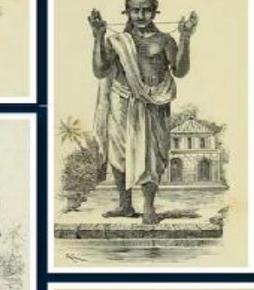# Portuguese Orientalism

The Interplay of Power, Representation and Dialogue in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Edited by
Marta Pacheco Pinto
and
Catarina Apolinário de Almeida

"A Western Light in Eastern Lands": The Study Missions to the *Estado da Índia* and the Development of an Indo-Lusotropicalist Rhetoric

Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos

Preamble

The aim of this essay is to analyse the goals and achievements of the study missions carried out in the *Estado da Índia* (State of India) during the 1950s, as well as the ensuing propaganda based on an ideological rhetoric promoting the existence of a kind of Lusotropicalism with an Indo-Portuguese strand, also denominated Indo-Lusotropicalism. This was crucial to the aspirations of the *Estado Novo*'s (New State) political propaganda, namely to legitimate Portuguese claims in India, as well as claims to the heritage of Goa, Daman and Diu. In fact, it involved the development of a kind of 'Indo-Portuguese orientalism' within Lusotropicalism, clearly differentiated from other forms of Orientalism in other Western countries. An analysis of the works produced by these study missions confirms how the *Estado da Índia* was intended to be seen by the world according to the Portuguese dictatorial regime: a territory completely different from India and, by contrast, fully integrated into a Lusotropicalist world entirely connected with Portugal yet still maintaining its own specific characteristics. The distinct scopes of the study missions suggest an analysis organized in different sections within this chapter, according to their respective branches of knowledge.

This chapter does not aim to provide an in-depth analysis of Orientalism, either in its broadest sense – the study of the East by Westerners, establishing the epistemological and ontological otherness of the former in relation to the latter – or in respect of its different manifestations – British, German, Anglican, Catholic and other forms of Orientalism – or even Orientalist motivations in the arts, politics, sciences, etc., for which abundant bibliography is already available.[1] The same applies to Lusotropicalism; several authors have already explored this particular narrative on Portuguese identity in the tropical overseas territories.[2] However, specific characteristics of Orientalism and Lusotropicalism will be addressed, in order to permit an understanding and comparison of both models of construction of knowledge about non-European cultures, which were appropriated by political regimes to support their power over different cultures – namely, the appropriation of Lusotropicalism by the *Estado Novo* regime.

If one considers Orientalism to be the production of knowledge through the study of Asian and Middle-Eastern cultures, obtained in this particular case by focusing on the Indian subcontinent as the main geographic area of analysis, one comes across a plethora of studies and descriptions made by Portuguese (or other Europeans serving the Portuguese), missionaries, state employees, soldiers and traders, written from the sixteenth century onwards. Although most of these works were produced by enthusiastic amateurs rather than scholars, a large amount of data was collected on Indian ethnography, religions, languages, laws, literature, art, cities and traditions, among other subjects, which became important for the construction of the Portuguese colonial narrative. The precociousness of Portuguese production of knowledge about otherness (whether in Africa, America or Asia) laid the foundations for a distinct perception of the Other within the Portuguese empire, as will be seen below.

Later, from the eighteenth century onwards, Orientalism became associated with studies of Eastern cultures made by European scholars and colonial administrators whose Eurocentric point of view produced, in many cases, stereotypes or myths based on selected (and sometimes misunderstood) characteristics of Eastern cultures. In the context of India (and more specifically the British Raj), these studies were encouraged by the colonial administration in order to rule the territory more effectively through knowledge of the native population and their traditions, laws, religions and languages. On the other hand, Orientalism became an instrument to legitimise the colonial exploitation of natives, invoking their 'racial inferiority' and thereby justifying the imperialist discourse of 'civilizing' the natives – as pointed out by

Edward Said in his seminal work *Orientalism* (1978). British colonial propaganda also maintained that India had possessed great civilizations in the past, such as the Mughal, Vijayanagara or Gupta empires. Notwithstanding, the decay of these empires led to their being supplanted by the British Empire, which supposedly became the legitimate heir of those great Hindustani empires. As for the French India, beyond the imperialistic strategies, the *mission civilisatrice* ("civilizing mission") was also a fundamental aspect of French Orientalism (Hosford and Wojtkowski 2010: 5).

The Portuguese colonial administration also used these kinds of anthropology-oriented studies to validate and increase the effectiveness of its rule over the Portuguese overseas empire. However, as the art historian Paulo Varela Gomes used to say in his lectures, the Portuguese seemed to perceive things in a different way from the British, French, Spanish or Dutch, almost as if they were using a kind of lens that distorted and blurred reality. From the outset, the Portuguese overseas expansion was regarded by the Portuguese main actors as something mythical, a mission combining evangelization with trade – "we came to seek Christians and spices", said Vasco da Gama on arriving in India (Velho 1969: 40). And if the Portuguese saw their own colonialism as something special and distinct from other European colonialisms, sometimes Portuguese colonialism was also viewed as different by other European powers, namely the British, and frequently from a negative point of view.

Both perspectives became apparent in colonial narratives produced by those European powers and, consequently, in the way that the imperialist dominance was achieved. In the context of the Indian subcontinent, a confrontation undoubtedly existed between a British Orientalist narrative based on a rhetorical construction of otherness, and an Indo-Lusotropicalist narrative within Lusotropicalism, intended to produce bonds of familiarity within the Portuguese empire. Both narratives envisioned the creation of power relations, not only between the colonizer and the colonized, but also between the colonial powers themselves. And while Orientalism was mainly seen from an external point of view (from the West over the East), Lusotropicalism – and particularly Indo-Lusotropicalism – was intended to be perceived from the inside, as this chapter sets out to show regarding the study missions to the *Estado da Índia*.

Independence of India and its impact on the *Estado da Índia*

In August 1946, on the eve of India's independence, the Congress Working Committee – the political organization representing the Indian party during the independence process – declared that Goa was a part of India still under foreign rule, arguing that due to its linguistic, cultural and historical affinities with Maharashtra, it should be integrated into that territory. Some days later, the future president of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, expressed a similar view. On 6 September 1946, Mahatma Ghandi stated, "it is ridiculous to write to Portugal as the motherland of Indians in Goa. Their mother country is as much India as mine. Goa is outside British India but is within geographical India as a whole" (qtd. in Bains 1962: 203).

At the same time, political protests of *satyagraha*[3] against the Portuguese presence in the subcontinent, with peaceful invasions of the Portuguese territories of the *Estado da Índia*, were taking place (Avelar 2012: 226–7). On 28 September 1946 António de Oliveira Salazar, the Portuguese leader of the *Estado Novo* dictatorship, sent a letter to the Portuguese Minister of the Colonies, Marcelo Caetano, mentioning a telegram he had received concerning the Jawaharlal Nehru's declarations on the *Estado da Índia*. Salazar pointed out:

> It is important to face up to the problem and lay the foundations – historical, legal, statistical – for us to defend ourselves in any international forum or even before the world. I do not believe, at least not at this moment, that the Indian government will execute any military action against us; but they will naturally try to make our lives impossible by any means they have at their disposal. (qtd. in Léonard 1999: 33–4)[4]

Oliveira Salazar was clearly opting for a diplomatic defence, since Portugal was weaker in military terms than the newly independent country. For the Portuguese regime, the loss of even the tiniest parcel of its overseas territory was unacceptable: it could jeopardise the whole colonial empire. Oliveira Salazar had an underlying intention: the future Indian state should renounce its claims to the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, otherwise it would have to wage war against Portugal, thus losing its status as a peaceful regime. This war would surely be lost by Portugal, but the national honour would be saved in the end; moreover, a victimization strategy could be used by the Portuguese regime to garner the support of other nations, in order to hold on to its other overseas territories. With the future of its other

colonies in mind, especially in Africa, the Portuguese regime felt threatened by the anti-colonial feelings that were spreading across the European colonial territories. The imminent independence of India gave the Portuguese leaders cause for great anxiety regarding the situation of the *Estado da Índia*, that is, the territories of Goa, Daman and Diu which had been under Portuguese administration since the first half of the sixteenth century.

Among the different declarations of independence proclaimed by former European colonies, that of the Dominion of India from the British rule took place on 17 August 1947. Article 2 of the *Indian Independence Act* defined that territories in the Indian subcontinent which were not part of Pakistan or Burma would be integrated in the Dominion of India – which would include the Portuguese and French territories in India. Oliveira Salazar felt the need to defend the legitimacy of Portugal's rule over its Indian territories. In a speech delivered to the Portuguese National Assembly on 25 December of that same year, he stated that:

> If geographically speaking Goa belongs to India, in social, religious and cultural terms Goa is part of Europe. If Westerners, Indo-Portuguese and Indian people live there, politically there are only Portuguese citizens in Goa. In other words, they are undistinguishable members belonging to a civilized community with several years of existence, serving it not only where they were born [Goa], but also in the metropolis and in the whole Portuguese empire. (qtd. in Avelar 2012: 231)

On 26 January 1950, the Dominion of India changed its national constitution and became the Republic of India (also recognized as Union of India, but most commonly known as India, the name used hereafter). In addition, sovereignty over all the territories in the subcontinent under foreign rule was claimed once again. Therefore, on 27 February 1950 India proposed entering into negotiations with Portugal. Nevertheless, Oliveira Salazar uncompromisingly kept defending the Portuguese right to the *Estado da Índia*, and on 12 December 1950 a project for the revision of the Portuguese Constitution was established. The overseas territories under Portuguese administration suffered changes under the new Portuguese Constitution: among other questions, these territories became Portuguese overseas provinces instead of colonies, and the Portuguese Colonial Empire changed its name to Portuguese Overseas Provinces. This inversion in the Portuguese colonial policy (supposedly) allowed its colonies to be part of a single pluricontinental nation, justifying

politically, historically, culturally and sociologically the maintenance of the union between Portugal and its overseas territories – including the *Estado da Índia*.

