

ARCHITECTURE, NATIONALISM, AND THE FLEETING HEYDAY OF THE GOAN TEMPLE

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Abstract

This essay about the changing architecture of Brahmanical shrines in Goa uses archival images to argue that the period from the mid- nineteenth century to the first decades of the twentieth was the heyday of the Goan temple, an architectural type of pronounced heterogeneity. A significant number of temples were rebuilt at this time into this form, along with the definitive establishment of a vocabulary that drew from the European Renaissance and Baroque, as well as the Deccan Sultanates and the Mughals. These developments happened against a backdrop of the rising influence of the dominant Brahmanical castes of Goa, especially the Saraswats. Not only was the control of most temples now formally in their hands, this was also a time when these castes, long the pillars of the Estado da Índia, were consolidating their forces and finding new opportunities for employment and prosperity. These were all surely connected to the propagation of a new and cosmopolitan architecture that reflected their wealth, influence, modern-ness, and also Goan-ness.

But by the 1940s, Indian nationalism was in the air, especially amongst these elites, and their temples were found to fall short of the new mood. The result was to reject Europe and embrace the Indo-Saracenic, the 'local' style popular in British India. Thus began the demise of the Goan temple, which would accelerate after the Indian annexation of Goa in 1961. The cosmopolitan architecture that had once flaunted the success and worldliness of its Goan patrons had now become an embarrassment.

Keywords

architectural chronology; heritage; Lopes Mendes; Souza and Paul

About the Author

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This essay is about the changing architecture of Brahmanical shrines in Goa, and specifically about the very fleeting popularity of the Goan temple, a barely-recognised architectural type of pronounced heterogeneity. The main issue discussed here is the chronology of the rise and fall of this architectural type, specifically the fact that archival images of the temples from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries indicate that it may have originated in the nineteenth century, spread across Goa by the turn of the century, and began a decline in the 1940s from which it is yet to recover, even as Brahmanical temples proliferate at an exponential rate. This timeline challenges the prevalent idea that this temple architecture originated with the building of the Saptakoteshwar temple at Narvem in 1668 (J. Pereira, *Baroque Goa*; Baroque India; Kowal, “Evolution”; “Hindu Temple”); the completion not very much earlier of the Church of Our Lady of Divine Providence in the Cidade de Goa (today’s Old Goa)—whose dome was almost certainly one of the inspirations for many Goan temple domes, including that of the Saptakoteshwar—was considered significant. The new chronology offered here thus leads to new questions regarding the context and reasons for the probable rise and undoubted popularity of this type in the nineteenth century, and also for its decline soon afterwards. The argument here is that both the rise and fall were connected to a context of nationalism—the first of Goan nationalism, and the second of the rise of Indian nationalism in Goa.

The short heyday of this temple may also explain why it is relatively unrecognized and unprotected, and its demise unsung. For many people, including architectural historians and Goan laypeople, the term “Goan temple” is unfamiliar except in the general sense of any temple located in Goa. But all the temples in Goa, although Goan in this locational sense, are not of the architectural type that can be termed Goan. This is not least because Goa did not even exist before the first Portuguese conquest of 1510; before this, the region belonged to various different political formations. Goa was born as a distinct politico-economic region only after the Portuguese conquest, expanding to reach its current territorial definition by the annexations of the eighteenth century. The new and distinctive architectural character adopted by Brahmanical temples during this era of the *Estado da Índia* is what we call the Goan temple.

It is the specific heterogeneity of its architecture that distinguishes this temple type. Heterogeneous temple forms were not unusual in South Asia from the Early Modern era onwards, a common tendency being the incorporation of Deccan Sultanate and Mughal ideas into traditional temple layouts and morphologies, probably first seen in the sixteenth-century temples of the Ikkeri Nayakas (Kanekar, “Two Temples”) and followed by the temples of the Rajput and Maratha states (Michell). But, as we shall see below, the Goan temple stands out even among these, for it draws inspiration in its spatial organization, and also its basic forms and embellishments, from the European Baroque along with the Islamic world.

of South Asia (J. Pereira, *Baroque Goa; Baroque India*; Kowal, “Evolution”; “Hindi Temple”).

Thus, when one speaks of this architectural type, one does not refer to all the temples located in today’s Goa, but only those temples that are also chronologically and stylistically Goan.

BEFORE THE GOAN TEMPLE

An idea of the large population of non-Islamic shrines in the sixteenth-century Velhas Conquistas (the Old Conquests) is derived from Leonardo Paes’ *Prontuario das Definicoes Indicas* (qtd. in R. Pereira 6), who says that “these idol-worshipping people” had so many “pagodes,” that “there was no place in their land, however limited it may be, where there do not exist such temples.” They were found not only in the cities, villages, and wards, but also “on the highest hills and any island or cliff formed by the sea.”

