

Christian Art and Architecture in India: Archaeological and Historical Evidences from Ancient to Modern Times

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Abstract: Indian Christian art and architecture developed under multiple influences from both outside India and within India. Imprints of Christian influences from Asia Minor and Europe on one hand, and Indic influences on the other, can be observed in the artistic works, paintings and in church architecture. This article is an overview of the history of the development of Indian Christian art and architecture, wherein one can observe an ensample of Romanesque, Byzantine, Gothic, Baroque, Roccoco, Indian, and pragmatic church styles. It may be noted that while the earliest architectural style was in continuity with the culture of the ambient Hindu, Buddhist and Jain communities, it became overly European after the 16th century due to European intervention. Further, the emergence of the national consciousness in the 19th century influenced Indian Christian architecture making it more Indian. Presently, the attempt is both Indianisation and indigenisation integrating Indian traditions with the techniques of modern Europe.

Keywords: Christian art, Church Architecture, Indic influences, Indigenisation, Indianisation

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Introduction

Christian art is sacred art which uses subjects, themes, and imagery from Christianity. Throughout history, Christian art expressed itself adapting to local contexts whether in India, Europe or Asia.¹ India is a land where religious art means much for religious expression. It is natural that the art of the Indian Christians whether Catholic, Orthodox or Protestant, will necessarily reflect their inherited Hindu, Buddhist and Jain artistic and cultural heritage.² In India Christian architecture begins in Kerala where Christianity spread in the very first century itself from Asia Minor. The archaeological findings of crosses in Kerala and San Thome in Chennai, Goa and Kalyan show that Indian architecture was influenced by Eastern Christianity from Asia Minor during ancient and medieval times. In Kerala there are many altar-crosses, ornate outdoor crosses, a few whole churches surviving from early Christian

era. The iconography of their carvings is completely Christian, as orthodox as are the similar ones which can be seen in front of countless churches in Spain, Portugal and Latin America: but the designs on their bases, and the carvings on them, are markedly Hindu in style. They were, moreover, used for holding lamps at festivals, just as were, and are, some of the minor erections in front of Hindu temples. But when the Portuguese missionaries arrived in India in early 16th century, they opened an era of Western style architecture and other art forms. The designs were entirely European, except in a few respects and reflected western dominance.³ These artistic pieces were Indian only in the sense that it was on Indian soil. However, the emergence of the national consciousness in the 19th century in India definitely influenced Indian Christian architecture. It led to a search within the Church for a reform of its prevailing Westernism. What we see today is the co-existence of western style churches with emerging Indo-Christian architecture in churches and ashrams, besides in sculpture and paintings.⁴ Some of these artists are Hindus who were inspired by Christian themes or the personality of Christ.⁵ This expressed in Christian art, sculpture and painting also. It is beyond the scope of this paper to include all the other forms of art and so I limit to mainly Christian architecture and its archaeological evidences from ancient to modern times.

This paper has two parts: Part I deals with ancient Christian architecture in India and Part II deals with the changing trends of church architecture in India in the later centuries. Overall, I give an overview of church architecture in India, such as the Hindu-Christian style in Kerala, the westernized styles during the period of Western influence, followed by the indigenized styles which emerged in modern times.⁶ Historical and archaeological sources have been used in this study.⁷

I

Archaeology of Christian Architecture: Ancient Period

It is well known that St. Thomas, one of the Apostles of Jesus Christ, preached Christianity in India in mid-first century for almost two decades from 52-72 CE. There is a strong tradition among the oldest Christian community in India known as St. Thomas Christians or 'Syrian' Christians of Kerala⁸ that their ancestors were converted by St. Thomas during his ministry in Kerala.⁹ He later travelled to Mylapore, the port city near Chennai on the Corromandel coast and preached Christianity there and was martyred to death there in 72 CE.¹⁰ There are many churches and oral traditions which point to the Apostle's work in Kerala and have been preserved to this date by the Syrian Christians.¹¹ While there is no living evidence of the Apostle's work in Mylapore in terms of a surviving ancient Christian community in Mylapore due to historical reasons of local opposition, persecution and migration, etc., the tomb which is presently in St. Thomas Basilica at Mylapore and the shrine of St. Thomas atop the Little Mount a few kilometres away survive in Chennai.¹²

