

Saint Queen Ketevan's Relics in Old Goa: Research and Archaeological Works



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Queen Ketevan, regent of the kingdom of Kakheti, Georgia, between 1605 and 1614, and mother of the King Teimouraz I, was killed in Shiraz, Persia, on the 22nd of September 1624, on the orders of the Safavid emperor Shah Abbas I. Declared a saint and a martyr by the Georgian Orthodox Church, Queen Ketevan is one of the most prominent and symbolic figures in Georgian history.

In 1627, the bones of the right hand and forearm of Queen Ketevan were deposited in the Augustinian Convent of Our Lady of Grace (*Nossa Senhora da Graça*), in Old Goa, capital of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* (Fig. 1). At a later date, the relics were placed inside an urn together with the bones of two Augustinian friars, Jerónimo da Cruz (d. 1609) and Guilherme de Santo Agostinho (d. 1612), and the urn itself was placed in the convent's chapter house. There the urn remained at least up to 1835, when the convent was declared extinct and the Augustinian friars ejected. From the 1840s onwards, the convent and church began to crumble, soon becoming a ruin. From that time onwards, there is no further trace of the urn, except for the small fragments of its lateral ornamentation elements found in 2004, and its copingstone found two years later. This essay addresses the archaeological activities that led to these findings in the early twenty-first century, contextualizing them in both the larger framework of the historical and archaeological interest surrounding the cultural heritage of Old Goa, and the architectural history of the conventual complex of Our Lady of Grace.

The Augustinian Conventual Complex at Old Goa

Augustinian friars coming from Portugal first reached Goa in 1572. The following year, they started a mission in Hormuz, Persia, and by 1624, they had set up missionary outposts in Gombrun (modern Bandar Abbas), Keshm, Muscat, Isfahan, Shiraz and Basra, besides missions in several oth-



er port cities of South Asia under Portuguese control.¹ In Old Goa, the Augustinians began building their first church and convent in 1573, in the area then known as the Rosary Hill (*Monte do Rosário*), near the chapel of O. L. of the Rosary (*Nossa Senhora do Rosário*).² This first Augustinian church had its main façade towards the west and chancel towards the east. A convent with its cloister was built adjoining the church on its southern side.³

Fig. 1. Church of Our Lady of Grace, Old Goa, built 1597–1620, view of east end (Sidh Losa Mendiratta, 2012).



Fig. 2. Church of *Our Lady of Grace*, Old Goa, built 1597–1620, stone fragments of main façade bearing the date 1620 (Sidh Losa Mendiratta, 2024).

The conventual building is depicted in Linschoten's bird's eye view of Old Goa, dated from the early 1590s.

A much larger conventual complex was begun in 1597 with the support and patronage of the archbishop fr. Aleixo de Meneses (1559–1617).⁴ This complex came to include not only a convent and main church, but also a connected college with its own church, and a seminary with a chapel.⁵ Several authors refer to the construction works of this new building, including the traveller Pyrard de Laval (1578—ca. 1623), the Jesuit Sebastião Gonçalves (1557—1619), and the diplomat Garcia de Sylva y Figueroa (1550—1624).⁶ The conventual church was completed in 1620 as per the date engraved on the façade's pediment (Fig. 2).⁷ The new O. L. of Grace church became a conspicuous landmark in Old Goa, with its lofty towers and façade dominating the cityscape from the Hill of the Rosary, later known as the Holy Hill (*Monte Santo*). The coffered barrel vault over the church's capacious nave was considered an engineering feat for the time, especially given the difficulties faced by the Portuguese in Goa when building large vaults with laterite. The church's intercommunicating side chapels were adorned with retables and elaborate stuccowork, while the chancel had a choir and an organ, with a large retable housing the tabernacle of the Blessed Sacrament.

The convent had three floors and was structured around two cloisters aligned towards the south of the church. In the ground floor were the

most important rooms, such as the sacristy, two refectory halls, kitchen, dispensary, infirmary, chapter house, and locutionary. The two upper stories were divided between the friars' area, around the northern cloister, and the novitiate area around the southern cloister. Between these two areas, in the room above the chapter house, was the convent's renowned library. Further south, there was a service courtyard with several structures on the ground floor, and a recreational room on the upper level, accessed through the corridors leading to the elevated passage connecting the convent and the college.

