

“Towards India!”: A glimpse of the “Spirit Policy” in Portuguese India*

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Prelude

Listen, my friend: close the windows over the geometric town, shredded by advertising “neon” signs. Forget the arranged meeting, the business interview, the unavoidable task. Let the outside life continuing with the cars’ purring, the newspaper vendors’ shouts, the tyranny of duties to accomplish.

In the warm intimacy of your favourite retreat, enjoying your preferred liquor and tobacco, ignore for a few moments the daily litany of your obligations. In a while, everything will resemble with the same appearance as always; nevertheless, fill your eyes with beauty and colour — the colour and beauty of a world which is beyond the narrow limits of your house and city.

Arm in arm, we will range the ancient dirt roads, sail the blue-green oceanic routes. It is a long journey, ours: even longer in olden days, in the heat of the heroism and adventure winds.

The scarce seven palms of the usual universe will widen and dilute; a vague sea odour and restlessness is already upon the smell of calm and tar. It is time to leave, my friend!

Towards India!

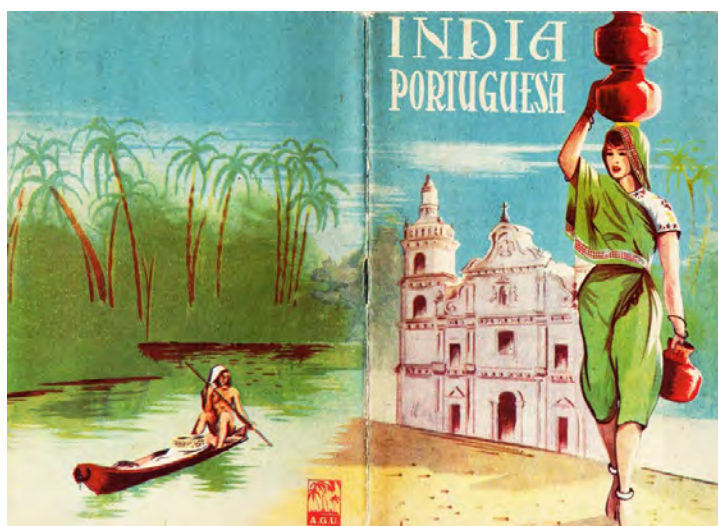
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Through this friendly-sounding text, Portuguese people were encouraged to leave their stressful lives in Portugal and invited to visit Portuguese India. This text was the first in a small booklet entitled *India Portuguesa* (fig. 1), published in 1952 by the Agência Geral do Ultramar (Overseas General Agency); it introduces the first true attempt to promote Portuguese tourism in the Indian territories under Portuguese administration.

Since the 19th century, Old Goa was a main focus for Catholic religious tourism—that is, if pilgrimages could be considered, back then, as “tourism”—due to the periodical Xaverian celebrations, when the body of St. Francis Xavier, generally known as the “Apostle of the East”, was exposed to Catholic believers. Occasional travellers have visited Goa in their leisure or work journeys across British India, noting down their impressions in a few travel books. But it was during the Estado Novo that tourism became a major goal to the dictatorial regime, through the “Política do Espírito” (Spirit Policy), and this policy seems to have been extended to the Estado da Índia (Portuguese India) in the 1950s, probably as part of the regime’s strategy to strengthen the Portuguese claims over Goa, Daman and Diu.



1 Cover of the booklet *India Portuguesa*, 1952. Author’s private collection.

The first travellers and visitors in Portuguese India

As we all know, it is hard to define strict limits for what is considered as (recreational, cultural, religious, etc.) tourism. And this was especially true in ancient times. As regards the geographical area of the former Portuguese India and the chronological period of the Portuguese rule in these territories, there are numerous examples of persons who wrote about cities, peoples, buildings, landscapes, religions and other issues throughout the centuries, after visiting several places. However, while some of these descriptions are important reports with administrative, evangelical, scientific, economic or military purposes, other writings (and even depictions) were made for memoirs or travel books.

On the other hand, many officers, soldiers, merchants, officials and missionaries have visited places outside the context of their working activities and described them without any reason other than their pleasure to know new places, cultures and peoples. Therefore, the question remains: when can a text, a depiction or a travel be considered as a touristic event? What are the features that differentiate tourism from other kinds of travels? Nowadays, it may be simple to answer these questions, but what about two, five or twenty centuries ago?