Various measures were adopted in order to strengthen the justification of Portugal's retention of the *Estado da Índia*: the production of relevant historical and socio-cultural studies, an increase in the numbers of public works, and the development of targeted ideological propaganda, among others. The previous ideals of imperialism and racial superiority were set aside, and an attempt was made to develop another ideology based on the presumed unity of the Portuguese world, despite the existence of regional differences. In fact, the booklet *India Portuguesa*, published in 1952 by the *Agência Geral do Ultramar* [General Agency for the Overseas Territories][5] and distributed among the population to encourage tourism in the *Estado da Índia*, already hints at this new policy:

> Almost five centuries of the Portuguese presence and a millenary tradition rich in artistic expression make the *Estado da Índia* a field worthy of the attention of scholars. From two diverse civilizations that interpenetrated and influenced one another there emerged a social structure with unique and very special characteristics; although conserving its Asian roots, the Indian society [of the *Estado da Índia*] is the happy synthesis of two kinds of life and mentality, if not opposite, at least barely compatible. (Agência Geral do Ultramar 1952: 14)

Gilberto Freyre and Lusotropicalism

From August 1951 to February 1952 the famous Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre made an official study trip to Portugal and its overseas territories, at the invitation of the Portuguese Minister of the Overseas Territories, Manuel Sarmento Rodrigues. Gilberto Freyre was an internationally renowned intellectual at the time, recognized for his work in anthropology, sociology and history, in addition to being a journalist, a writer, a poet and a painter. His first great work *Casa–Grande & Senzala* (*The Masters and the Slaves*), published in 1933, won him the appreciation of his peers, despite the racial ideologies which were spreading in many places at that time – including Portugal. Some years later, in 1940, while the world was being destroyed by wars and mass extermination (to which racial supremacist concepts had contributed), Gilberto Freyre published *O Mundo que o Português Criou* [The World that the Portuguese

Created], in which he reiterated his ideas of racial miscegenation, especially in Brazil, but also in the Portuguese Colonial Empire.

If at the beginning Gilberto Freyre's thoughts were simply ignored by the *Estado Novo*, the Portuguese leaders soon realized that these ideas would be a very powerful ideological instrument that could be used to argue in favour of maintaining the Portuguese *status quo* in its overseas territories, which were threatened by the successive independence processes of former European colonies following the end of the Second World War. Academically validated by a prestigious non-Portuguese researcher, Freyre's ideas were rapidly adopted and manipulated by the *Estado Novo* to lend credence to the increasingly widespread concept of "Lusitanian colonial originality".[6]

Consequently, an invitation to visit the Portuguese overseas territories was issued by the minister Sarmento Rodrigues to Gilberto Freyre, who promptly accepted it. Besides the African territories under Portuguese rule, Freyre also visited the *Estado da Índia* and, more specifically, Goa. It was precisely in Panjim, at the beginning of November 1951, that he held a conference in the Vasco da Gama Institute, entitled *Uma Cultura Moderna: A Luso-Tropical* [A Modern Culture: The Luso-Tropical]. Here the concept of "Lusotropicalism" was outlined and developed for the first time: it was mainly characterized by (supposedly) easy miscegenation between the Portuguese and the native population and the easy adaptation to tropical customs and climate; but also by the cultural fusion and absence of racial discrimination in the Portuguese colonial model, which was complemented by a strong Catholic aspect as a consequence of the evangelizing mission promoted by the Portuguese. The result would be a multicultural society characterized essentially by Lusitanian values such as history, language, religion and manners, albeit seasoned by local customs.

The concept of Lusotropicalism was later advanced in other texts published following Freyre's trip, such as *Aventura e Rotina: Sugestões de uma Viagem à Procura das Constantes Portuguesas de Carácter e Acção* [Adventure and Routine: Suggestions from a Journey in Search of Portuguese Traits of Character and Action] in 1953, and *Um Brasileiro em Terras Portuguesas: Introdução a uma Possível Luso-Tropicologia* [A Brazilian in Portuguese Lands: Introduction to a Potential Luso-Tropicology] in 1954.

Gilberto Freyre did not counteract the Portuguese regime's intentions. Concerning the *Estado da Índia* – or even better, Goa – the Brazilian indeed recognized the Lusitanian influences in this territory under Portuguese rule. But more than Portugal, the similarities with Brazil were the ones stressed by Freyre: "[M]y first reaction, as a

Brazilian, to the suggestions of the Lusitanian presence that received me in Portuguese India: I am not in an exotic land but in Brazil. One or other exoticism, of course, gives Eastern colours to the landscape and people" (Freyre 1953: 319), or "in this sweet Latinized India I have the feeling that it is less a strange or exotic land than a seen, known, familiar land. [. . .] In Portuguese India the Brazilian can find the same predominantly Lusotropical environment as in Brazil. Portuguese America has many similarities with Lusitanian Asia, its older sister" (Freyre 1952: 97–8). However, Freyre also admitted that Brazil "is different from India in terms of population and culture, which resisted the Lusitanian impact here [in Portuguese India] more than we did [in Brazil]" (Freyre 1953: 296).

For Gilberto Freyre, the *Estado da Índia* was part of the Lusotropical world, with Lusitanian characteristics mixed with Eastern ones, turning Goan culture into something very peculiar and unique:

> The East and the West met so well in Portuguese India that it is a miracle of Eastern and Western culture at the same time, a flower of Latinity in Asia, an expression of Lusitanity flourishing in the soil and under the Sun of the East. (Freyre 1952: 186)

> This Portuguese impact continues, however, to be felt in different ways, in the vitality not only of cultures tending to inertia, but also in landscapes with a tendency to immutability. Landscapes in Portuguese India are different from the ones of the other India [the former British Raj], because of the harmonization of forms and colours of the West with the East. (Freyre 1953: 359)

> If Goa, tomorrow, ceased to be an overseas province of Portugal – something that might bring more disadvantages than advantages [. . .] – and continued to be so Luso-Indian in its culture, its situation within the Indian Union might become, if not a foreign body, at least a very strange soul. (Freyre 1953: 333)

But Gilberto Freyre clearly assumed that, despite the apparent affinities between the *Estado da Índia* and the other territories with a strong Portuguese influence in their cultures (Portuguese Africa, Brazil, Macau and Timor), there were still substantial differences between them all, including Goa, Daman and Diu: "Goa is not sub-European: it adds Europe to the East" (Freyre 1956: 28), because "it is certain that here [Portuguese India] the Eastern presence is obvious from the first contact; and the East is so profound that it cannot for a

moment be forgotten or ignored in India, no matter how Latinized or Christianized India appears in Goa, Diu or Daman" (Freyre 1952: 98).

Therefore, Gilberto Freyre was describing a different India which existed in the Portuguese territories of Goa, Daman and Diu, clearly distinct from the "other India" which belonged to the British (and the French):

> From the point of view of culture, in its broad sociological sense, there is no doubt that, in its dominant styles of coexistence, Portuguese India, without ceasing to be India, is characteristically Portuguese. [...] This is explained by the fact that many of them [Portuguese] fused with those exotic cultures, considered by other Europeans as gloomily exotic, rather than remaining steadfastly European both in their bodies and in their souls. (Freyre 1953: 334)

Freyre's agenda was not to produce a dissertation about the existence of a kind of Lusitanian India, nor to identify its inherent characteristics and discuss them. On the contrary, his main purpose was to find and establish the common characteristics – the constants – that could be found in Portugal and its (present and former) overseas territories, thereby justifying a common link between all that made it possible to define a "Lusotropical culture", distinct from the other European colonial cultures. Diversity within the Lusotropical cultures was explained by the influences of local cultures and people: the Lusotropical culture in Brazil, for instance, had distinct characteristics as compared with the Lusotropical culture in Mozambique or in the *Estado da Índia*. In the end, for Gilberto Freyre, the affinities between all these forms of Lusotropicalism were greater than the differences.

During his visit to the *Estado da Índia*, Freyre noticed the small number of Portuguese and their descendants in this territory compared to the local ethnic people; even the traditions and manners were quite distinct from the ones he was used to seeing in his own country, in Portugal or in Portuguese-speaking Africa. Freyre must have wondered how so few Portuguese were able to have such an impact, transforming the local culture into a more "Lusitanized" one. His observations and analysis were inevitably limited in scope, due to the brevity of his stay in Goa – a mere few days – and the fact that he only saw what the Portuguese regime allowed him to see, turning this mission into a delicate situation in which Freyre was unable to criticize his hosts.