In 1602 the Augustinian began building the college of Our Lady of Pópulo (*Nossa Senhora do Pópulo*) on the land immediately to the west of their convent, and across the road known as Jew Street (*Rua dos Judeus*).⁸ Over that street, the missionaries built an elevated passage standing on two arches connecting the two buildings (Fig. 3), and a tunnel beneath the same street.⁹ The first students and teachers started residing in the new college in 1604, which had a capacity for about forty people, between pupils and staff, and offered the subjects of Philosophy, Humanities, Art, and Speculative and Moral Theology.¹⁰ The college's church was relatively small, and not accessible to the general public.¹¹ The building had two floors and was structured around a cloister, and therefore had a square footprint. The college's church, originally dedicated to St. Augustine, was at the quadrangle's northern flank, with its entrance facing the east, and chancel towards the west. Between the 1690s and ca. 1710, the college underwent a considerable transformation. The church was transferred to the main classroom, known as *Sala de Actos*, on the eastern side of the cloister. This relocation required the construction of a new church façade on the northern side of the building, and other changes in the new chancel area, alterations that are still noticeable today.¹²

The Seminary of St. William (*São Guilherme*), built beginning in 1633, was the third construction in the Augustinian conventual complex.¹³ Located to the south of the convent, and across a narrow road, it was intended to train priests for the secular clergy. With two levels, the building had a square footprint, with four wings enclosing a cloister. The upper level had dormitories, and in the ground floor was the chapel of Our Lady of Glory (*Nossa Senhora da Glória*).¹⁴ The whole interconnected

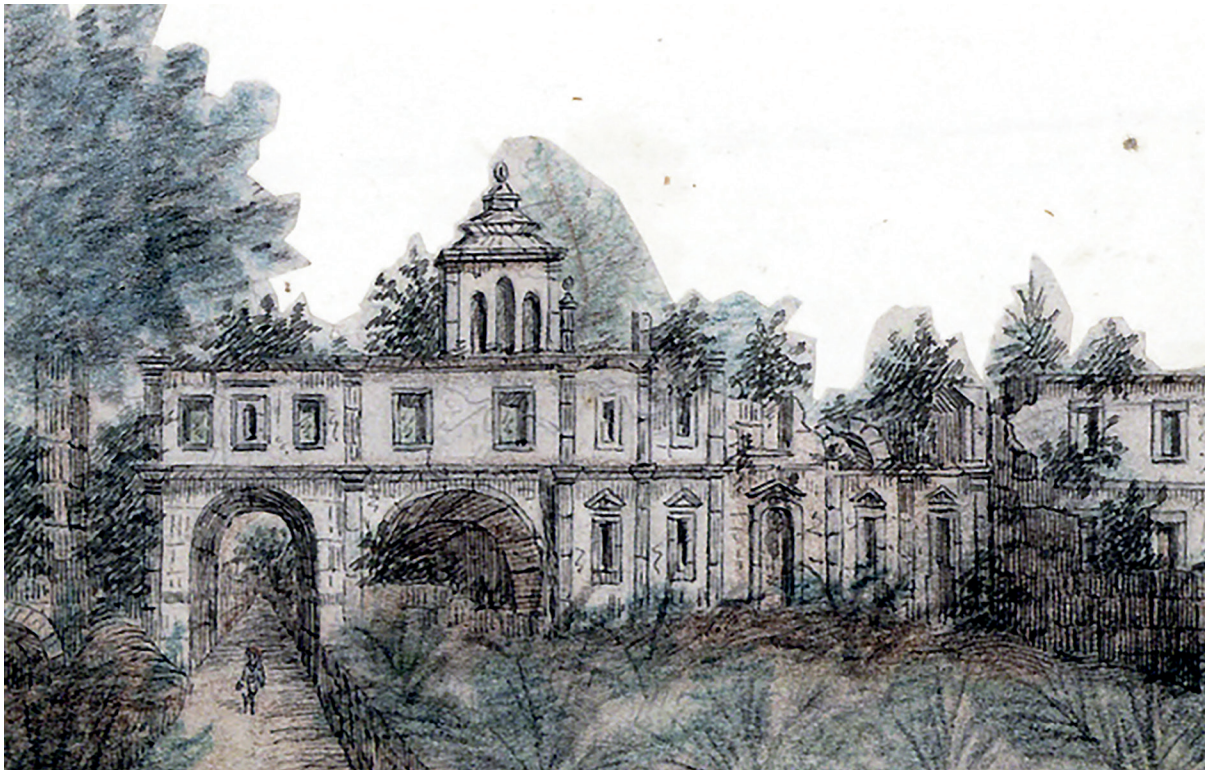


Fig. 3. Church of *Our Lady of Pópulo*, built 1602–ca.1615, rebuilt ca. 1690–ca. 1710, and the elevated passage over “Jew Street”, Old Goa, built 1608, sketch by António Lopes Mendes (António Lopes Mendes, [Paisagens, Edifícios, Retratos, Usos e Costumes da Índia Portuguesa], [1855–1875], fol. 12, D.A. 12 V. / CFH10, Iconografia, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal).

Augustinian conventual complex had a sprawling property covered by orchards and palm groves, with wells and watering tanks.

