



UNIVERSIDADE CATÓLICA PORTUGUESA
FACULDADE DE TEOLOGIA

CURSO DE DOUTORAMENTO EM TEOLOGIA 2.º grau canónico
Especialização: Teologia Sistemática

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**Diocese of Daman: A Model for Ushering an Era of
Ecclesial Peace**

**Renewing and Reviving Missiological and Pastoral
Movements in the Region. 1886-1928.**

Dissertação Final
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Lisboa
2021

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Blessed be God forever

This work is in glory and praise of the Almighty God for his bountiful grace in my journey. My gratitude to my beloved family – parents, siblings and society for their trust and faith in me. I am grateful to D.º Manuel III, Patriarch-Cardinal of Lisbon for his thoughtfulness. My gratefulness to Fr. António Colimão and his family for their constant support and guidance. Sincere gratitude to D.^a Teresa Mendia da Castro for her wholehearted and generous support in funding my studies and stay in Portugal.

I would also like to register my appreciation for my guide Prof. Dr. João José Marques Eleutério for the thought-provoking conversations, deep insights, patience, and academic interventions which have contributed to elevate the quality of my dissertation.

My gratitude to the Director and faculty of the Department of Theology, at the Catholic University, Lisbon. Especially, Prof. Dr. Alexandre Palma, the Director of this course, for his concern and Prof. Dr. Paulo Fontes, Director of CEHR, for his lively and informative interactions. To the Director and staff of the John Paul II Library of the university for their support. Also, my colleagues who were kind enough to share their theological journey with me.

I am also indebted to a number of individuals who have been an integral part of my journey. Rev. Dr. Sebastião Mascarenhas for his inspiration and challenge in choosing the theme. Rev. Dr. Lyndon Rodrigues for proof reading my dissertation and providing me with his valuable suggestions. To Rev. Fr. Carlos Duarte Gonçalves for accepting to correct the Portuguese text of the Abstract of this dissertation. To Rev. Fr. Edmund Mascarenhas and Rev. Fr. Franky Carvalho for their aid in research. To Mrs. Joyce Eustachius Bastian for obliging to check the English grammar.

A word of appreciation to the Rector, Staff and Students of Christ the King Seminary, Lisbon, for their understanding and moral support. Last but not the least, to the Parish Priest, Rev. Fr. Paulo Kollithanathumalayil and the parishioners of Our Lady of Purification Church, Sacavém, for their concern and permitting me to share my vocation in their parish.

May God bless us all on our journey as a pilgrim church towards the promised land.

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RESUMO

Jesus Cristo e a sua circunstância marcaram uma nova dimensão para o estudo da história humana. A história deixou de entretecer eventos numa linha do tempo definida, para ganhar para si mesma a qualidade de teologia ou salvação da humanidade. Passou a haver um ponto de referência com o qual a história pode ser confrontada, verificada e enriquecida. Foi deslocado do reino do *Chronos* para o *Kairos*. Cristo tornou-se o meio e a charneira da história universal. Esta dissertação é uma tentativa humilde de usar os serviços desse entendimento refinado da história para compreender os movimentos eclesiais gerados pela diocese de Damão.

A dissertação estuda a vida da diocese de Damão como ponto crucial na vida da Igreja na costa ocidental da Índia. Saber como a Igreja, cheia de desafios internos e externos, foi resgatada pela diocese nos seus esforços para se enraizar profundamente na costa ocidental da Índia. Esta dissertação analisa os limites que a Igreja atinge para garantir a paz e a disciplina. É por meio de judiciosas reformas eclesiais e tendências de renovação que a paz e a disciplina se foram consolidando, mesmo considerando a elevada volatilidade das realidades políticas, sociais, geográficas, económicas e religiosas. Isto é conseguido utilizando os instrumentos do método crítico histórico. O que diferencia esta dissertação é o tratamento focalizado do papel da diocese de Damão em relação ao conflito do *Padroado* e da *Propaganda* na Índia. A dissertação apresenta uma atual e inovadora narrativa sobre a contribuição eclesial da diocese na resolução do conflito e a relevância desses movimentos eclesiais hoje.

Palavras-chave:

Igreja, *Padroado*, *Propaganda Fide*, Arquidiocese de Goa, Arquidiocese de Bombaim, Diocese de Damão, Missão de Bombaim, Vicariato de Bombaim, Província Portuguesa do Norte na Índia, Papa Leão XIII, Rainha Maria II, Rei Luís I, Movimentos eclesiais, Movimentos Pastorais, Movimentos Missiológicos, Cultura, Vernáculo, Jurisdição, Paróquias, Migrantes, Catequistas, Clero, Leigos.

ABSTRACT

The Christ event marked a new dimension in the study of human history. History was no longer about knitting together events in a set timeline but took on the quality of theology or salvation of mankind. There was now a reference point against which the history could be pitted, pitched, and proliferated. It shifted from the realm of *Chronos* to *Kairos*. Christ became the median and the hinge for the study of the universal history. This dissertation is a humble attempt to utilise the services of this refined understanding of history to understand the ecclesial movements generated by the diocese of Daman.

The dissertation studies the life of the diocese of Daman as the defining point in the life of the church in the west of India. To know how the church, froth with internal and external challenges, was rescued by the diocese in its efforts to profoundly burrow its roots in India. This dissertation analyses the limits that the church can go to ensure peace and discipline. This is realised through judicious ecclesial reforms and renewal in the ever volatile political, social, geographical, economic, and religious realities. This is achieved by utilising the services of the historical critical method. What sets this dissertation apart is the focused treatment of the role of diocese of Daman in relation to the *Padroado* and *Propaganda* conflict in India. The dissertation presents a fresh and novel narration into the ecclesial contribution of the diocese in resolving the conflict and the relevance of these ecclesial movements.

Keywords:

Church, *Padroado*, *Propaganda Fide*, Archdiocese of Goa, Archdiocese of Bombay, Diocese of Daman, Mission of Bombay, Vicariate of Bombay, Portuguese Northern Province in India, Pope Leo XIII, Queen Maria II, King Luis I, Ecclesial movements, Pastoral movements, Missiological movements, Culture, Vernacular, Jurisdiction, Parishes, Migrants, Catechists, Clergy, Laity.

ABBREVIATIONS

Bible

Lk – Luke

Mk – Mark

Mt – Mathew

Jn – John

Acts – Acts of the Apostles

1/2 Tim – Timothy

Heb – Hebrews

Gen – Genesis

Ex – Exodus

Deut – Deuteronomy

Magisterium

LG – Lumen Gentium

GS – Gaudium et Spes

AG – Ad Gentes

PO – Presbyterorum Ordinis

NA – Nostra Aetate

AA – Apostolicam Actuositatem

CD – Christus Dominus

DH – Dignitatis Humanae

OT – Optatam Totius

EN – Evangelii Nuntiandi

RN – Rerum Novarum

OA – Octogesima Adveniens

CL – Christifideles Laici

AE – Ad Extremas

AM – Antiquum Ministerium

QA – Quam Aerumnosa

OD – Orientalium Dignitas

EFN – Exsul Familia Nazarethana

General

AAS – Acta Apostolic Sedis

ASS – Acta Sanctae Sedia

CELAM – Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano

D.^{o/a} – Dom/Dona

Sr – Senhor (Mr.)

Ed – Editor

Co – Company

N D – No Date

S N – Sine Nomine (without a name)

S P – Sem Paginação

Fig – Figure

Tip – Tipografia

Typ – Typography

CEHU – Centro de Estudos Humanísticos

Pont -Pontifical

Univ – University

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The archdiocese of Goa and Daman is a testament of Christian faith in the orient from the early sixteenth century. It was born as diocese of Goa in 1533 and in 1557¹ was crowned with the title of archdiocese of Goa.² It was later endowed with many popular and ecclesial titles due to its prominence and contribution towards the spreading of the faith. Popularly it was called as the ‘Queen of the East’³, ‘Rome of the East’⁴ and bestowed with ecclesial titles of Primatial See of the East⁵ and Patriarchate of the East Indies⁶. Today, the former *Padroado* archdiocese span a life time of close to five centuries in the total journey of two millennium of Christian faith. What tends to be overlooked is the addition of the term Daman in the present title of the archdiocese from 1928 when the first concordat was signed between the Republic of Portugal and Rome.⁷ This was the time when the diocese of Daman was suppressed through the same concordat and Daman was added to the title of the archdiocese of Goa.

Motivation for Research

Firstly, what were the reasons for the suppression of the diocese of Daman? Was it due to the vacant chair of the bishop? If so; then, why was the diocese of Cranganore not suppressed in the south? Secondly, why and under what circumstances was the name Daman added to the title of the archdiocese? Was it because the jurisdiction of the former diocese of Daman was placed under the archdiocese⁸? Was it owing to the fact that it was Portuguese ruled state at the time? If so, then the title should have been – archdiocese of Goa, Daman and Diu.⁹ These are some of the points of departures for our journey from Daman being diocese of Daman in the nineteenth century unto ending up as a parenthesis of the archdiocese of Goa in the twentieth century.

¹Boies Penrose, *Goa: rainha do Oriente* (Lisboa: Comissão ultramarina do centenário da morte do infante D. Henrique, 1960), 68.

²João Salvadore Fernandes, *Anuário da Arquidiocese de Goa e Damão Para...* (Nova-Goa: Tip. A Voz de S. Francisco Xavier, 1932), 17.

³Penrose, *Goa: rainha do Oriente*.

⁴Romeo Frutuoso Monteiro, «The Parish as a Communion of Small Christian Communities : A Study with Special Reference to the Archdiocese of Goa and Daman (India)», PhD dissertation, (Rome: Pontificio Seminario Lombardo, 2016), 159., Rémy and M. G, *Goa, Roma do Oriente* (Lisboa: Bertrand, 1956).

⁵Amaro Pinto Lobo, *Memória histórico-eclésiástica da Arquidiocese de Goa: em comemoração do quadricentenário da sua erecção canónica 1533-1933* (Nova Goa: Tip. A voz de S. Francisco Xavier, 1933), 36.

⁶Lobo, *Memória histórico-eclésiástica da Arquidiocese de Goa: em comemoração do quadricentenário da sua erecção canónica 1533-1933*, 68.

⁷Portugal have had concordats with Rome since May of 1144 when Pope Lucius II accepted Portugal as a vassal of Roman Church., António Leite, «Acordos entre a Santa Sé e Portugal anteriores à Concordata de 1940», *Brotéria*, 1991, 495.

⁸Lobo, *Memória histórico-eclésiástica da Arquidiocese de Goa: em comemoração do quadricentenário da sua erecção canónica 1533-1933*, 68-69. The Archdiocese was the Metropolitan to which the diocese of Daman was a suffragan along with Mylapore, Cranganore, and Cochin in India, and Macau in China.

⁹This proposition is based on the fact that Diu was also under the Portuguese rule at the given period.

The obvious and simple answer to the query could be that the very first article of the concordat of 1928¹⁰ makes this provision and the apostolic constitution, *Inter Apostolicam Sedem*,¹¹ from Rome ratifies the claims of the article I of the same concordat.¹² Both the above documents speak about honouring the memory of the service provided by the diocese by making the provision for the addition of Daman to the title of the archdiocese of Goa. This demands a study into what was the memory that was worth honouring and what was the significant service which the diocese had so diligently offered to the church¹³ in the locality. This helps us to situate ourselves and provides the necessary thrust to begin the investigation in the right earnest.

It must be acknowledged that having two city names in the title of an archdiocese or an ecclesiastical province is not common but also not totally strange in India. There are a few instances apart from Goa and Daman; such as, archdiocese of Madras & Mylapore and archdiocese of Pondicherry & Cuddalore.¹⁴ In some cases they are titular, such as Madras and Mylapore or they share borders with the potential to be independent diocese in the future, as is the case with Pondicherry and Cuddalore. Also, considering the historical timeline, we can state with confidence that Goa and Daman (1928) set the precedence for archdioceses with two names in India. However, the case of the archdiocese of Goa and Daman is peculiar and strange. The state of Goa is situated at a distance of 739 kilometres from Daman. The people from this part of the archdiocese had no social, cultural, lingual, political similarities with Goa, apart from the handful of residents who spoke in the Portuguese language. So, is the cause of joint title due to historical consideration or due to its future ecclesiological potential?

Significance of the Term Daman

It is necessary to make a note at this point, about the implication and meaning of the term Daman. When we refer to or use the title of Daman it encapsulates more than mere geographical or political boundaries of the region situated at 20° 25' N and 72° 58' E in the western coast of India and at the entry point of the gulf of Khambhat¹⁵. The term Daman is used as an ecclesial reference for the places which were under the jurisdiction of the then diocese of Daman. In no manner whatsoever is the intent to overshadow or undermine the relevance of the adjoining areas, some of which have grown into their proper ecclesial identity as dioceses. We agree to

¹⁰The concordat of 1928 is attached in the appendix no. 8 where the article I can be referred.

¹¹In this dissertation, the texts in foreign languages are translated by the author.

¹²The apostolic constitution, '*Inter Apostolicam Sedem*' which suppressed the diocese of Daman can be referred in appendix no. 9.

¹³It is noted here that when we use the term 'church' it is always in relation to the Roman Catholic Church. The reference to other churches is specified with their proper names.

¹⁴There is also the Archdiocese of Cuttack-Bhubaneswar. But due to the absence of the coordinating conjunction 'And' it is excluded from the list.

¹⁵Artur Teodoro de Matos, *O Tombo de Damão: 1592* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Damião Góis, 2001), 9.

use term Daman, since it was the title of the diocese born as a result of the concordat of 1886. Thus, the term Daman includes the regions of Nagar Haveli, Dadra, Diu, Bombay Presidency, Chaul, Colaba, Thana, *Bassein* (Vasai), *Surrate* (Surat), *Broach* (Bharuch) and other smaller regions which formed the jurisdiction of the former diocese. Daman being the Portuguese territory gained economic and ecclesial importance in the former northern region of Portugal in India. And accordingly, was erected as a diocese in line with the dictates of the concordat of 1886 and the ratified by the papal bull *Humanae Salutis auctor* of Pope Leo XIII. Therefore, the dissertation undertakes the investigation of history to understand the ecclesial relevance of Daman.

The Objective of the Dissertation

Consequently, the core objective of this dissertation is to probe the limited history related to the diocese of Daman with the desire to understand the implication it had on the local ecclesiology. It attempts to understand the complex situation that prompted the need for a diocese in the former Portuguese northern province in India in the XIX century. Specifically, the research is limited to the lifetime of the diocese which spans over a period of forty-two years (1886-1928). The focus is also upon the missiological and pastoral movements that were initiated by the diocese to respond to the prevailing tumultuous situations in its time. The medieval maxim, '*Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis*'¹⁶ exudes wisdom and reason to the church in this world. This dissertation, keeping in mind the above maxim, will deliberate and elaborate upon how the diocese introduced changes in the changing times to respond to the newer challenges. The dissertation intends to map the adventurous journey of the diocese and the simultaneous ecclesial movements precipitating in the diocese. This will invariably assist us to understand the justifiable addition of the term Daman to the archdiocese of Goa.

The dissertation also aims to draw out the ecclesial movements that were prevalent in the diocese with the intent to understand their relevance. The paper aspires to draw out the missiological and pastoral movements that the diocese employed to bring order and discipline in the local church. The motivation to pursue these movements is due to the relevance they continue to hold. The current movements in the church, beginning from the second Vatican council to the recent writings and directive of Pope Francis, gives credence to the research into these missiological and pastoral movements in the then diocese. Thereby, the paper proposes to excavate the ecclesial richness and innovativeness that was dominant within the jurisdiction of the diocese.

¹⁶Antônio de Almeida, *Paróquia, Comunidade e Pastoral Urbana* (São Paulo: Paulinas, 2009), 84.

The Methodology of Research

The treatment of this dissertation will follow the historical-critical method in its exposition. From the beginning to the very end the paper will manoeuvre through the historical annals of the former Portuguese northern province in India and the later diocese of Daman. The journey will be embarked along with a critical eye over the events that surround firstly the northern province in India. The investigation will work towards finding the common thread or the socio-political relation between the historical events which may seem to be distant and independent. The research proposes to understand the underlying causes and possible reason for the erection of the diocese of Daman. Understanding the historical need of the paper the events that we will be scrutinising will span from the time of the entry of Portugal into Daman to the subsequent suppression of the diocese. The research will also undertake a close study of the various historical writings that are available to get an in-depth understanding of the events which unfolded before, during and after the foundation of the diocese.

In the final chapter, the historiography that we have recorded in the first two chapters of the dissertation will be critically studied in its relation to the ecclesiological movements that can be identified in the history of the diocese. In this part, these movements will be studied for their ecclesial value in establishing the order and discipline within the church. The need to undertake the critical investigation is to appreciate and extract the valuable lessons that are found within the ambit of the history of the diocese of Daman. This part of the investigation will work to realize the famous dictum attributed to Julius Caesar in *De Bello Civile*, 'experience (history) is the best teacher'. In this part we will shift gears of the research and relocate our attention to drawing the relation between these movements in the light of the more recent teaching of the church, such as; the second Vatican council and thereafter.

The Limitation of the Research

To put it simply, the historical value of the research is limited by the ecclesiological scope of the paper. This implies that the historical events are arranged in a manner that they help us to better understand the ecclesiological trends. The paper desires to be understood from an ecclesio-historical perspective. Thus, the noted political, social, economic, missiological, and pastoral historical events in India, Portugal and Rome are meant to serve the ecclesial curiosity of the reader. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the historical rigour followed in the development of this paper is of secondary importance or compromised. To the contrary, utmost care and attention is paid to be factual, reliable, and true in the representation of the historical journey of the diocese. The only complain can be the handpicked and selected historical events which in themselves can be probed and studied further. As the underlying ecclesial theme will

take precedence while noting the historical facts and their relation the region of Daman or the former Portuguese northern province in India.

Proposed Schema of the Research

Having set straight the motivation, objective, methodology and limitations of this paper the next logical step is to draw out the schema that will be followed to meet the demands of this dissertation. To put it in a nutshell, the paper is divided into three chapters. The first chapter will deal with the brief history of Daman and the advancement of the Portuguese empire from the sixteenth century up to the period of conflict in the late nineteenth century. The second chapter will focus purely upon the life and work of the diocese of Daman. And the third and final chapter is dedicated to the study of the impact of the diocese upon the ecclesial movements in the region. Within the framework of these three chapters the intent is to consolidate the relevance of the church in the region. A detailed description of the aim of each section will done in the particular chapter and is thus avoided here to escape repetitions.

In the first chapter, we will begin by looking into the foundations of Daman as a Portuguese territory and investigate the events which preceded the erection of Daman as a diocese. The references to the political and diplomatic situation in India, Portugal, and Rome will be in relation to the impact that they had on the erection of the diocese. The interest in the historical events is only in so far as they are related to the episode under investigation and the objective of this paper. This part is expected to give the reader a sense of the prominence and relevance of Daman from the very beginning of Portuguese era in the locality. The entire chapter can be broadly divided into five parts: the growth of Daman under the Portuguese from the sixteenth to eighteenth century, the severe fallout between Rome and Portugal in the nineteenth century, the subsequent impact of the fallout in India, the movements towards establishment of peace, and the prevalent conflicts between *Propaganda* and *Padroado* in the region of Daman. Thus, the first chapter sets the tone and draws the grim picture of the suffering church in India. Thereby successfully laying the foundation for the development of the second chapter.

The second chapter as we have noted above deals exclusively with the events leading to the erection of the diocese of Daman and its subsequent contribution to the local church. The timeline of the second chapter is more compact and accounts for the period in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.¹⁷ The historical events are chronologically arranged in order to give us clear sense of the reality. Having set the parameters, the chapter itself is broadly divided into the following five parts: the need for peace in the local church, the concordat of 1886 along

¹⁷The period or the lifetime of the diocese was from 1886-1928. These forty-two years are covered in this chapter.

with the erection of the diocese of Daman, the actual jurisdiction of the diocese, the ordinary life of the diocese and the challenges faced by the diocese. These parts together paint a clear and complete picture of the effect that the diocese managed to have on the local church. The intent is to understand the commitment of the diocese, without compromising on the fundamentals, to ensure a peaceful and efficient functioning of the church. It must be noted that the suppression of the diocese is not investigated. God willing, the suppression of the diocese and the resulting events deserve independent research which I wish to undertake in the future.

As noted by the Jesuit author and historian John O'Malley, «I study the past in order to help us to live more wisely in the present».¹⁸ This could well be considered as the spirit behind the final chapter of this dissertation. The third chapter is developed as the soul of this investigation, designed to identify the ecclesial trends in the diocese. Without attributing any adjective to these movements, the inquiry hopes to appreciate these ecclesial trends revealed through the pastoral and missiological movements which nurtured and revived local Christian communities. Having this clarity of thought, the chapter is divided only into three parts to meet the demands of the chapter. These are restoration of ecclesial discipline, the missiological movements and the pastoral movements in the diocese. These three broad sections, together, would work to cover the actual contribution of the diocese in responding to the ecclesial needs in the region. Each of them covers the pivotal aspect related to the ordinary functioning of a Christian community.

There might be a tendency that the paper could seem to be suggesting that the diocese of Daman marked the end of all the struggles of the church in the region. This may possibly be due to the undivided attention that will be paid to the positive measures employed by the diocese. Nonetheless, that is not even the least of the desire behind this investigation. The purpose is that at the end of this dissertation the reader should be able to arrive at a true and valid assessment of the history of the region, especially the diocese. This will be found in the conclusion of the dissertation which apart from evaluating the objectives achieved will take a detour into studying the pertinent aspects in the life of a diocese. It is true that the erection of the diocese was not the end of the tensions that were prevalent at the time. But the founding of the diocese definitely marked the beginning of peace in the local church.

¹⁸Cf. John W. O'Malley, *Catholic History for Today's Church: How Our Past Illuminates Our Present* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), 1.

Concluding Remarks

As Rev. Fr. António de Oliveira Colimão laments in his introduction in the combined republished work of Dr. António Francisco Moniz, that Daman and its contribution have been reduced to footnote in the history of *Padroado* in the east.¹⁹ The fact that this is the first dedicated attempt to formally study the diocese of Daman since 1924 gives some credence to his claim. In the year 1924 Rev. Fr. Francis Manoel D'Sa archived the memory of the diocese by penning the book, 'The History of the Diocese of Daman'. It is a rich and direct source of the life and vitality of the of the diocese in its lifetime. But the impact of the diocese on the local church and a retrospective view of the ecclesial trends in the diocese fall outside of its domain. The century of its erection and the approaching century of its cessation²⁰ sets an opportune time to study these ecclesial trends and the overall impact of the then diocese. As the research up to this point indicates, the diocese was the defining moment in the history of the church in the western region of India. We will see how the diocese can be a point of reference for many of the present-day challenges in the church. This work is not a eulogy for the diocese, far from it, but an earnest quest for the truth about the valuable contributions of the diocese.

¹⁹António Francisco Moniz, *Notícias E Documentos Para A História De Damão - Antiga Província Do Norte* (Lisboa: Associação Fraternidade Damão-Diu Simpatizantes, 2000), 3-4.

²⁰The diocese of Daman was erected in the year 1886 and was subsequently suppressed in 1928.

CHAPTER 1

PADROADO AND THE LANDS OF THE NORTHERN PROVINCE²¹

The Portuguese in their quest scouted and established dominions in different coastal regions of India. After Goa, the empire moved towards the northern coastal areas of India in search of new lands for commerce and conversion. They were successful in setting up a powerful presence in the region, which came to be referred to as the northern province²² of the empire. At different points in time this province included Bassein (Vasai), Chaul, Diu, Daman, Talasari, Umergao, Dadra and Nagar Haveli. It was divided into three districts of Daman, Bassein, and Chaul for effective governance.²³ Under Daman were the four divisions of Sanjan, Dahanu, Tarapur and Kelve-Mahim. Under Bassein were eight divisions Bassein proper, Kasaba of Thana, Island of Salsette, Island of Karanja, Island of Sambayo (Belapur and Shahabaz), Pragana of Asheri and the Islands of Bombay and Colaba. The rest of the territory to the south of Karanja was under Chaul. In this chapter we aim to briefly trace the life of this province, which will eventually be formed into the diocese of Daman. The chapter is divided into five sections to grasp the historical, social, political, cultural, geographical events and its impact on the ecclesial functioning. The chapter will consider the influence of these aspects on the region from the viewpoint of Daman. The five sections are drawn to fully consolidate the situations which would lead to the concordat of 1886 and invariably to the diocese of Daman.

The chapter will give us an understanding of the situations which hampered and stained the image and functioning of the church in this province. The first section deals with the emergence of the *Padroado* in the northern province of the empire. Thus, in the vast Portuguese dominions the events which will be noted and deliberated are purely in reference to this region and those which have a potential to influence. The objective is to be inclusive in investigating the varied historical features of the region. These include the political, social, financial, pastoral and missiological trends. Always maintaining the focus on the church and keeping an eye on the role of Daman in the entire saga. The section also intends to follow the ecclesial trends in the midst of all the conflicts and confusions that were proliferating in these regions. The manner in which the *Padroado* organised itself towards establishing and maintaining an ecclesial stability in the region from the very beginning.

²¹Lourenço António Farinha, *A Expansão da Fé no Oriente*, vol. II, III vols (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca, 1943), 249.

²²Geographically this is the western region of India. But for the Portuguese it was north in relation to Goa.

²³Braz A. Fernandes, *A Guide to the Ruins of Bassein*, 2nd ed. (Bombay: Bombay Historical Society, 1948), 3-4.

The following two sections focus on the cause of the turmoil in the region, in the light of the diplomatic fallout with Rome. The first section enables one to understand it from the ecclesial and political perspective with the intent being to evaluate these unpleasant events and measuring its implication on the ecclesial wellbeing of the local church. It also aims to enumerate upon the political drama unfolding in Portugal and the role of the church in the entire saga. Thereafter, the response and the manner in which Rome handled the situation will be mulled over. In this the paper will also throw some light on the person, intentions and contributions of Pope Gregory XVI and his direct challenge to the *Padroado* and its right over the region. The next section will deliberate upon the political and ecclesial outcome of these events; the ban on the religious orders by the Portuguese Government²⁴ in 1833. To consider the factors leading to the order from the dual prism of politics and ecclesial discipline. The political aspect arising directly from the recently concluded civil war in Portugal along with the birth of Liberalism and its expected impact on the position of the church. The other aspect will be the ecclesial discipline or the lack of it in the regions under Portuguese crown. The aim is to get a complete rounded understanding of this event which caused turmoil and confusion in the region.

The last two sections will deal with the real consequences and ramifications on the ground. The fourth section is dedicated to chronicle the ecclesial and political occurrences and their bearing on the church in the region since the ban on religious orders. The scope and influence of the Papal Brief *Multa Praeclare* by Pope Gregory XVI and the concordat of 1857 between Pius IX and Pedro V will be viewed in the light of the functioning of the church in India. The section will consider the role and clout of the vicariates as an arm of the *Propaganda Fide*, on the church in the region. The deliberations on the question of vicariates will be juxta positioned between its political nature and ecclesial role in the region. The impact of the concordat of 1857 on the bilateral relations between the two states will also be deliberated. Apart from this, the area of investigation will be the drawbacks and valuable provision in the concordat.

The last section will report the actual problems and conflicts endured by the church in the region, especially the former northern province. The scope of this section will integrate the effect of these conflicts upon laity, upon politics, upon society, upon education ministry, and upon the clerics in the region. Concrete episodes from the daily functioning of the church in each of these spheres will be considered to get a sense of the damage that was being inflicted upon the life of the church. Once again, it's an investigative venture coupled with an authentic simple narration of the plain reality. All in all, the first Chapter will give us a thorough picture of the possible causes and the problems that were faced by the church in the region. The chapter will expose

²⁴The order was enacted by the Portuguese minister, Joaquim António de Aguiar in 1833.

the precarious position and condition in which the church was being confronted and subjected by different internal and external forces. The chapter will lead us to understand that there was a dire need for a holistic remedy to resolve these complications. Thus, the only possibility of resolving the situation was with a complete political, social, cultural, geographical, missiological and ecclesial approach and nothing less.

1.1 THE DISCOVERY OF DAMAN

For an ordinary individual, life could be summed up as a sum total of efforts and chances. However, for a believer, life is a sum total of efforts and graces. In this section we will note how the discovery of Daman and its subsequent capture was more than just a chance or play of luck. India was already a battleground for monarchical powers wrestling for territories when Portugal ventured into India. The political scenario in India was divided among Mughals, Khamabat dynasty of Gujarat, Vijayanagar Empire, Independent Principalities in the Deccan Plateau and Malabar Coast.²⁵ History bears testimony that Daman was marked to play a defining role not just in the kingdom for Portugal²⁶ but also in the missionary domain of the church. Since its discovery, the land has been a flashpoint for missionary and socio-cultural activity. Thus, for an ordinary individual, Daman may be a chanced discovery with economical potential. But from a religious perspective, a design and a will that is superior to human intellect can be sensed in the ordinary affairs. Seen below (Fig.1.1) the sprawling region of the ‘*Padroado do Oriente*’.²⁷



Fig. 1. 1 Padroado in the East

²⁵António da Silva Rego, *História das Missões do Padroado português do Oriente*, vol. I, II vols. (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca, 1949), 13-14.

²⁶Matos, *O Tombo de Damão: 1592*, 9.

²⁷Lobo, *Memória histórico-eclésiástica da Arquidiocese de Goa: em comemoração do quadricentenário da sua erecção canónica 1533-1933*, 66-67.

As Pope Leo XIII, would confirm in his document *Pergrata* – on the church in Portugal, «Where did they (the Kings) find the strength equal to the magnitude of their undertakings? If one is to judge them in truth, it was from their love of religion».²⁸ The political and religious landscape of Daman, could be considered as a fruit of such love.

1.1.1. THE FORTIFIED CITY

Daman became a stronghold of the Portuguese crown for about four centuries; from the sixteenth century up until the twentieth century. It became the seat of the church in the region after the fall of Bassein in the eighteenth century to the Marathas²⁹ and later in the twentieth century hosted the cathedral church of the diocese of Daman. The tryst of the Portuguese empire with Daman is both interesting and intriguing. It began in the year 1523, as noted by Gaspar Correia in his work *Lendas da India II*, «Polo que Diogo de Melo fez caminho pera Ormuz e nom lhe seruindo o tempo foy descaendo pera o golfam... se achou na costa de Damao, que o piloto reconheceo a terra, e correo a costa».³⁰

The above was the first encounter of the land of Daman for the Portuguese when the ship of Diogo de Melo was washed ashore by the storm in the sea on their way to Ormuz (A small island in Iran which was a Portuguese territory).³¹ After this encounter, Daman became a sort of a pit stop for the Portuguese forces on their way to conquer new lands. They halted in Daman before they conquered Surat and Reyner in 1528³² and Diu in 1531.³³ Daman was their haven to regroup before charging onto other cities to expand their grip over the region.

In 1530 when António de Silveira entered the coast, he found the city to be well guarded with a fort, comprising of four towers and the door plated with copper.³⁴ In 1534 the Portuguese forces defeated the Islamic King of Cambaia (present day Khambhat in Gujarat). The King Sultan Bahadur Shah sent an emissary to draw a deal to offer the entire city of Bassein (present day Vasai) in return for the city of Daman.³⁵ Sadly, Sultan Bahadur Shah died in the year 1536 and the amicable relations with Portugal with him.³⁶ He was staying in Diu at the time, under the protection of the Portuguese against the Mughal King Humayun. The kingdom was left in the charge of the mother³⁷ of Sultan Bahadur Shah, she believed that he was murdered by the

²⁸Cf. «Pergrata», *Papal Encyclicals* (blog), no. 3, 14 September 1886, accessed on the 12th December 2020, <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/leo13/113por.html>.

²⁹Braz A. Fernandes, *Bandra: It's Religious and Secular History* (Bombay: D. K. Parker, 1927), 21.

³⁰Cf. Gaspar Correia and Manuel de Almeida, *Lendas da India*, vol. II, IV vols. (Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1975), 756.

³¹António Bocarro, *Arquivo Português Oriental*, vol. II, II vols. (Bastorá: Rangel, 1938), 1.

³²Gaspar Correia and Manuel de Almeida, *Lendas da India*, vol. III, IV vols. (Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1975), 277.

³³Moniz, *Notícias e documentos para a história de Damão - antiga província do norte*, vol. I, 14-16.

³⁴Correia and Almeida, *Lendas da India*, vol. III, 348.

³⁵Moniz, *Notícias e documentos para a história de Damão - antiga província do norte*, vol. I, 16-17.

³⁶Adelino Delduque, *Diu: breve noticia histórica e descritiva* (Lisboa: J. Rodrigues, 1928), 17.

³⁷Correia and Almeida, *Lendas da India*, vol. III, 853.

Portuguese and wanted revenge of his death by reclaiming Diu from the Portuguese. The Queen Mother invited her nephew, Khoja Zafar to lay seize of Diu³⁸ with the assistance of the Turkish forces under the leadership of Soleimão Bachá.³⁹ The Portuguese suffered losses due to the delayed reinforcement from Goa; but were able to defend the city.⁴⁰ This catastrophic war reflected the prominence of Daman and stamped the necessity to quickly conquer it.

In 1556 the Portuguese Governor of India, Francisco Barreto, understood the significance of the strategic location of Daman to defend the Portuguese territories of Bassein, Chaul, Diu, Surat, Reyner and other adjoining regions.⁴¹ He summoned all his generals and placed his concerns and plans before them. Thus, the governor, Francisco Barreto, after deliberation with the King of Cambaia, convinced the Sultan of Gujarat to hand over the Region of Daman as a gift to him and the King of Portugal. In return he would overthrow the errant Abyssinian king Siddu Bapita who was guarding the city with the support of the Turks. The terms were drawn and agreed upon between the two monarchs. Consequently, in 1559, D. Constantino de Bragança, Portuguese viceroy of India, set sail from Goa on his ship *S. Matheus* to conquer Daman from the stronghold of Siddu Bapita. He was convinced by D.º Diogo de Noronha, governor of Goa, to lead the charge from the front in person, for the seize of Daman.⁴² A strong army of one hundred ships and two thousand men was reinforced at Chaul and then at Bassein (Vasai).⁴³ The army of around four thousand men of Siddu Bapita, along with captains Sidi Rana and Sidi Kornabek were set to face their adversary after months of preparations.⁴⁴ However, when the Portuguese finally arrived, they realized that they were outfoxed by the enemy, seeing no other way than to abandon the city.

The Portuguese entered the city of Daman on the feast day of Our lady of Purification on the 2nd of February 1559.⁴⁵ The Portuguese Viceroy of India upon setting his foot, kissed the earth as a sign of gratitude to God for the victory gifted to them without loss of life or injury.⁴⁶ He commanded that the existing mosque was to be cleaned and prepared for the celebration of Eucharist. The provincial superior of the Society of Jesus, Fr. Gançalo de Silveira was the priest available to celebrate the solemn mass to the melodious singing of the choir from the seminary in Goa. The viceroy was so overwhelmed with the victory that he generously offered to build a

³⁸Correia and Almeida, *Lendas da Índia*, vol. III, 854.

³⁹Delduque, *Diu*, 17.

⁴⁰Delduque, 18-19.

⁴¹Moniz, *Notícias e documentos para a história de Damão - antiga província do norte*, vol.I, 17-18.

⁴²António Francisco Moniz Junior, *Noticias e documentos para a história de Damão antiga Província do Norte* (Bastorá: Typ. Rangel, 1900), 20.

⁴³Moniz jr., 21.

⁴⁴Moniz jr., 21-22.

⁴⁵J.H. Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India* (Bombay: V.D. Limaye, 1960), 225.

⁴⁶Moniz jr., *Noticias e documentos para a história de Damão antiga Província do Norte*, 23.

church in the place of the mosque and render it into the care of the Society of Jesus.⁴⁷ Daman continued to grow in prominence and stature as a prominent sea port. The expansion of the empire invariably aided the growth of the church in the region. The Eucharist and the construction of the church set the tone and inaugurated the period of growth of the church. Seen below (Fig. 1.2) the regions of Daman, Diu,⁴⁸ Bassein and Chaul.

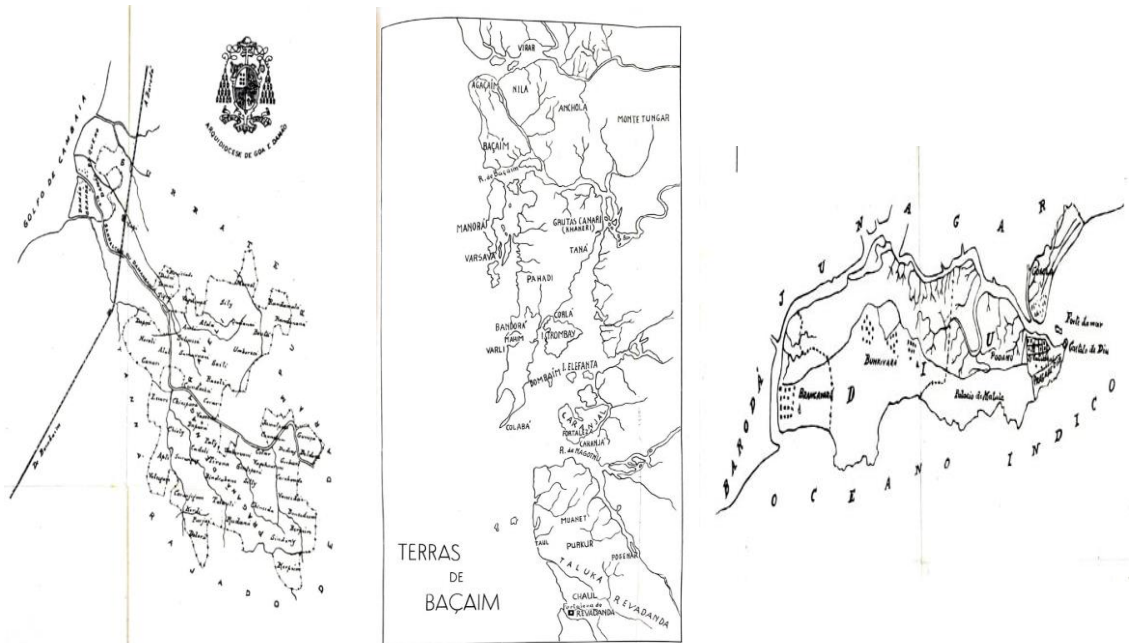


Fig. 1. 2 The Portuguese Northern Province in India

1.1.1.1. POLITICAL RELEVANCE

The fact that Daman remained in the possession of the Portuguese until the very end of their rule in India (both under the Portuguese Monarchy and Republic) reflects the political relevance and economic prominence of the region. Historically, we can ascertain to the fact that Daman rose to immediate prominence as a business and religious hub after its capture by the Portuguese forces. The elevation to the stature of a ‘City’ in the year 1581 through the decree of King Henrique at the behest of the Local Municipality of Daman (*Praça de Câmara*) extended to it all the privileges and rights of the Royal Municipality of Évora.⁴⁹ The port city was a hub of activity for trade between the Portuguese India and the Middle East. This becomes noteworthy when we consider the minuscule geographical stature of the place.

⁴⁷Moniz jr., *Noticias e documentos para a história de Damão antiga Provincia do Norte*, 23-24.

⁴⁸Lobo, *Memória histórico-elesiástica da Arquidiocese de Goa*, 74.

⁴⁹António Francisco Moniz, «The Negroes and St. Benedict's Feast», in *In the Mission Field: The Diocese of Damaun* (Bombay: E. G. Pearson at the Times Press, 1925), 567.

The prominence of Daman was also because of its strategic position to tackle and neutralise the threats to trade and commerce in the region.⁵⁰ In the face of the threats from Maratha and Mughal empire, the Portuguese understood their interests in the region and strike a hard bargain to retain Daman. King Akbar of the dynasty of Mughal's, in 1581 attempted to take Daman by force but was outwitted by the Portuguese.⁵¹ The Portuguese General with his keen acumen of war tactics foxed the army of the Mughals, who had to return empty handed. The chapel to Our Lady of Sorrows was erected in Daman to mark this miraculous feat. In case of Marathas, they attacked the region in the seventeenth century but the Portuguese drew a treaty with their fierce enemy to retain Daman at the cost of other regions of their former northern province in India. Thus, every diplomatic and military technique was utilised to ensure the retention of Daman which had grown to be a social, political and ecclesial centre in the region. The Portuguese government endeavoured to ensure that the interests of the state and the church were safeguarded and promoted by avoiding unnecessary conflicts with neighbours. There are three key empires which will be considered in light of their relation with Portugal and church. They are; the Mughal or Islamic Empire, the Maratha or Hindu Empire and the British or Protestant Empire.

1.1.1.1.1. THE MUGHALS

Christians and Muslims have been traditional enemies ever since Pope Urban II chose to defend the interests of the church and called the first crusade in 1095.⁵² Wherever diplomacy existed, it seemed provisional and focused on particular tasks and short-term goals devoid of deeper motives or understanding. However, there was an exception to this rule and it was in the northern region of India, in the realm of the Mughal Empire. These Islamic rulers invited religious scholars and priests from around the world into their court, hosting them in their palaces, to hold weekly interfaith debates. Some of the most vocal and influential participants in these debates were the Jesuits priests from the Portuguese colony of Goa in 1580.⁵³ The Mughals had made their place in India when Babur had established his newly formed state by taking the throne of Delhi from Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad.⁵⁴ The Portuguese were vigilant of their enemy but were open to an evolved understanding of co-existence in the region. Both the empires worked to sort out their differences in order to forge an alliance of respect. They saw

⁵⁰Moniz, *Notícias e documentos para a história de Damão - antiga província do norte*, vol. I, 302.

⁵¹Moniz, 59, 22.

⁵²Bailey Alexander Gauvin, «Between Religions: Christianity in a Muslim Empire», in *Goa and the Great Mughal*, ed. Jorge Flores and Nuno Silva e Vassallo (London: Scala Publishers, 2004), 148-161.

⁵³Gauvin, «Between Religions: Christianity in a Muslim Empire», 149.

⁵⁴João Castel-Branco Pereira, « Introduction », in *Goa and the Great Mughal*, ed. Jorge Flores and Nuno Silva e Vassallo (London: Scala Publishers, 2004), 10-13.

Portuguese as a neighbour less dangerous than the Safavids, Uzbeks, Turks or even the Sultanates of Deccan.⁵⁵

In 1579 Akbar wrote to the Portuguese viceroy of India, to the archbishop of Goa and the Provincial of Jesuits seeking the services of two religious in his court. After sufficient deliberations and pondering on the part of these authorities by December of the same year the invitation was accepted and a delegation was finalized for the King's court.⁵⁶ The Jesuits maintained cordial relations with the Mughal dynasty for a long period. They were given the ranks and position of ambassadors of the church and the Court of Portugal. The first delegation left to meet the Mughal Monarch from the land of Daman on the 13th of December 1579.⁵⁷ It must be noted here that some authors believe that ultra-focus on religious policies and negligence of trade contributed to the downfall of the eastern seaborne Portuguese empire.⁵⁸

As noted, the encounter among the Portuguese and Mughals was a bitter sweet experience with its share of conflicts and collaborations.⁵⁹ On a positive note, the Mughals would appeal to the Portuguese to direct interested artists to his court to produce art.⁶⁰ The Mughal empire was largely tolerant and peaceful in their relations with the Portuguese and the church.⁶¹ The emperor despatched official letters of support and protection for the priests who served and travelled in his kingdom. Akbar even confided his son Murad to the care of Rev. Montserrat to learn Portuguese and Catholic faith.⁶² He even provided for the construction of churches and other Christian religious structures in his kingdom.⁶³ These positive developments were possible due to the emissaries that the *Padroado* (Portugal) used to oblige the Mughals. The degree of contribution can be understood from the fact that subsequently there was 'Vicariate of the Great Mughal' which was later catered by the *Propaganda Fide* in India.

⁵⁵Pereira, «Introduction», 10.

⁵⁶Francisco de Sousa, *Oriente conquistado a Jesus Cristo pelos padres da Companhia de Jesus da Província de Goa*, vol. II, II vols. (Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1978), 937.

⁵⁷Sousa, *Oriente conquistado a Jesus Cristo pelos padres da Companhia de Jesus da Província de Goa*, 940.

⁵⁸Reginaldo da Silva, «Struggle between *Padroado* and *Propaganda Fide* (1886-1928). A case study – Bassein», in *Congresso Internacional de História, and Universidade Católica Portuguesa.*, eds. *Missionação portuguesa e encontro de culturas*, vol. III, IV vols. (Braga: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Faculdade de Teologia, 1993), 701.

⁵⁹Alam Muzaffar and Subrahmanyam Sanjay, «Mughal Expansion in the Deccan, 1570-1605: Contemporary Perspective», in *Goa and the Great Mughal*, ed. Jorge Flores and Nuno Silva e Vassallo (London: Scala Publishers, 2004), 14-43.

⁶⁰Jorge Flores and António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *Os Firangis na Chancelaria Mogol: cópias portuguesas de documentos de Akbar (1572-1604)* (Nova Deli: Embaixada de Portugal, 2003), 78.

⁶¹Panduranga S. S. Pissurlencar, *Antigualhas: estudos e documentos sôbre a história dos portugueses na Índia* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1943), 14.

⁶²Flores and Saldanha, *Os Firangis na Chancelaria Mogol: cópias portuguesas de documentos de Akbar (1572-1604)*, 147.

⁶³M. de D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India: 52-1652*, vol. I, II vols. (Bombay: B. X. Furtado and Sons, 1910), 147-148.

1.1.1.1.2. THE BRITISH

The British were introduced to India by a Jesuit priest from England, Fr. Thomas Stephen. He was working under the tutelage of the *Padroado* in the region of Goa. The British had eventually landed in Surat in 1608 for the purpose of trade. The interest of the ‘Presidency of Surat’ (British ruled region) in the region of Bombay was visible as early as 1626. It was due to the strategic location of Bombay for trade.⁶⁴ It was in 1661, when King John IV of Portugal, despite protests from the Governor of Bombay⁶⁵, proposed to give the islands of Bombay as dowry to his daughter, Catherine of Braganza, who married Charles II of England.⁶⁶ The transfer of Bombay was significant in order to fortify the political ties of the newly independent Portugal from the Spanish yoke.⁶⁷ The marriage was meant to fortify their age-old alliance and provide an ally against the Dutch and other emerging European powers in the eastern region.⁶⁸

Although there is no denying the fact that the Portuguese community in India was mightily upset with the handing over of Bombay into the power of the British.⁶⁹ The decision was a political and diplomatic masterstroke from the viewpoint of Portuguese crown to garner British support at home. The treaty maintained the *Padroado* right of the Portuguese King over these Islands and would prove to be highly effective against the challenges of the *Propaganda Fide* in the future. The article XI of the treaty expressly mentioned that apart from the recognition of the trade and navigation of the Portuguese subjects in the region they were also required to permit the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in the region.⁷⁰ So much so that in 1680 when the British company stopped the allowance of their missions, the Surat council invited the Portuguese priest of *Padroado* to cater to them.⁷¹

The British were also instrumental in drawing the Treaty of Pune which invariably brought the Marathas to the table of discussion with the Portuguese.⁷² This restored peace and marked an end to the carnage began by the Marathas, which had resulted in loss of lives and religious structures. Consequently, the British would dislodge the Marathas and establish their imperial

⁶⁴M. D. David, *History of Bombay: 1661-1708* (Bombay: University of Bombay, 1973), 24.

⁶⁵José Martins Ferreira, *O Orient Portugues* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1919), 18-23.

⁶⁶Manuel Côte-Real, *England and Portugal over the Centuries* (London: ES International Holding, 1986), 10.

⁶⁷Alice Santiago Faria and Sidh Losa Mendiratta, «Goans and East-Indians: A Negotiated Catholic Presence in Bombay’s Urban Space», in *Inter Disciplinary Journal of Portuguese Diaspora Studies VII* (2018), 46, https://www.academia.edu/37130524/Goans_and_East_Indians_A_Negotiated_Catholic_Presence_in_Bombays_Urban_Space.

⁶⁸Fernandes, *Bandra: It’s Religious and Secular History*, 21.

⁶⁹David, *History of Bombay*, 26.

⁷⁰M. de D’Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Bombay: B.X. Furtado and Sons, 1910), 43-44.

⁷¹David, *History of Bombay*, 412.

⁷²Alexandre Lobato, *Relações internacionais em Damão-Dadra-Nagar Aveli com maratas, ingleses e indianos de 1740 a 1956*, vol. I, IV vols. (Lisboa: CEHU, 1956), 4-9.

reign in the region in the year 1780.⁷³ Thus, indirectly making the former northern province of the Portuguese empire a part of their commercial and ecclesial plans. The British government in the name of the Monarch took full control of the British East India company and made it accountable to the British Parliament in August of the year 1858.⁷⁴ With the change in authority, the British and the Portuguese entered into a new treaty in 1879.⁷⁵ These diplomatic ties gave the Portuguese security and freedom to carry forward their interest in the region, especially ecclesial works. The impact of this treaty will be felt at the time of diocese of Daman and its political role, especially in the region of Bombay.

1.1.1.1.3. THE MARATHAS

The Maratha empire was gaining its foothold with Shivaji as the founder of the empire.⁷⁶ They posed a tough challenge to Portugal on their western frontier, as they grew in their political power. Despite various peace treaties, Maratha's time and again fell short of honouring the commitments on their part. This was because the Maratha movement was a nationalist and a religiously motivated empire in India.⁷⁷ For them, their land was sacred and the foreigners were polluting it. Hence, they had to be thrown out of their lands.⁷⁸ The account of Pissurlencar bears testimony, as he records the episode of the exiled residents of Bandra visiting Peshwa Bahjirao in 1722-23 with their grievance of losing their homeland.

The back and forth with the Marathas on establishing a diplomatic channel carried well into the eighteenth century until the treaty of 18th September 1740 with Balaji Baji Rao.⁷⁹ The challenge before the Portuguese viceroy was to secure the richest land of the empire – Daman, which would be important for their rein in the northern region of India.⁸⁰ Especially, in light of the interest of Holland to team up with the Marathas to conquer Daman.⁸¹ The empire laid waste a lot of religious and social structures of the *Padroado* in the region between the years 1737-1740.⁸² They razed to ground churches, colleges, orphanages, forts, hospitals and other structures which were erected and administered by the *Padroado*.⁸³ Expectantly, the treaty

⁷³Ernest R. Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, II vols. (Bombay: Examiner Press, 1927) 3.

⁷⁴Alexandre Lobato, *Relações internacionais em Damão-Dadra-Nagar Aveli com maratas, ingleses e indianos de 1740 a 1956*, vol. II, IV vols. (Lisboa: CEHU, 1956), 1.

⁷⁵ Lobato, 36-44.

⁷⁶Alexandre Lobato, *Relações Luso-Maratas 1658-1737* (Lisbon: Paulino Ferreira, Filhos Lda., 1965), 19.

⁷⁷Pissurlencar, *Antigualhas*, 124-125.

⁷⁸Pissurlencar, 170.

⁷⁹Moniz Jr., *Notícias e documentos para a história de Damão - antiga província do norte*, vol. I, 276.

⁸⁰Lobato, *Relações internacionais em Damão-Dadra-Nagar Aveli com maratas, ingleses e indianos de 1740 a 1956*, vol. I, 2.

⁸¹António da Silva Rego, *O Ultramar português no século XVIII: 1700 a 1833* (Lisboa: Agência-Geral do Ultramar, 1967), 92.

⁸²Fernandes, *Bandra: It's Religious and Secular History*, 23-25.

⁸³D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 54-57.

expressly prohibited the Portuguese from proselyting in the regions which they had lost to the Marathas. The age of Maratha empire was indeed economically, politically, socially and diplomatically painful which led to substantial ecclesial and missiological setbacks.⁸⁴ In such a hostile situation the priests from Goa were rendering their services to the local Christians to sustain in their faith.⁸⁵ Later, Chimaji Appa granted favourable terms to the Christians residing in Bassein. They were allowed to practice their religion without any fear.⁸⁶ By 13th June 1817, British took charge of the entire region⁸⁷ helping *Padroado* to regain their foothold.

1.1.1.2. ECONOMIC POWER

The Portuguese interest in advancing its empire in Asia was expectedly influenced by the scope for trade and the desire to establish the church⁸⁸, may not be in the same order. They expanded their kingdom along the coastal line of India from Bengal (Kolkata) on the eastern frontier to Diu on the western frontier. As witnessed above, the economic health influenced diplomatic channels with other political and commercial powers in the region. This section will briefly evaluate the viability of economic activity in the region for the Portuguese empire. It must be noted that emphasis was laid on avoiding conflicts unless it was the only means of securing political and commercial interests.⁸⁹ The peace with the King of Cambaia, allowing Jesuits in the court of Akbar, were attempts to peacefully safeguard the economic interests in the region.

Once again, Gaspar Correia notes in his work, *Lendas de Índia*, stating that, even before conquering, the sea route via Daman was already used by the Portuguese for their trade, proved by discovery of a mast of their ship in the river of Daman.⁹⁰ Daman was also very important from the forest and agricultural point of view, as it provided the timbre for shipbuilding and even exported food products to Goa.⁹¹ Diu to Salsette (around Bombay) was blessed with rivers and fertile land with abundance of products such as rice, wheat, cereals, hunting.⁹² Daman and Diu were a portal for the Portuguese into the northern region to expand its trade to the world. There were trade links with the east coast of Africa to which fabrics and other items from the markets of Gujarat and Bombay were exported⁹³ and returning with gold, Ivory, slaves, crystals,

⁸⁴Niceno de Figueiredo, *Pelo Clero de Goa : Duas Lendas : O Cisma de Goa e a Ignorância do Clero Goês* (Bastorá: Rangel, 1939), 80-91.

⁸⁵Hull, *A Short Guide to Bassein* (Bombay: Examiner Press Fort, 1941) 7.

⁸⁶Fernandes, *A Guide to the Ruins of Bassein*, 5-6.

⁸⁷Fernandes, 6.

⁸⁸Adriano Moreira, *Competition in the Mission Field* (Lisboa: Agência-Geral de Ultramar, 1961), 19.

⁸⁹Lobato, *Relações Luso-Maratas 1658-1737*, 177.

⁹⁰Correia and Almeida, *Lendas da Índia*, Vol. III, 342.

⁹¹Lobato, *Relações Luso-Maratas 1658-1737*, 176.

⁹²Sousa, *Oriente conquistado a Jesus Cristo por padres da Companhia de Jesus da Província de Goa*, vol. II, 940.

⁹³Lobato, *Relações Luso-Maratas 1658-1737*, 176-177.

turtles and other valuables.⁹⁴ In the nineteenth century, Daman also prospered in the trade of Opium⁹⁵ which was imported from Karachi and exported to China (Fig. 1.3).⁹⁶



Fig. 1. 3 Western Sea Route from India to the World

The primacy of Daman and Diu widened when the Portuguese lost political and temporal hold over the rest of its northern territory. Subsequently, they were pivotal for the growth of the church in the region for the *Padroado* missions. The economic activity in Daman opened doors for the people into newer pastures and was also a window for the church to propagate the faith. The people carried the *Padroado* church wherever they went, invariably planting the church in newer terrains; as witnessed in the region of Bombay. The missionaries also seized the opportunity to open schools, hospitals and other social ministries, enlarging areas to the ecclesial and economic impact.

1.1.1.3. ECCLESIO-MISSIOLOGICAL ADVANCEMENT

The religious had arrived in the western region of India in Thana as early as 1321; this is recorded by Fr. Jordan, a Dominican who had travelled with four Franciscans to Thana.⁹⁷ Their arrival to India is expected to have occurred through the merchant ships. As recorded by Fr. Jordan in his letter, the other four Franciscans were eventually martyred.⁹⁸ He himself accounts to have travelled to Bharuch (Gujarat) where he baptised more than twenty souls before returning to Thana.⁹⁹ However, the arrival of the Portuguese gave the mission the necessary

⁹⁴Lobato, 177.

⁹⁵António Francisco Moniz, *Notícias e documentos para a história de Damão - antiga província do norte*, vol. IV, IV vols. (Lisboa: Associação Fraternidade Damão-Diu e Simpatizantes, 2000), 77-82.

⁹⁶Jaime Pereira de Sampaio Forjaz de Serpa Pimentel, *O districto de Damão: apontamentos d'uma administração colonial* (Lisboa: Typographia Castro Irmão, 1892), 5.

⁹⁷Farinha, *A Expansão da Fé no Oriente*, vol. II, 247-248.

⁹⁸Francis Manoel D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun* (Bombay: Rev. M. D'Sa, 1910), 8.

⁹⁹D'Sa, 8.

push and impetus in terms of personnel and pecuniary support. Under the *Padroado*, the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Hospitallers, and the Jesuits flourished in their mission in these regions.¹⁰⁰ They all established their monasteries and churches in the region apart from constructing colleges, hospitals, orphanages and houses for widows. Even before it was mandated by the Council of Trent there were institutes meant to train candidates either as clerics or catechists.¹⁰¹

Later, the provincial council of Goa in 1567 also directed that no one should be baptised by force or against their will.¹⁰² Thus, the missiological methods were more intricate than just alluring people with gifts and positions of power. The missionaries used various tools available to them, such as faith, education, values, dignity, identity, elevating the poor from their misery. At the same time, it is noted by Rev. Manoel D'Sa, how the missionaries interacted with the Brahmins at an intellectual level to draw them to Christ. He narrates the case of a learned Brahmin named *Procuniochi*¹⁰³ in Bassein whose conversion invariably led to the conversion of about seven hundred of his followers in the region. The Jesuit priest Francisco de Souza¹⁰⁴ records seventy baptisms in Daman and two hundred baptisms in Bassein (Vasai) in the year 1581. This shows that contrary to the rumours of rampant conversion, it was a measured and a meaningful activity.

It is a well-known fact that the Portuguese in India gave much importance to 'Christians'¹⁰⁵ than 'Spices'. Consequently, with the support of the establishment, the missionaries left no stone unturned to launch themselves in every possible manner and medium to make the church vibrant and strong in the region. Despite the volatile and rapidly changing political scenarios, for instance, according to the treaty with the Marathas (1785) the Portuguese were required to conserve the temples, permit cults and stop conversion of the orphans.¹⁰⁶ Albeit, the church embraced and adapted to these situations and was flourishing in the region. It goes without saying that the State was always by its side to ensure security and to provide its needs. These political movements were opportunities that opened new doors for missiological work in regions such as Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

¹⁰⁰Achilles Meersman, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India* (Bangalore: Christian Literature Society Press, 1971), 464-465.

¹⁰¹Farinha, *A Expansão da Fé no Oriente*, 19-22.

¹⁰²Farinha, 50-51.

¹⁰³D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 68.

¹⁰⁴Sousa, *Oriente conquistado a Jesus Cristo pelos padres da Companhia de Jesus da Província de Goa*, 963.

¹⁰⁵Da Silva, «Struggle between *Padroado* and *Propaganda Fide* (1886-1928). A case study – Bassein». 701.

¹⁰⁶Lobato, *Relações internacionais em Damão-Dadra-Nagar Aveli com maratas, ingleses e indianos de 1740 a 1956*, 46-47.

1.1.1.3.1. THE RESOURCES

It must be noted that the resources that were made available for the expansion and growth of the church in the region were drawn from the treasury of the King.¹⁰⁷ The industrious religious had also risen and been appointed to political posts as administrators in the region.¹⁰⁸ The Jesuits were invested with the royal powers for management of the military expenses such as gunpowder, war items, in addition to the power of minting coins¹⁰⁹ (Daman) in the northern region. Financial provisions were made available from the royal treasury¹¹⁰ for the upkeep and sustenance of the clergy. As history informs us, the arrival of Portugal inadvertently resulted in the foundation and growth of the church with a renewed vigour. As can be deduced from the reality of the church in the regions of Goa, Cochin, and Sri Lanka (Ceylon). In the case of Goa, we are aware that within a short period of twenty odd years it was raised to the status of a diocese (1510-1533). In the initial years, the growth was robust and somewhat stable, owing to the unhindered political, economic and social advancement.¹¹¹

The northern province of the Portuguese empire in India worked with a lot of energy and dedication.¹¹² The missionaries kept pouring in and contributing to the work of the salvation of souls. Missionaries from the orders of Jesuits, Dominicans, Augustinians, Franciscans and the Hospitallers had already begun social and economic work with ecclesial objectives.¹¹³ They offered their service for the good of the soul as well as the body. Following the new dictum of the church pronounced at the Council of Trent they began to offer their services in the area of education and intellectual formation of the faithful.¹¹⁴ In these institutes the missionaries trained boys and young men in the matters of faith. It is claimed that some of them were admitted into the sacred orders while those without aptitude were utilised in the mission field for the purpose of translation and to teach catechism.¹¹⁵ Even when their northern province in India was reduced to the two territories of Daman and Diu, they worked zealously in the entire region. This was possible owing to the political and diplomatic engagement¹¹⁶ of the Portuguese crown with other Sovereigns.

¹⁰⁷D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India*, vol. I, 201-208.

¹⁰⁸Lobato, *Relações Luso-Maratas 1658-1737*, 177-179.

¹⁰⁹Lobato, 178.

¹¹⁰M. D. David, *History of Bombay: 1661-1708*, 19-20.

¹¹¹David, 415.

¹¹²J. Humbert, *Catholic Bombay: Her Priests and Their Training* (Bombay: St. Paul's Press Training School, 1960), 39-53.

¹¹³David, *History of Bombay: 1661-1708*, 19-20.

¹¹⁴D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 251-269.

¹¹⁵Humbert, *Catholic Bombay: Her Priests and Their Training*, 7.

¹¹⁶Rego, *História das Missões do Padroado português do Oriente*, 460-461.

Apart from the royal treasury, the nobles in the region also contributed to generate funds¹¹⁷ for the missions from their personal provisions. This was achieved through direct contributions from the nobility and also through the institutions, such as, *Casa de Misericórdia*, which motivated the laity to help the missions. The nobility also offered to be benefactors of the new converts through the initiative of the missionaries called '*Pais dos Cristãos*'. These generated enough and more resources that were needed by the missionaries for the expansion of the mission. From the perspective of the vast field of Indian missions this might seem like a drop in the mighty ocean. But this definitely marked the beginning to the arrival of the church with the required zest into the Indian society. This also opened the eyes of Rome to the great harvest that awaited in the country, as they attempted to contribute and participate in the mission through *Propaganda Fide* which was founded in 1622.

1.1.1.3.2. THE INFRASTRUCTURE

The custom of investing into the construction of the religious structures such as cathedrals, parishes, chapels and convents emerged primarily from the spiritual and religious needs of the Portuguese citizens in the east. This invariably also aided in the propagation of faith among the new converts. As we have witnessed in the history of the discovery of Daman, the very first act was the celebration of Eucharist and issuing of orders for the construction of church building to be the *Igreja Matriz*. Apart from churches and other religious structures, investments were also made in constructing buildings for social apostolate about which we have spoken before. All of these structures played a decisive and a vital role in helping the missionaries to be more effective in their respective missions. In the long history of the Portuguese rule in India these structures were subject to decay, destruction, restoration and renovation. Despite diplomatic and political alliances that the Portuguese had worked and succeeded to establish with other sovereigns one cannot deny the ugly scenes of conflict, war and loss of religious property. For example, the treaty of 1785 with the Marathas prohibited them from constructing forts or any structures (more so religious) in the region of Dadra and Nagar Haveli.¹¹⁸

Rampant destruction of religious structures of other faiths was also not politically and socially feasible. There were concerns that such a blatant destruction of religious structures of others would lead to animosity and a sense of intolerance in the society. Nonetheless, there are two aspects to this reality that we need to pay close attention, in order to understand the fact. Firstly, that a lot of prudence and restraint was used before paving way for a church in place of an existing religious structure. It was usually a result of the community in the region which had

¹¹⁷Rego, *História das Missões do Padroado português do Oriente*, 462.

¹¹⁸Lobato, *Relações internacionais em Damão-Dadra-Nagar Aveli com maratas, ingleses e indianos de 1740 a 1956*, 47.

converted to Christianity and thus, made the existing religious structure redundant. These actions were executed amicably and with minimal force, in order to avoid any sort of temptation for the new converts to revert to their old ways.¹¹⁹

There were also instances where the structures were not torn down but transformed and utilised for religious services by the missionaries. There are also evidences which suggests that the monks who were residing in the *pagodas*, of their free will accepted Christianity. The case of Fr. António de Porto, a Franciscan missionary in the region of Salsette in Bombay can be cited in this regard. He is said to have gone to the Kanheri caves which were an abode of a large number of *yogis* (*yogis* are hermits who live secluded lives). He had a dialogue with the head *yogi* about religion and God, such was the grace that at the end of the discussion he sought baptism from the priest.¹²⁰ Fr. António purified the *pagoda* and converted it to a church dedicated to St. Michael, the Archangel.¹²¹

There were times when even permissions were sought and granted by the sovereigns, where the territory did not belong to the Portuguese empire to build structures of worship for the sake of practice of one's faith. As the letter from emperor Akbar written to his officials in the region of Cambay bear's witness:

[...] the Padris (priests) of the Holy Society of Jesus wish to build a house of prayer in the city of Cambay; therefore, an exalted royal mandate... to the effect that the dignitaries of the city of Cambay should in no case stand in their way but should allow them to build a church so that they may engage themselves in their own worship [...].¹²² (Lahore, 14th April, 1598.)

There are other such evidences which bear witness that everything was not decided or considered on the battlefield; but also, at the table of negotiations. The many religious structures in the formerly northern province of the Portuguese, bears testimony to this fact. The region was a cradle of Christianity and this can be accredited in the face of the many religious and social structures on its landscape. The figure (Fig.1.4) given below demonstrates the presence of resident clergy in the churches in India in 1884.¹²³

¹¹⁹D' Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 27.

¹²⁰Braz A. Fernandes, «Caves and Carvings», in *In the Mission Field: The Diocese of Damaun*, ed. L.C. Pera (Bombaim: E.G. Pearson - Time Press, 1925), 111-113.

¹²¹D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 19.

¹²²Cf. Flores and Saldanha, *Os Firangis na Chancelaria Mogol*, 91.

¹²³Leo P. Kierkels, *Golden Jubilee of the Apostolic Delegation of the East Indies: 1884-1934 Retrospects and Prospects*, Private ed (Bangalore: S.N., 1935), 100.

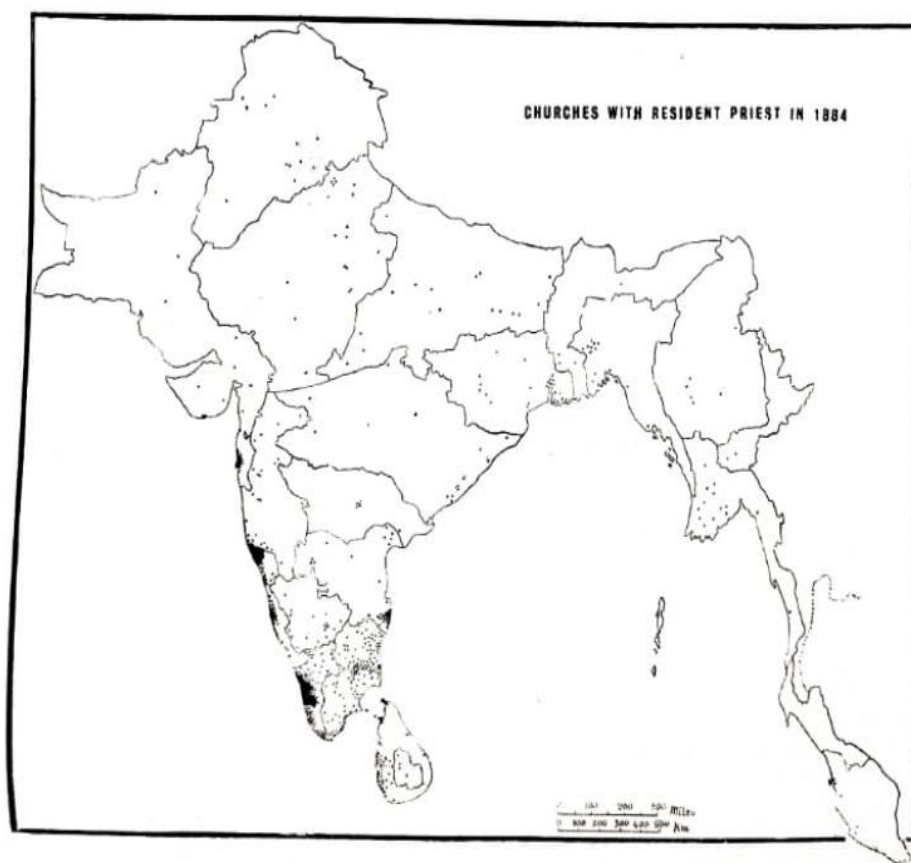


Fig. 1. 4 Churches with Resident Priests 1884

1.2. THE DIPLOMATIC FALLOUT WITH ROME

The relations between Rome and Lisbon were always of mutual trust and respect. Despite misunderstandings and disagreements over issues, the dialogue never ceased between the two parties. Every question was attended and an amicable solution arrived, keeping the good of the universal church at heart. Nonetheless, the dawn of the nineteenth century proved to be the testing point of this relationship between Portugal and Rome. Both were reeling under the political and social challenges in their respective kingdoms and so was the rest of the world. In case of Portugal, the forces of France, with aid from Spain, had attacked and occupied the state of Portugal in 1807.¹²⁴ The failure of their ally, Britain, to come to their assistance was catastrophic. The crown was forced to relocate his court to Brazil at the suggestion of the British.¹²⁵ The arrival of French also led to the arrival of the ideas identified with the French Revolution into the Portuguese society. The French revolution which was viewed to be against religion, monarchy and patrimony was going to be emulated in Portugal.¹²⁶ It had lasting and defining implications, these permanently influenced the course of the religion, monarchy and patrimony of Portugal. Therefore, the invasion of Portugal by the French in 1807 is also

¹²⁴José Augusto Ferreira, *Memórias para a história d'um scisma: 1832-1842* (Braga: Livr. Cruz, 1916), 393.

¹²⁵Ferreira, 395.

¹²⁶Veríssimo Joaquim Serrão, *História de Portugal [1807-1832]*, vol. VII, VIII vols. (Viseu: Verbo, 1984), 77-78.

identified as the point of infiltration of the society of Freemasons who were responsible for the propagation of the ideas of liberty and constitutional regime.¹²⁷

1.2.1. THE POLITICAL TURMOIL IN PORTUGAL

The revolution of 1820 marked the implementation of a constitution and the death of absolute monarchy.¹²⁸ This resulted in giving legitimacy and space to liberalism and constitutionalism in Portugal,¹²⁹ even though John VI had abrogated the constitution in 1823. King John VI turned to his daughter Isabela Maria to be the queen, under council; since, Pedro was the king of Brazil and Miguel was banished¹³⁰ after his failed coup of 1824. However, the council sent a delegation to Brazil to invite Pedro to accept the throne of Portugal¹³¹ since he was the eldest son and favourable to constitutionalism. But he abdicated the throne in favour of his daughter Maria II as the queen of Portugal. He forgave his brother Miguel and in a decree on 3rd July 1827 nominated him as the regent of the Kingdom¹³² with the express condition to marry his daughter Maria II. In 1828, two years after establishment of the constitution, Miguel convoked the council of the Clergy-Nobility-Public Prosecutors; and declared himself as the king of Portugal on 11th July 1828.¹³³ This resulted in the civil war which dragged until 1834 resulting in a soft cold war between Rome and Portugal.

It is interesting to note that everyone boycotted the new regime under Miguel except Spain, America and the Holy See.¹³⁴ Thus, the Holy See was found in support of Miguel as the King of Portugal and their hope for the restoration of conservative line of governance.¹³⁵ The dignitaries of the church in Portugal accepted the authority of Miguel as their king. Pedro, urged the Holy See to discredit the title and ecclesial appointments of his usurper brother.¹³⁶ He felt the sting of betrayal, when the Holy See refused to remove the Apostolic Nuncio from the court of Miguel. It must also be noted that it is recorded in the *Cortes*, 1887 (as produced by Cândido de Figdo in his book '*Historia de Portugal*') «the nunciature, during the usurper's reign, had been a lasting focus of conspiracy against the liberal party».¹³⁷ In 1831, Pedro abdicated the

¹²⁷Ferreira, *Memorias para a história d'um scisma: 1832-1842*, 393-394.

¹²⁸Serrão, *História de Portugal [1807-1832]*, 345.

¹²⁹Ana Maria Ferreira Pina, *De Rousseau ao Imaginário da Revolução de 1820* (Lisboa: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica : Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, 1988), 70.

¹³⁰Ferreira, *Memorias para a história d'um scisma: 1832-1842*, 397.

¹³¹D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 156.

¹³²Virgínia de Castro e Almeida, *História do Rei Dom Miguel I, Pátria* 43 (Lisboa: S.N., 1946), 6.

¹³³Jaime Brasil, Francisco Alexandre Lobo, and Auget de São Sylvan, *D. Miguel E o Fim da Guerra Civil: Testemunhos* (Lisboa: Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa, 2006), 43.

¹³⁴Ferreira, *Memorias para a história d'um scisma: 1832-1842*, 400-401.

¹³⁵D.º Manuel Clemente, «Homilia de D. Manuel Clemente na celebração dos 500 anos da Diocese do Funchal», 13 June 2014, accessed on the 23rd october 2019, <https://www.patriarcado-lisboa.pt/site/index.php?id=3893>.

¹³⁶D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 156.

¹³⁷Cf. D'Sa, 157.

throne of Brazil in favour of his son and declared himself as the Regent of Portugal until his daughter was of age to take the reins of the country. After a fierce battle from 1831 to 1833, he finally succeeded in restoring and safeguarding her crown. The article V of the Constitution of 29th April 1826 ensured the place of monarchy.¹³⁸ Thus, the reign of Maria II and the subsequent progeny of the house of Braganza was formally and constitutionally established in Portugal and its dominions. This victory was a bitter pill for the Holy See, as it caused a rupture owing to its support for the reign of Miguel, resulting in loss of its political position in the new Portuguese court.¹³⁹

1.2.2. THE RESTRAIN RESPONSE OF ROME

It must be noted that, once powerful corridors in Rome were now gravely shrouded with doubt and fear in the light of the nineteenth century turmoil in Europe. There was a definite and intense rethinking about the position of the church in these tumultuous times. Pope Gregory XVI jumped into the entire saga of the political turmoil in Portugal after his elevation to Papacy in 1831. He responded with the apostolic constitution '*Sollicitudo ecclesiarum*' to define and re-establish the church-state relation.¹⁴⁰ This constitution established an apolitical position of the Holy See in relation to the political affairs of any state. He had to deal with the issues at hand and could not look the other way in the face of Portuguese aggression towards the Holy See. As expressed by him in his first encyclical, *Mirari Vos*, he firmly believed that the monarchy was endowed with power and authority not only for the 'temporal but also for the defence and security of the church'.¹⁴¹ He also attempted to resolve the differences with the Portuguese court towards the end of his papacy. These attempts were to repair and restore the tarnished image of Christianity and Christians due to the bitter ecclesial war in the eastern dominions.

1.2.2.1. POPE GREGORY XVI AND THE PADROADO

A brief history about the person and position of Pope Gregory XVI will help us to understand his approach and engagement during this crisis. It will give us a reference and help us understand the decisions and documents of Pope Gregory XVI in relation to the church in the east and the *Padroado*.¹⁴² Pope Gregory XV, in 1622¹⁴³ laid the foundation of the congregation *Propaganda Fide* the arm of the church which was entrusted with the task of mission *ad*

¹³⁸Marked in the article V of the constitution brought into effect by King Pedro on 29th April 1826. This was when he was called by the Regency (group in charge of the throne) to take over the throne from his sister Isabela Maria. He abdicated and presented his daughter Maria as the Queen of Portugal. It is attached in the Appendix no. 1.

¹³⁹Ferreira, *Memorias para a história d'um scisma*, 413.

¹⁴⁰Clemente, «Homilia de D.º Manuel Clemente na celebração dos 500 anos da diocese do Funchal», 13 June 2014.

¹⁴¹Igreja Católica, *Sobre os principais erros de seu tempo: Mirari vos*, 2nd ed., Documentos Pontifícios, 34, (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1953), 16.

¹⁴²Visconde Théodoro De Bussiéres, *História do Scisma Portuguez na India* (Lisboa: L.C. da Cunha, 1854), 49.

¹⁴³Joaquim Maria Lourenço, *Portugal e a Santa Sé: o recente acordo sobre o Padroado do Oriente* (S.l.: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto 'San Raimundo de Peñafort', 1951), 8.

Gentes.¹⁴⁴ However, the congregation played a second fiddle to the mighty and powerful *Padroado* which had the necessary financial and political power. Pope Gregory XVI carried forward the objectives of the congregation with full gusto in an attempt to establish the efficacy of *Propaganda Fide*.¹⁴⁵ One needs to bear in mind two relevant facts about Pope Gregory XVI; firstly, he was a religious belonging to the Camaldolese order of the Benedictine Family.¹⁴⁶ Secondly, Pope Leo XII in 1826 appointed him in the curia as the prefect of the *Propaganda Fide*.¹⁴⁷

The events were favourable to establish and promote the *Propaganda Fide* in order to boost the apolitical image of Rome and strengthen its position on the world stage.¹⁴⁸ His affection for *Propaganda Fide* is clear from the fact that, apart from other reasons, such as the Monastery of St. Gregory where he served as an Abbot, the primary cause for him to take up the regnal name was in honour of Pope Gregory XV who had founded the *Propaganda Fide*. All of this goes to explain the positions and the documents that were released during his papacy especially in relation to *Padroado* and the church in the Asia. Even so, the Holy Father had the best of interest at his heart for the church and the laity, he wanted to respond to the anti-clerical approach of the liberalist movements of Europe. His encyclical *Mirari Vos* is a testament to his desire of continuing the partnership between the church and state for the sake of the Kingdom of God. Pope Gregory XVI understood that the combined effort of monarch with absolute power and the church could be effective in things sacred and civil.¹⁴⁹ He was a validated fishermen as he used *Sollicitudo ecclesiarum* and *Mirari Vos* to pull and push, in order to bag the situation.