According to Indian Christian art historian John Butler, the Syrian Christian community, being a trading one, had in the Middle Ages a whole string of outposts along the West Coast and East Coast, with churches of their own.¹³ However, all these buildings on the East Coast have now disappeared. However, certain historical records and architectural findings obtained therein have led many scholars to undertake archaeological excavations at two places in Mylapore: at San Thome where exists the tomb of St. Thomas within the famous San Thome Cathedral and the St. Thomas shrine, the place of his martyrdom, on the Little Mount a little away from the old city of Mylapore.¹⁴ The only tangible remains of them are the St Thomas Mount cross (now on the altar of a Portuguese church which replaced the ruins of an ancient 'Syrian' one); and in San Thome there is a fragment of the old tomb-wall) under the neo-Gothic cathedral which has replaced a small Portuguese cathedral (this had itself

supplanted the old Syrian complex of buildings which is mentioned in several mediaeval travel-accounts),¹⁵ and also some fragments of sculpture, largely from this complex, which are now preserved in the Bishop's Museum at San Thome.¹⁶ It may be noted that the Portuguese *did not discover the tomb of the Apostle*. It was known to exist and they were informed about it by European travellers, Armenian merchants,¹⁷ and the Christians of Malabar. The second evidence is the Ancient Stone Image of Saint Thomas in Mylapore.¹⁸ Since the Portuguese did not find the image in 1521-1523, it is argued that he was not buried in there but near the tomb, to identify it. This might have been done either between 1430 and 1500 when the Christians were driven from Mylapore or, perhaps, at an earlier date. It cannot be earlier than 600 CE as nowhere in South India do we find stone sculptures prior to this period. The cave temples of South India do not date earlier than the 7th Century CE."¹⁹

Archaeological Findings at Mylapore

There are several testimonies on the existence of the Apostle's tomb at Mylapore.²⁰ About CE. 590, the Frankish historian, Gregory of Tours, says that according to the pilgrim-monk, Theodore, the tomb of St Thomas in India was flanked by a church and a monastery of striking dimensions. The 12th-14th century documents say about the site that there were one or two churches related with St Thomas at Mylapore; the tomb was situated in the church, rather on the right hand side of its altar; it contained the 'corpse' of the apostle; the church was fairly large and beautiful; it was completed as a monastery, which seems to have been used to accommodate Christians, either local or foreign (pilgrims), or even both.²¹ What happened to the Mylapore Christians? It appears that during the second half of the 15th century the Mylapore Christian community, forced to disperse under Mohammedan pressure, withdrew to Pulicat. In piecing together the information derived from the 16th century Portuguese sources.²² Historian and archaeologist Henry Hosten²³ has attempted to reconstruct the pre-Portuguese church as follows:

The church was made of bricks (laterite?) and wood. It was also called a house and was c. 8 m broad. The chancel of the church was flanked by two chapels. On the northern side there was the chapel that enshrined the tomb of St Thomas. It had no altar. The tomb, the length of which was about 2 m 85 cm, extended all across the chapel floor, even reaching under the foundations of the northern wall of the chancel. No door of any kind gave access to it, but it was protected from the northern aisle and from the chancel by wooden gratings, within which there burned a lamp. The chapel situated on the southern side of the chancel was opened to all sides, i.e. likely to the southern aisle and partly on the chancel; it harboured a tomb also, which was generally thought to be that of the local king converted by the apostle, though the 1517 document mentions it as the grave of St Mathias. Here again the tomb at flush with the floor extended across the chapel.²⁴

Some other people were also buried inside the church, but there was a cemetery around it as well. At the time of the Portuguese discoveries there would have been both inside and outside the church, some 20 tombs mostly belonging to the apostle's disciples and to former pilgrims who had died there. On the northern side of the church about 7 m 60 cm away from the apostle's shrine, there was another grave of such a disciple, without any chapel, it seems.²⁵ On a ground situated to the southern side of the church, at a distance varying between 1, or 1½ or 2 shots of a cross-bow,²⁶ there was another tomb with a chapel, which was also attributed to one of the apostle's disciples. This ground seems to have been a pilgrims' cemetery, perhaps the so-called Cemetery of the Armenians.²⁷ Also, Hosten says that a Hungarian pilgrim called Dominic had been buried there in September 1516. The church of St John the Baptist stood there also in 1543.²⁸

Portuguese and later Excavations and Constructions at Mylapore

Between 1523 and 1526, the Portuguese did the following work in and around the chapel of the apostolic tomb: they strengthened the foundations of the chancel, building also a wall across it and they transformed the southern chapel into a sacristy. All these activities obliged them to tamper with the tomb itself of the 'king' (southern chapel)) and even to dig and open the grave of St Thomas. Yet they did not change as such the chancel and the northern chapel. Further, while keeping the same width they rebuilt the nave so as to make it longer, constructed two chapels inside, added a small building as a baptistery, and built a tower and a lookout-turret above the western end of the church. External abutments and battlements were also added. Finally they repaired the existing wall around the whole property. It appears however that much or even all the buildings, except perhaps the chapel of the apostle, was replaced between 1526 and 1543, or rather in the latter part of the 16th century, by a new and bigger church. Before 1589 a small altar was made on the eastern side of the chapel of the Apostle; it was 1 m 25 cm in length. It was replaced in 1589 by a bigger structure under the order of the bishop of Cochin, the then ruling prelate there. Henry Hosten says that it was several times enlarged and improved before 1600.²⁹