In 1627, the bones of the right hand and forearm of Queen Ketevan were brought to the Augustinian Convent of Our Lady of Grace, and deposited, in all probability, in the room beneath the main altar of the church, where other relics were kept.¹⁵ Some time before 1730, the relics were shifted to the Chapter room, located on the ground floor, between the convent's two cloisters. Here, they were placed in an urn together with the relics of the Augustinian friars Jerónimo da Cruz and Guilherme de Santo Agostinho. The Chapter room received five other urns with similar design, and each of the urns was placed on the windowsill of each of the room's six windows.¹⁶

During the seventeenth century, the city of Old Goa entered a period of slow but steady decline, as entire neighbourhoods became progressively depopulated and abandoned. As the city's houses and other buildings became empty and ruinous, many were systematically pulled down in order to reuse their building materials elsewhere.¹⁷ The city's convents and churches fell into disrepair as religious communities and their sources of revenue dwindled. However, the Augustinian convent remained

functioning until 1835, when all the religious orders in the Portuguese Empire were suppressed and their properties confiscated by the state. That year, the Augustinian friars were ejected, and the convent of O. L. of Grace was confiscated and closed-down. However, between 1836 and 1841, the female community of the *Recolhimentos* of O. L. of the Rock (*Nossa Senhora da Serra*) and St. Mary Magdalene (*Santa Maria Madalena*), under the care of the House of Mercy (*Santa Casa da Misericórdia*), reoccupied it.¹⁸ The convent became definitively deserted in 1846, and quickly began to crumble, as it was also quarried for building materials.

The six urns within the convent's Chapter room were recorded in the detailed inventory of the convent written in 1836, and certainly remained in place until, at least, 1841.¹⁹

First period of excavations, 1989-1991

During the second half of the nineteenth century, when the city of Old Goa had already become a heap of ruins overran by the jungle — with a handful of churches still standing amidst the vegetation —, the public expositions of the body of St. Francis Xavier led to a renovated historic and ar-

chaeological interest on the heritage of the ruined city. In 1892, a Royal Archaeological Museum (*Real Museu Archeologico da India Portuguesa*) was established in Old Goa, influenced also by the activities of the Archaeological Survey of India in British India and by the Lisbon Geographical Society in Portugal. A Permanent Archaeological Committee (*Comissão Permanente de Arqueologia*) was created in Goa in 1895, and one of its first tasks was caring for the Archaeological Museum, where a number of archaeological elements were gathered — not only from the abandoned city but also from the surrounding areas.²⁰

The Permanent Committee of Archaeology began archaeological prospection in the site of the Augustinian conventual complex during the 1920s, an initiative unrelated to the relics of Queen Ketevan. Excavations in three seasons between 1926 and 1928, with trenches up to 5 meters deep, yielded results that appeared “insignificant”, and only some *azulejo* tiles found on the convent’s walls were deemed valuable, having been removed and reused elsewhere in Old Goa.²¹ These works also exposed the “numerous epitaphs, some with coat-of-arms, on the floor” of the convent’s church. Some members of the Committee, such as Ricardo Michael Telles, were aware that, somewhere within the Augustinian complex, lay the tomb of Queen Ketevan.²² This information was present in an article published in 1909 by the Goan priest Fr. Francisco Xavier Vaz (1859-1929).²³ However, these and other Goans in the early twentieth century were probably unaware of the significance of Queen Ketevan for the people of Georgia. At any rate, on the 8th of August 1931, during a stormy night, the church’s main façade came crumbling down, leaving only part of the northern tower still standing. Fallen debris covered once again the church floor and its tombstones.²⁴ Following the collapse of the façade, further archaeological activity on the Augustinian site was discontinued.²⁵

Second period of excavations, 1989-1991

According to the Deputy Superintending Archaeologist of the Goa “Mini-circle” A. K. Sharma,²⁶ until “February 1989, the whole complex” of the Augustinian convent “was covered with vegetation and debris and hardly attracted people’s attention except for the massive tower”.²⁷ However,

around this time, Georgian scholars became aware of the relation between Queen Ketevan and the Augustinian conventual complex at Old Goa, in all probability through the publications of Roberto Gulbenkian (1923–2009), nephew of the well-known Armenian businessman and philanthropist Calouste Gulbenkian.²⁸ Some Georgians travelled to Goa in the late 1980s and, began an ad-hoc excavation in the site of the Augustinian convent, in order to find Queen Ketevan’s relics. Later, through diplomatic channels, the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic engaged with the Archaeological Survey of India with the objective of starting a proper excavation in the ruins. Writing about these mishaps a couple of years later, the Goan journalist Aurelian Fernandes mentioned that “a team of Soviet experts had visited the ruins of St Augustine’s Church in early 1988 to take some of the remains [of Queen Ketevan] to Georgia but then the debris was not fully cleared and the floor of the [Augustinian] church was inaccessible”.²⁹

