bibliotheca” (Alvará de 4 de fevereiro de 1802, ordenando que “não se desfiação Estatuas, Cippos &c. a beneficio da Real Bibliotheca de Lisboa,” in: A. D. da Silva, 1825-47: 1802–10/44).

The creation of a “Zoological House” or “House of the Birds” in Rio de Janeiro, by Luís de Vasconcelos e Sousa (1742-1809) during his tenure as Viceroy of Brazil (from 1778 to 1790), may be directly related to the establishment of the Scientific Academy in 1772, which aimed to promote the study of natural sciences in the colony. The Zoological House was directed by Francisco Xavier Cardoso Caldeira (†1810) (Netto, 1870: 11), with the collaboration of the Franciscan friar José Mariano da Conceição Veloso (1742-1811), who later conducted an extensive botanical survey of the region, which was published decades later as *Floræ Fluminensis*<sup>16</sup>.

Veloso not only contributed to the collection of specimens for the Royal Museum of Ajuda, which was then directed by Vandelli, but he also led the Editorial House of the Arco do Cego [*Casa Literária do Arco do Cego*], a branch of the Royal Press responsible for producing technical books aimed at promoting the cultural and economic development of Brazil. Over 140 titles were produced at the Arco do Cego on the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, many of which focused on arts and architecture (Campos, 1999; Macedo and Ficher, 2013).

When the Court arrived in Rio in 1808, the colonial city became the center of Portuguese Culture, but neither the people nor the town were prepared for such a change. In terms of cultural institutions, the Royal Public Library would be fully available to Portuguese Americans from 1813 onwards (Schwarcz et al., 2002: 275). The urban fabric soon underwent many improvements and renewals, and printing in the territory was now allowed. Several cultural institutions were now not only welcome but also sometimes fostered by the Crown, and this was not only in Rio. For instance, the Public Library of Bahia in 1811 thanks to the initiative of the local *Aufklärer* Pedro Gomes Ferrão Castello Branco (Moraes, 2006: 150-172).

Amongst the court’s main priorities, was the establishment of universities and cultural institutions that could cater to the demand for healthcare, a new army and navy, as well as architects and engineers capable of upgrading the defense system and embellishing the buildings and cities to meet the needs of new the immigrant and aristocratic population. Two schools of medicine were established in the Military Hospitals of Bahia and Rio de Janeiro in 1809,<sup>17</sup> while in 1808 the Royal Academy for Midshipmen was established. However, the largest military school was the Royal Military Academy of Rio de Janeiro, which was founded in 1810 and trained local engineers. In 1818, it also became the home of the “Cabinet of Mineralogy and Natural History Products”<sup>18</sup>.

The Beaux-Arts Academy was only established in November of 1820, under the name *Academia de Artes*<sup>19</sup>, which officially recognized a group of French artists brought to Brazil by Joachim Lebreton (1760-1819) in 1816, later known as the “French Mission”. At least two of these artists had a particular interest in antiquities and their preservation. The architect Auguste-Henri-Victor Grandjean de Montigny (1775-1850) had already published in Europe the books *Architecture toscane* (1806-1815) and *Recueil des plus beaux tombeaux exécutés en Italie dans les XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles* (1810) [fig.05], as well as an album of prints documenting his own restoration work in Germany,

16. *Floræ Fluminensis, seu descriptionum plantarum præfectura fluminensi sponte nascentium liber primus ad systema sexuale concinnatus Augustissimæ Diminæ Nostræ per manus Ill.mi ac Ex.mi Aloysii de Vasconcellos & Souza Brasilæ Pro-Regis Quarti &c. &c. &c. sistit Fr. Josephus Marianus a Conceptione Vellozo Præsb. Ord. S. Franc. Reform. Prov. Flum. 1790. Flumine Januario. Ex Typographia Nationali. 1825. 12v.*

17. Decreto de 12 abr. 1809, “Crêa no Hospital Real Militar e de Marinha uma cadeira de medicina clinica, theorica e pratica” (Brasil and Portugal [Leis], 1808–1889: 1809/1/40); Carta Régia de 22 set. 1809, “Estabelece uma Escola de Medicina e Cirurgia do Hospital Militar da Bahia para instrução dos Cirurgiões Ajudantes dos Regimentos” (Brasil and Portugal [Leis], 1808–1889: 1808/2/9).

18. Aviso de 5 maio 1808 “Manda estabelecer a Real Academia dos Guardas Marinha no Convento de S. Bento” (Araujo, 1836–1844: 1/13; Brasil and Portugal [Leis], 1808–1889: 1808/2/9); Carta de Lei de 4 dez. de 1810, “Crêa uma Academia Real Militar na Côrte e Cidade do Rio de Janeiro” (Brasil and Portugal [Leis], 1808-89: 1810/1/232); Decreto de 22 jan. 1818, “Crêa na Academia Real Militar desta Côrte um Gabinete de productos de Mineralogia e Historia Natural” (Brasil and Portugal [Leis], 1808-89: 1818/1/7).

19. Decreto de 23 nov. 1820, “Crêa nesta cidade uma Academia de Desenho, Pintura, Esculptura e Architectura Civil, e dá-lhe Estatutos”. (Araujo, 1836-44: 3/132; Brasil and Portugal [Leis], 1808-89: 1820/1/100).

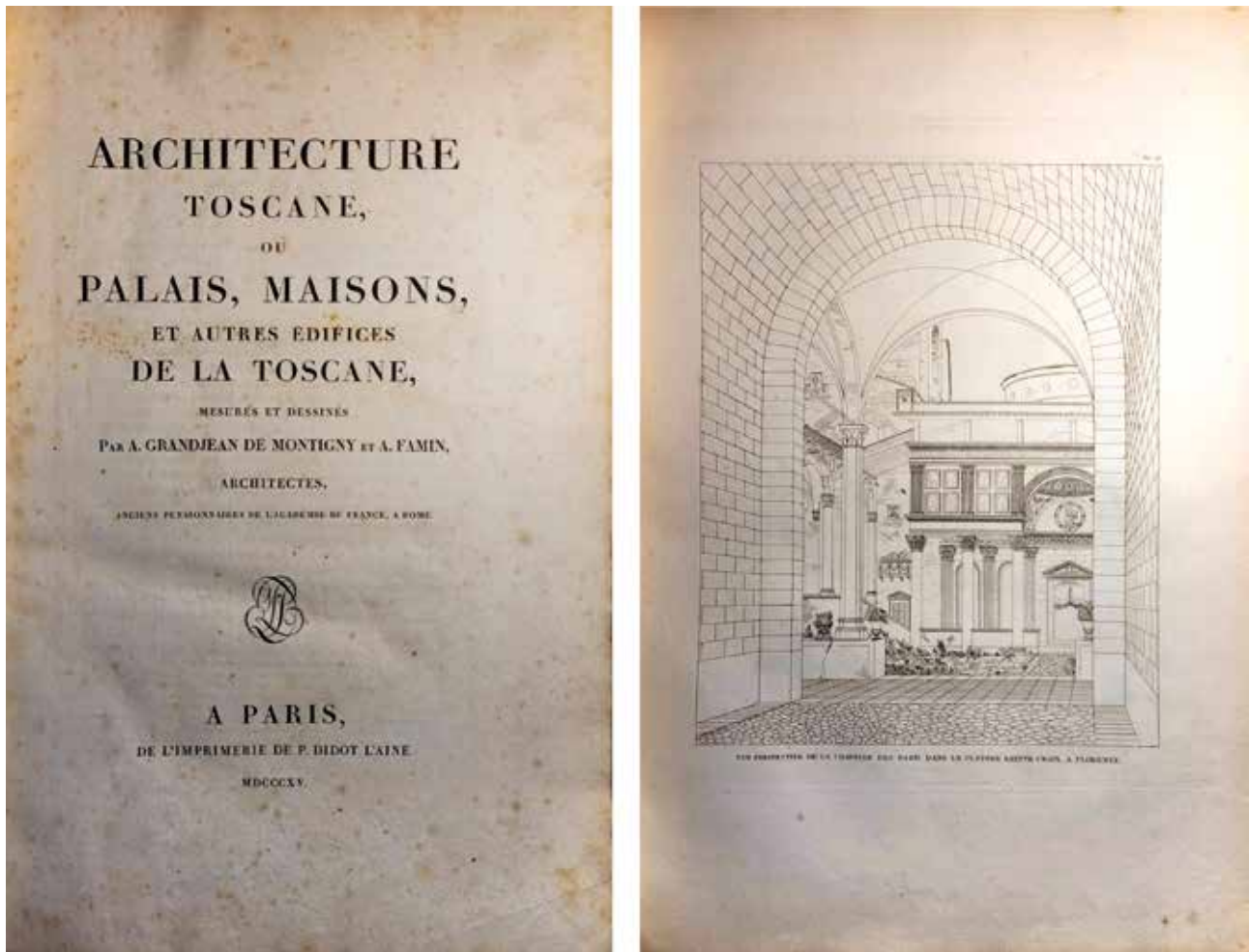


Fig. 05. Auguste Henri Victor Grandjean de Montigny (1776-1850) and Auguste Famin (1776-1859). *Architecture toscane* [...]. Paris: Imprimerie de P. Didot l'ainé, 1815; Title page and plate 13: "Vue perspective de la Chapelle des Pazzi dans le cloître Sainte Croix, a Florence" (source: author's collection).

entitled *Plan, coupe, élévation et détails de la restauration du palais des états et de sa nouvelle salle à Cassel* (1810)<sup>20</sup>. The painter Jean-Baptiste Debret (1806-1848) would print on the following years an extensive collection of 26 booklets documenting Brazilian Cultural and Natural Heritage, later gathered and named *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil* (1831)<sup>21</sup>.

20. *Architecture toscane, ou palais, maisons, et autres édifices de la toscane, mesurés et dessinés par A. Grandjean de Montigny et A Famin, architectes, anciens pensionnaires de l'Academie de France, a Rome*. Paris: Chez l'Auteur; Imprimerie de P. Didot; Gueffier, 1806-1815. *Recueil des plus beaux tombeaux exécutés en Italie dans les XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles d'après les dessins des plus célèbres architectes et sculpteurs mesurés et dessinés Par A. Grandjean de Montigny architecte, ancien pensionnaire de l'Académie de France a Rome*. A Paris, de l'Imprimerie de P. Didot l'Ainé. M DCCCXIII [1813]. *Plan, coupe, élévations et détails de la restauration du Palais des États et de sa nouvelle salle à Cassel, publié et gravé au trait par Grandjean de Montigny Cassel: Impr. royale*, 1810. 10p. (See Moraes de los Rios Filho, 1941: 258–59). The *Palais des États* was how the Museum built by Frederick II was named during the French occupation of Westphalia, when it was used as a Parliamentary building ("Fridericianum," 2022). The prints are today in the *Objektdatenbank* of the *Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel*, as lose prints in: <https://datenbank.museum-kassel.de/0/32470/herst/0/0/0/0/objektliste.html>. Accessed in 13 May 2023. See also: "Fridericianum". *Wikipedia*. In: <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Fridericianum&oldid=1121275020> (Access: 2024).

21. *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, ou Séjour d'un artiste français au Brésil, depuis 1816 jusqu'en 1831 inclusivement, époques de l'avènement et de l'abdication de S. M. D. Pedro Ier., fondateur de l'Empire brésilien. Dedié à l'Académie des beaux Arts de l'Institut de France* par J. M. Debret... Paris, Firmin Didot frères, MDCCCXXXIV [1834]. 3v. (Moraes, 2010: 1/298).

In 1813, the Portuguese King commanded the extinction of the “various employments of the Museum of this Court” and ordered that “all the natural products found there to be handled to the Royal Military Academy”<sup>22</sup>. It is likely that the Museum in question was “House of the Birds” created by the Viceroy three decades before, as its administrator, Francisco Xavier Cardoso Caldeira, had passed away in 1810 (Oliveira, 2005: 266; Azevedo, 1877: 2/219-241). However, the collection was incorporated into cornerstone of all the Brazilian scientific and cultural institutions: the Royal Museum, now known as National Museum of Rio de Janeiro. The Museum was founded by decree on 6 June 1818, which “creates a Museum in this Court, and orders that it may be established in a Building at Campo de Sant’Anna”. Its goal was to “to promote the knowledge and study of natural sciences in the Kingdom of Brazil, which contains within it thousands of objects of observation and examination that can be employed for the benefit of commerce, industry, and the arts”, all of which the King wished “to foster as great sources of wealth”. King John VI then commanded that “the instruments, machines, and cabinets that are already scattered in other places” should be transferred to the new Museum<sup>23</sup>.

In 1819, the *Impressão Regia* published a set of Instructions to the voyagers and employed in the colonies on the manner of collecting, conserving and sending the objects of Natural History, as compiled by the administration of Royal Museum of Natural History in Paris and translated [...] from the original in French printed in 1818. The publication was “augmented, with many notes, by the instructions to correspondents of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon, printed in 1781; and preceded by some reflections on the Natural History of Brazil, and the establishment of the Museum and Botanical Garden in the court of Rio de Janeiro”. The foreword, titled “Reflections on Brazil’s Natural History, and on the establishment of the Museum and Botanical Garden in the City of Rio de Janeiro”<sup>24</sup>, extensively references many scientists and authors who wrote on the subject of Brazil’s natural history, both in Portugal and in Brazil, and includes a transcription of the instructions of 1781 on how to report on cultural elements (Castilho, 1819: XII/XIX). The foreword also lists some agricultural products native to the Americas, such as Quinoa, Carnaúba Palm or Pelican Flower, along with instructions on how to cultivate them and their uses.

The work is attributed to the physician José Feliciano de Castilho (1769-1826)<sup>25</sup>, and its second part corresponds to the French original book: *Instruction pour les voyageurs et pour les employés dans les colonies, sur la manière de recueillir, de conserver et d’envoyer les objets d’Histoire Naturelle* (1818), by the botanist André Thouin (1747-1824)<sup>26</sup>. However, while the French original focuses on directions for collecting, conserving and sending specimens of fauna and flora, as well as mineral samples, the Portuguese version, augmented with notes from the instructions of 1781 and reflections on Brazil’s natural history, also includes recommendations on cultural issues and lists agricultural products native to the Americas.

22. Decisão de 22 de junho de 1813, “Manda que se hajam por extintos os diferentes empregos do Museu desta Côrte”: “Constando na real presença de Sua Alteza Real o Príncipe Regente Nosso Senhor a pouca utilidade que se tira da despeza feita com os empregados no denominado — Museu; foi o mesmo Senhor servido ordenar, que se hajam por extintos os diferentes empregos de semelhante repartição, cessando os ordenados e vencimentos das pessoas a ella addidas, e sendo-lhes pago o que se lhes estiver devendo. Outrosim foi o mesmo Senhor servido ordenar, que sejam entregues à Academia Real Militar, todos os productos naturaes, que alli se acharem e tudo quanto pertencer à Real Fazenda, expedindo-se as ordens a esse fim necessarias” (Brasil and Portugal [Leis], 1808-89: 1813/2/26).

23. Decreto de 6 jun. 1818, “Crêa um Museu nesta Côrte, e manda que elle seja estabelecido em um predio do Campo de Sant’Anna que manda comprar e incorporar aos proprios da Corôa”: “Querendo propagar os conhecimentos e estudos das sciencias naturaes no Reino do Brazil, que encerra em si milhares de objectos de observação e exame, e que podem ser empregados em beneficio do commercio, da industria e das artes, que muito desejo favorecer, como grandes mananciaes de riqueza; hei por bem que nesta Côrte se estabeleça hum Museu Real, para onde passem, quanto antes, os instrumentos, machinas e gabinetes que já existem dispersos por outros lugares; ficando tudo a cargo das pessoas que eu para o futuro nomear”. (Araujo, 1836-44: 2/332; Brasil and Portugal [Leis], 1808-89: 1818/1/60).

24. “Reflexões sôbre a História Natural do Brazil, e sôbre o Estabelecimento do Museu e Jardim Botânico em a Cidade do Rio de Janeiro” (Castilho, 1819: III).

25. Sacramento Blake lists this book first as a work by friar Leandro do Sacramento (1778-1829) (Blake, 1883-1902: 5/294), an later repeats the work under the name of Pedro Machado de Miranda Malheiros (c.1780-1838). Following the opinion of Alfredo do Valle Cabral, Ana Maria Camargo and Rubens Borba de Moraes find that “tudo leva a crer que o autor da obra é José Feliciano de Castilho, que depois de se desaver com o reitor da Universidade de Coimbra, D. Francisco de Faria Pereira Coutinho, chegou ao Brasil em 1818, ocupando o cargo de médico da colônia de suíços de Nova Friburgo, de que era administrador Pedro Machado de Miranda Malheiros” (Camargo and Moraes, 1993: 1/660). Anyway, the Minister and Secretary of State for the Kingdom’s Affairs who demanded the book was Thomaz Antonio de Villanova Portugal (1755-1839) – the same political patron of the Brazilian Beaux-Arts Academy.

In many ways, the relocation of the Portuguese Court to Brazil added a layer of complexity to the country's political landscape, with Brazil finding itself at the same time heading a foreign empire and under its jurisdiction. Furthermore, as the Independence movement was led by the Luso-Brazilian cultural elite, questions of cultural identity and heritage remained largely unresolved in the decades following independence, as Brazil was still ruled by the Portuguese Royal Family. The main official initiative in this sense during the 19<sup>th</sup> century would be the creation of the Brazilian Geographical and Historical Institute [Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro] in 1838, under the protection of the Emperor D. Pedro II and with his sponsorship, which would act like an Academy of Sciences in the country. However, a mature official national policy of cultural heritage would only be developed one hundred years later, after the proclamation of the Republic, with the establishment of the Service for the National and Artistic Heritage in 1937.

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# SAFEGUARDING MACAU'S BUILT HERITAGE BEFORE AND AFTER THE HANDOVER

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## ABSTRACT

Since its foundation, the city of Macau has experienced a cultural mix that has had an impact on its architecture and urbanism, shaping the ideologies of the time, especially the spread of Christianity and the city's military protection. This article seeks to show how the classification of heritage during the Portuguese administration was pioneering and crucial to the inclusion of Macau's historic centre on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2005. As a methodology we will look at how the city of Macau was formed, the outcome of centuries of negotiation, and how this negotiation increasingly influenced architecture and urbanism between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The legacy of centuries of cultural coexistence is now valued by the people of Macau, who see themselves in it and are committed to its defence. Since the transfer of sovereignty, the local government, in line with the central government, has promoted the protection of heritage through concrete actions, including the drafting of appropriate legislation and the dynamisation of actions to boost the existing heritage, combining it with the development of the city.

## KEYWORDS

Miscegenation | Classified heritage | Hybrid architecture | Urban identity

## INTRODUCTION

Part of the maritime expansion of the Portuguese, Macau emerged as the ideal place to establish a trading post on the route to Japan. From 1554 onwards, according to contemporary sources cited by Pedro Dias, the settlement grew in importance (Dias, 2005). From 1557 onwards, the Mandarins recognised the definitive establishment of the Portuguese (Boxer, 1991).

The city of Macau has always presented a cultural mix reflected in its architecture and urbanism and this visible expression of the cultural encounter is echoed in the existing monuments and fortifications, with particular emphasis on the Historic Centre, namely in the area included on the UNESCO list, which begins in the temple of A Ma [fig.01], or Barra Temple, near the place where the Portuguese arrived in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.



Fig. 01- A-Ma Temple (source: Exhibition Catalogue, 2012)



Fig. 02- Staircase and façade of the Church of Mater Dei (source: author, 2022)

The classified area extends along a winding route, dotted by churches and forts that are now recognised as heritage sites, where the Ruins of St Paul are particularly notable, including the remnants of the renowned Church of Mater Dei [fig.02], which was destroyed by a devastating fire in 1835. The route continues to Guia Hill, which includes a classified complex that is also on the UNESCO List (UNESCO, 2005) and contains the first lighthouse built on the southeast coast of China, the Guia Lighthouse, along with the fortress of the same name and the Guia Chapel [fig.05]. This architectural ensemble is safeguarded by the Chinese population, who cherish it and strive to protect it from the pressures of urbanisation in the surrounding area, challenging and urging the administration to take action, as evidenced by various events that are partly recounted here, with repeated indications from UNESCO to the local government to give this matter due consideration.



Fig. 05. Guia Lighthouse and Chapel of Our Lady of Guia (source: author, 2022)

## THE RISE OF MACAU

Macau eventually became a permanent port because it offered more advantages than disadvantages to China from a strategic point of view (Barreto, 1998). In the eyes of the Chinese, the maritime power of the Portuguese was strong enough to arouse interest and weak enough to be controlled at the political-military level.

From its origins until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the city of Macau developed spontaneously and organically [fig.03], based on Chinese settlements in the area known as the Chinese Bazaar and Portuguese settlements located in the so-called Christian City where the most important elements of the urban structure were the open spaces adjacent to churches and public buildings (Calado et al., 1998; Freitas, 2015).

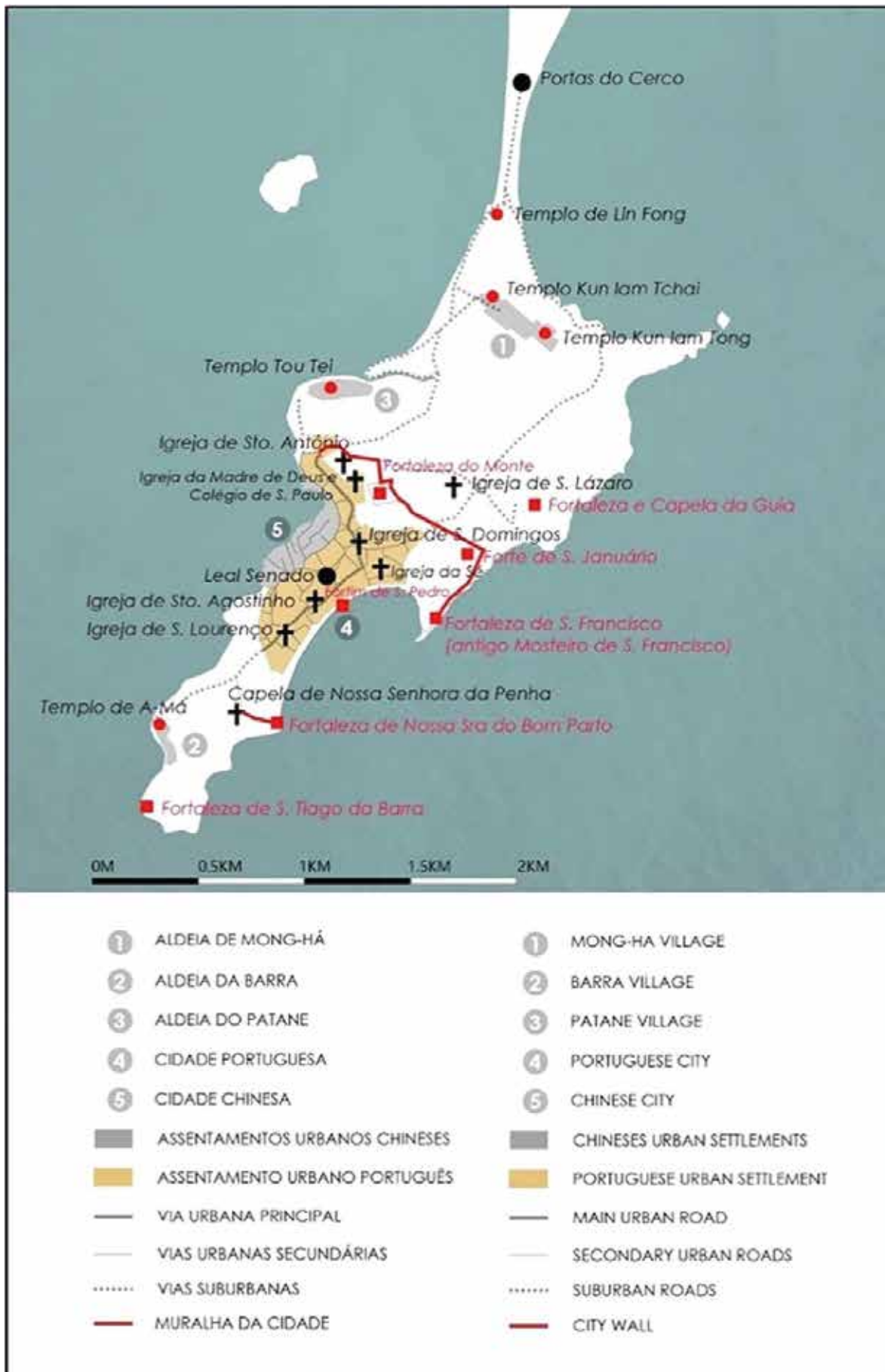


Fig. 03. Schematic representation of the territory, including the walls, forts, fortresses, churches and Chinese temples existing in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (source: author, 2022)

Macau was considered by the Chinese as a foreign neighbourhood, a *fangfang* (Jin and Wu, 2007; Sit, 2013), permitted by the Chinese under the spirit of the policy of affection, which generated significant monetary value for both the Chinese and Portuguese through the taxes levied on goods, which were subject to ongoing negotiation (Cheong, 1997).

From the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, especially after the Dutch invasion in 1622, the construction of walls restored some regularity to the urban layout and, as the historian Ana Maria Amaro points out, the urban design can be said to have been based on the model of medieval European cities (Amaro, 1998). Sit emphasises that it is a subtype of the late medieval city that emerged in Renaissance Europe in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries [fig.04] (Sit, 2013).

The structuring elements of the urban fabric include the churches and their adjacent squares, the forts and fortresses (Tieben, 2009), as well as the administrative buildings, notably the Leal Senado building – the administrative headquarters of the Macau territory – and the Misericórdia, both of which converge in the Senado Square.

Following the tradition of Portuguese cities, these institutions were designed as impressive monuments and placed on the highest points of Macau's peninsula. In contrast, the Chinese temples were built on lower grounds near the water, shielded by the hills from typhoons. Over the centuries, both the Chinese and especially Portuguese institutions have embodied the religious and political order of the enclave (Tieben, 2009).

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, following the expansionist movement associated with global imperialism and a focus on Southeast Asia, marked by the creation of Hong Kong in 1842 (Freitas, 2021), and the opening of Chinese ports to international trade (Darwin, 2015), the Portuguese Governor Ferreira do Amaral and others adopted the approach that allowed the city to expand northwards, beyond the limits of the Christian City walls,



Fig. 04. Plan of Macau, 17<sup>th</sup> century, drawn from the "Resende model", including 9 captions in Manchu referring to Macau's main strategic points (source: Oliveira, 2006)

guided by urban planning and architectural styles that brought modernity to the city, including among others the improvement of the harbour and the construction of the Guia Lighthouse [fig.05], already mentioned.

Following this transformation, the development that took place in the 20<sup>th</sup> century changed the physiognomy of the city, which developed at the expense of landfills and high-rise buildings, with the emergence of the first “skyscrapers”, transforming the urban skyline and giving the city a sense of renewal (Calado et al, 1985). Using new concrete technologies, the skyscrapers created an urban silhouette that was more visible along the new avenues and the entire coastline from Barra-Penha to Guia going as far as Areia Preta.

## LEGISLATION PUBLISHED DURING THE PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION

### *Decree-Law No. 34/76/M of 7 August*

The Portuguese administration soon became aware of the importance of defending the material cultural heritage of the city of Macau as a way of preserving its identity, in the face of the exponential population growth and urban development that had taken place especially since the 1970s. In this context, Decree-Law 34/76/M of 7 August 1976 was published to protect the existing heritage, reflecting the fundamental reasons behind its necessity:

“The city of Macau, the meeting point of two civilisations and cultures, possesses characteristics that, despite its progress and the constant need to adapt to modern life, must be preserved in order to maintain the character that distinguishes it from the populations of the region where it is located. Certain types of architecture, urban ensembles and landscape profiles should not be allowed to vanish or be altered without running the risk of transforming a city of historical interest, shaped by different urban concepts over four centuries of Portuguese administration, into an uncharacteristic urban agglomeration, with the same types of buildings reaching for height due to a lack of surface space, and that repeat, throughout the rapidly growing world, the same uniformity of lines that, at different latitudes and in different countries, makes one city indistinguishable from many others (...)”

(Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 1976)

This decree establishes the categories of Sites, Ensembles and Buildings to be preserved, detailed in a list included within its text. It should be emphasised that this list also encompasses “sites of landscape interest, including green areas, clusters of trees or individual trees of particularly noteworthy size” (Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 1976).

Article 10 of this Decree-Law also advocated the existence of a buffer zone around each building of historical interest.

The decree-law also established the creation of a “Commission for the Defence of Macau's Urban, Landscape and Cultural Heritage”, tasked with classifying the sites, ensembles and buildings listed, as well as keeping a record of them. This committee also had an advisory role, and, among other things, it had to be heard and give its opinion on urban plans and works that might affect the properties to be preserved, accompany archaeological, historical or ethnographic works, and collaborate with the Tourism Bureau in publicising existing values.

***Decree-Law No. 43/82/M of 4 September***

In September 1982, Decree-Law No. 43/82/M of 4 September (Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 1982) established the Macau Cultural Affairs Bureau with the following functions:

- a) To assist the Territorial Government in formulating and implementing cultural and scientific research policies;
- b) To promote the preservation of the values of Portuguese culture in the Territory and their dissemination in neighbouring geographical areas;
- c) To promote the spread of the Portuguese language and the study of Portuguese history and its relations with the peoples of the Far East;
- d) To encourage and support artistic and cultural events related to the Luso-Chinese intercultural experience;
- e) To contribute actively to the preservation of the cultural heritage of the territory;
- f) To promote training and retraining activities for researchers and various cultural agents;
- g) To promote and support cultural exchange activities (Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 1982).

One of the particularly important services in the field of cultural heritage was the Department of Cultural Heritage, tasked with “researching, preserving, animating, developing and disseminating the values of the Territory's cultural heritage, namely historical, architectural, landscape, artistic and other aspects” (Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 1982). This department was complemented by the Commission for the Defence of the Architectural, Landscape and Cultural Heritage, a technical and advisory body governed by its own statute.

***Decree-Law No. 56/84/M, of 30 June***

With the publication of Decree-Law no. 56/84/M, of 30 June, the powers and duties of the Commission were transferred to this body and, consequently, the previous law was revoked (Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 1984).

***Decree-Law No. 83/92/M of 31 December***

In 1992, Decree-Law No. 83/92/M of 31 December (Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 1992) established the category of “Building of Architectural Interest”, which applies to the basic regime of restrictions on the use, enjoyment and availability of the cultural, monumental and historical heritage “with the necessary adaptations” (Preamble to Decree-Law No. 83/92/M). This decree also includes three plans of the territory (Macau Peninsula and the islands of Taipa and Coloane), which spatially represent the heritage listed in the categories of Monument, Building of Architectural Interest, Classified Complex, Classified Site and Buffer Zone (Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 1992).

I am enclosing Annexes I to V to Decree-Law No. 83/92/M of 31 December, in accordance with point 2 of Article 117 of Law No. 11/2013, listing the classified monuments, buildings of architectural interest, classified sets and classified sites:

## ANNEX I – List of classified monuments

- MACAU CITY

Church of St Augustine;  
 Church of St Anthony and churchyard;  
 Church of St Dominic;  
 Church of St Lazarus and churchyard;  
 Church of St Lourenço and churchyard;  
 Cathedral Church;  
 St Joseph's Seminary Church, churchyard  
 and staircase;  
 Ruins of St Paul's (former Church of Mater Dei),  
 churchyard and staircase;  
 Mong-Há Fortress;  
 Fortress of Our Lady of Good Delivery;  
 Fortress of Our Lady of Guia and Lighthouse;  
 Fortress of Our Lady of Monte;  
 Fortress of St James of Barra;  
 Fortress of D. Maria II;  
 Wall and Fortress of St Francis;  
 Gate of the Siege;  
 Government Palace;  
 Leal Senado building;  
 Santa Casa da Misericórdia building;  
 Barra Temple;  
 Temple of the Bazaar;  
 Temple of Kun lam Tchai;  
 Temple of Kun lam Tong;  
 Lin Fong Temple;  
 Na Tcha Temple, on the Walk of Truths;  
 Na Tcha Temple, near the Ruins of St Paul's;  
 Pao Kong Temple;

Lin Kai Temple;  
 Lou Pan Si Fu Temple;  
 Tin Hau Temple;  
 Sam Kai Vui Kun Temple;  
 T'ou Tei Temple;  
 Section of the Ancient Defence Walls;  
 Camões Cave;  
 Coat of Arms Stone, near the Lin Fong Temple;  
 Coat of Arms Stone, near the stairs to the Mong-Há  
 Social Centre.

- TAIPA ISLAND

Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel;  
 Temple of Kun lam;  
 Small Temple of Kun lam;  
 I Leng Temple;  
 Pak Tai Temple;  
 Tin Hao Temple;  
 Sam Po Temple;  
 Kuan Tai Temple (from Cheoc Ka);  
 Taipa Fortress, near the pier.

- COLOANE ISLAND

Church of St Francis Xavier;  
 Temple of Tam Kong;  
 Temple of Tin Hao;  
 Kun lam Temple (of Ká-Hó);  
 Sam Seng Kong Temple;  
 Tai Wong Temple (of Hac-Sá);  
 Kun lam Temple (Coloane).

## ANNEX II – List of classified buildings of architectural interest

- MACAU CITY

Santa Sancha Palace;  
 Chapel of Our Lady of Penha and Episcopal Residence;  
 St Joseph's Seminary building;  
 Camões Cave Garden House;  
 Sir Robert Ho Tung Library Building;  
 Military Club Building;  
 Port Captaincy Building;  
 Fire Brigade Building;  
 Post Office Building;  
 Red Market Building;  
 Lou Lim Ioc Pavilion;  
 BNU Headquarters Building;  
 Pedro Nolasco da Silva Official Primary School Building;  
 Leng Nam School Building, on Estrada dos Parses;  
 Pui Tou School Building, at 107, Rua da Praia Grande;  
 Pui Cheng School Building (Lou Lim Ioc Palace);  
 Ricci School Building, on Rua da Praia Grande do Bom Parto;  
 D. Pedro V Theatre building;  
 S. Rafael Hospital building and garden;  
 Bela Vista Hotel building;  
 Precious Blood Convent building;  
 Caixa Escolar building;  
 Farmácia Chinesa, at 146, Rua de Cinco de Outubro;

Corner building between Praça de Ponte e Horta and Rua das Lorchas;  
 Court building;  
 Lok Kok Restaurant, at 159 Rua de Cinco de Outubro;  
 Casa do "Mandarim", in Travessa de António da Silva;  
 House at 1, 3 and 5, Largo da Sé;  
 House at 7, Travessa da Sé;  
 House at 4, Estrada do Engenheiro Trigo;  
 House at 83, Rua da Praia Grande;  
 House at 29, Rua do Campo;  
 House at 4 and 6, Largo da Companhia de Jesus;  
 House at 26 and 28, Rua de Pedro Nolasco da Silva;  
 Casa Jardines;  
 House at 6, Avenida da República;  
 Torre de Prestamista, at 64, Rua de Cinco de Outubro;  
 Torre de Prestamista, at 6, Rua de S. Domingos;  
 Torre de Prestamista, in Rua de Camilo Pessanha;  
 Torre de Prestamista, at 3, Travessa das Virtudes;  
 Building at 14 and 16, Avenida de Horta e Costa.

- TAIPA ISLAND

Building of the Câmara das Ilhas;  
 Torre Prestamista, at 1, Travessa da Felicidade.

- COLOANE ISLAND

Public Library building.

**ANNEX III – List of classified sets**

## • MACAU CITY

Avenida de Almeida Ribeiro/Largo do Leal Senado/Largo de S. Domingos;  
 S. Lázaro neighbourhood;  
 Avenida do Conselheiro Ferreira de Almeida, from the building at the corner with Estrada do Cemitério to no. 95-G;  
 Largo and Beco do Lilau;  
 St Augustine's Square;  
 Travessa de S. Paulo;

Travessa da Paixão;  
 Rua and Beco da Felicidade.

## • TAIPA ISLAND

Largo do Carmo/Avenida da Praia;  
 Largo de Camões/Rua dos Negociantes.

## • COLOANE ISLAND

Largo Eduardo Marques/Rua dos Negociantes/  
 Largo do Presidente Ramalho Eanes.

**ANNEX IV – List of classified sites**

## • MACAU CITY

Campo Coronel Mesquita;  
 Barra Hill;  
 Penha Hill;  
 Guia Hill;  
 D. Maria II Hill;  
 Mong-Há Hill;  
 Green Island Hill;  
 Lou Lim Ioc Garden;  
 Camões's Cave Garden;  
 Russian Mountain's Garden;  
 St Francis's Garden;  
 Vitória's Garden;  
 Vasco da Gama's Garden;  
 Marginal, from the Macau-Taipa Bridge to the Fortress of St James of Barra;

Route between Rua Central/Rua de S. Lourenço/  
 Rua do Padre António/Rua da Barra/  
 Calçada da Barra;  
 Ponte and Horta Square;  
 Parses Cemetery;  
 Sun Yat Sen Municipal Park.

## • TAIPA ISLAND

Municipal Garden.

## • COLOANE ISLAND

Avenida de Cinco de Outubro;  
 Coloane Island above level 80.

The aforementioned law also includes Annex V, which contains three maps showing the listed heritage assets, their location and respective buffer area, constituting a careful safeguarding measure that was later included in UNESCO's classification of the Historic Centre.

ANNEX V – Maps [fig.06,07,08]

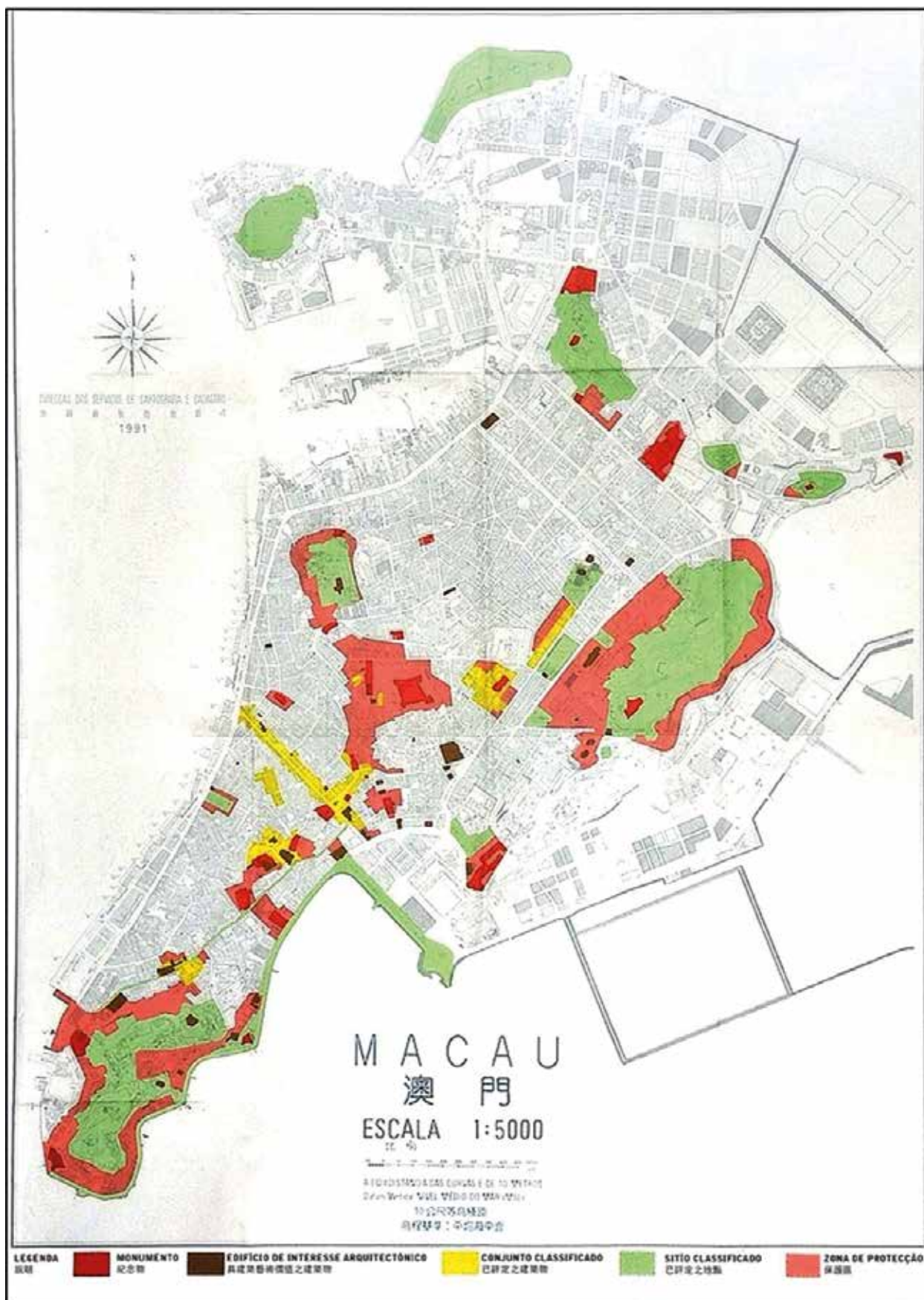


Fig. 06. Macau Peninsula, Annex V, DL no. 83/92/M, of 31 December (source: Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 1992)

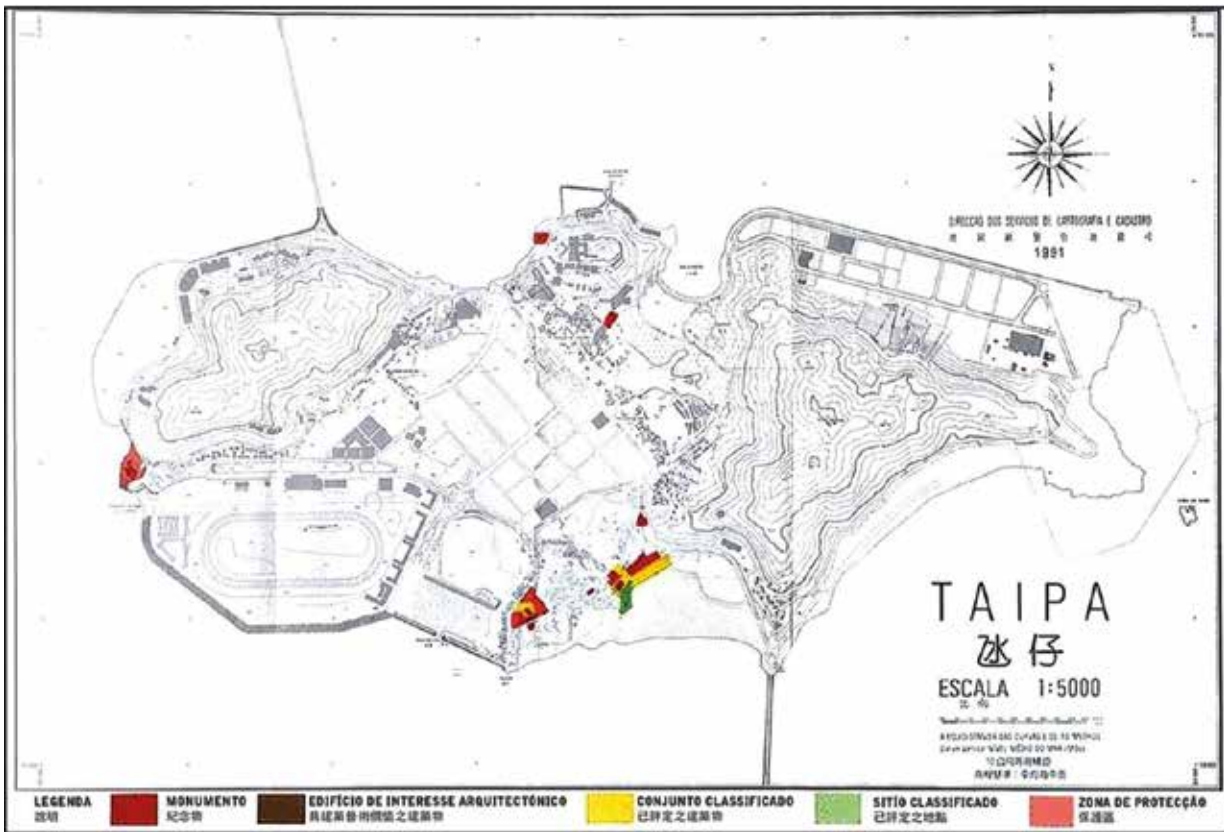


Fig. 07. Taipa Island, Annex V, DL no. 83/92/M, of 31 December (source: Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 1992)

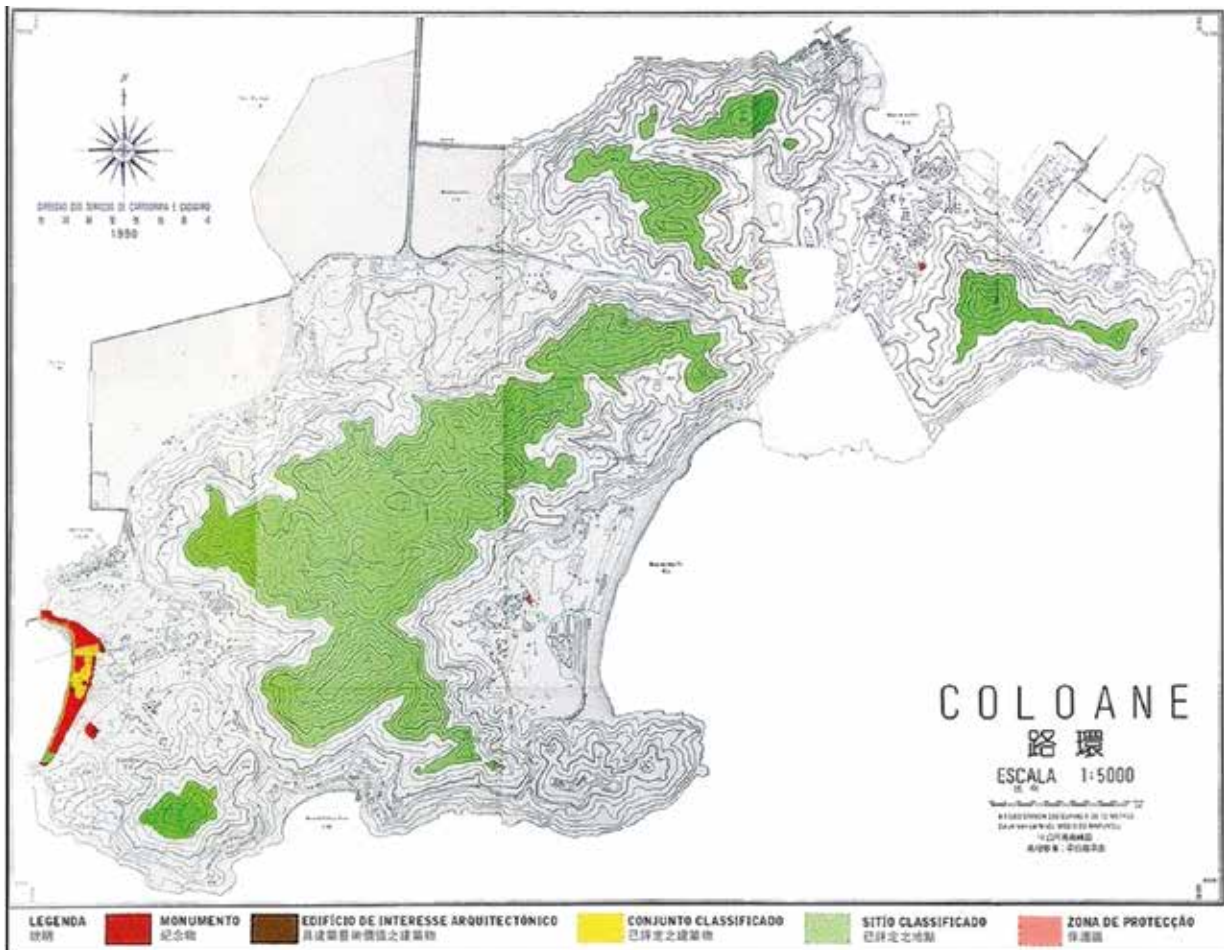


Fig. 08. Coloane Island, Annex V, DL no. 83/92/M, of 31 December (source: Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 1992)

The outstanding efforts by the Portuguese authorities at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, through the enactment of appropriate legislation, have ensured the protected heritage, a legacy of the long-standing, peaceful coexistence between the two civilisations, that has reached the present day in good conservation condition, and has become a reference value considered in the formulation of the World Heritage nomination. This application was formalised by the central government after the transfer of sovereignty and was recognised in 2005.

## INCLUSION ON THE UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE LIST

The importance of the existing heritage, which reveals a mixed culture, was recognised by UNESCO, and the Historic Centre of Macau was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2005.

Several authors have analysed the unique case of Macau, which is regarded as the last bastion of a colonial power that was never fully exercised, having survived through continuous negotiations between the governments involved, with effects that are still evident in urban, architectural and social terms (Cross, 2009; Tieben, 2009; Morais, 2013).

Macau's contextual indetermination and urbanism provided the territory with a distinctive spatial setting that was inscribed on the UNESCO World heritage list in 2005. Macau holds a unique position in the history of Eastern and Western foreign relations and stands out among cases of European colonial powers: an ambiguous, marginal, and complex spatial setting that played a significant role in both the Portuguese and Chinese empires (Morais, 2013: 146)

In the field of tangible heritage, the areas of urban planning and architecture stand out, the fruit of almost five centuries of coexistence that has created a city open to cultural dialogue. In 2005, the Historic Centre of Macau was inscribed on the World Heritage List on the basis of criteria ii), iii), iv) and vi), which refer to cultural mixing and are set out below:

- Criterion (ii): The strategic location of Macau on the Chinese territory, and the special relationship established between the Chinese and Portuguese authorities favoured an important interchange of human values in the various fields of culture, sciences, technology, art and architecture over several centuries.
- Criterion (iii): Macau bears a unique testimony to the first and longest-lasting encounter between the West and China. From the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, it was the focal point for traders and missionaries, and the different fields of learning. The impact of this encounter can be traced in the fusion of different cultures that characterise the historical core zone of Macau.
- Criterion (iv): Macau represents an outstanding example of an architectural ensemble that illustrates the development of the encounter between the Western and Chinese civilisations over some four and half centuries, represented in the historical route, with a series of urban spaces and architectural ensembles, that links the ancient Chinese port with the Portuguese city.
- Criterion (vi): Macau has been associated with the exchange of a variety of cultural, spiritual, scientific and technical influences between the Western and Chinese civilisations. These ideas directly motivated the introduction of crucial changes in China, ultimately ending the era of imperial feudal system and establishing the modern republic (UNESCO, 2019).

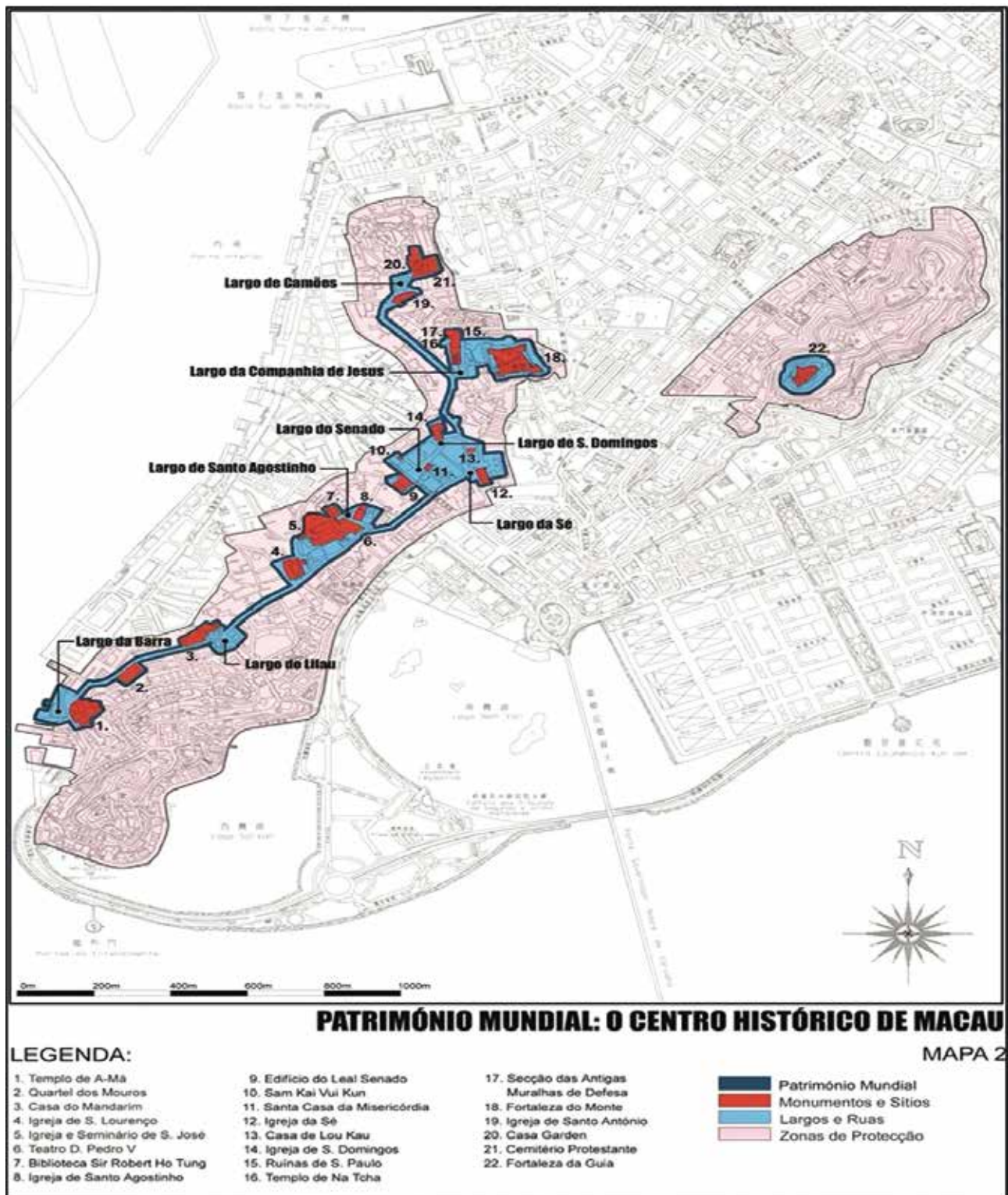


Fig. 09. Map “World Heritage: Macau Historic Centre” (source: courtesy of the Instituto Cultural de Macau)

Covering an area of approximately 1.23 km<sup>2</sup>, the classified zone consists of two parts: the first, the “core area”, includes monuments, sites, squares and streets, and the second, the “buffer zone”, corresponds to the surrounding conservation area [fig.09]. More specifically:

1. The first – “Core Area” – comprehends eight squares and twenty-two monuments (notably the Leal Senado building, the square bearing the same name, the emblematic ruins of St. Paul s, the Sé Church, among other churches and residences of Portuguese influence), as well as the squares and streets that connect these spaces.

2. The second – “buffer zone” – still preserves unique characteristics, namely the original urban structure and configuration, as well as the spatial organisation, forming a built ensemble of historical and cultural value, which protects the listed buildings located within it.

In this context, it is worth highlighting the changes that have taken place as a result of the designation of the Historic Centre as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 2005, as well as the implications of the application of the Macao SAR's heritage legislation (Património Cultural de Macau, 2019).

Following the inscription of the Historic Centre of Macau as a World Heritage Site, the Macau Government adopted measures to conserve the listed heritage in the Historic Centre and in the designated buffer zones.

## INVOLVEMENT OF THE MACAU PEOPLE

The people of Macau have responded positively to the inscription of their historic centre on the UNESCO World Heritage List, closely following the government's initiatives without compromise. For example, in 2007, for the first time, a group of local academics and researchers organised an action to report to UNESCO some ambiguous situations concerning potential attacks on classified heritage.

This was the case of the Guia Lighthouse, which was reported to the World Heritage Centre in 2007 (UNESCO, 2019), prompting an immediate reaction from this body, with the local government responding appropriately and minimising the negative impact on the property.

The issue was that a proposed building at the base of Guia Hill, estimated to be 135 metres tall, would obstruct the view of the Guia Lighthouse, a listed monument located 100 metres above sea level:

(...) In a letter dated 19 September 2007, the Director of the World Heritage Centre requested the State Party to “consider this expression of concern and take urgent measures to address the pressing issue so as to protect the property and if necessary, prevent any irreversible damage affecting the property”. The World Heritage Centre further requested the State Party to submit any relevant information regarding the state of conservation and development pressures facing this property.

(...) On 11 March 2008, the World Heritage Centre received a letter from the Deputy Secretary-General of the Chinese National Commission for UNESCO, enclosing a report prepared by the Director of Cultural Affairs Bureau of Macau SAR Government.

(...) The report reaffirmed the Macau SAR Government's commitment to protecting the values of the property and fulfilling its obligations under the World Heritage Convention. It confirmed that the development projects in question are situated in two specific areas outside the buffer zone and comply with the legislation that was in effect at the time the property was inscribed. (UNESCO, 2019)

Additionally, the Macau Government was asked to report on the progress of the measures taken by 2009. This situation led to the publication of Chief Executive Order 83/2008 of 16 April 2008, restricting the height of buildings in the vicinity of the Guia Lighthouse (Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 2008).

## JOINT UNESCO/ICOMOS MISSION IN 2009

In 2009, the World Heritage Committee, noting the negative impact of urban development on the buffer zones, namely the Guia Lighthouse and the Fortress of Monte, recommended that the Macau Government host a joint UNESCO/ICOMOS monitoring mission to verify whether the measures in place were sufficient to ensure the long-term protection of the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of the heritage properties (Decision 32 COM 7B.68) (UNESCO, 2019).

A joint UNESCO/ICOMOS mission visited Macau from 18 to 24 January 2009. This mission confirmed the existence of problems to the south of the Guia Lighthouse, in areas not covered by Chief Executive Order 83/2008. Some inaccuracies were also noted regarding the heritage management and conservation system, indicating that the existing system was inadequate.

According to the members of this mission, this posed a risk to the heritage and could obscure the perception of its values, including the idea of what Macau represents: a port city fostering trade along maritime routes.

The study aimed at identifying universal values could, in the medium term, lead to the implementation of a comprehensive plan to protect the significance of the heritage, using the concept of HUL Historic Urban Landscape (Decision 33 COM 7B.67) (UNESCO, 2019).

According to international charters and conventions, from the Venice Charter (1964) to the World Heritage Convention (1972), Cultural Heritage Management (CHM), as a process for managing heritage in a sustainable way, is an important tool that includes heritage resources as capital of primary importance (Cross, 2009).

Considering the lack of explanations and the findings of the visit by UNESCO/ICOMOS experts in 2009, the World Heritage Committee in 2011 urged the Macau Government to respond fully and expeditiously to the nomination (Decision 35 COM 7B.64) (UNESCO, 2019).

In January 2013, the Government of MSAR submitted a report to UNESCO on the state of conservation of the listed properties. This report summarised the existing situation and anticipated strategic guidelines for the protection of the cultural heritage, setting out the legal instruments for this purpose, planning and future procedures.

The report welcomed Ordinance 83/2008, which regulates the height of buildings in the vicinity of the Guia Lighthouse and noted the extension of some buffer zones to the east and west of the Macau peninsula, with the aim of protecting listed properties from property speculation.

It also stated that the Heritage Protection Law, which had already been approved by the Legislative Assembly, would be published in August 2013. The list of universal values of classified objects – OUV – was submitted for evaluation in 2013.

While noting the progress made, the World Heritage Committee recommended that the Strategic Management Plan be finalised expeditiously to avoid potential threats to the listed properties (Decision 37 COM 7B.59) (UNESCO, 2019).

Faced with the delay in finalising the Management Plan in 2017, the World Heritage Committee reaffirmed its concern about the potential negative impacts on the protected areas that would affect the visual integrity of the listed properties and the inadequacy of the existing management. In short, it criticised the lack of a CHM as recommended.

In March 2017, the Macau SAR Government submitted a report (UNESCO, 2019) on the state of conservation of the properties, also stating that the Cultural Heritage Protection Law, Law No. 11/2013, had already been in force since March 2014

The draft for the conservation and management plan would be submitted for public consultation in 2017. The master plan for the city would be formulated with a holistic vision, in close articulation with the heritage conservation and management plan.

The listed measures were accepted. However, issues relating to heights of buildings were again of concern and continued to pose a threat, now in parallel with the emerging issue of new landfill sites under construction.

Noting that the management plan requested in 2015 had still not been submitted, the World Heritage Committee urged the local government to complete the plan urgently so that it could be submitted to UNESCO experts before being put into practice. It was also recommended that more information be provided on the detailed plans for the new dams under construction.

Finally, it was explicitly requested that a heritage impact assessment be carried out for major projects (Decision 41 COM 7B.87) (UNESCO, 2019).

## LEGISLATION PUBLISHED AFTER THE TRANSFER OF SOVEREIGNTY

### ***Law No. 11/2013 on Cultural Heritage Preservation***

Law No. 11/2013, known as the “Cultural Heritage Preservation Law”, which was approved on 13 August 2013 and entered into force on 1 March 2014, establishes the system for safeguarding the cultural heritage of the Macau Special Administrative Region. Article 2, on the “Concept of Cultural Heritage”, states that all objects of relevant cultural interest are part of this heritage and must therefore be protected. By highlighting cultural values related to history, archaeology, palaeontology, art, linguistics, ethnography and other fields of knowledge, these properties must reflect “values of memory, antiquity, authenticity, originality, rarity, uniqueness or exemplarity” (Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 2013). Since the Macau SAR is obliged to ensure the transmission of Macau's cultural heritage, as stated in Article 4, cultural heritage must be protected and cherished as “an essential instrument for the realisation of human dignity and the object of fundamental rights”. The same article also states that it is the duty of the Macao SAR Government to promote the knowledge, study, protection and enhancement of cultural heritage.

The Cultural Heritage Council was established as an advisory body to the Macau SAR Government to provide advice on the protection of cultural heritage.

Article 51 also established the obligation to draw up a Plan for the Protection and Management of the Historic Centre of Macau, to be implemented by the IC – Instituto Cultural in cooperation with other public departments, namely DSSCU – Direcção do Serviços de Solos e Construção Urbana and the IAM – Instituto para os Assuntos Municipais.

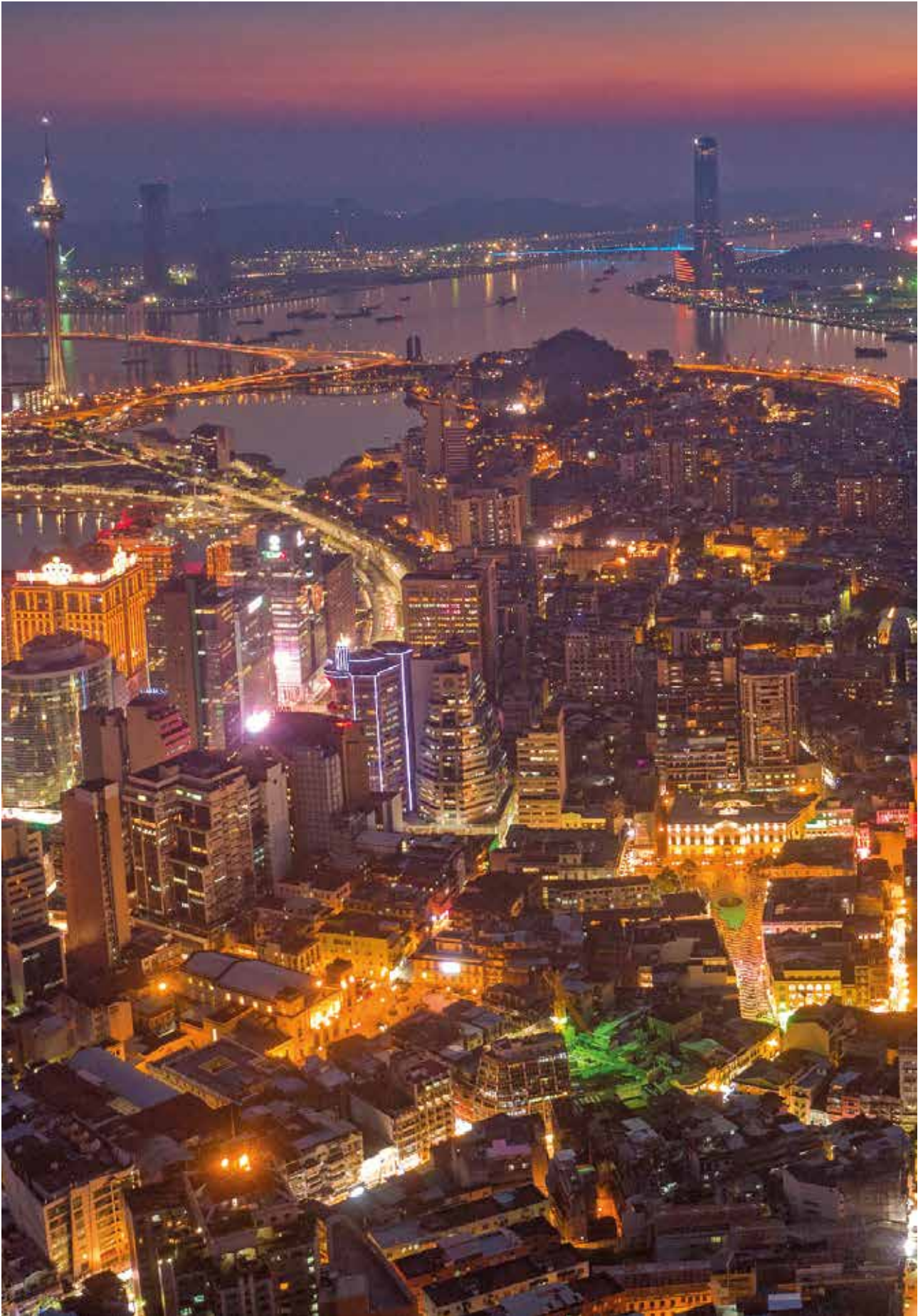


Fig. 10- Historic Centre of Macau - Praça do Leal Senado and Largo da Sé (source: Chan Hin lo, 2018)

### **Macau Historic Centre - Strategic Management Plan**

The Historic Centre of Macau refers to an architectural ensemble made up of monuments, buildings of architectural interest, sites and their respective conservation areas, as mentioned above. This ensemble was regarded as being of exceptional value on the basis of criteria relating to cultural diversity and was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2005.

Pursuant to Law No.11/2013, the Historic Centre [fig.10] must be the subject of a strategic management plan in order to preserve the Universal Values (UV) that characterise it. The Historic Centre comprehends a total area of 1.23 km<sup>2</sup>. The classified area is 0.16 km<sup>2</sup> and the buffer areas are approximately 1.07 km<sup>2</sup>.

The classified area is made up of 8 squares and 22 properties, namely:

#### Squares:

Pagode da Barra Square  
Lilau Square  
St Augustine Square  
Senado Square  
Sé Square

#### Buildings:

Temple of A-Ma  
Moorish Barracks Building  
Mandarin's House  
Church of St Lawrence  
St Joseph's Seminary and Church  
D. Pedro V Theatre  
Sir Robert Ho Tung Library  
St Augustine's Church

Loyal Senate Building  
Sam Kai Vui Kun Temple  
Holy House of Mercy Building  
Cathedral Church  
Lou Kau House  
Church of St Dominic  
Ruins of St Paul's  
Temple of Na Tcha  
Section of the Old Defence Walls  
Monte Fortress  
Church of St Anthony  
Casa Garden  
Protestant Cemetery  
Fortress of Nossa Senhora da Guia  
and Guia Lighthouse

In view of the urban pressures to which the city centre has recently been subjected, most of which have occurred since the transfer of sovereignty and because of the liberalisation of gaming, the need to implement the measures recommended in Law No. 11/2013 on the Plan for the Protection and Management of the Historic Centre of Macau is becoming increasingly urgent. Moreover, this plan must be integrated with the Master Plan for the City, as both serve as a key instrument for urban management.

