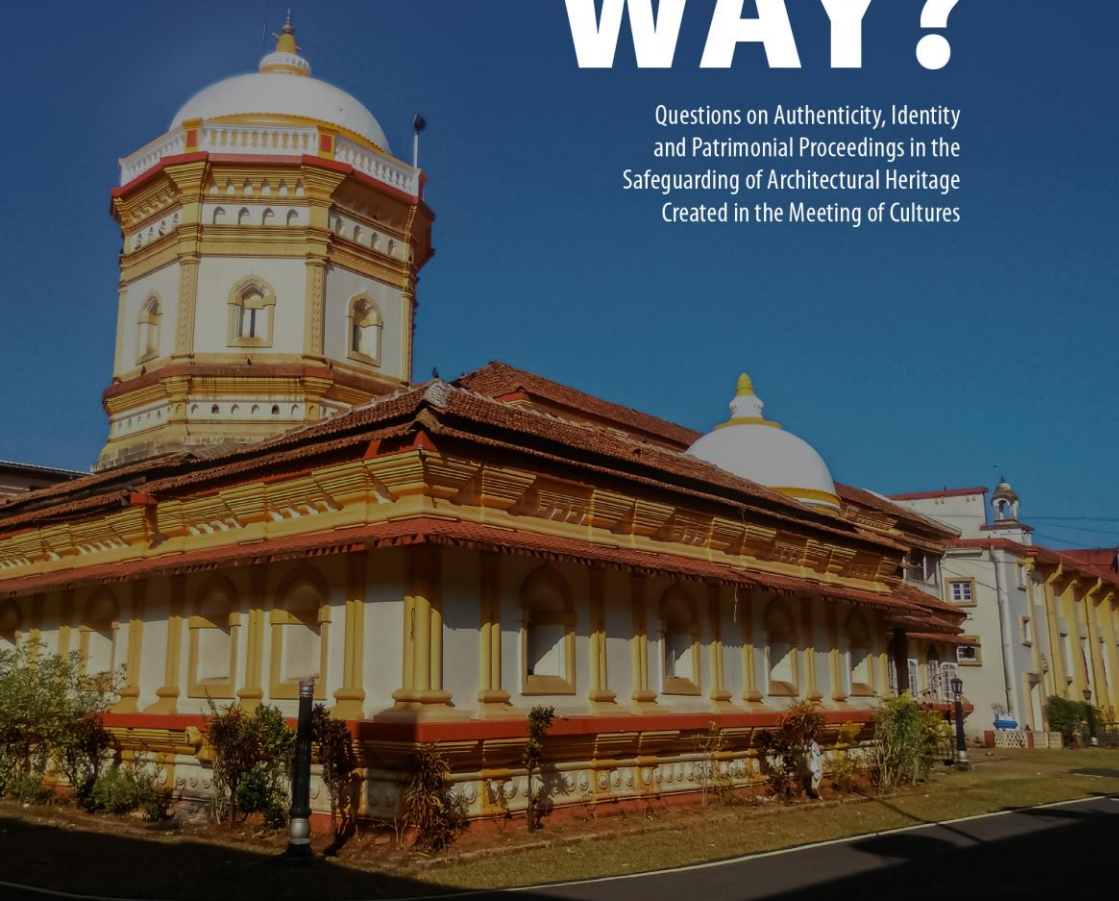
edited by **Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos**

PRESERVING TRANSCULTURAL HERITAGE:

YOUR WAY OR MY WAY?

Questions on Authenticity, Identity and Patrimonial Proceedings in the Safeguarding of Architectural Heritage Created in the Meeting of Cultures



Edited by **Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos**

PRESERVING TRANSCULTURAL HERITAGE:

YOUR WAY OR MY WAY?

Questions on Authenticity, Identity
and Patrimonial Proceedings in the
Safeguarding of Architectural Heritage
Created in the Meeting of Cultures

caleidoscópio

TITLE
Preserving Transcultural Heritage:
Your Way or My Way?
Questions on Authenticity, Identity and Patrimonial
Proceedings in the Safeguarding of Architectural
Heritage Created in the Meeting of Cultures

EDITOR
Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos
(ARTIS – Institute of Art History, School of Arts
and Humanities, University of Lisbon)

SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE
Vítor Serrão (chairman)
Ana Tostões
Christopher Marrion
Francisco Lopez Morales
Gill Chitty
Giovanni Carbonara
Hélder Carita
Javier Rivera Blanco
Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos
Johannes Widodo
Jorge Correia
José Delgado Rodrigues
Kassim Omar
Khalid El Harrouni
Luís Urbano Afonso
Maria João Neto
Maria Lúcia Bressan Pinheiro
Nobuko Inaba
Olga Sevan
Paulo Peixoto
Rabindra Vasavada
Rosa Perez
Rui Fernandes Póvoas
Susan Jackson-Stepowski
Tamás Fejérdy
Virgolino Jorge
Webber Ndoro
Zhang Jie

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos (chairman)
Maria de Magalhães Ramalho
Inês Cristovão
Tiago Rodrigues
Cátia Reis
Vera Mariz
Luis Urbano Afonso
Margarida Donas Botto

The authors are responsible for their texts and the images contained on them, including the correct reference of their sources and the permissions from the copyright owners.

LAYOUT
Fernanda Cavalheiro
Margarida de Almeida

ISBN
978-989-658-467-2

DOI
10.30618/978-989-658-467-2

LEGAL DEPOSIT NUMBER
428851/17

ISSUE
07.2017

EDIÇÃO
CALEIDOSCÓPIO – EDIÇÃO E ARTES GRÁFICAS, SA
Rua de Estrasburgo, 26 – r/c dto. 2605-756 Casal de
Cambra. PORTUGAL
Telef.: (+351) 21 981 79 60 | Fax: (+351) 21 981 79 55
caleidoscopio@caleidoscopio.pt | www.caleidoscopio.pt