Ever since the Portuguese first arrived in Portuguese India, they have noted down descriptions of the local customs, buildings, people, food and other characteristics: Álvaro Velho, for example, wrote his impressions about India during the first voyage of Vasco da Gama. However, these impressions cannot be considered as having a touristic meaning, since the voyage had specific goals that did not include leisure. The same happened with several other people who wrote descriptive texts about Portuguese India, both from Portugal and from other European countries, during the first three centuries of Portuguese presence in the subcontinent.

Texts written by João de Barros, António Bocarro, Diogo do Couto, Gaspar Correia, Manuel de Faria e Sousa, Duarte Barbosa and Tomé Pires, as well as by foreigners such as Gabriel Dellon, Jan Huygen van Linschoten, Pietro della Valle, François Pyrard de Laval, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, John Frier or Garcia de Figueroa, were known and even published in Europe, but they were hardly seen as having touristic purposes. In fact, most of these texts were working tools, especially reports.

However, things started to change from the 19th century onwards. Despite the fact that tourism was already a reality in Europe in the previous centuries—one may mention, for instance, the *Grand Tour* (cultural tourism) or

the pilgrimages to Rome, Santiago de Compostela and even the Holy Land (as religious tourism)—touristic voyages to the East and the Far East have only started with some frequency in the 19th century, undoubtedly influenced by Romanticism. When mentioning Romanticism, one usually refers to a cultural movement from the 18th and 19th centuries, intimately associated to Europe and, more specifically, to Northern and Central Europe, with main dissemination centres in the Germanic and British areas. But although it was a European cultural movement, Romanticism reached distant lands strongly influenced by European culture.

The attraction for exotic cultures led some Romantic travellers to embark on adventurous cultural voyages beyond Europe. India, especially after the British control of the subcontinent, became a site where travellers could experience exotic, ancient and very different cultures in the same place. It also became an important source of inspiration for Orientalism, explored by European settlers, officials, soldiers, merchants and others. Several British authors wrote novels and travel books or painted views of the subcontinent, imbued with Romantic influences. Descriptions or depictions of picturesque landscapes, buildings, ruins, people, customs or animals can be found among the works created by British visitors in India.¹ Some of these compositions certainly attracted other travellers wishing to immerse themselves in exotic cultures.

Several 19th-century European travellers made Romantic descriptions or depictions of the Estado da Índia, focusing primarily on Old Goa. Filipa Lowndes Vicente wrote a very interesting study on how the British travellers saw Goa: the Victorian writer Richard Burton, who published in 1851 his famous book *Goa, and the Blue Mountains*, as well as William Howard Russel and Joseph Alexander von Hübner, who also wrote similar works. These travellers saw the dazzling rise and the subsequent agonising decadence of Old Goa as a historical lesson. Therefore, by analysing the evolution of Goa and avoiding the errors made by the Portuguese, the British were able to protect their own empire from the same fate.²

1 On the visual representations in British Raj, see Behdad & Gartlan 2013; Sengupta and Ali 2011; Pelizzari 2003; High & Sampson 2002; Ryan 1997.

2 The idea about the decay of the Portuguese Empire as a “History lesson” was to avoid the same fate for the British Empire. This was something frequent in British historiography about India (Vicente 2013, 275–278). See also: Vicente 2014.

Late 19th-century and early 20th-century writings on Portuguese India

The 19th century brought new insights into Portuguese India, both by the Portuguese and by other Europeans. The historical aspects continued to be the focus of many writings, but they were increasingly complemented by anthropological and ethnographic observations. It is the case of the works published by Denis Louis Cottineau de Kloguen and Gabriel Saldanha. However, the most interesting case is *A Índia Portuguesa*, published by António Lopes Mendes in 1886, after a commission of almost two decades as an official in Portuguese India. Lopes Mendes' work is a blend of historical and ethnographic aspects, with information on the people, the economy, culture, politics, religion, architecture, landscaping, flora and fauna, complemented by amazing drawings that are a very useful source of information.

This collection of two volumes cannot be considered a touristic guide, but one may assume that Lopes Mendes was led to elaborate this magnificent work partly due to a cultural motivation: he was not producing a report nor gathering information for any purpose other than collecting his own memories, and thereby allowing other people to know Portuguese India through his writings and drawings. *A Índia Portuguesa* is not a travel book, as it was not written by someone merely passing through and describing it superficially; it is not a touristic guide, as it does not provide visiting routes or useful information for tourists; and neither is it a memoir, because Lopes Mendes did not write his life memories during his stay in Portuguese India. But his book was nonetheless written by someone imbued with a passion for cultural knowledge, inherited from 19th-century Romanticism and Positivism.

