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ON THE TRAIL OF BALTAZAR CASTRO, A PORTUGUESE RESTORER IN INDIA

In 1950 the architect Baltazar Castro arrived to the Portuguese Estado da Índia, commissioned to co-ordinate restorations to its monuments. Baltazar Castro was the former director of the Service of National Monuments from the DGEMN (the Portuguese state entity responsible for public works). The Portuguese dictatorial regime of that period used the 'great national Past' as a propagandistic instrument and, therefore, the architectural monuments, to be easily recognized and identified, had to recover their 'original pure shape' by reintegrating and removing from them 'spurious additions' obstructing or deforming their perception. This kind of patrimonial intervention began to be criticized, especially from the end of the 1940s onwards, coinciding with Baltazar Castro's retirement from the DGEMN and his commission into the Estado da Índia. This article focuses on Baltazar Castro's interventions in India, reflecting his previous practice in Portugal: in some works, an idealized image was intended to be recreated for the monuments, causing their adulteration by acquiring an image that they never had before. His action had a huge impact on the architectural heritage of Old Goa, some of it classified today as World Heritage by UNESCO.

KEYWORDS:

India, Portugal, restoration, monuments

Introduction

Baltazar da Silva Castro (1891-1967) joined in 1929 the General Bureau for National Buildings and Monuments (DGEMN) in its division of the Directorate of Monuments – North, when this institution was created, assuming its interim management one year later. His meteoric ascension led him, in 1936, to be director of the Section of Monuments (Service of National Monuments from 1947 onwards) in Lisbon, in the DGEMN headquarters¹.

Along with DGEMN's general-director, Henrique Gomes da Silva (1890-1960), Baltazar Castro became the main person responsible for technical and theoretical orientations concerning the safeguarding of Portuguese architectural heritage. It was under Baltazar Castro's leadership that the DGEMN had its golden age, namely the architectural heritage restorations in Portugal happened under the dictatorial regime of the Estado Novo (1933-1974).

Baltazar Castro and the patrimonial actions in Portugal

The Estado Novo², a nationalist and conservative dictatorship lead by António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970), used to consider architecture as a fundamental symbolic element of the Portuguese identity, as well as identification landmarks controlling the territory. This made monuments important components for the Portuguese regime, not only because of their artistic and historic values, but also for being carriers of ideological messages from the Estado Novo.

The DGEMN assumed from the regime its ideological directives, concerning patrimonial actions³. Nevertheless, there were no disciplinary guidelines (criteria and action principles) created by the DGEMN for practices in classified monuments to be followed by its technicians. Only in some texts were a few acting precepts mentioned, but with a non-binding dimension. For instance, general-director Gomes da Silva advocated the recovery of the pristine shapes of monuments lost over time. Considering ruins and architectural distortions as visible effects from the decadent ages that affected

Portugal before the establishment of the Estado Novo, the regime imposed a messianic imperative to recover the original shapes of monuments. Thus, the ancient national glories were also regenerated.

This lack of previously established official norms provided a varied set of results, from minimalist interventions to the most radical ones (only in specific cases), according to the existing circumstances. The projects for architectural monuments usually had a double character deductive (interpretation of remains) and inductive (typological analogies).

In general, the ranking order of the tasks performed were: structural consolidation, sometimes dismantling structures with reduced stability and reconstructing them using the same materials (occasionally reinforced with concrete); repairing wall plaster and painting it, but in some cases removing the plaster from monuments; demolition of structures considered as spurious, frequently from subsequent periods, as for instance gilded woodcarvings and tile panels in medieval monuments; repairing and replacement of roofs, floors, rain spouts and other elements; partial reconstruction of dilapidated structures, preferably by anastylosis and reusing materials; replenishment of architectural elements through shape and constructive analogy, using ancient techniques; and finally, the overall reconstruction. Only in a few cases were inventive reintegration principles used to finish monuments, originating shapes that never existed before, or to rearrange or improve architectural structures.

Miguel Tomé mentioned that the apparent methodological unity seen in the DGEMN's activity resulted from similarities in the planned work programmes for the different monuments, centralization of decisions, tight institutional control, and longevity of the activity from DGEMN's technicians. Despite the ideological directives coming from the regime, the DGEMN usually guided its actions by pragmatic criteria of efficiency and ease of execution⁴.