ORGANIZATION

INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT

Com o alto Patrocínio de Sua Excelência

O Presidente da República

REPÚBLICA PORTUGUESA
CULTURA

REPÚBLICA PORTUGUESA
CULTURA
DIREÇÃO REGIONAL DE CULTURA DO ALENTEJO

PATRIMÓNIO CULTURAL
Direção-Geral do Património Cultural

MOSTEIRO DOS JERÓNIMOS

FCT
Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia
MINISTÉRIO DA CIÊNCIA, TECNOLOGIA E ENSINO SUPERIOR

ICOMOS

ICCROM

SPONSORSHIP

FUNDAÇÃO Millennium bcp

Parques de Sintra
Monte da Lua

Turismo de Lisboa

FUNDAÇÃO ORIENTE

Câmara Municipal Lisboa

CULTURSINTRA

VILA DE BOMBARRAL

Bombarral

PATRIARCADO DE LISBOA PORTUGAL

UNIÃO DAS FREGUESIAS DE SINTRA

Companhia Agrícola Sanguinhal

DELTA CAFÉS

LISBOA EGEAC

El Corte Inglés

CONTENTS

015 **Foreword**
Vitor Serrão
Maria Magalhães Ramalho

019 **SOME ISSUES ON THE PRESERVATION OF TRANSCULTURAL HERITAGE**

021 **Why the Preservation of Transcultural Heritage?**
Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos

027 **Questions of authenticity concerning different cultures and preservation**
Jukka Jokilehto

037 **ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on Shared Built Heritage: its history, work and role in preservation and conservation of transcultural heritage**
Siegfried Enders

085 **"The sea was yesterday what heritage can be today, we must only beat some *Adamastores*": The ICOMOS Portugal and the World Heritage of Portuguese Origin program**
Ana Paula Amendoeira, José Aguiar, Raimundo Mendes da Silva

093 **The Relevance of a Charter for Transcultural Heritage**
Gustavo Araoz

099 **HERITAGE VALUES AND MANAGEMENT OF AFRICAN AND AMERICAN HISTORIC CITIES AND SITES WITH EUROPEAN INFLUENCES**

101 **The 19th Century Architecture and Urban Planning in the Kasbah of Algiers: A Colonial Inheritance to be Protected**
Asma Hadjilah

109 **Preservation of Heritage and Professionalization of Culture in Belém do Pará: Theoretical Aspects and Ideological Divergences**
Cybelle Salvador Miranda

123 **Architecture Identity of the Old Town of Buenos Aires: Defense and Recovery of its Transcultural Heritage**
Jesús Rojas-Marcos González

133 **Authenticity and Identity Dilemma: The Case of Mombasa Old Town and Lamu World Heritage Site**
Kassim M. Omar

141 **Urban Conservation of Historical Areas: Come Back to Thirty-Five Years (1981-2016) of Observation in Fez Medina, Morocco**
Khalid El Harrouni

151 **The Preservation of Maputo's Downtown Built Heritage: Issues, Practices and Challenges**
Lisandra Mendonça

161 The Construction of Cultural Heritage in Brazil: Minas Gerais and Goiás
Margarida Helena de La Féria Valla

171 Preservation of Heritage and Urban Renovation: The New Meanings of City Landscapes
Tereza Duarte Paes

177 SAFEGUARDING OF THE ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE BELONGING TO ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES INSIDE COUNTRIES WITH DOMINANT CULTURES

179 Universal Rules or Community Values? Negotiative Conservation of Minority Heritage in Turkey
Elif Keser-Kayaalp

187 Artistic Interventions as Guardians of Palestinian Minority's Heritage
Irit Carmon Popper; Alona Nitzan-Shiftan

197 Built Together, Heritagised Together: Using Building Archaeology for Safeguarding Early Modern Churches in China
Thomas Coomans; Yitao Xu

207 Safeguarding of Abandoned Architectural Heritage in Poland Originally Belonging to Religious Minorities – Problems and Challenges
Tomasz Tomaszek

219 Minority Architecture as Shared Built Heritage: The Transylvanian Saxon's Communal Buildings in Romania
Timo Hagen

229 The Xucuru-Kariri and Their Transcultural Heritage
Suzany Marihá Ferreira Feitoza; Maria Angélica da Silva; Alícia Alves Rocha

239 A Virtuous Itinerary Between Ghetto Synagogues and Emancipation Synagogues: The Rediscovery of North Italian Judaism
Valeria Rainoldi

251 THE "INDIAN MELTING POT" FOR RELIGIONS AND CULTURES: CHALLENGES CONCERNING THE PRESERVATION OF THE TRANSCULTURAL HERITAGE

253 The Politics of Renovation: The Disappearing Architecture of Goa's Brahmanical Temples
Amita Kanekar

265 "Your Church is Older than the Taj Mahal!" The Challenge of Preserving the Patrimony of the Archdiocese of Bombay
Fleur D'Souza

275 Challenges in Preserving and Presenting Colonial French Heritage in India: The Case of Puducherry
Helle Jørgensen

283 Cultural Idiosyncrasies and Preservation Challenges in the Indo-Portuguese Catholic Religious Architecture of Goa (India)
Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos

295 Preservation of the Historical and Artistic Heritage of the Archdiocese of Goa: Plan to Implementation – Early Outcome
Mónica Esteves Reis

303 Preserving the Exfoliated Weathered Fabric of Basilica of Bom Jesus, Old Goa – Approach Conflict
Nizamuddin Taher

315 A Garden Overgrown: Panjim's Garcia da Orta Park and the Remaking of Eco-Cultural Legacies
R. Benedito Ferrão

321 The Ruination of the Inconvenient: Eroding Goa's Intangible Heritage
Vishvesh Kandolkar; Pithamber Polsani

329 QUESTIONS, CONTROVERSIES AND IDIOSYNCRASIES ON AUTHENTICITY BETWEEN DIFFERENT CULTURES, WHEN FOCUSING THE SAFEGUARDING OF TRANSCULTURAL HERITAGE

331 Preserving the Transcultural Identity of Local Shopping Streets: North Street and Castle Street, Belfast
Agustina Martire; Anna Skoura

343 Conservation of Transcultural Heritage: Cooperation Towards Correct Interpretation and Common Strategies – The Vice-Roys Portrait Gallery
Ana Teresa Teves Reis; António Candeias

353 Instability, Terror and Destruction of Old Cultures: Case of the Middle East and North Africa (1991-2016)
Barış Gür

363 "The Elephant in the Room": A Nineteenth Century Well-House Preservation in South Tel-Aviv
Braha Kunda

371 "My Culture" as a Constantly Changing Perception: Vernacular Built Traditions in Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa
Deborah Whelan