The publication of writings about history, ethnography, culture, religions, etc., continued in the 20th century, especially in articles published in *O Oriente Português*, the bulletin of the Comissão Permanente de Arqueologia (Permanent Archaeology Committee). Several authors, such as José Maria do Carmo Nazareth, Pandurong Pissurlenkar, Ricardo Michael Telles, António Bernardo de Bragança Pereira, José António Ismael Gracias and Francisco Xavier Vaz, for instance, highlighted many unknown or forgotten themes related to Portuguese India. Later, in 1911, right after the fall of the monarchy and the establishment of a Portuguese Republic (1910), José de Sousa e Faro published a book entitled *A Índia: Impressões e Sugestões*, in which he recounts the history of India (in part I) and offers an overview of the economic, cultural and defensive situation in Portuguese India at the time, with ideas on how to improve the situation. However, the book does not serve a touristic purpose.

On the other hand, it is imperative to mention several photo albums prepared by Souza and Paul between c.1890 and, at least, the 1930s, a fundamental source to know Goa, Daman and Diu. These photographers took photos of monuments, buildings, people, landscapes, traditions, villages, working activities, religious celebrations and many other themes, offering a very complete overview of Portuguese India. The photo albums of Souza and Paul were acquired by families, as well as institutions. In this case, there was clearly a focus on cultural tourism: besides the aim of using these photos for report purposes by official entities, or the acquisition of the albums by Goan families or Portuguese people living in Goa, these works were also used to promote Portuguese India in Portugal and even in international events (namely the Paris Exposition of 1900).

But the photo albums of Souza and Paul were not the first touristic albums/books about Goa, Daman and Diu. In fact, the first guides with a touristic purpose appeared in a very special context: the periodical celebrations of the Exposition of the Body of Saint Francis Xavier³. From 1859 onwards, a series

of booklets was published to support the pilgrims arriving in Old Goa (fig. 2). These booklets were definitely touristic guides, with religious information and historical facts about Saint Francis Xavier, but mostly information about the monuments of Old Goa, guiding the pilgrims during their stay and suggesting visiting sites. Photos by Souza and Paul were often published within these guides, complementing the texts by Filipe Nery Xavier (on the exposition of 1859), Viriato Caetano Brás de Albuquerque (on the expositions of 1878 and 1890) and Francisco Xavier da Costa (on the expositions of 1900, 1910 and 1922), thereby reinforcing their touristic aims. Religious tourism was thus the first kind of tourism implemented in Goa, with pilgrims coming not only from Portuguese India, but also from the rest of India and beyond.



2 Front cover of the booklet *A Velha Cidade de Goa: Lembrança da Exposição do Corpo de S. Francisco Xavier*, 1931. Author's private collection.

3 On the Xaverian celebrations in Goa, see Costa 1935; Costa 1924; Albuquerque 1891; Albuquerque 1878; Xavier 1859. See also Vicente 2018; Gupta 2014; Faria 2014; Vicente 2002.

(A brief parenthesis): The "Spirit Policy" under the Portuguese dictatorial regime

In 1926, a military dictatorship was established in Portugal, giving rise, a few years later, to a dictatorial regime known as *Estado Novo* (New State), under the guidance of António de Oliveira Salazar. The latter's retrograde and misogynist mentality—and, by extension, most of the regime's structure—was based on a nostalgia for a medieval era with presumably perfect moral values, leading to a kind of chronic inaction. Salazar used to promote the crystallisation of traditionalist and rural values belonging to a distant past he himself had never known (Torgal 1989, 172-174).

The therapeutic act of rediscovering the country's primordial roots in folk traditions was seen as a history lesson from the past for the present and the future (according to the regime's agenda). Therefore, the propaganda based on the nation's past became a powerful ideological instrument, since its intrinsic essence—that of something that had always existed and would continue to exist—was unassailable. Paradoxically, the historicising process enacted in folk traditions turned them into static realities without a defined time: their natural evolution was suspended and transferred to an ideal time, artificially musealised (Melo 2001, 47). The Portuguese people's fable-making and their soul, culture, ethnicity, social behaviour and history allowed the dictatorial regime to manipulate them according to its own agenda.