St Thomas' Church and shrine were certainly left untouched during the first Golconda occupation of the town. During the second Golconda occupation the fortifications were entirely demolished in 1675 under Dutch pressure and with the full support of the British authorities of Fort St George. But the buildings were spared, especially the church and the shrine thanks to orders given by the British.³⁰ Under Golconda's order of December 18th, 1686 the Portuguese were allowed to take over the city and rebuild it. They began doing so in December 1687. In April 1729 the then bishop of Mylapore, J. Pinheiro SJ., ordered to open the tomb, and this led to the discovery of the double statue in granite, which represents two apostles, 'twice St Thomas', or St Thomas and another. Almost 150 years later In 1893-96 the old buildings were all pulled down to make place for the present neo-gothic cathedral. In 1904-05 a fosse was dug around the apostle's tomb' now situated at the centre of the new church; it was decorated with Italian marble and completed by a small altar standing against the eastern wall just above the tomb. The latter was left open for the first time, with a new marble slab slit accordingly. During this re-arrangement much old brick work was unearthed, but the eastern wall of the tomb itself was not disturbed.

Modern Day Excavations: 1923-1970

Sir John Marshall, the then general director of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), had decided to make some research around the church of St Thomas. Hirananda Sastri of the Southern Circle of the ASI was asked to implement this decision with the help and advice of Hosten, well-known then for his many publications.³¹ The report on the excavations was actually prepared by Hosten, and published in full later on in 1936;³² it was only summarized by the official publication of the Survey.³³ The last excavation was conducted by Church historian Edward Hambye in February-April, 1970, the findings of which have been detailed in two papers published in *Indian Church History Review*, as mentioned above.³⁴ Thus from 1523 to 1970 there were eleven attempts of archaeological operations at Mylapore. This only shows the historicity of the tomb of St. Thomas and the sustained interest of archaeologists to unravel its mystery. Be that as it may, we shall focus on church architecture elsewhere in the next section.

II

Christian Art and Architecture in India: External and Indian Influences

All the nations and cultures that came into contact with India - the Egyptians, the Phoenicians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Moguls, the Parthians, the Iranians, the Arabs and the Europeans of a later

date including the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes, the French, and the English--have all left their mark on the society and culture of India.³⁵ Similarly, Church Art and Architecture of India, from the commencement of the Christian presence on the south-western coast of India at the dawn of the Christian era, have been to a greater or lesser degree influenced by the religions, art and architecture of India. Prof George Menacherry, an authority on Church Art in India, has periodised the history of the development of church architecture in India into three phases, based on the external influences. Accordingly we may treat the history of Christian art and architecture in India by dividing it into: 1) the Pre-European period, 2) the Portuguese-Period (16th to 18th century), and 3) the Modern period.³⁶

Pre-Portuguese Period in Kerala: Continuity of Hindu Styles in Church Architecture

Christian art and architecture in Kerala in the pre-European periods had developed obtaining nourishment from two sources: one, from the countries in the near-east including perhaps Greece, Rome, Egypt and other Middle East countries from which ideas and practices were imported by missionaries and traders, and two, from the indigenous forms and techniques of art and architecture that existed in the land. In Kerala, where the strength of the Church has always been strong, the community still preserves, architecturally, the design of those in the Syro-Persian homeland. Accordingly, their most distinctive feature is a chancel rising higher than the nave, forming almost an eastern tower. In the course of time, a *mandapam*-like narthex was added at the west end, from Indian sources. The sculptured elements of these churches, and of the associated crosses outside at the west, were by mediaeval times, thoroughly Indianized in style.³⁷ There is an exception to this: the distinctive altar-crosses, carved in relief on stone, of which several survive in Kerala besides the very famous one at St Thomas Mount near Madras. These remain thoroughly Persian, apart from the symbolism of the dove descending onto the empty cross, which has no known origin but is almost unique to this group of crosses. There were three striking objects of significance in front of the typical Malabar churches, either inside the courtyard or just outside it: (1) the open-air granite (rock) cross which Menachery has christened as *Nazrany* (*Nazrany*, means follower of Jesus of Nazareth in Malayalam) *Sthamba* (pillar), (2) Kodimaram (*Dwajasthamba*) or flagstaff made of Kerala's famed teak wood (e.g. at Parur), and often enclosed in copper hoses (as at Changanassery, Pulinkunnu, or Chambakkulam), or made out of some other timber or other material, and (3) the rock lamp stand (*Deepasthamba*). *Sthambas* or pillars of some type or other are to be found among the Buddhists, Jains and Hindus in India. Such pillars and structures were part of the Christian heritage of Kerala much before the ascendancy of Vedic Hinduism in these parts, although J. Ferguson does not appear to have known or cared for the rock monumental *sthambas* of Kerala.³⁸