The Plan for the Protection and Management of the Historic Centre was subject to public consultation between January and March 2018. The text proposed for public consultation in March 2018 mentioned:

“The inscribed property includes various listed buildings and public spaces that provide a clear understanding of the structure of the old port city. With its historical streets, residential, religious and public buildings of Portuguese and Chinese origin, the Historic Centre of Macau provides a unique testimony of the encounter between Eastern and Western influences at the aesthetic, cultural, religious, architectural and technological levels, bearing witness to the first and most enduring encounter between China and the West, fostered by dynamic international trade”

(Instituto Cultural de Macau, 2018).

The recommendations in the Strategic Management Plan ensure the sustainability of local communities, fostering harmony among citizens of different nationalities, while preserving the architectural and urban environment that defines the city's historic centre and other areas significant to its multicultural character.

Among the measures included in the plan is the introduction of the concept of visual corridors, which is considered relevant to the existing urban structure:

“(…) [it] reflects an important port of international trade in the history of cultural exchange between China and the West. In which the visual connections between the important geographical high points of the city's historic centre and the maritime surroundings (…) constitute the main element reflecting the outstanding universal value, and therefore measures should be taken to ensure its continuity”

(Instituto Cultural de Macau, 2018).

Later, the concept of urban landscape merged with the concept of HUL - Historic Urban Landscape, as it introduced a broader view of heritage that also included cultural, social and economic values and the way of life of the inhabitants, connecting different urban environments in a more comprehensive vision (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012). In this sense, historic courtyards, traditional streets and typical alleyways are listed, the experience of which is to be preserved in line with UNESCO recommendations and to foster a greater sense of belonging among citizens (Instituto Cultural de Macau, 2018).

Measures to protect the urban morphology and restrictions on its transformation are also set out, with particular emphasis on the streets, courtyards and alleys mentioned above. In the case of classified areas, it is emphasised that environmental features – such as topography, green spaces and their ratio, population density and land use must be preserved and highlighted. Particular attention should be paid to the height and volume of new buildings in transition zones and areas covered by visual corridors.

Finally, the text submitted for consultation addresses the criteria for restoring listed properties, emphasising the use of international standards; the Athens Charter (1931), Venice Charter (1964), Burra Charter (1979) and Washington Charter (1987) are explicitly referred to on page 126 of the consultation document.

Following additional revisions, the Regulations of the Plan for the Safeguarding and Management of the Historic Centre of Macau were approved and published on 15 January 2024 to come into force on 1 June 2024 (Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 2024). The plan features 11 visual corridors, streets and squares, each with its own characteristics, serving as evidence of cultural integration.

## CONCLUSION

In light of the analysis carried out and presented here, we believe that it was the measures taken by the Portuguese administration in the period leading up to the transfer of sovereignty that allowed the historical legacy to reach the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in a condition suitable for inscription on the World Heritage List in 2005.

Based on the existing historical heritage, the result of over four centuries of cultural coexistence, the Chinese Government led a recognised and valued application. Essential to this process was the support of the population, as they defended the heritage they had inherited and worked tirelessly for its enhancement and preservation, fostering a sense of belonging [fig. 11].



Fig. 11 - Ruins of St Paul's, façade of the old Church of Mater Dei (source: Chan Hin lo, 2016)

Recent situations such as the new gaming contracts in Macau in 2023, which placed greater emphasis from 2024 onwards on CSR - Corporate Social Responsibility (Moreira and Li, 2022) have demonstrated how the fusion between the preservation of the historical heritage, the will of local government and the intervention of the population have been instrumental in safeguarding the existing buildings and integrating them into the development of the city.

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

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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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i O D E G O

## 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).

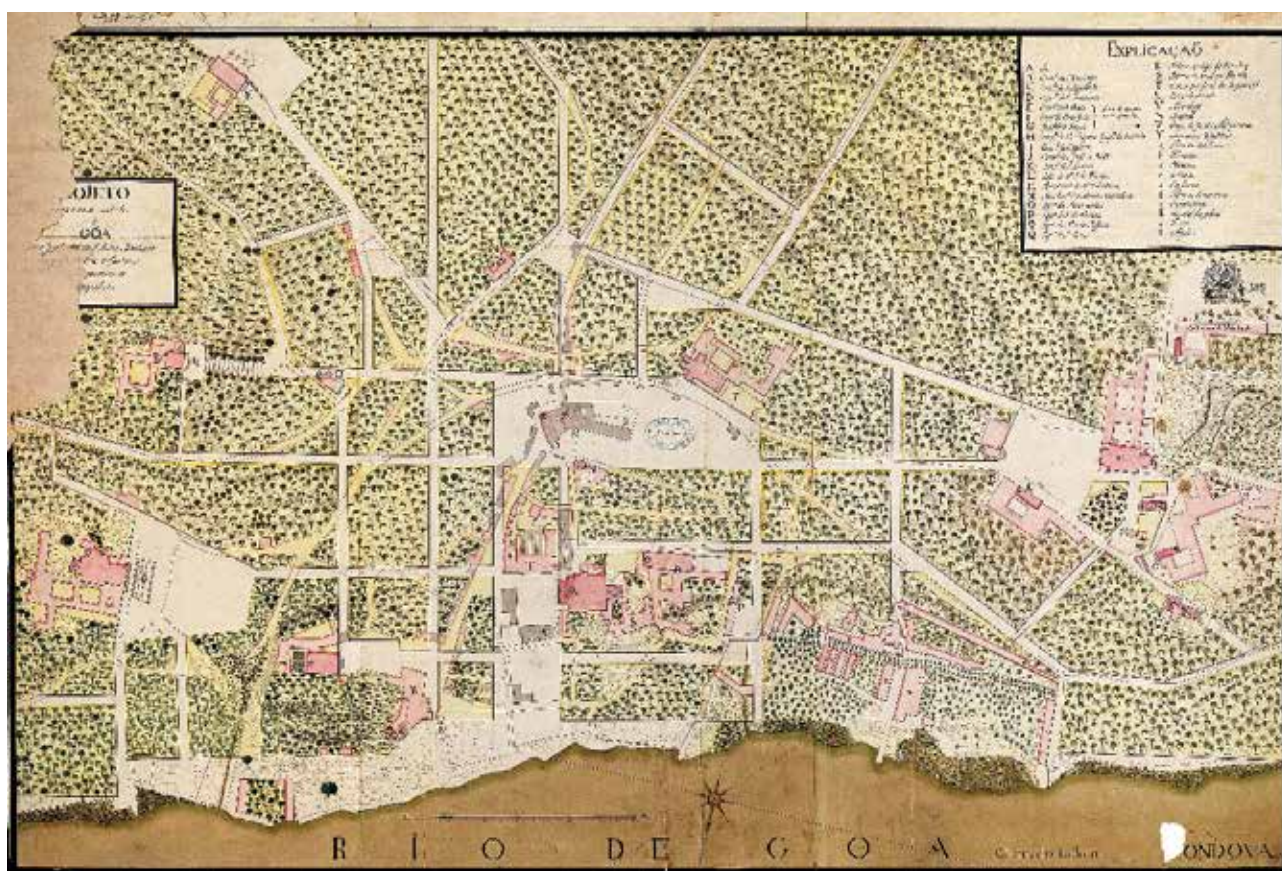


Fig. 1. "Projeto para a nova cidade de Gôa", por José de Morais Antes Machado, 1774  
(Source: Office of Archaeological Studies of Military Engineering, Lisbon)

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).

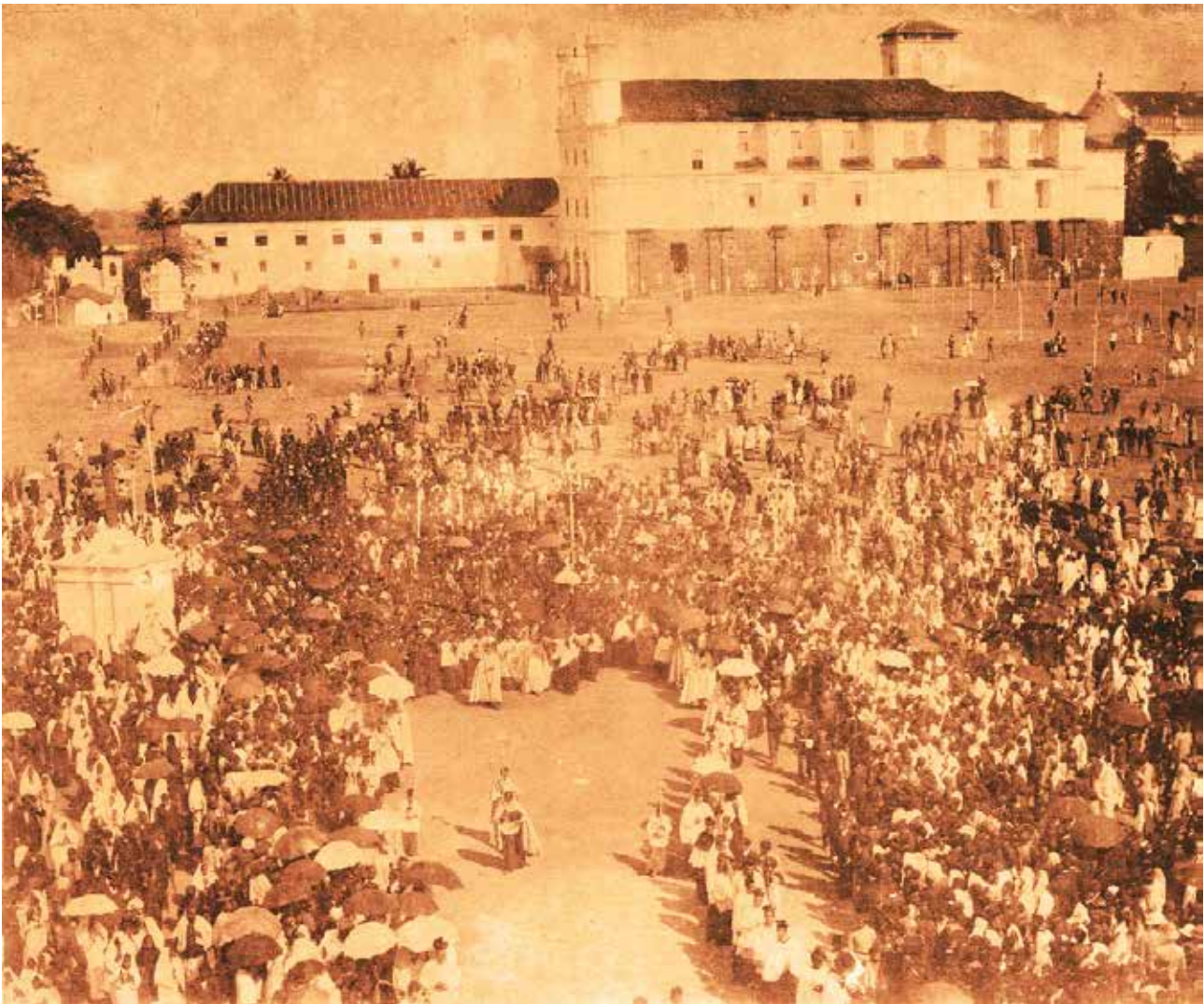
The attraction for the Past led to the study and preservation of ancient monuments, considered as testimonies from the birth and formation of Nations, and Portugal was not immune to these actions – neither some of its overseas territories, especially the Estado da Índia<sup>2</sup>. Furthermore, in 1851 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 Sarmento 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 Sarmento 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 Fortress in Old Goa	Ruins of the Kadamba capital of Chandrapura, at Chandor
Chapel of St. Jerome in the Seminary of Chorao	Fortified wall of Old Goa and its forts	House of Bulls in Old Goa	Ruins of the Kadamba Tirtha of Brahmapuri, at Ella
Church and Convent of Pilar	Fortress of Aguada	Monument in St. Lazarus Camp in Old Goa	<b>TOTAL: 6 monuments</b>
Church and Professed House of the Good Jesus in Old Goa	Fortress of Anjediva	Monument to Afonso de Albuquerque in Panjim	
Church of St. Lawrence in Sinquerim	Fortress of Cabo de Rama	Monument to Vasco da Gama in Panjim	
Church of Our Lady of the Rosary in Old Goa	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 Damam	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 Damam		
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	–	–	Ruins of the Maratha Fort of Ponda
<b>TOTAL: 1 monument</b>			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.

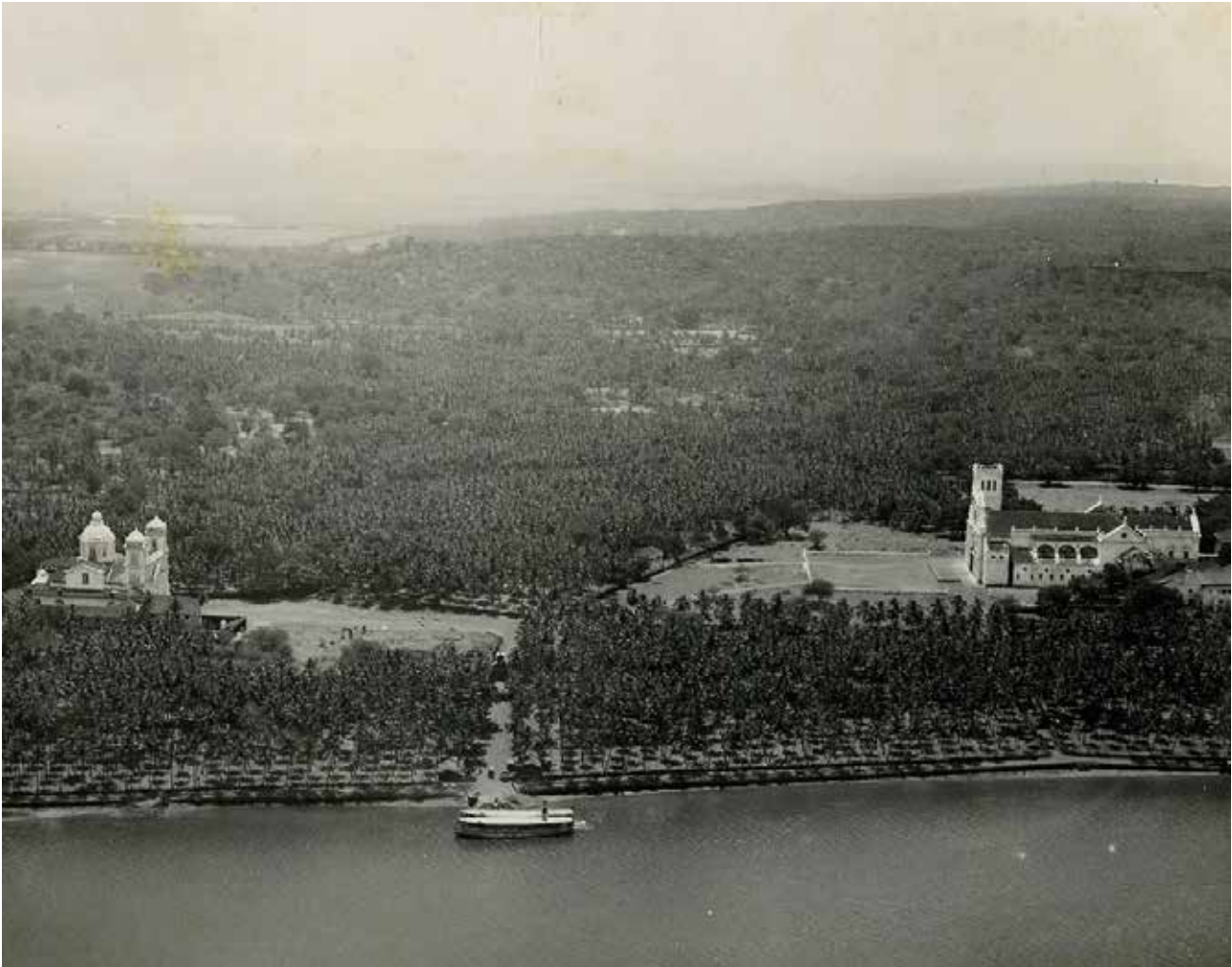


Fig. 5: Comissão Pró-Aviação, 1953. Aerial view over Old Goa (Source: National Archive of Torre do Tombo, Lisbon)

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

46. "Act n° 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° 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° 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 Lamgau
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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# THE SITUATIONAL RIVALRY: THE BRITISH COLONIAL INTERVENTIONS IN THE INDO-PORTUGUESE HERITAGE IN THE NORTH KONKAN (1774-1947)

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## ABSTRACT

The Portuguese Estado da India and the English East India Company were engaged in a series of confrontations from the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in India till an alliance treaty between the Portuguese and English monarchies in 1661 made them neighbours in a contested coastal territory in the North Konkan region of Maharashtra. Situational conflicts over territorial, religious, taxation matters continued between them until the extinction of the Portuguese Province of the North (*Província do Norte*) in the hands of Marathas in 1739. Before the Portuguese could realise their plan to reconquer their lost territory, the English East India Company had occupied it by 1774 only to emerge hegemonic after subduing the Maratha Confederacy in 1818. How the Portuguese structures and monuments were treated – first in the Maratha and the subsequent British period –, how the English perceived the Portuguese colonial remains and heritage in the North Konkan from the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and what was their response to the demand and need for heritage preservation of the monuments of Indo-Portuguese origin in the North Konkan are briefly dealt with in this article. A methodology of conducting detailed archaeological fieldwork and consulting primary and secondary Portuguese, Maratha and British period documents and reports is adopted for this purpose.

## KEYWORDS

Portuguese Province of the North | East India Company | British Raj |  
Archaeological Survey of India | Documentation

## THE PORTUGUESE AND ENGLISH IN THE NORTH KONKAN: A BRIEF HISTORY OF TENSED RELATIONSHIPS

The relations between Portugal and England on the western coast of India were far from being cordial from the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The Portuguese Estado da Índia, which claimed the monopoly of the Indian Ocean trade and enforced it vigorously with the cartaz system, found its hegemony threatened by the new European entrants in the Indian subcontinent – the Dutch and English. It was in the Gulf of Cambay and principally in the port city of Surat controlled by the imperial Mughals that the initial faceoff between these two European marine powers took place in 1612 and 1615 respectively in which the Portuguese suffered defeats. This humiliating debacle before the Mughal governor of Surat had dented the Portuguese claim of marine supremacy and influence in the Gulf of Cambay (Bocarro, 1876; Rawlinson, 1920: 62-63). It led to the establishment of English and Dutch trade factories at Surat in 1612 and 1615 respectively (Akhtar, 1987: 251; Ashfaque, 2006: 271). The next major joint naval action of Dutch and English against the armada of Portuguese naval commander Nuno Alvares Botelho brought them to Portuguese occupied Mumbai in October 1626 and in which the Mumbai Island was ransacked and pillaged (Rawlison, 1920: 67-68). However, the further confrontation between the English and Portuguese was avoided due to the pragmatic approach shown by the then Portuguese Viceroy of India, Dom Miguel de Noronha, who concluded the treaty of peace between the two warring parties in Goa in 1635 (Foster, 1911: 89-99).

Despite this formal treaty of peace, both Portuguese and English engaged in open hostilities on many occasions in the North Konkan of which the beginning can be taken from the formal transfer of the Mumbai group of islands to the English crown by the Portuguese monarchy in 1661. The new Viceroy of Estado da Índia, António de Melo e Castro, who travelled to India onboard the English royal naval fleet and delegation tasked with taking possession of Mumbai, not just formally complained of the ill treatment and disrespect shown to him by the English during the sea journey to the Portuguese monarch Afonso VI and the English king Charles II but also delayed by all possible means the handing over of Mumbai and its dependencies to the English delegation. Waiting for the formal handover of Mumbai, the representative of the English king, Sir Abraham Shipman died in ignominy on a desolate Angediv island, in the south of Goa in 1664. It was not until 1665 that Humphrey Cook, the successor of Sir Abraham Shipman formally took possession of Mumbai, Sion, Mahim and Dharavi islands from Portuguese control (Khan, 1922).

On finding the commercial unviability of retaining the Mumbai group of islands, King Charles II, transferred its possession to the East India Company in 1668. Besides taking possession of Mumbai in 1668 the East India Company also shifted its headquarters from Surat to Mumbai in 1687. Hence, from 1668 to the extinction of the Province of the North in 1739 it was the English East India Company that neighboured Portuguese in the North Konkan. The unresolved issues of managing the huge estates owned by Portuguese *fidalgos* (noblemen) and the Catholic religious institutions, the revenue, taxation and trade duties in the bordering region of English controlled Mumbai and Portuguese controlled Sashti (Salsette) group of islands and Karanja island invited frequent violent clashes between English and Portuguese in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Campbell, 1882). The issue took a serious turn when on the instructions of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, Siddi Yakut invaded English controlled Mumbai in 1689 and the English somehow managed to save their possession by offering forgiveness to the Mughal emperor and by paying a hefty fine.

The English governor suspected Portuguese assistance behind the invasion and confiscated the properties of Jesuits in the Mumbai group of islands in 1691 much to the resentment of Portuguese authorities of the Province of the North. The Portuguese responded by imposing an economic blockade over English controlled Mumbai which put the population therein in great distress (Edwardes, 1909).

Apart from the routine frictions in Mumbai and Sashti group of islands over the jurisdictional, economic, religious and trade disputes, matters worsened to the extent of English naval commander Commodore Thomas Matthews thrusting his cane into the mouth of General of the Province of the North, António de Casco e Melo over the Portuguese inaction in the joint Portuguese and English military expedition against Kanhoji Aangrey in 1721. The Portuguese Viceroy Francisco José de Sampaio e Castro also did not escape from the anger of Commodore Matthews at the end of this failed military raid against the Maratha sea strongman Kanhoji Aangrey in Alibag. The English squarely blamed the Portuguese for their betrayal in this military expedition (Downing, 1737: 59). According to the Portuguese version of the incident, angered over the Portuguese betrayal, Commodore Matthews slapped the General of the Province of the North (Mendiratta, 2012: 154). It resulted in the English confiscating all Portuguese properties in Mumbai and Portuguese imposing a commercial blockade of Mumbai which virtually brought them into an open war in 1722. The English specifically complained against the bellicose actions of the General of the Province of the North, António de Casco e Melo to the Portuguese Viceroy Francisco José de Sampaio e Castro which ultimately resulted in the replacement of the General in February 1723 (Downing, 1737; Biker, 1885: 244-342).

The Maratha threat over the Province of the North made the English offer situational assistance to the Portuguese as the increasing power of the Marathas would have been detrimental to their existence in Mumbai. The active English mediation between Portuguese and Marathas came after the latter's invasion of the Province of the North in 1730. The English secretly aided the Portuguese which helped them to retain Thane and Sashti islands against the Maratha attack. A treaty of peace was concluded between Portuguese and Marathas through the English intervention in 1732 (Lobato, 1965: 117-121).

The next English intervention came during the final and conclusive Maratha attack on the Province of the North under the command of Chimanaji Ballal (Chimaji Appa), the younger brother of Peshwa Bajirao I from 1737 to 1739. In this protracted war, Portuguese made allegations of English covertly aiding Marathas against Portuguese by supplying arms, ammunition and war experts, which resulted in the death of General of the Province of the North Pedro de Melo when he was attempting to reconquer Thane from the Maratha control in December 1738. According to the Portuguese, the East India Company was eyeing the Portuguese-controlled Sashti and was in secret negotiations with the Marathas to get its possession following the Maratha victory (Pissurlekar, 1983). The English assistance to the Portuguese in this fateful war was supplying gun powder, manpower for the protection of the fortified Jesuit college in Bandra apart from lending loans. There was heated correspondence between Portuguese and English in which the interim Governor of the Province of the North, João Xavier Pereira Pinto sternly reminded English of how the Maratha idolaters are the common enemies of both Portugal and England in Asia, besides accusing English of aiding Marathas (Forrest, 1885: 25-27). Despite fervent requests for help, the English chose to stay neutral and ultimately witnessed the Portuguese surrendering Vasai to the Marathas in May 1739. Besides providing refuge to surrendered Portuguese forces in Mumbai, the English acted as a mediator in concluding the treaty between Portuguese and Marathas in September 1740. The Portuguese managed to keep Daman fort but had to give up Revdanda and Korlai Forts to the Marathas (Pissurlekar, 1975: 164).

The Portuguese nursed the ambition of reconquering the lost territory of the Province of the North from the Marathas but seldom put in any action to realise this task. In between, changing geopolitical circumstances in the Indian subcontinent had favoured the English East India Company to pursue openly imperialistic ambitions. The Maratha debacle in the Panipat War (1761) and the internal disputes within the Maratha Confederacy paved the way for the English takeover of Sashti and Vasai in 1774 (Campbell, 1882). It is exactly at the same time that the Estado da India was preparing to retake the Province of the North and had deputed an armada under José Sanches de Brito for this task. But Brito could do nothing but protest and witness the English conquest of Sashti and Vasai (Forrest, 1885: 180-181).

The Portuguese continued to express their displeasure towards the English annexations in the North Konkan till 1780 but without any success (Cunha, 1993: 155-156). Except for getting the possession of Nagar and Haveli for the maintenance of Daman from the Marathas in 1783 and 1785 respectively, no further advancement was made to re-conquer the lost territory of Vasai and Sashti by the Portuguese (Pissurlekar, 1983: 229-231).

## THE NORTH KONKAN IN THE MARATHA AND THE EARLY BRITISH PERIOD (1739-1818)

The Marathas after conquering the Province of the North carried out alterations, additions, restrengthening and repairing of the older Portuguese fortifications. The signatures of Maratha structural interventions in the major Portuguese fortifications and bastions at Thane, Arnala, Ghodbandar, Tarapur, Shirgaon, Madh Island, Vasai, Kelve-Mahim can be thoroughly read and all are well documented. The European travellers such as Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron (a Frenchman), James Forbes (a Scotsman) and Dr. Anton Hove (a Pole) visited the North Konkan in 1760, 1774 and 1788 respectively. These travellers in their respective travelogues described the Portuguese period churches, chapels, large buildings mostly in ruins, and some in active function (Duperron, 1771; Forbes, 1813; Hove, 1855). Anquetil-Duperron specifically wrote about religious tolerance during the Maratha rule and the continuance of Catholic religious practices in Vasai and Sashti islands. He also notes the Maratha construction of a fort in the Danda-Kelve creek and repairs to Tarapur fort during his visit in 1760 (Duperron, 1771: 389).

Vasai, the former capital of the Province of the North, even though conquered by the English East India Company in the first Anglo-Maratha war in 1775 was returned to the Marathas soon, while the other conquered possessions of Sashti, Karanja, Elephanta and Hog island remained with the English (Aitchison, 1909: 21-39). Vasai fell again to the English in 1780 and remained in their control till the Treaty of Salbai was concluded between the English and Marathas in 1782, ending the first Anglo-Maratha war (1775-1782) (Aitchison, 1909: 40-46). The English too, in their rule over the Sashti Island, carried out the structural additions and restrengthening of the fortifications such as at Madh Island. It was garrisoned by the English force from 1774 to 1818 (Campbell, 1882). The Thane fort which was completed and enlarged from the original but incomplete Portuguese fortification by the Marathas in 1738-39 was remodelled and restrengthened by the English and kept in the highest order of defence (Forbes, 1813: 284-285; Hamilton, 1820: 622).

The English conclusively took Vasai along with the other possessions held by the Peshwa following the defeat of the Maratha confederacy in the third Anglo-Maratha war (1817-1819) (Aitchison, 1909). Revdanda which was then included in the dominion of Aangrey of Colaba, formally came under the English rule after the lapsing of the Kolaba State by the East India Company in 1840 (Campbell, 1883). All these possessions in the North Konkan remained under British control till the independence of India in 1947.

1. The fort is now called Pankot and it is situated at the mouth of Danda-Kelve Creek in taluka and district of Palghar in Maharashtra.

## THE INDO-PORTUGUESE REMAINS IN THE NORTH KONKAN IN THE EARLY ENGLISH RULE: RECORDS AND DEPICTIONS (1774-1857)

The English possession and rule of the former Portuguese Province of the North can be divided into three phases, the Early period (1774-1818) and the Later period (1819-1857), both under the English East India Company and subsequently the British Colonial period (1858-1947) when the English crown directly ruled over the Indian subcontinent following the Indian rebellion of 1857.

It is during the East India Company's initial rule over Sashti, Karanja, Elephanta and Hog islands and the temporary possession of Vasai that we encounter the first visual and textual recordings of the Portuguese strongholds in the North Konkan coming from the Early period of English occupation (1774-1818). The Vasai Fort features prominently in these depictions as we have the first known drawing of the fort right from the English attack on Vasai in 1780 drawn by Captain Charles Reynolds of the East India Company. The pen-ink and wash drawing<sup>2</sup> titled "View of the North Face of Bassein at Surrender. December, 11 1780" is of importance as it shows the condition of the fort on the day of its surrender to the English forces on 11<sup>th</sup> December 1780<sup>3</sup>.

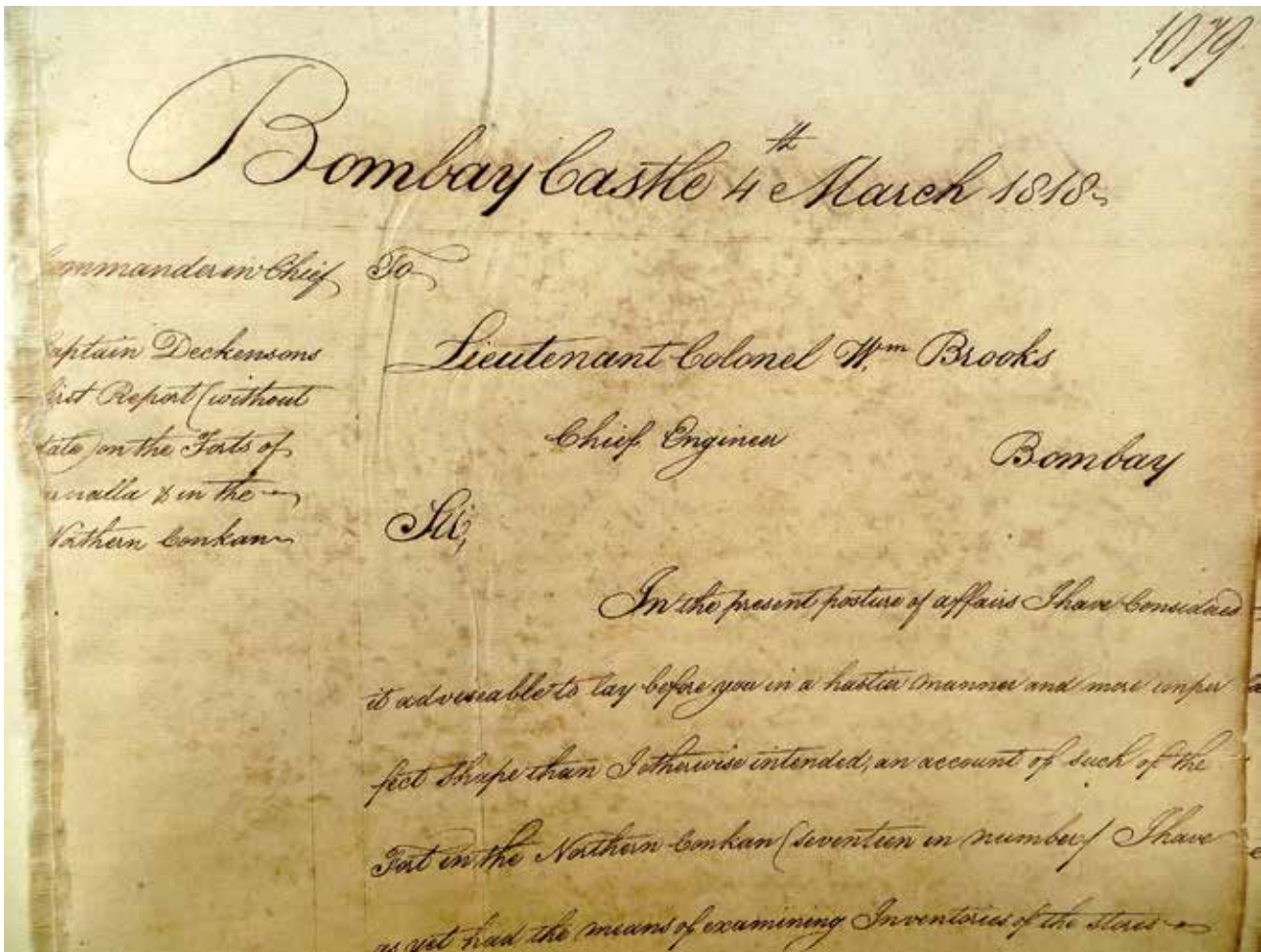


Fig. 01 · Lt. Captain Thomas Dickinson's Report on the Forts of Northern Konkan, 1818 (source: British Library, London).

2. Shelf mark – WD4165, Item Number – 4165, the British Library, London.

3. THAKARE, Mayur – *In Ink, Paints and Photographs: Vasai Fort as Seen by the Portuguese and the British from 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries*, 2014. In: <https://deccancollege.academia.edu/MayurThakare> (Access in 2024).

Following the complete conquest of the North Konkan by the English in 1817, Captain Lieutenant Thomas Dickinson of Bombay Engineers was tasked with surveying and recording the fortifications in the North Konkan in 1818. The report<sup>4</sup> of Captain Dickinson [fig.01] records in much detail the fortifications<sup>5</sup> in the North Konkan from his field survey and it is the first of its kind produced during the Early English period. It gives a rare first hand insight into the then existing Indo-Portuguese fortified cities (Vasai), coastal forts (Dahanu, Tarapur, Shirgaon, Kelve-Mahim, Arnala, Parsik, Belapur), towers (Umbargaon, Chinchani, Sopara), the hill forts (Segvah, Asheri, Asava, Kohoj, Takmak) and wooden stockades (Sopara). Among these listed fortifications, the ones at Umbargaon, Nalasopara and Parsik do not survive anymore in their entirety, owing to multiple reasons. The primary being the rising urbanism and reclamations in the British and the subsequent post-independence period. According to this report, most of the forts were in neglected condition for over twenty years before their takeover by the English. Dickinson mentions that apart from Vasai, Tarapur and Mahim forts were of considerable strength and dimension. Curiously, he recommends converting the Vasai fort into a prison. Therefore, this report is important to understand the state of condition of the Indo-Portuguese structures during the formal beginning of the English rule in the North Konkan and the subsequent alterations that they went through. Subsequently, considering the strategic value of Vasai, Arnala and Tarapur forts, they were garrisoned for a short time during the English rule but were soon abandoned (Nairne, 1894).

However, it is in the Later period (1819-1857) of East India Company's undisputed expansion in the North Konkan that we have the varied depictions of the Portuguese forts, church and chapels existing then in the former Province of the North in the medium of paintings and the earliest known photographs. The Vasai fort was subjected to elaborate artistic documentations and we have beautiful paintings and drawings of the fort drawn by the East India Company officials such as Captain James Barton<sup>6</sup> (1820), George Boyd<sup>7</sup> (1821) and William Miller<sup>8</sup> (1828)<sup>9</sup>. However, from 1824 onwards, Vasai Fort was kept in a locked condition and it was in ruinous condition (Hamilton, 1828).

Bishop Reginald Heber during his tours to Mumbai and surroundings, visited Ghodbandar in 1825 and noted that the imposing Portuguese period church existing on the nearby hillock opposite the fortified manor house at Ghodbandar was converted into an occasional residence of the English Governor of Mumbai and his friends. His travelogue contains perhaps the first known depiction of the church and the fortified manor house drawn by him and is titled "Gorabunder" [fig.02] (Heber, 1828: 187-188). According to the report of the Collector of Thane from 1859, this church was not used for the Catholic religious worship since the English conquest of Sashti island and was repaired in 1823. During the repairs, it was supplied with doors and windows (Campbell, 1882). The second depiction of these Portuguese period ruins comes from the watercolour painting drawn by Captain Thomas Postans in 1843 (Santos, 2015). Nevertheless, this early record of repairs did not extend to all Portuguese period ruins as it is from 1833 that the English started dismantling the inner portions of Thane fort to start to use it as a prison from 1838. The outer fortification, anyhow, survived the extensive remodelling with the demolition of inner buildings inside the fort for the construction of barracks and facilities for the prison. The inner portion consisted mostly of the Maratha period structures but also had Portuguese period remains. This imposing alteration was completed by 1876 (Campbell, 1882).

4. Military Diary 314 of 1818, p. 1079-1180. The first report is undated from 1818, the second is dated to 6 February 1818.

5. In total, thirty-one coastal, inland and hill forts are described. Presently, the ruins of Umbargaon tower falls in Umbargaon taluka of Valsad district in Gujarat. The rest are: Dahanu is in Dahanu taluka; Chinchani, Tarapur, Shirgaon, Kelve-Mahim, Segvah, Asheri, Asava are in Palghar taluka; Arnala, Sopara, Vasai, Takmak are in Vasai taluka; Kohoj is in Wada taluka of Palghar district; Parsik and Belapur are in Thane district of Maharashtra.

6. Paintings titled, "Bassein Fort" (Shelf mark – P158, Item Number – 158) & "View in Bassein Fort" (Shelf mark – P158, Item Number – 158), the British Library, London.

7. Pencil drawing titled, "Bassein" (Shelf mark – WD247, Item Number – 19), the British Library, London.

8. Coloured lithograph titled, "Pagoda and Church in Fort of Bassein" (Shelf mark – P2894, Item Number – 2894), the British Library, London.

9. THAKARE, Mayur – *In Ink, Paints and Photographs: Vasai Fort as Seen by the Portuguese and the British from 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries*, 2014. In: <https://deccancollege.academia.edu/MayurThakare> (Access in 2024).

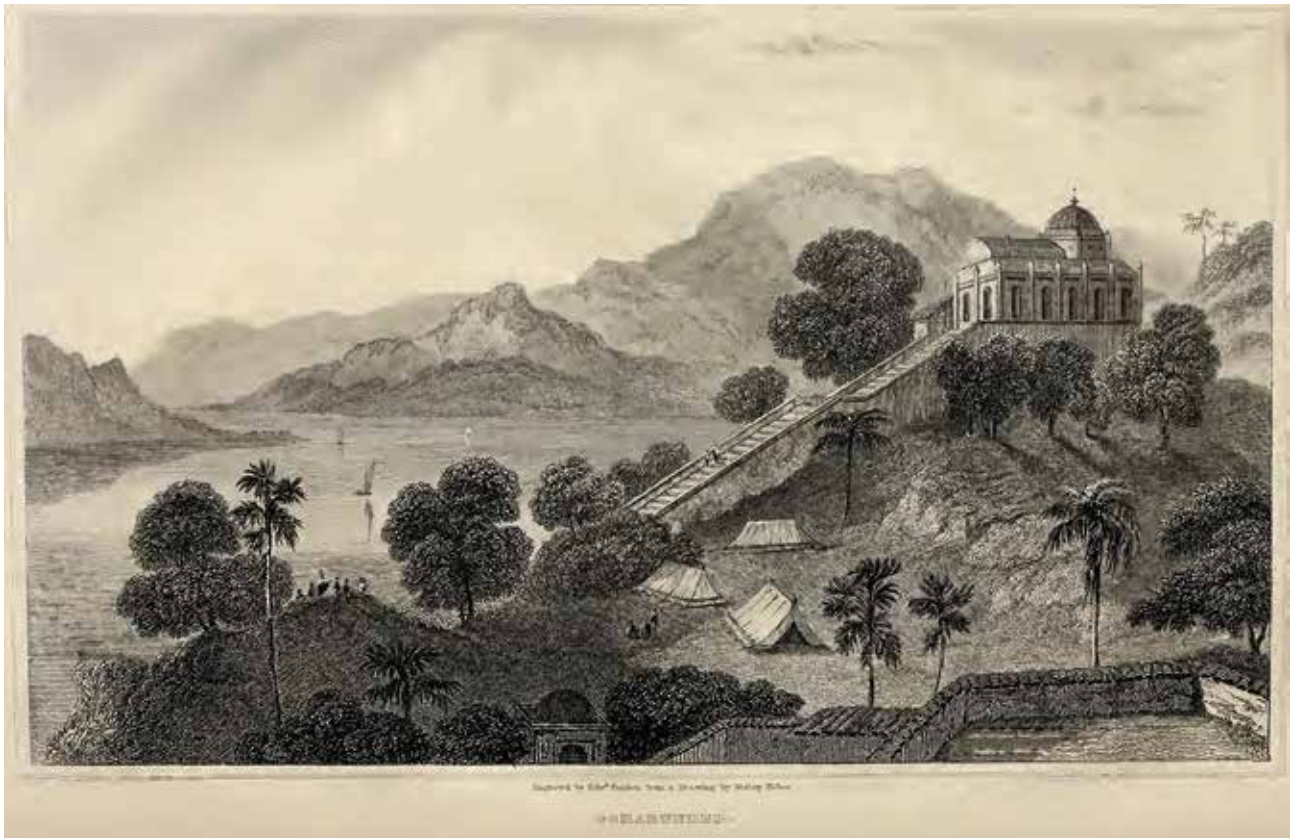
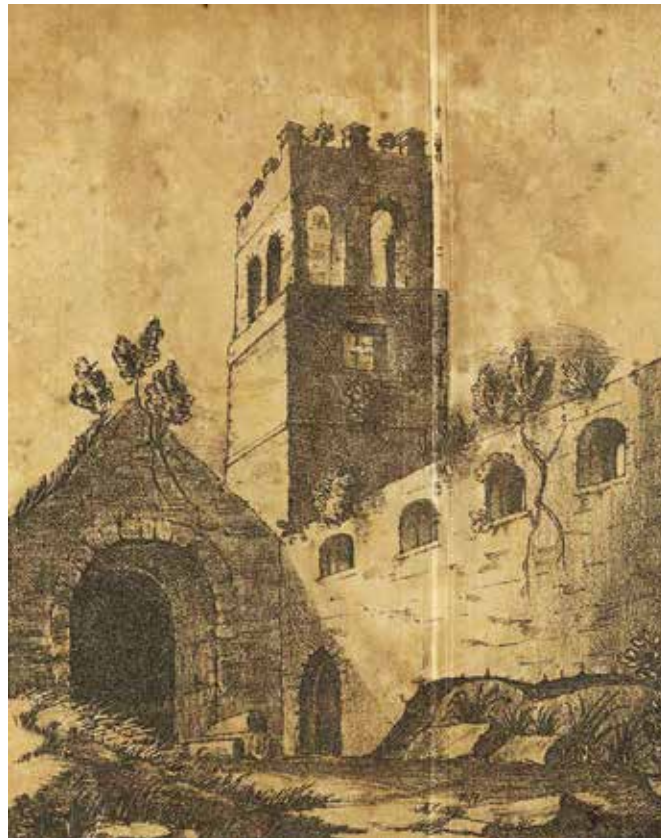


Fig. 02. "Gorabunder" (Ghodbandar), 1825 (source: Heber, 1828).

The first systematic recording and scholarly treatment of the Portuguese ruins comes from W. M. Hearn, who worked as a clerk in the office of the Political Agent in Alibag. In his detailed *Statistical Report of the Colaba Agency* submitted to the Court of Directors of the East India Company in 1851 and published in book form 1854 we find the first detailed descriptions of the ruins and antiquities of Portuguese forts at Revdanda and Korlai. Despite both these localities then falling under the jurisdiction of the Thane district, Hearn gives an elaborate description of them in Part XVI – Antiquities of the report, apart from recording the community benefits granted to the Bhandari community in the Portuguese period. He documents and records fourteen inscriptions in Revdanda and Korlai forts, besides providing their English translations. Moreover, he provides the first available drawing of the Franciscan church and convent of Santa Bárbara with its splendid tower [fig.03]. He writes that the tower was then 96 feet (29.250 meters) high and notes seeing the chapel with its intact arched roof containing sculptures of the crucifixion, the ascension and the incarnation in 1844. The said roof had fallen by 1851. Interestingly, he records about the existence of the round tower which belonged to the wall surrounding the fortified town of Revdanda. The inscription on the said tower recorded its construction in the year 1688, during the viceroyship of Francisco de Távora. From this description, it is apparent that one of the towers belonging to the Portuguese period fortified church of Madre de Deus in the camp of Chaul was in existence when Hearn wrote his report (Hearn, 1854: 110-113). Some of the inscriptions and monumental ruins mentioned by Hearn are not traceable in the present and thus, this epigraphic data provides valuable information about the structural evolution and expansion of the Revdanda fort in the Portuguese period.

Meanwhile, the English authorities attempted to revive industry in Vasai fort by leasing the land inside the fort for a sugar factory first in 1830 and second in 1852. In 1852 the Portuguese period church of the Nossa Senhora da Vida (Our Lady of Life) was converted into a sugar factory. However, on both occasions, this enterprise failed and the place was left desolate. The space between the Maratha period temples and the above-mentioned church was dug up to build an L-shaped water reservoir for the purpose of a sugar factory. Coupled with these structural



**Fig. 03.** “Steeple of the Principal Chapel in the Fort” (Revdanda), 1851 (source: Hearn, 1854).

interventions, in 1856 the fortification was bisected on the North-Western and South-Eastern sides respectively to make a road leading to the coastal landing place (Campbell, 1882). Both these structural interventions carried out under the rule of the East India Company in the fort can be seen even today. It is important to note that there was no standard policy or legal framework for the protection or preservation of the cultural heritage in the Bombay Presidency back then<sup>10</sup>.

The last years of the East India Company rule in India witnessed the introduction of photography as an advanced method of recording and documentation, especially for antiquities and ancient monuments. The colonial Bombay, being one of the epicentres of British colonialism in the Indian subcontinent, had openhandedly welcomed and embraced this new technique and even as early as 1854 had the Bombay Photographic Society with two hundred members (Desmond, 1985: 52). It is during this last phase of East India Company’s rule that we start finding the extensive photographic documentation of the Portuguese ruins in the North Konkan taken up by the photography enthusiasts and officials of the Company. The pioneering work in this regard was done by Charles Scott of the Bombay Engineering Department who captured the first known photographs<sup>11</sup> of Vasai fort in 1857. His photographs present the dilapidated and vegetation-covered ruins of St. Thomas Cathedral, Jesuit College and Church, Church and Convent of Augustinians and Church and Convent of Franciscans inside the fort<sup>12</sup>.

10. Comparably, the Bengal and Madras Presidencies had enacted Bengal Regulations XIX of 1810 and Madras Regulation VII of 1817 respectively which are considered the first antiquarian legislations in the country. According to these legislations, the British Government could intervene if it sees any public building under a threat of misuse. However, it could not act in the case of a private property.

11. Charles Scott made eight photographs of the ruins of Vasai fort and the surroundings. Presently, they are in the collection of the British Library, London.

12. THAKARE, Mayur – *In Ink, Paints and Photographs: Vasai Fort as Seen by the Portuguese and the British from 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries*, 2014. In: <https://deccancollege.academia.edu/MayurThakare> (Access in 2024).

## UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN RULE (1858-1947): DOCUMENTATION, PRESERVATION AND PROTECTION

Following the debacle of the 1857 rebellion in India, the rule over the Indian subcontinent was taken over by the British crown. In the British Raj, the prolific photographic documentation of the monumental ruins in Vasai and Chaul continued. The next set of photographs<sup>13</sup> of Vasai fort comes from William Johnson who belonged to the uncovenanted civil services of the Bombay Government. He is also perhaps the first to photograph the Portuguese ruins at Ghodbandar<sup>14</sup>. This overall photographic work of William Johnson spans from 1855-1862 and appeared in his three volume work *Photographs of Western India*. In Vasai fort, Johnson photographed the ruins of the Church and College of Jesuits, Church and Convent of Franciscans, Church and Convent of Dominicans, St. Joseph Cathedral apart from the entrance to St. Sebastian fort, the Maratha period Vajreshvari temple, the L-shaped water reservoir, the palace of the General of the North which appeared in photographic form for the first time<sup>15</sup>. Whereas in Ghodbandar, the Portuguese period church which by this time was converted into the residence of the Collector of Thane, was clicked from the backside. More striking are the ruins of the fortified manor house and the Maratha period bastion [fig.04] which existed on the hillock on the North-West of the church. Here we see that the structure has become roofless and has an impressive arched colonnade at the front. The careful observation of William Johnson's photographs of Vasai fort and those that appeared of the same monument in the book of Goan Historian J. Gerson da Cunha in 1876 shows that Cunha used the photographs of Johnson's in his pioneering work on the history of Chaul and Vasai (Cunha, 1876). However, it is during the similar time (1850-1870) period that another collection of photographs of Vasai fort ascribed to the famous English photographer Francis Frith<sup>16</sup> emerges. It is not known if Frith had photographed the ruins through his firm or had simply acquired these photographs from a now unknown collaborating photographer. A closer comparative study of the photographs of Johnson's and Frith's collection reveals that the collection of Frith is of a later date<sup>17</sup>. It appears that Cunha had utilised some photographs of the Vasai fort in his book from the Frith's collection too<sup>18</sup>. This initial curiosity in documenting the Portuguese ruins in the North Konkan, however, did not necessarily mean any serious urge of the British authorities to protect or preserve them. And by 1860 we see that the interior of the Vasai fort was leased for a period of thirty years to Major Littlewood in 1860. The lease opened the commercial cultivation inside the fort (Campbell, 1882).

With the individual efforts in full sway to make sense of India's age-old culture and civilization in which Europeans and Indians participated with equal zest, the British government was made to sensitize and be responsible for the preservation of the country's heritage, resulting in the enactment of "Act XX" of 1863. Section XXIII of the said act authorised the Government to intervene to "prevent injury to and preserve buildings remarkable for their antiquity or for their historical or architectural value". However, it was not until the foundation of the Archaeological Survey of Western India under the stewardship of Dr. James Burgess in 1874 that a definite step by the Bombay Government towards recognising the archaeological potential of the region was taken. This scheme of archaeological survey of the Western region was initially sanctioned for the period of three years at the annual cost of Rs. 13,000/-.

13. William Johnson clicked eight photographs of the various monuments in Vasai fort. At present, they are in the collection of the Southern Methodist University, Dallas, United States of America.

14. Three photographs of Ghodbandar and two specifically of the Portuguese period church and the fortified manor house were taken by William Johnson. In present, they are in the collection of the Southern Methodist University, Dallas, United States of America.

15. THAKARE, Mayur – *In Ink, Paints and Photographs: Vasai Fort as Seen by the Portuguese and the British from 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries*, 2014. In: <https://deccancollege.academia.edu/MayurThakare> (Access in 2024).

16. Sr. No. 4406 – 4412, Presently in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

17. For example, the stone paving of the water reservoir's embankment near the Maratha period Vajreshvari temple is fairly in good order in the Johnson's collection whereas in the Frith's collection, it appeared to be broken and in disorder.

18. Compare: 1) Frith's Collection Photo nos. 4408, 4409, 4410 & Bassein – One of the Squares of the Jesuit's Monastery, Bassein; 2) Ruins of the Chapel of Misericordia in Cunha's Chaul and Bassein – Ruins of the Captain General of the North's Palace Garden.



Fig. 04. "Gorabunder, near Bassein, View near Collector's Lodge" (Ghodbandar), 1855-62 (source: Southern Methodist University, Dallas).

The duration of the operation was extended for another two years though (Roy, 1953: 19). Before this, despite the existence of Bombay Literary Society<sup>19</sup> and the presence of many notable cultural and heritage enthusiasts and scholars in Mumbai, there was no institutional setup founded by the provincial government of Bombay to look specifically after the cultural heritage of the area. Just three years before, in 1871, the British Government of India had established the Archaeological Survey of India under the leadership of Major-General Alexander Cunningham<sup>20</sup>, who served as the organisation's founder Director General. But the newly founded organisation didn't enjoy exclusive jurisdiction over the entire country. Instead, a confused arrangement of administration and policymaking resulted in the formation of separate archaeological surveys in different parts of the country, the northern region under the direction of Cunningham himself, the Western now under Burgess and the Southern Archaeological Survey founded later in 1881 and placed under the charge of Burgess. Surprisingly, these early institutional formations had no place for conservation of the monuments but had the survey and explorations in the most priority list (Keay, 2011).

19. Founded in 1804 by the initiative of Sir James Mackintosh. In: <https://www.asiaticsociety.org.in/index.php/about-us/history-asiatic>.

20. Alexander Cunningham was first appointed as the Archaeological Surveyor for the Archaeological Survey of Northern India by the Government of India in 1861. This contractual appointment continued till 1865.

Following the basic principles of making detailed inventories of the archaeological sites and monuments with their plans, illustrations and photographs, Burgess plunged into action after he received orders from the Government of India to prepare the list of antiquarian remains in the Bombay Presidency, Sindh and Berar in 1875. But in reality, to execute such mammoth tasks, he had no assistant or staff trained in Archaeology or Architecture or History as no permanent staff was sanctioned to him by the Bombay government. He had to coordinate with the local administration (principally the Revenue and Education Departments along with others) to receive necessary details from respective areas. How much he had to struggle to extract relevant information for preparation of the list can be read from his lively introduction in *Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency* published in book form in 1885. In this list, we see that there were twenty Portuguese period monuments featuring from Kolaba<sup>21</sup> and Thana<sup>22</sup> districts apart from six sites<sup>23</sup> temporarily occupied by Portuguese in Thana and Surat<sup>24</sup> districts. But at the end, Burgess noted that “only a small proportion of these monuments is conservation or restoration desirable or possible” (Burgess, 1885: i). Meanwhile, the Government of India had enacted the “Treasure Trove Act 1878” to put a stop to rampage treasure hunting prevalent in the subcontinent. Pressed for the deplorable state of historical monuments, the Government of India also independently appointed Major Henry Hardy Cole as the Curator of the Ancient Monuments for a period of three years in 1881. He was tasked with offering the “Government of India and the local governments the advantage of professional advice concerning the restoration and conservation of ancient monuments throughout India” (Roy, 1953: 16). Cole provided the framework for the classification of monuments, which became the standard criteria adopted by the regional Archaeological surveys and ultimately by the Archaeological Survey of India from 1882-83 till 1919. In 1919, the classification was slightly modified to meet the changed circumstances (Ghosh, 1953: 30). It is for the first time that conservation and restoration of monuments featured so prominently in the policy framework of the Government of India which by then was content with relegating the authority for this task (along with arranging funds) to the local provincial governments. Major Cole had classified the monuments in the following categories (Burgess, 1885: ii):

- I. – Those monuments which from their present condition and historical or archaeological value ought to be maintained in permanent and good repair.
- II. – Those monuments which it is now only possible or desirable to save from further decay by such minor measures as the eradication of vegetation, the exclusion of water from the walls, and the like.
- III. – Those monuments which from their advanced stage of decay or comparative unimportance, it is impossible or unnecessary to preserve.

The monuments in the classes I and II were further sub-divided:

- I (a) and II (a) – Monuments in possession or charge of the Government, or in respect of which Government must undertake the cost of all measures of conservation.
- I (b) and II (b) – Monuments in the possession or charge of private bodies or individuals.

However, it was in the tenure of Henry Cousens as the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey of Western India (1890-1910) that the first concrete steps towards documentation, protection and preservation of the Portuguese monuments in the North Konkan formally began. In 1897 the “Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency” was published by Cousens based on the original compilation done earlier by Burgess. In this revised list,

21. Korlai and Revdanda forts.

22. Salsette taluka – Ghodbandar (St. John church, monastery and fort), Montpezir/Mandapeshwar (Old churches, watchtower, convent and caves), Dharavi (fort), Madh/Versova (fort), Bandra (old aguada/fort); Bassein taluka – Bassein/Wasai (fort and churches), Jivdhan (fort, tanks and caves), Mandvi (fort), Agashi (fort at Aranala), Kharbao (fort); Mahim taluka – Kelve and Shirgaon (old forts), Asheri (fort), Tarapur (old fort); Dahanu taluka – Chikhli (old fort), Dahanu and Umbargaon (old forts), Sanjan (fort), Katalwara (old fort), Uran taluka – Uran (two small forts and old churches).

23. Mahim taluka – Kaldurg, Tandulwadi, Takmak forts, Dahanu taluka – Segwa fort, Wada taluka – Kohoj fort, Panvel taluka – Karnala fort.

24. Valsad taluka – Parnera fort.



Fig. 05· Shell Bath, Bassein Fort, 1898 (source: Cousens, 1898-1905)

the monuments were accorded the categories devised by Major Cole and we find that except for Bassein fort which was granted II (a) and Mandapeshvara with II (b), all other monuments were put in III category. The revised list no longer contained the Portuguese structures in Uran<sup>25</sup> (Cousens, 1897). As early in 1882 it was reported by W.B. Mulock, the Collector of Thane that the cultivation inside the Vasai fort by the family of Major Littlewood had made the preservation of monumental ruins entirely impossible (Campbell, 1882). When Cousens visited Bassein fort in 1898, the son of Major Littlewood was holding the lease of the entire interior of the fort who, according to Cousens, lived on the spot and took great interest in the buildings. Cousens photographed the monuments<sup>26</sup> inside the Vasai fort and wrote in detail about the exquisite Sind tile work in the church of the Jesuits and praised the remains of Shell Bath [fig.05]. The ruins, according to him, were interesting but were fast falling into decay and only the principal ones could be kept in good repair (Cousens, 1898).

After John Marshall took up the leadership of the formerly fragmented Archaeological Survey of India in 1902, this organisation acquired a more centralised character with the ample institutional support of the Viceroy Lord Curzon. With the enactment of “Ancient Monuments Preservation Act” in 1904, the department was now armed with the legal power to protect the monuments and to make provisions for their preservation and conservation,

25. It seems that Portuguese fort at Uran was considerably damaged by 1882 and, according to an entry in the *Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency – Thana District*, it was broken for building material by Mr. Manuel De Souza, the Mamlatdar of Salsette island in 1850, for construction of Bhimala Pond.

26. Dominican Convent, Jesuit Church, Shell Bath, Franciscan Church, Entrance to St. Sebastian Fort, Sr. No. 1556 – 1563, the British Library, London.

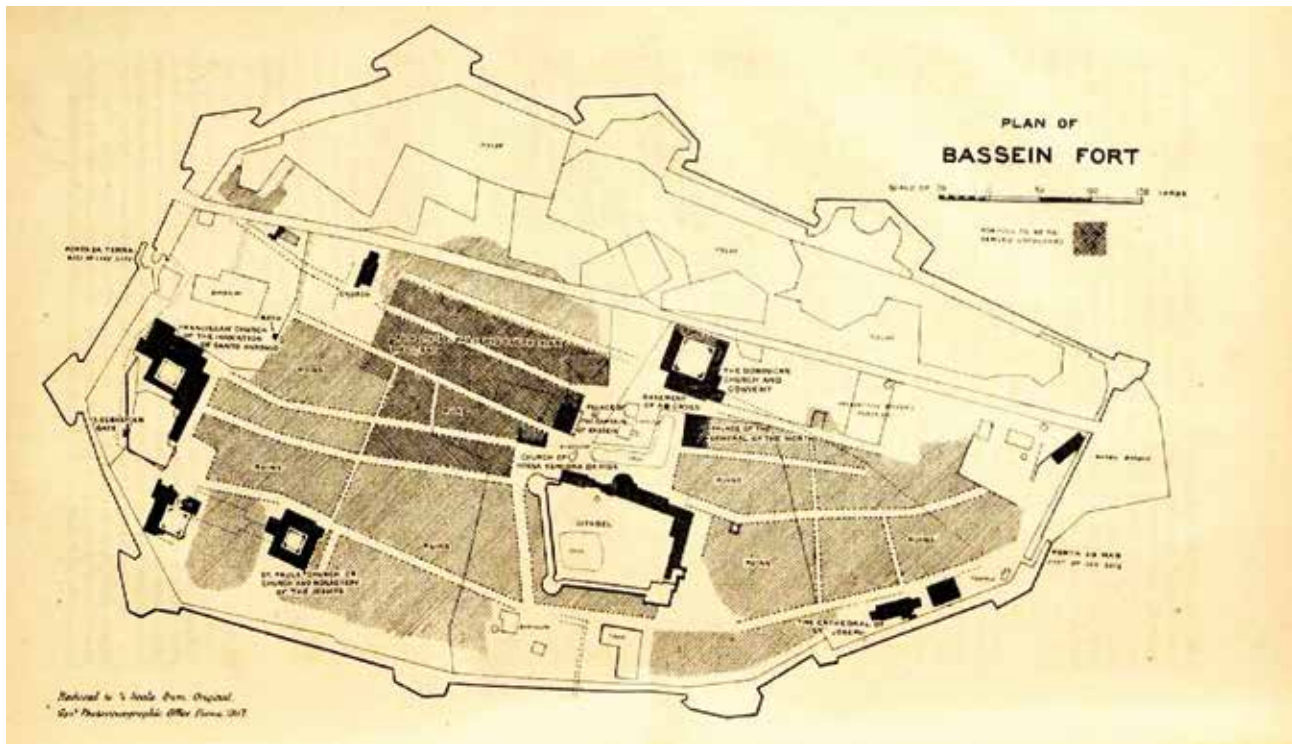


Fig. 06- Plan of Bassein Fort, 1906 (source: Cousens, 1906-10)

to make acquisitions in certain cases of ancient monuments and of objects of archaeological, historical or artistic interest, and to exercise control over the traffic of the antiquities and over excavation in certain areas (Ghosh, 1953: 33). In the following year (1905), Cousens repaired the gateway of the Portuguese fort at Bandra (Cousens, 1905: 14). From 1906 to 1907, Cousens was making tours to Bassein, Revdanda and Korlai and was guiding the officials of the Public Works Department of Bombay Government and the district collectors for the safe preservation of the ruins. In 1906, the first scaled map of Vasai fort [fig.06] was prepared by the Western Circle of Archaeological Survey of India and photographs<sup>27</sup> of the monuments in Revdanda and Korlai forts were taken in 1907 (Cousens, 1907). The Agriculture Department of the Government of Bombay was planning and executing a project to convert the interior of the Bassein fort into a botanical garden and Cousens took enough precautions to not let the Agriculture Department do any possible harm to the old buildings inside the fort. With the supervision of the Cousens, six monuments<sup>28</sup> in the fort were selected for conservation and estimates amounting to Rs. 7,494/- prepared by the Public Works Department of Thane were approved by the Western Circle in 1907 (Bhandarkar, 1912: 11-12). But owing to a lack of funds, we see that the execution of the project was done in parts and it lingered on up to the next decade. In Revdanda, following the inspection of Cousens in 1908, the proposal of the Collector of Kolaba district to remove the inscriptions in the fort for their safe custody was rejected by Cousens, who undertook special repairs in the Revdanda and Korlai forts (Cousens, 1908: 21). In pursuance to the recommendations made by Cousens to the Government of Bombay that even the monuments classified in the categories of II (a), II (b) and III should be included in the list of protected monuments, the Bassein fort and old Portuguese churches, watchtower and caves in Thane district were declared protected and accorded I (a) and II (b) categories respectively, in 1909, followed by Revdanda fort and monuments<sup>29</sup> within the fort in 1910 (Cousens, 1909; Cousens, 1910).

27. Church of the Jesuits, Church of the Dominicans, Ruined building besides the fort, Church of St. Xavier, St. Barbara Tower from South-West and North-West, Inner South or Sea Gate, Inscription in wall of Sea Gate, Sculpture outside the Sea Gate, Korlai fort and inscriptions; Sr. No. 2702 – 2712.

28. i. Franciscan Church ii. St. Paul's Church iii. Nossa Senhora's Church iv. St. Joseph Cathedral v. Dominican Church vi. Palace of the Captain of Bassein.

29. St. Francis Xavier Chapel I (b), Dominican Church and Convent II (b), Walls of the fort II (b), Church and Convent of the Augustinians II (b), Jesuit Monastery II (b), Kothi II (b), the Castle II (b), Porta do Mar & Porta do Terra I (a), St. Barbara Tower II (a), One Buruj II (a).

The successors of Henry Cousens in the Western Circle such as A.H. Longhurst (1911), D.R. Bhandarkar (1912-1917), R.D. Banerji (1918-1923) took serious interest in the protection and conservation of Portuguese monuments in the North Konkan. In Bassein fort, it was the cutting of dense jungle that preoccupied the Survey's initial activities, followed by the debris clearance which resulted in the exposure of the side chamber containing paintings in St. Thomas Cathedral and of the Dominican Convent which was inaccessible earlier in 1912 and 1913 respectively. Whereas in Revdanda and Korlai forts too, removal of vegetation and debris was accorded a priority (Bhandarkar, 1912; Bhandarkar, 1913). Korlai fort was declared protected in December 1913 (Bhandarkar, 1914). The Assistant Superintendent of Western Circle, J.A. Page, who was chiefly appointed for conservation work, made tours to Ghodbandar and Revdanda fort in 1915 and prepared an elaborate report for conservation of the structures therein (Bhandarkar, 1916). In 1916, Bandra fort was declared a protected monument in II (b) category. During the tenure of R.D. Banerji as the Superintendent of the Western Circle, he pressed for the urgent need for regular inspection of the protected monuments by the monument in-charge of the Public Works Department<sup>30</sup> after he reported that the protected caves of Mandapeshvar were used as a stable and store room by the padre of the church during his visit in 1919 (Banerji, 1919: 50-51). He also reported that due to continuous neglect, the vaulted roof of the Dominican church partly collapsed in 1921. Simultaneously, a large portion of the fort was freed of the vegetation and trees after the Public Works Department was provided with funds (Spooner, 1924). Exercising better authority to prevent vandalism, on being reported to the Collector of Thane and the Executive Engineer, Public Works Department, Thane about the destruction of remains in Bassein fort for quarrying the building material by the labourers of the local contractor; the contractor was fined one thousand rupees in 1921 (Blankiston, 1927: 170). The annual maintenance and repair works of Bassein fort in the form of vegetation and debris clearance featured in the annual reports<sup>31</sup> of Archaeological Survey of India till 1928-29. It is not possible to exactly pinpoint the nature of conservation and maintenance work carried out in these protected monuments from 1938 to 1947 due to the absence of the annual reports. Nevertheless, it seems that the routine maintenance and repair works continued till 1947 on all protected monuments like Bandra, Revdanda, Korlai forts and Mandapeshvar caves despite the fund crunches and staff reductions in Archaeological Survey of India during the economic recession of 1931 and the World War II years.

## EPILOGUE

From the individual efforts to investigate and document the monumental remains in their immediate surroundings to the colonial government formulating policies and taking the lead role in the protection of heritage of the colonized nation, a long and tedious process was underway in the British ruled Bombay from the first decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, before a definite cognisance was taken in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the Bombay government. Braz Anthony Fernandez, the author of the much acclaimed work *Armas e inscrições do Forte de Baçaim* cited in the introduction of his book the wanton destruction of the monumental remains of the Franciscan church and monastery, the Captain's Palace and other buildings in the Vasai fort by the unfazed workforce of a contractor in 1921 (Fernandez, 1957: 2). Unlike in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the archaeological sites and ancient monuments were open to plunder and reckless digging, it is described in the earlier segment of the article how the perpetrator was booked for his crime this time by the British government authorities under the relevant sections of the Archaeological Acts enacted for effective protection of the cultural heritage in the then British India.

30. The responsibility of execution of conservation works was given to the Public Work Departments of the respective Provincial Governments and in the Bombay Presidency, it was only after 1945 that Archaeological Survey of India took upon the direct responsibility of conservation and repairs on the protected monuments.

31. The Annual Reports are available up to the year 1936-37.

This incident itself was an indicator of the formative journey of the organisation called Archaeological Survey of India which was established in the 19<sup>th</sup> century just to list the archaeological and historical sites and monuments but eventually grew up in the 20<sup>th</sup> century as the national custodian and caretaker of India's cultural heritage spanning from the prehistoric to the early modern period. Protecting the Portuguese monumental remains in the British Raj was itself a sign of mature appreciation of the past, which despite being chequered with centuries old geopolitical rivalries, could not deter the ruling colonial power from preserving the remains of the bygone colonial power. John Keay is right in observing that the British government in India was far ahead even of European countries, except France, in extending statutory protection and the creation of the Archaeological department cum survey to supervise the protection of India's monuments way back in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Keay, 2011: 17). The above-listed monuments are still inscribed in the list of nationally protected monuments of Archaeological Survey of India except the Bandra fort, which was declared a state-protected monument by the Government of Maharashtra in 1984<sup>32</sup>.