381 Conservation, Safeguarding and Sustainability of Cultural Heritage of Galata, its Authenticity and Integrity
Demet Ulusoy Binan; Gülce Güleycan Okyay

393 Yin Yu Tang and the Effects of Re-Contextualization on Vernacular Architecture
Mariko Azuma

403 The Church of Atarfe (Spain): From the Continuity to the Break with the Islamic Past
Mario Mata González

413 (Re)Inventing the Indians: Native American Voices in Contemporary Museum Practice
Meghan Gilbride

429 Memory, Space & Transcultural Heritage in Puerto Rico
Nadya K. Nenadich Correa

437 The Artificial Cascade Fountain of Cyrillo Volkmar Machado in Quinta de Belas: Challenges to its Preservation
Sofia Braga

449 HUL: Shared Built Heritage in Wuhan for Sustainable Urban Development
Song Yi; Ding Yuan

459 CONTEXTUALIZING THE (UN)WANTED: TOURISM AND MANAGEMENT OF TOTALITARIAN REGIMES IN EUROPE

461 Contextualizing the Heritage of the Communist Regime in Poland: New Narratives
Elżbieta Błotnicka-Mazur

471 Sense and Sensitivity: Krakow's Route of Memory as a Way of Collective Trauma Management
Łucja Piekarska-Duraj

479 (Un)Wanted Heritage? Socialist Realist Architecture in Gdynia and Gdansk
Magdalena Howorus-Czajka

489 Memory of Different People in One Territory: WW2 Cemeteries in Cassino & Montecassino
Michela Cigola; Arturo Gallozzi; Marcello Zordan

499 WEST VERSUS EAST: DIFFERENCES AND DIFFICULTIES TO THE CONSERVATION OF THIS SHARED HERITAGE (EUROPEAN COLONIES IN FAR EAST / "ASIANTOWNS" IN THE WEST)

501 Pondicherry – A Model Heritage City for India
Ashok Panda; Shubham Biswas

511 Conserving Canada's Chinatowns: A Consideration of late 20th Century approaches
John Ward

523 Sino-Portuguese Heritage Safeguarding in Macau Between 1990 and 1999
Luís António Guizado de Gouveia Durão

533 Dalian's "Russian-Style Street": A "Facadist" Approach to the Preservation of Russian Heritage in China
Valentine Nebon-Carle

543 GREEKS, ROMANS AND BYZANTINES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION AND NEAR EAST: GUARDING TRANSCULTURAL REMAININGS CONTAINING ANCIENT CLASSICAL INFLUENCES

545 Multi-Cultural Perception of the Cult Site of Hacı Bayram in Historic Center of Ankara
Açalya Alpan; Ece Kumkale Açıkgöz

555 Preserving Roman Archaeology in Northern Africa: The House of Amphitrite Curculum (Algeria)
Alessandro Pierattini

565 The Via Antiqua from Braga to Astorga: Transformation, Disruption and Permanence of a Cultural Route
Daniel Vale

573 Viminacium: Research, Protection and Recognition
Emilija Nikolić; Jelena Anđelković Grašar; Dragana Rogić

585 Felix Romuliana as a Bird Phoenix
Ljudmila Djukic

593 Learning from the Past: The Case of Transcultural Heritage in Rural Ecclesiastical Monuments of Cyprus
Nasso Chrysochou

601 Empire on the Borders: Fragile Structures Along the Frontiers Between the Byzantine and Slavic Cultures
Nora Lombardini; Elena Fioretto

611 How to Plan an Ancient City Within Modern Settlement: The Case of Soli Pompeiopolis
Remzi Yağcı

619 Comparative Analysis of the Identity and Patrimonial Processes of Two Roman Archaeological Sites in Portugal: The Roman Temple of Évora and the Schrine of Panóias, Vila Real
Rute Teixeira; Fabio Vergara Cerqueira

627 EUROPEAN HERITAGE AS AN IMPERIALIST STATEMENT IN COLONIES: (UN)DESIRABLE MEMORIES THAT MUST BE PROTECTED, OR TO BE FORGOTTEN?

629 The Architectural Conservation Movement in Colonial Egypt (1882-1956): A Methodology
Adham Fahmy

639 Colonial Heritage in Latin America: Damnatio Memoriæ or Transcultural Dialogue?
Amélia Polónia; Cátia Miriam Costa

647 Law, Religion, Heritage: Preservation in Late Colonial India – The Problem of the Thatta Mosque
Indra Sengupta

657 Producing Anglo-India: The Shaping of Meaning Under a British Paradigm
Javier Ors Ausin

667 A New New Delhi? Re-Examining Areas of Conflict Between Conservation and Redevelopment of Lutyen's Delhi
Manas Murthy; Vanicka Arora

677 The Saint Sebastian Fortress on the Island of Mozambique: The Conservation of a Foreign Heritage
Maurizio Berti

689 The Attitudes Towards the Built Heritage of Lahore
Saba Samee

701 Luís Benavente: A Key Player in Portugal's Strategy for the Safeguarding of Colonial Architectural Heritage
Vera Mariz

711 BETWEEN FAR EAST AND THE INDIAN SEA: INDOCHINESE AND INSULINDIAN CULTURES (INFLUENCES, FUSIONS AND HERITAGE SAFEGUARDING)

713 Inhabitants' Awareness of Shared Architectural Heritage: A Case Study of the Darmo Conservation Area, Surabaya, Indonesia
Erika Yuni Astuti

723 World Heritage for Whom? Sustainable Heritage Tourism and Community Development of Luang Prabang
Lui Tam

733 Saigon's Colonial Architecture: Conservation in the Face of Rapid Development and New Identity Construction
Phi Nguyen

745 The Virgin Mary in the Meeting of Cultures: Safeguarding the Transcultural Heritage in the Immaculate Conception Community, Bangkok
Saraphun Wongngernyuang

755 GLOBALISATION AS GENERATOR OF NEW TRANSCULTURAL HERITAGES: PRESERVING MIGRANTS' ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE

757 Questions About the Authenticity of the Brazilian World Heritage
Gabrielle Cifelli

765 Franciscan Friars in the Tropics: An Uneasy Cultural Meeting Between Brazil and Germany
Maria Angélica da Silva; Taciana Santiago de Melo; Ana Luiza Cavalcanti Mendonça; Náiade Alves