Little remains of these shrines today but for a few plinths and tanks as well as stone sculptures now in museums, which is not surprising given the wide spread of Christianity in the local population in the same century, along with a government drive to destroy non-Christian shrines. But we get a picture of the architecture of these shrines from Padre Francisco Sousa in his *O Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Christo...* (qtd. in R. Pereira 5), indicating that most were of simple design and fragile materials; as a rule, they were of mud with a roof of dried palm leaves, and had at the centre a pillar, also of mud, to support the deity. Small shrines of this description can, interestingly, still be found in some Goan villages even today despite the prevalence of industrial materials like cement and tiles. A few, however, were reported as larger and built in stone or laterite masonry, like the Saptakoteswar at Divar and the Chamunda at Pilar/Gopakapatana (both gone); some are also reported as having beautiful carvings.

There are more pre-1510 remains today in the Novas Conquistas, or New Conquests, which became a part of the Estado da Índia over the eighteenth century. Here, where there was no deliberate destruction of non-Christian shrines, the remains include rock-cut caves, some of them former Buddhist shrines (Kowal, “Hindu Temples”); and a few ruined structural shrines like the Mahadev at Tambdi Surla, now restored, and the Mahadev at Curdi. Besides these old remains, there are also temples that were apparently founded before the Portuguese arrived but rebuilt later, some more than once.

All in all, Brahmanical shrine architecture before 1510 appears to be either relatively simple shelters that are rock-cut or of a vernacular design, or, if more elaborate, stylistically attached to any of the various political formations that included parts of today's Goa. For example, the Mahadev at Tambdi Surla was built during the rule of the Kadambas, feudatories of the imperial Chalukyas of Kalyana (in today's Karnataka), who patronized a distinctive Karnata Dravida language of temple architecture to which this temple belongs.

A NEW ARCHITECTURE, FROM THE WORLD BUT MADE IN GOA



Fig. 1

The Brahmanical shrine architecture that arose under the Estado da Índia was different, influenced by the architecture of the European Renaissance and Baroque via the Goan churches, and that of the Deccan Sultanates and the Mughals, probably via the Maratha temples or even the British Indo-Saracenic. It was not completely new, for it followed the old Brahmanical temple layout in its core spatial organization. Thus, like the Mahadev at Tambdi Surla, the Goan temple also has an axial and largely symmetrical layout, with the entrance leading into a hall, and thence to the chief idol in its small and dark sanctum. What is new and distinctive about the architecture of the Goan temple, however, is the spatial organization around the central axis, the secondary spaces and elements, and the physical forms of everything (see fig. 1). These include, especially in the bigger and richer temples,

the church-like basilican floor plan with a crossing separating sanctum from nave; the domes—either Italian Baroque or Bijapuri—with a balustrade around the base and a variety of finials including the European lantern or the Bijapuri inverted lotus with various pinnacles; round arches, pillars, pilasters and mouldings from the Renaissance-Baroque repertoire; Bijapuri ogee arches; the stepped *tollem* (temple tank) reminiscent of the Adilshahi Goan mosques; some Mughal forms like cypress pillars, cusped arches, and ‘guldasta’ mouldings; and typical local pitched and tiled roofs. The whole is built in mud or laterite masonry, plastered and usually brightly painted. Timber is used for the roofs, and sometimes for ceilings and intricately carved pillars, though the latter are more commonly of laterite masonry, very thick and with only a few mouldings.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

These temples are usually entered through a front porch (see fig. 2) or a semi-open pillared hall, leading to a lobby in the case of some big temples, where music might be played and musical instruments stored. This porch/lobby leads into the *mantap* or hall (see fig. 3), which fronts the *garba-cud* or sanctum. The *mantap*, if large, is a pillared hall, but the pillars are not arranged in a grid pattern like the Tambdi Surla Mahadev and many Brahmanical temples outside Goa. Instead, there are two rows of pillars, creating a church-like spatial division into nave and aisles, the former being a step up from the latter and called the *chouco*. Rituals are conducted on the *chouco*, making it a relatively sacred space. Like the lobby, the *mantap* seems to have been semi-open earlier, and even today in some small temples, with just a *sopo*, or platform-like seat, edging the aisles, where people can sit after completing their worship. However, the space is mostly enclosed now, with the parapet of the *sopo* sometimes carrying wooden grills above. This seems to have been the earliest kind of enclosure, which can still be seen at a few temples like the Laxmi-Narcinva at Velinga and the Bhavani at Carapur. Most temples, however, now have a solid wall with arched and shuttered window openings. The ceiling of the *chouco* is usually a long barrel vault, rising from above the line of round arches carried by the pillars (see fig. 3), though there could be a false ceiling of panelled and painted timber below, especially in bigger temples. The aisles are usually roofed

by lower half-barrels. Above the central barrel vault is a timber pitched and tiled roof, with lower lean-to roofs over the aisles, and clerestory windows puncturing the intervening wall space (see fig. 4).



Fig. 4.

At the head of the *mantap*, in axis with the main entrance and protected by a railed space in which the priests sit with some items of ritual, is the main entrance to the *garba-cud*. The *garba-cud* is flanked on the three other sides by a *pradacxina* or ambulatory corridor. The big temples have side entrances on either side of the *mantap*, creating a corridor-like space that crosses the *mantap* just in front of the sanctum entrance, thus providing a 'crossing.' The smaller temples often make do with a single side entrance. There is also a lobby in front of the *garba-cud* sometimes, with side entrances into the *pradacxina*.