Portuguese Period (16th--18th Centuries): Cochin

The contact with the western countries exerted considerable influence of the societies and cultures of those lands on every phase and aspect of the life of the inhabitants of Kerala. Thus from the arrival of Vasco da Gama in 1498, Portugal, the Netherlands, France, and England have had a great deal of influence on the people of Kerala not only in the matter of material circumstances of life but also in the field of ideas and ideologies. One of the strongest areas where this influence is manifested in Kerala is in the field of art and architecture in general, and Christian art and architecture in particular.³⁹ On church art and architecture before the arrival of the Portuguese in Kerala there is an interesting description of Kerala churches in the account of Joseph the Indian c.1500. "The Christians have their churches, which are not different from ours, but inside only a cross will be seen. They have no statues of the saints. The churches are vaulted like ours. On the foundation is seen a big cross just as in our place. [May be the open air cross?] They have not any bells."⁴⁰ Once these churches came under the

jurisdiction of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, the ornate monumentality of the European churches was introduced into the small temple-like Syrian Christian churches, which even did not have windows in the early past. The baroque and ornate altars with statues and foliages replaced the Chaldeo-Syrian altars, which were in fact only stone-tables with nothing more than candles, chalice and the Holy Book on them, the bare necessities for observing the Holy Mass. However, there was much change due to the interaction with the Portuguese.

In Cochin even today can be seen many of the churches and convents which the Portuguese built - such as the St. Francis Church, the first European place of worship in India perhaps, where Vasco da Gama was first buried, although the church itself became afterwards a Dutch church and later an English church and finally came to be under the Church of South India. It is a protected monument today under the Archaeological Survey of India as is also the so-called Dutch Palace not very far from it. In this locality can also be seen the Santa Cruz Cathedral, the palace of the Bishop of Cochin, St. Bartholomew Church, the Dominican Church and St. Paul's Church.⁴¹ The new Euro-impressed, Indian Baroque made its first appearance in Kerala, where Catholic churches came up on the Indian temple plan [Kerala architectural plan],⁴² giving full scope to the native wood-worker to show on a wider scale than he was accustomed to, his carving skills while sculpting church-ordained motifs and themes. These skills were to meet, in a dazzling display of gold painted wood carving, the challenges of crafting ceilings, outsized altars, retables and pulpits in numerous churches in Goa and other Portuguese territories on the West Coast.⁴³ Despite unpleasant frictions with the Portuguese, both in political and ecclesiastical matters, this was the golden era of Church Art in Kerala. They introduced the Romano-Portuguese style, which was assimilated with such artistic and structural finesse by the artists of Kerala, so that it created some of the finest pieces of artistry in the Nazrany school.

Portuguese Influence in Goa

Soon after Goa was made the political headquarters of the Portuguese in 1530, they made it also their ecclesiastical headquarters in 1534. Subsequently church architectural styles from Portugal were introduced in the Portuguese-ruled areas in Goa and other Portuguese-ruled areas in India and elsewhere in Asia. The Christian art of Goa reached its climax in church building.⁴⁴ These churches were elaborately decorated; they expressed the Baroque ideal of making visible here on earth the heavenly *darbar*, centred round the Eucharistic presence of Christ among his people. The tower of the Augustinian monastery, the Santa Fe Cathedral, the Jesuit hospital, the Bom Jesu Basilica, the altar of Saint Francis Xavier's body in a golden casket above it, the church of St. Peter, the Santa Monica Convent, the Rachol Seminary Chapel, the Pilar Seminary Chapel, etc., are only some of the edifices which must be studied for their architectural features and artistic treasures.⁴⁵ In Goa grew up what has become up to now the only complete form of Christian art in India, comprising both the sacred and the profane, encompassing the whole of human life. Indo-Portuguese art in India should be recognized as another layer of architectural heritage of India, just as "the Hellenistic inspired Gandhara School of art and the Indo-Persian creations of the Mughal period have been claimed as Indian art."⁴⁶ It is remarkable that Goan art reached its highest development during the 17th century, a period of political decline, and of a growing Hindu dominance of Goan economy. The Christian art of Goa was carried on not only with political patronage but also through the devotion of the people.