Gilberto Freyre returned to this matter later in his important essay *Integração Portuguesa nos Trópicos* (*Portuguese Integration in the*

Tropics) in 1958, in which he systematized his theory on Lusotropicalism. Concerning the *Estado da Índia*, Freyre mentioned the work of an Indian researcher whose work had called his attention: "The East Indian [Sardar Kavalam Madhava] Panikkar appears to acknowledge the rather Christocentric than ethnocentric sociological character of the Portuguese preparation for the immense undertaking of Christianizing rather than Europeanizing the tropics and the East" (Freyre 1961: 85). To validate this assumption, Freyre referred to the work of European researchers such as Guy Wint in order to flag up the differences between the colonization strategies adopted by Portugal and the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands and others. This clearly created a distinct colonization/colony/culture, which lived on in Goa in a different way as compared with the former British Raj or the *Établissements français dans l'Inde*, or even Dutch India, which had vanished in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Mário Chicó and the missions on the Indo-Portuguese arts

While Gilberto Freyre adduced a sociological model for Brazil, he did not directly argue for the existence of a specifically Indo-Portuguese Lusotropicalism (or Indo-Lusotropicalism), an idea that, in fact, had flourished since the nineteenth century. And not only in the magnificent descriptions of António Lopes Mendes in the 1860s and 1870s, but also those of other scholars, such as the Joaquim Heliodoro Cunha Rivara and Alberto Osório de Castro or even the Goan intellectuals Panduronga Pissurlencar, Jerónimo Quadros and José António Ismael Gracias. The distinction between Portuguese India and the "other India" was felt by the Portuguese who came into contact with the *Estado da Índia*, or at least, the *Velhas Conquistas* (Old Conquests) in Goa, as well as Daman and Diu – and the British Raj; the main differences derived from the Catholicism of Portuguese India. In addition to religion, Catholicism had given a major boost to the dissemination of the Portuguese language in these territories (through evangelization and education), as well as many traditions, buildings and even the landscape with numerous churches. As was pointed out by Panikkar (qtd. in Freyre 1961: 85), Catholicism would be the key factor in shaping Portuguese colonialism as something specific and unique in India, in which both the Portuguese and the Catholic Goans played a major role.

On the other side, as observed by Filipa Lowndes Vicente, in the nineteenth century foreign scholars also recognized the distinctiveness

of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, but from a negative perspective, promoting the notion, especially in British historiography about India, that the decay of the Portuguese Empire should be viewed as a "History lesson". By studying developments in Portuguese India, the British were able to avoid the errors committed by the Portuguese and prevent the same outcome for their own empire (Vicente 2013: 275–8).

Effectively, the Portuguese presence in India was "orientalized" by northern European colonial powers: the Portuguese settlers and *descendentes* [descendants] were "darkened", becoming closer to the natives and, therefore, depreciated (Subrahmanyam 1997: 42). In fact, the exotic aura associated by northern European countries with Portugal had been perceived since at least the eighteenth century.[7] Some British historians, such as Baden Henry Baden-Powell and Damodar Dharmananda Kosambi, dedicated brief attempts to apprehending how different the *Estado da Índia* – and especially Goa – was from the rest of the British Raj (Subrahmanyam 1997: 29–43). Since the nineteenth century the particularity of the *Estado da Índia* was perceived by the Portuguese, by many people from Goa, Daman and Diu (especially Catholics and people from the *Velhas Conquistas*), and by other colonial powers – and perhaps even by some people from the British Raj. In any event, Lusotropicalism as propounded by Gilberto Freyre and referred to in his notes was a powerful instrument for the *Estado Novo*'s propaganda directed towards maintaining the Portuguese presence in the Indian subcontinent, and was therefore used by the Portuguese regime to justify historically and culturally the bonds between Portugal and the *Estado da Índia*.

But before Gilberto Freyre's visit to Goa, a first attempt to strengthen the legitimization of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* had already been made in that same year, between April and June 1951. A *Missão de Estudo dos Monumentos de Goa, Damão e Diu* [Study Mission for Monuments of Goa, Daman and Diu] was composed by the art historians Mário Tavares Chicó and Carlos de Azevedo, the architect Martinho Humberto Reis from the DGEMN (*Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*/General Bureau for National Buildings and Monuments) with considerable experience of the Portuguese architectural heritage, and the photographer José Carvalho Henriques. This mission, sponsored by the *Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações Coloniais* [Board for Geographical Missions and Colonial Surveys], was intended to study the Portuguese monuments and cities of the *Estado da Índia*.

The aim was to begin the detailed study of the Christian architecture and its relationship with the local art. Such an initiative involved

gathering a vast collection of photographs of both religious, military and civil buildings erected in India by the Portuguese and of the other buildings which continued local traditions, including the Hindu temples and Muslim mosques (Azevedo 1969: 129). Much of the material that had been collected was published and exhibited, by Mário Chicó and Carlos de Azevedo in particular. More than mere historical and artistic significance, the political agenda of the dictatorship undoubtedly lay behind the sponsoring of this mission by the Portuguese regime. By showing the world a substantial group of Portuguese and Indo-Portuguese structures in the *Estado da Índia*, the *Estado Novo* was suggesting that the Portuguese possessions in the subcontinent were closer to Portugal than to India. This was one of the main reasons why the study mission focused its attention mainly on churches and fortifications built under Portuguese management.

Once the mission had arrived in Goa, the team were immediately faced with the local reality: on the one hand, some similarities to Portuguese art could be observed in churches and fortifications; on the other hand, many characteristics were clearly distinct from the European ones. In other words, a completely unique kind of artistic form, resulting from a fusion of cultures to a greater or lesser extent, could be discerned. Mário Chicó and Carlos de Azevedo revealed, in several articles, this uniqueness of Goan art (more than the art found in Diu and Daman, which was more influenced by neighbouring Gujarat), arising out of the hybridity of Portuguese/European art with the local/Hindustani art:

> The Portuguese took with them to the East, as might be expected, the traditions of Portuguese construction, and therefore it is not surprising that the cities they built – houses, churches and fortresses – should show a close relationship with what was being done in Portugal. [...] If on the one hand these [Portuguese architects and engineers] erected buildings according to what they knew, i.e., following the Western mode, on the other hand they could not avoid local influences concerning the decoration and application of classical motifs. (Azevedo 1959: 21–2)

Azevedo also commented on original elements found in these churches:

> It is not possible to study Christian architecture in India without considering the nature and the extent of local Indian influences. [...] In churches, the Indian influence is particularly strong in their decoration, where sometimes it was the peculiar treatment and

interpretation of European forms rather than the inclusion of Indian motifs that mattered. It is obvious that many local artists were employed in the building and decoration of these churches. (Azevedo 1954: 13)

The extent of Portuguese artistic influences, whether in the number of pieces, in the depth of the influences or even in the quality of the works, might perhaps have come as a surprise to scholars since almost nothing had been studied on this subject. Additionally, it would certainly be a revelation to note Portuguese influences in some pieces with apparently slight connections to Portugal or the Portuguese culture: the Hindu temples located in the territories of the *Novas Conquistas* (New Conquests). This issue was raised later, in several publications and presentations:

Besides the Christian monuments, we believe that a new collective study should make references to the local Indian art, since it cannot be truly possible to study one without the other. This local art does not present monuments comparable to the ones in many other regions of India. Nevertheless, its study is indispensable to complete the varied and rich panorama of Indian art; certain particular aspects of the Hindu temples of Goa represent a group with a certain originality that should be mentioned. (Azevedo 1992: v–vi)

Somehow, the scholars were facing a kind of "Indian art" different from the "other India", a *sui generis* artistic form found mainly in the Goan territory and, especially, in the *Novas Conquistas* territories. Several decades later Carlos de Azevedo wrote about how the fine intuition of Mário Chicó was able to understand the importance of this "discovery":

In the case of India, Mário Chicó not only immediately established the relationship with buildings in the Metropolis, but he also drew attention to the influence of Western architecture on the Goan Hindu temples. […] The interpenetration of local influences also contributed to the originality of that Christian art which arose in India. […] This phenomenon of the adaptation and transformation of Western art was also pointed out by Mário Chicó, who correctly observed that at the same time as "the tendency to fill all the space with decoration" was emphasized, "greater, too, are the modifications introduced into the motifs imported from the West". (Azevedo 1969: 131–2)

Azevedo was also aware of this new artistic variety, found during the study mission, that did not exist in Portugal as well in the "other India", i.e., there was an artistic style specific to Goa which was believed to be unique:

> The majority of the temples built in Goa, Daman and Diu [...] constitute a special and very curious case in the history of artistic relations between the West and Hindu and Muslim art. [...] The Hindu temples then built [in Goa] are closely connected to some of Goa's [Catholic] monuments and are, on the other hand, very influenced by the neighbouring art of Bijapur. [...] When new temples were built [in Goa], the architects searched for inspiration in decorative motifs from the Renaissance, Mannerism and the Baroque, and also in the distinctly Western combination of volumes. (Azevedo 1992: 37–8)

In effect, the programme included visits to cities of the *Estado da Índia* under a strong Portuguese influence, perhaps tending to follow recommendations made by the regime, as later happened with Gilberto Freyre. As for the non-Catholic temples (Hindu temples and, to a lesser extent, the Muslim mosques), conveniently only a small number were listed in the mission report, revealing a particular agenda: to demonstrate influences deriving from Portuguese/European architecture.