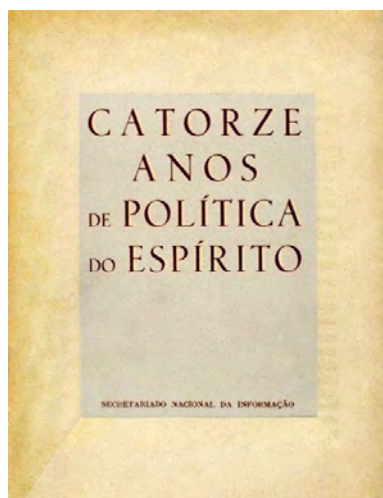
The *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional, Turismo e Cultura Popular* (Secretariat for National Propaganda, Tourism and Popular Culture) was created in 1933 and changed its name to *Secretariado Nacional da Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo* (National Secretariat for Information, Popular Culture and Tourism) in 1945, under the direction of António Ferro. The latter devised a cultural philosophy called "Spirit Policy", with the intention of reconquering the "Spirit of Portugal" through the recovery of great works, the elevation of the Portuguese taste, the revival of Portuguese folk traditions, the improvement of the Portuguese landscape and the dissemination of the national spirit ("Portugueseness"), culture and art by means of conferences, publications and exhibitions (Salazar 1933, vol I, 261-262; *Secretariado Nacional da Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo* 1948, 35-37)⁴.

The aforementioned secretariat became a powerful instrument of glorification of the dictatorship and its leader, promoting the indoctrination of the people through publications, posters, broadcasting and programmes such as

4 See also Ferro 1943.

the establishment of a network of “Pousadas de Portugal” (Portuguese inns), the publication of the *Guias de Portugal* (Portugal Guides)⁵, the competition for the “Aldeia Mais Portuguesa de Portugal” (Portugal’s Most Portuguese Village), the implementation of embellishment plans in historical towns, the restoration of national monuments and the “Campanha do Bom Gosto” (Campaign of Good Taste). On the other hand, the increasing valorisation of architectural remains from the past was also used by the regime for the ideological re-education of the people. These works became easily apprehensible symbols, often complemented by major celebrations of glorious historical events and patriotic heroes associated with national monuments—which were living testimonies of an illustrious past, containing collective ideological messages for the Portuguese people.⁶

The Spirit Policy endowed traditional images and values with a nostalgic significance, promoting a popular cult of folk traditions as a way of appealing



3 Front cover of the book *Catorze Anos de Política do Espírito*, 1955. Author’s private collection.

ing to the people’s nationalist feelings, thereby emphasising the unquestionable virtue of the genuine Portuguese soul and spirit⁷ (fig. 3). Traditional customs, folklore, economic activities, ancient architectural systems, monuments and popular houses, villages and historical neighbourhoods, arts and handicraft, music, gastronomy, clothes, dances, tales, festivities and—perhaps most importantly—local people still living according to the regime’s ideals, became fundamental values to be protected, due to the juxtaposition of associated meanings, feelings and testimonies. Therefore, domestic tourism was strongly encouraged as another ideological instrument to instil nationalist feelings into the people.⁸

- 5 Although it began under the supervision of Raul Proença in 1924, two years before the beginning of the military dictatorship, most of these guides were published during the dictatorial regime, until 1970.
- 6 On the restorations and ideological use of the Portuguese built heritage, see Santos 2012; Custódio 2011; Tomé 2002; Neto 2001.
- 7 On the Spirit Policy, see Ribeiro 2017; Santos 2008; Ó 1999; Ferro 1943. See also Cunha 2001; Melo 2001; Leal 1994.
- 8 On tourism during the Estado Novo regime, see Cadavez 2011; Aguiar 2008; Ferro 1949.

The independence of India and the Portuguese reaction

Before the independence of India, tourism in Portuguese India was not even considered by the dictatorship. The territory was a mere colony, and after the Acto Colonial (Colonial Act) of 1930, an imperialist agenda was set in motion throughout the Portuguese empire, concentrating the political power in Lisbon. A small collection of books, entitled *Cadernos Coloniais* (Colonial Notebooks) was published from the 1920s onwards, presenting the overseas colonies to the Portuguese people. But more than a touristic intention, these publications aimed to let the Portuguese people know a little bit about the colonies (their history, major heroes, culture, economy, native people, etc.) and to make them feel proud of being part of a great country with a glorious history. One of the issues, *Estado da Índia*, was written in 1939 by José Ferreira Martins and focused on Portuguese India (fig. 4).