Christian Influence in the Mogul Court⁴⁷

The Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) was open to other religions and invited religious specialists of non-Islamic religions, including Jesuit⁴⁸ priests, to his court. A few European Jesuits from Goa

stayed at his court from 1580-83, 1591, and from 1595-1603.⁴⁹ They aimed at gaining influence at the highest cultural and intellectual level. They could even continue their stay when Aurangzeb ascended the throne in 1658.⁵⁰ Many other Jesuits enjoyed the patronage of other Indian rulers almost till the end of the 18th century. Besides their contribution to developing modern astronomy and geographical maps,⁵¹ these Jesuit missionaries contributed what we now know as Indo-Persian Christian Art in the Mughal court, especially under Jahangir, an artist himself, which has been the subject of study by many scholars.⁵² As there were no large Christian communities in north India there was no need for big churches. Hence there is little that stands out in Christian church architecture except the Indo-Persian style Jesuit church at Agra built by Akbar in 1605, which is still extant.⁵³ The Jesuits therefore made good use of paintings, introduced lively, in-depth European style painting to Mughal scene, especially engravings which were more easily available and transportable. These gifts were appreciated by Jahangir who patronized artists in his court⁵⁴ for their artistic qualities and for their religious contents. Many scholars such as Hambye, Narayan, Maclagan, Hosten, et. al, have highlighted the significance of Christian art in Mughal India.⁵⁵ Later on along with the general decline in creativity during the period preceding British rule in India, Indian Christian art in the Mughal court also lost its impetus.

Christian Architecture in Modern Period

When the third period (Modern Period) of Christian influence in India began, its missionary method, pioneered by William Carey in Bengal, laid stress on literature (the Bible) and education. However, by mid-19th century, impressive church buildings were erected by other church leaders of both Catholic and Protestant missions. Church buildings showed often the influence of the country of origin (British, Belgian, French, Italian, Danish, Dutch, German, Portuguese, etc.) of the respective missionary society.⁵⁶ The British were equally enthusiastic in introducing their skills and forms into the Church Art in India. Hence, from a conservative perspective, the art in these churches may appear eclectic, with diverse traditions, both western and eastern, superimposed one over the other. The exclusively “Asiatic” symbols like stone lamps, flag masts, stone-crosses, arched entrances, etc., untouched by foreign hands, co-exist with the Renaissance frescoes, and the Baroque Art of Europe in the same church complex. There is, in fact, an underlying unity behind this apparently confused juxtaposition of images, symbols and monuments; this is due to the fact that as universal archetypes, images and symbols of religions, both in the west and in the east, have many common elements.⁵⁷ As a consequence of external influences we see that in India we have good examples of the different styles of architecture down from the basilican plan, the Romanesque, the Byzantine, the Gothic, the Baroque, the Rococo, to the ultra modern and pragmatic.⁵⁸ True, many of these examples show composite elements, thus making most churches, hospitals, colleges, and monasteries examples of a mixture of the various western and Indian styles of architecture including Hindu, Saracenic, Jain, Buddhist, and tribal.⁵⁹

Indigenization of Church Architecture in 20th Century

By way of conclusion, it can be said that the earliest architectural style was in continuity with the culture of the ambient Hindu community. However, due to European intervention, it became overly European which itself was an adaptation of the existing non-Christian styles. The emergence of the national consciousness in the 19th century in India definitely influenced Indian Christian art.⁶⁰ Fortunately, a powerful and ably led campaign towards indigenisation became the official policy of the Catholic Church.⁶¹ Such advocacy of indigenised Christian art was vigorously taken up by the Catholic hierarchy in India, and pursued through a series of conferences and workshops led by scholars like historian and archaeologist Fr. Henry Heras.⁶² It chimed in well with the new national consciousness,

which was sweeping into the Indian Church in the mid-20th century.⁶³ According to Jyoti Sahi, the well-known Christian painter, the “Second Vatican Council (1962-65) was encouraging approaching other religious and cultural traditions in a more positive way, and the Indian Church was concerned to free itself from its colonial past.”⁶⁴ This also mandated acceptance and accommodation of non-Christian cultures and noble values in the church and artistes began to Indianize churches and shrines throughout India. Jyoti Sahi had tried to promote this among the church authorities.⁶⁵ By the middle of the 20th century, Indian art moved away from dependence on Western academism through a phase of well-intentioned but not very living Indian revivalism, to a series of experiments in the integration of Indian feelings and traditions with the techniques of modern Europeans. Several Christian ashrams were built in Hindu style.⁶⁶ In Bihar, there are many churches built after 1950s in typical Hindu styles: as for instance, the shrine of Mother Mary at Mokama,⁶⁷ and the Catholic Church, at Barh, both in Patna District, the Catholic Church at Bettiah, West Champaran, etc. Similarly Indo-Christian churches and shrines can be found in the states of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Gujarat.