775 Australian Shared Built Heritage
Susan Jackson-Stepowski

785 Matter of Life and Death: Reasons to Remember in St. Mary's Cemetery, Chennai
William Pettigrew; Emily Mann

797 PRESERVING SHARED HERITAGE ALONG THE SILK ROAD, A MAJOR CREATOR OF CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS

799 Some Remarks Regarding the Preservation of Ilkhanid Architectural Heritage in Iran: History, Challenges and Perspectives
Ana Marija Grbanovic

811 The Silk Road: How Maritime Routes can Promote Cultural Connections – Macau as Case-Study
Maria José do Carmo Freitas

821 Chinoiserie: An Exploration of Cultural Heritage Along the Maritime Silk Roads
Mei Qing

831 A Century of Archaeological Research and Restorations at Ani: Preserving an Armenian-Orthodox vs. Turkish-Islamic Past
Zeynep Aktüre; Fahriye Bayram

841 MEMORIES TO REMEMBER AND (NOT) FORGET: SLAVES' HERITAGE OUTSIDE THEIR HOMELANDS

843 Preserving Indonesia's Slavery Inheritance Culture Through an Intuitive Approach in Creating Spatial Experience in a Slave Memorial
Doni Fireza

857 The Architecture of Creole Cosmopolitanism: Strategies for Preserving the Landscapes of Slavery in Mauritius
Dwight Carey

865 When Orishas Visit the Earth: Survivals at Terreiros of the Afro Matrix Religions in Alagoas, Brazil
Louise Maria Martins Cerqueira; Maria Angélica da Silva; Arlindo da Silva Cardoso; Karina Mendonça Tenório de Magalhães Oliveira; Lucas Cardoso Ramos; Paula Louise Fernandes Silva

877 THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE CROSSROAD BETWEEN EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA: FUSION OF CULTURES AND HERITAGES TO PRESERVE

879 Heritage or Property: Preserving the Churches of Aintab
Gül Cephanecigil

889 Visitor Management at Historical Monuments and Sites: A Proposal for Topkapi Palace Museum
H. İlke Tandoğdu; Gülsün Tanyeli

899 Highlights on the Restoration of the Ottoman's Al – Qushlah Building (1987-1989)
Nawar Sami Mehdi Al-Ali

911 A Carmelite Father and an Ottoman Water Mill in Palestine: Cultural Interaction at the Monk's Mill
Ruth Liberty-Shalev; Adi Har-Noy

921 SHOULD BE FOLLOWED OR IGNORED? RECEPTION OF EUROPEAN HERITAGE THEORIES WITHIN NON-WESTERN CULTURES

923 Jean-Philippe Lauer, Athens Conference and the Introduction of Anastylosis to Saqqara
Adham Fahmy

933 Transferring Urban Theories to Iranian Context
Azadeh Arjomand Kermani

943 The Role of European Professors in Historic Preservation in Turkey: The Case of Paolo Verzone
Mesut Dinler

953 Against the Reception of Eurocentric Heritage Theories on Non-Western Cultures: A Case of Pre/Post Colonisation in Nigeria
Olukoya Obafemi

965 OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS

967 Unwanted Heritage as Asset, Position of Memorial Architecture of Communist Yugoslavia in Contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina
Aida Bičakčić

968 Enhancement and Digitization of Ecclesiastical Relics
Athanasios T. Stogiannos

969 Preserving Transcultural Heritage in a Unique Land Where the Continents & Cultures Meet: Istanbul Case
Ebru Yıldız; Elmas Erdoğan

970 Archeological Landscapes, it's Survival and Sustainability: Antalya, Perge Case
Ebru Yıldız; Elmas Erdoğan

971 Preservation of the Basilica of Bom Jesus in Goa: An Illusion of Immanence
Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos

972 The Apprehended Rebellion Against Modern Catholic Church Architecture and Iconography in a Small Philippine City
Liliane Rejante Manahan

973 Portuguese-Brazilian Landscape: An Urban Heritage Network
Roseline Vanessa Oliveira Machado; Flávia Cerullo; Bianca Machado

974 Clerical House and Museum: Trajectories of Architectural Heritage in Brazil
Silveli Maria de Toledo Russo

THE POLITICS OF RENOVATION

THE DISAPPEARING ARCHITECTURE OF GOA'S OLD BRAHMANICAL TEMPLES

Amita Kanekar
The Al-Zulaij Collective

https://doi.org/10.30618/978-989-658-467-2_21

ABSTRACT
The unique architecture of Goa's old Brahmanical shrines is under threat today, and one reason seems to be a perception that it is not Hindu enough. Goa's centuries-long Islamicate and Iberian connections have left behind a heterogeneous culture in many aspects, including architecture. The many Brahmanical temples built from the seventeenth century onwards are examples of this, their hybrid forms belonging as much to the Islamicate world and the European Renaissance as to local building traditions. But, while these temples still stand today and attract increasing numbers of worshippers, their original architecture is disappearing, to be replaced by forms and elements from outside Goa. This paper examines the attempts to erase these unique forms, and the relation of this to the social, political, and legal context.

KEYWORDS
heritage, preservation, Goa, Hindu temples, Brahmanical temples

Goa's history as an ancient Indian Ocean port, its ties to the Islamicate Deccan, and its half-millennium-long Portuguese connection have created a heterogeneous culture which is strikingly visible in its architecture. Examples of this include the many Brahmanical temples built from the seventeenth century onwards, which use a unique vocabulary inspired by the Bijapur Sultanate, the European Renaissance, the vernacular building of the Arabian Sea coast, and others. These temples are today, and have probably always been, centres of social discrimination and exclusion on the basis of caste, but their architecture is a different story, harking as it does to the multiple worlds that have gone to make up Goa's cosmopolitan culture. Though multi-referenced architecture does not necessarily proclaim a free society, it does mean a more diverse and extrovert one, open to influences and also opportunities. It is this heritage of Goa that was embodied in its temple architecture. But, while many of these institutions still stand today and are attracting increasing worship, their unique architecture is under threat, increasingly being replaced by forms from outside Goa. A great many temples have already disappeared, either completely torn down and rebuilt in a brand new avatar, or slowly but surely renovated out of all recognition. It will not be long before the Goan temple exists only in photographs.