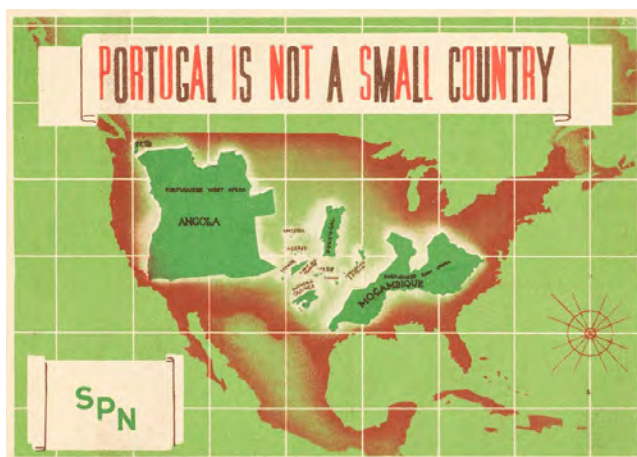


4 Cover of the booklet *Cadernos Coloniais – Estado da Índia*, 1939. Author's private collection.

One month before the independence of India, a book was released to commemorate the “Semana das Colónias” (Week of the Colonies), a major imperialist event promoted by the General Overseas Agency to celebrate the Portuguese Empire. Entitled *O Estado da Índia: Passado e Presente*, this book was written by Caetano Gonçalves and published by the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (Lisbon Geographical Society), an institution founded in

the 19th century in the colonial context. Once again, this work was not a touristic guide, but a book designed to inform the Portuguese people about the history, population, climate, economy and administration of the Portuguese colonies in India. The texts were accompanied by a few photos, showing buildings, landscapes and natives. However, this imperialistic conduct was already an anachronism in a post-war world that was rapidly changing.

In 1947, independence was granted to the territories of the British Raj; the Indian Union became an independent country and immediately demanded the integration of the territories in the subcontinent that were still under European rule—the Estado da Índia Portuguesa and the Établissements Français dans l'Inde. But while France gave in and accepted to hand over its possessions (most of them transferred *de facto* in 1954 and *de jure* in 1962, after the ratification of a treaty by the French Parliament), the Portuguese dictatorial regime did not accept to relinquish the Portuguese territories in the subcontinent, triggering a snowball effect that would lead to the loss of the other Portuguese overseas territories, namely in Africa.



5 Henrique Galvão, poster *Portugal is not a small country*, 1951.
Author's private collection.

The Portuguese regime was aware of India's military supremacy, and therefore established a diplomatic *modus operandi* aimed at justifying its dominion over Portuguese India: the main purpose was to show not a Portuguese colony, but a Portuguese overseas province, whose inhabitants were Portuguese citizens with many affinities with Portugal in terms of culture, language, architecture,

cities and religion. By showing the "Portugueseness" of Estado da Índia, the regime was emphasising that this territory was much closer to Portugal than to India, and should therefore remain under Portuguese control⁹.

Soon, several actions were taken to support the Portuguese claims, reiterating the ideological propaganda used in mainland Portugal: the promotion of major events (exhibitions, religious and historical celebrations) sponsored by the government; study missions to support the allegations regarding the "Portugueseness" of Portuguese India; the restoration of monuments as an ideological instrument; an increment of public works to modernise the territory; the development of the so-called Lusotropicalist rhetoric, according to which the Estado da Índia was part of Portugal, a pluricontinental country with territories in Europe, Africa and Asia. And tourism, of course, was another mechanism used by the regime's rhetoric to strengthen the ties between Portugal and Portuguese India.

The beginning of tourism in Portuguese India promoted by the dictatorial regime

The ideological plan to promote an Indo-Portuguese territory, with strong connections with Portugal and almost no links to India, comprised different lines of action, as seen previously. As in mainland Portugal, tourism became another instrument used by the dictatorial regime to pursue its political agenda. Little by little, tourism gained importance in Portuguese India, especially in the territory of Goa.

1952 became a key point for the regime's ideological programme: this year saw the celebration of the 4th Centenary of the Death of Saint Francis Xavier, together with the public exposition of his body. The previous Xaverian celebrations, in 1931 and 1942, were restricted—especially the second one, celebrated during the Second World War. In 1931, a small booklet by Jaime Rangel came out; it was a touristic guide and a souvenir from this major event, containing the history of Saint Francis Xavier, suggestions of monuments for the pilgrims in Old Goa to visit during their stay and information on their history; a novelty was the use of the English and French languages, besides Portuguese. However, the celebration of 1942 was only covered in an appendix of the booklet prepared by Francisco Xavier da Costa for the Xaverian celebration of 1952.

