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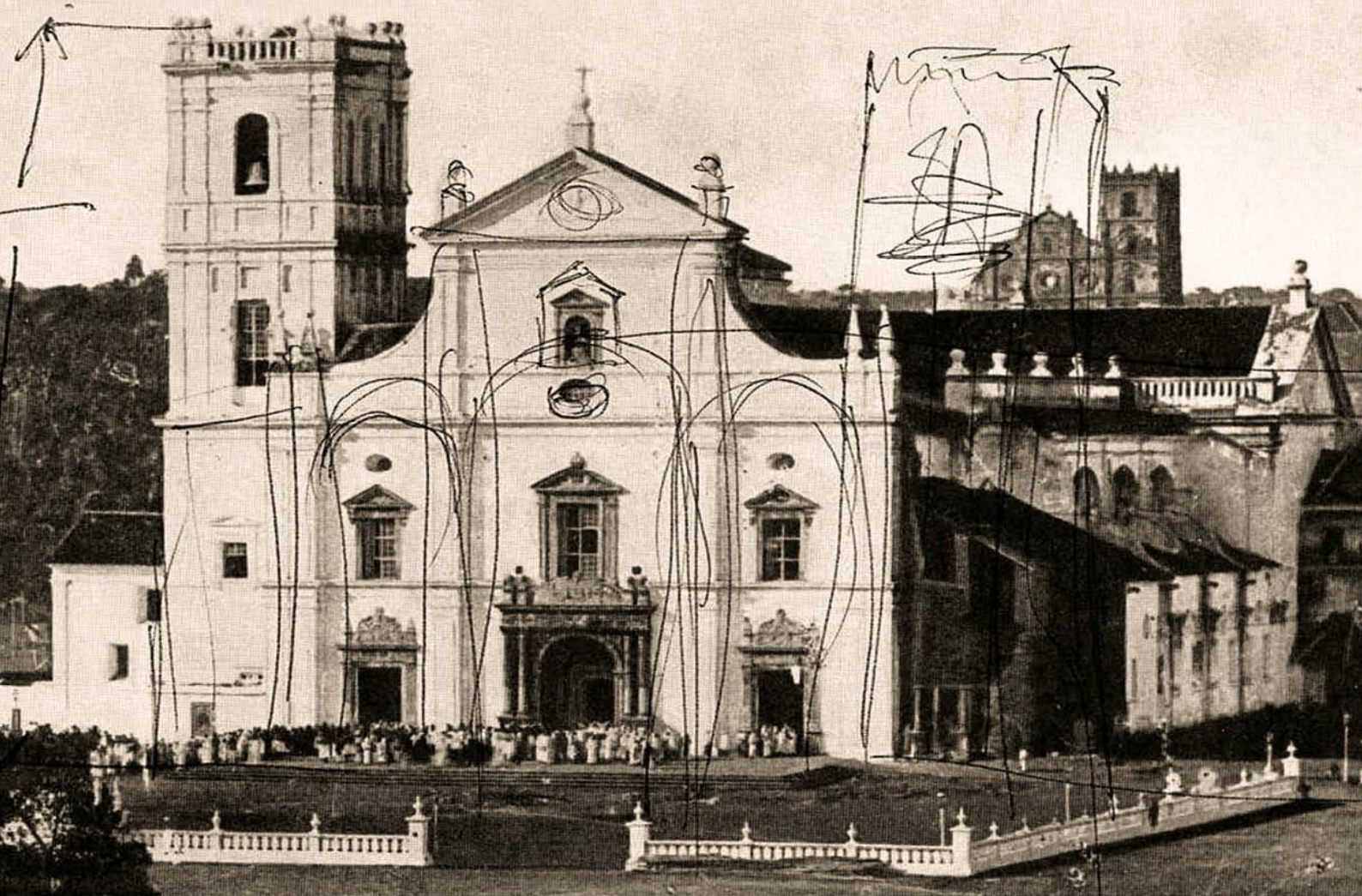
SAFEGUARDING OF HERITAGE DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD



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

AN INTERVIEW WITH JOSÉ MANUEL FERNANDES AND MARIA DE LURDES JANEIRO

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

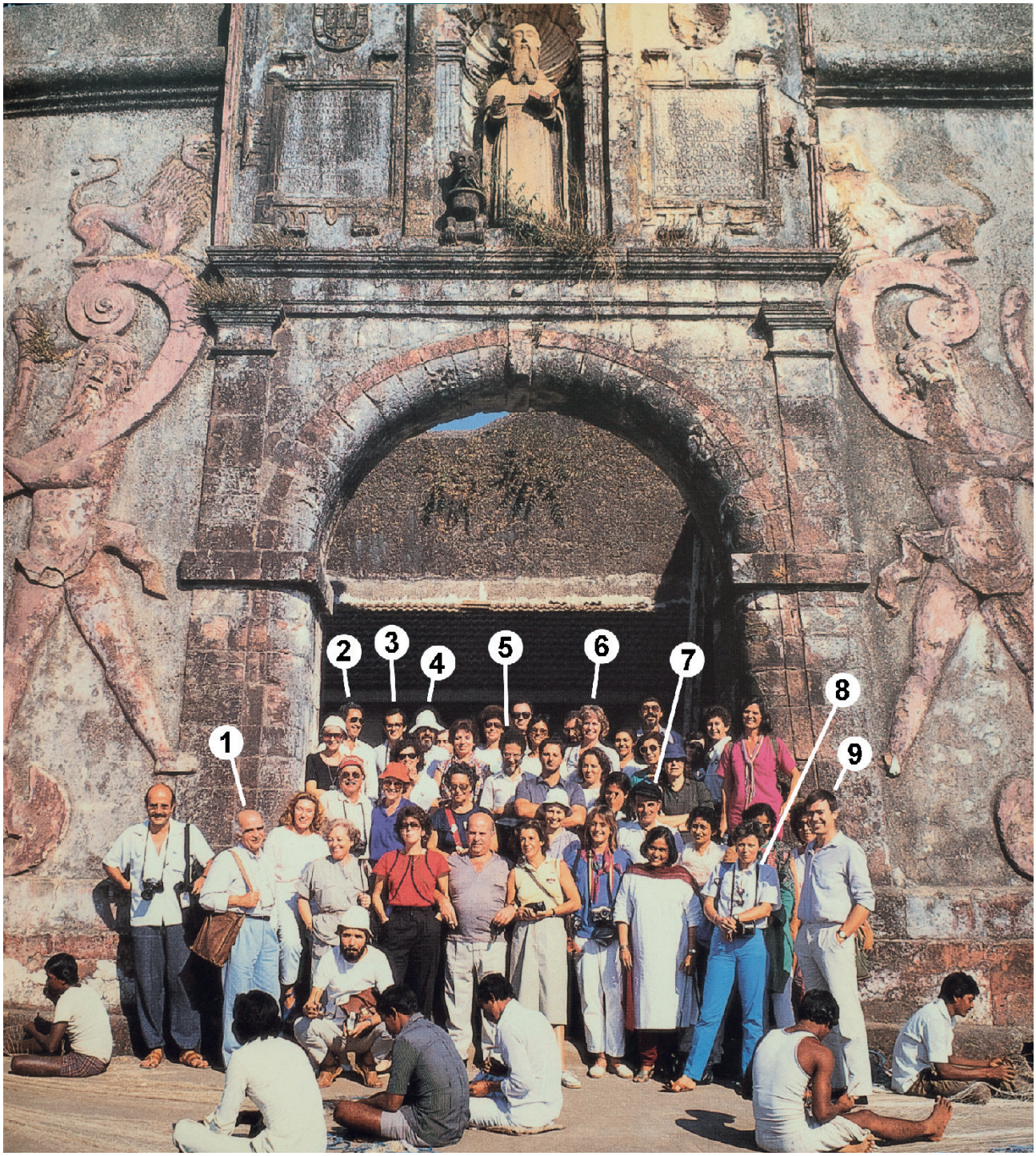

Fig. 02. Photograph of the members of the trip to India sponsored by the National Cultural Centre in 1985, in front of the gate of St Jerome Fort in Daman. Among the various members are Fernando Távora [1], Alberto