The paper begins with a discussion of the origins of these buildings and a survey of their architecture, making a case for looking at the Goan temple as a distinct style or vocabulary of temple architecture. It then documents the current architectural developments, and finally discusses the possible reasons, including the legal, social, and political contexts, for the changes. The documentation and analysis is based on an examination of archival material, including old photographs and drawings, an examination also of the websites and publications of these institutions, and a first-hand survey of the sites today.

This paper uses the term Brahmanical to describe temples which have been described by others as Hindu (Pereira 1995; Kowal 2001; Landrus 2014; etc). This is because the Hinduism of today is very different in content and following from that in the past. Indeed, there are many scholars who hold that it was more or less invented in the nineteenth century (Frykenberg 1989; Thapar 1989; etc). It would be more historically accurate therefore to refer to the shrines of the past in terms of the communities to whom they belonged and the practices they followed. The word Brahmanical here refers to the dominant castes who owned these temples and also their caste-centric functioning.

Origin myths and realities

Contrary to popular opinion that sees today's Hindu temples as public institutions, these shrines have always belonged to specific castes. Many of the old and large ones in Goa belong to the Saraswat community. These owners, called *mahazan*s (Konkani for 'great persons'), consider themselves the descendents of the temple-founders, and take all decisions about the temple and its properties today. They are the only worshippers permitted to enter the temple sanctum; they also enjoy various other '*maan*' or ritual privileges. The non-*mahazans* of the village in which the temple is located participate in most temple rituals and festivities, but always in a subordinate position that reflects their standing in the caste hierarchy (Kanekar 2016).

All of these temples are located in the Novas Conquistas, i.e. the region which became a part of Goa only in the eighteenth century. Many appear to have been founded in the period

when the Marathas were in control of the Pernem, Bicholim, and Ponda regions. The Marathas were by then ruled by the Brahmin Peshwas, which may explain the support for new Brahmanical symbols. The Peshwas also employed many Saraswats at their courts, some of whom were apparently leading spirits behind these new temple foundations (Kowal, 2009). Over the eighteenth century, the Marathas and their allies were driven out of this region by the Estado da Índia, but this does not seem to have affected the development, prosperity, and proliferation of these shrines. This points not only to the changed approach of the Estado regarding non-Catholic shrines, but also to the prosperity of temple-patrons within Goa; Saraswats were an affluent and influential section of Estado society (Carreira 2014; Pereira 1978).

Many of these temples propagate an origin story of relocation of deities, from temples destroyed in the sixteenth-century Velhas Conquistas (Dhume 2015), the older region of Goa. The idols were saved, so the story goes, and secreted to neighbouring Bijapur where they was preserved in small shrines; the latter were replaced by large ones in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries. Repeated ad nauseum, these stories have become 'common knowledge', and cited by even academics (Axelrod and Feurch 1996), but without any historical proof. One wonders, for example, how these idols managed to survive not only the destruction of their temples, but two whole centuries more, before they were installed in new temples. And how it is that these Brahmanical deities find their worship so interwoven with local Bahujan worship even today (Kanekar 2016). Questions also arise about the choice of sites. One of the biggest, Kavlem's Shantadurga, is said to have been built on land formerly occupied by a Mahar settlement. The possibility of other reasons for the new temples, like land takeovers, thus need to be looked into.

These stories of peaceful relocation are facing challenges today. In the village of Marcaim, Bahujan residents claim that the idol of the Navdurga temple was a local one belonging to the indigenous community, whose shrine and worship was usurped by the Saraswats. This take-over, according to them, was formalized by a new nineteenth-century law, the *Lei das Mazanias*, under which the Saraswats got themselves registered as *mahazan*, and thus got control over the temple (Kanekar 2016). Priol's Mangueshi temple, another prominent Saraswat-owned shrine, faces similar accusations (Kerkar 2014). Rui Gomes Pereira also refers to a takeover of local temples and deities in the Novas Conquistas by Brahmins from the Velhas Conquistas (1978, p. 18).

The foundation dates of these temples are also difficult to confirm. An example is that of the Saptakoteshvar, Naroa, widely believed to have been founded in 1668 thanks to an inscription on the edifice. But the date and day on the inscription do not match (Shirodkar 1991); he believes, going by its palaeography, that the inscription was added later, perhaps in the nineteenth century. Also, while Shirodkar continually uses the term 'reconstruction' in his discussion (harking to the demolition of a Saptakoteshvar temple in Divar), the inscription itself actually says '*devalayasya prarambha*', i.e. 'start of the temple'.

That the Saptakoteshvar inscription may belong to the nineteenth century is significant, for this was a big time for myth-making in Goa, among almost all ambitious communities (Parobo 2015, pp. 23-49). It was then that the Saraswats were manufacturing their own Brahminical status and history; it is very possible that all these stories about ancient deities were also spun with the same ambitions of high status and heroic past.

'But they don't look like temples!'

Temple architecture in the region that became Goa seems to have been fairly rudimentary before the early modern era. There is mention of some temples of stone or laterite, but most of those destroyed in the sixteenth century appear to have been constructed of light materials going by the ease of their destruction, e.g. it is reported that all the temples of Salcete were destroyed in just the one year of 1567, which included 280 big temples and innumerable small ones, according to the Jesuit records (Xavier and Zupanov 2015, p.126). The method of destruction – burning, followed by dismantling of masonry, if any – also implies materials like wood and thatch. Even nineteenth-century images show thatched roofs and wooden pillars in smaller temples (Lopes Mendes 1886).

By this time, however, given the massive churches and forts erected in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, Goa had developed a reputation for building well. Goans are said to have been invited to build the Sindhudurg sea-fort in the seventeenth century, and to repair the Aghoreshvara temple in Ikkeri in the early nineteenth (Buchanan 1807). The new masonry temples of the Novas Conquistas were also apparently the work of Goan builders and artisans (Kowal 2001), some of them second- and third-generation Catholics, both before and after the region became a part of Goa.