A few years later, in March 1954, the art historian Reynaldo dos Santos also carried out a study mission in Goa, focusing mainly on Goan decorative arts (furniture, jewellery, textiles). The ideological use of this study mission was implicitly pointed out by Reynaldo dos Santos after returning to Portugal: "What was I doing in Goa? I went first of all on a double cultural mission, scientific and artistic, to launch another link in this chain of spiritual relations between Goa and Portugal that His Excellency the Minister of the Overseas Territories has undertaken on a noble patriotic mission" (Santos 1954: 3). Reynaldo dos Santos argued strongly for the existence of an Indo-Portuguese art (and culture). More than that:

> The character of this work justifies the creation of the term *Indo-Portuguese* to characterize the hybridity of European forms, coupled with the exotic decoration and actual material. [...] Should we claim legitimate autonomy for Indo-Portuguese art, as well as the Goan civilization itself? There is no doubt however that this art is the result of three well researched trends: the Mughal art that arrived in India through Persia at the same time as we [Portuguese] did; the Indian traditions; and, finally, the Portuguese inspiration. Contrary to what

the authors mentioned above [Vilhelm Slomann, Ralph Edwards and Kenneth de Burgh Codrington] felt constrained to conjecture, when the English, Dutch and French companies established themselves in India in the seventeenth century, Indo-Portuguese art had already been established a long time before. (Santos 1954: 14–16)

By referring to the misconceptions of European researchers who studied the Indian arts, alleging that they were not able to understand the arts of the *Estado da Índia*, Reynaldo dos Santos was envisaging a distinct form of studies concerning Portuguese India – a kind of Indo-Portuguese orientalism within the Lusotropicalist ideas. Therefore, based on the results of these study missions, it was possible for the *Estado Novo* regime to argue that artistic production in the *Estado da Índia*, if not entirely Portuguese, was at least Indo-Portuguese and definitely not Indian, or rather, not completely Indian. It just demonstrated some Indian influence.

As previously pointed out in another article (Santos 2016), this distinction of the *Estado da Índia* concerning India was not based merely on the observation of the wider occurrence of Portuguese buildings, compared with the British and French territories in India; in fact, the most substantial difference between the artistic heritage of the Portuguese territories and the one from the former British and French territories was its age – the Portuguese heritage was mostly older. If British and French buildings were mainly constructed in the eighteenth, nineteenth and even twentieth centuries, by contrast many Portuguese buildings of the *Estado da Índia* dated from the sixteenth century and were therefore at least two centuries older. Some of the Portuguese constructions were even older than the greatly valued Mughal monuments, such as the Taj Mahal, and several of them were already in ruins, evidencing their antiquity. The architectural heritage of Portuguese influence in India became an important propaganda instrument, used by the *Estado Novo* in Portugal to attest to the centuries-old Portuguese presence in this territory.

The Portuguese regime continued to argue in favour of Lusotropicalism in order to justify the Portuguese dominion in the *Estado da Índia*. In a speech pronounced in the Portuguese National Assembly on 12 April 1954, Oliveira Salazar argued once again that "Goa was a Portuguese community in India, representing a Western light in Eastern lands" (Salazar 1961: 3–4), reinforcing later his idea on the *Estado da Índia*:

In those tiny territories either ceded or occupied by the military, Portuguese blood generously merged with local blood; more than

four hundred years of common existence, spiritual presence, the breathing of a different presence and interpenetration of cultures created a perfectly differentiated social type. No matter how much one wants to, a Portuguese from India, a Luso-Indian, cannot be mistaken for someone who was born in India. (Salazar 1961: 186–90)

Orlando Ribeiro and the sociological study of the *Estado da Índia*

After the mission led by Mário Chicó dedicated essentially to the study of arts and monuments in the *Estado da Índia*, the regime sought to justify the Portuguese presence in India and the idea of uniqueness of Portuguese colonization on sociological grounds. In fact, it became a kind of official legitimizing speech that needed to be bolstered, as could be seen in Salazar's words: "There is a line that is clearly reinforced [...] – that of the increasingly perfect and complete integration of all the provinces spread out in the Unity of the Portuguese Nation" (Salazar 1951: 488).

In 1955 Paulo Cunha, Minister of the Foreign Affairs, spoke to the geographer Orlando Ribeiro about the possibility of sending a study mission to the *Estado da Índia* to carry out research on geographical, anthropological, sociological and ethnographical aspects. Soon after, the *Missão de Geografia à Índia* [Geography Mission to India] was established and led by Orlando Ribeiro, together with the geographers Raquel Soeiro de Brito and Mariano Feio as its members. In October 1955 the mission team was already in Goa conducting its studies, and while Orlando returned to Portugal in February 1956, his companions continued their studies in the *Estado da Índia* until July 1956.

Orlando Ribeiro stated clearly the aims of this mission: "Our goal was to produce a work dealing with the Geography of those Portuguese territories [...]. It was hoped that this work, carefully carried out, would show how far the Portuguese had gone during four and a half centuries of history" (Ribeiro 1999: 61–2). Gilberto Freyre's ideas were a crucial point of reference to Orlando Ribeiro, namely Lusotropicalism and all the clichés associated with it: "It is clear that the thousands of Portuguese who left the country were in no way sufficient to assure the possession of these territories [of the Portuguese Empire], and much less to occupy and colonize them. There was only one path to follow and they followed it with all determination: miscegenation" (Ribeiro 1994: 19). In other words, it seems that Ribeiro thought his mission would contribute to support the idea of

an integration of the *Estado da Índia* in a Lusotropicalist sphere, and surely the Portuguese regime considered that it would reinforce the Portuguese claims over the territory. An article published by Orlando Ribeiro in the *Diário Popular* (one of the most important Portuguese newspapers), after his return to Portugal, gives us this impression:

> Whether arriving in Goa by ship or by aeroplane, the traveller lands in the heart of the *Velhas Conquistas* and the first things he observes are images of a land that was Christianized four centuries ago; churches scrupulously whitewashed, opening on to great church-yards with monumental crosses, chapels on riverbanks or hilltops, overlooking the meadows where the light green of rice paddies shines and the yellowish fronds of coconut trees sway. A more intimate contact with this land shows everywhere the marks of the Christian religion: crosses at the roadside, in the middle of bridges, on dams of water for irrigation, in front of houses, inside meadows; little chapels or oratories in small villages or at crossroads. (Ribeiro 1956)

This was what the regime wanted to show the whole world, a Lusitanized territory with a westernized Catholic population, completely different from India. However, Ribeiro was shocked once he arrived in Goa. The scholars decided to begin their studies by focusing on the Hindu communities, in order to contextualize them in the Hindustani space and to trace their evolution under Portuguese rule. What they observed was not what they expected the *Estado da Índia* would be; they found instead the "*least Portuguese lands* of all", where they observed "the general unfamiliarity with our language, the persistence of a society that was strange and indifferent, if not hostile, to our presence, the limits of our influence, embedded like a cyst in the flank of the resurgent Hinduism" (Ribeiro 1999: 65). If Orlando Ribeiro, Raquel Soares de Brito and Mariano Feio were expecting to find a westernized Hindu society, they could not have been more mistaken:

> The traditional type of the Hindu society lives closed in on itself. The conviviality with foreign people is forbidden within their homes, which would be defiled by these filthy beings that eat beef and pork. [...] The Portuguese is repelled; the women should not look at them. He is the *pacló*, which means the lout, the one who "only talks nonsense". [...] For a Hindu, the Portuguese is a foreigner, an intruder, unclean. Accepting his presence is a derogation of the essential concepts of Hinduism. (Ribeiro 1999: 96–8)

Every Hindu sees in India his spiritual homeland. Over there are the sacred rivers and mountains that the Brahmins evoke in their morning prayers; over there exist the only priests who can cast the ashes of the ancestors into the sacred rivers. (Ribeiro 1999: 114)

These conclusions were the exact opposite of the regime's intentions for this study mission, and Ribeiro and his fellows must surely have felt a little disturbed by their findings. These feelings only got better when the scholars began to study the territories of the *Velhas Conquistas*, more the Christianized than the Hindu regions of the *Novas Conquistas*. In fact, in the small territory of Goa it was possible to find two coexisting regions and two societies that overlapped in their general features but were, in fact, interlaced in many important details (Ribeiro 1999: 74). Orlando Ribeiro confirms this division, when he states:

These contacts, first with the Portuguese, and afterwards with the world influenced by the Western expansion, resulted for Goa in a unique set of features that somehow opposes the two parts into which its territory is divided. [...] [These historical and social conditions] explain, on the one hand, the originality of Goa within the context of the Portuguese expansion: no innovation in trade or rural life, continuity of the forms of occupation and organization of space, but a deep assimilation combined with an insignificant crossbreeding. (1959: 179)

Four and a half centuries of imposed Christianity and the actions of a large and zealous clergy had created, after a certain time, a kind of opposition between Christians and gentiles in Goa. So, if the Hindu communities were not Lusitanized at all, as they were closer to India (despite a few Portuguese influences), it did not mean that, by opposition, the Catholic society was part of the Lusotropicalist world described by Gilberto Freyre. This is why the mission led by Orlando Ribeiro found the *Estado da Índia* to be something original, a territory and society divided into two parts, in which one of them – the Catholic – was supposedly unique; it did not belong to the "Indian world" or to Portugal or completely to the Lusotropicalist world, it was something different, unparalleled and exceptional, something entirely Goan: the so-called "originality of Goa" (Ribeiro 1959). There were several reasons to accept this allegation: contrary to Brazil or Africa, or even Macau, where the Portuguese mixed more freely, Indian women "always repelled this intruder, who nowadays still arouses suspicion, if not genuine disgust" (Ribeiro 1999: 80); in

addition, even massively converted, the Christian society of Goa preserved its original stratification in castes, which played an insignificant role in the crossbreeding with Portuguese and determined a low usage of Portuguese language (Ribeiro 1999: 75).