The first season of this excavation lasted between February and May 1989, with the Indian archaeologists endeavouring to “scientifically dig, expose and simultaneously conserve” the archaeological site, “coupled with the adventure to search out the mortal remains of this legendary Queen”.³⁰ From a plan published by A. K. Sharma in 1990, it becomes clear that finding the relics was, in fact, the team’s main objective.³¹ The archaeologists speedily cleared the vegetation and debris from the church’s nave, and then cleared a narrow corridor leading to the western end of the chancel (Fig. 4). In doing so, they were striving to reach the area near the chancel’s windows on the Epistle Side (or northern side, in the case of the Augustinian church).

The A.S.I. and the Georgians involved in the excavation were acting upon the only published references that provided specific clues as to the location of the tomb containing Queen Ketevan’s relics within the Augustinian conventual complex. The more detailed of these clues was present in an Augustinian chronicle compiled in 1723 by fr. Manuel da Purificação, and published in 1958 by the Portuguese scholar António da Silva Rego (1905–1986). This reference was also mentioned in R. Gulbenkian’s publications on Queen Ketevan. The account by fr. da Purificação describes the tombstones located in the Augustinian church and convent, mentioning, “part of these bones [of



Fig. 4. Church of Our Lady of Grace, Old Goa, built 1597-1620, view of the nave and chancel area during the excavations of 1989-1990 (Archaeological Survey of India, 1990).

Queen Ketevan] are in a black tomb (*tumulo*) in the chapter (*capítulo*) of the convent of Our Lady of Grace, Goa”. Purificação further states the tomb’s precise location within the Chapter, as he describes all the six tombs and one tombstone located within that room:

In the Chapter where the religious are buried, in the transverse door, on the Epistle Side³² is a tombstone (*campa*) of black stone that reads: *Sepultura de Manoel Siqueira de Matos e sua mulher Lucrecia Pereira de Almada. It has a shield of a cyprus [pine?] tree between two lions [...]*.

On the 1st window of the Gospel Side there’s a tomb (*tumulo*) of black stone that reads: *Ossos de D. Luis de Britto, religioso eremita de N. P. S. Agostinho. [...]*

On the 2nd window of the same side is another sepulcher (*sepulcro*) of black stone that reads: *Aqui jazem os ossos do veneravel servo de Deus, o P. Fr. João da Cruz [...]*.

On the 3rd window of the same side is a similar tomb that reads: *Ossos de D. Pedro da Silva [...]*.

On the 1st window of the Epistle Side is another black tomb that reads: *Ossos de D. Fr.*

Domingos da Trindade and [...] it has a shield with a heart pierced by two arrows and a bishop’s hat. [...]

On the 2nd window of the same side is a similar tomb that reads: *Remains of the Friar Guilherme de Sto. Agostinho, hermit, and Queen Gativanda, servants of God who gave their life for the faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of the Friar Hyeronimo da Cruz, son of the Province of Portugal. [...]*

On the 3rd window of the same side is another similar tomb that reads: *Aqui jazem os ossos do P. Fr. Antonio da Conceição.*³³

The efforts of the A.S.I. and the Georgian team to find Queen Ketevan’s tomb were thwarted due to an erroneous interpretation of the above passage. This misinterpretation stemmed mainly from a coincidence: the fact that both the “Chapter” room mentioned in the chronicle and the chancel of the Augustinian church had three windows on each of their respective sides. The team was probably unaware that in early modern Portuguese religious architecture, the Chapter was a room where the most senior members of a convent or a monastery met to take decisions about their religious community, and therefore it could not be confused or