1.2.2.2. THE BREAKING POINT

Rome was closely monitoring the events in Europe, especially the ensuing political discourse. With the onset of French revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, the cries of liberalism and constitutionalism were getting louder in Europe.¹⁵⁰ Rome had tasted the forces of Napoleon when he captured and declared Rome as a Republic in 1798 before it was restored under Pope Pius VII in 1800. The changing political scenario of Europe was alarming and challenging to the church. Pope Gregory XVI as Cardinal Bartolomeu was witness to unfolding of these events. He had first-hand experience of the capture of Rome and consequent expulsion of the

¹⁴⁴Kierkels, *Golden Jubilee of the Apostolic Delegation of the East Indies: 1884-1934 Retrospects and Prospects*, 24.

¹⁴⁵Celso Costantini, «Gregorio XVI E Le Missioni», in *Gregório XVI miscellanea commemorativo-Miscellanea Historiae Pontificia*, ed. Alfonso Bartoli, Vol. XIV (Roma: Pont. Univ. Greg, 1948), 1.

¹⁴⁶Mariano Cordovani, «Gregorio XVI Difensore Della Fede» in *Gregório XVI miscellanea commemorativo-Miscellanea Historiae Pontificia*, ed. Alfonso Bartoli, Vol.XIII (Roma: Pont. Univ. Gregoriano, 1948), 125.

¹⁴⁷Cordovani, «Gregorio XVI Difensore Della Fede»,125.

¹⁴⁸Costantini, «Gregorio XVI E Le Missioni», 5.

¹⁴⁹Igreja Católica, *Sobre os principais erros de seu tempo*, 14.

¹⁵⁰Costantini, «Gregorio XVI E Le Missioni», 1.

Pope by the armies of Napoleon. He was also asked by Leo XII to work on the concordat of the Holy See with the north-eastern European countries. He had been in the line of fire of the incoming liberalism and democratic ideas and was expectedly against liberalism and pro conservatism. In this regard, two of his works; the Apostolic Constitution '*Sollicitudo ecclesiarum*' and his first encyclical *Mirari Vos* fully express this concern. Not many were in consonance in light of the reactionary material and position of Gregory XVI and chose to steer clear of his way.¹⁵¹

It was in light of all these developments in Rome that Pope Gregory XVI was practically unable to act in the political turmoil of Portugal. The new apolitical position of the Holy See tied his hands from meddling in the war of the brothers. One also cannot deny the fact that the church was weary of the democratic and liberal ideas which were supported by Pedro and his associates. The standoff finally resulted in a rift between the conservative Holy See with absolute monarchy in its court and the liberal court of Portugal. This rift culminated in some real consequences for the church in Portugal and its dominions in the east. One of the most lethal and gruesome drawbacks of this tiff was the ban of religious orders in Portugal and its dominions. The direct impact was on the deteriorating relation between *Propaganda Fide* and *Padroado* in the east. The subsequent section will enumerate on how this ban caused much pain and anguish to the church in India, especially in the former northern province of Portugal in India.

1.3. THE BAN ON RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN THE PADROADO

After the revolution and the ensuing civil war in Portugal there is no denying the fact that the relations between Portugal and the Holy See were more than strained. The ripple effect of the fall out between Portugal and Rome was felt as far as the shores in the east. In the year 1833 the religious orders in Portugal and its dominions were suppressed.¹⁵² The same year the privilege of the ecclesiastical forum was abolished and the Apostolic Nuncio was given his marching orders to Rome in July of 1833.¹⁵³ The immediate and most brutal shock of the entire saga was felt in the field of missionary activity and pastoral care in the east.¹⁵⁴ When by a subsequent decree of 30th May 1834, the property of the religious orders in Portugal were incorporated into the Royal Treasury.¹⁵⁵ In this section the intent is to investigate the trends in

¹⁵¹John W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013), 15.

¹⁵²D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 157.

¹⁵³Ferreira, *Memorias para a história d'um scisma*, 420.

¹⁵⁴*Acta Do Comicio de 21 de Outubro de 1886, Reunido em Nova Goa : Com os Discursos e Representações : Respeito a Egreja Indiana* (Nova Goa: Typogrphia de Times of Goa, 1886), 22.

¹⁵⁵D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 100.

the church in India which contributed to the ban of the religious in India. Thus, we will explore both the political and the ecclesial traits which provided the shoulder for the crown to publish and shoot the order for ban of the religious.

Firstly, it must be noted that India was deeply divided into absolutes (monarchy) and liberals.¹⁵⁶ Daman had greater significance after its elevation as headquarters in the north; following the cessation of Bassein to Marathas and then to the British. Thus, the celebrations of the elevation of Miguel in Daman were noteworthy. As Ismael Gracias records, «Nowhere was the following of ‘*Miguelismo*’ (followers of D. Miguel) stronger than in Daman, because of its governor Julião José da Silva Vieira».¹⁵⁷ As recorded in the book ‘*Numismatica da India Portuguesa*’,

[...] It is true that in 1828, there were minted in Daman commemorative silver medals for the acclaim of King Miguel de Braganza as King of Portugal. But these medals that, alas! were so desperately sought by coin collectors were not minted in the entire district of Daman [...].¹⁵⁸

The first newspaper of Daman titled, *O Portuguez em Damão*, in the first printing press set-up in Daman in 1835 was viewed as a ‘sentinel of Liberty’.¹⁵⁹ Later, Maria II ordered an investigation of the criminal acts of the accused Julião and his deputies.¹⁶⁰ The church was alarmed with the change of guard in Portugal, because of the harm it could inflict upon the functioning of the church.¹⁶¹ In the east the order to confiscate the property was executed on the 24th of March 1835 and the properties of the religious orders were sold and money put into the Royal Treasury.¹⁶² But, there was a silver lining in all this gloom and terror, which was in the missions, these properties were given under the care of the local bishops for their ministry.¹⁶³ Having grasped the political, ecclesial and economic measures of the ban, the focus is on understanding the trends which contributed to the ban. It is divided into political and ecclesial trends to comprehend the events in the background that could have contributed to the ban.

1.3.1. A POLITICAL UNDOING

The triumph of Pedro over his brother Miguel was a political turning point, with implications for different strata of the society and also for the future governance of the kingdom. The liberals, in the name of the King, took the opportunity to absorb the assets of the church into the treasury

¹⁵⁶António da Silva Rego, *O Ultramar português no século XIX: 1834-1910 palestras na Emissora Nacional de 16 de Fevereiro a 21 de Setembro de 1985*, 65-66.

¹⁵⁷Cf. Moniz Jr., *Notícias e Documentos Para a História de Damão : Antiga Província do Norte*, 40.

¹⁵⁸Cf. Moniz, *Notícias e documentos para a história de Damão - antiga província do norte*, vol. I, 50.

¹⁵⁹Moniz, 59.

¹⁶⁰Moniz, 51.

¹⁶¹Moniz, 52-57.

¹⁶²D’Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 100-101.

¹⁶³D’Sa, 100.

of the state.¹⁶⁴ This order was issued by the liberal government of the time under minister Joaquim António de Aguiar.¹⁶⁵ This was not surprising but a manifestation of the prevalent anti-clerical trend in Europe. The ecclesial appointments affected by Miguel were also revoked by the new regime.¹⁶⁶ These measures effectively generated fear and distrust in the mind of the church towards the crown. Nevertheless, through a provision in the constitution of 29th April 1826, Pedro seems to have safeguarded the interests of the church. The very first chapter of the constitution, article VI, clearly states that the religion of the state would be '*Católica Apostólica Romana*'.¹⁶⁷ None can deny that this could be to provide them a political, social and economic leverage against the conservatives. The State was determined to act against Rome for its actions or lack of them during the civil war and the candidate it had supported.

The religious orders who ran the show for the Holy See in the missions were the easiest and softest target for the State. Their tall economic standing in the society also played a vital role in proposing the ban and absorbing their assets.¹⁶⁸ Such a move was deemed to boost the troubling economy of the country at the time. There were in the past isolated episodes of ban imposed on particular religious orders by the crown. However, in this instance the crown was feeling betrayed by the Holy See and targeting the religious could be seen as an indirect diplomatic attack on Rome. This seems probable when we consider that in Portugal the grievance of the crown was equally against the secular as the religious clergy.¹⁶⁹ King Pedro, had himself noted that there were religious and secular priests who had contributed to the defence of the throne of his daughter Maria II. Thus, the selective ban of the religious was purely a political stroke to snub the Holy See, which had sided with his usurper brother. The religious were already facing bans and expulsions from other European countries such as France, Germany, Austria and Spain. This gave Portugal the required cover to force the ban and ensure that the message was loud and clear to Rome.

On the other hand, it must be also noted from the brief history that we have recorded, that the northern province of the Portuguese in India, apart from Daman and Diu, were always a bone of contention between *Padroado* and *Propaganda*. The ban gave both the parties the required impetus to launch the tirade against the other. *Padroado* rid itself of the interference of the Holy See to reinforce its unilateral and complete power over the church in the region. Conversely,

¹⁶⁴Almeida, *História do Rei Dom Miguel I*, 13.

¹⁶⁵Valerian Xavier Francisco de Sá, *O Padroado Potuguês do Oriente E os Mitrados da Sé de Goa* (Lisboa: Plátano Editora, 2004), 26.

¹⁶⁶Ferreira, *Memórias para a história d'um scisma*, 422-423.

¹⁶⁷Chapter -1, Art. VI, The Constitution of Portugal, 29th April 1826 is attached in the appendix no. 1.

¹⁶⁸David, *History of Bombay*, 24-25.

¹⁶⁹Ferreira, *Memórias para a história d'um scisma*, 420.

Propaganda missionaries found an opportunity to dislodge and recapture the churches which were in their possession during the happier times.¹⁷⁰ Thus, the missionaries who had fought for the *Padroado* right¹⁷¹ in the initial centuries against the British had changed sides. Nationality of the missionaries coloured the political image of the missionaries in India, even though they were part of the same religious orders they had different country of origin. This gave rise to doubt and suspicion about their motives.

1.3.2. AN ECCLESIAL MISMANAGEMENT

The works of St. Francis Xavier, St. John de Britto, Robert de Nobili and the likes had put east on the world map for missionary work. Missionaries were loved and revered for their work and sacrifices all around the world. But gradually, this love and reverence was found to be dwindling and consequently, the light of faith. Apart from a politically motivated order, the ban of the religious was also due to ecclesial discipline, which if not contributed as a cause, definitely expedited the decision process. Certain authors believe that the reports about the scandalous life of the religious were aggravated¹⁷² but one cannot deny the existence of scandal on the part of the clergy. They had accumulated vast economical resources and were valued more than the king of Portugal.¹⁷³ Thus, a great number of complaints against the religious, in the context of their laxity and scandalous lifestyle, also played its part in the ban.¹⁷⁴

As an observer from the east notes that the life of the religious in the region were lacking zeal and fire¹⁷⁵ for the spread of the kingdom of God as in the initial days. The common complaints and allegations were abandonment of service to the spiritual needs of the people. It is said that the religious were no longer learning the language of the locals which directly impacted their ability to communicate and teach them the basic tenets of faith.¹⁷⁶ Thus, the faithful were left without any religious or pastoral instructions and care. To aggravate the matters, they were also blamed for offending the customs and cultures of the local people by consuming food and drinks that would offend the sensibilities of the people.¹⁷⁷ The state of the churches and missions were lamentable in the face of shepherds who had compromised with their duties.

¹⁷⁰D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 121-122.

¹⁷¹David, *History of Bombay*, 26.

¹⁷²Jose Cosme Costa, *A Missiological Conflict between Padroado and the Propaganda in the East* (Pilar: Pilar Publications, 1997), 51-53.

¹⁷³David, *History of Bombay*, 21-22.

¹⁷⁴D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 103.

¹⁷⁵Celso Costantini, «Gregorio XVI E Le Missioni», 8.

¹⁷⁶Agapitus Lourenço, *Utrum Fuerit Schisma Goanum: Post Breve 'Multa Praeclare', Usque Ad Annum 1849* (Goae: Seminarii Racholensis, 1947), 46-47.

¹⁷⁷Bussiéres, *História do Scisma Portuguez na India*, 41.

As recorded in the work, *História do scisma Portuguez na India*, these allegations can be seconded when we consider the correspondence between the *Padroado* and superiors of religious orders and also within the religious community. In his circular letter to the religious orders of India on the 8th of March 1788, archbishop primate of the east, Manuel de Santa Catharina notes his disappointment and anguish over the lifestyle of the religious. He states in this communique:

Being known to His Majesty the Lamentable state, in which are found the missions established in different parts of the East[...] they only serve to disturb the Christianity and to scandalise the infidels themselves by their bad habits[...] His majesty by his order of 5th March 1779, has ordered to examine this matter[...] we find that some superiors have continued to send to the missions religious persons, who are not only wanting in the necessary knowledge but also in regular behaviour and addicted to the worst habits[...] no religious can start for the missions[...] unless they are presented to us at least eight days before their embarkation[...].¹⁷⁸

One needs to bear in mind that the archbishop primate of the east himself belonged to the religious order of the Carmelites. This detail is important in the face of allegations of bias on the part of *Padroado* towards the religious orders. Apart from this there are also other numerous letters within the administration of the religious orders which indicate that the life of the religious was not up to expectation. Fr. Santana Anna Osorio, Dominican, wrote to the vicar general in 1805, about the trend of missionaries abandoning and wanting to return to Europe when they find that their personal interests and gains are not catered to in the region. There is no denying to the fact that the church in the east was inflicted with disorders and excesses leading to hate and envy.¹⁷⁹ Even the political establishment had taken note of the misdeeds and scandals of the religious in their lands as is noted by the secretary of state, Viscount of Anadia in his letter of protest to the archbishop of Goa.¹⁸⁰ The Dominicans and the Augustinians in their respective provincial chapters made observations and formed articles to ensure a reformation in their orders.¹⁸¹ Thus, the errant and scandalous lifestyle of the missionaries tarnished by these allegations facilitated the decision for their ban.

1.4. VACANT SEE OF GOA AND ITS CONSEQUENCES: 1831-1844

The bishops in this period were principally chosen by three methods: nomination by the Pope, nomination by the sovereign (Portugal, Spain, France, Poland and others) or election by the cathedral chapter.¹⁸² In the case of Goa, the archbishop (in 1557 Goa was raised to archdiocese

¹⁷⁸Cf. D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 113.

¹⁷⁹Bussiéres, *História do Scisma Portuguez na India*, 31.

¹⁸⁰D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 115-116.

¹⁸¹D'Sa, 119-121.

¹⁸²O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, 211.

by Pope Paul IV) was chosen by the nomination of the King of Portugal in keeping with his *Padroado* rights confirmed by the Holy See. Sadly, the see of Goa was left without an ecclesial head for a period of ten years owing to the diplomatic standoff between the Holy See and Portugal.¹⁸³ As we have already noted, after coming to power Pedro abrogated all the appointments which were affected by his younger brother Miguel. The act was the swift realization of the threat that he had made to the Holy See when the struggle was still going on. The reason why the vacant seat of the archbishop of Goa is of significance for this paper is because the entire region of the northern province (ecclesial) was under his jurisdiction. The absence of the archbishop exacerbated the political, social and ecclesial conflicts in the region. The stalemate in the diplomatic relations ensured that the vacancy continued for more than a decade from 1831-1844.¹⁸⁴ There were continued soft efforts to re-establish the channel of dialogue with the Holy See; such as, Maria II informing the Holy See of her elevation as the queen in 1834 and about the death of her Father in 1835.¹⁸⁵ The Viscount of Carreira, Mr. Luiz Antonio d'Abreu e Lima, ambassador in Paris was entrusted with the task of re-establishing the diplomatic channels with the Holy See.¹⁸⁶ However, there were no real or tangible results due to these attempts, as both sides could not find a common ground.

This vacancy caused due to the non-responsive nature of relations between the Rome and the Portuguese crown obligated the Pope to act in order to remedy the grim ecclesial situation. Pope Gregory XVI took positive steps to provide for the spiritual needs of the faithful in the bishoprics in India – Mylapore, Cochin, Cranganore and Malacca. He began erecting apostolic vicariates and appointing bishops in these regions for the good of souls. This was a remedy to contain the damage to the church in the region due to the absence of the archbishop of Goa. By the publication of briefs *Latissimi terrarum Tractus* on 18th April 1834; *Ex Debito Pastoralis Officii* on 25th April 1834; *Ex munere Pastoralis* on 29th November 1836 the Pope had appointed the vicar apostolic of Calcutta, Madras and Ceylon to take charge of the vicariates, respectively.¹⁸⁷ But these actions further exaggerated the problems of the region as they were unilateral and negatively affecting the interests of the *Padroado*. The Portuguese crown viewed the acts as a possible threat to *status quo* and its operations in the region. The Final blow was in 1838 on the 24th of April with the publication of the brief *Multa Praeclare*. The impact and

¹⁸³Farinha, *A Expansão da Fé no Oriente*, 154.

¹⁸⁴De Sá, *O Padroado Potuguês do Oriente E os Mitrados da Sé de Goa*, 118.

¹⁸⁵Ferreira, *Memorias para a história d'um scisma*, 608-609.

¹⁸⁶Ferreira, 609.

¹⁸⁷Ferreira, 613.

the significance of this Brief of the Pope upon the relations between the two states and the local church will be pursued in the following section.

1.4.1. *MULTA PRAECLARE*¹⁸⁸ – *AMBIGUITY OVER THE ROLE OF PADROADO*

The Holy Father, Pope Gregory XVI, had taken upon himself to restore the order and discipline in the east through various structural changes which we have seen above. He was aware of the delicate situation of the diplomatic ties with the Portuguese crown. Nevertheless, his primary focus and concern were the church and its affairs in the east. He was constantly in dialogue with the theologians and experts to devise a way to remedy the situation without breaching the concordat between Portugal and the Rome.¹⁸⁹ The three theologians – Rev. Fornari (later Cardinal), Rev. Van Everbroek, sj and Rev. Mezzofanti independently and collectively believed that the office of Pope had every right to abrogate that which was created by the same office.¹⁹⁰ Armed with the informed and reasonable suggestion of his advisers Pope Gregory XVI affected the Papal Brief – *Multa Praeclare*.¹⁹¹ This brief abrogated the *Padroado*, in places which were not politically under the Portuguese crown, without the consent or knowledge of the crown.¹⁹² One cannot consider the Papal Brief as a knee jerk reaction or an ill-conceived idea. Firstly, Pope Gregory XVI knew the functioning of the *Propaganda Fide*; so, he knew the needs of the region. Secondly, the Brief, final nail in the coffin of *Padroado*, was a natural progression and conclusion of his previous documents – *Latissimi terrarum Tractus, Ex Debito Pastoralis Officii, Ex munere Pastoralis*.

There are two aspects of which we need to be mindful about in *Multa Praeclare*. First and foremost, the brief positively promoted order and discipline in the region with regards to the mission and the growth of the church.¹⁹³ It ushered a long-awaited reform in the church which was froth with scandal and laxity.¹⁹⁴ The Brief was not intended to disavow or ban any religious or cleric working in the region neither of the *Padroado* nor of the *Propaganda*. It wanted everyone to partner and collaborate in furthering the goals and objectives of the church of Christ.¹⁹⁵ The difference being that those working in these regions were subjected to the vicar apostolic of the place and not archbishop of Goa, who was effectively relieved of his jurisdiction

¹⁸⁸A copy of the papal brief, *Multa Praeclare*, is attached in the appendix no. 3.

¹⁸⁹Costa, *A Missiological Conflict between Padroado and the Propaganda in the East*, 76.

¹⁹⁰Costa, 77-78.

¹⁹¹Machado José Lourenço, *O Padroado Português do Oriente* (Lisboa: União Gráfica, 1950), 8.

¹⁹²Matos António Ferreira, *Perspectivas Sobre O Catolicismo no Portugal Contemporâneo (1829-1958)* (Lisboa: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 1988), 9.

¹⁹³Figueiredo, *Pelo Clero de Goa : Duas Lendas : O Cisma de Goa e a Ignorância do Clero Goês*, 139.

¹⁹⁴Bussiéres, *História do Scisma Portuguez na India*, 55.

¹⁹⁵Thomas Reddy, *Archdiocese of Bombay at Crossroads: Double Jurisdiction Controversies between the Padroado and Propaganda 1920-1930* (Pune: Creative Ventures, 2014), 54-55.

in these regions by the Brief.¹⁹⁶ Thus, it effectively introduced and implemented a revised ecclesial hierarchy in the east for the church. Secondly, it must be noted that the brief in no manner whatsoever has any reference to the region of Bombay or the ancient Portuguese province of the north in India.¹⁹⁷ The need to bear this in mind is with regards to the storm that would be stirred because of this brief in Bombay which would ultimately lead to a great deal of confusion and conflict between the *Padroado* and *Propaganda*.

One cannot deny that the Brief further soured the relations between the two states, with a formal protest¹⁹⁸ by Portugal. The fact that it was published, to the effect of abrogating *Padroado*, without consulting the crown was unacceptable.¹⁹⁹ The tone and tenor of the Brief was harsh and revolting to the ears of the *Padroado* as it stated that, «the archbishop of Goa can in no manner, for the future, exercise any jurisdiction in the said regions, ‘even by special grace’» (Art. 6 of the brief *Multa Praeclare*).²⁰⁰ From the perspective of the *Padroado* the Brief created a sense of confusion in the missions of the east. The fact that the missionaries could continue their work in missions under the authority of vicar apostolic and not vicar general from Goa was unacceptable. It was received as a veiled attempt to reduce and expel them from the missions.

At the time, the archdiocese was governed by António Feliciano de Santa Rita Carvalho, the archbishop-elect of Goa;²⁰¹ but, not confirmed by the Pope.²⁰² He was chosen by the cathedral chapter of Goa as vicar capitular.²⁰³ He took it upon himself to defend the honour and position of the *Padroado* through a pastoral letter dated 8th of October 1838.²⁰⁴ The vicar capitular challenged the Brief on a point-by-point basis with arguments in favour of the indelible right of *Padroado*. The pastoral letter raised doubts and suspicions about the source and manner in which the Brief was published and promulgated in India. Since it reached him through the episcopal governor of the diocese of St. Thomas Mylapore.²⁰⁵ The Brief was not forwarded by Rome to the crown, as was the custom or not even to any ecclesial office in the *Padroado*. Nevertheless, subsequently the Holy Father did send letters calling upon the ecclesial authority of the *Padroado* to abide by the brief, under the pain of excommunication. The pastoral letter

¹⁹⁶Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 251.

¹⁹⁷Reddy, *Archdiocese of Bombay at Crossroads: Double Jurisdiction Controversies between the Padroado and Propaganda 1920-1930*, 56.

¹⁹⁸Bussiéres, *História do Scisma Portuguez na India*, 56.

¹⁹⁹De Sá, *O Padroado Potuguês do Oriente E os Mitrados da Sé de Goa*, 26.

²⁰⁰Cf. Lourenço, *Utrum Fuerit Schisma Goanum: Post Breve ‘Multa Praeclare’, Usque ad Annum 1849*, 121-125.

²⁰¹Ferreira, *Memorias para a história d’um scisma*, 612-613.

²⁰²Lourenço, *Utrum Fuerit Schisma Goanum: Post Breve ‘Multa Praeclare’, Usque ad Annum 1849*, 31.

²⁰³D’Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 149.

²⁰⁴Ferreira, *Memorias para a história d’um scisma*, 613-614.

²⁰⁵Costa, *A Missiological Conflict between Padroado and the Propaganda in the East*, 58.

pointed the four prerequisites for validity of a Brief to affect a change in jurisdiction, which painfully lacked in this Brief; first, beckon the vacancy of a See; second, lapse of time for presentation; third, consent of the crown to the abrogation; fourth, noting the annulled bulls.²⁰⁶

In Bombay voices against the Brief were gaining momentum among the clergy and the laity. To the effect a ‘*Padroado Defence Association*’²⁰⁷ was founded in 1839. It was the handy work of the former rector of Bombay seminary of the *Propaganda* who had now changed side to *Padroado*, Rev. Agostinho Rozario Lourenço.²⁰⁸ He had also garnered the sympathy of students in the seminary who wrote to Rome complaining about the conduct of the Italian friars (*Propaganda*). The fires of discontent and revolt were very much alive in the region of Bombay against the *Propaganda*. There were reliable rumours that the vicar apostolic had declared the revolting clergy as schismatic.²⁰⁹ Thus, igniting the ambers which would turn to wildfire in the near future. Nevertheless, Rome had refused that term for the group but instead chose to refer to them as ‘manifestly disobedient’²¹⁰. Irrespective of the situation in India, the Brief had the desired effect, Portugal and Rome resumed the diplomatic ties in 1841²¹¹ with the appointment of the archbishop of Goa – José Maria de Silva Torres.

1.4.2. ARCHBISHOP JOSÉ MARIA DE SILVA TORRES AND ‘SCHISM’

It is a known fact that Maria II had been regular and consistent in corresponding with the Holy Father on numerous occasions. There are at least nine letters which she had written to the Holy Father informing him about various notable events in her life. Such as, her elevation to the throne, death of her father, her marriages, and the birth of first son Pedro (Pedro V). Thus, the correspondence was not completely dead as is usually portrayed. The standoff was finally resolved when Maria II



Fig. 1. 5 D.º José da Silva Torres

agreed to the condition of Rome to recognize the bishops presented by Miguel and were already confirmed by the Holy See.²¹² The fondness of the Holy Father can be judged by his gesture towards the queen whom he honoured as ‘*Regina d’Ouro*’ in an Apostolic Brief on 14th March

²⁰⁶Lourenço, *Utrum Fuerit Schisma Goanum : Post Breve ‘Multa Praeclare’, Usque Ad Annum 1849*, 79-89.

²⁰⁷Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 89.

²⁰⁸Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 314-315.

²⁰⁹Hull, 253.

²¹⁰Hull, 313.

²¹¹Ferreira, *Memorias para a história d’um scisma*, 614-615.

²¹²Ferreira, *Memorias para a história d’um scisma*, 9.

1842.²¹³ By then, for the good of the church, the diplomatic channels were resumed to pick up their duties from where they had been abandoned.

The need to fill the seat of the archbishop of Goa which was left vacant for more than a decade was now attended to. The King presented José Maria de Silva Torres²¹⁴ (Fig. 1.5) as its candidate for the task on 27th January 1843.²¹⁵ In the meantime the See was manned by the vicar capitular, António João Athaide until archbishop Torres took the reins of Goa in 1844.²¹⁶ Silva Torres was a Benedictine monk before the suppression of the religious orders in Portugal in 1833. He held a doctoral degree in Theology from the University of Coimbra in 1831. He was a professor of philosophy in the college of Arts and then in the Lyceum of Coimbra. The Holy See had sought the opinion of its Inter-nuncio at Lisbon about the credentials and disposition of the candidate. So, Rev. Capiccini in his letter to the Holy Father, dated 3rd April 1843, confirmed that «*L'Arcivescovo nominato a Goa è buono, e per queste circostanze è eccellente*».²¹⁷

At peace with the report of the inter-nuncio at Lisbon; the Holy Father confirmed the candidate presented by the Portuguese crown at the consistory held on 16th June 1843.²¹⁸ It must be noted that post '*Multa Praeclare*' the wording of the bull of confirmation, especially in relation to the jurisdiction, was a challenge for the Holy Father. The question about drafting the bull of consecration of the new, to be, archbishop was debated within the consistory. With some Cardinals proposing that the formula should change in the light of *Multa Praeclare*; while others proposed a *status quo* with a personal note about the newer jurisdiction limit.²¹⁹ After substantial consideration the bull of confirmation of the new archbishop of Goa was verbatim as those of his predecessors.²²⁰ But the Holy Father sent a separate letter to the archbishop-elect, written on the 8th of July, ordering his obedience to the Brief *Multa Praeclare* and all the changes that were thereof affected in the region.²²¹ The Holy Father explained how it's needed for the «salvation and augmentation of the Lord's flock' and would be 'disgrace if he failed to provide for the flock of the Lord in the region».²²²

The gamble of a separate note to the archbishop, with the concerns of the Holy See about *Multa Praeclare*, did not bear fruits. When it was brought to his attention, the archbishop denied to

²¹³Ferreira, 622-623.

²¹⁴De Sá, *O Padroado Potuguês do Oriente E os Mitrados da Sé de Goa*.

²¹⁵D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 157.

²¹⁶Costa, *A Missiological Conflict between Padroado and the Propaganda in the East*, 59.

²¹⁷Cf. Lourenço, *Utrum Fuerit Schisma Goanum: Post Breve 'Multa Praeclare', Usque Ad Annum 1849*, 35-36.

²¹⁸Bussiéres, *História do Scisma Portuguez na India*, 247-250.

²¹⁹Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 341.

²²⁰D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 161-162.

²²¹D'Sa, 160.

²²²Cf. Bussiéres, *História do Scisma Portuguez na India*, 249-250.

have ever been in possession of any such transcript from the Holy Father.²²³ Fanning and reigniting fires of conflict between the *Padroado* and *Propaganda*.²²⁴ He did perform his duties as a political, ecclesial, religious and spiritual leader for his flock. As a Pastor, he defended their right to belong and continue to practise their faith in the church and under the leader that they had come to identify and belong.²²⁵ He ordained candidates to priesthood in Bombay.²²⁶ Providing for the need of more shepherds for the increasing flock in the region. As a political leader, he allayed doubts about the relation between Portuguese and British government. He asserted that the two governments were diplomatically attuned to the right of the *Padroado* in the region. He was bestowed with civil honours upon his arrival into the city of Bombay by the British government.²²⁷

As a religious leader he was keen on exercising his power in the service of his flock. He intimated the vicar generals about his arrival and requested them to prepare the faithful for the reception of sacraments.²²⁸ This was required considering that the region was devoid of an episcopal head for more than a decade. He was escorted with great pomp by the laity and the clergy of the *Padroado* in Bombay to the Glória church in Mazgão.²²⁹ This can be understood as an important and forceful statement of his role as a religious leader of the region. Especially in the light of the ‘Decree of Salsette’²³⁰ which we will see later. The archbishop also donned his role as an ecclesial leader with full gusto to restore the tarnished image of the church due to the run-ins between the *Padroado* and *Propaganda*. He ordered reclaiming of lost jurisdictions from the *Propaganda* missionaries.²³¹ In his circulars and letters, to the clergy and the laity, the only concern he shared was promotion of peace and harmony among the warring factions.²³²

The vicar apostolic of Bombay was updating the Holy Father of the events in India.²³³ The Pope immediately wrote to the archbishop to register his protest and pain at the abhorrent manner in which he had fuelled confusion in the region.²³⁴ Archbishop Torres had basically left all his labours, of erecting a hierarchy and implementing ecclesial discipline in the region, undone with his activities. After the death of Pope Gregory XVI in 1846 his successor Pope Pius IX

²²³D’Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 162-163.

²²⁴António da Silva Rego, *O Padroado português do Oriente : esboço histórico* (Lisboa: Ministério das Colónias, 1940), 148.

²²⁵Lourenço, *Utrum Fuerit Schisma Goanum : Post Breve ‘Multa Praeclare’, Usque Ad Annum 1849*, 182.

²²⁶Costa, *A Missiological Conflict between Padroado and the Propaganda in the East*, 66.

²²⁷Costa, 60.

²²⁸Silva Rego, *O Padroado português do Oriente : esboço histórico*, 146.

²²⁹Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 347.

²³⁰The Decree of Salsette is attached in the appendix no. 4.

²³¹D’Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 162.

²³²Lourenço, *Utrum Fuerit Schisma Goanum : Post Breve ‘Multa Praeclare’, Usque Ad Annum 1849*, 177-182.

²³³Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 347-348.

²³⁴D’Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 164-166.

also expressed his displeasure and requested Portugal to recall the archbishop at the earliest instance.²³⁵ After much protests and conferring honours on Silva Torres, he was finally recalled to Portugal. He was made the archbishop of Palmyra in 1848 and then appointed coadjutor and to be the future successor of the archdiocese of Braga in 1851.²³⁶ Since, *Multa Praeclare* had consequences only for the dioceses of Cochin, Cranganore, Mylapore and archdiocese of Goa; Fr. Antonio Mariano Soares held on to his seat as the vicar general of the northern province, from 1839-1862.²³⁷

The actions of the archbishop once again raised the accusation of schism against the *Padroado*. The failure to abide by the direct instructions of the Holy Father to the archbishop gave some credence to these accusations. Effecting fear and doubt in the laity of being schismatic if they continued under *Padroado*. The archbishop had lost his favour in the eyes of the Holy See.²³⁸ In this tug of power, the ordinary Christians were led into difficult situations.²³⁹ The image of the church was tarnished by the public feuds, as confirmed by the letters and circulars of the Holy Father, the archbishops and the vicar apostolic. Once again, after the recall of the archbishop Torres, the See of Goa was vacant from 1849 to 1863.²⁴⁰

1.5. THE VICARIATE OF BOMBAY

The arm of the *Propaganda* which was taking the fight to the *Padroado* in the northern province was the ‘vicariate of Bombay’²⁴¹ (Fig.1.6). The origin can be traced back to ‘Bombay mission’ in the seventeenth century during the time of Rev. Manuel de Castro, a Goan priest ordained in Rome in 1630, after being denied by the archbishop of Goa, Cristovão de Sá.²⁴² He was made a bishop in 1637 and sent to India as a vicar apostolic to work in the mission of the *Propaganda Fide* – the vicariate of the Great Mughal. He is attributed to have given the ‘Bombay Mission’ under the care of the Jesuits. By the year 1659 the vicar apostolic were given charge independent of the diocesan bishop of the region; but they needed consent of the

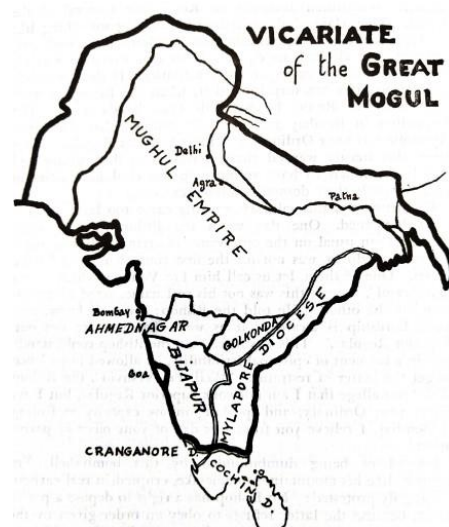


Fig. 1. 6 The Bombay Vicariate

²³⁵D'Sa, 165.

²³⁶Bussi eres, *Hist oria do Scisma Portuguez na India*, 72-73.

²³⁷Costa, *A Missiological Conflict between Padroado and the Propaganda in the East*, 63.

²³⁸Rego, *O Padroado portuguez do Oriente : esboço hist rico*, 149.

²³⁹Reddy, *Archdiocese of Bombay at Crossroads: Double Jurisdiction Controversies between the Padroado and Propaganda 1920-1930*, 59-60.

²⁴⁰De S a, *O Padroado Potugu s Do Oriente E Os Mitrados Da S  De Goa*, 122-126.

²⁴¹Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 33.

²⁴²Farinha, *A Expans o da F  no Oriente*, 119-120.

King to enter *Padroado* regions.²⁴³ In 1720 the British expelled the Portuguese missionaries and invited vicar apostolic from the vicariate of the Great Mughal to take charge of Bombay. Rome acceded to this request and the region was officially handed over to Rev. Mauritius of St. Teresa. Nevertheless, there was a rider to this transfer of power, as being effective until the terms between Portugal and Britain were restored.²⁴⁴ An important rider which the *Propaganda* chose to overlook in their favour.

As noted, in the eighteenth century the political ties between Portugal, Marathas, and Britain were not favourable in the north. Despite hardships, the archbishop of Goa and his clergy worked clandestinely to provide the needs of the laity.²⁴⁵ While the *Propaganda*, represented by Rev. Peter Alcantara, preferred to excuse themselves from this challenge.²⁴⁶ However, after the brief *Multa Praeclare*, the vicar apostolic swung into action. He made an appeal to Rome seeking jurisdiction over the islands of Salsette. The letter is not preserved; hence, the grounds of this appeal remains elusive.²⁴⁷ Nonetheless, it was granted through the ‘Decree of Salsette’ on 4th February 1839, by *Propaganda Fide*.²⁴⁸ Interestingly, Rev. Alcantara was one of the signatories to the Treaty of 1789²⁴⁹ which stated that there would be no alternation in religious matters in the regions under the British or other Portuguese dominions which in future may belong to the British.²⁵⁰ It must be noted, that the islands of Salsette were sufficiently provided for by the *Padroado*. Hence, the desire to incorporate it into the *Propaganda* was both ill-conceived and contrary to the aim of propagation of Christian faith²⁵¹; especially in the missions of Asia.²⁵²

History demands the mention of bishop Anastasius Hartmann (as seen in Fig. 1.7)²⁵³, vicar apostolic of Bombay during the crucial period of 1850 to 1858.²⁵⁴ He was a Swiss who had made his vows in the order of the Capuchin Friars Minor.²⁵⁵ He is said to have been working

²⁴³Farinha, 120-121.

²⁴⁴Reddy, *Archdiocese of Bombay at Crossroads: Double Jurisdiction Controversies between the Padroado and Propaganda 1920-1930*, 33-34.

²⁴⁵Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 305.

²⁴⁶Hull, 305.

²⁴⁷Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 87.

²⁴⁸Gense, 88.

²⁴⁹Figueiredo, *Pelo Clero de Goa : Duas Lendas : O Cisma de Goa e a Ignorância do Clero Goês*, 88.

²⁵⁰Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 319.

²⁵¹*Collectanea s. congregations de propaganada fide*, 1-3.

²⁵²Rego, *O Padroado português do Oriente : esboço histórico*, 33.

²⁵³Flugentius, *Bishop Hartmann* (Allahabad: The Indian Press, 1946).

²⁵⁴Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 397.

²⁵⁵Reddy, *Archdiocese of Bombay at Crossroads: Double Jurisdiction Controversies between the Padroado and Propaganda 1920-1930*, 62.

hard to re-establish and promote the interests of the Carmelite order in the region. As an appointee of the Holy See he took upon himself the role of reconciling and restoring peace in the region of Bombay.²⁵⁶ He was quite the opposite of the unassuming and fragile figure of Dr. Whelan, his predecessor. Apart from getting under the skin of *Padroado*, he is also said to have been at loggerheads with the missionaries of *Propaganda*.²⁵⁷ The clergy was not very enthused by the new entrant; this can be attributed to the



Fig. 1. 7 D.º Anastasius Hartmann

performance of the previous two vicar apostolic – Fortini (1840-1848) and Dr. Whelan (1848-1850).²⁵⁸ He was in the eye of the storm and was responsible for some unsavoury exchanges for the seizing of jurisdiction. His antics many a times led to embarrassment and scandal for the laity.²⁵⁹

He is said to have been so weary and wary of the *Padroado* and the accompanying problems that he wrote to the Holy Father not to enter into a new concordat with Portugal until they renounce their right of *Padroado*.²⁶⁰ Simultaneously, in his letter to the fellow vicars apostolic in the east, he opined that the vicariates should be erected into dioceses. This indeed raises the pertinent question of the need and role of the vicariate of Bombay. The paper attempts to understand the same from an ecclesial point of view and from a political point of view. As witnessed, the instance of *Propaganda* entering the jurisdiction of Bombay can be best understood from the ecclesial and political aspects. The first instance when it entered in 1720 at the invite of the British it was basically an ecclesial need due to political reasons, as they were doubtful of the motives of the *Padroado* in their region.²⁶¹ The second instance when it got jurisdiction over the islands of Salsette it was a political manoeuvre with ecclesial implications. Both the instances were controversial as the ecclesial was of transitory nature and the political was due to a purported conspiracy theory.

1.5.1. AN ECCLESIAL NECESSITY

The vicariate of Bombay, initially born as vicariate of the Great Mughal, was the fruit of dire ecclesial necessity in the region. It effectively catered to the regions beyond the power and reach of the *Padroado*. The interests of Portugal were basically along the coastal regions of India, in

²⁵⁶Flugentius, *Bishop Hartmann*, 79.

²⁵⁷Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 399-400.

²⁵⁸Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 111.

²⁵⁹Flugentius, *Bishop Hartmann*, 130-135.

²⁶⁰Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 434-435.

²⁶¹Faria and Mendiratta, 'Goans and East-Indians: A Negotiated Catholic Presence in Bombay's Urban Space', 46.

keeping with trade and commerce. However, the northern and central regions of the country were still in need of the light of evangelization. As noted above, in the late sixteenth century, Akbar requested the Portuguese for the services of two priests in his court. This provided the required opportunity for the propagation of faith under the protection of the Islamic King. As noted in the section on Mughals under political power, the King was very considerate and generous towards the missionaries of the society of Jesus. Such was the bond and tutelage of the pagan king that the vicariate was titled as the ‘vicariate of the Great Mughal’. In the future it would be renamed as the vicariate of Bombay and Poona. The jurisdiction of the vicariate extended until Kabul. Its jurisdiction was ten times bigger than the *Padroado*. It worked in various places to spread the light of the Gospel among the people. They were involved in the works of charity through the construction of churches, convents, schools, orphanages and hospitals.²⁶²

1.5.2. A POLITICAL PAWN

The British authorities were partly responsible for ecclesiological debacle in Bombay.²⁶³ The expulsion of the Portuguese Franciscans and acceptance of the charge of the vicar apostolic in the Bombay missions made Portuguese bitter towards the Holy See. The appointments of the vicariates by the Holy Father made the matters only worse for the humiliated Portuguese. The British were proved to be correct in their calculations that the *Padroado* would be weakened if Bombay was snatched away from them. As Lourenço, in his book *A Expansão de Fé no Orient*, opines that if the *Padroado* had not been tossed out of Bombay by the British than *Padroado* would have still existed in the region.²⁶⁴ Thus, the vicariate was a pawn in the hands of the British to keep the Portuguese in check and also occupied in their squabbles with the Holy See.

One must also need to bear in mind that the missionaries who were working in the region had been in possession of these churches before their expulsion in 1755 and later in 1833. The abrupt expulsion of the religious from the territories of the Portuguese had left them anguished and disgruntled. As one needs to understand that the churches and the communities formed in these areas were a fruit of their sweat and blood.²⁶⁵ Thus, the ‘Decree of Salsette’ and the office of the vicar apostolic gave them the opportunity to reclaim their lost ground and authority. The vicariate was equally a political tool in the hands of these religious orders to avenge the pain of expulsions. The Holy See cautioned by the recent violent events in Portugal and its dominions

²⁶²D’Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 169-170.

²⁶³Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 111.

²⁶⁴Farinha, *A Expansão da Fé no Oriente*, 256.

²⁶⁵Reddy, *Archdiocese of Bombay at Crossroads: Double Jurisdiction Controversies between the Padroado and Propaganda 1920-1930*, 89-90.

felt a trust deficit. Therefore, getting a strong grip of the missions and related ecclesial activities seemed imperative for Rome. Creating and maintaining control of the interests of the church over and above the state powers was in its best interests. Hence, the intent was best served through the vicariates which ensured Rome's dominion in the region.

For *Padroado*, the foreign origin of missionaries and their lack of sympathy towards Portuguese cause made the vicariates suspicious in their activities. The King had no hand in the functioning and organization of such mission lands which were found to be directly interfering in the Portuguese interests.²⁶⁶ In light of these rapid developments the resolution of the jurisdiction issues was of primary concern to the *Padroado*. However, vicariate of Bombay made the situation more tense and complicated for them.²⁶⁷ Vicariates ensured free movement of missionaries²⁶⁸ from the south and the north of the country without any say of the *Padroado*, such unchecked movements made the *Padroado* jittery. The region was turning into a political boiling pot for the *Padroado* and their interests in the region due to these vicariates.

1.6. ATTEMPT FOR PEACE – THE CONCORDAT OF 1857²⁶⁹

In 1841 peace was restored between the two states with the nomination of Nuncio Mons. Capachini²⁷⁰ to the court of Lisbon. However, as we have noted before, the situation was spiralling out of control with each passing year and damaging the reputation of the local church. Hence, there was a dire need of rethinking the organizational system of the *Padroado* and *Propaganda* in India. The last straw which broke the back was the arrival of the bishop of Macau, Jerónimo José de Matta in 1853 to administer the sacrament of ordination in Bombay.²⁷¹ He was ordered by the crown and invited by vicar capitular in Bombay, Fr. António Mariano Soares.²⁷² This escalated the tension and resulted in the issuance of '*Probe Nostis*' by Pope Pius IX on May 9th, 1853 to censure the bishop of Macau and declare four priests from Bombay as schismatics.²⁷³ The Holy Father in his concluding remarks noted, «We [Pope Pius IX] urge you again to return to saner counsels; so that, putting aside all excuses, you may look to your conscience and undo without delay all the evils brought upon the church [...], lest you compel us to resort to severe measures [...]».²⁷⁴

²⁶⁶David, *History of Bombay*, 20.

²⁶⁷Figueiredo, *Pelo Clero de Goa : Duas Lendas : O Cisma de Goa e a Ignorância do Clero Goês*, 91.

²⁶⁸Rego, *O Padroado português do Oriente : esboço histórico*, 147.

²⁶⁹The text of the Concordat of 1857 is found in the Appendix no. 2.

²⁷⁰De Sá, *o padroado português do oriente e os mitrados da sé de goa*, 26.

²⁷¹Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 129-131.

²⁷²Bussiéres, *História do Scisma Portuguez na India*, 79-80.

²⁷³D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 177.

²⁷⁴Cf. Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 133.

Pedro V, also registered his grief and shock at the state of things through his letter to Pope Pius IX in 1856. He noted the hostility of the *Propaganda* towards the crown despite their accommodating and understanding approach towards the congregation.²⁷⁵ Rome and Portugal wanted to end the stalemate and overcome evils that afflicted the church in India.²⁷⁶ This led them to the table of discussion and the ensuing concordat of 1857. But the complexity of the situation can be fathomed from the fact that the concordat was signed on 21st February, 1857 followed by ratification of Portuguese demands by the Pope on 20th October, 1859 and confirmation by the crown on 6th February 1860.²⁷⁷ The concordat was a fruit of the tedious work between the Sacred Congregation for the Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs of Rome and the Count of Tomar, for the court of Lisbon²⁷⁸ who had been working since 1841²⁷⁹ to realize the said concordat of 1857.

The primary concern and focus of the new concordat were quelling the unrest and turmoil in east. The uncomfortable situation within Rome can be judged from the assuaging letter from Alexander Cardinal Barnabo, the prefect of the *Propaganda Fide* to the vicar apostolic in India on the 14th of June 1858.²⁸⁰ The discussions revolved around the resolution of the conflicts through demarcation of new dioceses, regulating the right of *Padroado*, filling of vacancies and the question of British India. There was a lot of back and forth between the two parties with regards to the issues at hand to insure the best interest of the church. Finally, as the concordat stands, the crown succeeded in imposing its ideas and forcing Rome to submit to their demands.²⁸¹ Nonetheless, even after the herculean efforts to draw the concordat, its relevance was limited to ink and paper. Instead, the concordat inadvertently led to more bitter exchanges between the *Padroado* and *Propaganda* in the region.

The concordat was seen as a triumph for the Portuguese crown which was able to reconfirm the right of *Padroado* in the east.²⁸² However, it must be noted that with the new concordat the jurisdiction of the *Padroado* in India was limited within the See of Goa and its suffragans – Cochin, Mylapore, Malacca and Cranganore.²⁸³ Both parties appointed high commissioners for implementation of the terms of the new concordat. Monsignor Salvatore Saba D’Orsini was the

²⁷⁵Pedro Manuel Lisboa Pinto, *Conferencia sobre o Padroado Portuguez Proferida na Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (Lisboa: Typographia do Jornal do Commercio, 1887), 17.

²⁷⁶Lisboa Pinto, 16.

²⁷⁷Ernest R. Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, II vols. (Bombay: Examiner Press, 1927), 3-4.

²⁷⁸Rego, *O Padroado português do Oriente : esboço histórico*, 152.

²⁷⁹Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 153-154.

²⁸⁰Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 4-5.

²⁸¹Hull, 3-4.

²⁸²Lourenço, *O Padroado Português do Oriente*, 8.

²⁸³Reddy, *Archdiocese of Bombay at Crossroads: Double Jurisdiction Controversies between the Padroado and Propaganda 1920-1930*, 68.

papal legate and Mr. Joaquim H. Cunha Rivara was the legate of the King.²⁸⁴ As expressed in the article X of the concordat, the two legates were to coordinate the enactment of the concordat by visiting and gathering information.²⁸⁵ This showed the seriousness to ensure the good of the church by making all the stakeholders in the region a party to the execution process. It served as a vital and significant step in light of Bombay and adjoining regions which were torn apart by jurisdictional wars.

1.6.1. LACK OF CONCORDANCE

Despite the intent, the concordat failed and failed miserably in attaining its set objectives. It was deemed as a futuristic document; which failed to account for the actual reality. It also resulted in uneasiness among the vicar apostolic, who felt betrayed and abandoned by the provision of continuation of the *Padroado* which was challenged by Pope Gregory XVI. It raised many eyebrows for its contradictory position on the *Multa Praeclare* and the recent events in the region.²⁸⁶ The death of King Pedro V in 1861 also played its part in procrastinating the process of the realization of the concordat. Apart from this the economic struggles of Portugal due to the civil war resulted in crunch of funds for churches in the foreign lands.²⁸⁷ The delay in ratification until 1960²⁸⁸ followed by the wait for a new archbishop in Goa until 1962²⁸⁹ and the insistence of the Holy See to execute '*Probe Nostris*'²⁹⁰ made the entire exercise wearisome. Thus, due to death, delay, wait and insistence; the concordat lost its efficacy and was valued only as an artifact in the museum for its political tact and diplomatic shrewdness.

The concordat was viewed as undoing of the efforts which had commenced since the papacy of Pope Gregory XVI to boost *Propaganda* and an independent church in the region. It made the Holy See to effectively rethink the direction in which the concordat was unfolding. *Propaganda* too was found to be uninterested and thereby dragging their feet when it came to the realization of the concordat. The recall of bishop Hartmann as the vicar apostolic in 1856 added to their fears and doubts about the concealed intents of the concordat.²⁹¹ The letters from the prefect of the *Propaganda Fide* assuring the vicars apostolic that their missions would not be handed over to the *Padroado* further slowed down cooperation with the legates. The Papal commissary had to change his plans because the vicar apostolic of Bombay was not ready with the required

²⁸⁴Costa, *A Missiological Conflict between Padroado and the Propaganda in the East*, 69.

²⁸⁵Rego, *O Padroado português do Oriente : esboço histórico*, 197.

²⁸⁶Rego, 200.

²⁸⁷Reddy, *Archdiocese of Bombay at Crossroads: Double Jurisdiction Controversies between the Padroado and Propaganda 1920-1930*, 68.

²⁸⁸Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 3.

²⁸⁹Rego, *O Padroado português do Oriente : esboço histórico*, 211.

²⁹⁰Reddy, *Archdiocese of Bombay at Crossroads: Double Jurisdiction Controversies between the Padroado and Propaganda 1920-1930*, 69.

²⁹¹Genese, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 156.

information to discuss the question of circumscription of the region. The Papal legate noted to his secretary, monsignor Howard that, «If the Holy See had known the state of things as I know it, the concordat would never have been made».²⁹²

Moreover, Portugal was in no position to honour neither article VII nor XIV from the new concordat. Although, it empowered them to erect but simultaneously imposed the obligation to maintain the new dioceses. This was not feasible as liberalism had left Portuguese crown and the church financially weakened.²⁹³ The order of the Government to empty coffers of the church – Religious – into the state treasuries was a fatal blow. This proved to be a constant worry for the crown who was caught between its responsibilities towards the Parliament and the *Padroado*. The situation became tense with article XV of the concordat which imposed *status quo* upon the jurisdiction until articles VII and XIV were met. Implying that jurisdiction of the *Padroado* would extend only after the erection of the new *Padroado* dioceses in the regions under question. Considering the finances of the crown, this effectively meant that implementation of concordat was a challenge to say the least.

The *Padroado* was also found to be wanting and short on the required number of personnel to serve in the missions.²⁹⁴ The blanket ban on the religious from 1833 effectively made the situation dire from difficult. The crown was found to be wanting in the department of clergy to serve the parish churches and to serve in missions. It is said that the Portuguese commissary, Mr. Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara was committed to restoring the *Padroado* to its glory of the early days.²⁹⁵ However, shortage of personnel and inability to request services of the religious orders made matters difficult for them. Thus, additional areas and proposal of venturing into new lands made the task colossal, if not impossible. Commentators like Hull note that the entire approach was ‘parochial’ and lacked a ‘missionological’ impetus.²⁹⁶

The process came to a grinding halt with the death of papal legate, monsignor Salvatore Sabba D’Orsieri in India (Nilghiris) on the 22nd of May 1863.²⁹⁷ He had begun his work in right earnest and had planned to hold talks with his counterpart Mr. Rivara about the circumscription of Bombay. But due to the unavailability of required information from the vicar apostolic of Bombay they planned to first address the question of Mangalore. However, it was never to be, as monsignor succumbed to old age and fatigue.²⁹⁸ The bearing of the event upon the concordat

²⁹²Cf. Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 260-261.

²⁹³Farinha, *A Expansão da Fé no Oriente*, 164-165.

²⁹⁴António da Silva Rego, *Curso de Missionologia* (Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1956), 158.

²⁹⁵Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 259-260.

²⁹⁶Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 95-97.

²⁹⁷D’Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 218.

²⁹⁸Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 260-261.

was augmented when Rome did not appoint a replacement to carry forward the agenda.²⁹⁹ Both parties blamed each other for failure of realization of the concordat of 1857. Rather, it can be safely assumed that none were too keen to see through the fructification of the concordat. The practical limitations and concerns of the concordat were definitely more complicated to be resolved.

The final death knell upon the concordat which resulted in its shelving was when King Luis I on August 6th 1863 ordered archbishop of Goa, João Crisóstomo D'Amorim Pessoa to implement the *Regium Placet* in the archdiocese and its suffragans. *Regium Placet* gives the King control over ecclesiastical matters and subjects, as the Papal documents become subject to royal assent. Pope Pius IX on 3rd August 1864, reminded the King of his commitment to the implications of the concordat in terms of dioceses, clergy, finances, administration and political interference.³⁰⁰ The King replied to Pope on 6th July 1865, recording the misdeeds of *Propaganda* and failure on the part of Holy See to appoint a new commissary.³⁰¹ The subsequent convocation of the first Vatican council in 1869 through the Bull *Aeterni Patris* meant that the focus of the church was now upon this defining moment. Once again, the situation was back to square one, as Rome questioned the vigour of *Padroado* and Lisbon questioned the functioning of the *Propaganda*. Invariably letting the questions and demands of the regions, with their aspirations and dreams of a united and peaceful church, hanging in a limbo. Owing to all the above, in 1870 by mutual consent both the parties agreed that the concordat of 1857 was nothing more than a 'scrap of paper'³⁰².

1.6.2. VALUABLE PROVISIONS OF THE CONCORDAT

The concordat was truly futuristic in its approach³⁰³ and had valuable provisions which could bear directions for the future course of action. There was still hope of resolving the 'misunderstandings and 'dissensions' that had plagued the church in India.³⁰⁴ These provisions would be the guiding light in drawing of the next concordat and assist in taking the first steps towards the resolution of the conflict of jurisdiction between the *Padroado* and the *Propaganda*. The provisions with regard to jurisdiction, in terms of the right to erect new dioceses and the outstanding question of the right of *Padroado* over the areas in foreign lands (British ruled),

²⁹⁹Lisboa Pinto, *Conferencia sobre o Padroado Portuguez Proferida na Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa*, 16.

³⁰⁰Santa Sé Portugal, *Negocios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, vol. I, II vols. (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1887), 13-19.

³⁰¹Santa Sé Portugal, *Negocios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, vol. I, 18-19.

³⁰²Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 97.

³⁰³Rego, *Curso de Missionologia*, 158.

³⁰⁴D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 132.

were defining to the process. The articles in the concordat of 1857 threw sufficient light on these issues and provided direction for future engagements between the two states. It provided the base and gave everyone something that they could work upon.

The article VII noted and urged that the Portuguese crown was to create a new bishopric in any part of the territory of the archdiocese of Goa. This provision was a direct acknowledgement of the need for a new diocese in the face of diversity and vastness which had caused substantial problems. This provision, in reference to distant lands, was needed for the sustenance and growth of the church in these regions. Considering article XI, which identifies the disturbances in the region, article VII is completely and totally justified.³⁰⁵ Rome and Portugal had realized the need to bifurcate and create new dioceses for common good and for the good of the local church. The new dioceses would be erected purely on geographical, regional, cultural, social, and similar factors which were diverse from that of Goa. The article XII specifically pinpointed that, Bulls of presentation of the new bishops for the new dioceses should clearly demarcate their jurisdictions.³⁰⁶ Implying the intent to tap the missiological potential of the region.

The other bone of contention between the *Padroado* and the *Propaganda* had been of political nature, vis-a-vis the regions outside of the dominions of Portuguese crown. The concordat of 1857 as an explanation of the article XIII added an appendix B to it. This was ratified on the 21st of February of the same year. The appendix B acknowledged that the territory of the *Padroado* could extend in the regions of British India.³⁰⁷ It had no bearing on the bilateral and diplomatic status between Portugal and Britain, who were allies at that time. Nonetheless, it was important and significant as to put to rest the contentions of the *Propaganda Fide* that *Padroado* was efficacious only in Portuguese dominions. Thus, appendix B officially accepted and established once and for all that the jurisdiction of the *Padroado* extended beyond the political dominions of Portugal and especially in relation to the British ruled India. This provision was of grave consequence to bring peace between the warring factions in the region. It also meant that the future process of demarcations of new dioceses would relatively be an easy exercise.

As noted by Rev. António Correia, President of the governing body of the archbishop of Goa, on 17th October, 1873; «without a new concordat [...] the *Padroado* is not sustainable [...] it is

³⁰⁵Rego, *O Padroado português do Oriente : esboço histórico*, 197-198.

³⁰⁶Rego, 198.

³⁰⁷D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 186-187.

harmful to religion, morals, ecclesiastical discipline, salvation of souls and conversion of gentiles». ³⁰⁸

Indeed, there was a need of renewal for the sake of the church in India and these provisions that were made in the concordat of 1857 provided the right impetus and direction for its growth and expansion. These provisions cannot be viewed from a skewed perspective of diplomacy but from the spectrum of the genuine growth and robust health of the church in India. Not a spoiler alert, but they will play a defining and important part in the process of establishing peace and unity in the region in the subsequent concordat of 1886. The concordat of 1857 was truly faithful to its impression of the design with a futuristic expectation. ³⁰⁹

1.7. THE CONFLICTS FOR JURISDICTION

The fallout of the constant misunderstandings and confusion were the resulting fierce clashes between *Padroado* and *Propaganda*. Bombay and the adjoining regions were the epicentre of these conflicts and misunderstandings in India. ³¹⁰ The scope of the inquiry in this section will be limited to the northern province of Portuguese territory and not the entire dominion of Portuguese ruled India. We find that these clashes disrupted the smooth and effective functioning of the local church and often resulted in scandal for the laity and the society at large. As already noted, the heads of the state and the church were worried with the growing number of conflicts. They attempted to resolve and find ways to restore peace in the region. However, no headway was made in realizing these desires for peace and unity. To state an example; bishop Leo Meurin who had the charge of Bombay and archbishop Ayres D'Ornellas e Vasconcellos of Goa were men of peace. They worked to restore order in the region for which bishop Meurin drew out norms which came to be known as the 'Rules of Bishop Meurin'. It was a twenty-two-point document which drew a standard procedure or *modus operandi* for the functioning between *Padroado* and *Propaganda* in 1878. ³¹¹ Archbishop Ayres agreed to these rules, but they were outrightly rejected by the Congregation of *Propaganda Fide* who claimed exclusive right over resolution of issues and problems with the *Padroado*. ³¹² Once again revealing the problems caused by the seat of authority residing away from the place of action. This goes to show that the road for peace was difficult and required more than mere rules to restore order and discipline in the region.

³⁰⁸Cf. Farinha, *A Expansão da Fé no Oriente*, 169.

³⁰⁹Rego, *O Padroado português do Oriente : esboço histórico*, 201.

³¹⁰Rego, *O Ultramar português no século XIX: 1834-1910 palestras na Emissora Nacional de 16 de Fevereiro a 21 de Setembro de 1985*, 109.

³¹¹Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 282.

³¹²Reddy, *Archdiocese of Bombay at Crossroads: Double Jurisdiction Controversies between the Padroado and Propaganda 1920-1930*, 70-71.

Such misunderstandings impacted the political, social, educational, clerical discipline and the everyday life of the laity of both – *Padroado* and *Propaganda* parishes. Couple of incidents in each sphere will give us a peek into the real picture the situation. The intention of noting these painful episodes is not with the intent to place the responsibility for these events. The sole resolve is to understand the gravity of the situation and the consequent impact it had on various aspects of the church in Indian. The disunity in the church provided an opportunity to foreign forces with evil intents to hamper the missionary work in the region. This period is also marked with wholesale reverting of Catholic families to their old ways of living. The church had come to be seen as a scandal that was hungry for power and money. The lack of clarity and constant failure of bringing order contributed to the continuing woes in the community. These instances which will be enumerated in this section will throw light on the concealed cry for circumscription and erection of the new diocese of Daman.

1.7.1. THE POLITICAL DOMINO EFFECT

As noted, the Portuguese province of north in India by 1740 was reduced to Daman and Diu. This ensured that the two regions of Daman and Diu were politically and from an ecclesiological aspect secure Portuguese dominion. But, after the invasion of Maratha land by the British, the former northern province had come into the effective ecclesial dominion of the *Padroado*. Since the British were an ally of the Portuguese, the *Padroado* had a free hand to practise and propagate Christianity in the region. This was possible due to the treaties that they had entered with the British since the twelfth century. Nonetheless, this peculiar situation of two political (Portugal and British) and two ecclesial (*Padroado* and *Propaganda*) dispensations in the same region became a cause for confusions and conflicts between the *Padroado* and *Propaganda* parishes. To present a case in order to elaborate upon the political skirmish and snarling that was caused by the two sides, we can note the episode of the ‘Decree of Salsette’ of 1839 by the vicar apostolic. The ensuing drama caused more scandal than to aid in the process of resolving the problems arising from such a complicated situation.

The vicar apostolic upon receiving the above decree, took it upon himself to inform the British government about the change that was affected by the said decree in the region. The British government on their part accepted the value of the correspondence and recognized the jurisdiction of the *Propaganda* in the region. By a correspondence to Peter D’Alcantara, the vicar apostolic, the British government made it known that they agreed to his spiritual jurisdiction over the Roman Catholic subjects of the British empire.³¹³ This change was notified by R. K. Pringle, the acting Collector of Thana of British government, in his letter to the Vara

³¹³Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 307-308.

of Thana (*Padroado*) on 12th June 1839.³¹⁴ However, the *Padroado* challenged the authenticity of the said decree and further more refused to acknowledge it.

Therefore, the British, who had no political ties with the *Propaganda* but were bound by legal treaty with the Portuguese, made the situation difficult for the resolution of conflict. This is only one of the many instances causing a political snarl between the *Padroado* and *Propaganda*. The Vara of Thana responding for the *Padroado* explained the facts to the British about the validity of the said decree. Fr. Francis Gonsalves, the Vara, reminded the British of their allegiance to the Portuguese crown since the treaty of the marriage between queen Catharine of Portugal and Charles II of England, followed by various others.³¹⁵ The British were made aware of their obligations to honour and protect their mutual interests in the region and the article of the treaty which clearly stated that the *Padroado* had the right to administer to their religious subjects in the region.

There is no denying the fact that the clash was transforming into political conflict and to its own adverse effect. The intent and interest of the British government in this saga are obscure. However, one cannot deny the fact that instead of being a neutral spectator or an impartial arbitrator they seem to be adding to the confusion. It is questionable that they recognized the jurisdiction of the *Propaganda* with whom they had no diplomatic ties and not directing it to the Vara of Thana who was an ally. The English were divided in their sympathies between the two jurisdictions and this added to the confusion.³¹⁶ Also, the payment of the subsidy (financial allowance) to the *Padroado* appointed parish priests was also questioned by the *Propaganda*. They believed that the custom should be stopped by the British government to avoid their meddling in the spiritual jurisdiction in the care of the *Padroado*.³¹⁷ Although, the Portuguese always viewed the English as their ally in their fight against foreign threats, which in this instance happened to be the *Propaganda*.³¹⁸

1.7.2. THE SOCIAL SCANDAL

The church in India was in a unique position when compared with the rest of the World. It was growing and blossoming in a society which had various existing beliefs and creeds. It was not growing in isolation or in a Christian backdrop. This implied that the actions and deeds of the church, or lack of them, were open to critic and scrutiny in comparison to other religious groups.

³¹⁴D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 135-136.

³¹⁵D'Sa, 139-140.

³¹⁶Reddy, *Archdiocese of Bombay at Crossroads: Double Jurisdiction Controversies between the Padroado and Propaganda 1920-1930*, 58.

³¹⁷A Patriot, *O Real Padroado Portuguez Oriente E A Propaganda Fide* (Lisboa: Typographia da Casa Minerva, 1885), 17.

³¹⁸A Patriot, 17.

As we have already noted, the heads of the State and the church were already worried about the scandalous image of the church in the multi-religious society of India. Everyone was working to remedy the situation and refurbish the image of the church to its original identity. The letters of the popes, the kings and the archbishops all urged and prayed for the resolution of the conflict to salvage the church from the social embarrassments. Unfortunately, their voice failed to find resonance among the people as well as their own ecclesial leaders on the ground. The church continued to bear a testimony that was in direct contradiction of its very nature. Among the many and practically every episode that contributed to the decadence of the social image of the church we will note the episode that occurred in the churches of Bandra, Maney and Versova in Bombay.

Influenced by the 'Decree of Salsette', some parishioners of the three parishes, which were under the jurisdiction of the *Padroado*, wrote a petition expressing their desire to shift to the jurisdiction of the *Propaganda*. Petitions to the effect were sent to the vicar apostolic and the Collector of Thana. When the vicar apostolic pursued the matter with the Collector of Thana, he refused to entertain the petition from both the parties. Consequently, he informed the vicar apostolic that upon inquiry it was found that the petitioners who had signed the petition were lured and coaxed with liquor into siding with the agitators.³¹⁹ The vicar apostolic denied any knowledge of the manner and intent with which the petition was drawn and signed. Regrettably, this led to a division among the parishioners and a divide in the parish community. The matter was treated in the Court of law for years with clear display of dissensions and groupism in the community based on the jurisdiction they sought. It must be noted that the group that wanted to transfer to the other jurisdiction was a total of 800 people out of the strong community of 3,500.³²⁰ Such wounds of division kept on festering and getting worse with the passing of time. In the case of Versova church the situation grew to such an alarming degree that in 1862 the Collector, suspecting physical danger, had to dispatch police protection for Rev. Manuel Sebastian de Souza of the *Padroado* to take charge of the church building.

Thus, the faithful, who were influenced by gifts and other kind of alluring, were a cause of scandal to the society at large. The episode of bishop Hartman who sent a priest to take possession of the chapel of Good Counsel at Sion in 1854 is another example of the grievous harm caused to the reputation of the church.³²¹ The altercations between the parties scaled to such heights that the situation came to trading of blows. This led to physical injuries to both sides and was consequently resolved by the police who handed the keys to the *Padroado*.

³¹⁹Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 329-330.

³²⁰D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 197.

³²¹John Godinho, *The Padroado of Portugal in the Oriente: 1454 - 1860* (Bombay, 1924), 49.

Irrespective of who won and got the dominion over the structures, it can be safely concluded that the church of Christ was the loser in the entire episode. Such examples of open revolt to the point of physical danger for the life of the clergy and the laity served only to tarnish and muddy the image of the church among the people of other faiths. The matters were never of private nature as the media houses of the *Propaganda* and the *Padroado* robustly reported about the deeds-misdeeds of the other. This act of washing the dirty linen in public also contributed in shaping the image of the church in the society. Such episodes were disastrous to the evangelisation mission of the church in the region.

1.7.3. RAMIFICATIONS IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTES

Education ministry was one of the most defining and meaningful contribution of the church to the Indian society and continues to be so. The arrival of the *Padroado* had invariably resulted in setting up of many institutes for young men (as education of female was not common at that time) to be educated. The Council of Trent's proposal for establishing seminaries and formal education, heeded and shouldered by the nascent Jesuit order, gave the required boost to the educational venture in the region. The religious orders in the northern province of the *Padroado* worked hard to set up various establishments to provide quality education to the natives. This fact is stressed by Fr. Manoel D'Sa in his work, 'The History of the Diocese of Damaun' where he records the number of institutes referred to as 'seminary'³²² for the lack of a better terminology and in line with the terminology of the Council of Trent. Alas, the jurisdiction war cast a shadow upon the ministry and was responsible for downgrading of the quality. These schools were functioning in English, Marathi, Gujarati and Portuguese medium. The pupils were trained in the craft of reading, writing, music and catechism. In due course of time schools were open to both the genders without any distinction or difference.

The laity also took the opportunity to participate in this ministry by opening private schools for those who sought to be educated. We will note the case of two such private schools; Antonio D'Souza School, Mazgão and the Barreto School, Cavel which made significant contributions in this ministry. Both these schools were victims of the jurisdiction war. In the case of D'Souza school, it was founded with the clear condition and intent to promote the study of Portuguese and Latin among the locals.³²³ However, it is recorded that the funds of the school were redirected to St. Mary's School, Byculla. This led to a protest from the locals of Mazgão, but in the face of the *status quo* enforced by the concordat of 1857 nothing could be done to remedy the issue. It was duly resolved by the first bishop of Daman after he took charge of the

³²²D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 150-162.

³²³A Patriot, *O Real Padroado Portuguez Oriente E A Propaganda Fide*, 16.

diocese.³²⁴ The second case of the Barreto school was equally appalling, when the administrator of the School, Michael R. de Quadros, because of his tiff with the *Padroado* handed over the administration of the school to the vicar apostolic (*Propaganda*) in 1883.³²⁵ The *Propaganda* acceded to the offer and chose to take over the administration of the school, circumventing all procedures of handing over between the two bodies and sentiments of the local who would be subject to new administration.³²⁶ This led to yet another skirmish and pandemonium between the two ecclesial heads, causing distress and inconvenience to the beneficiaries. The above examples bear witness to the fact that the jurisdiction issue also had its negative impact upon the educational ministry of the church in the region.

The *Propaganda* had also opened many schools in their church compounds where the natives could enrol themselves. These school were the sole centres of education in the region for the natives before the Protestants and other likeminded people joined in. There were never sufficient number of institutes to cater to the needs of the people in the region. This fact can be vouched from the records of how the native's made representation to the vicar apostolic with request for more institutes, especially in English. However, many a times the issue of jurisdiction and the ensuing conflicts resulted in abandoning of such proposals for setting up of new schools in the region. The case of Dr. Whelan, vicar apostolic, who wanted to reopen the school at the Esperança church with the help of a European name Mr. Smith in the parochial house in 1843 was unfulfilled and serves as a grim reminder of the challenges. English schools were in demand, keeping in mind the primacy and dominance of the language in the region. However, the parish priest refused to accommodate Mr. Smith in the parochial house owing to his difference with the vicar apostolic. This invariably led to discarding of the plans for the new school, resulting in a number of disgruntled parishioners. Such instances bear witness to the hardships caused by the problem of unsettled jurisdiction questions in the promotion of education ministry of the church for the masses.

1.7.4. THE CLERICAL DISRUPTIVENESS

The obscurity over the jurisdiction also had an adverse impact on the ecclesial discipline of the region. A certain section of the clergy who erred or were disgruntled against the authorities would appeal for asylum in the enemy camp. The interesting bit is that the appeals of such troubling and troubled souls were not only entertained but their demands, which were rejected on the other side, were gladly fulfilled. The end result of entertaining such characters invariably resulted in dissensions and scandal in the parochial communities. The revolting clergy seemed

³²⁴D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 264-266.

³²⁵D'Sa, 262-263.

³²⁶A Patriot, *O Real Padroado Portuguez Oriente E A Propaganda Fide*, 16.

to be living by the adage –The enemy of my enemy is my friend and is just a call away. This manner of living resulted in further multiplication of the problems in the already existing jurisdiction war. The authorities seem to be tacitly permitting and encouraging the indiscipline among the clergy by providing an open invitation to the troublemakers. Such an approach on the part of the local heads on either side of the camp, consciously and knowingly the possible harm that could be caused to the community, contributed to further tarnishing the image of the clergy among the laity and in the larger society. The clergy, a handful, were painted as opportunists as they would switch side at the slightest threat to their positions and ambitions. Couple of incidents enumerated and recorded below will help us to understand the gravity and the authenticity of this nuisance in the local church.

The first instance is in the church of Esperança in 1848. Dr. Whelan, apostolic vicar, relieved Rev. Michael Anthony as the parish priest and as the vicar of the region. The apostolic vicar expressed his desire to assume the post of the parish priest by converting the church into his episcopal church. This may have some connection to the fact that Rev. Michael had been instrumental in preparing the letter for the Court of Rome (Pope was still a monarch with hold over his papal states) for the removal of Dr. Whelan in 1843.³²⁷ This led to further complications in the administration and the changes that Dr. Whelan intended to carry out in the church of Esperança. The case was taken up in the tribunal at the insistence of the wardens of the church³²⁸ who were backed by some ‘unknown engineer’. The verdict was not reached over the matter by the court as the matter seemed to be more of ecclesial indiscipline than conflict of law. It was amply clear that the case was motivated by personal differences and internal conflict for position. Later, the appointment of Fr. Michael Anthony as the vicar of the Esperança church³²⁹ gave credence to the rumours of motivated attack on Dr. Whelan.

The next is the peculiar case of Rev. Agostinho de Rozario e Lourenço, priest of the *Padroado*. He is the embodiment of the motif of this section on clerical indiscipline in the region. When he was in the *Padroado* the archbishop ordered him to take his appointment in the region of Madras³³⁰ in 1826. Nevertheless, he preferred to establish himself in Bombay and hence stayed in Bombay on his way to Madras despite the protest from the archbishop of Goa. He was rightly and subsequently suspended by the archbishop for his disobedience to his direct order. The vicar apostolic; however, pleaded his cause and appointed him as the rector of the seminary of the *Propaganda* in Bombay until 1839. This was to the distaste and registered protest by the

³²⁷Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 374-375.

³²⁸Flugentius, *Bishop Hartmann*, 83-84.

³²⁹Flugentius, 84-85.

³³⁰Madras was also governed by the *Padroado* and located in the southern state of Tamil Nadu, India.

authorities from the *Padroado*. To the disappointment of the *Propaganda* this arrangement between Rev. Agostinho and the vicar apostolic did not stand the test of time. It is noted that the Rector instigated a group of seminarians, who allegedly at his insistence, wrote a letter to Rome to record their repugnance at the lifestyle of certain Italian missionaries working in Bombay. It is said that the Rector along with this group of seminarians ran off to Goa where they were welcomed by the *Padroado* at the expense of the State. He is also said to have founded the '*Padroado* Defence Association' which worked against the interests of the *Propaganda* in India.

The other instance that is worthy of attention and illustrates the height of the lack of ecclesial discipline is the case of Rev. Jeronimo Jose de Matta, bishop of Macau. As we have noted before, he had ordained some candidates in Bombay at the behest of the vicar general. From those ordained by him, there were four from Bandra who were admitted into the *Padroado* only after their expulsion from the seminary of *Propaganda* in Bombay on the grounds of insubordination.³³¹ One among the four, Louis António Pereira, who was subsequently suspended for his misconduct from the *Padroado* again approached the *Propaganda* for incardination. Interestingly or to utter disbelief of everyone, it is alleged that bishop Hartmann, vicar apostolic, resubmitted the candidate to the Sacrament of Ordination. It is alleged because there are some theories which differentiate the ordination of the former on the grounds of minor and major orders. Irrespective of such technicalities, the fact that a candidate who was considered unfit at first instance was readmitted into the clergy of the *Propaganda* is alarming. The above instances duly point to the sad state of affairs in the region with regards to the discipline of the clerics at every level. This makes everyone to wonder about the kind of service and motivation that influenced the candidates and the clerics in the region. It also raises questions upon their authority and moral standing among the community in light of their personal-public interaction.

1.7.5. THE LAITY REVOLTS

The laity also had their share of troubles owing to the scourge of the double jurisdiction in the region. The biggest hurdle in the jurisdiction saga was with regards to the administration of the sacraments in their respective parishes. *Padroado* and *Propaganda* fought tooth and nail over this right and at times to the horror of the receiving laity. We will note a couple of cases to understand the absurdity and sometimes sheer lack of humanity in resolving such questions. The case involving the baptisms of two infants at Mahim in 1841 will throw some light on the pitiful plight of the laity. It is recorded that the parents of the infants approached the vicar

³³¹Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 470.

apostolic of Mahim with the requests for the sacrament of baptism for their infants. The vicar apostolic obliged to the request of the parents. Meanwhile, the news reached the vicar general of Salsette. He registered a complaint with the British government over the misdeeds of the vicar apostolic in not adhering to the marked jurisdiction. The government pulled up the vicar apostolic for the breach of the agreed jurisdiction. The vicar accepted his fault; however, justified his act saying that he could not refuse administration of the sacrament to the laity. Nevertheless, the issue at hand was not the administration of sacrament but the failure of the vicar apostolic to adhere to the established ecclesial procedure and policy. Whereby the vicar apostolic was bound to approach the vicar general to ensure that the laity had obtained the dimissorial letter for the administration of the sacrament.