9 On the end of the Portuguese colonial rule in India, see Lopes 2017; Avelar 2012; Stocker 2011; Bègue 2007; Couto 2006; Léonard 1999.

1952 was indeed a remarkable year in Old Goa: the celebration of the 4th Centenary of the Death of Saint Francis Xavier attracted many pilgrims from Portuguese India, but also from other parts of India and Asia with Catholic communities, resulting in a massive arrival of people in Old Goa. This situation was seized by the regime for its propaganda purposes, as it would allow the foreign crowds from many countries to see a Lusitanised territory with strong (emotional, cultural, religious, political and even ethnical) links to Portugal. The Catholic festivity was indeed a major distinguishing feature separating Portuguese India from Hindu India, but it was not the only action taken by the Portuguese regime.

For instance, in the preceding year a famous Portuguese restorer, Baltazar da Silva Castro, was dispatched to Goa to prepare a vast programme of restorations of the city's monuments¹⁰; in mainland Portugal, the architectural heritage was used by the regime for ideological purposes. Old Goa, the former capital of the Eastern Portuguese Overseas Empire, was lying in ruins, with the

exception of some major religious buildings. Baltazar Castro's aim was to recover the former magnificence of Old Goa's monuments and to use them to convey an Indo-Portuguese rhetoric—in fact, after the restoration, some buildings acquired a “more Portuguese” and “more ancient” image, which, in some cases, they had never had.

As previously mentioned, great pilgrimages were themselves a kind of touristic activity, and the Xaverian festivities could certainly be included in the list of Goa's religious touristic events. As in other Xaverian celebrations, two books were published in connection with this major event: one in 1952 by Goa's Imprensa Nacional (National Press) and the other in 1954, as already noted, by Francisco Xavier da Costa. These books contained the history and description of Old Goa's main monuments, this time in more detail (fig. 6).



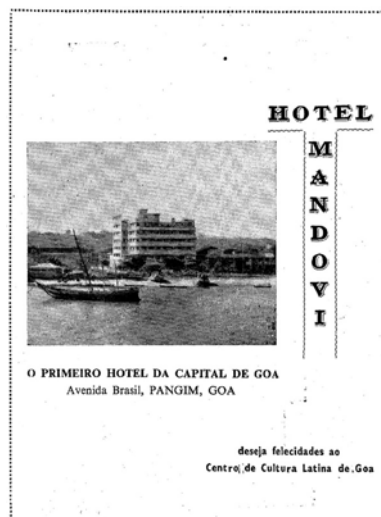
6 Front cover of the book *Velha-Goa: Guia Histórico*, 1952. Author's private collection.

10 On restorations of Old Goa's monuments, see Santos 2017; Mariz 2016; Santos 2015; Santos & Mendiratta 2011.

The massive pilgrimage also caused a logistic problem, as the city had to house a huge amount of pilgrims. Some ancient convents were adapted to receive them, but these installations were not suitable for important guests, and therefore a hotel had to be built. In December 1952, during the Xaverian celebration, the Mandovi Hotel was inaugurated, the first one in Portuguese India. And the touristic booklet mentioned in the prelude was published in the same year, marking the official beginning of the regime's touristic concerns in India. The booklet's contents clearly reveal its touristic vocation, to which a series of picturesque photos of monuments, landscapes and natives also contributes:

CONTENTS

- I. Where is India
- I. What is India
- III. Why go to India
 - a) For vacation
 - b) For business
 - c) For research
- IV. How to get to India
 - a) By sea
 - b) By air
 - c) By train
 - d) By road
- V. Useful information
 - a) Money
 - b) Language
 - c) Hotels
 - d) Monuments and sites to visit
 - e) Religious and traditional celebrations
 - f) Travels
 - g) Food
 - h) Weather
 - i) Clothes



7 Advertisement in the newspaper *Harpa Goesa*, mentioning the Mandovi Hotel as being the first one in Goa. Krishnadas Shama Goa State Central Library. Public Domain.

A tropical Portugal: The aim to expand the Spirit Policy to Portuguese India

Religious celebrations, major historical events, the restoration of monuments, hotel inaugurations... By 1952, the expansion of the Spirit Policy to Portuguese India was already in full swing. The invitation made to the Portuguese people to visit Portuguese India had the same goal of the Spirit Policy in Portugal: to let people know their own pluricontinental country, to strengthen the relations between the numerous communities in the Portuguese territories, to immerse Portuguese citizens in nationalist history and cultural lessons, to show to the world the effectiveness of a functional country with several territories in different continents.