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# COLONIAL NARRATIVES AND THE RUINED CITIES OF CEYLON: EXPLORING THE EARLIEST ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL DOCUMENTATION DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

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## ABSTRACT

The architectural and archaeological landscapes of Sri Lanka (referred to as Ceylon during the colonial period) is renowned for its historical and cultural richness, exemplified by ancient cities, such as Anurādhapura, Sigiriya, and Polonnaruwa, which date back to the second century BCE. These cities, long buried, were rediscovered in the mid-nineteenth century through the interventions of colonial administrators and professionals employed by the British Ceylon Government (1806-1948). The uncovering of the ruins of these ancient cities, mainly Buddhist monastic complexes, significantly contributed to their eventual recognition as UNESCO World Heritage Sites. Against this background, this essay narrates the inception and development of systematic architectural and archaeological documentation practices during Sri Lanka's colonial period, focusing on the pioneers who laid the foundation for this enduring legacy. The study draws from archival, cartographical, and iconographical research to critically examine the first instances of colonial architectural and archaeological documentation. The findings reveal that the early British efforts evolved into a comprehensive and systematic exploration of Sri Lanka's ancient heritage, culminating in the establishment of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.

## KEYWORDS

Sri Lanka | Heritage preservation | British colonial heritage policy | Buddhist monuments

## ANCIENT CIVILISATION AND RUINED CITIES

Sri Lanka endured a series of Western invasions, beginning with the Portuguese in 1505, followed by the Dutch in 1658. These two powers initially held sway only over the Maritime Provinces of the island. However, British invasions into Dutch-controlled regions in 1796 ultimately culminated in the capture of the entire island in 1815, marking the end of indigenous sovereignty. Sri Lanka finally gained independence in 1948, concluding 450 years of colonial rule.

The early civilisation of Sri Lanka, dating back to at least the fourth century BCE, predominantly thrived within the expansive, undulating north-central plain known as the Dry Zone, spanning the northern half of the island and extending into the flatter terrain of the northern peninsula, as well as the narrower plains and valleys of the south and east. The agrarian framework of these early civilisations in the north-central plain was based upon a sophisticated network of village reservoirs alongside colossal human-made lakes and canals. Esteemed by historians of science as exemplary feats of hydraulic engineering in the premodern era, these infrastructural achievements emphasise the ingenuity of ancient Sri Lankan societies (Bandaranayake, 1990: 20). With the subsequent decline of the ancient civilisation of the north-central plain, the seat of royal authority gradually shifted towards the southwest and central regions of the island. The royal capital transitioned through approximately six locations over the four centuries preceding the arrival of the first European invader, the Portuguese. By the time of colonial intervention, the once flourishing and fertile north-central plain had reverted to jungle, effectively establishing a natural barrier between the peoples of the southern and northern parts of the island.

This north-central region's highly complex archaeological landscape, characterised by the skeletal remains of numerous ancient cities and an extensive network of Buddhist monastic complexes, has profound historical and cultural significance. Amongst the most prominent features are the renowned 'ruined cities' of Anurādhapura, Sigiriya, and Polonnaruwa, which have been the focus of scholarly investigation and conservation efforts for over a century. Originating in the fourth century BCE, Anurādhapura emerged as the capital of a unified island-wide kingdom by the second century BCE, maintaining its status as the principal political and religious hub for approximately 1,200 years until Polonnaruwa succeeded it in the late tenth century CE (Bandaranayake, 1990: 21-22). The ancient city of Anurādhapura still bears remarkable archaeological evidence of its past as the centre of a magnificent civilisation inspired by the ethos of Buddhism.

However, unlike the preceding Anurādhapura period, the Polonnaruwa period continued for just over two centuries, during which there were about sixteen rulers. That the munificence of these rulers towards Buddhism persisted is evident, but their reigns were primarily devoted to internecine warfare against the South Indian Cholas from roughly 993 BCE to 1070 CE (Premathilake, 1990: 38). The remains of several Hindu temples, built mainly in the Chōla architectural style, are also visible among the Buddhist archaeological remains in Polonnaruwa. Situated between Anurādhapura and Polonnaruwa, Sigiriya represents a distinct architectural and cultural epoch, primarily associated with the eighteen-year reign of King Kāshyapa during the late fifth century CE. Central to Sigiriya's significance is its focal point, the towering rock, a colossal inselberg soaring some 200 metres above the surrounding terrain, atop which the royal palace was situated (Bandaranayake, 1990: 25). These three sites have attained global recognition and been inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List, serving as a testament to their unparalleled architectural and archaeological importance at the global level.

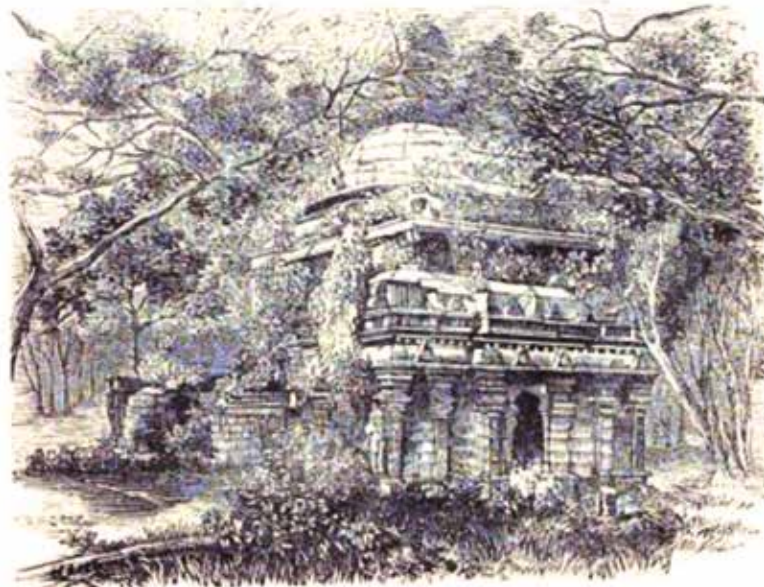
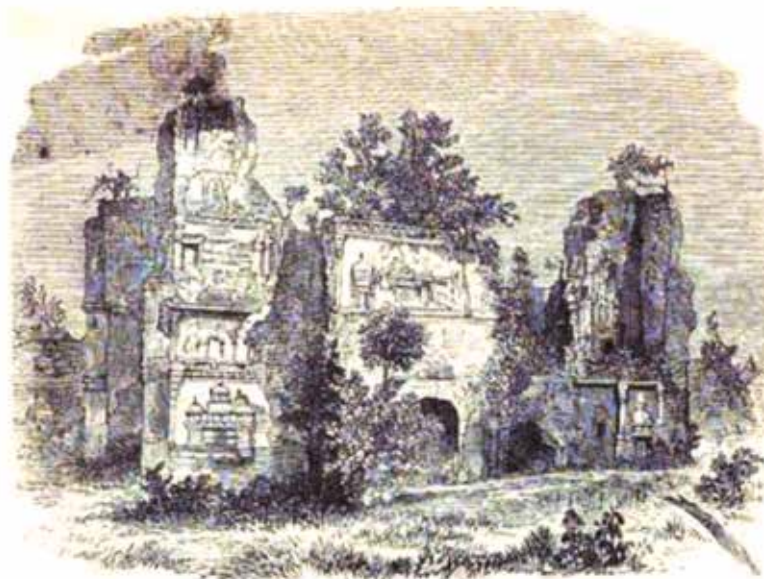
## REVEALING RUINS THROUGH THE COLONIAL LENS

Apart from a few brief references to the existence of monumental remains in modern antiquarians of the colonial period, the remains of these “ruined cities” endured, buried until the late nineteenth century CE, when colonial administrators and professionals employed by the British Ceylon Government took interest and, through their intervention, revealed vast monuments that had previously been obscured. With the extension of a stable British colonial administration, increased attention was directed at recording the ancient architecture of the island. In 1868, Governor Sir Hercules Robinson (1865-1872) established a state-sponsored Committee on Ancient Architecture in Ceylon, with Colonel Amelius Beauclerk Fyers, the Ceylon Survey-General, appointed as its chairman. The committee’s primary objectives were to obtain information about the different ancient architectural structures on the island, to report on them generally, and to recommend steps for preserving or photographing the most interesting ones (Administration Report Ceylon, 1868: II - 23).

In the narrative of Alastair Mackenzie Ferguson – the compiler of the monumental volume *Souvenirs of Ceylon*, featuring 120 engravings that capture various aspects of towns and buildings, ruined cities, and maritime and mountain capitals – the pioneering work of James Wheeler Woodford Birch of the Civil Service and Lieutenant Richard Warren Steward of the Royal Engineers is highlighted, particularly in the realm of the photography and documentation of antiquities of ancient architecture.

Wheeler Woodford Birch is credited as the first photographer to meticulously capture the antiquities of Sri Lanka’s “ruined cities”. His series of views of Polonnaruwa are remarkable for the manner in which they convey even the minutest details of oriental architecture and sculpture, surpassing the limitations of traditional engraving techniques. Alastair Mackenzie Ferguson emphasises Birch’s talent in bringing forth the intricacies of these ancient sites with a fidelity that engraving alone cannot achieve. Furthermore, Ferguson underscores Birch’s comprehensive understanding of the subject matter, noting that Birch supplemented his photographic documentation with several insightful records on the ruined city of Polonnaruwa. In these writings, Birch describes how the remnants of Polonnaruwa’s past grandeur now lay surrounded by vast forests and dense jungle. Granite pillars, hewn stones, piles of bricks, and other remnants of masonry serve as nostalgic reminders of the civilisation’s past triumphs, now obscured and sought after for shelter solely by the beasts of the forest (Ferguson, 1868: 110-112).

Following Birch’s pioneering efforts, Lieutenant Richard Warren Steward contributed to the photographic documentation of Polonnaruwa. Several of his views later appeared as engraved reproductions in Alastair Mackenzie Ferguson’s *Souvenirs of Ceylon*. According to Falconer and Raheem, these engraved reproductions emphatically reinforce photography’s importance as an archaeological tool. In these engraved reproductions, not only are many of the details lost but, for instance, in his view of Galvihara, the engraver clearly merged several photographs and entirely misrepresented their relationship. Such images might give the casual observer some indication of the scene, but they are valueless as archaeological records of these most beautiful rock-cut figures (Falconer and Raheem, 2000: 21) [fig.01,02,03].



**Fig. 01** · Engraved reproduction of the ruins of the Jétavanārāma Buddhist monastery in Polonnaruwa from a photograph by Richard Warren Steward (source: *Souvenirs of Ceylon*, 1868)

**Fig. 02** · Engraved reproduction of a Hindu temple in Polonnaruwa from a photograph by Richard Warren Steward (source: *Souvenirs of Ceylon*, 1868)

**Fig. 03** · Engraved reproduction of the Galvihara Buddhist temple in Polonnaruwa from a photograph by Richard Warren Steward (source: *Souvenirs of Ceylon*, 1868)

## VISUALISING RUINED CITIES

When establishing the Committee on Ancient Architecture in Ceylon, Sri Lanka's "ruined cities" began to capture the interest of commercial photographers from England. Among the most comprehensive series of early photographs of these archaeological sites is the collection by Joseph Lawton, a commercial photographer who had been operating a studio on Castlehill Street in Kandy since around 1866. Kandy's climate was favourable for photography due to its relatively cool and dry conditions, which had a minimal impact on the chemicals utilised in the wet collodion process prevalent in nineteenth-century photography (Raheem, 1996: 28). While Lawton also produced general topographical photographs of the central region around Kandy, his most significant contribution, according to many historians, was the extensive series of archaeological remains captured in 1870-71 for the Archaeological Committee. Lawton served as the appointed photographer of the Committee on Ancient Architecture in Ceylon and had already taken numerous photographs at sites such as Anurādhapura, Polonnaruwa, and Sigiriya, thus marking the inception of the history of Sri Lanka's architectural and archaeological documentation (Administration Report Ceylon, 1871: 253). To maximise the value of the two volumes comprising 227 photographs, additional descriptive notes were prepared by Louis Frederick Liesching, the Assistant Government Agent in Anurādhapura (Falconer and Raheem, 2000: 22) [fig.04,05].



**Fig. 04.** Photograph of the ruins of the Galvihara Buddhist temple in Polonnaruwa by Joseph Lawton (source: *Regeneration: A Reappraisal of Photography in Ceylon*, 2000)

As John Falconer and Ismeth Raheem attest, Lawton's volumes of photographs provide extensive documentary records of ancient sites when their archaeological investigation was in its infancy and, as they had just been reclaimed from the jungle, no significant restoration work had yet been undertaken on them. Beyond their archaeological significance, Lawton's photographs possess a compelling power, showcasing his talent in balancing the requirements of archaeological documentation with the creation of images of significant aesthetic impact. This quality is especially evident in his views of some of the human-made lakes, which serve as striking landscape studies and hold considerable archaeological evidence (Falconer and Raheem, 2000: 22).

James Fergusson, in his seminal work *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, writes that Joseph Lawton photographed the principal remains of Anurādhapura and Polonnaruwa under the personal supervision and direction of James George Smither, Ceylon's first Government Architect in the Public Works Department, who later prepared the first set of architectural drawings of the more essential ruins of Anurādhapura (Fergusson, 1910: 225). Interestingly, Smither's work can be regarded as the earliest attempt by an Englishman to explore and document the monuments systematically with a series of general plans, sections, elevations, and intricate details, such as pillar capitals, carved urns, sculptured friezes, doorway lintels, and carved base mouldings. Notably, Smither's measured drawings were far more than mere depictions of physical remnants. Sometimes, he strived to reconstruct the original forms of ruined monuments by obtaining insights from ancient native literary sources, like *Mahāvamsa*, Sri Lanka's great chronicle of early history. His extensive descriptions, supported by many more historical sources, offer valuable comprehension of the architecture of each stupa and other ancient remains. These sources include the oldest native historical record of Sri Lanka, *Dīpavamsa*, and *The Pilgrimage of Fa Xian*, the accounts of the renowned Chinese monk Fa Xian, who travelled to Sri Lanka 410 CE.

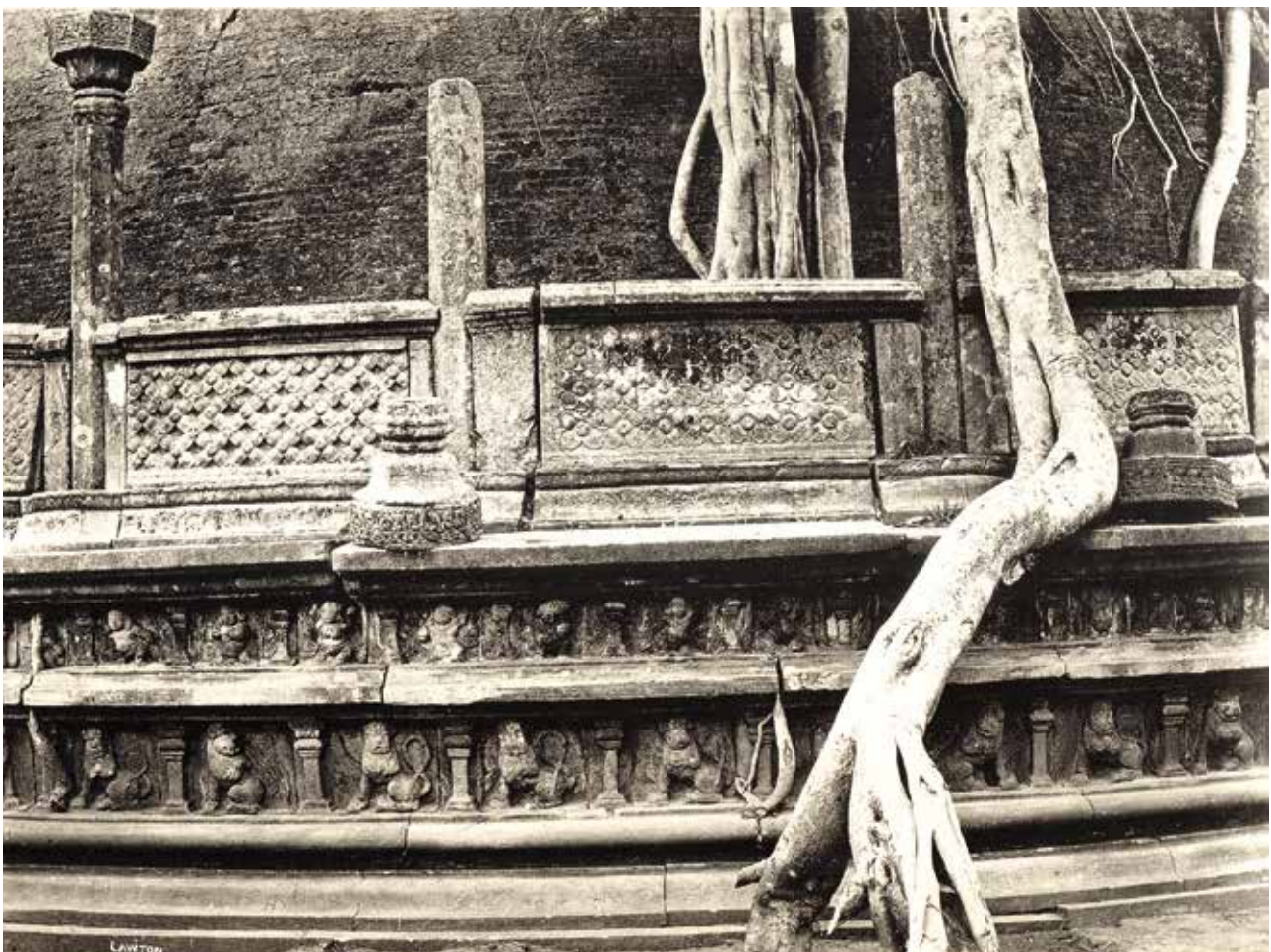


Fig. 05· Photograph of the ruins of the Watadageya Buddhist temple in Polonnaruwa by Joseph Lawton (source: *Regeneration: A Reappraisal of Photography in Ceylon*, 2000)

On his retirement in 1894, James Smither's valuable architectural documentation of the remains of Anurādhapura came to light as a letterpress printing with sixty-seven plates layering the measured drawings of massive domical structures of solid brickwork stupas or the dāgabas of Thupārāma, Lankārāma, Mirisavēti, Ruvanvēli, Abhayagiri, Jétavanārāma, and Khujjatissārāma, along with other ancient architectural remains, like the so-called Daladā Māligāwa, Mahasen's Pavilion, Queen's Pavilion, and Kuttam Pokuna. Additionally, collotype photographs, likely supplied by Joseph Lawton, amplify the volume's importance and value, offering a visually immersive and intricately detailed depiction of these monuments. The volume, titled *Architectural Remains Anurādhapura, Ceylon: the Dugabas and Certain Other Ancient Ruined Structures*, contains the results of rigorous surveys conducted from 1873 to 1877. This groundbreaking architectural documentation and presentation could have offered invaluable insights for the establishment of an institution akin to the Archaeological Survey of India, founded in 1861 by the British Indian government. By the end of the nineteenth century CE, the Archaeological Survey of India had significantly surpassed its founders' expectations, consistently yielding satisfactory results yearly. Nonetheless, the British Ceylon Government took almost three more decades to follow India's example (Karunaratne, 1990: 3) [fig.06,07,08,09].



**Fig. 06-** Photograph of the north-east view of Ruvanvēli Dagāba in Anurādhapura by Joseph Lawton (source: *Architectural Remains Anuradhapura*, 1894)

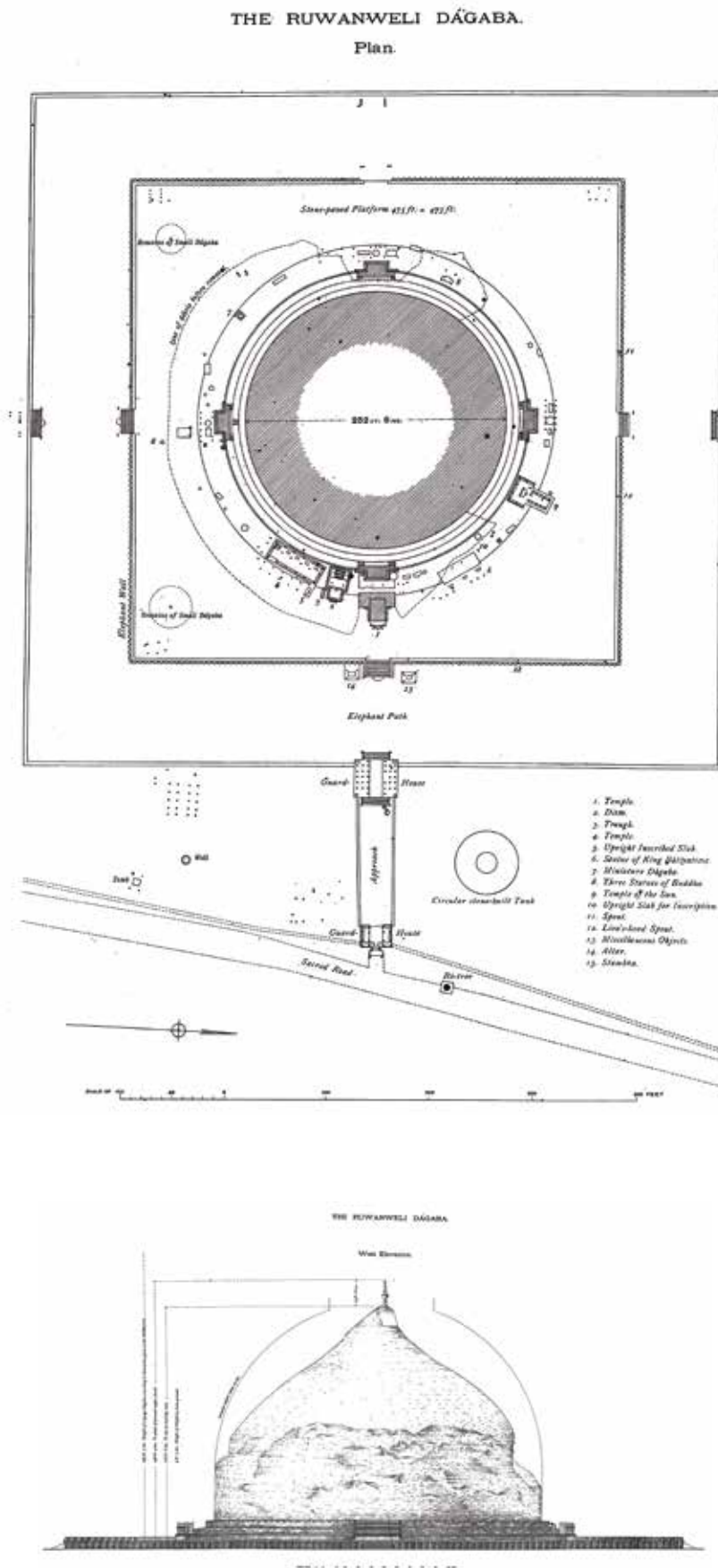
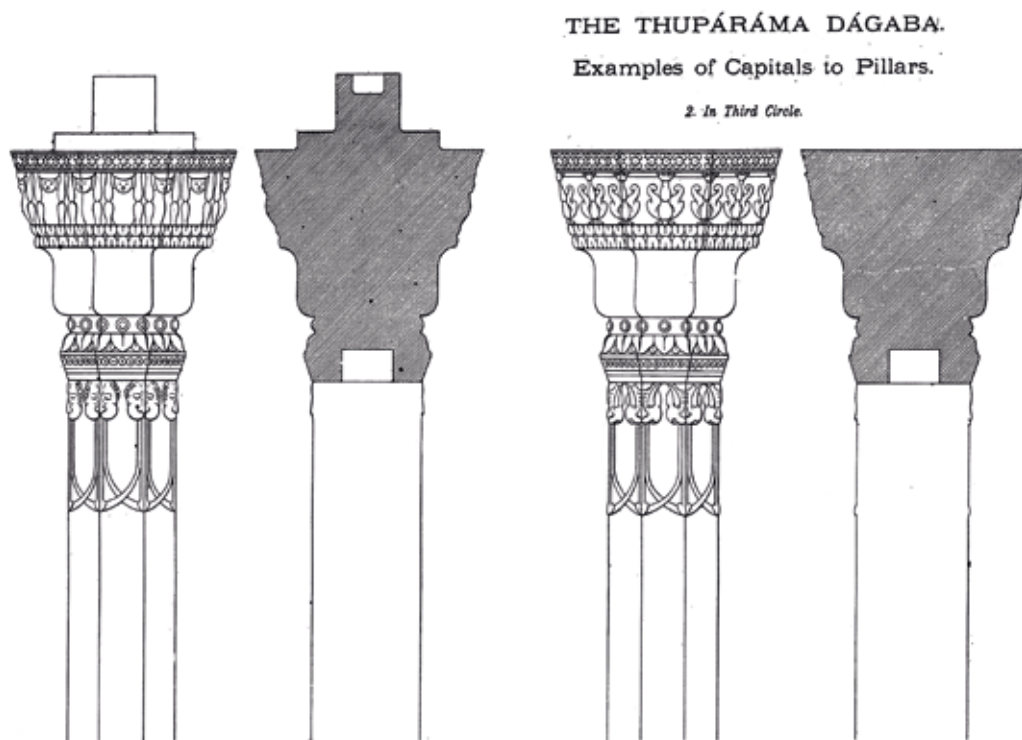


Fig. 07. Architectural drawing of the Plan of Ruwanveli Dāgaba in Anurādhapura by James George Smither (source: *Architectural Remains Anuradhapura*, 1894)

Fig. 08. Architectural drawing of the West Elevation of Ruwanveli Dāgaba in Anurādhapura by James George Smither (source: *Architectural Remains Anuradhapura*, 1894)

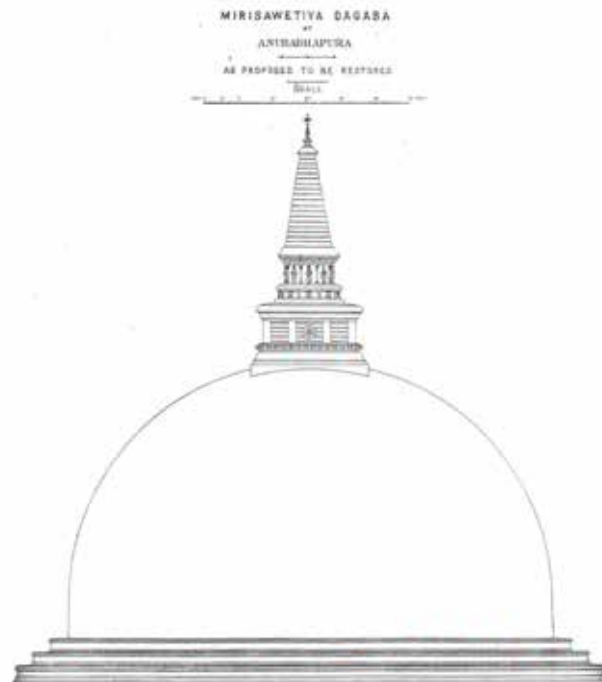
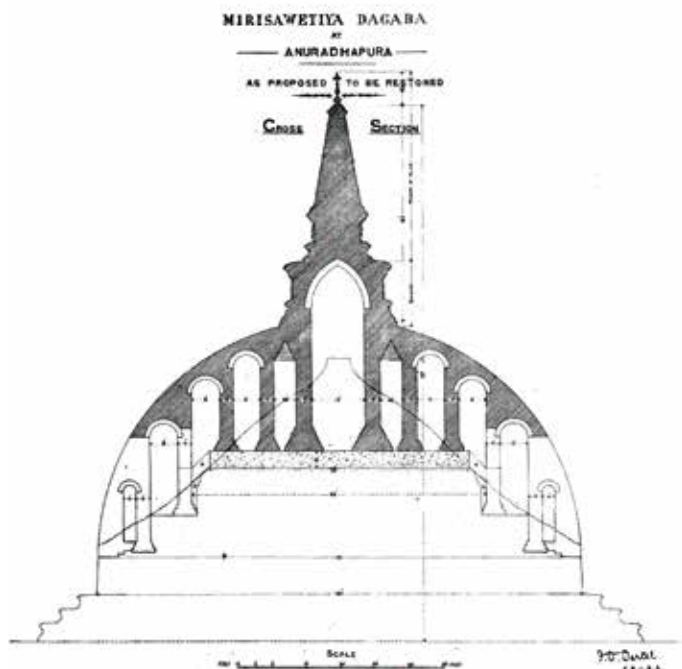
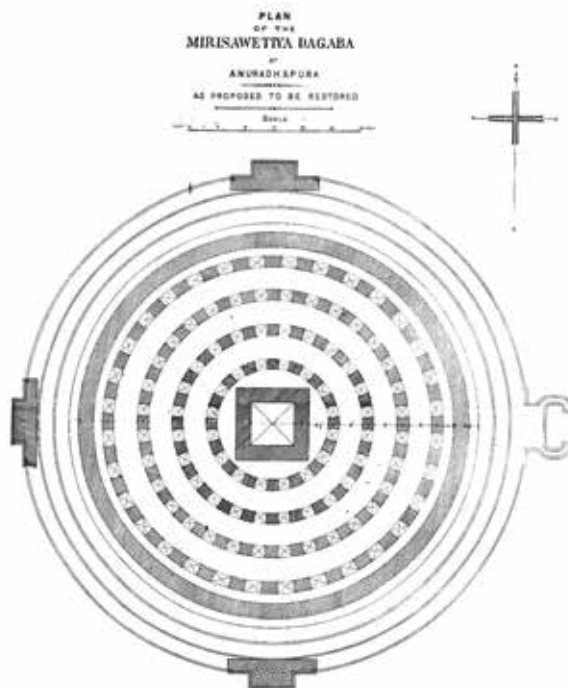


**Fig. 09.** Architectural drawing of the Pillar Capitals of Thupārāma Dāgaba in Anurādhapura by James George Smither (source: *Architectural Remains Anuradhapura*, 1894)

## PIONEERING HERITAGE DOCUMENTATION

Other noteworthy architectural and archaeological documentation during the British period are the conjectural restoration drawings produced for the Mirisavēti and Abhayagiri Dāgabas in Anurādhapura by Friedrich Oscar Oertel in the 1900s. Friedrich Oscar Oertel, an architect and archaeologist at the Indian Public Works Department, arrived on the island at the invitation of the British Ceylon Government. This invitation was prompted by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland's determination to appoint an architect to assess potential restoration measures for the Mirisavēti and Abhayagiri Dāgabas. Oertel's comprehensive report, published in 1903 by the Government Printer, Ceylon, included nine plates of conjectural restoration drawings detailing plans, sections, elevations, and miniature buildings of the sites. This documentation can be viewed as a proactive step towards the scientific restoration and safeguarding of the antiquities of Sri Lanka's "ruined cities", preceding James Smither's contributions in this field [fig.10,11,12].

In 1884, before the official establishment of an archaeological department, S. M. Burrows, a member of the Ceylon Civil Service, was authoritatively tasked with overseeing archaeological matters concerning monuments and antiquities in Anurādhapura, including the partial conservation of the crumbling remains and clearing them of vegetation (Fergusson, 1910: 225). Recognising the significance of sites like Sigiriya led the British Ceylon Government to initiate the formation of an Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. In 1890, a regular allocation of funds for archaeological purposes was introduced in the Supply Bill, proposed to the Council by then Governor Sir Arthur Hamilton-Gordon (1883-1890). In his message to the Council on 20 November 1889, the Governor advocated for a systematic examination of remarkable sites, such as Sigiriya, resembling the approach taken in India to avert the disappearance of historical monuments. Subsequently, under the directive of the Governor,



- Fig. 10. Conjectural restoration drawing of the Plan of Mirisavēti Dāgaba in Anurādhapura by Friedrich Oscar Oertel (source: Report of the Restoration of Ancient Monuments at Anurādhapura Ceylon, 1903)
- Fig. 11. Conjectural restoration drawing of the Cross Section of Mirisavēti Dāgaba in Anurādhapura by Friedrich Oscar Oertel (source: Report of the Restoration of Ancient Monuments at Anurādhapura Ceylon, 1903)
- Fig. 12. Conjectural restoration drawing of the Elevation of Mirisavēti Dāgaba in Anurādhapura by Friedrich Oscar Oertel (source: Report of the Restoration of Ancient Monuments at Anurādhapura Ceylon, 1903)

in February 1890, H. C. P. Bell, who was based in the Central Province as the District Judge of Kegalle, was tasked with launching archaeological endeavours in the North Central Province, marking the official inauguration of scientific archaeological exploration in Sri Lanka (Karunaratne, 1990: 3-4).

From 1890 to 1912, H. C. P. Bell's tenure as the inaugural Commissioner of the newly established Archaeological Department marked a pivotal period in the systematic exploration, documentation, and preservation of Sri Lanka's architectural and archaeological treasures. Among his early significant contributions was the initiation of the periodical series, the "Archaeological Survey of Ceylon" Sessional Papers, which commenced on 15 July 1890. These Sessional Papers served as comprehensive records detailing various aspects of architectural and archaeological endeavours, including the allocation of annual funds, meticulous exploration and excavation methodologies, discoveries, and detailed descriptions of monuments and epigraphical findings. Bell's initial publications primarily focused on the North-Central Province, the heartland of Sri Lanka's "ruined cities". These initial reports were accurately compiled and presented, often featuring detailed "as restored drawings" as two-tone images, providing precise visual representations of the archaeological interventions and restoration efforts. From 1893 onwards, Bell extended the coverage of these Sessional Papers to other provinces, notably Sabaragamuwa, Central, North-Western, and Eastern Provinces. Printed by the Government Printer in Colombo, these reports were supplemented by separate annexures containing plans and plates rendered through rough lithographs in pen and ink. This thorough documentation laid the groundwork for subsequent scientific archaeological work, shaping the trajectory of investigation and exploration in the field [fig.13].

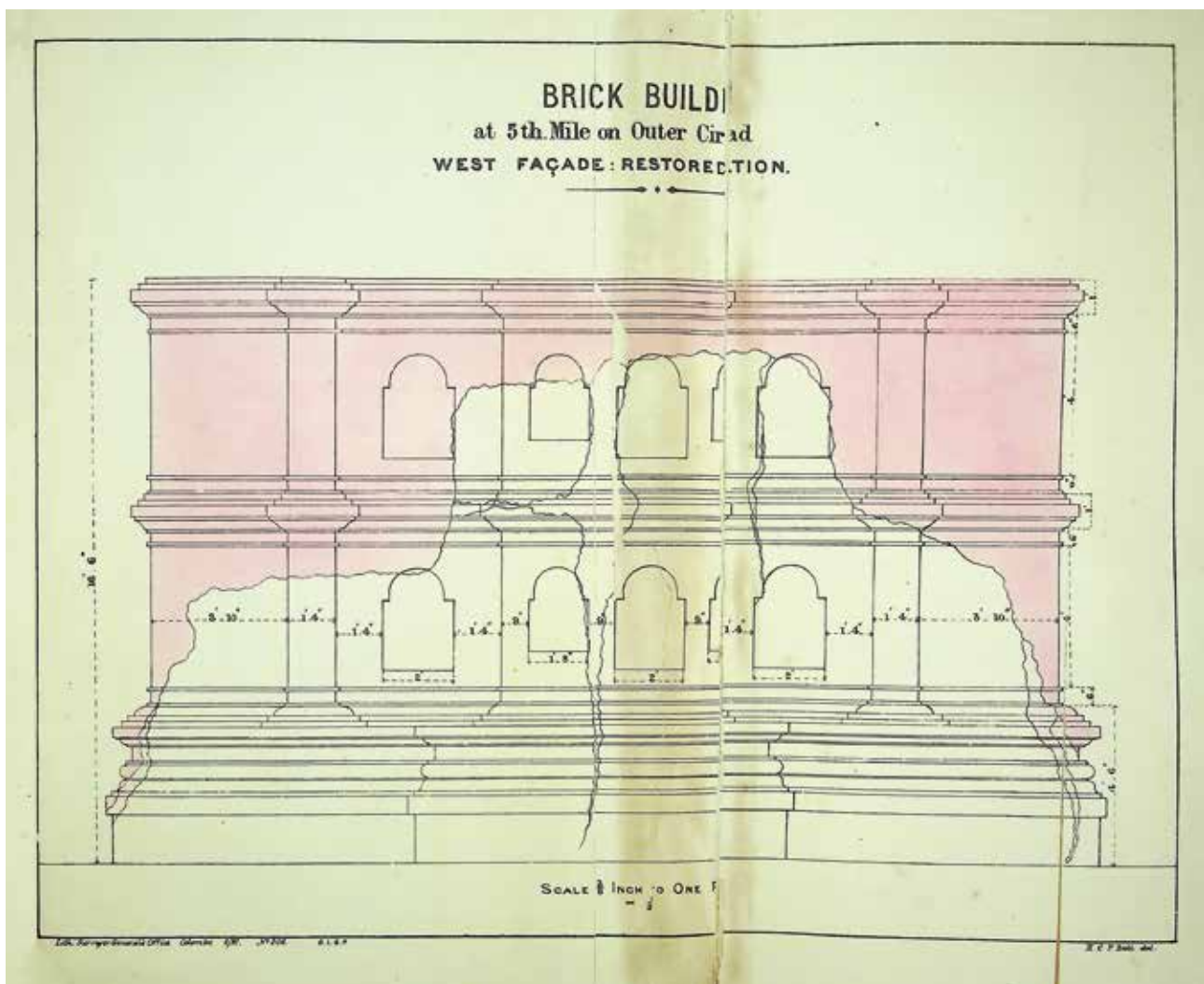


Fig. 13. Elevation drawing of the West Façade of the newly discovered brick building Thupārāma in Anurādhapura by H. C. P. Bell (source: First Report on the Archaeological Survey of Anurādhapura, 1890)

What is intriguing about the archaeological documentation from the late colonial period is that the works of Bell and his successors, notably R. Ayrton (1912-1913), A. M. Hocart (1922-1924), and Senarath Paranavitana, the first Sri Lankan Commissioner under the British Ceylon Government from 1940, were frequently disseminated through journal articles. The findings of this documentation appeared in popular journals, such as the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, the *Ceylon Journal of Science*, and the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, ensuring that the findings reached a wide audience of scholars, enthusiasts, and the interested public of colonial Ceylon and overseas as well. This dissemination through established academic channels contributed to the safeguarding of heritage, the advancement of architectural and archaeological knowledge, and the international recognition of Sri Lanka's rich cultural heritage.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

In conclusion, the colonial narration of the safeguarding of Sri Lanka's cultural heritage, particularly during the late colonial era, reveals a significant initial effort driven by administrators and professionals affiliated with the British Ceylon Government. The establishment of the Committee on Ancient Architecture in Ceylon marked a crucial turning point in the preservation of the island's historic sites. The pioneering work of figures such as English commercial photographer Joseph Lawton, the first British-Ceylon Government architect James George Smither, and architect and archaeologist Friedrich Oscar Oertel from the Public Works Department in India, whose photographic documentation, architectural records, and conjectural restoration drawings laid the foundation, inspired subsequent generations within the Sri Lankan Archaeological Department to continue and refine these efforts. The enduring contributions of other individuals, like H. C. P. Bell and his successors as State Archaeological Commissioners, drove the restoration endeavours to unprecedented heights, leaving a legacy that endured into the era of Sri Lanka's independence in the mid-twentieth century.

However, the initial colonial involvement in preserving Sri Lanka's "ruined cities" was not without its downsides. Historians have documented the extensive removal of artefacts during British rule, including numerous Buddha statues, religious texts, Ola leaf manuscripts, and temple decorations. Despite this significant issue, the focus of this paper has been on the conservation efforts rather than the negative colonial impacts.

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# INTANGIBLE MEANING MAKING BEYOND CONSERVATION: THE INTERESTS IN AND IMPACT OF THE NOMINATION OF THE HISTORIC CITY CENTRE OF YOGYAKARTA AS A WORLD HERITAGE SITE

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## ABSTRACT

From the beginning, Yogyakarta is not only a place where people live. The landscape and spatial arrangement between the mountain, the sea, the spring, and the river are crucial for understanding the way in which this and some other cities serve to create, reinforce and maintain the Ancient Javanese Philosophy concerning both an imaginary axis and a philosophical axis of the cycle of life – being born, childhood, teenage, adulthood, old age, and passing away. The first Sultanate of Yogyakarta created the imaginary axis of Yogyakarta city to legitimize his position as the king; recently, the tenth Sultanate of Yogyakarta and the provincial government of Yogyakarta Special Region have fabricated the philosophical axis of Yogyakarta for the World Heritage Site nomination of Yogya's historical inner city. This article argues that the philosophical axis of Yogyakarta imbues colonialist ideas to restore the authenticity, the notion of masterpiece, and uniqueness of buildings and landscapes of the past, while ignoring the history of the population. As a result, this nomination of the world heritage contributes to the abolition of living cultures and marginalizes people who live around the philosophical axis of the Yogyakarta areas.

## KEYWORDS

Philosophical Axis | Yogyakarta | World Heritage Nomination | Sultanate | Culture and Power

## INTRODUCTION

It is partly the richness and diversity of ethnic culture that make the Indonesian nation so interesting and important. Ethnic culture gives identity and provides cultural manifestations, and both the physical and non-physical aspects and the historical legacy are passed down along a chain of owners and bequeathed to individuals or a group of closely related people. While the Indonesian ancestors had their own way of approaching what today we would call cultural heritage management practices, the Dutch imperial colonial project that subjugated the Indonesian archipelago since the 17<sup>th</sup> Century successfully detached, subsumed, formed, packaged and ruled the indigenous people's cultural heritage (Sudarmadi, 2014: 52-55). In a similar way, Architectural structures connected to city planning in urban centres with local rulers, as in our case happened in Yogyakarta, were part of this.

This contribution to this journal's theme issue does not explicitly focus on the ideological instrumentalization of what now is regarded as cultural heritage in Indonesia under colonialism, but argues that the direction and priorities of the Indonesian government project on Indonesian nation-building did not bring a radical break with the previous power dynamics with respect to Dutch colonial cultural agenda's. For this reason, the submission of the Philosophical Axis of Yogyakarta City as a World Cultural Heritage will be used as a discussion in explaining how the Government of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, one of the Provinces of the Indonesian State adopted the Dutch colonial cultural heritage management ideas, especially in how cultural heritage was used to position the Dutch Colonial government at the center of the colonizer, while strengthening The Dutch Colonial domination over the Indonesian archipelago's people histories and culture (Sudarmadi, 2014).

## YOGYAKARTA CULTURAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT DURING THE DUTCH COLONIAL ERA (1755-1945)

Following the Giyanti treaty in 1755, Prince Mangkubumi ruled the Western part of Kingdom Mataram and was crowned Sultan Hamengku Buwono I. Later, the Sultan built a palace (*Kraton*) in Yogyakarta (Priyono, 2015: 17-19). In response to a Dutch demand following the Giyanti Agreement and an attempt by the Dutch Colonial administration to monitor events in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta in 1760, a fort was constructed, initially consisting of a compound of palm wood structures encircled by an earthen wall. Under Frans Haag's direction, the fort complex was renovated starting in 1767 to fortify the fort into a more durable defense post. The array of fortifications was subsequently dubbed Fort Rustenburg upon its completion. Under the reign of Governor-General Daendels, fort Rustenburg was transformed into a building with a rectangular main configuration. Daendels also changed the name of Fort Rustenburg to Fort Vredeburg in 1811. Further, he renovated this fort with a star configuration, a form of fortification that developed in the early days. (Chusbiantoro and Sulistya, 2012: 35). In 1824, located west of Fort Vredeburg, the Dutch colonial government also built the Yogyakarta supreme colonial ruler while representing the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies (Resident) house. It took six years to complete this building.

In 1840, a decree was launched stating that the East Indies' cultural heritage was Dutch colonial property. Indeed, such a decree authorized the Dutch colonial government's role as the guardian and protector of this cultural heritage (Sudarmadi, 2014: 56). In 1867, an earthquake shook the city of Yogyakarta and its surroundings; the resident office building and Tugu monument were severely damaged. According to the decree of 1840, this building and monument must be renovated. While the resident building was renovated in 1869, the Tugu Monument was restored in 1889<sup>1</sup> (Priyono, 2015: 36). The lengthy completion of the restoration was due to the Tugu Monument's status as a building belonging to the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, so it was not prioritized by the Dutch colonial government. Further, the Dutch government released the "Monuments Ordinances" number 19 and 21 Act on 13 June 1931. This Act officially recognized the colonial Netherlands-Indies government as owning ancient Indies artifacts. It also governed compensation claims for sites on private property designated as monuments, especially if those sites and monuments were included in the official inventory. In short, this act aimed to protect, conserve, restore, and perpetuate the cultural legacy of the native inhabitants across the Indonesian archipelago (Bloembergen and Eickhoff, 2020; Sedyawati and Keurs, 2005: 28; Pott and Sutaarga, 1979: 40). However, this law lacks of articles on the protection and preservation of buildings that have not yet reached the age of hundreds of years and are still maintained by their owners, including mosques, churches, royal palaces, and Chinese temples (The Governor-General of the Netherlands-Indie, 1931: 21). As a result, the Dutch colonial government neglected the protection and preservation of the Yogyakarta Sultanate Palace buildings and its area. It is clearly seen from the poorly maintained and damaged parts of the Kraton complex at the end of Dutch Colonial rule and the efforts of Sultan Hamengku Buwono I to Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX to care for and preserve the Yogyakarta Kraton area (Sekiadi, 2017: 16-18).

## YOGYAKARTA CULTURAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT DURING THE PRESIDENT SUKARNO AND THE PRESIDENT SUHARTO PRESIDENCIES (1945-1998)

Sukarno and Hatta, backed by other well-known nationalists, announced the creation of "Negara Republik Indonesia", or "a free state of Indonesian Republic", early on August 17, 1945. The concept of nationalism, which expanded awareness of a shared experience of Dutch colonialism and the ferocious fight for liberation, was the direct cause of the foundation of the Indonesian nation-state. This idea of nationality evolved into a political philosophy to combat the oppressor of Dutch Colonialism while also overcoming its humiliation (Elson, 2008: 111-113; Ricklefs, 2008: 247; Vickers, 2005: 95). As might be expected Sukarno, the first Indonesian President, was deeply concerned with the philosophy guiding the country's development. Essentially, this philosophy elevated the collective memory of Indonesians, reminding them that they were a country on par with any nation in the West (Ali, 1963: 115). Simultaneously, during the 1940s and 1950s, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) presented the idea of "intercultural dialogue" as the main method of building peace. This immediately cleared the path for the inclusion of the culture of the newly formed nation state in the political discourse of international cooperation (Logan, 2007: 35-36). For instance, Sukarno's goal to present the Indonesian nation's future to the world for its appreciation was made possible by UNESCO's policy. In order to create the nation-building project and portray the Indonesian nation state as a recently rising force in the international political sphere, the Archaeological Service's restoration and preservation of the Borobudur and Prambanan temples was appropriate.

1. Balai Pelestarian, Cagar Budaya, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta – Istana Kepresidenan Yogyakarta (Gedung Agung), 2023. In: <https://kebudayaan.kemdikbud.go.id/bpcbyogyakarta/istana-kepresidenan-yogyakarta-gedung-agung> (Access: 2023).

These magnificent monuments put Indonesia on the map of the globe and provided an opportunity to show the nation state's connections to International cultural institution. No wonder, these temples, which are 20-40 kilometers from the Yogyakarta Sultanate, get greater preservation and restoration efforts than the Sultanate palace and its environment. This was abundantly evident in the 1953 formal declaration of the completion of the restoration of the Civa Temple, the main temple in the Prambanan complex. As a result, the ultimate restoration of the Civa temple was meant to convey to the Indonesian populace and the international community that, despite being a recently formed nation, Indonesia had a rich history and that the Indonesian government was assiduously preserving its cultural legacy. More importantly, in January 1973, the Indonesian government and UNESCO confirmed an agreement to restore the Borobudur temple (Atmosudiro and Nugrahani, 2002: 44). Not until 1978 was the restoration formally launched under the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization Project in Archaeology and Fine Arts (SPAFA). Finally, the renovation of the Borobudur temple was completed in 1983 (Soekmono, 1990: 8).

Although this conservation and restoration aims to highlight Indonesia's rich cultural legacy and glorious history, it also serves to conceal the ideology of former Dutch colonialism. In this instance, the Prambanan and Borobudur temples were elevated to the pinnacle of the highly developed Hindu-Buddhist Indonesian cultural heritage mainstream criteria and designated as World Heritage and Indonesian nation-state assets. Nevertheless, because the Indonesian government did not amend the "Monuments Ordinance" number 19 until 2010 with the Indonesian Cultural Objects Heritage Act Number 10 (Undang-Undang No. 11 Tahun, 2010) the Yogyakarta Sultanate Palace and its surrounding area from the Islamic era were disregarded. This statute states that the preservation, conservation, and restoration of ancient Hindu-Buddhist cultural heritage holds a higher priority than contemporary Islamic cultural heritage.

## YOGYAKARTA CULTURAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT UNDER THE CURRENT INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT FRAMEWORK (1999-2024)

In 1998, after the fall of the New Order era under Suharto, the domination of the national and regional government was reduced by the Indonesian State Law on Regional Autonomy no 22 and 25. As such, the administration and distribution of financial resources were no longer held by the Indonesian central government but shifted to the Regency authority and local constituencies (Booth, 2011: 31; Silver, 2007: 83-84; Erb, 2005: 325-326; Picard, 2003: 8; Undang-Undang No. 25 Tahun, 1999). As decentralization regulation penetrated Indonesian cultural heritage management policy and practices, cultural heritage policies and activities were transferred from the central government to the regional government. Further, various regional administrative councils made and implemented the cultural heritage management policy. However, the implementation of the cultural heritage decentralization policy on control, coordination, and the degree of authority was unclear and ambiguous because the Indonesian nation-state Law No. 11 on the Indonesian Cultural Heritage Management Act of 2010 (Undang-Undang No. 11 Tahun, 2010) was still in force: this legalized the role of the Indonesian central government in dominating cultural heritage management.

Whereas various regional administrative councils made and implemented the cultural heritage management policy, the regency government undertook and endorsed local cultural heritage. In many instances, it reduced them to only local identity image-making to foster local pride, support the Indonesian nation-state's cultural development, and promote Indonesian ethnic culture for the global tourism market (Sudarmadi, 2014: 213-214).

A closer examination of the Yogyakarta Special Province and cultural heritage management regulation Number 6 of 2012 on the preservation of cultural heritage (Pemerintah Provinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, 2012) in fact, I argue that it was an implementation of an Indonesian government's derived copy, and top-down regulation of the Indonesian Cultural Heritage Management Act of 2010 (Undang-Undang No. 11 Tahun, 2010). Such as regional regulation No. 6 in Article 1 general provisions, Article 22 cultural heritage criteria, Article 4 sub 2b establishment of a cultural heritage expert team, Article 37 zoning, and Article 70 illicit provisions are derivatives of the Cultural Heritage Law No. 11/2010 Article 1 general provisions, Article 5 cultural heritage criteria, Article 31 sub three establishment of a cultural heritage expert team, Article 73 zoning and Article 101 illicit provisions. Once again it suggested a colonial legacy, particularly an imperial colonial way of thinking, since the Indonesian government still dominated cultural heritage discourse, centralized control of cultural heritage practices, and the ways in which cultural heritage issues were tackled in the service of the state. Indeed, this did not bring about more democratization and grassroots movements in the cultural heritage management of local people.

## THE IMAGINARY, PHILOSOPHICAL AXIS OF YOGYAKARTA CITY AND THE DUTCH COLONIAL KNOWLEDGE

A good case to examine the crucial role of the government of the Special Region of Yogyakarta in inheriting Dutch colonial knowledge regarding the preservation of Yogyakarta's cultural heritage is the submission of a proposal by the government of the Special Region of Yogyakarta for the Yogyakarta City Center, with the Yogyakarta Cosmological Axis and its Historical Landmarks to UNESCO World Heritage. The site was placed on the tentative list in 2017.

As a local cultural heritage project of UNESCO World Heritage, this is, in my view, a case showing evidence of the "top-down" approach to cultural heritage management by the Special Province Yogyakarta (Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta) government. Following my case, I will illustrate in this article the Dutch colonial legacy of top-down cultural heritage management, particularly the way in which official local authorities share a similar concept of authenticity and preservation, which fetishes traditional culture and ignores the history of the people living at the site, even causing forced removals.

Historically, the nomination is rooted in colonial times. When an internal conflict broke out in the Islamic Mataram Kingdom concerning the successor of the royal throne, the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC; Dutch East India Company) had interfered. This led to the signing of the 1755 Giyanti treaty. It divided the Mataram Islamic Kingdom into Yogyakarta Sultanate under Prince Mangkubumi and Surakarta Sunanate under Paku Buwono III. Later Prince Mangkubumi installed a new capital in the city of Yogyakarta and held the title Sultan Hamengkubuwana Senapati ing Alaga Abdurrahman Sayyidin Panatagama Khalifatullah. (Priyono, 2015: 15-21). From the beginning, Yogyakarta was not only a city to live in. The landscape and spatial arrangement between Mount Merapi and the South Sea, close to the spring Umbul Pacethokan in the areas of Beringan forest, flanking symmetrically by the River Codé and Winanga in the first ring, Sungai Gajahwong and Kali Bêdog in the second ring, as well as the Opak River and Sungai Progo in the third ring, are crucial for understanding the way in which the city served and still serves to create, reinforce and maintain Ancient Javanese Philosophy<sup>2</sup> (Suwito, 2016: 6-9; Priyono, 2015: 37-43). While the two axes have tangible and intangible heritage components, their representation differs slightly. In order to get a general description of the differences between the two axes, I will depict them in detail below.

2. Karaton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat *Sumbu Filosofi Yogyakarta, Pengejawantahan Asal dan Tujuan Hidup*, 2022. In: <https://www.kratonjogja.id/tata-rakiting/21-sumbu-filosofi-yogyakarta-pengejawantahan-asal-dan-tujuan-hidup> (Access: 20 December 2022).

## THE IMAGINARY AXIS OF YOGYAKARTA CITY

The imaginary axis of Yogyakarta city stretches from south to north. Actually, the line that crosses each of these natural landmarks and buildings is not entirely straight, however, it is imagined as a straight line. The tip of the south axis lies to the South Sea [fig.01, see a], in the centre of the axis are located the Panggung Krapyak monument [fig.01, see b], The Sultan Palace [fig.01, see c], Tugu monument [fig.01, see d], and at the end of the north axis resides Mount Merapi [fig.01, see e]. This imaginary axis symbolizes the relationship between three characters, two of them mythical, one with earthly power: the Queen of the South Sea Ratu Kidul, the Yogyakarta Sultanate ever since Prince Mangkubumi/Sultan Hamengku Buwono I, and the chiefs of Mount Merapi, Empu Rama and Empu Permadi<sup>3</sup> (Priyono, 2015: 47-50; Murnianto, 2004: 3-9).

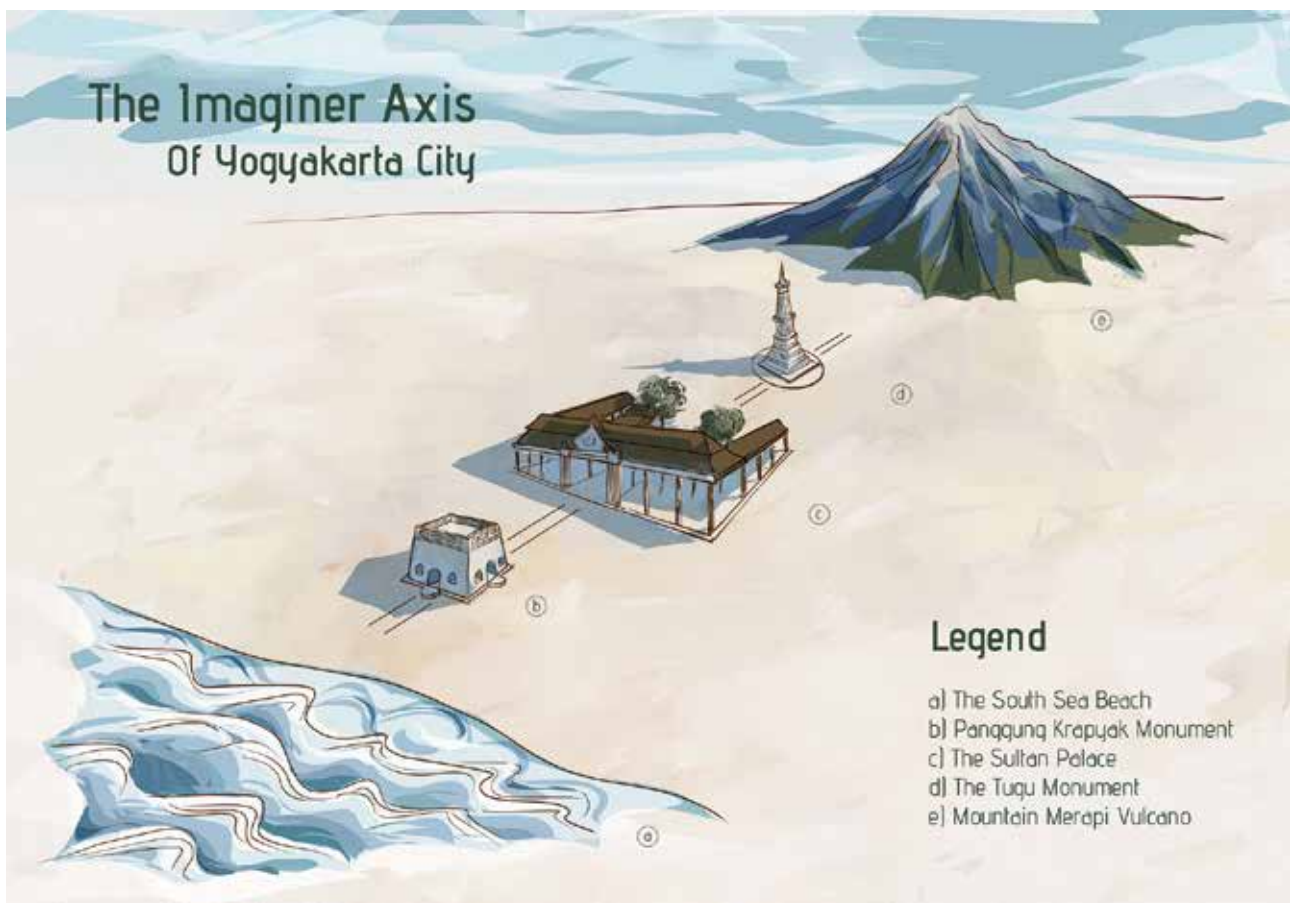


Fig. 01· The imaginary axis of Yogyakarta city (drawn by Mathilda Candra)

3. Karaton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat *Sumbu Filosofi Yogyakarta, Pengejawantahan Asal dan Tujuan Hidup*, 2022. In: <https://www.kratonjogja.id/tata-rakiting/21-sumbu-filosofi-yogyakarta-pengejawantahan-asal-dan-tujuan-hidup> (Access: 20 December 2022).

## INSTRUMENTALIZATION OF THE IMAGINARY AXIS FOR LEGITIMATING THE AUTHORITY OF THE SULTAN OF YOGYAKARTA

As Mumford stated (Mumford, 1961: 36-37), a new town is mainly a field for delineating the symbolic world, the universe and its gods, people, and social order within a given social and historical context. The imaginary axis of Yogyakarta city reflected such an idea. Historically, the Sultan's palace rested at the centre of the spatial layout and was oriented south-north. It is interesting to note that from my point of view, the central point (*axis mundi*) functioned as the vital orientation element with respect to locating the forces that maintained the order and the mapping of the established social order. In this case, the imaginary axis of Yogyakarta city brought the theme of the sacred and the secular to the fore. While the Sultan's palace represented the seat of secular authority – the king with his people – the South Sea at the edge of the south axis and Mount Merapi at the end of the north axis denoted the hieratic domination of supernatural beings. Such an imaginary axis not only enlarged the boundary of Yogyakarta city but also turned the landscape into a new urban image, particularly as a new symbolic world representing the people, the Sultan, the cosmos, and its gods. Creating and maintaining such a cosmological and social order, the Sultan made an imaginary axis as a means of cultural investments to strengthen the political authority and legitimate his throne.

While cultural policy distributed Yogyakarta's imaginary axis narration and brought commonly accepted value and meaning to a more extensive Yogyakarta citizenry, agencies called courtiers (palace guards), as well as new central places were needed to sustain the historical continuity of the imaginary axis narration. This is clearly seen at the South Sea imaginary axis of Parangkusumo, the sacred location of the wall fence surrounding the boulder relic where Panembahan Senopati, King of the Islamic Mataram kingdom, who is the first ancestor of Sultan I of Yogyakarta, sat when he met the Queen of the South Sea. The courtiers of the Sultan of Yogyakarta officially guard this place. Similarly, at Mount Merapi on the imaginary north axis, the Sultan of Yogyakarta's courtiers guard the sacred boulder at the Sri Manganti location where Kyai Sapu Jagat, the ruler of Mount Merapi, rested. Labuhan rituals are regularly held at Parangkusumo Beach on the imaginary south axis and Mount Merapi on the imaginary north axis<sup>4</sup>. Such a ritual provides a scenario within which the Yogyakarta Sultan's right and authority at the centre of the imaginary axis is demonstrated and reinforced. For instance, the ritual offerings are placed in a large wooden box containing a complete set of traditional Javanese men's and women's clothing. These include batik cloth of various patterns and plain fabric, nail clippings and haircuts of the sultan, flower offerings, incense, betel leaves, fragrant oil, and different food offerings including tumpeng decorated with fruits, vegetables, boiled eggs, and chili<sup>5</sup>. This offering broadcast information on the Yogyakarta Sultan's ownership of ceremonial wealth. By showing his offering in the ritual procession, the Yogyakarta Sultan exhibits his supernatural affiliation, which in turn legitimate, his right, power, and authority toward Yogyakarta's imaginary axis.

4. WICAKSONO, Pribadi – *Peringati Sultan HB X Bertahta, Abdi Dalem Keraton Yogyakarta Gelar Labuhan di Pantai Selatan*, 2023. In: <https://travel.tempo.co/read/1694308/peringati-sultan-hb-x-bertahta-abdi-dalem-keraton-yogyakarta-gelar-labuhan-di-pantai-selatan> (Access:2023);Admin – *Upacara Sakral Labuhan Merapi di Sri Manganti*, 2022. In: <https://kebudayaan.slemankab.go.id/post/upacara-sakral-labuhan-merapi-di-sri-manganti> (Access: 2023).

5. ARIF, Solichan – *Labuhan Merapi, Ritual Persembahan, untuk Kiai Sapu Jagat Demi Redam Gunung Merapi*, 2023. In: <https://news.okezone.com/read/2023/03/13/512/2780300/labuhan-merapi-ritual-persembahan-untuk-kiai-sapu-jagat-demi-redam-gunung-merapi#:~:text=Labuhan%20Merapi%20merupakan%20ritual%20yang,%20Dorang%20Mataram%2C%20utamanya%20kerajaan.&text=Ritual%20ini%20dilakukan%20rutin%20diimajiner%20yang%20melingkari%20gunung%20merapi> (Access: 2023).

## THE PHILOSOPHICAL AXIS OF YOGYAKARTA CITY

The philosophical axis of Yogyakarta stretches horizontally in a straight line from south to north, with two directions to the centre, from south to the centre and north, and from the north back to the centre [fig.02]. The Panggung Krapyak monument [fig.02, see 2] at the southern end of the axis marks the initial human life journey. The monument was erected in 1782. From the philosophical point of view, this monument represents the womb, or yoni (a stylized representation of the female genitalia in Hinduism), and vulva, where human life begins. Next, the line axis goes north, crosses the south square of the *kraton* [fig.02, see 3], the Sultan's palace [fig.02, see 4] and ceases at the Sultan's Palace at the centre. In brief, the philosophical axis that starts from the Panggung Krapyak monument to the south court (*Alun-alun Kidul*) and finishes at the Sultan Palace reflects the journey of human life from birth into childhood, teenage and reaching the adult stage (*Sangkan*). Completing such a stage also leads to the next life cycle from maturity to old age (*Paraning Dumadi*) by moving toward the endpoint of the north axis line where the Tugu monument stands [fig.02, see 6]. As a counterpart of Panggung Krapyak monument as yoni and womb, the Tugu monument delineates *lingga* (a male votary object that indicates the god Siva/phallus) and penis. From the Tugu monument, the journey continues back to the south again, towards the Kepatihan Complex where the secular power resides, and the Beringharjo Market, and terminates via the North square (*Alun-Alun Utara*) [fig.02, see 5] at the Sultan Palace in the centre. During this journey from the north to the south axis, the Kepatihan Complex, and Beringharjo market symbolize two temptations, or hindrances of life. While Kepatihan Complex is associated with the pursuit of authority, Beringharjo market relates to the desire for wealth<sup>6</sup> (Priyono, 2015: 77-102; Cosmological Axis of Yogyakarta Management Unit, 2022: 32-35).

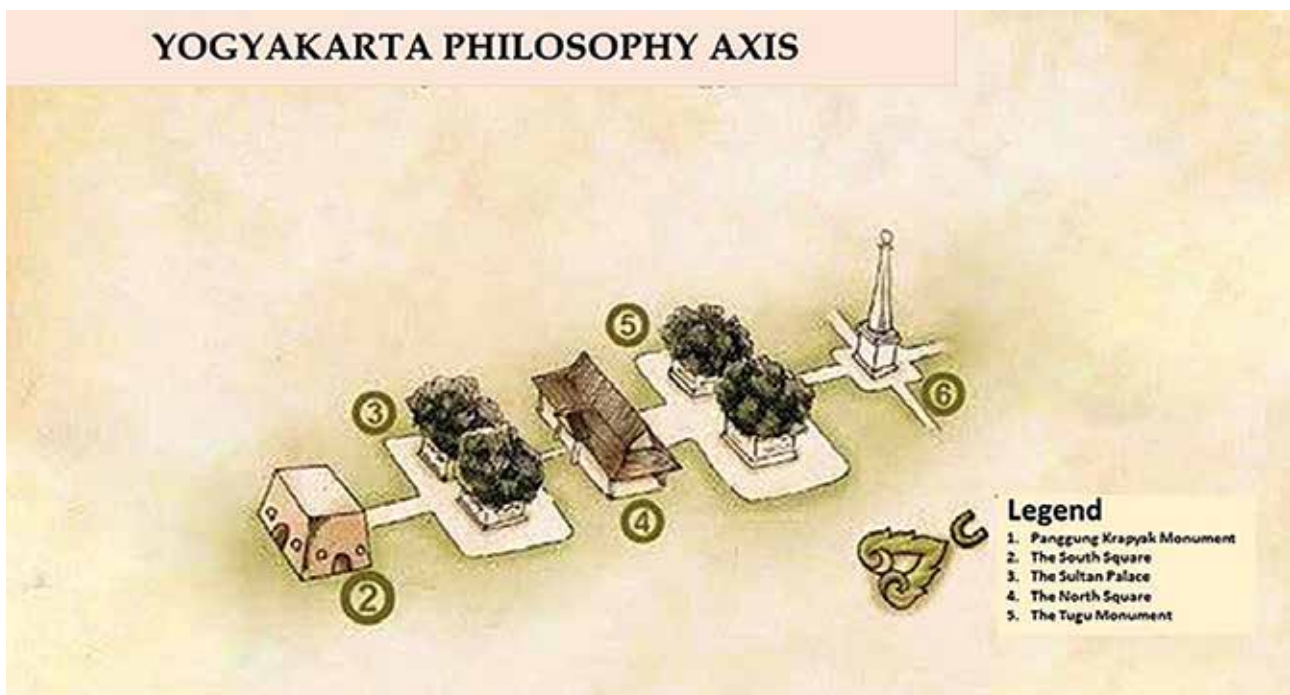


Fig. 02. The Philosophy Axis of Yogyakarta (source: UNESCO, 1992-2023 [modified by Tular Sudarmadi])

6. Karaton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat *Sumbu Filosofi Yogyakarta, Pengejawantahan Asal dan Tujuan Hidup*, 2022.  
In: <https://www.kratonjogja.id/tata-rakiting/21-sumbu-filosofi-yogyakarta-pengejawantahan-asal-dan-tujuan-hidup> (Access: 20 December 2022).