The most striking thing about these temples for today's viewers is that they don't look like temples. This is because they not only lack the dominant forms found in Brahmanical temples in South Asia, but also incorporate forms identified today with the religious architecture of other faiths. But this is actually not uncommon for the time, which saw a great many temples of unusually heterogeneous inspiration in the subcontinent (Michell 2015), many unique to their region, at once cosmopolitan as well as local. A common tendency was the incorporation of Sultanate and Mughal ideas, probably first seen in the temples of the Ikkeri Nayakas (Kanekar 2010); they shared a border, also a long and often acrimonious trading relationship, with the Estado. The Rajput kingdoms and the Marathas followed suit. Certain elements however remained common to many of these shrines, like the axial layout and the hierarchy of access based on caste.

The Goan temples too followed an axial layout and caste-based access. But their distinctive hybridity saw the coming together of ideas from the European Renaissance, the Bijapur sultanate, the Mughal world (Kowal 2001, Pereira 1995), and the Arabian Sea coast (Shokoohy 2010). Some Ikkeri Nayaka influence can also be seen, especially in Canacona. The result is that even familiar elements take novel forms.

The basic layout of a Goan temple seems to be a square unventilated *garba-kud* (sanctum), fronted by a porch. The large temples have a front porch with sweeping entrance steps, leading into a pillared hall with stout circular pillars holding up an ornate wooden ceiling, and thence – via a grand doorway in a decorated wall – to the anteroom (or two) before the sanctum. The latter may have an ambulatory corridor around it. There are usually prominent side porches, resulting in a basilican church-like plan. Festive occasions found a temporary pavilion set up before the porch; by the late twentieth century many temples had made this a permanent and very large semi-open hall built in reinforced cement concrete (RCC).

The temples were built in plastered laterite, brightly painted, and picked out with pilasters, cornices, balustrades, and window forms from Renaissance Italy. Archways for entrances, windows and niches may be round-headed Renaissance ones, ogee Bijapuri ones, or foliated Mughal ones. The sanctum tower is topped by a Classical dome and lantern, or a Bijapuri

dome and finial. The tower itself is usually octagonal and treated with arched niches and a balustrade railing below the springing of the dome. The rest of the roofscape consists of sloping and tiled roofs for the halls, and sometimes smaller domes for porches.

Around the big temples are found various ancillary structures. One is a large stepped tank, reminiscent of the two Adilshahi mosques of Safa and Surla-Tar, located not far away. The lamp tower is common to temples along the south-western coast, but is here reminiscent of Goan church towers which themselves hark to the corner towers of the Gol Gumbaz in Bijapur (Kowal 2001, Gomes 2011). The *tulas* (holy basil) plant is set in a large planter that resembles the church cruzeiros. The entrance gateway takes the form of the Bijapuri *nagarkhana*, or drumhouse. And there is the *agrashala*, or the pilgrims' quarters and offices, which edged the complex. The smaller temples were similar in layout, but adopted a simple Goan house form, with thick laterite walls, rounded arches, and pitched tiled roofs.

This hybridity did not happen all at once, according to José Pereira (1995). The earliest influence was of the European Renaissance, clearly via the churches of Goa. Bijapuri and Mughal forms enter in the eighteenth century, probably via the Marathas. A sophisticated combination of the two was achieved by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in which the temple comes to resemble a grand Goan manor house.

Renovation and Rebuilding

A study of contemporary temple architecture in Goa by Leanne Alcasoas (2013) concluded that there were two distinct periods of post-1961 building of new temples: immediately post-1961 and from the late 1990s onwards. A preliminary survey of Goa's old brahmanical temples carried out for this paper shows that the same periodisation can be applied for their renovation and rebuilding as well, i.e these two periods saw intensive renovation and complete rebuilding of old temples. Of the period before 1961, it is clear that many temples were rebuilt or renovated, partially or fully, continually over the centuries, though it is difficult to understand the scope of the changes. An attempt is however made below.

Pre-1961

Although there is little data available on the nature of changes in this vast period, it is clear, from the engravings and photographs of the time, that there was a fair amount of renovation and even some rebuilding. An example is Priol's Mangueshi temple which was apparently rebuilt twice during Maratha rule, again in 1890, and then in 1973 (Dhume, 2016). Its earliest recorded image shows a roofscape limited to steeply-pitched tiled roofs; the domes that dominate the scene today were built in the 1890s. This latter period, i.e. the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, saw much rebuilding, like that of Nagueshi at the end of the nineteenth century, and Bandora's Ramnathi in 1905. This may have some link to the new *Lei das Mazanias* law, which formalised the control and management of the temples.

Pre-1961 renovations and rebuildings developed what could be called the Goan language of temple architecture, with the large temples adopting the Islamicate-European Renaissance-western coast vocabulary, the smaller ones more the Goan house form, at times with a metal finial or a small dome over the sanctum.

By the middle of the century, RCC construction starts to be seen in the photographs, used especially for the new semi-open halls and expanded *agrashalas*.

1961-1990

The immediate post-1961 period saw a burst of temple renovation, expansion and re-building, e.g. Kavlem's Shantadurga was renovated in 1966 and Priol's Mangueshi in 1973. New halls, *nagarkhanas* and *agrashalas* came up in many temples. Timber roofs and timber eaves were replaced by RCC ones.

Radical rebuilding was also seen, inspired by temple forms from outside Goa, like the latina tower (the parabolic tower form common in north India), seen for the first time in Goa. Some temples were altered out of all recognition, like Zambaulim's Damodar, which used to have a Goan house form in the nineteenth century; it was rebuilt in 1970 into a semi-Modernist building in RCC with a latina tower over the sanctum (images 1, 2, 3). Panjim's Mahalaxmi, founded in 1818, was similarly transformed in 1983 into an RCC building with a latina tower.

Even in the cases where complete rebuilding has not happened, the changes are substantial. Temples like Priol's Mangueshi, Kavlem's Shantadurga (Images 4, 5), and Marcaim's Navdurga retained some of their old forms, including basilican plans, arched windows, pitched roofs, and Renaissance domes over the sanctum, but the rebuilding in concrete altered things, either subtly (like the roofs), or crudely (like the boxy window-eaves), or completely (like the agrashalas).