The *garba-cud* is usually rectangular, windowless, and domed. Within is the chief idol of the temple, usually placed at the center of the room, but against the rear wall in some temples; it is flanked by secondary ones and other sacred objects, along with objects of ritual. In many older goddess temples, the chief idol is a natural *roen*, or anthill, fronted by a mask, though the renovated ones have usually replaced this with a statue.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.

The external articulation of the sanctum is, for the bigger temples, a dome—the highest point of the temple—edged by a balustrade and carried on an octagonal and tiered drum; the latter, like the temple walls, is pilastered and punctured by arched windows (see fig. 5). Some temples may also have domes over the front and side porches, as at the Manguesh at Priol (see fig. 6). The *chouco*'s pitched and tiled roof is lower, that of the aisles lower still. Some big temples see pitched and tiled roofs over the sanctum too, carried on square or polygonal drums, as at the Kamaxi of Shiroda (see fig. 7). In smaller temples, there is no separate sanctum roof; instead it is common for the *chouco* roof to extend over the *garba-cud*, and the lower lean-to roof of the aisles over the *pradacxina*, while a metal spire sometimes marks the sanctum center.

The bigger temples developed a set of ancillary structures of a typical and novel design. These included secondary shrines, in a hierarchy of size and location based on caste, as explained later. Then there is the *tollem*, or temple tank, a large rectangular pool with laterite walls and flights of steps leading down to the water level, quite similar to the tanks of the Bijapuri masjids of Ponda, the Safa, and Surla-Tar; the high-tiered lamptower or *khambo* (see Figure 8), which resembles the Bijapuri minaret; and the *tulas*, a Indian basil plant in a large planter which sometimes resembled the free-standing crosses in the front court of Goan churches. The *nagarkhana*, or double-storeyed gateway of the complex, was typical of the Mughal world, with the lower level for passage and the top used by musicians who, being considered low caste, were to be heard but not seen. The large *agraxala*

buildings that border the temple complex today, comprising everything from shops and canteens, to offices and marriage halls, seem to have originally comprised of living spaces for priests, along with shelter for pilgrims, conceptually not unlike the corridors that border mosque courtyards.

All these elements and articulation are found only in the bigger temples and some of the medium-sized ones. Many others have adopted a simplified house-like version of this, with a similar layout, semi-circular arched openings, timber pitched roofs, and a pillar-like *khambo* rather than a minaret-like one. The smallest shrines, however, are traditionally like little huts, i.e. an unornamented roofed enclosure, or even *gomtis*, a tiny shelter, while some idols might even be in the open. This variation is actually a hierarchy based on caste. The biggest temples belong to the dominant castes, the largest and most elaborately designed among them usually to the Saraswats, as they came to be known in the nineteenth century. The smaller and simpler shrines tend to belong to those considered lower in the hierarchy, while the tiniest and most invisible shrines belong to those held to be the lowest (Kanekar, "The Case"). The temple might indeed be considered the architectural embodiment of caste because everything about it, from control, access, functioning, and architecture, is governed by caste (Kanekar, "Brahmin" 139-141).

ORIGIN MATTERS: LOOKING BACK AT OLD DATES

David Kowal ("Evolution"; "Hindu Temple") and José Pereira (*Baroque. Goa; Baroque India*), perhaps the first scholars to have studied the architecture of the Goan temple, assert that it originated in the seventeenth century because of the inscription on the doorway of the Saptakoteswar temple of Narvem, a prominent example of the type. Going by the inscription, the temple was founded by the Maratha king Shivaji in 1668. As mentioned earlier, this was just seven years after the completion of the Theatine Church of Divine Providence, which is part of the Theatine convent in the Cidade de Goa; the church whose dome – the only true dome over a Goan church – inspired the domes over a host of Goan temples (Kanekar, "The Evolution"), as also the false domes over many Goan churches. It has been widely accepted that the recent building of this grand church must have inspired the design of the temple.

There are two problems here. First of all, it must be noted that the critical source for dating the origin of this type, namely the Saptakoteswar inscription, which mentions the year 1668, is apparently flawed—something which the scholars discussing architectural chronology seem to not have realized. The date and the day mentioned in the inscription do not match (Shirodkar 55-57); Shivaji is

also known to have been somewhere else on the date. Going by its palaeography, Shirodkar concludes that the inscription was added later, perhaps a renovation in the eighteenth or even the nineteenth century. Thus, although Shirodkar holds that the temple must have been founded some other time that year or the next, this date is effectively unknown when Shivaji was in the vicinity.

What is more to the point, however, is the questionable relevance of this foundation date for our purpose because there is no proof that the Saptakoteshwar's current architecture of the Goan temple type is the original architecture, not the result of later rebuilding. It must be remembered that the village of Narvem is in the New Conquests, which means it was not in Goa in the seventeenth century. It is true, of course, that Goan builders were in demand outside Goa in Shivaji's time and later (Buchanan 257). However, it still seems unlikely that such a large and sophisticated temple building as exists today could come up outside Goa using so many elements from the Renaissance-Baroque palette, including the layout, balustrade, facade, pilasters, and mouldings, to especially the dome, all of which can relate directly to the great Goan churches, so soon after these were themselves built.