## INSTRUMENTALIZATION CULTURAL POLICY OF YOGYAKARTA PHILOSOPHICAL AXIS FOR THE WORLD HERITAGE NOMINATION

Emphasizing the unique historical background, especially with respect to the status of Special Province in the form of a Sultanate under the territorial unit of the Indonesian Republic and the centre of Javanese culture, brings the notion of maintaining Yogyakarta Special Province as a leading cultural centre in Indonesia. From this perspective, cultural development is a must to preserve, conserve, and protect glorious ancestor values for the welfare and prosperity of the future generation (Priyono, 2015: 2-12). For these reasons, in 2017 Yogyakarta Special Province Cultural Office submitted the Historic City Centre of Yogyakarta proposal as a cultural property, particularly with the philosophical axis as of outstanding universal value. The nomination file refers more precisely concerning to the following Criteria: Criterion (i): The Historic City Centre of Yogyakarta represents a masterpiece of human creative genius reflected in the planning of the city centre as a manifestation of a human life cycle, from the very beginning of life conception to the reunification of the soul with the God; Criterion (ii): Yogyakarta town-planning design is based on Javanese philosophy, a product of long cultural interaction between indigenous culture, and other civilizations, especially Hinduism and Islam; Criterion (vi): The main components of the historic city centre of Yogyakarta tangibly materializes the Javanese cosmology and traditional belief concerning the nature of human life: (a) to know the origin and ultimate destination of human life (*sangkan paraning dumadi*), (b) to maintain harmonious relations between God – Human – Nature (*manunggaling kawula gusti*), and (c) to make the world beautiful and peaceful (*Hamemayu hayuning bawana*). The nomination stresses that this traditional belief is still persistent and is performed through various ceremonies and rituals. As the procedures are completed, this proposal officially contains the philosophical axis of outstanding universal value candidacy for inscription on the World Heritage List<sup>7</sup>.

Regarding the importance of Yogyakarta's philosophical axis cultural heritage that marks Yogyakarta Special Province pride and recognizing the cultural capital of such heritage, the Special Province Yogyakarta government supports the successful nomination of the Yogyakarta Philosophical Axis in the List of Cultural Heritage through institutionalisation, education, as well as zoning and revitalisation, as follows:

### ESTABLISHMENT OF YOGYAKARTA PHILOSOPHICAL AXIS INSTITUTION

Under the 2020 Yogyakarta Special Province government Law number 35, article 2 paragraph 1c on the establishment, organizational structure, duties, functions, and work procedures of technical implementation units at the Yogyakarta Special Province agency, the Yogyakarta Philosophical Axis management is carried out by Yogyakarta Philosophical Axis Management Centre<sup>8</sup>. Given such a mandate, the official holds management authority in fabricating, shaping, and displaying the Yogyakarta Philosophical Axis. In an attempt to preserve, standardize, manage, and inform the unique meaning of Yogyakarta Philosophical Axis, this institution controls, manipulates, dominates, and brings the official version of Yogyakarta Philosophical Axis narration to the Yogyakarta resident through a program of the civilizing mission. From this point of view, such a program uses the meaning of Yogyakarta Philosophical Axis as a means of reference concerning the principle of proper conduct and intellectual advancement, at least for the Yogyakarta citizen.

7. UNESCO World Heritage Centre – *Historical City Centre of Yogyakarta, 1992-2023*.  
In: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentative%20list/06> (Access: 19 July 2023).

8. Berita Daerah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta 2020. *Peraturan Gubernur Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Nomor 35 tahun 2020*.  
In: <https://jdih.go.id/search/daerah/detail/1167880> (Access: 2023).

## EDUCATING YOGYAKARTA PHILOSOPHICAL AXIS TO THE PEOPLE OF YOGYAKARTA

The desire to propose Yogyakarta Philosophical Axis for the World Heritage list is in accordance with the Yogyakarta Philosophical Axis Management Centre to educate ordinary people about the meaning and glorious values of tangible and intangible cultural heritage residing in the Yogyakarta Philosophical Axis. For this reason, socialization is set up in 11 urban village communities, from Gowongan Village in the Tugu area, Ngupasan village in the Malioboro area to the Panggungharo Village, particularly around Panggung Krapyak Monument. Moreover, Panggungharjo village officials held a traditional ceremony to preserve the ancestral tradition (*merti*) of Panggung Krapyak through the socialization program of Yogyakarta's Philosophical Axis. A large number of residents in this area attended the first ritual performance. Through education, the local government make sure that the Yogyakarta residents remember and understand the meaning of the Yogyakarta Philosophy Axis, especially when the World Heritage committee comes to Yogyakarta and asks residents about it<sup>9</sup>.

## ZONING AND REVITALIZATION OF YOGYAKARTA PHILOSOPHICAL AXIS AREA

As a strategy through which Yogyakarta Philosophical Axis glorifies the past in the present, the local government implements Indonesian nation-state Law number 11, Cultural Objects Heritage Act of 2010, article 1, paragraph 26, and paragraph 31 on zonation and revitalization (Undang-Undang No. 11 Tahun, 2010). Accordingly, a conservation Yogyakarta Philosophical Axis landscape consists of the core zone covering an area of 997.543 ha. This zone is divided into block I & II, stretching from Marga Utama street to Malioboro areas, including several Dutch Colonial architectural style houses, 4-2 star hotels, offices, and shops with tourist activities; block III, Sultan Palace areas represents traditional Javanese house architecture and day to day Javanese people activities; block IV, Panggung Krapyak Monument areas surrounding by commoners Javanese house. In addition, a buffer zone between River Bedog and River Gajah Wong (east-west boundaries) and Yogyakarta Ring Road (north-south boundary) coping a boundary of 451.787 ha. Aligning with the principle of tangible preservation and intangible value on the core zone, regenerating activities and adjusting new spatial functions are necessary. Such revitalization is carried out on the Tugu monument, the Malioboro area, the north square, and the Panggung Krapyak. In the future, the core zone will be converted into a kind of "living museum of Yogyakarta medieval tradition"<sup>10</sup> (Pratiwi, 2016).

9. Jumali – *Sosialisasi Sumbu Filosofi Lewat Upacara Adat Merti Panggung Krapyak*, 2022. In: <https://jogjapolitan.harianjogja.com/read/2022/07/31/510/1107647/sosialisasi-sumbu-filosofi-lewat-upacara-adat-merti-panggung-krapyak> (Access: 2023); Bibin – *Warga Ngupasan Ikuti Sosialisasi "Sumbu Filosofi" Dinas Kebudayaan DIY*, 2021. In: <https://ngupasan.kel.jogjakota.go.id/detail/index/17307> (Access: 2023); HERAWATI, Maya – *11 Kelurahan dapat Sosialisasi tentang Sumbu Filosofi*, 2021. In: <https://jogjapolitan.harianjogja.com/read/2021/10/04/510/1084602/11-kelurahan-dapat-sosialisasi-tentang-sumbu-filosofi> (Access: 2023).
10. LEON, Yosef – *Tak Hanya Malioboro, Kawasan Tugu Jogja Sampai Panggung Krapyak Juga Akan Ditata Ulang*, 2023. In: <https://jogjapolitan.harianjogja.com/read/2023/02/09/510/1125790/tak-hanya-malioboro-kawasan-tugu-jogja-sampai-panggung-krapyak-juga-akan-ditata-ulang> (Access: 2023); SETIAWAN, Silvy D. – *Revitalisasi Tugu Perkuat Usulan Sumbu Filosofi ke Unesco*, 2020. In: <https://news.republika.co.id/berita/qlj85m399/revitalisasi-tugu-perkuat-usulan-sumbu-filosofi-ke-unesco> (Access: 2023).

## DUTCH COLONIAL LEGACY ON CULTURAL POLICY OF YOGYAKARTA PHILOSOPHICAL AXIS FOR THE WORLD HERITAGE NOMINATION

Actually, Yogyakarta Philosophical Axis is not only an instrumentalization of cultural policy but also part of the historical urban heritage. As such, Rip and Rodwell (Rip and Rodwell, 2016; 82-89) and Turner and Tomer (Turner and Tomer, 2013: 190-192) argue that a historical urban heritage is a product where spatial (landscape and place), cultural, and particular kinds of tangible and intangible expression are given their meaning temporally (developing from time to time) by those who see, appreciate, and live with them. However, Yogyakarta Philosophical Axis as an intangible expression is ahistorical. Based on my research into Yogyakarta's city historical sources, the narrative of a human's journey from birth to death and union with their god, represented in the Yogyakarta Philosophical Axis, could not be found.

Furthermore, the aspects of time and space were also ignored. For example, the Pangung Krapyak monument was built in 1782, and the Sultan Palace was erected in 1755. Logically, the process of life's journey should have started from the younger to the older. Given such reasons, the life cycle of birth from the Yogyakarta Philosophical Axis must start from the Sultan Palace to the Krapyak Stage, and not the other way around. In this case, they projected the Yogyakarta people with a colonial ideology of a "People without history", a traditional society isolated from modernism that the government must educate (Wolf, 1982:4). Similarly, the shops [fig.03, see h], the Tugu Hotel [fig.03, see j], the Vredeborg fortress [fig.03, see f], the Residential Palace [fig.03, see e]. Historical evidence of the building space was erased to omit the memory of colonization by the Dutch.



Fig. 03 · The Philosophical Axis of Yogyakarta City (drawn by Mathilda Candra)



Fig. 04. Yogyakarta city centre as mapped in colonial times, starting from the colonial structures of Fort Vredenburg (A) and Residential Palace (B) (source: Van Bruggen et al, p. 26)



Fig. 05 · The house demolition along the Eastern Yogyakarta Palace fortress (source: Bintarto, 2023)

That very presence of this philosophical axis was acknowledged as well in colonial times, as also speaks from a Dutch publication, richly illustrated with historical photographs and maps on Yogyakarta and Surakarta, from 1998. In this narrative, the philosophical dimension of the axis is invoked in different terms. The Sultan's palace is labelled the magical-religious centre of the universe; it is rooted on the earth in the direction of the sea, and reaches to higher spiritual values in the north with the elevated Sitinggil near the northern aloon-aloon as the start of the elevation (Van Bruggen et al, 1998: 145). However, this historical narrative and visual history of Yogyakarta does not place the Sultan's Palace at the heart of the axis. Rather its maps start from the two main Dutch colonial constructions adjacent to the axis: Fort Vredenburg and the Residential Palace, today called the Kepatihan Complex (Van Bruggen et al, 1998: 26) [fig.04].

Whereas the former Residential Palace in the nomination file now is representing one of the temptations of life (seeking for worldly authority), the colonial Fort Vredenburg is not part of the narrative. One might wonder whether in the nomination file, the highest authority – the Sultan of Yogyakarta city – provides this new interpretation of the imaginary axis as part of a cultural policy to strengthen a narrative that side-lines the colonial aspects of the current Historical City Centre of Yogyakarta, or is mainly instrumental for achieving purposes other than cultural aspects (Vestheim 1994: 65; McGuigan 2004: 61-62; Makarychev, Pyykkönen, and Sokka 2020: 81-82).

While the Sultanate and the Government are trying to ensure that the narrative of Yogyakarta's Philosophical Axis and its iconic buildings are transformed as it was in the past to fabricate the illusion of unique static, authentic heritage, public outcry emerged over the policy to remove residential houses around the Philosophical Axis area [fig.05]. No wonder, The Yogyakarta Legal Aid Institute, from 2022 to early 2023, assisted cases related to the elimination and eviction of approximately 2,000 street vendors along Malioboro Street in the name of project Yogyakarta Philosophy Axis for World Heritage nomination<sup>11</sup>.

11. RAMADHAN, Raka – Sumbu Filosofi di Tanah Istimewa: Pembangunan Kawasan dan Penyingkiran Rakyat, 2023. In: <https://lbhyogyakarta.org/2023/03/08/sumbu-filosofi-di-tanah-istimewa-pembangunan-kawasan-dan-penyingkiran-rakyat> (Access: 2023).

Moreover, residents were instructed take down their houses in the Panembahan area, Mergangsan, Yogyakarta, with the argument that revitalization was required of the authenticity of the Eastern Yogyakarta Palace fortress<sup>12</sup>. Reviewing Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation (1969) in which, she identified a broad spectrum of participation ranging from manipulation to citizen control, Yogyakarta Philosophical Axis for World Heritage nomination neglected and manipulated public participation. The Yogyakarta Special Province government never consulted, dialogue, and took part in the discussion on heritage, but only socialized and educated in a one-way heritage meaning of the Yogyakarta Philosophical Axis. In a stunning effort of Yogyakarta government authorities to apply an "authorized heritage discourse" they expressed a desire to assert control over the continuity in meanings of place, mainly to impress the world with its static concept of culture and tutelage responsibility, in order to glorify a time-less Sultanate's Javanese kingdom identity. The nomination of the historic city centre of Yogyakarta thus is instrumental to the concept of world heritage as it has evolved since the 1970s, and has transformed vibrant local cultures into tourist attractions for, in this case both an Indonesian and a global tourism industry (Shaw, 2017: 359-360).

However, I also borrow a strategy from the heritage urban landscape, viewing the city as "a location, a site, a territory, and a hub through which networks and flows of cultural, natural, social, economic, political, and ideological circulate among the citizens", all at once (Ingram, 2015: 5). Further, I add Nara Document 8, which states that all cultures and societies are based on the unique tangible and intangible expression methods that make up their legacy and should be honoured. It also states that the stakeholder who created the cultural heritage should be the first to manage it, followed by the person who looks after it<sup>13</sup>. Only once we acknowledge the complex ownership relationships surrounding the material legacy of the past can we begin to address whether our humanity or the tourism sector unethically contributes to eradicating living cultures that have also been imposed due to maintaining the world heritage site. In fact, if the living present is not sacrificed, the past only has significance for the future.

## CONCLUSION

Since 1755, the city of Yogyakarta has been the capital of the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate. Formerly, Sultan Hamengku Buwono I – the first Yogyakarta Sultanate – created the imaginary axis of Yogyakarta city to legitimize his position as the ruler of the city, sea, and mountain. Recently, the Sultanate of Yogyakarta and the provincial government of Yogyakarta Special Region have fabricated the Philosophical Axis of Yogyakarta for the World Heritage Site nomination.

In order to achieve this goal, all means were taken to reach the success of the World Heritage nomination. As a result, the Philosophical Axis of Yogyakarta imbued the colonialism ideas, including the narrative that eliminates the history of current residents' occupation, the dismantling of their houses and businesses in the Philosophy Axis area solely for the sake of "restoring" (and reconstructing) the so-called authenticity, masterpiece, and uniqueness of buildings and landscapes in the past. In this case, the provincial government of Yogyakarta Special Region and the Sultanate of Yogyakarta wrote their Philosophy Axis of Yogyakarta just as the Dutch colonialists wrote their history, eliminating the indigenous history – people without history – and fabricating the indigenous history from the Dutch perspective.

12. BINTARTO, Agus – *Revitalisasi Benteng Timur Keraton Yogya, Puluhan Rumah Dibongkar, Kembalikan Bentuk 200 Tahun Lalu*, 2023. In: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_MlcV2m\\_HM4&t=19s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_MlcV2m_HM4&t=19s) (Access: 2023); HIDAYAT, Wihdan, ARGHI, Yogi – *Revitalisasi Benteng Timur Keraton Yogya Puluhan Rumah Dibongkar*, 2023. In: <https://visual.republika.co.id/berita/rxiufe314/revitalisasi-benteng-timur-keraton-yogya-puluhan-rumah-dibongkar> (Access: 2023).

13. ICOMOS – *The Nara Document on Authenticity*, 2012. In: <https://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/386-the-nara-document-on-authenticity-1994> (Access: 2023).

Overall, the Philosophical Axis of Yogyakarta contradicts the concept of Historic Urban Landscape, which suggests democratizing heritage for the sake of the people by involving stakeholder participation in narrating historical formations, dialogue, and decision-making. Moreover, the nomination of the Philosophy Axis of Yogyakarta to the world heritage by the Yogyakarta Provincial government needs to provide opportunities, space, and time in the future for the sustainability of life and social transformation for residents who live around the Philosophical Axis area, instead of destructing their houses in order to construct a timeless present.

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# COLONIAL LEGACIES IN HERITAGE CONSERVATION IN ALGERIA

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## ABSTRACT

Algeria is a country rich in heritage and history, with many different types of material and intangible heritage, testimonies to the multiple civilizations that crossed its realm and shaped the culture and nationhood of the Algerian people. Yet, despite the potential offered by all these heritage assets, the present conservation practice in Algeria does not appear to be bringing effective answers to the challenges threatening the existence of this heritage, as seen in the flagship case of the Kasbah of Algiers, a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1992. This research offers an initial investigation of the underlying causes behind today's Algerian heritage reality, through a historical review of valuation processes and the conservation practice in Algeria based on the sense of sacred, encompassing the Numidians' "mausoleum culture," the influence of *waqf*, and how a home-grown process of buildings and cultural perpetuation was interrupted by the French colonization and its nation-destroying enterprise. Also, the research argues the role of the Algerian heritage and its nature in elaborating the *secteurs sauvegardés*, or conservation areas in French conservation. The research concludes on the need to explore and inspire from pre-colonial care practices to construct a heritage conservation approach adapted to Algerian culture.

## KEYWORDS

Algeria | Colonial | Heritage | Conservation | Legislation

## INTRODUCTION

While significant research has been undertaken on the Roman heritage of Algeria and the different uses made of it, particularly during the early phases of the French colonization (Effros, 2018; Effros, 2016; Ford, 2015; Greenhalgh, 1998; Lorcín, 2006; Lorcín 2002; Lorcín 1992), little research was attempted to appreciate the history of Algeria's heritage construction and conservation across its entire history, seemingly based on the postulate that heritage in Algeria represents solely a colonial legacy (Oulebsir, 2004)<sup>1</sup>.

By exploring more recent Algerian research on heritage conservation in pre-colonial Algeria, as well as archives including French conservation legislation and minutes from the meetings of the *Commission des Monuments Historiques*, which was involved in the management of the Algerian heritage during the French colonial period, this paper traces the general lines of the evolution of the French conservation practice and its impact on Algerian heritage with a focus on legislation, highlighting elements of reciprocity. This allows for an understanding of the present heritage situation in Algeria, identifying the colonial legacies in present Algerian conservation legislation and approaches to heritage interpretation and construction, beyond the Roman heritage of the country.

It is important to note that the author suggests the following simplified periodization of Algeria's history used in this research, based on the major political shifts the country experienced [tab.01].

Pre – 4 <sup>th</sup> Cent. BC	4 <sup>th</sup> Cent. BC – 1 <sup>st</sup> Cent. BC	1 <sup>st</sup> Cent. BC – 7 <sup>th</sup> Cent. AD	7 <sup>th</sup> Cent. AD – 16 <sup>th</sup> Cent. AD	16 <sup>th</sup> Cent. AD – 1830	1830 – 1962	1962 – Present
Pre-history	Numidian Period	Roman Period	Dynasties Period	Ottoman Period	Colonial Period	Contemporary Algeria

Tab. 1· Algerian History Periodization

## BACKGROUND: THE ROOTS OF TRADITIONAL ALGERIAN CARE CULTURE

The arrival of Islam to North Africa established the foundations of the present sociocultural character of the region; the Islamization of the region also led to a process of Arabization whose results can be seen today. This religious conversion led to a switch from the sacralization of Numidian mausoleums – which may have continued with Christianity – to the rally around marabouts, men dedicating their lives to teaching the Koran and the Islamic religion to local populations.

1. Oulebsir's 2004 PhD thesis "*Les Usages du Patrimoine*" represents a work of reference on French heritage creation in Algeria but considers that the concept did not exist in Algeria prior to the colonial period. While not the main point of her work, this argument is challenged in Algeria because of its Eurocentric perspective in its consideration of what heritage and conservation are or are not.

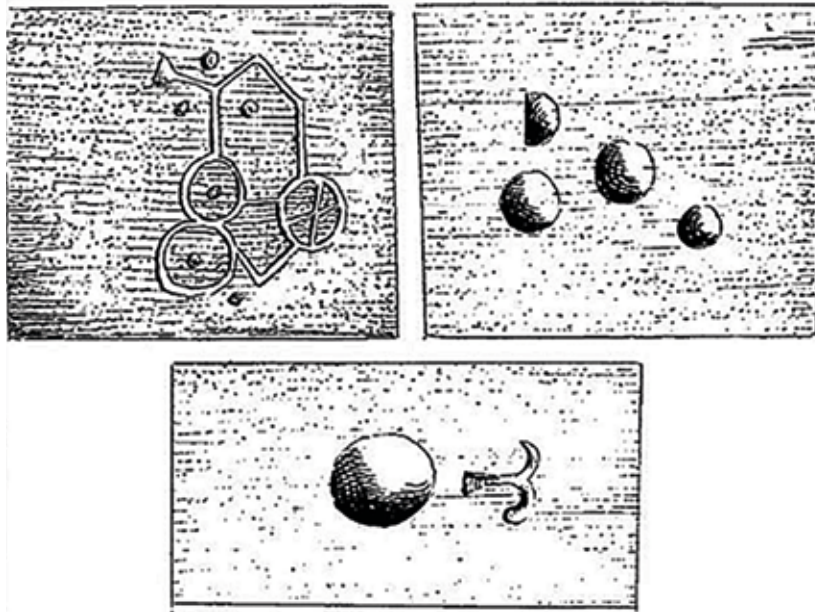
During their life, but most importantly upon their death, marabouts were revered as saints, and were consequently buried with special care: their graves becoming sacred mausoleums that Muslims visit and pray at. This sacralization sometimes extended to their servitor (*khdeem*) as well as their family members, the formers' graves even being part of the visit ritual of these sites [fig.04,02].



Fig. 02 · Sidi M'hamed, Saint of Algiers (source: author, December 2021).



Fig. 03 · Old Oqba ibn Nafi Mosque. Sidi Oqba was a companion who led the conquest of North Africa. His grave was constructed at the place of his demise and is today a small town in eastern Algeria (source: author, December 2021).



**Fig. 04** · Recorded drawings of “games” found on some of the walls of the Medracen Mausoleum during the excavation (source: Moliner-Violle, 1893 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

The rationale behind the sacredness of these saints’ graves lies in the hadith<sup>2</sup>: “Indeed, the grave is either a courtyard amongst the courtyards of heaven, or a pit amongst the pits of hell” (Al Shawkani, 1995: 269).

Because of this, saints’ graves, are considered by Muslims as fragments of heavenly land on Earth, thus bearing a blessed character and power. Consequently, care for these graves started early in Algeria, often evolving into mausoleums and extending into graveyards, and even into mosques [fig.03]. The transmission of this spiritual value attributed to saints’ graves, albeit religious, can be identified as the expression of a heritage feeling tied to rituals, but in this case of a specific practice that has required constant care for centuries. While this care existed before modern conservation movements, it nevertheless represented a codified practice aimed at the preservation of certain attributes (e.g., authenticity of the grave, prohibition of profanation, isolation from other buildings) that are found in current heritage practices.

But the social, cultural, and religious change incurred by Islam in Algeria did not sever all links with the pre-Islamic remains of the country. While they appear to have gradually fallen from care with the arrival of Islam, French archaeological excavations during the colonial period (Moliner-Violle, 1893) revealed that people continued to wonder about the meaning and content of Numidian mausoleums and leave writings on them long after the arrival of Islam, as shown in the Medracen Mausoleum, located 320 km southeast of Algiers.

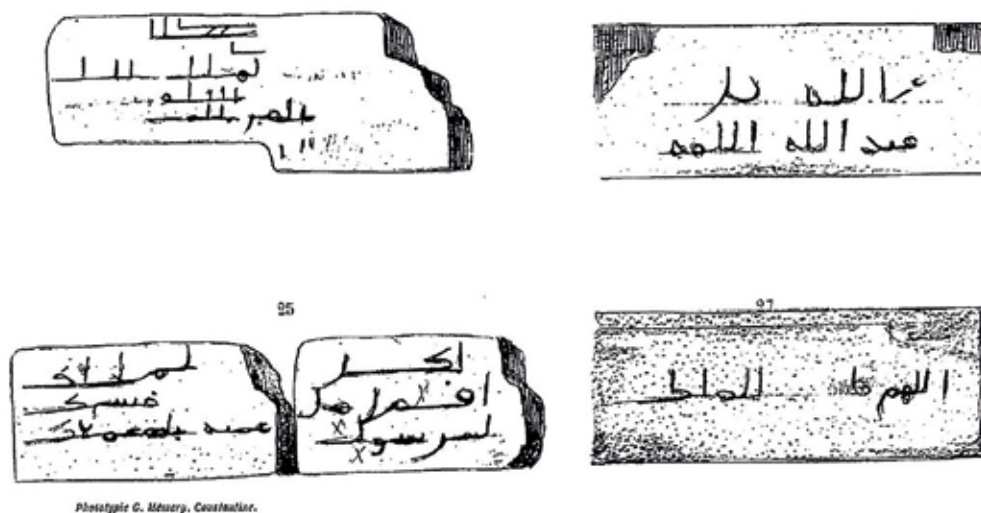
The Numidians were the ancient Berber populations inhabiting the North of Algeria. The most remarkable productions they left as testimonies of their presence are most probably their mausoleums, the product of their extensive funerary culture (Moore, 2007). The existence of these monuments, their architectural elaboration, and their scale attest to the Numidians’ architectural prowess and their veneration of dead rulers, making this one of the earliest examples of such sacralization. Indeed, these mausoleums are located near major roads and relatively close to cities, suggesting they were meant to be visited as places of worship and memory. They also provide archaeological proof against the Roman and later French *Terra Nullius* arguments (Belgacem, forthcoming).

2. A saying of the Islamic tradition attributed to the Prophet (S).

The Royal Mausoleum of Mauretania, located on the Algerian coast between Algiers and Cherchell, illustrates the survival of the mausoleum culture of Numidia during the Roman period. Historically known through the colloquial name of *Qbar El Roumia*, or “The Grave of the Christian<sup>3</sup> Woman”, the mausoleum bears this name because it is believed to be the grave of Cleopatra Selene II, spouse of King Juba II and Queen of Numidian of Ptolemaic origin (Berbrugger, 1867: 25; Roller, 2003: 74). The choice of a *basina*, constructed in the largest scale known in Algeria, as the last abode of a queen part of the Romanized elites of North Africa, testifies to the validity of ancient Numidian sacralization systems after the Romanization of the country. This monument is today part of the Tipasa World Heritage Site. The care that these Numidian monuments benefitted from, particularly on religious grounds, offers a perspective with the potential to contribute to the widening of the heritage concept as a phenomenon taking roots in ritual valuations and monument perpetuation.

In the case of the Medracen mausoleum, which ancient historians or travellers do not mention, the oldest occurrence mentioning its existence is found in Muslim historian Al-Bakri’s (1014-1094) description of North Africa. During the early Islamic period, Al-Bakri references a collective decision among local Muslims to demolish it; while intention never led to action, the fact that it was envisaged indicates that the site may have remained of spiritual importance after the arrival of Islam and could therefore have been considered as threatening the new faith.

Furthermore, like modern graffiti, inscriptions represent a whole theme of the Medracen’s archaeology, as these give insights into people’s continued consideration of the monument. Indeed, Phoenician inscriptions are present on the inside as well as on the outside walls of the mausoleum and are likely to have been made by Numidians themselves. These ancient inscriptions are surrounded by many drawings of animals scattered around Arabic inscriptions, as well as symbols of different shapes [fig.04], which Moliner-Violle identified as games made by builders, which can also be found in the Royal Mausoleum of Mauretania. Arabic inscriptions, occurring after the Islamic conquest, are the most prevalent and have often been identified as invocations to God and prayers to support an unnamed medieval Muslim king, possibly related to the period of the Hafsîd invasion of the Shawi mountains in the east of Algeria [fig.05].



**Fig. 05** · Phototypy of the writings in Arabic. The words identified by Moliner-Violle are: on the top-left stone, “Patience comes from God”; on the bottom-left, “For all”, “castle, an origin” (or a people the origin comes), “of the Prophet”. Between these Arabic words, neo-Punic characters are still present. On the top-right stone, the expressions “God”, “servitor of God” can be found. Finally, the bottom-right stone shows “Oh, God... the king”, which Moliner-Violle suggests would originally be “Oh, God! Grant victory to the king!” (source: Moliner-Violle, 1893 – Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

3. The term *Roumig* bears a range of meanings including Greek, Roman, Christian, and since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, French, and Westerner more generally.

The presence of these inscriptions evidence that the relative isolation of the monument did not cause its abandonment by the Muslim Arabs and Berbers alike, heirs to the Numidians. The Medracen remained a landmark in the landscape and a monument attributed with a form of intrinsic value.

These findings disprove the paradigm that was established by French anthropologists such as Féraud (1863) which divided the Algerian population into the two essentialist categories of Arab and Berber. The shifting in interpretations of the Algerian heritage, and the parallels drawn between Berbers and Numidians, were employed to write a narrative justifying and rationalizing the French colonial enterprise in Algeria (Effros, 2017; Lorcín, 1992).

Finally, Islam also introduced new temples, the mosques, that replaced the churches and cathedrals established during the Roman period. The Christianization of North Africa (e.g., Augustine emerging as a Christian theological reference in Hippo Regius – present Annaba, Algeria) ushered in a new belief system whose degree of conflict with previous rites remains to be uncovered. In some instances, like in Jamaa El-Kebir (10<sup>th</sup> century), ruined Christian temples were first used and later rebuilt as mosques. While mosques have sometimes been reconstructed and enlarged through time, given that their value is linked to their use (like in Mecca and Medina), many mosques in Algeria have tended to be preserved physically, as explored below.

## HERITAGE AND CONSERVATION IN OTTOMAN ALGERIA

Many authors (Oulebsir, 2004; Pouillon, 1990) have tended to approach heritage in Algeria from 1830<sup>4</sup> onwards, proposing a vision that remains framed by past colonial perspectives and evolving within a strictly Western paradigm arguing that heritage is a colonial legacy in Algeria (Oulebsir, 2004: 4). Consequently, research addressing heritage construction processes and conservation practices in precolonial Algeria is lacking, despite the evidence for continuous care given to many sites and buildings of a religious, funerary, or functional nature.

Nevertheless, recent research addressing the urban evolution of Algiers during the Ottoman period offers a track of investigation of the nature of heritage construction processes at that time. Samia Chergui analyzed some registers relating to former Algerian economic institutions of the late Ottoman period – 1730 to 1847 (Chergui, 2015), after which they were dismantled by the French –, mainly *Bayt-Al-Mal* (the House of Money) and *Bayt-Al-Beylik* (the House of the Beylik<sup>5</sup>) that mention the Great Mosque of Algiers, first built in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. At the time, the mosque was being managed by the second largest Algerian waqf and owned, beyond itself, tens of other properties in the city.

In these registers, Chergui highlighted the presence of a conservation terminology, composed of technical terms – e.g., *Tabyid* (chalk whitening), *Islah* (repair), *Tad'im* (consolidation) – all relating to a set of urban maintenance operations. These were usually undertaken yearly and testify of a preservation practice as these were based on specific restoration techniques respectful of the physicochemical compatibility of new materials with pre-existing ones, like stone and mortar. Like many others, this *waqf* appealed to guilds of artisans of various trades, in this case mainly related to construction, e.g., *Maalam Al-Bina* (Master Mason), *Bannai* (Mason), *Aawayin Al-Bannai* (Mason Helpers), *Khadamin* (Workers), *Najar* (Carpenter), *Nasar* (Joiner), *Haddad* (Iron Worker).

4. Year of the start of the French invasion of Algeria.

5. The *Beylik* was the administrative division of Ottoman Algeria under the authority of a *Bey*, themselves ruling for the national ruler, the *Dey*.

But most importantly, Chergui's philological and architectural studies of the Great Mosque of Algiers' plan evolution through the centuries show that these different conservation mechanisms indicate the existence of a centuries-long dialectic between different modes of management and forms of authenticity, each mode of management aimed at preserving a precise form of authenticity:

"Each symbolic, conservatory or renewing mode of management, aims at preserving a precise form of authenticity. The symbolic management of the sacred memory, of this place of worship, pretends to respect its formal or geometrical authenticity and sacrifices, therefore, its material integrity"

(Chergui, 2015: 297).

This indicates the existence of a codification of these maintenance efforts, aimed mainly but not only, at the preservation of holy sites like mosques and mausoleums. This tradition and its knowhow were partly lost because of the rupture caused by the French colonization, through direct and indirect actions taken by colonial authorities, particularly when France disbanded guilds of artisans in 1868 (Colonna, 1972; Ageron, 2005), as these were a hotbed for national resistance to colonization.

The presence of sacredness projected into the material culture of Algeria, and what can be historically established as a consistent practice of conservation of buildings, that considered and respected their formal authenticity and never seemed to have resorted to total replacement through demolition, which constitutes evidence of an early, perhaps primitive, process of heritage construction experienced by the people involved in its perpetual restoration, of which the Great Mosque of Algiers is a great example since it was perpetually looked after and never reconstructed. Significant care seems to have been given to preserve buildings in the way they were, beyond the sole preservation of their use. As Algiers was a city often under attack from the sea by European fleets (e.g., the British bombardment of 1816), it was constricted to develop within its city walls, similar to medieval cities. The management of these assets involved the *waqf* institution, a religious system of property endowment explored below.

## WAQF

*Waqf* was the most prominent system of property management in pre-colonial Algeria. *Al-waqf*, literally "the stop" in Arabic, is the Islamic religious endowment that transfers property ownership from their legal owner to God, to be used for the public good through charitable purposes, or for family. Under this system, any property that is congruent with Islamic law can be turned into a *waqf*, such as mosques, schools, universities, hospitals, baking ovens and furnaces, and infrastructure (public wells, lighthouses, cemeteries, roads); a famous example of which is the Hejaz railway line constructed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as a *waqf* investment development project in the Ottoman Empire. *Waqf* is therefore a mechanism with a holistic field of application. It is also the origin of the British concept of national trust (Filcher, 1971: 2), though *waqf* retains certain limitations that do not allow its use for business purposes. Thus, it is now often relegated to religious matters only.

By studying *waqf* in the Ottoman period in Algeria, it was established that from 1600 to 1750, the number of *waqf* properties in Algeria increased twelvefold (Laallam et al, 2021). This correlates with what Jeffrey Schoenblum argued about *waqf* in the Ottoman Empire in general, with half of the city of Algiers properties being *waqfs* in 1830 (Schoenblum, 1999: 2). Moreover, the nature of *waqf* properties also evolved during that period, expanding to agricultural lands, shops, hotels, and even baking ovens. It also spread to charities, which were "religious in nature, legal in personality, and privately administrated" (Laallam et al, 2021: 138).

The first Algerian documented *waqf*, *Waqf Al-Haramayn* (the *Waqf* of the Two Holy Sites), was created during the dynasties period in the city of Algiers. By the start of the French colonization and dismantlement of most *waqf* institutions in Algeria, it was the largest *waqf* institution in the city and the country. This *waqf* was originally designed to financially support the poor of Mecca and Medina, sending money twice a year via caravans of pilgrims traveling from Algeria to Mecca, transiting through an Algerian agency in Alexandria. It is also one of the *waqf* that owned many properties in precolonial Algiers, including a large number of houses. Therefore, *Waqf* played a major role in pre-colonial Algeria, as a system that was involved in the preservation of multiple public and private properties according to a set of conditions established at the point of endowment, including the modalities of management and purpose of endowment.

In summary, recent research on heritage construction processes in pre-colonial Algeria remains limited but has highlighted existing mechanisms of cultural valuation, indicating the presence of what is conceptualized in English as heritage. It offers a wider perspective on heritage that goes beyond its assumed status of colonial legacy in Algeria. Instead, expanding the definition of the concept of heritage is necessary to be able to recognize it in its different incarnations.

This precolonial conservation practice was the result of an organic and progressive evolution of rationales behind the valuation of specific buildings, objects, and rituals, originating in religious rationales but gradually moving onto cultural rationales as an extension of it. Preserving heritage in pre-colonial Algeria was addressing conserving their Islamic civilization, based more on social, cultural, communal, and religious values rather than historical, aesthetic, and evidential values formalized by Western conservationists.

The conservation of buildings in Algeria was ensured by institutions, particularly guilds of artisans of various trades who dealt with the maintenance and repair of buildings, following specific techniques, and relying on a precise codification of their practice. These worked closely with the *waqf* institution, possessing large amounts of property, and playing a key role in the socioeconomic aspect of the Islamic world.

## COLONIAL PERIOD

French heritage construction emerged after the French Revolution when the French republicans attempted to rally the previous populations ruled by the king around new symbols to create the French nation. This emphasis on symbols led early French conservation to a process of formalization of sacralization, designating many buildings as “national monuments” to highlight their national interest and importance. In this context, Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc was commissioned to design a monument for the integration of Algeria as a distinct polity into the French nation by the government of Napoleon III in 1870 [fig.06].

Monumentalizing was also continuous with the use of Roman monuments – such as triumphal arches – and Christian holy structures like cathedrals, as symbols of civilizational prowess. This process of monumentalizing and its past roots in French history is what allowed the Cathedral of Notre-Dame of Paris to survive demolition by the revolutionary government.

The *Code Pénal* initially included two articles criminalizing the destruction and degradation of monuments (Arts. 257 and 434), a response to the general vandalism that happened during the turmoil of the revolution.



**Fig. 06** · First drawing of the Viollet-le-Duc's monument to Napoleon III in Algeria (source: E.-E. Viollet-le-Duc, 1864 - Ministère de la Culture, Médiathèque du Patrimoine, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / image RMN-GP).

This legal protection had been lobbied for by Abbé Grégoire who militated for the salvation of church treasures looted during this period of uprisings, particularly against the clergy. Siding with the conservation of the testimonies of the past, he was commissioned by the *Comité d'Instruction Publique* to produce reports on the damage that was caused during the years of the revolution, particularly against objects and artworks, even coining the word “*vandalisme*”. His contribution in reconciling the remnants of the past with the modernizing intent is significant (Boulad-Ayoub, 2012: 7).

## INSTITUTIONS

After these initial legal efforts, the first widely documented French list of national historic monuments was established in 1840, mentioning monuments in France only. This list, the result of the efforts of the *Commission des Monuments Historiques*, was regularly updated with additions and removals of entries (1846, 1862, 1875, 1889, 1900), as designations were made on proposals from the *Commission* members who made a case for a historic or artistic value. The commission included famous men involved in the history of French conservation as members, such as Prosper Mérimée and Viollet-Le-Duc.

Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Commission endeavoured to designate and manage monuments in France and Algeria, and later those of other French colonies. It was composed of multiple French men who corresponded to the same socio-cultural profile: they received a classical education, were middle-aged to older, wealthy, and shared the same set of specializations, e.g., politicians (both in office in France and Algeria), architects (often diocesan), archivists, palaeographers, art critiques, sculptors, painters, geologists, prehistorians. The first president of this commission was Jean Vatout, a writer, poet, and *député*, and a royalist supporter of the king Louis-Phillipe of France. This commission worked closely with the *Ministère des Arts* and the *Société d'Archéologie*. While the *Commission* enjoyed a degree of freedom and flexibility in lobbying for heritage protection and monument designation, it remained dependent on the French State for legislation enactment and funding.

## DESIGNATIONS

Monuments designated were overwhelmingly in France, but a small number of monuments designated in Algeria appeared as early as 1862<sup>6</sup>. The 1862 list also includes one monument in Italy, the Villa Medici in Rome, prior to its conquest by Italians, serving as the palace of the Academy of France at the time. The Appendix of the 1887 law counts over 1600 buildings designated in France against only 44 in Algeria. Additionally, monuments designated in Algeria are overwhelmingly linked to the Roman presence compared to those designated in France. As during this period, conservation approaches were linked to nationalist constructions, the duality of the French heritage discourse in the two countries – nationalism in France and imperialism in Algeria – was most probably a main cause of this difference in designation. Indeed, French (and other European) narratives tended to underplay the Roman period in France seen as threatening to nation-building, while they emphasized these narratives in Algeria to combat Algerian nationalism. This imbalance of monument numbers and historical periods remained present throughout the colonial period.

The categories under which monuments are designated, reflecting their historical construction period, also differed between Algeria and France. In France, these included "*Monuments Mégalithiques*", "*Monuments Anciens*", "*Monument Médiévaux*", and "*Époque Moderne*", while in Algeria the two categories of "*Monument Médiévaux*" and "*Époque Moderne*" appear to have been merged into a category labelled as "*Monuments Arabes*". In this frame, modernity was excluded from the French periodization of Algerian history, the category "*Monuments Arabes*" standing for a sort of medieval period extending from the arrival of Islam in Algeria in the 7<sup>th</sup> century to the French invasion in 1830. This periodization thus marked the beginning of modernity in Algeria at the start of the colonial period. Algerian monuments designated under this category tended to be few, highlighting the French bias in its focus on the Pre-Arabic, and thus pre-Islamic, history of Algeria (Diaz-Andrew, 2008: 263-264).

Within the Commission, Merimee considered that Algeria an integral part of France, seemingly attempting to minimize the difference in treatment between the two countries. As French monuments were in danger of destruction, the Commission focused on designations to offer a degree of protection. In Algeria, monuments appear to have been considered at risk of decay, while they were demolished for redevelopment purposes when considered of no interest.

6. Available at: <https://mediatheque-patrimoine.culture.gouv.fr/les-monuments-historiques-avant-1913> (Access: 2024).

The nature of designations also followed the provincial divisions of Algeria: the east was the focus of Numidian and Roman monuments while the west was the focus of “Arab monuments”, which led to the designation of historic Algerian mosques as “French national monuments”. As for the centre of Algeria, the region with the lowest number of designations, monuments were generally linked to the Ottoman presence. This difference appears quite clearly to be linked to the prominence of monuments of different natures in these regions, reflecting the shifting centres of power across the history of Algeria.

“Mr. Merimee, rapporteur, shows the Commission the drawings of a mosque of Tlemcen that seems to go back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The rapporteur thinks that, if this mosque has indeed the date that is attributed to it in the note attached to the drawing, it is not doubtful that it deserves a great interest and we can from now list it”

(*Commission des Monuments Historiques*, 13 May 1853).

The west of Algeria thus became the focus of orientalist interest, centred particularly around the city of Tlemcen, with the French approach to heritage conservation being framed in art history. While artists traveled with the French army during the conquest of Algeria, more extensive artistic study and inspiration took place after 1880; in the midst of continuous conflict, Algeria became an accessible point of entry into the Orient (Benjamin, 2003: 130-136).

This designation practice, constructed around the idea of monument making, had negative consequences on buildings considered unworthy of such status: by overlooking the relationship of mosques with their surroundings and the nature of Islamic urbanism, French conservation philosophy in Algeria often led to the clearing of valuable historic buildings making up the urban character of Algerian historic cities to allow designated monuments to stand out [fig.07,08]. This monumentalizing of Algerian buildings was accompanied by the construction of new ones, bolstering the belief in French superiority to Algerian tradition (Aldrich, 2010: 206).



**Fig. 07** · The façade of pre-colonial Algiers in 1830, with the Great Mosque of Algiers (10<sup>th</sup> century) on the right and the New Mosque of Algiers (15<sup>th</sup> century) on the left, both designated during the 19<sup>th</sup> century as national French monuments (source: Carl Adolf Otth, 1839 – Wikimedia Commons).



**Fig. 08** · The same façade today, heavily modified by the French in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (source: Farouk Toumi, 2016).

## ARCHAEOLOGY

French involvement in Algerian heritage was not limited to designation and included archaeological study. There are no accounts of digs undertaken in pre-colonial Algeria for scientific purposes, and excavations undertaken around some heritage sites, such as the Royal Mausoleum of Mauretania, were motivated by treasure hunting (Bouchenaki, 1991: 5). The initial discovery of protruding ruins led to extensive archaeological excavations which fragilized some structures, like the Triumphal Arch of Timgad [fig.09]. This offered a golden opportunity for the stylistic restoration of such monuments to French archaeologists and conservators. Undergoing substantial repair work, restoration interventions involved reusing ancient stones from the sites themselves (Greenhalgh, 1998: 12), impacting the evidential value of these sites, and thus posing the question of their present authenticity. Consequently, what was viewed then as restoration was in fact closer, in many cases, to reconstruction. Furthermore, considering Viollet-le-Duc's definition of the concept of restoration as reinstating a building "in a condition of completeness which could never have existed at any given time" (Viollet-le-Duc, 1854), this practice materialized a reality that never existed before the moment in which it was created but was justified by French narratives portraying France as the modern incarnation of the Roman Empire (Ford, 2015: 4). As the French introduced archaeology in Algeria, they introduced a particular type of the discipline, interpreted in a civilizational lens feeding into a colonial agenda, echoing similar civilizational approaches in other Arab countries (e.g., Egypt). This process was used to support the use of Algerian heritage to construct a French heritage in Algeria, justifying France's claim of the country. Consistent archaeological efforts, coupled with the lack of control over the territory and French people involved in the processing of finds, turned out to be a destructive process in terms of conservation.



Fig. 09 · The triumphal arch of Timgad as encountered by French archaeologists; the city was subsequently excavated under the supervision of the Société Française d'Archéologie (source: Société Française d'Archéologie, c.1890 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

Often, the finds produced from French excavations were used to create colonial museums exposing exclusively Roman objects. These included statues, pillars, stelae, pottery... etc., sometimes displaying these in Algerian buildings, resulting in scenes combining antiquarian interest and orientalism (Effros, 2018: 250-252). Many of these finds were also transported to France, and objects are seldom returned to Algeria, usually at points of important political exchanges (e.g., Hussein Dey's seal returned by French President Jacques Chirac to Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika). This enduring French monopoly over Algerian historical assets that represent spoils of war finds parallels around the post-colonial world, as in the case of the British with Benin (Nafziger, 2010: 37-80).

## LEGISLATIVE EVOLUTION

The 1887 "*Loi pour la conservation des Monuments et Objets d'Art ayant un intérêt artistique et historique*"<sup>7</sup> was the first conservation law to have been enacted in France to protect monuments and define how their designation translated into statutory protection. Early in the history of conservation, this law provided explicit protection guidelines for historic buildings, specifying that designated buildings were not to be destroyed, restored, repaired, or modified, even partly, without agreement from the *Ministre des Arts*. It also introduced expropriation for public utility, and the establishment of special urban easements (e.g., exemption from street alignment requirement for historic buildings, which had negatively altered the sinuous character of streets in the Kasbah of Algiers and other precolonial Algerian cities). Later, a second legislation was enacted in 1913<sup>8</sup> to replace the 1887 Law, providing a more inclusive approach to heritage management than the general guidelines of the previous legislation. However, the 1887 law continued to be valid in Algeria until 1925 (BOGGA, 1925)<sup>9</sup>. This lag in legislation between France and Algeria was due to the requirement of separate application decrees for any legislation passed in France to apply in Algeria. This lag continued until Algerian independence, with negative consequences for the general management of urbanization, and in particular heritage conservation.

In 1943, the *Loi no 92*<sup>10</sup> was enacted to modify and complement the 1913 law. Beyond extending some of the conservation terminology used, such as specifying the built or unbuilt nature of *objets immobiliers* (immovable objects), the law introduced the concept of *champs de visibilité* (field of visibility). Also known as *périmètres patrimoniaux* (patrimonial perimeters or heritage perimeters), these fields covered a circular area of up to 500 meters around a designated monument, extending the statutory protection beyond the monument itself and its grounds. Although these fields were aimed at protecting the designated monuments only, they had major urbanistic implications: heritage protection started playing a key role in the French urban planning practice by creating constraints to the development of cities, moving from designation to explicit statutory protection. This also represented the first move from strict monumentalizing to area-based designation and protection. For Algeria, this meant that precolonial cities were now de facto protected given the high number of monuments designated within.

7. Available at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k56645714/f1.image> (Access: 2024)

8. Loi du 31 décembre 1913 sur les monuments historiques. Available at: <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/jorf/id/JORFTEXT000000315319> (Access: 2024)

9. The BOGGA was not digitized at the time of research and was consequently not consulted.

10. Modification available at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9613178s/f2.item.r=%22monuments%20historiques%22> (Access: 2024)

## PRESENT DAY

Soon after Algeria's independence, amidst the legislative reorganization undertaken by the country, the Algerian government passed its first heritage conservation law in 1967<sup>11</sup>. This law represented essentially a continuation of the previous French legislation and, except for the replacement of terms alienating national sovereignty (particularly present in definitions in the first articles of the law), retained the same conservation approach in its consideration of heritage assets followed during the colonial period.

No changes occurred to the Algerian conservation legislation between 1967 and 1998; however, designations of monuments continued to take place during those years, particularly for historic and archaeological sites. As early as 1968, an *instance de classement* (intention of designation) for the designation of the Mizab Valley<sup>12</sup> as a historic site was opened, leading to designation in 1971, under the lobbying of French architect André Ravéreau. The designation of monuments and sites in groups continued every several years (1978, 1982) but lost momentum from the late 1980s to the early 2000s, with the notable exception of the Kasbah of Algiers, designated in 1991 nationally as a historic site and inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1992. Other sites were designated as World Heritage sites during this same period, including three Roman cities. Starting 2012, designations restarted, reinforced by the more comprehensive legal framework provided by the 1998 Law.

## LAW N° 98-04<sup>13</sup> ON THE PROTECTION OF THE CULTURAL HERITAGE

In 1998, Algeria produced its first conservation legislation since independence bringing several interesting contributions to the country's heritage practice. The notion of cultural parks was introduced in 1998 as natural parks on which human intervention added historic and archaeological value by creating a particular landscape, with regards to ecological approaches to populations' establishment within their natural environment. Typically, it can indicate palm tree plantations in the Sahara, but also cities and entire regions, making almost half of Algeria designated as cultural parks. The concept has evolved in past years from research in the framework of UNESCO (Alonso-Gonzalez, 2011) and has been adopted by Algeria. Nevertheless, it is not the result of local thought considering the nature of the Algerian sites. The legislation defines these parks as "spaces characterized by the predominance and importance of the cultural goods present in them and that are indissociable from their natural environment" (Articles 38–40). For instance, while the Touat-Gourara-Tidikelt region was designated as a natural park acknowledging only the value of the natural landscape of the geographical area, its designation as a cultural park after 1998 addressed the Algerian ingenuity in the human domestication of that landscape, representing a key attribute of its value.

11. Ordonnance n° 67-281 du 20 décembre 1967 relative aux fouilles et à la protection des sites et monuments historiques et naturels.

12. The Mizab Valley (or M'zab) is a region in central Algeria with a particular culture, historically populated by the Mizabi Berber group, of the Ibadi Islamic rite.

13. Available at: <https://www.m-culture.gov.dz/index.php/fr/textes-juridiques-patrimoine-culturel/loi-et-textes-d-application> (Access: 2024)

The law crucially introduces for the first time in Algeria a mention, a legal status, and a statutory protection for intangible heritage, unacknowledged during the colonial period, representing a major shift from French heritage tendencies. Defined as “*a sum of knowledge, social representations, of knowledge, of knowhow, of competencies, of techniques, founded on the tradition in different fields of cultural heritage representing the true significance of attachment to the cultural identity detained by a person or a group of persons*”, it highlights a great degree of inclusivity of the wide and varied contribution of Algerians to intangible culture.

However, the 1998 legislation remains limited in the alternatives it offers to French colonial practices. While the legislation currently acknowledges the nature and diversity of the Algerian heritage, it copied French instruments of management and protection mechanisms for the conservation of this heritage. For instance, the designation system remains identical: the list of designated historic monuments and the *Inventaire Supplémentaire* (or “supplementary inventory”, introduced in 1913), offering temporary protection leading eventual designation. Moreover, the introduction of area-based protection in the form of the *secteurs sauvegardés*, introduced in France in 1962, is another copy of the French legislation, which includes even their management tools, the *Plan Permanent de Sauvegarde et de Mise en Valeur*. Therefore, while it aimed at moving beyond the limit of Algeria’s colonial heritage frame, policymakers of the 1998 law directly emulated French designation and protection mechanisms, relying on similar institutions. Finally, Algeria remains relatively passive on the international heritage scene: the country does not have a national ICOMOS Committee which would allow it to contribute to international heritage debates and promote particular conservation practices and considerations around questions like authenticity and intangible heritage.

## CONCLUSION

Heritage conservation is considered by an important part of the literature (Glendinning, 2015: 3) to be a concept that appeared at a specific time and place, linked to the beginning of modernity brought by the Industrial Revolution. However, engaging with alternative Algerian research (Chergui, 2015) allows for the identification of traditional feelings and practices recognizable as heritage and conservation, respectively. This is made possible by widening the definition of these concepts, much like numerous other notions (e.g., religion). Based on this consideration, it appears that traditional (i.e., pre-colonial) Algerian heritage creation and conservation practices originated in Islamic conceptualizations of sacred places and funerary monuments, traditionally managed through *waqf*, a non-profit institution managing its assets independently from the Algerian State and antedating trusts.

The retrospective historical review of Algeria’s heritage construction processes, and the conservation practices emerging forth, holds the potential to uncover the origins of present heritage issues in Algeria. Its main contribution to heritage debates is the broadening of the understanding of the heritage concept as varying through space, but also through time. In this sense, religious valuation can be identified as an early form of valuation attributing intrinsic value to varied places, buildings, objects, and practices, all of which are the prime material of the modern heritage concept. In the case of Algeria, religious switches from Numidian paganism to Christianity and then to Islam led to switches in valuation rationales and objects of sacralizing.

By the late Ottoman period in Algeria, the urban population of the country was divided into socio-religious categories that valued their cities and individual buildings also as a material expression of their culture and civilization, evidenced by the preservation of physical authenticity. For Algerians, like for the rest of the Muslim world, heritage was about conserving the present rather than the past, through codified practices,

whereas Roman and Numidian ruins were remains of a bygone past, with varying degrees of relevance to the Algerian then Islamic civilization. This focus on the perpetuation of their own culture rather than attempting to reconnect with a celebrated past might also explain the Algerian focus on intangible heritage, in a constant state of experience by people, as opposed to French conservation approaches, among Western conservation philosophies, traditionally focusing on discontinued pasts.

Colonial archaeological and conservation interventions brought a violent and destructive rupture to these traditional ways. While French heritage construction processes mainly took place on the European continent, starting from the tumult of the revolution that led to the creation of the republic and the salvation enterprise of the "*patrimoine de la nation*", in Algeria French institutions, created to intervene and investigate historic remains, were given similar responsibilities but more prerogatives than in France. All these efforts aimed at crafting a new identity for Algeria to justify its assimilation into France, while alienating Algerians, particularly Arabs and Muslims, antagonized as foreigners in their country. While after independence a sense of care for historic and sacred buildings and sites was expressed, the Algerian State itself still does not appear to have a clear and holistic heritage agenda. Apart from heritage assets relevant to the modern nationalist narrative, it tends to remain in an expectative stance, accompanying spontaneous popular care in most cases. This explains the contradiction between the inclusivity of the current Algerian conservation legislation in terms of definitions and categorizations of heritage, and the lack of effective protective measures or instruments and laws, corresponding to the nature of the Algerian heritage within local valuation rationales.

Potential solutions can be sought out from pre-colonial conservation mechanisms. For instance, corporations of artisans could improve the present management of heritage assets, as in neighbouring Tunisia and Morocco where they were not discontinued by the French. This certainly partly explains the better condition of the kasbahs and medinas of those two countries compared to Algerian ones, encouraging the reacquiring of this lost know-how and guilds of professionals. Also, *waqf* management and its autonomous nature can be inspired from to consider alternative modalities of management of historic buildings and sites. *Waqf* offers mechanisms that have the potential to manage heritage sites in a self-sustaining way like trusts do in the English-speaking world, as it has proven to be effective in the maintenance of historic buildings in pre-colonial Algeria as well.

At independence, there were modest initiatives to reinstate the *waqf* institution in Algeria. This was difficult partly because of France holding onto most of Algeria's precolonial archives and the structural changes induced in the country for 132 years. Since the 1990s, more frank but still modest efforts are being made by Algeria but also the Islamic Development Bank. Additionally, between the 1980s and 1990s, Algeria reformulated its legal frameworks and legislation, which only started to be applied in the 2000s. *Waqf* investment projects also started sponsored by the State and private actors (neighborhood *Kiram* – which was the first one –, and complexes like the Great Mosque) and could lead to a renormalization of the institution.

Finally, and importantly, it indicates that heritage as a discipline in Algeria has not just been a colonial tool for oppression and appropriation used against Algerians; it is a social process related to the sense of sacred and its translation into material culture and attachment to land and origins. Therefore, an entirely new thought process is possible around the question of heritage in Algeria that would emancipate it from its enduring colonial practices.

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# ON THE FIRST STEPS OF INSTITUTIONAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE FORMER PROTECTORATE OF SPAIN IN NORTHERN MOROCCO

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## ABSTRACT

This paper aims to consider the first steps of the establishment and construction of the management structures of the Archaeological Heritage in the North of Morocco, in the context of the political *status quo* of the Protectorate that emerged after the International Conference of Algeciras (1906). To achieve these objectives throughout our career as researcher we have approached the primary and secondary sources on the subject, taking into account both the archival documentation existing in Spain and Morocco on this issue, the Historiography on the subject and the current publications. Among the main conclusions emerging from the study of Archaeology in Northern Morocco we find that the archaeological discipline does not only have to do with research, since field research is inserted in a higher framework regarding the management, conservation and preservation of the Archaeological Heritage in Northern Morocco throughout the first half of the Twentieth Century, with Cultural Heritage in general and Archaeological Heritage in particular being a matter of entire Moroccan Sovereignty even under the Protectorate regime.

## KEYWORDS

Archaeology | North of Morocco | Heritage Management | Spanish Protectorate

In this paper we wish to approach the first steps of the establishment and construction of the management structures of the Archaeological Heritage in the North of Morocco, in the context of the political *status quo* of the Protectorate that emerged after the International Conference of Algeciras (1906). From that time on, Spain would develop in the North-West of Morocco the first archaeological projects outside its own borders, and the North of Morocco would develop the first management, research and conservation structures of the Archaeological Heritage of the Sharifian Empire. In this way, Spain sought to insert itself into an international archaeological research field shared and led until then by the main Western powers, such as Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy or the USA. But Spain would do so, however, in a way quite far from colonial archaeology; In this regard, for example, it should be noted that the ownership of Moroccan Cultural Heritage assets was legally guaranteed from the very beginning of this process, whilst their exit from the country was entirely prohibited; at the same time, Cultural Heritage Institutions such as the Tetouan Archaeological Museum (established in 1923) were created for the conservation, exhibition and safeguarding of those masterpieces of Moroccan Cultural and Historical Heritage.

In 1912, not without difficulty, the Spanish Protectorate was established in northern Morocco. The 1906 Algeciras International Conference guaranteed Spain a "zone of influence" in the North of the Maghreb, soon to become a "Protectorate Zone". This would mark from then on the mistrust between Spain and France: while Spain would consider that there was a dual Protectorate, which required the pooling of important decisions, France would generally look with disdain on what it considered a minor and subsidiary status of Spain (Gozalbes, 2008d; Madariaga, 2000, 2008, 2013; Muñoz, 2001a, 2001b; Núñez, 2001a, 2001b; Pintor and O'Neill, 2008). Tangier and its territory (the *Fahs*, attached according to Spanish "Africanists" to the Spanish Zone) remained outside the Protectorate as an "international city", a status it would maintain except for the period 1940-1945 when it was occupied by Spain (Sueiro, 1994). Other territories remained, such as the areas of the Spanish "Southern Protectorate" in Tarfaya and Cape Juby, as well as the former Spanish Sahara.

The administrative premises of the joint Spanish-Moroccan administration would lay the foundations for the legal nature of the territories subject to Spain's protectorate in northern Morocco, as well as for the relations between Spain and Morocco as subjects (active and passive, respectively) of this protectorate (without forgetting the other "protectorate" power, France). The administrative and legal system of the Spanish-Moroccan protectorate advocated respect for Morocco's international legal personality and Moroccan sovereignty over the "protected" territory (the whole of the French and Spanish zones).

The regime established between the two nations showed the duality of the legal nature of the *status quo*: two sovereign states, with two administrations functioning complementarily. On the one hand, a Moroccan administration headed by His Imperial Highness the *Khalifa* ("representative", "vicar"), the highest Moroccan authority (a member of the sultan's family, with the status of "imperial highness") who exercised his powers as the sovereign's representative (in particular legislative powers), expressing them through decrees (*dahirs*)<sup>1</sup>. The *Khalifa* had a governmental apparatus, the *Makhzen*, coordinated by a *vizier*; there was also a consultative council made up of representatives of the territories of the Zone, which was appointed by the Sultan on the basis of a proposal made in this regard by the Spanish authorities (Verdugo and Parodi, 2010).

1. The *Dahirs* were documents directly emanating from the authority of the *Khalifa*, which placed them at the pinnacle of the legal system prevailing in the Spanish Zone of the Protectorate, *i.e.* in Northern Morocco.

From 1912 until 1956 (with Morocco's independence), several issues in Moroccan archaeology should be noted. The two zones were independent and almost watertight. There would be no common organisational, let alone research, plans between the Zones. Archaeologists – or practitioners of archaeology – would develop their activities with little contact and little mutual influence. In the French Zone, the great moment of archaeology would be from 1916 to 1940, while in the Spanish Zone, the role of archaeology would have a modest beginning (not to be forgotten the state of war in the territory from 1913 to 1927), gaining strength after the Spanish Civil War (1939), thanks to the arrival of Pelayo Quintero (Gozalbes, 2014) and the setting up of the new Archaeology Service, and experiencing a greater development between 1949 and 1956 under the direction of Miquel Tarradell. In the end, there was no harmonious archaeological development in Tangier as such (largely due to the internal organisation of the international city) and in fact, in the final decade of the Protectorate (Tangier's return to its international status after the Second World War), archaeology in the city and its countryside was in the hands of the Tangier History and Archaeology Society, a private organisation supported by the international administration (Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011b), while between 1913 and 1945 the archaeology of the Tangier region did not have a homogeneous direction, as was the case in the territories under Protectorate administration<sup>2</sup>.

In theory this should not have been the case: the colonial powers were to advise and assist the development of a modern organisation in the Maghreb country as a whole (each “protecting” power with responsibilities in its Zone). In fact, in principle, the legislation that was passed for the safeguarding of the Heritage maintained certain premises in common. The Spanish administration was ahead of the French administration in approving the first legal text in this respect (in the French Zone it was approved on 13 February 1914, as opposed to the Khalifian regulations approved in the Spanish Zone in 1913) (Gozalbes and Parodi, 2011; Gozalbes, Parodi and Verdugo, 2013, Parodi, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2009; Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011b; Verdugo and Parodi, 2010). In the Spanish zone, the *dahir* (Royal Order) of 15 *Ramadan* 1331 (18 August 1913), concerning the “conservation of monuments and artistic and historical objects” (published in the *Official Gazette of the Zone*, no. 13, 1913, August, page 467) (Ruiz-Bravo, 1945), augured well for the preservation of the legacy left “by our elders, It is” one of the first and most significant chapters in the management of Cultural Heritage, being the first official document of relevance on Heritage issued by the Moroccan authority under the structures of the Protectorate. Article 1 of this regulation specifically addressed immovable heritage assets, stating that they

“are safeguarded by the Makhzen [i.e. the Khalifa's government]<sup>3</sup>, which will take care of their preservation, the pre-Islamic buildings, the palaces of our Cherifian ancestors, religious monuments, mosques, kubbas, medarsas, etc., the ruins of the old cities of the Empire, fortresses and walls, and in general all buildings of historical or artistic character, the ruins of the old cities of the Empire, fortresses and walls, and in general all buildings of historical or artistic character”.

Article 2 of this *dahir* stated that the makhzen could carry out all the work necessary for the conservation of monuments at its own expense. And Article 3 explicitly indicated the movable heritage:

“all objects of art or antiquity, such as statues, amphorae, columns, ceramic pieces, mosaics, carved wood, paintings, historical inscriptions and, in general, all objects of an artistic or historical nature, are also under the protection of the makhzen, and their destruction, transfer and sale abroad is forbidden, unless special authorisation is granted”.

2. The role played by César de Montalbán in Tangiers after 1945 (and in general the figure of this pioneer of North African archaeology) has yet to be studied in depth, as this archaeologist resigned from his duties in the Spanish Zone and moved to Tangiers at the end of the Second World War, and from that moment onwards he carried out his archaeological work in that territory. For the figure and work of Montalbán, cf.: Parodi, Díaz and Ghottes, 2013; Bernal, Parodi and Sánchez, 2013; Ramos et al, 2015; Parodi, 2015a, 2015b, 2018, 2019, 2020a, 2021a.
3. In this way, the responsibility of the Moroccan government is clearly established regarding the country's Historical and Cultural Heritage, which is understood as a matter of Moroccan Sovereignty, and therefore directly dependent on the Maghreb authority, regardless of whether the protectorate situation established joint management mechanisms, or even left (in practice) the core of the management of the Archaeological Heritage of the northern territory of Morocco in the hands of the Spanish High Commission of the Zone, through the cultural structures of the same.

Finally, in addition to appealing to the consciences of the faithful (*i.e.* citizens), the competent authorities were entrusted with the enforcement of this Royal Order (Valderrama, 1956).

The introduction of this heritage protection legislation (in the Spanish Zone from 1913, in the French Zone in 1914-1915) was a step forward: In Germany, a state-level instrument of protection would not be created until 1904, in France the Heritage protection law dates from 1913 (Ballart, 1997) and in Spain we find a first regulation, the Law of Archaeological Excavations of 1911, which would be followed in 1915 by the first (and most complete) Law of Historical and Artistic Monuments (Díaz-Andreu, 2002)<sup>4</sup> [fig.01].

The French authorities, aware of the value of antiquities and heritage as a justification for “protective” action, gave priority to research into the classical world in their zone. Thus, in May 1915, a member of the *Commission de l'Afrique du Nord*, Louis Chatelain, arrived in Morocco, and the French created the *Service des Antiquités, Beaux-Arts et Monuments Historiques*, directed by Chatelain until 1941 (Gozalbes and Parodi, 2011; Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011a). Despite the initial precariousness of the Service, installed in Volubilis, Chatelain's work began to produce positive results, especially in Volubilis itself, where German prisoners of the First World War were used in the cleaning and presentation of the ruins, tasks that after August 1916 would be carried out by Moroccan workers (Brouquier-Reddé, 2000; Brouquier-Reddé and Lenoir, 2000).

Chatelain's work was extended to *Sala* (Rabat) and *Banasa*. In 1935 the Service created its own journal, the *Publications du Service des Antiquités du Maroc*. Chatelain was mainly a scholar of Fine Arts, in the French tradition (sculptures, mosaics, buildings), and as an epigrapher, which became evident in his work (Chatelain, 1942, 1944) which had certain technical limitations (ceramics, coins, distinction of levels, working hypotheses...) and which, in the field of historical analysis, remained essentially in the hands of J. Carcopino (Carcopino, 1943). French archaeology in Morocco up to the eve of the Second World War benefited from previous experience in Tunisia and Algeria, with the Gsell school (Gsell, 1913-29), but had more limited results. In the case of Northern Morocco, after the *dahir* of 1913, the Spanish administration for its part focused on the organisation of education, which took up much of its relatively limited resources. This work had appreciable results and involved the best of Spain's official intelligentsia, although it exhausted the forces of Spain's weak administrative apparatus.

In the Spanish Zone, the disastrous action of a German company that, in order to obtain stone for use in the construction of the port of Larache, used (with a licence from the Moroccan authorities) the area of the North necropolis from the Roman period as a quarry (Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011a) was stopped in Lixus. Moreover, the cleaning or clearing of the field of ruins was questioned by La Martinière after his visit to the site: *je me me suis représentée qui serait passé si Lixusavait la fortune d'être compris dans le territoire de notre protectorat...*, pointing out that, in his opinion, in the French Zone there was an *administration éclairée* (*sic*) under whose direction work of merit was being carried out (La Martinière, 1919), although this author belonged to the sector of French opinion that was opposed to Spain having its own space in Morocco, as evidenced by his words, which are far from innocent.