Unlike other Portuguese overseas territories, where Gilberto Freyre claimed that crossbreeding and religion were the two pillars on which the Portuguese Empire rested, only in Goa was the Catholic religion able to embody the territory under the Portuguese influences. And that is why Orlando Ribeiro wondered:

> What has the Christian Goan society received from us? A strong influence in private life: monogamy, only later becoming generally practised by the Hindus; the adoption in Konkani of certain significant words [...]; a total transformation of the character of women, who look, talk and laugh with strangers, a behaviour that the Hindu education carefully represses; the abolition of certain types of casteism, such as commensality, untouchability. (1999: 81)

The mission realized that the Hindu (and Muslim) communities of the *Estado da Índia* were not part of Lusotropicalism. As for the Catholic communities, even if they incorporated some characteristics of Lusotropicalism, the general panorama was slightly diverse: crossbreeding in the *Estado da Índia* was much reduced when compared to other former Portuguese colonies, also many features of the pre-Portuguese societies were adopted and maintained, which made it completely distinct from the Lusotropicalist territories of Brazil, Macau, Timor and Africa. This was clear to Orlando Ribeiro who reported it to the Portuguese regime leaders: "I do not consider it beneficial that the [Portuguese] propaganda keep insisting on aspects that knowledge of the facts contradicts [...]. There is undeniably a Goan Christian elite, deeply assimilated, though limited in numbers" (Ribeiro 1999: 99).

The report made by Orlando Ribeiro was opposed to the ideological assumptions of the Portuguese regime concerning the *Estado da Índia*. Several elements identified by the mission could potentially have been used in favour of the Indian claims, and this was certainly the reason why the regime did not release the document. In an article published in April 1956, soon after the return of Orlando Ribeiro to Portugal, Oliveira Salazar stated:

> Afonso de Albuquerque's "policy of marriages", which was designed to implement the idea of linking the people to the land through the creation of permanent interests and the setting up of legitimate family

life, gave rise over time to a population in which Portuguese blood had widely mingled with that of local elements. In addition, the Christian atmosphere, the Western culture, the transplantation of other customs and institutions, the spread of the language, the political relationship with a European country, helped in the formation and deep rooting of a people which was perfectly differentiated from the ethnic groups of Hindustan [...]. No qualified traveller passing into Goa from the Indian Union can fail to gain the impression that he is entering an entirely different land. The way people think, feel and act is European. (Salazar 1956: 420)

Reading Salazar's words and knowing what Ribeiro wrote in his report, one may think both were referring to different territories, since one is basically the opposite of the other in sociological, cultural and even genetic terms. The propaganda of the *Estado Novo* adopted part of Goan society to show the world how the whole *Estado da Índia* would be: the Catholic community of Goa had their characteristics smoothed to fulfil the ideological requirements of the Portuguese regime and, along with the selection of some Lusitanized features found in a few Hindu communities, it was possible to reveal a very Lusitanized *Estado da Índia*. Even knowing how difficult crossbreeding was in India, the regime did not hesitate to instil the myth of Albuquerque's "policy of marriages" as something used on a large scale. The regime was promoting a Lusotropicalist agenda, claiming that the *Estado da Índia* was part of Portugal as a territory belonging to this "pluricontinental nation", having Lusitanian characteristics commonly seen in all the Portuguese territories, but concurrently it had its own characteristics resulting from local cultures – yet, rather distant from the Hindustani characteristics to be favourably compared with India.

Insights of the *Estado da Índia* by foreign reporters invited by the *Estado Novo*

Having already defined a kind of ideological script, partially based on outputs achieved by the study missions promoted by the Portuguese dictatorial regime, it was time to disseminate it throughout the entire world. This script was neither impartial nor rigorous, since it was created by using just the conclusions that suited the regime's claims for Portuguese sovereignty over the *Estado da Índia*: the propagandistic screenplay used the Lusotropicalist aspects found by the study missions, ignoring or rejecting the other ones opposed to its ideological dialectics; simultaneously, some local aspects were maintained to

strengthen the peculiarity of this territory, giving it the aura of "picturesque Lusotropicalism of the East" – or, in even better, an "Indo-Lusotropicalism" originating from an Orientalism applied to Portuguese India (an "Indo-Portuguese Orientalism") with different features from the other types of Orientalism.

To spread these ideas of Indo-Lusotropicalism throughout the world, the *Estado Novo* used the most effective propaganda instrument: the mass media. In 1957 the Swiss journalist Emile Marini was invited by the Portuguese regime to visit the *Estado da Índia* and give his impressions about it. Insights were obviously not neutral, since his partiality in favour of the Portuguese claims was clearly implicit in his report and the books he published later. The synchrony between the *Estado Novo* and Emile Marini was explicit in his texts, as can be seen from the following:

> The [Portuguese] cause is just and noble and must be taken to heart by the entire western world and particularly by the Christian world; since the territory of Goa belongs to Portugal, the political and religious position of Goa is a heritage common to the West as a whole, a heritage of civilization and Christianity whose defence is incumbent not only on Portugal, but everyone interested in safeguarding those values. (Marini 1959: 5)

Marini's report focused on the social, architectural, cultural and landscape aspects of Goa, Daman and Diu, and was later edited and published in several languages (Portuguese, English, French and German) with the title *Goa as I Saw It*. Emile Marini acted almost as a sounding board for the official Portuguese discourse, restating the main ideas of the propaganda promulgated by the *Estado Novo*. Marini's text as a whole differs considerably from that of Orlando Ribeiro in respect of their main findings: Ribeiro saw essentially an "Indian *Estado da Índia*" in most of the Portuguese territories in the subcontinent, even if many Lusitanian influences were concentrated in the *Velhas Conquistas*; whereas for Marini, the description of what his vision captured is the opposite, i.e., basically a "Portuguese *Estado da Índia*" with local influences scattered across the territory and especially in the *Novas Conquistas*. Therefore, for Marini the *Estado da Índia* was formed over several centuries in the Metropolitan manner, preserving its own defined characteristics in sharp contrast with the neighbouring peoples, and it could not subsist without support from Portugal (Marini 1956: 11).

Most of the photographs taken by Marini were of places and situations where the Portuguese influence was obvious (forts, churches,

palaces, major cities, Catholic celebrations), and the few Hindu and Muslim shots focused mainly on people, just to show the harmony within the local religious and ethnic diversity – but never forgetting the primacy of *Portugalidade* or Portugueseness. In fact, Marini claimed that "there is perfect understanding between Hindus and Catholics [...]. Therefore there are no religious reasons that could make the Goan Hindus wish for the annexation of Goa by the Indian Union, because they would not gain anything from it. But the Catholics surely would have much to lose" (1956: 148).

Marini conveniently failed to mention the Indianist side, which was present in the *Estado da Índia*, mainly among Hindus, but also within substantial parts of local Catholic society. The description of Goa, Daman and Diu was produced from the Lusitanized Catholic perspective which was later used by Marini for the entire territory. For instance, even if many Hindus took part in Catholic celebrations and ceremonies, the opposite was also true, since many Catholics used to attend Hindu celebrations. Moreover, almost none of the traditional Hindu villages or temples were photographed (or at least published) by Emile Marini, in contrast to the Catholic churches and the more westernized cities, such as the capital Panjim. Again, Marini was spreading a kind of Indo-Lusotropicalism about the *Estado da Índia*.

The political agenda of Marini was, moreover, completely exposed in the conclusions of his report, when he wrote about Goan sentiments: "We wish to remain Goan Portuguese, because our ancestors and ourselves were always Portuguese. The Portugueseness is in us, in our history, in our culture, in our traditions, in our freedom, and there is no reason for us to betray our Motherland" (Marini 1956: 222).

The monuments of Old Goa as propaganda[8]

Pressure on the Portuguese regime to leave India became increasingly intense; in 1958 Jawaharlal Nehru stated: "That little bit of territory [*Estado da Índia*] makes no difference to this great country. But even a small enclave under foreign rule does make a difference, and it is a constant reproach to the self-respect and national interest of India" (qtd. in Palmer 1958: 294).