Vaz da Silva [2], Artur Teodoro de Matos [3], Álvaro Siza Vieira [4], Jorge de Alarcão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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

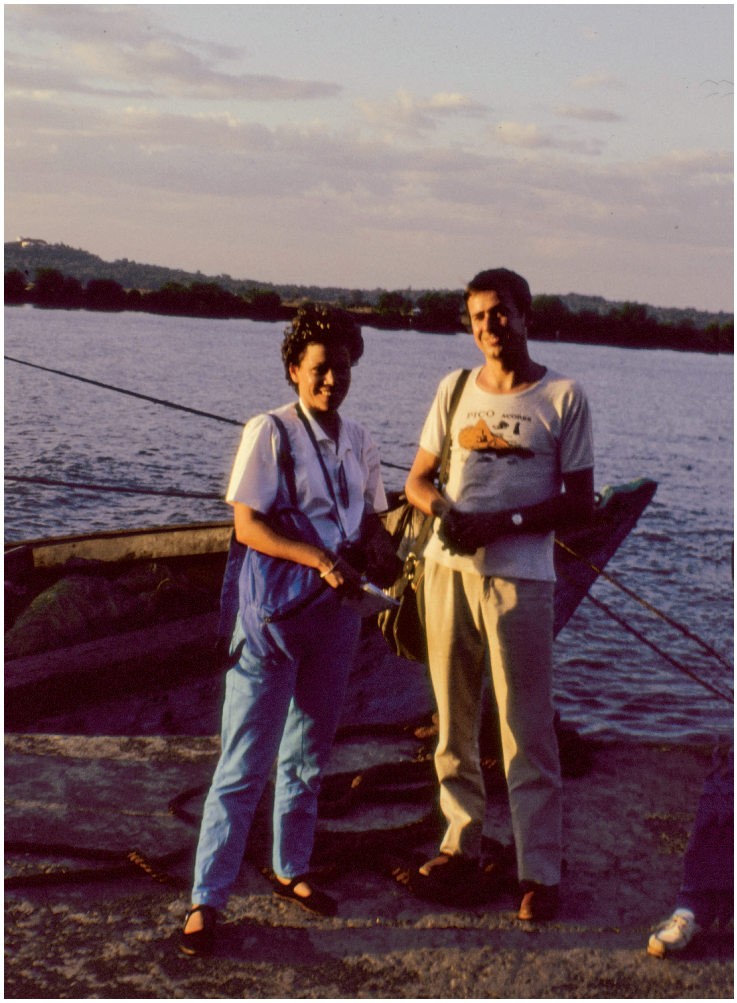

Fig. 03. Pier of the Viceroys in Old Goa, India, 1985 (source: personal archive of José Manuel Fernandes and Maria de Lurdes Janeiro)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