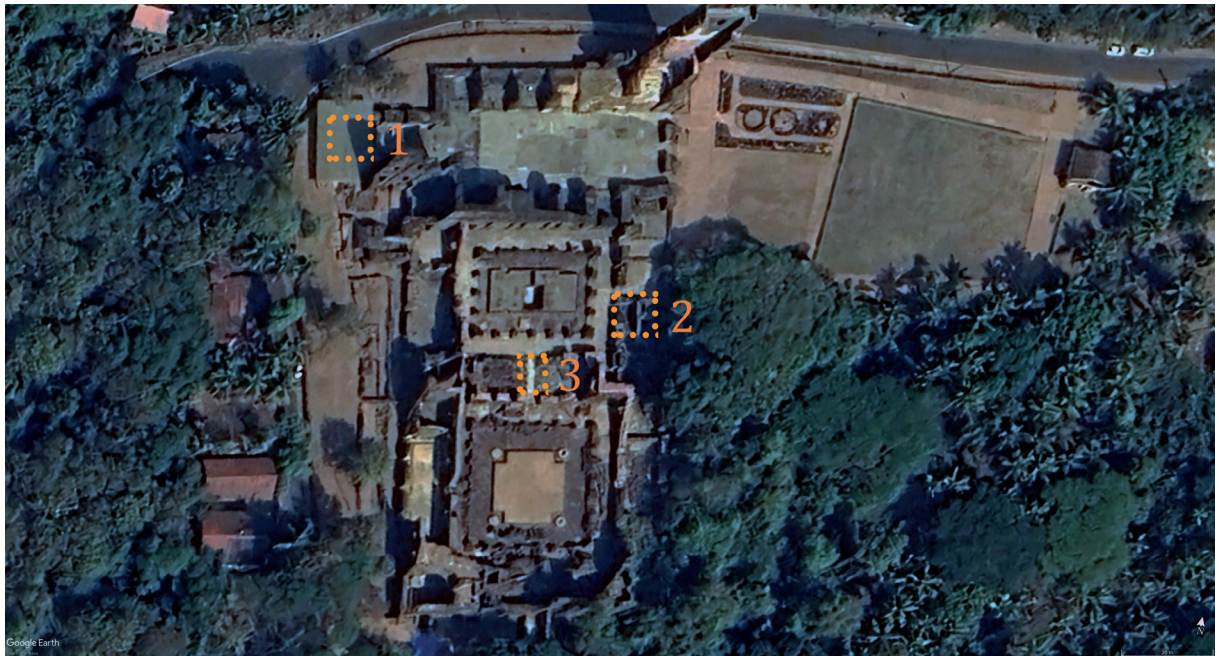


Fig. 5. Church of Our Lady of Grace, Old Goa, built 1597-1620, satellite image with markings of the areas excavated in 2004 (Google Earth TM).

conflated with the chancel of a conventual church. In other words, the team that began excavating in 1989 understood the “Chapter” mentioned in the account of Fr. da Purificação to be the chancel of the church. The traces of the chancel’s three windows on the Epistle Side still visible above the debris, while the windows on its Gospel Side were still whole, as the walls on that side reached the spring point of the chancel’s vault. Disappointingly, when the team reached the level of the floor of the chancel area, there were no tombstones or tombs to be found, either on the ground or in the walls near the windows of the Epistle Side. A second season of archaeological activity in the first half of 1990 persevered in the same intent, digging deep below ground level both near the windows and also *within* the wall of the chancel’s Epistle Side, but likewise yielded no results. As reported in the Goan press, “senior archaeologists at the site have dug the area but the remains [of Queen Ketevan] have eluded them”.³⁴

The absence of any traces of Queen Ketevan’s tomb must have baffled both the Indian archaeologists and the Georgian representatives, and interest in the excavation petered out after 1990. Instability in Georgia in the years before and after its declaration of independence in April 1991 might have also contributed to a diminishing of interest in the archaeological works. Therefore, during the 1990s and early 2000s, excavations in

the Augustinian convent slowed down and eventually came to a standstill, with the A.S.I. focusing on preserving the structures and elements that had been exposed during the preceding years.

Third period of excavations, 2004-2006

Having first visited this archaeological site in late 2001, I took it up as the subject of the final year research project for my degree in Architecture. In November 2003, I met with the then Deputy Superintending Archaeologist of the Goa Mini-Circle, N. Taher, and proposed to him a collaboration project with the main objective of undertaking a rigorous topographical survey of the church and its adjoining area. This survey would be the basis for a graphic reconstruction of the church and convent, a fundamental element towards understanding its architectural history. To better accomplish this topographical survey, I requested N. Taher’s team to excavate three strategic areas surrounding the church, designated as trenches 1, 2 and 3 (Fig. 5). This archaeological activity began on the 10th of January 2004, with a team of about thirty-five hired laborers.³⁵ The topographical survey began in February of the same year, with the assistance of architect Bosco Gonsalves. This survey was sponsored by a grant

from the Oriente Foundation.

Trench 3 was begun in February 2004. I had requested this area to be excavated in order to understand the relation between the convent's two cloisters, namely the features of the conventual room that lay between them at ground level. In mid-March, N. Taher informed that a tombstone had been found on the floor of that room, and upon inspection in the following day, it turned out to be that belonging to Manuel de Siqueira de Matos and his wife Lucrecia Pereira de Almada. I informed N. Taher of the significance of the find, as it was clear evidence that the area excavated between the two cloisters was the Chapter room or chapel as mentioned in the 1723 Augustinian chronicle. These preliminary results were publicly presented in the University of Goa on the 13th of March of that same year.