Following the inscription, however, José Pereira presents the architecture of the Saptakoteshwar as the early phase of the Goan temple, the Shantadurga of Kavlem (founded around the 1730s) and the Naguesh of Bandora (an old temple believed to have been rebuilt in 1780) as the second phase, and the Manguesh at Priol (founded in 1744 but recorded in temple publications as rebuilt in 1890) as the third phase (*Baroque Goa*). Kowal further offers evidence—via a complaint written by a Jesuit priest to the Portuguese king—that Catholic artisans were building Hindu temples in the 18th century (“Hindu Temples”). He feels this could be a reason why the temples adopted Goan church forms.

The problem with this chronology is the Manguesh temple of Priol. This temple is known to have been founded in 1744, not long after the Shantadurga at Kavlem, but nobody dates its Goan temple type of architecture to that time. This is not only because the temple officials and their publications date this architecture to 1890;—the reason is there is proof that it was not built as a Goan temple until well into the nineteenth century. There are two undated photographic images of it, which cannot be earlier than the 1850s because that is when photography first appeared in Goa. In these images, it is shown in a relatively vernacular avatar and without its many domes (see fig. 9a). It appears fairly large, with a high porch accessed by a flight of steps, a large *mantap* behind it, and steep pitched roofs seemingly made at least partly of palm leaves. There is no dome or even tower over the sanctum, while the front stairs are shielded by a lean-to roof held up on wooden poles. Next to it,

however, is the magnificent *khambo* of the Goan temple type which continues to stand in place today (see fig. 9b).



Fig. 9a.



Fig. 9b.

It is worth noting that the temple in question is one of Goa's most wealthy and dominant ones. If the Saptakoteshwar temple already existed in the new architecture, together with the nearby Shantadurga of Kavlem and the Naguesh of Bandora, why would the powerful Manguesh have waited for more than a century

before updating its architecture? It seems more likely that the domical avatars of the Saptakoteshwar of Narvem, the Kavlem Shantadurga, and the Naguesh of Bandora are actually not that old.

In fact, there is a historical record of fund collection for extensive building works at the Saptakoteshwar in the 1920s (Parobo, Personal communication), though the actual content of this work has not been mentioned. Also, the Manguesh is the not the only one of its kind. As we shall see in the next section, the second half of the nineteenth century is a time when many temples in Goa are on their way to becoming Goan temples.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY TRANSFORMATIONS VIA LOPES MENDES

Thanks to António Lopes Mendes and his ethnographical documentation of Goa, including drawings of what he encountered during his residence from 1862 to 1871, we have a very good idea of temple architecture at the time. His account includes twenty-one images of shrines in Goa that prove beyond doubt that the Goan temple had made an entry on the architectural stage of Goa by the 1860s. But, as we shall see, it also shows that quite a few temples were in a process of transformation towards the new architecture form.

Of the twenty-one temples in this record, nine are clearly of the Goan temple character. These include the Xantadurga (now known as Shantadurga) at Kavlem, with a domed octagonal tower over the *garba-cud*, pilastered walls, and prominent minaret-like tiered *khambo* (see fig. 1); the Naguesh at Bandora with two domes, a large one with a balustrade over an octagonal tiered tower over the *garba-cud*, and a smaller one over a side entrance; the Santer Deu (now Shantadurga) of Bicholim town with a domed octagonal tower over *garba-cud*, *balcão*-like entrance porch, and oculus window; the Bhagwat (now Bhagwati) of Pernem town with a domed tower over the *garba-cud* and double-domed entrance porch; the Chandrenate (now Chandreshwar Bhootnath) at Paroda with a domed octagonal tower over the *garba-cud*, balustrade, arched windows, and pilastered walls; the Dhargaly (Shantadurga) temple with a domed and tiered tower over *garbacud* and *balcão*-like entrance porch; the Camaxa (Kamakshi) at Shiroda with an octagonal tiered tower with conical pitched roof over the *garba-cud*, pilastered walls, arched doorways and windows, and a minaret-like *khambo*; the Bhagwat (now Bhumika) at Poriem with an octagonal tower with conical pitched roof over the *garba-cud*, and arched windows; and the Vithol (now Vithal) of Carapur with an octagonal tiered tower, topped by a conical pitched roof, over the *garba-cud*.

The Ramchandra temple, of which only the upper part of the garba-cud tower is depicted in the Partagal Matha image, also appears to be a Goan temple. Here, there is a double-layered roof above an octagonal drum with windows and (possibly) pilasters too. The lower roof layer is pitched and tiled, while the higher layer is an onion dome. This is interesting because even though the Ramchandra's current type of architecture is that of a Goan temple, with an octagonal *garba cud* tower carrying a two-layered roof, both of its layers are pitched and tiled. Either Lopes Mendes made a mistake since the image is small and is only seen from a distance, or the temple has been renovated since to remove the onion dome.