In 1960 the Portuguese regime held a great ideological and propagandistic celebration, the Fifth Centenary of the Death of Prince Henry "the Navigator", promoting the direct association of Portugal with its overseas territories. The *Estado da Índia* also commemorated the 450 years of the Portuguese conquest of Goa by Afonso de Albuquerque.

In this context the exhibition *In the Wake of the Portuguese Navigators* was also inaugurated in London, organized by the British historian Michael Teague. At the end of the 1950s, Teague visited several Portuguese overseas territories, including the *Estado da Índia*, sponsored by the *Agência Geral do Ultramar*, precisely as part of the celebrations of the Fifth Centenary of the Death of Prince Henry "the Navigator". Teague's idea was to recapture pictorially the atmosphere of the lands and the character of the peoples the Portuguese may have encountered on their way out to the East, during the great Age of the Discoveries (Teague 1960: 5). But once again, one notes a strong suggestion of Lusotropicalist thinking in his book.

In this context of major celebrations in the *Estado da Índia*, the Portuguese governor–general Manuel Vassalo e Silva created a commission whose aim was to propose an ambitious plan for the *Reintegração da Cidade de Velha Goa no seu Ambiente Histórico, Arqueológico, Monástico e Religioso* [Reintegration of the City of Old Goa into its Historical, Archaeological, Monastic and Religious Environment], supposedly harmonizing the wishes of the Goan people with the propagandistic intentions of the *Estado Novo*. Therefore, Vassalo e Silva declared that "'Old Goa', as it is usually known, is a repository of priceless artistic, historical, cultural and religious values, perhaps unique in the world. Each stone, inside or outside of the buildings, has a life and a soul of its own" (1959: 408–9).

But less than a decade before a Portuguese restorer played a major role in the actions over the built heritage of Old Goa, again in connection with a major celebration. As also used to happen in Portugal, successive official celebrations were excuses used by the Portuguese regime to promote the national virtues and the nationalist Lusitanist propaganda. Hence, for the celebration of the Fourth Centenary of the Death of Saint Francis Xavier, which took place in 1952, the regime planned a programme for the celebrations which would become the highest point of the Portuguese world's process of 'Luso–Christian integration'. The reverence for the ancient Lusitanian memory in Indian lands, to which the modern *Estado da Índia* considered itself the legitimate heir, followed a set of heritage practices reflecting the action of the *Estado Novo* in Portugal. Among all the elements likely to symbolize a Past in which *Portugalidade* was perceptible, the architectural heritage was perhaps the most visible. Accordingly, these monuments began to be considered objects to be valued, especially the ones of Old Goa, the former "Golden Goa" and "Rome of the East". The architectural monuments of Old Goa became the basis of an Indo-Portuguese identity and were then transformed into revered national symbols.

The rescue of these revered national symbols was also an ideological way to legitimize the Portuguese regime within the Indo-Portuguese community and the world, recovering the Portuguese glories of the Past and elevating the Present memory to the same level as the prestigious Past. An essential symbolical component in the construction of Indo-Portuguese identity, the built heritage of Old Goa consequently became an object of interest for the Portuguese regime, as an instrument containing ideological messages concerning Portuguese claims in the *Estado da Índia*.

This is the context in which the architect Baltazar da Silva Castro went to the *Estado da Índia*, accompanied by the expert team constituted by the *Missão para o Estudo do Restauro de Padrões e Monumentos* [Mission for Studying the Restoration of Patterns and Monuments]. The restoration of monuments in Old Goa aimed to prepare for the Xaverian celebrations. His first service commission was in 1951; it was a prelude to the intense activity of his second commission, between the middle of 1952 and the beginning of 1953. His actions regarding the monuments of Old Goa reflected much of his previous practise in Portugal, namely the recreation of an idealized image for some monuments, and a distortion of others. As the regime's intention was to show how old the Portuguese presence was in the *Estado da Índia* – even older than the foundation of the Mughal Empire – monuments should display their antiquity, even if their image had to be tweaked to make them appear older. Baltazar Castro was responsible for modifications to the monuments of Old Goa, some of them acquiring a completely new image which has lasted to the present day.

Returning to the subject of the governor–general Vassalo e Silva, by the middle of 1959 he nominated a group of distinguished individuals from the *Estado da Índia* administration and the Goan Archdiocese to form the commission "A Velha Goa". This commission, led by José Ismael Gracias Jr., proposed that Old Goa's monuments should be restored and monumentalized, and that public art should be placed in specific places. It was proposed that a statue of Luís Vaz de Camões, the greatest Portuguese poet of all time, should be erected in the centre of the projected garden in the Square of Saint Francis Xavier. Streets and squares were to be planned and constructed, and public spaces were to be landscaped. In addition to the monumentalization and embellishment of the architectural heritage of Old Goa, placing the statue of Camões in such a prominent urban setting undoubtedly had enormous symbolical meaning related to the significance of the Portuguese language for the *Estado da Índia*.

In September 1961 the architect Luís Benavente was sent to the

Estado da Índia, in a service commission, to work on the plan for Old Goa. However, an event that occurred on 18 December 1961 definitively destroyed the reintegration programme of Old Goa defined by the Goan commission: on that day the Indian army attacked the *Estado da Índia* and claimed sovereignty over that territory. Vassalo e Silva, the last governor–general of the *Estado da Índia*, surrendered to the Indian forces; and that was the abrupt end of four and a half centuries of Portuguese India.

Epilogue: The existence of an Indo-Lusotropicalist rhetoric

The study missions carried out in the *Estado da Índia* in the 1950s, sponsored by the Portuguese dictatorial regime through the *Agência Geral do Ultramar*, had a decisive influence on the tenor of its propaganda concerning the overseas territories: they were intended to show the world the existence of an Indo-Portuguese culture as a paradigm of Lusotropicalism, by revealing a coherent synthesis between Portuguese and Hindustani cultures.

Until the Second World War, roughly speaking, many Western countries undertook studies of India (and, of course, the Eastern world) in order to establish a system of representations. However, these representations often relied on the (re)production of picturesque and exotic clichés, following a dichotomy in which the Western vision of the Other(s) was sometimes (or often) biased, romantic, paternalist and superior, assigning them rigid norms and characteristics. Other European powers seized this insight to construct and validate their colonial empires, using it to validate their geopolitical imperialist stance vis-à-vis the colonized. But the concurrent need to set a standard to allow the comparison/contrast with the Other necessarily imposed a self-reflection by the Orientalists on what the West (or European culture) actually is, essentializing and defining it in general terms.

Portuguese Orientalism, despite following many parameters identical to other Western countries, was nevertheless seen as having its own characteristics that began during the sixteenth century and emerged more strongly from the nineteenth century onwards. Apparently in contrast with other European powers in India, which dominated Hindustani territories generally without intermingling with the locals (maintaining their 'superior European purity'), they considered Portuguese India to be a decadent colony – mainly because of the supposed miscegenation between the Portuguese and the native

people (something that, as seen previously, did not reach the levels publicized).

Thus, if Portuguese India was viewed by other Europeans as a territory distinct from the "other India(s)", this idea surely reached the Portuguese mentality; but not necessarily with the same derogatory meaning. The Portuguese were undeniably aware of the decay of the *Estado da Índia*, even if it was not officially acknowledged. But the main point is that the Portuguese elites, part of the Portuguese *descendentes* living in the *Estado da Índia* and members of the Catholic population of Goa were aware of the difference between Portuguese India and the "other" India. This difference was perceived not only because of Afonso de Albuquerque's "policy of marriages" myth and the "Golden Goa" myth, but mainly because of the existence of a large Catholic population in the *Estado da Índia*, as well as the centenarian Portuguese presence which created deep roots in Goa.

The Portuguese knowledge produced from the nineteenth century onwards was generally used to categorize the *Estado da Índia* (but especially Goa) as Catholic, Lusophone and shaped by Portuguese culture. The Past was used in European nationalist ideologies to build national memories at least from the eighteenth century, and all the more so in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. History was often rewritten, in order to create narratives that could support the construction of nations and communities, reinventing and combining notions to reshape the Past and create a new collective identity memory, thus fitting the contemporary requirements.

As for the *Estado da Índia*, and more specifically Goa, as Rosa Perez observes, Portuguese colonialism sought its legitimation based on the narrative of the "Golden Goa, Rome of the East", an idealized society characterized by the Portugueseness of its language, religion, art, law and culture, that has reproduced Portuguese characteristics in Portuguese colonies, even if adopting some local influences. This harmonious and (sort of) homogenized (within its diversity) Lusitanian society would be theoretically superior to and better than Hindustani societies (Perez 2012: 16–17, 55).

As a matter of fact, even the Goan elites played a major role in the construction of the identity narratives in Goa: since the end of the seventeenth century the Catholic Goan Brahmans and *Chardós* (Kshatriyas) had created their own identity narratives, both as a tool of empowerment to impose social domination over other castes and at the same time to fight their own subalternity to the Portuguese colonial power. As an example of what Ângela Barreto Xavier and Ines Županov called "Orientalism from within", Goan Catholic elites began to ponder on who they were and how to improve their

condition under Portuguese rule (if possible by replacing the Portuguese colonial administrators without renouncing Portuguese imperial power), and thus producing an identity narrative which consequently made them distinct from other Hindustani people (Xavier and Županov 2014: 246–5). So, in a sense one can say that part of the Goan society was already committed to the narrative of being different from the "other India(s)".