After 1913, the structures for the protection of heritage and research in northern Morocco were gradually put in place (Parodi, 2009). In 1916 the *Junta Superior de Historia y de Geografía de Marruecos* (or *Junta Superior de Estudios Históricos y Geográficos de Marruecos*) was created, which in 1919 was replaced by the *Junta Superior de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Marruecos* (JSMHAM), responsible for heritage protection and research, with its headquarters in the capital of the Spanish Protectorate, Tetouan, and with local offices (not very active) in some cities in the North of Morocco (Gozalbes, 2005a, 2012a, 2012b; Parodi, 2013a, 2021c; Díaz-Andreu, 2015). The direction of the JSMHAM would be the responsibility of the main Arabic interpreters, such as Clemente Cerdeira and later Emilio Álvarez Sanz-Tubau.

4. Published in the *Gaceta de Madrid* (predecessor of the BOE) on Friday, 5 March 1915; we take it from its publication in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* no. 66, May 1915, pp. 525-527.

## II

LEY RELATIVA Á LOS MONUMENTOS NACIONALES  
ARQUITECTÓNICOS ARTÍSTICOS

(BOGOTÁ DE MADRID: DEL TIEMPO 3 DE MARZO DE 1915).

Don Alfonso XIII, por la gracia de Dios y la Constitución, Rey de España;

A todos los que la presente vieren y entendieren, sabed: que las Cortes han decretado y Nos sancionado lo siguiente:

Artículo 1.º Se entiende por monumentos arquitectónicos artísticos, á los efectos de esta ley, los de mérito histórico ó artístico, cualquiera que sea su estilo, que en todo ó en parte sean como tales en los respectivos expedientes, que se incoarán, á petición de cualquier Corporación ó particular, y que habrán de incluirse en el catálogo que ha de formarse por el Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, con arreglo á lo dispuesto en la ley de 7 de Julio de 1911.

Art. 2.º La persona ó entidad que desee derribar un edificio declarado arquitectónico artístico ó respecto del cual esté incoado el expediente para obtener esa declaración, con arreglo al artículo anterior, solicitará el oportuno permiso del Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes.

El Municipio, la Provincia y el Estado tendrán el derecho de tanteo para la compra del mismo ó de los elementos artísticos que lo integran, si su derribo no tuviese por objeto la reconstrucción en territorio nacional. Este derecho podrá ser ejercitado por dicho orden de preferencia y durante un período de tres meses para su adquisición, para su desmontaje y reconstrucción donde les convenga, ó para su conservación en los Museos municipales, provinciales ó nacionales.

En el caso de que á ninguna de dichas entidades conviniere su adquisición, el propietario podrá disponer libremente del inmueble.

Art. 3.º En ningún caso podrán exportarse al extranjero el

While the French were carrying out their archaeological work, the Spanish could not show the results of an investigation on the ground that had not yet begun. In April 1919, as mentioned above, the *Higher Board of Historical and Artistic Monuments of Morocco (JSMHAM)* was set up, following the model of the Spanish mainland, to ensure compliance with the *dahir* of 1913. At the same time, the administration undertook the restoration of mosques, which had their own administrative area as Moroccan religious buildings, as well as some city walls, such as those of Arcila and Tetouan. In 1921, the *JSMHAM* undertook its first archaeological initiative: the commissioning of an explorer, César Luis de Montalbán y Mazas, to survey the Tetouan valley (Parodi, 2019, 2020b) [fig.02].

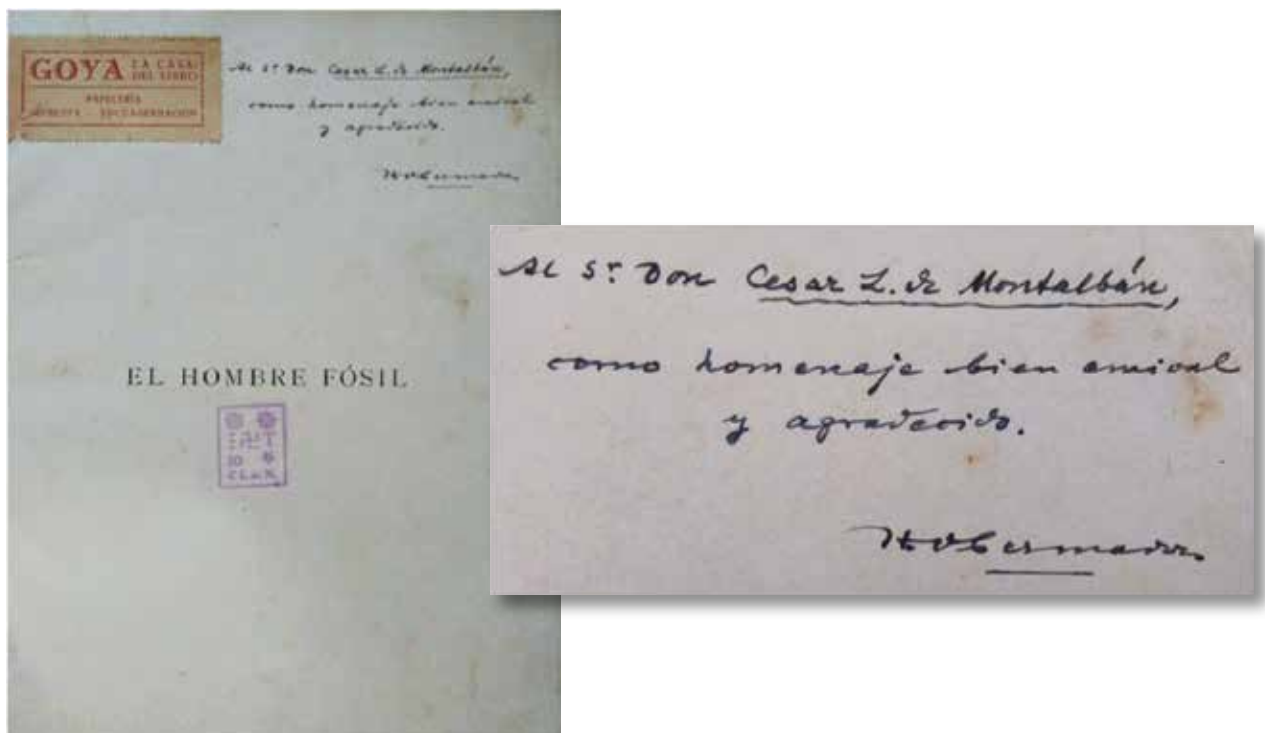
Although César Montalbán had travelled the world since 1904 and his friend from Extremadura (born in Logroán, in Cáceres), the spiritualist Roso de Luna (a disciple of Madame Blavatsky) had introduced him to archaeology, he was not yet an expert in the archaeological discipline (incipient at the time). Nevertheless, he managed to recognise relevant remains, locating and correctly identifying the ancient city of Tamuda, where he excavated in 1921 and 1922 (Parodi, Díaz and Ghottes, 2013). The atmosphere in which this work took place is narrated by a traveller who spent a few weeks in the Tamuda camp (Cabrera, 1924), reflecting the insecurity of the time (the period of the Annual disaster) with Tetouan beaten by the Rifian artillery and defended by the position of Kudia Tahar, at a short distance from Tamuda.

The relative delay in the organisation and development of research in the Spanish Zone had its roots in budgetary shortages, the lack of competent and adequate personnel, as well as in the serious problems arising from Rifian resistance to the establishment of the Protectorate's structures, with a state of open warfare affecting a large part of the territory entrusted to Spanish "protection", especially in its central and eastern sectors. It was in such a context that the Spanish authority commissioned Montalbán to survey in relation to its archaeological potentialities the Martín river valley, Pliny's *flumen Tamuda* (*Naturalis Historia* V.18) (Ghottes, 2011; Ghottes and Parodi, 2011, Parodi and Ghottes, 2018).



Fig. 02. The press reports on C. Montalbán's trip around the world: The San Antonio Express newspaper (Texas, USA) reports on his visit to Texas in November 1912 (source: Archivo Montalbán).

This Spanish explorer had no academic archaeological training (something completely unusual at the time); he had become interested in Archaeology during his travels and since his friendship with Mario Roso de Luna, an important Spanish esotericist of the time. After the success of his exploration in the Martilense valley (at a time when the structures of the administration of the Spanish Zone were being set up, including those related to the Historical Heritage), Montalbán was appointed in 1922 as “technical advisor” to the Junta, while he left his activities in Tamuda because of the war and went to work in Larache and its region, which was less affected by the war. From 1926, in the organisation chart of the administration of the Spanish Zone, and already with an Archaeological Service in it, we find César Montalbán as “inspector” of Antiquities of the JSMHAM (Parodi, 2009, 2013a). In 1927 that incipient archaeological area would benefit from the survey of Palaeolithic remains carried out by Hugo Obermaier (who identified some fifteen surface stations with materials from the Lower Palaeolithic to the Epipalaeolithic) (Ramos, 1998, 2002, 2008, 2011), from whom Montalbán would receive notions on the typology of flint and quartzite [fig.03,04]<sup>5</sup>.



**Fig. 03-04** Hugo Obermaier dedicates to César Montalbán, as a very friendly and grateful homage, a copy of The Fossil Man (under the title, stamp with Montalbán's seal, with the inverted swastika, the eight and five-pointed stars and the spiral) (source: Archivo Montalbán).

5. Another foreign scholar in Morocco contemporary of Montalbán was S. Ghirelli (1930, 1931, 1932).



Fig. 05. Materials from Tamuda, from the excavations of César Montalbán (source: Archivo Montalbán).

In Tetouan, the JSMHAM created an Archaeological Museum in 1923<sup>6</sup>. In 1928, on the other hand, the “Moroccan Museum of Ethnology” was also established also in Tetouan, focusing on Moroccan Fine and Traditional Arts, on the initiative of Mariano Bertuchi. The process of consolidation of the Tetouan Archaeological Museum underwent a second phase in November 1931, when it was given its own building (later the headquarters of the Spanish Library in Tetouan, and today the Cervantes Institute in that city) in which both the materials from the excavations at Tamuda [fig.05] and some of the objects found at Lixus were housed; some pieces from this site would form their own section in the Tetouan Museum. César Montalbán would draw up the *Catalogue of the objects in the Archaeological Museum of Tetouan*, a report after 1931, which confirms the heading of the *Central Board of Museums of Morocco*, a relatively imprecise name, but which, due to the reference to “Central”, must indicate the period of the Second Spanish Republic, probably dating from 1932; he would also draw up the *Archaeological Map of the Protectorate Zone* (1933).

In Tangiers (Sueiro, 1994), with its administrative structure in place between 1923 and 1928, the international administration would have had little interest in heritage issues. Thus, of the collection of archaeological objects belonging to the *Mission Scientifique*, part would leave the territory, after passing through different destinations (including its location in Tangier's *Licée Regnault*); The year 1928 must be considered the official date of the creation of the Museum of Tangier, when the collection organised by Michaux-Bellaire was installed in the Palace of the Bajah Ahmad al-Riffi in the Kasbah (Michaux-Bellaire and Buchet, 1908; Michaux-Bellaire and Biarnay, 1912; Michaux-Bellaire, 1921). The Museum languished in the 1930s, receiving materials mainly from private donations as well as from various finds.

6. The JSMHAM set up a first permanent exhibition, known as the Archaeological Museum of Tetouan as early as 1923, based on the work carried out by Montalbán in Tamuda; this first installation (which can already be considered as the Archaeological Museum of Tetouan, in its own premises and beyond a few deposits and a small exhibition), was to undergo a second phase when a new building was inaugurated in November 1931; the National Archaeological Museum of Rabat was created in 1931-1932, following the transfer of the *Service des Antiquités* from *Volubilis*; on the process of founding and consolidation of the Tetouan Archaeological Museum, 100 years old at the time of writing (1923-2023). Cf.: Parodi, 2013a, 2013b, 2018; Zouak and Parodi, 2011, 2012.

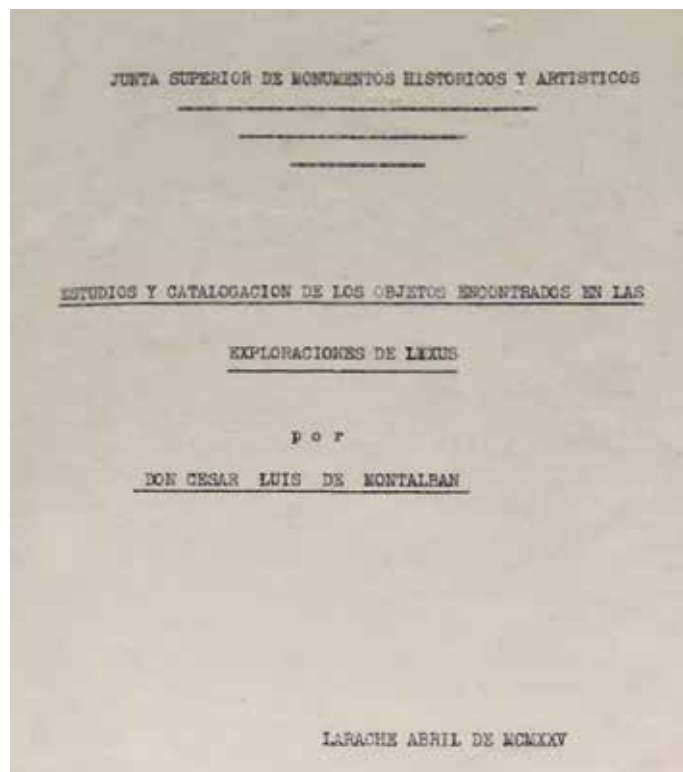


Fig. 06. Front cover of one of the reports by César Luis de Montalbán, destined for the JSMHAM in 1925 (source: Archivo Montalbán).

Returning to the research, different aspects of César Montalbán's contributions, hitherto not entirely well known or studied, have already been considered elsewhere (Gozalbes, 2008a; 2008b; 2008c). In 1921, in the course of his exploration of the Martil valley, he located a Roman site on the coast of Sidi Abdselam del Behar: a square structure measuring 60 metres on each side with a tower at each corner and different areas inside, where he found various materials. On the other hand, in the military position then known as *El Mogote* (Campos et al, 2015; Parodi, 2021d), this researcher identified the existence of the ruins of an ancient city, correctly relating them to Pliny's quote about the navigability of the Tamuda river and the existence on its banks of a city of the same name (*N.H. V.18...flumen Tamuda navigabile, quondam et oppidum...*), and finally he rightly identifies the site with the ancient *castellum* of Tamuda.

Montalbán wrote a *Memoir* on his excavations at Tamuda<sup>7</sup>, without ever publishing it [fig.06]; in it he refers to the necropolis, where he excavated several Punic tombs, two of which were intact; in one he found a coin from Cadiz with Punic characters; on the other hand, another necropolis in the northern area of the site had shaft graves as well as Roman burials made with tiles; the grave goods of some of these tombs had ceramic ointments of Punic type (Bernal, Parodi and Sánchez, 2013).

In 1923 and faced with the need to abandon the work at Tamuda, which had become a war front, Montalbán began excavations at *Lixus*, which in subsequent years he directed in the area of the Roman Forum (later identified by Ponsich as the "temple area"), in the necropolis, and above all, in the industrial complex of the fish salting factories from the Roman period, which he identified as warehouses of the port. The excavation at the Tamudan site in the years 1921-1922 had certain adventure overtones due to the war (Parodi, 2015b).

7. One of the original copies of Montalbán's *Memoria, Estudios sobre la situación de Tamuda y exploraciones realizadas*, is kept in the Museo Arqueológico de Tetuán, as we have noted; another is in the Archivo General de la Administración (AGA), and another in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. For a study of César Luis de Montalbán's *Memoria* in the AGA (Madrid), cf.: Bernal, Parodi and Sánchez, 2013.

Years later, well after the war in Morocco, at the celebration of the “First Archaeological Congress of Spanish Morocco” in 1953, it was pointed out that on more than one occasion those operating in Tamuda were forced to put aside their excavation tools and instead take up their rifles to defend themselves (Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011b). In this regard, we have the information provided by the account of Ángel Cabrera, one of those travellers in the north of Morocco who spent a couple of weeks at the site and who offers a revealing testimony of the not easy working conditions in “El Mogote” (i.e. Tamuda) in the years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Tamuda)<sup>8</sup> in the 1920s:

*“thanks to the initiative of Colonel Lasquetty and the industriousness and intelligence of the archaeologist Don César Luis de Montalbán, the work was already well advanced, having uncovered numerous houses, a large part of the wall, a large cistern and a swimming pool, and many objects of bronze, iron, glass, interesting pottery products, among them enormous amphorae, and numerous Punic and Roman coins (Cabrera, 1924) [fig.07].*

Cabrera tells how they were forced to use rifles, due to the hostile action of bandits from the mountains who came down to the valley to steal cattle (Cabrera, 1924). In addition to these incidents, Cabrera also indicates that *a museum had begun to be set up* in the General Secretariat of the Protectorate, with objects from the work carried out in *Tamuda*, such as a series of liquid measures, a large lead plate, small bronze objects with various figures of gods, clay lamps, ring stones and mortars for grinding perfumes (Cabrera, 1924; Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011b).

If the Historiography knows with greater precision the state of the question of the first moments of the research at “El Mogote” it is especially thanks to the report by Manuel Gómez Moreno after his visit (who would give it to the press in 1922 and 1924) and subsidiarily, by some details collected by a Portuguese scholar a short time later (Fontes, 1924; Gozalbes, 2008c). Montalbán's archaeological work at Tamuda [fig.08] in 1921 and 1922 (Gozalbes, 2005a, 2005b, 2005d, 2008a; Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011b; Parodi, 2021d), as noted, were crowned with some success, which led to the visit of Manuel Gómez Moreno, professor at the Central University of Madrid, resulting in the writing of a report by this researcher (Gómez Moreno, 1922, 1924), in which he indicated the existence of the pre-Roman city, destroyed in the conquest of Mauritania by Rome (begun under Caligula and culminated by his uncle and successor, Claudius) (Gozalbes, 1986, 1991, 2002, 2005c, 2009b, 2015b), and the subsequent construction (eccentric with respect to the layout of the destroyed Mauritanian city, on which it was built, which was no coincidence as the change of orientation of the new site with respect to the old one highlighted the triumph of Roman arms and the uprooting of the site with respect to the previous settlement) of the Roman *castellum* which, from ceramics and coins, Gómez Moreno would date to the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, with significant remodelling in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. This

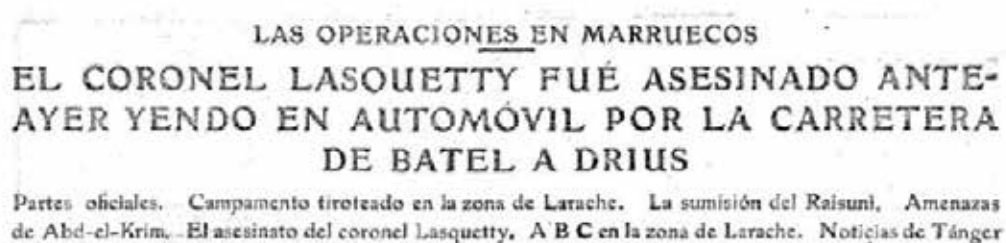


Fig. 07. The death of Colonel Juan Lasquetty (Montalbán's collaborator) in the press of the time, ABC of 15 August 1922 (source: ABC newspaper archive).

8. On the correct identification of Tamuda by Montalbán, and the publication of this identification by Gómez Moreno (as we have pointed out, it was Montalbán who correctly identified the site, while Gómez Moreno was the first to publish this identification, taking the credit for the identification of the ruins of “El Mogote” with Tamuda). Cf.: Parodi, 2015a, 2015b.

researcher correctly identified the coins of the Tamuda mint, erroneously attributed by Müller to *Thamusida*, with the help of the fact that they had appeared in abundance in the excavations at Montalbán (Traidler, 1932a, 1932b; Gozalbes, 1997, 2006b). Thus, the Tamuda mint would be the first to be identified in the territory on the basis of (and thanks to) archaeological field research, and thanks to the combined but not joint efforts of Gómez-Moreno and Montalbán<sup>9</sup>.

As mentioned *above*, Montalbán's excavations in *Lixus* began in September 1923; we have information about them in Montalbán's Memoir on these works, entitled *Studies and excavations carried out in the city of Lixus*, the fifth of the *Memoirs* presented to the JSMHAM, preserved in the Museum of Tetouan and almost certainly written in 1927. The excavations at this western site were centred on the highest part of the city (the area of temples around the Roman Forum) and involved a considerable amount of earthmoving. There, Montalbán noted the presence of an important building from the Roman period, a basilica, which he considered to have been built on the remains of an earlier Phoenician temple; Montalbán detected its antiquity and monumentality, considering it to be nothing less than a building of a "Mycenaean" nature and character in its origins.

Montalbán carried out excavations in other areas of *Lixus* in the 1920s, such as in what was understood to be a small Christian basilica, in some baths from the Late Imperial period and especially in the lower part of the city, in the area near the river, in the large industrial installations for salting fish, which at first he was unable to interpret and understand their true nature, considering that they were silos to facilitate the transfer of goods to the port or even their storage. The photographs published of these works from the 1930's show that the excavation campaigns at Montalbán brought to light the most remarkable part of the Roman installations related to the fish salting activity, above all Ensemble no. 10, in which the level of razing (and consequent loss) had been lower, so that the walls were larger.



Fig. 08: Various materials found in the excavations of C. Montalbán in Tamuda (source: Archivo Montalbán).

9. Montalbán was the first archaeologist to correctly identify the ruins of the site with the Plinian city of "Tamuda", although it was Gómez Moreno the first to publish this identification, as we have pointed out above. The work of C. Montalbán and M. Gómez Moreno in the Protectorate -specially regarding the identification of Tamuda- are considered in a greater extent in: Parodi, 2015a, 2019.

The materials collected at Lixus by Montalbán reached a not inconsiderable volume, amounting to some 2,000 pieces, including numerous examples of ceramic material, fragments of unidentified or unclassified *sigillata* pottery (with potter's marks) and a fragment of a marble statue representing the god Apollo. Apart from pieces lost or missing (or in the hands of private collectors), some of the finds were sent to the Tetouan Archaeological Museum, which had only recently been created at the time. Among the coins sent to the Museum were two pieces from Lixus, two from Tamuda (Numidian), an unidentified indigenous coin, nine from Tingi, two from Juba II, two from the *Castulo* coinage, and 188 Roman imperial bronze pieces from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, with a certain predominance of those of Constantine (Mateu and Llopes, 1949).

Prehistoric archaeology in Morocco at this time in the French and Spanish spheres (Ramos, 1998, 2002, 2008) was initially of little interest to the authorities, as it had less weight in French (and Spanish) colonial propaganda. There were, however, pioneers, such as Louis Siret (who took advantage of a stay as a mining engineer to carry out prospecting) or the aforementioned Obermaier, with occasional activities in the Larache-Arcila and Tétouan areas. It is worth mentioning the work of two promoters, the priest Henry Koehler (who studied Christianity in Morocco) and the entomologist Maurice Antoine, who participated in the creation of the *Société de Préhistoire du Maroc* (1926), which began to publish a Bulletin, making known a number of surface stations. During this first period, the *Société de Préhistoire du Maroc* fell into disrepute, which was only saved after World War II, due to the closeness of many of its members to the Atlantean theories.

Antoine surveyed several regions of Morocco, with the discovery of dozens of prehistoric surface stations, with the studies carried out in the Chaouia (Casablanca region) being particularly important. Koehler also surveyed on the surface, identified industries at a time when his study of the Maghreb was just beginning, and was active in the territory of Rabat, as well as between Tangiers and Larache (where he located 18 stations). Between 1928 and 1932, thanks to his apostolic assignment in Tangier, Henry Koehler carried out surveys at surface stations in northern Morocco, also excavating in a cave at Achacar, where he found examples of Neolithic cordial and decorated pottery, which he identified as such, although the stratigraphy established was not as clear. At the surface stations, he collected materials from the Lower Palaeolithic, in carved quartzite, at Boubana (a neighbourhood near Tangier) and Seguedla, flint pieces of better quality that he classified as Mousterian (many of which were Aterian), especially at *le Fôret Diplomatique* in Tangier, or around Tnin de Sidi lamani and M'zora; Koehler indicated that the best quality pieces of the 18 stations he identified came from the Krimda station.

The relevance of prehistoric finds in Algeria at the time, the dimensions that prehistory was beginning to take on in British-colonised Central Africa and a gradual interest in the discipline would contribute to strengthening research into prehistory, which began to occupy a position of its own within the colonialist disciplines (Robertshaw, 1990). The change was remarkable and the administration of the French Zone decided to recognise and give official status to prehistory in its territorial archaeology, opening the door to the great discoveries of the Maghreb Quaternary. This recognition took place in Morocco in 1932 with the appointment of Armand Ruhlmann as *inspecteur des antiquitéspréhistoriques* of the *Service des Antiquités*, although when he arrived in Morocco as a young man, Ruhlmann had only worked in the protohistoric and Roman world (Antoine, 1951). From his first works in Morocco he would achieve recognition as a specialist in prehistory, signing the first doctoral thesis on Moroccan prehistory (with research on the caves of El Khenzira in the area of Mazagan), published in 1936. He was the first to work with geologists (such as René Neuville, who arrived in 1940 from his consular posting in Gibraltar); he carried out surveys to locate surface stations, systematised for the first time the Palaeolithic and Epipalaeolithic of Morocco and excavated the caves of El Khenzira and Dar es Soltane, dying in an accident while on duty during the excavation of the cave of El Aouin in eastern Morocco (1948).

On the Spanish side, there is little to compare in the field of prehistory (Gozalbes, 1974, 1975a, 1975b, 1977; Bravo and Bellver, 2004; Bravo, Bellver and Blanco, 2004). The beginnings of prehistoric (structural) research in the Spanish area, as mentioned above, date back to the scientific visit made in 1927 by Hugo Obermaier, a priest of German origin and naturalised Spanish citizen, professor at the Central University of Madrid and academic of History, who was carrying out an intense prospecting campaign (on the Iberian Peninsula),

work which led to the discovery of various Palaeolithic surface sites in Spain. As soon as the Rif War was over (in 1927), which had prevented archaeological fieldwork from being carried out normally, the exploration would come to represent the application in the northern territory of Morocco of the archaeological prospecting technique that Obermaier was then developing in Spain. This author pointed out that one of the most motivating factors (with regard to fieldwork in northern Morocco) was precisely the absolute lack of information and knowledge that had existed until then, a particularly serious issue in an area that must have been a point of convergence of communication and human movements across the Strait of Gibraltar in prehistoric times (Breuil, 1921; Ramos, 2011b). The group of Palaeolithic and Epipalaeolithic stations (what Obermaier has come to call the "Capsian") stretched from the Lakkus River to the Tahadart River (Zinat and Cuesta Colorada) (Bokbot and Onrubia, 1992; Bouzouggar, Kozłowski and Otte, 2002; Bouzouggar, 2003; Bouzouggar et al, 2006; Bouzouggar and Barton, 2006, 2012), as well as from the Cabo Negro area (Mdiq railway station) to the right bank of the River Martil (in the areas of the Tamuda and Quitzan sites).

In any case, with the Second Republic, after the installation of the Archaeological Museum of Tetouan in its new headquarters in 1931 and the publication of the Archaeological Map of Montalbán (1933), a major project was undertaken: the excavation of the protohistoric monument of M'Zora (Chouahed, in the Arcila area), an activity that closed the previous stage (in terms of results) and opened the next (in terms of objectives). The aim was to explore and make the monument visitable with a view to converting it into a sort of 'archaeological park' as a centre of attraction for tourism and a showcase for the capacity of the Spanish-Moroccan protective administration (Gozalbes 2006a)<sup>10</sup>. Its conditions were undeniable: a circle of monoliths of some 54 metres in diameter, with a paved interior corridor, and with an earthen mound inside that reached up to 6 metres in height [fig.09].

Montalbán's intervention (Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011b) had two distinct phases; the first was quite successful and involved cleaning the outline of the circle, while at the same time uncovering singularities such as the monoliths, the paving and the earth retaining wall. The second phase involved the opening of a first trench, an initiative undertaken in the search for a corridor (which was thought to exist within the site), followed by a second. A cist burial was found inside the site, apparently containing a metal object (a knife, dagger or small sword). The excavation would be abruptly interrupted by the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War: Montalbán was arrested by the rebel troops on site, in Mezora, and did not complete the report on his work at the site, which was abandoned, representing the beginning of the process of deterioration of the monument, thanks to the abandonment of the space, and the action of "treasure hunters" (Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011b)<sup>11</sup>. All of this put an end to the project designed for M'zora. After the Civil War, a new phase in the management of archaeological heritage in the Protectorate began (Gozalbes, 2003, 2007, 2009a, 2014, 2015a; Gozalbes and Parodi, 2011b; Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011b; Parodi, 2008c, 2011, 2017a, 2017b, 2020a, 2021a, 2021b, 2022-2023; Ramos et al, 2015).

10. For Tourism policy in the Protectorate at the time, cf. the work of E. Martín Corrales.

11. The archaeological work began in 1932-1933 with the cleaning of the site, which yielded positive results, as it revealed the characteristics of the monument, with its exact number of monoliths, and the existence of the tiling and the earth retaining wall of the tumulus (with a Hellenistic type of rigging). But problems accumulated from the excavation process in the artificial tumulus, which was heavily affected by unexpected results (it was not a corridor tomb as expected); to top it all off, the data was lost (discovery of a cist with a metallic object in the form of a dagger or a small sword, based on various oral testimonies...), in July 1936, the excavation of the burial mound was completed in the year 1936, when the excavation of the burial mound was completed., in July 1936, finally, César Montalbán was arrested at gunpoint by the troops who had taken up arms against the Spanish Republic, after which the archaeological site was looted and severely damaged, all as a result of the search for treasures at the place.



Fig. 09. M'zora, 1920s-30s (source: Archivo Montalbán).

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# THE PROTECTION OF ARTISTIC AND ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE AND THE ROLE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AS *INSTRUMENTUM IMPERII* DURING ITALIAN COLONIALISM IN LIBYA (1911-1943)

## INTERVIEW WITH MASSIMILIANO MUNZI

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Fig. 01 · Massimiliano Munzi

Massimiliano Munzi is the author of numerous essays, including the book *L'epica del ritorno. Archeologia e politica nella Tripolitania italiana*<sup>1</sup>, in which he analyzes the relationship between archaeology and the political ideology that was the basis of Italian colonialist propaganda [fig.01]. The exploitation of archaeology according to imperialist ambitions had a significant impact on the *modus operandi* adopted in archaeological missions, in restoration and consolidation works, in advertising, and in artistic heritage research in the conquered lands. In light of these considerations, this interview will focus on policies adopted by colonialist Italy in the context of safeguarding artistic and architectural heritage in Libya.

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Italy was part of the colonial expansion process initiated by France in the 1830s with the annexation of the port of Assad on the Red Sea (1882), in the territory of what would be the first Italian colony, named Eritrea in 1890. Attempts at expansion in the Horn of Africa continued between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with the recognition of the Italian protectorate of the Sultanate of Obbia (1889), located in what would become Italian Somalia, and with the failed attempt to conquer Ethiopia (1896). In 1911, Italy declared war on Turkey over the possession of the territories of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, located on the North African coast. They were annexed by the Italian state in 1912 together with a group of twelve islands in the Aegean Sea, the Dodecanese. In the same year, the Ministry of Colonies was established. During the twenty years of fascism (1922-1943), Mussolini pursued a colonialist policy aimed at strengthening Italy's image and claiming a leading role among other European powers, in particular through the invasion and conquest of Ethiopia (1935) and the foundation of Italian East Africa (1936-1941) [fig.02]. With the liberation of Libya (1943) and the Paris Peace Treaty (1947), Italy finally renounced any claim to the colonial territories, only maintaining the Trust Administration of Somalia until 1960, the year in which Somalia gained independence.

This brief chronological summary centers on the historical period of Italian colonial expansion, highlighting the fact that it developed at two distinct times: a first phase promoted by the liberal governments of the young Kingdom of Italy, between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (1882-1922), and a second phase during the fascist regime (1922-1943). During both periods, numerous initiatives were carried out in the conquered territories in the fields of archaeology, architecture, and urban planning, the latter encouraged especially during the fascist regime.



Fig. 02. The Italian colonial territories in 1936 (source: Francesco Fllippi – Noi però gli abbiamo fatto le strade: Le colonie Italiane tra bugie, razzismi e amnesie. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 2021, p. 68)

**Michela Degortes** – As you pointed out in your studies, the narrative of Rome’s imperial and civilizing legacy was widely used to promote and justify the Italo-Turkish War (1911-1912). How was the presence of important Roman vestiges in the regions of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, as witnesses of Rome’s glory, exploited for propaganda?

**Massimiliano Munzi** – It is generally known that the myth of Rome’s civilizing legacy represented a fundamental support for the war which had as its objective the conquest of the last two provinces of the Ottoman Empire in North Africa. In fact, the representation of Italy returned to Libya as the heir of Rome had wide dissemination and success in colonialist and nationalist circles. In that context, archaeology definitely played a key role in supporting the alleged Italian historical rights to the lands of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. For example, the nationalist leader Enrico Corradini, during his trip to Tripolitania and Cyrenaica in June-August 1911, met, in Tripoli, the members of the Italian archaeological mission directed by Federico Halbherr. That meeting, which he extensively referred to in the book *L’ora di Tripoli* (Milano, 1911), was a source of inspiration for him to fully express, for the first time, the historical-archaeological motivations for the conquest.

**MD** – Italy was not the first European nation to use the myth of *Romanità* within a colonial context. Let’s talk about the French precedent...

**MM** – In Italy, the colonialism-archaeology nexus was generated during the 19<sup>th</sup> century through an evolution that was certainly affected by French experiences in North Africa. The ideological valorization of antiquity for colonial purposes was first applied when France took its first steps in Algeria, immediately reclaiming the military, political, and civilizing legacy of ancient Rome. The *Armée Française d’Afrique* was considered to be the direct heir of the Roman *Exercitus Africae*; it was in this emblematic context, that in 1849 the military garrison stationed at Lambaesis carried out the restoration of the tomb of *T. Flavius Maximus, praefectus legionis III Augustae*, adding a new honorary inscription.

**MD** – I would like to delve into the concept of archaeology as *Instrumentum Imperii*. With a very suggestive expression, you defined archaeologists as “colonial vanguards” and as “an instrument of penetration, influence, and knowledge” (Munzi, 2016: 90) with the aim of preparing the ground for military conquest. Were there any archaeological missions in the colonial territories that were financially supported by the Italian state for mere political interests?

**MM** – Speaking of archaeological missions, my thoughts turn immediately to the one conceived and then led by Federico Halbherr in Cyrenaica and Tripolitania on the eve of the outbreak of hostilities with Turkey. Halbherr, a scholar from Rovereto, former founder and director of the Italian Archaeological Mission of Crete, which had led to the birth of the Italian Archaeological School of Athens in 1909, had planned a mission to Cyrene as early as 1899 for purely scientific reasons. But starting a mission in Libya only became a priority, and found financial support, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, when to Halbherr’s scientific motivations were added the stringent political necessities of the Italian government, aimed at preparing the military conquest of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica through preliminary means of peaceful penetration and expansion of the sphere of influence. It was on that occasion that Italian historians and archaeologists (Halbherr himself with the historian Gaetano De Sanctis, the archaeologist Salvatore Aurigemma, and the orientalist and Berberist Francesco Beguinot) consciously operated as “colonial vanguards”. In order to fully understand this concept, it seems appropriate to give voice to a British archaeologist, who was a contemporary of the Italians, and who, finding himself in the same situation in a not too dissimilar scenario, showed full awareness of the role of archaeology as a cover for political purposes. Let’s go back to January and February 1914, the setting being the archaeological reconnaissance of the southern Negev, which at the time was still part of the Ottoman Empire. The archaeologist was Thomas Edward Lawrence, who took to the field with Charles Leonard Woolley on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Society. Scientific goals were actually a cover for other purely military goals. The expedition was in fact designed by the War Office to camouflage the need to fill geographic and cartographic gaps, and, more generally, informational gaps about Turkish military presence on the border between Egyptian Sinai and Ottoman Palestine. On board the steamship sailing from Beirut to Jaffa Lawrence wrote: “We are obviously only meant as red herrings, to give an archaeological color to a political job”. This also might have been the thought of Italian archaeologists engaged a few years earlier in the Turkish lands of Africa.

**MD** – Libya’s artistic and architectural heritage came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Colonies, established in 1912, after its annexation to Italian territory. What were the first measures taken by the Italian State for the protection of artistic assets from a legal and administrative point of view?

**MM** – The Italian legislative *corpus* in Libya began three months after the landing of the troops. On 14 January 1912, the commander of the Italian expeditionary force, General Carlo Caneva, issued a decree containing provisions for the protection of the archaeological and artistic heritage of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, relating in particular to: the collection and preservation of local archaeological and artistic material; prohibition of archaeological research without prior authorization; declaration of possession of archaeological and artistic material of local interest; prohibition of export.

On 23 January 1912, Caneva himself issued a second decree, this time concerning the isolation of the arch of Marcus Aurelius in Tripoli, by virtue of which the commander of Tripoli square was authorized to buy or expropriate “the structure called the Arch of Marcus Aurelius and the adjacent buildings”.

**MD** – Did Ottoman legislation already exist regarding the protection of artistic assets?

**MM** – The Ottoman jurisdiction had a statist character that was well in line with Italian legislative experiences. Article 3 of the Regulation of 21 February 1884 decreed that objects of archaeological and historical interest belonged to the state: “All objects of antiquity existing in the Ottoman Empire, which are discovered through excavations or which are recovered from the seabed, lakes, coastlines and waterways, belong in full right to the State”.

**MD** – What were the institutions delegated to protect and safeguard the artistic and architectural heritage in the conquered territories?

**MM** – The decrees issued by General Caneva in 1912 were followed by the royal decree of 6 February 1913, n° 87, which reiterated the obligation of prior authorization of the Ministry of Colonies for the performance of any kind of archaeological research, and above all, by that of 24 September 1914, n° 1271, which ultimately systematized the entire matter. Its 13 articles regulated the ownership and state protection of historical and archaeological assets, excavations, discoveries, and exports. I would just like to stress the importance and modernity of Article 1 (“Immovable and movable property or items that have historical and archaeological interest, existing in the territory of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, whether they are already uncovered or are found by excavation or by accident, are owned by the State”) and Article 4 (which prohibits “any work that alters or hides monuments, ancient buildings or their ruins, included in areas that, by decree of the governor, are declared monumental for the historical and archaeological interest that they offer”). Finally, with Article 13, the establishment of archaeological services, later called *Soprintendenze* (Superintendencies), of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica was initiated (“The minister of colonies has the right to provide, with his decrees, for the organization of the archaeological services of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica and the personnel who will be assigned to them”). It should be noted, however, that in February 1912 an Inspectorate of Monuments and Excavations of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica had already been created within the Ministry of Public Education. Entrusted to Aurigemma, it remained in operation until November of that year.

**MD** – The first monumental intervention carried out in Libya by the Italian government was that of the Arch of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in Tripoli [fig.03], of the 2nd century AD, under the direction of the archaeologist Salvatore Aurigemma (1885-1964). Ottoman-era buildings adjacent to the arch were demolished to restore the monument to its original appearance. In general, an attitude that seemed to favor only the preservation of the archaeological heritage of the Roman and imperial ages, to the detriment of Arab and Byzantine remains, united the archaeological interventions of the colonial period, whose matrix always remained anchored to political ideology. Was Aurigemma’s approach, as head of the Superintendence between 1913 and 1919, more moderate in this regard?



Fig. 03· Marcus Aurelius Arch, 165 AD, Tripoli, Libya (source: Wikimedia Commons)

**MM** – As is evident at the colonial exhibition opened in 1914 in Genoa, Salvatore Aurigemma, superintendent for Tripolitania, chose to showcase, in addition to the monuments of Roman civilization (the “large amphitheater” of Sabratha, the inscription of the arch of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in Tripoli, Aphrodite Anadyomene and Artemis of Ephesus from Leptis Magna, the mosaic of the seasons and fights in the circus from Dar Buc Ammera villa at Zliten), also the documents of Libyo-Punic cultural preexistence (for example, the neo-Punic dedication of the proconsul L. Aelius Lamia to Ammon from Ras al-Haddaggia and the Romano-Libyan mausoleums of Ghirza) and the later evidence of Christianity (the necropolis of Ain Zara).

Although influenced by nationalist rhetoric regarding *Romanità*, which he shared in the years of conquest, he did not underestimate the role of the Punic element, to which he attributed the beginning of Tripolitan agrarian development, he published the Christian necropolis of Ain Zara and took an interest in medieval and Islamic Tripoli.

Aurigemma’s attitude therefore appears, ultimately, to be in tune with the paternalistic and nationalistic tones of liberal Italy first, and compatible with the discourse of Christian *Romanità*, elaborated upon during the following twenty years, but substantially free from the ideological excesses of the nationalist, and then fascist, myth of imperial Rome.

**MD** – In 1922 a list of buildings of historical, artistic and archaeological interest in Tripoli was created, which included the Arch of Marcus Aurelius but also some mosques and private houses...

**MM** – By the ministerial decree of 31 January 1922, n° 20, the executive regulation of the aforementioned royal decrees was issued, which also provided for the establishment of a commission in charge of drawing up and updating a list of immovable and movable property of historical-archaeological importance. Consequently, on 12 April of the same year, by governor's decree, the list of buildings of historical, artistic, and archaeological interest in Tripoli was published, including the arch of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, the tomb of Gargaesc, thirteen Muslim buildings of a religious nature, the castle, the restored walls, and finally twenty-four private houses for their characteristic local architecture.

**MD** – During the Italo-Turkish War, Italian military action had a significant impact on local artistic and architectural heritage. The reuse of existing structures for military purposes, the excavation and opening of trenches and communication routes led to destruction and loss but, as you have pointed out, also important archaeological discoveries and the drafting of maps and topographical surveys. What was the role of the *Istituto Geografico Militare* (Military Geographical Institute) in this context?

**MM** – During the war, Italian soldiers became familiar with Libyan antiquities. They came across them continuously, while advancing on the ground or building roads, trenches, and fortifications, often reusing monumental tombs and historic farmhouses. Although some monuments were damaged or destroyed this way, the topographical documentation of the ancient ruins certainly made progress. The first topographical maps of the Military Geographical Institute became a resource, still valuable today, due to the precision required by stringent military demands. Military topographers drew up the first topographic maps of ancient cities: Sabratha was surveyed on a scale of 1:12,500 in 1913, Leptis Magna in 1914 on a scale of 1:10,000 and the following year on a scale of 1:2,000. Not to mention the map sheets of the entire Tripolitania in 1:100,000 scale, which appeared in 1915 in a provisional edition, which record toponyms of the Turkish era and the ancient ruins scattered throughout the territory.

**MD** – The archaeological discoveries made during the conflict in Libya were often publicized and spread about by the military through the printing of postcards and brochures. In 1913 an exhibition was also set up with the found artifacts. What was the purpose of this type of initiative?

**MM** – In fact, the rhetoric of Rome's return spread widely in Italian society through an intense patriotic propaganda that made use of pamphlets, postcards, and medals. Military achievements and conquests were also highlighted by using images of ships, legionaries, and Roman monuments.

In this context, archaeological discoveries fortuitously made by Italian soldiers during the operations had great resonance. For example, a statue of Artemis Ephesia was found in 1912. The Bersaglieri unearthed it during the construction of Fort Vittorio Emanuele on the hill where the amphitheater of Leptis Magna was buried. The discovery was widely publicized as an auspicious omen for Italian fortunes in Libya. But we may also recall the tombs of Gargaesc, a locality near Tripoli, which were discovered in March 1912 by the 82<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment. General Caneva himself came to visit the necropolis.

The archaeological materials found in this early period, together with those that already decorated some public offices in Khoms in Ottoman times, were set up by then-Lieutenant Francesco Stroppa of the 89<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment (who incidentally was the author of a 1912 booklet on Leptis Magna for the benefit of the families of soldiers fallen and wounded in the battles of Lebda) in Khoms in an *antiquarium*, inaugurated by Colonel Vittorio De Albertis in 1913.

With this and other initiatives of attention to archaeological heritage, the army staged a sort of reappropriation of the past, which, as we have seen, the interventionist circles had claimed as their own.

**MD** – From a technical and scientific point of view, the *modus operandi* of Italian archaeologists was strongly criticized in the aftermath of the liberation of Libya by British troops in 1943. You noted that “the hasty removal of post-classical stratifications was rightly stigmatized by the British archaeologists who arrived in Tripolitania in the wake of the Allied troops”. How does the scientific approach of Italian archaeologists compare to the context of other contemporary European experiences in this field?

**MM** – In the Italian archaeological practice of the time, non-stratigraphic excavation (or digging) was the rule and it is not surprising that the archaeologists of the Superintendence had intensively adopted it in Libya. The colossal and hurried excavations continued uninterrupted until the years of the Second World War, without any concern for the stratigraphic method, but rather paying attention to the aspects of strategy (excavation “*alla bersagliera*”, carried out in a hasty manner, or using the “oil slick” method, as Renato Bartoccini theorized).

As for the comparison with other experiences, the Italian archaeological approach could be considered substantially in line with French experiences in North Africa, also with regard to excavation strategies and methods. In the French Maghreb, monumental buildings of Roman cities and legionary camps were unearthed through extensive non-stratigraphic excavations. The first stratigraphic investigations in Libya were not carried out until the years 1947-1951, during the British Administration, when John Bryan Ward-Perkins and Kathleen M. Kenyon conducted excavations at Leptis Magna and Sabratha.

**MD** – There were also many positive aspects in the context of Italian archaeological missions, for example, the considerable technical capacity in restoration and the extension of topographic investigations in both urban and rural areas...

**MM** – Conservative restoration and anastylosis were considered a natural continuation of the excavation; obviously, here again, scientific motives were one and the same with those of teaching, tourism, and finally imperial propaganda. These achievements in the area of restoration are certainly some of the greatest achievements of Italian work in Libya and aroused admiration among foreign colleagues. In contrast, topographic research in rural areas was not particularly popular, after the pioneering explorations conducted by Salvatore Aurigemma and Francesco Beguinot in 1911 some months before the outbreak of the Italo-Turkish war. Consequently, according to the political agenda, funding went towards large urban archaeological centers of the coast, in full harmony with the all-urban propensity of Italian classical archaeology. The only census, albeit partial, of rural settlements (specifically of Gebel Nefusa), is due, not surprisingly, to a military man passionate about archaeology – Francesco Corò, *Vestigia di colonie agricole romane. Gebel Nefusa*, Rome 1929 [fig.04]. Otherwise, there were only occasional and isolated recoveries of extra-urban monuments not included in a comprehensive project of knowledge of the territory.

**MD** – The instrumentalization of archaeology in support of imperialist rhetoric was accentuated during the twenty years of fascism (*Ventennio Fascista*). The patronage of archaeological excavations and restoration works, as well as major urban redevelopment projects and new roads were among the elements that characterized the work of the fascist governors in Libya. The juxtaposition of restored ancient glories with those of the new century, that is, works of architecture and urban planning, were the expression of the *Romanità* myth interpreted in fascist terms, that was, as you wrote, “making Italians the Romans of modernity” (Munzi, 2001: 39). In this sense, among the architects of fascist colonial archaeological propaganda, the figures of the governors of Tripolitania Giuseppe Volpi (1877-1947) and Italo Balbo (1896-1940) stand out. What were the main archaeological enterprises sponsored by Giuseppe Volpi during his tenure as governor of Tripolitania (between 1921 and 1925)?

**MM** – Giuseppe Volpi’s mandate to the government of Tripolitania coincided with the first phase of the military “reconquest” of the colony and, regarding archaeology, with Renato Bartoccini’s activity. In line with the directives and aspirations of the governor, who did not skimp on funding, Bartoccini oversaw the setting up of museums in Tripoli and Khoms-Lebda and launched the grandiose excavations at Leptis Magna and Sabratha. The strategy for large areas had both scientific and tourist purposes (Bartoccini published archaeological guides for the Museum of Tripoli, Sabratha, and Leptis Magna).



Fig. 04. Francesco Corò, *Vestigia di Colonie Agricole Romane*, 1929 (source: [www.libreriagovi.com](http://www.libreriagovi.com))

Obviously, non-stratigraphic excavations and restorations proceeded extremely quickly, to the detriment of archaeological documentation of the late Roman and Islamic periods. In Leptis Magna, in particular, Bartoccini wanted to immediately give a new direction to the excavations, turning away from the provisional nature of mere sondages, which he believed had characterized them at the time of his predecessor Pietro Romanelli. Through substantial funding by Volpi, the excavation of the Baths of Hadrian and the Severan Forum was undertaken in order to rejoin the two complexes by means of ancient road arteries, purposefully brought to light.

Tripolitanian archaeological exploits were internationally consecrated by the Conference of Roman Archaeology, held in Tripoli (with visits to the excavations of Leptis Magna and Sabratha) from 1 to 5 May 1925. Sponsored by Governor Volpi and the Minister of Colonies, Prince Pietro Lanza of Scalea, the conference attracted widespread interest from the international antiquities' scene, with the participation of scholars from various European countries and the United States.

**MD** – During Italo Balbo's mandate (1934-1940), the area of the Arch of Marcus Aurelius in Tripoli was renovated based on the design of the architect Florestano Di Fausto (1890-1965), with the intention of isolating the Roman monument from the surrounding urban fabric, to highlight the symbol of Rome's power. The Arch was also restored and consolidated between 1936 and 1937. Balbo, however, also took care of restoring the Medina. Was this type of intervention also more related to the intent to implement tourism in Tripoli?

**MM** – In the intervention strategy sponsored by Balbo, the purpose of tourism was certainly at the forefront. For example, Rodolfo Micacchi, director of the Inspectorate for Schools and Archaeology of the Ministry of Colonies, reminds us of this in clear terms. In drawing up an account of the 1934 activities in the *Rivista delle Colonie*, Micacchi stated that the new governor had fully understood the importance of excavation and restoration activities "both for scientific purposes, and in order to attract an increasingly numerous flow of tourists in Libya by bringing back the charm of the ancient cities, and has granted greater resources and more direct involvement". Balbo was also responsible, more generally, for a qualitative leap in the tourism organization of Libya, with the implementation of an integrated plan, including a new and efficient coastal road, the Via Balbia, as well as hotel infrastructure [fig.05] and special automotive services for grand tourism managed by the newly established (1934) *Ente Turistico Alberghiero* (Hotel Tourism Authority) of Libya.

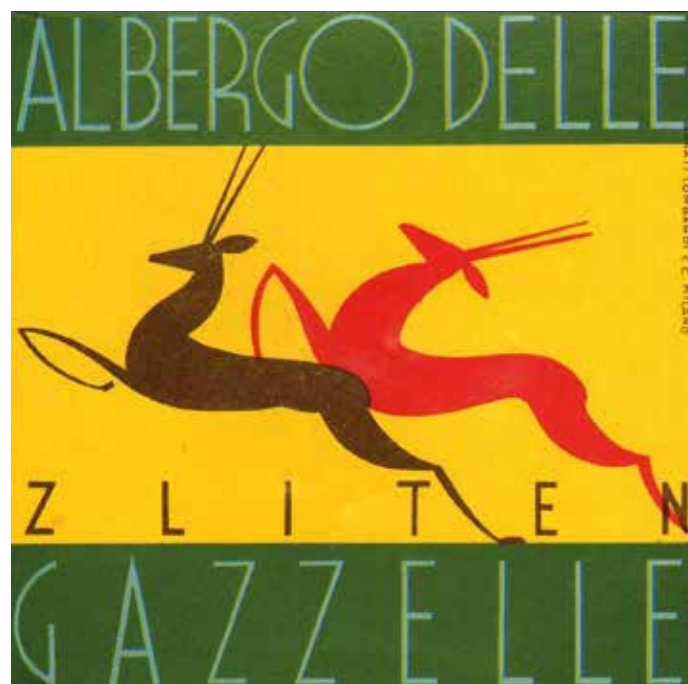


Fig. 05- Zliten, Albergo delle Gazzelle, by architect Umberto Di Segni (1936): luggage label (source: www.ebay.com)

**MD** – What other works were sponsored by Balbo?

**MM** – In addition to the aforementioned restoration of the castle and arch of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in Tripoli, together with the renovation of the square commissioned to Florestano Di Fausto, the priority objectives of his governorship included in Leptis Magna the excavation of the Severan basilica and forum and in Sabratha the restoration of the theatre, precisely because of their strong impact not only scientifically but also in terms of tourism and the strong return on image. The latter, rebuilt by Giacomo Guidi and completed by Giacomo Caputo, became the icon of Sabratha and in a broader sense of Italian archaeology in Libya.

**MD** – Giacomo Caputo was the last to hold the Superintendence of Libya from 1936. The list of criteria established in his “excavation directives”, which you quote in your book, is particularly indicative of the work of the Superintendence under the fascist regime...

**MM** – Given that you mentioned them, I think it may be useful make a full report of these “directives”, which Giacomo Caputo listed in the aftermath of his appointment as Superintendent in 1935:

*1) Political motive: to consecrate, even scientifically, the full dominion, full in form and in space, of our Colony. 2) Touristic motive: to take into account the current and potential tourist development guidelines. 3) Financial motive: to adapt the expenditure to excavations that can be carried out in order to achieve a result that is not fragmentary but complete each time. 4) Scientific motive: to conduct excavations in the manner and locations classifiable as: Class A – Centers of ancient life made famous through information that has been handed down to us by writers of the past [...]; Class B: locations that are very favorable to the probable solution of archaeological questions.*

We can see that political, touristic, and financial motivations preceded the scientific ones, proving that, no different than previously, the latter were not a priority. Compared to the prevailing Romanist policy of the regime, Caputo's position was certainly politically correct, although it ultimately did not appear to be as deeply rooted when compared with Renato Bartocchini's staunch national-fascist adherence and the scientific interpretation of *Romanità* that Pietro Romanelli was developing in the thirties.

**MD** – To conclude, from the point of view of the protection of artistic, archaeological, and architectural heritage during the period of Italian colonialism in Libya, do you believe that it is possible to mitigate criticism and draw a positive conclusion?

**MM** – Regarding activities to protect Libyan cultural heritage during the colonial period, one can only arrive at a mixed conclusion, given the coexistence of scientific, military, and political motivations, the latter favoring imperial discourse, together with the colony's tourist development. However, I believe that an overall assessment must be expanded to include the meritorious rescue work carried out by Italian archaeologists during the Second World War. The Superintendence of Libya, and in particular Gennaro Pesce, the inspector for Cyrenaica, remained active even in the most dire moments of the conflict, having the arduous task, entrusted to him by the dying colonial government, of preventing archaeological heritage from falling into the hands of the enemy and, more generally, from being damaged by the fighting. Also by means of vehicles made available by the Italian Army, it was possible to transfer movable cultural property items from war-torn Cyrenaica to Tripolitania. There was then full cooperation with archaeologists serving in the British 8<sup>th</sup> Army (Lieutenant Colonel Mortimeer Wheeler and Major John Bryan Ward-Perkins) and subsequently with the Antiquities Officers of the British Military Administration. To them we owe the adoption of antiquities protection measures, including the resumption of Italian Superintendence activity with the return of Italian personnel to the abandoned territorial offices.

And indeed, I would like to conclude this interview with the words of Gennaro Pesce, written after the war, which reveal the deep cultural ideal that animated that salvage operation:

*In the whirlwind of war, in the midst of a humanity brutalised by a lust for destruction, it is difficult to defend cultural values. The Italian Army in Libya promoted this defence and while in the tragic upheaval of defeat, concerned itself with these ideals. The British Military Administration, the successor of the Italian one, and now the autonomous State of Libya have continued and continue our work, in homage to that “religion of antiquity” which is felt by every civilised people.*

**MD:** Thank you very much for doing this interview.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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# HERITAGE RESEARCH AND PRESERVATION IN THE FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONIAL TERRITORIES IN AFRICA AND INDIA

## AN INTERVIEW WITH JOSÉ MANUEL FERNANDES AND MARIA DE LURDES JANEIRO

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**Fig. 01:** José Manuel Fernandes and Maria de Lurdes Janeiro, 2024 (photo by Ana Janeiro)

**J**osé Manuel Fernandes and Maria de Lurdes Janeiro are a team of architects and researchers – architects and researchers working jointly in the field of Portuguese architecture and urbanism [fig.01].

José graduated in Architecture from the Lisbon School of Fine Arts in 1977, becoming a professor there in 1978, and later a professor at the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Lisbon in the fields of History of Architecture and Urbanism. He has held senior positions at various Portuguese cultural institutions and has also played an important role in promoting Portuguese architectural culture in society.

Maria graduated in Architecture from the Lisbon School of Fine Arts in 1978 and is an architectural planner and researcher in the field of architectural history.

Together, they have published an extensive bibliography on the history of architecture and urban planning, with special emphasis on topics associated with Portuguese-influenced architectural heritage around the world.

**ARTIS** – First of all, we would like to thank you for kindly agreeing to take part in this interview. We sought to conduct this joint interview because of both of your connections with heritage issues in the former Portuguese overseas territories – including some direct experiences, and partly through family and friends. You must have many stories to tell about your experiences in this field, and we hope you will be able to share your knowledge with us, so that it might be preserved for posterity.

**José Manuel Fernandes (JMF)** – Ever since I met Milú [Maria de Lurdes], who grew up in Mozambique between 1962 and 1974, I have naturally been interested in the Portuguese overseas territories; I had already made some Mozambican friends at the School of Fine Arts and some members of my family had lived in Luanda, Angola. My study of the architecture and spaces in these territories began with a trip to India that we made, sponsored by the National Cultural Centre [Centro Nacional de Cultura], in 1985, which I helped plan as a collaborator with the institution. We travelled all over the country on a long and exhaustive journey all over the sub-continent, accompanied by Álvaro Siza Vieira and Fernando Távora, among others, discovering marvellous places like Diu and Daman.

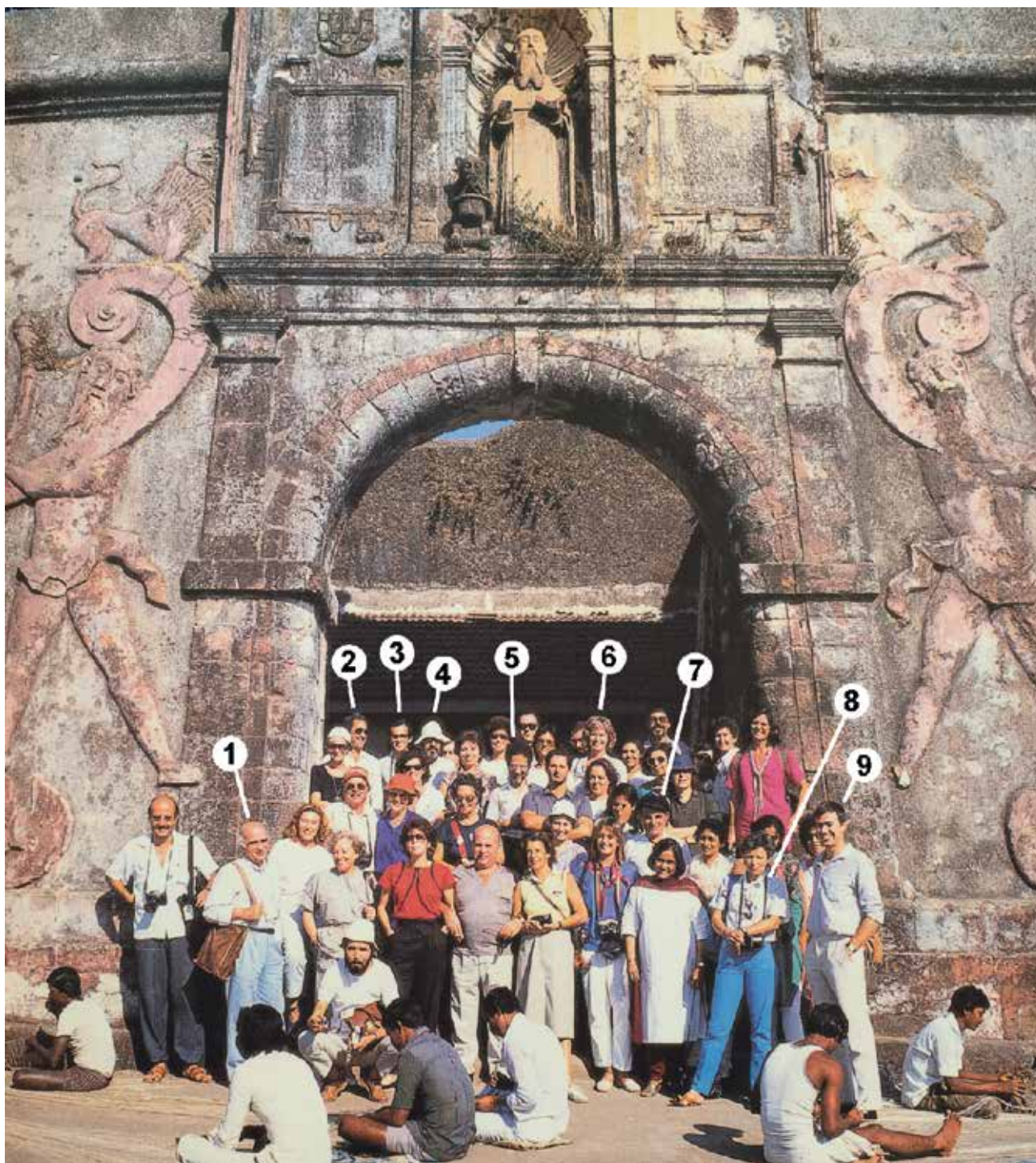
Many opportunities for further travels subsequently presented themselves, and we were introduced to the vast and diverse spaces of the former Portuguese empire, such as different regions of Brazil, and Macau. Meanwhile, I had begun preparing my PhD on the Portuguese Atlantic islands, their cities, and vernacular architecture. Thanks to the surveys I had conducted in the Azores since 1982, we refined methods of drawing, cartography, and photography. We realised then that the Azorean diaspora had led to the scattering of people around the world, and we conducted surveys of traces of the Azorean heritage in the Brazilian state of Santa Catarina, where the so-called “Azorean couples” had settled in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

We also carried out surveys of vernacular houses in Madeira, Porto Santo, Cape Verde, the Canary Islands, other regions of Brazil, and the Lisbon and Algarve regions. All of this represented an attempt to find a common theme – the Macaronesian house. The discovery of a unique type of Portuguese-origin transatlantic city, with distinctive characteristics, allowed us to refine theoretical models of urbanism and functionality.

Meanwhile, I founded the publishing cooperative “Pisa Babel” with Paulo Varela Gomes, João Paulo Conceição, Tomás D’Eça Leal, and Manuel Lacerda. We began publishing supplements with Expresso newspaper, including *Brazil-Braziliu* and another focused on India during 1986-87. I remember Vicente Jorge Silva’s comment when he received my lengthy piece on Brazil: “You really enjoy writing, don’t you?”. In short, it was a gradual process of historical, urban, and heritage research – something I didn’t seek out specifically, but that happened naturally. I embraced it, and it inspired both of us.

The discovery of the different faces of Africa came later in the second half of the 1990s, starting with a trip to South Africa at the invitation of our embassy, and of course we took the opportunity to visit Mozambique too. After that I produced the book entitled *Geração Africana* [African Generation], which was also part of my aggregation exams. From 2001 to 2015, I dedicated myself further to these areas of study, with trips to São Tomé and Príncipe, Northern Mozambique, and Luanda. During this period, we published several books which were photo albums in the collection “Cities, Territories, and Architectures”, at the invitation of collector João Loureiro, incorporating some of his precious postcards.

**Maria de Lurdes Janeiro (MLJ)** – My connections are, above all, emotional and rooted in my past. India and Mozambique were my “geography”. My interest in heritage was inspired by Zé’s [José Manuel Fernandes’] passion for it. From the late 1980s onwards, we developed a research project, as part of a large team, creating a database on the entire “Portuguese urban universe”. In this database, we recorded all historical and cartographic information collected on Portuguese-related topics in Africa and Asia (excluding Brazil), with an entry for each element (such as settlements, cities, fortresses, and territories). We named the project “Urban Structures of Portuguese Expansion”, with support from multiple institutions. This database, intended for online launch, became the foundation for many of our subsequent works and publications.



**Fig. 02.** Photograph of the members of the trip to India sponsored by the National Cultural Centre in 1985, in front of the gate of St Jerome Fort in Daman. Among the various members are Fernando Távora [1], Alberto Vaz da Silva [2], Artur Teodoro de Matos [3], Álvaro Siza Vieira [4], Jorge de Alarcão [5], Helena Vaz da Silva [6], José Hermano Saraiva [7], Milú [8] and José Manuel Fernandes [9] (source: SILVA, Alberto Vaz da; DACOSTA, Fernando – *Helena Vaz da Silva: Fotobiografia*, Lisbon: Editorial Notícias – Centro Nacional de Cultura, 2003. Reproduction kindly authorised by the National Cultural Centre)

**ARTIS** – José, you served as the coordinator for the “Africa and Persian Gulf” volume of the remarkable collection *Património de Origem Portuguesa no Mundo: Arquitectura e Urbanismo* [Portuguese Heritage around the World: Architecture and Urbanism], published by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation [fig.02]. This collection is undoubtedly a milestone in the study of architecture and cities where the Portuguese presence was, or still is, evident – whether directly or indirectly. But the release of these three volumes didn’t mark the end of this magnificent project, as the website “Heritage of Portuguese Influence” <<https://hpip.org/en>>, continues to be regularly updated with new discoveries deriving from ongoing research. Could you share how this project came about and your role in it?

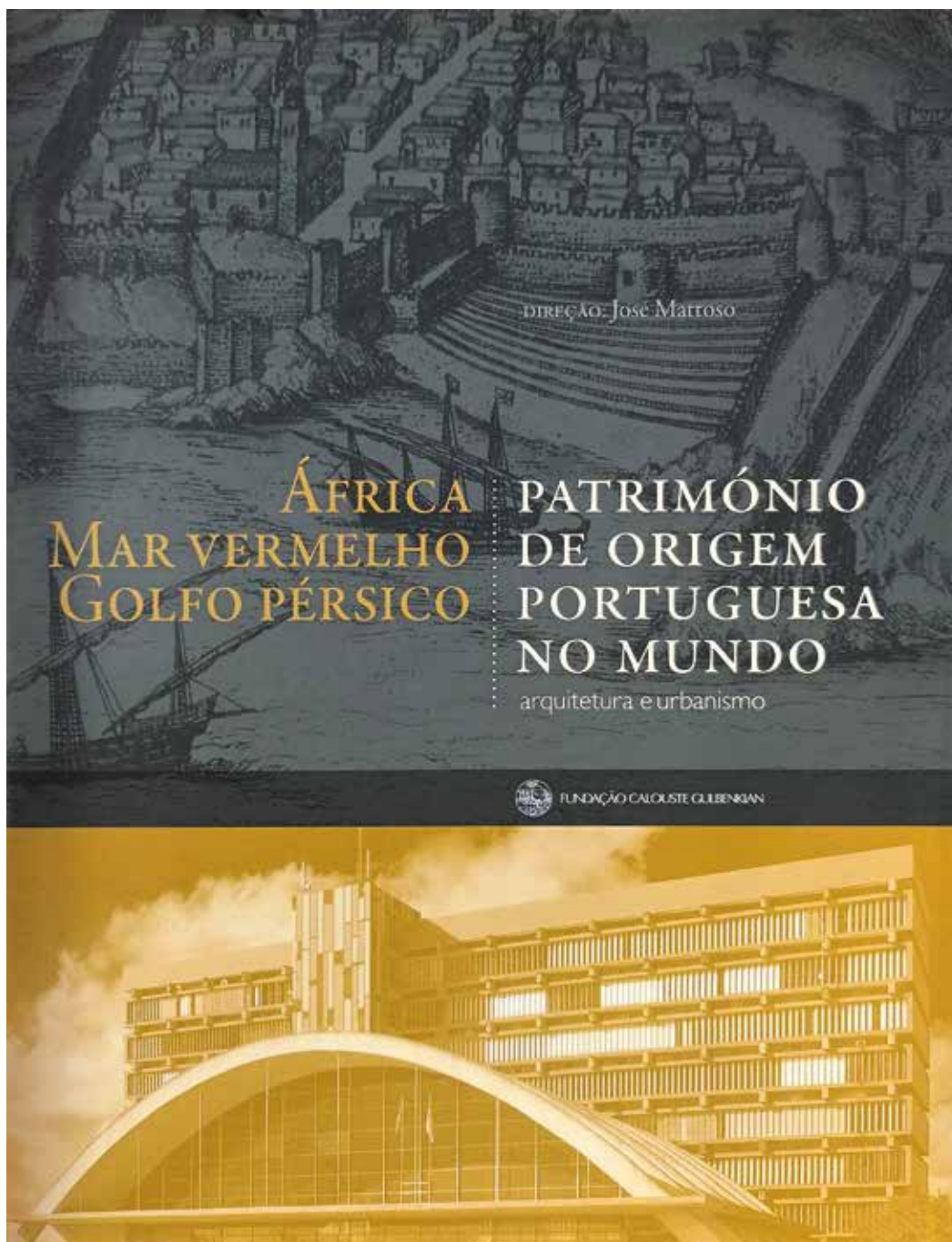


Fig. 02. Frontcover of the volume “Africa and Persian Gulf”, from the collection *Património de Origem Portuguesa no Mundo: Arquitectura e Urbanismo*, coordinated by José Manuel Fernandes and directed by José Mattoso, 2011

**JMF** – I coordinated the Sub-Saharan Africa section of that volume, with the collaboration of Milú. The project began for me in 2007, with an invitation from José Mattoso to carry out this work for the global project, which originated in an idea by Rui Vilar, then president of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, who had long aspired to see this realised. While Mattoso was not a specialist in this area, he was wise to involve researchers knowledgeable in the field. He led the project to ensure its scientific rigour and prestige, and was able to attract a number of accredited researchers.