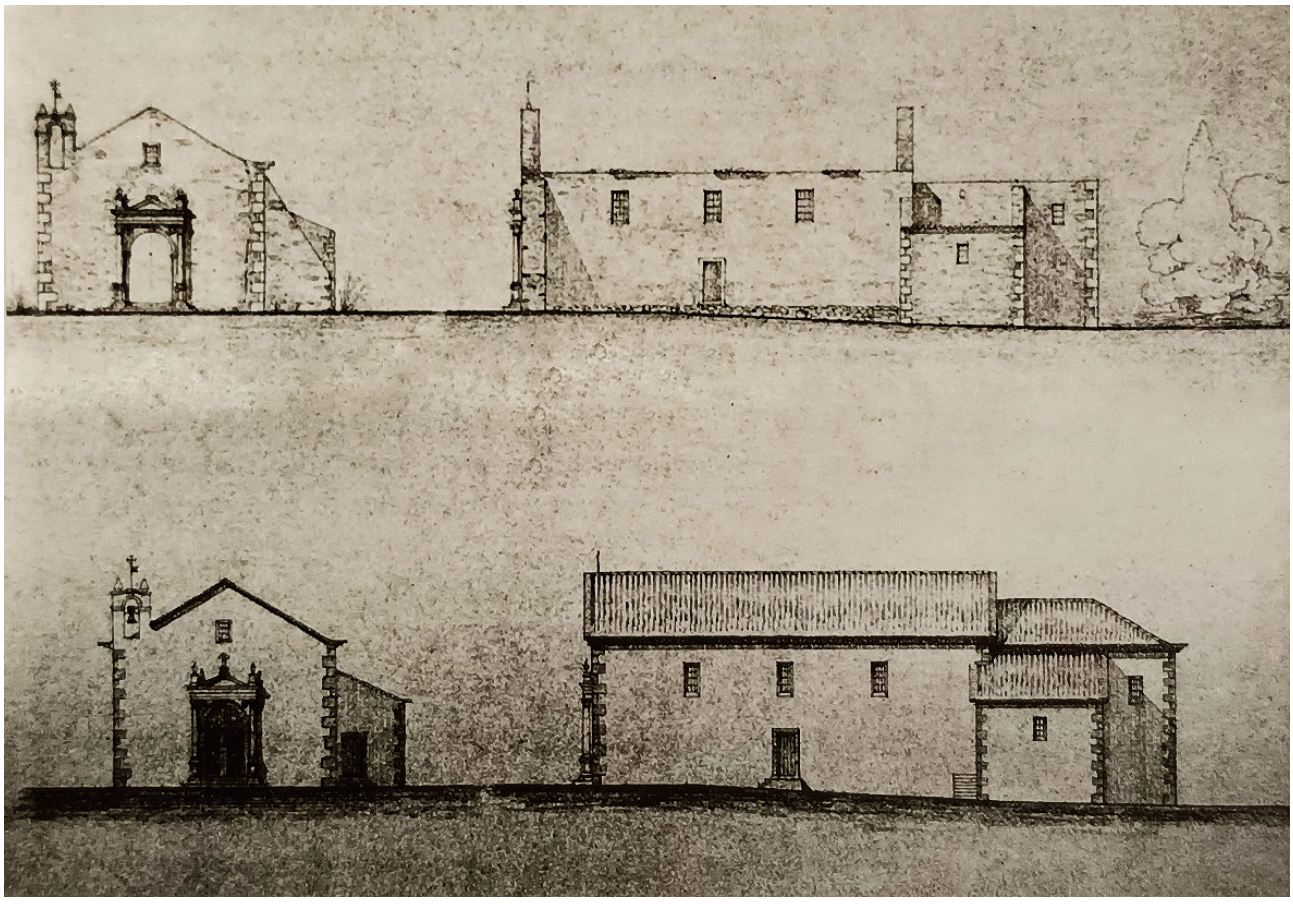

Fig. 11. Restoration project with the elevations of the Mother of God Church on the island of São Tomé (São Tomé and Príncipe), 1958 (source: National Archive of Torre do Tombo, Luís Benavente collection, file 2069)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