The next dismal case in sight is in relation to the sacrament of matrimony in the region. The son of Pedro Mariano D. Almeida of Versova church was to marry the daughter of Pascoal Domingo da Cunha of the parish of Thana. After due preparations and receiving of the required certificates from their parish priests the groom went to Thana to receive his bride. As per the customs they were married in Thana on 9th February 1857.³³² However, when they returned to Versova, subdeacon João António de Almeida, the brother of the groom, on some pretext took them to a *Propagandist* chapel at Juvem. Over here, the chaplain is said to have locked the couple in the sacristy and demanded that they oblige to be remarried.³³³ Eventually he had his way, he heard their confession and ‘remarried’ them to the utter shock of everyone. This left a sense of trauma for the innocent laity who were many a times victims of the jurisdiction war.

Another case in sight is that of a Portuguese national of Bandra, António Manuel Pereira, who had joined the seminary of the vicar apostolic in the Fort (Bandra) in 1840. He died, before he could be ordained a priest, at his parental home in Bandra. The vicar apostolic was leading the funeral procession to St. Michael’s church, Mahim, when they were halted by two policemen at the complaint of the vicar general of the *Padroado*. They were then taken to the police court where the Magistrate censured the vicar apostolic for breaching the jurisdiction of the vicar general.³³⁴ He was admonished for his actions and asked to honour the jurisdictions and be prudent in seeking the required permissions. The episode presents us with the stark and dark reality of the deplorable situation of the Christian community in the region. Once again, the scandalous and bizarre incident could have been avoided with a simple act of acknowledging and following the rules of engagement in a foreign jurisdiction. The heartache and the

³³²Costa, *A Missiological Conflict between Padroado and the Propaganda in the East*, 67.

³³³Godinho, *The Padroado of Portugal in the Oriente: 1454 - 1860*, 53-54.

³³⁴Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 329.

insensitive act of the police and the courts could have been avoided with a simple correspondence among the concerned heads.

In Conclusion, in this chapter we have ably situated the socio-economic-political-ecclesial prominence of Daman in relation to the Portuguese empire. The chapter also encapsulated the diplomatic clutter between Portugal and Rome and its direct impact on the life of the former northern province of Portugal in India. The half-hearted measures and impractical solutions which were attempted in this era are also noted. The chapter has managed to connect the cause and effect of certain political, social, ecclesial, economical, and diplomatic events in India, Portugal and Rome. The chapter has successfully identified the underlying intricacies and possible reason for the conflicts that were occurring in the region. This has helped to give a wholesome and complete picture of what contributed to the creation of the turmoil in the church in the identified region of our interest. In the end, the chapter has brought to the fore the ensuing need that was felt to bring ecclesial order in the region through the creation of a new diocese to save the local church.

Thereby setting the stage for the second chapter which will focus on the resolution of these crises through the foundation of the diocese of Daman. The chapter has set the backdrop which will help us to understand and appreciate the events and results which will be enumerated in the second chapter. Accordingly, the second chapter will focus on recording the life and impact of the diocese in the life of the local church. The second chapter will register the proximate events which led to the erection of the diocese and the subsequent steps which ensured a healthy and robust church. The objective is not to create a superhuman image of the diocese with a magic wand but to paint a realistic human aura of the diocese. The focus in this chapter is to note the special missiological and pastoral movements that were responsible for reviving the vivacity of the local church. The chapter is accordingly designed to be biographical with the intent to draw ecclesiological lessons for our times.

CHAPTER – 2

THE DIOCESE OF DAMAN USHERS AN ERA OF ECLESIAL PEACE

Finally, better sense prevailed on the part of all the parties concerned and the diocese of Daman was erected as the fruit of the marathon diplomatic deliberations. The prolonged and sometimes acrimonious discussions from 1857 to 1886 were worthwhile solely due to the fact that they bore fruit in the erection of the diocese of Daman. Accordingly, as the title of the chapter suggests, it is meant to deliberate upon the measures put in place to broker peace in the local church which was divided for centuries. The real test; however, was to devise concrete methods to realize the objectives for which it was established³³⁵ and still succeed in bringing peace and winning back the confidence of the laity. Consequently, the second chapter is drawn with the goal of evaluating the impact of the diocese in the region and to account for its life and activities. This calls for a close scrutiny of the various aspects leading to its foundation as well as the back channels that contributed to this peace project. The chapter will work towards chronicling its ordinary life amidst of ecclesial and missionary challenges, not undermining the bearing of the political events of the time upon the process. Thus, the second chapter is divided into five sections to understand the need of the diocese and the change it affected in the region for the good of the church.

The first section is drawn to understand the legitimacy of the demand for the creation of a new diocese in the region. The section delves into the conflicts and differences which were fermenting for over decades. This created a yearning for a remedy to the situation in order to bring an amicable resolution to the issues. The focus is no longer the clashes between Rome and Portugal but to explore the common ground that expedited the process for a solution to the problems. In the sub-section we evaluate the steps and measures that were employed by the authorities in search of an antidote for the venomous environment that was plaguing the local church. As noted, the conflicts were petty and yet a real challenge for the local church to bring about a sense of unity and maintain the ordinary everyday functioning of the church. The section culminates on the ray of hope that had pierced the gloom of pessimism in the persons of Pope Leo XIII and King Luis I of Portugal. They not only heralded the resumption of meaningful talks but also expressed a desire to bring healing to the church. In the ensuing part we will focus on the person of Pope Leo XIII as a diplomat of great character and charm. The intention is to understand the how he was always a man of solutions and resolutions. From there we move to King Luis I who played an important role in the realization of the concordat of 1886. A glimpse

³³⁵The core objective, as we have witnessed, was the need for circumscription by drawing and redrawing jurisdiction in the region.

of his person and his diplomatic abilities will contribute to our understanding of the concerns and reservations of the Portuguese nation.

The next section is dedicated to log the journey of the long winding diplomatic process involved in the formulation of the concordat of 1886. The section fully depends upon the correspondence between Rome and Portugal at the level of secretary of state and the foreign minister, respectively. The intricate and complicated communication was full of tough positions and compromises on both sides to usher the missing peace. The section enumerates upon the relevant anecdotes from these correspondences that played a vital part in the realization of the concordat. Ultimately, arriving at the realization of the concordat of 1886 which was drawn to the satisfaction of all the concerned parties. The subsequent sub section throws light on why Daman was chosen as the seat of administration. The factors that were vital to this effect and the very relevance of Daman will be put under scrutiny.

The next subsection is dedicated to the core question of the status of the *Padroado* and the *Propaganda* in Bombay after the concordat of 1886. The route to division and distribution of the region between the two parties was a real challenge. It details the manner in which this herculean task was achieved to the content of the interested parties. The following part aptly reflects upon the crucial article III of the concordat which directly deals with the provision for the erection of a new diocese. The aim is to expound the worth of the article for the regional church which was seeking for a point of centredness since the concordat of 1857. In the succeeding portion the focus shifts to the appendix that was attached with the article III. The role it played in the formation of the diocese vis-à-vis to the demarcation of its jurisdiction and thereby resolving the conflicts caused by the double jurisdiction. Generically leading us to the clarifications and the reversal notes which further fine-tuned the question of jurisdiction, culminating in the reversal notes of 1890.

This invariably inaugurates the most awaited and defining moment in the history of the church in India in the nineteenth century – the ecclesial hierarchy. The third subsection is dedicated to study the momentous episode of the implementation of the church hierarchy in India by Pope Leo XIII through the papal bull *Humanae Salutis Auctor*³³⁶ on the 1st of September 1886. The subsequent part deals with the aspect of harmony that the concordat and the papal bull initiated in India. To study the manner in which it brought in an era of ecclesial independence and harmony in the Indian subcontinent. Pursuing the subject, the next area of study will be to understand the influence that the documents and the measures had upon the local clergy. To

³³⁶A copy of the *Humanae Salutis Auctor* is added in the appendix no. 5.

investigate how the documents gave a definitive and powerful push to the formation of the local clergy in the region. It deliberates upon the role of the Holy Father, universally and specifically in India, in promoting the formation of the local clergy.

The third section is dedicated towards mapping the actual jurisdiction of the diocese of Daman and its scope. The section explores the special situations of the respective regions that were placed under its jurisdiction. This is done with the motive of exploring the implications that the regions would have in the future administration. It also gives us a sense of the concealed potential for the future growth of the church in these regions. The section focuses upon particular area that was entrusted in its care by grouping them into five zones. The areas under enquiry will be Diu, Bassein, Chaul, Bombay region, Surat, Bharuch, Dadra and Nagar Haveli. Each of the subsection is further divided to probe the ecclesial stability and missiological scope of these zones. The first part accounts for the existing ecclesial stability in terms of religious structures. This is designed to help us to understand the roots of Christianity in these zones, which were formerly under the Portuguese dominion. The second portion is dedicated to answer the question of the missiological scope of these zones. This is to basically estimate the future prospects for the growth and expansion of the church in the region. It needs to be noted that the section did not take into account the region of Daman because of the extensive coverage in the first chapter.

The section which follows is exclusively reserved to chronicle the life of the diocese. The objective of the section is to put its life under the microscope with the intent to understand the kind of bearing it had on the ecclesial life in the region. The section is further divided into five subsections with the desire to closely consider administrative, ecclesial, social, cultural and missiological aspects. The first subsection about the administration will throw light on the life and contribution of the two prelates that were nominated. We will draw a brief biography of the life and ministry of the two prelates in the church before their arrival in the diocese. It will then delve on the vast and diverse experiences of the prelates and their valuable contributions in the diocese. It will expound upon the direction and vision that the prelates had envisioned for its bright future.

The next subsection is dedicated to understand role and significance of the local or domestic clergy. The presence of the local clergy since the latter half of the sixteenth century makes the investigation in this area pertinent for this dissertation to know the foundation upon which the current clergy stands. Flowing from this is the investigation into the institution of the seminary in the diocese of Daman. We will deliberate upon the role and place of the institute in the context of the present and the future of the church. Consequently, to help us understand better the need

of the local clergy, the next portion is exclusively dedicated to the relevance of the diocesan clergy. In this section the primary questions of the functioning and organization of the diocesan clergy will be assessed. This will lead us to the next significant aspect of the diocese – laity and its role. The subsection on the laity focuses on the physical numbers of the members who belong to the diocese. The section will consider and study the problems that were prevalent at the time, apart from the training that was given to the laity for their religious formation. With the desire to understand the role of the laity the dissertation will progress in the direction of the various diocesan commissions that were manned by them. These will help us to gain a perspective into their active and valuable participation in the functioning of the local church.

The consequent subsection is about the implementation and scope of mission *ad gentes*. Having understood the vast jurisdiction, the pertinent question that arises is, how did it manage such vast tracts of land. The subsection aims to attend to this concern and probe deeper into the real challenges and the proposed solutions. The most pertinent and obvious tool for the mission *ad gentes* was the introduction of the religious orders. Thus, the next part focuses on the religious orders and the type of ministry that they engaged. The following subsection will probe its contribution in the society, culture and traditions. In the aspects of culture and tradition, efforts will be made to identify the ways employed to assimilate the local culture in the church. It will also investigate the place of the non-believers in the celebrations of the church. The decisive impact that it had on the social practices will also be scrutinised. In this section the aim will be to study the kind of social changes brought in to fight the social evils.

This brings us to the last section of the chapter which is meant to focus on the new challenges and troubles that were festering, all over again. The journey was definitely not without its shares of upheavals which threatened its very existence. Apart from the local and the ordinary challenges there were more serious complications that the diocese was facing. The most devastating jolt was the declaration of Portugal as a Republic in the year 1910. This section will deliberate upon the measures drawn to face the economic, pastoral and social crises due to this event. Beginning with a brief history of the events of the revolution resulting in the declaration of Portugal as a republic. The intent is to give the reader a brief idea of what transpired during this era in Portugal. In the following subsection we will look into how the republic had impacted the functioning of the *Padroado* in India. To know how some conspicuous characters took this opportunity to destabilize the diocese by fermenting trouble with regards to jurisdiction. The subsequent part will deliberate on the reality of the economic threat that was looming over the diocese. In this we will also note the measures put in place to tackle these crises.

2.1. THE COMMON GROUND

As seen, the concordat of 1857 had imposed upon the *Padroado* obligations and demands which were beyond its ability, as they had neither the manpower (missionaries) nor sufficient monetary power.³³⁷ This invariably led to lack of enthusiasm and reluctance on the part of the *Padroado* with regards to the pursuance of the implementation of the concordat of 1857 and so desired concessions in the drawn terms. This ignited the inevitable and the anticipated call for a new concordat between the two states. On the other side, the spirits of the *Propaganda* had also been dashed by the concordat of 1857 owing to the terms and conditions which were positively favouring the *Padroado*.³³⁸ They too were not very keen to carry forward the concordat of 1857 in the current form and hence were open to the idea of reworking a new concordat. They had lost their footing in the region especially in their claim to the jurisdiction in the prime region of Bombay owing to the court verdicts. Thus, *Propaganda* was also keen to see that the two States enter into a new concordat at the earliest possible opportunity.

One cannot deny that either of the parties were hoping for a new concordat with the ulterior motive of striking a new deal which would be favourable to them. The fulfilment of the desire for a new concordat was easier said than done. The bone of contention in the consultations between the respective authorities of the two States was the attempt to strike a deal which was more favourable to one than the other. As noted in the first chapter the challenges and problems before the authorities in relation to the western region of India or the old northern province of the Portuguese in India were increasing by the day. A new concordat was the only hope for the resolution of these issues and for the restoration of peace. The ray of hope, in the entire saga, was the channel of active diplomatic dialogue between Portugal and Rome. As evident through the letters between Lisbon and Rome, the execution of the concordat of 1857 was stalled due to the question of jurisdiction of the *Padroado* and the *Propaganda* in India.³³⁹

In all this, apart from other regions, the former northern province of the Portuguese empire in India was at the heart of this stand-off. The entire correspondence available in the two volumes of – *Negocios externos: documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé* bears witness to this stand-off. The parleys between the two parties are extensive but beyond the scope of this dissertation. In summary, we can say that the discussions from 1871 to 1886 are revolving around the question of jurisdiction and right of *Padroado* in the Indian subcontinent.

³³⁷Silva Rego, *Curso de missionologia*, 158.

³³⁸Silva Rego, *Curso de missionologia*, 159.

³³⁹Santa Sé Portugal, *Negocios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, vol. I, 79-84.

There were sane propositions made and countered on either side for the resolution of these issues. As we had noted in the first chapter, the jurisdiction of the *Padroado* outside of Goa, Daman and Diu was provisional and after the expiry of the first three years was to be renewed by the Holy See. Accordingly, after the expiry of the first three years the jurisdiction was renewed on a yearly basis up until 1884 when the Holy Father, Leo XIII renewed it up to September 30th, 1884 and expressed his desire to abrogate it thereafter.³⁴⁰ This definitely contributed in the expediting of the process for a new concordat which was slackening. Thus, the two parties were at a critical juncture, where a new concordat was the only hope for the resolution of the ecclesial questions in the western Portuguese dominions in India and for the healing of the diplomatic ties between Rome and Portugal.

On one hand there was helplessness on the part of *Padroado* to honour some of the demands of the concordat of 1857 in spirit and in letter; while on the other hand there was anxiousness on the part of Rome to broaden the scope of the church in India with better organization of the hierarchy. Owing to the long distance from Goa there was also an urgent need for a focused attention on the lands in the north of India in relation to the advancement of the church in the region.³⁴¹ Thus promoting common interests and a corresponding desire in both the camps to seek a permanent and lasting solution to the issues. This coerced both the parties into submitting to the discussion table with the intent to extract a truce for the good of the church. There was a dire need of leaders, who were visionaries and true statesmen, to understand the demand of the situation and have the necessary courage to take the required decision to the effect. Still, as ‘Rome was not built in a day’ so also the realization of peace was not to be achieved in a day but through a long winding period of fifteen years (1871-1886).

2.1.1. THE DIRE NEED FOR PEACE

Peace can be understood, defined and experienced only in the light of existing conflict or in the backdrop of a confrontation. Thus, the conflicts in the region augmented the urgent need for peace in the former northern province of the Portuguese empire, especially in Bombay and the adjoining areas. As noted, apart from the political and economic upheavals in the region with the British and other kingdoms, there were also ecclesial challenges that the Portuguese *Padroado* had to endure in the region versus the *Propaganda*. The report that was tabled in Rome upon the ground realities in the region opened the eyes of many towards the harm that was being inflicted upon the church due to the conflict between *Padroado* and *Propaganda*.³⁴²

³⁴⁰Santa Sé Portugal, *Negocios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, vol. I, 230-231.

³⁴¹Farinha, *A Expansão da Fé no Oriente*, vol. II, 252.

³⁴²Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 149.

The diminishing economic power of the *Padroado* in administering and spreading the mission of the church in India was also bearing heavily upon the mind of the King. Apart from these international implications, the long-standing differences between both the parties were in fact harming the local church, which was bearing the brunt of the entire saga.³⁴³

Apart from the diplomatic channels at the level of the ministers and ambassadors, which were dedicated to break the log jam and resolve the issues, there were also local efforts which were devoted to restore order and ecclesial discipline. The exemplary efforts of vicar apostolic, Leo Meurin of Bombay for the *Propaganda* and archbishop Aires de Ornelas e Vasconcelos of the archdiocese of Goa are already noted in these regards. They had developed certain ecclesial code of conducts to avoid confrontations and ensure peaceful coexistence. These norms or pastoral directives were termed as the ‘Rules of Bishop Meurin’ in 1878 which were found to be quite effective in achieving their goal.³⁴⁴ However, in 1879 Meurin’s attention was sought by the *Propaganda* for going beyond his brief in dealing with the question of double jurisdiction which, as per them, was reserved to the congregation. Nonetheless, after the explanation of Meurin about the dire need of a common understanding on the ground these rules were provisionally permitted. These rules were so effective that their reference is also found in the drawing of the concordat of 1886.

These rules also indicate to the delicate and painful situation of the church in the region other than Bombay. It must be noted that the contentions in Bombay were also adversely affecting the functioning of the church in other parts of the region. The divisions and a sense of animosity among the clergy of the *Propaganda* and *Padroado* were creeping into the communities of the neighbouring regions as well. One needs to understand that there were more parishes apart from Bombay that were being catered to, by the *Padroado* and *Propaganda*. When we consider these parishes from the perspective of the diocese of Daman, which is the core of this dissertation, we are ushered into the enormity of the entire former northern province of *Padroado* in India. Though being beyond the political rule of the Portuguese, it was still under the ecclesial dominion of the *Padroado*. As we have noted in the first chapter, the Portuguese government always entered into a dialogue with the other political powers – Marathas, English, Mughals, and other principalities, to ensure the safety and growth of commerce and the church, not necessarily in the same order. Thus, one cannot deny that the church in the region was the ultimate and the only casualty in this war of/for Jurisdiction.

³⁴³Farinha, *A Expansão da Fé no Oriente*, vol. II, 252.

³⁴⁴Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 150.

When the question is about resolution of crises, the wisdom of the English proverb shows the way – ‘It takes two to tango’. The same was needed in the case of *Propaganda* and *Padroado* who needed visionary leaders with a large heart. These leaders were found in the person of King Luis I of Portugal, who was elevated to the throne in 1861 and Pope Leo XIII who took the reins of the church in 1878. Both of them steered their respective dominions in challenging times to arrive at an amicable resolution of the questions and to meet demands for a new concordat. In the following part we will briefly consider the impact and influence they had in the process of drawing the new concordat of 1886.

2.1.1.1. THE PAPAL INTERESTS – POPE LEO XIII

The recently concluded council of Vatican I had put to rest all the doubts and silenced every voice that spoke against the supreme authority of the Pope. The council had driven home the message and established the undisputed authority of the Pope and made it an *Ultramontane* church.³⁴⁵ It is in this light we need to understand the papacy of Leo XIII and his approach towards the world. His desire to reach out to the world can be understood in the film, ‘*Sua Santità Papa Leone XIII*’ in which he features, making him the first Pontiff whom the world could see on the screen as early as 1896. He was born as Vincent Joachim Pecci on 2nd March, 1810 in Carpineto, France.³⁴⁶ He was drawn to religious life and entered the Society of Jesus. Unexpectedly, due to his fragile health he could not continue his studies in the Jesuits College of Viterbo. Hence, in 1832 entered into the department of diplomatic corps of Rome and wished to continue in the same capacity for the future.³⁴⁷ He rendered his services in Benevento, Brussels, Cologne, Paris, London and wherever he was sent. His international journeys are a testimony to the success he had had as a diplomat of the Holy See.

To note a few, Protestant King Leopold I of Belgium wanted to dictate terms to the church to counter communism and socialism in his kingdom. Luckily, Pecci as the Nuncio refused to play in his hands and saved the church from the collateral damage in this internal war.³⁴⁸ As a bishop of Perugia, he had defended the rights of the church against the temporal powers of the King of Piedmont-Sardinia who had conquered Perugia and annexed it from the papal states in 1860.³⁴⁹ After his acceptance of the Chair of Peter in 1878 in a conclave where he was the Camerlengo³⁵⁰ he had noted, ‘I want to do politics in the modern world...’ to renew the relation between the

³⁴⁵O’Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, 21-22.

³⁴⁶Julien de Narfon, *Léon XIII Intime*, ed. F. Juven (Paris: De Vaugirard, 1899), 1.

³⁴⁷Manuel Clemente, *Os Papas do século XX* (Lisboa: Paulus, 2007), 12.

³⁴⁸Clemente, *Os Papas do século XX*, 12-13.

³⁴⁹Etienne Gilson, *The Church Speaks to the Modern World: The Social Teachings of Leo XIII* (Garden City: Image books, 1954), 2.

³⁵⁰Narfon, *Léon XIII Intime*, 114.

church and the modern world.³⁵¹ Rightly so, he worked to resolve many political conflicts in the modern world and restore peace. He was called by France and Spain to resolve their claims over the disputed Caroline Islands.³⁵² He was a ‘Fix it’ man in the then politically volatile world and was loved by all for his humility and wit. Thus, for all his contributions in reconciling the papacy with modern governments and more so for uniting the people separated from the church that he will truly be remembered as the ‘Political Pope’.³⁵³

Although he had left the society of Jesus owing to personal reason but his missionary fervour and spirit never diminished. During his papacy he worked towards the expansion and growth of the missions of the church in continents of Africa, America, and Asia³⁵⁴. He also directed the dioceses to ensure that they were equipped with a fully functioning seminary to promote local vocations and thus strength the foundations of the local churches. He was also keenly interested in the wellbeing of the church in India which was cruising in turbulent waters, being tossed by the waves of *Propaganda Fide* and *Padroado Português*. In his fatherly concern he approved a special congregation of the Cardinals, outside of *Propaganda* and *Padroado* fold, in 1881 to study closely the church in the care of *Padroado*.³⁵⁵ He was aghast at the realization of the deplorable condition of the church in the *Padroado* missions and wanted to seek a quick remedy to the problem.³⁵⁶ It is in light of this desire for the church to flourish in Asia backed by first-hand knowledge of the facts from the report of the cardinals, that the Holy Father was keen to resolve the conflict of Jurisdiction in India between the *Padroado* and the *Propaganda*. The Holy Father also knew the significance of resolving the contentions with *Padroado* in order to bring healing in the Portuguese church which was divided post 1834.³⁵⁷ His desire to reconcile the Portuguese nation through a new and effective concordat can be understood in *Pregrata Nobis*, written immediately after the realization of the concordat of 1886 addressed to the Portuguese church. He wanted to regain an important ally of the church and restore healthy diplomatic relations by asking the Catholics to distinguish between the religious and political spheres.³⁵⁸ He knew that diplomacy is like the art of flying kites, where you need to pull the line tight and at other times let the line loose for the kite to scale new heights and ensure

³⁵¹Clemente, *Os Papas do século XX*, 13.

³⁵²Clemente, 14.

³⁵³Narfon, *Léon XIII Intime*, 190.

³⁵⁴The immense contribution of the Pope in forming missionary structures for the care of migrants in America and Asia will be noted in this work.

³⁵⁵Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 285.

³⁵⁶Santa Sé Portugal, *Negócios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, vol. I, 1887, 228-232.

³⁵⁷Clemente, *Os Papas do século XX*, 15.

³⁵⁸Clemente, 15.

meaningful progress. His brief *Studio et Vigilantia*³⁵⁹ is a perfect example of this form of diplomacy, which we will study in due course of this chapter.

2.1.1.2. THE ROYAL STAKES – KING LUIS I

Born on 31st of October, 1838, on the eve of the Christian feast of All Saints Day, he was named as Luis Filip by queen D.^a Maria II and D.^o Fernando II.³⁶⁰ He was endowed with the title of the ‘Guard of the Sea’ on 9 October 1946 and had subsequently been promoted to be the Commander of two ships – ‘*Pedro Nunes*’ and ‘*Bartholomeu Dias*’ on which he had embarked upon the journey of Europe and Portuguese colonies.³⁶¹ King Luis was a true patriot and a loyal son of Portugal³⁶² who declined the throne of Spain in 1869 to safeguard the interests of his mother country and had famously stated, ‘I was born Portuguese, Portuguese I want to die’.³⁶³ This dedication was evident in the long and winding deliberations that he undertook with Rome to protect the interests of *Padroado Português*. He was an educated and cultured leader³⁶⁴ who played a decisive role in the administration of the country. His reign was not marked with military advancements and wars but with peace, beauty and songs of the glory of Portugal.³⁶⁵ It was not a peace defined only by absence of war rather by the presence of growth in the field of agriculture, art, industry, politics, scientific exploration, telegraphs and so on.³⁶⁶ It was during his reign, that in 1869 he decreed on the rights of the slaves to receive baptism, invariably inculcating a sense of dignity and value to their being.³⁶⁷

King Luis was known to advance the causes of the public through his policies³⁶⁸ and was aptly endowed with the title of ‘The Popular’. In the backdrop of the political and social turmoil in Europe, his reign was marked with national dialogue and international diplomacy.³⁶⁹ It is in this light that we can understand his approach to Rome and the ensuing diplomatic dialogue. It must be taken into consideration that with the government in place, he had to ensure that it was in the loop and had their confidence in whatever he intended to achieve. The diplomatic dialogue with the Holy See needs to be understood in this light. As evident in his reply to the Pope Pius

³⁵⁹Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 159.

³⁶⁰José F. Laranjo, *Elogio historico de el-Rei o Senhor D. Luiz I* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1889), 5.

³⁶¹Laranjo, 5.

³⁶²António Cândido Ribeiro da Costa, *Elogio Histórico de Sua Magestade El-Rei O Senhor D. Luiz I* (Lisboa: Typ. de Academia, 1890), 11.

³⁶³Cândido Ribeiro da Costa, 12.

³⁶⁴António Luís Gomes and Delfim Pinto dos Santos, *D. Carlos I e D. Luís Filipe: palavras de evocação e apreço análise grafocaracterológica* (Lisboa: Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1958), 15.

³⁶⁵Ayres Pacheco, *El-Rei Dom Luiz I: Oração Funebre* (Funchal: Typ. Esperança, 1890), 16.

³⁶⁶Cândido Ribeiro da Costa, *Elogio Histórico de Sua Magestade El-Rei O Senhor D. Luiz I*, 13.

³⁶⁷Pacheco, *El-Rei Dom Luiz I: Oração Funebre*, 30-31.

³⁶⁸Laranjo, *Elogio historico de el-Rei o Senhor D. Luiz I*, 8.

³⁶⁹Costa, *Elogio Histórico de Sua Magestade El-Rei O Senhor D. Luiz I*, 9-10.

IX in 1865, where he presents his case in defence of the rights of *Padroado Português*.³⁷⁰ The King was no longer the sole authority with absolute power but had to manoeuvre through the contrary positions and propositions of the government of the day. This required skill and panache of the highest degree, something that the King seemed to have possessed in sufficient measure.

2.2. THE CONCORDAT OF 1886

It would not be untrue to state that the consultations for the implementation of the concordat of 1857 were still happening but not moving forward in a definite direction. But as we have noted, the call for a new concordat from both the parties were getting shrill. Thus, Pope Leo XIII as a result of the study of the state of church in India under the rule of the *Padroado* in 1881 by his chosen group of cardinals explained to the Portuguese crown his desire to remedy the situation. In his letter to the Portuguese ambassador in Rome, Sr. Marquês de Tomar, the secretary of state, L. cardinal Jacobini on the 10th of April 1884 spelled out this desire of the Holy Father.³⁷¹ In this letter he accounted and informed the crown of the grave misdemeanour of the *Padroado* missionaries in India in exercising their office. The glaring irregularities in the church with regards to the discipline, sacraments and administration was highlighted. These sound like the same concerns which the Rev. Correia had voiced about the harm *Padroado* would cause in the absence of a new concordat.³⁷²

It is interesting to note that the entire blame, in a manner, was placed on the Goan clergy who were now in majority and exercising their role as administrators in the *Padroado*, even though the dioceses were still administered under the directions of the Portuguese bishops.³⁷³ This could be due to the attempt of the Holy Father not to injure or sour the relation with the Portuguese crown. As evident in his other decision to recall bishop Meurin from Bombay to Rome in order to avoid any friction or give any cause for dissent for the *Padroado* after the concordat of 1886.³⁷⁴ This recall can be understood in light of the two pamphlets that were authored by the said bishop – ‘The *Padroado* Question’ and ‘The *Concordat* Question’.³⁷⁵ He was the chief proponent of the movement which was engineered to abolish the *Padroado* in the

³⁷⁰Santa Sé Portugal, *Negocios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, 1887, vol. I, 20-21.

³⁷¹Santa Sé Portugal, *Negocios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, vol. II, II vols (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1887), 228.

³⁷²Farinha, *A Expansão da Fé no Oriente*, 169.

³⁷³Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 154-155.

³⁷⁴Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 317-318.

³⁷⁵R. P. M., *Plain Facts Plainly Told, or an Analytical Refutation of the Pamphlet Entitled the 'Padroado Question'* (Bombay, 1885), 5.

eastern Portuguese dominions.³⁷⁶ Such was the level of meticulous and close attention that the Holy Father was paying towards the resolution of the conflict with the *Padroado*.

As in the game of chess so in the art of diplomacy, patience is the key factor for success. The same was the case in this instance, the Portuguese government did not respond to the letter for a good four months. The Holy See had ordered the crown to draw out new resolutions in order to safeguard the dignity of the crown and the interests of its subject but without any injury to the interests of the church. But when Lisbon spoke through its foreign minister, Mr. José Barbosa du Bocage, through the letter to the Portuguese ambassador in Rome on the 16th of August 1884 it proposed that the apostolic nuncio in the court of the King be endowed with the necessary powers and instruction from the Holy See to reconcile and realize the concordat of 1857 with required modifications. Slyly side-lining L. cardinal Jacobini and instead proposing the nuncio in the court as the point of contact between the Holy See and the crown. In all possibility due to the advantage of influence and control that they could apply at home.

This was conveyed by the ambassador to the Roman secretary of the state on the 29th of August 1884. However, three days prior to this communique the Holy Father had published his brief, *Studio et Vigilantia*, through which he effectively abrogated the double jurisdiction of the *Padroado* from the 30th of September.³⁷⁷ This forced the Portuguese to sit up and take note of the situation and consider the need for an early remedy. The Portuguese informed Rome that they had made their case before Rome through the *Memorandum* a document from the office of the foreign minister of Portugal, on the rights of *Padroado* and the wrongdoings against it by the *Propaganda*. On 9th September, 1884, cardinal Jacobini informed the Portuguese ambassador in Rome that they had neither received the said *Memorandum* nor the allegation referred in it. This ‘*Memorandum*’ was promptly despatched on the 19th of the same month.

There is no evidence to suggest the impact of the *Memorandum* upon the ensuing events. Interestingly, on the 9th of November 1884, a cable arrived in Bombay which informed the vicar apostolic that the brief ‘*Studio et Vigilantia*’ stands suspended and they were to await further written instructions from Rome.³⁷⁸ The message was to be handed over to archbishop Agliardi, the apostolic delegate to India, on November 24th 1884³⁷⁹, upon his arrival in Bombay by bishop Meurin.³⁸⁰ He was despatched and tasked by the Holy See with the implementation of the said Brief. In the future he would then take up the role for the formulation of the new concordat and

³⁷⁶Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 284.

³⁷⁷Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 159.

³⁷⁸Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 285.

³⁷⁹Kierkels, *Golden Jubilee of the Apostolic Delegation of the East Indies: 1884-1934 Retrospects and Prospects*, 37.

³⁸⁰Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 161.

implementation of the hierarchy in India.³⁸¹ They were further informed that the deliberations with the Portuguese government had resumed. This shows the listening ear and the diplomatic acumen of Pope Leo XIII³⁸² in his ability to always make room for dialogue even with his adversaries.

It appears that cardinal Agliardi took up his residence at the Malabar Hill and engaged with various institutions and organized many tours to various vicariates in the north and south of India in view of the future contingencies.³⁸³ This gathering of the personal knowledge about the situation in the region gives credence to the claim by Fr. Manoel D'Sa in his book, the 'History of the Catholic Church in India' about the role of the cardinal Agliardi in the drawing of the new concordat. He departed for Rome in February of 1886 on health grounds, almost five months before the signing of the concordat, indicating to his possible need in Rome in the concluding phase of the concordat.³⁸⁴ This points to the thorough study and application of mind in the entire process involved in the development of the new concordat.

While in Rome, the Portuguese ambassador in light of the letter of cardinal Jacobini dated 9th of September, 1884; expressing the desire of the Holy Father about an equitable solution and his wish for a new concordat, wrote to his government on the 20th of November 1884 about his plan to ask cardinal Jacobini, secretary of the state for a negotiator of the Holy See for the new concordat.³⁸⁵ This can be identified as the meeting point where both the parties are on the same page of the diplomatic dialogue about the need for not just a revision of the concordat of 1857 but replacing it with a new one. With this commenced the long and detailed deliberations of proposals and counter proposals for the realization of the new concordat. As noted by cardinal Agliardi before his departure from India; these discussions were more political than ecclesiastical in nature but were equally important to resolve the problems in India with 'diplomatic' arrangements.³⁸⁶ Considering the volume of the discussions and the limited demand of this dissertation we will avoid an in-depth investigation into the matter.

It was on 20th of March, 1885, that Mr. José Vicente Barbosa du Bocage, the Portuguese foreign minister in his letter to Marquês de Tomar, Portuguese ambassador in Rome, acknowledges and consents to the desire of the Holy See, expressed in the letter of the ambassador on the 28th of

³⁸¹Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 285.

³⁸²Santa Sé Portugal, *Negocios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, vol. II, 238.

³⁸³Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 161.

³⁸⁴Kierkels, *Golden Jubilee of the Apostolic Delegation of the East Indies: 1884-1934 Retrospects and Prospects*, 37.

³⁸⁵Santa Sé Portugal, *Negocios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, vol. II, 263-265.

³⁸⁶Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 315.

December 1884 to the Holy See, for the replacement of the concordat of 21st of February, 1857.³⁸⁷ This marks the formal beginning of the efforts for the formulation of a new concordat to repair and heal the broken and suffering church in India. Probably heeding to the words in the Bible, ‘no city or house divided against itself will stand’ (Mt.12:25b). It would be opportune to note here that the concordat of 1857 was still in play and needed as a reference point for the new concordat, as is evident with the wording and objectives of the concordat of 1886.

The Portuguese were submissive to the demands of the Holy See³⁸⁸, as it did not enter into a verbal duel over their demands with cardinal Jacobini.³⁸⁹ The question of nature and power of the *Padroado* was once again the bone of contention and the roadblock in these discussions. On the occasion of the death of King Fernando II, father of King Luis I, Pope Leo XIII chose to take the matters into his hand and wrote a letter to the King. In this letter dated, 6th January 1886, the Holy Father registers his pain and also spells out the manner in which the *Padroado* and Portuguese traditions could be honoured in the current situation.³⁹⁰ The crown in his reply to the Holy Father on the 10th of February 1886 expressed his earnest desire for reconciliation and fruitful completion of the negotiations between the two States.³⁹¹ The impact of these personal communication can be apprehended from the fact that within four months of these letters between the King and the Holy Father the new concordat was realized on 23rd June 1886.³⁹² Thus, without demeaning the value of the detailed discussions between the appointed ministers, what could not be achieved over a period of about fifteen years (1871-1885) was accomplished with two letters in a time period of four months.

«The new concordat of 1886, along with the annex attached to the article III, had the necessary requirements to inaugurate the period of ecclesial peace in India».³⁹³ The realization of the concordat was indeed a red-letter day in the Portuguese history and more so for the church in India. We could say that after a long time there began a new era in the church-state relations in Portugal. The elevated position of the Pope in the eyes of the crown, who accounted him in the company of the Popes who had played decisive role in the history of the nation, such as, Nicholas V, Leo X, Paul III, Clement VIII³⁹⁴ bears witness to this new era. The implications of

³⁸⁷Santa Sé Portugal, *Negocios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, vol.II, 10-11.

³⁸⁸Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 169.

³⁸⁹Santa Sé Portugal, *Negocios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, vol. II, 115-125.

³⁹⁰Santa Sé Portugal, 175-178.

³⁹¹Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 173-175.

³⁹²Hull, 175.

³⁹³Cf. Rego, *Curso de missionologia*, 160.

³⁹⁴Santa Sé Portugal, *Negocios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, vol.II, 289.

the concordat were far and wide in its reach and impact upon the entire east. However, in light of our investigation we will restrict the scope of the concordat of 1886 to its bearing upon the double jurisdiction in Bombay and its relevance to the northern province of Portugal in India.

The realization of the concordat, as expected, had real and defining consequence in India, Portugal and Rome. It was viewed as a seed that would usher in a new era of ecclesial, social and political peace among the three entities. In his letter to cardinal Marianno Rampolla, Pope Leo XIII, while acknowledging the immense contribution of the Portuguese nation in the field of evangelization hopes that the new concordat might put to rest the controversies of *Padroado* in the region and thus achieve the goal of evangelization in the region.³⁹⁵ The church in Portugal, represented by the episcopal council, wrote to the Holy Father to express their joy at the resolution of the question of *Padroado* in India and its positive effect on the church in Portugal.³⁹⁶ The Holy Father in his reply to the letter from the bishops exhorted them to work for the repair of the Portuguese church and society.³⁹⁷ It is also interesting to note that the political and ecclesial turmoil that was unleashed with the invasion of Portugal by France in the early 1800 was almost put to rest and resolved by a French, in the person of Pope Leo XIII, in the late 1800.

2.2.1. DAMAN AS THE SEAT OF THE NEW DIOCESE

Considering the constitutions of the concordat of 1857, in his letter on the 29th of December 1870, to the Portuguese ambassador in Rome, Mr. José da Silva Mendes Leal, the foreign minister of Portugal, writes that the crown was ready to create another diocese with its seat in Daman.³⁹⁸ As the Portuguese knew that the creation of new dioceses around Goa would not be a challenge from an economical perspective.³⁹⁹ In such a scenario, the secretary of the state of the Holy See had proposed the circumscription of the region around Goa into three dioceses – first, Daman along with Diu (also comprising of Dadra and Nagar Haveli); second, Bharuch (British India) along with the district of Surat; third, Konkan (British India) with the Island of Salsette with the exception of some parishes.⁴⁰⁰ Today, in hindsight we can say that this proposal of the Holy See was more practical and appropriate but such divisions of ecclesial

³⁹⁵Conde de Samodães, ed., *A Carta do Santo Padre Leão XIII ao Cardeal Marianno Rampolla e a Questão Romana* (Porto: Typ. da Palvara, 1887), 61-62.

³⁹⁶*Carta Encyclica do N. Santissimo Padre Leão XIII, Papa por a divina providencia aos Bispos Portuguezes E carta collectiva dos mesmos Bispos as Santissimo Papa Leão XIII* (Lisboa: Imprensa do Lusitano, 1886), 15-17.

³⁹⁷*Carta Encyclica do N. Santissimo Padre Leão XIII*, 3-12.

³⁹⁸Santa Sé Portugal, *Negocios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, vol. II, 80.

³⁹⁹Santa Sé Portugal, 160-161. Such a belief was based on economic health of Goa.

⁴⁰⁰Santa Sé Portugal *Negocios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, vol. II, 170.

territory could not be achieved and the entire region was clubbed into the single diocese of Daman as the suffragan of the archdiocese of Goa. To this effect, a letter on the same date from João Carvalho Mártens, the new Portuguese ambassador to Rome, proposed Daman as the single diocese which comprises the surrounding regions.⁴⁰¹ Finally, in the reply to the letter of condolence on the death of his father Fernando II, that King Luis I wrote to the Holy Father, was attached a memorandum with the proposal for a single new diocese from the Portuguese foreign minister to the secretary of the state of Rome.⁴⁰²

The following communique from the Holy See informed the government that they were ready to follow the proposals mentioned in the new memorandum. They were agreed upon with a caveat that wherever Goan community was in minority, even in distant places, they would belong to the said diocese. Bassein and Chaul were added to the list with the final figure of more than 1,94,274 laity living in the circumscribed Daman.⁴⁰³ Thus, the land of Daman with its potential and destiny to be the beacon of Christianity in the region was finally getting its due through the concordat. The erection of the first church in Daman in 1559 which had come to be the 'mother church' (*Igreja Matriz*) was fulfilling a prophecy as it was selected to be the cathedral (Mother Church) of the new diocese. The city was an ecclesial hotspot in the region owing to the missionary activity of over three centuries. It was also a political and geographical centre for the *Padroado* interests in the region. As it was politically under the Portuguese crown and geographically it was holding prime location in relation to the expansive jurisdiction of the new diocese. Daman as the door to the region for economic activity definitely gave the Portuguese the leverage that they needed to administer the new diocese. Daman rose to the occasion and the stature in order to assume the role that it was always meant to play.

2.2.2. QUESTION OF PADROADO AND PROPAGANDA IN BOMBAY

In the case of King Solomon, he knew that the real mother would never want to cut the child in two, but rather let the other women have it. However, in the case of Bombay both *Propaganda Fide* and *Padroado Português* were adamantly steady in their claim over their right of ecclesial jurisdiction. Neither were willing to let go of their claims over the ecclesial territory in Bombay and adjoining areas. Thereby, obliging Rome to take the tough decision and cut church into two halves and divide the ecclesial region between *Padroado* and *Propaganda*. It was a tougher judgement than Solomon, that needed to be taken for the greater good and was much more challenging to be executed on the ground. As the later reversal notes of 18th of April 1890, apart

⁴⁰¹Santa Sé Portugal, 166-167.

⁴⁰²Santa Sé Portugal, 192-194.

⁴⁰³Santa Sé Portugal, 236-237.

from other reconsideration in the concordat of 1886, point to these challenges in executing the provision for double jurisdiction proposed in the concordat.⁴⁰⁴ There were many continuous misunderstandings and clashes that had to be endured during the course of their normal functioning in the complicated maze of jurisdiction.

In Bombay the air was tense and volatile in the church circles which were abuzz with the impending concordat between the Holy See and Portugal. The general notion among everyone was that the *Padroado* would be abolished and a single jurisdiction of the *Propaganda* be established for the entire region. To this effect the attacks on the *Padroado* had increased by many folds in the media of the *Propaganda*. The media arms of the *Propaganda* – *A India Catolica*, *The Examiner*, and others printed material against the Portuguese right of *Padroado*.⁴⁰⁵ As noted before, the anti-*Padroado* movement was garnered and prompted by the person of bishop Meurin of Bombay. His writings ‘The *Padroado* Question’ and ‘The Concordat Question’ in the form of pamphlets⁴⁰⁶ had begun a fresh row in Bombay. These animated the proponents of *Padroado* into action, as people organized public gatherings and published articles and books to defend the right of *Padroado*. Thus, creating a counter movement and contrary effect than what bishop Meurin had initially intended.⁴⁰⁷

There was a spree of letters which were despatched to Rome from the *Padroado* superiors and laity in India.⁴⁰⁸ It must also be noted here that things were not always hunky-dory in the vicariate of Bombay. The sudden division of the office of the bishop and the superior regular of the Society of Jesus in 1883, had resulted in unsavoury incidents. Bishop Meurin found himself with a parallel authority to deal with, where he had exercised his sole authority for over 20 years. His relation with cardinal Agliardi were also not on the best of terms as once again his powers were snipped with the arrival of the cardinal. Apart from this, there were many other bitter sour incidents in the diocese between the prelate and the religious. This uproar in Bombay between *Padroado* and *Propaganda*, could be attributed as the underlying causes for the suspension of the Papal brief of *Studio et Vigilantia* and the recall of bishop Meurin to Rome; rather than the resumption of diplomatic channels, which had never ceased.

This paved way for Rome and Portugal to work towards the resolution of the issues without any apprehensions about the derailment of the talks due to external factors. Thus, in the final draft of the concordat we find that the region of Bombay was distributed between the *Propaganda*

⁴⁰⁴Pera, «Diocese de Damão», 292.

⁴⁰⁵Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 177.

⁴⁰⁶Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 287.

⁴⁰⁷Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 176.

⁴⁰⁸Couple of letters with demand for the *Padroado* jurisdiction are attached in the appendix no. 7.

and *Padroado*. This was seen as the viable and practical solution that was acceptable to both the parties who had a substantial hold and interests in the region. Bombay, which was the heart of the problem was addressed by handing over the churches in the Bombay Island to the *Padroado* and continuation of possession of church in Salsette and elsewhere, which were already administered by the *Propaganda*.⁴⁰⁹ The division and the share which was carved out for *Padroado* will be evaluated as the dissertation progresses. While everyone knew that this could never be a permanent or effective way forward it was seen as the only option available in the given circumstances. This was palpable in the squabbles that both the parties had over the jurisdiction in the region. Even though some might see them as fraternal dialogues which is the soul of the ecclesial functioning.

The diplomatic acumen which was responsible for the realization of the present concordat could be measured from the fact that both the parties saw their respective victories in the concordat. As stated in the report of the Portuguese government, «the new concordat which has confirmed once again, and in a solemn manner, the right of the *Padroado*, which has circumscribed the Indian dioceses...»⁴¹⁰ indicates to the vindication felt by the Portuguese. While the *Propaganda* were also elated by the outcome of the concordat and were delighted to see that their claims were justified. They felt that the «longest struggle for and against the establishment of the vicar apostolic ended in a complete victory for *Propaganda*».⁴¹¹ This mutual admiration and a sense of victory gave the concordat a chance to make relevant and important contribution in the local church without prejudice or rancour from anyone.

2.2.2.1. ARTICLE III⁴¹²

The scope of the concordat of 1886 was far and wide in its reach and impact, as it encompassed the questions of the entire *Padroado* governed church in the east. Since the objective of this dissertation is not the evaluation of the concordat or its subsequent influence in the region we will limit and restrict our attention to the article III of the concordat which dealt directly with the diocese of Daman. In the article III of the concordat, the two parties agree to erect three suffragan sees under the archdiocese of Goa – Daman (bearing also the title of Cranganore), Cochin (reconstituted in the concordat) and St. Thomas of Mylapore.⁴¹³ This article created the provisions and the necessary grounds for Rome to erect the dioceses through the brief of the

⁴⁰⁹Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 328-329.

⁴¹⁰Cf. D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 293.

⁴¹¹Cf. Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 328.

⁴¹²The text of the article III and its Appendix is available in the concordat of 1886 which is attached in the appendix no. 6.

⁴¹³Santa Sé Portugal, *Negocios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, vol. II, 275.

Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII, *Humanae Salutis Auctor*, in 1886. This article was a huge victory for the church in the region which had been subjected to ecclesial torments and sufferings since the creation of the *Propaganda Fide* in 1622 and more acutely since the rupture in the diplomatic ties between Rome and Portugal in 1834. There are no doubts that the diocese in the region was an ecclesial necessity for the organization and growth of the church. Thus, the article III had finally answered the long-standing prayers of the region.

The article III was not standing on its own in the concordat of 1886 but was being constructed on the strong foundation of the important provision that was created in the concordat of 1857. The article VII of the former concordat had left a provision for the circumscription of a new diocese or dioceses⁴¹⁴ and this was being realized in the article III of the current concordat of 1886. The crucial article of the former concordat contributed towards the erection of not one or two but three new dioceses in India. Such was the defining contribution of the article VII of the former concordat in the present time. The claim or the complain that the concordat of 1857 was futuristic in its nature was vindicated in the present concordat of 1886.

As noted, the article VII of the former concordat was generic and alluring to the possibility of the erection of new dioceses around the archdiocese of Goa without concretely presenting any tangible suggestion. And the consequent efforts for the circumscription had also not borne any results after the death of cardinal Saba who was entrusted with the task of demarcating the areas for new dioceses. This was ultimately and concretely realized in the article III which demarcated the titles of the three new dioceses. Thereby proving the study and the thought that had gone into the formulation of the new concordat. Having taken cognizance of the vital importance of the said article III we will now throw light on the appendix that followed this article.⁴¹⁵ The provision of this appendix was noted in the *Corpus* of the concordat (article III) with the objective to address the contentious issue and demarcate concretely the jurisdiction of the three new dioceses.

2.2.2.2. THE APPENDIX⁴¹⁶

The declaration of the formation of three dioceses of Daman, Cochin and St. Thomas of Mylapore in the article III of the new concordat was fructified in the appendix that was attached with the concordat and was ratified on the same day as the concordat, on 23rd June 1886.⁴¹⁷ In this appendix the focus and the concern were to concretely demarcate the areas that would

⁴¹⁴D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 181.

⁴¹⁵D'Sa, 270.

⁴¹⁶The Appendix is attached at the end of the Concordat of 1886 in appendix no. 6.

⁴¹⁷Santa Sé Portugal, *Negocios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, vol. II, 278-284.

become part of the above mentioned three dioceses. It was an important elaboration of the article III with real implication on the ground for the healthy functioning of the local church. The appendix is divided into five sections with sections II, III and IV directly dealing with the question of jurisdiction and demarcation of the new dioceses. In the first section it is clearly stated that all the territories belonging to the actual Portuguese possession (political) in India, with the exception of Daman and Diu, were to form part of the patriarchal metropolitan and primacial church of Goa.⁴¹⁸ Thereby establishing the ecclesial independence of Daman and Diu which were politically Portuguese colonies and were marked to form the part of the diocese.

The section II of the appendix elaborates upon the complete demarcation of the jurisdiction of the diocese of Daman in the region. Broadly and collectively speaking, the diocese was to compose of the regions from the state of Gujarat (British ruled), Maharashtra (British ruled) and Portuguese India (Daman and Diu). From the state of Gujarat, parts of the district of *Broach* (Bharuch) and *Surrate* (Surat) were attached to the diocese with the exception of the churches and parishes in the cities of Surat and Bulsar.⁴¹⁹ From the state of Maharashtra the district of northern Konkan, *varado* of the islands of Salsette and Trombay, *Varado* of Bassein (Vasai), *Bandorá* (Bandra) with the church and the institute of St. Stanislaus and St. Joseph convent along with Juvem, *Condotina* (Candolim) and Culvem which belonged to the vicar apostolic and in Bombay the church of Mazgão, chapel of St. Francis Xavier in Colaba along with all the establishments and the monetary income, St. Francis Xavier in Dabul, Our Lady of Health church in Cavel and the chapel in Sonapor, St. Michael church in upper Mahim, chapel of Good Counsel at Sion along with the School, Our Lady of Salvation lower Mahim along with the chapel in Matunga and Parel together with the educational institutes were placed under the care of the *Padroado*.⁴²⁰ The demarcation also accounted for the regions such as Chaul, Karanja, Tarapur and others.⁴²¹ This was the understanding that was reached about the jurisdiction of the diocese of Daman, especially to get the required clarity because of the double jurisdiction.

2.2.2.3. RE-NEGOTIATIONS OF THE TERMS OF JURISDICTION

It must be acknowledged that the concordat along with the appendix were meant to work as medicine and not magic. It meant that the healing was to be materialized over a period of time and not instantly. The documents had set the ball rolling and opened the doors for discussions, in the spirit of brotherhood, for the resolution of the conflicts that were plaguing the community.

⁴¹⁸D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 272-273.

⁴¹⁹Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 182-183.

⁴²⁰Santa Sé Portugal, *Negocios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, vol. II, 278-280.

⁴²¹Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 328.

George Porter, archbishop of Bombay, records that he had a friendly relation with the bishop of Daman and that they were on 'excellent terms' with each other.⁴²² This affable environment allowed the two parties to deliberate and debate over issues in an amicable manner. This is no way to imply that there were no dissensions among the two. The local church had taken upon itself the responsibility of ensuring that the terms and conditions of the concordat were implemented with its letter and spirit. There were cordial and friendly deliberations among the concerned parties; diocese of Daman, archdiocese of Bombay and also the archdiocese of Goa, to endorse the concordat in the best possible manner and in the best interest of the church. There were also instances when matters were referred to the Holy See for the sake of its opinion or decision. To some this might seem as a conflict and skirmish between the two parties and to others means to uphold the concordat. The fact of the matter remains that whenever the Holy See transcribed a decree for the resolution of the differences both the parties readily, sometimes with a heavy heart, adhered to the decisions.

In one instance Rev. Porter placed his doubts about the jurisdiction before the *Propaganda Fide* and the congregation despatched it to the extraordinary ecclesiastical affairs in Rome.⁴²³ These were about the status of the laity who migrated from one jurisdiction to the next due to their personal needs. Also, about the possibility of expansion of the church within the jurisdiction and its implications. To cite an example, there were plans for a new church building in Dabul which were placed before Rome and duly confirmed on 25th of September 1886.⁴²⁴ There were also the demons of rumours in the region, such as the plans of the diocese of Daman to erect a cathedral and seminary in Bombay. One could say that such doubts were totally unfounded, as the diocese of Daman had already identified the church in Daman as its cathedral and the renovated Augustinian convent as the seminary building for the diocese. J. H. Gense in his book 'The Church at the Gateway of India' quotes the words of Mgr. L. C. Pera who referred to the Glória church at Mazgão as the ancient *Matriz* to imply that the diocese considered it as their cathedral.⁴²⁵ This seems like an erroneous claim as the term Portuguese term *Matriz* implies mother church whereas *Sé* implies cathedral church. The only plausible and valid reason for the long stay of the bishop in Bombay could be attributed to the volume of pastoral duties in Bombay and the tiring transit.⁴²⁶

⁴²²Gense, 337.

⁴²³D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 324.

⁴²⁴Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 350.

⁴²⁵Gense, 365.

⁴²⁶Santa Sé Portugal, *Negocios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, vol. II, 111.

As noted in the first chapter, the point of origin of the double jurisdiction can be traced back to the expulsion of the Portuguese Carmelites from Bombay by the British based on their doubt that they were instigating the locals against the British crown in 1790.⁴²⁷ Since then the laity in these regions had been divided between the *Padroado* and the *Propaganda* missionaries. During these times there were no legal ecclesial boundaries to bind the laity to a particular jurisdiction, on the contrary they were free to choose between *Padroado* and *Propaganda*.⁴²⁸ Post concordat of 1886 the situation changed drastically and the lines were drawn to demarcate the ecclesial jurisdiction of the parishes. This meant that their freedom to choose was now controlled and they had to follow the norms with regards to their jurisdiction.

The reality of the matter was that majority of the population in Bombay was migratory as it was an industrial area. Implying that the nature of domicile was a core issue for the laity in such a fluid geographical mobility which made honouring strict jurisdiction boundaries a challenge. In this situation there were some committees such as the *Padroado* Defence Committee or the Bombay East Indian Association which were highly motivated to maintaining the existing *status quo* in the region. There were disparaging articles in the newspaper *O Anglo-Lusitano* against the provisions in the concordat and the subsequently drawn ecclesial boundaries.⁴²⁹ Nonetheless, despite and in spite of such characters the process of reconciliation and healing was moving forward towards the realization of a united church. The respect and honour that the prelates had for the concordat and the eventual bull, *Humanae Salutis Auctor*,⁴³⁰ of Pope Leo XIII in 1886, can be cited for the firm resolution of the church heads. Neither the bishop nor his vicars made any move to pursue any proposals contrary to the spirit of the concordat.⁴³¹

Eventually in the reversal notes of 18th April 1890, the Holy See, among other provisions, extended the jurisdiction of the bishop of Daman over the *Padroado* laity who migrated to Bombay for various reasons.⁴³² There were many other formal interventions at the local and universal level between the two entities of *Padroado* and *Propaganda* with the mediation of the congregation for the despatch of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical affairs. We cannot afford to study and comment on every individual decree which was enacted to pursue peace in the region. But the reversal notes of 1890, which were viewed as ‘political’ in nature gave a certain boost

⁴²⁷Fortunato Coutinho, ‘Le Régime Paroissial des Diocèses de Rite Latin de L’inde des Origines (XVI Siècle) a nos jours’ (Louvain: Universitaires de Louvain, 1958),167-168.

⁴²⁸Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 351.

⁴²⁹Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 206-207.

⁴³⁰Leo XIII, «*Humanae Salutis Auctor*» (1 September 1886), *Acta Sanctae Sedis* XIX (1886), 176.

⁴³¹Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 393.

⁴³²Luiz Claudino Pera, «The Diocese», in *In the Mission Field: The Diocese of Damaun* (Bombay: E. G. Pearson at the Times Press, 1925), 47-48.

to the *Padroado* church.⁴³³ Due to the flourishing ties between Portugal and Britain, especially after the monarch took control of the East India Company in India in 1858,⁴³⁴ the British rarely meddled in the church affairs. Hence, without a third-party intervention the concordat was moving towards its destiny of ushering peace.

We can summarise and state that the principle of these decrees was to respect the authority of the local ordinary of the place and to promote the good of the local church. In case of doubt, the parties were welcomed by the Holy Father to the table of discussion on a case-by-case merit. The concerned parties, in their wisdom, dealt with questions ranging from jurisdiction, domicile, sacraments, disciplinary and criminal jurisdiction, education, expansion of parishes and many other issues. In the meantime, laity and clergy were duty bound by their obedience to the Holy See and under the pain of penalties laid down by the law, to adhere to these resolutions concerning the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.⁴³⁵ It was Mgr. Zaleski, apostolic delegate to India, who halted the jurisdiction tug-of-war through his letter to the concerned bishops on the 30th of September 1892, stating that the continued discussion about the ‘ecclesiastical organization’ is only meant to disturb the peace of the region and needed to cease.⁴³⁶ The map below gives us the clear picture of the complexity of the double jurisdiction in the region.⁴³⁷

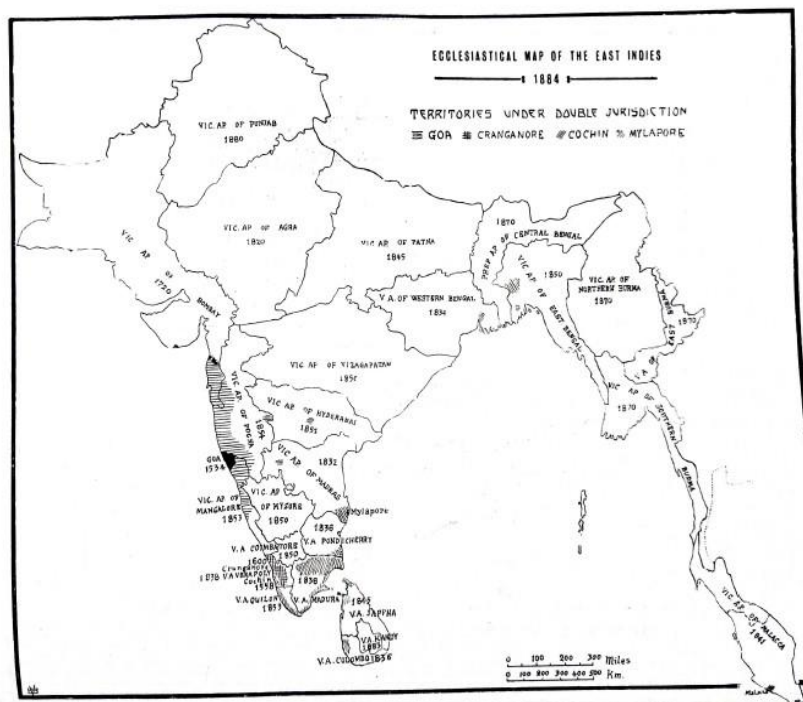


Fig. 2. 1 New Ecclesiastical Map of India 1884

⁴³³Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 360.

⁴³⁴Lobato, *Relações internacionais em Damão-Dadra-Nagar Aveli com maratas, ingleses e indianos de 1740 a 1956*, vol. II, 1.

⁴³⁵Pera, «The Diocese», 49.

⁴³⁶Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 361.

⁴³⁷Kierkels, *Golden Jubilee of the Apostolic Delegation of the East Indies: 1884-1934 Retrospects and Prospects*, 42.

2.3. *HUMANAE SALUTIS AUCTOR*⁴³⁸

From the perspective of an ecclesial hierarchy, despite of the existing ecclesial structures, India was in dire need of an update. The turmoil in the church could be attributed to many reasons such as the multiple monarchies, the fluid geography due to wars, volatile political and social systems. But the fact of the matter was that even in the twentieth century a lot was expected in terms of ecclesial discipline, church hierarchy, promotion of vocations and a strong missionary push. In conclusion the church in India was starving for attention and solutions to its ailments. The elevation of Pope Leo XIII heralded the beginning of the resolution of these concerns in the near and far east. In his apostolic letter, *Orientalium Dignitas*, on 30th November 1894,⁴³⁹ he records his concern and states the steps he has taken to promote the interests and health of the churches of eastern rites. The concordat with the Portuguese was a decisive step in the direction of peace in the far east.

The concordat was not an end in itself but a launch pad for a more impressive plan that he had for the church in India. As recorded by the report of the Portuguese government to King Luis I, the Holy Father had a very deep and sincere desire to establish a new hierarchy in India and the adjoining regions (countries) in the near future with a bull.⁴⁴⁰ This desire of the Holy Father was not to be realized in the distant but immediate future. Thus, Pope Leo XIII inaugurated the hierarchy in India and ushered in a season of peace and order in the church of India through his bull *Humanae Salutis Auctor* on the 1st of September 1886.⁴⁴¹ The difference of approximately two months between the concordat and the bull indicates the urgency and point to the focus of the Holy Father towards the church in India. The objective of the bull was the implementation of the hierarchy in the church in India and thereby answer some unresolved questions while clearing the doubts among the clergy and the laity.⁴⁴²

Pope Leo XIII in his wisdom, realizing the gravity of the situation and the enormity of field, was moved to take this leap of faith. A leap of faith because the hierarchy implied that the church was ready to amend and change as per the present needs of the country. Consequently,

⁴³⁸The text of the Apostolic Letter, *Humanae Salutis Auctor* is attached in the appendix no. 5.

⁴³⁹Leo XIII, «*Orientalium Dignitas*» (30 Novembris 1894), accessed on the 05th November 2021 https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/la/apost_letters/documents/hf_1-xiii_apl_18941130_orientalium-dignitas.html, Igreja Católica., ed., *A luz do Oriente: carta apostólica do Sumo Pontífice João Paulo II 'Orientalium Dignitas' do Papa Leão XIII*, Voz da igreja 8 (Lisboa: Editora Rei dos Livros Secretariado Geral do Episcopado, 1999).

⁴⁴⁰Santa Sé Portugal, *Negócios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, vol. II, 289.

⁴⁴¹Leo XIII, «*Humanae Salutis Auctor*» (1 Septembris 1886), accessed on the 09th June 2020, https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/la/apost_letters/documents/hf_1-xiii_apl_18860901_humanae-salutis.html, D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 298-316.

⁴⁴²D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 300.

through the provision created in the article III of the concordat, Pope Leo XIII established the diocese of Damão through the papal bull *Humanae Salutis Auctor*.⁴⁴³ Through this bull, he also elevated the old vicariates of the *Propaganda Fide* into dioceses and archdioceses. The Holy Father gave independent charge to all the ecclesial heads of the *Propaganda* to co-ordinate their ecclesial activity through the congregation of *Propaganda Fide*.⁴⁴⁴ While the *Padroado* was to report and co-ordinate their ecclesial activities through the congregation for the extraordinary ecclesiastical affairs.⁴⁴⁵ This undoubtedly paved way for the union and healing that was the need of the hour.

The bull did not dictate terms but presented a blue print to give a broad idea about the intentions of the Pope. Accordingly, the apostolic delegate in India, Anthony Agliardi began the formal execution of the bull with three episcopal assemblies held respectively at Colombo on 6th January 1887, Allahabad on 24th February 1887 and 25th January 1887 at Bangalore.⁴⁴⁶ The acts of the three episcopal assemblies were taken to the Holy Father by Mgr. Agliardi on the 22nd of April 1887. After careful study of the work presented to him, the Holy Father promulgated the acts through his brief *Post Initam* on the 6th of June 1887.⁴⁴⁷ Thus, Ceylon and India were divided in eight ecclesiastical Provinces, 1.) Goa, Primatial and Patriarchal See of the East Indies, Daman, Cochin and Mylapore; 2.) Madras, Vishakhapatnam and Hyderabad; 3.) Verapoly and Quilon; 4.) Pondicherry, Trichinopoly, Mysore, Coimbatore and Mangalore; 5.) Calcutta – Krishnagar and Dacca; 6.) Bombay and Poona; 7.) Agra, Allahabad and Lahore; 8.) Colombo, Jaffna and Kandy.⁴⁴⁸ The Pope deserves credit for seeking and implementing measures drawn from the concerned parties in order to actualize the potential of the church in India. Even though it was not the final answer, it definitely gave the direction towards the possible solutions in the future. The figure (Fig. 2.2) below gives a broad view of the effect of the new hierarchy causing new circumscriptions in the ecclesial map after 1886 in India.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴³Pera, «Diocese de Damão», 290.

⁴⁴⁴D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 313-314.

⁴⁴⁵Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 334.

⁴⁴⁶Kierkels, *Golden Jubilee of the Apostolic Delegation of the East Indies: 1884-1934 Retrospects and Prospects*, 41.

⁴⁴⁷D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 316-323.

⁴⁴⁸Kierkels, *Golden Jubilee of the Apostolic Delegation of the East Indies: 1884-1934 Retrospects and Prospects*, 43-44.

⁴⁴⁹Fortunato Coutinho, «*Le Régime Paroissial des Diocèses de Rite Latin de L'inde des Origines (XVI Siècle) a nos jours*» (Louvain: Universitaires de Louvain, 1958), 179.

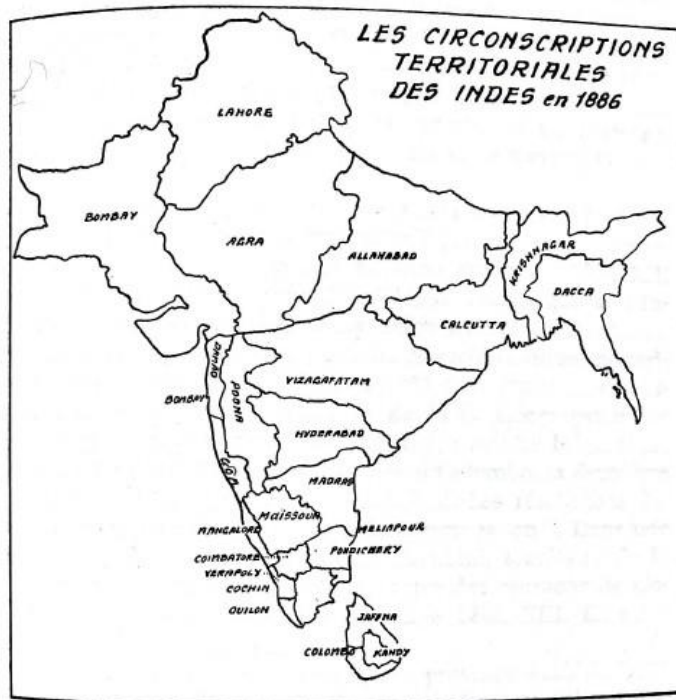


Fig. 2. 2 The Ecclesial Circumscription after 1886

2.3.1. A CALL FOR HARMONY

As noted by Mgr. Agliardi there was a need for a peaceful settlement of the religious question in the region. Apart from the clear motive of implementing order and discipline, *Humanae Salutis Auctor* had the motive of peace and harmony in the church at its very heart. As the Holy Father himself confesses in the bull that through the concordat with the Portuguese government and the bull he aimed to achieve calm and lasting harmony of minds of the Christians in India.⁴⁵⁰ The document accounted for the ecclesiastical history of the church in India, the contributions of individuals such as St. Thomas, the Apostle and empires such as Portugal.⁴⁵¹ Thus, the tone of the bull was not to admonish or discredit but to identify and accept the role played by everyone in the foundation and the sustenance of the church in India. Invariably inviting everyone to continue to work towards the peaceful growth of the church. The exhortation of the Pope in the bull summarises his desire, «[...] the clergy and people [...] hold firm the harmony of wills, to preserve charity untarnished, to render through life willing and unhesitating obedience to the bishops and especially to the Apostolic See [...]».⁴⁵²

⁴⁵⁰Cf. Leo XIII, «*Humanae Salutis Auctor*» (1 Septembris 1886)., D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India [1652-1924]*, 307.

⁴⁵¹Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 333.

⁴⁵²Cf. Leo XIII, «*Humanae Salutis Auctor*».

2.3.2. A CALL FOR LOCAL CLERGY

As history bears witness, Pope Leo XIII was always scholastically inclined and is credited with the foundation of the pontifical academy of St. Thomas Aquinas on 15th of October 1879 with emphases on philosophical discipline for the candidates to priesthood.⁴⁵³ In his apostolic letter, *Orientalium Dignitas*, he writes about the institutes that he opened in Rome to train seminarians. Also, the colleges for the Armenians and Maronites, a college in Athens and a seminary of St. Anna in Jerusalem.⁴⁵⁴ The Pope's concern was evident in such writings and in his initiatives to promote local educated clergy in every Christian rite. He believed that education was the answer to the need for a robust clergy and the solution to the problems encountered in the missions of the church. Thus, his quote on the special medal to commemorate the opening of the papal seminary in Kandy, Sri Lanka; «*Filii tui India, administri tibi salutis*»⁴⁵⁵ capture the intent and desire of the Holy Father's vision for India. Consequently, the dioceses were expected to open seminaries and other such institutes for the growth and sustenance of the church (AE 09).⁴⁵⁶ The founding of the religious institutes such as the society of the Missionaries of St. Francis Xavier in 1887 and the congregation of the sisters of Holy Family of Nazareth in 1934 endorsed his clarion call for the salvation of India.

2.4. THE JURISDICTION OF THE DIOCESE

As we have noted above, the appendix to the article III established the jurisdiction of the diocese of Daman. It extended for about 300 miles from north to south and about 35 to 43 miles from east to west. On the south it shared ecclesial borders with the archdiocese of Goa and in the north, it was demarcated by the river Narmada, on the east it was adorned by the Sahyadri ghats and on the west by the sprawling Indian ocean. One could only imagine the difficulty that was presented by such a terrain to the diocese which boasts of rivers, mountains and valleys. The region was rich in local culture and traditions, with profound diversity among the laity. It also comprised of what was formerly part of the chain of islands forming the northern province of the Portuguese empire – Bassein, Trombay, Daravy, Salsette, Mazgão, Mahim, Worli, Bombay, Colaba, Elephanta, Karanja and Kanheri.⁴⁵⁷ Majority of these regions were under the British empire during the drawing of the concordat of 1886. Nevertheless, the connection between the

⁴⁵³Gilson, *The Church Speaks to the Modern World: The Social Teachings of Leo XIII*, 6-7.

⁴⁵⁴Instituto Teologico Greco Cattolico Santo Atanasio, Simposio della Lettera Apostolica di Papa Leone XIII, and Igreja Católica., eds., *Orientalium Dignitas: atti del simposio commemorativo della ricorrenza centenaria della lettera apostolica di Papa Leone XIII* (Nyíregyháza: Görög Katolikus Hittudományi Foiskola, 1995), 7-8.

⁴⁵⁵Cf. Kierkels, *Golden Jubilee of the Apostolic Delegation of the East Indies: 1884-1934 Retrospects and Prospects*, 52.

⁴⁵⁶Leo XIII, «Ad Extremas» (June 24, 1893), accessed on the 6th November 2021, https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_24061893_ad-extremas.html.

⁴⁵⁷Rego, *História das Missões do Padroado português do Oriente*, vol. I, 463.

Padroado and the regions which comes under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Daman can be traced back well beyond three to four centuries.

Diversity of the region can be comprehended from the fact that apart from Portuguese and English there were other local languages, such as; Gujarati, Urdu, Marathi, Hindi and not to mention the varying dialects of the locals in the region.⁴⁵⁸ The region was also at disparity in economic terms with the presence of ultra-rich and ultra-poor living in vicinity of the other. A special mention needs to be made about the plurality of religions in the regions – Jews, Muslims, Hindus, Parsees, among others. These were the challenges that the vast jurisdiction presented before the new diocese. The expansive area of the diocese also offered ample of opportunities for the diocese to make a mark in the lives of the faithful through opening of missions. In keeping with the desire of the Pope Leo XIII and pursuing its traditions the diocese served through churches, schools, orphanages, hospitals and homes for the widows.⁴⁵⁹

The vast geographical expanse of the jurisdiction of the new diocese needed a lot of attention and a close eye, as it was at times sandwiched between the territories of *Propaganda Fide*. The area of the diocese comprised of the entire Portuguese territories of Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli. In the English territories of – districts of Colaba, Thane, Bombay, Surat, part of Bharuch including the native states of Baroda, Janjira, Dharampur, Jawhar and Rajpipla.⁴⁶⁰ The diocese also accounted for the regions of Chaul, Bassein, Salsette and Trombay.⁴⁶¹ Apart from these, as per the reversal notes of jurisdiction of 1890, every individual from the *Padroado* who moved to Bombay from Goa was subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Daman. Such provision made the ordinary functioning of the diocese more challenging in the already vast and politically diverse region.

The *Padroado* had worked closely with their ally, the British government on the political and legal front to vindicate their rights over the ecclesial jurisdiction of the diocese. Speaking from a purely political perspective, the Portuguese and the British governments, even as allies, believed and maintained strict laws when it came to jurisdiction over their territories.⁴⁶² As the following text throws light over the subject, «[...]Entre as aldeias Portuguesas de Luari, Parjai,

⁴⁵⁸Pera, «The Diocese», 51.

⁴⁵⁹D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 247-248.

⁴⁶⁰Amaro Pinto Lobo, *Memória histórico-eclésiástica da Arquidiocese de Goa: em comemoração do quadricentenário da sua erecção canónica 1533-1933* (Nova Goa: Tip. 'A voz de S. Francisco Xavier', 1933), 68.

⁴⁶¹Santa Sé Portugal, *Negócios externos : documentos apresentados ás cortes na sessão legislativa de 1887 pelo ministro e secretário d'estado dos negócios estrangeiros : negociações com a Santa Sé*, vol. II, 279.

⁴⁶²Lobato, *Relações internacionais em Damão-Dadra-Nagar Aveli com maratas, ingleses e indianos de 1740 a 1956*, 15-21.

Sorungui, Apti, Velugão, Carachigão, Ambeli e Querdi e as aldeias Inglesas de Anklus, Bormala, Komchae, Anveer, Kodar, Koorunj, Sootakrul, Oodwah e Kubluindev[...]».⁴⁶³

This level of understanding was also visible in terms of ecclesial jurisdiction where the British had assured complete cooperation to the Portuguese on every front. On the legal front the British courts entertained and delivered judgements upon the litigations pertaining to the legal feuds in the diocese between the *Padroado* and others. It is a historical fact that they were even providing financial aid to the parishes in their territories. Now, with the objective of focusing on the individual region of the diocese the next part will investigate ecclesial and missiological aspects of these regions. We will not elaborate upon the ecclesial and missiological aspects of Damão, since we have sufficiently dealt with the region and the related aspects in the first chapter. The figure (Fig.2.3) represents the geographical areas within the jurisdiction of the diocese of Damão.⁴⁶⁴

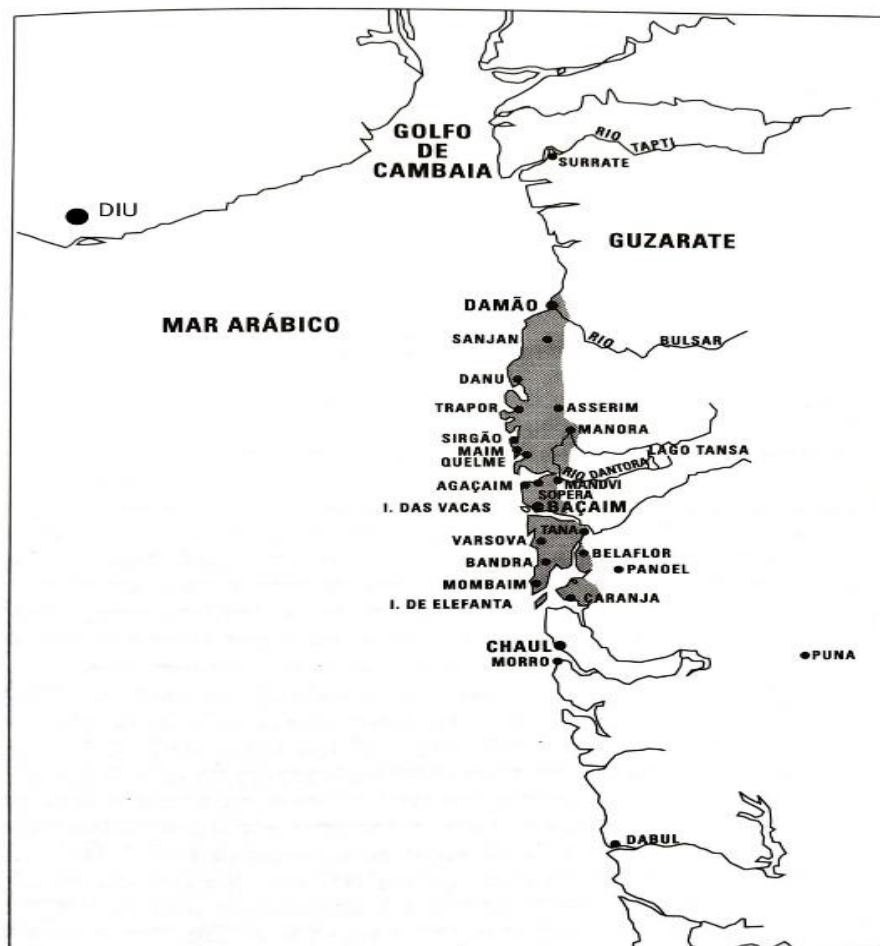


Fig. 2. 3 Depicting the Jurisdiction of the Diocese of Damão

⁴⁶³Cf. Lobato, *Relações internacionais em Damão-Dadra-Nagar Aveli* 16.