More cultural studies were needed to support the Portuguese claims regarding the Portugueseness of the *Estado da Índia*, especially after the visit of the famous Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre to the Portuguese overseas territories, invited by the dictatorial regime. It was in Goa that Freyre formulated for the first time his views on Lusotropicalism, in the year before the Xaverian celebration of 1952. As is widely known, Lusotropicalism was a sociological theory that affirmed the originality of the Portuguese colonial empire, marked by a crossbreeding between the Portuguese people and the natives, and by the adoption of Catholicism and the Portuguese language, culture, art and architecture—although adapted to the tropical climate.¹¹

In the same year Gilberto Freyre was visiting India, the restorer Baltazar Castro was also in Goa and, soon after his arrival, in 1951, a study mission also arrived in the subcontinent, led by art historian Mário Tavares Chicó and his companions Carlos de Azevedo, Martinho Humberto dos Reis and José Carvalho. Their mission, sponsored by the regime, was to study the art of Goa, Daman and Diu. In 1956, another study mission was sent to Portuguese India, this time with anthropological, sociological and ethnographical aims; this mission was led by the geographer Orlando Rodrigues, who was accompanied by Raquel Soeiro de Brito and Mariano Feio. After the return of these teams to Portugal, the regime seized on the conclusions that fitted its ideological agenda, with propagandistic purposes.

While Orlando's mission did not produce useful knowledge for the regime's propaganda intents—his controversial report stated that Portuguese India was much closer to India than to Portugal—the results of Chicó's mission

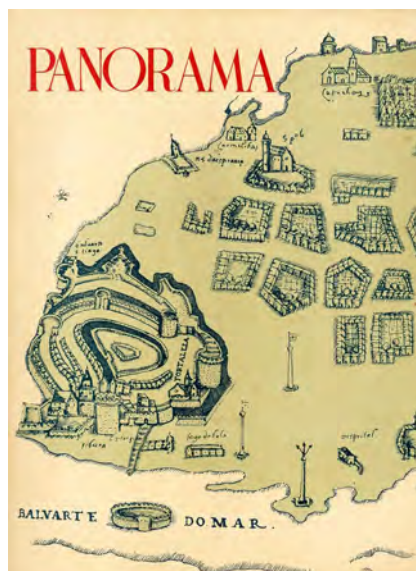
11 On the Lusotropicalism and the Portuguese study missions to India, see Santos 2020; Souza 2001; Medina 2000; Castelo 1999; Freyre 1961; Ribeiro 1959.

were partially used to present a territory with a landscape marked by the scattered towers of white Catholic churches, by buildings and monument that were clearly Portuguese, although adapted to the tropical climate, and by an original Indo-Portuguese art mixing Portuguese canons with local influences. This exotic "tropical Portugal with an Indian taste" was shown to the world, but also within Portugal, arousing the curiosity of the Portuguese people.

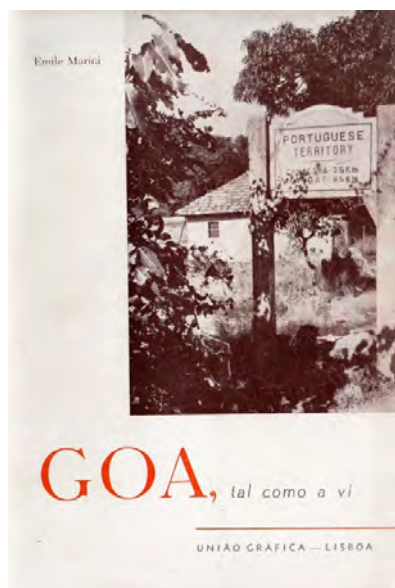
In 1955, the journal *Panorama* put out a special issue on Portuguese India. Published by the National Secretariat for Information, Popular Culture and Tourism, *Panorama* focused on Portuguese art and tourism, contributing to the increase of tourism in line with the Spirit Policy (fig. 8). Some of the best Portuguese experts in Portuguese India wrote texts for this special issue about its history, art, traditions, religion, ethnography, economy, etc., always stressing the Portuguese influence on these territories. The texts were accompanied by several photos of monuments, landscapes, native people, celebrations and public works, and there were English and French translations at the end of the issue.