1990s onwards

The second wave began around the early 1990s, and is still on, with much renovation and rebuilding of old temples, but a more nuanced approach to Indianisation. Expansion is still a major objective and on a gigantic scale, especially of the front halls, the number of halls and secondary buildings, also of the sanctum tower height. The use of more expensive contemporary materials is another objective, with the application of copper sheeting to roofs, and silver and gold leaf to pinnacles and internal walls, besides expensive granites and marbles for floors. Along with this is complete rebuilding, either of small shrines, like the Mulkeshvar shrine at Mangueshi temple (Images 6, 7) and the Saptakoteshvar at Fatorpa (Image 12), or of the entire temple.

In the case of rebuilding, the popularity of Indian forms like the Nagara latina and the Dravida pyramidal towers are waning, though not dead. The choice is increasingly between south coastal or Malabar-style pitched roof compositions, as at the Mulkeshvar at Priol's Mangueshi, or elaborate domical compositions using elements from the Goan repertoire along with Indian ones, but without the understanding of proportions and scale visible in the earlier designs.

The Fatorpa-Balli region has many examples of all of these. The Shantadurga Fatorpakarin temple at Fatorpa, the rebuilding of which began in 1988-89, has kept to the Goan manner, though larger and grander. The Shantadurga Cuncolkarin, also in Fatorpa, where work began in 1991, is however an Indianised extravaganza, with monumental scale, pitched roofs, a dome (not a Goan one) on a tower, multiple attached shrine niches (again, not in the Goan manner) on the walls, and a giant *khambo* in the form of a Rajasthani victory tower (images 8, 9, 10). In Balli, the rebuilding of the Shantadurga, begun in 2013, sees a Goan house form replaced by a grand mingling, in exposed laterite, of Buddhist chaitya with Tamil Dravida

temple, incorporating a dome on a Sanchi-stupa-like railing, a chaitya-like barrel vault for the hall, horseshoe arches and pillars that hark to Buddhist rock-cut architecture as well as Tamil temples, Tamil cornices, and a Tamil prakara-like setting (image 11). Finally, the Saptakoteshvar shrine in the Shantadurga Fatorpacarin complex sees another small house form being replaced by a monumental cross between the Tambdi Surla Mahadev and the Karnata Dravida tradition (Image 12).

Contexts and Conclusions

Thus, there seem to have been four important moments or periods in building and rebuilding of the old temples: the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when many existing Brahmanical temples claim to have been founded; the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when many were apparently rebuilt or renovated, resulting in the maturity and spread of what might be called a 'Goan temple style', on par with the Goan church style noted by Paulo Varela Gomes (2011); the immediate post-1961 period, which saw expansion and even complete rebuilding using Modernistic materials, and the introduction of Indian temple forms; and finally from the 1990s to today, where transformations are rampant and self-conscious.

The Goan temple is clearly disappearing fast. The primary reason is that the architecture of these temples, although centuries old, is not protected under any heritage or conservation laws. Even where such protection existed, as at Mangueshi, the *mahazans* were able to get it removed and thus became the sole authorities over the sites (Kerkar, 2014).

But the manner in which these buildings are changing is not random. The enlargement of temples and the choice of recognizably Indian forms in the immediate post-1961 period has to do with both the nationalist environment that prevailed in Goa following the Indian annexation, and with the nature of Indian nationalism. As G. Aloysius has pointed out, Indian nationalism is cultural nationalism, less about political rights then about celebrating culture and traditions; the culture that is celebrated is that of the dominant castes, i.e.it is the caste system and all its traditions (1998). In this vision of the nation, to be Indian is to be Hindu and Brahmanical, while everything European and Islamicate is foreign.

What this means is that Brahmanical temples are symbols of nationalism. Rebuilding them, to a bigger scale and with recognizably Indian forms, is a political and nationalist statement about Goa being Indian. Erasing the proof of Goa's heterogeneous past, like its heterogeneous architecture, makes this even more convincing. If Goa's Konkani language had to remove Portuguese words and incorporate Sanskrit ones in order to be considered worthy of nationalist respect (Fernandes 2013, pp. 79-131), Nagara and Dravida elements were required in temple architecture for the same reason.

With the rise of the BJP from the late 1980s, this equating of Brahmanical Hinduism as nationalism is blatant, no longer hidden behind an apparently secular discourse. The rise of the BJP has, not surprisingly, also meant more political support for temple construction, the bigger the better, along with a greater self-consciousness in the designs. The result is temple as spectacle, i.e. Indianisation along with monumentality and showiness.

But this architectural erasure has been complicated by the rise of Indian tourism in Goa from the late 1980s, and the packaging of Goa as a European holiday paradise for Indians.

Goa's Portuguese and Catholic culture are now selling points, and with them its so-called 'Indo-Portuguese' architecture. The result is a recovery of some old Goan architectural elements like pitched and tiled roofs, balcãos, and the grand manorial composition, along with the introduction of new ones like exposed laterite. Domes may be included, but they are often not Goan ones. Along with this is monumental size and various Indian elements, but rarely an understanding of the proportions and scale that went into the original compositions.

To conclude, it is thus not surprising at all to note how, despite this rampant architectural innovation, the functioning of these temples remains conservative and brahmanical. Rituals, practices, occupations, and access in all old temples remain caste-dictated to this day. At least one, Ibrampur's Sateri temple, denies entry to the village Dalits even into the temple hall to this day (Kanekar 2016). There is no contradiction in this formal innovation amidst social stagnation, when the architectural innovation is itself driven by a celebration of Brahmanism.

REFERENCES

Books

Aloysius, G, *Nationalism without a Nation in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998

Carreira, Ernestine, *Globalising Goa (1660-1820): Change and Exchange in a Forme Capital of Empire,* Goa: Goa 1556, 2014

Dhume, Chandranath Vinayak Shenvi Dhume, *A Guide for Shree Manguesh Mahajan,* Goa: Shree Manguesh Devasthan, 2015

Frykenberg, Robert, The Emergence of Modern 'Hinduism' as a Concept and as an Institution: A Repraissal with Special Reference to South India, Sontheimer, Gunther D, and Kulke, Hermann, *Hinduism Reconsidered,* New Delhi: Manohar, 1989, 29-49

Gomes, Paulo Varela, *Whitewash, Red Stone,* Delhi: Yodapress, 2011

Landrus Mallika Kubera, "Transcultural Temples: Identity and Practise in Goa" in Hegewald, Julia A B, *In the Shadow of the Golden Age: Art and Identity in Asia from Gandhara to the Modern Age*, Berlin: EB Vertag, 2014

Kerkar, Jagdish D Naik, *Gabhara*, Goa: self-published, 2014

Michell, George, *Late Temple Architecture of India, 15th to 19th Centuries, Continuities, Revivals, Appropriations, and Innovations*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015

Parobo, Parag, *India's first democratic Revolution: Dayanand Bandodkar and the rise of the Bahujan in Goa,* New Delhi: Orient Blackswan 2016.