⁴⁶⁴Mário César Leão, *A província do norte do estado da Índia*, Documentos & ensaios 10 (Macau: Instituto Cultural, 1996), 11.

2.4.1. DIU

The island of Diu was the northern most part of the diocese of Daman and was the first city to be a part of the Portuguese empire situated in the Gulf of Cambay⁴⁶⁵ and ever since remained under the command of the Portuguese until the twentieth century. Diu was offered by King Shah Bahadur to the Portuguese as an offering of peace in the region in 1535.⁴⁶⁶ It was the principal door and key to commerce for the region of Gujarat⁴⁶⁷ and was important port between Goa and Gulf of Oman (Reino de Ormuz).⁴⁶⁸ The Portuguese built the fort in the island region in 1536⁴⁶⁹ through the command of King Manuel to governor Diogo Lopes de Sequeira.⁴⁷⁰ The district of Diu comprised of the island of Diu, villages of Goghla and the two strips of Simbor.⁴⁷¹ In the early years, Diu boasted of more than two hundred Portuguese families in the region surrounded by Muslims and Hindus.⁴⁷² Given below is the geographical representation of the area of Diu (Fig.2.4).⁴⁷³

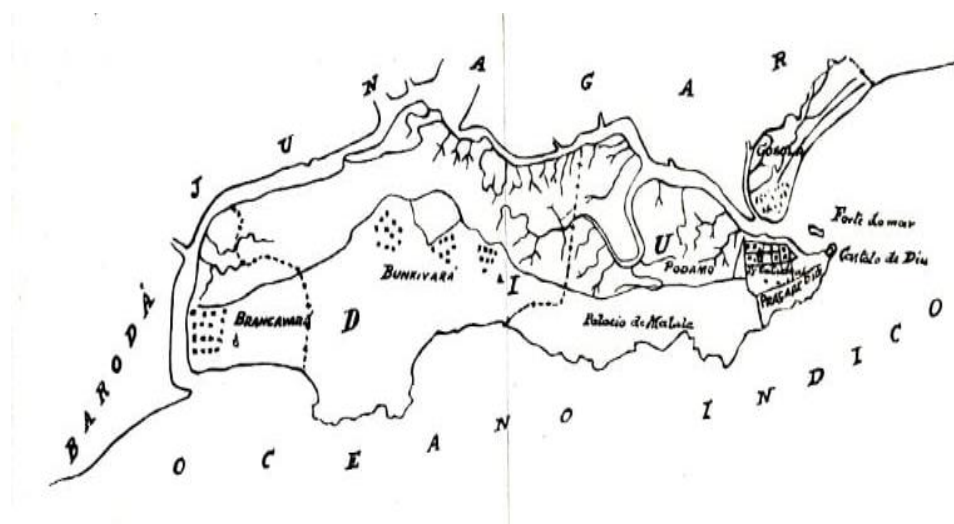


Fig. 2. 4 Jurisdictional Area in Diu

⁴⁶⁵Paulo da Trindade, *Conquista espiritual do Oriente...repartida em três volumes*, vol. II, III vols (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1962), 82.

⁴⁶⁶Paulo da Trindade, *Conquista espiritual do Oriente...repartida em três volumes*, vol. I, III vols (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1962), 55.

⁴⁶⁷Chandeigne, *Goa 1510-1685: l'inde portugaise, apostolique et commerciale*, 87.

⁴⁶⁸Rego, *História das Missões do Padroado português do Oriente*, vol. II, 7.

⁴⁶⁹Jerónimo Quadros and José António Ismael Gracias, *Diu: apontamentos para a sua historia e chorographia* (Nova Goa: Tipographia Fontainhas, 1899), 4.

⁴⁷⁰Trindade, *Conquista espiritual do Oriente...repartida em três volumes*, 271.

⁴⁷¹F. Correia Afonso, «The Land and The People», in *In the Mission Field: The Diocese of Damaun* (Bombay: E. G. Pearson at the Times Press, 1925), 67.

⁴⁷²Artur Matos de Teodoro, ed., *O Tombo de Diu 1592*, 1ª ed., (Lisboa: Tipografia Lousanense, 1999), 12.

⁴⁷³Lobo, *Memória histórico-eclésiástica da Arquidiocese de Goa: em comemoração do quadricentenário da sua erecção canónica 1533-1933*, 74.

2.4.1.1. ECCLESIAL STABILITY

Today, the ruins in Diu articulate the rich and deep religious history to the modern visitor. The island state though won peacefully was ravaged by two violent attacks by the Turks in 1538 and again in 1545 by the local rulers of Gujarat.⁴⁷⁴ The natural disasters in the form of cyclones, since it is sitting at the mouth of the gulf, also contribute to the constant disfiguration and decay of the state.⁴⁷⁵ The region once boasted of eleven churches in a small tract of land, however, at present there are only five which are standing.⁴⁷⁶ As per the report of the first bishop of Daman, António da Costa, the fort had the principal church in it with our Lady of Conception for its patroness. The church also had a convent of St. Paul attached to it both of which were constructed in the year 1610.⁴⁷⁷ In 1892 the total Christian population as per the same report was said to be more than three hundred. The region also had the church of St. Andrew in Brancavara and the ruins of the convent of St. John of God served as the cemetery. The island also boasted of two chapels with St. Anne and St. Francis of Assisi as the patroness and patron, respectively. The region also had the house of *Misericórdia* (charity institute) constructed in the early days. While in the early years of the diocese it served as a house for the poor, widows, and orphans. Apart from these, the region also had two school, one in Portuguese medium for the boys and girls and the other in Gujarati. The unique locale of the region was inviting as well as challenging for the sustenance of the church and commerce.

2.4.1.2. MISSIOLOGICAL SCOPE

There was very little done to sow Christianity with zest in Diu in comparison to other Portuguese territories. This is evident when we compare the present-day reality of the region with other former Portuguese colonies. This can be attributed to the fact that the condition under which the Portuguese were allowed to establish themselves there discouraged them from missionary activity and conversions.⁴⁷⁸ Nevertheless, missionaries were never bogged down by the political pressure but found means and ways to actualize their mission. History bears witness to the arrival of Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and Hospitallers in Diu.⁴⁷⁹ The first church in the fort was constructed to in 1536 and was dedicated to St. Thomas.⁴⁸⁰ As noted by Manoel D'Sa in his book 'The History of the Diocese of Damaun', the missionaries (Fr.

⁴⁷⁴Rego, *História das Missões do Padroado português do Oriente*, 482.

⁴⁷⁵Afonso, «The Land and The People», 67.

⁴⁷⁶M. G. Proença, «Diu: An Island with Unique History», in *Souvenir-Diu: Supplement of Boa Nova de Diu* (Diu: 2002), 10.

⁴⁷⁷António Pedro da Costa, *Relatório da Nova Diocese de Damão pelo Seu 1º Bispo D. António Pedro da Costa* (Bombaim: Portuguez Britanica, 1892), 20.

⁴⁷⁸George Mark Moraes, *A History of Christianity in India: From Early Times to St. Francis Xavier A.D. 52-1542* (Bombay: Manaktalas, 1964), 170.

⁴⁷⁹Proença, «Diu: An Island with Unique History», 10.

⁴⁸⁰Rego, *História das Missões do Padroado português do Oriente*, 483.

António de Casal, Franciscan) were among the soldiers during the siege (1545) of Diu cheering them to fight against the invaders.⁴⁸¹

Other than the city and the fort, Diu composed of seven villages - Fodão, Malala, Dangravari, Nagoá, Jasoatraque, Brancavará and Bunchervará.⁴⁸² Continuing the missionary legacy of the region, the first bishop of Daman in his report records a sum total of 216 rupees for the missionary activity in the region.⁴⁸³ This bears witness to the fact that missionary activity had not ceased. The question whether the allotted financial aid was sufficient in the face of the herculean task of evangelization remains debatable. It was definitely one among the many places which were badly affected by the expulsion of the missionaries in 1835. The fact that in the new diocese only two priests of Goan origin had been appointed to cater to the spiritual need of the faithful point to the paucity of personal to man the post. This is not to undermine or overlook the contribution of the social ministry that was still carried in the region and its impact on the missionary outreach.

2.4.2. DADRA AND NAGAR HAVELI

The region of Dadra and Nagar Haveli was accounted for in the district of Daman, although it was not geographically continuous and were far flung from each other. Hence, Daman was accounted for or distributed into three parts – Daman proper with twenty-six villages; Dadra with two villages and Nagar Haveli with seventy-two villages.⁴⁸⁴ The region was peculiar because of its geographical structuring as the three were sandwiched between the British ruled India. Of the three, Nagar Haveli with its seventy-two villages was considered to be rich and with valuable market for economic activity. It was the region which provided food, timber and labour for the Portuguese in Daman and neighbouring areas. The region was rich in natural products such as rice, wheat, tobacco and spirits extracted from the *Cajuri* (*Phenix Silvestris*).⁴⁸⁵

Nagar Haveli was a region which was ruled by the Rajput's of India before the Portuguese. It became a part of the Portuguese empire on the 10th of June 1783, through the Treaty of Poona with the Marathas on 6th of January 1780 on the condition of annual tax of 12,000/- rupees.⁴⁸⁶ Through the seventh article of the treaty the region was handed over to the Portuguese on lease by the Marathas. The terms and conditions of the treaty were acceptable to the Portuguese because of the financial profits due to the rich flora and fauna of the region. The region of Dadra

⁴⁸¹D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 14.

⁴⁸²Matos de Teodoro, ed., *O Tombo de Diu 1592*, 11.

⁴⁸³Da Costa, *Relatório da Nova Diocese de Damão pelo Seu 1º Bispo D. António Pedro da Costa*, 22.

⁴⁸⁴Afonso, «The Land and The People», 65.

⁴⁸⁵Afonso, 66-67.

⁴⁸⁶Lobato, *Relações internacionais em Damão-Dadra-Nagar Aveli com maratas, ingleses e indianos de 1740 a 1956*, vol. I, 16.

was added to the empire on 22nd July 1785, two years later.⁴⁸⁷ It needs to be noted that before the above-mentioned accord between the two parties the region was always accessible to the Portuguese, as noted by Alexandre Lobato.⁴⁸⁸ This union remained intact until the twentieth century when the Portuguese left in 1954. The peculiar geography of these tracts of lands exhibited the level of coordination between the Portuguese and the British government. Given below is the geographical representation of the region of Dadra and Nagar Haveli.⁴⁸⁹

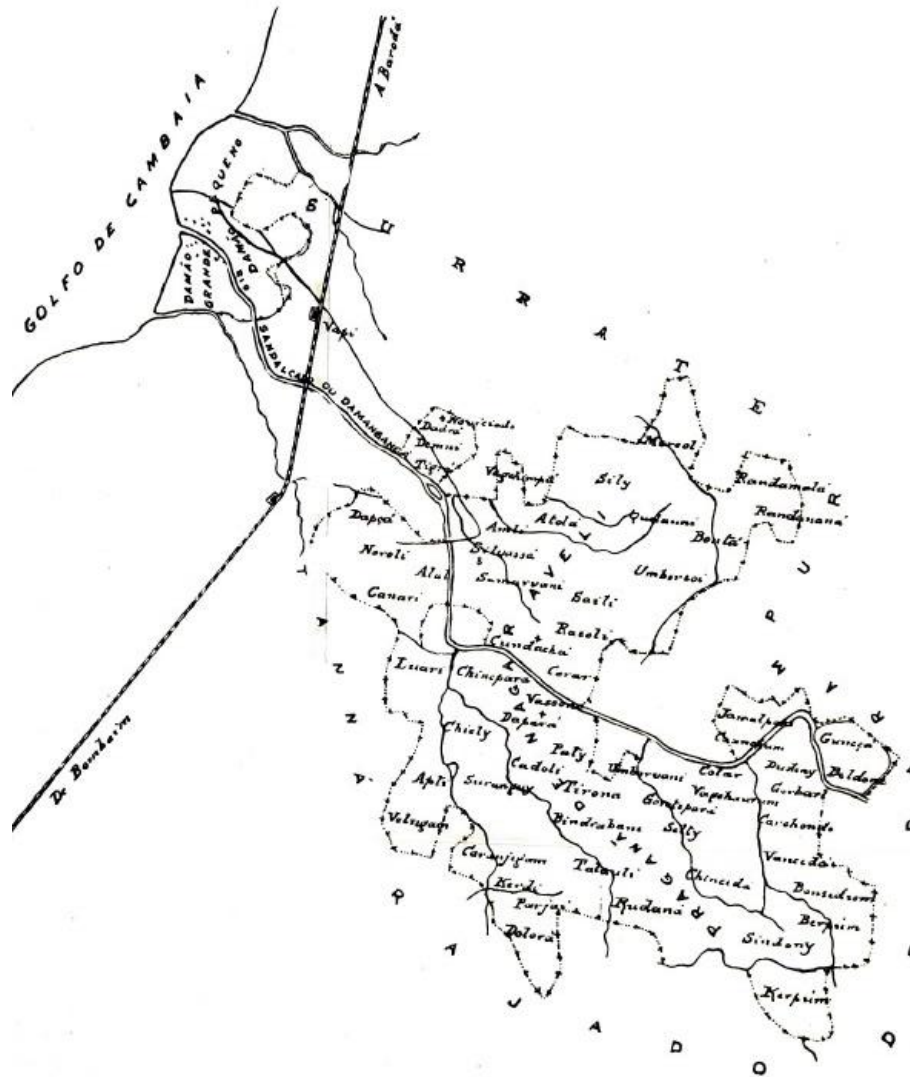


Fig. 2. 5 Jurisdictional Area in Dadra and Nagar Haveli

⁴⁸⁷Lobato, *Relações internacionais em Damão-Dadra-Nagar Aveli com maratas, ingleses e indianos de 1740 a 1956*, 16.

⁴⁸⁸Lobato, 12.

⁴⁸⁹Lobo, *Memória histórico-eclésiástica da Arquidiocese de Goa: em comemoração do quadricentenário da sua erecção canónica 1533-1933*, 74.

2.4.2.1. ECCLESIAL STABILITY

As we have noted that the region was economically very viable and rich, inviting a group of Portuguese to settle in the area. The army and other government officials had established their headquarters in the region for the sake of administration. The spiritual and religious needs of the populace in the region was catered to by a temporary arrangement in the military headquarters.⁴⁹⁰ Thus, in the report of the first bishop of Daman the first church building in the region was built at his behest and dedicated to Our Lady of Piety in Silvassa and opened to public worship on the 27th of October 1889.⁴⁹¹ Therefore the special note of the bishop in the report about the ‘unique’ situation of only 30 members in the parish makes sense. He visited the parish of Our Lady of Piety on the 26th of October 1890 as part of his pastoral visit and also administered the sacrament of confirmation to three individuals.⁴⁹² The bishop is humble enough to accept that there was no pastoral movement (sacraments) in the church. The situation of apathy in the region continued for a considerable amount of time. Nonetheless, the erection of the diocese was beneficial for this region as the subsequent bishop of Daman, Sebastião José Pereira, ordered the construction of the chapel of St. Francis Xavier at Silvassa in 1902.⁴⁹³ Slowly missionaries were invited by him in this region, who started mission outposts at Masat, Dapada and Khanvel for the expansion of the church.

2.4.2.2. MISSIOLOGICAL SCOPE

The region had no churches for public cult and worship as it was prohibited under the treaty with the Marathas (noted in the first chapter). The missionaries had registered their protest at such a crippling provision in the treaty. Alas! no one heeded to their pleas as Maratha was a nationalist empire which believed that Hinduism was to be the religion of the state. Thus, even though the Portuguese had gained access and power over the region there were no conversion or religious structures in these regions. The region was explored only for its economic advantages by the Portuguese empire. Nevertheless, as we have noted the erection of the diocese gave the necessary boost and brought life to the missionary venture. Although the pace and volume of the missionary endeavour was not of the same calibre as the initial days of the Portuguese empire; owing to the new economic, political and social conditions.

The construction of the church in Silvassa marked literally the foundation of the church in these colonies. There was a resident priest marked to cater to the needs of the parish with annual *congrua* of 360 rupees and an additional provision of 120 rupees for the missionary work with

⁴⁹⁰Cosme Jose Costa, «The Mumbai Province of the Society of Pilar», in *Souvenir - Mumbai Province*, 2005, 20.

⁴⁹¹Da Costa, *Relatório da Nova Diocese de Damão pelo Seu 1º Bispo D. António Pedro da Costa*, 19.

⁴⁹²Da Costa, 19.

⁴⁹³Costa, «The Mumbai Province of the Society of Pilar», 20.

the help of catechists.⁴⁹⁴ As per the same report there were also government schools one in Gujarati and the other in Portuguese at Silvassa. In 1908 the second bishop of Daman, Sebastião José Pereira invited the Franciscan missionary brothers to work in the diocese of Daman. They accepted the invitation and opened a house at Mount Poincur in Borivali from where they were called by the prelate to give their services in Bharuch, Zaroli and Nagar Haveli.⁴⁹⁵ They moved to Dadra where they opened their novitiate house and served in the neighbouring villages of Masat and Kadducha.⁴⁹⁶ This region was a virgin land for the missionaries to scout and found the church among the locals. By 1923 there were mission centres in Masat, Dapada, Saili, Velugam, Surangi, Kilavni, Shelti, Khanvel; also in Atwal, Chimlia and Patti, but without structures.⁴⁹⁷ Suddenly, the entire tract along Talasari, Zaroli, Bhilad, Dadra, Nagar Haveli along with other areas was brimming with missionary activity.

2.4.3. THE BOMBAY REGION

Sultan Bahadur was weary of the rapid expansion and the threat posed by the new Moghul ruler Humayun to his kingdom.⁴⁹⁸ Hence, he sent his emissaries to Nuno da Cunha, governor of Goa, with an offer to hand over Bassein along with all the taxes amounting to an annual income of 100,000 *Parados* into Portuguese control.⁴⁹⁹ The treaty was signed on 25th October 1535⁵⁰⁰ between the Portuguese governor, Nuno da Cunha and Kwaja Shaikh Iyaz, envoy of Bahadur Shah.⁵⁰¹ So, the Portuguese arrived in Bombay in the year 1535 through the treaty with the Bahadur Shah (King) of Gujarat.⁵⁰² The region was an economic goldmine with its potential for active ports and advantageous position in the region.

Along with Bombay the treaty also surrendered into the Portuguese hands the islands of Salsette. The entire region was an economic hub with people from all over India moving in to make a living. As stated in the previous chapter, the region was handed over to the British as dowry for queen Catherine of Portugal in 1661. Much to the dismay and resentment of the Portuguese in India, which was made known to the King in 1665 the year the British took charge of Bombay.⁵⁰³ This did not have any bearing upon the administration and functioning of the

⁴⁹⁴Da Costa, *Relatório da Nova Diocese de Damão pelo Seu 1º Bispo D. António Pedro da Costa*, 19.

⁴⁹⁵G. Abraham, «Impact of Christianity on Varlis in Gujarat» (Tirunelveli: Manomaniam Sundaranar University, 2008), 121-122.

⁴⁹⁶Costa, «The Mumbai Province of the Society of Pilar», 21.

⁴⁹⁷Abraham, «Impact of Christianity on Varlis in Gujarat», 125.

⁴⁹⁸Rego, *História das Missões do Padroado português do Oriente*, 464.

⁴⁹⁹Rego, 465.

⁵⁰⁰Luís Filipe Ferreira Reis Tomás, «Um franco tirador numa guerra de cem anos: o padre Pedro Borges e a questão das paróquias na Goa da Contra-Reforma», in *Lusitania Sacra*, no. 2, XXXVIII (July-December 2018): 81.

⁵⁰¹da Silva, «Struggle between *Padroado* and Propaganda Fide (1886-1928). A case study – Bassein», vol. III, 699.

⁵⁰²Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 13.

⁵⁰³Achilles Meersman, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India* (Bangalore: Christian Literature Society Press, 1971), 223.

church until in 1720 when the Portuguese Franciscan were expelled by the British on the pretext of fermenting revolt against the British throne.⁵⁰⁴ Sowing the seeds of discord between the *Padroado* and the *Propaganda* as the British invited *Propaganda* to take charge of the church in Bombay.⁵⁰⁵ It was the epicentre or the ground zero of the fierce conflict between the *Padroado* and *Propaganda*, which had created the provision of double jurisdiction (1790)⁵⁰⁶ and forced the concordat of 1886. The effect of this lasting and ugly spat was local, national and international with social, political and religious implications. Given below is the representation of the region of Bombay, Salsette,⁵⁰⁷ and the islands of north⁵⁰⁸.

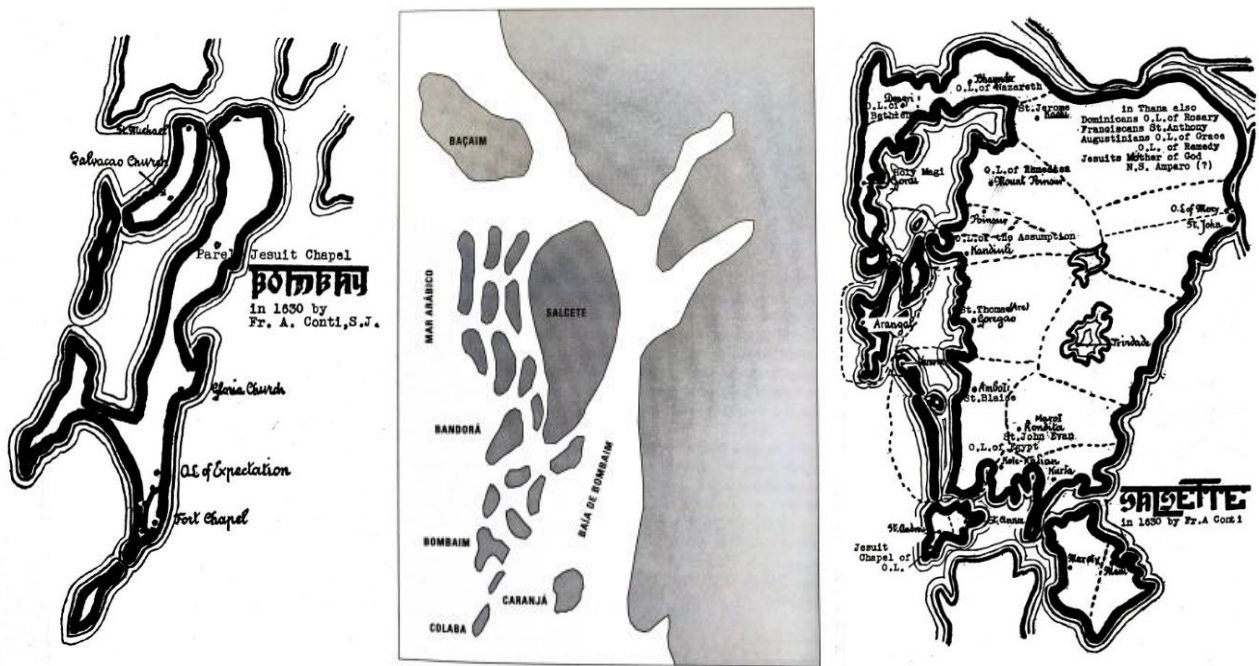


Fig. 2. 6 Jurisdictional area in Bombay Islands in the North Salsette

2.4.3.1. ECCLESIAL STABILITY

The Franciscans were the first and for many years the only missionaries in Bombay.⁵⁰⁹ They had four parishes in Bombay, Our Lady of Hope, St. Michael church (Mahim), Salvation church (Dadar), and Glória church (Mazgão).⁵¹⁰ This were the traditional parishes of the *Padroado* in the region and were accordingly given to them in the concordat. As noted above, the appendix to article III of the concordat of 1886 stated the actual jurisdiction of the Bombay region – Salsette, Karanja, Thana, Bandra, Borivali, among others in favour of *Padroado*. A detailed

⁵⁰⁴D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 86.

⁵⁰⁵Genese, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 12-14.

⁵⁰⁶Genese, 56.

⁵⁰⁷Humbert, *Catholic Bombay: Her Priests and Their Training*, 37, 59.

⁵⁰⁸Mário César Leão, *A província do norte do estado da Índia*, Documentos & ensaios 10 (Macau: Instituto Cultural, 1996), 15.

⁵⁰⁹Meersman, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India*, 213.

⁵¹⁰Costa, «The Mumbai Province of the Society of Pilar», 18.

evaluation of every parish and establishment is not warranted and would be beyond the scope of this dissertation. It is enough to state that the majority of the population of the diocese, amounting to more than fifty thousand, was residing in these lands. The challenge was the migrant community from Goa and other parts of the Portuguese colonies which formed a substantial portion of the total community. The pastoral primacy and concern of/for the place can be comprehended from the fact that both the bishops of the diocese took their charge in the church of Our Lady of Hope, Mazgão and very often resided at Colaba owing to the volume of their pastoral duties.⁵¹¹ As per bishop António, it was ‘considered’ as the cathedral of the diocese in the region.⁵¹² However, this was only a manner of speaking or literary formulation on the part of the prelate and reflected neither the desire nor any plans.

As recorded in the book of appointments, featuring in the annual report of the archdiocese of Goa in 1893, all the parishes in the region were attached with establishments such as schools, orphanages, boarding homes, etc. The same report accounts for 18 parishes, 5 aggregated churches with 7 chapels in the deanery of Thana comprising of Salsette, Daravy and Uran. The northern region of Konkan comprised of two parishes and a chapel while the city of Bombay had 5 churches and 6 chapels. As opined in the concordat of 1886, Portugal was entitled to all the income from the parishes and the establishments in this region. The region was flourishing in terms of pastoral activity as majority of the priests were deployed in service of this region.⁵¹³ It was also a great source of income, owing to the establishments and the churches which were font of monetary base for the diocese. In this sense, the region of Bombay along with neighbouring region was vital in the ecclesial and economic space.

2.4.3.2. MISSIOLOGICAL SCOPE

The situation of the diocese in the region of Bombay was quite unique and peculiar when we consider the region from a missiological perspective. The region was ideal for the expansion of the diocese from the missiological perspective but the terms in the concordat did not really permit the growth of missions in or around Bombay. As the concordat along with the reversal note restricted the pastoral movement of the diocese in the region. The only effective work that had a provision in the reversed notes about the jurisdiction was that those migrating from the Portuguese colonies and wanted to continue to be a part of the *Padroado* were permitted to ask and receive the jurisdiction in any part of the region. However, any structures that would be erected would fall under the jurisdiction of the local ordinary, in this case the archbishop of

⁵¹¹Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 349-350.

⁵¹²Da Costa, *Relatório da Nova Diocese de Damão pelo Seu 1º Bispo D. António Pedro da Costa*, 5.

⁵¹³Da Costa, 24-26.

Bombay.⁵¹⁴ Resulting in a tricky situation for the diocese and its missiological plans. This in no way is to imply that there was no scope for missiological advances. Considering the peculiar status of the *Padroado* in the region we could say that the *Propaganda* had the upper hand or better prospects of carrying out missionary activity in the region. Nonetheless, the diocese was keen on catering to the missiological needs and hence invited the Franciscan brothers in Poincur and the women religious to address the missiological demands.

2.4.4. BHARUCH-SURAT⁵¹⁵

As we have noted in the first chapter, it was a Jesuit priest Thomas Stephen of the *Padroado* through whom the British are said to have obtained knowledge about India. The Portuguese themselves arrived in the land and captured Surat and Reyner in 1525.⁵¹⁶ The neighbouring region of Bharuch was where the territory of Gujarat ended in 1526 under the rule of Bahadur Shah.⁵¹⁷ However, the entire region of Gujarat and surrounding provinces were part of the larger Moghul empire under the care of King of the Cambaia (Khamabat, Gujarat), Sultan Bahadur Shah. Thus, the terrain was rocky and thorny, to use the metaphor from the parable of Good Sower. In the late fifteenth century, the land was under severe social, political and economic turmoil resulting in a state of civil war. Thus, in the initial days the Portuguese were aligned with the head of the Surat presidency ensuring their hold on the region.⁵¹⁸ However, a complete and uninterrupted hold over the region, owing to its ports and resources, was a difficult task to accomplish. The Portuguese, the Mughals, and others equally utilised the land before the arrival of the British in 1608 for the purpose of trade.⁵¹⁹

The Portuguese established their factory in Surat in 1610 with the permission of Mughal emperor Jahangir.⁵²⁰ The region was busting with economic activity due to the port and the passage to Mecca, in the sixteenth century.⁵²¹ Sadly, the region failed to keep up with the modernization and mechanization of the newer centuries and was left behind in race. The efforts to modernize the region as a centre of industrial revolution in the nineteenth century bore very little fruits. The unfavourable religious situation did not augment well with the missionaries in the region who had to find innovative ways to realize their mission. Even in the adverse and hostile surrounding the church managed to plant itself in the society. The clause in the treaty of

⁵¹⁴Pera, «The Diocese», 48.

⁵¹⁵The many genuine attempts in search for a map of the region of Bharuch and Surat did not bear any fruit.

⁵¹⁶Trindade, *Conquista espiritual do Oriente...repartida em três volumes*, vol. II, 54.

⁵¹⁷R. O. W. Goertz, *The Quest for Surat: 'The Gate to Mecca' 1537-1572* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1985), 81.

⁵¹⁸Goertz, 82.

⁵¹⁹Abraham, «Impact of Christianity on Varlis in Gujarat», 17.

⁵²⁰Agnelo P. Fernandes, «Rustom Manock and the Portuguese at Surat», in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 42 (1981), 225.

⁵²¹Goertz, *The Quest for Surat: 'The Gate to Mecca' 1537-1572*, 86.

1630 which marked the provision for the permission of people to exercise their own faith (Christianity and Islam) reflects the religious temperance in the region.⁵²²

2.4.4.1. ECCLESIAL STABILITY

The Christian faith in the Bharuch and Surat is proposed to be from the Apostolic era and St. Thomas is said to have embarked the ship from Bharuch to reach Kerala.⁵²³ However, the remnants of this apostolic faith had lost its vigour and ardour in the trying scenarios of the times. In the Portuguese era the Christian faith in these regions found some assistance and nourishment to flourish. Sporadic missionary activity in the region due to the involvement of the priests in drawing peace treaties between kings gave an opening for the missionary activity. A.F. Moniz notes that the *Padroado* had sent Jesuits to Surat to meet with the Mughal emperor Akbar. Also, in *Oriente Conquistada* it is recorded that the rector of the Jesuit college in Daman had been successful in converting a certain Prince in Surat in 1561.⁵²⁴ Not to forget Fr. António de Andrade who was appointed to negotiate the peace treaty with the governor of Surat in 1630.⁵²⁵ The Franciscan had made inroads into Surat and inaugurated a convent and a church to cater to the people.⁵²⁶ Sadly they could not sustain the mission and were followed by the Capuchins (1640) and the Carmelites (1696) to serve in Surat.⁵²⁷ In 1680 when the British East India Company stopped the allowance of their missions, the Surat council invited the Portuguese priest of *Padroado* to cater to them.⁵²⁸

The missionary activity was not as strong and could not make inroads into Surat and Bharuch, when compared with other Portuguese colonies. Chiefly owing to the fact that the region was not in their complete political possession. In due course of time even the Capuchins abandoned the region in 1818 leaving the Carmelites to defend the interest of the church in the region.⁵²⁹ Subsequently, when the concordat of 1886 was drawn, the concordat and the subsequent notes leave the city of Surat and Bharuch beyond the jurisdiction of the *Padroado*. This left the *Padroado* with suburbs of Surat and Bharuch which were underdeveloped. Socially, the region under the *Padroado* was mostly dominated by the tribal or aborigine community of – *Dublas*, *Varlis*, *Vasavas*, *Chodras*, *Naikadas*, *Gamits*, *Dhodras*, and others. The Christian community of about two thousand in the region was thinly spread and had no magnificent churches or

⁵²²Fernandes, «Rustom Manock and the Portuguese at Surat», 228.

⁵²³Abraham, «Impact of Christianity on Varlis in Gujarat», 117-118.

⁵²⁴Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 184.

⁵²⁵Fernandes, «Rustom Manock and the Portuguese at Surat», 229.

⁵²⁶D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 29.

⁵²⁷Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 353.

⁵²⁸David, *History of Bombay*, 412.

⁵²⁹Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 183-184.

required number of priests to cater.⁵³⁰ Nevertheless, there were active and thriving missions in the region which we will consider in the subsequent section.

2.4.4.2. MISSIOLOGICAL SCOPE

The missionary labour of the church can be fathomed from the incident which took place in 1796 when Fr. Francisco de São. Thomas was sent with a military officer to Surat in order to rescue the vicar of the church of St. Francis who was on a house arrest by the Nawab of the place because of the conversion of a Parsee.⁵³¹ The said individual is said to have travelled by ship *Nossa Senhora de Penha da França* to be baptised in the face of adverse political and social conditions in Surat. Such were the challenging times that the region underwent in its missionary history. The favourable relation with the Mughal emperor, as seen in the first chapter, aided to some extent for the mission to grow. However, it was not at the pace that was characteristic of the church in the southern regions. The Catholic missions in the region comprised of the Valsad, Bharuch, and Surat basically manned by the Jesuit missionaries.⁵³²

With the onset of the terms and conditions of the new concordat of 1886 the diocese identified areas that they would target for their missionary activity. Accordingly, the Franciscan brothers who had recently entered the country, were now manning the missions in the diocese.⁵³³ As seen in the preceding section on Dadra and Nagar Haveli, the second bishop of Daman had invited them to work in the diocese in 1908. In 1921 they had made their bases in Bharuch. The brothers worked in the mission until 1927 providing education and affecting conversion among those who expressed desire. Looking at the favourable response in 1922 two missionaries dressed in Indian attire pitched their camp in Bhilad to do their missionary activity.⁵³⁴ There was potential for a rich harvest for the labour of the missionaries in their mission fields and at the same time it was exhausting and dangerous.

Many embraced Christ in the region and subsequently Zaroli was marked as Gujarati and Talasari was marked as Marathi speakers; with Uplat as the auxiliary chapel.⁵³⁵ The religious worked among the poor, backward and outcaste communities in the region.⁵³⁶ They opened school, dispensaries and chapels with thatched roofs to cater to their flock. They went over and beyond the caste differences in the society with their message and service. The region was

⁵³⁰Afonso, «The Land and The People», 165.

⁵³¹A. F. Moniz, «Damaun», in *In the Mission Field: The Diocese of Damaun* (Bombay: E. G. Pearson at the Times Press, 1925), 497.

⁵³²Abraham, «Impact of Christianity on Varlis in Gujarat», 119.

⁵³³Afonso, «The Land and The People», 165.

⁵³⁴Abraham, «Impact of Christianity on Varlis in Gujarat», 123-124.

⁵³⁵Abraham, 124.

⁵³⁶S. R. Santos, «The Missions - Men, Means and Methods», in *In the Mission Field: The Diocese of Damaun* (Bombay: E. G. Pearson at the Times Press, 1925), 630-633.

indeed a gold mine for the missionaries to labour with zeal and vigour. They laid the foundations for the future of the church in the vast region. *Propaganda* exited from Bulsar in 1912, Surat in 1922 and Bharuch in 1924 closing their only churches and other institutions in the region for the lack of believers. Priests from Daman were visiting and catering to the spiritual needs of the laity in these regions.⁵³⁷ The Capuchin fathers from the province of Malta with their institutes at Bandra and Amboli were given charge of the missions in Surat and Bulsar.⁵³⁸

2.4.5. CHAUL AND BASSEIN

Chaul and Bassein were the two prominent and vital positions of the Portuguese in what comprised of their northern province. It needs to be noted that while Bassein belonged to the Kingdom of Gujarat, Chaul belonged to the Deccan Kingdom.⁵³⁹ As early as 1516 the first Portuguese factory was constructed in the region of Chaul with the permission of Nizam-ul-haq, King of Ahmednagar;⁵⁴⁰ ushering the entry of Portuguese in the region. The Portuguese had a strong and firm grip on the region as is witnessed in the rapid economic and religious growth in the locality. From 1534 Bassein became the northern capital of the Portuguese⁵⁴¹ and Bombay was subordinate to it for the purpose of executive and judicial administration.⁵⁴² They were quick to erect forts to cement their presence and to secure their interests. The fort of Bassein was completed in 1536 while the garrison in Chaul was constructed before 1524.⁵⁴³ The regions were under complete control of the Portuguese empire until the eighteenth century, whereupon, the Marathas attacked and gained power in the region.⁵⁴⁴ The fort of Bassein was breached, overpowered and left in ruins by the Marathas in 1739.⁵⁴⁵ The same was not true of Chaul which was not under any attack but had to be surrendered to the Marathas as a peace offering to prevent Marathas from attacking Goa in 1741.⁵⁴⁶ As noted in the first chapter, the Portuguese had negotiated with the Marathas in the treaty to permit the existing Christians to practise their faith without any threat. The Marathas had however, disallowed the missionaries for any more conversion or missionary work in the same treaty. The dire and precarious situation continued until 1780 when the British wrestled power from the Marathas.⁵⁴⁷ This once again gave the *Padroado* access to the churches and other institutes in the region. It would be

⁵³⁷Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 355-359.

⁵³⁸Pera, «The Diocese», 57.

⁵³⁹Rego, *História das Missões do Padroado português do Oriente*, 7.

⁵⁴⁰Rego, 15.

⁵⁴¹Da Silva Rego, *O Ultramar Português No Século XVIII: 1700 A 1833*, 74-75.

⁵⁴²David, *History of Bombay*, 18.

⁵⁴³Rego, *História das Missões do Padroado português do Oriente*, 1949, 467.

⁵⁴⁴Da Silva Rego, *O Ultramar Português No Século XVIII: 1700 A 1833*, 77.

⁵⁴⁵Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 3.

⁵⁴⁶Da Silva Rego, *O Ultramar Português No Século XVIII: 1700 A 1833*, 84-85., Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 6.

⁵⁴⁷Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 3.

apt to note here that the consequent conquest of Diu and Daman had diminished the significance of Chaul and Bassein after the invasion by Marathas. The figures (Fig. 2.7) below represent the region of Bassein and Chaul.⁵⁴⁸

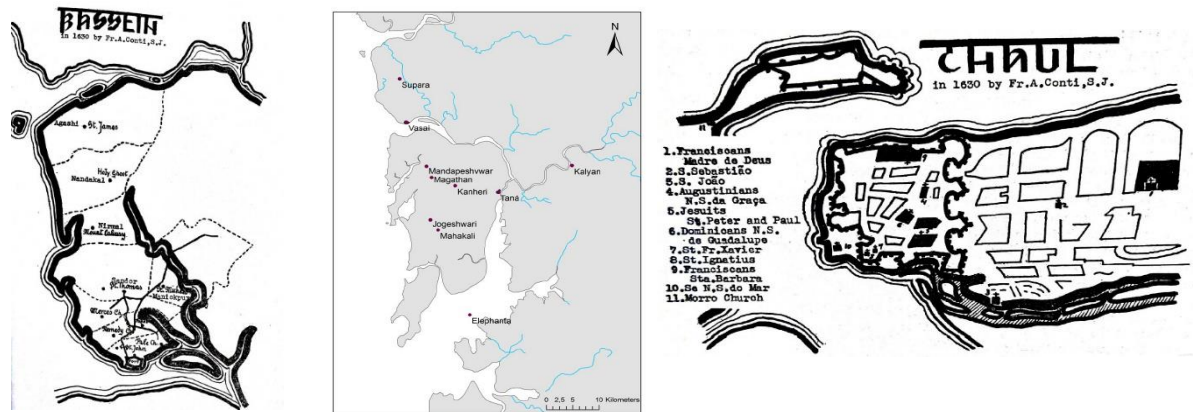


Fig. 2. 7 Jurisdictional area in Bassein and Chaul

2.4.5.1. ECCLESIAL STABILITY

The regions had the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Hospitallers and Jesuits rendering their service from the sixteenth century. Among them the Franciscans were the first to arrive and establish the church in Bassein. Bassein was blessed with a saintly son in the person of St. Gonçalo Garcia, a Indian saint born of a Portuguese father and an Indian mother.⁵⁴⁹ This was possible due to the deep and strong roots of Christianity in the region and the untiring efforts of the missionaries. It is said that the locals in Bassein invited St. Francis Xavier to open a house and to advance the missionary work. A request which Francis acceded to in 1580 after much thought and discernment.⁵⁵⁰ The ecclesial vitality of the region can be seen in the fact that in 1541 a house for the seminarians and catechumens from the locality was also erected in Bassein by Fr. Miguel Vaz, the vicar general.⁵⁵¹ The seminary was later received in the care of the Jesuits through an agreement with the Franciscan Superior, Fr. António do Porto in 1548.⁵⁵² While the Franciscans with the aim to open another seminary for themselves moved towards Mount Poinzur.⁵⁵³ These institute trained young man in the catechism of the church, apart from other subjects and those with aptitude would continue their studies for priesthood. Others were asked to join the missionaries in the villages in order to help them to teach the locals.

⁵⁴⁸Humbert, *Catholic Bombay: Her Priests and Their Training*, 31, 71.

⁵⁴⁹Teresa Albuquerque, *Bassein: The Portuguese Interlude* (Mumbai: Wenden Offset Pvt. Ltd., 2004), 78.

⁵⁵⁰Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 7.

⁵⁵¹Farinha, *A Expansão da Fé no Oriente*, vol. II, 248-249.

⁵⁵²D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 34.

⁵⁵³Hull, *A Short Guide to Bassein*, 16-17.

This ecclesial grandeur over a period of time had been subjected to decline and decay owing to the unfavourable political as well as social upheavals in the region. As bishop António da Costa notes in his report, ‘the magnificence of the once existing vibrant church can be witnessed in the ruins that adorn the terrain’.⁵⁵⁴ At one time Chaul reported about eight churches while Bassein accounted for fourteen churches inside and around the fort which were catering to the needs of the believers.⁵⁵⁵ Sadly, the report of the bishop of Daman of 1892 records no churches in Chaul as almost all had fallen victim to war and had been reduced to ruins. The only ray of faith that was visible and shimmering was the church of Korlai and a chapel in Chaul.⁵⁵⁶ The churches were attached with school and other establishments for the upliftment of the locals and were financially supported by both the Portuguese as well as the British governments. The region was the fertile ground from where arose many vocations for priesthood for the archdiocese of Bombay when the region was surrendered to it after the concordat of 1928.

2.4.5.2. MISSIOLOGICAL SCOPE

The brief ecclesial history has given us a glimpse of the missionary efforts of the past. The missionaries, alight with the spirit dispersed in all direction with the torch of Christian faith. They encountered many political and social challenges in their tracts but were never disheartened or discouraged from continuing their journey. Even in the trying times of the Maratha invasion and the subsequent treaty, the missionaries continued to render their services. The Christian worship was practised with freedom and greatly respected by other believers.⁵⁵⁷ Bassein was termed as the ‘centre of the religious missions of India’⁵⁵⁸ with the like of Fr. António do Porto, St. Francis Xavier and others who had left their indelible mark on the region. Bassein which was called as the ‘Garden of India’ and Chaul referred to the ‘inestimable prized possession of Portugal’ was in dire need of a renewed missionary boost. The erection of the diocese of Daman was the required impetus for the revival of the Christian missions in the vast virgin lands. As per the report of the first bishop of Daman, the parishes had a number of confraternities which were entrusted with the task of assisting the poor and the missions in the diocese. There is no denying the fact that despite the enormous efforts of the diocese there were places which were still waiting for the divine message. The land was clamouring for missionaries from everywhere to cater to spread the faith. The fact that the region was later

⁵⁵⁴Da Costa, *Relatório da Nova Diocese de Damão pelo Seu 1º Bispo D. António Pedro da Costa*, 55.

⁵⁵⁵Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. I, 3-5.

⁵⁵⁶Da Costa, *Relatório da Nova Diocese de Damão pelo Seu 1º Bispo D. António Pedro da Costa*, 52-53.

⁵⁵⁷D’Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 88.

⁵⁵⁸Da Costa, *Relatório da Nova Diocese de Damão pelo Seu 1º Bispo D. António Pedro da Costa*, 55.

constituted as diocese⁵⁵⁹ and is presently administered by a bishop. This points to the vastness and the ever-growing scope for evangelization of the region.

2.5. THE LIFE OF THE DIOCESE

In this section the focus is on the structures and functioning of the newly erected diocese of Daman. The investigation will be carried into the kind of organization that was put in place in order to achieve the required impact. The section is divided into five sub-sections with each deliberating upon one crucial aspect of the diocese. The initial sub-section will open with the question of the leadership in the diocese through the authority of the bishops. A sketch of their person and contribution will be the aim. The following sub-section delves upon the important aspect of clergy in the diocese. With the objective to understand the manner in which the demand for clergy was met and the scope of a healthy seminary also intensified.

In the subsequent sub-section, the role and place of the laity in the life of the diocese will be evaluated. To understand how various diocesan forums encouraged an active participation of the laity in its life and activity. In the next sub-section, the area of investigation will be the mission *ad gentes* of the novel diocese. The intention is to scrutinise the methods and manners in which the crucial question of the growth of the church and the evangelizing mission was carried out. In the final sub-section, we will attempt to answer the question of inculturation and promotion of cultures. The aim in this part is to understand how it continued to promote and incorporate the local cultures and traditions to actualize its mandate. The overall aim is to get an idea and a closer view of the contribution of the diocese in the life of the church in the region as it could only mark the ruby jubilee of its existence.

2.5.1. THE BISHOPS

As we have witnessed in the first chapter in the section on archbishop Silva Torres, the person of a bishop in a diocese serves ecclesial, political, religious and spiritual function for his flock. He is more than an individual; he is a symbol of the church in the region for the believers and the non-believers. Over a period of forty-two years, the diocese was blessed with capable and erudite pastors to lead the flock. Both of whom in their own capacity and style contributed towards the nourishment, strength, growth and stability of the diocese during challenging times. The two distinguished prelates were D.º António Pedro da Costa (1887-1900) and D.º Sebastião José Pereira (1902-1925).⁵⁶⁰ They shouldered their responsibilities with unmatched zeal and

⁵⁵⁹The Diocese of Vasai was carved out from the Archdiocese of Bombay in 1998. Factors such as geography (distance), culture, ethnicity, language (variant of Marathi) among others played an important role.

⁵⁶⁰ Pera, «The Diocese», 52-55.

vigour to ensure that peace and prosperity returned to the troubled regions. The two prelates gave it the much-needed vision and mission in the service of the church.

2.5.1.1. D.º ANTÓNIO PEDRO DA COSTA⁵⁶¹

Speaking about D.º António Pedro da Costa, Dr. Joaquim Augusto Nunes Ganhão, the director of the commission for the cultural goods of the church, Santarém, states that he ‘concretized the mandate to preach the gospel amidst crises, difficulties, by example and conviction of the testimony of a living Christ, through untiring service’.⁵⁶² These words of Dr. Joaquim Ganhão does perfect justice to the person of D.º António and his rich legacy. As the maiden bishop of the diocese, he was tasked with putting the house in order. He was

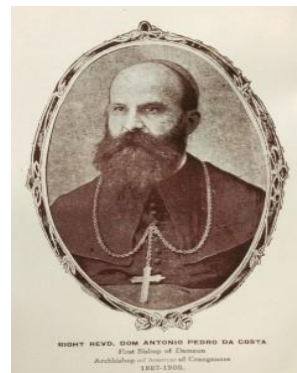


Fig. 2. 8 D.º António da Costa

born on the 6th of October 1840 in Santa Iria da Ribeira to Bernardo José da Costa and Maria Casimira Costa.⁵⁶³ He entered the patriarchal seminary at Santarém in 1856 and was ordained to priesthood on the 23rd of December 1865. He served as a parish priest in the *Freguesia do Salvador de Santarém*, up until he was called to serve as the bishop of Daman in 1886.

He was nominated by King Luis I to the episcopate probably through the recommendation of his minister Barros Gomes who admired the character and virtues of D.º António.⁵⁶⁴ He received the royal letters of his nomination on the 25th of November 1886 and was subsequently confirmed by Pope Leo XIII on the 14th of March 1887.⁵⁶⁵ After his episcopal consecration on the 14th of April in the cathedral church of Porto he left for Bombay on the 21st of May from Lisbon. He arrived in Bombay on 16th of June and three days later took charge of the diocese in the Glória church, Mazgão.⁵⁶⁶ On the 14th of August the bishop elevated the church of Bom Jesus to the status of the cathedral of the diocese and Our Lady of Piety as the patroness.⁵⁶⁷ He was also the one who ordered the construction of the church in Silvassa and dedicate it to the care of Our Lady of Piety, to whom he had a great devotion.⁵⁶⁸ Thereafter, celebrated the pontifical sung mass in Daman on the 15th of August 1887 in thanksgiving for the erection of

⁵⁶¹Comissão Diocesana para os bens culturais da Igreja, *Santarém Na Índia : D. António Pedro Da Costa : Primeiro Bispo de Damão*, (Santarém: Comissão Diocesana para os bens culturais da Igreja, 2009).

⁵⁶²Comissão Diocesana para os bens culturais da Igreja, 4.

⁵⁶³Comissão Diocesana para os bens culturais da Igreja, 10.

⁵⁶⁴Comissão Diocesana para os bens culturais da Igreja, 13.

⁵⁶⁵Pera, «The Diocese», 51-52.

⁵⁶⁶Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 349.

⁵⁶⁷Comissão Diocesana para os bens culturais da Igreja, *Santarém Na Índia : D. António Pedro Da Costa : Primeiro Bispo de Damão*, 14.

⁵⁶⁸Comissão Diocesana para os bens culturais da Igreja, *Santarém Na Índia : D. António Pedro Da Costa : Primeiro Bispo de Damão*, 3.

the diocese.⁵⁶⁹ He began his duties in the right earnest, amid various problems of the past that he had inherited, with his peculiar tact and clarity of judgement.⁵⁷⁰

Imbibing the spirit of the Council of Trent he made extensive and elaborate visits to all the churches, schools and institutes under his care. Those which were in need of attention he took the pains of visiting twice during his tenure in order to find a solution to their problems.⁵⁷¹ His exclusive and detailed report about the activities of the diocese, where one can witness his pains to understand the current situations in light of the rich historical background, is immensely admirable. His was an episcopate which was tested in fire and water at the same time, for he had to confront his enemies and his friends to defend his diocese and its rights. So powerful was his defence that the reversal notes of 1890 resolved the question of jurisdiction and all persons of Goan and Portuguese origin or from other Portuguese colonies in Bombay were placed under his paternal care.⁵⁷² The bishop worked hard to erect new churches and schools in the region for the advancement of the faith among the people. In 1887 he began the diocesan seminary in the episcopal house, exhibiting his vision and the urgency for the advancement of the diocese.⁵⁷³ He had published the revised rules and regulations for the administrations of the *Fábricas* (economic councils) in all the parishes in September of 1898.⁵⁷⁴ His heart and soul was offered in service of his flock and their well-being. He was a man of ink and paper, who entrusted everything to writing. The rich body of his works – pastorals, reports, letters, sermons and other literature bear witness to his astuteness and simplicity.

He was universally honoured and respected by all⁵⁷⁵ those who came in contact with him as a person and as an administrator. The Holy Father, Leo XIII, upon receiving the bishop during his visit *ad sacra limina*, is said to have exclaimed, «I am overjoyed to meet you the bishop of Daman».⁵⁷⁶ Even in the advanced age he was eager to take up challenges and overcome them. In the September of 1898 he went to his native place to recover from his deteriorating health and to return with renewed vigour. Alas! it was not to be so, as the bishop was called to his heavenly abode on the 30th of January 1898. This brought down the curtains upon the thirteen years of selfless service of the first bishop of Daman. These few lines cannot do justice to the contribution and the memory of the prelate in the diocese of Daman. Nonetheless, the words of

⁵⁶⁹D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 240.

⁵⁷⁰Pera, «The Diocese», 52.

⁵⁷¹D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 240-241.

⁵⁷² Pera, «The Diocese», 52.

⁵⁷³Comissão Diocesana para os bens culturais da Igreja, *Santarém Na Índia : D. António Pedro Da Costa : Primeiro Bispo de Damão*, 15.

⁵⁷⁴D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 242.

⁵⁷⁵Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol II, 240.

⁵⁷⁶Cf. Pera, «Diocese de Damão», 292.

Mgr. L. C. Pera speaking about the D.º António, as the first bishop of Daman, encapsulate his person and impact upon the church in Daman, «[...] He founded and established the new diocese on solid grounds and enriched it with all the indispensable elements which were needed for an unburdened existence, under any aspect that one can consider, religious, social or of education [...]».⁵⁷⁷

2.5.1.2. D.º SEBASTIÃO JOSÉ PEREIRA

The death of bishop António had left the diocese of Daman as an orphan in search of a guardian. It was waiting for someone who was able to carry forward from where bishop António had left. So, D. Sebastião José Pereira, bishop of Mozambique was called to occupy the episcopal chair of Daman.⁵⁷⁸ He had rich years of missionary experience in the African countries of Angola, Congo and Mozambique. When he arrived in the diocese, the overall ambience was that of calm and tranquillity owing to the work of the previous prelate. He was born on the



Fig. 2. 9 D.º Sebastião Pereira

4th of October 1857 at *Proença-a-Nova* in Portugal. He entered in the *Collegio das Missões* at *Sernache do Bom Jardim*, Portugal from 1872-1880 and was ordained on the 30th of June 1880.⁵⁷⁹ After his ordination he was sent to Luanda from where he went to work along with D.º António Barroso, to establish a mission in S. Salvador in Congo from 1881.⁵⁸⁰ As a missionary, he worked towards the spread of faith among the locals and also to find ways to manage their livelihood. He trained the locals in agriculture to sustain themselves and also taught them to tame wild oxen to help in the field.⁵⁸¹

The hard labour took its toll and he had to journey back home in 1887 to recover his health and to return with greater zest to Congo.⁵⁸² While in Portugal he was presented with the opportunity to contribute as a professor of ecclesiastical discipline in the *Collegio das Missões – Sernache do bom Jardim* from 1888 to 1897.⁵⁸³ His experience in the seminary at *Sernache* would play an important and a defining role in the organization of the seminary in Daman. The Portuguese

⁵⁷⁷Cf. Luiz Claudino Pera, «Diocese de Damão», in *Portugal Missionário*, ed. Couto de Cucujães (Sernache do Bom Jardim: Esc. Tip. do Colégio dos Missões, 1929), 294.

⁵⁷⁸Pera, «The Diocese», 54.

⁵⁷⁹D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 244.

⁵⁸⁰Cândido da Silva Teixeira, *O Collegio das Missões em Sernache do Bom Jardim* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1905), 100.

⁵⁸¹N., «D. Sebastião José Pereira», in *Portugal Missionário*, ed. Couto de Cucujães (Sernache do Bom Jardim: Esc. Tip. do Colégio dos Missões, 1929), 63.

⁵⁸²Da Silva Teixeira, *O Collegio Das Missões Em Sernache Do Bom Jardim*, 100.

⁵⁸³N., «D. Sebastião José Pereira», 64.

government wanted to honour him for his selfless services in the mission of Congo but he humbly refused.⁵⁸⁴ Aware of the zeal and dedication, the outgoing prelate of Mozambique D.º António Barroso, nominated Sebastião José Pereira as his successor.⁵⁸⁵ He was consecrated as the bishop of Epiphania on the 9th January 1898 at *Sernache* and took charge of the church in Mozambique on the 7th of July 1898.⁵⁸⁶ Nevertheless, as willed by God, his stint in the church of Mozambique was for a very short period as he was nominated by the king of Portugal to the diocese of Daman on 17th of July 1900.⁵⁸⁷ His calm and shy demeanour made him approachable and available to the masses. He is attributed to have given a definitive push to the missionary work in the region with his prudent, shy and conciliatory virtues.⁵⁸⁸

After settling his affairs in the diocese of Mozambique, the prelate took charge of Daman with his arrival in Bombay in 1902.⁵⁸⁹ As his predecessor, the new bishop took charge of the diocese of Daman in Our Lady of Glória church, Mazgão.⁵⁹⁰ In between the time of his appointment and his arrival he had entrusted the responsibility of the administration on the shoulders of the vicar general, Fr. Mariano da Faria.⁵⁹¹ The new prelate while travelling to India halted in England to update himself on the status of a case regarding a school which was under trial in the High Court of Justice in England.⁵⁹² This shows that he had begun his job of bringing order and peace even before his arrival. He is attributed with many contributions to the diocese of Daman during his long tenure spanning over twenty-five years. Soon after his arrival he paid special attention to the functioning of the diocesan seminary and its curriculum. He expanded the theological courses in the curriculum, introduced hermeneutics and eloquence, increasing the classes of English and making the study of the local language Marathi obligatory.⁵⁹³

Keeping up with his missionary zeal D.º Sebastião continued to infuse it with a renewed vigour for evangelization. He invited the Franciscan brothers to work in the diocese apart from women religious to establish their communities.⁵⁹⁴ His regular visits and long stays in the parishes and chapels helped him to understand the spiritual and social needs of the people.⁵⁹⁵ As the President of the diocesan missionary society, the efforts of evangelization were ramped up in the region

⁵⁸⁴D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 245.

⁵⁸⁵N., «D. Sebastião José Pereira», 64.

⁵⁸⁶Da Silva Teixeira, *O Collegio Das Missões Em Sernache Do Bom Jardim*, 101.

⁵⁸⁷Mateus, *Dom Sebastião José Pereira: Arcebispo ad honorem de Cranganor 2o Bispo da Diocese de Damão*, 2.

⁵⁸⁸N., «D. Sebastião José Pereira», 64.

⁵⁸⁹Pera, «The Diocese», 54.

⁵⁹⁰Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 373.

⁵⁹¹D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 245.

⁵⁹²D'Sa, 245-246.

⁵⁹³Da Silva Teixeira, *O Collegio Das Missões Em Sernache Do Bom Jardim*, 101.

⁵⁹⁴Abraham, «Impact of Christianity on Varlis in Gujarat», 121-122.

⁵⁹⁵Pera, «The Diocese», 55.

to meet the demands with prayer and financial aid.⁵⁹⁶ He is said to have written many pastorals, circulars, instructions and letters which were modelled upon the Christian doctrines and were lessons for the good administration and sustenance of peace among the laity and the clergy.⁵⁹⁷ He worked towards the resolution of the problems that were plaguing the diocese due to the question of double jurisdiction in the most amiable manner. As recorded by Fr. Hull, most cordial relation subsisted between D.º Sebastião and archbishop Dalhoff and Jurgen the vicar general of the archdiocese of Bombay.⁵⁹⁸ After his death a resolution was moved for the formation of a fund titled 'D.º Sebastião José Pereira Memorial Fund' for the purpose of establishing an apostolic school in the diocese.⁵⁹⁹ A detailed contribution of the prelate demands a dedicated work which is not possible in this venture.

It is said that in 1920 during his visit to Portugal on the grounds of health he was advised by his doctors not to return to India, but the prelate chose to spend whatever time and energy he had among his flock and hence did the contrary to the advice of his doctor.⁶⁰⁰ After rendering his valuable services, on 24th of August 1925 D. Sebastião José Pereira was called to receive the reward for his services in heaven. The entire diocese, along with the church in the east of India, were thrown into the throes of sorrow with the demise of the pastor.⁶⁰¹ The mortal remains of the prelate were laid to rest in the Mount Mary's Chapel, Bandra on the following day in the presence of various dignitaries of varied ranks in both international and national political as well as ecclesial establishments.⁶⁰² The final resting place of the bishop was to be the Chapel of Mount Mary for which he had laid the foundation stone on 11th May 1902.⁶⁰³ Thus, came to an end the term and life of the second and the last bishop of the diocese of Daman. Nevertheless, the legacy and work of the prelates continued to guide the church for the next three years, until the concordat of 1928.

2.5.2. THE DOMESTIC CLERICS

The clergy is the heart of a diocese which ensures robust health and vibrant life of the local church. A strong clergy in service ensures a healthy and effective laity at the service of the church. The *Padroado* seemed to be aware of the role that clergy plays in the life of the church

⁵⁹⁶Santos, «The Missions», 622.

⁵⁹⁷ N., «D. Sebastião José Pereira», 65.

⁵⁹⁸Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 243.

⁵⁹⁹Mateus, *Dom Sebastião José Pereira*, 50.

⁶⁰⁰ F. Correia Afonso, «An Edifying Career», in *Dom Sebastião José Pereira: Arcebispo ad honorem de Cranganor 2º Bispo da Diocese de Damão [In memoriam]* (Goa: s.n, 1925), 8.

⁶⁰¹F. Correia Afonso, «An Edifying Career», 3.

⁶⁰²Mateus, *Dom Sebastião José Pereira*, 20-22.

⁶⁰³Fernandes, *Bandra: It's Religious and Secular History*, 44.

and were always attentive to the subject as they went about evangelizing.⁶⁰⁴ We find that even before the mandate of the Council of Trent, *Padroado* had worked to establish seminaries in their respective colonies to train candidates to priesthood. The first seminary in Goa with the intent to form candidates to priesthood was founded in 1542 as confirmed by the Gaspar Correia.⁶⁰⁵ This venture was a fruit of the collaboration between the laity and the clergy in Goa and was supported by the crown and the nobility. This bears testimony to the movement in the *Padroado* towards the founding of seminaries to tap the local vocations and lay a strong foundation for the independence of local church. This was replicated in the adjoining Portuguese colonies for the good of the church. History bears witness to the fact that the seminaries bore abundant fruit and as a result many individuals from Goa were appointed bishops in various episcopates around the world over a period of time.⁶⁰⁶ *Padroado* can be attributed with the quality of promoting tradition and culture of priestly vocations in their respective territories.⁶⁰⁷

When we look back into the historical annals of the current territories of the diocese of Daman, we find that there were ample institutes dedicated to the education of the young and more specifically towards the formation of the candidates to priesthood. It must be noted here that King João III was very keen on the founding of seminaries in India and for promotion of Indian priests.⁶⁰⁸ In Daman itself the Jesuits had established a college of the eleven thousand virgins dedicated to education, apart from convents and religious houses in the vicinity. When we move towards Bassein we find that there was a seminary that was constructed in 1546 by Fr. Miguel Vaz,⁶⁰⁹ vicar general with the help of 3000 *pardaos* that he had received from King João III.⁶¹⁰ The seminary was given to the Franciscans but in 1548, St Francis Xavier in consultation with Fr. António de Porto divided the income and the apostolate. In 1740 when the Marathas had wreaked havoc upon the Portuguese and the church in the northern province, it was the indigenous clergy that rescued Christianity in these regions.⁶¹¹

The seminary was given to the Jesuits, who administered it until their ban in the 18th Century, whereas the Franciscans with their fortune constructed a college in Mount Poincur for the education of catholic boys in the region. In 1709 it is noted that the seminary in Bassein

⁶⁰⁴M. de Sa, «Religious Orders», in *In the Mission Field: The Diocese of Damaun* (Bombay: E. G. Pearson at the Times Press, 1925), 144.

⁶⁰⁵Lobo, *Memória histórico-eclésiástica da Arquidiocese de Goa*, 274.

⁶⁰⁶Costa, *A Missiological Conflict between Padroado and the Propaganda in the East*, 84-86.

⁶⁰⁷Serafim Leite, «O Clero Indígena nas Terras do Padroado», in *Brotéria* XII, n.1 (1931): 7.

⁶⁰⁸Jno. Godhino, «Indian Secular Clergy», in *In the Mission Field: The Diocese of Damaun* (Bombay: E. G. Pearson at the Times Press, 1925), 245.

⁶⁰⁹Pera, «The Diocese», 36.

⁶¹⁰D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 251.

⁶¹¹Godhino, «Indian Secular Clergy», 248.

admitted only indigenous vocations to be formed and ordained.⁶¹² There is also recorded a novitiate house of the Dominican order at Chaul which recruited their candidates from Goa after obtaining the permission of the vicar general.⁶¹³ There is a record of the existence of a seminary in Thana where the Jesuit superior Gonçalo Rodrigues is said to have established the institute to train the youngsters in Christian faith.⁶¹⁴ Apart from these there were other institutes in the region that contributed to the spread of faith and the formation of young men. A royal letter, dated 20th February 1618, to the archbishop D.º Cristovão de Lisboa commends his efforts in placing more and more parishes in the hands of the Indian secular clergy.⁶¹⁵ The figure below gives us a glimpse of the Catholic Church (vocations being our concern) in the East Indies.⁶¹⁶

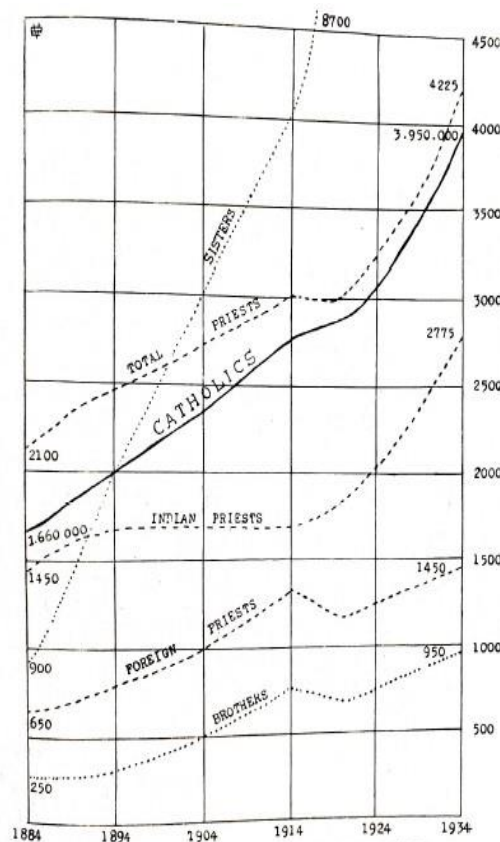


Fig. 2. 10 Mapping the Local Vocations from 1884-1934

⁶¹²Leite, «O Clero Indígena nas Terras do Padroado», 6.

⁶¹³D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damau*, 253.

⁶¹⁴D'Sa, 255.

⁶¹⁵Godhino, «Indian Secular Clergy», 245.

⁶¹⁶Kierkels, *Golden Jubilee of the Apostolic Delegation of the East Indies: 1884-1934 Retrospects and Prospects*, 103.

2.5.2.1. THE SEMINARY

Factoring in various reasons, the church in the Council of Trent woke up to the dire need for dedicated institutes for the formation of priests. The canon 18 in the session 23 of the council of Trent mandated that every diocese should erect a seminary for the formation of the clergy.⁶¹⁷ Pope Leo XIII recognizing the wisdom and need of proper and dedicated institutes for the formation of the future priests had done everything in his power to open as many seminaries as possible. He had mandated and demanded that every diocese that was erected was obligated to make provisions for a diocesan seminary. He himself practised what he demanded from others and hence in line with his prophetic words, '*Filii tui India, administri tibi salutis*' ordered the construction of the papal seminary (Kandy) in the Indian sub-continent. In his directive to cardinal Mgr. Ladislav Zaleski, he established the papal seminary in Asia in 1893.⁶¹⁸ This was realized and founded in Kandy, Sri Lanka, and later shifted to Pune, India in 1903 and was called to serve the needs of India, Sri Lanka and Burma. This obligation was also laid upon the *Padroado* who were obliged, as per the article VI of the new concordat, to open seminaries in their respective dioceses as a breeding ground for priests. To add to the obligation of opening a seminary, the third provincial council of Goa in 1885 quoting the council of Trent had passed a resolution that «there should be seminaries in all the bishoprics of this Province (Goa)...».⁶¹⁹ This further obliged the diocese to make provision for the seminary at the earliest as it was a part of the archdiocese of Goa.

Accordingly, D.º António da Costa the first bishop of Daman was overwhelmed and anxious to realize this wish of the Holy Father and his own desire to open a diocesan seminary. Consequently, the seminary of the new diocese was established in the middle of September 1887 by the bishop in his episcopal residence.⁶²⁰ As there was no structure which was ready and available to house the new seminary, the bishop opened the doors of his residence. He furnished all the necessary physical demands and also personnel with able staff of professors, with Fr. António F. Poças as the first rector of the seminary.⁶²¹ This was a provisional arrangement that the bishop had made until the new building to house the seminary was ready and running. He was in constant touch with the crown upon whom the concordat had placed the responsibility for the institution, sustenance and promotion of the diocesan seminary. On the

⁶¹⁷O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, 212.

⁶¹⁸Kierkels, *Golden Jubilee of the Apostolic Delegation of the East Indies: 1884-1934 Retrospects and Prospects*, 52.

⁶¹⁹Cf. D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 232.

⁶²⁰D'Sa, 240.

⁶²¹Pera, «The Diocese», 53.

30th of June 1888 the bishop wrote to the office of the Portuguese foreign minister expressing his desire for a dedicated structure for the housing of seminary in the region.⁶²²

In the letter, the bishop gave a detailed and an organic account of the need of the seminary in the new diocese along with the incurring cost. The bishop clearly stated the fact that the life and future of the local church is fully dependent upon the success of the institute in the region. He clearly indicates in this letter that apart from the canonical obligation the responsibility to open a diocesan seminary was sounded to him by the Portuguese government and also through the bulls of his confirmation from the Holy Father.⁶²³ The letter exudes a sense of urgency on the part of the bishop and at the same time a sense of helplessness in the face of the economic challenges that lie before him. At last, the old Augustinian monastery was demarcated for the purpose.⁶²⁴ With the first bishop of Daman in the newspaper *O Damanense*, in the special edition printed on the 6th of October 1890 to mark the inaugural of the new seminary building, proudly announcing the establishment of the new seminary with St. Anthony as its patron.⁶²⁵

The sixth day of the tenth month of the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety marks the red-letter day in the life of the diocese of Daman with the opening of the new seminary building. As expressed by the bishop, António da Costa in his letter to the foreign minister, the exclusive building was a symbol of pride and honour for the diocese and the bishop. This joy and exaltation were doubled with the celebration of the birthday of D. António da Costa on the same day. In the editorial of the newspaper, *O Damanense*, the editor notes the jubilation and happiness among the people of Daman. He continues to stress upon the importance that the event signifies in the life of the diocese, as the seminary infuses new blood in the hearts of the believers. The event was blessed with the reception of the apostolic blessings from the Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII through cardinal Rampolla. The celebrations of the inauguration were spread throughout the day with various spiritual activities – confessions, adoration, procession, rosary, mass and so on. It was well attended by the vicar generals and the government functionaries.⁶²⁶

The courses in the seminary were drawn and designed based on sciences and virtues for the salvation of souls.⁶²⁷ The curriculum included languages, theology, maths, history, geography, music and philosophy which were spread over a period of 5 years. The bishop in his desire to

⁶²²António Pedro da Costa, «Seminário Diocesano de Damão», 1888, 1.

⁶²³Da Costa, 2.

⁶²⁴António Pedro da Costa, *Abertura do Seminário Diocesano - Descrição dos Festejos Inauguraes* (Bombaim: Portuguez Britannico, 1890), 54.

⁶²⁵Pedro António Da Costa, «O Novo Seminario», in *O Damanense*, 6 October 1890, 158 edition, sec. Editorial, 1.

⁶²⁶Da Costa, *Abertura do Seminário Diocesano - Descrição dos Festejos Inauguraes*, 36-38.

⁶²⁷Da Costa, 50.

guard the objectives and aims of the seminary published the norms and directives with LXXI articles for its functioning in 1892. The prelate had adopted the functioning model of the seminary at Santarém for consideration in drawing these regulations.⁶²⁸ As per the article III of these regulations the seminary was also open to non-residential students who were interested in religious studies. According to the chapter eight, article XXXIII the body of formators for the seminary was to comprise of rector, vice-rector, spiritual director, two prefects, professors, treasurer and others. The detailed and systematic organization of the seminary by the bishop showed a lot of promise and future for the diocese. As we have noted before the arrival of D.º Sebastião José Pereira, with his experience in the seminary of *Sernache*, only added to further progress of the seminary. He introduced new subjects and necessary changes which ensured upgrading and relevance of the institute. The seminary is said to have housed about forty (40) students during its life time.⁶²⁹

As encountered in the magazine released *In Memorium* at the death of D.º Sebastião José Pereira the seminarians were enrolled in seminaries across India – Rachol, Goa; Kandy, Sri Lanka; and Mangalore, Karnataka.⁶³⁰ The need to send the seminarians to other seminaries across the country was due to the unstable economic situation caused by the change in the political situation in Portugal (republican government) overthrowing the monarchy in Portugal in 1910. Other factors also contributed to the deterioration of the seminary building in Daman such as economic uncertainty, increasing cost of living and saline nature of the locality.⁶³¹ There was a movement for the introduction of American system of burses for the formation of seminarians which did not gather steam and was slowly discontinued. The financial burden to support seminaries was felt worldwide as is evident in the call of Pope Leo XIII.⁶³² The seminary with St. Anthony as its patron and our Lady of Rosary as its patroness was slowly turning into a spiritual structure where seminarians were spiritually united, in the absence of a physical structure.

During the tenure of the D.º Sebastião José Pereira a total of fifty-eight (58) candidates were ordained to priesthood.⁶³³ The church was waking to the need of indigenous priests to serve their people, as Pope Benedict XV wrote in his apostolic letter on the 30th of November 1919, ‘It is absolutely necessary to mould and build up an indigenous clergy in a way that is

⁶²⁸Seminario Episcopal de Damão, *Regulamento Interno do Seminário Episcopal de Damão: Aprovado por Provisão de 15 de Agosto de 1891* (Nova-Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1892), 2.

⁶²⁹Pera, «The Diocese», 53.

⁶³⁰Mateus, *Dom Sebastião José Pereira*, 27.

⁶³¹Pera, «The Diocese», 53.

⁶³²Leo XIII, «*Ad Extremas*», 10-11.

⁶³³Pera, «The Diocese», 60.

necessary'.⁶³⁴ It must be noted that after the suppression of the diocese many of the priests, not from the regions from Daman and Diu, were incardinated into the archdiocese of Bombay. The situation and condition of the archdiocese (Bombay) was dismal and uncertain in terms of candidates for priesthood. The seminary was struggling to find its feet for a very long time. As noted by Fr. Hull in his account on the history of the establishment of the seminary in Bombay, there was no permanent structure to hold the seminary in the region and the provision from the British government were also not steady.⁶³⁵ Consequently, there were hardly a few vocations available in the region. In such a dismal scenario Bassein was turning out to be the cradle of vocations in the region.⁶³⁶ Thus, the clergy from the former northern province of the Portuguese in India (*Padroado*) were of great assistance to the archdiocese of Bombay after 1928.

2.5.2.2. THE ECCLESIASTICAL RELEVANCE

The benefits of these institutes were reaped in due time and to the satisfaction of all. The diocese boasted of having hundred and four priests (104) at its service, both secular and regular.⁶³⁷ The feat that needs to be acknowledged and appreciated is that of the total available priests only eight (8) were foreigners while the rest were natives. The majority of parishes in the region were headed by local priests who had greater acceptance and effectivity among the believers due to their command over vernaculars, eloquence and persuasive manner.⁶³⁸ The contribution of the native clergy was immense and meaningful in the light of the continuing effects of the ban (1910) on the religious orders in the *Padroado*. The clergy worked towards defending the right of their diocese and the expansion of the mission field. The bond shared between the bishop and the clergy in the diocese was visible for everyone to see in small gestures such as the offering of a golden pectoral cross with a chain to bishop Sebastião on the occasion of his episcopal silver jubilee.⁶³⁹ On the occasion of the same jubilee on 9th of January 1923 a fund was established to promote higher education of the clergy in Europe. Such was the dedicated, professional and caring domestic clergy in the diocese of Daman.

There is no denying the fact that the qualified and dedicated clergy gave the diocese and the bishop strong arms to work towards realizing the mission of the church. They became the important links and valuable channels between the prelate and the laity. His zeal and the dedication had infected the clergy, creating a special bond between them. The prelate was known to cater to the needs of his clergy, financial as well as spiritual, through the organizing

⁶³⁴Santos, «The Missions - Men, Means and Methods», 620.

⁶³⁵Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 261-265.

⁶³⁶Leite, «O Clero Indígena nas Terras do Padroado», 9-10.

⁶³⁷Pera, «The Diocese», 51.