With this find, Trench 3 became the focus of the archaeological work, and it was decided to excavate the whole Chapter room or chapel. However, as the excavation progressed towards the 2nd or middle window on the Epistle Side of the Chapter, it became apparent that there was no tomb or urn to be found. A couple of stone fragments later identified to be part of the ornamental elements surrounding the urn were found scattered at floor level near the window, but no other traces connected to the tomb or to the Queen's relics were found. Excavation in the rest of the Chapter room clarified that all the six tombs described in the 1723 Chronicle were had a similar design, and were all originally placed on the windowsill of each of the Chapter room's six windows. However, most of the urns had tumbled to the floor beneath the windows, crushed under the weight of the Chapter's collapsed laterite vault and of the laterite blocks of the walls above it. Therefore, some of the bones contained within these crushed urns had trickled out, and lay scattered around the stone fragments. This was the case with the urn on the first window of the Epistle Side belonging to Fr. Domingos da Trindade, which was found crushed and open with bone fragments near to it. In fact, only one urn remained in its original place with its contents intact, that belonging to Fr. João da Cruz, on the windowsill of the second or middle window on the Gospel Side (Fig. 6).

Several bone fragments were found near the urns that had fallen. However, no bone fragment



Fig. 6. Church of Our Lady of Grace, Old Goa, built 1597–1620, view of the Chapter room and the window with the urn of Fr. João da Cruz (Siddh Lasa Mendiratta 2006).

was found close to the second window on the Epistle Side, where Queen Ketevan's urn once stood. Furthermore, it also became clear that another urn was missing, that of Fr. Luís de Brito, originally on the first window on the Gospel Side, close to the Chapter room's altar. Some of the urn's ornamental elements were still on the windowsill, and the urn's coping stone lay tumbled a few centimetres above floor level, on the ground in front of the window.

The area of the cloister immediately to south of the Chapter house was excavated in October 2006, leading to the finding of the copingstone of Queen Ketevan's urn. The copingstone was found just outside of the window, and at a level a few centimetres below the windowsill, approximately 1,3m above the convent's original floor level. It was found broken in two fragments, lying upside down (Fig. 7).

Fig. 7. Church of Our Lady of Grace, Old Goa, built 1597-1620, view of the Chapter room and the window with broken coping stone belonging to the urn of Queen Ketevan (Sidh Losa Mendiratta 2006).



Interpretation.

Despite the frustration of realizing that the urn of Queen Ketevan had been removed from its original place, the identification of the Chapter room attracted some attention in Goa and in Georgia, and renewed the interest about the Queen's relics. A bone fragment found ex-situ near the entrance leading to the southern cloister on the floor of the Chapter room was sent for DNA analysis in the Centre for Cellular Molecular Biology, Hyderabad, which found it "likely" that the relic belonged to Queen Ketevan.³⁶

But why carry away a heavy stone urn and leave behind its contents? And where can Queen Ketevan's urn be today? In what circumstances was it removed from the Chapter room? To address these questions, two archaeological clues are important. Firstly, we must consider the other missing urn, that of Fr. Luís de Brito, on the first windowsill on Gospel Side of the Chapter room. The urn was seen in 1868 (or shortly before) in a private house in Panelim, about 2km to the west of Old Goa, and its inscription given in a publication by the scholar Joaquim da Cunha Rivara (1809-1879).³⁷ The

house belonged to Fr. Mariano de Maria Santíssima, who had been a friar of the Hospitallers of St John of God. The convent of the Hospitallers, which was also closed down in 1835, was located in front of the Augustinian church, across a large piazza. Fr. Luís de Brito was, arguably, the most high-ranking figure of all those whose remains had been deposited in the Chapter room. He was bishop of Mylapore, of Kochi, and also governor of the *Estado da Índia* between 1628-1629. In removing the urn, Fr. de Maria Santíssima was probably attempting to salvage the memory of Fr. de Brito, preventing it from being lost beneath the rubble of the ruined convent.

Importantly, both copingstones of the removed urns were left behind, as were the respective lateral ornamentation elements. While the copingstone of Fr. Luís de Brito's urn was found tumbled just above the ground level of the Chapter room, the copingstone of Queen Ketevan's urn was found outside the room, close to the windowsill, and about 1.3m above the original ground level. However, several of the lateral ornamentation elements of Queen Ketevan's urn

were also found at ground level *within* the Chapter room (my italics).

The facts stated above are clues highly suggestive of the following:

- The urns of Fr. Luís de Brito and of Queen Ketevan were removed from the Chapter room at the same conjuncture, sometime between 1841 and 1868.
- At the time when the urns were removed, the

area of the Chapter room close to the altar was still mostly clear of debris or sediments. Conversely, the area just to the south of the Chapter room had been cluttered to debris and sediments up to a height of about 1,3m.