There are a dozen or more Indian Christian artists such as the master modernist Angelo da Fonseca (1902–67) who created an astounding native Christian iconography. His work blended Eastern and Western influences with his own Goan sensibility to build a counter-narrative to that of the West as the arbiter of beauty and artistic creativity.⁶⁸ Some other well-known artists are Angela Trindade, Sister Genevieve, Sister Claire, Lemuel Patole, Alphonso, Francis Newton Souza, Jyoti Sahi, Fr. Joy Elamkunnapuzha, et al.⁶⁹ Jyoti Sahi says, “I visited Indonesia, Japan, Thailand, and the Philippines, through the Asian Christian Art Forum, and discovered that many artists involved with it were practising Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims, and also followers of other indigenous forms of spirituality. Asia is an amazing fabric of many different strands of cultural diversity, and art can express this diversity, unlike creeds and dogmatic statements.”⁷⁰ Also sculpture in Indian Christian idiom is popularised by Hindu artist Subrato Ganguly⁷¹ and the Christian sculpture art of the Hindu Bengal artists of Krishnagar, Bengal, has emerged as the most popular style in north and east of India. Some of these artists, who never claimed to be Christians, were persons who drank deeply in the person and message of Christ. In that sense they have been nearer to Christ than the nominal Christians on the church rolls. These painters have been responding to what they know and felt about Christ. They have been responding from an intellectual background that began from the time of Bengal Renaissance which took Christ seriously. As the Church in India becomes gradually and fully indigenized, church art also tends to become indigenized, judiciously juxtaposing old styles with new ones. Hence one can observe an archaeology of art and architectural influences in Indian Christian tradition.

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14. For a discussion on San Thome Cathedral and Mylapore, see Teixeira, Msgr A. M. (n.d) *A Sketch on the San Thome Cathedral, Ancient Mylapore and San Thome of the Portuguese*. Madras: Hogarth Press; Figueiro, Rev. B. A. (1953) *The Dawn of Christianity in Mylapore: Archaeological Finds in San Thome & Mylapore, 19th Centenary Celebrations in Honour of St. Thomas (52 AD-1952)*. Madras: Archdiocese of Madras-Mylapore, p.19.
15. See Mundadan, Mathias. (1969) "Traditions about the Indian Apostolate of St Thomas and the Tomb of Mylapore", *Indian Church History Review* III (1), (June), pp. 5-21; Hambye, Edward, S.J., (1972) "Excavations in and around St Thomas Cathedral, Madras", Part I (hereafter, "Excavations-Part I"). *Indian*

- Church History Review* VI (2), (Dec), pp. 92-9; also Hambye, Edward, SJ, (1973) "Excavations in and around St. Thomas Cathedral, Madras", Part II (hereafter, "Excavations-Part II"). *Indian Church History Review* VII (1), (June), pp. 29-48.
16. Butler, "The Nature, Influence and Use of Christian Art in India", *ICHR*, op. cit. pp. 41-74.
 17. Mesrovb, Jacob Seth, (1937, reprint 1992) *Armenians in India, From the Earliest Times to the Present Day, A Work of Original Research*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Series.
 18. Figredo, Rev. B. A. (1953) *Voices from the Dust: Archaeological Finds in San Thomae & Mylapore*. Mylapore: Archdiocese of Madras, p. 26.
 19. Ibid.
 20. *Historical Notes on Mylapore and Suburbs*, op. cit; Teixeira, op. cit.
 21. Hambye, "Excavations-Part I", op. cit. pp. 91-99; also, Arulappa, op. cit.
 22. This has been substantiated in a Document of 1517: da Silva, Rego A. ed. (1947) *Documentacao para a Historia das Missaes do Padroado Portugues do Oriente-India* (hereafter, "Document of 1517"). Lisbon:, V. 1, pp. 296-99.
 23. Henry Hosten (d 1936), member of the Indian Records Commission of the Government of India, was a well-known historian recognized for his contribution to archaeological excavations in Mylapore and Kerala. See Kalapura, Jose. (2010) "The Hosten Collections: A Veritable Source on Church History in Asia," (hereafter, *Hosten Collections*) *Indian Church History Review*, XLIV (1), (June), pp. 7-29.
 24. Hambye, SJ, "Excavations-Part I", op. cit. p. 94.
 25. One of those two tombs was attributed to the Abyssinian servant of St Thomas mentioned in "Document 1517", op. cit.
 26. Francisco d' Andrade says that it was one shot of a cross-bow distance. Other documents mentioned more. If the usual length of such a shot was 270 metres at the farthest, we have either 270 m, or 325 m, or even 500 m: Andrade, A. Pereira De. (1972) *The Apostle St. Thomas in the City of Mylapore: Some Unpublished Documents (1293-1711)*. Madras: St. Thomas Cathedral Basilica.
 27. Mesrovb. *Armenians in India*. op. cit.
 28. Hambye, "Excavations-Part I". op. cit. p. 95.
 29. Kalapura, Jose. (2010) "*Hosten Collections*". pp. 7-29.
 30. Hambye, "Excavations-Part I". op. cit. p. 96.
 31. Ibid., p. 97.
 32. Hosten, *Antiquities*. op. cit. pp. 160-3.
 33. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1922-23*, Southern Circle, Madras Presidency. San Thome: Longhurst's Reports and Notes, pp. 129-30.
 34. Hambye, "Excavations-Part I". op. cit. pp. 92-109; also Hambye, "Excavations-Part II". op. cit. pp. 29-48.
 35. Menachery, George. (2004) "Christian Influence in Art and Architecture of India", (hereinafter, *Christian Art*) in *Christian Contribution to Nation Building: A Third Millennium Enquiry*, ed. Selvester Ponnuthan. Cochin: Kerala Catholic Bishops Conference, p. 133.
 36. Ibid., p. 134.
 37. Hambye, "Excavations-Part I & II".
 38. Menachery, George. (2006) "Christian Contribution to Art and Architecture in India," in *Indian Christian Directory*. Kottayam: Rashtra Deepika, pp. 65-70.