⁶³⁸Godhino, «Indian Secular Clergy», 246.

⁶³⁹D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 249.

of retreats and other necessary acts.⁶⁴⁰ The support of the seventy priests, in their complete priestly attire, who accompanied bishop D.º António da Costa to the court in defence of his claim over the church of Our Lady of Salvation stands as the unique show of their strength and filial bond.⁶⁴¹ The clergy was instrumental in manning the various institutes – churches, schools, social apostolate and also the role of teachers in schools.⁶⁴²

It must be noted that the clergy rendered their services with a missionary mindset and spirit. The bond among the clergy was that of deep Christian brotherhood based on the biblical tenets. They ensured that their own were not lost or abandoned in sickness and old age. Thus, to ensure that none of the brother priest lacked any financial aid in his need they founded the ‘Brotherhood of the Clergy’. The society was established in 1891 at the direction of the first bishop of the diocese, acting as the patrimony of the reverend priests ordained *Titulo Missionis*.⁶⁴³ In 1926 the diocese accounted for about ninety-eight Priest (religious and secular) of which only three were of European origin.⁶⁴⁴ Thus, the native clergy were the backbone of the diocese who were able to work effectively in realizing the words of Pope Leo XIII, ‘your own sons India, will be the agents of your salvation’.

2.6. THE LAITY

In the light of the double jurisdiction the laity presented a unique challenge to the diocese. It needs to be noted that this was not true of everyone and everywhere in the diocese but only in Bombay and the adjoining regions. The reversal notes of 1890 by the Holy See gave much needed clarity and direction towards the resolution of this question. As per these notes, apart from the existing laity any other Catholic from the *Padroado* regions who came to Bombay was placed under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Daman. This provision presented an opportunity as well as a challenge before the diocese who had to reach out and cater to such a volatile and unpredictable form of laity.

Until now we have witnessed the revolting and complaining set of people. However, the arrival of the shepherd in the person of the bishops and the demarcation of the pastures in the form of the jurisdiction resolved many issues in the region. They were always at beck and call of the pastors and ready to help in any which way possible for the growth of the diocese. In the above section where we have noted the support of the clergy to the bishop in the court room, we cannot forget that the laity, who were also present in large numbers, to back their pastor in that trial.

⁶⁴⁰Pera, «The Diocese», 57.

⁶⁴¹Pera, «Diocese de Damão», 294.

⁶⁴²Pera, «Diocese de Damão», 293.

⁶⁴³Pera, «The Diocese», 53.

⁶⁴⁴Farinha, *A Expansão da Fé no Oriente*, 254.

Such was the close bond and camaraderie that was prevalent among them and the church ministers.⁶⁴⁵

The pastors envisaged and realized spiritual and social movements for the upliftment of the morally and financially poor in the diocese. The pilgrimage to Old Goa for the veneration of the relics of St. Francis Xavier and various shrines, the Eucharistic adoration for XIII hours on Sundays and other such activities invigorated them. There was a constant movement to propagate and increase the apostolate of prayer and to stop the pagan practices in Christian homes. There were crosses erected in public places in many parts of the region to further the zeal and Christian piety among them. A practice that is visible even today in many of these parts. These crosses have a great influence on the laity and it is visible in the vivid representation of the passion plays known as *Santos Passos* during lent.⁶⁴⁶

The old technique of congregating and creating a Christian neighbourhood as a support system to defend against any threat to the community had resulted in the creation of Christian localities in various region of the diocese. Whereby generating communities which were densely populated by Christians, functioning as a buffer against any pagan influence were promoted.⁶⁴⁷ Thus, the congregation of Christian communities protected the flock against reverting to the practices of pagan cult. The old practise of public celebration of the sacraments of baptism with fanfare and pomp promoted a sense of unity and brotherhood among the laity.⁶⁴⁸ One cannot ignore or omit the mention of *Pais dos Cristãos* a practise whereby the wealthy would accept the role of godparents of the new converts and provide for their spiritual and financial needs.⁶⁴⁹ All of these old and new methods had amalgamated into creating a Christian community which was exemplary before others.

The diocese proudly held the honour of being, one of the first dioceses in India to hold the Eucharistic Congress at Bandra in 1912.⁶⁵⁰ The fruit of the Congress was the establishment of the spiritual acts such as the XIII-hour long Eucharistic adoration every Sunday and the formation of confraternity of the most Blessed Sacrament.⁶⁵¹ The programme to hold the XIII-hour adoration in a cyclic manner among the parishes over a period of one year without breaking

⁶⁴⁵N., «D. Sebastião José Pereira», 65.

⁶⁴⁶S. R. Santos, «Landmarks of the Cross», in *In the Mission Field: The Diocese of Damaun* (Bombay: E. G. Pearson at the Times Press, 1925), 295-296.

⁶⁴⁷ Pera, «Diocese de Damão», 297.

⁶⁴⁸De Sa, «Religious Orders», 145-146.

⁶⁴⁹De Sa, 146-147.

⁶⁵⁰D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 249.

⁶⁵¹J. Menino de Souza, «Eucharistic Empire», in *In the Mission Field: The Diocese of Damaun* (Bombay: E. G. Pearson at the Times Press, 1925), 274.

the chain was drawn to boost the faith. Such activities imbued the laity with renewed Christian vigour and confirmation of Christian faith.

Apart from this, the diocese had marked places of worship in the form of shrines for pilgrimages. Such shrines and pilgrim centres were envisioned with the objective of serving as sources of fodder for faith and point of contact for non-believers. Mount Mary in Bandra was one among the many and the most popular shrine in region founded in 1566 by the Jesuits. The feast was a national phenomenon with people from all walks of life and from different faiths paying their obeisance at the shrine.⁶⁵² Apart from this, there were also minor shrines and centres of devotion for the laity to visit and express their faith.⁶⁵³ Accordingly, we find that the laity are cared for by the prelate and the church to safeguard and increase their participation in the life of the church. It needs to be noted that the shrines also served a role in the mission *ad gentes* of the church, in gathering people of various faiths thereby fortifying the social bonds in the community.⁶⁵⁴ Such encounters also contributed in fostering good will towards the community in the society and also served as windows to the Christian world.

2.6.1. THE DIOCESAN COMMISSIONS

In light of the first Vatican council and the renewed role of the church in the world as expressed by the subsequent Popes, the social and economic aspect of the society was no longer beyond the ambit of the church. The challenging writings of the Popes about the role of the church in the society, especially the likes of *Rerum Novarum* of the Pope Leo XIII and *Ubi Arcano Dei* of Pius XI, egg on to do more for and in the society.⁶⁵⁵ The prelates felt the need to be socially relevant in a country religiously and economically as diverse as India by contributing to the upliftment of the weak. The diocese boasted of many commissions which were responsible for the social and spiritual welfare of the laity. These commissions provided them with the opportunity to participate in the functioning of the diocese at their own level and in their own capacity. Overall, the orientation and the aim of these commission was to contribute to the social welfare and upliftment of their brothers and sisters. With this vision the diocese established a number of social service organizations to reach out to the needy.

Institutions such as the *santa casa de misericórdia*, guild of St. Anthony, society of St. Vincent de Paul, the Bombay catholic women's social guild, orphanages, Bombay catholic education

⁶⁵²Fernandes, *Bandra: It's Religious and Secular History*, 52-53.

⁶⁵³Joseph Boccaro, «Shrines and Pilgrimages», in *In the Mission Field: The Diocese of Damaun* (Bombay: E. G. Pearson at the Times Press, 1925), 299.

⁶⁵⁴Boccaro, «Shrines and Pilgrimages», 303.

⁶⁵⁵Cosmas Fernandez, «The Bombay Catholic Welfare Organization», in *In the Mission Field: The Diocese of Damaun* (Bombay: E. G. Pearson at the Times Press, 1925), 322.

society, so on and so forth were the arms of the diocese for social action. There were houses which served the orphans, widows and the poor. D.º António Pedro da Costa opened a house for the poor and sick with the help of the rich people.⁶⁵⁶ Taking into consideration the need of the society he opened a house for the lepers who were coming from the neighbouring villages and begging in the streets. Following in the footsteps of his predecessor, D.º Sebastião José Pereira also began the 'Pio X Fund' for the poor students who wished to pursue studies.

For the sake of continuity and longevity, D.º Sebastião, with Mgr. Pera his vicar general, planned to invite lay people to directly participate and assist in the functioning of the social apostolate of the church. Whereby, the domain which was previously thought to be the monopoly of priests and religious was now opened to them in the diocese.⁶⁵⁷ To realize his dream and desire he founded the 'Bombay catholic welfare organization' whose primary goal was to absorb all these social service movements.⁶⁵⁸ It was an umbrella organization which was directly mandated with the task of ensuring the effective functioning of the social apostolate. It came into existence on the 21st of August 1921 through the first general body meeting with the bishop as its President. The organization employed itself with total commitment for the welfare of their distressed brothers and sisters in the neighbourhood. The organization within a short period of about four years (1924) had built about twenty-eight (28) houses for about 60 families.⁶⁵⁹ The impact and effect of the Bombay catholic welfare organization was felt by everyone through the lasting fruits that it bore in the lives of many.

Over a period of time the organization was further divided in order to pay closer and undivided attention to the various areas in the locality. They formed a women's guild which collaborated with the women religious to open houses for the girls and women at risk.⁶⁶⁰ They also constituted a young men's guild which was entrusted with the responsibility to cater to the needs of the youth. They also formed a group dedicated to promote vocations to clergy and religious life. Not to forget the free library wing, hostels and the likes which the organization served through its members. Such vibrant and effective pastoral and social programme caught the eye of the high and the mighty in the society and also in the church circles and was rightly considered as one of the most progressive dioceses of India.⁶⁶¹ The major learning from the

⁶⁵⁶N. J. Figueiredo, «Charitable Institutions», in *In the Mission Field: The Diocese of Damaun* (Bombay: E. G. Pearson at the Times Press, 1925), 369.

⁶⁵⁷Fernandez, «The Bombay Catholic Welfare Organization», 319-320.

⁶⁵⁸N., «D. Sebastião José Pereira», 66.

⁶⁵⁹Pera, «Diocese de Damão», 297.

⁶⁶⁰Faria and Mendiratta, «Goans and East-Indians: A Negotiated Catholic Presence in Bombay's Urban Space», 57.

⁶⁶¹Pera, «Diocese de Damão», 298.

entire exercise was the level of success and the power that can be generated with the collaboration of the laity.

2.7. THE MISSION AD GENTES

The scope of mission *ad gentes* in India was immense with potential that could never be fully realized in a life time. The vastness of the country and its religious and cultural diversity makes it a promising land for the missionaries. As we have noted in the first chapter, the missionary activity in India can be traced back to the Apostolic times with references to St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew. Even before the Portuguese arrived there is evidence of Christian missionaries in the region of Thana. Nevertheless, in spite and despite of the rich history that precedes, one cannot undermine the impetus and the definitive push that the arrival of Portuguese and through them the missionaries have had on the Christian landscape of India. Could they do more? Was there room for more? Unquestionably, yes. The sheer size of the country demanded much more from the missionaries and whatever they did was like a drop in the mighty ocean. Did *Propaganda* meet the demand? Was the papal arm a definitive solution for the demand? Definitely no. There were and there are still regions in India which have not heard about the person of Jesus. In such a scenario we need to understand that the scope of mission *ad gentes* for the new diocese was enormous and real.

There was a lot that was expected from the local church in the area of evangelization. There were barriers to be broken, horizons to be crossed and bridges to be built in order to spread the mission and plant the church. Geographically speaking, the diocese encompassed within itself portions of three distinct states of India – Maharashtra, Gujarat and Daman, Diu, Dadra, and Nagar Haveli. This implied that the languages spoken, the culture, the traditions and the people were distinct from each other. This is evident in the four medium schools of Gujarati, Marathi, English and Portuguese administered by the diocese. It is in the light of such challenging situation that it was called to actualize its mission *ad gentes*. The diocese of Daman in total counts for one hundred and fifty-one (151) places of worship in the region. Of these worship places fifty-three (53) were churches, twenty-two (22) were chapels, fifty-six (56) head stations and twenty (20) sub-stations.⁶⁶² It was a super human task that the prelates, clergy and the laity had shouldered by being part of the diocese of Daman.

The genuine and honest efforts can be seen in the foundation of the diocesan missionary society. The objective of this society was to contribute towards the furthering of the missionary activity

⁶⁶²De Souza, «Eucharistic Empire», 275.

through their prayers and finances.⁶⁶³ The society was formed to work for the propagation of the Gospel among the non-Christians and to generate funds for the upkeep of the catechist and the new converts. The desire of the prelate who founded it on the 8th of September 1924 at the Mount Mary chapel, Bandra can be encountered in his pastoral letter where he says that it is time to accept the words of the gospel, ‘your salvation is within you’ and take action at local level.⁶⁶⁴ Anyone and everyone was eligible to be a member of this society with a monthly subscription fee of one *anna* (1 paisa) for a month or payment of Rs. 25, 50, 100, 250 to be life members, benefactors, founders or patrons, respectively.⁶⁶⁵ The members of the society were encouraged to promote the membership among other parishioners of their respective parishes. There were units at the parish level of the society which ensured that there was awareness among them about the works of the society. This was one of the many steps that were taken by the diocese to promote the missionary activity at a very primary level. This and many more such initiative were undertaken by the local church and whose missionary zeal, led by D.º Sebastião a zealous missionary himself, could not be doubted or questioned.

2.7.1. ADMISSION OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS

None can replace or appropriate the role of missionaries in functioning of the church. Their dedication and total commitment towards the proclamation of the Gospel and founding of the churches in virgin lands is unparalleled. As we have noticed in the history, the immense contribution of the missionaries in the distant and difficult terrains of India is both exemplary and commendable. They; the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and the Jesuits, along with women religious, travelled (and continue to travel) to the length and breadth of the country conversing with the Kings and the commoners, with the rich and the poor, bearing the singular purpose of preaching the Gospel that they themselves had received. It is unfortunate to note that due to politics, lack of discipline and similar causes, the missionary venture in India was time and again jolted. Some of these instances we have recorded in the earlier portion of this dissertation and others in the first chapter. But the concordat of 1886 had worked to instil a renewed impetus to the missionary activity in the Indian sub-continent.

The article VI of the concordat clearly recommended and urged the *Padroado* to invest in the advancement of missionary activities. But there was a back story which presented itself as a hindrance to the full-fledged missionary activity – The ban on religious⁶⁶⁶ and its continuing

⁶⁶³ Fernandez, «The Bombay Catholic Welfare Organization», 332.

⁶⁶⁴Santos, «The Missions - Men, Means and Methods», 622.

⁶⁶⁵Santos, 622.

⁶⁶⁶It is important to note that although the effects of the order of ban on religious of 1833 (1835 in India) were wearing off but the impact of the new ban of 1910 was harsh on the region.

effects. We need to bear in mind that the ban on the foreign religious was still in effect and hence was a major road block in the planning and execution of the mission *ad gentes*. Thus, the hands of the first bishop of Daman were diplomatically tied from inviting religious to take up new mission stations. There were proposals presented from various quarters to permit the Jesuits in the *Padroado* missions; but the decision was not in favour of these proponents.⁶⁶⁷ One can only imagine the impetus and the vigour with which the diocese could have launched itself if only the missionaries were allowed to take up missions. However, there was a ray of hope when in 1901 Portugal passed a law (Hintze Ribeiro) which practically opened doors to religious into Portugal and its territories for the purpose of education and charitable works.⁶⁶⁸ This gave some hope for the missions in India which were awaiting their return. In 1926 there were seventy-eight churches and chapels, three missions, seven high schools with two thousand seven hundred and forty-three pupils, seventy-eight basic and primary schools with four thousand and eighteen pupils, three charity institutions, four asylums for the aged, two orphanages, four boarding homes and four houses of work for the unemployed.⁶⁶⁹ These enterprises were a shared responsibility of the diocesan clergy and the religious who were rendering their services in the diocese.

Nonetheless, with the declaration of the Republic in 1910 the situation was once again complicated as the government had effected the separation of the state and the church on the 20th of April 1911.⁶⁷⁰ Interestingly, the secular government by its law of separation of state and church had effectively renounced its rights (*Padroado*) in Africa and Timor from 1st of June 1914 through the article III but had still held on to the right in Asia (orient).⁶⁷¹ The diplomatic ties with Rome, which were ruptured by the government in 1911, were once again resumed by the government of Sidónio Pais in July 1918 after the end of the First World War.⁶⁷² The State had not renounced its right in the region as is evident in the confirmation of the appointment of bishop Goodier for Bombay in 1919 and the bishop of Macau. These appointments confirmed that the Portuguese government was still honouring the *Padroado* in Asia.⁶⁷³ We will delve further on this aspect of the relation between the church and the new Republic in the following

⁶⁶⁷Farinha, *A Expansão da Fé no Oriente*, 256.

⁶⁶⁸A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *A Primeira República Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1970), 54.

⁶⁶⁹Farinha, *A Expansão da Fé no Oriente*, 254.

⁶⁷⁰S.N., *Cadernos do Ressurgimento Nacional - Portugal Missionário*, (Lisboa: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade), 19.

⁶⁷¹Eduardo dos Santos, *O Estado Português e o Problema Missionário* (Lisboa: Agência-Geral do Ultramar, 1964), 79.

⁶⁷²Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *História de Portugal - A Primeira República (1910-1926) - História Diplomática, Social, Económica e Cultural*, vol. XII, XII vols (Lisboa: Editorial Verbo, 1990), 43.

⁶⁷³Dos Santos, *O Estado Português e o Problema Missionário*, 80.

section. In this instance it is to be noted that the second bishop of Daman D.º Sebastião had managed to push for the entry of the religious and had opened the door for the missionaries.

As we have noted above, the Franciscan brothers were one such example who in 1908 began their work. The prelate had also invited women religious in his church with the objective of furthering the education and the cause of girls and women in India. The Franciscan Hospitaller sisters (Portuguese) with their arrival in 1912 were serving in two colleges and an orphanage.⁶⁷⁴ The Carmelites also made their contribution towards the broadening of the mission with the foundation of schools. There was an Indian order of nuns who were engaged in the region of Quilon and with the permission Mgr. Benziger, the sisters arrived in 1922.⁶⁷⁵ The arrival of the missionaries gave new boost to the diocese which was beginning to stand on its own feet on a strong ecclesial foundation.

2.7.2. CUSTOMS AND TRADITIONS

The Portuguese knew that it was necessary to gain the confidence and good will of the locals if they were to continue their hold on the colonies. It was a wisdom that had come down from the very beginning when Afonso de Albuquerque tolerated social customs and traditions such as *Gaunkars* or village heads and also encouraged other local traditions.⁶⁷⁶ The early missionaries had also understood that there was a greater need to absorb the customs and traditions of the place in the teachings of the Catholic Church. The primary challenge before the missionaries was the barrier of language that posed the biggest hindrance. The early Portuguese missionaries of the society of Jesus had attempted to use the local language in teaching the catechism of the church to the locals. This bore fruit in the form of a book ‘*Doutrina Cristã*’ and ‘*Krista Purana*’ by Fr. Thomas Stephen S.J. in 1662 whose objective was to make the catechism and story of Jesus available to the masses and to help the missionaries to follow a standard and acceptable text.⁶⁷⁷ Such were some of the many movements which were employed in the attempt to acclimatize the church. For the church, the objective of their mission had always been on the two principles of civilizing and evangelizing the masses.

In the diocese there were movements to incorporate the customs and traditions of the locals in the liturgies and prayers.⁶⁷⁸ The most prominent case was that of the church of Our Lady of Remedios in Daman (Grande). The locality was dominated by the fishing community belonging

⁶⁷⁴Pera, «Diocese de Damão», 296.

⁶⁷⁵Philothea, «Convents», in *In the Mission Field: The Diocese of Damaun* (Bombay: E. G. Pearson at the Times Press, 1925), 156.

⁶⁷⁶Moraes, *A History of Christianity in India*, 115-116.

⁶⁷⁷Thomas Steven, *Doutrina Cristã*, 2nd edition (Lisboa: Ática, 1945), 1-2.

⁶⁷⁸This was within the limited scope that was available to the missionaries in the region.

to various religious beliefs. These included Christians, Hindus, Muslims, Aborigines and others. They had their own customs and traditions in relation to worshipping the sea and gaining favours in their uncertain trade. Over the period of time these customs were absorbed and refined by the missionaries, as the fisherfolk came to take refuge in the sacred sanctuary of Our Lady of Remedios. In the month of June when the fishing boats would return to their havens on the shore, the fishing community would make a pilgrimage to the church in festive mood, with colourful dresses, country bands, singing songs of praise and worship, throwing flowers in the air and with *chuppatis* (unleavened bread) which they would give to the poor by the roadside.⁶⁷⁹ They believed in the protection of Our Lady and symbolically offered their children on the steps of the altar. A similar devotion and prayers are witnessed at the shrine of Our Lady of Mount, Bandra (even to the present day).

The above-mentioned customs and traditions were important from the perspective of the church in the region due to the unfair allegation of Christianity being foreign to the land. This tag for a religion born in Asia was hard to fight with words and hence had to be shown in action. The participation of the people in these services and liturgies provided the window to know and educate themselves about the Catholic Church. The diocese believed that every effort should be taken in order to make the church more acceptable to the Indian sentiments and taste. The obligation of learning the native tongue of Marathi by D.º Sebastião was definitely a step in this direction. It goes without saying that the local church had the herculean task of adopting whatever is good in the Indian civilization.⁶⁸⁰ At the event of birth, marriage and death apart from the usual church practices some other peculiar social customs were also permitted for the laity.⁶⁸¹

2.7.3. FIGHT AGAINST SOCIAL EVILS

The cautious path of forming Christian traditions and customs in the territories was always challenged by the promotion of harmless and palatable practices in line with the teaching and values of Christianity and opposing those which were contrary. This was always at the core of the movement to assimilate local traditions and customs in India. One example to present in reference to this is the abolition of the Hindu practise of *Sati*, according to which the widow had to immolate herself on the pyre of her dead husband. It was Alfonso de Albuquerque who in his wisdom banned this practise in the Portuguese ruled India, as it was against the Christian values.⁶⁸² The diocese was also at the forefront of tackling customs and traditions in the society

⁶⁷⁹Boccaro, «Shrines and Pilgrimages», 302-303.

⁶⁸⁰Santos, «The Missions», 630.

⁶⁸¹Afonso, «The Land and The People», 82.

⁶⁸²Moraes, *A History of Christianity in India*, 115.

which were contrary to the teachings in the gospel. The two prominent areas where it worked to make such reforms and eradicated the evil practices is in the application of caste system and the position of women in the family and society. The diocese employed positive and effective steps to ensure that such mal practices were eradicated at least in the Christian households by proposing counter measures.

The Indian society is defined and divided by caste, which is directly related to the dignity of the individual in the society. The converts to Christianity were member of different castes, such as; *Brahmans, Prabhus, Pachkhalsis, Charkalsis, Sonar, Katris, Kunbis, Khumbars, Dhobis, Kolis, Bhois, Chambars*, and others. In principle, the members of these castes are not allowed to freely mingle with each other. Though, such was not the case in the Christian society. It would be an overstatement to say that the caste system was completely missing in the church circles, but it definitely lacked the rigour in implementation with penal punishments. The caste awareness was dying out due to the strong disapproval from the priests who had great influence in the community.⁶⁸³ Education was a great equalizer in the society where all were given equal opportunities to choose the trade of their liking and not as permitted by their castes. They accordingly chose their own trade or government jobs or commercial or liberal professions and some to priesthood. Inter-caste marriages among the Christians were no longer prohibited and could be witnessed in the diocese. Child and infant marriages were not permitted among the Christians and were banned by the church law.⁶⁸⁴ So also, the remarriage of the widow was not forbidden in the church.

The greatest handicap of the Indian women was the ban laid upon their education in Hinduism and Islam. The Indian customs and traditions were not at all favourable to the progress and advancement of the Indian women. In such a scenario, the light of Christianity drove away the darkness of ignorance from the lives of the Indian girls. The women were given equal honour and respect in the Christian household, wherein she was able to sit and eat with the rest of the family on the same dining table.⁶⁸⁵ A privilege which her counterpart in other religious traditions did not enjoy. The evil of infant marriages, prohibition of widow re-marriages and the *Purdah* (a scarf or a head covering to conceal the face) system were abolished in the society where Christianity had established itself.⁶⁸⁶ The positive steps taken to uplift the woman, were through their participation in the administration of the diocese. The women's social guild which

⁶⁸³ Afonso, «The Land and The People», 81.

⁶⁸⁴ Afonso, 82.

⁶⁸⁵ Afonso, 81.

⁶⁸⁶ Cecil Boccardo, «The Indian Woman - Some aspects of her life», in *In the Mission Field: The Diocese of Damaun* (Bombay: E. G. Pearson at the Times Press, 1925), 105-106.

was the branch of the Bombay catholic welfare organization worked towards the cause of the women through education, vocational training centres, hostels and mother & infant centres.⁶⁸⁷ There were also centres which were working towards rescuing women who were subject to physical abuse or thrown into flesh trade.

The prelates also welcomed women religious to open centres for the development of women. The Franciscan sister from Portugal in 1912 and the Carmelite sister in 1922 apart from others rendered exemplary service. The sisters had opened schools, hostels, hospitals and convents to further the cause of the girl child and women.⁶⁸⁸ These homes were safe havens for the girl child, who were subjected to the evil of female infanticide, to realize their potential and worth. There were also instances where these girls expressed desire to enter the convent and became nuns. The diocese had three such indigenous nuns working in the parishes of Bassein and were warmly received by the parishioners. Hence, we could say that in comparison with other communities the Christian society contributed towards the advancement of the women. In this heroic and yet difficult mandate, it worked towards uprooting customs and traditions which were contrary to the teachings of the Gospel.

2.8. THE FALL OF MONARCHY IN PORTUGAL

In this section the subject under study is the transition of Portugal from a monarchy to a Republic under a secular republican government and its resulting consequences upon the church, especially the diocese of Daman. The response of the church to the events in Portugal was not an immediate reaction but a calculated proactive approach to maintain the *status quo* and once again to bring the relevant parties to the table of discussion. Hence, not a lot of attention and space is given to this event in the dissertation to avoid unnecessary and irrelevant history and to maintain the focus on the objective of this work. At the same time, we cannot completely ignore this event as it did have repercussions in India and especially in Daman. The role that it later played in the drawing of the concordat of 1928 and the subsequent suppression of the diocese of Daman through the apostolic constitution *Inter Apostolicam Sedem*⁶⁸⁹ by Pope Pius XI makes it relevant to the research.

The compliance to the British Ultimatum of 1890 by Lord Salisbury to retreat the military from the colonies between Angola and Mozambique by King Carlos I⁶⁹⁰ was a point of political and social eruption in Portugal due the embarrassment caused by the loss of authority in the region.

⁶⁸⁷Fernandez, «The Bombay Catholic Welfare Organization», 345-347.

⁶⁸⁸Philothea, «Convents», 156-157.

⁶⁸⁹Pius XI, «Inter Apostolicam Sedem», *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XX, vol. XX, Num. 8, 1 August 1928, 247.

⁶⁹⁰F. A. Oliveira Martins, *O 'Ultimatum' Visto por António Enes* (Lisboa: Sociedade Industrial de Tipografia, 1946), 395-406.

There were demonstrations against the monarchy in the streets of Portugal who felt robbed and maltreated by England.⁶⁹¹ The situation in Portugal was tense due to the lack of concordance between the Portuguese authorities and Portuguese public on the issue of the 'Ultimatum'. This was manifested in the form of violence and public agitations in the country against the 'Ultimatum' of the British.⁶⁹² The economic situation in the country was also not in the ideal state. The vent to all this public anger was seen in the barbaric and cold-blooded murder of King Carlos I and his son, prince Luis in front of his mother and brother Manuel II in the bustling city of Lisbon on 1st of February 1908.⁶⁹³ This snowballed into continuous threat to the authority of the crown, with latent and direct attempt to dethrone D.º Manuel II, who had inherited the throne at the legal age of 18. He was not able to steer the ship of his reign out of the troubled waters of protests which were gaining momentum and shrill claims for the implementation of republic getting heavier and louder.

Finally, in 1910 on the 5th of October the reins were safely and definitely given into the hands of the republican government.⁶⁹⁴ The freemasons also played their part in the realization of this revolution and implementation of republic in Portugal.⁶⁹⁵ The party began by following the old *modus operandi* of attacking the church and its institutions. Once again, the missionary institutes and their apostolate was attacked by the government. Hence, the political and religious situation in Portugal had undergone immense change as a result of the events of 5th of October 1910 declaring Portugal to be a republic. This had its own share of repercussions in the Portuguese colonies where the government intended to rule, especially in some parts of Asia.

Accordingly, while abrogating the *Padroado* in Africa from 1914, it continued to exercise its right in the Asian dominions. This event had raised the most basic and pertinent question in the minds of the *Propaganda*, was the right of *Padroado* inheritance of the King of Portugal or the government?⁶⁹⁶ Answer to which was not to be easily found. The question was prominent and relevant in the face of the constitution passed by the new republican government, whereby; the two institutes of the state and the church were separated from each other by the law of 10th April 1911.⁶⁹⁷ The events took a turn for the worse when the government decided to first suspend and then to completely bolt the doors on the diplomatic channels with Rome in 1911.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹¹Martins, *O 'Ultimatum' Visto por António Enes*, 277.

⁶⁹²Martins, 281.

⁶⁹³Jorge D'Abreu, *A Revolução Portuguesa O 5 de Outubro* (Lisboa: Imprensa Libanio da Silva, 1912), 47.

⁶⁹⁴Alfredo Pimenta, *A Republica Portuguesa em Face da Igreja Catholica e a Politica do Centro Catholico* (Lisboa: Imprensa Lucas & C., 1925), 9.

⁶⁹⁵Pimenta, 9.

⁶⁹⁶Genese, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 375.

⁶⁹⁷Pimenta, *A Republica Portuguesa em Face da Igreja Catholica e a Politica do Centro Catholico*, 15.

⁶⁹⁸Serrão, *História de Portugal - A Primeira República (1910-1926) - História Diplomática, Social, Económica e Cultural*, vol. XII, XII vols, 43.

Nonetheless, as we will witness in the following section this division between the church and state was with a rider in the context of *Padroado* in Asia.

2.8.1. THE REPUBLIC AND THE DIOCESE OF DAMAN

The separation of the church and the state coupled with other laws, which were against the interests of the church, were denounced by the Portuguese bishops in their joint document ‘*Protesto Collectivo*’⁶⁹⁹ and was duly seconded by Pope Pius X in his encyclical, *Jamdudum in Lusitania*, on the 24th of May 1911.⁷⁰⁰ There was no doubt that the intent or approach of the republic towards the church was violent and confrontational.⁷⁰¹ In such a scenario of prevalent animosity between the church and the state it must be noted that the intentions were quite the opposite when it was the question of the *Padroado* right in Asia. Even before the diplomatic channels were resumed by the government of Sidónio Pais, the *status quo* with regards to the *Padroado* in Asia was observed. As evident in the confirmation of the appointment of bishop Goodier for Bombay in 1919 and the bishop of Macau, confirmed that the republican Portuguese government was still honouring the *Padroado* in the east.⁷⁰² This was the core reason and an opportunity for the dialogue between the church and the government of Portugal which later culminated in the concordat of 1928 and many others which followed.

When we evaluate the kind of influence of the republic on the diocese, we need to bear in mind a few facts. One, of the entire jurisdiction only Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli were the Portuguese territories. Secondly, majority of the jurisdiction of the diocese was outside the political jurisdiction of Portugal. This meant very little interference of the government in the functioning of the diocese and its pastoral policies. The British government was also very considerate and well-disposed towards the local church. After the declaration of the republic 1910 a group of Christians from the diocese (1915) started a motivated attack against it before Rome and the English ambassador in Rome with their appeal to transfer the jurisdiction to the *Propaganda Fide* on account of the republican government of Portugal.⁷⁰³ But the office of the British authority in Bombay sent an unfavourable reply to this request and reaffirmed its faith in the ecclesiastical order established since 1886. In due time, the diocesan clergy with a fitting reply presented their case before Rome in 1916 for the continuation of the jurisdiction of *Padroado* diocese of Daman. There was no favourable response to the plea of the agitators from any of the offices which led to a continued agitation without success.

⁶⁹⁹Marques, *A Primeira República Portuguesa*, 57.

⁷⁰⁰Pimenta, *A República Portuguesa em Face da Igreja Católica e a Política do Centro Católico*, 15.

⁷⁰¹Jasmins Fernando Pereira, *A Primeira República* (Braga: Editora Pax, 1972), 90.

⁷⁰²Dos Santos, *O Estado Português E O Problema Missionário*, 80.

⁷⁰³Farinha, *A Expansão da Fé no Oriente*, 254-255.

According to the article XII of the constitution of the republic, the government reinforced the laws of expulsion of the religious orders from the Portuguese territories, reigniting the terrible memories of 1759 and 1834, with absolute and perpetual effect.⁷⁰⁴ Such short-sighted policies of the government had shunted and derailed the education programme of the girls in Goa.⁷⁰⁵ They were forced to go to Bombay to find admission in the religious institutes run by the Franciscan and Carmelite sisters under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Daman. D.º Sebastião weathered the storm caused by the political situation with all his might. As recorded by the print media in 'The Catholic Herald of India' after his death, «Lordship (D.º Sebastião) had many trials to contend with on the part of the anti-clerical government of Portugal but he always managed to tide over the difficulties much to his personal inconvenience».⁷⁰⁶ Rome maintained its distance as they did not wish to further the animosity between the church and the republic.⁷⁰⁷ The vacant See of Daman from 1924 until the suppression in 1928 speaks about the resulting neglect by the secular government. The vacant see and the absence of a wholesome concordat, like the one in 1886, played its part in its suppression in the concordat of 1928.

2.8.2. THE FINANCIAL CHALLENGES

Post republic and then post First World War the diocese was challenged with financial difficulties whereby the missionaries could not even get their remunerations.⁷⁰⁸ D.º Sebastião in his capacity as the pastor laboured incessantly to provide for the financial needs. The above-mentioned initiatives which he commenced with the collaboration of the laity in the form of Bombay welfare catholic association which was the umbrella organization for many other groups bear testimony to his genuine efforts. Apart from these efforts the financial aid provided by the British government for the upkeep of the parishes also helped in providing financial stability to the diocese. The deep economic crises resulting from the great war (1914-1918) had thrown Portugal into an even deeper economic depression. This meant that the taxes and contributions from the overseas colonies was to be increased. Thus, the diocese was further pressured to provide for the economic needs, in the face of increased government taxes. In such a situation the generous contribution of the laity came as the much-needed relief in this time of crises. The structures constructed during the tenure of D.º Sebastião speak volumes of his managerial skills in the face of these economic crises. This in no way meant that the road was smooth and easy but was rather filled with opposition and allegations.

⁷⁰⁴Pimenta, *A Republica Portuguesa em Face da Igreja Catholica e a Politica do Centro Catholico*, 13.

⁷⁰⁵Philothea, «Convents», 153.

⁷⁰⁶Cf. Mateus, *Dom Sebastião José Pereira*, 35.

⁷⁰⁷Dos Santos, *O Estado Português E O Problema Missionário*, 80.

⁷⁰⁸Mateus, *Dom Sebastião José Pereira*, 8.

Both the prelates, without an iota of doubt, wanted to ensure the safety, security and the future of the church in the diocese of Daman. They spent all their energy in the realization of these objectives in whatever manner possible. In spite of their best efforts there were oppositions and hardships that they had to face in the light of rifts between the *Padroado* and *Propaganda* churches. There were third parties who were sowing seeds of enmity and division among the Christians to achieve their own agendas. The British Protestant Church pastors, the Hindu religious organizations among others put their energies at work to lure the disgruntled flock into their respective folds.⁷⁰⁹ Leading to the creation of fissures in the community which was in the process of healing from the wounds of internal divisions.

The financial situation of the diocese after the war, in which Portugal had also participated, had been in shambles. Thus, many of the educational institutes could not be supported by the diocese and had to be shut. The situation became tense when the grass was found to be greener on the other side of the fence. The *Propaganda* missions, supported by the church, were flourishing due to the various initiatives of the religious in Bombay.⁷¹⁰ This definitely left a sense of pain among the laity who could not get the same services as their counterparts in the archdiocese of Bombay. Such were the catastrophic effects that the political events had on the diocese of Daman, that they challenged its very existence. Notwithstanding these hostile political developments, diocese successfully waded through these difficult times until 1928.

Ultimately, in this chapter we have succeeded in recording the formation-life-impact of the diocese on the local church. It marks the individual and community contribution of the prelates, priests and laity in the everyday functioning of the diocese. It also ably notes the missiological and pastoral movements which were created in the diocese to respond to the needs of the local church. We find the quality of resolving the questions arising at the local level through active deliberations on the part of the local hierarchy. The endorsement of the laity in finding answers to the questions in their community is commendable. The chapter was able to identify and extract the ecclesial and missiological movements in the diocese. Consequently, these movements set the tone for the development of the final chapter of the dissertation. In this chapter the focus will be solely on the relevance of these movements in the current context. Therefore, the third chapter will deliberate on the merits and ability of these movements to respond to the missiological and pastoral challenges that church continue to grapple even today.

⁷⁰⁹Reginaldo da Silva, «Struggle between Padroado and Propaganda Fide (1886-1928) A Case Study – Bassein», in *Congresso Internacional de História Missiologia Portuguesa e Encontro de Culturas*, Vol.III of Vol. IV, (Braga: Universidade Católica Portuguesa; Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses; Fundação Evangelização e Culturas, 1993), 708-709.

⁷¹⁰Da Silva,707-708.

CHAPTER – 3

THE MISSIOLOGICAL AND PASTORAL MOVEMENTS IN THE DIOCESE OF DAMAN

Edward Schillebeeckx in *The Understanding of Faith* refers to theology as ‘critical self-consciousness of Christian praxis in the world and the church’.⁷¹¹ In the final chapter, I will attempt to evaluate and understand the events that we have noted in the first two chapters for their ecclesiological value in the light of Christian praxis in the world and the church. Accordingly, the objective is to understand the praxis of the diocese in the world and the church. The events leading up to the formation of the diocese of Daman and its subsequent life which led to the restoration of ordinary functioning, comprises of many novel missiological and pastoral movements at that time. This chapter is dedicated to understand these trends which boosted its effectivity and contributed to the revival of the local church. The chapter focuses on these two trends of pastoral and missiological movements in its life and corroborate them with historical events. A study of these movements will help us to understand how it was turning a new leaf in the ecclesial history of the region by infusing a new spirit in the laity and the clergy. The chapter intends to do justice to the memory of the diocese of Daman and to acknowledge these movements that it undertook for the sake of the future of the church in the region. Thereby, the chapter is divided into three sections which will give us a comprehensive understanding of these movements.

The first part is dedicated to study specific events after the foundation of the diocese of Daman, which had real implication in the resolution of specific conflicts that were hurting the normal functioning of the church. It would be wise to note at the very beginning that this is not a complete log of all the engagements which restored peace and order. These are thematically selected events which were more prominent and addressed a particular issue of the church to ensure smooth functioning. These events are related to themes such as; reinforcement of the legally approved ecclesiological procedure, effective functioning of church leaders, role of local clergy, protecting ecclesial harmony and discipline. The section through these events, implied by the logic of cause and effect, reveal how the erection of diocese aided in tackling the intra and inter church disputes effectively. The section also aims to identify the order and discipline that was put in place as an outcome of the matured intervention of the church leaders from the *Padroado* and *Propaganda*.

⁷¹¹Adrian Hastings, *African Catholicism Essays in Discovery* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1989), 82.

In the following section we will pay attention to the prominent missiological movements in the diocese of Daman which contributed to rebooting of the mission, as leaven in the dough (cf. Mt 13,33). Taking cognizance of the foundational importance of mission in the life of church, it is only fair and relevant to explore the missiological movements. The objective is to study these movements which ensured continuity in the spread of the Christian message. The section is further divided into two parts with the aim to concretely and specifically account for these movements. The first subsection delves upon the theme of evangelization of cultures and the second subsection explores the aspect of the community in promoting the mission. These subsections, when combined together, are supposed to present a clear picture of the missiological movements put into motion.

Evangelization of cultures is significant in the life of the diocese which was encountering various cultures within the boundaries of its jurisdiction. The topic still finds resonance in the Indian milieu which is dominated by a panorama of culturally varied diasporas. The church could not be insulated to the cultural reality around but was forced to converse with it regularly.⁷¹² The aim is to understand the level and manner of interaction that the diocese involved itself to be effective in its core mission. With this objective the subsection is further divided into two parts. The first part is dedicated to the understanding of the transformative effect that it had on the socio-cultural reality in the society. We will further delve deeper on the dual aspects of how evangelization is a call for the transformation of the reality in the light of the gospel and the values that are compatible with the Christian message.

In the subsequent part, the focus will be upon the question of community in relation to its missionary plans. To investigate the nature of the community that it aimed to nurture and promote among the believers. The question gains significance when we look at it from the broader perspective of the multireligious and multicultural prism prevalent in India. The distinctiveness of the nature of the diocesan laity which comprised of Indians and foreigners (Portuguese and British) became more complicated due to the presence of migrants (Goans) in the region. The fact that a part of the jurisdiction of the diocese was now an economic hub made the challenge of migrants more acute. Nevertheless, as the paper progresses, we will use blinkers to concentrate on the task of catechists and the care of the migrant population within its jurisdiction.

⁷¹²Vincent Miller, «Ecclesiology, Cultural Change, and the Changing Nature of Culture», in *A Church with Open Doors: Catholic Ecclesiology for the Third Millennium*, ed. Richard R. Gaillardetz & Edward P. Hahnenberg (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2015), 64.

Moving forward, the paper will focus on the study of the pastoral movements that were predominant. Apart from the aspect of praxis, the ordinary intra functioning of the church in the mundane situations is equally essential for its overall health. The importance of the effective and meaningful pastoral activities that cannot be compromised or minimized. Healthy pastoral movements through robust implementation ensure Christian union and peace in the community. That which was desperately needed and sought in the church in India at large and the region of Bombay in particular. This makes the investigation into the pastoral movements of the diocese in the region germane to its life.

Being torn apart by sectarianism, due to various reasons, the diocese was sufficiently challenged to devise a plan which could help to resolve the differences. Accordingly, we will deliberate upon two of the outstanding issue which were plaguing the ordinary functioning and unity of the church in the region. The first contention was with the demarcation of the ecclesiological jurisdiction in the region and the second was with regard to the local clergy. Both of the subjects were controversial and divided people into the two camps of *Padroistas* – supporters of *Padroado* and *Propagandistas* – supporters of *Propaganda*. This division among the laity and the clergy becomes the base for the need to focus on the pastoral movements which helped in healing these divisions.

In the first part, pertaining to the question of the ecclesiological jurisdiction in the region a required clarification is presented. A region is divided at two levels as far as the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction concerned; the level of diocese and individual parishes. This portion is inspired by the attention to the subject since the council of Trent to the present canon 518 of the 1983 canon law. As noted in the current canon 518 of 1983, the criteria for demarcation of jurisdiction can influenced by ‘some other reason’.⁷¹³ We have addressed this problem in the previous chapter in a detailed manner. In this subsection, we intend to speak about the importance of a well-defined and demarcated jurisdiction for the smooth functioning of the church at both these ecclesial levels. The identity that people develop from the fact of belonging to a particular region cannot be undermined or overlooked. This subsection proposes criteria that need to be considered while working on the process of demarcation of ecclesiological jurisdiction. This leads us to the two parts within this subsection on jurisdiction which are geo-political and socio-cultural consideration.

The other significant movement in the area of pastoral governance that is worth deliberating are the clerics. As leaders of the community the function of a priest is vital in deciding not only the

⁷¹³The Code of Canon Law, Can. 518.

present but also the future of the community. From the very beginning, church has encountered difficulties in recruiting or finding sufficient number of qualified priests to cater to the demands of the mission. The words of Jesus, ‘therefore ask the Lord of the harvest to send out labourers into his harvest.’ (cf. Mt 9,38) bear witness to this perennial scarcity. In this subsection the focus is placed upon understanding the role and the place of the diocesan priest in the area of administration; to understand the stability and discipline that the diocesan clergy infuse into the life of the church. The church from the very outset was always aware of the power of the local clergy in giving the character to a community of believers in a definite region. With this in mind the subsection is further divided into two parts; the ethnic clergy and the migrant clergy.

Therefore, in the final chapter the objective is to pinpoint the various movements which contributed towards the revival of the church in the region. These movements helped in building bridges and tearing down the walls which had divided the church in the region. It was definitely not the end of problems but surely a movement towards the beginning of the end. The genuine attempts of Rome and Portugal to restore order and unity in the church in India were finally being answered. We find that the peaceful image of the church which was tarnished by unbecoming behaviours in the past was being restored in the region. Ecclesial peace and discipline were returning to the region as a result of the above missiological and pastoral movements. The chapter would work as a window to understand the innovative ways employed in the advancement of the motives of church. It is an ideal reference point for the interpersonal relations between dioceses and the promotion of Christian dialogue with the desire for reconciliation. We will also identify how these movements are relevant and present even in the current functioning of the church, as we encounter similar ecclesial trends. These is a healthy dialogue between the trends of the past and the movements of the present. This is not to propose that the present movements were prevalent in the past. But it is to show that the Spirit continues to animate the church as it dabbles with challenges century after century.

3.1 RESTORATION OF THE ECCLESIAL DISCIPLINE

As we have stated in the second chapter, the creation of the diocese did not mark the end of problems but definitely the beginning of the end. It was a step forward in the right direction for the end but there was still an extensive and exhaustive journey with its own share of challenges until the realization of the dream of ecclesial unity. The wounds of internal conflict had been affecting the community from the beginning of the eighteenth century (1720). A decisive movement to reconcile and heal these wounds was taken at the fag end of the nineteenth century (1886). This gives us an idea into the number of expected road and mental blocks one could expect in the process to usher peace in the region. Cynics, likes the Bombay catholic union, a

sympathiser of the cause of *Propaganda*, believed that the concordat and the reversal notes of the 1890 would not serve the purpose of establishing peace in the region as envisioned by the Holy Father.⁷¹⁴

Whereas, on the other hand there were communities in the region who were making appeals to permit communities to continue under the jurisdiction of the *Padroado*. Such as, the pleas from the *varado* of *Sawantawadi* who made an appeal to the Holy Father, the King, the Portuguese governor in India and the archbishop of Goa in a letter on the 17th of September 1886.⁷¹⁵ From Ceylon (Sri Lanka) who registered their displeasure in a meeting on the 28th of November 1886. The region of Poona also complained to the foreign minister in Portugal through a letter on the 26th of October 1886.⁷¹⁶ There were others as well which followed the suit, such as; Assagão, Kallianpur, Péjaver which expressed their desire to remain in the *Padroado* jurisdiction. These movements were concurrent in nature and were influenced by various geographical-political-social-cultural factors and not just emotional. These continuous appeals can be partly attributed for the reversal notes of 1890 which extended the jurisdiction of the bishop of Daman upon the faithful from the *Padroado* jurisdiction which were migrating into his jurisdiction.

These events help us to concretely note and account for the actual impact that the creation of the diocese had on the daily lives of the laity and the church. The objective of the double jurisdiction was primarily to ensure that the reign of peace would return to the region. In light of this, we can confidently state that there was a genuine and definite movement towards the establishment of peace through reconciliation and necessary compromise. There is no denying the fact that the troublemakers always sought opportunities to create a rift or confusion. Their personal agendas and ulterior motives for personal benefits brought disrepute and conflict in the community which was working for the restoration of unity. The prelates were deft in taking adequate actions in order to restore the discipline in the church by bringing a closure to the contentions through legal or pastoral means. Avoidance of scandal and restoration of harmony was the guiding principle for the prelates who wished to heal the wounds of disunity and distrust. The fact that the *Padroado* occupied a primary place in Bombay,⁷¹⁷ both in numbers and influence, ascribed to it a greater role in the quest of peace.

⁷¹⁴Bombay Catholic Union, *A Letter to His Excellency the Apostolic Delegate in the East Indies from the Bombay Catholic Union* (Bombay: Bombay Catholic Union, 1890), 6.

⁷¹⁵A copy of the letters can be found in the Appendix no. 7.

⁷¹⁶Letters from various communities from different parts of the country, both within and outside the reign of Portugal, are attached in the annex no. 7.

⁷¹⁷Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 374.

3.1.1 CANONICAL PROCEDURE⁷¹⁸ – JURISDICTION OF SACRAMENTS

As noted in the first chapter, the administration of the sacraments was a major concern in the region. It had resulted in unsavoury incidents owing to the confusion resulting from lack of clarity or will. It was not limited to stray episodes among parishes but had infiltrated into the higher offices even after the erection of the diocese. The incident involving archbishop Porter in 1888 points to the complicatedness and ambiguousness dominant in the ecclesiastical regions resulting in skirmishes. In this instance, the archbishop was invited by some Koli fishermen of St. Peter's church, Bandra to bless their boats on the seashore. One needs to bear in mind that the region of Bandra was a bit complicated in terms of the ecclesial jurisdiction. St. Peter's church was with the *Propaganda* whereas the St. Andrew's church and the chapel of Our Lady of Mount belonged to the *Padroado*. Taking cognizance of the fact that the blessing of the boats was carried out in the geographical and ecclesial jurisdiction of the diocese of Daman a formal complaint was forwarded to the apostolic delegate against archbishop Porter's actions.⁷¹⁹ Their approach and apprehension can be understood in the light of such incidents of blatant disregard for jurisdiction by the *Propaganda* prior to the erection of the diocese. Evidently, such instances highlight the fact of how exercising ministry in one's legitimate jurisdiction was like walking on thin ice for the ministers.

To elaborate and make a case in this regard, one can quote the example of the church in Dabul, Bombay which had planned for an expansion. The church was built in 1872 with Our Lady of Happy Voyage as patroness but was later rededicated to St. Francis Xavier.⁷²⁰ There was a plan afoot for the enlargement of the church building to cater to the growing number of believers in the vicinity. Rome in its treatment of the request responded positively to the demand on the 25th of September 1886 with subsequent fulfilment in 1891.⁷²¹ Much to their dismay, in the following notes Rome declined the proposal to make the church of Dabul a common rallying point for the Goans migrating to Bombay.⁷²² There were also the issues of the chapel at Worli, where the bishop of Daman had to wait for seven months⁷²³ to get the permission to bless the chapel built for the fishing community since geographically it was situated in the archdiocese of Bombay.⁷²⁴ However, these instances were not made into a public spectacle but resolved with utmost dignity

⁷¹⁸Canonical Procedure points to the legal procedure which was laid down by the church; especially, in relation to sacraments.

⁷¹⁹Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 337-338.

⁷²⁰Gense, 350.

⁷²¹Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 203.

⁷²²Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 366. This request was later reconsidered and accepted by Rome.

⁷²³From 28th of March to 25th of September 1888.

⁷²⁴Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 204.

and care to avoid public scandal. These also bore witness to the vital function of the pastors to safeguard the interest and honour of the church.

Another instance that could be accounted, in the light of the peaceful resolution of the question of jurisdiction, pertains to the celebrations of sacraments in the chapel in Kalyan belonging to Mr. Joseph D'Aguiar. His wish to place the chapel under the jurisdiction of *Propaganda* was duly considered by the authorities on both sides. Finally, in a peaceful and amicable manner it was decided that the bishop of Daman was to hold its jurisdiction but Mr. Joseph was free to call any priest with the faculties received from the bishop for confessions.⁷²⁵ In such a scenario, the presence of legitimate heads on either side, along with the presence of the apostolic delegate, provided the laity the much-needed arbitrators to address and resolve their grievances.

It goes without saying that the above-mentioned instances were episodes of friction caused due to the overstepping of demarcated jurisdiction but were sorted out by the proper channels. This guaranteed that such contentions were addressed to the right forums within the structures of the local church. There were infrequent troubles with regards to the administration of the sacraments or the right over the stole fee, but these too were resolved with the help of the rules and regulations that were laid down in the time of bishop Meurin.⁷²⁶ There were no public acts of confrontations or violence between the two jurisdictions over the questions of sacraments. The dialogue and correspondence among the authorities in the church ensured that the laity were spared from the unfortunate and ugly quarrels of the recent past. Yearning for unity and peace, the first bishop of Daman in his pastoral letter on the 17th of November 1888, appealed to his fold,

Remember that in the church of God no distinctions are admitted, and that the characteristic note of its unity forms its most wonderful link which must unite all, and it is this union between all the faithful, without distinction of jurisdiction, of the faithful with the bishops and these with the Supreme Pontiff, visible head of the church of God on earth, who makes effective, and from every point true, that admirable note of the same church – one-fold one shepherd.⁷²⁷

3.1.2 ECCLESIAL AUTHORITY⁷²⁸ – SALVATION CHURCH IN DADAR

The events in the parish of Salvation church in Dadar were indeed painful but at the same time an important juncture of structuring the administration. Through this episode it realized the need to refurbish the norms and regulations of the *Fábricas* (financial managing committees) in the

⁷²⁵Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 204-205.

⁷²⁶Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 367.

⁷²⁷Cf. António Pedro Da Costa, *Pastoral Do Arcebispo De Pranganor 1º Bispo De Damão*, (Bombaim, 1892), 2.

⁷²⁸This means the ratification and obedience to the person placed in the position of authority by the church.

parishes. Accordingly, D. António da Costa drew out the new and revised rules for the *Fábricas* in the parishes under him, which were promulgated and continued to be in force till the very end.⁷²⁹ The root cause and the trouble makers in this particular church were two members from the parish community claiming independent administration of the Salvation church in Dadar. The bishop attempted for a peaceful resolution of the conflict and restoration of order. This attempt failed to bear any results and subsequently he had to knock on the doors of judiciary for a solution. It must be noted that the Salvation church had sufficient and more funds to be administered and was considerably richer in the region. The church was founded by the Portuguese Franciscans and had even been in the possession of the *Propaganda* before returning to the original jurisdiction of the *Padroado* in 1851.⁷³⁰ The death of the parish priest Fr. Braz Fernandes in 1890 opened the doors of confusion and conflict in the parish church. The only difference this time around was that the parish belonged to the diocese of Daman.

The prime movers of the conflict were the President and the Secretary of the ‘*Meetings*’, a reunion to elect the administrators of the church (*Fábrica*), who wanted to impose a new order in the parish. According to their proposal, they wanted the power to name and issue the order of appointment of the new parish priest, reformulate the rate of emoluments and even mark the duties of the parish priest. Thus, effectively making them owners of the church and employers of the priests residing in the parish. The rebels were granted their request to access the archives of the parish by the bishop with the condition to reserve the documents of restricted access. The prelate also tried to resolve the differences by personally visiting the church on the 10th of May but to no avail. Things took a turn for the worse when on the 12th of July the party organized one such ‘*Meeting*’ without the presence of the parish priest and elected new administrators and syndicates (committee) to govern the goods of the parish.⁷³¹ Sensing the trouble, the bishop wrote a letter on the 16th of July 1891 to be read publicly in the parish and affiliated chapels, whereby he called the agitators to reconcile their differences and return to the church under the pain of excommunication.⁷³² The agitation on the part of the dissenters continued with the same demands before the authorities. The proposals were outrightly rejected and the requests were denied, prompting a legal course of action as the last resort to restore order.

A case of defamation was filed against the bishop by the protestors in light of the letter that was read in the churches against them. Nevertheless, the judge found no merit in the case and the bishop was acquitted of all the charges. This angered them and they filed another case in the

⁷²⁹D’Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 242.

⁷³⁰António Pedro Da Costa, *Questão da Igreja de Salvação em Dadar* (Bombaim: Portuguez Britannico, 1892), 1.

⁷³¹Da Costa, *Relatório da Nova Diocese de Damão pelo Seu 1º Bispo D. António Pedro da Costa*, 97.

⁷³²Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 240.

high court claiming independent rights to administer the parish. Consequently, after a long fought legal battle, the court finally declared the judgement in favour of the diocese and quashed any claims of the litigants. The judgement was pronounced on the 18th of April 1898 by the High Court against the petition to govern the church independent of the authority of the bishop of Daman.⁷³³ In this instance the impact of the bishop was visible, as he faced the challenge head on. His leadership in the legal fight for the right of the church and his own right was highly admirable. The other important aspect of the tussle that can be pointed out in the episode is that unlike before there was no interference from *Propaganda*. Such objective approach of the *Propaganda* augured well for the independence of the church and peaceful resolution of internal conflicts. The perception of the general public was that this was a fight between the church and the usurpers and not between churches.

3.1.3 ECCLESIAL HARMONY⁷³⁴ – MOUNT CARMEL CHURCH IN BANDRA

Bandra had been the arena for a number of jurisdiction fights between the *Padroado* and the *Propaganda* over a period of time.⁷³⁵ The region had witnessed some intense and ugly clashes which ranged from robbery, police action, court cases to even physical attacks causing injury. There were always chunks of people within the community who would shift their allegiance from one camp to another. In light of this historical background the disturbances after the formation of the diocese might not seem surprising but definitely different in their approach and treatment. In 1887 there arose a squabble in the church of St. Peter's in Bandra belonging to the *Propaganda*.⁷³⁶ There was a group of fishermen who had grievances against their parish priest on various subjects. These varied from lack of pastoral attention, to change in the burial ground, to alleged preferential treatment of the elite and the possession of the insignia of the confraternity of the fishermen.⁷³⁷ The aggrieved party made various and regular remonstrations before the archbishop of Bombay to affect a change in the parish priest or in his attitude towards the community. To their dismay there was no respite to their grievances from the authorities.

This had resulted in the formation of two groups within the parish, the supporters of the parish priest, called as the 'church party' and the protesting party, called as the 'non-church party'. Things took a turn for the worse when the confrontations became physical leading to bloodshed and injury among the parishioners. The gravity and the ignominy of the situation can be assuaged from the fact that this took place during the celebration of Eucharist inside the

⁷³³D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 242.

⁷³⁴This pertains to the efforts of the diocese to restore harmony within the Christian community.

⁷³⁵Godhino, *The Padroado of Portugal in the Oriente: 1454 - 1860*, 49-50.

⁷³⁶Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 240-241.

⁷³⁷Fernandes, *Bandra: It's Religious and Secular History*, 68.

church.⁷³⁸ This signalled towards the urgent attention that was needed to resolve the contentions between the aggrieved parties. It is reported that on the VI Sunday of Lent when Fr. J. B. D'Souza was presiding over the Eucharist, the Koli community 'non-church party' forcefully brought their insignia to be a part of the procession of *Santos Passos*.⁷³⁹ There was protest by the members of the 'church party', resulting in exchange of blows and shedding of blood. The priest is said to have taken refuge in the parochial house, as the church had turned into a full-fledged war zone. Invariably the police were summoned and the situation was brought under control. The injured were rushed to the hospital and the culprits were put behind bars. This incident was the final nail in the coffin, killing any hope and scope of reconciliation.

In the entire saga the *Padroado* which also exercised jurisdiction in Bandra, with the exception of a few churches, did not interfere in the matter. Finally, in 1891 on the request of the fishermen from the region a petition was moved to accept this group of people in the diocese of Daman. Archbishop Dalhoff, as a good shepherd, is said to have used his influence to pacify the group to maintain their jurisdiction under *Propaganda*. Sadly, he failed in convincing them and on the 7th of March 1891 was presented with an ultimatum to affect the transfer. A proper procedure was initiated wherein both the prelates began communication to realize this transfer. In response to the letter from archbishop Dalhoff on the 14th of March 1891 the bishop of Daman assented to the request of his counterpart. On the 25th of July 1891 the agreement between the two prelates was ratified by the sacred congregation of *Propaganda* in Rome and duly conveyed by cardinal Rampolla to the Portuguese ambassador in Rome.⁷⁴⁰

The strong group of 700 people (215 families) were attached to the church of St. Andrew until the construction of the church of Mount Carmel for the estranged community. The foundation stone for the new church was laid by bishop António da Costa on the 7th of February 1892.⁷⁴¹ The episode was yet another glowing example of the smooth and effective functioning of the ecclesial hierarchy of the church in India established by Pope Leo XIII through *Humanae Salutis Auctor*. The conflicts and problems in the region were addressed in a mature and Christian manner, keeping the good of the local church at heart. In this instance, the cherry on the cake was the construction of the new church building for the believers.

There is no denying the fact that the extreme reactions and the ugly fights in the church of St. Peter were avoidable with a timely action on the part of the archbishop of Bombay. Nevertheless, the church building of Mount Carmel embodied the ecclesial process of

⁷³⁸Fernandes, *Bandra: It's Religious and Secular History*, 68.

⁷³⁹Fernandes, 68-69.

⁷⁴⁰D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 241.

⁷⁴¹Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 241.

reconciliation and resolution of the differences in the community. The situation also bears witness to the maturity of the local church, where one party is not scheming to take advantage of the misery of the other. There is no doubt that prior to the formation of the diocese such an approach and functioning in the local church was found to be wanting. The vital positions of the prelates to keep a definite and a close check upon their flock, to ensure discipline in the church was admirable and encouraging.

3.1.4 FINANCIAL PROPRIETY⁷⁴² – CASE OF ANTÓNIO DE SOUZA SCHOOL

A reference to the same school is made in the first chapter in relation to the trouble that was caused in the management of the school due to the redirection of funds. In this particular instance we will elaborate on the episode with the objective to understand how the problem was resolved. The school was founded in the year 1795 in the premises of the Glória parish, Mazgão. The peculiarity of the name of the school, ‘António de Souza School’ and not under the patronage of a Christian saint can be understood in light of the history of the foundation of the school. Sr. Antonio de Souza was from Goa but had set up a successfully flourishing business in the Portuguese colony of Madras. Upon his death he is said to have divided his property among his kin and left a part for the Glória parish in Mazgão.⁷⁴³ The primary motive of this offering was for the benefit of his soul and the upkeep of the parish, with a provision that if the sum total of the offering exceeds 40,000/- then it should go to the foundation of a school attached to the parish.⁷⁴⁴ The amount exceeded and the school was thus founded in honour of his name – António de Souza; with a monthly stipend from the core fund (the sum is not known). Thus, the school came into existence in the premises of the parish with the funds of Sr. António. Things were running smoothly in the administration of the school until 1856 when Sr. Michael de Souza, the then administrator of the funds arbitrarily redirected the marked amount to St. Mary’s Institute in Byculla. He wished and was successful in transferring the administration of the school under the care of the *Propaganda* with ulterior motives.⁷⁴⁵ There was a great protest in the parish against this unilateral decision on the part of the administrator, without any success. There was a plea before the authorities to confiscate the right over the funds from the malicious hands of Sr. Michael de Souza, which in all fairness were dedicated into the care of the Glória parish. At this juncture there were an array of political and religious events which prevented any progress in the matter. The highlight was the concordat of 1857 which had imposed an

⁷⁴²This pertains to the management and safe keep of the funds of the church, as intended by the donor or the nature of activity.

⁷⁴³Patriot, *O Real Padroado Portuguez Oriente E A Propaganda Fide*, 16.

⁷⁴⁴D’Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 264.

⁷⁴⁵Flugentius, *Bishop Hartmann*, 118.

status quo in the region and prevented the ecclesial authorities in Goa to take any coercive action against the culprit. The subsequent logjam and the following impasse in the concordat further complicated the matter as the subject of jurisdiction was in limbo.⁷⁴⁶ It was left to the judicious mind of the first bishop of Daman to find a solution to the matter. As a final recourse, the matter was placed before the High Court of Justice in England to bring the matter to a close and restore order. The judicial process took its own course and it was during the tenure of the second bishop of Daman, who on his way to India to take possession of his diocese visited London in order to inquire about the progress of the litigation and discovered that some progress was recorded. The final judgement in favour of the bishop of Daman was pronounced in 1907 whereby the funds were left under his watch and authority. Thus, bringing order and healing in the parish which was very dear to the prelates as they had taken charge in the said Glória parish.

This incident bears witness to the internal reforms and discipline that the prelates had been implementing in the parishes under their care. The errant and wishful functioning of many church institutes in the region were put to rest by the prelates, who stamped their ecclesial authority over the local church. There is no denying the fact that the ordinary people from the diocese had offered their resources in shaping the ecclesial landscape. This had led to many private and personal claims over the property which was now in the possession of the church by the merit of donation on the part of the laity. These conflicts which we have recorded in the first chapter point to the harm and disrepute that was caused to the reputation of the church. The prelates spared no efforts to resolve these claims and, in some instances, to reclaim the property of the church in the service of the people. This prevented any sort of usurpation of the church property by people with malicious intents. In this manner, it defended the right of the church over the temporal goods and its administration.

3.1.5 FUTURE OF CHURCH – LOCAL CLERGY

As noted in the previous chapter, the cause and place of the local clergy in the administration of the church was at the very heart of the organizing of the new dioceses. The *Padroado* and the diocese of Daman in particular ensured that there were sufficient and real opportunities available to the locals who wished to respond to the call to priesthood. This augured well for the Portuguese government who were struggling with funds to send missionaries from Europe, as it was financially and political untenable. In the light of such challenges there was a surge in local vocations and thereby strengthening of the local church. Every aspect of their formation – spiritual, intellectual, physical, emotional and financial were taken care by the prelates. There

⁷⁴⁶D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 265.

were funds for the financially weak students and also for the financially weak priest, as we have seen in the previous chapter. This gave confidence and motivation to the candidates to advance in their respective function as pastors. They laboured, heart and soul, in service of the laity, to improve their status in the society through the services of the church, school and other socio-religious associations.⁷⁴⁷

The highpoint of the trust in the ability of the local clergy can be identified in the decision of the first bishop, when he appointed Canon Augustine Mariano de Santanna Faria, a native of Goa, as the vicar general in 1898. He was given the charge of the diocese until his return. However, as history bears witness, the bishop never returned back as he was called from this life on the 30th of January 1900. Upon the death of bishop António, Rev. Canon Faria was the administrator until the confirmation and arrival of the new bishop. He is accredited with the construction of the new church in Dabul and was decorated by king of Portugal with the medal of the 'Order of Our Lord Jesus Christ' in 1899.⁷⁴⁸ He was born in 1837 at Cunchelim in the parish of Mapuça, Goa. He ably steered the diocese in the absence of the prelate and until the arrival of the new prelate. Bishop Sebastião reappointed him as the vicar general and took charge through him in 1902. As a faithful servant, after handing over the charge to the new prelate, Canon Faria took leave of this life on the 21st of November 1902. He was attributed with the gift of finding the lost sheep and bringing them back to the fold.⁷⁴⁹

There are others who also contributed immensely to the diocese with their valuable contributions. The case of Rev. John Caetano Pereira (1833-1890), a native of Bandra is another example of a life of service. He completed his studies in the Rachol seminary (Goa) and was sent as a deacon for further studies to the seminary of Santarém in Portugal where he was ordained in 1857.⁷⁵⁰ He returned to India and worked alongside Fr. John Braz Fernandes to establish several institutions for the growth and stability of the Christians. The life of Rev. T. C. Henriques (1862-1914) from the city of Gorai is also worth mentioning for his contributions to the local church. After his studies from Rachol he proceeded to Rome where he was ordained by Pope Leo XIII. A man with deep intellectual disposition, he spent eleven years in Europe catering to his academic pursuits in acquiring the degrees of D. D., Ph.D., D.C.L. and D.A.L. He is said to have refused the proposal of a mitre in the bishopric of Portuguese east Africa and choose to return to India to serve the local church. He was appointed as the rector of the

⁷⁴⁷Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 373.

⁷⁴⁸D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 243.

⁷⁴⁹Godhino, «Indian Secular Clergy», 252.

⁷⁵⁰Godhino, 256.

seminary in 1895 for a term of three years.⁷⁵¹ In 1897 he was hired as the Fellow of the University of Bombay. He also served in the parish of Our Lady of Salvation (1898). He is credited for supporting and promoting educational excellence.

These selected few examples from the sea of pastors explains the kind of impact that they had on the life of the diocese in its pursuit of spreading the Gospel. They broke the ceiling and set the path for others to follow and explore the life of excellence in their respective fields. Undoubtedly, the local clergy was a force to be reckoned with in the region and in no manner were second fiddle to the foreign clergy in the land. It must be noted that by the nineteenth century for every one French and three Portuguese priests there were twenty-three local priests.⁷⁵² This in turn ensured that the local church had the required autonomy and independence that a mature church requires to establish and expand. Apart from fulfilling the aspirations of the local vocations, the local clergy also contributed in creating a sense of communion among the diverse communities. It generated the feeling of ‘my church’ and ‘our church’ by infusing a sense of brotherhood among the laity who could now closely identify with their pastors. The effectivity and impact of the pastors also increased by many folds as the barrier of language was resolved by the services of the ethnic clergy.

3.2 MISSIOLOGICAL MOVEMENTS

«Evangelisation is the cornerstone of all pastoral action, the demands of which are primary, preeminent and preferential».⁷⁵³ Therefore, mission is the singular focus of the church and its mandate. It gives a centredness to the present and ensures a movement towards the promised future of the church. As taught by the catechism, mission is of the Father in which the church participates through Jesus and is guided by the Holy Spirit. The role of mission is integral to the facet of the church, which is animated by it towards self-renewal and growth, through encounter with newer realities. Every time the church launches into newer geographical areas, it encounters the challenge of presenting the message of Christ in a manner which is affable and tangible to the mentality and taste of the locals. Such an activity enriches the lives of the new community and it is this interaction which affects the renewal in the universal church; thereby leading it to a profounder experience of the accepted faith. Thus, mission can be viewed as the one responsible for generating a fission like reaction in the church. Wherein, mission leads to

⁷⁵¹Godhino, «Indian Secular Clergy», 258.

⁷⁵²Leite, «O Clero Indígena nas Terras do Padroado», 7.

⁷⁵³Cf. John Paul II, Discourse to Participants at the Plenary of the Congregation for the Clergy (20 October 1984), ns. 3 and 4: *Insegnamenti* VII/2 (1984), 984 and 985; cf. also Id., Apostolic Exhortation *Catechesi Tradendae* (16 October 1979), n. 67: AAS 71 (1979), 1332.

the branching of the church with growth in its numbers; while ensuring that the nucleus of the reaction, the Spirit, is the core constant energy of this fission in the church.

The church is 'missionary by nature'⁷⁵⁴ and the vast lands of India ensure that, even today, this missionary nature of the church continues to be vivacious in the life of the local churches. One can only imagine the scope of the mission in the light of the reality during the era of the diocese of Daman. It would not be unfair to say that there was a profound missiological challenge to respond to the diverse realities surrounding it. In its finite lifetime of forty-two years there was an extraordinary effort to respond these challenges in order to build a bright future for the local church. The raw force of the Gospel, through the missionary activity, dug deeply and overwhelmingly among the people. The missionaries were called to evaluate and understand the realities in their pursuit to find the best possible manner to sow the seeds of the kingdom. Utmost care was taken to ensure that the sensibilities and conscience of the people was not soured or scandalized in the process. This called for prudence and diligence on the part of the missionaries who encountered and assimilated different customs, traditions and cultures of the place⁷⁵⁵.

These movements which will be deliberated, will reveal to us how the church is not a mere institute which is called to manage or govern people. In the life of Jesus, the continuous movements from one village to the next (cf. Jn 11,1-16) and urgency to proliferate the message to others (cf. Mk 1,38) points to the dynamic and urgent nature of the mission. The diocese of Daman ensured that it was not outdated or limited in its scope; but, was a growing entity, successfully achieving the goals of mission in every possible manner. As we will witness, through interaction with cultures and communities it worked towards the realization of this mission. These movements also point to the vision and dreams that the prelates had sown for the advancement of the local church. Every resource was marshalled and each individual was made a party to the development of the mission of the church, a concern we find reverberating, decades later, in the second Vatican council (AA 31).⁷⁵⁶ The current robust church in these parts of India is a silent witness to these humble but firm efforts.

The other missionary trait which will be revealed in and through this investigation will be the need for participation and interaction that is basic to missionary activity. It must be said that from the very outset church had had humble beginnings in relation to the mission. From the

⁷⁵⁴Vaticano II, *Ad Gentes*, no. 2, *Concílio Ecuménico Vaticano II - Contituições-Decretos-Declarações e Documentos Pontifícios*, X (Braga: Secretariado Nacional do Apostolado da Oração, 1987), 278.

⁷⁵⁵Leite, «O Clero Indígena nas Terras do Padroado», 7.

⁷⁵⁶Vaticano II, *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, no. 31, *Concílio Ecuménico Vaticano II - Contituições-Decretos-Declarações e Documentos Pontifícios*, 260.

birth of Christ in the manger, to his humble lifestyle as a carpenter, to his death on a cross, to the ordinary apostles chosen to lead the church, to the secretive gatherings of the early church; all of them indicate to the unassuming life style of the church. Nevertheless, in no way does humility mean that the church was lax or uninterested in the mission. The endearing quality of humility was the magnet which attracted everyone to a common life in the church. This gave it a participative and interactive identity which contributed to the spread of the mission.

Jesus chose the twelve to be with and to be sent out; but, apart from them there were others who participated in the mission of Christ by providing for their needs in different ways. The family of Lazarus in Bethany, the families of the Apostles (Peter, John), and others who provided for their needs (cf. Lk 8,1-3) were part of this mission in a different capacity. The formula was imitated by the early church who used the services of the ordinary people in the mission entrusted to its care. Over a period of time these took the shape of ministries in the church as that of lectors, acolytes, and the recently instituted ministry of catechists. This cooperation among the laity in the service of the mission makes the mission both universal and personal in its mandate and execution.

Accordingly, the section will focus and deliberate upon two of the missiological movements that are amply visible in the execution of the mission in the diocese. These movements in a way give it the special Christian character and identity in the midst of Indian religious panorama. The first movement is the place and treatment of cultures in the diocese of Daman. India being India, the influence and hold of cultures is deeply vital and the primary aspect of the human reality. One cannot avoid or downplay the control that cultures play in the Indian society. In light of this reality, the apt response and novel approach of the local church in manoeuvring through this challenging reality will be put under scanner. The other movement that is of interest, is its response in the face of multireligious and diverse society. An institute which was spanning over three different states was bound to encounter roadblocks. The specific and immediate challenge that was staring in the face was the lingual diversity. This makes the study of the response from the diocese mandatory, especially considering the continuing dominance of local languages in the Catholic Church in India.

The other section mounts the lens on the responses and remedies that were employed to counter the challenges that were prevalent in the diocese. Here the aspect of participation and interaction within the church will be considered. In this, the two parameters that stand out are the responsibility of the catechists and the pastoral care of the migrant community. The catechist was a potent weapon with the diocese; especially, in the face of the threat posed by the multireligious society to the new converts. Their function as guardians of the community

becomes defining due to the impetus and prominence given by the diocese to their role. The other is the substantial migrant community which called for a prioritised response from the local church. The tackling of this question will show the way forward for years to come. Overall, few of these missiological movements will be investigated in light of their relevance in the current missiological movements prevalent in the church.

3.2.1 EVANGELIZATION OF CULTURES

As Pope John Paul II noting about cultures in *Redemptoris Missio* states, «the church opens her doors and becomes the house, which all may enter and in which all can feel at home [...] provided that these are not contrary to the Gospel».⁷⁵⁷ Cultures and evangelization had always been close companions on the journey to the Divine.⁷⁵⁸ Both, evangelization as a process and culture as a medium, have enriched each other over years. We know that the word incarnated in the Jewish society and culture. Jesus lived the culture every day of his life, may it be religious culture of visiting the synagogues on sabbath (cf. Lk 4,16) or social culture of attending weddings (cf. Jn 2,1-11) or the food and clothing. He utilized the local culture to convey his message (cf. Lk 5,8-10; Mk 10,25) to the listeners. Thus, culture was a tool and a medium which beginning with Christ, the church continued to employ in the process of evangelization. The implied mandate of Jesus was evangelization of the masses and civilization through the tool of culture (cf. Lk 20,20-26).

This subtle but effective quality was assimilated by the apostles in their ministry too. The council of Jerusalem (cf. Acts 15,1-21) around 50 AD was an acknowledgement of the role of cultures in the church.⁷⁵⁹ From there onwards the church has always used this medium and allowed itself to be positively influenced by it in the process of evangelization.⁷⁶⁰ In the process, the church has been successful in transforming the cultures and enriching them with Christian values and message. This approach towards culture explains the influence of Hellenistic and Roman culture in the church. The twenty-four rites in the One Holy Catholic Roman Church are a living testament of the vivacity of culture in the church. The church was prudent in identifying the seeds of truth in foreign cultures and hence nothing was out of the ambit of evangelization and subsequent salvation.

⁷⁵⁷Cf. João Paulo II, *A Missão de Cristo Redentor: Carta Apostólica 'Redemptoris Missio'*, trans. Libreria Editrice Vaticana (Lisboa: Paulistas, 1991), 37-38.

⁷⁵⁸João Panazzolo, *Igreja: comunhão, participação, missão*, (São Paulo: Paulus, 2010), 194.

⁷⁵⁹Ajith Fernando, *The NIV Application Commentary* (Zondervan: Grand Rapids, 1998), 414.

⁷⁶⁰Maria do Rosário Onzi, «A Igrja e os Cristãos, sinal de esperança no mundo migratório», in *Strutture Di Pastorale Migratoria: Commenti All'istruzione Erga Migrantes Caritas Christi* (IV Parte), by Pontificio Consiglio della Pastorale per I Migranti e gli Itineranti (Città del Vaticano: Libr. Editrice Vaticana, 2007), 166-171.