Due to pursuing its activities in a collective way, avoiding individual authorship by its technicians, it is hard to find who did what in most of the DGEMN's interventions in architectural heritage. In addition, documentation about projects became progressively more simplified and objective, with general ideas that would guide works. Jorge Rodrigues mentioned precisely the example of

Baltazar Castro, whose empiric beliefs required his continuous presence at the worksites; while leading the works, he used to draw adjustments or new solutions for the projects directly on the ground of the sites, using the tip of his stick or his shoe⁵. These practices and his omnipresence in many DGEMN patrimonial works make it very hard to discover at which monuments Baltazar Castro played a role and what he did there.

Arrival of Baltazar Castro to the Estado da Índia

Despite the apparent methodological unity observed in the DGEMN activity, there was an evolutionary path over the time. By the end of the Second World War the previous DGEMN monumental restorations – several of them characterized by extensive reintegrations, inventive options or with demolition of 'spurious elements' – became increasingly criticized. As operational mentor of the DGEMN, Baltazar Castro and his standards became more and more criticized.

This led to his progressive retirement from the DGEMN, and in 1948 he was moved to the Superior Council for Public Works, removing him from projects connected with architectural heritage. Finally, around 1949, he went to the Ministry of Colonies as chief inspector of public works of the Portuguese colonies; two years after this he was most probably assigned to collaborate with the public works in the Estado da Índia⁶.

This Portuguese colony was living through a delicate time: the independence of India in 1947 and its claims over the Indian territories under Portuguese administration contributed to a substantial inversion in the colonial policy of the Estado Novo⁷. The Portuguese overseas territories began to be regarded as overseas provinces instead of colonies; with that, the regime propagandized Portugal as a pluricontinental nation, justifying the union between all territories under Portuguese administration.

Several actions were taken to support the Portuguese pretensions to the Estado da Índia. By promoting socio-cultural and historical studies of the territory⁸, the propagandistic orientation of the Portuguese regime promulgated an 'Indo-Portuguese' culture as a paradigm of lusotropicalism⁹, exhibiting a coherent fusion between Portuguese and Indian cultures. For

the Estado Novo, this specificity, resulting from the 'Lusitanian colonial originality', allowed a Portuguese Estado da Índia completely distinct from India.

Commemorative celebrations were justifications to exalt the ideological imperialistic propaganda of 'lusitanism', also using the architectural heritage as a powerful ideological instrument of propaganda. Indo-Portuguese monuments were considered physical and visual landmarks, evidence of the ancestral Portuguese rule in India; showing this 'lusitanized' territory allowed the regime to declare that it was closer to Portugal than India. With the intention of treating its colonies as part of the 'great Portugal', there was an increase of public works in overseas territories.

Baltazar Castro arrived in the Estado da Índia in this context, probably commissioned to fill the vacuum caused by the dissolution of the Permanent Commission of Archaeology¹⁰ in 1950, and to coordinate the restorations of monuments in Old Goa, preparing them for the celebration of the Quadricentennial of Saint Francis Xavier's Death (SFX celebration)¹¹.

Despite the enormous fame he had as an eminent restorer, Baltazar Castro was a private person. Just as happened in Portugal, where his ubiquity in DGEMN projects make it hard to reconstruct where and what actions he was involved in, his activity in the Estado da Índia is not easy to follow. Only through secondary sources has it been possible to trace his trail in the Estado da Índia¹².

Contextualization of Baltazar Castro's preliminary activity in Goa

By 7 June 1950, D. José da Costa Nunes (1880-1976), Patriarch of the East Indies, gave an interview to the *Diário da Noite*¹³, referring to his desire to repopulate Old Goa by restoring its ancient monastic buildings and installing religious institutions. This would complement the sanitary actions begun in the 1940s, and at the same time allow preparations for the SFX celebration in 1952. Old Goa would become, therefore, a religious city attracting new people and growing moderately.

In a telegram from 23 April 1951, the General Government of the Estado da Índia informed the Ministry of Colonies that, advised by Baltazar Castro, the budget allocated for the pilgrim accommodation would be used to restore convents

to Old Goa, in order to adapt them to accommodate pilgrims¹⁴. By 13 October 1951, another telegram from the General Government of the Estado da Índia asked when Baltazar Castro would arrive in Goa, and asked for instructions to complete the works already under way. An accompanying photo, showing the excavation at the bottom of the walls of the Bom Jesus Basilica in Old Goa, stated on the reverse side that the excavation was ordered by Baltazar Castro¹⁵.