39. Among the additions which took place in Kerala churches with the advent of Europeans might be counted paintings and sculptures on a large scale, imposing altar pieces or reredos; rostra or pulpits, statues of all sizes, types and shapes; plaster mouldings and pictures; huge bells and belfries. Murals and frescoes on a very large scale make their appearance as well as paintings on wood panels and clothes. But the most apparent introduction of the Portuguese was the facades they put up between the portico and the nave in order to impart a Christian appearance to the churches: see Menachery, *Christian-Art*. op. cit. p. 143.
40. Vallavanthara, A. (1984) *India in 1500 A. D.* about Joseph the Indian. Trivandrum: DC Books. chapters 4 and 5; Menachery. *Christian-Art*. op. cit. p. 142.
41. Menachery, *Christian-Art*. op. cit. p. 144.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 145-146.
43. Issar, T. P. (1997) *Goa Dourada The Indo-Portuguese Bouquet*. Bangalore: Unesco aided work, p. 35.
44. For illustrations, see Menachery, Prof George. (ed.), (1973) *St. Thomas Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 1 & II. Trichur: Church Classics Study Series, Christian Heritage Publications.
45. Hambye, Edward. (1966-67). "Christian Art in Goa-Some Reflections", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*. XIL-XIIL, New Series, pp. 194-202.
46. Lederle, Mathew, S.J. (1971) "Art India: Christian paintings in Indian Style (Experience of a Publisher)" *Jeevadhara*. pp. 274-284; also, Lederle, Mathew, S.J. (1987) *Christian Painting in India through the Century*. Anand: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash. pp. 95-99.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Popularly known as 'Jesuits' they are members of the Catholic Religious Order named the Society of Jesus, founded in 1540. They became prominent for their high education and scholarly works and for international missionary works. The first Jesuit to come to India (1542), St. Francis Xavier, is known today by scores of 'Xavier' educational institutions in India and elsewhere: Maclagan, Edward. (1990) *Jesuits and the Great Mogul*. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd, 1932, New York: Octagon Books, 1972 (reprint 1990). Gurgaon: Vintage Books; Correia-Afonso, John. (1997) *The Jesuits in India, 1542-1773*. Anand: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash.
49. Maclagan, op. cit.
50. Menachery, *Christian-Art*. op. cit. p. 146.
51. Kalapura, Jose. (2003) "Discovering and Constructing India: Jesuit Scholars and Geographers, 1542-1800", in *Jesuits in India: Vision and Challenges*, ed. Delio De Mendonca. Goa: Xavier Centre of Historical Research & Anand: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, pp. 59-86.
52. Koch, Ebba. (1982) 'The Influence of the Jesuit Mission on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors,' in *Islam in India*, ed. Christian Troll. New Delhi: Vidyajyoti College. pp 114-32.
53. Hosten, Henry (n. d.) *A Catholic Chapel in the Court of Akbar*. Darjeeling: St. Mary's College.
54. Guerreiro, Father Fernao, S. J. (1930) *Jahangir and the Jesuits: With an Account of the Travels of Benedict Goes and the Mission to Pegu from the Relations of Father Fernao Guerreiro, S. J.*. London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd.
55. Hambye, Rev. E. R. (n. d.) *The Mogul Court, The Portuguese and The Jesuits 1614-1617*. *Journal of Indian History*, Golden Jubilee Volume; Narayan, J. Stephen. (1945) *Acquaviva and the Great Mogul*. Patna: Catholic Book Club, St. Xavier's, Patna.
56. For instance, Belgian style in West Bengal and Chotanagpur, Italian style in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, German style in Bombay, French style in Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry, Portuguese style in Goa, Vasai, Bandel, etc., besides the British style in all the colonial capitals. Description of the architecture of these church structures