It is the remaining eleven images that are very interesting from the point of view of understanding transformations, for most of them are at least partially of the Goan temple type. Only two of them depict what seems to be vernacular architecture, with no Goan temple elements. One of these is of the Mauly temple at Uguem. However, this temple has not been located by this study; hence, it is not possible to comment on whether or how it has changed. The second, titled the Usgao temple, is clearly the Adinath of Usgao, which today bears a mix of vernacular elements like the timber pitched roof and very thick walls, along with recent renovations of surface finishes, including cement plaster for the walls and new tiles for the floor and roof. The only resemblance it could have with the Goan temple type is in the layout, the thick circular pillars, and the large *tulas* planter. It would seem that this temple remained vernacular in its architecture, being repaired and renovated only as required for maintenance.

Relatively vernacular architecture and a modest scale is also seen in the image of the Mahadeu (now Mahadev) temple of Cacora, but with it is a large *tulas* planter and a prominent tiered pillar of a *khambo*. This temple has been extensively renovated from 2009, but pre-2009 images show a typical Goan temple, with pilastered external walls and side entrance, a mantap containing a chouco edged by thick circular pillars holding up round arches, a pitched roof above the chouco, lower lean-to roofs over the aisles, and a higher pitched roof on a square drum over the garba-cud. It thus seems that renovations with the aim of making it a Goan temple had begun in Lopes Mendes's time, and continued apace in the years that followed.

Then there is the image of the Marcella (Marcel) temples, depicted as a precinct of many shrines, quite as they are today and with many Goan temple characteristics, including lower entrance porches in front of double-roofed main buildings, pilastered walls with round-arched openings, large *tulas* planters, and tiered pillar-like *khambos*. Most of these have been radically rebuilt in the last four or five decades, with few Goan elements visible today, except for the largest temple, the Devaki Krishna, and the smaller Laxmi Ravalnath, which are both partially

preserved. The first has a conical dome on an octagonal drum with pilasters and arched windows that is not visible in the drawing, implying that this was built later. The other, with its simple pitched and tiled roofs, could well be one of the temples captured by Lopes Mendes.



Fig. 10a.

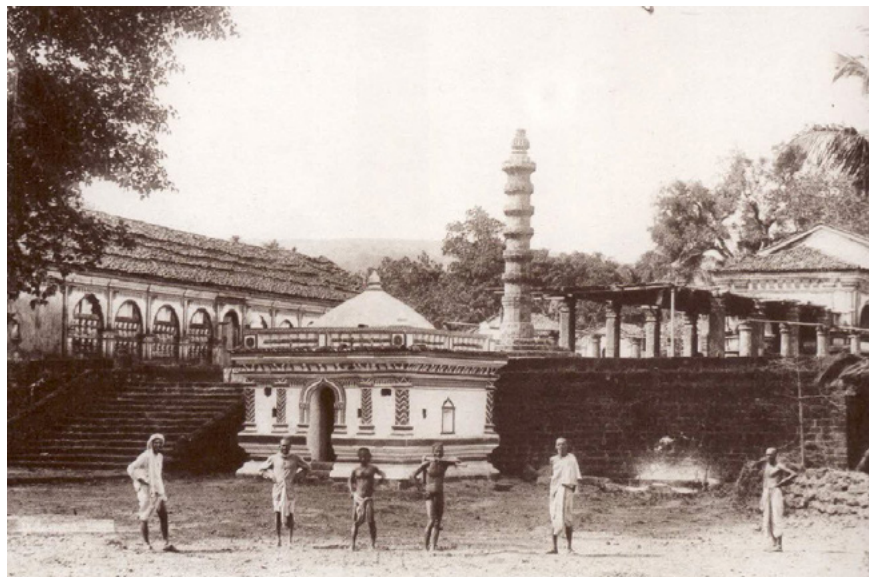


Fig. 10b.

The 'temple at Mulgão' image shows the Vetala Maharudra temple complex at Mulgao as it is seen today, with a fairly large main temple flanked by *agaxalas* and secondary shrines. The architecture appears simple and vernacular yet possesses

Goan temple elements, including two arched openings on a small shrine, two tiered pillar-like *khambos* and a large *tulas* planter (see fig. 10a). The main temple, like most other buildings in the complex, has been largely rebuilt over the last four to five decades, but there is an 1889 photograph of the complex by Souza and Paul, one of the oldest photography firms of Goa, and almost from the same angle (fig. 10b). This photograph shows it as a developed Goan temple with arched openings (round as well as ogee), a typical porch, and a balustrade. Even today, despite the extensive renovation it has undergone, one can still see the old interior with fat pillars supporting arches and a barrel vault above, as well as the main temple porch with *sopo* and big round arches. All these elements are clearly missing in the image by Lopes Mendes, which means they must have been built after his visit.

The Nanora image probably depicts the Shantadurga Calangutecarin temple of Nanora. It shows a large *sabhamantap* with timber posts and a tripartite timber pitched roof, quite as it is today except for the current pillars being masonry. The *sabhamantap* is found before a main temple building with, interestingly, a Latina-like square dome on a square tower over the *garba-cud*. The *khambo* is a pillar-type one, tall, slender, and moulded, and remarkably like the existing one. But the external form of the *garba-cud* is of the Goan temple type today, with an octagonal and pilastered drum carrying a pitched and tiled roof, though with some superficial recent renovations in terms of finishes and mouldings; the *sabhamantap* pillars are of masonry, not timber. Lopes Mendes visited Nanora in March 1863, which again means that this *garba-cud* tower was built after 1863.