Later, one way or another, due to the political, social, economic and other aspects, the Latin rite gained prominence universally, owing to the robust evangelizing push from the church. The monarchs ensured that the faith was inaugurated in every nation that they came to discover or occupy. One could say that, at times, in this style of evangelization the monarch's faith was basically imposed upon the masses and not planted or grown in these new lands. Thus, although evangelization was still a process of establishing the church but culture of the place was no longer a medium to transmit the faith. The lack of prior knowledge of the new lands and the urgency to evangelize coupled to ensure the spread the Latin rite. In this grim reality, the pre-existing culture found in the European celebration of the Latin rite was proliferated in the foreign community without understanding the culture of the local church. The synod of Diamper in 1599, leading to the irreconcilable division between the Latin rite and the rites of 'St. Thomas Christians' in the south of India, serve as a grim reminder of this rush for evangelization. All of this contributed to the attribution of Christianity, which was an Asian (Asia Minor) religion, as a European religion.

Effectively, in this mode of evangelization, Christianity in India got labelled as a foreign religion⁷⁶¹ simply because it did not interact with the complex local culture. Thus, without the aid of culture the message of evangelization was lost in transition or in the race for numbers. This in no way intends to undermine or overlook the genuine efforts of inculturation by the likes of Robert de Nobili, John de Britto, Paul Ricci and others.⁷⁶² Unfortunately, they were considered as the fringe and not provided with the necessary support to advance in their methods due to which the movement for inculturation suffered greatly in the region. Similar tension was visible in the approach of the *Padroado* towards the process of evangelization in India. The rich diversity of the region was in deed an opportunity to the church to plant the faith in the region by using culture as a medium.

The wounds of division in the church contributed towards suppression of robust diversity in the church. But the diocese of Daman carefully and prudently worked around the question of the cultures. The objective was to make the Christian message accessible as well as intelligible to the local populace. The souvenir or the album about the history, life and challenges of the diocese was published in response to the 'Universal Missionary Exhibition' announced by Pope Pius XI in 1925 in Rome. In it, Mr. C. P. da Cunha in his article, 'the Gift of Catholicism' notes how the Catholic Church with its peculiar sensibility to the customs and manners of the

⁷⁶¹Ana Cristina de Oliveira Almeida, *Nós Há de Morrer... Óss Tem de Cantar! Música, Memória e Imaginação em Damão. Trânsitos Pós-Coloniais*, (Aveiro: Universidade de Aveiro, 2013), 53.

⁷⁶²Augustine Kanajamala, *The Future of Christian Mission in India* (Oregon: Pickwick, 2008), 188.

community could be the unique response to the religious ideals of the oriental mind.⁷⁶³ This gives us an opening and an understanding into its mindset and approach towards the process of evangelization intended in the region.

The diocese believed in promoting local customs and incorporating them in the liturgies with revised Christian significance. The push was to create a Christian culture which externally appeals to the eyes of the locals, as it holds the likeness to their existing culture.⁷⁶⁴ But intrinsically it was to appeal to the new Christian mind and soul, as it imbibes and promotes the values of the Gospel.⁷⁶⁵ The diocese interacted with the local culture in order to assimilate the culture while developing the local Christian identity. The two missionaries with the appearance of Indian monks (*Sanyasis*) in Bhilad who executed their mission in the surrounding regions in 1922 bears witness to the push for inculturation.⁷⁶⁶ The other example is of the local fishing community consisting of people from different religions who found it comfortable and felt welcomed to participate in the Christian festivities. Their annual pilgrimage the Our Lady of Remedios church in Daman in praise and with prayer⁷⁶⁷ was another feat of openness to inculturation. These cannot be disregarded as one-off instances but have to be viewed as a conscious movement to respond to the challenges of evangelization.

3.2.1.1 TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIAL REALITY

«The care of souls should always be infused with a missionary spirit» (CD 30).⁷⁶⁸ The gospels which narrate the ordinary as well as extraordinary words and deeds of Jesus become the parameter of Christian living and theology. In it we are called to find answers to all the questions and doubts that we encounter during our Christian life on earth. When we talk about culture, we know that Jesus was born in the Jewish culture and lived it every day. However, he took a firm stand when abuses entered into the society (cf. Mt 23:4) in the garb of culture and were either against the divine law or the gospel values.⁷⁶⁹ Jesus admonished the culture which failed to respect women (cf. Lk 8:2-3) and children (cf. Lk 18:16) in the society. He dedicated himself to weed out and refine the Jewish culture in order to bear witness to his message. The stand against the stoning of women caught in adultery (cf. Jn 8:1-11), rebuke of the apostles to let the little children come to him (cf. Mt 19:14), angst against the use of sabbath to stop good deeds

⁷⁶³P.C. Cunha, «The Gift of Catholicism», in *In the Mission Field: The Diocese of Damaun* (Bombay: E. G. Pearson at the Times Press, 1925), 179.

⁷⁶⁴René Laurentin, *A Igreja do futuro*, (Lisboa: Eds. Paulistas, 1991), 261.

⁷⁶⁵Onzi, «A Igreja e os Cristãos, sinal de esperança no mundo migratório», 171.

⁷⁶⁶G. Abraham, «Impact of Christianity on Varlis in Gujarat», 123.

⁷⁶⁷Boccaro, «Shrines and Pilgrimages», 302-303.

⁷⁶⁸Cf. Vaticano II, *Christus Dominus*, no. 30, Concílio Ecuménico Vaticano II - *Contituições-Decretos-Declarações e Documentos Pontifícios*, 259-260.

⁷⁶⁹Panazzolo, *Igreja: comunhão, participação, missão*, 195.

(cf. Lk 13:14), the disgust at question about divorce by the pharisees (cf. Mt 9:18) are some instances where Jesus' mission to transform the culture to sync with the gospel is visible.

The evangelic dictum was clear, do not put pressure on others to forcefully impose a particular foreign or unnecessary custom or tradition on a group which do not accept or identify with them. As such tactics could lead to a feeling of revulsion to the foreign customs or oppression by the tradition. Consequently, the aim of the local church, in this instance, was never to work for a uniformity or homogenous reality or identity of the church. The entire focus, as it should have been, was to create space for particular churches to breadth⁷⁷⁰ and come into its own. Every identity needed to be respected and nurtured, to be treated as different parts of the same body with Christ as its head (cf. 1Cor 12:27). As we have witnessed in the second chapter, the independent and unique identity of the particular church was celebrated. This was sometimes not welcomed by certain section of believers who were not well disposed to the idea of permitting the evangelization of cultures. The magazine 'Madras Catholic Watchman' printed a piece titled, *Ex Fructibus Eorum Cognosceatis Eos*, where it clearly admonishes the «Obscene dances, scandalous scenes and pagan superstitions»⁷⁷¹ which it claims were authorised in the presence of the priests. This and other such criticisms, which were common in the region, are clear indicators of the widespread and prevalent attempt at inculturation and evangelization of the cultures. This approach still finds resonance in the highest corridors of the church, which calls to ensure that the 'multiplicity of cultures' is not lost and neither the communion between the people.⁷⁷²

Culture cannot be supreme or irreconcilable with the text and spirit of gospel teachings. Gospel always takes precedence in the face of conflict and definitely prevails when the dictates of culture are contrary to the values enshrined in it. Thus, the Gospel tones and acts as a parameter for the local culture while holding within itself the ability to refine, purify, and purge it. Following in the footsteps of Jesus, the church believes in conflicts over conforming with the norms of culture whenever the values of dignity, respect, life are at stake. The *Padroado* in the east, and the diocese in particular, always promoted the values enshrined in the Gospel for the social and cultural advancement of the church and the society. For instance, they were vocal about the repressive caste system in the society and its subsequent ramifications. The promotion

⁷⁷⁰Howland T. Sanks, *Salt, Leaven and Light: The Community Called Church* (New York: Crossroad Publ. Co., 1992), 195-196.

⁷⁷¹Cf. Bombay Catholic Union, *A Letter to His Excellency the Apostolic Delegate in the East Indies from the Bombay Catholic Union*, 73.

⁷⁷²Benedict XVI, «Christmas Greetings to the Members of the Roman Curia and Prelature», accessed on the 21st of June 2021.

https://www.vatican.va/content/benedictxvi/en/speeches/2005/december/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20051222_roman-curia.html.

of interests of men, women and children in the face of cultural opposition points to the cultural reformation which was carried out and the diocese of Daman became a beacon of change, whenever culture tried to trample on human dignity.

The prelates always stood for safeguarding the rights and privileges of individuals against the oppressive social, political and religious powers. To achieve this goal, they erected structures and identified individuals in the service of protecting the rights of the masses. As noted in the second chapter, there were several groups which formed into diocesan centres to ensure that the socio-cultural dilemmas of the people were addressed. The diocese, with the rest of India, was struggling with the question of caste system, place of women and children, orphans, widows and justice in the society. Staying silent or indifferent was not an option for the diocese as it interacted daily in the life and functioning of the laity. This prompted quick and effective action on the part of the local church to tackle the menaces in the local culture in the process of assimilating it with the filter of the Gospel. It promoted the position of women in the church whereby some of them were leading associations for welfare in the society.⁷⁷³

The other prominent tool at the service of the local church, apart from gospels, was the power of education. The light of education was used to dispel the darkness of superstition and to mitigate the pain caused by the caste system. Education gave the people the choice to follow their dreams and to bring in the desired change into the society. It opened schools in every parish where pupils were admitted without the barrier of gender, caste, colour, or creed. Everybody was treated with dignity and given equal opportunity to pursue their dreams. Thereby, education ministry was effective in weeding out prejudices and biases that were hindering the growth of the society. A. Soares in his article 'Four Centuries of Education' in the album 'In the Mission Field' explains to the readers the impact that it had in the area of education of the locals. He explains how schools in vernacular were opened to encourage people to pursue education.⁷⁷⁴ According to the statistics carried out in 1923-24 there were about twenty-six Marathi medium schools and more forty-two English medium schools functioning and were serving a total of about five thousand one hundred students.⁷⁷⁵ This number does not include those who were attending the schools run by the *Propaganda Fide*.

⁷⁷³Cosmas Fernandez, «Social Disabilities of Catholic Women», in *In the Mission Field: The Diocese of Damaun* (Bombay: E. G. Pearson at the Times Press, 1925), 364-365.

⁷⁷⁴Aloysius Soares, «Four Centuries of Education», in *In the Mission Field: The Diocese of Damaun* (Bombay: E. G. Pearson at the Times Press, 1925), 235.

⁷⁷⁵Soares, «Four Centuries of Education», 240-241.

All of these measures ensured that the culture, customs and traditions of the place were purified and refined in the society.⁷⁷⁶ These measures impacted, not only the Christian society but the outlook of people professing other faiths. As everyone promoted the education of girl child, reconsidered the place of the widows in the society, worked to create a society based on equality. These efforts to a certain extent undermine the influence of caste system⁷⁷⁷ leading to more such initiatives in the diocese. The number of Christian institutions; such as, *santa casa de misericordia de Diu*, *asylo de mendicidade de Damão*, society of our Lady of Piety in Dabul, orphanage in Mount Poincur, society of St. Vincent de Paul, guild of St. Anthony, Mount Mary's orphanage are some of the few institutes which were directly involved in the social transformation of the region.⁷⁷⁸ In this manner the diocese worked to be a catalyst of social change and upliftment of the people. The laity, along with its pastors, seem to have been believing and living the call to gather the flock which were of the fold, those which were lost and those which did not belong to the fold (cf. Jn 10,11-18). The objective was clear, to create, sustain and promote a society which was based upon the Gospel and built upon the wisdom available in the region. These movements contributed in instilling the necessary vibrancy in the Christian faith and enrich its experience in the life of the laity.

3.2.1.2 CELEBRATION OF LINGUAL DIVERSTIY

The urge to discover a legible medium for direct communication is innate to human nature, as it aids social interactions.⁷⁷⁹ The process of a child learning to speak in order to communicate with others can be an example and evidence of this human impulse. In the Bible, the event of cardinal importance that holds relevance in the light of the reality of diversity in languages and the joy of comprehension could be the Pentecost. It could be viewed as a significant event which demonstrates the desire of God to communicate legibly and directly with the people in their respective languages (cf. Acts 2, 8-9). When we look at this phenomenon from a theological, or more specifically from a pneumatological perspective, we are left enriched in our learning and investigation. The Bible reaffirms the datum that we have different languages to express and enunciate the same reality. The only distinction in this event, in contrast with the tower of Babel (cf. Gen 11:1-9), is the fact that unlike the people in the Old Testament here they could

⁷⁷⁶Sanks, *Salt, Leaven and Light: The Community Called Church*, 197.

⁷⁷⁷Teresa Albuquerque, «The Catholics of Bombay and Their Church: 1535-1936», In *The Influence of the Church on Indo-Portuguese Society and Economy - with special reference to Bombay* (Bombay: S.N., 1985), 3.

⁷⁷⁸N. J. Figueiredo, «Charitable Institutions», 367-381.

⁷⁷⁹João António Alpalhão and Vítor da Rosa, *A Minority in a Changing Society: The Portuguese Communities of Quebec*, (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980), 153.

understand each other (cf. Acts 2,6). This, affirms the importance of different languages in the mission of the church; as ordained by the Spirit on the day of Pentecost in Jerusalem.

When the *Padroado* missionaries disembarked in the new lands of the east they too were filled with this desire to communicate their faith with the natives. Their wish was met with a herculean challenge in the encounter with various foreign languages which were outside of the Latin⁷⁸⁰ family. The gravity of the situation, with respect to languages, can be understood from the fact that in the diocese of Daman itself there were peoples who spoke in Marathi, Gujarati, Konkani, English, Portuguese and not to forget the varied dialects. There is no denying the fact that it was a conundrum in terms of spoken and written languages. There were diocesan schools with their medium of instruction in these principal languages. Also, the attention on learning of these languages among the seminarians to increase their effectivity in the region. All these movements together bear witness to the honest and genuine attempts to increase the effectivity of the church in the region through the mastery over local languages. It is true that the liturgy in those days was celebrated in Latin and there was no much scope for native languages. Nevertheless, the daily correspondence and the need for catechesis made the local languages important factors. This duly and truly prompted the prelates to take the necessary steps in this direction, for the good of the church which in a way mirrored the scene of Pentecost in the diocese.

People are designed to identify with their local language and prefer to bond with others who can converse with them in their mother tongue.⁷⁸¹ The local language creates an air of bonhomie and establishes a sense of brotherhood even between strangers. Languages hold the power to influence and give shape and character to culture and thus the community; thereby, demanding attention.⁷⁸² The first aspect that one needs to bear in mind was the fact that the languages in these regions had their original script or proper grammar. The diocese, aware of this fact, worked towards investing and utilising these local languages to their pastoral advantage just as the missionaries in the early years of colonization, as we have seen, had educated young man and used their services as translators to spread the Gospel. This gave them advantage and ease in their mission to relate their faith with the native people. Similarly, these practises were continued and emulated; giving equal and more importance to local languages to be pastorally successful in the diocese. As read in the first chapter, the lack of knowledge of local language

⁷⁸⁰These languages had a different character and grammar than that of Latin.

⁷⁸¹Alpalhão and Rosa, *A Minority in a Changing Society: The Portuguese Communities of Quebec*, 154-155.

⁷⁸²Aires Gameiro, *Emigrantes: psicologia social, conflitos e desafios culturais* (Lisboa: Centro do Livro Brasileiro e Obra Católica Portuguesa de Migrações, 1984), 27.

by the priests had not only affected the mission of the church but had also led to laxity and scandal in the religious life.⁷⁸³

The challenge caused by the language in the initial days was amplified due to the lack of material and sources available to learn the local language in the initial period. Pope Leo XIII himself confirms in *Ad Extremas* the ‘difficulty’ in learning the vernaculars prevailing in India⁷⁸⁴ This explains the use of Roman alphabets by the Portuguese in Goa to write the native Konkani language. Thereby giving rise to a new form of writing the language in Roman script which required the local to study the Roman alphabets. As we have noted in the second chapter, this was a challenge but not a deterrence in its missionary pursuits, as D.º Sebastião ordered the learning of the local languages for the seminarians. This was definitely ordered with the intent to have priest who were competent to relate and communicate their faith with the natives of the land. It also promoted education in local languages by opening schools in Marathi medium and made local languages compulsory in the English medium schools. There were twenty-six Marathi medium schools opened in the densely populated Marathi speaking area of Bassein.⁷⁸⁵

In this manner diocese faced the challenges posed by languages and worked to resolve the lingual barriers not by suppressing or denying them but by promoting and nurturing these languages. These gave the locals the required confidence and ease in practicing their faith which was no longer alien or incomprehensible to their ears. The fact of the matter is that even in the present region of the former diocese, which is reduced to the regions of Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli there continues the use of Marathi, Gujarati, English and Portuguese languages in the celebration of liturgies and catechism of the masses. The continued presence of these languages bear witness to the fact that these languages were protected and promoted for the purpose and expression of faith in the locality. The diocese did everything in its power to ensure that these languages gave depth to the faith and made it appealing to the masses. At the end of the day the content of the message is equally important to the medium of communication. Thereby once again returning to the foundational event of the birth of Christianity; where languages (vernacular) of the masses were the primary medium for spreading the Gospel.

3.2.2 ECCLESIAL UNITY IN SOCIAL DIVERSITY

The Christian sense and understanding of community have evolved and been enriched from the Trinitarian concept of God, revealed by Jesus to the church. Church, from the very beginning, has made every possible attempt to devise ways to live as a community by emulating the Divine

⁷⁸³Lourenço, *Utrum Fuerit Schisma Goanum : Post Breve ‘Multa Praeclare’*, *Usque Ad Annum 1849*, 46-47.

⁷⁸⁴Leo XIII, «*Ad Extremas*», no. 4.

⁷⁸⁵Soares, «Four Centuries of Education», 241.

Trinity. Every Christian is catechised into believing that he is a part of 'WE' and not a mere 'I' in this world. The 'WE' is layered into different levels of one's proximity in the 'WE', with the believers in the church forming the most strong and meaningful group. This was sincerely lived and was applicable through the different tenets of life, suffering, death and resurrection of Jesus which enriches the 'WE'. The communion of saints gives this communion a continuity through its eschatologically understood eternal durability. This had real and definite implications in the everyday living of the Christians and their dealings in the world. As the scripture recounts, they held everything in common (cf. Acts 4,32) and provided for the needs of the poor in their community (cf. 2Cor 8,15). The Second Vatican council enshrined and established this image firmly when it referred to the church as the 'people of God' in *Lumen Gentium*.⁷⁸⁶

The true meaning of community in the church can be understood as a union of individual and diverse communities. Thereby, the form and nature of a Christian community in the church can be identified with a beehive model. Just as in a beehive, the bees form various groups and are given their respective distinct responsibilities, so also in the church there are various groups with different duties and responsibilities. But, as in the beehive, all the groups form one hive so in the church all the particular churches form one holy Catholic Church. In the pursuit of independent identity, the church can never sacrifice its common identity.⁷⁸⁷ The wise words of Pope Paul VI alert us, as he personally believed that church was more than a confederation of particular churches. In his apostolic exhortation, *Evangelii Nuntiandi* (EN 62) he points to the risk of being entrapped in the local separatist forces.⁷⁸⁸ Such divisive approach would never allow the church to fully realize its potential as a universal community of believers. As St. John Paul II, in his encyclical on Cyril and Methodius, insisted that every church with its own culture and tradition must remain open to the 'universal and Catholic communion'⁷⁸⁹. This call invariably holds within itself the innate demand for communication between churches with the intent to live and promote the common bond that they share in Christ.

The diocese of Daman fully understood and lived this universal truth with the nuances in its everyday life. The local church was confronted with the reality of Christian communion at the level of *Padroado* and *Propaganda*, Catholic and Protestant (British), and believers and non-believers. This implied the presence and mingling of different faiths, cultures, languages, and traditions; which posed newer trials in the daily manifestation of community living. This called

⁷⁸⁶Onzi, «A Igreja e os Cristãos, sinal de esperança no mundo migratório», 171.

⁷⁸⁷Vaticano II, *Lumen Gentium*, no. 23, *Concílio Ecuménico Vaticano II - Constituições-Decretos-Declarações e Documentos Pontifícios*, 79.

⁷⁸⁸Avery Dulles, *The Reshaping of Catholicism: Current Challenges in the Theology of the Church* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1988), 45.

⁷⁸⁹Dulles, 45.

for a constant revision and renewal in the approach towards safeguarding the idea of community life in the Christian society. The above aspects of diversity were equally a threat as well as aid in the living of the particular and universal understanding of Christian community.

Taking cognizance of this reality, the diocese took drastic and relevant measures to respond to the situation with the objective of safeguarding the interests of the community in its care. The regular and acute problems that existed in the community bear witness to the fact that it was always in a state of realization of communion. The prelates were aware of the factors that contribute towards the divisions in the community and took various steps to protect their ecclesial community. This could very well be studied, exclusively, for the exemplary management of such a diverse Christian community.

Within the community, apart from the geographical distance and distinctions there were other parameters responsible for creating divisions in the community. Such as, the community in Bombay were more economically affluent than the community in the regions of Nagar Haveli or Surat. The culture of the people in Bassein was different to the culture of the people in Dadra or Gorai. The language of the people in Diu was Gujarati while the mother tongue of the people in Thana was Marathi. The people in Daman were governed by the Portuguese whereas the people in Vasai were under the British government. The presence of national (Goan) and international (Portuguese) communities with their proper identities within its territories. These were some of the factors that diversified the community and were intriguing at the same time. These kept it on its toes, in order to guarantee the ecclesial bond of unity and to resolve the conflicts that were bound to erupt in such a diverse and distinct community.

As noted, one could study a plethora of steps initiated to promote the ecclesial communion. Nonetheless, in this paper we will limit our investigation to two prominent and vital aspects that played an important role in this regard. These two aspects are about the catechists and the treatment of the Goan migrant community in Bombay. The primary reason for the study of these two initiatives is due to their novelty and efficacy at the given time. The secondary reason behind choosing these two parameters is due to the recent documents from the Vatican by Pope Francis and the Congregation for the Clergy which make them worth pondering. The *motu Proprio* 'Antiquum Ministerium' in May of 2021 whereby the Holy Father institutes the ministry of the catechist. This gives us an opportunity to investigate into the prominence of a catechist in the Christian community. The other is the instructions issued by the Congregation for the Clergy, 'the pastoral conversion of the parish community in the service of the evangelising mission of the church' in July of 2020. In them we find the reflection of the manner in which the diocese treated the catechists and the migrant Goan community in the jurisdiction.

3.2.2.1 CATECHISTS – THE PILLAR OF MISSION

The community of believers is enriched by the irreplaceable presence of catechists.⁷⁹⁰ He or she is tasked with the duty of educating the believers in the faith and its tenets.⁷⁹¹ The church has been blessed with such a vocation from the very early years of its existence. Catechists have felt the call and contributed immensely towards the growth of the laity in their faith and the mission of the church.⁷⁹² The missionaries planted the church in various parts of the world but owing to the transitory nature of the missionaries, in some instances, these churches were personally catered to by the catechist. They ensured that the faith which was planted by the missionaries was given the proper nourishment and care by educating the masses.⁷⁹³ They helped to keep the community closely knit together and aided those who went astray to find their way back into the fold.⁷⁹⁴ The place of the catechist was felt by the community in the face of the erupting heresies and false preachers, especially in the younger churches. The New Testament accounts for such contributions in the persons of Timothy, Titus and others who the Apostles (including Paul) entrusted with this task as they themselves went about preaching and planting the church in virgin lands.

These point to the fact that the church was indeed enriched by the presence of catechists in the community.⁷⁹⁵ At times, the migratory nature of the missionaries did not serve in the required formation of strong filial bonds within the believing community. The faith that the missionaries served to the community had to be grasped, imbibed and practised in their absence. The catechist was the catalyst, as he assisted the community to masticate the matter that was provided to the community and to make a proper response by affecting behavioural changes in their lifestyle. The fact that the catechist was one among them and living an ordinary life, made him more approachable and available for the needs of the community. The church was aware of the ‘irreplaceable evangelizing’⁷⁹⁶ services that they rendered to the church in the society. Regrettably, over a period of time the role and place of the catechist was side-lined and slowly reduced to being auxiliary.

⁷⁹⁰Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, «Guide for Catechists», accessed on the 24th June 2021, https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cevang/documents/rc_con_cevang_doc_19971203_cath_en.html.

⁷⁹¹Leonard Doohan, *The Lay-Centered Church: Theology and Spirituality* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Winston Press, 1984), 18-19.

⁷⁹²Congregation for the clergy, «General Directory for Catechesis», no. 59, accessed on the 2nd May 2021, https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccclergy/documents/rc_con_ccatheduc_doc_17041998_directory-for-catechesis_en.html.

⁷⁹³João Paulo II, *A Missão de Cristo Redentor: Carta Apostólica 'Redemptoris Missio'*, no. 73, 106-107.

⁷⁹⁴Vaticano II, *Ad Gentes*, no. 17, *Concílio Ecuménico Vaticano II - Contituições-Decretos-Declarações e Documentos Pontifícios*, 294.

⁷⁹⁵João Paulo II, *A Missão de Cristo Redentor: Carta Apostólica 'Redemptoris Missio'*, no. 73, 106-107.

⁷⁹⁶João Paulo II, no. 73, 107.

The clergy took this onus upon itself and were unable to meet the daily demands of the community to the extent as the catechists.⁷⁹⁷ Thereby proving that the place of the catechist is exclusive and cannot be integrated into other portfolios. The second Vatican council (AG 15) also clearly identifies and notes their irreplaceable significance in the community.⁷⁹⁸ It needs to be noted that even when Pope Paul VI through *motu proprio*, *Ministeria Quaedam* abrogated the minor orders in the church, he left a provision through which the episcopal conferences could ask the Apostolic See for the institution of the ministry of catechist for particular reasons and particular regions.⁷⁹⁹ The description of this specific role is clearly spelt by the congregations for the evangelization of peoples (the than *Propaganda Fide*) in its guide for catechists; it is to teach catechism in the community, to lead prayers, to speak the mind of the church, period.⁸⁰⁰ Catechist continues to be the immediate help that the community has at hand to educate themselves in Catholic faith, after and in the absence of priests.⁸⁰¹ This role cannot be delegated or substituted by other leaders of the community who have their own unique and proper calling – song and liturgy, Bible study groups, religion teachers in school, leaders of prayer, leaders of basic ecclesial communities, administrators of church resources, and those in charge of charitable works.⁸⁰² Therefore, the call of the Holy Spirit for the catechist is a ‘special charism recognized by the Catholic Church’⁸⁰³. In the recent history, the recognition and honour granted to Manuel Kapattiwa, the catechist from Mozambique (as reported by the Vatican news on the 22 June 2021) for his contribution, bears witness to the role of a catechist in the church.⁸⁰⁴

Pope Francis notes in *Antiquum Ministerium* that the communion of life is a sign of the fruitfulness of an authentic catechesis.⁸⁰⁵ The seed of this document can be traced in *Ministeria Quaedam*⁸⁰⁶ of Pope Paul VI and *Catechesi Tradendae*⁸⁰⁷ of Pope John Paul II. Today, the life and work of the catechist Manuel Kapattiwa and millions before and after him bear witness to

⁷⁹⁷Faustino Luis Couto Teixeira, *Comunidades eclesiais de base: bases teológicas* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1988), 134, 137.

⁷⁹⁸Vaticano II, *Ad Gentes*, no. 15, *Concílio Ecuménico Vaticano II - Contituições-Decretos-Declarações e Documentos Pontifícios*, 292.

⁷⁹⁹Pablo VI, «Ministeria Quaedam», 15 August 1972, accessed on the 21st June 2021, https://www.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/es/motu_proprio/documents/hf_p-vi_motu-proprio_19720815_ministeria-quaedam.html#_ftnref5.

⁸⁰⁰Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, «Guide for Catechists», no. 3.

⁸⁰¹Laurentin, *A Igreja do futuro*, 58-59.

⁸⁰²João Paulo II, *A Missão de Cristo Redentor: Carta Apostólica ‘Redemptoris Missio’*, no. 74, 108.

⁸⁰³Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, «Guide for Catechists», no. 2.

⁸⁰⁴Bernardo Suate, «Manuel Kapattiwa: Catequistas ajudam na construção da Igreja local», accessed on the 22nd June 2021, <https://www.vaticannews.va/pt/africa/news/2021-06/mocambique-manuel-kapattiwa-catequistas-ajudam-a-construir-a.html>.

⁸⁰⁵Papa Francisco, *Ministério Antigo* (Lisboa: Paulinas, 2021), 6.

⁸⁰⁶Pablo VI, ‘Ministeria Quaedam’.

⁸⁰⁷John Paul II, «Catechesi Tradendae», 16 October 1979, accessed on the 21st June 2021, https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_jp-ii_exh_16101979_catechesi-tradendae.html.

this proposition of the Pope. They have ensured that the church was and is healthy in their care and bore fruits in the form of new converts and vocations to priesthood. The selfless service of the catechist in the church made it richer and vibrant at the grassroots level (AG 17).⁸⁰⁸ As a young church, the significance of the catechists was clearly known by the two prelates of Daman in their mission. Hence, D. António, the first bishop of Daman records, the demarcation of funds for the services of the catechists, in his last report before departing for Portugal.⁸⁰⁹ Even today the need for such funds for the sustenance of catechist are of concern to the universal church.⁸¹⁰ Apart from these catechists, the activity of catechising was also carried out in the schools and other institutes by the laity in the diocese. As the yearly report of D.º António da Costa to the foreign minister in Portugal, accounts for the subject of catechism in the school curriculum.⁸¹¹

In the constantly dynamic scenario of the clergy the catechist gave constancy to the ministry of catechism of the masses. This model of evangelization gave the opportunity to the church to summon the services of the laity and to make them active part in the mission of evangelization. The current need that is felt in the church to elevate the services of the catechist to the level of a ministry is the recognition of the selfless and proper services provided to the community and a proof of their indispensable need in the mission of the church⁸¹². As is true of the character of every ministry in the church so it is of catechist, their task has definitely grown and gained significance in the church. As a ministry, it has definitely been understood that this is a particular call that the person feels and not a personal choice that an individual makes about their role in the church. This will definitely prove to be a defining moment in the history and implementation of evangelization and new evangelization, respectively.

3.2.2.2 MIGRANT COMMUNITY – INIMITABLE CHARACTER

In the Greek Bible there are three words which are said to be related to the word parish. The adjective *Pároikos* means household or habitation⁸¹³, the verb *Paroikeio* which signify to live next to or dwell in proximity⁸¹⁴ and the verb *Paroikeín* which means a stranger or a migrant.⁸¹⁵

⁸⁰⁸Vaticano II, *Ad Gentes*, no. 17, *Concílio Ecuménico Vaticano II - Contituições-Decretos-Declarações e Documentos Pontifícios*, 293-294.

⁸⁰⁹Da Costa, *Relatório da Nova Diocese de Damão pelo Seu 1º Bispo D. António Pedro da Costa*, 19, 82.

⁸¹⁰Vaticano II, *Ad Gentes*, no. 17, *Concílio Ecuménico Vaticano II - Contituições-Decretos-Declarações e Documentos Pontifícios*, 294.

⁸¹¹Da Costa, *Relatório do Seminário Diocesano de Damão: 2º Anno Lectivo* (Damão: S.P., 1889), 25-30.

⁸¹²João Paulo II, *A Missão de Cristo Redentor: Carta Apostólica 'Redemptoris Missio'*, no.73, 106.

⁸¹³Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, *Grande Lessico del Nuovo Testamento*, vol. IX, XIV vols (Brescia: Paideia, 1965), 794.

⁸¹⁴Horst Balz and Gerhard Schneider, *Diccionario exegetico del Nuevo Testamento*, vol. II, II vols, Biblioteca de estudios biblicos, 90 91 (Salamanca: Sigueme, 1996), 793.

⁸¹⁵Kittel and Friedrich, *Grande Lessico del Nuovo Testamento*, 799.

Being pilgrim in its very nature, the church has always been aware of the needs of the migrants around the world from the very beginning. The IV council of the Lateran established in 1215,

We find in most countries, cities and dioceses in which people of diverse languages who, though bound by one Faith, have varied rites and customs. Therefore, we strictly enjoin that the bishops of these cities or dioceses provide proper men, who will celebrate the liturgical functions according to their rites and languages. They will administer the sacraments of the church and instruct their people both by word and by deed.⁸¹⁶

In these words of the wise council, we find the openness of the church to cater to the masses in the language and rite that is known and practiced by them. The recent appeal of more than 162 Catholic organization in the United States of America, Mexico and the Central America to their bishops to take up ‘pastoral, moral leadership’⁸¹⁷ on the question of migration speaks about the continued burning need for action. This cry is not unheard or strange to the church which has always reflected and acted upon this issue from eons. The concern and attention that the current Holy Father pays to the question, apart from his other social actions, is admirable. The structures to house migrants in Vatican and the recent addition of the title ‘Our Lady of Migrants’ to the litany of Mary, bear witness to their sincere and untiring efforts. The latest instructions of the sacred congregation for the clergy, ‘the pastoral conversion of the parish community in the service of the evangelising mission of the church’ addresses the need to cater to the migrant community in their respective parishes.

The pontificate of Pope Leo XIII was also challenged with the burning question of Italians migrating to America. There was a dire need to take care and cater to the pastoral needs of these Italian migrants in America where the language, culture and traditions were alien to the ordinary native Italian. Anticipating the shock of such a change, the Pope took measures to respond to the situation; one such step was in 1878 when he gave approval to the Society of St. Raphael in Germany to cater to the migrants entering the country.⁸¹⁸ There were ‘missionaries for migrants’ societies, like Missionaries of St. Charles founded by bishop Scalabrini. He along with similar institutes were dedicated to the pastoral care of the displaced communities.⁸¹⁹ The Pope was aware of the fact of migration in the world and knew that the church could not be spectator but

⁸¹⁶Cf. Joannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissimo Collectio*, vol. LIII, XXII vols (Verlagsanstalt: Graz: Akademische Druck-U., 1960), 998.

⁸¹⁷Vatican News, «Catholic Organizations Ask Bishops for Pastoral, Moral Leadership on Immigration», accessed on the 21st June 2021, <https://www.vaticannews.va/en/church/news/2021-06/catholic-groups-bishops-pastoral-moral-leadership-immigration.html>.

⁸¹⁸Pius XII, «Exsul Familia, Constitutio Apostolica Pio XII de Spirituali Emigrantium Cura», accessed on the 21st June 2021, https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/la/apost_constitutions/documents/hf_p-xii_apc_19520801_exsul-familia.html.

⁸¹⁹Ferretto, *A Igreja e as migrações: a integração dos imigrados católicos segundo a ‘exsul família’ e outros documentos pontifícios* (Lisboa: Caritas portuguesa, 1962), 97.

had to respond to this phenomenon on all fronts. This could be the possible explanation that could help us to understand two events in the life of the diocese of Daman. Firstly, the reversal notes of 1890 whereby the Goan community (*Padroado*) was placed under the bishop of Daman and secondly, the permission of the construction of a church for the Goan diaspora at Dabul. The migrants (Goans) are challenged with a sense of social and spiritual uprootedness which becomes complex with the ‘encounter with a new culture, society, and language’⁸²⁰. These later developments, in relation to the article V⁸²¹ of the concordat of 1886, bear witness to the concerns of the Pope and also the vision of the diocese in relation to the Goan diaspora in its jurisdiction.

Being the former region of Portuguese crown and the current economic hub, a substantial number of Goans had migrated to Bombay for better prospects.⁸²² This phenomenon of influx of Goan migrants (mainly Catholics) into Bombay can be identified to have intensified in the early nineteenth (1820) century.⁸²³ The status of the community in the region was volatile as they still had possessions in Goa and would temporarily or permanently return to their place of birth in near or far future.⁸²⁴ The Goan community along with their belongings took their culture with them to the new land.⁸²⁵ As Robin Cohen quoting Weiner claims that he would define the movements of such a diaspora as, ‘to work in one country while remaining citizens in another’⁸²⁶. Despite such an uncertain and volatile nature of the community⁸²⁷, often leading to conflicts due to their foreign identity, were entitled to pastoral care and service. The *Padroado* taking cognizance of the matter chose to respond to the situation and safeguard political, social, cultural and religious interests of the community that belong to the *Padroado*.⁸²⁸ The advantage of this step was the religious services, that would be in their mother tongue; since, priest from Goa were made available to the community. The case of the St. Francis Xavier church, Dabul

⁸²⁰Paul Steffen, «The Universality of Mission: Method and Structures of Missionary Migrant Ministry», in *Strutture Di Pastorale Migratoria: Commenti All’istruzione Erga Migrantes Caritas Christi* (IV Part), by Pontificio Consiglio della Pastorale per I Migranti e gli Itineranti, (Città del Vaticano: Libr. Editrice Vaticana, 2007), 99.

⁸²¹The article V can be found in the concordat of 1886 which is attached in the appendix -5.

⁸²²António da Silva Rego, *O Ultramar português no século XIX: 1834-1910 palestras na Emissora Nacional de 16 de Fevereiro a 21 de Setembro de 1985*, 69-70.

⁸²³Santiago Faria and Losa Mendiratta, «Goans and East-Indians: A Negotiated Catholic Presence in Bombay’s Urban Space», 51.

⁸²⁴Santiago Faria and Losa Mendiratta, 52.

⁸²⁵Artur Teodoro de Matos and João Teles e Cunha, *Goa: Passado e Presente*, vol. I, Vol. II vols (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa Centro de História de Além-Mar, 2012), 318.

⁸²⁶Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas* (London: UCL Press, 1997), 58.

⁸²⁷Varela Paulo Gomes, ‘Bombay Portuguese - Ser ou não ser português em Bombaim no Século XIX’, *Revista de História das Ideias XXVIII* (Coimbra: Universidade de Letras, 2007), 584.

⁸²⁸Santiago Faria and Losa Mendiratta, «Goans and East-Indians: A Negotiated Catholic Presence in Bombay’s Urban Space», 53.

for the Goan community was a decisive move from the diocese⁸²⁹ and was permitted to enlarge the church building ‘considering particular circumstances’⁸³⁰. The church popularly came to be known as the ‘Goan National church of Dabul’ due to the services it provided to the migrant community in the region.⁸³¹

The above development with regards to the Dabul church in 1886 was incomplete as the Goan diaspora, in the same document, was divided between the *Padroado* and *Propaganda* depending on their actual physical location. This led to a hue and cry from the community who wanted to be under the *Padroado* due to their existing bond with *Padroado* in Goa. The underlying fact being that they contributed to the *Padroado* and *Propaganda* conflict due to caste and administrative causes.⁸³² The matter was promptly presented before Rome and this resulted in the famous ‘Reversal Notes of 1890’.⁸³³ They did not affect any change in the concordat of 1886 but only rescinded the decree of 1888 whereby the Goan migrants were now placed under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Daman throughout the region of Bombay and adjoining areas. Thus, Pope Leo XIII through his experience of the treatment of the Italian migrants in America must have realized the need of the Goan migrants in Bombay who with their unique identity had to be provided their pastoral needs. The local church in Daman which, as a *Padroado* diocese, was best suited to respond to this challenge of the Goan migrants.

The need to notice and address the needs of the migrant community within the jurisdiction of the diocese or a parish becomes dire in the face of the imminent possibility of abandonment of faith by individuals and groups in the face of lack of pastoral attention. The local church as a good host needs to ensure that the guests or the migrant community is not left to fend for itself in the new habitat. Having noted the levels and nature of Christian communion in the face of particular identity; the Christian understanding of communion demands that they are provided for in every possible manner. The responsibility ultimately descends on the local church to initiate the communication and pioneer the action, in order to bridge the cultural and religious abyss with the migrants in the parish community.⁸³⁴ Owing to the dependence of the diaspora, it is bound to look towards the church in order to resolve their spiritual needs⁸³⁵ and find answers to their doubts in the foreign land.

⁸²⁹Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 276.

⁸³⁰Hull, 203.

⁸³¹Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 351.

⁸³²Santiago Faria and Losa Mendiratta, «Goans and East-Indians: A Negotiated Catholic Presence in Bombay’s Urban Space», 51.

⁸³³Pera, «Diocese de Damão», 292.

⁸³⁴José Magaña Romera, *Juan Bautista Scalaberini: 1839-1905 y la pastoral de migraciones, Figura social de caridad?*, (Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, Facultad de Teología, 2012), 59.

⁸³⁵Alpalhão and Rosa, *A Minority in a Changing Society*, 235.

When Pope Francis speaks about opening up of our churches and hearts to the migrants,⁸³⁶ it includes not only those from war zones but also those moving in search of a better livelihood. This opening of the churches demands special care of the pastoral needs of the migrants as per their needs. The local church has to ensure that the group of the particular ethnicity is provided for as per their proper needs.⁸³⁷ This could imply celebration of the eucharist in their preferred language, celebration of feast particular to them, making ministers available to cater to their need for cult.

The insistence of the *Padroado* to cater to the Goan community in Bombay with a language of their preference leaves us with a strong instance to follow. There was definitely the influence of Goan culture and language owing to the presence of Goan families and individuals⁸³⁸ in the region which required availability of Goan clergy. There cannot be any doubt with regards to the impeccable services provided by the diocese to the community. This can be gauged from the fact that even to the present day the archdiocese of Bombay continues to provide for the pastoral needs of the Goan diaspora. There are regular Eucharistic celebrations along with other liturgical and spiritual activities conducted in the vernacular of the Goan community. This century old practise in the region presents us with the important lesson about identifying and caring for the migrant community and safeguarding their personal interests in the local churches. This augurs well with the nature and identity of the Catholic community which is homogeneous in the profession of faith but heterogenous in its expressions.⁸³⁹ This also presents itself as an expression and an example of the complexity of Christian communion in the church.

3.3 PASTORAL MOVEMENTS

The term *ecclesia* (ἐκκλησία)⁸⁴⁰ is Greek in origin and in the New Testament it is used to identify the assembly of Christians of a particular city.⁸⁴¹ The term was used to define a group or community which professed their faith in Christ and was defined by a locality, language and culture.⁸⁴² The early movements of the church (*ecclesia*) found among the Christians can be identified in and through the letters of the Apostles, especially Paul. Letters to Corinthians,

⁸³⁶Congregação para o Clero, *Instrução a Conversão Pastoral da Comunidade Paroquial ao Serviço da Missão Evangelizadora da Igreja* (Prior Velho: Paulinas, 2020), 20.

⁸³⁷Ferretto, *A Igreja e as migrações: a integração dos imigrados católicos segundo a 'exsul família' e outros documentos pontifícios*, 96.

⁸³⁸Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Dialecto indo-português de Damão* (Lisboa, s.n., 1903), 2.

⁸³⁹Miller, «Ecclesiology, Cultural Change, and the Changing Nature of Culture», 71-73.

⁸⁴⁰Joseph Henry Thayer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Being Grimm's Wilke's Clavis Novi Testamenti*, 4th ed. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901), 196.

⁸⁴¹John D. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion: Studies in Personhood and the Church* (New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985), 248.

⁸⁴²Igreja Católica, *Comunidade de comunidades: uma nova paróquia a conversão pastoral da paróquia*, 95.

Ephesians, Philippians, Romans, and other similar communities bear witness to the prevailing practise of identifying and constructing particular communities.⁸⁴³ In his own words, St. Paul confirms that he became all things to all (cf. 1Cor 9, 22b) thereby implying the distinct nature of each of the communities. The Apostles worked to promote a Christian communion among these communities without diluting their unique identity. As St. Basil of Casearia is quoted by Bianchi and Corti in *A Paróquia*, «God is not against plurality because church is always and simultaneously in communion and diversity».⁸⁴⁴ The language, culture and the geographical region gave these communities their particular character which was reinforced by the epistles written to the community in response to specific issues of faith, discipline, Christian values, and lifestyle. The communities multiplied in numbers and required a common programme, in order to be integrated with the intent to organize larger ecclesial community.⁸⁴⁵ Consequently, the community transformed into a structured institution due to the geographical and historical evolution of the church.⁸⁴⁶

There was and continues to exist a tension between the *status quo* and the scope for renewal in the ecclesial community, vis-à-vis community versus communities. The history of the church teaches us that the path lies in the middle in this dividing debate. There are dynamic and static aspects that converge together in order to define the identity of an ecclesial community in a particular context. The static aspect of the ecclesial community could be seen as the faith that it shares in the Triune God. The dynamic aspect of the community springs from the spirit and is expressed in the context of each particular community. The faith of the church has remained constant; however, the expression of the same faith has found varied expressions in different societies and the twenty-four rites bear witness to this fact. Each community from the very beginning had assimilated the same faith and given expression to it according to their socio-politico-cultural reality, as acknowledged by John Paul II in his apostolic exhortation, *Christifideles Laici*.⁸⁴⁷

The ecclesial community was always influenced by the external factors even though they were not decisive or overbearing. This can be witnessed in the early life of the church where each community was allowed to fashion its own identity in their particular realities and within the

⁸⁴³Maurílio de Gouveia, *Uma comunidade de cristãos: a paróquia na missão da igreja* (Cascais: Lucerna, 2015), 18-19.

⁸⁴⁴Cf. Enzo Bianchi and Renato Corti, *A Paróquia* (Prior Velho: Paulinas, 2004), 35.

⁸⁴⁵De Gouveia, *Uma comunidade de cristãos: a paróquia na missão da igreja*, 17.

⁸⁴⁶Josep Ma. Martí i Bonet, *La Parròquia: Història, evolució i vida : Lliçó Inaugural Curs Acadèmic 2007-2008* (Barcelona: Facultat de Teologia de Catalunya, 2007), 18.

⁸⁴⁷João Paulo II, «*Christifideles Laici*» (December 30, 1988), accessed on the 14th March 2021 https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_jpii_exh_30121988_christifideles-laici.html.

ambit of the faith (cf. Acts 15,22-29). We find a proper representation of the different individual communities, as the Apostles ensured election of responsible and informed leaders as their representatives. They ensured that the aspirations and desires of the local community found a voice in the event of councils and gatherings. This mode of intra-communitarian communication⁸⁴⁸ was successful due to the open communication among the leaders. A similar movement was encountered in the diocese of Daman which was challenged by the diverse geographical-political-social-cultural settings. Such a distinct situation demanded an ecclesial response, in the light of the factors which were responsible for the diversity, to express the faith of the particular communities in relation to the local community. It took up the challenge and moved forward to make its relevant reply to the existing reality. This resulted in the creation of novel pastoral movements which are worth noting for their immense contribution in the growth of the identity of each community while maintaining the local and universal communion.

In this section the objective is to turn our attention to two dynamic structures in the local community and their relation to specific pastoral movements. These two movements are the demarcation of the jurisdiction of the community and the significance of the local clergy. In terms of jurisdiction, it is a known fact that the entire region was divided among two political powers – Portuguese and British and two ecclesial powers – *Padroado* and *Propaganda*. These resulted in a unique position for the diocese, where it had to negotiate with both the Portuguese and British governments and also the *Padroado* and *Propaganda* authorities in order to negotiate through its daily affairs. In such a situation the need for a clearly demarcated jurisdiction became a necessity. The section will take note of the process and the factors responsible for the demarcation which resulted in resolving of conflicts and restoration of peace in the communities. These can very well be viewed today for their worth and contribution in the resolution of similar question in the present day.

The subsequent section will concentrate on the question of personnel who were tasked with implementing and guarding these jurisdiction – the diocesan clergy. The role of the clergy demands attention with respect to the sustenance of the diocese and its future. In this we will study the contribution of the local clergy in their service to the laity. This line of investigation is followed with the aim to understand the irreplaceable function of the local clergy in relation to the laity. The other aspect of interest is the migrant (Goan) clergy which were called to cater to the Goan community. This points to the trend that was prevalent and helped in answering the need for the clergy in the region. The presence of the clergy from the archdiocese of Goa to cater to the Goan migrants deserves to be noted and studied. The reason being, the unique and

⁸⁴⁸Bianchi and Corti, *A Paróquia*, 40.

creative measure that the diocese utilized at the time and its implication for today. These two sides of the same reality of the clergy – ethnic and migrant – would help us to better understand the reality of the church which is grappling with the problem of the shortfall of local priests to administer and serve the universal call through particular church and question of immigration in the church. It would also open new avenues with regards to the possible connection and relation between these two phenomena.

3.3.1 CRITERION FOR ECCLESIAL JURISDICTION

Even in the apostolic times, the rapid growth in the number of believers posed an administrative challenge before the church. The concern was to foster the universal communion even as the individual independent Christian communities were administered by their local leaders. These basic Christian communities which were demarcated within a particular territory, in an unwritten law, were respected by all. Nevertheless, today the jurisdiction which defines and demarcates a community are more formal and stringent for the sake of administration. For this paper, such demarcation of communities in the church is termed as jurisdiction. The concept of jurisdiction is based upon the understanding found in the council of Trent and will be seen in light of the current canons 372 and 518 of the 1983 Code of Canon Law. As noted above, the sense of a community and its unique identity were always upheld in the church. The evolution of parishes bears witness to the fact that there was never an attempt to dilute or diminish the unique character of individual community.

Over the centuries, church formed, demarcated, and provided for the administration of individual and independent communities. Interesting as it is to follow the development of the organization of parishes in the church, we will not do so; since, it is beyond the scope of this section. Nevertheless, what needs to be noted is the fact that the identity of the parish community found a definite mention in the council of Trent. The council of Trent, in implementing reforms, raised the parish to the level of a juridic person⁸⁴⁹ and established territorial criteria for the erection of parishes⁸⁵⁰. The present canon law (1983) of the church buttresses this position of the council in the third para of the canon five hundred and fifteen (Can.515§3). This meant that the parish as an institution has responsibility towards a marked group of people. This development demanded the absolute identification and demarcation of the region for which the parish was responsible. Thus, marking of jurisdiction became prominent in the management and administration of the churches.

⁸⁴⁹Gouveia, *Uma comunidade de cristãos*, 22.

⁸⁵⁰Igreja Católica, *Comunidade de comunidades: uma nova paróquia a conversão pastoral da paróquia*, 69.

We find that even in the social and political sphere, the idea and the concept of jurisdiction is common and significant. There exists jurisdiction for law enforcement agency which identify the area within which they have the power to function. Similarly, the idea of jurisdiction in the church aim to divide communities into manageable groups with the intent of better governance. Jurisdiction is not a limitation or a hindrance but an opportunity to serve and deliver effectively the office of the particular authority. The edit of Milan by declaring religious liberty in the entire Roman empire⁸⁵¹ gave social identity and acceptance to Christianity.⁸⁵² Thereafter, Theodosius was the first Christian emperor who declared Christianity as state religion;⁸⁵³ thus, putting in motion a movement for organizing the Christian hierarchy. Later, the council of Trent in its wisdom promoted the idea of ‘one diocese, one bishop’ in the church. The council also proposed permanent and compulsory residence for the bishop in his diocese.⁸⁵⁴ All of this goes to prove the evolution in the significance and prominence that the question of jurisdiction was subtly garnering in the church circles.

The objective of our exercise being, to understand the factors that go into the marking of jurisdiction, the deliberations on the development of the same will cease at this juncture. When we refer to the canon law of the Catholic Church and read the canons on the definition and identity of a diocese and a parish, we find some assistance to understand the nature and method of defining the jurisdiction. Canon 369 (diocese) and Canon 518 (parish) both speak of the formation of the communities in terms of being a ‘portion of the people of God’ and as belonging to a ‘certain territory’, respectively.⁸⁵⁵ Canon 518⁸⁵⁶ goes further and speaks about the formation of a personal parish community determined by the reason of the rite, language, nationality of the faithful of some territory or ‘some other reason’. The canons in the book II, section II, Title I and Chapter I which rule on the particular churches speak about ‘territory’ as a founding criterion which is primarily governed by geography. The canons 518 and 372 in paragraph 2 further identifies the need of erecting a personal or a particular church within this territory which are defined by a language, nationality, rite or some other reasons. Such an erection is secondary and within the predefined geographical-political-social-cultural territory of the particular church which is of ordinary nature in the given region.

⁸⁵¹Igreja Católica, *Comunidade de comunidades: uma nova paróquia a conversão pastoral da paróquia*, 65.

⁸⁵²António José de Almeida, *Paróquia, Comunidade e Pastoral Urbana*, Ecclesia XXI (São Paulo: Paulinas, 2009), 72.

⁸⁵³Philip Hughes, *A Popular History of the Catholic Church* (New York: Image books, 1954), 26.

⁸⁵⁴O’Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, 179-180.

⁸⁵⁵Igreja Católica, *Comunidade de comunidades: uma nova paróquia a conversão pastoral da paróquia*, 95.

⁸⁵⁶The Can. 518 speaks of the erection of the parish in terms of ordinary situation. Also, of personal parishes that can be erected depending upon the reason of rite, language or nationality of the Christian faithful or even due to some other similar reasons.

Thus, creating set parameters and provisions for the creation of a local church in a given territory. This local church or an ecclesial community can be erected based on the constituents in the canon 518 or similar constituents which are permitted under the 'other reasons' provision in the same canon. Therefore, we will explore these parameters in the light of the diocese of Daman⁸⁵⁷ and their bid to usher peace by the resolution of scuffles related to the formation of the jurisdiction of communities. Every ecclesial community is like a 'house and a school of communion' in a world divided by rivalries.⁸⁵⁸ Before and even during the lifetime of the diocese the unique composition of the region made the formation of communities a tough call. As jurisdiction was the fulcrum upon which revolved the conflict between *Padroado* and *Propaganda*. There was a dire need to be sensitive to the factors which defined and augured to create the unique identity of a community.

Hence, in this section we will elaborate on two pivotal and defining aspects which stand out for their functions during the process of defining jurisdiction. These factors can be applied even today for demarcating jurisdictions in the church, especially in a diverse country like India. The treatment and consideration given by the diocese to these characters and by Rome in erecting the diocese, bears witness to the dynamic nature of the church. Two of these factors, which stand out, are the geo-political and the socio-cultural considerations. These two were diligently studied before, in order to realize the redefining of the frontiers of the diocese and the parishes in the region. We also find this activity carried out by Pope Leo XIII through the committee of the cardinals he appointed to study the situation of the *Padroado* in India and then by Mgr. Agliardi, apostolic delegate, during his tenure.⁸⁵⁹ The geo-political considerations were *sine qua non* in the process of demarcation, considering the topographical canvas of the region. The real presence of varied power houses with actual political authority over tracts of lands made these considerations vital on the table of discussions.

The ensuing features that largely influenced the process was the socio-cultural reality in the region. The diverse and panoramic socio-cultural milieu interspersed with a completely foreign influence, posed a herculean challenge for the diocese. To respect these differences and yet to do justice to the Christian idea of communion within its territory meant a lot of sacrifice. Nevertheless, the finesse with which these factors were considered and the Christian communion lived in these lands makes the entire episode a case study. As Pope Francis in his recent letter to the bishops in India on the occasion of erecting the two eparchies and the

⁸⁵⁷In the absence of such defined and binding parameters during the lifetime of the diocese of Daman.

⁸⁵⁸Bianchi and Corti, *A Paróquia*, 41.

⁸⁵⁹Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 161.

extension of the boundaries of the two already in existence in the Syro-Malabar church notes that, India is home to a ‘Christian presence that is both rich and beautiful, complex and unique’⁸⁶⁰. The vibrant socio-cultural overview in India makes these factors relevant in the demarcation of the jurisdiction of communities in the church.

The geography, politics, culture and society constantly force the ecclesial hierarchy in India to rethink and reconsider the prevailing ecclesial boundaries in the region. These movements attempt to accommodate, reconcile and justify the demands of the local church in the plans of the universal church. These considerations are and will be secondary and submissive to the overall goal of fostering Christian unity.⁸⁶¹ However, there is a definite place for these considerations in the process of the demarcation of jurisdiction. As history has taught us time and again in the past and particularly in the episode of the diocese of Daman, they have a place. They ensure that the spirit and identity of the community is not misplaced or destroyed.

3.3.1.1 GEO-POLITICAL CONSIDERATION

This section can be divided into two parts, first the role of the geographical considerations and secondly the political considerations. These two were crucial in the process of the demarcation of the jurisdiction of/in the diocese. It would be helpful to recollect that the very movement for its creation was primarily due to these two factors. As geography has a defining place in determining the identity of a community within a ‘defined space of city, town or neighbourhood’⁸⁶². It was geographically distant from Goa and was thus seen as not getting the required attention for its ecclesial sustenance and growth. We need to bear in mind that the *Sahyadri* (mountain range) or the western ghats were not only physical barriers between the former Portuguese northern province and Goa but also a social barrier. The lifestyles on either side of the mountain range were distinct to say the least. This was duly acknowledged by the early missionaries of the *Padroado* who had established Bassein as their centre in the XVI century.⁸⁶³ It was later shifted to Daman when the northern province fell into the hands of the Marathas and then the British (politically)⁸⁶⁴. Nevertheless, Daman continued to serve as the centre for the pastoral movement for the region until the erection of the diocese. We find the reference to the geographical aspect of jurisdiction reflected in article VII of the concordat of

⁸⁶⁰Francis, «Letter of His Holiness Pope Francis to the Bishops of India», accessed on the 22nd July 2021, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/letters/2017/documents/papa-francesco_20171009_vescovi-india.html.

⁸⁶¹José Comblin, *O Povo de Deus*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Paulus, 2002), 148-149.

⁸⁶²Tiago André Fernandes Freitas, *Colégio de Paróquias: A Paróquia em Tempos de Mobilidade* (Prior Velho: Paulinas, 2018), 75.

⁸⁶³Da Silva Rego, *O Ultramar Português No Século XVIII: 1700 A 1833*, 74.

⁸⁶⁴Santiago Faria and Losa Mendiratta, «Goans and East-Indians: A Negotiated Catholic Presence in Bombay’s Urban Space», 47.

1857 which obligated the *Padroado* to erect a new diocese outside of Goa.⁸⁶⁵ As churches were already established in pockets with consideration and respect for the geography, keeping in mind the question of access and especial geographical features.

In the scriptures, the geographical relevance can be found in the call of Abraham and in the history of Israel. God called Abraham to leave his paternal country and to go to a land that was chosen for him (cf. Gen 12:1).⁸⁶⁶ God uproots him from his geographical setting, the city of Ur, and promises him a new geographical territory, city of Canaan, to inherit. The promise is fulfilled through Israel which finally possessed the promised land (cf. Jos 11:23). As Walter Brueggemann, quoted by John Inge in his book, *A Christian Theology of Place*, suggests that this sets the parameters for the theology of the Old Testament as understood through the lens of land.⁸⁶⁷ Land became a sign for the covenant between the Israelites and God; thereby, promoting a notion of 'faith as a blend between God, his people, and place' as opined by W. D. Davies, and quoted by John Inge.⁸⁶⁸ They could not sell the land allotted to them and even the land which was loaned had to be redeemed in the jubilee year (cf. Lev 25:25-28). The geographical significance of the territory in the religious life of the Israelites is seen in the 'bond created between the people and territory'⁸⁶⁹. This also helps us to understand the cause for nationalist and religious movement to liberate Jerusalem from the Romans. These inclusive and exclusive idea of the kingdom of God which was related to the geographical identity was universalized by Paul in the New Testament. Though, Paul identified his missions among the gentiles (cf. Rom 11,13) and accordingly embarked upon four missionary journeys to spread the gospel; he maintained the geographical integrity of the community of believers and as Hans Küng notes, institutionalized them⁸⁷⁰.

Paul knew that his mission was to plant (cf. 1Cor 3:6) the church around the world while safeguarding the unique identity of the community. He moved from Israel to Greece to Rome to Palestine with the message of Christ. He was ably seconded by the other Apostles of Jesus who moved in other parts of the world. Thomas to India, James to Spain, Andrew went to Scythians, so on and so forth. Although the Jewish idea of physical land had been replaced with eschatological idea of Kingdom of God, the value of physical territory did not diminish or disappear. They respected the geographical boundaries of the individual churches and worked to provide for their spiritual needs. The letters by Paul, Peter, John and other writers in the Bible

⁸⁶⁵Rego, *O Padroado português do Oriente : esboço histórico*, 196-197.

⁸⁶⁶John Inge, *A Christian Theology of Place* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003), 36.

⁸⁶⁷Inge, 37.

⁸⁶⁸Inge, 46.

⁸⁶⁹Freitas, *Colégio de Paróquias: A Paróquia em Tempos de Mobilidade*, 76.

⁸⁷⁰Hans Küng, *La iglesia católica*, Breve historia universal (Barcelona: Debate, 2007), 46.

stand as witnesses of the ‘territorial identity’⁸⁷¹ associated with the churches. The different rites in the church also vouch for the influence that geographically influenced demarcation of boundaries had on the growth of the early church. This stresses upon the indispensable element of geography in defining the boundaries of the local church.

The later developments in the church, whereby Christianity gained social approval and became a state religion,⁸⁷² gave a new tangent to the missionary activity in the church. The sudden and robust growth of the Latin rite, due to the support of the state, gave security and impetus to the spread of the rite.⁸⁷³ This movement ushered in uniformity and owing to the temporal powers, Rome gained prominence. The sense of geographical territory was sacrificed in this instance and the criteria had shifted to subjects of a kingdom – ‘one God, one emperor, one empire, one church and one faith’⁸⁷⁴. The idea of religion of the monarch should be the religion of the subjects had found its roots in the society. This is on display in the Indian context where a single archdiocese was called to govern such vast tracts of lands which were culturally, socially and geographically alien to it. Therefore, the end of absolute monarchy, with the implementation of other forms of governance, led to redefinition of the geographical territories in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century forcing the church to take cognizance of the situation.⁸⁷⁵

Taking note of the geography of the place, even Pope Leo XIII made his observations about India. In his brief, *Studio et Vigilantia*, he notes how the vastness of the country (India) places a hindrance in exercising the required pastoral solicitude.⁸⁷⁶ The geographical implications could not be ignored and had to be reimagined to adapt to the ecclesial plans.⁸⁷⁷ Geography influences the formation of local trade, customs and other factors which gives particular identity to the community. It decides if the community was going to be fishing, farming, mountaineering, carpenters or traders. Accordingly, we find geographical awareness in the decisions of Pope Leo XIII who through the bull *Humanae Salutis Auctor* inaugurated three episcopal assemblies in India to create the hierarchy and for marking of jurisdiction under the guidance of Mgr. Agliardi. These he validated through his brief *Post Initam* on the 6th of June 1887 and created eight ecclesiastical provinces in India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka).⁸⁷⁸

⁸⁷¹Igreja Católica, *Comunidade de comunidades: uma nova paróquia a conversão pastoral da paróquia*, 66.

⁸⁷²Küng, *La iglesia católica*, 75.

⁸⁷³Küng, 118-119.

⁸⁷⁴Küng, 63.

⁸⁷⁵Almeida, *Paróquia, Comunidade e Pastoral Urbana*, 80.

⁸⁷⁶Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 159-160.

⁸⁷⁷Almeida, *Paróquia, Comunidade e Pastoral Urbana*, 73.

⁸⁷⁸Kierkels, *Golden Jubilee of the Apostolic Delegation of the East Indies: 1884-1934 Retrospects and Prospects*, 43-44.

Hereby, the Pope himself was once again validating the significance and the role of geography in the demarcation of ecclesial jurisdiction. The very creation of the diocese of Daman can be seen as the fruit of the geographical dissonance that was prevalent in the region. The lack of attention given to the region due to the valid geographical reasons, contributed to the erection of the diocese to address their ecclesial grievances. As the 1983 Code of Canon Law rightly defines the parish as territorial, which implies that the laity who belong to it are defined by a territory.⁸⁷⁹ There are modern movements in the church which tend to undermine the relevance of geographical territory in the light of contemporary trends of newer criterions of common interests, goals and affections which give preferences to theoretical idea of ‘community of convenience’ over actual physical ‘community of presence’.⁸⁸⁰ Thereby, at times, diminishing the significance and relevance of geographical territory only to the harm of the church.⁸⁸¹ As these modern trends, unconsciously, tend to promote divisions and elitism in the church wherein the next-door neighbour holds lesser relevance over the person miles away with whom one shares a common interest or hobby. This brings the focus back to the fundamental need for the church to promote communion defined by geographical territory in the ordinary functioning.⁸⁸² Such a clear demarcation assists the community to plan and execute their mission *ad gentes* in collaboration with the neighbouring parish.

Politically, the church was always an oppressed institute from the time of Jesus until the fourth century. We find Jesus to be a victim of the political scheming and conspiracy between the religious (cf. Mk 14:1) and political (cf. Lk 23:11) heads. Nonetheless, Jesus always proposed a healthy and necessary dialogue between religion and politics (cf. Mk 12:13-17).⁸⁸³ Being an oppressed religion, Christianity lived and multiplied, in the shadows of unfavourable civil laws. The history of the life and mission of the early Christians, soaked in sweat and blood, bears witness to the harsh political influence of the times. The appeal of St. Paul to be tried as a Roman citizen (cf. Acts 22:26-28) could be a testament of the political consciousness at that time. This continued until Constantine gave Christianity the freedom to proclaim and liberty to practise their faith in his kingdom. This marked the foray of the church into active and favourable political environment with the knowledge of its rights and duties in the society.⁸⁸⁴ This participation in the politics of the state was promoted further when Theodosius gave the bishops

⁸⁷⁹Igreja Católica, *Comunidade de comunidades: uma nova paróquia a conversão pastoral da paróquia*, 95. Also, the canon 518 of the 1983 code clearly states the condition to define a community based on territory.

⁸⁸⁰Almeida, *Paróquia, Comunidade e Pastoral Urbana*, 75.

⁸⁸¹Inge, *A Christian Theology of Place*, 32.

⁸⁸²Igreja Católica., *Comunidade de comunidades: uma nova paróquia a conversão pastoral da paróquia*, 129.

⁸⁸³Kenneth R. Himes, *Christianity and the Political Order: Conflict, Cooptation, and Cooperation*, Theology in Global Perspective Series (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2013), 45-46.

⁸⁸⁴Dulles, *The Reshaping of Catholicism: Current Challenges in the Theology of the Church*, 163.

a place in his court and council.⁸⁸⁵ Thereupon, politics became an important factor and a constant influence in the decision-making process of the church.

The political scenario in the world was changing drastically in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Monarchies were being replaced by other forms of government or methods of governance. The temporal powers of the Roman Pontiff had been usurped with the entry of Victor Emmanuel II in Rome on the 20th of September 1870.⁸⁸⁶ As Hans Kung opines, the church had to take a stand and redefine its position amid the rapidly changing political scenario.⁸⁸⁷ Since Pope Gregory XVI, as seen in the second chapter, Popes have been issuing documents to accommodate the newer political realities. In the same vein, Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891) spoke extensively and directly about how the political and economic problems of the common men prevalent in the society were affecting the church, which was called to respond.⁸⁸⁸ This infused a renewed spirit in the church which was learning about its new role in the renewed political sphere. It realized that political and social action is a «constitutive dimension»⁸⁸⁹ of the gospel which had to be re-emphasised. As Pope Paul VI in his apostolic letter, ‘*Octogesima Adveniens*’, on the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, called on each particular church to evaluate their specific political system in their given reality in relation to the Gospel teachings.⁸⁹⁰

Thus, politics was the other factor which was central in the process of ecclesial demarcations, even though in light of its mission and nature, the church is not bound to any particular economic, political or social ideas (GS 44, 76).⁸⁹¹ Therefore, church enjoys freedom in its relations with the governments and the whole civil order.⁸⁹² The diocese, as we have noted right from the first chapter, was the centre of robust political action for over three centuries. The presence of the Muslims, Marathas, British and other smaller political powers made the region politically unstable for the sustenance of the church. The invite of the *Padroado* missionaries in the court of Akbar, the ban on missionaries by the Maratha rulers in Bassein and Chaul and the expulsion of the Portuguese Carmelites from Bombay by the British bear witness to some

⁸⁸⁵Hughes, *A Popular History of the Catholic Church*, 26.

⁸⁸⁶José de Almada, *Investigação Sobre o Estado Actual Do Padroado Do Oriente* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1917), 3.

⁸⁸⁷Küng, *La iglesia católica*, 202-203.

⁸⁸⁸Dulles, *The Reshaping of Catholicism: Current Challenges in the Theology of the Church*, 164.

⁸⁸⁹Cf. Dulles, 167.

⁸⁹⁰Paulo VI, *Carta apostólica Octogesima Adveniens sobre o octogésimo aniversário da Encíclica Rerum Novarum*, (Braga: Secretariado Nacional do Apostolado da Oração, 1971), 7.

⁸⁹¹Carlos Alberto Moreira Azevedo, *Gaudium et Spes: Concílio Vaticano II - Constituição pastoral sobre A Igreja no mundo contemporâneo* (Lisboa: CRC - Centro de Reflexão Cristã, 2005), 51& 92.

⁸⁹²Vaticano II, *Dignitatis Humanae*, no. 13, *Concílio Ecuménico Vaticano II - Contituições-Decretos-Declarações e Documentos Pontifícios*, 273.

of the impact of the political movements upon the church. The foundation of the diocese in no way reduced or arrested these influences but helped in garnering apolitical and humanitarian image of the church through dialogue with the existing political trends.

First and foremost, we need to note the two parallel ecclesio-political movements that were present in the region – the *Padroado* and the *Propaganda*. There is not much that needs to be noted here as the paper has elaborated upon this conflict, at length. This ecclesio-political movement was defining and relevant in the demarcations of the jurisdictions of the communities. The various conflicts that erupted in the region between the two powers before and during the lifetime of the diocese are a testimony of the politics involved in the process of the demarcation. The appendix B to the article XIII of the concordat of 1857 clearly addressed these concerns by allaying doubt and permitting *Padroado* to hold jurisdiction in the British ruled India.⁸⁹³ The concordat of 1886 between Portugal and Rome was with the intent to broker peace in the region which was fully accomplished with the apostolic letter, *Humanae Salutis Auctor* by Pope Leo XIII. Through this, the Holy Father, in principle, established the hierarchy and the jurisdiction in the region as a response to the conflict between the *Padroado* and *Propaganda*. But the actual and real challenge was to wade through the muddy politics and to concretely realize the intention of the Pope.

The other political influence on the diocese was due to the Portugal and British reign in the region. It was not fully insulated from the volatile relations that were shared between the Portuguese and British crown.⁸⁹⁴ As noted in 1720 on suspicions of sedition the Britishers expelled the Portuguese Carmelites from Bombay⁸⁹⁵ and the church of *Nossa Senhora de Esperança* (Our Lady of Hope) was handed over to the Carmelites (*Propaganda*) from Surat.⁸⁹⁶ This church went on to be raised as the cathedral church of the archdiocese of Bombay in 1887 by bishop Hartmann.⁸⁹⁷ This goes on to establish the kind of interference the presence of the British had on the question of jurisdiction in the diocese. Another example is of the famous case of the *Salvação* church in Dadar, where the jurisdiction of the bishop of Daman was questioned in the British court of law.⁸⁹⁸ The already noted case of the administration of the Sr. Anthony de Souza school in Bombay in the Court of justice in London and not Portuguese court in Goa

⁸⁹³Libâno Borges, *Concordatas entre Santa Sé e Portugal e Concórdias entre os Prelados e os Reis de Portugal* (Vila Real: Minerva Trasmontana, 1951), 24-25.

⁸⁹⁴Lobo, *Memória histórico-eclésiástica da Arquidiocese de Goa: em comemoração do quadricentenário da sua erecção canónica 1533-1933*, 64.

⁸⁹⁵Santiago Faria and Losa Mendiratta, «Goans and East-Indians: A Negotiated Catholic Presence in Bombay's Urban Space», 47.

⁸⁹⁶Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 250.

⁸⁹⁷Hull, 255.

⁸⁹⁸D'Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 241.

throws light on the peculiar political scenario. The verdict in both the cases was in the favour of the bishop but it bore witness to the political interference in the routine ecclesial life.

The diverse geographical and political reality of the local church could not be ignored or undermined in relation to its administration. Geography gave a unique identity to the community and demanded that the jurisdiction of the community was accordingly demarcated keeping in mind the unusual territory. The church has to be vigilant and aware of the political reality in the community, in order to be able to defend its rights and privileges.⁸⁹⁹ The chapter four of the pastoral constitution, *Gaudium et spes* of Vatican II council speaks at length of the political identity of communities in our modern world.⁹⁰⁰ The ecclesial divisions and demarcations of the parishes were greatly influenced and determined by keeping in mind the geographical and political factors that were prevalent. The church in no uncertain terms identifies or proposes a single political⁹⁰¹ thought other than the Christian values that defines it. The present movements in the church with regards to the demarcation of the communities in the church continue to be influenced by these factors. The church cannot afford to ignore these factors which in the future, near or far, eventually tend to create frictions in the Christian community.

3.3.1.2 SOCIO-CULTURAL CONSIDERATION

The other considerations that tend to have influence over the process of demarcation of the jurisdiction of a community are the social and cultural factors. These two factors have a defining contribution in the entire process of identifying a group of people as a community.⁹⁰² These factors even outside the ambit of the church give a group of people their specific characteristics and identity in the society and the world.⁹⁰³ Church has always been sensitive to these factors prevalent in the society whenever faith was planted in the community.⁹⁰⁴ Faith is taken to the community in their pre-existing conditions of lifestyle and livelihood. This implies that the community was already knit together within the boundaries of social norms and cultural customs.⁹⁰⁵ These norms and customs are based on the realities that the community experienced over a period of its existence.⁹⁰⁶ The church encounters these pre-existing norms in the

⁸⁹⁹Adalton Altoé, *Construção da Cidadania e Gestão Ecclesial: Relato de uma experiência que deu Certo* (São Paulo: Paulus, 2011), 59.

⁹⁰⁰Moreira Azevedo, *Gaudium et Spes: Concílio Vaticano II - Constituição pastoral sobre A Igreja no mundo contemporâneo*, 88-92.

⁹⁰¹Igreja Católica, *Igreja e política*, Documentos promoção 2 (Porto: Editorial Promoção, 1975), 123.

⁹⁰²Comblin, *O Povo de Deus*, 150.

⁹⁰³Miller, «Ecclesiology, Cultural Change, and the Changing Nature of Culture», 65.

⁹⁰⁴Panazzolo, *Igreja: comunhão, participação, missão*, 195-196.

⁹⁰⁵Almeida, *Paróquia, Comunidade e Pastoral Urbana*, 185.

⁹⁰⁶Kanajamala, *The Future of Christian Mission in India*, 186.

community and works towards incorporating them in the Christian lifestyle, provided they are not contrary to the Christian values.⁹⁰⁷

In the case of Israel, the influence of the culture of the foreign tribes upon Israelites is visible and noted in the Bible. We find that the community furnished their proper culture and social norms in order to respond to the realities surrounding them.⁹⁰⁸ This gave rise to political leaders and religious ministers, festivals, rites, rituals, language, customs and traditions which rendered their unique identity (cf. Ex 12:1-20). The early church, as read and witnessed in the New Testament, also bears witness to this movement of responding to the vacuum of Christian culture and social norms.⁹⁰⁹ Having a universal approach at heart, the famous speech of Paul at the areopagus (cf. Acts 17:22-28), denunciation of sexual promiscuity in the society (cf. 1Cor 6:9-11), the influence of the Greek⁹¹⁰ and Roman culture on the traditions of the church,⁹¹¹ all stand in defence of the openness of the church to the social and cultural identity of Christian communities in foreign lands. Communities were demarcated based upon these factors and every effort was made to avoid scandal and insult to the proper social and cultural norms of the populace.⁹¹² The exception made for the gentiles at the council of Jerusalem by Peter (cf. Acts 15:19-20) and the case of Titus, whom Paul did not want to be circumcised (cf. Gal 2:3), and then circumcised Timothy to appeal to the Jewish community (cf. Acts 16:1-3) proves tolerance in ‘accepting of social and cultural factors’ (AG 19,21)⁹¹³ in the Christian communities.⁹¹⁴

The expansion of the Latin rite with its appropriated European social and cultural norms⁹¹⁵ was rampant but limited in time, as its political power witnessed decline and subsequent downfall.⁹¹⁶ This resulted in awareness of proper culture of the local churches and subsequent waning of the foreign traditions and customs⁹¹⁷ which were no longer finding resonance with the locals. In the Indian context, the synod of Diamper in 1599⁹¹⁸ is a sour reminder of this dissonance between the Latin and Eastern rites in India and the ignorance that had crept into the church in terms of the relevance of local culture. The demarcation of a community cannot be purely on political or

⁹⁰⁷Vaticano II, *Nostra Aetate*, no. 2, Concílio Ecuménico Vaticano II - *Contituições-Decretos-Declarações e Documentos Pontifícios*, 215-216.

⁹⁰⁸Kanajamala, *The Future of Christian Mission in India*, 190-194.

⁹⁰⁹Kanajamala, 199-200.

⁹¹⁰Laurentin, *A Igreja do futuro*, 261.

⁹¹¹Sanks, *Salt, Leaven and Light: The Community Called Church*, 196.

⁹¹²Laurentin, *A Igreja do futuro*, 260.

⁹¹³Vaticano II, *Ad Gentes*, no. 16, 21, Concílio Ecuménico Vaticano II - *Contituições-Decretos-Declarações e Documentos Pontifícios*, 296, 298.

⁹¹⁴Miller, ‘Ecclesiology, Cultural Change, and the Changing Nature of Culture’, 65.

⁹¹⁵Kanajamala, *The Future of Christian Mission in India*, 187.

⁹¹⁶Küng, *La iglesia católica*, 200.

⁹¹⁷Küng, 193-194.

⁹¹⁸Jonas Thaliath, *The Synod of Diamper*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 152 (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1958), 287-289.

geographical consideration without the active participation of the culture⁹¹⁹ of the local community. These become all the more important in the Indian context where the cultures are more diverse, vibrant and relevant in the lives of the community. The concordat of 1886 and the apostolic letter of Pope Leo XIII, *Humanae Salutis Auctor*, were the apt steps taken in the right direction for the resolution of these conflicts influenced by the social and cultural factors.