Lusotropicalist concepts emerged in the nineteenth century; but at the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century, facing the challenge of justifying Portugal's continued dominion over its overseas territories, the Lusotropicalist discourse was ramped up by the Portuguese dictatorial regime. In fact, until the project for the revision of the Portuguese Constitution in 1950, the *Estado Novo* was assumedly nationalist and imperialist, following the same patterns as other colonial powers. The independence of European colonies in Africa and Asia and the reactions against colonialism made the Portuguese regime react and embrace the Lusotropicalist ideology, thus establishing the narrative of a distinct colonialism followed by Portugal – a kind of "soft colonialism".

From 1947 onwards the Indian threat hovering over the *Estado da Índia* turned it into the experimental field of Lusotropicalist ideology, where Portuguese Orientalist studies were combined in order to create a coherent representation of a Lusitanized India. The propaganda disseminated in the 1950s about the Portugueseness of the *Estado da Índia*, which I denominate Indo-Lusotropicalism, were developed, as its name suggests, within the Lusotropicalist discourse. One may ask why this Indo-Lusotropicalism cannot be simply addressed as Lusotropicalism as a whole, since this ideology intended to unify the Portuguese overseas territories with Portugal under a sort of Lusitanian umbrella imbued with the Portuguese character. The fact is that *Estado da Índia* was a mythical symbol of the Portuguese empire, playing a fundamental role in the Portuguese imagination; this was perceived in the words of Caeiro da Mata, chairman of the executive committee for the celebration of the Fifth Centenary of the Death of Prince Henry the Navigator, during the swearing-in cere-mony of the committee, when he said "Our India, where the [epic poem] *The Lusiadas* had its deepest roots and the Western civilization keep alive the last beacon of its spiritual light in the East. [. . .] India is for us more than a patrimony, it is a mission" (Mata 1958: 1).

But at the same time the *Estado da Índia* was perhaps the place where Lusotropicalism was less applicable, compelling thus the adop-tion here of a Lusotropicalist narrative containing its own characteristics, in order to allow the reconciliation of certain dispari-

ties between reality and the official Portuguese speech of cultural unity. In fact, while Orientalist rhetoric was usually intended to signal the otherness of Eastern cultures from an external and Eurocentric point of view, marking in that way the difference between cultures, Lusotropicalism was intended to be a discourse produced within the Portuguese empire to construct unity, familiarity and (potential) homogeneity. In the last period of the Portuguese regime, the difference between Portuguese colonialism and other European colonialisms was consistently stressed, intended to justify maintaining the Portuguese overseas territories under a "single pluricontinental nation". For the *Estado Novo* narrative the distinct power relations between Portugal and its overseas territories, when compared with other colonial countries and their colonies, prevented the others from understanding the specific context of the Portuguese territories, and in this particular case, understanding the specificity of the *Estado da Índia*.

Moreover, the official Lusotropicalist narrative was addressed not only to the outside, but also to the inside – for the natives of the Portuguese overseas territories. If the *Estado da Índia* had already its own "Orientalism from within" produced by Goan Catholic elites, as seen previously, the *Estado Novo* was attempting to implement a kind of "Re-Orientalism" narrative, according to Lisa Lau and Ana Cristina Mendes. In other words, a self-representation of the *Estado da Índia* by its natives, but in this case supposedly basing their identity on Lusitanian referential points (Lau and Mendes 2011). The intention was to inhibit the predominant discourse of the "Goa Indica" claimed by the Goan petty bourgeoisie, reflected for instance in the speech pronounced by the Goan student João Barreto in 1913, used by India in the International Court of Justice in 1960:

> I salute my motherland, our Goa, integrated in the great Indian nation to which I once belonged, conquering the conventional barriers of the Gath and establishing the necessary diffusions of principles and interests with our alma mater, to which we are bound by ties of race, civilization and blood. This is because being an Indian, I need not hide the fact that my utmost patriotic aspiration is to see the great Hindustan free itself from foreign domination. (qtd. in Trichur 2013: 83–4)

It was no wonder that the Gilberto Freyre's visit was announced in the Goan press,[9] his famous conference in Panjim described by the *Heraldo*,[10] and an interpretation of his ideas published in the *O Heraldo*.[11] The arrival of the *Missão de Estudo dos Monumentos de*

Goa, Damão e Diu was also announced by several Goan periodicals,[12] and even Emile Marini was interviewed by the *Heraldo* while in Goa. Marini ended his interview mentioning a small prayer he had made at the Basilica do Bom Jesus, in Old Goa, *ex-libris* of the *Estado da Índia*: "Oh, Great Patron of Goa [St. Francis Xavier], forever protect this land blessed by Providence, which used Portugal to make Goa the stronghold of Western and Christian civilization at the gates of Asia" (Marini 1958: 1, 5).

Not only was it intended that the world should be convinced by the Portuguese Lusotropicalist narrative, but the Goan people themselves had to be persuaded of their own Portugueseness, even though possessed of some characteristics originating from the Indian context. Allegedly, the Portuguese regime was finally allowing the people of the *Estado da Índia* what had been claimed in part by Mateus do Couto and other Goans from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards (Xavier and Županov 2015): to be equal to the Portuguese, maintaining some of their own Oriental identity (but with clear and strong Lusitanian characteristics) within the Portuguese world. This was the aim of the Indo-Lusotropicalist rhetoric, in which the study missions, sponsored by the Portuguese regime in the 1950s, played an important role. And, somehow, this impression has survived up to the present day. Paraphrasing Sanjay Subrahmanyam's thoughts (1997: 42), today Goa is seen as doubly exotic: on the one hand, the romantic idea of the adaptive transposition of Portugal to Goa projects its own notion of Orientalism within Lusotropicalism; but on the other hand Goa is, at the same time, the Indian projection of its own perception of Occidentalism.

Notes

1 On Orientalism and representations of British India, in addition to the works cited in this chapter, see among others: Ana Cristina Mendes and Lisa Lau. 2014. "India through Re-Orientalist Lenses." *Interventions* 17 (5): 706–27; Ali Behdad and Luke Gartlan, eds. 2013. *Photography's Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representation*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute; Indra Sengupta and Daud Ali, eds. 2011. *Knowledge Production, Pedagogy, and Institutions in Colonial India*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan; Tapati Guha-Thakurta. 2004. *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India*. New York: Columbia University Press; Harald Fischer-Tiné and Michael Mann, eds. 2004. *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*. London: Anthem Press; Maria Antonella Pelizzari, ed. 2003. *Traces of India: Photography, Architecture, and the Politics of Representation, 1850–1900*. Montreal:

Canadian Centre for Architecture; John James Clarke. 2002. *Oriental Enlightenment: The Encounter between Asian and Western Thought*. London: Routledge; Eleanor M. High and Gary D. Sampson, eds. 2002. *Colonialist Photography: Ima(gin)ing Race and Place*. New York: Routledge; Tim Fulford and Peter Kitson, eds. 1998. *Romanticism and Colonialism: Writing and Empire, 1780–1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Parama Roy. 1998. *Indian Traffic: Identities in Question in Colonial and Postcolonial India*. Berkeley: University of California Press; James R. Ryan. 1997. *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*. London: Reaktion Books; Wilhelm Halbfass. 1990. *India and Europe: An Essay in Understanding*. Albany: SUNY Press; Ronald Inden. 1990. *Imagining India*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell; Bernard S. Cohn. 1983. "Representing Authority in Victorian India." In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 165–209. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

2 On Lusotropicalism, in addition to Gilberto Freyre's texts and the works cited in this chapter, see for instance: Teotónio de Souza. 2001. *Gilberto Freyre na Índia e o "Luso-tropicalismo Transnacional"*. Lisbon: Centro Português de Estudos do Sudeste Asiático; João Medina. 2000. "Gilberto Freyre contestado: o lusotropicalismo criticado nas colónias portuguesas como álibi colonial do salazarismo." *Revista USP* 45: 48–61; Cláudia Castelo. 1999. *O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo: o luso-tropicalismo e a ideologia colonial portuguesa (1933–1961)*. Oporto: Edições Afrontamento. For cultural exchanges in Portuguese India, see also: Filipa Lowndes Vicente. 2015. *Entre Dois Impérios: viajantes britânicos em Goa (1800–1940)*. Lisbon: Tinta da China; Alexander Henn. 2014. *Hindu-Catholic Encounters in Goa: Religion, Colonialism, and Modernity*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Filipa Lowndes Vicente, ed. 2014. *O Império da Visão: fotografia no contexto colonial português (1860–1960)*. Lisbon: Edições 70; Paulo Varela Gomes. 2007. "'Se não me engano': o Oriente e a arquitectura portuguesa antiga." In *14,5 Ensaios de História e Arquitectura*, 295–308. Coimbra: Edições Almedina.