- The urns were not taken to same place or house. Whoever removed Queen Ketevan's urn probably wanted to preserve her memory and her remains for posterity.

Notes

1. John M. Flannery, *The Mission of the Portuguese Augustinians in Persia and Beyond (1602-1747)* (Leiden, Boston, Brill: 2013), 45-47.
2. For an introduction to the architectural history of the church of Our Lady of Grace, see António Nunes Pereira, *A arquitectura religiosa cristã de Velha Goa: segunda metade do século XVI, primeiras décadas do século XVII* (Lisboa: Fundação Oriente, 2005), 158-179; Sidh Losa Mendiratta, "O Convento dos Agostinhos de Velha Goa: Memórias de um Levantamento" (MA diss., Faculty of Architecture – Porto University, 2005); N. Taher, Sidh Losa Mendiratta, Abhijit Ambekar, "Our Lady of Grace, St Augustine's Church Ruins: Reading From Remains," in *In and Around Old Goa*, ed. Heta Pandit (New Delhi, Marg Publications: 2004), 72-80.
3. Several finely carved basalt stones were found in 2004 in the foundation levels of the western wall of the definitive church's chancel, where the entrance to the primitive church was located. Sidh Losa Mendiratta, "O Convento dos Agostinhos de Velha Goa: Memórias de um Levantamento" (MA diss., Faculty of Architecture – Porto University, 2005).
4. Archbishop Aleixo de Meneses to the Augustinian Province of Portugal, 24 Dec. 1609, in Carlo Alonso Vanes, "Nueva documentación inedita sobre las misiones agustinianas en India y Persia (1571-1609)," *Analecta Augustiniana* 33 (1970), 378-393.
5. António da Silva Rego, ed., *Documentação Para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente*, vol. XI (Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar: 1955), 104.
6. Pyrard de Laval, *Viagem de Francisco Pyrard de Laval*, ed. A. de Magalhães Basto, vol. II (Porto, Livraria Civilização: 1944), 70; Sebastião Gonçalves, primeira Parte da Historia dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus, ed. Joseph Wicki, vol. III (Coimbra, Atlântida: 1962), 306; Don García de Silva y Figueroa, *Comentarios de la Embaxada al Rey Xa Abbas de Persia (1614-1624)*, vol. I, eds. Rui M. Loureiro, Ana C. Gomes, Vasco Resende (Lisbon, CHAM-UNL: 2011), 130.
7. The debris resulting from the crumbling of the church's façade was analysed, organized and partially displayed *in situ* during the 2004 excavation campaign. During these works, the stone with the date inscribed was found broken in two fragments. Sidh Losa Mendiratta, "O Convento dos Agostinhos de Velha Goa: Memórias de um Levantamento" (MA diss., Faculty of Architecture – Porto University, 2005).
8. The choice of the invocation is very probably linked to one of the most renowned Augustinian churches, that of *Santa Maria del Popolo*, in Rome, and also to the Augustinian church and convent of the same invocation founded in the city of Braga, Portugal, in 1596.
9. Construction of the College began at a time when fr. Pedro da Cruz was provincial of the Augustinian Order in the East. According to one of the Order's chronicles, on the site chosen for the new building stood a house belonging to the parents of an Augustinian friar, called Aleixo Godinho (ca. 1568—1598). According to the same document, the College was built mostly with the money of fr. Francisco da Graça (ca. 1583—?). António da Silva Rego, ed., *Documentação Para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente*, vol. XI (Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar: 1955), 117, 239, 349, 369.
10. António da Silva Rego, ed., *Documentação Para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente*, vol. XI (Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar: 1955), 116, 117, 246; António da Silva Rego, ed., *Documentação Para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente*, vol. XII (Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar: 1958), 30.
11. Very probably, the church's entrance was only reached after entering the building itself, and didn't have a façade, but was mostly an interior compartment. The church's a main altar was dedicated to St. Augustine (*Santo Agostinho*), and the side altars to O. L. of the Star (*Nossa Senhora da Estrela*), St. Anthony (*Santo António*), O. L. of Sorrows (*Nossa Senhora da Piedade*), and St. Nicholas Tolentino (*São Nicolau Tolentino*). António da Silva Rego, ed., *Documentação Para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente*, vol. XI (Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar: 1955), 116; António da Silva Rego, ed., *Documentação Para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente*, vol. XII (Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar: 1958) 30, 31.
12. António da Silva Rego, ed., *Documentação Para a*