Before the creation of the diocese, we are aware that the entire region was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the archbishop of Goa. This was in contrast with the earlier developments of the northern Portuguese province which had the clear intent to establish an independent church in the region. The establishment of seminaries and also the foundation of church in Daman as the *Igreja Matriz* point to these premises.⁹²⁰ Nevertheless, as we have noted in the first chapter, the political events from the sixteenth century challenged the Portuguese grip in these regions. Greatly weakening the ecclesiastical roots which were so firmly established. This invariably led to the placing of the entire region under the care of the archdiocese of Goa. Despite these arrangements, a land which was geographically, politically, socially and culturally distinct from Goa, was yearning for its stability and identity. The formation of the diocese was the realization of this yearning of the local church and the fructification of the seeds of faith.

The social and cultural factors are not imaginary or theoretical in nature but have real manifestations in the everyday functioning of the community.⁹²¹ They give the character and identity that sets it apart from the other neighbouring communities.⁹²² As confirmed by José Comblin, communities are revealed in the shared language, food, customs, traditions, ethnic dress⁹²³ that it uses in their day-to-day interaction.⁹²⁴ The region which was carved out from the archdiocese of Goa and christened as the diocese of Daman was diametrically distinct from Goa. The region had its unique language, food, customs, and traditions which formed their identity. On the part of the church, these implied the need for proper study to make an appropriate response to their ecclesial needs.⁹²⁵

As recorded in the first chapter, the failure to respect the social and cultural customs of the local people in the region had caused scandal in the church.⁹²⁶ The challenge was steeper due to the

⁹¹⁹Miller, «Ecclesiology, Cultural Change, and the Changing Nature of Culture», 69-70.

⁹²⁰Moniz, *Notícias e documentos para a história de Damão - antiga província do norte*, vol. I, 22-23.

⁹²¹Gameiro, *Emigrantes: psicologia social, conflitos e desafios culturais*, 29.

⁹²²Miller, «Ecclesiology, Cultural Change, and the Changing Nature of Culture», 67.

⁹²³Comblin, *O Povo de Deus*, 179.

⁹²⁴Kanajamala, *The Future of Christian Mission in India*, 186.

⁹²⁵Congregação para o Clero, *Instrução a Conversão Pastoral da Comunidade Paroquial ao Serviço da Missão Evangelizadora da Igreja*, 59-60.

⁹²⁶Bussiéres, *História do Scisma Portuguez na Índia*, 41.

presence of distinct communities within the community. Within the community there were different tribes and castes, such as; *Brahmans, Prabhus, Pachkhalsis, Charkalsis, Sonar, Katris, Kunbis, Khumbars, Dhodis, Kolis, Bhois, and Chambars*. Each with their own particular identity and character in relation to the larger community. This was further complicated by the ethnocentric mentality of the community in the region. The example of the *Koli* community in Bandra, noted in the first section, upon feeling side-lined in their own parish demanded for a separate church in the region. Thus, the construction of the Mount Carmel church for the community becomes a fitting example of the influence of the socio-cultural factors in re-demarcation of the jurisdictions. These incidents give us an understanding into the mindset and layered approach in responding to the challenges presented by the diversity in the region.

As is evident, these factors were very much considered in the demarcations of the jurisdiction of the *Varas* or Deanery within the diocese under their respective vicar forane. The region of Thana, Bassein, Chaul, Salsette, Bombay, Daman, Nagar Haveli, Dadra, Diu and others were exclusive in their local Christian identity. The diocese began the path breaking endeavour and paved way for a new understanding in the formation of Christian community which was affected with consideration for the social and cultural factors. These communities used to be in conflict owing to various factors which were not addressed by the hierarchy on priority bases. The *Padroado* and *Propaganda* conflict was a reflection of the disgruntled spirit of the community which felt neglected in their respective local churches, and at times were not ideally demarcated. At times such superficial treatment of the local communities appears as the fundamental cause for the eruption of conflicts.

These social and cultural factors were intense and relevant in the context of India which is known for its diversity. The diocese comprised of two states and a union territory of the modern-day India, chiefly, parts of Maharashtra, parts of Gujarat and the U.T. of Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli. In light of this, it successfully brought to the fore the prominent place of the socio-cultural implications in the process of demarcation of the jurisdiction of the communities. The church has once again awakened to the pivotal place of culture and other social factors in the functioning of the church both at the local and at universal level. The ecclesiological reflection of the second Vatican council, together with the considerable social and cultural changes of the recent decades, has resulted in various particular churches having to reorganise the manner in which the pastoral care of parish communities is assigned.⁹²⁷ As is evident in the

⁹²⁷Congregação para o Clero, *Instrução a Conversão Pastoral da Comunidade Paroquial ao Serviço da Missão Evangelizadora da Igreja*, 5.

dogmatic constitution on the church (*LG 13*) which observes that the church ‘fosters’ the riches and customs through which the ‘genus of each people’ is expressed.⁹²⁸

The recent case of the Greek Orthodox Church in Hungary where the new pastor Árpád Kanyó embraced the local culture expressed in dance and singing in his liturgy was crucial for community building.⁹²⁹ The church has been able to identify these social movements within a parish community and further distinguish the community for better functioning.⁹³⁰ These neighbourhood communities are termed as the basic Christian community or small Christian community and serve to bolster the Christian bond at a more primary level. As Pope Francis stated in his interview to Fr. Antonio Spadaro SJ, for the joint Jesuit publication in all their periodicals, ‘the young Catholic churches, as they grow, develop a synthesis of faith, culture and life’.⁹³¹ The community dimension of the church lives and works at the heart of these groupings, with particular attention given to specific territories, the establishment of which must take into consideration the homogeneity and customs of the inhabitants, together with the common traits of the area, in order to foster a close relationship between parish priests and other pastoral workers. Ignoring or undermining the socio-cultural movements will only lead to conflict in the community, as was evident in the region.

3.3.2 POSITION OF LOCAL CLERGY

Eucharist is the source and summit of the Christian life⁹³² (*LG 11* and CCC no. 1324) and a priest is the sole individual who is ordained to offer this sacrifice⁹³³ on behalf of everyone. This makes the functioning and the presence of clergy fundamental in the Christian community. There is no doubt that the place and function of the priest has evolved over the centuries. A priest gives a reference and a rallying point for the believing community as they encounter life in faith (*PO 2*).⁹³⁴ The fact that the selection, qualification and aptitude for this way of life is lengthy and beyond human parameters, makes it mysterious subject for the investigators. The church too in the recent centuries, as history notes, have awakened to the significance of

⁹²⁸Vaticano II, *Lumen Gentium*, no. 13, *Concílio Ecuménico Vaticano II - Contituições-Decretos-Declarações e Documentos Pontifícios*, 69-70.

⁹²⁹Katie Yoder, «Meet the Pastor of the First Gypsy Greek Catholic Church», accessed on the 20th August 2021, <https://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/248479/meet-the-pastor-of-a-greek-catholic-church-in-hungary-for-romani>.

⁹³⁰Congregação para o Clero, *Instrução a Conversão Pastoral da Comundade Paroquial ao Serviço da Missão Evangelizadora da Igreja*, 25.

⁹³¹Interview with Pope Francis by Fr António Spadaro, Editor-in-Chief of the Italian Jesuit Magazine «La Civiltà Cattolica», accessed 17th June 2021, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2013/september/documents/papafrancesco_20130921_intervista-spadaro.html.

⁹³²Pietro Parente, *Sacerdocio tra cielo e terra* (Rovigo: Istituto Padano di Arti Grafiche, 1983), 90-91.

⁹³³Vaticano II, , *Presbyterorum Ordinis*, no. 6, *Concílio Ecuménico Vaticano II - Contituições-Decretos-Declarações e Documentos Pontifícios*, 323.

⁹³⁴Vaticano II, *Lumen Gentium*, no. 2, 316 .

formation of the priests in the church and their role in the society. Each individual who responds to this way of life is called to don upon himself the three functions of a priest to perform the rituals, of a servant king to administer justly and of a fierce prophet to call out and find the lost. He is called to respond to the needs of the community that he is called to serve.⁹³⁵

In the time of patriarchs, they themselves performed the duty of priest for the community. As we witness in the offering of Abel (cf. Gen 4), of Abraham (cf. Gen 22)⁹³⁶, of Jacob (cf. Gen 35). But when the nation of Israel was organized and divided into tribes, the Levites were set apart to be the priestly class. This marks the beginning of the idea of ‘set apart’ and ‘chosen’ from among the people⁹³⁷ to be in the service of the Lord and his people (cf. Deut 18:3). They and their descendants were entrusted with the duties of the temple. The episodes of Jesus sending his apostles (cf. Mt 10:1-4) and the seventy (cf. Lk 10:1-12) bears witness to his intent in instituting priesthood⁹³⁸ to cater to people. The celebration of the last supper (cf. Lk 22:14-20) and the subsequent command to repeat the celebration in his memory, exclusively to the apostles, is the beginning of the priestly vocation in the church.

This intent finds its final expression in the encounter between Jesus and Peter, after his resurrection (cf. Jn 21:15-17). In this encounter, Peter, as the head, is asked to cater to the lambs and the sheep. There are authors who believe that the reference to ‘lambs’ was in relation to the priests and the ‘sheep’ in relation to the laity.⁹³⁹ This makes sense when we consider the title given by John the Baptist to Jesus as the ‘Lamb of God’ (cf. Jn 1:29). Thus, by calling them ‘lambs’ Jesus is conferring upon the Apostles the responsibility and duty of his priesthood that he exercised upon the earth with the command to take it to the ends of the earth. Thereby, Jesus gives credence and place to the order of priest in his dialogue with Peter by the sea.

The ministry of Paul among the gentiles and of James, Peter and John among the circumcised (cf. Gal 2:9) sets the tone of the ministry in the church and the idea of missionary outreach and diocesan apostolate. These two movements were apparent in the apostolic times when the apostles moved from city to city and chose individuals as leaders from within the community who would lead the community (cf. Acts 6:3-6) in their absence. These leaders were not strangers or foreigners but were from within the community of believers (cf. Acts 15:22; Tit.1:5) who devoted themselves to the care of the community. One cannot deny that the familiarity of

⁹³⁵Igreja Católica, *Comunidade de comunidades: uma nova paróquia a conversão pastoral da paróquia*, 106-107.

⁹³⁶Parente, *Sacerdocio tra cielo e terra*, 23-24.

⁹³⁷Vaticano II, *Presbyterorum Ordinis*, no. 3, *Concílio Ecuménico Vaticano II - Contituições-Decretos-Declarações e Documentos Pontifícios*, 317.

⁹³⁸Parente, *Sacerdocio tra cielo e terra*, 60-61.

⁹³⁹J. H. Bernard and A. H. McNeile, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. John*, The International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1962), 706-707.

the leaders or elders with the believers contributed to enhancing their effectivity and appeal. They protected the community from the onslaught of false teachings and teachers (cf. 2Tim 2:2). This also contributed towards the firm foundations of the local churches in various regions as the numbers of the believing community kept on multiplying (cf. Acts 5:14). This tradition of appointing leaders in the community soon took proper form and the role of pastors in the community came to be defined by the church. Pope Leo XIII also duly notes these traditions with the intent to promote them during his papacy in the lands of India.⁹⁴⁰

Giving identity to the local church, St. Ignatius of Antioch had said, ‘one church, one bishop, and one territory’.⁹⁴¹ This understanding of church in terms of ‘ONE’ by St. Ignatius was to identify and be aware of the diverse and complex of the community as witnessed in the Holy Trinity. One church in coalition of churches, one bishop exercising in alliance with diocesan priests and one territory as a federation of societies. Thus, the growth of local churches or communities with their personal aspirations contributes to the well-being of the universal church and vice versa. The *Padroado* also took pertinent steps to ensure a firm foundation to the local churches. One such movement was the foundation of seminaries for the promotion and formation of local clergy. The first seminary in Goa was established as early as 1541,⁹⁴² giving a boost to local vocation. This visionary step was realized in order to provide for the future need of the local clergy in India.⁹⁴³ This was further boosted by the council of Trent which laid emphasis on seminaries⁹⁴⁴ and subsequently became an obligation in the concordat of 1886, where establishment of seminary became a pre-condition for the creation of diocese.

Here, we would refer the reader to the section on clergy in second chapter, in order to avoid repetition of the facts. It would suffice to say, in conclusion, that from the very beginning it took all possible measures to establish and promote local vocation in the church. The candidates with the aptitude and desire to respond to the call were provided with the appropriate ambience to nurture their vocations. These measures did not dwindle even when political, economic and social situations were not in favour of the diocese. From housing the candidates in the episcopal residence in 1887 to setting up of ‘D.º Sebastião José Pereira Memorial Fund’⁹⁴⁵ for setting up apostolic school⁹⁴⁶. The diocese also made provisions to send the candidates to the seminaries

⁹⁴⁰Leo XIII, «*Ad Extremas*», No. 7.

⁹⁴¹Bianchi and Corti, *A Paróquia*, 19.

⁹⁴²Lobo, *Memória histórico-eclésiástica da Arquidiocese de Goa: em comemoração do quadricentenário da sua erecção canónica 1533-1933*, 203.

⁹⁴³Lobo, 204.

⁹⁴⁴Vaticano II, *Optatam Totius*, no. 22, Concílio Ecuménico Vaticano II - *Contituições-Decretos-Declarações e Documentos Pontifícios*, 199.

⁹⁴⁵Mateus, *Dom Sebastião José Pereira: Arcebispo ad honorem de Cranganor 2º Bispo da Diocese de Damão*, 48.

⁹⁴⁶Apostolic school is a formation house for the young boys who show interest in becoming priests.

in Rachol (Goa), Mangalore (Karnataka) and Kandy (Sri Lanka) for their formation.⁹⁴⁷ The capable candidates were even sent to Santarém, Lisbon and Rome to pursue their studies in foreign universities. All these measures contributed to the formation of an erudite, proficient and dexterous local clergy who were the hope for the bright future of the church.⁹⁴⁸ The added advantage being that as natives they were better equipped to face the challenges in their local pastoral ministry.

The objective in this section is to focus our attention on the ethnic and migrant clergy that rendered their services in the diocese. The turbulent times presented an opportunity to the diocesan clergy to hone their talents in the service of the people. The section aims to bring to light the approach and methodology visible in the execution of their daily pastoral duties. To understand the advantage of the local clergy and their acumen in dealing with issues beyond the realms of the ecclesial functions. As the ethnic clergy can be a point of reference and a case study in knowing the manner of overall management of a parish.⁹⁴⁹ The next aspect in this section is to understand and present to the reader the position of the migrant clergy in the diocese. The Goan clergy in the diocese was an important arrangement in addressing the needs of the migrant community. This section tries to understand how it was part of the layered approach of the diocese in the overall response to the ecclesial challenges.

3.3.2.1 ETHNIC CLERGY

We find that the absence or decline of priests in Israel, especially during the exiles,⁹⁵⁰ was always understood as a sign of abandonment of the covenant with God (cf. Jer 14:18). The prominent place of the clergy is well preserved in its history, where God sets apart the Levites as priestly clan. The people of Israel were at the mercy of the priest who could alone offer their sacrifices and thereby sustain the covenant with God. The corruption of the people often led the corruption of the priests and vice versa (cf. Jer 8:10, 23:2,11). Similar practice of forming a local priestly clan from among the community was imitated by the Christians (cf. Acts 14:23). The advantage of being local is their knowledge of the community and their subsequent needs. Accordingly, he is called to cater to the overall needs of the community – religious, political, social and economic.⁹⁵¹ This can be achieved in the community through a slew of activities; such as, ordinary cult offerings, extra-ordinary religious programme, special pious activities, breaking of the word, among others (cf. Acts 2:46-47). Jesus established their authority by his command,

⁹⁴⁷Mateus, *Dom Sebastião José Pereira: Arcebispo ad honorem de Cranganor 2º Bispo da Diocese de Damão*, 27.

⁹⁴⁸Leo XIII, «*Ad Extremas*», no. 9.

⁹⁴⁹Igreja Católica, *Comunidade de comunidades: uma nova paróquia a conversão pastoral da paróquia*, 106.

⁹⁵⁰Parente, *Sacerdócio tra cielo e terra*, 27.

⁹⁵¹Almeida, *Paróquia, Comunidade e Pastoral Urbana*, 84.

‘do whatever they teach you and follow it’ (cf. Mt 23,3). The ethnic clergy in the diocese understood and lived this command in their lives.

The diverse character of India gives a different shade to the meaning of the word ethnic in relation to the global meaning. The treatment of the term ethnic in this section is more to do with the clergy from the region rather than the clergy from other parts of India. The diocese, as noted in the section on jurisdiction, had an independent character in relation to rest of India. Thus, the title ‘ethnic clergy’ refers to the vocations originating from within the jurisdiction of the diocese. The movement towards the formation of the ethnic clergy can be traced back to the Franciscan missionaries who had opened a seminary in Bassein⁹⁵² in 1546 apart from other similar institutions in Chaul, Karanja, Thana and Bandra.⁹⁵³ Though, owing to the political and social upheavals the existence of the seminary and other institutes was brief but effective. There was never a dearth (but never sufficient) in the number of youngsters who expressed desire to embrace priesthood.⁹⁵⁴ The prompt action by archbishop of Goa, Silva Torres who ordained candidates in Bombay is a testament to these efforts.⁹⁵⁵ Their effectivity can be understood from the direct impact that they had on creating a vibrant Christianity which today boasts of one archdiocese along with two Latin diocese with their respective seminaries and one Syro-Malabar diocese. Pope Leo XIII was a visionary who could anticipate the crises in the future if India continues to be dependent on the foreign clergy without any provisions to promote the local clergy in the light of the growing numbers of Christians in India.⁹⁵⁶

The clergy, ably led by the prelate, created various movements to cater to the spiritual needs of the flock. As stated earlier, they ensured regular and daily celebration of the cult in the churches for the spiritual benefit of the laity.⁹⁵⁷ Apart from this, there were other extra-ordinary activities in the form of the Eucharistic Congress at Bandra in 1912.⁹⁵⁸ The event was attended by the patriarch of Goa⁹⁵⁹, almost the entire clergy of the diocese and the confraternities of the parishes. This event left it enriched with many spiritual acts, two of which stand out; first, the XIII hours of adoration in the churches in successive Sundays⁹⁶⁰ and second, the resolution binding the clergy to visit the blessed sacrament at least twice a day. The clergy inaugurated various

⁹⁵²Leite, «O Clero Indígena nas Terras do Padroado», 6.

⁹⁵³D’Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 251.

⁹⁵⁴Godhino, «Indian Secular Clergy», 246.

⁹⁵⁵Costa, *A Missiological Conflict between Padroado and the Propaganda in the East*, 66.

⁹⁵⁶Leo XIII, «*Ad Extremas*», no. 5.

⁹⁵⁷Almeida, *Paróquia, Comunidade e Pastoral Urbana*, 81.

⁹⁵⁸Souza, «Eucharistic Empire and the Diocese of Damaun», 273.

⁹⁵⁹Through the concordat of 1886 the honorary title of Patriarch was conferred upon the Archbishop of Goa at the request of the Portuguese crown. This honorary title continues to be attached to the person of the Archbishop of Goa even today.

⁹⁶⁰D’Sa, *The History of the Diocese of Damaun*, 246.

religious movements in their parishes by establishing confraternities of Blessed Sacrament, St. Anthony and others. The diocese in an act of Christian solidarity and sanctification of the laity, in collaboration with the archdiocese of Bombay, also organized a grand rally of the Blessed Sacrament on 23rd November 1924.⁹⁶¹ Herein they showcased the contribution of the clergy in the spiritual formation of the laity through the execution of their role as spiritual guides.

Having drawn a bird's eye view of the intricate and complex political and social reality of the regions under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Daman the involvement of the ethnic clergy was very vital. The lack of involvement of the clergy in the past had negatively impacted the prospects of the church. The church in the region which had been elevated to the ranks of a diocese was ably led from the front by the prelates along with their clergy. They took all the necessary steps to protect the church from political and social attacks, especially through their exemplary unity. This was envisioned by Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical *Ad Extremas* where he said that the local clergy with their in-depth knowledge of the land and institutions were best suited to respond to the needs of the laity.⁹⁶² In the same encyclical (*AE* 6) he records the examples of Chinese, Japanese and Ethiopian persecutions of foreign missionaries and the subsequent impact on the health of Christianity in the region. Thus, further stressing upon the increased role and relevance of the local clergy. As noted earlier in this paper, from venturing into legal battles in the court of law in Bombay (Salvation church) by the first prelate to pleading for their cause in the international court in England (Anthony de Souza School) by the second prelate, they made every effort to represent the church at every political forum. The famous case of the participation of the laity along the diocesan clergy in the court during the hearing of the Salvation church⁹⁶³ bears witness to the unity and political awareness that was prevalent. Thereby executing their secondary function as the political conscience of the people.

Being aware of the social evils that were prevalent in the society the clergy also made every effort to weed out the mal practices. They made an informed and Christian response to bring equality, justice and peace. Being reared in the local society, their social initiatives were informed and relevant in contributing towards the promotion of a just society. This was partly due to their image in the society wherein the locals could identify them as their brothers and encounter in them a fruitification of their faith. There is no doubt that the diocesan native clergy was a boon which boost the political and social upliftment of the people. Giving credit where it

⁹⁶¹Souza, «Eucharistic Empire and the Diocese of Damaun», 282.

⁹⁶²Leo XIII, «*Ad Extremas*», no. 4.

⁹⁶³Pera, «The Diocese», 53.

is due, the indigenous clergy must be commended for their role in the times of crisis. It saved Christianity in these regions.⁹⁶⁴ Thereby stamping their role as catalyst of social transformation. Such impact and contribution of the diocesan clergy forms a strong and effective mechanism, which nurtured vocations from the nascent stage along with assurances of financial security for the future. It understood this aspect from the very beginning and organized the structures to live the unity through their strong bond with the bishop.⁹⁶⁵ The founding of seminary, funds, associations, and other similar movements for the promotion of local clergy were robust and timely steps by the prelates, which bore fruits in due time. In turn, the able manner in which the diocesan clergy shouldered their responsibilities and guarded its interests on the two specific occasions of the absence and vacant seat of the prelates speak about their professionalism. Thereby, practising the call of bearing witness to the sharing in the apostolic charity for the good of souls by sharing in the responsibility of the episcopate.⁹⁶⁶ In both these instances, apart from their ordinary contributions, the local clergy held the fort and ensured smooth functioning, had it not been interrupted by suppression in 1928. Implementing the primary call as a pastor to cater to the pastoral needs of the diocese.

The setting up of the Pius X fund in 1904 for the youngsters who wished to join the seminary, and the second fund in 1924 to promote higher education of clergy in Europe,⁹⁶⁷ were movements to attend to the large field of evangelization that demanded a constant and sufficient numbers of priests.⁹⁶⁸ Considering the unstable and frail economic status of the laity, such initiatives to provide for the financial needs of the candidates were apt. These helped in elevating the financial pressure that invariably dawned upon their parents. The setting up of 'D. Sebastião José Pereira Memorial Fund' for the construction of the apostolic school⁹⁶⁹ was also noteworthy. This was ably supported by the association of the Our Lady of Piety or 'Brotherhood of the Clergy' for the needy, sick and old priest without sufficient economic sources.⁹⁷⁰ Such initiatives promoted unity and a sense of belongingness among the clergy.⁹⁷¹

⁹⁶⁴Godhino, «Indian Secular Clergy», 248.

⁹⁶⁵António de Campos, *O Bispo: a plenitude da Sacerdócio* (Lisboa: União Gráfica, 19), 33.

⁹⁶⁶Campos, *O Bispo: a plenitude da Sacerdócio*, 33.

⁹⁶⁷Pera, «The Diocese», 60.

⁹⁶⁸Fernandez, «The Bombay Catholic Welfare Organization», 332-333.

⁹⁶⁹Apostolic School was a place for admitting and training boys who were completing their upper primary and high school education.

⁹⁷⁰Pera, «The Diocese», 53.

⁹⁷¹Cohausz Otto, *The Priest and Saint Paul: An Interpretation of Saint Paul's Writings Bearing on the Priesthood* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1927), 192-193.

This gave the necessary impetus to the promotion of vocations and promotion of what is termed today as impeccable ‘union of the clergy’⁹⁷².

3.3.2.2 *MIGRANT CLERGY*

The flight to Egypt (cf. Mt 2:13-15) of the Holy Family and their subsequent livelihood in Egypt becomes a biblical point of reference for the reality of migration. The recent inauguration of the sculpture ‘Angels Unawares’ by Pope Francis on the 29th of September 2019, to mark the 105th world migrant and refugee day in the St. Peter’s Square is a symbolic gesture promoting consciousness about the plight of migrants. The active participation in the cause of the migrants could well be stemming from his own personal experience as an Italian in Argentina. Likewise, during the Covid pandemic the resolve of the church in America to continue their services to the migrants on the Mexican border⁹⁷³, demonstrates their persistence to the cause. This has also contributed to the gradual rise in number of migrant priests in diocese to cater to the diaspora. The recent report by Hannah in the Catholic News Agency portal about the growing number of non-Italian priest in the diocese of Rome is leading the way to respond to the shrinking local vocations.⁹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, it would be unfair to the rich history of the church to say that the migrant awareness is of recent origin. Rather, church has always been attentive to this reality from the earliest times.

Therefore, it would be a herculean and consuming task to explore such a vast history of the church in the service of migrants within the limits of this paper. Hence, we would limit to the time and events surrounding the life of the diocese of Daman. Such as safeguarding the interests of the Italian migrants in America or the Ukrainian diaspora in different parts of the world in the eighteenth century onwards.⁹⁷⁵ Rome was always vigilant and active to respond to this new challenge of migration in the world.⁹⁷⁶ The words of Pope Paul VI in *Octogesima Adveniens*⁹⁷⁷, on the eightieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum* of Pope Leo XIII encapsulates the crux of Christian call towards migrants, when he notes, ‘It is everyone’s duty, but especially that of

⁹⁷²Vaticano II, *Presbyterorum Ordinis*, no. 7, *Concílio Ecuménico Vaticano II - Contituições-Decretos-Declarações e Documentos Pontifícios*, 324-325.

⁹⁷³Christine Rousselle, «Facing COVID Criticism, Catholic Charities Defends Its Ministry to Migrants», accessed on 20th August 2021, <https://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/248669/facing-covid-criticism-catholic-charities-defends-its-ministry-to-migrants>.

⁹⁷⁴Hannah Brockhaus, «Number of Foreign-Born Catholic Priests Continues to Rise in Italy», Catholic News Agency, accessed on the 10th November 2021, <https://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/249553/number-of-foreign-born-catholic-priests-in-italy-continues-to-rise>.

⁹⁷⁵Dmytro Blazejowskyj, *Ukrainian Catholic Clergy in Diaspora: 1751-1988 Annotated List of Priests Who Served Outside of Ukraine* (Rome: Eds. U.C.U. - S. Clementis Papae, 1988), 266.

⁹⁷⁶Onzi, «A Igrja e os Cristãos, sinal de esperança no mundo migratório», 166.

⁹⁷⁷Paul VI, «*Octagesima Adveniens* - The Eightieth Anniversary Of 'Rerum Novarum'», accessed on the 10th July 2021, <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/paul06/p6oct.html>.

Christians, to work with energy for the establishment of universal brotherhood'.⁹⁷⁸ This would be possible by arranging clergy who could preserve this union through spiritual and ritual provisions for the migrants. As they are called to 'transcend the limits of their diocese, nations, or rites' (*OT 20*)⁹⁷⁹ in order to render their services in any part of the world.

Rome led from the front by devising measures to make a favourable response to this changing religious, cultural, political, and social situation of the migrating communities. Pius XII in 1952 published the apostolic constitution '*Exsul Familia Nazarethana*'⁹⁸⁰ in which the Pontiff reminisces the bold and effective steps taken by his predecessors, with a special mention of Pope Leo XIII, in tackling the question of European migration through letters from his secretary of state to the Italian bishops. Pope Leo XIII is said to have famously noted in the letter *Quam Aerumnosa*⁹⁸¹ to the American archbishops and bishops in 1888, stating, «In that Society... priests, stimulated by Christ's love, might practice in those duties and that discipline by which they might well and worthily fulfil Christ's mission among the scattered sons of Italy, and become fit dispensers of God's mysteries».⁹⁸²

Hereby, Leo XIII ignited an intense movement in the Roman Curia, especially through the arm of the sacred congregation of the *Propaganda Fide*. The sacred congregation in 1890 drew out measures to rein in and streamline the process of sending Italian diocesan priests with due preparations.⁹⁸³ This served to respond to the need of native clergy for the migrants.

The major portion of the migrants in Bombay were from Goa and the adjoining Konkan region.⁹⁸⁴ According to Fr. Hull, it is estimated that at in 1891, as on the 21st of June the clergy was expected to cater to around 25,000 Goan Catholics⁹⁸⁵ which in 1929, as per the Portuguese government census, rose to 40,000 professionals from Goa⁹⁸⁶ (not counting those working in unskilled sectors). It would serve us well to remind ourselves of the famous reversal notes of

⁹⁷⁸Paulo VI, *Carta apostólica Octogesima Adveniens sobre o octogésimo aniversário da Encíclica Rerum Novarum*, 25.

⁹⁷⁹Vaticano II, *Optatam Totius*, no. 20, Concílio Ecuménico Vaticano II - *Contituições-Decretos-Declarações e Documentos Pontifícios*, 198.

⁹⁸⁰Pius XII, *Exsul Familia*, *Constitutio Apostolica de Spirituali Emigrantium Cura*, accessed on the 02nd July 2021, https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/la/apost_constitutions/documents/hf_p-xii_apc_19520801_exsul-familia.html.

⁹⁸¹Leo XIII, «*Quam Aerumnosa*», accessed on the 3rd November 2021, https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_10121888_quam-aerumnosa.html.

⁹⁸²Cf. Leo XIII, «*Quam Aerumnosa*».

⁹⁸³António Caretta, *I missionari degli emigranti nella costituzione apostolica 'Exsul familia'* (Roma: Giunta Cattolica Italiana per l'Emigrazione, 1957), 9.

⁹⁸⁴Santiago Faria and Losa Mendiratta, 'Goans and East-Indians: A Negotiated Catholic Presence in Bombay's Urban Space', 50-51.

⁹⁸⁵Hull, *Bombay Mission-History and The Padroado Question*, vol. II, 276.

⁹⁸⁶Faria and Mendiratta, 'Goans and East-Indians: A Negotiated Catholic Presence in Bombay's Urban Space', 56-57.

1890 which rescinded the notes of 1888 and placed the entire Goan community in the region under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Daman. This placed the responsibility on the shoulders of the bishop to provide clergy in service of the Goan community. It must be noted here that the clergy in Bombay commanded the loyalty of the Goan community.⁹⁸⁷ The churches had to make place for *Konkani*, the mother-tongue of the Goan community in their discourses and communications⁹⁸⁸. This was possible only through the presence of native Goan clergy which were sought by the diocese. They were tasked with the mandate to make the faith available to their community as in their native homeland of Goa.

It would not be completely erroneous to claim that the diocese was a pioneer in India to take the initiatives to attend to the spiritual needs of the migrants. This initiative becomes noteworthy in the face of the number of complications in the new diocese. Their socio-cultural complexity, shortfall of priests, and political enigmas turned it into a pastoral live wire. The role of the *Padroado* bond between Goa and Daman cannot be undermined for the attention on the Goan community. Even before the erection of the diocese there were Goan priests working and providing for the needs of the communities in these lands.⁹⁸⁹ In 1705, of the thousand five hundred priests who were ordained in Goa a number of them were working in Chaul, Bassein, Daman and Diu.⁹⁹⁰ Nevertheless, the diocese is credited with creating a decisive movement to formalise and systematise the manner of catering to the Goan community. The prelates acted maturely with the aim to serve the migrant community in its jurisdiction through 'specialised personnel who knew the milieu'.⁹⁹¹

The prelates, as the head, deserve to be commended for restructuring the services provided by the migrant clergy, if one may call them so, to ensure that the migrants are spiritually protected and served. Attention needs to be paid to the fact that the migration from Goa to Bombay was equally challenging as from Italy to America, may not be geographically. The factors which find common grounds in both the scenarios are foreign language, culture, norms, society, food, ethics, so on and so forth. The clergy who moved to these lands had to imbibe and get accustomed with the new realities. Therefore, the actions of the prelates and the Goan clergy serves the church as an inspiration for the future. The church, being attentive to the reality, can participate in the dual movement of reaching out to those in need and to those with abundance

⁹⁸⁷Faria and Mendiratta, 'Goans and East-Indians: A Negotiated Catholic Presence in Bombay's Urban Space', 51.

⁹⁸⁸Albuquerque, «The Catholics of Bombay and Their Church», 11.

⁹⁸⁹Achilles Meersman, «Development of the Church under the *Padroado*», in *Christianity in India: A History in Ecumenical Perspective*, eds. H. C. Perumalil and E. R. Hambye, (Allepey: Prakasam publications, 1972), 68.

⁹⁹⁰Godhino, «Indian Secular Clergy», 246.

⁹⁹¹Alpalhão and Rosa, *A Minority in a Changing Society*, 231.

of clergy as is found in *Presbyterorum Ordinis*⁹⁹². This implies that one does not wait for the other to act but takes the initiative, like Mary (cf. Lk 1,39-56; Jn 2,1-11), as demanded by the reality. Migration is a natural and inalienable right of every person⁹⁹³ who seeks better living conditions. This explains the movement of the Goans towards Bombay which was the economic hub.⁹⁹⁴ Many proposals were put in motion by the diocese to serve the needs of the Goan migrants in the land from jobs to housing.⁹⁹⁵ The most decisive and defining step was the demarcation of the St. Francis Xavier church in Dabul as the ‘Goan national church’ entrusted with the responsibility of providing religious services to the migrant community.⁹⁹⁶ There can be no doubt that such ‘personal parishes’⁹⁹⁷ contribute in providing a physical centredness in the vast lands and also guaranteed services of clergy of their choice, not as an occasional action but as specialized ministry.⁹⁹⁸ Such provisions, especially the Sunday Eucharist, without an iota of doubt becomes a socio-religious act par excellence for the community.⁹⁹⁹ Thereby, clergy in these personal parishes became a reflection of the Goan culture, language, traditions, and identity in a foreign land. This finds resonance in the exhortation found in *Christus Dominus* by Pope Paul VI, calling for especial institutions and structures to serve the migrants.¹⁰⁰⁰

The vast jurisdiction of the diocese was a real challenge and an opportunity for the diocese to make a mark in the region. However, the reality was not far from the words of Jesus who lamented that the harvest is plentiful but the labourers are few (cf. Mt 9:37). There was a dire need of personnel who could play their part in this mission field. The prelates were not bogged down by the challenges but chose to focus on the prayer of Jesus for vocations (cf. Mt 9:38). This prayer to God was directed through the vicar of Christ in Rome and led to the ears of the chief pastor in the archdiocese of Goa. Accordingly, the blessing in the form of the Goan clergy was received by the diocese which helped to combat the need for priests. This could be viewed as the innovative measure on the part of the diocese to also address the shortage of priest while serving the needs of a specific community. These arrangements invariably gave boost to the

⁹⁹²Vaticano II, *Presbyterorum Ordinis*, no. 10,329.

⁹⁹³Ferretto, *A Igreja e as migrações*, 69.

⁹⁹⁴Santiago Faria and Losa Mendiratta, «Goans and East-Indians: A Negotiated Catholic Presence in Bombay’s Urban Space», 47. It must be noted that Bombay (Mumbai) continues to be the economic hub of India and the current large Goan diaspora in the region bears witness to the glorious past of migration.

⁹⁹⁵Santiago Faria and Losa Mendiratta, 52-54.

⁹⁹⁶Gense, *The Church at the Gateway of India*, 351.

⁹⁹⁷Cf. As proposed by the canon 518 in the 1983 Code of Canon Law of the Catholic Church.

⁹⁹⁸Steffen, «The Universality of Mission: Method and Structures of Missionary Migrant Ministry», 103.

⁹⁹⁹Alpalhão and Rosa, *A Minority in a Changing Society*, 234.

¹⁰⁰⁰Vaticano II, *Christus Dominus*, no. 18, Concílio Ecuménico Vaticano II - *Contituições-Decretos-Declarações e Documentos Pontifícios*, 160.

missionary program and outreach. Like the Ukrainian clergy,¹⁰⁰¹ they worked to reduce barriers of culture, language, society, in relation to their faith and to adapt to the new region.¹⁰⁰²

The contribution of these migrant priests in the life of the diocese was not limited to a section or part. They definitely created a movement which helped in arresting possible inertia caused by the limited number of the local clergy. They brought in a breadth of fresh air and rich experience from the established archdiocese of Goa in managing the new diocese of Daman. Apart from their services to the core community, the Goan clergy also contributed towards the overall growth and vivacity of the diocese by serving in various capacities in the administration as vicar generals, parish priests, among others. The notable contribution of a few renowned Goan clerics from the late 19th century, such as, Fr. Antonio Mariano Soares, Fr. Luis Gonzaga de Athaide, Can. Mariano Faria;¹⁰⁰³ cannot be overlooked. Thus, the Goan clergy gave a new understanding and implication to the clarion call of Pope Leo XIII, ‘your own sons oh India will be the agents of your salvation’.

Finally, the third chapter has successfully enumerated upon the missiological and pastoral movements, which were created by the diocese, in the context of the present universal church. The chapter has drawn parallels between the movements which were prevalent in the life of the diocese and the similar challenges that confronts the church today. There is healthy dialogue between the past events and the current needs that are prevalent in the functioning of the church. Each of the missiological and pastoral movements helps us to appreciate the innovative and pertinent response of the diocese to restore order and discipline in the local church. These point us to the reality of constant reform and renewal that is necessary for the vibrancy of the church. At the end we can confidently state that the three chapters have successfully bear witness to the fact that the diocese of Daman was a providential event which was responsible for ecclesial peace through discipline and order in the local church.

¹⁰⁰¹Blazejowskyj, *Ukrainian Catholic Clergy in Diaspora*, 8-13.

¹⁰⁰²Vaticano II, *Concílio Ecuménico Vaticano II - Constituições-Decretos-Declarações e Documentos Pontifícios*, 329.

¹⁰⁰³Godhino, «Indian Secular Clergy», 251-254.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

«Give my greetings to the brothers and sisters in Laodicea, and to Nympha and the church in her house» (cf. Col 4, 15). This text reveals to us the presence and organization of Christian communities in the New Testament which were ordered with particular identity and referred to as 'house'. This and many more similar texts in the New Testament sufficiently establish that the process and the need for defining communities had already commenced in the early church. In these 'houses' one can find the reflection, promise and forecast of the birth of the concept of 'parishes' in the church.¹⁰⁰⁴ Such communities continue to exist in the church under several titles, such as, a diocese, a parish, a small Christian communities or mission outposts and at different levels, such as parish, diocese or province.

They continue to serve the church in its everyday functioning¹⁰⁰⁵ and in furthering the mission. Whilst the parish is perfected and integrated in a variety of forms, it nevertheless remains an indispensable organism of primary importance in the visible structure of the church.¹⁰⁰⁶ As we arrive at the end of the dissertation, what we have witnessed in the light of the diocese of Daman is the centrality and criticality of these communities in the overall health of the church. One cannot deny that they work as vital cogs in the wheels which ensure forward movement in universal mission of the church. It played its crucial part in ensuring that this wheel churned the community into being a true witness of Christian faith.

The erection of a parish or a diocese is not to be viewed as a reward or an accolade that the community should work towards attaining or winning. In fact, it is not a certificate of excellence but a recognition of the level of shared Christian life in a community. A community which over a period of time has developed and nurtured its unique Christian character and identity in relation to others. It is a fruit of the labour of the community and the renewal by the Spirit that is innately realized in the community. The fruit (diocese) may seem small and inconsequential in comparison to the imposing tree (universal church), but within the fruit lies the seed (parish) with the potential for the new fruits. Every nuclear community with a particular title or at a given level is like the seed with the potential to give more fruits. The transformation of an ecclesial community, as witnessed in the case of the diocese of Daman, is the sprouting of such

¹⁰⁰⁴Congregação para o Clero, *Instrução a Conversão Pastoral da Comunidade Paroquial ao Serviço da Missão Evangelizadora da Igreja*, 9.

¹⁰⁰⁵Laurentin, *A Igreja do futuro*, 56.

¹⁰⁰⁶John Paul II, «To Participants in the Plenary of the Sacred Congregation for the Clergy», no. 3, accessed on the 22nd November 2020, https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/it/speeches/1984/october/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19841020_plenaria-congregazione-clero.html.

seed from within the archdiocese of Goa which was harvested in the mid sixteenth century by the *Padroado*.

The first part of the first chapter laid the foundation for the dissertation by focusing upon the arrival of the Portuguese in Daman. It developed as a testimony to the manner in which the Portuguese encountered the territory of Daman and promptly established the church. The chapter narrated in detail the gradual growth of Daman in the area of economics and politics in relation to the complex social reality. In the space of political life, the chapter noted the turbulent diplomatic relations that were fostered with the Mughals, the Marathas and the British. This is noted with the focus upon the impact it had on the ordinary life of the church and the role they played in the expansion of the mission. The chapter also revealed to us the benefits of economic activity that were possible due to the geographic prominence of Daman. The economic activity was considered to show the consequent advancement of the church in the region through various religious and social ventures. The chapter then steers into the specific domain of Ecclesio-Missiological development in the region of Daman in the early days. We have witnessed how the church benefited from the economic activity, in which it also participated. The setting up of the religious and pastoral structures for the advancement of the people, at time with the collaboration of other kingdoms, are also noted in the chapter.

The second part begins in the early nineteenth century and recorded the diplomatic fall out between Rome and Portugal. In this we have seen how the political events in Portugal contributed to the possible collapse of the already soured relations between Rome and Portugal due to the new form of governance in Portugal after the revolution of 1820. The section notes how the involvement of the church (clergy) in these political events (supporting D. Miguel) turned out detrimental to the relationship and banishment of the religious in the kingdom. Amidst this gloom the chapter notes that the diplomatic ties with Rome were not completely snapped. There were efforts to resolve and resume the ordinary mode of functioning in the region. The chapter then noted the effect of the papacy of Pope Gregory XVI upon the diplomatic relations with Portugal. This section notes the precarious position of Rome in the face of newer political and social revolutions in Portugal and in Europe.

This leads to the third part which noted the causes and effects of ban on religious orders in Portugal and all their dominions. As noted, the year 1833 was difficult for the church in relation to its ties with Portugal. The ripple effects were felt in India and specially Daman where there were people with loyalties to Miguel. The movement was quickly countered with force by D. Maria II the queen of Portugal. The chapter then endeavours into the possible causes for the ban on religious orders as an outcome of political and ecclesial mismanagement. In these we

have noted the role of the clergy in the political events of Portugal where they worked against the interest of D.^o Pedro and his daughter queen Maria II. The other factor of ecclesial mismanagement on the part of the religious in administering the goods of the church and living a life unbecoming of a priest. Thus, these two factors to a greater degree contributed as a possible reason for the ban on religious orders in 1833.

In the fourth part we have seen how the above events bore significant influence upon the church in India, especially Goa. The immediate fallout of this conflict was the vacant seat of the archbishop of Goa for a period of more than ten years (1831-1844). There were robust efforts on both sides to resolve the issues and resume the ordinary functioning of the church. However, the talks seemed to be heading in no particular direction as the common ground evaded everybody. This logjam was further deteriorated with the Papal Brief, *Multa Praeclare* in 1838 by Gregory XVI. As we have seen, his Brief further stirred the emotions and did not help in calming the nerves of the parties involved. As we have noted, the intent of the Brief was to bring order and discipline in the region but the lack of confidence on the other side failed to meet these objectives. The validity of the Brief was challenged by Portugal as it unilaterally affected the abrogation of the *Padroado* right. It was the confirmation of José Maria de Silva Torres as the archbishop of Goa which was expected to restore order and better the diplomatic ties. Sadly, as it is noted in the chapter the move had a contrary effect upon the relations.

The subsequent section dealt with the question of the vicariate in Bombay under the *Propaganda Fide*. We began by noting the historical roots of the vicariate in the days when it was still known as ‘Bombay mission’. We have noted very briefly the events that led to the establishment of the Bombay mission in the region. The figure of significance in the time period and of our interest is the vicar apostolic, Anastasius Hartmann (1850-1858). His contributions in shaping the region, sometimes with his savoury and unsavoury tactics, are noted in the chapter. The chapter also considered the ecclesial and political functions, with an unbiased approach, to understand the real need of the vicariate. The chapter up to here suggests that there was indeed a dire necessity for sense and reason to prevail in these times.

This was also felt on either sides and the concordat of 1857 was agreed upon by both the parties for the greater good of the church. This part detailed in depth the various movements and happenings which were responsible for the realization of the concordat of 1857. Nevertheless, the section bears witness to the difficulties encountered in the process of the implementation of the concordat from the paper onto the ground. Having noted the events after the signing of the concordat, it would not be totally false to say that the concordat was never fully implemented. The political, economic and social challenges which impacted the implementation of the

concordat are duly noted in the subsequent subsection. Despite being a dead letter, the concordat had some valuable provisions which were relevant and full of potential for the future efforts for the resolution of the conflicts. The two valuable articles VII and XI in the concordat having a lot of significance for the future of the *Padroado* were closely probed. The prominence of article XII, which calls for clear cut demarcation of the jurisdiction, was also duly noted. The provision of the appendix B in the concordat about the power of *Padroado* to hold jurisdiction in the British ruled India and its relation to the future diocese of Daman was understood.

The last part of the first chapter expectantly registers a number of misunderstandings and conflicts which arose due to the failure of the concordat of 1857 and the absence of new one, especially in Bombay and adjoining areas. The harm these skirmishes bore on the ordinary functioning of the church in various areas was closely studied. The section notes the conflicts of political nature, social scandal, hindrances to the education ministry, the indiscipline in the clergy and the subsequent effect upon the laity. Each of these events were consciously selected to present to the reader the actual problems prevailing in the region. These events or conflicts clearly show the dire need for a new and affective concordat in the region which would restore peace and discipline.

The realization of this effective and visionary concordat resulting in the creation of the diocese of Daman is witnessed in the second chapter. It covers not only the creation but the life but the impact of the diocese directly upon the functioning of the local church. It began by noting the common ground that was shared between Rome and Portugal, something that was missing in the previous concordat. As noted, this served as a foundation and a meeting point for the common need of the two parties. This common ground was the growing conflicts which were affecting the ordinary life of the church and political unrest, especially in the former northern province. We have also witnessed the efforts by the local church, such as the rules of bishop Meurin, to resolve differences and restore peace. However, the need was felt to scale up the efforts and realize peace with greater intensity and scope. This is when the person of Pope Leo XIII and King Luis I were at the helm of things and as noted were ideal to resolve the conflicts. The chapter recorded their personal and social traits in relation to their aptitude to broker peace in the church and the kingdom, respectively.

Accordingly, the chapter moves to the proximate preparations for the concordat which was the fruit of tedious and winding process of diplomatic back and forth between Rome and Portugal. The detailed report of these discussion revealed that it was the paternal relation between the Pope and the King that came to the rescue and resolved the tension. The concordat was wide and far reaching in its desired impact but this paper limited its research to its impact on India

and specifically former northern province. The defining moment was the erection of the diocese of Daman in the region and alignment of the jurisdiction to attend to the needs of everyone. This was not possible without studying the interests of the *Padroado* and *Propaganda* in Bombay – ground zero of the conflict. As expected, there were disgruntled camps on either side who we have seen were involved in jeopardizing the scope of the concordat. Nonetheless, as documented in the section the revised coordination between Rome and Portugal ensured that the talks and the concordat went ahead, despite the vested interests. Double jurisdiction was seen as the way forward and every sceptic was ordered to get on board to make it work.

The subsequent part of the chapter deals with the article III and the appendix of the new concordat. In the article III we found the fruitification of the provision made in the article VII of the previous concordat (1857) whereby the condition for new dioceses with revised circumscription were realized. This was further elaborated in the annexed appendix to the article III which concretely established them in black and white for implementation. These two made the negotiations and renegotiations of the terms and conditions for demarcations of jurisdiction meaningful and possible. As it is recorded, these interactions bore fruit in the form of the reversal notes of 1890 and other such minor changes. Mgr. Zaleski, apostolic delegate to India, in his letter to the concerned bishops advised everyone to work for the cause of peace in the church. Pope Leo XIII ratified this concordat with his Papal bull, *Humanae Salutis Auctor*. as chronicled, this bull was significant in the history of the church in India, as it addressed the problems that were affecting the church by establishing the ecclesial hierarchy in India. This contributed to broker peace in the church in India and respond to the needs with greater efficacy. In relation to the diocese and its jurisdiction the papal documented called for harmony in the face of diversity and promotion of local vocation for priesthood.

The next part documented the jurisdiction of the diocese of Daman that was finally agreed upon in dialogue with the interested parties. Principally, it covered the regions of the former northern province of the Portuguese empire. We took a closer look at the ground reality of the areas which were placed under the care of the bishop of Daman. This revealed to us the diversity that was present in its jurisdiction in terms of languages, culture, politics, economics and physical distance or geography. To help us to do justice to the topic, we identified five key zones or areas with similar socio-cultural-political-economic identity. These were Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Bombay, Surat and Bharuch and Bassein and Chaul. The area of Daman was excluded due to the attention and treatment it was given in the first chapter. In each of these areas, the paper deliberated upon two prominent aspect – the ecclesial stability and the missiological

scope. While the former deals with the existing ecclesial status, the latter emphasises upon the future prospects for the expansion of the church.

Having gained an insight into the physical boundaries of the diocese, the ensuing inquiry was focused to account for the individuals and institutions which give meaning to the church. This part was intended to document the people and associations of people who worked and gave a direction to it, with their contributions. The ones leading this list are the prelates whose dedication and commitment ensured its overall robust growth. The two prelates, D. António Pedro da Costa and D. Sebastião José Pereira spent their life in the service of the diocese. As documented, both of them tried to ensure to reign of peace and lasting progress of the local church. They used their position to circumvent conflicts wherever possible. The chronicles of their life and work in this chapter bears testimony to the roles of bishops.

The next in line are the clergy, who closely collaborated with the prelates to ensure a smooth and healthy functioning of the diocese. The diocese valued their contributions and as a sign of promotion of these contributions started the diocesan seminary. A lot of attention was paid to formation of the local clergy and their interests. The section noted the setting up of funds and associations for the promotion of local vocations. The chapter also notes the relevance that the local clergy had worked to create. The final cog in the wheel was the laity and the provisions to promote their interests. The study had sufficiently shown us the active and lively status of the laity. Their participation in the functioning of the diocese and the enduring support that the clergy and the bishops provided for their advancement. The various commissions headed by the laity and their missionary attitude for the growth of the church is exemplary, to say the least. The spiritual and financial support of the laity in the service of the mission was commendable. This was ably supported by the bishops who invited religious men and women to open their houses, with the objective of missionary outreach. The chronicles of the diocese bear witness to its strong missionary outlook.

In the following section on mission *ad gentes*, we reviewed the impact of the diocese upon the society at large, beyond the walls of the church. In this part, the focus was on the role of the church in the life of the community which were from other faiths and communities. The section bore witness to its openness in receiving the people of other faith in the church. These social and cultural activities which are noted, act as point of contact or interaction for the local people with the new Christian faith. The church in the region also mingled with the local customs and traditions with the objective to refine them with Christian value for life and person. The section notes the areas and customs which it positively worked to eradicate from the society.

The last and final section of the second chapter spoke about the challenges that the diocese faced due to the political upheavals in Portugal. The turning point was the revolution and consequent implantation of the republic in 1910 leading to the collapse of diplomatic channels with Rome. This plunged the diocese into a certain degree of political and economic turmoil. Still, as the section bears witness, there was a positive aspect to this event. Since, it had ecclesial jurisdiction in British territories it could accommodate the expelled religious from Goa in these regions. Apart from benefiting the diocese in its mission, the move also ensured a safe haven for the religious. The other challenge was the economic assistance for the growth of the church and its institutes. The problems became grave as Rome also could not intervene in the situation due to the political chaos. The future seemed bleak in these events but the vision of the prelates ensured that the church moved forwards despite these challenges.

The last chapter of the dissertation is developed in order to evaluate and study the pastoral and missiological movements in the diocese of Daman. Within the limited scope of this dissertation the last chapter aimed to draw out some of the trends that were responsible for the effective functioning of the local church. The novelty of these trends in resolving the issues plaguing the church makes them prominent and worthy of attention. Upon closer study, we find that they are very much pertinent to the challenges that are prevalent in the church even today. In the very first part we have registered particular events which were exemplary in understanding the efficacy of the new diocese. The section notes five different events, each of them pertains to a specific aspect of the functioning of the church.

These aspects are canonical procedures pertaining to the sacramental jurisdiction and the procedure for liturgical actions outside of one's jurisdiction. The second aspect is the function of the ecclesial authority and its powers in relation to the *Fábricas* in the church. The third notes the need for ecclesial harmony within the community in order to promote the good of the church and the community. The fourth reflects the need for financial discipline as witnessed in the case of the António de Souza school. The last but not the least, is the aspect of the local clergy and the need for its effective functioning. Each of these are arranged in order to bear testimony to the efforts of the diocese to restore peace and discipline. These events inspire hope that the diocese would have succeeded in salvaging the tarnished image and the tainted Christian life of the church in the region, which it did.

Having witnessed these events, the chapter delves further into understanding the missiological and pastoral movements prevalent. As it implies, it was due these movements that the diocese galvanised the church towards reconciliation and peace. This made the study and reflection upon these movements necessary in the dissertation. In the missiological movements we

deliberated upon its approach in the face of the diverse cultures and faiths. In this we came to know how it understood its role of evangelizer in the given context of the diocese. The manner in which it opened its door to the plethora of cultures¹⁰⁰⁷ of the people with the intent to interact with them in the light of the Gospel is commendable. These helped it to attend to the stigma that was attached with Christian identity as being foreign to the land. The faith truly took root in the lives and the society of the people where the church was planted. Every food, languages, cultures, traditions and customs had place in the church.

These local factors were not accepted at the cost of the Gospel or the faith of the believing community. As the second section bears witness, the diocese took every step to protect the community from the dangers that were lurking in the society. India being a country with diversity of faiths, the identity of neophyte Christians required to be protected. It faced this challenge with a head and hands-on approach. Among others, the two prominent tools that it employed were the services of the catechists to work among the community and the creation of personal parishes to serve the migrants from Goa. These two summarise their robust efforts to cater to the particular and specific needs of the communities. The recent *Motu Proprio* of Pope Francis ‘*Antiquum Ministerium*’ and the instruction of the congregation for the clergy, about the ‘pastoral conversion of the parish community in the service of the evangelising mission of the church’ highlights the role of the catechist and personal parishes.

This leads us to the final part which evaluated the pastoral movements that were trending at the time. The benefits of these movements are visible in the daily running of the diocese by resolving intra organization questions. As our investigations into the history of the region have revealed to us, the regular life of the church in the region was irregular, to say the least. This required primary focus to gear its energies to the resolution of these irregularities. As the section bears witness, the diocese converged its energies to identify and regularize them. The two prominent movements are found in the sphere of jurisdiction and the function of the diocesan clergy. We have already noted how certain considerations with regards to geography, politics, society and culture influenced the process of marking the ecclesial boundaries. Truly, each of these communities were diverse to the point of being exclusive in the context of the diocese and had to be closely evaluated. The strands of such an approach can be encountered in the recent instructions on conversion of parishes published by the congregation for clergy.

These factors, having resonance in the Canon law of the church, cannot be side-lined or discounted in our globalised world. As the instructions propose, they sometimes play their

¹⁰⁰⁷Laurentin, *A Igreja do futuro*, 261.

significant part in identifying a community within a community. As was evident in the case of the diaspora of Goan migrant community living within the larger ethnic community or the Koli community within the larger community of the St. Peters church, Bandra. An objective evaluation of these factors is possible only with the help of an informed local clergy which has a thorough knowledge of the community. Thus, in this part we pay closer attention to the clergy and their significant role in the administration of the local church. The clergy was further divided into two, based on their regional identity.

They were identified as ethnic clergy and migrant clergy. Ethnic clergy were those who were born and brought up within the jurisdiction of the diocese. We have noted how the local vocations were always encouraged through construction of seminary and entrusting of responsibilities with opportunities for growth. We have seen how the demand for local clergy led to the creation of many movements among the laity to promote their participation. Their ability to converse and interact at a more profound level with the laity due to the absence of lingual, cultural and social barrier contribute to their relevance. The migrant clergy from Goa, who were rendering their services in the jurisdiction, presented us with the special character they assume and the role they play in a diocese. Apart from handling the ordinary administration of the parishes their contribution among the migrants from Goa was commendable. The creation of personal parishes for the migrants was conceivable and possible due their availability.

In the end we can establish that the erection of the diocese of Daman was a significant move which restored order and peace in the conflict infested region. It was a worthy adventure which opened many avenues for the reader to understand the complexity of the events leading to the founding of the diocese and the implications thereafter. As Pope Leo XIII himself affirms in his encyclical *Ad Extremas*, the new concordat was meant to «remove the causes of dissensions, which had disrupted the Christians for so long».¹⁰⁰⁸ The dissertation has helped in understanding the intricacies and subtexts in the history of the region. The effort to summarise the history of the XVI, XVII, and XVIII centuries with the intent to understand the underlying story was anything but easy. I am certain that within the given space and time frame of this paper I have been able to achieve this goal and given sufficient exposure of the past to understand the objectives of this paper in a better light. As a student, the study was enlightening, revealing, surprising and worth pondering in the context of the past and the present. It was definitely a gratifying exercise to be able to understand better the lands where I had worked to promote the mission of the church. The rich history of the place leaves one humbled in knowing the vivacity

¹⁰⁰⁸Cf. Leo XIII, «*Ad Extremas*».

and historicity of the region. Having known these facts, one can better understand and appreciate the roots of Christianity which are so deeply entrenched.

The fact that the former diocese of Daman has its contribution in the present archdiocese of Goa, archdiocese of Bombay, diocese of Vasai, diocese of Baroda (Gujarat) and the Syro-Malabar diocese of Thana is a testimony of the mammoth task it shouldered. The flowering of one diocese of Daman into so many other independent churches take us back to the Latin dictum '*Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis*'. This can be further appreciated by the fact that today a nation of 28 states and 8 union territories has a total of 174 dioceses. The unique aspect of these dioceses can be further appreciated when we note that of these 174, 132 dioceses are of Latin rite, 31 belong to the Syro-Malabar rite and 11 belong to the Syro-Malankara rite.

From the eight ecclesiastical provinces in 1887 established by Pope Leo XIII the church in India had grown into 29 Ecclesiastical provinces with 23 of Latin rite, 4 Syro-Malabar and 2 Syro-Malankara rites. Such is the diverse picture of the reality of Catholic Church in India which continues to be in a state of renewal, guided by the Holy Spirit, in relation to organizing boundaries and creating newer communities. Hence, church in India is like a jigsaw puzzle which has pieces of different shapes and sizes, unique and independent, but come together to form something beautiful. So is the region of Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli which continues to be animated by the Spirit in the process of garnering a character and identity proper to the church in the region. The conjunction found in the title of the archdiocese of Goa and Daman thereby infuses the hope that someday the Spirit will realize its work and renew the face of the earth (church) in the region. The recent amendment in the civil law through which the entire region of Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli is clubbed into one territory has definitely ushered in new political, social, geographical, cultural and ecclesial realities for the region.

The life of the diocese of daman can be aptly summarised as a Christian model to resolve conflicts in the church. The Catholic Church can easily be qualified as the oldest growing institute which has entertained and resolved domestic, national and international conflicts for thousands of years. Hence, the expertise and experience that the institute boasts in the present is unparalleled and unbelievable. Through its failures and successes, at every level, the church holds proficiency and wisdom that it can impart to the world. The research and investigation into the dissertation have established the fact that the diocese of Daman without an iota of doubt – was a harbinger of ecclesial peace. The maturity and the respect with which the diocese treated itself and others, fortified the Christian model to resolve conflicts in the church. The dissertation throws sufficient light on the significant role the diocese played in restoring order within its

jurisdiction and also with neighbouring churches, considering the reality of double jurisdiction. It opened the doors to newer possibilities for Christian mission.

Within a short span of 42 years the diocese reckoned to spread its presence in newer places with future possibilities for the growth of the church. The ability to enter into direct dialogue with other ecclesial leaders and independently decide the future course of action gave the diocese the necessary courage to exercise its character. Two of the provision in the concordat of 1928 speak volumes about the kind of influence the diocese had maintained in the region. Firstly, as noted before, the article I of the concordat recognized the addition of the title of Daman to the title of the archdiocese of Goa. Secondly, the article III of the concordat endowment the honour to alternately have the archbishop of Bombay of English and Portuguese nationality.¹⁰⁰⁹ These two articles along with the concordat allude to the noteworthy contribution of the diocese.

The reality of Christian migrants in the community and the attention they require from the local church is also seen in this paper. The diocese was among the pioneers who thought of instituting the personal parish in Dabul for the Goan diaspora. Such a decision gave the Goan community a direction and a centredness in a foreign land. The bishops were aware to the needs of their flock who were not necessarily born in the lands but had travelled from other lands with the expectation that they would continue to find spiritual succour in the new lands. This helped in reducing the number of people who abandon their faith due to lack of familiarity in the new land. None can deny the fact that this set the precedence in India for others to follow. It viewed the migrants as an opportunity to live the virtue of Christian brotherhood to its fullest in its ordinary life. The fact that strangers found place of comfort in communities was the fulfilment of both the Old and New Testament (cf. Lev 19,34; Lk 10,37).

The study has also brought to light the important question of the Christian migrants in our parish and diocesan communities. Once again, the diocese leads from the front by stressing upon the need to identify and address the needs of these communities. It shows that the onus is upon the pastors, where they create a movement to reach out to these communities and to inquire about their needs and possible solutions. The manner in which the diocese was among the pioneering churches in India to shoulder the responsibility of migrants makes it an ideal point of departure for further study. The church in India is no stranger to mass migrations in search of better prospects and livelihood. This is visible even today both nationally and internationally. There is a dire need to make the clergy from their regions or at least missionaries who can attend to their needs an ecclesial obligation and necessity.

¹⁰⁰⁹Borges, *Concordatas entre Santa Sé e Portugal e Concórdias entre os Prelados e os Reis de Portugal*, 38.

The relevance of local clergy in the ordinary life of the community becomes amply clear in this dissertation. The diocese of Daman shows the way with respect to the promotion and treatment of the local clergy. Even before the diocese opened the seminary in Daman, we have seen how the missionaries had institutes to train youngsters to dedicate themselves to study and spiritual learning. These youngsters in turn helped the missionaries in the mission field. Finally, with the erection of a diocesan seminary to nurture the vocation from the area and to encourage the sons of the soil to put their hand to the plough and contribute to the growth added vibrancy to the church. The financial subsidies given to the aspirants help in boosting the resolve and reducing the pressure on the family for the provisions of the aspirant. The push for excellence and training in the best of institutes around the world also portrays the desire of the prelate to form worthy ministers after the heart and mind of Jesus. It also made ample efforts to train the future ministers as per the needs of the local church. The seminary, apart from regular courses needed for priestly and human formation, also introduced courses which would make the candidates relevant in their given situation. These courses include the local languages and social apostolate. If the ecclesial interests of the region are secured it directly contributes to the potential of the region to be demarcated and erected as a diocese. Thereby most basic of concerns in any community need to be nurturing and safeguarding the interests of the local clergy. The local clergy indirectly becomes the parameter to measure the depth of faith in the community. They also infuse in the laity a sense of identity and belongingness. The local clergy, as emerging directly and within the community gives the laity a sense of responsibility towards their respective church. Thus, in this we realize the need to promote and safeguard the future of the local church by instituting seminaries to ensure the vitality of the church. Apart from this, the joy of witnessing their own flesh and blood offering the sacrifice of Christ in their name is beyond measure and pure.

The paper also gave us an insight into the aspect of diocesan pool of migrant clerics to cater to migrant communities. The fact that the archdiocese of Goa was also a *Padroado* diocese did matter in arranging Goan clergy to cater to the Goan diaspora in the diocese of Daman. It took the bold steps to incorporate the migrant clergy in the functioning of diocese. It generously entrusted to them parishes where the said community had substantial presence. The efforts of the prelates are commendable in creating a place of worship for the migrant clergy and making them comfortable in the new foreign pastures. They were given every opportunity to participate and provide for their particular flock and that of the land. The creation of such a community of priest created an ecosystem for meaningful sharing and thorough planning of their ministry among their diaspora. These movements bear witness to the mission of the church which can

move individuals and institutes beyond borders in search of the flock. Thereby giving a new understanding to the parable of the lost sheep (cf. Mt 18,12-13), where the pastors move anticipating the possibility that the flock could be lost in foreign pastures.

The reality of migration forces the church to take cognizance of this complex reality in the society. The church can no longer ignore the displacement and resettlement of people due to political, social or economic reasons. While the situation is universal, the response has to be personal and local within the ambit of the most basic level of Christian community – parish. The parish need to identify the pockets of segregations of the migrants within the boundaries of their respective jurisdiction and appropriately make an intervention. These have to be then coordinated with structures set up at the diocese level so that the inter diocese collaboration is made possible. Apart from political, social and economic intervention the church has to make a religious or spiritual intervention.

The church is duty bound to provide for the spiritual and ritual needs of the migrant community in their jurisdiction. In the spirit of brotherhood, the parish priest or the prelate has to establish contact with the ecclesial authority of the origin of the migrants with the request for priests to attend to their flock. This could very well fall within the ambit of the clarion call of the church for new evangelization. The parent bishop has to understand that his flock has moved into a foreign terrain with a new language, culture, traditions and society. This demands that in such confusing times they have the comforts of a familiar spiritual support system to guide them. The provisions of national churches with renewed understanding of parochial jurisdiction, reiterated in the new guidelines for parishes by the congregation for clergy, could be the go-to text for the formation of such communities.

Covenants, contracts, concordats or treatise are not foreign to the church which has dealt with them from the beginning of the world. From covenants with God to contracts with individuals and institutes to concordats with nations, all have been tried and tested. Sadly, as history bears witness, none of them have survived the test of time. These failures do not mean that we should stop but that we need a revised system of review and renew such obligation. The diocese of Daman was the outcome of this process of review and renew of concordat between Rome and Portugal and as was the suppression. It is at this juncture that we view the region for the current reality and ask what do we make of the future of the church in this region. The research has guided us to arrive at this point where the present and future of the region of Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli kindles our curiosity.

A general overview of the region would suffice to state that the region continues to be a miniature version of the original stature of the former diocese of Daman. The factors of

geography, language, society, culture and language continue to have their influence upon the present ecclesial life of the church.¹⁰¹⁰ The presence and use of Portuguese, Gujarati, Marathi and English language in the liturgies make it a pastoral conundrum. The varied geographical terrains ranging from mountains to plains to ravines to rivers make the demarcation of jurisdiction a real challenge. The diverse social reality of the region ranging from cities to villages to forest settlements gives a distinct character to each community. The culture is governed by the presence of specific tribal identity, particular to each group within the community. The presence of Christians with a history of 400-year-old faith and others with four days old, make the region a missiological test. Such a complex ecclesial reality of the region demands a closer and deeper study of the future of the region. This definitely opens newer possibilities for future and further investigation into these ecclesial complexities. Such a venture will put to rest the question that we encountered in the introduction, whether the addition of the name of Daman to the archdiocese of Goa was merely for its historical significance or because of the potential it held for the future of the church in the region.

¹⁰¹⁰Comblin, *O Povo de Deus*, 149.

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APPENDENCES

APPENDIX - 1

CARTA CONSTITUCIONAL

de 29 de Abril de 1826

DOM PEDRO POR GRAÇA DE DEUS, Rei de Portugal e dos Algarves, etc. Faço Sabera todos os Meus Súbditos Portugueses, que Sou Servido Decretar Dar e Mandar jurar imediatamente pelas Três Ordens do Estado a Carta Constitucional abaixo transcrita, a qual de ora em diante regerá esses Meus Reinos e Domínios, e que é do teor seguinte:

PARA O REINO DE PORTUGAL, ALGARVES E SEUS DOMÍNIOS

TÍTULO I

DO REINO DE PORTUGAL, SEU TERRITÓRIO, GOVERNO, DINASTIA E RELIGIÃO

Art. 1º - O Reino de Portugal é a Associação política de todos os Cidadãos Portugueses. Eles formam uma Nação livre e independente.

Art. 2º - O seu Território forma o Reino de Portugal e Algarves, e compreende:

§ 1º - Na Europa, o Reino de Portugal, que se compõe das Províncias do Minho, Trás-os-Montes, Beira, Estremadura, Alentejo, e Reino do Algarve e das Ilhas Adjacentes, Madeira, Porto Santo e Açores.

§ 2º - Na África Ocidental, Bissau e Cacheu; na Costa da Mina, o Forte de S. João Baptista de Ajudá, Angola, Benguela, e suas dependências, Cabinda e Molembo, as Ilhas de Cabo Verde, e as de S. Tomé e Príncipe, e suas dependências; na Costa Oriental, Moçambique, Rio Sena, Sofala, Inhambane, Quelimane, e as Ilhas de Cabo Delgado.

§ 3º - Na Ásia, Salsete, Bardez, Goa, Damão, Diu e os Estabelecimentos de Macaue das Ilhas Solor e Timor.

Art. 3º - A Nação não renuncia o direito, que tenha a qualquer porção de Território nestas três partes do Mundo, não compreendida no antecedente Artigo.

Art. 4º - O seu Governo é Monárquico, Hereditário e Representativo.

Art. 5º - Continua a Dinastia Reinante da Sereníssima Casa de Bragança na Pessoa da SENHORA PRINCESA DONA MARIA DA GLÓRIA, pela Abdicação, e Cessão de Seu Augusto Pai o SENHOR DOM PEDRO I, IMPERADOR DO BRASIL, Legítimo Herdeiro e Sucessor do Senhor Dom João VI.

Art. 6º - A Religião Católica Apostólica Romana continuará a ser a Religião do Reino. Todas as outras Religiões serão permitidas aos Estrangeiros com seu culto doméstico, ou particular, em casas para isso destinadas, sem forma alguma exterior de Templo.

CONCORDATA

De 21 de Fevereiro de 1857

Em nome da Santíssima e Individua Trindade,
Sua Santidade o Sumo Pontífice Pio IX, e Sua Magestade Fidelíssima El-Rei D. Pedro V, tendo resolvido fazer um tratado, no qual se estabeleçam os Artigos de concórdia para a continuação do exercício dos Direitos do Padroado da Coroa Portuguesa na Índia e China, nos termos constantes dos mesmos Artigos, nomearam para este fim dois Plenipotenciários, a saber: por parte de Sua Santidade o Eminentíssimo e Reverendíssimo Senhor Cardeal Camilo di Pietro, Pro-núncio apostólico em Portugal; e por parte de Sua Magestade Fidelíssima o Excelentíssimo Senhor Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães, Par do Reino, Conselheiro de Estado efectivo, Ministro e Secretário de Estado Honorário e Grã-Cruz da Ordem de Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo: os quais, trocados os seus respectivos Plenos Poderes, e achando-os em boa e devida forma, convieram nos artigos seguintes:

ARTIGO 1.º

Em virtude das respectivas Bulas Apostólicas, e na conformidade dos Sagrados Cânones, continuará o exercício do Direito de Padroado da Coroa Portuguesa, quanto à Índia e China, nas Catedrais abaixo declaradas.

ARTIGO 2.º

Quanto á Índia:

Na Igreja Metropolitana, e Primacial de Goa; na Igreja Arquiepiscopal *ad honorem* de Cranganor; na Igreja Episcopal de Cochim; na Igreja Episcopal de S. Tomé de Meliapor; e na Igreja Episcopal de Malaca.

ARTIGO 3.º

Quanto á China:

Na Igreja Episcopal de Macau.

ARTIGO 4.º

Concorda-se em que a Provincia de Quam-Si não ficará incluída de futuro na Jurisdição Episcopal de Macau, e por consequência no Padroado, reservando-se Sua Santidade tomar livremente nesta Provincia, em utilidade dos fiéis, as determinações que julgar convenientes e necessárias.

ARTIGO 5.º

O Santo Padre reserva-se fazer o mesmo, quanto á Ilha de Hong-Kong, a qual, posto que incluída na Provincia de Kuang-Tong (Cantão), ficará separada da Jurisdição Episcopal de Macau, e fora do Padroado.

ARTIGO 6.º

A Jurisdição do Bispado de Macau, e o Padroado na China compreenderá assim dora em diante o território que lhe pertence, segundo as respectivas Bulas, a saber: Macau, Provincia de Kuang-Tong (Cantão) e as ilhas adjacentes, exceptuadas somente a dita provincia de Quam-Si e a Ilha de Hong-Kong.

ARTIGO 7.º

Em vista das considerações de conveniência religiosa,

oferecidas por parte da Santa Sé, quanto à erecção dum novo Bispado em alguma parte do território actual do Arcebispado de Goa, o Governo Português, como Padroeiro, contribuirá, quanto dele dependa, para que esta erecção se realize oportunamente nos termos e nas localidades, que de acordo com a Santa Sé, se reputarem mais convenientes à boa administração daquela Igreja, e à comodidade dos fiéis.

ARTIGO 8.º

Ficará separada da Jurisdição do Bispado de Malaca e do Padroado a Ilha de Pulo-Penang, a respeito da qual tomará Sua Santidade as disposições, que lhe parecerem oportunas.

ARTIGO 9.º

Mas a Ilha de Singapura continuará a pertencer ao mesmo Bispado de Malaca, e poderá na mesma Ilha estabelecer-se a Residência Episcopal, conservando o Prelado a titulo de Bispo de Malaca.

ARTIGO 10.º

Devendo o território de cada um dos Bispados Sufra-gâneos da Índia, acima mencionados, ter tal extensão que nele se não dificulte o pronto e proficuo exercicio da Jurisdição Episcopal, as Altas Partes Contratantes, convêm em que, de acordo, se proceda à circunscricção dos mesmos Bispados, que parecer mais adequada áquele fim.

ARTIGO 11.º

O Santo Padre, tendo em vista os deveres ditados pelo seu Apostólico Ministério, e desejando que se ponha quanto antes termo às desinteligências e perturbações que têm afligido e ainda afligem as Igrejas das Índias

Orientais, com grave prejuízo dos interesses da Religião e da paz pública dos fiéis das mesmas Igrejas, situação esta, que Sua Santidade não poderia ver continuar sem acudir-lhe com o remédio competente; e Sua Magestade Fidelíssima o Senhor D. Pedro V, animado do mesmo desejo de ver prosperar aquelas Igrejas e restabelecido o sossego nas suas respectivas Crisandades; concordaram em que se proceda sem demora à feitura duma Acta Adicional ou Regulamento, no qual se fixem os limites dos ditos Bispados do Padroado, nos termos do Artigo antecedente.

ARTIGO 12.º

Nas Bulas dos Bispos, que forem apresentadas, deverá fazer-se menção dos limites, que de comum acordo se fixarem.

ARTIGO 13.º

Para este fim serão nomeados dois Commissários, um por cada uma das Altas Partes Contratantes, os quais animados do espirito de conciliação, e conhecedores das localidades, proponham as respectivas circunscrições de cada Diocese.

A estes Commissários serão declarados os territórios, em que as Altas Partes Contratantes se têm acordado que continue o exercício do Padroado da Coroa de Portugal.

ARTIGO 14.º

Nas partes do território que ficarem fora dos limites assinados às supramencionadas Dioceses na Índia, poderão exigir-se, com as competentes formalidades, novos Bispados, o exercício de cujo Padroado pela Coroa Portuguesa começará desde então.

ARTIGO 15.º

Em vista do que se acha convindo sobre a matéria

do Artigo 7.º do presente Tratado, Sua Santidade anuí a acordar a instituição Canónica à pessoa que, por sua Magestade Fidelíssima for nomeada e apresentada para a Igreja Metropolitana de Goa.

E as Altas Partes Contratantes concordam em que logo que se efectue a posse do novo Arcebispo, passem os Commissários nomeados a occupar-se da definitiva circunscrição da Diocese, que deve erigir-se no território do mesmo Arcebispado, na conformidade e para os fins do citado Artigo 7.º.

Outrosim concordam as mesmas Altas Partes Contratantes em que para o exercício da Jurisdição ordinária do novo Arcebispo se declarem como limites provisórios do seu território, as Igrejas e as Missões que, ao tempo da assinatura do presente Tratado estiverem de facto na obediência da Sé Arquiepiscopal; devendo ficar na pacífica obediência dos Vigários Apostólicos todas as outras, que na mesma data se acharem também de facto sujeitas à sua autoridade. Este estado permanecerá até à definitiva constituição canónica do Bispado, que há-de erigir-se.

E ao passo que se for concluindo e aprovando a circunscrição das Dioceses Sufragâneas da Índia, e efectuando o provimento canónico dos respectivos Bispos, será sucessivamente reconhecido pela Santa Sé nessas Dioceses o exercício da Jurisdição Metropolitana do mesmo Arcebispo.

ARTIGO 16.º

À medida que se for estabelecendo a circunscrição de qualquer dos Bispados Sufragâneos da Índia, e achando-se provida de meios convenientes a Sé Episcopal, será admitida pelo Sumo Pontífice a apresentação do Bispo, feita pelo Real Padroeiro Português; e expedidas que sejam as respectivas Bulas Confirmatórias, remover-se-ão sucessivamente do território do Bispado o Vigário ou

vigários apostólicos, que nele existirem, afim de que o Prelado nomeado possa entrar no regimen da Diocese.