In 2007, I was perhaps uniquely positioned to coordinate the challenging “African area” (especially regarding the PALOPs: the Portuguese-speaking African countries), given the complexities of organising knowledge in a still-developing field. This area required significant foundational work, unlike other areas, such as the East (with India) and Brazil, with a well-established and in-depth knowledge base, with extensive studies and publications already available.

José Mattoso had known me since 1997 when I was organising the Luís Benavente archive at the ANTT [National Archive of Torre do Tombo], where he had recently been appointed director. Although he initially wanted to end the project, considering it external to the ANTT’s mission, he appreciated my arguments for preserving the heritage. The project was ultimately concluded, albeit in a streamlined form, with an exhibition and a carefully curated catalogue. In fact, it still goes forward, as the ANTT eventually digitised the entire collection, making it accessible to researchers – unlike the Fernando Batalha archive (mostly held at the National Academy of Fine Arts) or Quirino da Fonseca’s archive (possibly now in Mozambique).

While preparing the Africa and the Persian Gulf volume, I invited researchers I knew, gathered existing texts and studies, and, where needed, filled gaps with my own knowledge – even if it was sometimes incomplete – of specific buildings. One challenge was sorting the significant from the secondary, especially in areas lacking researchers, such as Angola. I am grateful for the substantial contributions from Aida Freudenthal, Olga Iglésias, António Sopa, João Paulo Borges Coelho (who wrote an entry on remote Zumbo, near the Zimbabwe border), and many others.

**ARTIS** – It was indeed a tremendous collaborative effort, bringing together a team of specialists who demonstrated how scientific research can thrive through close cooperation across universities. What stands out most for you about the volume you coordinated? Were you surprised by the extent and quality of architectural and urban heritage still present in the regions influenced by Portugal?

**JMF** – I was able to confirm and organise much existing knowledge while also uncovering much that was previously unknown or ignored. What stands out most, I think, is the incredible diversity of knowledge, themes, and time periods encompassed in the volume, brought together for the first time in an organised and geographically structured way. It documents 500 years of construction, from Manueline and classical architecture to 19<sup>th</sup>-century and modern architecture. I proposed the Beira Railway Station for the cover, symbolising the “heritage novelty” of modern Portuguese architecture – a theme less evident in the East or Brazil, except for a few examples in Macau and Timor.

One idea I sought to challenge in my introduction (heavily edited by Mattoso) was the notion that “Portuguese Africa” only became relevant after the infamous Berlin Conference of 1885 and that, before this, Portuguese presence was merely a minor coastal occupation. This overlooked factors like Portugal’s penetration into the Quanza and Zambezia regions – an assumption I found irritating and biased, as it implied that Portugal only moved when pressured by the major powers. On the contrary, we should recognise the longstanding tradition of pioneering and independent initiatives by the Portuguese – such as those of the *lançados* – that operated outside the official Portuguese sphere.

**ARTIS** – As a scholar of Portuguese heritage worldwide – among many other things – and a traveller who has had the opportunity to visit many of the regions where the Portuguese were active, what led you to coordinate the volume dedicated to Africa?

**JMF** – The Sub-Saharan Africa volume was, so to speak, the “hot potato” of the entire project. The other areas were “comfort zones”, with well-documented sites and cities, backed by published academic and non-academic research. However, to leave out this volume would have made the project incomplete. When the volumes were published between 2010 and 2012, launches took place for Macau, Brazil, and India – but, Africa was not included, which speaks for the present difficult relation between Portugal and the PALOPs.

The problem wasn’t just the lack of studies or researchers; it was also the “woke” climate, with an emerging wave of blind, anti-colonial sentiment. Simply mentioning “heritage of Portuguese origin” could provoke immediate objections. Note that on the HPIP website, created shortly after the printed volumes, they opted for the expression “heritage of Portuguese influence” instead – a more cautious choice, reflecting a certain institutional wariness on the part of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

**ARTIS** – You could have taken on the Asia volume, couldn’t you? In fact, I believe you were the first Portuguese architectural researcher to visit Goa, Daman and Diu after they became part of India. Could you share some insights from that trip? What was your impression of the heritage left behind, and how did local communities relate to it?

**JMF** – As mentioned, in 1985 in India, I conducted an initial survey of Luso-Christian sites, the religious architecture of Mumbai and Bassein, which had been almost entirely overlooked. We saw the architectural marvels of Daman, still much more Portuguese in identity than even Goa, and Diu, where I vividly remember Fernando Távora remarking in the film we made there, “I thought the heritage in India would be minimal, insignificant even, but these are grand, solid works”. In Diu, we even found remains of Portuguese machine guns left in the battlements, abandoned since 1961.

We also explored Bassein’s haunting ruins, still cherished as an “enchanted garden” by the people of nearby Vasai, as well as the marvellous site of Chaul. And I had the chance to visit and sketch the Mount of St Thomas in Mylapore, with its sanctuary just outside Madras [Chennai]. It was eye-opening to see that Portuguese India encompassed so much more than just Goa, Daman and Diu, and that other settlements and ruins in the south, such as Kochi, Vypin and Kannur, were still accessible.

In the Mumbai area, I observed that the Christian churches and schools were built to fulfil a key role in community support and education, which they still fulfil today, in contrast to the facilities afforded by the Indian state. Even as the missionary spirit waned, this great commitment to service and learning persisted.

**ARTIS** – Did your wife, Milú, who is with us today, accompany you on that trip? She was born in Daman, wasn’t she?

**JMF** – Yes, we were very excited about the trip, and were thrilled to visit her birthplace, which had become the home of Daman’s cinema projectionist by 1985. It was a bungalow just inside the Moti Daman walls on the right, through *Portas do Mar* [Sea Gate], among a set of government houses where her parents had lived. Curiously, due to the travel restrictions between Daman and Mumbai at the time, in the event Milú was born in Daman instead of Mumbai. The projectionist laughed when we explained that she was born there but graciously let us in to look around.

Our journey, in 1985, an incredible month-long experience, filled with discovery – from the Hindu, Islamic, and Jain features to the cities of Rajasthan, the Malabar and Coromandel coasts in the south, and also Agra and Delhi, Ahmedabad, and even Le Corbusier’s works in Ahmedabad – left a lasting impression of India [fig.03].

During our travels, we encountered the remaining fragments of Portuguese India, experiencing them intimately and first-hand. Observing the contrasts between these worlds was both illuminating and humbling. The cawing of Mumbai’s *choughs* – house crows – and the city’s sharp, acrid scents lingered vividly in my memory long after the journey ended. The intensity of that journey and of India itself is something unforgettable.



**Fig. 03.** Pier of the Viceroy in Old Goa, India, 1985 (source: personal archive of José Manuel Fernandes and Maria de Lurdes Janeiro)

**ARTIS** – Milú, in *Cartas de Damão* [Letters from Daman], you share letters from your mother, Gisela Serra Janeiro, detailing little-known features of daily life in Daman and Goa before their integration into India. These letters offer insights into the social and cultural aspects of that colonial world. Do you have personal memories of that period? How did your parents end up in Portuguese India?

**MJ** – I don't remember Daman, as I was just a year old when we left in 1954. But in 1985, I returned and met people who remembered my parents. Some of my mother's former students, now in their eighties, still recognised me.

In compiling *Cartas de Damão* – the letters written by my mother – I found a unique testimony of Portuguese India's last decade (1951-1961) – a time marked by pivotal, though little-known, events we both experienced: the occupation of the Daman enclaves of Dadra and Nagar-Haveli [fig.04].

My father's archives, especially regarding the "Right of Passage" to these enclaves and the case brought before the International Court of Justice in The Hague, provided essential context.

I think my parents went to India to escape the stifling conditions of the Salazar regime in Portugal. They were involved with the MUD [Movement of Democratic Unity] youth movement which resisted against the dictatorship and they felt surveilled. The opportunity to go to Goa arose, with my father returning to military life, and they decided together to take it.



Fig. 04. Frontcover of *Cartas de Damão*, organised by Maria de Lurdes Janeiro, 2017

**ARTIS** – After arriving in India, your father was stationed in Old Goa in the Convent of St Monica, which was being used as a barracks. He was there during the grand celebrations commemorating the fourth centenary of the death of St Francis Xavier, at which the body of the saint was put on public display. This event attracted pilgrims – both Catholics and non-Catholics – from across Asia, and served as a propaganda tool for the Estado Novo regime, which sought to promote a distinctly “Portuguese India” through language, religion, and culture, at a time when newly-independent India was demanding the handover of Portuguese-administered territories on the subcontinent.

In fact, around the same time, the renowned Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre visited Goa and delivered a lecture in Panjim, where he first introduced his concept of Lusotropicalism. The Portuguese regime, seeking to promote its narrative, also launched a programme to restore Old Goa’s historic monuments with clear propagandistic intentions. Architect Baltazar da Silva Castro, former head of the General Directorate for National Buildings and Monuments (DGEMN), was sent on a mission to oversee these efforts. Did your parents encounter his restoration work at that time? How did the locals perceive these restoration projects, which were notably controversial, particularly regarding the Basilica of Bom Jesus and the Arch of the Viceroy?

**MU** – The newly-independent Union of India was quick to oppose foreign territories (Portuguese and French) on the subcontinent. Portugal’s dictator Salazar, in an anticipation response, removed colonial status from Portuguese India by the Colonial Act in 1946, though the “Statute for the State of India” wasn’t approved until 1955.



**Fig. 05.** Brigade for the Study of the Monuments of Goa, Daman and Diu, formed by art historians Mário Chicó and Carlos de Azevedo, architect Martinho Humberto dos Reis and photographer Carvalho Henriques, 1951 (source: Mário Soares and Maria Barroso Foundation, Mário and Alice Chicó's documents, file 07161.002.076)

To emphasise the distinctiveness of Portuguese India within the broader Indian context, Sarmento Rodrigues [Minister for the Overseas Territories] invited Gilberto Freyre to tour the "Portuguese overseas world" in 1951 and 1952, along with Armando Gonçalves Pereira, who later authored a monograph. A little earlier (but still in 1951), a study brigade led by Mário Chicó had studied the Portuguese-influenced monuments of Goa, Daman and Diu [fig.05]. And in 1956, Orlando Ribeiro was assigned a geographical mission in Portuguese India, but his report, which did not align with the regime's narrative, was "shelved" until after the 25<sup>th</sup> of April and the advent of democracy.

In my view, Portuguese India was neither purely Portuguese in culture nor simply a colony. By the time of its (forced) integration, it had developed into three distinct territories each with a mixed population and a unique cultural character.

Gilberto Freyre visited Goa the same year my parents arrived, in 1951, though I believe they did not cross paths.

Regarding the restoration work by Baltazar de Castro, the collapse of the Arch of the Viceroys shortly after its restoration – during the first monsoon, if I recall – provoked considerable consternation among Goans [fig.06]. Removing the protective plaster from the laterite stone reflected a form of purism, similar to that applied to “National Monuments” [DGEMN] in Portugal, but unsuited to the local climate. The Basilica of Bom Jesus may be the next at risk, as it still lacks its protective coating, also removed by Castro.

**ARTIS** – Your parents visited various sites in Goa and Daman, including churches, fortifications, and manor houses (particularly Catholic ones)? What was their impression of the state of the heritage at that time?

**MJ** – Yes, they did. In my mother’s letters, she mentions Velha Goa, where they first lived in the Convent of St Monica, which she describes as “more or less in ruins,” and in the city “there are no houses, only the remains of a large ancient city and many badly damaged churches”. Their impression of Aguada Fort, however, was striking: “The fort itself is well preserved – the first clean, orderly thing I’ve seen in India”.



**Fig. 06.** Arch of the Viceroys in Old Goa, India, during its reconstruction after the collapse as a result of the restoration carried out by Baltazar Castro, 1954 (source: NUNES, Antonieta dos Santos; CRUZ, João Paulo – *Um Testemunho de Vida: Capitão Manuel Sidónio dos Santos Nunes*. Figueira da Foz: Companhia da Palavra, 2011)

In Daman, they were pleasantly surprised: “Daman leaves a much more agreeable impression than Goa, despite less vegetation. Its streets are clean, the buildings are whitewashed, and you can sense the Portuguese influence amidst a mix of Christians, Hindus, Parsis, and Muslims. They all live here in the greatest harmony. It's an authentic relic of the past that is immediately very pleasant”. In Daman, I know that they stayed temporarily in the Governor's Palace, which my father described as a “charming manor house”.

In Goa, after returning from Daman, they mingled with both Catholic and Hindu Goans and visited some “manor houses” that felt frozen in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Goan society was somewhat “closed” to the Portuguese, and crossing the *balcão* [a kind of porch] into the interior of a house required a certain level of intimacy. The broader concept of heritage we recognise today didn't exist then and didn't extend beyond “monuments”.

**ARTIS** – Meanwhile, in 1953, your father left the army to become a teacher, and you moved to Daman at a particularly delicate time, as the Portuguese enclaves of Dadra and Nagar-Haveli had been cut off from Daman. What was life like in Daman at that time, especially as Daman Grande – the symbol of a Portuguese fortress city – had nearly become depopulated and largely abandoned? What was the state of the Portuguese cultural heritage in Daman at that time, and how did it relate to the local people?

**MU** – Their first stay in Goa was not favourable, and their fascination for and curiosity about the exoticism of India soon faded. My father had no vocation for military life, and my mother didn't care for the colonial social scene with its *té canasta* parties, which she criticised in her letters. Leaving Goa in 1953 became possible when a technical school opened in Daman, where they were both posted.

I don't think the city was abandoned or depopulated at that time, though it went through a period of significant decay until the 1930s, afterward stabilising, relying on the territory of Nagar-Haveli for food supplies.

Regarding the people of Daman, my parents both said it was the period that most marked them, not only because of the people but also because of what they endured (never forgetting the dignity with which they faced it) during the regrettable attack on Daman's enclaves in July 1954. Days before the attack, borders closed as tensions mounted, and Indian paramilitary forces carried out the operation with some violence.

Those were days of deep anguish for the Damanese, cut off from relatives in Nagar-Haveli. My father returned (voluntarily) to the army, assisting the governor of Daman with nightly border patrols. This period was one of uncertainty. Indian forces surrounded Daman, creating a fear of invasion. However, this proved inconsequential, as Nehru dismissed the political forces involved, preventing their entry into Daman.

**ARTIS** – In 1954, the enclaves of Dadrá and Nagar-Haveli were forcibly integrated into the Indian Union. For safety's sake, your mother returned to Portugal with you and your sisters, later rejoining your father in Daman. In 1956, as Portugal prepared to make a claim at the Hague Tribunal to regain access to Dadra and Nagar-Haveli, your father was commissioned to help renowned historian António da Silva Rego gather documentation from Portuguese India's historical archives to support the claim. Over three years, your father researched extensively in the Goa Historical Archives, uncovering a wealth of previously unpublished material on historical aspects of the Portuguese presence in India. Could you describe this intensive process of inventorying the Goa archives and some notable discoveries?

**MU** – Daman, with its small territory, relied entirely on Nagar-Haveli for its food supplies. This concern, more than the threat of a “forced” occupation, led my mother to send us children to our grandparents in Lisbon.

Following the invasion and occupation, Portugal filed a complaint with The Hague Court, denouncing the territories' wrongful seizure. Salazar, demonstrating a certain stubbornness, sought to gain court recognition of Portuguese sovereignty in these territories. Presenting indisputable evidence became essential, however strongly India opposed it. Securing a favourable ruling was paramount, and a team led by Alexandre Lobato (specialising in historical research) was assembled.



**Fig. 07.** Galvão Teles with the working group collecting historical documentation for the Nagar-Aveli process, 1959; photo by Foto Arte Ganesh, Goa (source: personal archive of Maria de Lurdes Janeiro)



**Fig. 08.** Visit by Galvão Teles (left) to the Goa Historical Archives in Panjim, India, accompanied by Pandurang Pissurlenkar (centre) and Francisco Janeiro (right), 1959; photo by Foto Arte Ganesh, Goa (source: personal archive of Maria de Lurdes Janeiro)

Dr. Silva Rego, then director of the newly-formed *Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos* [Centre for Overseas Historical Studies], undertook the task of researching documentation to establish the basis for this claim. He met my father in Daman, whose background was in History and Philosophy and who had witnessed the events. Historical research in the Goa archives began in March 1956, including intensive work by both my parents [fig.07].

The primary focus was on a “Historical Memory”, reconstructing how Dadra and Nagar-Haveli came under Portuguese control – ceded by the Maratha Empire in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This little-known historical period involved agreements (and disputes) documented in unpublished correspondence with the Mughals, the Marathas, the British, and later, independent India. The historian Pandurang Pissurlenkar (Director of the Goa Historical Archives) contributed through his translations of Marathi treaties into Portuguese. In addition to this “Historical Memoir”, there was a great deal of work systematically gathering documentation from Goa’s historical archives, covering the period from 1661 to 1959 [fig.08].

The court's decision, often called a "Pyrrhic victory", affirmed Portuguese sovereignty, acknowledging the Marathas' cession of the territories. In practice, however, it failed to facilitate their effective return to the district of Daman.

Isolated in his metropolitan corner, did Salazar truly believe it was possible to counter Nehru's evident aim to integrate Portuguese India into Greater India? Would a verdict favouring Portugal – symbolically, if futile in effect – justify the continued Portuguese presence in India?

**ARTIS** – The historian Alexandre Lobato, who had published a well-regarded work on the Portuguese presence in Mozambique (where he was born and lived), eventually succeeded António da Silva Rego in coordinating the collection of documents for the Hague process. Your father continued the inventory work, and your mother joined him in Goa, where they spent their last five years in Portuguese India, with a brief visit to Lisbon in 1958.

That same year, your grandmother and sisters arrived in Goa, reuniting with your parents after three and a half years. In 1958, General António Vassalo e Silva, the new governor-general, arrived in Goa and promoted a wide-ranging development plan, including a project to "museumise" Old Goa. Led by a commission chaired by Goan Ismael Gracias Jr. and architect Nagueixa Pissurlencar, this included restoration work in Old Goa, such as on the São Caetano Church and the St Francis Xavier Square. How was Portuguese cultural heritage perceived in Goa as the Portuguese presence drew to a close?

**MJ** – Vassalo e Silva and my father held each other in high regard. They certainly followed the governor's enthusiastic commitment to restoring Old Goa [fig.09]. However, my father was focused at that time, especially after the Hague court sentence, on teaching – a pursuit the governor ardently supported (albeit perhaps idealistically, as only two years remained for Portuguese Goa). My father taught children who didn't speak Portuguese, yet by absurd mandate had to learn to read and write in that language, which was foreign to them. Teaching in Konkani, with its dual scripts, lacked the consensus of the two largest communities in Goa: Christians wrote in the Latin alphabet, while Hindus used the Devanagari script. I am not familiar with the current situation.

**ARTIS** – In summer 1961, just months before Goa, Daman and Diu became part of the Union of India, your family returned to Portugal – though with plans to go back to Goa. How did you feel when you learned that Portuguese India had ceased to exist? Your parents met Vassalo e Silva at the airport when he arrived in Lisbon after the integration, didn't they?

**MJ** – My father did. He and Vassalo's sister, Maria Lamas, were the only people there to meet him, both civilians, which felt undignified. Vassalo e Silva was treated very badly by the dictatorial regime for having surrendered to the Indians and thus avoided a bloodbath. My father recounted this in an interview we made in 1985.

I don't know what my parents' plans were for the future – probably to return to Goa, since they left the house there. Would we all go back to India? Nehru pressed forward, invading the three Portuguese territories in December. This "anachronistic presence of Goa," as he called it (Daman and Diu did not seem to figure), ended on 18<sup>th</sup> December 1961. That morning, I recall my parents running to the window when they heard the shouts of the newspaper seller, announcing the news. Although mounting tensions had hinted at this outcome, they held out hope that Nehru's pacifism would prevail. This end remains unresolved: "occupation" or "liberation"? A historical ambiguity that still lingers.

For my parents' Goan friends, now in Mozambique (our destination), the pressing concern was Goa's future, under threat of forced integration into Maharashtra. It wasn't to be. Goans, despite disagreements about the future of the territory, were, above all, Goan. Uniting the varied layers – religions and castes – of Goan society for a shared purpose, they pressured the Indian government to fulfil Nehru's promise of autonomy. Through a 1967 referendum, Goans opted not to integrate with Maharashtra, remaining a Union Territory under central administration until 1987, when Goa achieved statehood. Daman, Dadra and Nagar-Haveli, and Diu remain Union Territories, governed by Delhi today.



**Fig. 09.** Maria de Lurdes Janeiro's sister posing in front of the statue of Luís Vaz de Camões in Old Goa, India, shortly after its inauguration, in the context of the Plan for the Museumisation of Old Goa, 1960 (source: personal archive of Maria de Lurdes Janeiro)



**Fig. 10.** Luís Benavente after taking refuge aboard the Italian cargo ship *Confidenza*, 1961 (source: National Archive of Torre do Tombo, Luís Benavente collection, file 1134)

**ARTIS** – The invasion of Goa by Indian Union troops led to the hurried escape of many Portuguese residents, including DGEMN architect Luís Benavente, who had been supervising restoration work in Old Goa. In fact, in the catalogue *Luís Benavente: Arquitecto*, coordinated by you two, following an exhibition celebrating his work, a piece by Benavente recounts his dramatic escape from Goa and his request for refuge aboard the Italian merchant ship *Confidenza*, anchored in the Zuari River off Mormugao [fig.10]. Interestingly, you, José, managed the estate of Luís Benavente, which he donated to the National Archives of Torre do Tombo. How did you come to handle his estate, and what was your relationship with him?

**JMF** – I met Luís Benavente in 1980. We were both part of an extended jury team, driving around Lisbon to identify works for the Valmor Prize with the support of the Lisbon City Council – I represented the Association of Portuguese Architects and he represented the National Academy of Fine Arts. This was the beginning of our friendship. He would tell stories, and I would listen – he was in his seventies and I was in my thirties.

Later, I would visit him at his home in Lapa – a building he designed himself, inspired by the Pombaline style and executed impeccably. I remember him proudly demonstrating the smooth sash windows he'd designed, which slid effortlessly on counterweights. Gradually, I began to publish his work, including accounts of his missions in the former Overseas Territories, especially Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe.

Following his death in 1993, a family friend, an engineer and director at the Higher Institute of Technology Museum (Museu do Instituto Superior Técnico), invited me to organise his archive and managed to secure a place for it at the Torre do Tombo with the support of its director, Jorge Borges de Macedo.

**ARTIS** – This collection indeed reflects Luís Benavente’s progressive approach to heritage preservation. I believe he was even one of the signatories of the Venice Charter in 1964, correct? He also proposed a charter for safeguarding Portugal’s colonial heritage, though it never came to fruition.

**JMF** – Yes, he was involved in drafting the Charter and attended international meetings for it as Portugal’s representative. He told me about it. His work from 1958-59 onward, especially in Cape Verde, São Tomé, and Guinea, gave him a comprehensive understanding of Portugal’s overseas heritage. This allowed him to move beyond simply restoring or ‘reintegrating’ isolated elements, as the process was termed at the time, to developing a territorial, overarching approach to heritage conservation.

**ARTIS** – After Portuguese India, Luís Benavente undertook numerous restoration and conservation projects in Portuguese colonial territories like Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, and São Tomé and Príncipe. Could you highlight some of his significant heritage preservation works in these territories, including the methodologies he followed and how he fostered intercultural ties between colonial heritage and local communities?

**JMF** – Key figures in heritage intervention and preservation and the restoration or rehabilitation of monuments in the Luso-African territories included architects linked to the central and/or colonial state and involved in heritage and public works, who were able to carry out their work, more or less continuously, across several of the territories in question: people like Luís Benavente, who worked primarily in São Tomé and Príncipe, Cape Verde, and Guinea-Bissau, from 1958 to 1974. His work was initially centred on São Tomé and Príncipe, with successive missions from 1958 onwards, with notable projects and restoration work on buildings in and around the city of São Tomé, such as the St Sebastian Fort, the Mother of God Church, and the Bom Despacho Chapel (1961-66) [fig. 11].

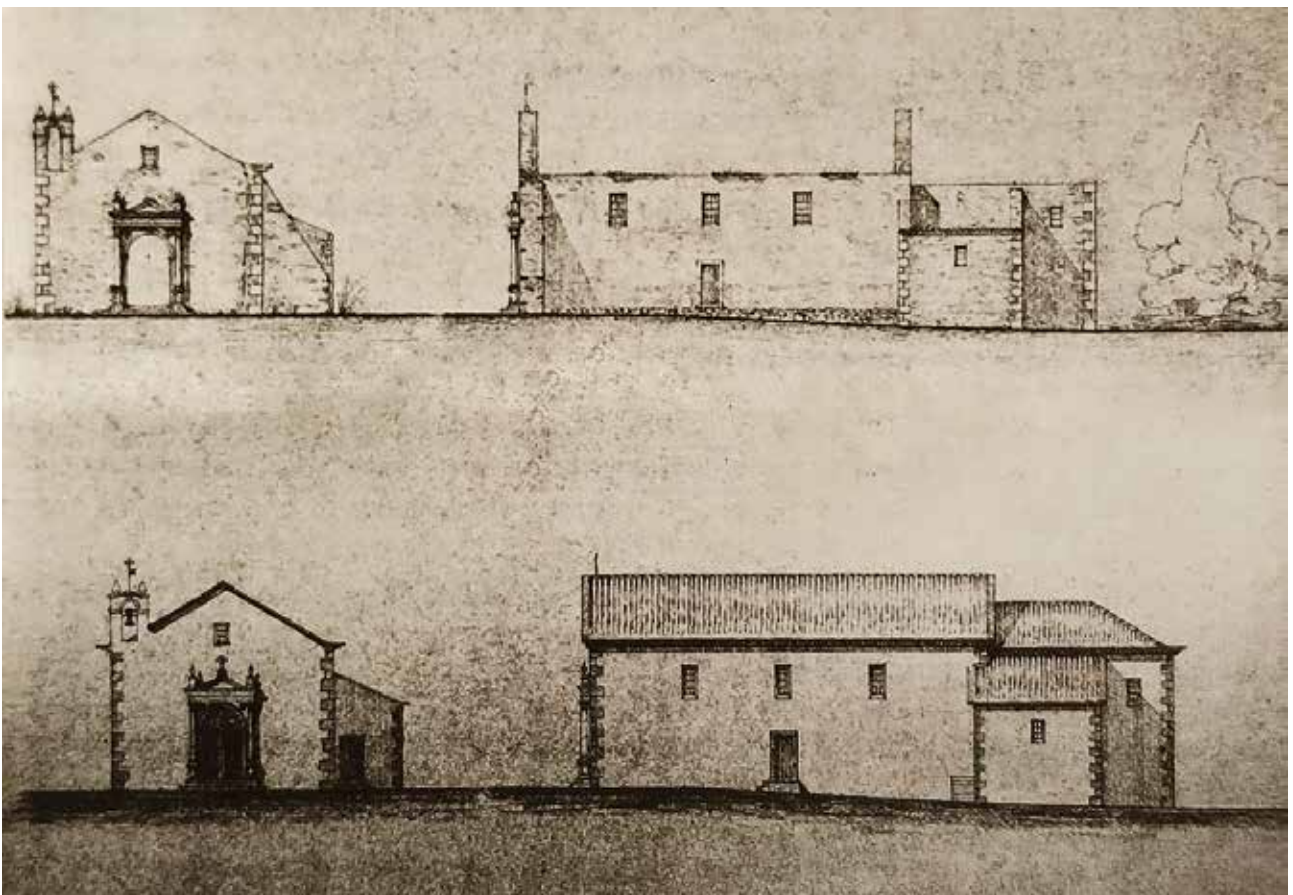


Fig. 11. Restoration project with the elevations of the Mother of God Church on the island of São Tomé (São Tomé and Príncipe), 1958 (source: National Archive of Torre do Tombo, Luís Benavente collection, file 2069)



Fig. 12. Pillory of Ribeira Grande de Santiago (Cidade Velha, Cape Verde) during its restoration by Luís Benavente, 1970 (source: National Archive of Torre do Tombo, Luís Benavente collection, file 2085)

He later worked in Cape Verde, carrying out projects and restoration work in Ribeira Grande [now known as Cidade Velha]: the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary, St Philip's Fortress, the Chapel of St Roque, and the *Pelourinho* [Pillory] with some of the stonework reconstructed in Portugal and returned to the city centre in Cape Verde [fig.12].

He also studied other monuments in Cape Verde, such as the ruins of the Cathedral of Ribeira Grande and the city's coastal forts. This research culminated in his "Inventory of the Heritage of Ribeira Grande" and his pioneering proposal to classify Ribeira Grande as a National Monument in 1971.

In Guinea-Bissau, Benavente extensively studied the St Joseph of Amura Fort in Bissau and created a restoration plan that was never realised. Throughout his work, he was committed to finding skilled local craftsmen to ensure quality and efficiency in the restoration efforts, as well as collaborating with craftsmen from Portugal. He once told me about having a damaged piece of the Ribeira Grande pillory crafted in a workshop in Pêro Pinheiro [a town in Portugal]. He also had tiles reproduced to match those typical of the region for restoring churches in Cape Verde and São Tomé.

**ARTIS** – The heritage circumstances in Angola and Mozambique were distinct from those in other Portuguese territories, being larger, wealthier, and more developed due to greater Portuguese investment. Both regions had dedicated heritage commissions: the Monuments Commission in Angola and the Monuments and Historical Relics Commission in Mozambique. Architect Fernando Batalha, a pivotal figure, managed heritage for the DGEMN in Évora and Portuguese India before settling in Angola in the mid-1930s, where as head of the Angolan commission he carried out a wide range of studies on the local heritage - some of which appeared in books which were published. Could you tell us about his contributions?

**JMF** – I believe it's essential to highlight the early heritage initiatives in Angola and Mozambique, which were very significant, preparing the ground for later developments. Particularly important were the heritage legislation and efforts in identifying and classifying numerous historical works. Over the decades, various official decrees launched, structured, or regulated actions at both the state and provincial-colonial levels, notably with the establishment of heritage organisations in Angola and Mozambique.

The early 20<sup>th</sup>-century actions of the First Republic had a clear influence, especially in Angola, introducing the concept of "National Monument", laying the groundwork for a classification phase. This led to the establishment of the Provincial Monuments Commission of Angola, which operated with a degree of autonomy from the metropolis. Under the dictatorial Estado Novo regime, however, a more centralised approach emerged in the 1940s, establishing permanent heritage bodies in the major colonies: the National Monuments Commission of Angola in 1942 and the Historical Monuments and Relics Commission of Mozambique in 1943.

In Angola, during the republican era following the 1922 decree (no. 161, issued by Norton de Matos on 27<sup>th</sup> May), a series of churches and fortresses across the territory were designated as National Monuments – a pioneering step in the colonial context. From the 1930s to the 1950s, under the Estado Novo regime, several buildings in Luanda received National Monument status, largely thanks to architect Fernando Batalha, whose urban and progressive vision drove this initiative.

In Mozambique, the number of classified monuments is notably smaller. Nonetheless, the early "culturalist" activities of the Companhia de Moçambique are worth highlighting: in 1905, it attempted to create a monument from stones of the Sofala Fort ruin, and in 1906, it restored the portal of the St Marçal de Sena Fort, adding a commemorative pillory. During the Estado Novo period in the 1960s and 1970s, architect Pedro Quirino da Fonseca played a key role in revitalising efforts to protect and restore monumental sites.

**ARTIS** – Like Luís Benavente, you formed a strong friendship with Fernando Batalha. Could you share insights into his methods, heritage interventions, including the most important restorations he carried out?

**JMF** – Visiting him at his Lisbon home in Restelo, where he kept an invaluable archive, was always inspiring. It contained a catalogue of files and photographs on the historical and architectural heritage of the territory, especially on research on prehistoric remains found in Angola. His research in Angola, especially in the period from the 1950s to the 1970s, covered many aspects that led to official classifications, with notable works on Luanda's *sobrados* [two-floor traditional houses] and the territory's historic settlements. His publications, including collections of works, later also produced in Portugal, were pivotal in their defence of Angola's built heritage and he played a key role in the majority of monument classifications in Angola during this period.

I would also like to highlight Fernando Batalha's remarkable contributions to uncovering and preserving Angolan heritage [fig.13, 14]. Among his invaluable discoveries was the "rediscovery" of the Pombaline-era "Iron Factory" of Nova Oeiras, along with his meticulous restoration of historic manor houses, such as the headquarters building of Diamang – now the Museum of Anthropology in Luanda. Here, he carefully preserved characteristic architectural elements like the multiple roofs and the rear courtyard with a masonry arcade, typical of Luanda's eighteenth-century residential design. His restoration of the "Old Palace" in Benguela followed the same thoughtful approach.

Batalha also designed new structures in Angola, the most prominent project being the Governor's Palace in Luanda's Upper Town – now the presidential palace, with its neoclassical facades and interiors.

For several decades, Batalha single-handedly took on the vast and complex task of conserving Angola's architectural heritage. His legacy deserves immense respect.



Fig. 13. View of the chancel of the Cathedral of São Salvador do Congo, in M'banza Kongo, Angola (photo by Fernando Batalha)



Fig. 14. Archaeological excavation at Quicombo Fort (Angola) by Fernando Batalha, 1973 (photo by Fernando Batalha)

When I visited him, then a nonagenarian in Lisbon, he shared extensive documentation with me, some of which I was able to publish. He spoke with fervour about his years in Angola and the sites and monuments he devoted his life to preserving.

**ARTIS** – I imagine that during your visits to Angola, José, you observed some of Fernando Batalha’s restoration work. Would you say his approach differed from the methods used in Portugal at the time by the DGEMN, or was it simply an extension of them? For example, Baltazar Castro’s heritage work in Portuguese India continued his earlier methods from the 1930s and 1940s metropolis, which were later considered outdated in Portugal.

**JMF** – Yes, I visited the charming little Nazareth Church on Luanda’s Marginal [Seafront Avenue], which was classified as a heritage site in 1922 – the first building to receive such status – and likely restored by Batalha in the 1930s, placing an impressive tombstone in 1938 in one of the side ventilation galleries, marking in Latin the visit of Óscar Carmona, President of the Portuguese Republic, whom he refers to as *Dux – Il Duxel!*; I also visited the Anthropology Museum across the city, which he restored in 1961, and which showcases his respect for traditional materials and forms. His restoration of the Carmel Convent complex downtown is another example. Batalha’s approach was contemporary for its time, aligned with the concept of “reintegration” in Portugal, where traditional materials were preserved and reconstructed if needed. He had an extensive understanding of each work’s context, typology, and materials, which was evident in his careful and knowledgeable interventions. And, significantly, he wrote and published extensively in Luanda on the city’s most important buildings and architectural works.

**ARTIS** – In Mozambique, architect Pedro Quirino da Fonseca, who arrived in 1962, led the local heritage commission. Like Batalha in Angola, he conducted various studies that were later published in the *Monumenta* bulletin of the Historical Monuments and Relics Commission. His primary focus was on the the jewel of Mozambique’s architectural heritage, Mozambique Island, a site that later earned UNESCO World Heritage status, largely due to his efforts. Although you didn’t work closely with him, could you share any observations on Quirino da Fonseca’s contributions in the field of heritage in Mozambique?

**JMF** – I met him briefly in Lisbon in the 1980s, but when I visited Mozambique Island in 2001, I saw first-hand the care he invested in the Bulwark Chapel and the Government Palace. Sadly, a lack of regular maintenance since Mozambique’s independence had led to significant degradation, worsened when a cyclone later struck the island. The fortress was in disrepair when I visited, with wooden floors damaged, and the whole complex looked abandoned in 2001. I have heard that the palace has recently been restored as the Mozambique Island Museum after being looted during the civil war in the 1980s.

Numerous studies and publications, including *Monumenta*, with nine annual issues from 1965 to 1973, documented Mozambique’s architectural heritage with high-quality graphics and content, often featuring Quirino da Fonseca’s direct input. From 1964, his key contributions to the study and restoration of monuments include the St Paul Palace on Mozambique Island as the Museum of Decorative Arts; the church and former Misericórdia [Mercy] Hospital, now the Museum of Sacred Art [fig.15]; and, in Lourenço Marques [Maputo], the Our Lady of Conception Fortress and the Yellow House [Casa Amarela], serving as the Military Museum and City Museum, respectively.

**ARTIS** – Returning to you, Milú, after the integration of Goa, and Daman and Diu into the Indian Union, your family settled in Mozambique and remained there for about 13 years until independence. Was this move influenced by Alexandre Lobato, who lived there?

**MLJ** – For many Goans, including my parents, who were civil servants at the Ministry for the Overseas Territories, the natural next step was Mozambique. My father, after working on research on Nagar-Haveli in Goa, he dedicated himself to teaching, first in Goa (with the support of Vassalo e Silva) and then in Mozambique.



**Fig. 15.** Visit to the Museum of Sacred Art when it was inaugurated, idealised by Governor Baltazar Rebelo de Sousa, Quirino da Fonseca and Alexandre Lobato (among others), in the former hospital of the Holy House of Mercy, in Mozambique Island, Mozambique (source: *Monumenta*, n.º 6, 1970)

In Mozambique, he worked at the Provincial Directorate of Education Services (the equivalent of a regional directorate of education and culture), heading the department for “Cults and Cultural Institutions”. This role led him to contribute to *Monumenta*.

I remember Lobato’s enthusiasm at the late 1970s inaugurations of the Iron House [Casa de Ferro], reconstructed thanks to him, and the Yellow House [Casa Amarela] in Lourenço Marques. He undoubtedly played a major role in their restoration alongside Quirino da Fonseca.

**ARTIS** – What was it like growing up in Mozambique at that time? Were you aware of the significance of Mozambican cultural heritage? How did local communities perceive and preserve this heritage?

**MU** – We must remember it was still a colony. My final years in secondary school were marked by a form of apartheid, with only a few non-white students. Adriano Moreira’s 1961 reforms ended the official “indigenous” status and curbed discriminatory practices, but Mozambique remained a colony, rebranded as an Overseas Province in 1951.

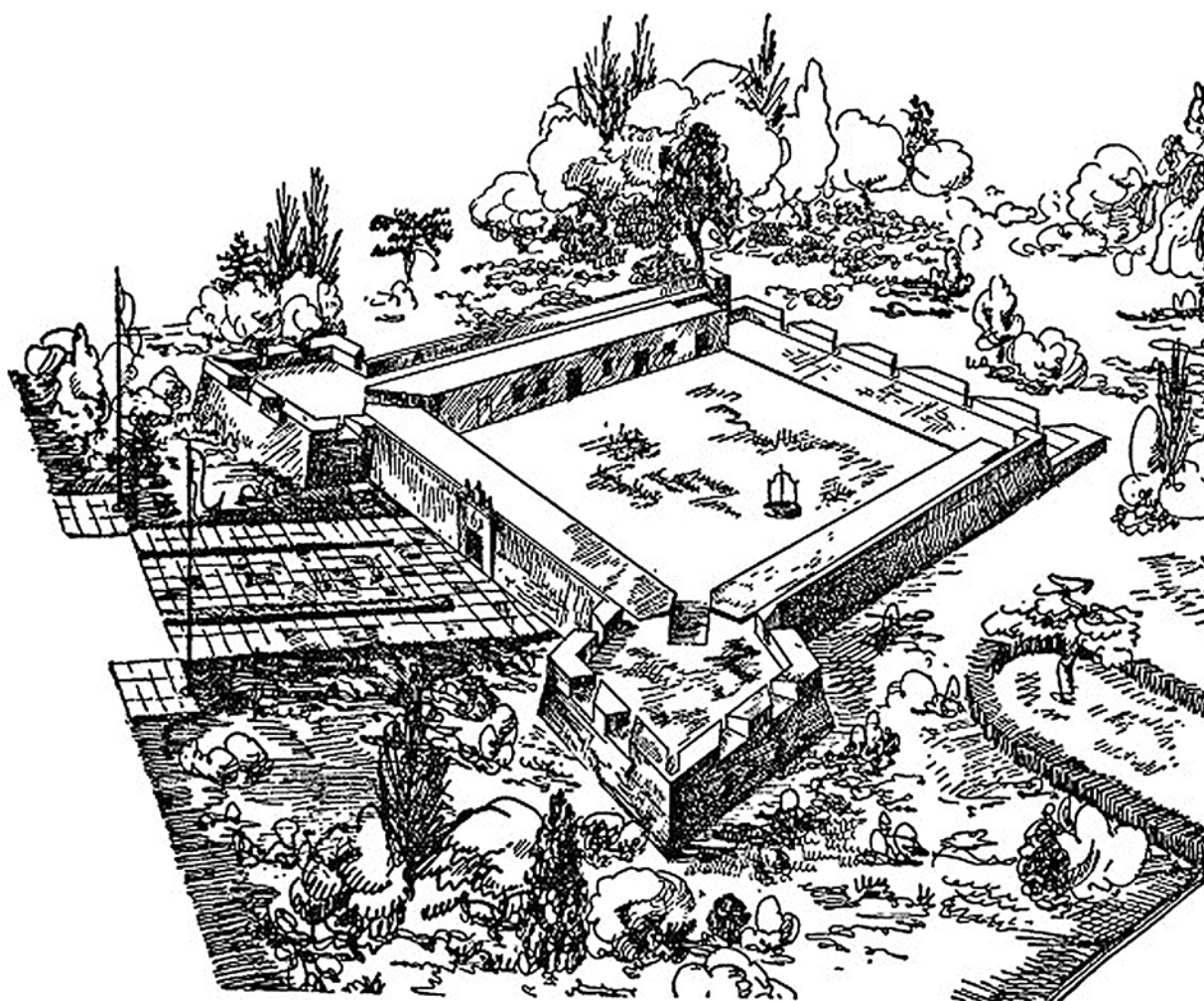


Fig. 16. Perspective of the Our Lady of Conception Fort in Maputo (Mozambique), 1945; this drawing was a study for the reconstruction of the monument by Areal e Silva, being later adapted for a military-historical museum by Quirino da Fonseca (source: *Moçambique – Documentário Trimestral* n.º43, 1945)

The city where I grew up, Lourenço Marques, now Maputo, was thoroughly modern, with few historical monuments. Apart from the Yellow House, the mock city fortress [fig.16], and the small old downtown (now decaying), the city reflected modern architecture of outstanding quality. Builders from many countries contributed to creating the city, from Britain, South Africa, Greece, Italy, and India, as well as Portugal.

Mozambique was somewhat distanced from the Salazarist regime and attracted dissenters – architects, artists, writers, and lawyers – creating a cosmopolitan atmosphere in Lourenço Marques that Jorge de Sena described after his visit in 1972: “Meeting personally people like José Craveirinha, Rui Knopfli, Eugénio Lisboa and Rui Nougar, Glória de Santana, Sebastião Alba, the painter António Quadros, who is also the poet João Grabato Dias, one of the most remarkable revelations of recent years, (...) is something that doesn’t happen every day in the Portuguese-speaking world”.

Mozambique combines East and West in a unique “Indic” blend, a “miraculous fusion of civilizations”, as Jorge de Sena put it. Heritage sites like Ibo Island and Mozambique Island reflect this layered history, shaped by Arab, Swahili, and Portuguese influences, among others.

**ARTIS** – Half a century after the Portuguese colonial period, with young people in the ex-colonies not having experienced the reality of colonial rule, how do postcolonial issues affect the heritage landscape there? Do you think there's still a long way to go before Portuguese-influenced heritage can be seen purely as a cultural asset without the ideological weight?

**MLJ** – In Mozambique, I don't think there's that negative burden. Sometimes, there are cases of mismanagement of the modern architecture they inherited. For instance, Pancho Guedes' iconic "Laughing Lion" [*O Leão que Ri*] building is in a state of "total Africanisation". The issue is that meaning of heritage can differ here from the West.

**JMF** – Inevitably, the ideological weight of colonisation will persist for many years to come, reinforced by the "woke culture". In terms of architectural heritage, there were some significant positive contributions, as I have mentioned – 20<sup>th</sup>-century legislation for monument classification and restoration. But ideology often distorts studies and analysis, mixing unrelated issues. Concepts like "postcolonial" and even "decolonial" (!) seem to be wielded by academics with an almost exclusive focus on colonial harm, which is an oversimplification and sometimes simply not true. It's much more complex than the stark "black and white" narrative often presented.

To progress, we must calmly research and disseminate information without negative ideological filters, sharing the historical facts, events, works, and the people involved. And we must have hope and faith that objectivity and a balanced view of history will emerge over time, recognising all aspects of events.

**ARTIS** – Any final thoughts on studying and preserving Portuguese-influenced heritage worldwide?

**MLJ** – Each country must independently address the heritage it has inherited. However, the present-day problems of these countries are so huge that the heritage issues become irrelevant – just look at Mozambique, for instance.

**JMF** – Building solid, objective knowledge should be the priority. While history isn't entirely objective, striving for objectivity is crucial. As José Mattoso told me, "knowledge is power!" – but only if it's accurate and truthful or, at the very least, seeks the truth.

**ARTIS** – Thank you both for sharing your insights and expertise. It was a pleasure to talk with you both. We are deeply grateful.

# CARLOS BAPTISTA GARVO THE YOUNGER – MASTER MASON

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## ABSTRACT

In the history of Portuguese art, there has often been some misunderstanding regarding the artistic work of the Garvo family, originally from Italy. Some members of this family arrived in Portugal at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and, for three generations, carried out artistic work, participating in several major projects until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This essay aims to help rectify these misconceptions by analysing primary documentation from various historical archives. It also clarifies the family's relationship in Portugal while simultaneously listing a number of works attributed to some of its members.

## KEYWORDS

Carlos Baptista Garvo | Master builder | Stone inlay | Garvo family

## INITIAL NOTES

Among the Italian artists active in Portugal during the 17th and 18th centuries, members of the Garvo family stand out. Their work in the field of stone masonry and importation began in the 1670s with the arrival of Giovanni Battista Garove II in Lisbon (Vale, 2013: 175-177; Vale, 2004: 327, 329; Spiriti, 2015: 121; Raggi, 2020: 216-217).

Coming from Genoa, Giovanni Battista Garove II, known in Portugal as João Baptista Garvo, arrived in Lisbon with his wife, Maria Antónia, and their son Carlos Baptista Garvo [Carlo Giovanni Battista] (Spirit, 2015: 120-121; Raggi, 2020: 216-217; Coutinho, 2010: 132).

Research on the Garvo family in Portugal has focused primarily on those involved in Johannine projects, particularly the *Real Obra de Mafra* (Mafra Royal Works). This includes Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Elder* [Carlo Giovanni Battista], and his son António Baptista Garvo (Carvalho, 1964: 9-10; 436; Vale, 2013: 175-181; Raggi, 2020: 216-217; Simões, 2022: 258).

This study examines the professional career and works of Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Younger*, the son and namesake of Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Elder*. Their shared name has caused confusion, leading to misunderstandings about both his lineage and the authorship of certain works, resulting in a lack of recognition of his professional career (Vale, 2013: 180; Meco, Serrão, 2022: 492-493; Simões, 2022: 352; 384).

## JOÃO BAPTISTA GARVO [GIOVANNI BATTISTA GARVOVE II] (1644-1691)

Before coming to Portugal, João Baptista Garvo was hired in Genoa in May 1673 by Girolando Gheri to travel to Lisbon with immediate effect (Filippi, 2013: 63). There, he worked on the reconstruction of the Church of Nossa Senhora do Loreto, a project he had already contributed to by August 1673 (Vale, 2004: 55-57).

Although he left this project in 1677 (Filippi, 2013: 64), he remained in Lisbon, continuing his stone import business (Vale, 2006: 251), working as a master stonemason (Vale, 2013: 176-177; Ayres de Carvalho, 1964: 350-352), and participating in the construction of the Church of Santo Antão dos Jesuítas in Lisbon<sup>1</sup>. His involvement in this latter project ceased after June 1691<sup>2</sup>, no further records mentioning his work.

1. ANTT – Cartório dos Jesuítas, [1689-1691], Mç. 11. N.º 9. cf. Teresa Vale, *Os Garvo...*, 2013, p. 176.

2. ANTT – Cartório dos Jesuítas, Mç. 11. N.º 92, f. 66 back.

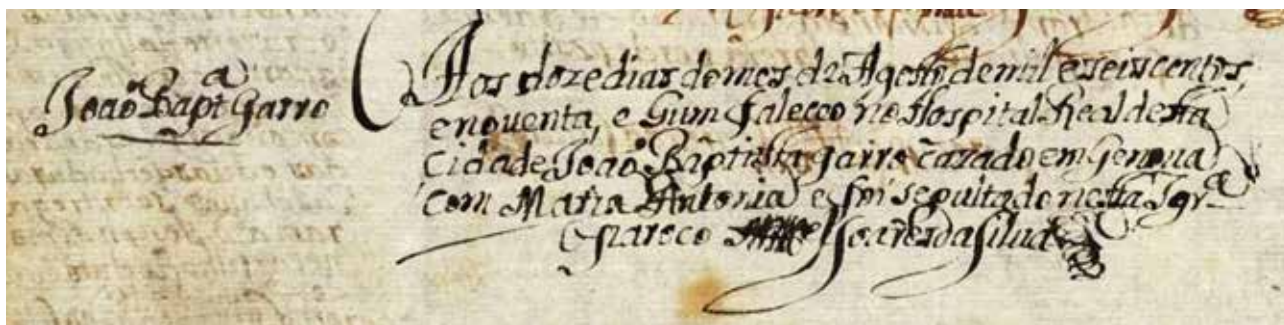


Fig. 01. Death certificate of João Baptista Garvo, in 1691 (source: ANTT – Assentos paroquiais, Loreto, L O1, f.4 - 1679-1778. Cf. Filippi, 2013: 64. Nota 13)

He died on 12 August 1691, at the Royal Hospital of Lisbon<sup>3</sup> [fig.01]. By then, payments for the work were already being handled by his son, Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Elder*, with receipts from September 1691 and December 1692 being signed in his father’s name<sup>4</sup>.

## CARLOS BAPTISTA GARVO *THE ELDER* ( ? -1724)

The work of Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Elder*, has been extensively studied, showcasing his diverse roles as a master builder, stone inlayer, sculptor, draughtsman, and marble importer (Carvalho, 1962: 170-174, 203, 239-240, 345-347, 352-355; Vale, 2013: 177-180; Vale, 2006: 251; Coutinho, , 2010, 131-133; Raggi, 2020: 215-216; Simões, 2022: 254).

In 1718, Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Elder*, was hired as the master mason for the Convent of Mafra<sup>5</sup>, a position he held until 1723<sup>6</sup>. He died on 27 May 1724 in the parish of Anjos, Lisbon, and was buried at the Church of Anjos. He left no will<sup>7</sup>. Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Elder*, married Mariana do Espírito Santo in 1691<sup>8</sup>, and together they had nine children, all of whom were baptised in the Church of Anjos in Lisbon [tab.01].

<b>Child</b>	Antonio	Teresa de Jesus	Pedro	Josefa	Eusebio	Maria	José	Carlos	João
<b>Year of birth</b>	1692	1693	1695	1698	1701	1704	1707	1710	1714
<b>Godfather</b>	João Tomás Garçe	Manuel Ferreira de Brito	Diogo Marchão Temudo	Francisco da Cunha Bellem	Manuel Jorge	Francisco Gomes	Nicolau de Sequeira	Bisconde Dom Tomáz de Lima	João Rodrigues Esteves

Tab. 1. The names of the children of Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Elder*, born in the parish of Anjos, in Lisbon, and their godparents (source: author).

3. ANTT – Assentos paroquiais, Loreto, L O1, f.4 - 1679-1778. Cf. Filippi, 2013: 64.  
 4. ANTT – Cartório dos Jesuítas, [1691-1692], Mç. 67. N.º 38.  
 5. ANTT – 15 CNL. Lv. 491. Cx. 89, f. 24-24v. Cf. Ayres de Carvalho, 1962: 345-346.  
 6. ANTT – Paróquia de Mafra, L. B1. Cx. 3, f. 75 - 1677-1745.  
 7. ANTT – Assentos paroquiais, Anjos, L. 03, f. 61 - 1716-1740.  
 8. ANTT – Assentos paroquiais, Anjos, L. C.2. - Cx 24, f. 360 v. 1666-1692. cf. Ayres de Carvalho, *D. João V e a Arte...* Vol. II, 1962: 147.

While António and Carlos followed in their father's footsteps as master masons, four of their sons – Pedro, Eusébio, José, and João – became ecclesiastics: Pedro Baptista Garvo (1695-?) was a *mosso de Choro desta Santa Sé* (choirboy at the Cathedral of Lisbon)<sup>10</sup> and by 1722 had become a priest – he is reported to have gone to Rome<sup>11</sup>; Eusébio Baptista Garvo was ordained around 1721<sup>12</sup> and became the *Capellam Cantor da Sta Basilica Patriarcha* (Choir Chaplain of the Patriarchal Basilica of Lisbon)<sup>13</sup>; José Baptista Garvo (1714-1774) was ordained around 1728 and served as the Prior of São Miguel de Alcainça (Mafra), where he died on 29 July 1777<sup>14</sup> – he also wrote *Memórias Paroquiais de São Miguel de Alcainça*<sup>15</sup> (Cosme, Varandas, 2009: 411-412); and João Baptista Garvo (1714-?) is mentioned only in his brother's will<sup>16</sup>, which indicates he was a *Frei da 3ª Ordem de São Francisco* (member of the Third Order of St. Francis) and was still alive in 1753.

The other two sons, António and Carlos, carried on their father's profession, continuing both the stone trade and masonry work. Of the two, António Baptista Garvo (1692–1774) is better known in Portuguese historiography due to his involvement in royal projects such as the Mafra Monument and the Águas Livres Aqueduct (Carvalho, 1962: 351-352, 354; Serrão, 2012: 137-138; Vale, 2013: 180-182; Raggi, 2020: 216-217; Moita, 1990: 100).

Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Younger*, was named after his father, which has led to confusion about his professional career and identity (Vale, 2013: 180; Meco, Serrão, 2022: 492-493; Simões, 2022: 342; 354).

## CARLOS BAPTISTA GARVO *THE YOUNGER* (1710-1753)

### *EPHEMERIDES; PERSONAL LIFE*

Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Younger*, was born in the parish of Anjos on 16 November 1710 [Tab. 01]. His godfather was the Viscount of Ponte de Lima, Dom Thomaz de Lima<sup>17</sup>, a dignitary of Alcainça, where Carlos' brother, José Baptista Garvo, had served as Prior (Cosme, Varandas, 2009: 411-412).

On 25 January 1744, Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Younger*, son of Carlos Batista Garvo *the Elder* (already deceased) and Mariana do Spirito Santo, married Maria Joaquina das Mercês. The witnesses to the wedding were his two brothers, Fr Pedro Baptista Garvo and António Baptista Garvo. All were living in Rua dos Anjos<sup>18</sup>.

Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Younger*, died on 25 November 1753 in Rua da Atalaia, and was buried in the Church of São Francisco da Cidade, having made a will before his death<sup>19</sup>.

10. ANTT – Câmara Eclesiástica de Lisboa, Habilitações de Genere, mç. 139 - 12 [1653-1765], f. 5.

11. ANTT – Câmara Eclesiástica de Lisboa, Habilitações de Genere, mç. 139 - 12 [1653-1765], f.36.

12. ANTT – Câmara Eclesiástica de Lisboa, Habilitações de Genere, mç. 139 - 12 [1653-1765].

13. ANTT – Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, Habilitações para a Ordem de Cristo, Letra G, mç. 2 n.º 5 - f. 20.

14. ANTT – Paróquia de São Miguel de Alcainça-L. 02. Cx. 13, f. 14, 1767-1808. Unpublished manuscript.

15. ANTT – Memórias paroquiais, Vol.1, n.º 76. 549-550.

16. ANTT – Registo Geral de Testamentos – L. 257, f. 39, 1753.

17. ANTT – Assentos paroquiais, L. B 5. Cx. 3, f. 8 v.

18. ANTT – Assentos paroquiais. Anjos. L. C 11. Cx. 36, f. 194. Unpublished manuscript.

19. ANTT – Assentos paroquiais, Encarnação. L. O11. Cx. 27, f. 320. Unpublished manuscript.

## PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

Like his father, Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Elder*, Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Younger*, was a master stonemason who participated in the construction of the Convent of Mafra<sup>20</sup>. Carlos *the Younger* likely accompanied his family to Mafra in 1718. When his father died in 1724, he was 14 years old and may have continued living in Mafra with his brother António Baptista Garvo, who had resided there from 1715, serving King John V, “exercising the office of Inspector teaching Civil Architecture in the service of His Majesty [...] being the first person to be sent to that town, to begin the Royal Works at Mafra”<sup>21</sup>, where he remained until his death in 1774<sup>22</sup>.

This family connection likely played a significant role in shaping Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Younger*’s professional training, particularly through his older brother António’s influence.

## WORKS IN WHICH HE PARTICIPATED

Identifying the works in which “*Mestre*” Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Younger*, participated proved challenging. This difficulty stems not only from the loss of notary records in the fire after the 1755 earthquake, but also from “*Mestre*” Carlos’s frequent use of direct contracts, which means his name was not always linked to major projects in official records (Simões, 2022: 496).

To address these gaps, we turned to secondary sources, which helped identify a broader range of works attributed to him, though some gaps remain, especially in the early stages of his career.

Notable among these sources are the *Dote e Contrato de Casamento* (Dowry and Marriage Contract) of Maria Joaquina das Mercês when she married her second husband, Tomás da Silva Freire<sup>23</sup>, and a related *Acção cível* (Civil Case) against T. S. Freire<sup>24</sup>. These records helped fill in some of the missing details about works he participated in.

### Mafra Palace-Convent, 1733

The earliest reference to Carlos *the Younger* dates back to 1733<sup>25</sup>, when he became part of a *sociedade* (partnership) formed for the Royal Works at Mafra. This followed a contract signed between “His Majesty and Manuel Antunes Fayo and a third party” in March 1733<sup>26</sup>.

Though no notary records for this year have been found, his involvement was confirmed through the Instrument of Settlement of Accounts for the Mafra works, dated 24<sup>th</sup> September 1765<sup>27</sup>. He is mentioned in several subsequent contracts, the last of which dates from July 1752<sup>28</sup>.

20. ANTT – 15 A CNL, L. 491. Cx. 89, fls. 24 ff. Notary: José Caetano do Vale.

21. ANTT – Ministério do Reino, mç. 749, proc. 3. Unpublished manuscript.

22. ANTT – Assentos Paroquiais. Mafra. L.02. Cx. 19, f. 122 v. 1745-1781.

23. ANTT – 2 CNL, L. 534. Cx. 114, f. 64 to f. 64 v, October 1755. Notary Bartholomew Angelo Escospezy’s notes. Unpublished manuscript.

24. ANTT – Feitos, Conservatória da Companhia Geral de Grão-Pará e Maranhão, mç. 48, n° 14, cx. 48.

25. ANTT – Livro n° 97. Cx. 27, f. 89 v.

26. ANTT – Livro n° 97. Cx. 27, f. 89 v.

27. ANTT – Livro n° 126. Cx. 41, f. 15. 1765. L. 569, Cx. 121, f. 13 to f. 14 v. 24; ANTT – 3 CNL. L. 604. Cx. 134. L. 569, Cx. 121, f. 13 to f. 14 v. 24 Setembro de 1765.

28. ANTT – Livro n° 113. Cx. 35, f. 214 back. 3; ANTT – CNL. L. 604. Cx. 134. Julho de 1765.

### Warehouses and bridge of Lisbon Customs House, 1736

In September 1736, the *Conselho da Fazenda* (Royal Treasury Council) contracted Francisco da Fonseca and Carlos Baptista to work on the warehouses and bridge of the Customs House in Lisbon<sup>29</sup>. This contract, a direct agreement due to their competitive pricing<sup>30</sup>, reflects the common practice at the time (Simões, 2022: 353-354, 496).

### Igreja de São Domingos de Lisboa, 1738

José Meco and Vítor Serrão (Meco, Serrão 2020: 492-493) hypothesise that Carlos *the Younger* contributed to the altarpiece of the Church of São Domingos in 1738, both as a supplier of marble and as a master mason<sup>31</sup>. However, since the contract or partnership deeds for this work have not been located, it is possible that the "Mestre Carlos Baptista" mentioned here is not Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Younger*<sup>32</sup>, and could be another master mason working in Lisbon at the time<sup>33</sup>, potentially the one who worked on the Customs House warehouses and bridge.

### Convent of Nossa Senhora da Piedade da Esperança, 1744

In October 1744, Carlos *the Younger* and Manuel Rodrigues signed a contract for the execution of works at the Convent of Esperança<sup>34</sup>. On 6 March 1747, a partnership between Carlos *the Younger*, Manuel Roiz and goldsmith José Inácio Nunes was formed, with the latter providing the necessary funds<sup>35</sup>. Also in March of that year, they signed two further contracts for the execution of the works at the Convent of Esperança<sup>36</sup>. In 1748, Carlos *the Younger* and José Inácio Nunes transferred their contractual obligations to Manuel Roiz, by means of an instrument of *Quitação geral* (Overall Discharge)<sup>37</sup>.

The terms of the Overall Discharge with the convent were fulfilled on 21 March 1753, a few months before Carlos *the Younger's* death<sup>38</sup>. There was a dispute with the convent<sup>39</sup>, involving work on houses in the convent garden (it transpired that building work on constructions in the vegetable garden was forbidden by the Council of Trent<sup>40</sup>), which was resolved with a settlement worth 561\$117, involving the payment of alms to the convent, thus marking the end of this long-term project.

### Palace of the Count of Ponte, 1749

In March 1749 a contract of works and obligation was established between the Count of Ponte on the one hand and Francisco Ferreira and José da Costa on the other hand<sup>41</sup>. In August 1750, a partnership was formed for the reconstruction of houses that belonged to the Count in Rua das Esteiras, between Francisco Ferreira and José Costa on the one hand and Carlos *the Younger*, Manuel Franco and Manuel da Costa Luna on the other hand<sup>42</sup>. As there are notary records available for 1749, the content of the contract could not be determined; however, the Dowry and Marriage Contract of Maria Joaquina das Mercês confirms Carlos *the Younger's* participation in these works. By October 1755, payments from the palace were still owed to his heiress<sup>43</sup>.

29. ANTT – Livro n.º 100, cx. 29. f. 115.

30. Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Série Azul, n.º 489, fls. 124-125. cf. Simões, 2022, Vol. 2, p. 496.

31. ANTT – Ordem dos Pregadores, Mosteiro de São Domingos de Lisboa. L. 93 [06-05-1738 to 02-1743].

32. ANTT – Livro n.º 113. Cx. 35. f. 105.

33. ANTT – Livro n.º 113. Cx. 35. f. 109 v.

34. ANTT – Livro n.º 105. Cx. 31 f. 157.

35. ANTT – Livro n.º 108. Cx. 32 f. 230. 3; ANTT – CNL. L. 576. Cx. 130. f. 97 to f. 98 v, 1747.

36. ANTT – 3 CNL. L. 576. Cx. 130. fls. 97 - 98 v, 1747.

37. ANTT – Livro n.º 109. Cx.33. f. 240. 3; ANTT – CNL. 586. Cx. 131. f. 30 to f. 31.

38. ANTT – Livro n.º 114. Cx. 35. f. 216.

39. ANTT – 3 CNL. L. 606. Cx.135. f. 34 v. Notary António Rodrigues Marques. 1753.

40. ANTT – 3 CNL. L. 606. Cx.135. f. 35. Notary: António Rodrigues Marques. 1753.

41. ANTT – Livro n.º 110. Cx. 33, f. 124.

42. ANTT – L. Distribuidor n.º 111. Cx. 34, f. 123.

43. ANTT – Livro n.º 534. Cx. 114 f. 64-f. 64 v. 2; ANTT – CNL - October 11, 1755. Notary: Bartholomeu Angelo Escopezzy.

### Works executed with António Pedroso, 1751

In March 1751, Carlos *the Younger* and António Alvares signed a “Contract and Agreement” with António Pedroso<sup>44</sup>, followed the same month by a “Declaration of Intent”. Although the content of the contract could not be determined, as notary José António Soares left no notes for that year, secondary sources confirm that Pedroso owed money to Carlos’s heirs, as recorded in the “Dowry and Marriage Contract”.

### Royal Works of Tanoaria and Salvaterra de Magos, 1752

In 1752, Carlos *the Younger* participated in two sets of royal works: those of the Opera House at Tanoaria in Lisbon and those of the construction of a royal palace at Salvaterra de Magos. Gregório Ferreira da Maia was awarded the contract for the latter in a deed signed by the Count de Soure on 24 April 1752. The records of Manuel Passos de Carvalho, private notary of the Royal House, show that a contract was drawn up for the Tanoaria works to be carried out by Ribeira das Naus on 7 July 1752. João Pedro Ludovice, for the King, along with master masons Manuel Antunes Feyo and Manuel Francisco de Sousa, as private contractors, also representing others masons, were also parties to the contract<sup>45</sup>. A partnership<sup>46</sup> was formed in July 1752 for the royal works of the Tanoaria Opera House<sup>47</sup> and the Palace of Salvaterra<sup>48</sup> involving a large number of master builders, including Carlos *the Younger*, its content appearing in secondary sources<sup>49</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

The works of July 1752 may have been the last in which “Mestre” Carlos *the Younger* participated, as he died in November 1753. His contributions to a variety of projects, including several sets of royal works, demonstrate his significance as a master mason. However, the early stage of his career remains largely unexplored, likely linked to collaborations with his brother António.

This study has helped clarify the distinction between Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Elder*, and his son, Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Younger*, resolving long-standing misperception in Portuguese art historiography regarding members of this family of Italian master craftsmen who settled in Portugal. Their respective signatures [fig.02,03] clearly distinguish the father and the son.

44. ANTT – Livro n.º 112. Cx. 34, f. 116.

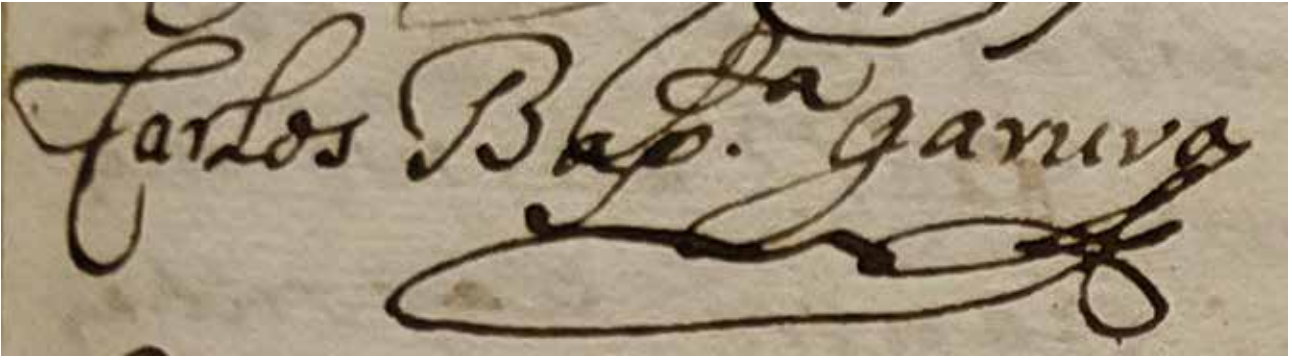
45. ANTT – Feitos, Conservatória da Companhia Geral de Grão-Pará e Maranhão, mç. 48, n.º 14, cx. 48, f. 16 to f. 17.