D. José da Costa Nunes gave another interview to the *Heraldo*¹⁶ in 1952, informing about the imminent arrival of Baltazar Castro, with a specialized team, to restore the religious monuments of Old Goa. Baltazar Castro was supposed to restore convents at Old Goa to accommodate pilgrims and high dignitaries. Consequently, it is possible to infer that Baltazar Castro was already working in Goa in 1951, returning again in 1952.

The *Diário da Noite*¹⁷ brought, in its edition from 26 June 1952, one of the rare interviews given by Baltazar Castro. Mentioning that he had already supervised several works on monuments in Old Goa before, Baltazar Castro referred to his return from Portugal with a team specialized in restoration. His goal was to consolidate and reconstitute monuments in Old Goa¹⁸.

Baltazar Castro did not hide his aims: he intended to substitute every roof from the monuments, replacing wooden roof structures to give them back their original shapes, and replacing the roofing tiles to avoid floods from the monsoons. Giving the Saint Catherine Chapel as example, Baltazar Castro stated that its miserable condition of conservation demanded that almost everything should be demolished and then reconstructed according its original shape; the monument would be purged from most of the later additions.

Disappointed with the condition of the architectural heritage in the Estado da Índia, Baltazar Castro focused his initial efforts on the monuments involved in the SFX celebrations in Old Goa. But he also had plans for the future restoration of other monuments in the Estado da Índia¹⁹. Finally, he made a plea for the absolutely essential creation of a public section exclusively dedicated to architectural monuments in the Estado da Índia.

Side by side with Baltazar Castro's interview was an article from Redondo Junior, exhorting the efforts of Baltazar Castro in Old Goa and defending the reintegration of the ancient city in its architectural

purity. The author advocated the removal of lime plaster and whitewash in some monuments, restoring their (supposed) original image. The same purpose can be seen in another article by Carlos de Leiria, in the *O Heraldo*²⁰ from 11 September 1952: the author urges Baltazar Castro to recover the original shape of Portuguese fortifications in the Estado da Índia, transforming them into places to attract tourists.

Patrimonial interventions of Baltazar Castro in Old Goa

It is possible to track and analyze the activity of Baltazar Castro (and his collaborators) on the Old Goa monuments through some sources mentioned above. The documented patrimonial interventions in the architectural heritage of Old Goa with Baltazar Castro's direct engagement are the following, listed in order from the most simple and consensual (repairing and painting on all the selected monuments) to the most complex and polemical ones:

- 1) Archbishop's Palace – repairing and painting, as well as sanitary infrastructures²¹.
- 2) Saint Francis Xavier Chapel – execution of beneficiations and paintings²².
- 3) Saint Cajetan Convent – sanitary facilities were built for the Archaeological Museum placed there; repairing and painting²³.
- 4) See Cathedral – the image of Saint Catherine of Alexandria on the altarpiece (main chapel) had under her feet the Sabayo (ruler of Goa at the time of the Portuguese conquest), but after Baltazar Castro's intervention the Sabayo was replaced by a cloud; the two images of St. Peter and St. Paul, formerly placed in front of the altarpiece, were moved to new lateral niches introduced in the main chapel²⁴.
- 5) Saint Francis of Assisi Convent – the cross in the churchyard was consolidated and had its lime plaster removed, and the stone columns (which came from the ruins of Saint Dominic Convent) were partially removed²⁵.
- 6) House of Bulas – repairing and painting to convert it to a health center²⁶.
- 7) Saint Monica Convent – a military barrack had been installed here since the mid 1940s, and several works were undertaken here to adapt it²⁷; Baltazar Castro's team dismantled and reconstructed the gateway of the external

vestibule of the convent and the vault of the Our Lady of the Candles Chapel; the lime plaster from the walls of this chapel was removed, revealing an ancient pulpit; in addition, repairs and painting were carried out as well as sanitary infrastructures²⁸.