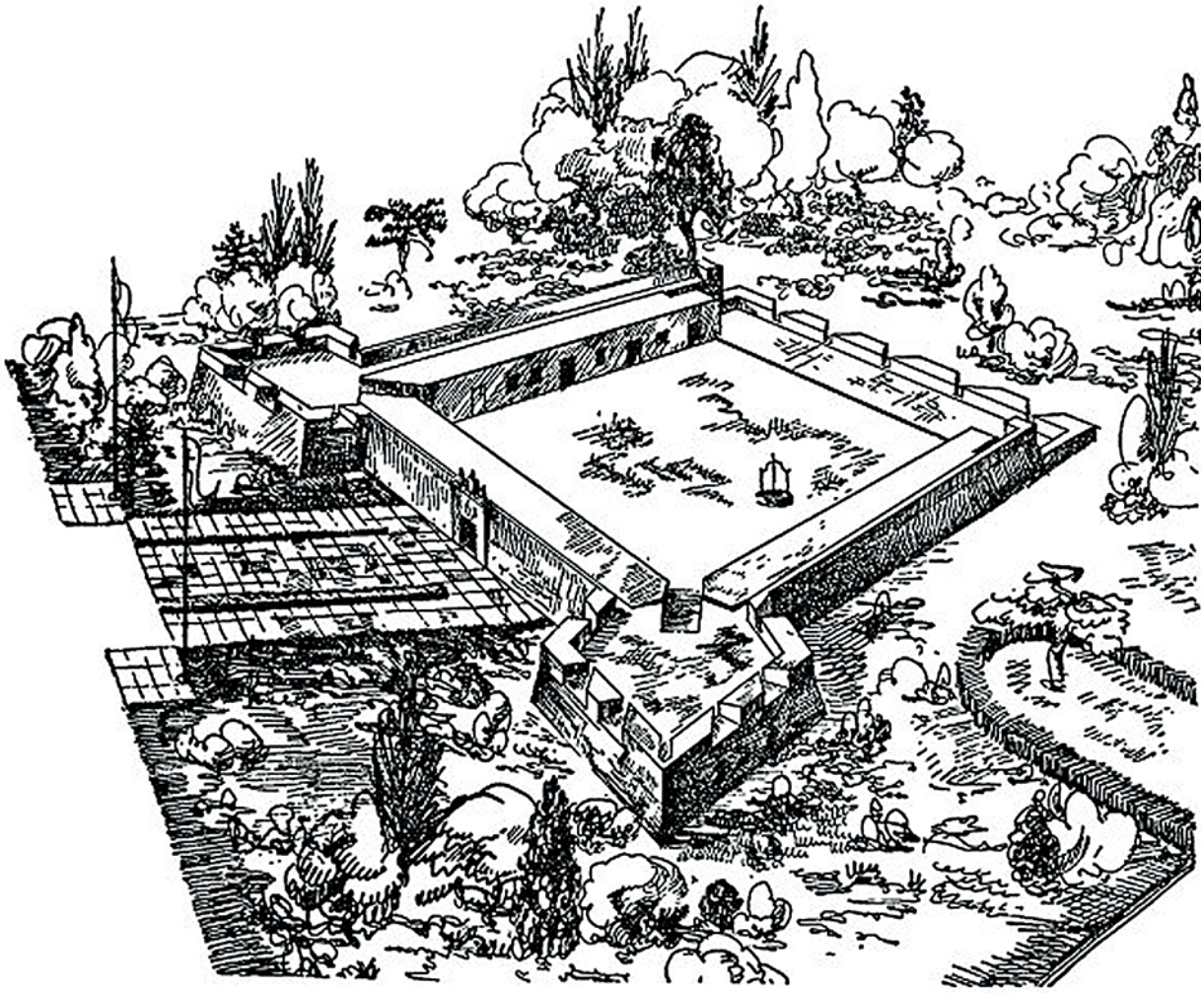

Fig. 16. Perspective of the Our Lady of Conception Fort in Maputo (Mozambique), 1945; this drawing was a study for the reconstruction of the monument by Areal e Silva, being later adapted for a military-historical museum by Quirino da Fonseca (source: *Moçambique – Documentário Trimestral* n°43, 1945)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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