The temple of ‘Peligão’ probably means the large Chamundeshwari temple of Pilgao. This image shows the front elevation of a dignified building with a pitched roof, attached pillars, and a porch; the Goan characteristics visible are the arched openings and, perhaps, the fact that the porch seems to have a seat. But today, this temple is a typical Goan temple type; its porch (rendered somewhat invisible by a new *sabhamantap*) has a typical seat, round arches, and mouldings, while its *garba-cud* is roofed by a dome over a tower. This porch and domed tower are missing in the image.

There are two more images of temple fronts, of the Damodar at Zamboulim and the Camessor (now Kameshwar) at Corgao. These two also seem self-consciously designed, and with some Goan characteristics. In the Damodar, this is the pillar design, perhaps also the pillared arcades enclosing the temple building in a court, while the Kameshwar shows a large pillared *sabhamantap* as exists today, and a prominent *khambo* of the tiered pillar variety.

Both are depicted, like the Pilgao temple, in a way that the external articulation of the *garba-cud* is invisible. But the Damodar has been photographed as a typical

Goan temple with a tower over its *garba-cud*, topped by a pitched roof; it has a typical front and side entrance porches and *mantap* hall with arched openings, before the whole temple was radically rebuilt in 1970. Meanwhile, the Kameshwar, like the Chamundeshwari at Pilgao, has a domed tower over the *garba-cud*. The absence of these elements in Lopes Mendes' images, and his choice of a frontal view, might well mean that they had not been built at the time, with the side or rear views being accordingly less interesting.

The image of the Amona temple shows only a porch, with pointed-arch entrances and an unusual roof in the form of a bell-shaped vault, which cannot be found in Amona today. There are only two existing Amona shrines with a porch, both of which are also the largest in the village, i.e. the Shantadurga Amruteshwar and the Vetat. Both are Goan temple types for the most part, though the former has a new concrete roof today over the porch. It remains to be seen whether this new roof replaced the bell-shaped vault.

Finally, we have the drawing titled 'Mhalsa em Mardol' which is, however, undoubtedly a depiction of the Manguesh temple at Priol. Interestingly, this does not show the main temple building but only the complex around it. The *tolim* (temple tank) and a regal khambo in the Goan temple style can be seen, as well as some arched openings, while the buildings visible—probably the *agraxalas*—look substantial but vernacular in form. . It is clear that the main temple building is not depicted because it was relatively simple and vernacular in form, as we know from the photograph mentioned earlier. This choice of Lopes Mendes might support the hypothesis made earlier in this article that the undepicted parts of temples in other etchings were probably not as distinctive or 'Goan' as the depicted ones.

THE SHORT TWENTIETH CENTURY

Thanks to Lopes Mendes, we know that there were at least nine temples of the developed Goan temple type in 1863; or ten, if the Ramchandra at Partagal is included. But there were also at least five that have yet to develop their Goan temple characteristics, which clearly happened after Lopes Mendes's visit: the Mahadev at Cacora, the Marcel group, the Vetat at Mulgao, the Shantadurga Calangutecarin at Nanora, and the Chamundeshwari at Pilgao. This is also true for the Manguesh at Priol, and probably also for two more: the Damodar at Zamboulim and the Kameshwar at Corgao. This surely confirms the fact that many examples of Goan temple architecture only became such after the 1860s. It also confirms the growing popularity of this temple form towards the end of the nineteenth century, something that is supported by many archival photographs of temples in the late nineteenth

and early twentieth century, like the Vetāl Maharudra of Mulgao. Other examples of the Goan temple type photographed then include the Bhagvati of Parcem, the Shervani-Vetāl of Advalpale, the Vijayadurga at Querim, and the Laxmi-Narcinva at Velinga, all the work of the famous Souza and Paul in 1889.



Fig. 11.



Fig. 12a.



Fig. 12b.

Thus the rise of a new architectural type. According to temple committees, new examples continued to appear in the first two decades of the new century. However, a change starts not long afterwards, as we can see by the following developments around the middle of the century, a time when reinforced cement concrete (RCC) was increasingly being used for new construction and repairs. One is the 1942 rebuilding of the Vitthal temple of Carapur in RCC with strong Mughal elements including onion domes, bangaldar roofs, cusped arches, and *jharokas* (Gomes Pereira 1978, and confirmed by photographs by Emile Marini in 1957), which was previously shown by Lopes Mendes in 1863 as a large semi-Goan temple (see fig. 11). The second is the building of a new *sabhamantap* of the Ramnath temple at Bandora—built as a Goan temple in 1908, according to José Pereira—in 1955, again an RCC construction but apparently inspired by the late Mughal architecture of the Golden Temple, Amritsar (*Arte Indu Em Goa*, 1958), in RCC (see figs. 12a and 12b). Following these two was the founding of a new Maruti temple in the 1950s (Parobo 2020, Rui Gomes Pereira 1978). Photographed by Emile Marini in 1957, the temple has prominent elephant motifs, unusual for Goa but seen in South Indian temples, along with Mughal *jharoka*-like windows.