- 8) Saint John of God Convent – this former religious edifice was a partial ruin before Baltazar Castro's intervention; the actions taken were the rebuilding of the stone gate using old stones, the repairing of roofs and other elements and some painting, in order to adapt it to use as a military barrack²⁹.
- 9) Saint Paul's College – Baltazar Castro was never mentioned in documents regarding this location, but by comparing this restoration with others and by comparing photos from before and after his activity in Old Goa, it is possible to conclude that the ruins of the church façade underwent an intervention that substantially changed its image; the remaining ruin was consolidated and strengthened through two lateral structural reinforcements, leading to the suppression of side elements of the façade.
- 10) Bom Jesus Basilica – the first reference to Baltazar Castro's activity in the Estado da Índia was the excavation at the bottom of the walls of the basilica, intending to recover the initial floor level; besides that, sanitary infrastructures were renovated, roofs were fixed, and repairs and painting were done inside the building; the tower, placed beside the main chapel, was consolidated and its roof was removed and substituted by a rooftop; a new cross was built on the back of the basilica; the major change in the religious complex was the removal of the lime plaster from the exterior façades of the basilica, leaving the stone (laterite) exposed to weathering effects and, at the same time, drastically changing its image³⁰.
- 11) Saint Catherine Chapel – in partial ruins previous to the restoration, a radical change was made to its image: excavations around the chapel tried to recover the original road, and wooden roof structures and the choir were replaced; the main façade was substantially modified by removing the lime plaster from several elements (pilasters, plinth and cornice), and the first story frieze was eliminated; the former chaplain house attached behind the chapel was demolished; finally, the main chapel vault and the south wall were dismantled

and rebuilt using the same stones, but with some modifications, such as the lack of plaster covering the walls, the opening of a narrow window in the main chapel, and the introduction of two new crosses on the roof³¹.

- 12) Arch of Viceroy – intending to reintegrate the monument to its supposed initial shape, a very different image was given to the arch; besides the excavations around it to find the original path, the upper niche with the statue of Saint Catherine of Alexandria was eliminated (with only the lower niche with the statue of Vasco da Gama remaining), and all the lime plaster was removed; the walls flanking the arch were suppressed and replaced by two lateral structural reinforcements, and the two existing buttresses in its back were removed (as can be seen in Figures 1 and 2)³².

There is no doubt about the impact of Baltazar Castro's patrimonial activity on architectural

monuments of Old Goa, and it was initially broadly accepted. Nevertheless, the local elites demanded more comprehensive interventions concerning the heritage of Old Goa, such as improvement of the road system, public illumination, afforestation and beautification of streets, revivification of the city by installing religious institutions, implementation of archaeological excavations and investment in tourism³³.

Baltazar Castro effectively tried to comply with these demands: an article from *O Heraldo*³⁴ mentioned that he wanted to define a protection zone for Old Goa³⁵. It is possible that the plan presented in 1959, in the context of the ambitious project for the 'Reintegration of the City of Old Goa in its Historic, Archaeological and Religious Ambient', had been inspired by Baltazar Castro's ideas; after all, Naguesha Pissurlencar, one of the closest collaborators of Baltazar Castro in Goa, was the architect responsible for the elaboration of that plan.



Fig. 1: Arch of Viceroy before the intervention performed by Baltazar Castro, photographed during the study mission led by Mário Chicó in 1951.

Source: Mário Soares Foundation – fund 'Mário e Alice Chicó', reference nr. 07127.000.240 'Arco dos Vice-Reis'



Fig. 2: Arch of Viceroy after the intervention performed by Baltazar Castro, photographed by Emile Marini in 1957.

Source: Overseas Historical Archive / Institute of Tropical Scientific Research – fund 'Overseas General Agency', reference nr. MAR/DB0130, ID nr. 130 'O Arco dos Vice-Reis, Visto do Lado do Rio Mandovi'

Concluding note

By 2 August 1953, the recently restored Arch of Viceroy fell down during the tempestuous rains of the monsoon. It was a hard blow for the Portuguese propagandistic expectations in the Estado da Índia, especially due to the symbolism of this commemorative monument. Despite the prompt intervention of the Portuguese authorities, limiting access to the monument and rapidly rebuilding it³⁶, the damage caused casualties, one of which was Baltazar Castro.

The objections against the criteria adopted by Baltazar Castro in the restorations of Goan monuments increased among Goan society, even penetrating slightly in the censored press. Regarding the plaster removal from the Arch of Viceroy, it was possible to read a veiled criticism of the option of favouring the aesthetic perspective rather than the historic one: lime plaster was always used to protect laterite stone from monsoon rains. Without the protection of plaster, the rainwater infiltrated the stone and caused the collapse of the monument³⁷. The same care was valid for the Bom Jesus Basilica and the Saint Catherine Chapel, which had parts of their plaster removed³⁸.

Because of these criticisms, Baltazar Castro did not return to Goa again. Works were executed under direction of his collaborators in Goa, and until 1957 he continued giving advice to patrimonial works in Old Goa, but at a distance from his location in Lisbon³⁹. An official notification from that year, sent by the General Government of the Estado da Índia, insistently asked him for advice concerning the plastering of the Bom Jesus Basilica, subtly suggesting restoring lime plaster to walls to protect them from monsoon rainwater⁴⁰.