46. ANTT – Livro n.º 113. Cx. 35 f. 114 v. 3; ANTT – CNL. L. 604. Cx. 134. f. 10 v to f.12.

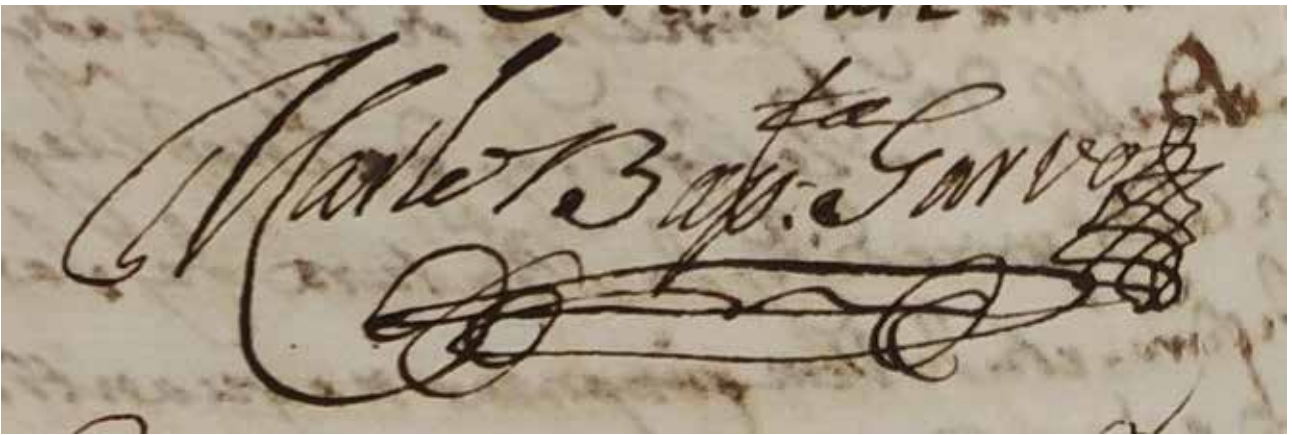
47. ANTT – Cartório privativo da Real Coroa. L. 2. Cx. 1, f. 12 to f. 14.

48. ANTT – Cartório privativo da Real Coroa. L. 2. Cx. 1, f. 12 to f. 14.

49. ANTT – Feitos, Conservatória da Companhia Geral de Grão-Pará e Maranhão, mç. 48, n.º 14, cx. 48, f. 8; ANTT – Conselho da Fazenda, Justificações do Reino, Letra T, mç. 8, n.º 18, fls. 10 v to 20. 1780.

A close-up photograph of a handwritten signature in dark ink on aged, yellowish paper. The signature reads "Carlos Baptista Garvo" in a highly decorative, cursive script. The letters are interconnected, with large loops and flourishes, particularly under the 'G' and 'v'. The ink is dark and the paper shows some signs of age and wear.

**Fig. 02.** Signature of Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Elder*, in 1718 (source: ANTT – 15 A CNL, L. 491. Cx. 89, f. 25 v, 1718. Tabelião José Caetano do Vale)

A close-up photograph of a handwritten signature in dark ink on aged, yellowish paper. The signature reads "Carlos Baptista Garvo" in a cursive script, similar to the one in Fig. 02 but with more pronounced flourishes and a more complex, dense ending. The ink is dark and the paper shows some signs of age and wear.

**Fig. 03.** Signature of Carlos Baptista Garvo *the Younger*, in 1753 (source: ANTT – 3 CNL L. 606. Cx. 135. Fls. 34 v-35 v. Tabelião António Rodrigues Marques)

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# THE WORK OF ANTÓNIO MENDES COUTINHO – NOTES ON THE BAROQUE ARCHITECTURE IN LAMEGO AND VISEU

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## ABSTRACT

António Mendes Coutinho, master mason and architect active in the Portuguese dioceses of Lamego and Viseu in the mid-1700s, is considered to be a disciple of the Italian architect Nicolau Nasoni, who had worked in the region of Porto. Mendes Coutinho is related to the construction of numerous of the most important examples of baroque architecture in the region of Lamego and Viseu, and is frequently indicated as the author of those projects. However, several authors also highlight the hypothesis that some of these works may have another authors, yet unknown and later succeeded by Mendes Coutinho. A careful observation of the chronology, documentation and characteristics of the various works allows the supporting of this hypothesis, as explained through this brief essay.

## KEYWORDS

António Mendes Coutinho | Architecture | Lamego | Viseu | Baroque

## INTRODUCTION

In the realm of 18<sup>th</sup>-century Portuguese architectural history, the northern regions stand out for their distinctive Baroque and Rococo characteristics. Among the notable figures in this domain, Nicolau Nasoni, born in Tuscany, Italy, holds a prominent position. His arrival in Porto in late 1725 marked the beginning of his influential role as a catalyst, promoter, and formulator of new architectural paradigms in the region's principal artistic hubs.

A figure often intertwined with Nasoni's narrative is António Mendes Coutinho, a master stonemason active in Lamego and Viseu during the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. Coutinho's association with Nasoni is exemplified through their collaboration on the reconstruction of Lamego Cathedral, where the first worked as master stonemason and the second contributed by painting the vaults of the three naves. Mendes Coutinho's footprint extends further, as evidenced by his involvement in various architectural projects across the dioceses of Lamego and Viseu, including noble residences, the Church of the Sanctuary of Nossa Senhora dos Remédios in Lamego (built from 1750), and several churches in Viseu, such as those for the Oratorians of Saint Philip Neri, the Third Order of São Francisco, and Nossa Senhora da Conceição, all designed in 1757.

However, scholarly discourse offers alternative perspectives on Mendes Coutinho's role. M. Gonçalves da Costa and Lucinda Barros Pinto propose that Mendes Coutinho may have functioned solely as a master stonemason on certain projects, rather than as an architect. Their research suggests that while he may have contributed significantly to the construction of the Sanctuary of Nossa Senhora dos Remédios, the architectural design may have originated from an unidentified architect (Costa, 1986: 637; Pinto, 1997: 85). This debate underscores the complexities of attributing roles within historical architectural endeavors.

Through a careful examination of Mendes Coutinho's life trajectory and closely analyzing the architectural features of the structures he built, taking into account the chronology and the available documentation on these buildings, it becomes possible to delineate the extent of his participation both as a master mason and as an architect.

## MENDES COUTINHO'S LIFE PATH

António Mendes Coutinho's birth and death records remain unknown, primarily due to the absence of corresponding documentation. Nevertheless, numerous references to his life can be found across various sources, with his application file for qualification to the Holy Office offering the most comprehensive insights into his background and professional milieu<sup>1</sup>.

1. "Diligências de António Mendes Coutinho, homem de negocio, n.al da freg.º de São Miguel de Fontoura, tr.º de Vallença do Minho, Arcebisp.º de Braga, e m.os na Cid.e de Lamego, casado com Engracia Maria" – Torre do Tombo National Archive – PT/TT/TSO-CG/A/008-001/2931; Archive – TSO-CG, Habilitações, António, mc. 158, doc. 2495.

Dating from 1765 to 1766, this application process contains significant details about Mendes Coutinho's family origins, revealing his birthplace as Coronel in Fontoura (*São Miguel*), within the municipality of Valença. It also sheds light on the familial background of his wife, Engrácia Maria, who was born in Lamego.

The application dossier portrays Mendes Coutinho not only as an architect but also as a successful businessman based in Lamego. It notes his reputable leather store and substantial annual income. Furthermore, it attests to his property ownership, literacy, lack of illegitimate children, and age, indicating that he was born before 1720.

Additional insights into Mendes Coutinho's life are offered in M. Gonçalves da Costa's monograph of the Diocese of Lamego. It confirms his early settlement in Lamego, with records indicating his involvement in the cathedral's reconstruction from at least 1736. Initially serving as an official stonemason, he later ascended to the role of master stonemason, overseeing the site until at least 1754.

A notable detail highlighted by Gonçalves da Costa is a receipt from late 1738 for Cathedral work, signed by an intermediary colleague on Mendes Coutinho's behalf, because he did not know how to write (Costa, 1986: 585). This underscores doubts regarding his capacity to independently design complex projects merely a decade later.

Mendes Coutinho's marital union with Engrácia Maria on 15 April 1736, witnessed by fellow stonemasons João Martins and António Ribeiro, further solidifies his ties within the professional community attached to the cathedral's reconstruction (Costa, 1986: 324). Subsequently, on 20 March 1740 he established a company with his fellow master stonemasons in Lamego, João Lourenço, Manuel Monteiro Supico, and João Martins (Costa, 1986: 367).

In 1749-1750, Mendes Coutinho assumed the role of caretaker (*mordomo-zelador*) of the confraternity of Nossa Senhora dos Remédios in Lamego, maintaining this position until at least 1760 (Pinto, 1997: 84). These various roles and engagements provide a multifaceted portrait of his life and contributions within the architectural and social fabric of his era.

## MENDES COUTINHO'S PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY

The initial records of António Mendes Coutinho's activity emerge in conjunction with the reconstruction endeavors of Lamego's cathedral, commencing in the 1730s. Originating from the medieval era, the cathedral had significantly deteriorated by the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (Frias, 2013: 226). Despite the diocesan Chapter's efforts to engage Lamego's bishops, substantial renewal only commenced during the vacant seat period in 1733 (Frias, 2013: 226-227).

During this period, Lamego's Chapter summoned architect-carver Miguel Francisco da Silva from Porto in 1733 to draft a renovation or reconstruction plan (Frias, 2013: 227). However, in the subsequent year, architects António Pereira and Nicolau Nasoni, were also called upon for the same purpose (Frias, 2013: 228). Ultimately, António Pereira's proposal was chosen over Nicolau Nasoni's (Frias, 2013: 229). Pereira's design entailed a comprehensive reconstruction while preserving the Lamego cathedral's three-naved internal layout, akin to the original structure.

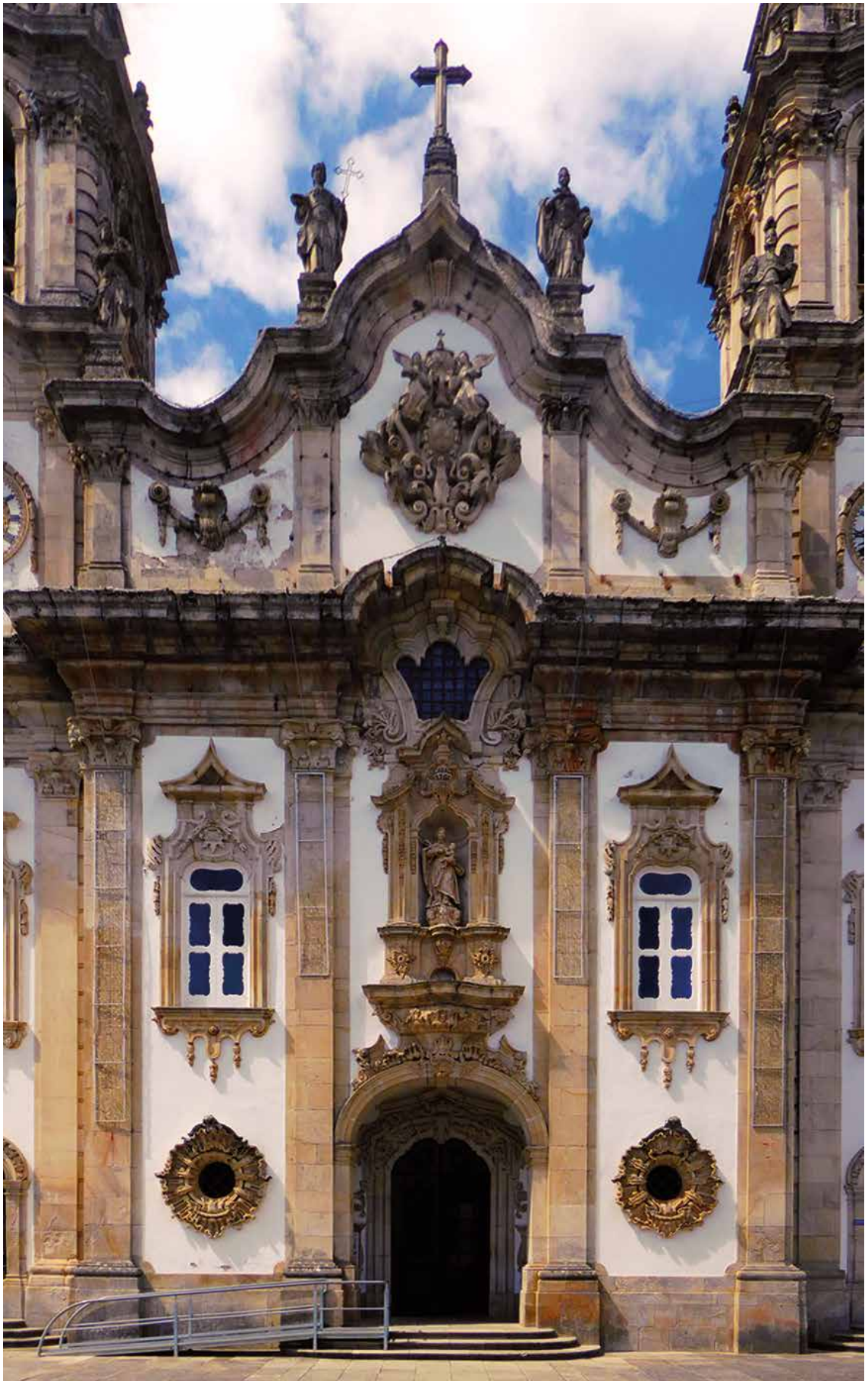


Fig. 01. Church of the Nossa Senhora dos Remédios Sanctuary, Lamego, view of the oldest part of the façade (source: author)

Miguel Francisco da Silva, António Pereira and Nicolau Nasoni were renowned for their renovation of Porto's cathedral. This medieval building underwent extensive renovation during a period of vacancy within the Diocese of Porto, which took place from 1717 onwards. António Pereira started his work here in 1719 (Ferreira-Alves, 1987: I - 169), later joined by Nicolau Nasoni in 1725 (Ferreira-Alves, 1987: I - 105), and then by Miguel Francisco da Silva in 1727. Together, these three architects/artists collaborated on numerous enhancements to the cathedral and its attached buildings. Beyond the confines of the Porto cathedral construction site, these architects/artists had already left a relevant mark on Porto's cityscape by the time they were called to Lamego. António Pereira's notable contributions include the design of the São João Novo manor house, completed in 1725 (Ferreira-Alves, 1987: I - 151). It is likely that António Pereira was also responsible for designing the architectural plans of the Santo Ildefonso Church, where he worked as a master stonemason (Ferreira-Alves, 1987: I - 153). Nicolau Nasoni was the architect of the Clérigos Church, whose construction began in 1731. The first phases of construction of this church were supervised by Antonio Pereira and Miguel Francisco da Silva.

Lamego's cathedral underwent its first reconstruction phase from 1735 to 1739, focusing on the reconstruction of the three naves, embellished with vault paintings by Nicolau Nasoni, setting it apart from subsequent construction phases beginning in 1746 (Frias, 2020-21: 104).

António Mendes Coutinho assumed the role of master stonemason during the Lamego cathedral's initial reconstruction phase in 1736, alongside João Martins and António Ribeiro (Frias, 2013: 229), who were witnesses to his marriage to Engrácia Maria. Of all the master stonemasons engaged in the Cathedral's reconstruction, Mendes Coutinho maintained the longest tenure on-site. He also oversaw the subsequent phases of work involving the chancel, sacristy, dome, and the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament. During the 1750s, he secured contracts regarding the construction of several wooden carved altarpieces within the Cathedral's interior (Ferreira-Alves, 2008: 90).

Undoubtedly, Mendes Coutinho's association with the diocesan Chapter of Lamego led to his appointment as caretaker of the Confraternity of Nossa Senhora dos Remédios in 1749. By early 1750, he assumed responsibility for overseeing the construction of the new church at the Marian sanctuary, situated atop a hill near the city, a project initiated by Canon José Pinto Teixeira (Pinto, 1997: 65) [fig.01].

The original church, largely reflecting its present-day form, underwent some modifications in the 1800s, notably to the alteration of the facade's upper section, the erection of two bell towers, and an annex behind the sacristy. The construction embodies several key elements. The exterior facade is characterized by a square figure delineated by pilasters, crowned by an interrupted cornice, and raised by an irregular silhouette. Flanking it are distinct volumes comprising the nave, a lengthy low structure, and the chancel, towering with a pyramidal roof atop a quadrangular base [fig.02]. Inside, the nave features curved side walls converging at the triumphal arch, a notable architectural feature for the era [fig.03]. Additionally, the chancel boasts an octagonal floor plan, contributing to its unique interior layout. The ornate Rocaille-style sculptural embellishments adorning both the exterior facades and interior spaces are striking features of the church.

Scholars and historians posit various theories regarding the church's architectural authorship. While certain studies attribute the design to Nicolau Nasoni, some suggest that Mendes Coutinho worked solely as a master stonemason, executing plans crafted by an unnamed architect. The first hypothesis is deemed improbable by Gonçalves da Costa (Costa, 1986: 637). Lucinda Barros Pinto, aligned with da Costa's viewpoint, proposes António Pereira, known for his work on Lamego's cathedral naves, as the likely architect (Pinto, 1997: 93). However, the marked differences between this section of Lamego's cathedral and the Marian sanctuary church challenge such attributions.



**Fig. 02.** Church of the Nossa Senhora dos Remédios Sanctuary, Lamego, view of the lateral façade (source: author)



**Fig. 03.** Church of the Nossa Senhora dos Remédios Sanctuary, Lamego, view of the nave towards the chancel (source: author)

This church bears a striking resemblance to the chancel of Lamego's cathedral, whose construction works started merely four years prior. Notably, the curvature of the side walls as they approach the arch framing the main altarpiece mirrors the architectural configuration of the cathedral's chancel. Similarly, the posterior facade of the cathedral's chancel is structured around a square form, culminating in an irregular silhouette, akin to the sanctuary church's design. Moreover, both feature rocaille ornamentation, though the cathedral's adornments lack the lavishness of the sanctuary church.

Gonçalves da Costa speculates about a payment made to a friar from Coimbra, possibly indicating his involvement in the cathedral's post-1746 works (Costa, 1986: 589). Documentation reveals a payment to this friar on 2 July 1752, purportedly for the chancel and sacristy washbasin projects. However, since payments typically precede construction, this payment might pertain to the main altar plans, initiated concurrently, rather than the stonework, which concluded earlier.

Although Duarte Frias attributes the second phase of the cathedral's reconstruction to Mendes Coutinho (Frias, 2020-21: 104), aligning with Gonçalves da Costa and Barros Pinto's stance on his later endeavors, we assert that the master stonemason likely executed both of these works following a designs crafted by an unidentified architect. This supposition gains traction when comparing these works with Mendes Coutinho's later activities, particularly from the late 1750s, and considering the cultural context of the neighboring Diocese of Viseu.



Fig. 04. Third Order of São Francisco Church, Viseu, view of the façade (source: author)

Some architectural attributes that highlight the Nossa Senhora dos Remédios Church are indicative of a relationship with the dominant architectural culture in Viseu, such as the planimetric organization and its volumetric development. In Viseu there were already at least two religious buildings with octagonal chancels, namely the chapel of the bishop's summer house in Fontelo (Moreira, 2000: 89-90) and the Third Order of Nossa Senhora do Carmo Church, built in 1734-38 (Castilho, 2012: 170-173). The same planimetric organization appears on a third church in Viseu, namely the Third Order of São Francisco Church, built from 1757 until 1763 under the direction of Mendes Coutinho [fig.04].

The fact that this church was built seven years after the Nossa Senhora dos Remédios Church in Lamego suggests that the architectural design had already spread to the nearby diocese before Mendes Coutinho arrived in Viseu in 1757. However, further study of this church in Viseu provides valuable information for understanding this process.

In 1757, Mendes Coutinho undertook the task of reconstructing the Third Order of São Francisco Church in Viseu. It's worth noting that the religious order had previously initiated the construction of a church in 1746 (Castilho, 2012: 175). However, nearing the completion of the masonry work in the vault, structural issues emerged, leading to the cessation of construction. The unfinished structures were subsequently demolished, resulting in the suspension of the project for several years (Castilho, 2012: 176). Construction resumed in 1757 under Mendes Coutinho's supervision, as indicated by his role as an assistant in the contract for another project, the manor house Casa da Calçada (Castilho, 2012: 218).

The Third Order of São Francisco Church shares remarkable similarities with the Nossa Senhora dos Remédios Church in Lamego. These resemblances include the octagonal interior design of the chancel and its volumetric structure, echoing the sanctuary church in Lamego. Moreover, the paired windows on the front facade closely resemble those of the Marian sanctuary church, while the interior arrangement of windows and doors exhibits nearly identical patterns in both churches. Similarly, the ornamentation on the facade and chancel of this church are similar to that of Lamego's cathedral chancel. However, the nave and side facades feature simpler ornamentation compared to Lamego's sanctuary church.

This absence of elaborate ornamentation is also evident in two other churches in Viseu, both designed by Mendes Coutinho in 1757: the Nossa Senhora da Conceição Church and the church of the convent of the Oratorians of Saint Philip Neri. Barros Pinto argues that due to planimetric disparities, Mendes Coutinho cannot be solely credited as the architect responsible for the three churches in Viseu and the Lamego church (Pinto, 1997: 85).

The Nossa Senhora da Conceição Church is a modest structure built with limited resources and a small financial allocation. In turn, the church of the Oratorians is an important work of episcopal initiative. It is in 1757 that Viseu's Bishop D. Júlio Francisco de Oliveira decided to build a church for the Oratorians' convent [fig.05], choosing a plan designed by Mendes Coutinho out of six proposals presented to him by several proponents (Castilho, 2012: 165).

The Oratorians' church shares several features with Lamego's sanctuary church and the chancel of Lamego's cathedral. However, notable differences arise in the proportions of its facade, lacking the square proportion seen in those earlier works.



Fig. 05. Church of the convent of the Oratorians of Saint Philip Neri, Viseu, view of the façade (source: author)



Fig. 06. Church of the convent of the Oratorians of Saint Philip Neri, Viseu, view of the nave (source: author)



Fig. 07. Church of the convent of the Oratorians of Saint Philip Neri, Viseu, view of the chancel (source: author)

Within the interior, the curving walls of the nave converge towards the triumphal arch, akin to Lamego's sanctuary church, albeit without its elegant geometry [fig.06]. Similarly, the side walls of this church, along with the Nossa Senhora da Conceição Church and the nave of the Franciscans' church, lack rocaille ornamentation.

The chancel of the Oratorians' church features large windows and doors, echoing designs seen in Lamego's cathedral and the Nossa Senhora dos Remédios Church. However, there is once more an absence of ornamentation and an impoverishment of proportions [fig.07]. Additionally, the overabundance of windows in a confined space leads to compositional redundancy, where various elements clash with each other. These characteristics persist in Mendes Coutinho's later architectural works.

In summary, while Lamego's buildings showcase ornate stonework with rich architectural details, the Oratorians' church lacks such embellishment. Instead, there is an overemphasis on decorative architectural elements, resulting in redundancy—an aspect absent in Lamego's architectural landscape.

Comparing the four churches analytically, Barros Pinto contends that the churches at Lamego's sanctuary and Viseu's Oratorians building exhibit the greatest similarity, notably in the curvature of their nave side walls. However, Barros Pinto does not explore, likely due to insufficient data, the notable resemblance between the chancels of Lamego's sanctuary and Viseu's Franciscans churches, nor the similarities in the arrangement of windows and doors along their nave walls. Despite this, Barros Pinto's conclusions hold merit, particularly in highlighting the likelihood that Mendes Coutinho solely served as a master stonemason in the construction of Lamego's Marian church, executing a design conceived by another architect.

Given these disparities, we posit that the architect of Lamego's Marian church was not Mendes Coutinho but another author who had knowledge of Viseu's architectural traditions, particularly centralized chancel organization, as evidenced in the Carmelite church in Viseu, a model replicated in Lamego twelve years later.

Nevertheless, uncertainty persists regarding the authorship of the Franciscan Church of Viseu's project, prompting two hypotheses. The first suggests that the 1746 project for this church was the work of the unidentified architect behind Nossa Senhora dos Remédios Church and Lamego cathedral's chancel. Under this premise, Mendes Coutinho likely simplified and revised the 1746 design in 1757. The second hypothesis posits that Mendes Coutinho was the sole architect of the final church design, disregarding any previous plans.

Several factors incline us toward favoring the first hypothesis over the second. Notably, the ornamental stonework in Viseu's Franciscan church bears a closer resemblance to that of Lamego's church than to the Oratorians'. Additionally, the sculptural motifs in these two churches share more similarities with the ornamental elements adorning Casa do Cimo de Vila, a manor house erected in Viseu in 1747 by José Ribeiro Alves, the master stonemason responsible for the unfinished Franciscan church and son of António Ribeiro, who collaborated with Mendes Coutinho on the reconstruction of Lamego's cathedral. This suggests that the ornamental stonework pieces originally intended for the 1746 construction were reused in 1757. Documentary evidence indicating the interruption of the initial construction during the final phase of stonework further supports this hypothesis. It's plausible that the first project for the Franciscan church in Viseu served as a reference for Lamego's Nossa Senhora dos Remédios Church, explaining the introduction of the chancel's planimetric model to the city devoid of prior local tradition.

Conversely, it seems improbable that Mendes Coutinho would employ such elaborate ornamentation and meticulous proportions on the facade of the Franciscan church in Viseu but not in his other projects.

## FINAL NOTES

In tracing the trajectory of António Mendes Coutinho's professional path, the church of the convent of the Oratorians of Saint Philip Neri emerges as a pivotal milestone, heralding a discernible shift in the architectural characteristics of his works as a master stonemason. Historical records unequivocally attribute the project to Mendes Coutinho as the architect of the church, thereby affirming his distinctive ornamental and architectural preferences. This significance is magnified when contrasted with his attribution solely as a master stonemason in the church of Lamego's sanctuary, and his speculated involvement in salvaging the Franciscans' church in Viseu from the ruins of an abandoned 1746 endeavor.

Our analysis posits that Mendes Coutinho perpetuated the legacy of an anonymous architect active in the region south of the Douro until the early 1750s, whose oeuvre epitomized rocaille ornamentation and intricate spatial design, exemplified in structures like the Nossa Senhora dos Remédios Church and the chancel of Lamego's cathedral. Consequently, we discern two distinct phases in local Baroque architecture: one preceding the mid-1750s, during which Mendes Coutinho functioned solely as a master stonemason; and another thereafter, marked by his dual role as both master stonemason and architect, wherein he streamlined architectural paradigms established in the earlier phase.

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# "ALL THE GALLANTRY AND BEAUTY THAT A PEDESTAL INTENDED FOR SUCH A STATUE SHOULD HAVE"<sup>1</sup> – ABOUT THE SILVER STATUE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION MADE IN ROME FOR THE PATRIARCHAL BASILICA: LUDOVICE'S INTERVENTION

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## ABSTRACT

This article aims to address a specific aspect regarding the celebrated gilded silver statue of the Immaculate Conception, commissioned in Rome by King John V for the Patriarchal Basilica of Lisbon. The statue was crafted by the silversmiths Giuseppe Gagliardi (1697-1749) and Leandro Gagliardi (1729-1804), based on the project and model of the sculptor Giovanni Battista Maini (1690-1752). While the intervention of João Frederico Ludovice (1673-1752) in the iconographic models and technical aspects of the statue's creation is already known, the manuscript that is published and discussed in this text reveals a further involvement by the "*famous Frederico*" ("*célebre Frederico*") in the process concerning the silver statue and its placement inside the Johannine Patriarchal.

## KEYWORDS

Statue | Pedestal | Patriarchal | Ludovice

1. "TODA A GALANTARIA, E FERMOSURA QUE DEVE TER HUM PEDESTAL DESTINADO PERA SEMILHANTE ESTATUA".

The silver-gilt statue of Our Lady the Immaculate Conception, crafted in Rome and intended for the Patriarchal Basilica of Lisbon, which arrived in the Portuguese capital in 1744, has been previously discussed (Vale, 2008, Vale, 2012). Therefore, this contribution will not dwell on aspects already addressed. Previous research has identified the contributions of the silversmith João Frederico Ludovice (1673-1752) regarding the selection of iconographic models to be considered for its design and, above all, specific technical issues, notably concerning the casting of a life-sized piece.

Thus, in this text we will only highlight what is important for the understanding of the subject we intend to address: Ludovice's involvement specifically regarding how the Roman work was installed and displayed within the Patriarchal.

As previously mentioned, the statue of the Immaculate Conception, was designed and modelled by the sculptor Giovanni Battista Maini (1690-1752) and cast in gilded silver by the silversmiths Giuseppe Gagliardi (1697-1749) and his son Leandro Gagliardi (1729-1804).

The celebrated image of the Virgin Mary, whose authorship is traditionally attributed within the context of national historiography – since it was mentioned by Joaquim Machado de Castro – to the Italian Lorenzo Maini, is certainly the one referred to in a document from the Biblioteca da Ajuda, dated September 25, 1744. This document has been already mentioned in the context of studies on Italian sculpture in the Basilica of Mafra (Montagu, 1996: 211-212, Vale, 2002: 53-54). It is a letter commissioning a gilded silver statue of the Virgin, eight (Roman) palms in height, which is, roughly on a 1/1 scale.

The letter details numerous specifications for its creation, including suggestions for iconographic models (paintings by Guido Reni, Carlo Maratta or Lanfranco), and technical issues concerning chiselling and the (desirable) double gilding that the work should have.

The statue was placed on a base one palm in height, and was accompanied by the figures of several cherubs, a crescent moon, and a dragon (or serpent)<sup>2</sup>.

Naturally, the detailed instructions above mentioned include an author's proposal for the piece: "Il Modello della detta Statua lo farà Giovanni Battista Maini Scolaro di Rusconi e se fosse morto questo lo farà Pietro Bracci, ed in mancanza di questi Gioseppe Lirone, o Carlo Monaldi si però sarà viuo il detto Giovanni Battista Maini, il modello doura farlo lui senz'altra replica"<sup>3</sup>. The preference for Giovanni Battista Maini is evident in the text cited, and there is no reason to question whether it was disrespected. Thus, the attribution of the name Lorenzo to Maini was certainly an oversight by Joaquim Machado de Castro (1731-1822)<sup>4</sup>, which was later repeated by part of the subsequent national art historiography.

2. Arquivo do Instituto Português de Santo António de Roma (A.I.P.S.A.R.), E.I.: *Papéis Legais*, Int. 14, N° 10, publ. by VALE, 2016: doc. 31.

3. Biblioteca da Ajuda (B.A.), Ms. 49-VIII-29, f. 72 v.

4. The hypothesis of an oversight on the part of Machado de Castro seems to be confirmed if one accepts the information conveyed by the contemporary manuscript (1817), entitled *Roma Lusitana*, written by the abbot Francesco Cancellieri, which António Portugal de Faria published in the 20<sup>th</sup> century – cfr. FARIA, 1926.

The work was likely conceived by Giovanni Battista Maini, whose models were followed by the founder Giuseppe Gagliardi and his son Leandro, who carried out the casting in their workshop at *vicolo della Campanella ai Banchi* (Chracas, 1749: 3). Despite this, the execution was initially assigned to the silversmith Antonio Arrighi (1687-1776), as already noted by Marie Thérèse Mandroux-França (Mandroux-França, 1989: 39 and Mandroux-França, 1993: 48), who, in fact, received 7,440 Roman *scudi* in 1745 for the creation of the said statue<sup>5</sup>.

The hypothesis that Giovanni Battista Maini likely authored the model used for the creation of the silver statue of the Immaculate Conception, was substantiated by the existence of a drawing attributed to the sculptor, which Jennifer Montagu associated with the work [fig.01] (Montagu, 1996: 160). Part of a private collection, this drawing underscores the Lombard sculptor's involvement in the statue of the Patriarchal Basilica of Lisbon, further corroborated by records of various payments to Maini, between 1745 and 1748 (Vale, 2016: table 46), for the creation of the model. This model is still preserved in a chapel adjacent to the Capuchin church in Rome (S. Maria della Concezione) [fig.02] (Montagu, 2004: 76-77).

Furthermore, when the piece was sent to Lisbon in February 1750 – aboard the ship Neptune, owned by the English captain John Gardner (referred as Giovanni Gairdiner) –, as part of the contents of box No. 16, there is a reference to the statue's gilded metal base, which could be attached or removed as needed to better suit its intended location: “Una statua di gettito di argento dorato rappresentante la Santissima Concezione, con zoccolo, ossia plinto inferiore di metallo dorato, con barbantina bianca, e contrafodera di fostagno giallo, e suo stucco. Si avverte che il suddetto zoccolo, ossia posamento inferiore, è da levarsi, e mettersi, secondo meglio parerà, e sarà più adattabile al sito, ove deve collocarsi”<sup>6</sup>. The same document lists several items related to the cost of the work, including “Per Modelli, e Disegni fatti da Giovanni Battista Maini – sc. 1300 –.”<sup>7</sup> This reiterates Maini's authorship of the model, which is also attested by a document in the archives of the Instituto Português de Santo António in Rome.

Indeed, on August 22, 1748, a Giovanni Battista Maini's account for the creation of the plaster model acknowledged, for which the Lombard sculptor received the amount of 1000 Roman *scudi*<sup>8</sup>. The discrepancy in values, compared to the aforementioned (1300 Roman *scudi*), may be attributed to the creation of drawings, as this account by Maini refers only to the plaster model.

Finally, what may seem merely a detail confirms the idea Maini indeed created the model for the statue of the Immaculate Conception intended to be made in gilded silver. On June 16, 1751, amidst the documents of Biblioteca da Ajuda, there is an invoice from a certain Tommaso Albertini amounting to 6 *scudi* and 15 *baiocchi*, noted as “Nota di spese fatte per il Trasporto della statua di Creta della SS.ma Concezione dalla Casa del Sig.r Giovanni Battista Maini scultore uicino a Piazza Barberini alla casa sotto l'ufficiale ritenuta per servizio della Corte di Lisbona”<sup>9</sup>.

The impact that the work had, both in Rome and Lisbon, has already been discussed in previous contributions, so we will not dwell on this aspect here<sup>10</sup>.

The instructions sent from Lisbon, dated September 25, 1744, certainly written by João Frederico Ludovice<sup>11</sup>, have already been dealt with in considerable detail, so what is important to highlight at this point is, on the one hand, the provision of iconographic models (interestingly, all within the realm of painting and not sculpture) (Vale, 2009 and Vale, 2012), and, on the other, the specific technical instructions regarding the execution of the statue.

5. Cfr. B.A., Ms. 49-VIII-24, f. 4.

6. B.A., Ms. 49-VIII-35, pp. 84-85.

7. B.A., Ms. 49-VIII-35, pp. 84-85.

8. A.I.P.S.A.R., E.I.: *Papéis Legais*, Int. 14, N° 5, publ. by VALE, 2016: doc. 26.

9. B.A., Ms. 49-VIII-21, f. 349, N° 190.

10. See what was published by *Diario Ordinario do Chracas*, in Rome, and by *Mercúrio Histórico de Lisboa*, in Lisbon – cfr. VALE, 2016: 124-125.

11. B.A., Ms. 49-VIII-29, ff. 70-75v., publ. by VALE, 2016: doc. 25.



**Fig. 01.** Giovanni Battista Maini (1690-1752), drawing for the statue of the Immaculate Conception for the Patriarchal Basilica. Private collection.



Fig. 02. Giovanni Battista Maini (1690-1752), plaster model of the statue of the Immaculate Conception of the Patriarchal Basilica. Chapel attached to S. Maria della Concezione (Capuccini) church, Rome. Photo Jennifer Montagu.

Thus, the author of the text begins by emphasizing the need for the piece to be whole and not made up of several parts later soldered together, as well as specifying the type of silver to be used: “La Statua deve essere tutta isolata, e non aperta nella schiena, acciò possa godersi perfetta da ogni parte, dandosi il caso che venga esposta nel mezzo d’una Chiesa, o Cappella senza appoggio. L’argento, de quale si farà detta Statua, sarà di Carlino, cioè di undici denari, che sono undici parti eguali d’argento finissimo, et una di rame, o lega. Deve esser gettata in una grossezza competente, rispettiva alla sua grandezza, e non deve eccedere la grossezza maggiore mezzo minuto, e nelle parti più sottili di un terzo di minuto, e si concede questa conveniente grossezza, perchè si pretende, che la detta Statua sa tutta intiera, e non di diversi pezzi.”<sup>12</sup> Following these are other instructions, of an absolutely technical and minutely detailed nature, which lead us to confirm the association of the text with João Frederico Ludovice, as previously alluded to by Jennifer Montagu, albeit briefly (Montagu, 1996: 156).

During his years in Rome, Ludovice did not engage primarily as a silversmith – having received his training in this field in Germany – but rather as a founder. In the last years of the *Seicento*, specifically between 1698 and 1699, Ludovice was involved in the major artistic campaign for the altar of Saint Ignatius in the mother church of the Society of Jesus in Rome. Under the supervision of Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709), he had the opportunity to meet multiple artists, including sculptors and silversmiths, both Italian and French and German. His contribution was mainly as a founder, particularly ensuring the casting in bronze a relief by the sculptor Angelo De Rossi (1671-1715), themed Saint Ignatius liberating a possessed man from demons, intended for the base of the altar dedicated to the Jesuit patriarch, as well as other silver pieces (Vale, 2010: 53-72 and Vale, 2016: 279-303). The test commissioning the statue of the Immaculate Conception for the Patriarchal Basilica reveals knowledge that only someone familiar with technical aspects and the operation of a founder and silversmith workshop could have.

Several passages from the aforementioned document clearly demonstrate the technical expertise of the author, as well as practical experience within a workshop, leading us to believe that the text was written by Ludovice or based on (detailed) notes from the German silversmith.

Ludovice’s involvement was not limited, however, to these decisive interventions: from the iconographic (and compositional) suggestions to detailed technical instructions regarding silver casting, everything received his attention. We know today that even concerning the pedestal, the “famous Frederico” (“célebre Frederico” as it is mentioned in contemporary documents) sought to leave his mark. In fact, in a letter from the king’s secretary, the Neapolitan Jesuit Giovanni Battista Carbone (1694-1750), who had been based in Lisbon since 1722, addressed to the then Portuguese ambassador in Rome, Manuel Pereira de Sampaio (1691-1750) dated April 17, 1749, one can read: “O Architetto Federico soube a cazo do escultor que aqui ficou [Alessandro Giusti]<sup>13</sup> que alem da Estatua da Conceição se fazia tambem hum pedestal ou vazamento pera a ditto estatua de que elle não tinha antecedentemente noticia alguma, pois não se mandou, nem de lá veyo risco algum, pelo qual viesse no conhecimento do ditto pedestal. E como manda fazer hum de marmo, em que deve assentar o que de lá vier, dezeja que o Artifice mande logo o Risco, ao menos na quarta parte, da mesma grandezza, e forma do referido vazamento, e que venha exactamente riscado em planta, e em perfil, pera se regular o pedestal de marmo, que há de ficar por baixo do de prata dourada.”<sup>14</sup>

Further in the same manuscript volume of the Biblioteca da Ajuda, specifically on folio. 255, there is a “Reparo do Architecto” (“a note from the architect”), attached to the missive of July 17, 1749, again from Carbone to Sampaio. In this brief text, written by Ludovice and published here as a documentary appendix, the German is concerned with providing specific indications, that the responsible party creating the pedestal should consider,

12. B.A., Ms. 49-VIII-29, f. 70, publ. by VALE, 2016: doc. 25.

13. Alessandro Giusti (1715-1799) arrived in Lisbon in 1747, to coordinate the works related to the installation of the chapel of St John the Baptist in the church of São Roque.

14. B.A., Ms. 49-IX-1, ff. 226-227v.; “The architect Federico heard from the sculptor that is here [Alessandro Giusti] that, in addition to the Conception statue, a pedestal or base would also be made for it, of which he had had no knowledge, for no sketch had been sent, to or from, that told of the pedestal. And, as he wishes to make one of marble, on which shall rest the pedestal that shall come, he wants the artificer to send the sketch, in a scale of at least a quarter, of the same size and shape of the aforementioned base, to come exactly sketched in plan and profile, that it may regulate the marble pedestal, to be placed beneath the gilded silver one.”

amending the project that had been sent from the pontifical city. The design sent from Rome was thus returned with the changes considered appropriate by Ludovice, based on concrete aspects, such as the dimensions of the space intended for the pedestal and its functionality. As he notes at the beginning of his *"Reparo"*: the space "(...) tem o comodo de se poder andar a roda da mesma Estatua, pera se ornar, e porem castiças no Altar, tendo porta pela ilharga da mesma Tribuna, sem ser necessario subir-se por diante do Altar com degraos"<sup>15</sup>.

However, Ludovice's considerations in his brief note also denoted an aesthetic appreciation, which he deemed legitimate, pointing out that the dimensions proposed by Rome were excessive and would have consequences precisely in the realm of aesthetics: "Alem de que tiraria toda a galantaria, e fermosura que deve ter hum pedestal destinado pera semelhante Estatua."

The silver statue, created by Giuseppe and Leandro Gagliardi according to the model by Giovanni Battista Maini, drew ample attention, first in Rome and later in Lisbon, as mentioned. The care taken with its adequate placement within the Patriarchal Basilica is yet one more evidence of the relevance the piece attained. Thus, in addition to the pedestal, worthy of written criticism and inherent designed intervention by Ludovice, a complementary sculptural piece was also created in Lisbon. In fact, it is in a text by Joaquim Machado de Castro who mentions a pair of adoring angels, created by the sculptor José de Almeida (1707-1769), following Ludovice's directives, who was clearly dissatisfied with the setting of the Immaculate within the Patriarchal Basilica.

In his work titled *Analyse Grafic'Ortodoxa, e Demonstrativa, de que sem Escrúpulo do menor Erro Theologico, a Escultura, e Pintura podem, ao representar o Sagrado Mystério da Encarnação, figurar vários Anjos*, Machado de Castro, known to have been Almeida's disciple, writes: "(...) O Senhor D. João V. mandara vir de Roma para a Santa Igreja Patriarchal huma Imagem de Nossa Senhora da Conceição do tamanho natural, feita em prata, parece-me que dourada; e vendo-se no lugar, que não fazia bom efeito a nudez dos lados, por dictame de João de Frederico se lhe fizerão dous Anjos, hum para cada lado, em acto de adoração, os quaes em madeira executou José de Almeida; e tanto se acabarão, e dourarão, se pozerão aos lados da dita Imagem, onde eu os vi, antes que o incendio do Terramoto reduzisse tudo a cinzas."<sup>16</sup> (Castro, 1805, cit. Lima, 1989: 108).

Thus, José de Almeida, often overlooked in favour of Italian sculptors in the context of royal commissions (Vale, 2016b), somehow appears, by the probable hand of Ludovice, associated to a Roman piece, and a particularly significant one in the repertoire of Johannine commissions. Regrettably, none of the surviving drawings, whether by Ludovice or Almeida<sup>17</sup>, provide any indication regarding the pedestal or the adoring angels, capable of offering a visual approach of what the 1755 earthquake and its immediate aftermath destroyed.

This article merely reiterates João Frederico Ludovice's constant involvement in all artistic matters during the Magnanimous reign. The publication and discussion of this brief *"Reparo"* highlights how even apparently minor aspects, such as the pedestal of a statue, were not minor for the *"famous Frederico"* and how essential it appeared to be to the German silversmith and founder who, duly Romanized, arrived in Lisbon in August 1700, to leave his mark on everything that concerned artistic issues in the Crown's sphere, especially concerning commissions of Italian works of art.

15. "(...) has the convenience of allowing one to walk around the statue to decorate and to place candlesticks on the altar; a door by the side of the same gallery avoids the need to climb steps in front of the altar."

16. "(...) Our Lord John V had ordered from Rome for the Holy Patriarchal Church a life-sized Image of Our Lady of Conception, made in silver, seeming to me gilded; and upon seeing in its location that the nakedness of the sides did not make up for a good effect, João de Frederico determined that two angels would be made, one for each side, in a worshipping pose, which José de Almeida made of wood; and as soon as they were complete, they were gilded, and placed on the sides of the aforementioned Image, where I saw them before the fire of the Earthquake reduced all to ashes."

17. Among the drawings associated with José de Almeida, which are preserved in the collection of the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon, there is one of a base / pedestal (inv. 1137 Des) but nothing in the morphology or decorative options it presents allows us to associate it with the silver statue of the Patriarchal Basilica.

## APPENDIX

### Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Ms. 49-IX-1, f. 255-255v.

/ **f. 255** / Reparos do Architecto, e emenda, que insinua deuer-se necessariamente fazer no Pedestal da Estatua de Nossa Senhora da Conceição

O Nicho em que se ha de colocar a Estatua he em forma de Tribuna, e tem o comodo de se poder andar a roda da mesma Estatua, pera se ornar, e porem castiças no Altar, tendo porta pela ilharga da mesma Tribuna, sem ser necessario subir-se por diante do Altar com degraos. Esta serventia fica embaraçada, sendo o Pedestal da forma, e medida que mostra o Risco que veyo, do qual se remete copia, e nela vai<sup>18</sup> apontado o que se deve cortar, pera que possa servir no sitio declarado; e vem a ser o Zocolo inferior em que<sup>19</sup> assenta a Base; porquanto a excessiva sacada do dito Zocolo obrigaría a fazer hum Pedestal de excessiva grandeza, com que ficaria sem duvida impedida a referida serventia. Alem de que tiraria toda a galantaria, e fermosura que deve ter hum pedestal destinado pera semelhante Estatua, o qual se está fazendo de bordo de proporcionada altura; devendo ficar a Estatua mais alta do que o pavimento da Capela 18 palmos, de que se seguiria que a grande sacada do plinto inferior comeria parte do socolo do vazamento que assenta imedia- / **f. 255v.** / tamente sobre o dito plinto etc.

18. Manuscript: "vai" between lines.

19. Manuscript: "que" between lines.

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# A HIDDEN TREASURE AT PALÁCIO DA AJUDA IN LISBON: THE IDM MONOGRAMMED SET OF CHINESE PORCELAIN OF PRINCESS MARIA DA ASSUNÇÃO

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## ABSTRACT

In 1862 a set of silver and porcelain pieces was discovered at Palácio da Ajuda which was omitted from the inventories, during the preparations for the marriage of King Luís I of Portugal to Queen Maria Pia. Shortly afterwards it was disclosed that the porcelain services had belonged to Princess Maria da Assunção and were hidden because of her escape in 1833 to Santarém during the civil war. However, doubt persisted as the services could have belonged to her brother, Prince Miguel. The purpose of this article is to reinforce the fact that they belonged to Princess Maria da Assunção, through a new iconographic and symbolic reading of the porcelain pieces and based equally on archival sources and bibliography.

## KEYWORDS

China | Jingdezhen | Canton | Portuguese Royal Family | Necessidades Palace

## INTRODUCTION

The Orient is sometimes seen superficially through a Western lens, such as the iconographic reading of Chinese porcelain pieces exported to the Western market in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries specifically commissioned for a specific personality, such as a table, dessert and tea service bearing bearing the IDM monogram (first letters of "Infanta D. Maria", related to Princess Maria da Assunção) that belonged to the Portuguese Royal House.

The services are in the Ajuda National Palace – except for a cup that is in the Vila Viçosa Ducal Palace – and, according to historiography, it has been rumoured to have belonged to the Princess Maria da Assunção (1805-1834) because of the initial of her first name<sup>1</sup>, as well as a tea and coffee service and other everyday silver objects.

The historical facts known about the services were scarce and recently a doubt has been raised indicating that the porcelain services could have belonged to her brother, Prince Miguel (1802-1866).

However, after reading a newspaper article, unknown in historiography, about the discovery of the porcelain services and silver pieces in the Ajuda Palace in 1862, during the wedding preparations of King Luís I of Portugal (1838-1889), it was confirmed that this is a set that, indeed, belonged to the Princess Maria da Assunção.

This confirmation was further reinforced by an iconographic reading of the paintings on the porcelain pieces and indicates that they were made for a young woman of marriageable age. This study was also complemented by archival documentation and specific bibliography<sup>2</sup>.

## THE DISCOVERY AT AJUDA NATIONAL PALACE

In July 1862, King Luís I of Portugal (1838-1889) got engaged to Princess Maria Pia of Savoy (1847-1911) and decided to move into the Ajuda Palace<sup>3</sup>. In September, as the building's ground floor<sup>4</sup> was being inspected, boxes containing a set of Portuguese silver and Chinese porcelain pieces were discovered hidden probably in a ceiling<sup>5</sup>.

1. We would like to thank the Director of the Ajuda National Palace, Dr José Alberto Ribeiro, the curator of ceramic of the Ajuda National Palace, Dr Cristina Neiva Correia, and the former Director of the Vila Viçosa Ducal Palace, Dr Maria de Jesus Monge, for all the support regarding this article.

2. The porcelain and silver pieces are held by several museums, the following acronyms have been, therefore, used for the respective inventory numbers: MNAA refers to National Museum of Ancient Art; PDVV to Vila Viçosa Ducal Palace; PNA to Ajuda National Palace; PNP to Pena National Palace; and PNQ to Queluz National Palace.

3. On the 27 September 1862, King Luís was married by proxy in Turin to Princess Maria Pia of Savoy, who became Queen Maria Pia. The Queen embarked for Portugal and the marriage was ratified on 6 October of the same year in the Church of São Domingos in Lisbon.

4. The ground floor was partially remodeled by the architect of the Royal House Joaquim Possidónio Narciso da Silva (1806-1896) for the monarchs' quarters and for new reception rooms (Silva, 1865).

5. In the original text the word used was *desvão*, which means a space between the ceiling and the roof or a hiding place.



**Fig. 01.** Portrait of Princess Maria da Assunção, from 1816, attributed to the French painter Nicolas-Antoine Taunay (1755-1830), at Queluz Nacional Palace, inv. PNQ 255A/2 (source: Wikimedia Commons).



**Fig. 02.** IDM monogram on one of the tea bowls; PNA, inv. 49283 (photo by António Cota Fevereiro).

The King was amazed, and the set was not included in any inventory and none of the Royal Household's former employees knew about it ("Achado valioso", 1862: 2). However, after a short time, it was discovered that the two sets belonged to the Princess Maria da Assunção (1805-1834)<sup>6</sup> [fig.01] as it was assumed that it had been hidden in 1833, when the liberal army invaded Lisbon and the infanta together with her brother, Prince Miguel (1802-1866)<sup>7</sup>, and the absolutist troops fled to the city of Santarém during the civil war ("O achado d'Ajuda", 1862: 2)<sup>8</sup>.

The Chinese porcelain set should be the table, dessert and tea sets with the IDM monogram [fig.02] at the Ajuda National Palace<sup>9</sup> and one of the cups at the Vila Viçosa Ducal Palace<sup>10</sup>.

6. Her full name was Dona Maria da Assunção Ana Joana Josefa Luísa Gonzaga Francisca de Assis Xavier de Paula Joaquina Antónia de São Tiago de Bragança e Bourbon.  
 7. His full name was Dom Miguel Maria do Patrocínio João Carlos Francisco de Assis Xavier e de Paula Pedro de Alcântara António Rafael Gabriel Joaquim José Gonzaga Evaristo de Bragança.  
 8. The valuation of the services was approximately one *conto de réis*.  
 9. PNA, inv. 49274; 49283 and 50394.  
 10. PDVV, inv. 2853.

The silver tableware could be a set of silver pieces with the IDM and IDMA monograms belonging to the four different museums: National Museum of Ancient Art<sup>11</sup>, Ajuda National Palace<sup>12</sup>, Pena National Palace<sup>13</sup> and Queluz National Palace<sup>14</sup>.

The silver pieces with the IDMA monogram are: a perfume burner (Queluz National Palace – PNQ, inv. PNQ 1855); a pair of candlesticks (PNQ, inv. PNQ 1837 and 1838); a tray (Ajuda National Palace – PNA, inv. 7942); a teapot (PNA, inv. 10705); a sugar bowl (PNA, inv. ° 10704); a coffee pot (Pena National Palace – PNP, inv. PNP1306) and a creamer (PNP, inv. PNP1333)<sup>15</sup>.

The silver pieces with the IDM monogram are: a salver (PNP, inv. PNP1328); a perfume burner (PNP, inv. PNP543); a basin (PNP, inv. PNP554) by the silversmith João Baptista Pereira; a ewer (National Museum of Ancient Art – MNAA, inv. MNAA 876)<sup>16</sup> and a lamp for two candles with a green silk shade (PNQ, inv. PNQ 217A)<sup>17</sup>, but the latter was mentioned in 1854 in the orphanological inventory of Queen Maria II (1819-1853)<sup>18</sup> at the Necessidades Palace in Lisbon (February 2019: 152) and would certainly not have been in the boxes discovered in 1862 at the Ajuda Palace.

We therefore have a set of pieces that belonged to Miguel and a second set of pieces belonging to Maria da Assunção, which we need to investigate in more detail. The fact that both had their first names beginning with the letter M and used the same IDM monogram has naturally led to certain confusions and raised certain doubts.

On the 5 October 1910, after the establishment of the Republic, most of the silverware and one of the cups from the tea service were at Necessidades Palace (APNA, 1911: 652v.).

The porcelain services have representations taken from Chinese literary works, which we'll go into next. The services at Ajuda Palace had the following types and respective quantities: 2 soup plates; 4 dinner plates; 6 dessert plates; 7 plates with a curved edge<sup>19</sup>; 3 plates with a flat edge<sup>20</sup>; 1 sweetmeats dish<sup>21</sup>; 1 elliptical platter; 5 saucers; 5 tea cups (PNA, inv. 49274) (Vila Viçosa Ducal Palace – PDVV, inv. 2853); 5 tea bowls (PNA, inv. 49283) and 1 bouillon cup<sup>22</sup> (APNA, 1911: 1196v. a 1198).

These services show some signs of use as the same can be noted in other nineteenth century oriental porcelain services from the same palace. Curiously, the oldest European porcelain services show obvious signs of intensive use, and some are also missing several individual pieces, indicating that they were broken at the service of the Portuguese Royal House<sup>23</sup>.

11. MNAA, inv. MNAA 876.

12. PNA, inv. 7942; 10705 and 10704.

13. PNP, inv. PNP543; PNP554; PNP1306; PNP1328 and PNP1333.

14. PNQ, inv. PNQ 217A; PNQ 1837; PNQ1838) and PNQ1855.

15. The tray, the teapot, the sugar bowl, the coffee pot and the creamer bear the hallmark of the goldsmith António Gomes da Silva from Lisboa and were a set (Godinho, 1991: 273-275). The goldsmith António Gomes da Silva was registered in 1798 and left for Rio de Janeiro at the same time as the Portuguese Court, where he also had his workshop. There, the goldsmith Inácio Luís da Costa made the crown of the Kings of Portugal (PNA, inv.4863) in gold, silver, velvet and iron (Godinho, 1991: 128-132).

16. The ewer is at Queluz National Palace since 10 January 1989.

17. At the Queluz National Palace there is a tureen (PNQ, inv.no. PNQ 1635) without the original base (replaced by another in gold metal) with the monogram MA that may also have belonged to the Princess Maria da Assunção.

18. Daughter of King Pedro IV of Portugal (1798-1834) and mother of King Luís. King Pedro IV was the brother of Princess Maria da Assunção and Prince Miguel.

19. They are 16 cm in diameter.

20. They are also 16 cm in diameter.

21. It is 18cm long and 15cm wide. The 10 dishes with a diameter of 16 cm and this sweetmeats dish were classified as relish dishes.

22. Referred to as a sugar box in the republican inventory.

23. As we can see from the quantities of pieces described in the republican inventory of the various tableware services. The inventory was carried out between 1911 and 1914 (APNA, *Republica Portuguesa. Serviço de Justiça. Autos cíveis d'arrolamento dos bens moveis existentes no Paço d'Ajuda, que era habitado pela ex-rainha D. Maria Pia e por seu filho D. Affonso*).

## HIDDEN MEANINGS IN THE SET OF FAMILLE ROSE PORCELAIN BEARING THE IDM MONOGRAMME

Regarding the monogrammed, unmarked, porcelain pieces from the collections at Ajuda Palace and Vila Viçosa Ducal Palace, dated, probably, from the early years of the nineteenth century, they belong to the *famille rose* palette.

The *famille rose* porcelain is characterized by the decoration of polychrome motifs painted over the glaze with a greater intensity of pink and carmine enamels, the colors which, due to their alleged introduction to China by Jesuit missionaries (Bellemare, 2022: 147-168) at the end of the seventeenth century, were nicknamed *fangcai* (literally foreign color).

However, the manufacture of the polychrome enamels commenced in the fourteenth century during the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368), after the Mongol invasions into Europe opened up trade between Europe and China, resulting in the transportation of wares and a transfer of *cloisonné* technology to the East (Xiaoping, 1990: 30-38). During the Qing dynasty, the technique and use of enamels were later adapted to the porcelain decoration for a very limited and extraordinary production of pieces which, due to their exorbitant cost, were only intended for the imperial court. The entire process of decoration, painting over the glaze and firing was carried out by court officials in the imperial workshop (Ko, 2017: 13-47) in the Forbidden City in Beijing, who perfected the technique through the multiple layers of glazes that came directly from abroad, producing pieces that were unsurpassed for their chromatic and iridescent quality.

During the reign of Yongzheng (1722-1735), Kangxi's successor, the pink and carmine colors were favored over the translucent porcelain called *wucai* (five colors) that combined green, red, yellow, blue, and purple, which was in vogue at the time. In fact, the type of *famille rose* porcelain reached its peak of perfection in Jingdezhen under the leadership of Nian Xiyao and Tang Ying. At this time, this production was already using locally synthesized glazes (Ying, 1899: 19-23).

The pieces destined for the imperial court maintained high levels of execution, decorated predominantly in a pink tone based on enamel plus colloidal gold. Valuable pieces are known from the period of emperor Qianlong, son of Yongzheng, some of them with motifs inspired by the work of Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766), an Italian-born Jesuit missionary who became one of the most influential painters at the Chinese imperial court under the name of Láng Shining.

However, the typical porcelain pieces of *famille rose*, even considering the most exquisite, were never representative of the taste of the Chinese elite (Forbes, 1982). Specifically intended for export, a considerable number of *yangcai* (literally foreign colors) porcelain services with armorials from European noble families were commissioned in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, in the city of Guangzhou, called Canton by European merchants and officials, it became common to produce this type of porcelain with polychrome decoration, whose characteristics consisted of the representation of medallions with human figures in oriental garb. Very popular in European circles, it was part of a family of porcelains that came to be called *fencai*. Today, the term *fencai* (literally soft colors), which only appeared in official Chinese porcelain archives at the beginning of the twentieth century, is the most common used term to replace *yangcai*.

Some of the scenes represented can be traced to well-known Chinese subjects of porcelain decoration, such as the representation of the *wéiqí* (literally encircling board game) disputed by two men in one of the saucers (*zhadou*) (PNA, inv. 49281) [fig.03], while others belong to the decoration from well-known scenes of the *Romance of Western Chamber* which were recurrent in other porcelain pieces.



Fig. 03. Saucer; 3x13Ø cm; PNA, inv. 49281 (photo by António Cota Fevereiro).

At that time, the decoration of scenes related to *Western Chamber* had reached great popularity. The extent of this success is thus described in *Tao Ya*, a commentary on porcelain, written by the scholar and art collector, Chen Liu (Hsu, 2011: 66):

“The pottery painters of the Kangshi period were very skillful. Porcelains produced in the private kilns (kehuo) are decorated with drama themes from *Shuihuzhuan* (the Water Margin) and *Western Chamber*.

The brushwork on the drawing of private kiln porcelains is simple and full of rustic delight. This kind of effect is difficult to achieve”.

The *Romance of the Western Chamber* (*Xixiangji*) has come to be regarded as one of the most popular and influential stories in classical Chinese literature<sup>24</sup>. The final version in drama form, dates from the end of the thirteenth century, by Wang Shifu (Shifu, 1995), although its content had been reformulated from a short prose tale, written by a poet who lived during the Tang dynasty, Yuan Zhen (779-831), entitled *The Story of Yingying* (little oriole). The novel has also been translated as *Story of the Western Wing*.

Briefly, the narrative focuses on the love relationship, and on the rational archetypes of the Confucian philosophy of the current society, between a young academic, with few economic resources, Zhang Sheng, and the beautiful Cui Yingying. Unparalleled in terms of the psychological verisimilitude of moral behavior during the Tang dynasty, the classic version of the drama, written by Wang Shifu, during the Yuan dynasty, in 21 (or 22) acts, focuses, however, on the freedom of each one to choose the partner that suits him or her and against pre-arranged marriages. Both characters, in the drama, reside temporarily at Pujiu (Universal Salvation) Temple, near the Tang dynasty capital of Chang'an in the Shanxi province.

Thereafter, the novel underwent multiple reprints, during the three hundred years of the Ming dynasty. However, when it comes to adaptation in porcelain decoration, themes linked to the romance re-emerge intermittently during the Ming, but more significantly, throughout the Qing dynasty (Yibin, 2002: 68-81). After the devastation caused by the war, the imperial kilns of Jingdezhen, from 1683 onwards, resumed working activity, largely restructured and under new prospects for production, and tried to reach increasingly appealing themes for decoration.

Although many of the decorative scenes concerning *Story of the Western Wing* have been recognized in porcelain, some have not been properly studied<sup>25</sup>. In general, the iconographic themes pre-established by woodcut prints, during the Ming dynasty, allow for the identification of some scenes, while others reflect a probable change in the perception of the literary text, still displaying stylistic innovations aimed at a foreign clientele, and therefore remaining somewhat obscure.

One of the saucer dishes (*zhadou*) (PNA, inv. 49279) [fig.04] has a representation of two figures, facing each other: the male figure is standing with a fan in his hand while the female figure is sitting on an elegant rickshaw. Although it is more common to see the male figure riding a horse, there is no doubt that this is the sad farewell of the pair of lovers, when Zhang Sheng is forced to leave Yinying for the capital to pursue his academic studies<sup>26</sup>.

Of great interest is the animal and flora decoration pattern on the borders of the saucer dishes, the teacups and tea bowls inside rims and the elliptical platter [fig.05,06]. The theme of plants and insects had been extremely popular in painting, reaching a high level of naturalism by the Song Dynasty (960-1279). However, a printed manual of Chinese painting, compiled during the early years of the Qing Dynasty, *Manual of the Mustard Seed Garden* (*Jieziyuan Huazhuan*), an important early example of color printing, made available ready-made models for painters learning the techniques of landscape and natural life painting. The models' adaptation to painting on porcelain, through sketchy and spontaneous brushwork, was also a reminder of the fleeting existence in the natural world while conveying traditional good wishes and blessings.

The crab, *xiè*, which we see represented in the set, is particularly favored because its name is a homophone of *xié*, meaning harmony, a condition further intensified when there are two crabs. The fact that they are also associated with rice stalks (*hé*), forms the rébus *xiéhé* for peace with harmony because the *hé* of rice stalk is a homophone of peace, *hé*.

24. In China it used to be said that only the Confucius books could rival the *Western Chamber* reprints.

25. The first study in the West on the decorative theme of the *West Chamber* in Chinese porcelain that we know of is due to Craig Clunas (Clunas, 1983: 69).

26. This representation freely copies the illustration of the woodcut print "A feast with tears" in the *Guanhuatang diliu caizi Xixiangji*, from the early Qing dynasty (1644-1911). National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Fig. 04. Saucer; 3x13Ø cm; PNA, inv. 49279 (photo by António Cota Fevereiro).



Fig. 05. Saucer and tea bowl; PNA, inv. 49279 and 49283 (photo by António Cota Fereiro).



Fig. 06. Platter; 2,5x25,7x19,7 cm; PNA, inv. 50394. Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, 82228 DIG, Lisbon, photo by Gonçalo Barriga, 2023 (source: Museu do Oriente, Lisbon).

The frog, *qingwa*, is associated with humidity and fertility, with an association to Nûwa, the first ancestral female entity, and to the moon, where its eggs hatch and the tadpoles fall to earth transformed into dew. It is a constant symbol of prosperity. Around it, we see the five-petalled crimson flowers on the bare branches of the plum tree (*Prunus mume*), which symbolize winter and the desire for the early blossoms in spring.

Butterflies, which represent summer, convey various other blessings based on the similarity in sound of the name (*húdié*) with *fúdié* (*fú*-blessings, and *dié*-to pile up). Just as popular is the representation of tree peonies, with flowers of dense curling petals. They symbolize wealth and honor, known as *fùguìhua* (*fù*-fortune, *guì*-top post, *hua*-flower), and represent the spring season.

Less usual is the animal which resembles a conch. It should be a freshwater river snail, or "*paddy field*" snail as it's called in Chinese writing. A common food in southern China, the snail may have an association with a woman of marriageable age. Many oral traditions across Asia, Europe and America tell of the transformation of a freshwater snail into a woman, after it has been captured and taken to a man's house. The Chinese version that has been most studied dates to the Jin dynasty (265-420), highlighting the importance of female virtues in the domestic sphere (Ting, 1978: 68-69), although other versions emphasize their celestial quality and shamanic abilities. The dragonflies (*qingting*) circling nearby is a harbinger of summer with the qualities of delicacy and lightness of being, "a symbol of instability and evanescence" (Lai, 1971: 53). They also represent such ideals as those honored in the structured Confucian world where the importance of family name and reputation were elements of an ordered society.

Another interesting drawn insect is the praying mantis. Its stealth movements have made it a symbol of meditation and contemplation. Also, it reflects the autumnal season. It moves towards the clump of yellow blooming narcissus (*Narcissus tazetta*) (Krahl, 1987: 61), which are not often seen on porcelain decoration. Its name in Chinese (*shuixian*) means water fairies and is associated with the Eight Immortals and longevity, symbolizing the arrival of spring. Nearby, a caterpillar (or silkworm) conveys the natural order of things through transformation and metamorphosis, the active principles (*bianhua*) of both Daoism and Chinese Buddhism, such is the changing and the sequence of the four seasons.

Two of the most popular and loved insects in Chinese culture are also represented in the borders, the cricket and the katydid. Their songs are greatly admired. While the katydids, known as *guoguo*, a name that sounds like *guó* (country, state, or nation), with their chorus of chirping sound, announce the coming abundance as '*envoys from ten thousand states are paying tribute to the emperor*' (Shixiang, 1993), the stridulation of the cricket symbolizes courage and fighting spirit. Furthermore, heard during the hot days of summer, the sound, like a spinning wheel, serves to remind people of the coming autumn and winter.

## CONCLUSION

Often, our fascination with the Orient is generally limited to first impressions and a superficial taste for *chinoiserie*, and we rarely delve into its symbolism and iconography, particularly that which was painted on utilitarian services in China and exported to the Western world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Through the reading undertaken of the iconographic details and referred symbolic hidden meanings, and Chinese literature representations present as central motifs in the decorations, it is the authors' opinion that the porcelain set monogrammed IDM which was discovered at Ajuda Palace may indeed have belonged to Princess Maria da Assunção, as there are hints of a possible commission for a young woman of a marriageable age underlying the context of good omens.

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# TILE PATTERN CLASSIFICATION – A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

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## ABSTRACT

This article presents a mathematical analysis of the tile patterns included in the *Az Infinitum – Azulejo Indexation and Referencing System*. Based on previous experiences described in the literature, the authors catalogued 510 patterns to obtain some empirical data on the frequency of the different types of tile patterns, aiming at contributing to a more comprehensive knowledge of these patterns.