The development of Brahmanical temple architecture in Goa under the Estado da Índia seems thus to be divided into some clear phases. The long period before the nineteenth century remains unclear, though from the nineteenth-century images of temples in their pre-Goantemple avatar, it looks like vernacular tendencies

were strong, and that temples may not have been very different from house forms. During the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, they changed to the heterogeneous and cosmopolitan form of the Goan temple, mixing Renaissance-Baroque, Bijapur, and Mughal elements with vernacular ones. From the 1940s to 1961, there seems to be the first signs of a dissatisfaction with the Goan temple, as seen in two prominent temples: the Saraswat-owned Ramnath at Bandora and the Rane-owned Vithal at Calapur. Both of them, and, to some extent, the new and smaller temple of Maruti in Panjim, go for Mughal and late-Mughal forms as used by the Rajputs and Sikhs, a move that might be called the continued embrace of the Islamicate, but a rejection of Europe.

BEHIND THE ARCHITECTURE: A CLASH OF NATIONALISMS

To understand these architectural transformations, the rise of the Goan temple type has to be first located in the context of the long and eventful Goan nineteenth century. The biggest temples—traditionally administered by the *mazans*, which are ‘prominent persons’ vaguely associated with foundation or service or generous donations—had become extremely wealthy, thanks to the influence of these *mazans* and the fact that traditional ‘customs and uses’ continued in the New Conquests (Pinto 9-11, 15, 77-78). Brahmanical shrines began to come up in the Old Conquests too, most in the control of Hindu elites. The early nineteenth century saw many complaints about irregularities and misappropriation of wealth by those controlling the wealthiest temples, a result of which was the Edict of 14 November 1828, establishing a system of three key holders for the safe book-keeping of accounts, and inventory books of properties (Gomes Pereira 1978). Further complaints led to a government enquiry commission in 1881 to unearth and restore usurped temple properties, and finally to a new law, the Regulamento das Mazanias in 1886, revised in 1933, 1949, and 1951, which laid out detailed rules under which the temples are expected to function. According to this law, dominant castes became the sole or joint *mazans* and also the hereditary owners of almost all substantial Goan temples. The powerful castes who would become known as the Gaud Saraswat Brahmins were prominent, or almost ubiquitous, among these new mazan-owners, perhaps because of their literacy and record-keeping skills (Parobo, Personal communication).

This was a crucial change in the functioning of temples. It must also be remembered that the main beneficiaries of the late eighteenth century commercial expansion had been the Hindu merchants, particularly the Saraswats (Disney 309). By the end of the nineteenth century, the barriers to Hindus joining the bureaucracy and institutions of higher learning were removed (Pinto 13), which means that

the Hindu elites, again mainly the Saraswats who had always dominated trade, money-lending, tax-farming, and record-keeping right from the sixteenth century (Pearson 65-69, de Souza 31-34, Scammel 8.), consolidated their strengths in practically every sector. All this success, coupled with a proud caste consciousness, probably inspired the rebuilding of the temples which they now 'owned,' to make them as grand and 'modern' as a religious building could be. An important factor in the backdrop was the *eki*, or unification movement among the various dominant Brahmanical communities of Goa, who around the end of the nineteenth century adopted the new name Gaud Saraswat Brahmin—usually termed just Saraswat or GSB—for themselves (Parobo, *India's First* 25), a definite statement of brahminness. A further development was the birth of the Portuguese Republic in 1910, which provided further opportunities to the dominant sections among the non-Catholic communities in Goa, which once again were the same communities that now owned the temples, mostly the Saraswats.

It is also notable that the rise of this new architectural type ran parallel to the rise of the Indo-Saracen style in neighboring British India, which is basically a revival of the South Asian Islamicate; in fact, Goa's first Indo-Saracen building, the Vasco market, comes up in the early twentieth century. However, the chief inspiration for these temples was clearly the Goan Baroque church, which seems to indicate that the dominant Brahmanical castes saw themselves as the modern inheritors of a Goan heritage.

This appears to change by the 1940s. Ideas of Indian nationalism had entered Goa by then, and the dominant castes were increasingly swayed, both Hindu and Catholic. It thus may be no coincidence that it is two dominant-caste temples that first reject Goan temple forms for Indian ones. The third temple, the new Maruti of Panjim which was founded by a Bahujan community (Parobo, Personal communication), seems also to have opted for similar forms. Although we only have these three examples of this trend for now, this is still significant given the post-1961 developments. With the annexation of Goa by India, the decline of the Goan temple hastened at an accelerated pace and, as we shall see below, in a very specific direction.

The new temple forms seen in the 1940s are Indian ones, but Indian in the Indo-Saracenic sense, i.e. belonging to the South Asian Islamicate, an architecture embraced as 'native' by the British Raj for about a century. Thus, where the Goan temple was inspired by both the Islamicate and the European Baroque, the latter is now erased. Following the integration of Goa with India in 1961, the Islamicate is out too; the general enthusiasm for all things Indian (or rather, South Asian) is replaced by an enthusiasm only for Hindu India and, specifically, ancient Brahmanical temples (Kanekar, "The Politics" 259). This is not surprising, for

Indian nationalism is more cultural than political, less about political rights than about celebrating culture, and specifically that of dominant Hindu castes (Aloysius; Tejani. What this means is that to be a true Indian is to be Hindu, while the Hindu temple becomes nothing less than a symbol of nationalism. But this Hindu temple has been one that 'looks' Hindu. The Goan temple, with its heterogeneous forms influenced by Sultanate, Mughal, and Goan church architecture, was accused of 'looking Catholic/Muslim' and became an embarrassment for its patrons. From now on, temples in Goa would take inspiration only from archaic Indian temple forms, both for new temples as well as for rebuilding the old.