His interventions in Goan monuments reflected his previous practice in the DGEMN, namely the intention to recreate an idealized image for some monuments, causing their adulteration since they acquired an image they never had before. And as had happened before, after an intense and fruitful activity in Old Goa, frequently repeating what was no longer allowed in Portugal, Baltazar Castro was again criticised – this time by the Estado da Índia, forcing his final retirement.

Endnotes

- * This study was developed as part of the post-doctoral investigation "Safeguarding of the Architectural Heritage of Portuguese Influence in India: Contextualization and Criticism", funded by the research grant with the reference SFRH/BPD/96087/2013 from the Foundation for the Science and the Technology (FCT) of Portugal. Besides the FCT, I also wish to thank the Oriente Foundation of Portugal, and specifically the Foundation's delegate in Panjim, Dr Eduardo Kol de Carvalho, for hosting me during my research in Goa.
- 1 Baltazar Castro joined the public service in 1919 as a public works manager, after completing the courses of industrial engineering, architecture, building construction and historic drawing, having also attended the course of monumental sculpture. In 1921 he was moved to the General Administration of Buildings and National Monuments; in 1927 he was transferred to the General Direction of Fine Arts (3rd Department, Monuments and National Palaces - North Section), where he started his vast career performing restorations on architectural monuments by restoring Medieval architecture in northern Portugal. Cf. Maria João Neto, *Memória, Propaganda e Poder: O Restauro dos Monumentos Nacionais (1929-1960)* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 2001), 222.
- 2 On the Estado Novo ideology, see among others: Daniel Melo, *Salazarismo e Cultura Popular (1933-1958)* (Lisbon: Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, 2001); Luís Cunha, *A Nação nas Malhas da sua Identidade: O Estado Novo e a Construção da Identidade Nacional* (Oporto: Edições Afrontamento, 2001); Jorge Ramos do Ó, *Os Anos de Ferro: O Dispositivo Cultural durante a 'Política do Espírito' (1933-1949)* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1999); João Medina, "Deus, Pátria, Família: Ideologia e Mentalidade do Salazarismo," in João Medina (dir.), *História de Portugal: Dos Tempos Pré-Históricos aos Nossos Dias* 12 (Amadora: Ediclube, 1993), 11-142; António Costa Pinto (org.), *O Estado Novo das Origens ao Fim da Autarcia* (Lisbon: Editorial Fragmentos, 1987).
- 3 On the DGEMN activity during the Estado Novo, see among others: Joaquim Rodrigues