By this time, in 1954, the General Overseas Agency published a propaganda book entitled *Portuguese India To-Day*, by Luís Forjaz Trigueiros (with an enlarged version published in 1956), entirely written in English. Apart from a set of photos of Portuguese India, the text denoted a clearly propagandistic purpose in its description of a Lusitanised territory. The book *India Portuguesa*, by Frederic P. Marjay, was published in 1959; although considered a dissemination book on the history of Portuguese India, more than half of it consisted of depictions and photos from several authors, showing exotic natives, picturesque landscapes, Indo-Portuguese monuments and arts, traditions and public works. The idea of Portugueseness was present in all the pictures.

But it was the Swiss journalist Emile Marini the main responsible for the international dissemination of Portuguese India, through his book *Goa as I saw it*, published in four different languages (Portuguese, French, English and German). Sponsored



8 Front cover of the magazine *Panorama*, 1955. Author's private collection.



9 Front cover of the book *Goa, tal como a vi*, 1957. Author's private collection.

by the Portuguese regime, Marini travelled in 1957 across Goa, Daman and Diu, photographing portraits, landscapes, buildings, monuments, art works, public buildings, religious ceremonies, festivities, handicrafts, economic activities (agriculture, trade, industry), dances, etc. His is perhaps the most complete photo-survey of Portuguese India, although maintaining its focus on Portuguese-influenced issues. The book was published in 1957 and was very influential in Portugal and abroad (fig. 9).

Closing Remarks

The 5th Centenary of the Death of Prince Henry the Navigator was celebrated in 1960, together with the 450 years of the Portuguese conquest of Goa by Afonso de Albuquerque. These two celebrations were once again used

by the Portuguese regime for ideological and propagandistic purposes.

At the time, Manuel Vassalo e Silva was governor-general of the Estado da Índia, whose decisive action in favour of the territory's development was fully known. The role played by the Goans themselves in the administration of the territory was widely recognised by the governor-general, and local cultural specificities were also valued. An example is the bilingual booklet *Arte Indu em Goa – Sri Manguexa e outros templos de Pondá* (*Hindu Art in Goa – Sri Manguexa and other temples of Ponda*), a tourist guide published in 1958 by the Secção de Informação da Repartição Central de Estatística e Informação (Information Section of the Central Department of Statistics and Information), in Goa (fig. 10). As the title suggests, this booklet was entirely dedicated to the Hindu temples of Goa, mentioning their architecture and history, religious cult, myths and legends, cultural traditions, caste system, etc.; it must certainly have been written by some Goan Hindu employee of the Portuguese local administration.

Right at the end of the Portuguese presence in India, the Overseas General Agency published another tourist booklet in 1960, entitled *Goa* (fig. 11). Curiously, and unlike the booklet published eight years earlier, this one

included elements of local Goan Hindu culture; in fact, the cover even featured a Kamba (a tower of worship located next to Hindu temples). The content is basically identical to that one published before, although it now appears to take on—at least on the cover—Goan cultural elements that are not so closely linked to Portuguese culture.

Meanwhile, the governor-general prepared an ambitious plan for the musealisation of Old Goa, appointing a committee led by José Ismael Gracias Jr. to prepare the preliminary programme for the *Revival of the City of Old Goa's Historic, Archaeological and Religious Spirit*¹². Besides the restoration of monuments in Old Goa and the musealisation of the main heritage, some new buildings were planned, leading to the re-urbanisation of some parts of the ruined city. The aim of this new plan was clear: to recover part of the charisma of the former capital, to be used by the regime in its ideological propaganda. The former Portuguese capital in the East would be used from then on because of its symbolism, as a memory of a golden era that had already vanished but was about to be revived; and it would also acquire a meaning directly related to tourism, since the old city would receive massive crowds of pilgrims, because of the Xaverian celebrations, but also nationalist travelers, to pay homage to this historical and symbolic place, and even regular tourists in search of exotic adventures. No wonder that the report produced by Gracias' commission recommended the construction of an inn, similar to the Portuguese inns sponsored by the National Secretariat for Information, Popular Culture and Tourism, alluding once again to the practices of the Spirit Policy.

12 On the musealisation plan for Old Goa, see Santos 2016; Comissão de "A Velha Goa" 1960.



10 Front cover of the booklet *Arte Indu em Goa – Sri Manguexa e outros templos de Pondá*, 1958. Author's private collection.



11 Front cover of the booklet *Goa*, 1960. Author's private collection.

In conclusion, tourism was indeed intended as an ideological instrument to consolidate the links between the Portuguese people and Portuguese India in the period following India's independence. Many actions were taken, echoing what had happened earlier in Portugal, although adapted to the subcontinent's context. However, the integration of these territories in India, in 1961, prevented the full development of this nationalist tourism policy.

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