Pereira, José, *Baroque Goa*, Delhi: Books and Books, 1995

Pereira, Rui Gomes, *Goa: Hindu Temples and Deities,* Bombay: Printwell Press, 1978

Xavier, Angela Barreto, and Zupanov, Ines G, *Catholic Orientalism: Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge,* London: Oxford University Press, 2015

Journal Articles

Axelrod, Paul, and Fuerch, Michelle, "Flight of the Dieties: Hindu Resistance in Portuguese Goa", *Modern Asian Studies* 30, 2 (1996), pp. 387-421

Kanekar, Amita, "Two Temples of the Ikkeri Nayakas", *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 26 (2010), pp. 125-159

Kanekar, Amita, "The Remarkable Syncretism in Goa's Early Modern Architecture", *O Heraldo,* 22 October 2015, Edit>Opinions, pp. 6.

Kanekar, Amita, "From Sateri to Navdurga and Worshippers to Sevekaris", *O Heraldo*, 22 September 2016, Edit>Opinions, pp 8.

Kanekar, Amita, "Of Temples, Conversions, and Apologies", *O Heraldo*, 12 January 2017, Edit>Opinions, pp 8.

Kanekar, Amita, "Caste Atrocities in Goa: Give us today, our… land!" *O Heraldo,* 25 August 2016, Edit>Opinions, pp 8.

Kowal, David, "Hindu Temples of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Goa: The Maintenance of a Sacred Integrity and the Process of East-West Cross Fertilization," *Portuguese Study Review*, vol. 9, nos 1 and 2, 2001.

Shirodkar, P.P., "Reconstruction of Saptakoteshwar Temple by Shivaji: A New Light", *Purabhilekh-Puratatva*, January-June 1991, pp 55-57.

Thapar, Romila, "Imagined Religious Communities? Ancient History and the Modern Search for a Hindu Identity", *Modern Asian Studies* 23 (1989), pp. 209-31

Theses and Dissertations

Alcasoas, Leanne, "Contemporary Temple Architecture of Goa" (B.Arch Dissertation, Goa University, 2013)

Fernandes, Jason Kieth, "Citizen Experiences of the Goan Catholics" (PhD Dissertation, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, 2013)

Paper Presented at a Meeting or Conference

Kowal, David, "The Relationship of Christian and Hindu Architecture in Portuguese India: The Case for Individuality and Interdependence" (Paper presented at the Fundacao das Casas de Fronteira e Alorna, Lisbon, April 1994).

Web Sites

Kanekar, Amita, "'To save Goa's syncretic temple architecture, Bahujans must take over Brahmanical shrines", Scroll.in (2016). https://scroll.in/article/804981/to-save-goas-syncretic-temple-architecture-bahujans-must-take-over-savarna-shrines (accessed 13 January 2017)

Glossary

Bahujan: The so-called lower castes in the Hindu caste hierarchy, literally the majority

Balcão: Porch in a Goan house

Cruzeiro: The free-standing cross located in front of the Goan church

Dravida: Popular forms of the Brahmanical temple, with a pyramidal stepped tower over the sanctum, mostly found in peninsular South Asia

Saraswat, Mahar: Two castes of Goa, the first dominant, the second discrimated-against

Nagara: Popular forms of the Brahmanical temple, with a variety of curved towers over the sanctum, mostly found in the north, centre, and west of South Asia

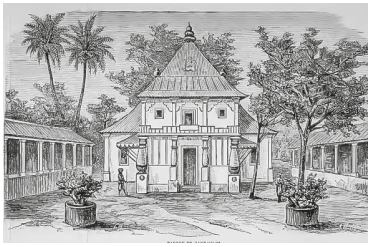


Image 1 – Damodar of Zambaulim, late nineteenth century (*source: Lopes Mendes, "A India Portuguesa"*)

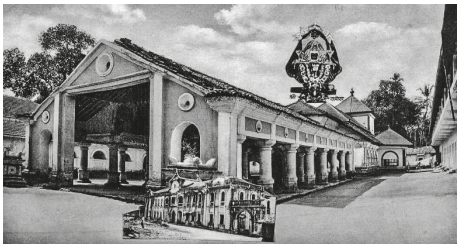


Image 2 – The temple in the 1940s (*source: Memorias da Indo Portuguesa*)

Image 3 – The temple today (*source: author*)

Image 4 – Kavlem's Shantadurga, undated but probably mid-twentieth century *(source: Fundo – DTC – Documentos Mário e Alice Chicó – Sílvia Chicó)*

Image 5 – The temple today (*source: author*)

Image 6 – Mangueshi's Mulkeshwar shrine after 1973 renovation (*source: author*)

Image 7 – The shrine today (*source: author*)

Image 8 – Shantadurga Cuncolcarin, Fatorpa, 1970s (*source: Prasad Hotel, Fatorpa*)

Image 9 – Shantadurga Cuncolcarin, Fatorpa, today, side view (*source: author*)

Image 10 – Today, front view with new lamp tower (*source: author*)

Image 11 – Banner showing the proposed Shantadurga Ballikarin complex, presently under construction (*source: author*)

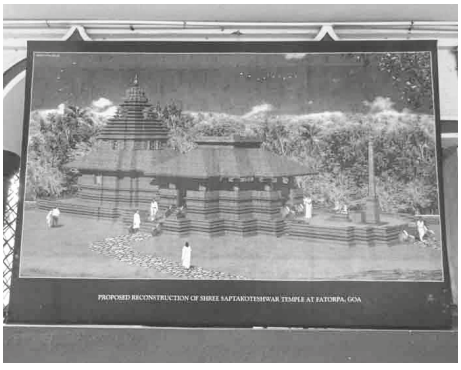


Image 12 – Poster showing the proposed new Saptakoteshvar temple at Fatorpa, presently under construction (*source: author*)