- dos Santos, "Anamnesis del Castillo Como Bien Patrimonial: Construcción de la Imagen, Forma y (Re)Funcionalización en la Rehabilitación de Fortificaciones Medievales en Portugal" (PhD diss., University of Alcalá, 2012); José Custódio (coord.), *100 Anos de Património: Memória e Identidade (Portugal 1910-2010)* (Lisbon: Instituto de Gestão do Património Arquitectónico e Arqueológico, 2010); Miguel Tomé, *Património e Restauro em Portugal (1920-1995)* (Oporto: FAUP Publicações, 2002); Maria João Neto, *Memória, Propaganda e Poder: O Restauro dos Monumentos Nacionais (1929-1960)* (Oporto: FAUP Publicações, 2001); Jorge Rodrigues, "A Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais e o Restauro dos Monumentos Medievais Durante o Estado Novo," in Margarida Alçada and Maria Teles Grilo (coords.), *Caminhos do Património* (Lisbon: Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais - Livros Horizonte, 1999), 69-82.
- 4 Miguel Tomé, *Património e Restauro em Portugal (1920-1995)* (Oporto: FAUP Publicações, 2002), 83-6.
 - 5 Jorge Rodrigues, "A Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais e o Restauro dos Monumentos Medievais Durante o Estado Novo," in Margarida Alçada and Maria Teles Grilo (coords.), *Caminhos do Património* (Lisbon: Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais - Livros Horizonte, 1999), 74-5.
 - 6 The Portuguese Estado da Índia was composed of Goa (the territory of Goa with the Anjadip island), Daman (the territory around Daman with the enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli) and the territory of Diu (the island of Diu with the peninsula of Gogolá and the exclave of Simbor).
 - 7 On the last period of the Portuguese administration in India, see among others: Pedro Avelar, *História de Goa: De Afonso de Albuquerque a Vassalo e Silva* (Lisbon: Texto Editores, 2012). Maria Manuel Stocker, *Xeque-Mate a Goa: O Princípio do Fim do Império Português* (Alfragide: Texto Editores, 2011); Sandrine Bègue, *La Fin de Goa et de l'Estado Português da Índia* (Lisbon: Instituto Diplomático, 2007); Francisco Cabral Couto, *O Fim do Estado Português da Índia – 1961* (Lisbon: Tribuna da História, 2006).
 - 8 In 1951 the famous Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987) held a conference where, for the first time, the concept of 'lusotropicalism' was announced and developed. This term characterized the easy miscegenation, adaptation to tropical customs and climate, cultural fusion and absence of racial discrimination in the Portuguese colonial model, allied with a strong Catholic component resulting from an assumed evangelizing mission. In the same year, the Study Mission on Monuments of Goa, Daman and Diu was conducted by art historians Mário Tavares Chicó (1905-1966) and Carlos de Azevedo (1918-1974), along with architect Martinho Humberto Reis and the photographer José Carvalho Henriques.
 - 9 On lusotropicalism and Portuguese colonial propaganda and ideology, see among others: José Luís Lima Garcia, "Ideologia e Propaganda Colonial no Estado Novo: Da Agência Geral das Colónias à Agência Geral do Ultramar (1924-1974)" (PhD diss., University of Coimbra, 2011); Teotónio de Souza, *Gilberto Freyre na Índia e o 'Luso-tropicalismo Transnacional'* (Lisbon: Centro Português de Estudos do Sudeste Asiático, 2001); João Medina, "Gilberto Freyre Contestado: O Lusotropicalismo Criticado nas Colónias Portuguesas como Álibi Colonial do Salazarismo," *Revista USP* 45 (2000), 48-61; Cláudia Castelo, *O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo: O Luso-Tropicalismo e a Ideologia Colonial Portuguesa (1933-1961)* (Oporto: Edições Afrontamento, 1999); José Carlos Venâncio, *Colonialismo, Antropologia e Lusofonias – Repensando a Presença Portuguesa nos Trópicos* (Lisbon: Veja, 1996).
 - 10 The Permanent Commission of Archaeology was created in Goa in 1895, intending to survey, research and classify monuments in the Estado da Índia, as well to propose measures to conserve, repair and restore them. Nevertheless, not until 1932 were some buildings of Old Goa classified as national monuments.
 - 11 This celebration had special symbolism for the Portuguese dictatorial regime's propaganda: Saint Francis Xavier was venerated by millions of Catholics in the East, and with this commemoration not only was a hero connected with Portugal celebrated, but also Catholicism

itself was solemnized, contributing to the propagandistic agenda of the Portuguese regime by showing a Catholic Estado da Índia, different from the Union of India.