- História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente*, vol. XI (Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar: 1955), 557.
13. The Seminary of St. William was demolished by the Augustinians themselves in 1747, and its building materials were probably reused elsewhere.
 14. Frei Faustino da Graça O.S.A, *Brevilogio de Noticias das Couzas, e dos Sujeitos da Congregaçam da India Oriental dos Eremitas Augustinhos [...]*, cod. 49-I-51, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon.
 15. Queen Ketevan's relics were carried from Persia to Goa by friar Manuel da Madre de Deus, superior of the Augustinian Mission in Shiraz. Manuel Madre de Deus to Pietro Della Valle, 14 Oct. 1627, in Carlo Alonso Vanes, "Misiones de la Orden de san Agustín en Georgia," *Analecta Augustiniana* 28 (1965), 237-40.
 16. The urn is mentioned in an Augustinian chronicle dating from ca. 1723 by fr. Manuel da Purificação. Antônio da Silva Rego, ed., *Documentação Para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente*, vol. XII (Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar: 1958), 92.
 17. An urban history of the decline, abandonment and ruin of Old Goa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is still a desideratum. Documents related to the attempted rebuilding of the city during the late eighteenth century shed some light on this complex process. See for example A. Delduque da Costa, "As tentativas de reconstrução de Goa em 1777," *O Oriente Português*, Nova Série, vol. 30, no. 1 (1931), 102-120.
 18. José Ferreira Martins, *História da Misericórdia de Goa (1621-1910)*, vol. II (Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional: 1912), 269-270.
 19. *Cópia dos Autos de Inventário de Todos os Bens Pertencentes ao Extincto Convento de Sto. Agostinho de Goa. 1836*, Ms. 2127, Historical Archives of Goa, Pangim.
 20. The activities of the Permanent Archaeological Committee gained more visibility in 1904, when the institution's periodical *O Oriente Português*, first appeared. "Documentos relativos à fundação dos Museus archeologicos e à criação da comissão permanente de archeologia," *O Oriente Português* 1, no. 1 (1904), 1-11.
 21. "Relatório da Comissão Permanente de Arqueologia (1931-32)" *O Oriente Português*, Nova Série 2-3 (1932), 144.
 22. Ricardo Michael Telles, "Convento de Sto. Agostinho" *O Oriente Português*, Nova Série 26 (1939), 446-447.
 23. Francisco Xavier Vaz, "Sto. Agostinho, na Velha Cidade" *Heraldo* (21 May 1909).
 24. "Ruínas da igreja do convent de Santo Agostinho, na Velha Cidade," *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 10 (1931), 69.
 25. Ricardo Michael Telles, "Convento de Sto. Agostinho," *O Oriente Português*, Nova Série 26 (1939) 445-446.
 26. A. K. Sharma was Deputy Superintending Archaeologist of the Goa Mini-Circle between June 1987 and July 1989.
 27. A.K. Sharma, "Exposing and Conserving a World Heritage Mounument," *Puratattva, Bulletin of the Indian Archaeological Society* 19 (1988-89), 64.
 28. Roberto Gulbenkian, "Relation véritable du Glorieux Martyre de la Reine Kétévan de Géorgie," *Bedi Kartlisa-revue de Kartvélogie* 40 (1982), 31-97.
 29. Aurelian Fernandes, "A page of crumbled glory," in *Gomantak Times, Sunday Magazine* (3 June 1990), 5.
 30. Sharma, A.K., "Exposing and Conserving a World Heritage Mounument," *Puratattva, bulletin of the Indian Archaeological Society* 19 (1988-89), 64.
 31. Sharma, A.K., "Exposing and Conserving a World Heritage Mounument," *Puratattva, bulletin of the Indian Archaeological Society* 19 (1988-89), 64.
 32. In churches or chapels, Epistle Side corresponds to the right side facing the altar, while Gospel Side is the left side facing the same direction. The same nomenclature applies to chapter houses that had an altar at the end of a main axis.
 33. Antônio da Silva Rego, ed., *Documentação Para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente*, vol. XII (Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar: 1958), 90.
 34. Aurelian Fernandes, "A page of crumbled glory," *Gomantak Times, Sunday Magazine* (3 June 1990), 5.
 35. Sidh Losa Mendiratta, "O Convento dos Agostinhos de Velha Goa: Memórias de um Levantamento" (MA diss., Faculty of Architecture – Porto University, 2005), 59.
 36. Niraj Rai et al, "Relic excavated in western India is probably of Georgian Queen Ketevan," *Mitochondrion* 14 (January 2014), 1-6.
 37. Cunha Rivara transcribed the inscription as: "Aqui jazem os ossos de Dõ Fr. | Luis de Brito P.al des Con- | gregação 6 annos Bpo. | de S. Thome e eleito de Co- | chim Governador deste | Estado da India. Fale- | ceo aos 29 e Julho de | 1629 Fesse em setembro | de 1648." J. da Cunha Rivara, *Inscipções Lapirades da India Portuguesa* (Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional: 1894), 96.