## KEYWORDS

**Azulejo | Glazed ceramic tiles | Mathematics | Patterns**

## INTRODUCTION

The *azulejo* (glazed ceramic tile) is, for many, a Portuguese national symbol. What is less well known is that, beyond creativity and history, mathematics can also be found in these ceramic tiles.

This association between mathematics and tile patterns has already been the subject of several articles. One of them, for example, examines the tiled façades of the city of Ovar (Atractor, 2018), other focuses on tiles with two colours (Hall et al., 2023), and other studies some tile panels in public buildings on the south bank of the Tagus (Rodrigues, Freitas, 2018). In these articles, the patterns found on the tiles are categorised according to their symmetries, i.e. the transformations of the plane that leave the pattern invariant. The word “symmetry” usually refers to mirror reflections, but in maths, rotational and translational symmetries are also considered. For example, a pattern formed with a simple square motif, following the edges of the tile, has reflection symmetries in relation to the square's medians and diagonals, rotation symmetries of  $90^\circ$ ,  $180^\circ$  and  $270^\circ$  around the centre of the square, and translation symmetries in two directions, horizontal and vertical (considering the pattern here as an infinite paving of the entire plane).

These sets of symmetries have been studied for regular coverings of the plane, and it has been proven that there are only 17 possible sets of symmetries. Each of these possibilities is described by the Washburne and Crowe classification<sup>1</sup>. This classification characterises patterns according to their symmetries, assigning each one a code with 2 to 4 alphanumeric characters. Although we do not want to go into a very detailed description of these codes, we give an idea of what some of these characters mean.

- The code starts with **p** or **c**, depending on how the pattern is reproduced (this letter related to the directions in which the pattern is reproduced).
- The numbers have to do with the angles of rotations: number **1** indicates that there are no rotations that preserve the pattern, number **2** indicates that there is a  $180^\circ$  rotation, number **4** refers to  $90^\circ$  rotations (other numbers can also be used).
- The following characters (if any) can be **m**, which is a reference to the presence of mirror reflections, or **g**, which refers to a reflection followed by a translation parallel to the axis of reflection (called a *glide reflection*).

The aforementioned articles classify a number of tile patterns in a certain geographical region, sometimes also restricted to a time period, thus contributing to the study of the taste reflected in the patterns in that area and at that time, adding a mathematical element. The main conclusion obtained was that a small minority of the classifications were sufficient to characterise the majority of the tile patterns analysed, namely p1 (without symmetries except the ones from translations), p4 (only with  $90^\circ$  rotation symmetry) and p4m (with  $90^\circ$  rotation symmetry and at least 2 reflection symmetries that make  $45^\circ$  between them).

In this article, we carry out a similar study, obtaining some empirical data on the frequency of the different types of tile patterns found in the large database of the *Az Infinitum – Azulejo Indexation and Referencing System*, an online platform, constantly updated, which inventories, catalogues and documents the tile heritage produced or applied in Portugal to date. From this, we have only chosen pattern type tiles, i.e. those whose identifier begins with 'P-' followed by a number (we recommend accessing the site to find out more information about a specific pattern). With this restriction, we evaluated 510 different tile patterns produced or otherwise applied in Portugal.

1. Originally published in (Washburn, Crowe, 1988), it can also be found in (Velo, 2012).

## CLASSIFICATION

Although Washburn and Crowe's classification is clear, the classification of the tiles is not as objective as one might like, so some rules had to be established from the outset to try to keep the analysis of the data as close to the materiality of the tile as possible. We therefore assigned each tile two classifications, which we have called strict and approximate, which we will describe below.

## HUMAN ERROR AND ARTISTIC DECISION

The classification we call strict uses a rigorous mathematical view to analyse symmetries. Since many tiles are handmade, they tend to have small imperfections in the symmetries. Also, their exposure to the elements can lead to some symmetries to be lost over time. As such, this explicitly mathematical classification means that the vast majority of patterns would be classified as p1 (without symmetries except the ones from translations). In the approximate classification, we accept faults in the symmetry that are the source of human error or are undetectable to an observer analysing the tile without further tools, thus considering these errors to be negligible [fig.01,02,03].



**Fig. 01.** Pattern P-19-00142: The positions of the small dots at the top of each flower invalidate the symmetries in the strict classification (source: *Az Infinitum*, designed by Inês Aguiar)



**Fig. 02.** Pattern P-19-00150: The green areas are not evenly coloured, which also invalidates the symmetries in the strict classification (source: *Az Infinitum*, designed by Inês Aguiar)



**Fig. 03.** Pattern P-20-00132: The four flowers in the centre are arranged in such a way that the pattern has no rotational symmetry, although this is clearly intended (source: *Az Infinitum*, designed by Inês Aguiar)

## SENSE OF THE SYMMETRY

The use of the approximate classification needs some justification due to the additional subjectivity it introduces, on top of the one strict classification already entails. A secondary objective of this work is to identify common patterns in tiles and try to extrapolate conclusions about which ones might be more pleasing to the human experience, within a certain cultural context. For this purpose, having results that are presented as p1, or without symmetries (other than translational), when they are easily identified as having 'quasi-symmetries', i.e. some visual harmony identifiable with a group of patterns with the same classification, makes no sense, since the object of study is inevitably artistic.

## OTHER NOTES ON CLASSIFICATION

Tilings can be obtained from a *motif*, that is, a small, limited figure that generates the whole tiling by translations. Usually, the square tile can be taken as a motif, as the pattern consists of translations of this tile, with no rotations. This is called a *module* in the Az Infinitem database.

It should also be noted that, in some instances, the Az *Infinitem* database only shows a *reduced motif* as the motif of the pattern – in other words, to obtain the desired plane tiling, you must resort not only to translations, but also to rotations or reflections of this reduced motif. When the tile itself is used as a reduced motif (and is rotated, for instance, to create the motif for the tiling), the larger motif created is called a *composite motif* (Rodrigues, Freitas, 2018). There are thus several ways to use the reduced motif to produce different motifs and patterns [fig.04]. In the cases where a composite motif and/or multiple motifs are presented in the database, strictly speaking, the first option presented was chosen. In any case, these cases are a much smaller number than the total of patterns analysed, so they won't affect the conclusions.

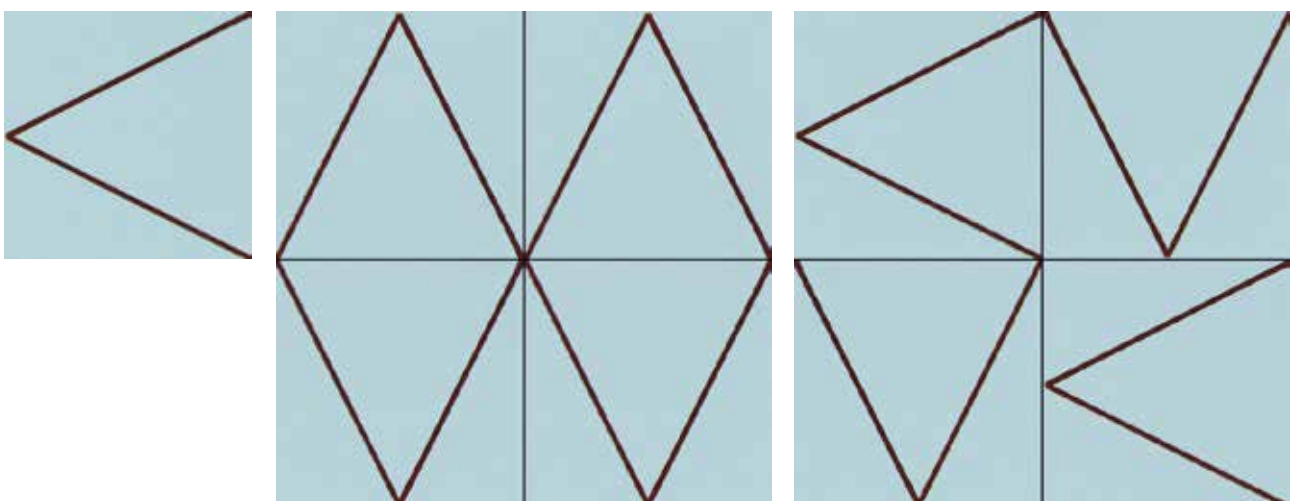
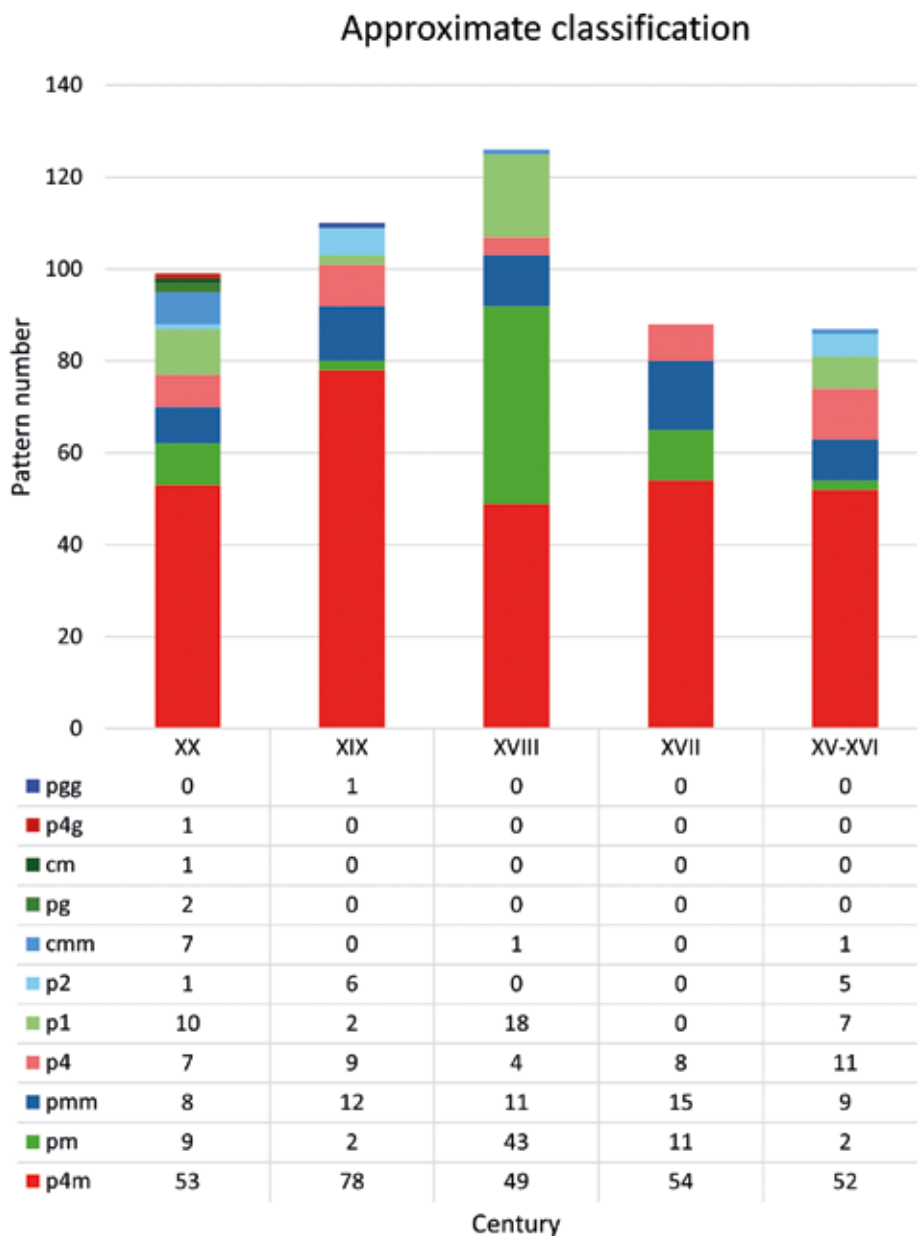


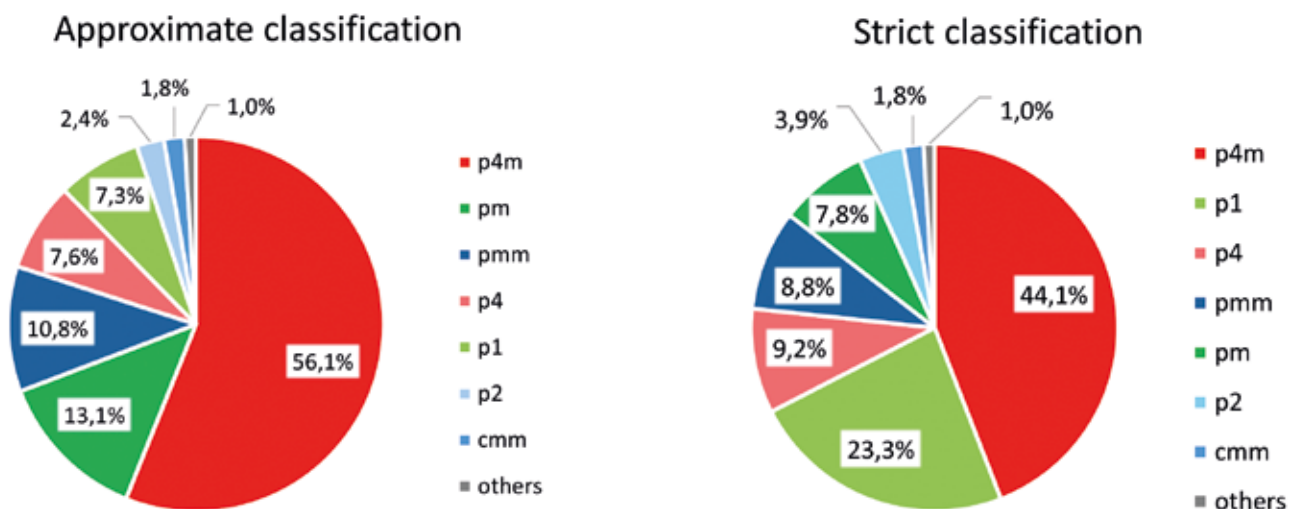
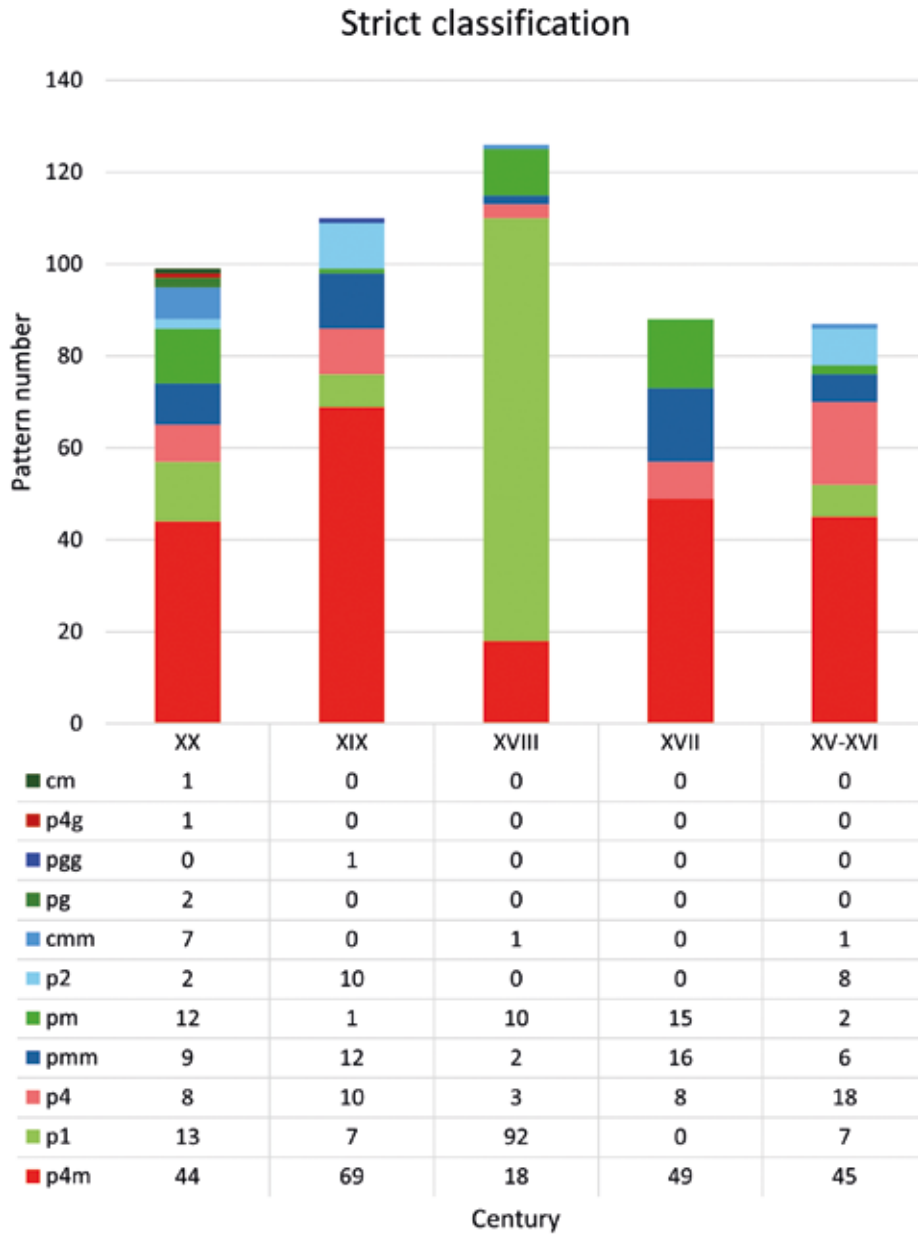
Fig. 04. Pattern P-20-00048: a tile as reduced motif, with two possible composite motifs (source: Az Infinitem, designed by Inês Aguiar)

## RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

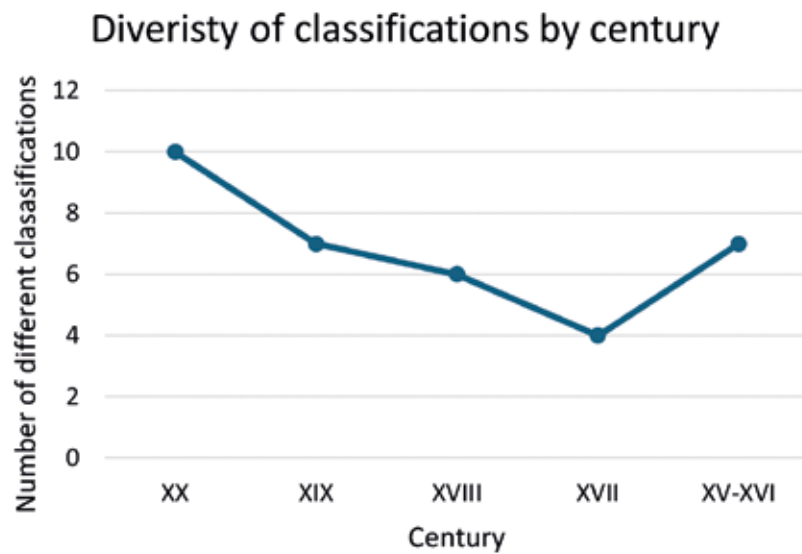
We present here the statistical results obtained for the approximate and strict classifications, respectively, adding the division into centuries of these classifications [graph.01,02].

We can immediately conclude from the circular graphs [graph.01] that what was found by Rodrigues and Freitas is indeed true (Rodrigues, Freitas, 2018): the most frequent classifications are p1, p4 and p4m, accounting for more than 70% of the patterns studied in both analyses. The classifications pm (only one reflection symmetry) and pmm (180° rotation symmetry and reflections in two directions) also have a frequency comparable to p4 or p1. We can also see that, as expected, p1 is much more recurrent in the strict classification than in the approximate one.





Graphs 01. Graphic representation of the statistical analysis of the gathered data of the tiles in the database in which the red, purple, blue and green colors are associated with rotation symmetries of (respectively) 90°, 120°, 180° and 360° (source: authors)



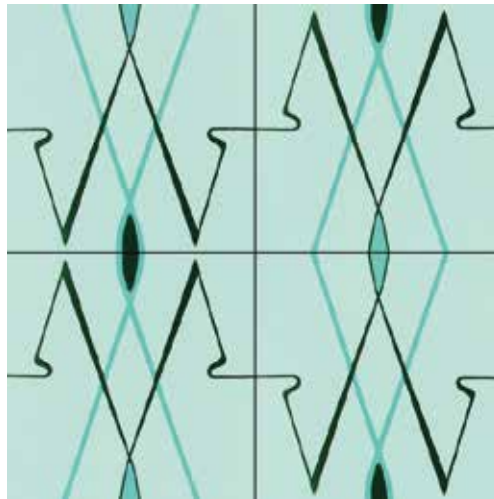
**Graph 02.** Graphic of the number of different patterns by century (same values for both the strict and approximate classifications)  
(source: authors)

## POMBALINE STYLE

It is interesting to discuss why there are so many patterns classified as p1 in the 18<sup>th</sup> century tile patterns, as is apparent from the bar graphs [graph.01]. The database used has an abundance of tiles labelled “Pombaline” in the catalogued 18<sup>th</sup> century tiles. Most of these tiles have a common property: they seek to simulate the incidence of light (regularly from above) which means that, for example, in patterns with floral themes in the corners of the motif, these are coloured with different intensities and sometimes different colours in different corners [fig.05]. These variations come from artistic choices, so most of the patterns in this style have been categorised as p1 in the strict classification, but differently with the approximate classification.



**Fig. 05.** Pattern P-18-00116: Pombaline pattern  
“simulating the incidence of light, orientated from above, suggesting volumetry”  
(source: *Az Infinitum*, designed by Inês Aguiar)



**Fig. 06.** Pattern P-20-00050: 20<sup>th</sup> century pattern with classification *cmm* (source: *Az Infinitum*, designed by Inês Aguiar)

An interesting conclusion is that the 20<sup>th</sup> century clearly has the greatest diversity of patterns [fig.06]. This is to be expected, given that it was in the 20<sup>th</sup> century that the modernist movement occurred, bringing about a subversion of artistic traditions (this database does not currently include patterned tiles from the 21<sup>st</sup> century, so it is plausible that there is even greater diversity there).

## AESTHETICS

Comparing the results obtained with the literature on human aesthetic preference of patterns, we see that the results seem to be in line with what is expected. Reham Sanad shows the following order of pattern preference is presented (Sanad, 2017), obtained from a study of more than 800 pattern evaluations:

$p4m > p6 > p3m1 > p6m > p4 > p31m > cmm > p4g > pmg > pmm > p3 > pm > p2 > cm > pg > p1 > pgg$

To compare this result with the one we obtained, it is important to bear in mind that all the tiles analysed are square, and many of the patterns that appear to be preferred in this study don't work so well on square tiles. In particular, patterns with rotational symmetries of 60° and 120° do not adjust to square tiles. These are classified as *p6*, *p3m1*, *p6m*, *p31m* and *p3*. Some patterns are, however, quite close: in figure 7 can be seen a vertical dilation of a *p3m1* pattern (it would be such a pattern if the tile had proportions 1 to  $\sqrt{3}/2$  and the triangles were equilateral) [fig.07].

We present the order below, after removing the classifications referred to above from the original order in (Sanad, 2017), followed by the order obtained here through our approximate classification<sup>2</sup>:

$p4m > p4 > cmm > p4g > pmg > pmm > pm > p2 > cm > pg > p1 > pgg$

$p4m > pm > pmm > p4 > p1 > p2 > cmm > pg > cm > p4g > pgg > pmg$

2. We excluded the only classification with a rotation symmetry other than 90 or 180 for comparison, for the reasons already given, and added the *pmg* classification in last place to include all the classifications in the order present in the referenced article.

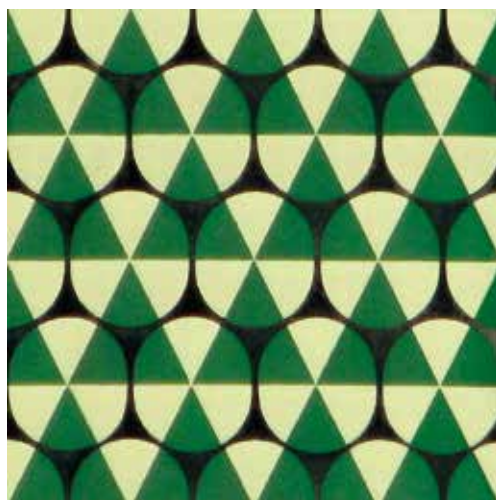


Fig. 07. Pattern P-20-00038: A pattern in the database which is a small dilation of a p3m1 pattern (source: *Az Infinitum*, designed by Inês Aguiar)

Comparing these two lists, we can immediately conclude that there is a clear preference for p4m patterns. Figure 8 shows two examples of tiles that generate patterns with this classification: it has eight mirror symmetries, along the medians and the diagonals of the tile, and four rotational symmetries (including the identity) [fig.08]. The pm and pmm classifications appear more frequently than expected. This may be because, despite the use of approximate classification, many patterns that could be aesthetically assessed as p4 or p4m are still being classified as pm or pmm because the differences are significant. The same explanation can be attributed to p1 patterns.

It should also be noted that aesthetic preference is not the only decisive force in the creation of tile patterns. Like any piece of art, many of the patterns seek, for example, to subvert the expectations of what was previously created, sometimes even to the detriment of immediate aesthetic preference. So, we can also attribute some of the discrepancies to this.

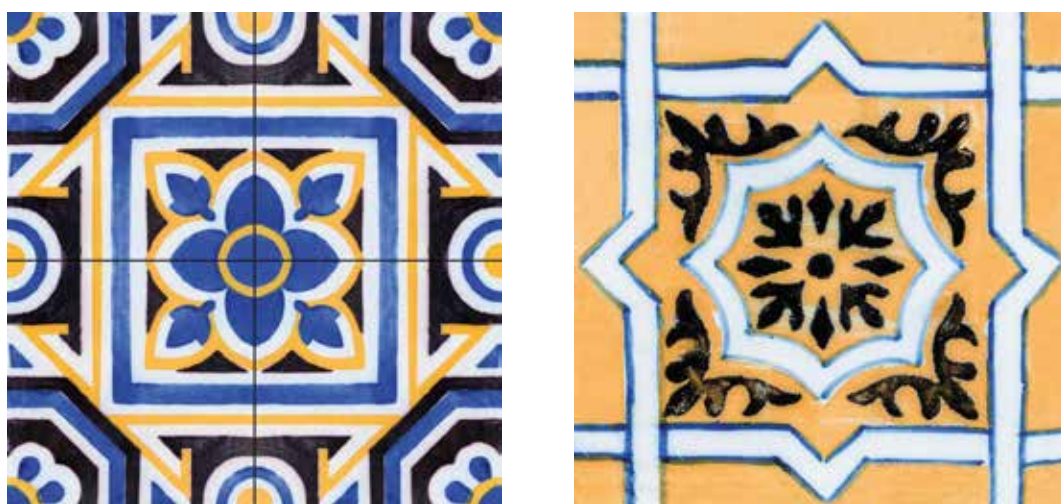


Fig. 08. Examples of tiles with the most frequent classification, p4m (source: *Az Infinitum*, designed by Inês Aguiar)

Finally, we note that this study was carried out in 2017, so it reflects the aesthetic preferences of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, which can differ greatly from those of previous centuries. For example, the cmm pattern appears in a fairly high position in the aforementioned study. Also, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century data in the bar charts, we see that cmm has a significant fraction in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but less in previous ones.

This last section shows how difficult it is to carry out an impartial study when classifying something as human as art, which is inevitably linked to those who analyse it.

## AUTOMATIC CLASSIFICATION

There is a possible way to mitigate this bias. While in this work the patterns were identified manually, algorithms have been developed and are constantly being updated (Reddy, 2005) that seek to automate this process (Collins, 2004). It seems to be an interesting idea, perhaps in the interest of the *Az Infinitum* team, to try to collaborate with those responsible for this computational model to include an automated classification on their website, which nevertheless takes into account the small imperfections and artistic choices we have mentioned.

## CONCLUSIONS

To summarise, it was found that the most common pattern in this database is clearly p4m followed by p4, p1, pm and pmm, in no particular order, and that this seems to make sense with social studies regarding human aesthetic preference. There is an open possibility for the application of algorithmic methods to the study of patterns in tiles, especially as it turns out that manual classification is amenable to great impartiality, although some attention is also needed to possible lacks of strict symmetry that are merely a consequence of the artisanal nature of manufacture. In general, this area still has a lot to study.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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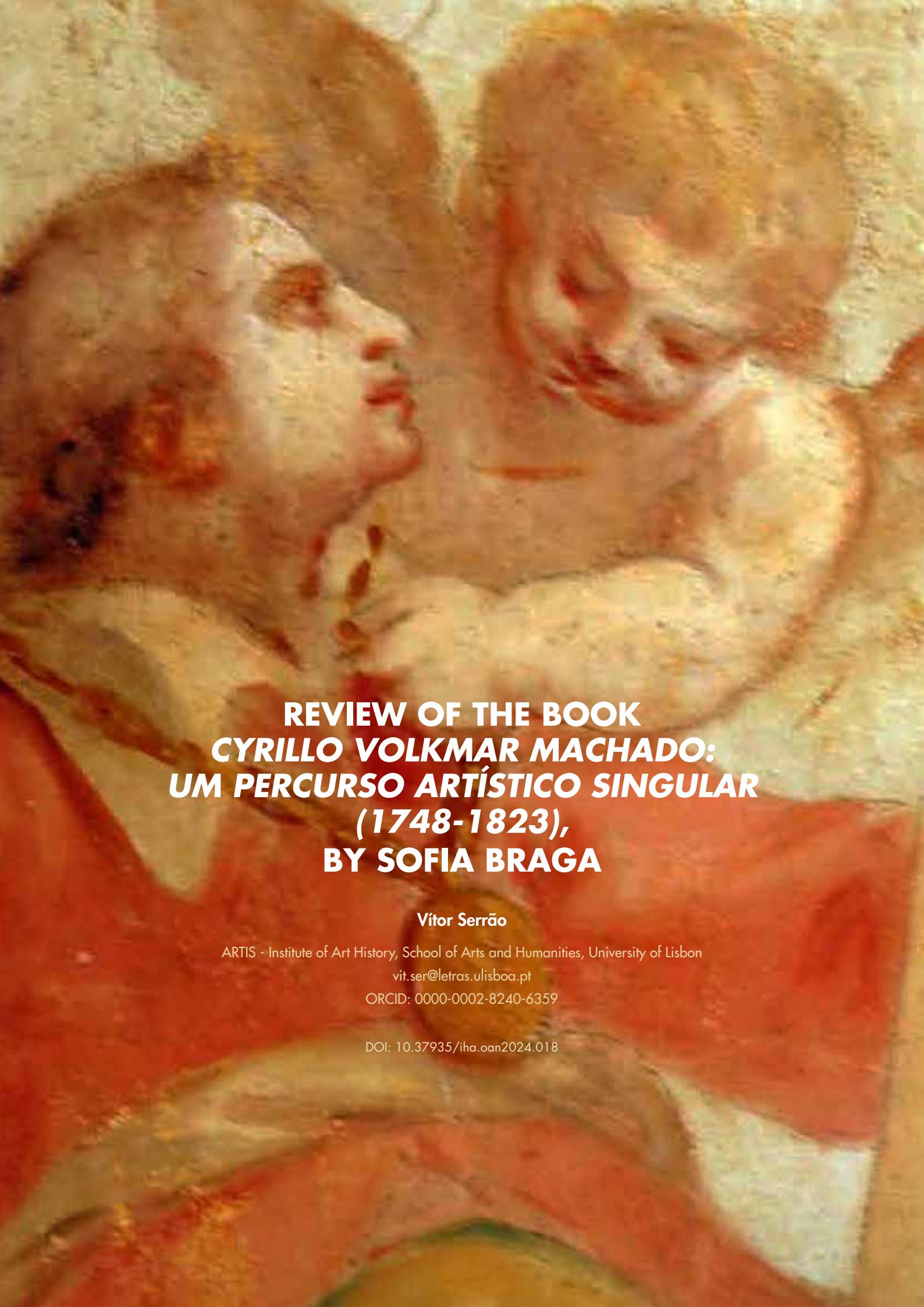
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**REVIEW OF THE BOOK  
CYRILLO VOLKMAR MACHADO:  
UM PERCURSO ARTÍSTICO SINGULAR  
(1748-1823),  
BY SOFIA BRAGA**

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Recently published by Caleidoscópio, Sofia Braga's long-awaited monograph on Cyrillo Volkmar Machado (1748-1823) fills a significant gap in Portuguese art history. Cyrillo was an industrious painter, architect, set designer, decorator, academic, and writer whose contributions profoundly impacted the national art scene from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

This comprehensive study by an art historian Sofia Braga meticulously examines Cyrillo's life and work, and the cultural context in which he operated. She traces his artistic journey from training in Lisbon, Seville and Rome to his prominent mural cycles in the salons of the grand bourgeoisie and "great works" of the kingdom in the finest Lisbon's aristocratic palaces, including Pombeiro, Porto Covo, Barão de Quintela, and Duque de Lafões, while also exploring his contributions to royal commissions, such as the palaces of Mafra and Ajuda. Additionally, Braga highlights his expertise in the art of illumination for royal festivities during the reign of King John VI and Queen Carlota Joaquina, for whom he served as court painter, his set designs for theatres like São Carlos and Salitre, and his unique *rovine* projects, including the folly grotto at Quinta dos Senhores de Belas.

Often dismissed by 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>-century critics, Cyrillo achieved a remarkable *aggiornata* quality in these commissions, especially his mural paintings, and also in some easel works. In addition, he promoted art education and the development of the arts, founding the *Academia de Desenho* academy in 1780, a precursor to future fine arts schools. He reorganised the *Irmandade de São Lucas* brotherhood, established in 1602 by leading figures of the Mannerist generation including Fernão Gomes, and initiated in 1819 the conferences of artists for the royal palace of Ajuda known as *Conferências de Artistas para o Real Palácio da Ajuda*, a forum for the discussion of topical architectural, painting, and other artistic issues.

Since Cyrillo's work has historically been "undermined by prejudice" (p. 268), Sofia Braga seeks to redress this injustice by engaging in an open, thorough dialogue with the artist's oeuvre, aiming to counter the limited analyses that have long restricted appreciation for Cyrillian painting. While works like *The Story of Esther* (1779) in the Casa de Cultura cultural centre in Elvas, coach decorations for the Royal House, and the conventional Apostolate at the Church of Loreto in Lisbon may appear overly derivative of Italian-French engraving styles, Cyrillo's creative expression reaches a new intensity in his grand mural cycles. In the halls of the Palace of the Baron of Quintela and Count of Farrobo (1786-1787), for example, *Council of the Gods* in the so-called Camonian Room stands out, as does his *Triumph of the Arts* series at the Pombeiro Palace (1788-1790), where his scenographic sensibilities are matched by a remarkable talent for portraiture. The tradition of the *grotesche* of classical antiquity also reemerges with strength, notably in the Arcadia Room of this Lisbon palace. Braga meticulously examines these stylistic and thematic aspects, giving precise attention to both the formal elements and the historical sources that Cyrillo drew upon.

The commission Cyrillo received in 1791 from Dom João Carlos de Bragança, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Lafões, to paint the rooms of his Lisbon palace, stands as one of his most distinguished works. This project features a complex iconographic programme (which the author refers to as "enigmatic themes" on p. 90 and following), grounded in erudition through which the various "stories" elevate the *Parnassus of Arts and Letters* and affirm the enduring liberality intrinsic to the art of painting. Thorough examination of these works required both a deep understanding of Cyrillo's evolution as an artist and a sustained, discerning focus – tasks that Sofia Braga skillfully achieves. Her definition of Cyrillo as "a pioneer of Lisbon's First Neoclassicism (or Proto-Classicism)" (p. 266) is thus fully validated.

The theme of nature emerges prominently in the former Casa da Tocha of Mafra Palace, now known as the Sala de Diana. Rather than reflecting an early pre-romantic tendency, it embodies strong neoclassical references, drawing inspiration from Domenichino and the Carracci, and literary influences steeped in Virgil and Ovid. This same Italian *Seicento* influence, informed by the Roman style, appears in the ceiling painting of the South Oratory of Mafra Palace (1796) and in the Sala dos Destinos. These works are now reemerging after a long period of neglect and obscurity.

These are all paintings of exceptional quality. Cyrillo's ceiling works in the final decorative cycle of the Ajuda National Palace (post-1814) showcase his command of Italian quadratura techniques and, notably, surpass the achievements of other ceiling painters active in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, such as Arcangelo Fuschini and José da Cunha Taborda. His canvas paintings for the religious sphere, like *Santa Maria de Alcáçova* in Santarém (1817-1818) and *The Last Supper* in the church of São Sebastião da Pedreira in Lisbon (1814), also reflect this high standard and hold their own alongside the revered sacred works of Pedro Alexandrino de Carvalho's later oeuvre.

A valuable collection of easel paintings, ceiling murals, academic drawings, *bozzettos*, and preparatory studies completes the analysis in this beautiful book, offering a comprehensive profile of an artist who was both "learned and excellent", yet unjustly underestimated. This assessment resonates with the late art historian Paulo Varela Gomes's insightful words: "... he was the first Portuguese art historian and the man who wrote most about artistic issues from Francisco de Holanda to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century". In fact, Cyrillo's renowned work *Collecção de memorias relativas ás vidas dos pintores, e escultores, architetos, e gravadores portuguezes, e dos estrangeiros, que estiverão em Portugal* (Lisbon, 1823), to which he dedicated many years of research – during the same period in which he sought to reorganise the now-defunct Brotherhood of São Lucas in Lisbon – establishes him as a Portuguese counterpart to Giorgio Vasari. Cyrillo is often considered as the initiator of the literary genre we now recognise as artistic biography.

Over the course of three hundred pages, the author offers a detailed study based on primary sources, supplemented by previously unpublished material. She corrects chronologies and establishes authorship, discipleship, and collaborations – such as the role of Bernardo António de Oliveira Góis, Cyrillo's assistant in Mafra. Demonstrating exceptional sensitivity in analysing Cyrillo's pictorial output, the author rigorously traces the artist's aesthetic development, from the late Baroque taste of King Joseph's reign to the influences of his masters (such as Pellegrino Parodi and his uncle João Pedro Volkmar). This study culminates in what Sofia Braga identifies as the Proto-Neoclassicism of Rome, influenced by artists like Batoni and Mengs, while also considering the formalist theories of Joachim Winckelmann, particularly the *all'antico* style of classical Greece.

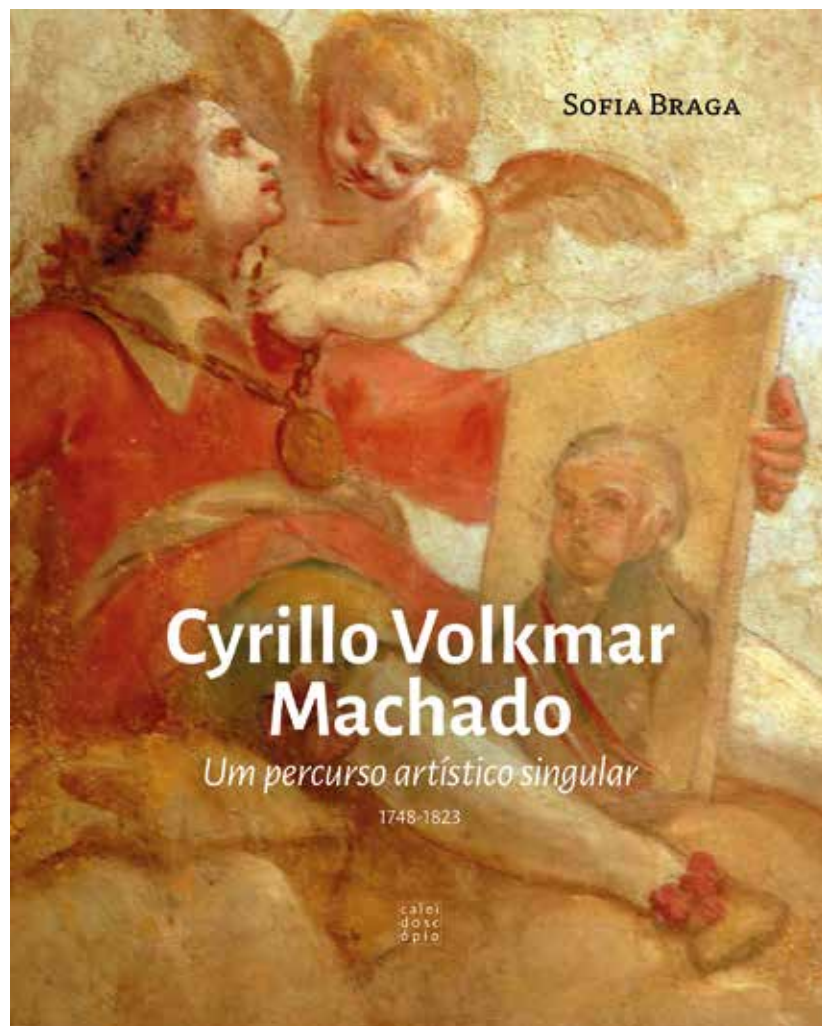
As a painter and writer, Cyrillo was both a theoretician steeped in Italian culture and, in many respects, an innovator in artistic ideas and practices. His progressive approach is evidenced by his dedication to reforming arts education, including his unsuccessful attempt to launch a nude model class in Lisbon. He also championed the status of women artists, influenced in this regard by his sister, Joaquina Isabel Volkmar, an amateur painter.

While Sofia Braga argues that it would be reductive to view Cyrillo solely as a painter within the late-Baroque canon (p. 266), it is equally accurate to note that he remained untouched by the new Romanticism. Instead, his mature work bears the strong influence of Neoclassicism, inspired by his exposure to Italian art. Upon returning to Portugal, he brought a cosmopolitan perspective that marked a discursive shift away from domestic styles and positioned him on the fringes of international Rococo, visible in the remarkable ceiling paintings he created in Lisbon's grand palaces.

According to Braga, Cyrillo's artistic peak can be traced to around 1786, marked by the exceptional quality of his paintings for the palace of the Baron of Quintela and Count of Farrobo. Her analysis goes beyond stylistic examination, delving into iconography, iconology, history painting, and even Camonian themes, with which Cyrillo imbued references to Portugal's presence in the East. His painted scenes reveal a confident approach to portraiture, pose, and composition, alongside a warm and harmonious colour palette that sought to revive order in painting, which had been overshadowed by the artificial excesses of King Joseph I's reign.

Cyrillo's career, however, unfolded during turbulent times, with political upheavals stemming from the anti-Pombaline *Viradeira*, the royal family's absence in Brazil, the French invasions, and the onset of the Liberal Revolution. These challenging circumstances likely contributed to his posthumous decline in reputation, with later art historians largely overlooking his contributions – except for his work as a writer, particularly the *Collecção de Memórias*, which continued to be appreciated and widely referenced.

The distinctive pictorial qualities of this artist, who, grounded in a rigorous academic training, skillfully adapted his style to incorporate neoclassical innovations, are at last acknowledged and rehabilitated in this work of intellectual depth and thorough critical analysis. The author, a researcher at the ARTIS-IHA-FLUL research centre, holds a master's degree in Art History from the University of Lisbon's School of Arts and Humanities (2011). Her thesis, entitled *Contributos para o Estudo da Pintura Mural na Arquitectura Palatina Lisboaeta entre o Tardo-barroco e o Neoclassicismo (1775-c.1820)*, supervised by Luís Afonso and Ana Paula Rebelo Correia, laid the foundation for her later book, *Pintura Mural Neoclássica em Lisboa: Cyrillo Volkmar Machado no Palácio do Duque de Lafões e Pombeiro-Belas*, which reflects her long-standing academic focus, further evidenced in numerous publications, conferences, and projects. This book also serves as the corollary to her PhD dissertation, which was developed under the guidance of Teresa Leonor Vale at the same institution and stands as a foundational reference on the work of Cyrillo Volkmar Machado.



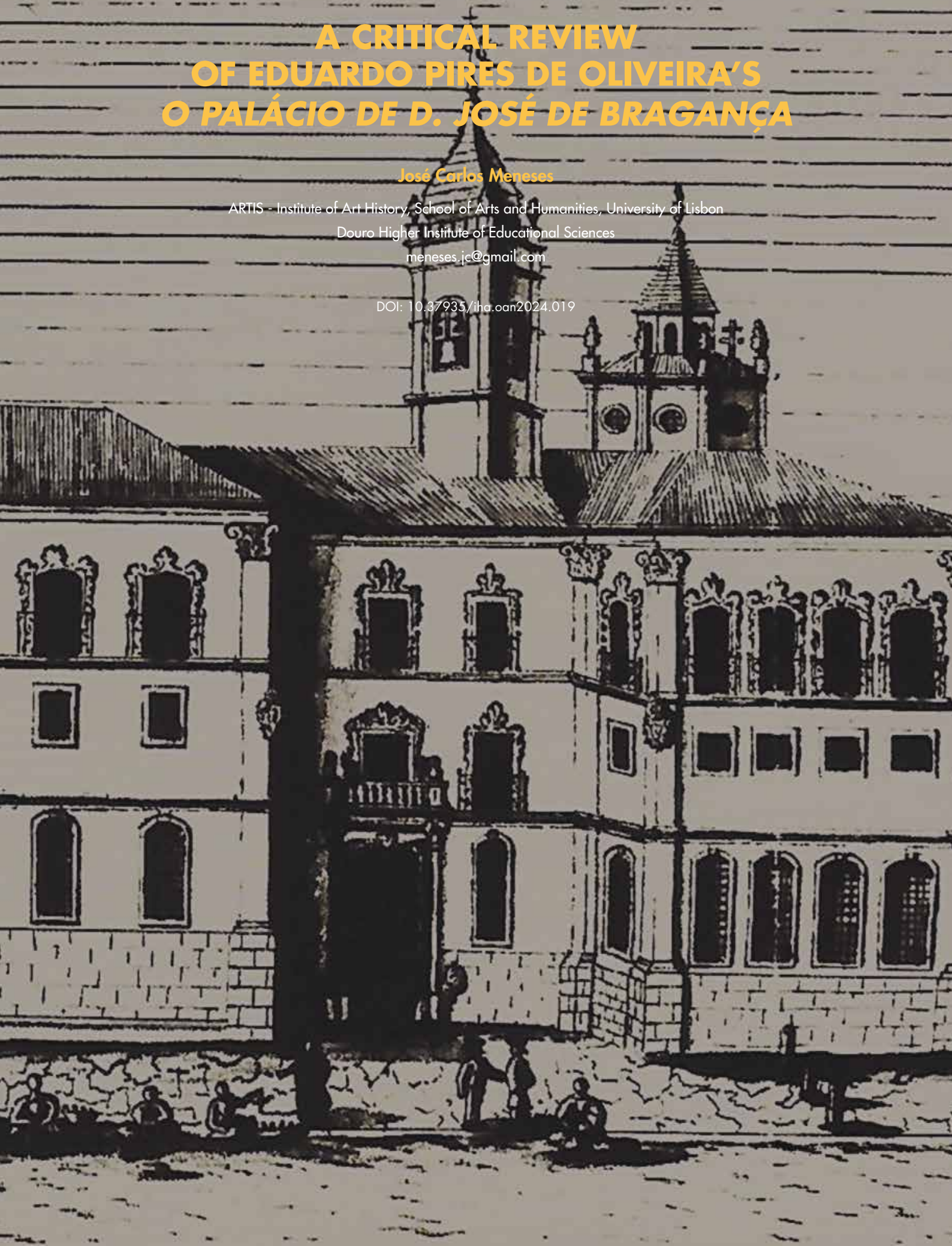
Sofia Braga – *Cyrillo Volkmar Machado: Um percurso artístico singular (1748-1823)*.  
Lisbon: Caleidoscópio, 2023

# A CRITICAL REVIEW OF EDUARDO PIRES DE OLIVEIRA'S *O PALÁCIO DE D. JOSÉ DE BRAGANÇA*

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## ABOUT EDUARDO PIRES DE OLIVEIRA

Eduardo P. de Oliveira (b. Braga, 1950) holds a PhD in Art History from the University of Porto. His dissertation, entitled *André Soares e o Rococó do Minho* (André Soares and the Rococo in Minho), reflects his expertise in this field. He is an Integrated Researcher at ARTIS, the Art History Institute of the University of Lisbon, and has authored approximately 250 studies. A specialist in the Baroque and Rococo styles of Minho and Northern Portugal, his research extends to regions influenced by Minho natives, particularly Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, as well as Peru and Galicia in Spain.

## A SURVEY OF BRAGA'S FORMER ARCHIEPISCOPAL PALACE

In 2018, Maria Manuel Oliveira began the requalification project entitled *Abrir o Paço à Cidade* (Opening the Palace to the City), a meaningful initiative reflecting both the history of the building and its future potential as a multifunctional space, a characteristic it has always maintained. This project laid the foundation for the revitalisation of the main buildings of the University of Minho, located in the old Archiepiscopal Palace of Braga.

The project was complex, addressing various historical phases of the palace's construction, including its mediaeval origins (14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries), the modern elements (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries), and features from the Baroque period (18<sup>th</sup> century). It also considered the transfer of rural assets following the dissolution of monasteries and other religious institutions in 1834, the devastating fire of 1866, and the palace's varied uses over time. These included its roles under Minho Regional Council, the Civil Government, military headquarters, the fire brigade, the postal and telecommunications department, as well as modifications made "by individuals who remodelled the interior spaces solely for their own functional needs" (M.M. Oliveira, *Abrir "o Paço" à cidade*, 2018: 42). The intervention of the Estado Novo (New State) regime also left its mark.

As a result, over the course of centuries, the palace's true noble function was often neglected – a situation eventually corrected when the University of Minho, founded in 1973, took over the palace buildings. The initial goal was to establish the Braga Public Library (BPB) and the university's Rectory, along with offices for the university council and board of trustees. Additional extensions were built, and the entire complex was landscaped, significantly improving the building's image and its relationship with external entities (M.M. Oliveira, *Abrir "o Paço" à cidade*, 2018).

This transformation reflected a shift "from defensive isolation to urban assertiveness" (M.M. Oliveira, *Abrir "o Paço" à cidade*, 2018: 29). The research supporting this project, including bibliographic and archaeological studies, was led by Maria Manuel Oliveira. Our work primarily draws on the writings of Eduardo Pires de Oliveira and Paula Bessa (2013), Jorge Pamplona (undated), and Henrique Manuel Nunes and Manuel Mendes Atanázio (1980), among others.

Of particular importance are the series of interventions carried out by the Directorate-General of National Buildings and Monuments (DGEMN) in the 1930s and 1950s, which had a profound impact on the palace (M.M. Oliveira, *Abrir "o Paço" à cidade*, 2018: p.31).

In general, this review traces the evolution of the palace and the foundational elements of the requalification project for the main campus of the University of Minho at the former Archiepiscopal Palace of Braga. The aim is to highlight the close relationship the palace has always maintained with the city and the institutional motivations driving the project.

## DOM JOSÉ DE BRAGANÇA, ARCHBISHOP OF BRAGA: HIS JESUIT EDUCATION

Dom José de Bragança attended the University of Évora, and in 1725, he moved into the College of the Company of Jesus, where he occupied a wing on the second floor with interconnecting rooms and a private chapel. He completed his studies in Philosophy and earned a doctorate in Theology in 1733. Upon his return to Évora in 1739, he celebrated his first mass in the private oratory of his half-brother, King John V. He was appointed Archbishop and Lord of Braga and took up the post in 1741. His journey is detailed in one of our sources (A.F. Conde, *O espaço do lúdico na sociedade*, 2013: 7-8).

Dom José was known for his playful nature, both in his youth and as an adult. He believed in providing novices with time for recreation during their training, a practice likely rooted in his own education at the Jesuit College in Évora. Francisco Rodrigues, a Jesuit chronicler, notes that the Jesuit College and the University of Évora thrived due to the intervention of Cardinal Dom Henrique in the mid-1500s (A.F. Conde, *O espaço do lúdico na sociedade*, 2013: 8).

Conde describes several games from this period, including one similar to the French game of billiards, played with a short cue. There was even a room dedicated to this game in the palace of Dom José de Bragança. Other games included throwing stones or coins into a conca and playing with a spinning top. The Jesuits assigned symbolic significance to these games, using them to motivate novices in their training by drawing comparisons with earlier recreational practices, whether from classical antiquity or the French court. The game of conca, for example, was considered the least prestigious, as it involved stones, was painful to the hands, and was seen as the most tiring and crude of the games mentioned (A. F. Conde, *O espaço do lúdico na sociedade*, 2013: 5-7).

These insights help paint a picture of Dom José de Bragança, Archbishop of Braga. His title as Lord of Braga was soon revoked by his brother, King John V, due to the power amassed by the cathedral chapter at court and its influence over the king during the thirteen years the archbishopric had been vacant. When Dom José returned to Braga in 1750 – the year of John V's death – it marked the beginning of his influential role in the city, significantly raising its national profile.

## FROM ÉVORA TO BRAGA BY WAY OF GUIMARÃES

Eduardo Pires de Oliveira describes the arrival of Dom José de Bragança following his appointment as Archbishop at Braga Cathedral and the resulting impact on both the Chapter and Dom José himself. The office had been vacant for thirteen years (1728-1741), leading to widespread mismanagement at the cathedral, especially regarding the duties of the canons. This was most evident in the financial chaos that followed. Acting more like a prince than an archbishop, Dom José posed a threat to the canons. However, he was warmly received by the common people, likely because of his royal lineage, which elevated Braga to the status of the second seat of the court in Portugal (pp. 99-103).

When Dom José took up his post at Braga Cathedral, the Chapter was in financial ruin, despite the Church owning about 64% of the city's houses (p.99). Some key issues he encountered included:

- the organs in the upper choir and the new choir stalls had been installed without a formal contract with the suppliers, resulting in exorbitant costs
- during the period during which his post was vacant, the cathedral chapter had managed the Church's revenues, prompting Dom José to demand that the canons account for their financial management
- these and other concerns led to the imprisonment of 17 canons for 40 days in 1742.

As tensions in Braga remained high, John V sent Dom José to Guimarães, where he was welcomed and made important contributions during his 18-month exile there.

Following John V's death in 1750, Dom José returned to Braga (pp.100-101). He supported the city council's work and pursued his personal ambition to construct a palace, which notably included a games room, as mentioned earlier.

Eduardo Pires de Oliveira highlights two observations in this chapter (p.103):

- Dom José rejected Marceliano de Araújo's retable for the palace chapel's altarpiece
- he also refused a change in the carving design for the Church of the Monastery of Carmo in Guimarães.

These decisions likely stem from his artistic training at the University of Évora. Oliveira (2001, p.29) also references the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Braga commissioner, who was largely under the Archbishop's authority. This lends further weight to Dom José's interventions and aligns with the comprehensive research conducted by Eduardo P. de Oliveira.

Curiously, Dom José did not focus on renovating the cathedral but instead concentrated on most of the convents in the archdiocese, raising their surrounding walls to isolate them from the city while also improving living conditions for the nuns (E.P. Oliveira, *André Soares e o Rococó do Minho*, 2011: I, 24).

In conclusion, Eduardo Pires de Oliveira documents what he deems essential about Dom José de Bragança's contributions during his time in Braga and Guimarães. He cautiously attributes the emergence of the Rococo in Minho to Dom José's influence (E. P. Oliveira, *Os alvares do Rococó em Guimarães*, 2003, p.21). Oliveira suggests that "[...] one of the first manifestations of the Rococo in Minho can likely be found in Guimarães, in the details [...] of the portal of the Convent of Santa Clara Rosa Lima and the lintel of one of the main portals of the Casa dos Coutos (1747-1748); in Braga, traces of the Rococo style can be seen on the façade of the palace commissioned by Dom José de Bragança and completed in mid-1751 [...]"

The engravings in King John V's library, "[...] perhaps the largest such library in Europe [...] (p.103)," were instrumental in the use of the Rococo in Minho. These works were likely developed by the extraordinary artist André Soares, the subject of Eduardo Pires de Oliveira's doctoral thesis. Soares "created the most spectacular example" of Rococo style in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Braga, seemingly "out of nothing." His family came from a modest background of merchants, only a generation removed from obscurity. At that time, Braga's architectural style was just beginning to escape the heavy, pervasive influence of late Mannerism, which had dominated for two and a half decades under Dom Rodrigo Moura Teles (E.P. Oliveira, *Os alvares do Rococó em Guimarães*, 2003: 34).

Interestingly, two archbishops from the Bragança family were linked to Minho's Rococo: Dom José, brother of John V (1741-1756), and Dom Gaspar, his nephew and brother of King Joseph (1758-1789) (E.P. Oliveira, *André Soares e o Rococó do Minho*, 2011: 1, 24).

We commend Eduardo Pires de Oliveira for the way, as an art historian and expert researcher, he draws connections between the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the time of Dom José de Bragança, and the Rococo period. In doing so, he celebrates the progression of Braga's art through the late Baroque, Baroque, and Rococo movements.

## THE PURPOSE OF THE PUBLICATION

Eduardo Pires de Oliveira presents one of Braga's most iconic buildings: the former Archbishops' Palace, which began construction in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and underwent significant alterations, particularly during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (p.5). Today, the palace houses the rectory of the University of Minho and the Braga Public Library, forming part of the emblematic Largo do Paço square, one of the most notable areas in the city.

This publication results from an extensive documentary compilation, incorporating the author's idiosyncratic perspectives, shaped by his deep expertise in Art History. A key focus of the work is André Soares, the subject of Oliveira's doctoral thesis. Also notable are the contributions of Paula Bessa, particularly in her work, *O «paço»: os paços arcebispos de Braga desde o período tardo-medieval e até finais do século XVI* (2013), in which she expresses her enthusiasm for the Archbishops' Palace of Braga and the studies conducted by Oliveira and others. Bessa's hope for a collaborative publication, featuring various contributors and edited by Oliveira, is also voiced in her text (P. Bessa, *O «paço»: Os paços arcebispos de Braga*, 2013: 3).

However, Oliveira ultimately chose to continue his work individually, and while a collaborative effort could have enriched the subject, his solo contribution remains significant and valuable.

When discussing Dom José de Bragança's palace, it might have been more effective to begin with a profile of the man, followed by a broader exploration of Rococo architecture in Portugal, where Braga's architectural contributions shine as notable examples. In this context, the architecture deserves special attention. Points covering the palace's exterior, interior spaces, chapel, garden, vegetable garden, and its state during Archbishop Gaspar de Bragança's time are thoroughly examined in subsequent chapters.

The text also delves into the architectural complex of the former Archbishops' Palace of Braga, tracing its evolution from the effects of the amortisation laws to the present. This includes coverage of the fire of 15 April 1866, and the various restoration efforts undertaken by the Directorate-General for National Buildings and Monuments (DGEMN). These restorations applied multiple, often inconsistent, methodologies, leading to incoherent results.

The author also discusses the Mediaeval Hall and plans for creating a space dedicated to safeguarding valuable assets, reiterating his opposition to the final outcome of the work.

This publication holds substantial relevance not only for the city of Braga but also for the broader academic community and the general public. It enriches the historical narrative of the city, particularly in areas of social and religious history, as well as local governance. The work sheds light on the multi-secular significance of this space, where religious power frequently eclipsed secular authority, with the archbishop's jurisdiction often overlapping with that of the city council.

## EDUARDO PIRES DE OLIVEIRA'S CRITICAL APPROACH

One of the most important topics in Eduardo Pires de Oliveira's work is the devastating fire of 15 April 1866, which destroyed the north wing of the palace (pp. 159-180). Oliveira provides a detailed account of the tragedy, including news reports, images, a recovery project, and the fate of the *Casa de Fresco*, a Rococo work now located at Bom Jesus do Monte. He also emphasises the shortage of firefighters and the immense solidarity shown in both Braga and Lisbon. However, the financial burden of such an extensive restoration was a significant challenge for a country as financially strained as Portugal.

This tragedy marked the beginning of decades of mostly ineffective interventions by the former Directorate-General of National Buildings and Monuments (DGEMN). The 1970s saw the creation of bodies that proved invaluable in later efforts. In 1936, Salazar praised the restoration efforts made in support of the *Estado Novo*: "[...] today, the Public Library and Archive of Braga, [...] which had endured neglect under two different regimes, [...] is now finally being restored: let us recapture the purity of its noble architecture, restore the tranquillity of its spaces, and safeguard the greatest manifestations of the spirit of Portugal and the ancient documents that bear witness to its birth" (p. 187). His statement, like those of modern politicians – though more speciously worded – reveals a profound lack of understanding of heritage preservation. Salazar even claimed that "[...] the safeguarding of our artistic heritage is one of the greatest achievements of the dictatorship. The meticulous, almost religious-like reconstitution of what we had and was in danger of being lost (...) continues without respite" (p. 187).

Oliveira critiques the fact that the recovered section of the building was not the most symbolic part, having been added in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Additionally, Salazar's distaste for the Baroque became an opportunity for him to praise the mediaeval period, further politicising the architectural recovery.

In Oliveira's view, the DGEMN exploited the fire-damaged section to create something new, ignoring surviving architectural features and disregarding the results of pre-intervention photographic surveys (pp. 195-196). While Oliveira's critique is valid, Paula Bessa offers a different perspective: she argues that judging restorations from the 1930s by late 20<sup>th</sup>-century standards is anachronistic and sometimes demagogic (P. Bessa, *O «paço»: Os paços arcebispais de Braga*, 2013:51-52). She stresses that every restoration is shaped by its technical, financial, and cultural context and suggests that criticism should avoid a destructive attitude that assumes present-day knowledge is absolute.

We agree with Bessa's more balanced approach, though Oliveira's specific focus on the use of images by the DGEMN highlights the need for rigour. For instance, the DGEMN labelled the building as a "pavilion" rather than a palace, demonstrating a lack of precision (p. 197).

The first phase of the restoration focused on building the Public Library, whose collection was previously housed at the Congregados convent. The library's grand inauguration on 1 December 1934 became an occasion to extol the Estado Novo and the role of Braga in the *Movement of 28 May 1926*. Gratitude was expressed in the following terms: "[...] we owe so much to Braga and despite all we have done for it there is nothing we can do to fully repay our debt (p.233) [...]". Oliveira notes that, strangely, no commemorative plaque was added to the restored building, which was typical of that era but does not reflect modern practices (p.234).

Oliveira is also critical of the disparity between the restorations of the mediaeval and Baroque sections. The Baroque part, unoccupied and despised by the *Estado Novo*, allowed for free intervention. In contrast, the mediaeval section, highly valued and treated with great respect, saw less urgency in its restoration (p.236). Oliveira also highlights that, in both Braga and Guimarães (where works were carried out on the Palace of the Dukes of Bragança from 1936 to 1940), restorers made bold changes, creating rooms of different sizes that departed from the original structures (p.238). He also highlights the extent of alterations to the mediaeval elements in Braga and the fact that in Guimarães the existing section did not extend above the ground floor while the nature of the intervention was more complex.

Bessa also criticises the closure of the DGEMN in the late 1990s, arguing that destructive criticism contributed to its demise. She believes that applying modern restoration criteria to works from the 1930s can be anachronistic and misleading (P. Bessa, *O «paço»: Os paços arcebispais de Braga*, 2013: 52). We share this opinion, especially considering that even today, despite advances in knowledge and legislation, heritage preservation is still often mishandled.

Oliveira also reflects on the work done on the Medieval Hall, a space cherished by the city for its aesthetic and architectural importance. Despite Braga having other concert venues, such as the Circus Theatre, the Mediaeval Hall was seen as a more fitting space for religious music (p.250). However, Oliveira does not fully account for the many factors, such as architectural and economic constraints, among others, that shaped the final decisions.

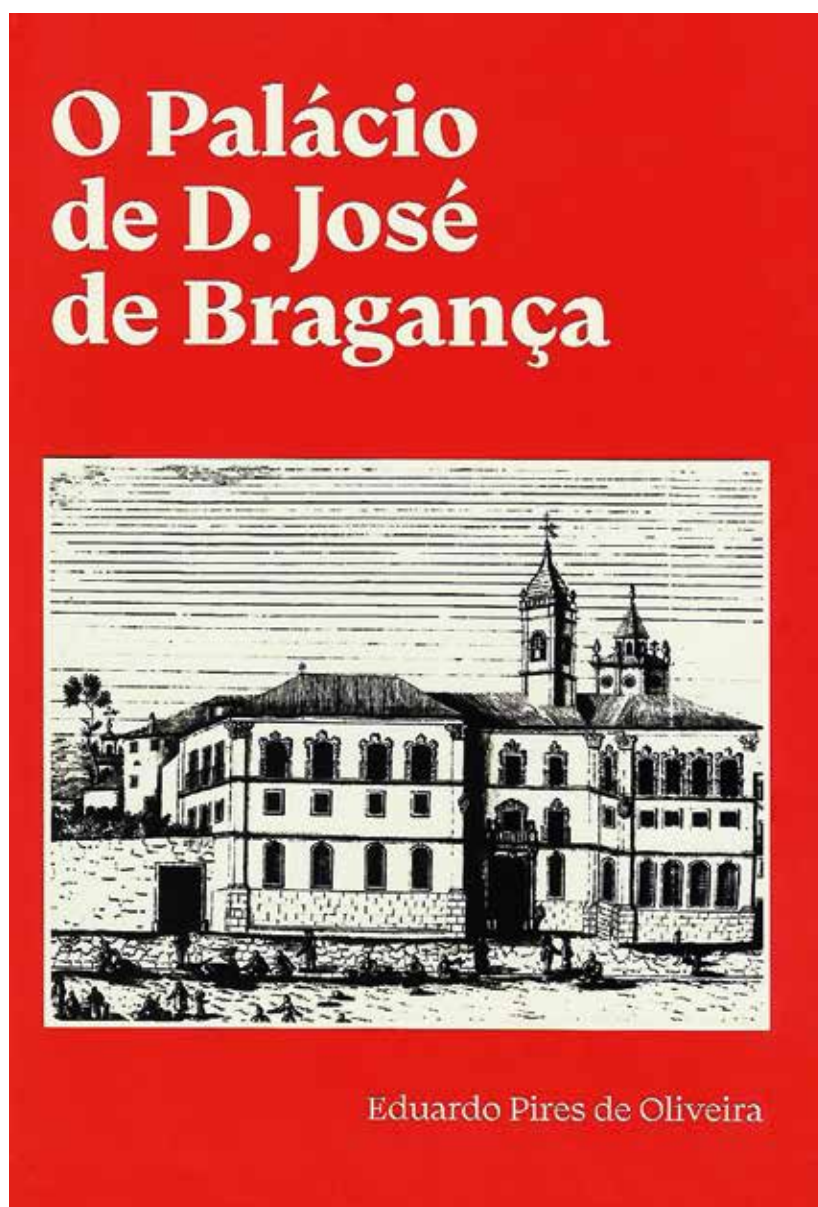
Lastly, the publication discusses the creation of a secure space for storing important documents, an initiative first proposed during World War II. Gonçalo Pereira, an inspector of libraries and archives, examined the old 1336 tower, part of the original archbishop's palace, as a potential site for this secure space, but the project did not progress further.

## CONCLUSION

The Palace of Dom José de Bragança holds great significance for both the academic community and the general public, independently of preservation and safeguarding concerns. These issues were explored in this review, with particular attention to the writings of Eduardo Pires de Oliveira, who deserves recognition for his extensive contributions to the study of Minho, Portugal, and other parts of the world, particularly Brazil.

Oliveira presents Dom José de Bragança more as an entrepreneur than a traditional archbishop, and this characteristic strongly influenced his tenure in Braga (and Guimarães). His impact can be seen in the numerous architectural and artistic projects he initiated, including improvements to convents and his interest in the arts. Notably, he vetoed works by artists such as Marceliano de Araújo, signalling that despite their widespread acclaim, there was at least one individual who was critical of their designs and chose not to commission them.

In discussing the palace, the chapters highlight the exhaustive, original, and distinct research conducted by Eduardo P. de Oliveira. His work resulted in a publication that not only showcases his scholarship but also honours the city of Braga. Moreover, he successfully associates the name of Archbishop Dom José de Bragança with the early appearance of the Rococo style in both Guimarães and Braga – a style the archbishop appreciated, having access to the engravings housed in his brother King John V's library.



Eduardo Pires de Oliveira – *O palácio de D. José de Bragança*. Braga: Câmara Municipal de Braga, 2021