- 12 These sources include news in the local press consulted in the Goa State Central Library in Panjim, namely the most disseminated newspapers like *Heraldo*, *O Heraldo*, and *Diário da Noite*; some appointments in a report from Naguesha Pissurlencar (from the Luís Benavente fund, in the National Archives of Torre do Tombo in Lisbon), related with the *Comissão A Velha Goa*; a few work files found in the Overseas Historical Archive – Institute of Tropical Scientific Research in Lisbon; a couple of notes in the book *Resumo Histórico da Exposição das Sagradas Relíquias de S. Francisco Xavier em 1952*, from Francisco Xavier da Costa; the comparison between photos taken before and after the stay of Baltazar Castro in the Estado da Índia, namely the ones taken in 1951 during the Study Mission on Monuments of Goa, Daman and Diu (consulted in the Mário and Alice Tavares Chicó fund, in the Mário Soares Foundation), and the ones taken by the photo reporter Émile Marini in 1957 (existing in the Overseas Historical Archive in Lisbon); and, finally, some information acquired in direct interviews made with people who interacted with Baltazar Castro in Goa, especially Mr Percival Noronha and Mr Rafael Viegas.
- 13 “A Exposição de S. Francisco Xavier e o Repovoamento da Velha Cidade: Notáveis Afirmações de S. Excia Revma o Patriarca das Indias,” *Diário da Noite*, June 7, 1950.
- 14 Official notification (typewritten) from the Overseas Historical Archive, fund of the former Minister of Overseas, collection ‘Estado da Índia’, file no. 63192.
- 15 Official notification (typewritten) from the Overseas Historical Archive, fund of the former Minister of Overseas, collection ‘Estado da Índia’, file no. 63202.
- 16 “A Exposição do V. C. de S. Francisco Xavier - Faz-se – Disse-nos S. Exa. Revma. o Sr. Patriarca das Indias,” *Heraldo*, February 2, 1952.
- 17 “É Necessária uma Secção Encarregada dos Monumentos Nacionais na India Portuguesa – Diz o Arquitecto Baltazar de Castro,” *Diário da Noite*, June 26, 1952.
- 18 Bom Jesus Basilica, Saint Francis of Assisi Convent, Saint Monica Convent, Saint Cajetan Convent, Saint Francis Xavier Chapel, the most damaged Saint John of God Convent and Saint Catherine Chapel, and the ruins of Saint Paul College and Our Lady of Mount Carmel Monastery.
- 19 Baltazar Castro mentioned the churches of Carambolim, of Saint Anne Church in Talaulim, and of Reis Magos Church, the Pilar Convent, the fortifications of Reis Magos, Aguada, Mormugão and Chaporá (all in Goa), the fortifications of Big Daman and of Saint Jerome (both in Daman), and the fortifications of Saint Thomas, of the Sea and the defensive city wall (in Diu).
- 20 “Mensagem: Em Torno das Nossas Fortalezas - A Baltazar de Castro,” *O Heraldo*, September 11, 1952.
- 21 Francisco Xavier da Costa, *Resumo Histórico da Exposição das Sagradas Relíquias de S. Francisco Xavier em 1952* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1954), 17-8.
- 22 Francisco Xavier da Costa, “As Igrejas, os Monumentos e as Ruínas da Velha Cidade,” *Diário da Noite*, November 30, 1952.
- 23 Francisco Xavier da Costa, *Resumo Histórico da Exposição das Sagradas Relíquias de S. Francisco Xavier em 1952* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1954), 17-8.
- 24 Naguesha Pissurlencar’s report (typewritten) from the National Archives of Torre do Tombo, Luís Benavente fund, collection ‘Estado da Índia’, box no. 4 ‘Monumentos da Índia’, file no. 3, document 6 “Sé Patriarcal”, 1959; Francisco Xavier da Costa, *Resumo Histórico da Exposição das Sagradas Relíquias de S. Francisco Xavier em 1952* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1954), 33-4; Central de Estatística e Informação, *Velha-Goa: Guia Turístico* (Goa: Central de Estatística e Informação, 1952), 22.
- 25 Francisco Xavier da Costa also mentioned that inside the convent complex, the damaged wooden floor and ceiling were replaced, some pavements were cemented, walls were rebuilt in some cells, modern sanitary facilities were built, and the convent was partially painted. Strangely, Costa stated that the convent’s vaulted undergrounds and their arches were