It is notable that the move towards erasing the Goan temple typology was made by both dominant and subordinated castes. The first post-1961 Goa government of the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party (MGP), which called itself a party of the Bahunjan Samaj (loosely translatable to the community of the masses), regularly denounced Goa's old culture as both elite and Catholic. Dayanand Bandodkar, the first Chief Minister, who championed social reforms like the spread of mass primary education and an end to landlordism, was a prominent and nationalist Hindu in his public life, setting an example that others in Goan politics would follow enthusiastically. In fact, one of Goa's earliest adoptions of the ancient North Indian Nagara temple form was in a new temple he founded in 1966, the Ganesh temple at Farmagudi. He also contributed to the renovation of old temples like the Bhagwati at Pernem. And, though the MGP's legislation to distribute land to the tiller was considered radical, Hindu temples continue to rank among the big 'bhatcars,' with many subordinate caste communities pressured to carry on their traditional and humiliating caste-based services to the temple under the threat of losing their homes on temple-owned land, especially in the New Conquest region.

With the rise of Hindutva to political power in the 1980s, the celebration of Hinduism as nationalism became much more blatant (Kanekar, "The Evolution"; "The Politics" 259). There was also more political support for temple construction and reconstruction. However, the rise of mass Indian tourism in Goa at almost the same time (Trichur 108-111), and the packaging of Goa as a European holiday paradise for Indians, saw a new popularity for what is known as "Indo-Portuguese" architecture. The result is not the preservation of the old temples, but a redevelopment into a quasi-Goan, semi-Indian extravaganza, thanks to the mixing of Goan, or rather faux-Goan, elements with those from ancient temples (Kanekar, "The Politics" 259-260).

CONCLUSIONS

Self-conscious architecture, of which revivals are probably the epitome, tends to be deeply related to political contexts, social aspirations, and identity-building. In the context of Goa, this was sharply explained first by Paulo Varela Gomes (6-8) who said that the rise of the Goan church, an architecture not 'Indo-Portuguese' but unique to Goa, was the result of the development of a new community of Goan Catholics who wanted to make their presence felt. This study of the architectural transformations of the Brahmanical temple of Goa shows that something similar was happening here, that the story of the Goan temple is first and foremost the story of the temple *mazans*, and how they negotiated Portuguese Goa and then Indian Goa. But to understand this accurately, one needs to get the chronology right. The history of Hinduism in Goa has been, unfortunately, an area that is seriously lacking in scholarship, with the result that popular ideas, or rather prejudices, have commonly been passed off as historical fact. There are innumerable instances of this, but the one that concerns us here is the belief that the Goan temple, as a characteristic and very cosmopolitan architectural type, arose in 1668 with the foundation of the Saptakoteshwar temple of Narvem, even though no historical evidence of this has been found.

In fact, from the nineteenth-century images of shrines in Goa created by the Portuguese ethnographer Lopes Mendes and the Goan photography firm of Souza and Paul, along with other photographers unidentified so far, it would actually seem that the period from the mid-nineteenth century to the first decades of the twentieth was the heyday of this type of temple architecture, with a significant number of examples being rebuilt into this form during this period, along with a definitive development and popularization of the vocabulary. These developments happened against the backdrop of the formalization of the control and management of these temples by dominant Brahmanical castes, especially the Saraswats, which is also the time when these castes, long the pillars of Estado society, are consolidating their forces and finding new opportunities for employment and prosperity within and outside Goa. All of this was surely connected to the propagation of an architecture that reflected their wealth, influence, modern-ness, and also Goan-ness.

The heyday of this Goan architecture was fleeting, however, with Indian nationalism soon taking over the consciousness of the elites. The first response was a rejection of the European, and an embrace of the Indo-Saracenic, the style popular in British India for over a century. But Indian nationalism was not just against European colonialism; it was always a cultural nationalism, tied to Brahmanical culture, the culture of the dominant Hindu castes. Islam and Christianity were correspondingly not Indian. Thus, the same cosmopolitan architecture that had showed off the success and worldliness of these dominant Goan Hindu communities

now became an embarrassment for them. Their temple was simply not Hindu enough. Indeed, it was a symbol of how the whole of Goa and the Goans, from the Hindus to the non-Hindus, were not Hindu enough. It had to be corrected, and that is exactly what has been happening since.

There are various theories of how Goa could and did integrate with India. Some say it was through the highlighting of a common culture (Newman 34-41), while some say it was only via mass tourism (Trichur 148-153). But there can be little doubt that it has also been through the reinvention of the Goan Hindu, a reinvention that involves their temples as well.

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