3 Mahatma Gandhi was the mentor of the concept of *satyagraha* (truth force) and a supporter of *ahimsa* (nonviolence).

4 Unless otherwise noted, all translations into English are mine. Source texts/originals originally written in languages other than English are not provided.

5 The *Agência Geral do Ultramar* was a Portuguese government institution committed to the study and promotion of the overseas territories through the systematic survey and collection of data in different knowledge areas.

6 Orlando Ribeiro used this concept in his lecture *Originalidade da Expansão Portuguesa* [Originality of the Portuguese Expansion], delivered and published in 1956. By the end of the *Estado Novo* the apology of this concept was a constant in official speeches and propaganda; for

instance, in 1971 Marcelo Caetano – who succeeded Salazar in the Portuguese dictatorship – made a plea for "Portuguese originality", supported by Freyre's ideas, in the documentary *Le Portugal d'Outre Mer dans le monde d'aujourd'hui*, directed by Jean Leduc.

7   In spite of Portugal being the most western country in continental Europe, travel literature from northern European countries often used to "orientalize" Portugal, describing it as backward, conservative, religious and marked by the ancient Muslim presence in the Iberian Peninsula and by contacts with Eastern and African cultures (Gomes 2007).

8   This topic has already been explored by the author in several widely cited works (Santos 2016; 2017).

9   "Gilberto Freire: o eminente sociólogo brasileiro visita a India portuguesa." *Notícias do Estado da Índia* (no. 28), 15 September 1951, 4; "Nosso hospede de honra." *Heraldo* (no. 12590), 16 November 1951, 1–2; "Gilberto Freyre." *A India Portuguesa* (no. 3920), 20 November 1951, 1–2.

10   "No Instituto Vasco da Gama." *Heraldo* (no. 12603), 5 December 1951, 1–2.

11   "Duas interpretações de Gilberto Freyre." *O Heraldo* (no. 14671), 18 April 1952, 1.

12   "Missão arqueológica na India portuguesa." *Notícias do Estado da Índia* (no. 17), 1 April 1951, 1–2; "Uma missão artistica na India." *Heraldo* (no. 12412), 11 April 1951, 1; "Missão arqueologica portuguesa." *Diário da Noite* (no. 9895), 12 April 1951, 1.

References

Agência Geral do Ultramar. 1952. *India Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar.

Avelar, Pedro. 2012. *História de Goa: de Afonso de Albuquerque a Vassalo e Silva*. Lisbon: Texto Editores.

Azevedo, Carlos de. 1992. *A Arte de Goa, Damão e Diu*. Lisbon: Pedro de Azevedo.

Azevedo, Carlos de. 1969. "Mário Chicó e a Índia." In *Mário Tavares Chicó, 1905–1966*, 129–33. Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura.

Azevedo, Carlos de. 1954. *Portuguese Monuments in Asia*. Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura de Portugal.

Bains, Joginder Singh. 1962. *India's International Disputes, a Legal Study*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House.

Chicó, Mário. 1962. "A arquitetura indoportuguesa." *Colóquio* 17: 11–15.

Chicó, Mário. 1956. "'A cidade ideal' do Renascimento e as cidades portuguesas da Índia." *Garcia de Orta* (special issue): 319–28.

Chicó, Mário. 1956. "Gilt carved-work retables of the churches of Portuguese India." *The Connoisseur* 551: 35–9.

Chicó, Mário. 1954. "A Igreja do Priorado do Rosário de Velha Goa, a arte manuelina e a arte do guzarate." *Belas Artes* 7: 17–22.

Comissão de "A Velha Goa". 1960. *Reintegração da Cidade de Velha Goa no seu Ambiente Histórico, Arqueológico, Monástico e Religioso.* Goa: Imprensa Nacional.

Fernandes, José Manuel. 1997. *Luís Benavente: Arquitecto.* Lisbon: Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais – Ministério da Cultura.

Freyre, Gilberto. 1961. *Portuguese Integration in the Tropics: Notes Concerning a Possible Lusotropicology which Would Specialize in the Systematic Study of the Ecological-social Process of the Integration in Tropical Environments of Portuguese, Descendants of Portuguese and Continuators of Portuguese.* Lisbon: Tipografia Silvas.

Freyre, Gilberto. [1940] 1957. *O Mundo que o Português Criou.* Lisbon: Edição "Livros do Brasil".

Freyre, Gilberto. 1956. "Um amigo brasileiro de Moniz Barreto." *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 72: 11–40.

Freyre, Gilberto. 1953. *Aventura e Rotina: Sugestões de uma Viagem à Procura das Constantes Portuguesas de Carácter e Acção.* Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editora.

Freyre, Gilberto. 1952. *Um Brasileiro em Terras Portuguesas: Introdução a uma Possível Luso-Tropicologia.* Lisbon: Edição "Livros do Brasil".

Hosford, Desmond, and Chong J. Wojtkowski. 2010. "Introduction." In *French Orientalism: Culture, Politics, and the Imagined Other*, edited by Desmond Hosford and Chong J. Wojtkowski, 1–10. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Lau, Lisa, and Ana Cristina Mendes, eds. 2011. *Re-Orientalism and South Asian Identity Politics: The Oriental Other Within.* New York: Routledge.

Léonard, Yves. 1999. "O ultramar português." In *História da Expansão Portuguesa. Vol. 5, Último Império e Recentramento, 1930–1998*, edited by Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, 31–50. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores e Autores.

Marini, Emile. 1959. *Goa Observada através da minha Objectiva.* Lisbon: Tipografia da União Gráfica.

Marini, Emile. 1958. "O 'caso de Goa'." *Heraldo* (no. 14648), 13 November, 1, 5.

Marini, Emile. 1956. *Goa Tal Como a Vi.* Lisbon: Tipografia da União Gráfica.

Mata, Caeiro da. 1958. "Posse da Comissão Ultramarina do V Centenário do Infante D. Henrique." *Heraldo* (no. 14567), 3 August, 1.

Palmer, Norman D. 1958. "Indian Attitude towards Colonialism." In *The Idea of Colonialism,* edited by Robert Strausz-Hupe and Harry W. Hazard, 271–310. New York: Frederick A. Praeger.

Perez, Rosa Maria. 2012. *The Tulsi and the Cross: Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter in Goa.* New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.

Ribeiro, Orlando. 1999. *Goa em 1956 – Relatório ao Governo.* Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses.

Ribeiro, Orlando. 1994. *Originalidade da Expansão Portuguesa.* Lisbon: Edições João Sá da Costa.

Ribeiro, Orlando. 1959. "Originalidade de Goa." In *III Colóquio Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros*, vol. 1, 170–9. Lisbon: Comissão Organizadora.

Ribeiro, Orlando. 1956. "A cruz e o tulôsse." *Diário Popular*, 9 February.

Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Salazar, António de Oliveira. 1961. *Discursos e Notas Políticas*, vol. 5. Lisbon: Edições Panorama.

Salazar, António de Oliveira. 1956. "Goa and the Indian Union: The Portuguese View." *Foreign Affairs* 3 (34): 418–31.

Salazar, António de Oliveira. 1951. *Discursos e Notas Políticas*, vol. 4. Coimbra: Coimbra Editora.

Santos, Joaquim Rodrigues dos. 2017. "On the Trail of Baltazar Castro, a Portuguese Restorer in India." In *Proceedings of the EAHN 2015 Belgrade: Entangled Histories, Multiple Geographies*, edited by Ana Nikezic, Ana Rakovic, and Vladan Djokic, 277–86. Belgrade: University of Belgrade/Faculty of Architecture.

Santos, Joaquim Rodrigues dos. 2016. "'Reinstalling the Old City of Goa as an Eternal Light of Portuguese Spirituality': The Plan for the Reintegration of Old Goa at the End of the Colonial Period." *Architectural Histories* 9 (4): https://journal.eahn.org/articles/10.5334/ah.58.

Santos, Reynaldo dos. 1954. "A Índia Portuguesa e as artes decorativas." *Belas Artes* 7: 3–16.

Silva, Manuel Vassalo e. 1959. "Despacho." *Boletim Oficial do Estado da India* 22 (series II): 408–9.

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 1997. "O romântico, o oriental e o exótico: Notas sobre os portugueses em Goa." In *Histórias de Goa*, edited by Rosa Maria Perez, Susana Sardo and Joaquim Pais de Brito, 29–43. Lisbon: Museu de Etnologia.

Teague, Michael. 1960. *In the Wake of the Portuguese Navigators*. London: Casa de Portugal.

Vicente, Filipa Lowndes. 2013. "As ruínas das cidades: História e cultura material do Império Português da Índia (1850–1900)." In *Cidade e Império: Dinâmicas Coloniais e Reconfigurações Pós-Coloniais*, edited by Nuno Domingos and Elsa Peralta, 227–78. Lisbon: Edições 70.

Xavier, Ângela Barreto, and Ines Županov. 2015. "Ser brâmane na Goa da época moderna." *Revista de História (São Paulo)* 172: 15–41.

Xavier, Ângela Barreto, and Ines Županov. 2014. *Catholic Orientalism: Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16th–18th Centuries)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Velho, Álvaro. 1969. *Roteiro da Primeira Viagem de Vasco da Gama*. Lisbon: Agência-Geral do Ultramar.