- restored, but so far these undergrounds are unknown in the convent; perhaps he was referring a vaulted chapel existing under the novitiate, which Ricardo Michael Telles mentioned as having been built to sustain partially the novitiate, due to the irregular ground existing there. Cf. Francisco Xavier da Costa, *Resumo Histórico da Exposição das Sagradas Relíquias de S. Francisco Xavier em 1952* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1954), 17-8; Ricardo Michael Telles, *Igrejas, Capelas, Conventos e Palácios na Velha Cidade de Goa* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Gonçalves, 1931), 31.
- 26 Francisco Xavier da Costa, "As Igrejas, os Monumentos e as Ruínas da Velha Cidade," *Diário da Noite*, November 30, 1952.
 - 27 For instance, some walls were painted, some pavements and walls were demolished, and some works of art were removed.
 - 28 Cap. Loureiro, "Devota Romagem de Prístina Arte e Beleza - Apontamentos Sobre Velha Goa," *Heraldo*, July 16, 1953.
 - 29 Naguesha Pissurlencar's report (typewritten) from the National Archives of Torre do Tombo, Luís Benavente fund, collection 'Estado da Índia', box no. 4 'Monumentos da Índia', file no. 3, document 7 "Convento de S. João de Deus", 1959; Francisco Xavier da Costa, *Resumo Histórico da Exposição das Sagradas Relíquias de S. Francisco Xavier em 1952* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1954), 17-8; Francisco Xavier da Costa, "As Igrejas, os Monumentos e as Ruínas da Velha Cidade," *Diário da Noite*, November 30, 1952.
 - 30 Francisco Xavier da Costa, *Resumo Histórico da Exposição das Sagradas Relíquias de S. Francisco Xavier em 1952* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1954), 17-8; Mário Neves, "A Queda do Arco dos Vice-Reis Constituirá um Aviso a Considerar nas Obras da Velha Goa?," *Diário da Noite*, August 13, 1953; Francisco Xavier da Costa, "As Igrejas, os Monumentos e as Ruínas da Velha Cidade," *Diário da Noite*, November 30, 1952; Central de Estatística e Informação, *Velha-Goa: Guia Histórico* (Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1952), 122.
 - 31 Naguesha Pissurlencar's report (typewritten) from the National Archives of Torre do Tombo, Luís Benavente fund, collection 'Estado da Índia', box no. 4 'Monumentos da Índia', file no. 3, document 8 "Capela de Sta. Catarina", 1959; "Capela de Sta. Catarina," *Heraldo*, August 8, 1953; Francisco Xavier da Costa, *Resumo Histórico da Exposição das Sagradas Relíquias de S. Francisco Xavier em 1952* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1954), 17-8; Francisco Xavier da Costa, "As Igrejas, os Monumentos e as Ruínas da Velha Cidade," *Diário da Noite*, November 30, 1952; Ernesto Várzea, "Pode-se Fazer Ressurgir a Velha Cidade," *Diário da Noite*, October 13, 1952; Central de Estatística e Informação, *Velha-Goa: Guia Histórico* (Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1952), 68.
 - 32 Naguesha Pissurlencar's report (typewritten) from the National Archives of Torre do Tombo, Luís Benavente fund, collection 'Estado da Índia', box no. 4 'Monumentos da Índia', file no. 3, document 14 "Arco dos Vice-Reis", 1959; "Museu de Arqueologia," *O Heraldo*, January 28, 1953; Mário Neves, "A Queda do Arco dos Vice-Reis Constituirá um Aviso a Considerar nas Obras da Velha Goa?," *Diário da Noite*, August 13, 1953; "Recordando o Passado," *Heraldo*, August 4, 1953; Francisco Xavier da Costa, "As Igrejas, os Monumentos e as Ruínas da Velha Cidade," *Diário da Noite*, November 30, 1952.
 - 33 Cap. Loureiro, "Devota Romagem de Prístina Arte e Beleza – Apontamentos Sobre Velha Goa," *Heraldo*, July 16, 1953; "Museu de Arqueologia," *O Heraldo*, January 28, 1953; João da Câmara, "É Preciso Dar Vida á Velha Goa," *Diário da Noite*, January 2, 1953; "Opiniões Alheias," *Heraldo*, December 28, 1952; "Os Preparativos para o Grande Acontecimento," *Heraldo*, November 15, 1952.
 - 34 Mariano José Dias, "A Velha Cidade de Goa," *O Heraldo*, July 26, 1959.
 - 35 This intention was corroborated personally by Mr Percival Noronha, a young public employee who interacted a couple times with Baltazar Castro.
 - 36 It is important to remark a text published in 1952 and an article from 1953 published in the *O Heraldo*, both after the initial intervention in the Arch of Viceroy by Baltazar de Castro, mentioning the excavations made around it, as well as the two storey with niches that were still there; another article from 1953, published in the *Heraldo* after the collapse of the arch, mentioned that three statues were found in the middle of its rubble (the ones existing previous to the radical change in the shape of the arch).

This means that this huge change happened only after its collapse. Cf. "Recordando o Passado," *Heraldo*, August 4, 1953; "Museu de Arqueologia," *O Heraldo*, January 28, 1953; Central de Estatística e Informação, *Velha-Goa: Guia Turístico* (Goa: Central de Estatística e Informação, 1952), 10.

- 37 Mr Rafael Viegas, a young public servant in the public works (who was employed after the departure of Baltazar Castro), mentioned personally that Baltazar Castro applied a chemical product to the stone after removing the plaster, in order to protect the laterite.
- 38 Mário Neves, "A Queda do Arco dos Vice-Reis Constituirá um Aviso a Considerar nas Obras da Velha Goa?," *Diário da Noite*, August 13, 1953; "Recordando o Passado," *Heraldo*, August 4, 1953.
- 39 In the following year Luís Benavente (1902-1993), another architect and restorer coming from the DGEMN, was commissioned to work in heritage preservation for the Ministry of Overseas, implying that Baltazar Castro was no longer working there.
- 40 Facing Baltazar Castro's delay in replying to the request, his immediate superior Eugénio Sanches da Gama demanded his advice, telling him at the same time that he did not agree with the replacement of the plaster, for aesthetic reasons. Official notification (typewritten) from the Overseas Historical Archive, fund of the former Minister of Overseas, collection 'Estado da Índia', file no. 63202.