are available in various published books and documents: For Illustrated. Discussion of Christianity and Christian churches in India, see Thomas, P. (1964) *Churches in India*. New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting; Campos, J. J. A. (1922) *History of the Bandel Convent and Church: With Numerous Illustrations*. Calcutta: The Catholic Orphan Press. For an overview of history of Christian art in Goa, see *Museum of Christian Art, Goa* <https://www.museumofchristianart.com/> and on Christian art in Chennai, see <https://www.facebook.com/christianartgallerychennai/> (accessed, May 6, 2023).

57. Syndicus, Eduard, SJ. (1932) *Early Christian Art*. London: Burns & Oates.
58. For a visual narrative of church architecture, see Menachery, George. (1973) *St. Thomas Encyclopaedia*, op. cit. Vol. II, but especially in Vol. I, 1982.
59. For instance, Sinha, Father Pascal. 1991) *Pavitra Hriday Girjaghar: Tajpur*, President Press, Meerut Cantt; Nair, Patrick (1975) *Sardhana and its Begum, Its Shrine, Basilica*. Sardhana: Mission Press.
60. Mundadan, Mathias. (2009) "Inculturation in Asian Art A Historical Review" (hereinafter, *Inculturation-Art*), in *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization: Indian Christianity*, Vol VII, Part 6, ed. A. V. Afonso. New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations, pp. 499-507.
61. Wray, Naomi. (1967) "Christian Art in an Indian Setting". *Aikya* 13 (11), (November), pp. 8-9; Also, Plathottam, George. ed. (2016) *Christian Art and Indian Cultural Patterns*. Shillong: Don Bosco Publications.
62. Henry Heras, the great historian was honoured with a postal stamp by the Government of India, for his study on the Vijaynagar Empire. He was the founder of the Institute of Indian History and Culture, Mumbai in 1927 which later named after him. See Heras, Rev. H. (n. d.) *Rama Raya Vitthala, Viceroy of Southern India*. Mumbai: Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture.
63. Mundadan, *Inculturation-Art*, op. cit. p. 507.
64. Macmath, Terence Handley. (2022). "Interview: Jyoti Sahi, artist, churchtimes, United Kingdom, 17 June, 2022: <https://www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2022/17-june/features/interviews/interview-jyoti-sahi-artist> (accessed, May 6, 2023). Jyoti Sahi, a Catholic was born of a Punjabi Hindu father and mother, a British Catholic convert from Unitarian Church, both lived in Dehra Doon.
65. Jyoti Sahi, (1981) "The Role of Christian Culture in India Today", in *Catholic Bishops' Conference of India Commission for Evangelisation, Christianity in India: its True Face*. New Delhi: CBCI Centre.
66. Christian ashrams were founded by both Catholics and Protestants. By the first decade of the 21st century, there were some 80 Christian ashrams in India such as Christupanthi Ashram (Varanasi), Anjali Ashram (Mysuru), etc. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christian_Ashram_Movement (accessed, May 6, 2023). Anjali Ashram, founded by D. S. Amalorpavadass, has a unique architectural design. The entrance to the ashram is marked by wide open entrance without a gate (openness to all) which leads to *Viswagopuram* and an outer *mandapa* without walls meant for *yoga*, *upadesa* and dialogue meetings. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/D._S._Amalorpavadass (accessed, May 6, 2023); Also Saldhana, Julian (1997) *Inculturation*. Bandra: St. Pauls Publication.
67. Reinboth, Austin, SJ. (1990) *Mokum Amah House of the Mother*. Patna: Patna Jesuit Society; Drinane, Jerry. (ed.) (1970) "Shrines of Bihar" in *Patna Jesuit*. Patna: Sanjivan Press, pp. 1-6.
68. For an illustrated book on artist Angelo da Fonseca, see Mendonça, Délio. (2022) *Fonseca*. Goa: Architecture Autonomous.
69. See Mundadan, *Inculturation-Art*. op. cit. pp. 504-509.
70. Macmath. "Interview: Jyoti Sahi", artist. op. cit.

71. For instance, the sari-clad statues of Mother Mary, sanyasi posture statue of Jesus Christ, etc. Subroto Ganguly, a Hindu, who did a lot of Christian painting educated himself about Christianity, the Catholic Church, and its laws and theology, visiting various seminaries and Biblical Studies institutes to understand the complex nuances of Catholic practices, rituals and traditions. This vast knowledge base was crucial in his selection by the Catholic Church in India to execute its inculturation projects. See Subrata Ganguly, http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/53858652.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst accessed May 6, 2023.