ARTIGO 17.º

O presente Tratado com os seus dois anexos A e B, que dele formam parte integrante, será ratificado pelas Altas Partes Contratantes, e as ratificações trocadas em Lisboa, dentro de quatro meses da data da assinatura, ou antes se for possível.

Em fé do que, os Plenipotenciários acima nomeados assinaram em originaes duplicados, portuguez e italiano, o mesmo Tratado, e lhe puzeram o selo das suas armas. Feito em Lisboa, aos 21 dias do mês de Fevereiro do ano de 1857.

— (L. S.) — *Camilo Card. di Pietro, P. N. A.* —
(L. S.) — *Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães.*

ANEXO A

No artigo 6.º do Tratado, firmado em data de hoje pelos abaixo assinados, declarou-se, que a jurisdição do Bispo de Macau deve comprehender a Provincia de Cantão (Kuang-Tong) e as ilhas adjacentes, entre as quais a principal, quanto a cristandades, é a Ilha de Hainan; em vista porém do que se concordou nas conferências, e pelos motivos ponderados nelas por ambos os Negociadores, julgou-se oportuno demorar por um prazo de tempo determinado o exercício exclusivo da jurisdição ordinária do Bispo de Macau nos territórios das ditas Provincias e Ilha. Este prazo foi limitado a um ano improrogável, que deverá ter principio no dia em que o Tratado obtiver a ratificação das duas Altas Partes Contratantes; e findo que seja o ano, terá inteira execução o referido Artigo 6.º, prometendo-se por parte do abaixo assinado Negociador Portuguez, que se procurará pelo Real

Padroeiro aumentar o número de hábeis, e idóneos Missionários, que, além dos existentes, se empreguem na conservação, e na propagação da Fé Católica naquelas regiões.

E a fim de que este especial acordo tenha a força do Tratado, e seja considerado como parte integrante dele, não só vai assinado pelos dois Negociadores, mas também será ratificado conjuntamente com o mesmo Tratado por ambas as Altas Partes Contratantes. Lisboa, 21 de Fevereiro de 1857.

— *Camillo Card. di Pietro*, P. N. A. — *Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães*.

ANEXO B

Tendo-se dito no Artigo 13.º do Tratado firmado no dia de hoje sobre o Padroado da Coroa Portuguesa no Oriente, que aos Commissários incumbidos de propor as respectivas circunscrições das Dioceses da Índia, mencionadas no mesmo Tratado, se dará conhecimento dos territórios, em que as Altas Partes Contratantes convêm que continue o exercício do referido Padroado Real Português; os abaixo assinados, Plenipotenciários Pontifício e Português, declaram para completa intelligência do mesmo Artigo, que as ditas Altas Partes Contratantes se têm acordado em que o território do Padroado da Coroa de Portugal na Índia seja o território da *Índia Inglesa*; entendendo-se por estas palavras, as terras sujeitas *imediate* ou *imediatamente* ao Governo Britânico, e que portanto devem os Commissários nomeados para a circunscrição das Dioceses ter em vista, por um lado, que as localidades pertençam à Índia Inglesa na acepção referida, e bem assim o estabelecimento de Missões Portuguesas e as fundações de Religião e de piedade por esforços e generosidade do Governo de Portugal e de seus súbditos eclesiásticos ou seculares, embora algumas dessas fundações

não estejam actualmente na administração de Sacerdotes Portugueses; por outro lado, a mais cômoda e pronta assistência espiritual do Pastor ao seu rebanho, segundo a extensão e a distância das Missões, o número das Cris-tandades, e outras circunstâncias, que devam atender-se para melhor se conseguir o mesmo fim.

Declaram mais os abaixo assinados, que as Altas Partes Contratantes concordam em que este Acto haja a mesma força do Tratado, e como tal obrigue a ambas as ditas Altas Partes Contratantes, que os abaixo assinados têm a honra de representar.

As mesmas Altas Partes Contratantes o ratificarão conjuntamente com o Tratado. Lisboa, 21 de Fevereiro de 1857.

— *Camilo Card. di Pietro*, P. N. A. — *Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães*.

CARTA DE LEI

De 21 de Julho de 1857

Dom Pedro, por Graça de Deus, Rei de Portugal e dos Algarves, etc. Fazemos saber a todos os nossos súbditos, que as cortes gerais decretaram, e Nós queremos a lei seguinte:

ARTIGO I

É aprovado, para poder ser ratificado pelo poder executivo, nos termos declarados no artigo segundo desta Lei, o tratado entre Portugal e a Santa Sé, sobre a continuação do exercício do Real Padroado da Coroa Portuguesa no Oriente, assinado em vinte e um de Fevereiro de mil oitocentos e cinquenta e sete.

ARTIGO II

A ratificação só deverá ter lugar depois que o Gover-

no se tenha acordado com a Santa Sé, e obtido por parte dela explicações categóricas acerca dos pontos seguintes, a saber:

Primeiro — Sobre a providência apostólica para a continuação do regimen das Dioceses sufragâneas da Índia (quanto às igrejas e missões na obediência do Padroado) até à definitiva circunscrição das mesmas Dioceses, e confirmação dos respectivos Bispos; cometendo-se ao Arcebispo de Goa esse regimen para o exercer por si ou por vigários de sua nomeação; e obtendo-se a ampliação da mesma providência apostólica ao cabido da metrópole *sede vacante*.

Segundo — Sobre a verdadeira intelligência das palavras «*Índia Inglesa*» empregadas no anexo B, de modo que fique bem claramente assentado entre as Altas Partes Contratantes, que por «*Índia Inglesa*» se entenderá não só as terras que estão debaixo do domínio do Governo Inglês e da Companhia das Índias Orientais, mas também as que estão sujeitas a príncipes indígenas, ou estes sejam tributários da mesma companhia, ou por ela protegidos e subsidiados; com todas as fundações de religião e de piedade, que numas e noutras terras houver, seja qual for a sua proveniência.

Terceiro — Sobre a verdadeira intelligência da palavra de que se faz uso no artigo décimo sexto do tratado, quanto aos meios com que devem ser providas as Sés Episcopais dos Bispados sufragâneos na Índia, definindo-se o vago em que possam tornar-se as expressões de — *meios convenientes* — para que se fixe o modo por que se devem entender «*providas de meios convenientes as ditas Sés*».

Quarto — A respeito dos fundos e rendimentos que pertenciam às duas catedrais de Nankim e de Pekim, para que fique bem entendido que esses fundos e mais bens continuam à disposição do Real Padroeiro, para serem applicados à dotação do Seminário de S. José de Macau, e

à manutenção das Missões que ficam pertencendo ao Padroado da Coroa Portuguesa. E outrosim acerca das seguranças necessárias para que os bens, fundos, paramentos e alfaias preciosas das Igrejas e Missões, e fundações de religião e piedade, que ficaram debaixo do regimen e administração dos vigários apostólicos até à circunscrição dos bispados sufragâneos, na Índia, sejam conservados para se fazer de tudo entrega aos respectivos Prelados do Real Padroado.

ARTIGO III

Fica revogada a legislação em contrário.

Mandamos portanto a todas as Autoridades, a quem o conhecimento e execução da referida Lei pertencer, que a cumpram e guardem, e façam cumprir e guardar tão inteiramente como nela se contém. O Ministro e Secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros a faça imprimir, publicar e correr. Dada no Paço de Sintra, em vinte e um de Julho de mil oitocentos e cinquenta e sete.

— (L. S.) — *El-Rei*, com Rubrica e Guarda. — *Marquês de Loulé*.

APPENDIX - 3

GREGORIUS PP. XVI

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam

Multa praeclare Romani Pontifices praedecessores nostri pro apostolici muneris debito constituerunt, ut in vastissimis Orientalium Indiarum regionibus catholicae religionis incremento prospicerent. Cum enim ob summam earum regionum ab Apostolica Sede distantiam, ob itinerum longitudinem locorumque difficultates, ardua valde esset tantae illius vineae Domini partis cultura, sollicitudinem suam impense Romani Pontifices demonstraverunt, ut quidquid pro diversa temporum ratione religioni utile apud illas gentes futurum esse videretur, auctoritate sua sancirent et studiose servandum esse iuberent.

I.º Omittimus illam curam commemorare ab Apostolica Sede nunquam neglectam, ut undique sacerdotes excitarentur ad sacri ministerii officia in iis regionibus obeunda: nihil de singulari dicimus adhibita a praedecessoribus nostris facilitate ac benignitate, ut ad non retardandos iis in locis religionis catholicae progressus innumera ferme concesserint, quibus passi sunt, cum iis gentibus remissius agi, quam ut canonum et disciplinae severioris instituta requirebant. Eam tantum hic memorabimus grati animi significationem, quam pro dignitate sua Romani Pontifices erga illos ostenderunt,

quos constabat opera sua religioni utiles per ea loca fuisse.

2.^o Perspicuum huius rei testimonium continet patronatus privilegium fidelissimis Lusitaniae Regibus ab Apostolica Sede tributum, ut dioecesium nonnullarum in iis regionibus Episcopi, eorum nominatione, eligerentur. Cum enim illorum principum pietas ac munificentia multum contulisset, ut in vastissimis illis regionibus episcopatus nonnulli constitui possent, praedecessores nostri, grati animi testificatione eorum merita prosequi cupientes, largiti sunt ut earum dioecesium Episcopos Sedes Apostolica eligeret, quos idoneos illi nominassent. Huius praeterea privilegii concessione, Apostolica Sedes prospexit, ut non diuturna esset sedium illarum episcopalium vacatio, facilius Episcopos ea loca opportunos haberent et praesulibus ipsis satis congrua praesto essent subsidia, quae eorundem dignitati convenirent. Factum est vero temporum vicissitudine, ut hoc, quod diu religioni utile in iis regionibus fuit, in eo statu manere non potuerit, quem praedecessorum nostrorum decreta, in adiunctis rerum longe diversis edita, servandum esse iusserant.

3.^o Pluries nos, cum adhuc Consilio Christiano Nomini Propagando praeessemus, perpendere rationum gravitatem debuimus, quae demonstrabant, regiones illas tam late patentes, quae permagnam vastissimae cis Gangem peninsulae partem constituunt, necessario requirere, ut Apostolica Sedes religioni in iis periclitanti succurreret, et ecclesiastici regiminis formam ea ratione moderaretur, quae obtinendae religionis incolumitati par esse posset. Notum nobis erat, regiones illas dioecesium Cranganorensis, Coccinensis et Meliaporensis seu S. Thomae limitibus comprehendi. Constabat vero nobis, praedecessores nostros fidelissimis Lusitaniae Regibus patronatum in illas dioeceses, et Episcopos nominandi privilegium impertitos esse. Hoc enim continetur literis apostolicis fel. rec. Pauli IV. diei IV. februarii anno MDLVII. quae incipiunt *Pro excellenti*, quibus dioecesim Coccinensem constituit; item Clementis VIII. diei IV. augusti MDC. incipientibus *In supremo* et Pauli V. diei VI. februarii MDCXVI. incipientibus *Alias postquam* de Cranganorensis archiepiscopatus erectione; ac denique apostolico decreto Pauli V. diei IX. ianuarii MDCVI. quo episcopatus Meliaporensis, seu S. Thomae constitutus est. Non omisimus vel ab eo tempore, ad bonum religionis promovendum, illa omnia conari, quae temporum adiuncta patiebantur.

4.^o Postquam vero ad D. Petri cathedram licet immerentes evecti fuimus, multo frequentius, et omni gravitate praestantibus monumentis excitati sumus, ut religioni in permagno discrimine apud illas gentes versanti opem affereremus. Haec animo volentes et apostolicae sollicitudinis officia cogitantes, adducti idcirco sumus, ut literis apostolicis diei XVIII. aprilis MDCCCXXXIV. incipientibus *Latissimi terrarum tractus*, Vicarium Apostolicum a Sede Apostolica tantum dependentem constitueremus, qui populosam Calcuttae urbem eiusque politicam praefecturam subiectam haberet. Quoniam vero reperti sunt qui Vicarii Apostolici a nobis instituti iurisdictioni resisterent, et apostolicis nostris literis non obtemperandum esse contenderent, eo quod in illis, expressa mentione facta, derogatum non esset iis, quae Paulus V. die IX. ianuarii MDCVI. de Episcopi Meliaporensis, seu S. Thomae iurisdictionis finibus decreverat, nos alio brevi apostolico diei IV. augusti MDCCCXX. XXV.

cuius initium est *Commissi nobis*, omnem hunc dissidii praetextum reiecimus et plura declaravimus, quae ad stabilius firmandam Vicarii Apostolici Bengalensis auctoritatem poterant pertinere. Eadem de causa factum est, ut alium Vicarium Apostolicum Madraspatani, literis diei XXV. aprilis MDCCCXXXV. incipientibus *Ex debito pastoralis*, instituendum esse duxerimus. Haec quoque ratio fuit cur die XXIII. dec. MDCCCXXXVI. aliud breve apostolicum incipiens *Ex munere pastoralis* ediderimus, quo vastissimam insulam Ceylan Vicario Apostolico a nobis instituto gubernandam commisimus. Hac denique ratione factum est, ut prospicere cupientes religionis necessitati apud illas gentes, quae peninsulae partem incolunt, quae ad Orientem montium Gates vergit et a flumine Choveri ad promontorium usque Comorinum protenditur, unversum illum regionum tractum, qui regna Madurae, Tanjorii, Moravae et Misorii comprehendit, per nostram Congregationem de Propaganda Fide die III. iunii MDCCCXXXVII. venn. fratris Clementis Episcopi Drusiparensis, in Ora Coromandelica Vicarii Apostolici, provisoria ratione, et quoad aliter a S. Sede decretum fuerit, curae et iurisdictioni commissarimus.

5.^o Intelligimus per haec, quae hactenus a nobis de ea Indiarum regione statuta sunt, in permagna peninsulae parte religionis utilitati consultum esse. Sed praeter illa loca, quae Vicariis Apostolicis gubernanda tradita fuerunt non parvae adhuc supersunt ibi regiones, quarum bono spirituali prospicere tenemur, quaeque inter fines dioecesium Cranganorensis, Coccinensis et Meliaporensis vel Sancti Thomae positae sunt. Scimus, disciplinam ecclesiasticam, populi mores, fidem catholicam, iis in locis, quae iamdiu pastore carent, magnum detrimentum accepisse, notumque nobis est, praetextu defendendi ac conservandi iura dioecesium illarum plures abuti, ut Vicariis Apostolicis, quos Sedes Apostolica constituit, resistant, eorum auctoritatem oppugnent et schisma perniciosum excitare conentur. Plane sentimus, nos, ex officio, quod Deus nobis in D. Petri successione commisit, omnino teneri ut Ecclesiae curam in dissita etiam qualibet orbis parte geramus, eaque decernamus, quae ad religionem ubique iuvandam conducere posse videmus. Communicato igitur consilio de tam gravi re cum venn. fratribus nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus negotiis Propagandae Fidei praepositis, eorundem sententia probata, ac matura totius negotii consideratione a nobis instituta, apostolicae potestatis plenitudine, haec decernenda esse iudicavimus. Videlicet, provisoria ratione et quoad Sedes Apostolica nihil aliud novi statuerit, decernimus, regiones eas omnes, quae dioecesis Meliaporensis seu S. Thomae limitibus continentur, quaeque hactenus nulli Vicario Apostolico commissae sunt, Vicariatus Apostolico Madraspatano uniendas esse, et iurisdictionem atque auctoritatem totam ecclesiasticam et spiritualem in eas regiones ad ven. fratrem Danielem Episcopum Salditanum, Vicarium Apostolicum Madraspatani, eiusque successores pertinere. De regionibus vero, quae limitibus dioecesis Cranganorensis et Coccinensis continentur, et quae nulli Vicario Apostolico hactenus traditae sunt, eadem ratione iubemus, illas Vicariatus Apostolico in Malabarica regione instituto, cuius sedes in oppido Verapoli est, uniri debere, et iurisdictionem atque auctoritatem totam ecclesiasticam ac spiritualem in eas regiones ad venerabilem fratrem Franciscum Xaverium

Episcopum Amathensem, Vicarium Apostolicum Verapoli commorantem, eiusque successores spectare. Atque ut Malacensis quoque regio trans Gangem apostolicae nostrae sollicitudinis fructus accipiat, et religionis incolumitati atque incremento in ea regione consulamus, universam regionem illam venerabilis fratris Friderici Cao Episcopi Zamensis Vicarii Apostolici Avani et peguensis, iurisdictioni, eadem provisoria ratione, subiicimus.

6.° Declaramus, in earum regionum ecclesiastico ac spirituali regimine, Vicarios Apostolicos memoratos, a nobis et ab Apostolica tantum Sede immediate dependere, eos solos tamquam veros regionum illarum Ordinarios ab omnibus habendos esse, eisque omnes obtemperare debere, et ab illis ecclesiasticam iurisdictionem ac facultates accipere. Derogamus propterea literis apostolicis superius recensitis praedecessorum nostrorum de dioecesium Cranganorensis, Coccinensis et Meliaporensis seu S. Thomae erectione atque limitibus, itemque illis a Paulo IV. editis die IV februarii MDLVII. incipientibus *Pro excellenti*, de episcopatus Malacensis erectione, et praeterea derogamus etiam literis apostolicis fel. rec. praedecessoris nostri Pauli IV. diei IV februarii MDLVII. incipientibus *Etsi Sancta*, de Archiepiscopatus Goani erectione, ita ut nullam iurisdictionem, quocumque titulo, etiam speciali mentione digno, in regionibus, de quibus agitur, Archiepiscopus Goanus in posterum possit exercere. (1)

7.° His ista ratione statutis, videmur omnino nos religionis opportuno regimini per eas regiones prospexisse, ac certo speramus futurum, ut, Deo optimo maximo consilium a nobis initum benedicente, haec ad Ecclesiae incrementum magnopere conferent: confidimus etiam fore, ut decretis nostris omnes ea obtemperent observantia, quae dignitati nostrae debetur, cui in D. Petro pascendi, regendi ac gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Deo potestas tradita est. Non dubitamus denique, eos, qui hactenus voluntati nostrae resisterunt, suscepturos esse saniora consilia et a gravissimo schismatis malo alienos ex animo esse futuros.

8.° Praeter illud enim catholici cuiuslibet proprium officium, ut D. Petro per os nostrum loquenti obtemperare teneatur, persuasum habemus, eos intellexisse, quae ad dissidii sui defensionem attulerunt, ipsorum repugnantiam excusare nulla ratione posse. Omnibus enim cognitum est, Apostolicam Sedem in patronatu illo fidelissimis Lusitaniae Regibus concedendo, nunquam voluisse impedimentum sibi ipsi inducere, quominus religionis in regionibus illis provideret, et non posset ea statuere, quae, pro temporum necessitate, populi christiani salus fuisset postulatura.

9.° Putamus, eos quoque videre, quantopere diversis temporibus et a praesenti rerum statu distinctis, privilegium illud concessum servatumque fuerit: existimamus illos etiam sentire, regiones eas, ad quarum bonum procurandum mentem nostram convertimus, non amplius veteri politico regimini subesse, quo Lusitanis Regibus facile erat in iis regionibus patronatum exer-

cere, sed illas in potentissimi Regis ditionem devenisse, cuius gubernii forma atque instituta hoc minime passura esse, nobis exploratum est. Recordamur tandem, Romanos Pontifices praedecessores nostros, non obstante patronatus concessione, ex dioecesibus eo privilegio comprehensis, provincias separandas aliquando, et Vicariatus Apostolicos, provincias illas complectentes, constituendos esse pro religionis utilitate iure decrevisse: quare confidimus, eos, qui dissidere hactenus non dubitarunt, facile perspecturos, cavendum sibi esse, ne decretis nostris, in praesenti rerum conditione latis, patronatus praetextu repugnantes, aperte ostendent, se dissidii sui nullam, nisi inobedientis animi rationem afferre posse.

10. Decernentes has praesentes literas semper firmas, validas et efficaces existere ac fore, suosque plenarios et integros effectus sortiri et obtinere, ac illis, ac quos spectat et spectabit, hoc futurisque temporibus, plenissime suffragari. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscat. die XXIV. apr. MDCCCXXXVIII., pontificatus nostri anno VIII.

APPENDIX - 4

THE SALSETTE DECREE.

The answer from Rome to the Vicar-Apostolic's application was dated February 4th, 1839, but only reached Bombay in May. The text ran as follows :—

“Whereas the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, having on weighty information ascertained [it to be] necessary that measures be taken that the Church government in the Island of Salsette in the East Indies be duly provided for; the same Congregation has resolved and decreed, on the report of Ignatius, Archbishop of Edessa, Secretary to the said Congregation, to supplicate His Holiness that he be pleased to subject, in a provisional way, that island to the spiritual jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic of Bombay.

“This decision of the Sacred Congregation having by the same Secretary of the said Congregation been reported to His Holiness Gregory XVI, by divine providence Pope, in an audience on the 27th January 1839, he graciously confirmed the same, and subjected in a provisional way the aforesaid island to the jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic residing in Bombay.”

Given at Rome, in the palace of the said Sacred Congregation, on the fourth day of February 1839.

J. PH. CARDINAL FRANZONI, PREFECT.

J. Archbishop of Edessa, Secretary.

APPENDIX – 5

LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE SS. D. N. Leonis XIII de Hierarchia episcopali in Indiis
orientalibus instituenda.

LEO EPISCOPUS

S E R V U S S E R V O R U M D E I

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM.

Humanae salutis auctor Iesus Christus, cum nos sanguine suo de servitute redemisset, et in caelos ad Patrem proxime esset rediturus, iis, quos Apostolos nominavit, alumnis disciplinae suae, et testibus rerum quas Ipse fecerat et docuerat, imbuendum caelesti doctrina mundum commisit. Sanari enim oportebat, consilio grati âque Dei, omnes homines: nec sanari nisi oblato veritatis lumine potuissent. Illi itaque nobilissimi muneris memores, accepta Spiritus Sancti virtute, in varias orbis partes magno animo abeunt, Evan•geliî sapientiam quacumque nuntiant, longius etiam progressi, quam quo arma domitoris terrarum populi penetrarant; ita ut vel ab Ecclesiae primordiis verissimum illud extiterit, *in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum.*

Apostolici muneris obeundi officium in latissimis Indiae regionibus Thomae obtigisse, memoriae proditum est. Hic sane, uti vetera litterarum monumenta testantur, Christo in caelos recepto, cum in Aethiopiam, Persidem, Hircaniam, ac demum in peninsulam ultra Indum migrasset, difficillima peregrinatione suscepta, gravissimisque exantlatis laboribus, primus eas gentes christianae veritatis luce collustravit, redditoque summo animarum Pastori sanguinis sui testimonio, ad sempiterna in caelis praemia evocatus est.

Exinde Apostolum praeclare de ea regione meritum colere India non omnino intermisit: in vetustissimis libris liturgicarum precum aliisque illarum ecclesiarum monumentis Thomae nomen et laudes celebrari consueverunt, atque insequentibus saeculis, post ipsam errorum luctuosam propagationem, nequaquam est eius delata memoria; itemque 'fides, quam ille disseminarat, tametsi intermortua iacuit, non tamen extincta funditus esse visa est. Quare novis virorum apostolicorum excitata curis, latius manavit, egregiisque florens virtutum exemplis, et martyrum educta sanguine, gentes illas ab immiti feritate revocatas sensim ad humanitatem excoluit. Hac vero aetate christianum nomen tanta apud Indos prosperitate vulgatum est, ut Ecclesiae filii per universam peninsulam ad sedecim centena millia feliciter creverint: sacerdotes magno in honore habentur, catholica doctrina in scholis summa cum libertate traditur, iamque certa spes affulget copiosiores ex ea gente manipulos ad Iesum Christum accessurus. Itaque decrevimus firmiore ordine et modo rem Indorum catholicam constituere: ea enim, quantumvis magnum et constans Decessorum Nostrorum extiterit studium, nondum illam adepta est constitutionem ordinatam et stabilem, cuius tanta vis est ad tutandam vitae christianae disciplinam, salutemque

populis pariendam.

Ut aliquid de praeteritorum temporum memoria perbreuiter attingamus, inito iam saeculo xvi, antiquam fidem velut ab interitu vindicare conati sunt nobiles ex Franciscana et Dominieiana familia alumni: qui, f auctoritate missuque romanorum Pontificum, ad Indias transgressi, plurimum operae in sanandis haereticorum opinionibus, abolendâque ethnicorum superstitione posuerunt. Ubi vero expeditior per Promontorium Bonae Spei patuit Europae gentibus ad oras Indicas transitus, una cum virorum apostolicorum adcursum salutares crevere fructus. Singularem laudem eo tempore consecuta est Societas Iesu:

in primisque ad miraculum excelluit magnus Indiarum apostolus Franciscus Xaverius, qui incredibiles labores perpessus, et maximis periculis terra marique excelso animo superatis, Crucem sacrosanctam iis regionibus quasi triumphator intulit, et ingentem hominum multitudinem ne dum in ora Malabarica, sed et in Coromandelica et in Ceylanensi insula, immo et in remotioribus provinciis usque ad Iaponios, multiplici superstitione sublata, ad Iesum Christum adiunxit.

Ad tantam christiani nominis propagationem, praeter laboriosas Missionariorum curas plurimum valuit illustrium Portugalliae et Algarbiorum regum opera: quibus merito contigit, ut ab hac Apostolica Sede perhonorifice collaudarentur, quod *eorum ministerio tam lata orbis terrae pars antea ignota Europae innotuisset: maxime vero quod Ecclesiae Dei per agnitionem christianae veritatis aggregaretur.*

In provinciis vero, quas vel in ora Malabarica vel in Coromandelica Lusitani obtinuerant, cum latius fides catholica manauisset, praecipua Pontificum maximorum cura fuit, sacerdotes ad sacra officia iis in regionibus obeunda undique advocare, aliaque sapienter et utiliter, praesertim quod ad christianorum regimen pertineret, constituere. Aucta vero Lusitanarum possessionum amplitudine, novae Dioeceses in iisdem coloniis constitutae sunt. In iis eminent Goana, quam Paulus IV. archiepiscopalis throni honore et iuribus auxit: accedit vero Cochinchinensis et Cranganorensis: item in ora Coromandelica Meliaporensis, quam in urbe Sancti Thomae Paulus V instituit. Portugalliae vero atque Algarbiorum regibus, quod rei catholicae incrementis profuissent, nominatimque Dioeceses, quae commemoratae sunt, aere suo munifice dotassent, romani Pontifices grati animi causa, ius patronatus in novensiles episcopales Sedes concessere. Quae quidem cum in veteris ac recentis christianorum societatis utilitatem provide decernerent, spe erigebantur, brevi futurum ut extremi Orientis gentibus lux Evangelii longe lateque affulgeret, quaeque ex illa sequuntur beneficia, tamquam abundantissimus amnis, in ipsam civilem societatem influerent. — Sed pro spera coeptorum cursum fortuna retarda vit. Coortis enim bellorum aliorumque casuum procellis, magna clades Ecclesiae apud Indos succrescenti imminere videbatur. Itaque ne Evangelii interciperetur propagatio, neu in tot hominum millibus sempiterna animorum salus periclitaretur, romani Pontifices ad regna illa amplissima, praesertim quae Lusitanis coloniis nequaquam continebantur, providentiam suam transtulerunt, summaque cura studuerunt, quanto plures exingenti illa multitudine possent, ad instituta christiana traducere, item munire adiumentis iis quae ad excolendos animos pertinent, et haeretica pravitate depulsa, in sancta religione retinere.

Quo autem cura difficilior ob immensa locorum intervalla, regionum latitudinem, incommoda itinerum, eo accuratius vel evangelicis operariis deligendis vel Missionum regimini ordinando operam dare magna cum libertate consueverunt. Saeculo XVII et XVIII, praesertim opera virorum religiosorum, quos sacra Congregatio christiano nomini propagando ad Indos miserat, plures christianorum communitates coaluere; linguae earum gentium variae per Missionarios perceptae; libri vernáculo populi sermone conscripti; plurimorum animi spiritu catholicae institutionis imbuti atque in spem caelestium erecti. — Quibus in rebus nobilitati sunt labores sodalium Carmelitidum, Capulatorum, Barnabitarum, Oratorianorum, qui quidem in iis gentibus ad christiana instituta erudiendis non eodem omnes tempore, sed idem studium collocavere constantiamque parem. Gubernandis interea fidelibus moderandisque sacrorum operariorum expeditionibus, idoneo antistitum regimine constituto, provisum est. — Decessores autem Nostri singulari studio in id in primis animum intendebant, ut apostolici viri doctrinam christianam India tota sancte inviolateque servarent, nec ullo unquam ethnicarum, superstitionum vestigio inquinari paterentur. Revera nemo ignorat quam vigilanter incubuerint ad evellenda radicitus vanarum observationum rituumque a fide christiana abhorrentium zizania ab inimico homine disseminata in novellis iis ecclesiae germibus, quae praesertim in regnis Madurae, Mayssourii et Carnatici adoleverant: item quam provide studuerint, quaestiones omnes inter regionum illarum Missionarios in re gravissima excitatas pontificia auctoritate dirimere. De quibus ut Clemens XI apprime cognosceret, Carolum Thomam Tournonium Patriarcham Antiochenum cum potestate Legati a latere in Indiis orientalibus Commissarium ac Visitatorem Apostolicum anno MDCC1 destinavit. Sapientibus Tour- nonii decretis Clemens XI auctoritatis suae robur adiecit, eisdemque Innocentius XIII, Benedictus XIII, et Clemens XII, ut quam diligentissime obtemperaretur, graviter sanxerunt. Benedictus vero XIV, edita Constitutione *Omnium sollicitudinum*, amotis dubitationum caussis additisque opportunis declarationibus, controversiam dimidio fere saeculo acriter agitatam sustulit.

Aliquanto serius, cum de Indiarum bono romani Pontifices plura cogitarent, tranquillitas Ecclesiae per Europam turbulentis est afflicta temporibus: quae tempora vel apud Indos christianae fidei incrementum prohibuere. Praeterea in provinciis peninsulae australibus plaga gravis accessit, auctore tyranno Tipou Sahib, qui catholicum nomen multimodis vexavit. — Quamvis vero post id tempus apostolici viri pro nomine christiano multum et utiliter elaboraverint, tamen Gregorius XV rem omnem animo et cogitatione complexus, intellexit et declaravit regiones illas necessario requirereut Apostolica Sedes, mutatis temporum adiunctis, religioni in iis periclitante succurreret, et ecclesiastici regiminis formam ea ratione moderaretur, quae obtinendae fidei incolumitati par esset. Statimque ad rem aggressus, non pauca constituit christianis ex India hominibus salutaria, amplificandaeque per eos tractus religioni valde opportuna.

Verumtamen Apostolicae Sedis curas, utique communis salutis gratia susceptas, multis longe secus interpretantibus, cum funestum illud dissidium deflagrasset quod in maiora mala erupturum videbatur, Pius IX cum Petro rege Fidelissimo semel atque iterum egit, ut quaedam communi consilio decernerentur, quae tot incommodorum

remedium afferrent. Itaque conventio est inita anno MDCCCLVII: cuius tamen conditiones quominus perficerentur variae difficultates impedimento fuere.

Ubi vero Nos, summa Dei benignitate, Ecclesiae gubernacula suscepimus, de gravissimo hoc negotio diligentissime cogitantes auctores fuimus regni Lusitani administris ut ea de re Nobiscum agere novasque conditiones, quales tempora suasissent, scribere ne recusarent. Quod iis cum placuisset, mentem Nostram consignavimus litteris ad dilectum Filium Nostrum regem Ludovicum missis hoc anno die VII anuarii, explorataque eius aequitate cum concordiae studio coniuncta, conventionem rite pepigimus, per quam licuit plura utiliter communi sententia statuere, quae litteris, uti mos est, mandata sunt. In primis vero ius patronatus regum Lusitaniae aequo modo definitum est: Archiepiscopus Goanus dignitate Patriarchali ad honorem auctus, eiusdemque cum Dioecese Suffraganeae designatae iura cetera constituta. Praeterea convenit, ut gubernatores Lusitaniae singulis Dioecesibus supra dictis censum in tuitionem Canonorum, Cleri, Seminariorum publice assignent: iidem operam suam cum Episcopis conferant ad scholas pueris, domos altrices pupillis comparandas, aliaque pie instituenda, quae vel christianorum saluti prodesse, vel tollere ethnicorum superstitionem posse videantur. — His de causis cum animorum concordiam in christianis ex India populis tranquillam ac firmam fore non iniuria confidamus, idcirco maturitatem venisse censemus rei catholicae in universa cis Gangem peninsula constituendae, ut illae gentes ad montem domus Domini praeparatum accedentes, stabilis beneque ordinati regiminis beneficia sentiant.

Septentrionalis Indiarum tractus tres excipit Vicariatus, quod antiqua missio Indostana a Gregorio XVI in duas partes anno MDCCCXLV divisa, et a Nobis his postremis annis tripartita, Agrae, Patnae et Punjabii veluti ecclesiasticas regiones separatas modo complectitur. Prior veteri territorio constat, exceptis partibus alteri assignatis: altera constat regionibus, quae appellantur Népal, Behar, parva provincia Sikhim, vetus regnum Ayadhya, Bundelkand-, aliisque principatibus finitimis. Tertia vero Punjabensi regione continetur, cui regnum Cashmire deinde additum est.

His subiacet [ad Indum Missio Bombayensis, quam Pius IX an. MDCCCLIV bifariani dispertiens, regionem australem, seu Poonensem, a boreali seiunxit. Haec vero, praeter insulas Bombay et Salsette, nabet provincias et regna Broack, Ahmedabad, Baroda, Guzerate, Marwar, Catch., Sindhi, Beluchistan usque ad Cabul et Punjab: australis autem regna et provincias Konkán, Xandeh et Dekkan usque ad terminos regnorum Nizam, Maissour et Cañara Septentrionalis, exceptis ex utraque territoriis et provinciis Archidioecesi Goanensi nec non Archidioecesi Damanensi seu Cranganoris nuper assignatis. Subsequuntur per oram Kanarensis et Malabaricam, praeter Archidioecesim Goanam, Vicariatus tres inter montes Ghates et mare occiduum siti, nempe Mangalorensis, anno MDCCCLIII a Verapolitano seu Malabarico separatus, per provinciam Kanarae ad flumen Ponany; Verapolitanus ab eo flumine ad terminos Dioecesis Cochinchinensis nuper a Nobis restituae, et Quilonensis ab eiusdem Dioecesis finibus ad meridiem siti ad Promontorium Comorinum usque pertingens, exceptis paroeciis Dioecesi Cochinchinensi assignatis.

Ad plagam peninsulae orientalem decem pertinent Missiones. In sinu Bengalico tres ad ostia fluminis Granges: nimirum Vicariatus occidentalis in Calcuttae urbe constitutus, et orientalis, ambo anno MDCCCL ab unico Bengalensi derivati. Qui autem ad iurisdictionem Episcopi Meliaporensis pertinere dicti sunt, ex numero subditorum

utriusque Vicariatus excipiendi. His accedit in centro provinciae civilis Bengalensis Praefectura Apostolica anno MDCCCLV erecta. Finitima est Vicariatus occidentali Bengalico missio vastissima de Vizagapatam nuncupata, quae universum territorium inter fines Vicariatus Bombayensis et mare Bengalicum usque ad flumen Godavery ad austrum comprehendit, et anno MDCCCL a Madras- pataná divisa est. Hyderabadensis proxima missio per regnum Nizam et provinciam Masulipatam ad flumen Krichna protenditur, quam a Gregorio XV I designatam, Pius IX anno MDCCCLI ad dignitatem Vicariatus evexit.

In ora Coromandelica praecipua extat Madraspatana civitas quae ab anno MDCCCXXXIV Vicarium Apostolicum obtinuit, cuius iurisdictio a flumine Krichna ad Palar inter fines missionis Bombayensis et mare extenditur, eo praerepto tractu qui nuper a Nobis Meliaporensi dioecesi assignatus est. Ad australes vero eius fines antiquus Vicariatus orae Coromandelicae in tres quoque missiones anno MDCCCL divisus fuit, nempe Poadicherianam inter flumen Palar ad Septentrionem et flumen Cavery ad meridiem: Maysourensem ad regionem occiduam, huius nominis regnum et provincias Çoorg, Collegal, et partem Winaad et Salem complectens: demum Coimbatourensem quae inter Missiones Verapolitanam, Mangalorensis et Madurae ad orientem montium G-hates continetur. Extrema iacet ad austrum peninsulae magna Madurensis Missio quae mari Coromandelico, montibus G-hates et fluminibus Cavery et Veetar clauditur, iis sublatis regionibus et locis quae Episcopo Meliaporensi tribuimus: eamque anno MDCCCXLVI paucis ante obitum diebus Gregorius XVI vicarium constituit.

Ceylanensis vero insula in triplicem Vicariatum distinguitur, Columbensem, Jaffnensem, et Kandyensem: quorum priores ex unico antea extante, assignatis alteri provinciis occidentali et meridionali, alteri vero reliquis insulae territoriis, anno MDCCCLIX a Pio IX erecti sunt: tertius a Nobis, anno MDCCCLXXXIII separato ex primis in centro insulae territorio constitutus est.

Cum igitur in universis Indiae missionibus, quas commemoravimus, Evangelicorum nuntiorum studio et laboribus, eo iam res christiana provecata sit, ut non modo Salvatoris Nostri nomen summa cum libertate invocetur, sed Ecclesiae plures numerentur, eademque multis sapienter et utiliter institutis floreant, Nos quidem primum omnium Deo optimo maximo pro parta catholico nomini prosperitate singulares gratias et agimus et habemus. Deinde vero quod Decessoribus Nostris diu in optatis fuit ut ecclesiastica hierarchia in India atque in insula Ceylanensi constitueretur, id Nos ad efficiendum aggredimur. Quo facto consequutura bona, Deo iuvante, confidimus non pauca nec exigua, nominatim concordiae caritatisque incrementum, similitudinem et firmitatem disciplinae, populorum cum Episcopis maximeque cum romano Pontifice stabiliorem coniunctionem, expeditiorem catholici nominis propagationem una cum ampliore virtutum christianarum cultu.

Itaque rogata, ut negotii gravitas postulabat, Venerabilium Fratrum Nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium sacro consilio christiano nomini propagando praepositorum sententia, fuis in humilitate cordis Nostri ad omnipotentem Deum precibus, implorataque ope Immaculatae Dei Matris, sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, sanctorum Thomae Apostoli ac Francisci Xaverii, qui eas gentes sicut olim ad Evangelii lucem traduxere, ita nunc patrocinio caelestituentur ac tegunt; motu proprio, certa scientia ac matura deliberatione Nostra, de Apostolicae potestatis plenitudine, ad maiorem

divini nominis gloriam fideique catholicae incrementum, harum Litterarum auctoritate, in universis Indiae orientalis Missionibus Episcopalem hierarchiam ad canonicarum legum praescripta instituimus. Porro Decessorum Nostrorum vestigiis inhaerentes, qui primum Archidioecesim Goanam eique suffraganeas sedes Cochinchensem, Meliaporensem et Çranganorensem erexerunt, easdem iuxta eam rationem quae in recenti conventionem cum illustri Portugalliae et Algarbiorum rege Fidelissimo inita significatur, confirmamus et in unam ecclesiasticam provinciam iterum coalescere volumus.

Praeterea omnes totius peninsulae atque insulae Ceylan Vicariatus Apostolicos, uti a Nobis supra descripti sunt, nec non Praefecturam in centro Bengalicae provinciae sitam, in Episcopales Ecclesias, auctoritate Nostra Apostolica, tenore praesentium erigimus et constituimus. Ex novarum vero Dioecesium numero quae sequuntur, nempe Ecclesiam Agraensem, Bombayensem, Verapolitanam, Calcuttensem, Madraspatanam, Poudicherianam et Columbensem ad Archiepiscopalis dignitatis honorem evehimus. Quod autem pertinet ad provinciales seu suffraganeas ecclesias designandas, integrum Nobis erit quod magis expedire videatur statuere.

Archiepiscopi vero et Episcopi de quarum singuli Ecclesiarum statu, iustis temporibus, ad Nostram Congregationem de progaganda Fide referant: quae peculiarem de iis regionibus curam, uti hactenus gessit, ita in posterum geret, cognoscetque de iis omnibus quae sacrorum Antistites muneris sui causa proposuerint.

Archiepiscopus vero Goanensis eiusque Suffraganei Episcopi de statu ecclesiarum ad sacram Congregationem negotiis Ecclesiae extraordinariis pertractandis referant. Idem summa cura studeant res pie atque utiliter, iuxta memoratam conventionem instituere fidemque catholicam in finibus iurisdictionis quisque suae omni ratione tueri et amplificare.

Universis vero Indiae Episcopis integrum, erit sensim ea decernere, quae ad inducendum commune ius, prout tempora siverint, conferre queant, quaeque ex generali Ecclesiae disciplina Episcoporum auctoritati permissa sunt. Nostrae autem et huius Apostolicae Sedis partes erunt, Episcopis in perfunctione munerum suorum opera, auctoritate, consilio adesse, et quaecumque ad animorum salutem utilia et opportuna videantur omni qua fieri poterit ratione adiuvere. Reliquum est ut Clerus populusque universus, id quod vehementer hortamur, retineant voluntatum concordiam, inviolate servant caritatem, Episcopis atque in primis huic Apostolicae Sedi libentes atque alacres in omni vita pareant, virtutibusque christianis ita se ornatos atque auctos impertiant, ut qui adhuc a veritate misere deerant, eos ipsi vel exemplo suo vocent ad admirabile Christi lumen et regnum.

Decernimus tandem has Nostras litteras nullo unquam tempore de subreptionis aut obreptionis vitio, sive intentionis Nostrae alioque quovis defectu notari vel impugnari posse, et semper validas ac firmas fore, suosque effectus in omnibus obtinere ac inviolabiliter observari debere, non obstantibus Apostolicis atque in Synodalibus, Provincialibus et universalibus Conciliis editis generalibus vel specialibus sanctionibus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque, peculiari etiam mentione dignis: quibus omnibus, quatenus supra dictis obstant, expresse derogamus. Irritum quoque et inane decernimus si secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel

ignoranter contigerit attentari. Volumus autem ut harum litterarum exemplis etiam impressis, manuque publici Notarii subscriptis et per constitutum in ecclesiastica dignitate virum suo sigillo munitis, eadem habeatur fides, quae Nostrae voluntatis significationi ipso hoc diplomate ostenso haberetur.

Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostrae erectionis, constitutionis, institutionis, restitutionis, dismembrationis, suppressionis, adsignationis, adiectionis, attributionis, decreti, mandati ac voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem haec attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Eius se noverit incursum. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo octingentesimo octogesimo sexto, Calendis Septembribus, Pontificatus Nostri Nono.

APPENDIX - 6

Publicum de re sacra Conventum die 23 Iunii anno 1886a S. Sede et Lusitaniae Rege initum.

In Nomine SSmae Trinitatis.

Sanctitas Domini Nostri atque Pontificis Summi Leonis XIII. et Maiestas Fidelissimi Regis, Domini Aloisii I, ampliorem Christianae Religionis in Orientalibus Indiis explicationem iuvandi pro- vehendique, ac Lusitani Regis in iisdem Patronatum stabili et definitiva ratione ordinandi zelo incensi, Conventionem ambo inire statuerunt, delectis ad id agendum duobus cum liberis mandatis Oratoribus; nimirum pro S. Sede Emo ac Rmo D. Card. Ludovico Iacobinio, Pontificis Scriba principe ad extranea; et pro Fidelissimo Rege Lusitaniae, Excño D. Io. Baptista De Silva Ferrão de Carvalho Martens, Legato extraordinario, atque exteris Regni negotiis curandis honoris causa adlecto; quorum uterque amplissimis, quae acceperant, mandatis mutuo ostensis, iisque optima debitaque forma praeditis utrinque compertis, in hos, qui subiiciuntur, articulos conficiendos convenerunt.

ARTICULUS I.

Earum concessionum vi, quas Pontifex iam ante largitus fuit, Patronatum in Cathedralibus Orientalium Indiarum Ecclesiis, Lusitaniae Reges, quatenus per sacros Canones liceat, exercere pergent, iuxta eas, quae in hoc Convento expressae sunt, immutationes.

ARTICULUS II.

Quod ad Metropolitanam et, ut aiunt, Primatiam Goae Ecclesiam pertinet, eius Archiepiscopus Metropolitae iura in Dioeceses, quas Suffraganeas vocant, et ipse exercere perget. Archiepiscopus interim qui eius Ecclesiae fuerit, benigna sanctissimi Patris indulgentia, ad patriarchalem in omnes Orientales Indias dignitatem, honoris causa, evehetur; fruetur insuper omnium earundem Orientalium Indiarum nationalibus Conciliis, quae Goae ut plurimum cogentur, praesidendi privilegio: salvo tamen Romano Pontifici in peculiaribus rerum adiunctis aliter, si Ipsi placeat, disponendi iure.

ARTICULUS III.

Goae Provincia Ecclesiastica, praeter Metropolitanam Sedem hisce tribus Dioecesibus constabit: Damaviensi, adscita etiam appellatione - Cranganovensi, Cochinchinensi, et s. Thomae Mèliaporensi. Seiuncto in folio harum Dioecesium confinia, locaque iisdem subiecta indicabuntur.

ARTICULUS IV.

In Metropolitana Goae Dioecesi, veluti in iis tribus suffraganeis Dioecesibus, Ius Patronatus a Lusitaniae Rege exercebatur.

ARTICULUS V.

Ea propter emolumenta, quae ex recenti harum trium Dioecesium, ac proinde novae Provinciae ecclesiasticae, institutione, in illos fideles populos provenire posunt, quidam praecipui ex Goanis Christianarum gentium coetibus, qui in Documento heic adnexo nominantur, attamen in earum trium Dioecesium eonfiniis minime continentur, iisdem adgregabuntur, locorum morumque ratione habita, quibus illae gentes earumdem Dioecesium incolis assi- milantur.

In goanis aliarum Dioecesium, quas vocant, Missionibus singuli earum Episcopi animarum curam Sacerdotibus Goanis vel Lusitanis qui sibi subsunt, prae caeteris concedere debebunt.

ARTICULUS VI.

Lusitani Regni Administratores easdem Dioeceses, Canonorum Collegia, reliquum Clerum, et clericorum Seminaria congrue dot audi munus curamque suscipiunt: ac religiosum Episcoporum studium in erigendis Scholis et Orphanotrophis, aliisque id genus piis institutionibus perficiendis, quas Fidelium populorum salus; atque Evangelii ceteris gentibus peragenda praedicatio exigunt, efficaci iuvabunt opera.

ARTICULUS VII.

Hisce quatuor Dioecibus regendis, Bombayensi videlicet, Mangalorensi, Quilonia, et Madurensi, quae quidem cum ipsa Hierarchia in Indiis constituenda erigentur, Metropolitanus una cum Episcopis suffraganeis, vacantibus Sedibus episcopalibus; quemadmodum etiam, vacante Sede archiepiscopali, eius Provinciae Suffraganei, eligendorum ternarium pro suo lubito conficiet, eumque Goae Archiepiscopo exhibebunt, qui illum ad Lusitaniae Regem mittet: Me vero infra sex menses unum ex iisqui Candidatorum ternario continentur, Sanctae Sedi praesentare debet: quo quidem temporis spatio praeterlapso, libera electio ad S. Sedem devoluta censebitur.

ARTICULUS VIII.

Summus Pontifex quatuor Dioecesium, quarum in superiore articulo mentio fit, quaeque in ipsa Hierarchiae constitutione peragenda erigentur, Archiepiscopus atque Episcopus primum nominabit.

ARTICULUS IX.

Malacae ac Singapouri Christianae gentes, quae praesenti tempore extraordinariae Goani Archiepiscopi iurisdictioni subsunt, posthac Episcopi Amacai iurisdictioni subdentur.

ARTICULUS X.

Sic itaque regii Patronatus iure ordinato, in universo reliquo Orientalium Indiarum territorio, S. Sedes Episcopos, quos libeat, nominandi, eaque decernendi, quae Fidelium bono opportuna sibi visa fuerint, plena atque integra libertate fruatur.

ARTICULUS XI.

Prioribus concessionibus, quae ad regium in Orientalibus Indiis Patronatum spectabant, ita tem- peratis ac declaratis, Articuli III. IV. V. VI. atque heic adnexum Documentum A, quod est Conventio sollemniter riteque anno 1857 inita, in sua vi ac robore permanent.

ARTICULUS XII.

Hoc publicum mutuumque pactum, cum iis quae eidem adnectuntur, quaeque illud quodammodo complent, uterque Praeclarissima paciscens Vir, proprio nomine, ut mos est, subsignato, ratum faciet: atque hae nominum subsignationes, Romae infra tres menses, (imo etiam ante, si quidem fieri poterit) a die quo datae fuerint, alterna earumdem traditione, per subscriptos Oratores peragenda, confirmabuntur.

Romae Die XXIII. Iunii, anno MDCCCLXXXVI.

(L. S.) Lud. Card. Lacobinius. (L. S.) Jo. Bapt. De Silva Ferrão de Carvaiho Martens.

ANEXO para Artigo III de Concordat de 1886

A igreja patriarchal metropolitana e primacial de Goa ficará comprehendendo:

1.º Todo o territorio das possessões portuguezas da India que hoje lhe pertencem, com excepção dos districtos de Damão e de Diu, que ficarão pertencendo á

diocese suffraganea de Damão e titular de Cranganor, nos termos do artigo 3.º da presente concordata.

2.º O Canará septentrional com as christandades de uma e de outra jurisdicção que o compõem, e que são actualmente as seguintes:

De Sadashigor;

De Sunkerry;

De Karwar;

De Ankolá com as christandades de Bingi, Chindierro, Bollingolly, Yellopor;

De Sircy;

De Honowar com as christandades de Kiroly, Boteul, Ferquembot;

De Chandowar e Coomptá;

De Golmuná com as christandades de Sounxim, Munkim e Boilur.

Constituindo assim territorio diocesano contínuo, sujeito á jurisdicção ordinaria de Goa.

3.º As christandades n'esta circumscripção, que actualmente são de outra jurisdicção, ficam sujeitas á jurisdicção ordinaria de Goa.

II

A diocese de Damão e titular de Cranganor, agora erecta, em virtude do artigo 7.º da concordata de 21 de fevereiro de 1857, ficará assim composta:

NUMERO PRIMEIRO

1.º Dos districtos de Damão e de Diu actualmente da jurisdicção ordinaria da archidiocese de Goa.

2.º Da parte do districto de Broach ao sul do rio Nerbudda e do districto de Surrat.

3.º Do districto de Konkan septentrional.

4.º Do actual varado das ilhas de Salsete e Trombay.

5.º Do actual varado de Baçaim, constituindo assim territorio diocesano contínuo sujeito á jurisdicção ordinaria da diocese.

6.º Ficam exceptuadas as christandades e estabelecimentos seguintes sujeitos á jurisdicção do vigario apostolico:

No districto de Surrat as igrejas e parochias de Surrat e Bulsar;

Nas ilhas de Salsete e Trombay as igrejas e parochias inteiras de Maroly e de Mancy, na ilha de Trombay, hoje já pertencentes á jurisdicção do vigario apostolico, com os estabelecimentos da mesma jurisdicção que actualmente lhe pertencem;

No Bandorá a igreja actualmente sujeita á jurisdicção do vigario apostolico com o «Stanislau's institute e S. Joseph's convent», que já actualmente lhe pertencem; e mais as igrejas de Juven, Condotina e Culven, que igualmente pertencem á jurisdicção do vigario apostolico.

7.º Para evitar qualquer confusão fica declarado que, nos actuaes varados n.ºs 4 e 5, de Salsete e de Baçaim, continuam sujeitas á jurisdicção ordinaria da

diocese de Damão todas as christandades que actualmente o estão á archidiocese de Goa, não sendo actualmente sujeitas a esta jurisdicção as christandades que já ficam exceptuadas sob n.º 6.

NUMERO SEGUNDO

Ficarão igualmente pertencendo á diocese de Damão todas as christandades com as suas igrejas, capellas e estabelecimentos dependentes, bens e rendimentos na cidade e ilha de Bombaim, actualmente sujeitas á jurisdicção do arcebispo de Goa, que, para maior clareza, se designam aqui:

1.º De Mazagão com a igreja e estabelecimentos que lhe pertencem e capella de S. Francisco Xavier em Colaba, e estabelecimentos que lhe são dependentes.

2.º De S. Francisco Xavier de Dabul.

3.º De Cavel (Nossa Senhora da Soledade) e capella em Lonpoor.

4.º De Mahim superior (S. Miguel) com capella do Bom Conselho em Sião e escola que lhe pertence.

5.º De Mahim inferior (Nossa Senhora da Salvação) com as capellas de Matenga e de Parel, collegio e escolas annexas.

III

A diocese de Cochim, suffraganea de Goa, ficará assim circumscripta, comprehendendo:

NUMERO PRIMEIRO

1.º A cidade de Cochim com todas as suas christandades, igrejas, capellas e quaesquer outros estabelecimentos dependentes.

2.º As seguintes circumscriptões com as christandades de uma e de outra jurisdicção que lhes pertencem:

Mattanchery (jurisdicção do arcebispo e do vigario apostolico);

Amarabady (jurisdicção do arcebispo e do vigario apostolico);

Pallarutti (vigario apostolico);

Idacochí (Arus, Punuguto e Perumpadippu);

Manasherry (S. Luiz);

Manasherry (S. Miguel);

Caunnamalé;

Candacadavey;

Combalanguy;

Chellanam (S. Sebastião);

Chellanam (S. Jorge);

Pollidotu;

Eruvine (jurisdicção do vigario apostolico e do arcebispo);

Manamdám e Toreur;

Pallipuram;

Bendurtti e Tevere;

Tanghi;

Arthungal (S. Jorge);

Arthungal (S. André e Mararicolam e Chetti);
Mararicolam (jurisdição do arcebispo de Goa);
Kattur (jurisdição do arcebispo);
Aleppi (jurisdição do arcebispo e do vigário apostólico);
Vattalunyhal (jurisdição do arcebispo);
Pungavu (jurisdição do vigário apostólico);
Tumboly (jurisdição do arcebispo e do vigário apostólico).

NUMERO SEGUNDO

No actual vicariato apostólico de Kilon as seguintes christandades:

- 1.º Aravola.
- 2.º Caringolam.
- 3.º Pontorré.
- 4.º Tutur.
- 5.º Waliatowe.
- 6.º Velli.

Comprehendendo todas as igrejas, capellas, estabelecimentos, bens e rendimentos que actualmente lhe pertencem.

IV

A diocese de S. Thomé de Meliapor, suffraganea de Goa, ficará assim circumscripção:

NUMERO PRIMEIRO

1.º A cidade de S. Thomé de Meliapor com todas as christandades de uma ou de outra jurisdição e igreja do Monte de S. Thomé, igrejas, capellas e quaesquer estabelecimentos dependentes, e em:

Palavaram;
Cavelunge;
Chinglepett.

Tendo por limites:

A leste o golfo de Bengala;

A norte os caminhos chamados Edward Elliot Road e S. George's Cathedral Road;

A oeste o caminho que conduz de Madrasta a Congevaram até ao rio Palar;

A sul o rio Palar até ao mar.

Constituindo tudo assim territorio diocesane contínuo.

2.º No actual vicariato apostólico do Maduré as christandades de uma e da outra jurisdição, comprehendendo todas as suas igrejas, capellas e quaesquer outros estabelecimentos dependentes, situados nos districtos:

De Tanjore;
De Negapatan;
De Manargudi.

Tendo por limites:

A éste o golfo de Bengala;

A norte os rios denominados Vettar e Vemar;
A oeste e ao sul os limites dos districtos de Tanjore, Manargudi e Negapatam.

Constituindo tudo assim territorio diocesano contínuo.

NUMERO SEGUNDO

1.º Todas as christandades, igrejas, capellas e quaesquer outros estabelecimentos dependentes, com todos os seus bens e rendimentos, em Calcuttá e Dacca ou Daka, sujeitos actualmente ao vicariato geral portuguez de Bengala, e que para maior clareza aqui se mencionam:

De Boitakanah, na cidade de Calcuttá;

De Chinsurah;

De Bandel, no districto de Hoogly, com as escolas dependentes;

Em Dacca ou Daka as christandades de Dacca (Nossa Senhora da Piedade);

De Tesgão (Nossa Senhora do Rosario);

De Nagory (S. Nicolau Tolentino);

De Hosnabad (Nossa Senhora do Rosario) com as christandades que lhe estão actualmente annexas e dependentes;

De Shibpur (Nossa Senhora da Guia) igualmente com as christandades que lhe estão actualmente annexas e dependentes.

2.º As christandades com as suas igrejas e capellas actualmente sujeitas exclusivamente á jurisdicção do arcebispo de Goa, sitas no actual vicariato apostolico de Maduré.

Com relação ás aldeias que ahi haja sujeitas ás duas jurisdicções, os dois ordinarios proporão equitativamente, para ser resolvido pela Santa Sé e o padroeiro, a qual das jurisdicções devam ficar pertencendo de futuro.

V

Ainda que já fica declarado, todavia, para maior clareza, e a fim de evitar quaesquer duvidas de futuro, declara-se que, sempre que n'este annexo se trata de christandades, entende-se que comprehendem todas as igrejas, capellas e quaesquer outros estabelecimentos que lhes estejam annexos ou dependentes, com todos os seus bens e rendimentos.

Terá logar uma compensação por todos os bens proprios de Portugal e dos vigarios apostolicos nos logares que são reciprocamente cedidos, o que será regulado pelos bispos e vigarios apostolicos respectivos, que a remetterão á Santa Sé e ao governo portuguez.

REPRESENTAÇÕES

ENVIADAS PELAS

CHRISTANDADES

DO

VARADO DE SAWANTWARI, &c.

AO

SANTO PADRE,

A Sua Magestade Fidellissima,


AO GOVERNADOR GERAL DE GOA,

E

ARCEBISPO DE GOA

E

PRIMAZ DO ORIENTE.

 A comissão eleita na reunião publica de immenso numero dos freguezes das Igrejas do Real Padroado de Sawantwari, Malwane, Vingorla, e Rutnagheri havida na data de 5 do corrente, encarrega-nos para protestar contra a projectada cessão das suas Igrejas, e das outras do varado de Sanwantwari, a propaganda pelas seguintes razões :—

1.º Toda a gente, que habita neste varado, é ou puramente goana ou decendentes dos goanos; fallam a lingua de Goa, e têm os mesmos habitos e costumes sem nenhuma differença, possuem propriedades em Goa, em mistiguidade com os seus relacionados, casam-se mutuamente, quasi metade dos freguezes são joneiros das Communidades (associações agricolas) de Goa levam, alem dos sobrenomes, alcunhas das aldeas da sua naturalidade, como *Aldoncares* (de Aldona) *Mapucencares* (de Mapuçá), *Congotcares* (de Calangute), *Saugoutcares* (de Saligão), e assim quasi de todas as aldeas de Bardez e Ilhas, e por fim em uma palavra são em todos os sentidos e respeitoos goanos, excepto só na sua sujeição ao governo Britanico, e Surdessai de Sawantwari.

2.º As Igrejas, de que se compoem este varado, são por tudo oito, tendo mais de dez mil e quinhentos habitantes christãos, quatro das quaes Sawantwari, Vingorla, Malwane e Rutnagheri, são situadas no limite septentrional de Gôa, abaixo de Ghattes, sem implicação nem proximidade alguma de qualquer outra jurisdicção, e os outros quatro Azrem, Bidy, Kanapur, e Belgão estão em cima de Ghattes ao nascente de Gôa e ao longo da linha ferrea de Murmugão, existindo só em Belgão á dupla jurisdicção. A maior parte d'estas oito Igrejas forão fabricadas a custa da Fazenda de Gôa provavelmente pelos simples motivos dos freguezes serem goanos, e joneiros ou parceiros das Communidades (associações agricolas) de Gôa; estabelecidos aqui por causa das suas industrias, não tendo deixado de receber tambem as restantes Igrejas o auxilio substancial do thesouro goano.

Basta notar que não passão nem se quer trinta annos, que as Igrejas de Vingorla e Malwane com as suas vastas casas parochiaes forão edificadas a custa de thesouro de Gôa.

3.º Se as longiquas missões de Cochim, Madrasta e Bengala que por certo não têm tão intimas relações com estado de Gôa, são conservadas debaixo da protecção da Corôa Portuguesa, a Commissão não pode de forma alguma immaginar o motivo porque ás missões do varado de Sawantwari no immediato limite de Gôa, parte da jurisdicção ordinaria da séde Archiepiscopal, e que têm tantas e tão intimas relações com Gôa, vão ser sacrificadas, e addidas á séde de Bombaim que dista mais de duzentas e cincoenta milhas, quando de Sawantwari para séde de Gôa não passa de vinte milhas.

Ainda mais se os varados de Sadachegar e Hanowar ao sul de Gôa que não têm communicações tão faceis, nem relações tão intimas com Gôa, são conservadas, a commissão não pode comprehender porque rasão o varado de Sawantwari que immediatamente confina com Gôa por norte, e nascente vai ser segregado.

4.º Se S. Santidade tem escrupulos de consciencia segundo o relatorio dos Senhores Ministros para nos deixar continuar debaixo da Diocese de Gôa, os mesmos escrupulos devem existir em relação a propria Gôa, já que as nossas familias são tão goanas em todos respeitos como são os dos nossos relacionados e parentes residentes na propria Gôa.

Mas é evidente que S. Santidade não tem estes escrupulos em quanto a Gôa, a commissão por isso convence-se que os escrupulos de S. Santidade não pode ser senão fundados nas informações menos exactas provavelmente partidas das fontes adversas.

5.º A commissão não tem expressões para manifestar a intensidade da magoa, e consternação com que é recebido a noticia da concordata, e a consequente agitação da gente depois da sua leitura.

Se houvesse receios ainda remotos da possibilidade da cessão deste varado por certa gente, teria sempre manifestado os seus sentimentos esclarecendo o seu verdadeiro estado e clamando contra essa cessão.

A julgar pela exaltação dos animos, a commissão tem fundado receios de que, se o varado fôr separado da Archdiocese, haja grandes desordens, causando assim immenso damno a nossa santa religião, que felizmente está bem arraigada nos corações da gente, e ia de dia em dia florecendo a passos largos como se prova pelas varias escolas doctrinaes da instrucção e sociedade de beneficencia existentes neste varado.

6.º Os joneiros ou interessados das communi-
dades (as-
sociações agricolas) de Gôa, cujo numero neste varado excede
a quatro mil, e como taes contribuem ao culto em Gôa e
mesmo a Fazenda sentem ainda mais, que elles nem mesmo
terão a satisfação de serem subditos spirituaes do paiz, on-
de elle tem tanto interesse parecendo-lhes com isso que lhes é
negado o ultimo alento, que lhes estava neste paiz estrangei-
ro ainda que tão contiguo.

Exmo. Senhor.

Amargura-se o coração da commissão só em pensar na
possivel dissolução destes e outros muitos laços da união com
o amado paiz de Gôa.

7.º Ainda quando a Fazenda de Gôa não esteja disposta
a pagar os missionarios como até agora, os freguezes ainda
que pobres, estão promptos a fazer sacrificios pela sustentação
dos seus ministros, sem onerar thesouro de Gôa.

Exmo. Senhor.

A vista de todas estas razões a commissão roga encareci-
damente prostrando aos pés de V. Exa. para que ~~deve~~ tendo ao
conhecimento do governo de S. Magestade Fidelissima esta
supplica interceda com a sua alta influencia, para que o vara-
do de Sawantwari (ou ao menos as quatro Igrejas de Sawant-
wari, Vingorla, Malwane e Rutnagheri situadas abaixo dos
Ghattes) permaneça sob a Archidiocese de Gôa com o que o
Arcebisado de Gôa formará uma linha continua com o no-
vo Bispado de Damão, trasendo assim quasi todo o Conção
debaixo da protecção Portugueza.

E esperando que esta nossa supplica merecerá attenção do
espírito justiceiro de V. Exa.

Somos com todo o respeito e veneração.

De V. Exa,

Mto. Atto. e V. C.

PEDRO JOÃO LOUSADA.

Presidente da Commissão

DOMINGOS DE SOUZA.

Secretario

Sawantwari, 6 de }
Setembro de 1886. }

To,

His Most Faithful Majesty,

The KING of Portugal,

IN PARLIAMENT.

May it please Your Majesty,

We, the undersigned Catholics of the *Varades* of Callinpoor and Péjaver in South Canara, beg to approach Your Most Faithful Majesty with profound respect and lay before Your August Person our grievances.

We learn with grief from the *Concordat* that our churches are excluded from under Your Royal Patronage and made over to the *Propaganda Fide*, a congregation which has been always inimical to whatever is of the Portuguese Mission and the missionaries of which have ever endeavoured to possess of our churches by foul means—a patent fact.

It is known to all that the clergy of the *Propaganda* carry matters with a high hand and wherever they go, there, dissatisfaction and oppression prevails. A long line of grievances result unfortunately to corroborate what we affirm, in favor of which examples are not few. The facts of Igatepury and Bushawal are fresh in the minds of every one. The wholesale change in religion at Madras and Cochin *Verapoly* is no commendation in their behalf. In Ceylon many hundreds of souls have relapsed into heathenism. What grieves us most are the threats to change faith of Catholics who will, by the new *Concordat*, be removed from under Your Royal Patronage. In some places where there are slight disagreements, their arrival brought on confusion worse confounded. Such is the state of affairs and it cuts us sore. Would that our prayers are heard and avert us from the due goal so unwillingly prepared for us.

From time immemorial our ancestors were under Your Royal Patronage without having a word to complain and that we, who desire earnestly to die under Your Royal Patronage and who always looked upon towards Your August Person with feelings of gratitude and pleasure should now be so abruptly cut off, is very unpleasant.

The Catholics of these *Varades* looked upon the Goan Priests as a boon for reasons, among others, that they were quite conversant with our language, customs and manners, that they understood the native elements and that they always did their utmost to administer to the wants of the people. In a word, between the flock and the pastors sympathy was mutual. Our *Varades* always formed part and parcel of the *Archdiocese* of Goa. We had less reason because of these to be excluded. Our mission has never been a burden to the Portuguese as a nation. The existing resources are, we deem, sufficient to maintain it.

We, in conclusion, earnestly pray Your August Majesty to look with compassion upon our grievances and seek for a modification of those provisions, which exclude us from under Your Majesty's Patronage.

Lastly, we pray to the Almighty to aid Your August Person in securing for us our hearts' dearest wish.

India . November 3, 1886.

Canara.

With profound respect and humility
we beg to subscribe ourselves,

15000 Signatures follows

APPENDIX - 8

Acôrdo entre a Santa Sé e o Portugal (a) de 15 de Abril de 1928

A Santa Sé e o Governo Português, reconhecendo as dificuldades que apresenta a execução da Concordata de 1886, em consequência das profundas modificações ocorridas tanto em Portugal como na vida religiosa das Indias, especialmente depois da guerra, concordaram em regular a circunscrição das Dioceses, a nomeação dos Bispos e a dupla jurisdição de que trata a referida Concordata; e nomearam Plenipotenciários: por parte da Santa Sé, Sua Eminência o Cardeal Pedro Gasparri, Secretário de Estado de Sua Santidade; e por parte do Governo Português, Sua Excelência o Dr. Augusto de Castro Sampaio Corte-Real, Enviado Extraordinário e Ministro Plenipotenciário, para assinarem, sob reserva de ratificação o seguinte Protocolo:

Art. I

A Arquidiocese de Goa, á qual anda anexo o título de patriarchal, é alargada:

- (a) com a possessão portugueza de Damão ao norte de Bombaim;
- (b) com a ilha de Diu, sobre a costa de Kathiavar.

Assim, o Arcebispo será denominado: Arcebispo de Goa e Damão.

Art. II

A parte da Diocese de Damão que não fica incorporada na Arquidiocese de Goa, será anexada á Diocese de Bombaim, a qual manterá a sua actual organização ecclesiástica.

Art. III

O Arcebispo de Bombaim será alternadamente de nacionalidade portugueza e britânica, e terá jurisdição sobre todo o território da Arquidiocese, augmentado como fica dito.

Os párocos portugueses das duas igrejas de S. Francisco Xavier e Nossa Senhora da Glória, em Bombaim, serão camaristas secretos de Sua Santidade *durante munere*.

(a) Vem publicado na Acta Apost. Sedis, de 4 de Maio de 1928, N. 5. Anus. XX, Vol. XX e no Boletim Oficial de Estado da India N.º 46 de 8 de Junho de 1928.

Art. IV

A Santa Sé e o Governo Portuguez declaram-se d'acordo para modificar os limites da Diocese de São Tomé de Meliapôr, de modo a assegurar da melhor forma a continuidade do territorio em que se exerce a jurisdicção episcopal.

N'estes termos serão desanexadas da diocese de São Tomé de Meliapôr as 14 paróquias no territorio das Dioceses de Trichinopolis e Tuticorin (costa da Pescaria) e seis paróquias no territorio das Dioceses de Dacca e de Calcutá.

A Diocese de São Tomé de Meliapôr conservará os dois territorios continuos de S. Tomé (junto a Madrasta e em parte dentro de Madrasta) e de Tanjor (mais ao sul) e as cinco paróquias dísperas na cidade de Madrasta.

Para as compensações territoriaes e pessoaes a dar á Diocese de S. Tomé de Meliapôr, a Santa Sé e o Governo Potuguês, tomadas as necessárias e oportunas informações e tendo em vista os princípios que inspiram a presente convenção, especialmente com respeito ás condições jurídicas, demograficas e politicas, estabelecerão um acordo dentro de oito mezes a contar da entrada em vigor do presente Protocolo. Somente depois de decorridos os referidos oito mezes se fixarão com Bula os novos limites de diocese de S. Tomé de Meliapór.

Art. V

O presente Protocolo refere-se unicamente á jurisdicção episcopal, e não á propriedade dos bens, dos tesouros artisticos, das escolas, etc portuguezes, que continuarão a ser propriedade das entidades ás quais actualmente pertencem.

O clero das paroquias portuguezas continuará igualmente a ser portuguez.

Art. VI

No provimento das sés de Goa, Cochim, S. Tomé de Meliapôr e Macao:

(a) a Santa Sé depois de consultar, conforme as praxes usuas da Cúria Romana, os Bispos da Província por intermedio do Delegado Apostólico da India e respectivamente da China, escolherá o candidato portuguez mais idoneo para dirigir a Diocese;

(b) por intermedio de Mons. Nuncio Apostólico de Lisboa ou da Legação de Portugal junto do Vaticano, a Santa Sé transmitirá confidencialmente a Sua Excelencia o Presidente da República Portuguesa o nome do candidato escolhido.

(c) o Presidente da República, se o candidato não oferecer dificuldade de ordem politica, apresentará oficialmente o nome á Santa Sé.

(d) Presume-se afirmativa a resposta do Presidente da República á consulta da Santa Sé, se não chegar dentro de dois mezes, a contar do dia da entrega da respectiva comunicação;

(e) As duas Altas Partes Contratantes por-se-hão de acordo, por cada vez, para a publicação contemporanea da nomeação que deverá permanecer secreta até ao termo dos atos officiais.

Art. VII

No provimento das Sés de Bombaim, Mangalore, Quilon e Trichinopolis :

(a) a Santa Sé, escolhido o candidato mais idoneo, fal-o-há conhecer por intermédio de Mons. Nuncio ou da Legação de Portugal junto do Vaticano, ao Presidente da República :

(b) o Presidente da República fará oficialmente a apresentação do dito candidato no periodo de um mez, e a nomeação publicar-se-ha na forma acima prevista na alinea (c) do artigo precedente.

Art. VIII

Fora do território da própria Diocese os fiéis dependerão do Ordinário local, segundo o Direito Canónico.

Art. IX

Considera-se sem efeito qualquer clausula contrária ao presente protocolo contida em outros documentos, leis, ou notas diplomáticas.

Roma, quinze de Abril de mil novecent e vinte e oito.

L. † S.

Pietro Cardinale Gasparri

L. † S.

**Augusto de Castro Sampaio
Corte Real**



CONSTITUIÇÃO APOSTÓLICA

Sobre a extinção da Diocese de Damão e sobre a união do seu território às Arquidioceses de Goa e de Bombaim, de 1 de Maio de 1928
(Acta Apost. Sedis, de 1 de Agosto de 1928)

PIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI
AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM.

Inter Apostolicam Sedem et Lusitanam Rempublicam nuper inita est conventio, in qua, praeter alias de nova nonnullarum dioecesium circumscriptione in Indiis Orientalibus definienda pactiones, statutum quoque est Damanensem dioecesim esse supprimendam ejusque territorium, causis ibidem descriptis, partim archidioecesi Goanae, partim vero archidioecesi Bombayensi essetribuendum. Quare Nos ad huiusmodi negotium perficiendum, suppleto, quatenus opus sit, quorum interest vel qui sua interesse praesumant consensu, de Apostolicae potestatis plenitudine ea quae sequuntur decernimus atque statuimus. Imprimis Damanensem dioecesim, in praesens suo Pastore destitutam, supprimimus, eiusque territorii partem Lusitano dominio subiectam et ad septemtrionem urbis Bombayensis exstantem una insula vulgo *Diu*, ad oram *Kathiavar* sita, Goanae archidioecesi adiungimus et attribuimus; reliquum vero territorium quod super est archidioecesi adnectimus. Decernimus pariter ut in utraque archidioecesi, Goana et Bombayensi, territoriis extinctae dioecesis Damanensis, quo supra diximus modo aucta, universus clerus ac fideles inibi commorantes, paroeciae, ecclesiae, oratoria aliaque instituta omnia, salvis dumtaxat exemptionibus iure communi statutis, iurisdictioni subsint Ordinarii loci respectivae archidioecesis, in cuius territorio exstant; duplici quae dicitur iuris dictione penitus exinde extincta ac sublata. Iubemus insuper ut documenta omnia, iura et acta suppressae dioecesis Damanensis, iuxta territoria ad quae pertinent, quam primum fieri poterit, cancellariis Goanae et Bombayensis archidioecesis tradantur, ut earum archivo serventur. Volentes vero ut modo suppressae Damanensis dioecesis memoria servetur, decernimus ut Archiepiscopus Goanus, patriarchali titulo Indiarum Orientalium, quo pollet, etiam in posterum retento, Archiepiscopus Goanus et Damanensis exinde appeletur. Praeterea cum Episcopus Damanensis titulo archiepiscopali Cranganorensi, ab hac antiqua sede, huiusque decoratus fuerit, ne huius quoque memoria pereat, libenter annuimus ut idem Archiepiscopus Goanus et Damanensis titulum etiam Archiepiscopi Cranganorensis sibi adiungat. Hisce itaque omnibus ut supra

dispositis, ad eadem omnia exsequenda venerabilem fratrem Eduardum Mooney, Archiepiscopum titularem Irenopolitanum in Isauria, et in Indiis Orientalibus Delegatum Apostolicum, deputamus, eidemque tribuimus necessarias et opportunas facultates etiam subdelegandi ad effectum de quo agitur quælibet virum in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutum, itemque pronuntiandi super quavis oppositione vel difficultate in executionis actu quocumque oritura, iniuncto eidem onere ad Sacram Congregationem Consistorialem infra annum transmittendi authenticum exemplar peractæ executionis. Præsentibus autem Litteras et in eis contenta quaecumque, etiam ex eo quod quilibet, quorum interest, vel qui sua interesse præsumunt, auditi non fuerint ac præmissis non consenserint, etiam si expressa, specifica et individua mentione digni sint, nullo unquam tempore de subreptionis, vel obreptionis aut nullitatis vitio, seu intentionis Nostræ, vel quolibet alio licet substantiali et inexcogitato defectu, notari, impugnari vel in controversiam vocari posse, sed eas, tamquam ex certa scientia ac potestatis plenitudine factas et emanatas perpetuo validas existere et fore, suosque plenarios et integros effectus sortiri et obtinere atque ab omnibus ad quos spectat inviolabiliter observari debere, et si secus super his a quocumque, quavis autoritate, scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari, irritum prorsus et inane esse et fore volumus et decernimus. Volumus denique ut harum Litterarum transumptis etiam impensis, manu tamen alicuius notarii publici subscriptis, ac sigillo alicuius viri in ecclesiastica dignitate vel officio constituti munitis, eadem prorsus tribuatur fides, quæ hisce Litteris tribueretur, si originaliter exhibitæ vel ostensæ forent. Non obstantibus, quatenus opus sit, regulis in synodalibus, provincialibus, generalibus universalibusque Conciliis editis, specialibus vel generalibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus Apostolicis et quibusvis alius Romanorum Pontificum, Prædecessorum Nostrorum, dispositionibus ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Nemini autem hanc paginam suppressionis, dismembrationis, unionis, statuti, mandati, derogationis et voluntatis Nostræ infringere vel eis contraire liceat. Si quis vero, temerario ausu, hoc attentare præsumperit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli, apostolorum eius, se noverit incursum.

Datum Romæ, apud S. Petrum, anno Domini millesimo nongentesimo vigesimo octavo, die prima mensis Maii, Pontificatus Nostri anno septimo.

F. Andreas Card. Fruhwirth,

S. R. E. Cancellarius.

Carolus Card Perosi,

S. C. Cons. Pro-Secretarius.

Dominicus Torio, **Protonotarius Apostolicus.**

Alfonsus Carinci, **Protonotarius Apostolicus.**

Loco † Plumbi

