

Further Thoughts on Church Architecture in India

J. F. BUTLER

Littera scripta manet: once a man has published, his ignorance remains recorded against him. I feel ashamed, when I look at my article on 'The Theology of Church Building in India', which was printed both as an article in the October, 1956, number of this *Journal* and as a separate pamphlet (B10), to realize how much I had missed in the literature which even then was available. In addition, during the three years which have passed since I then wrote, there have been many more buildings, and publications about buildings, of which naturally I could not then know. My article needs complete re-writing, and the subject would really require such re-writing to be on a scale larger than a journal-article could give. But, as such larger publication would doubtless be uneconomic, I am very grateful to the Editors of this *Journal* for giving me the opportunity of repairing the worst gaps in my previous article, and especially in its Bibliography.

P. 1, Acknowledgements.—Mr. Lees' drawings were Figs. 1 and 2, not 1 and 3. I ought to have added thanks for frequent help to Prof. P. Baranger, of *Art et Louange*, Paris. And I gladly acknowledge further help, continuing through the years, from the Library and various friends at Selly Oak, and from many correspondents all over the world, including Revs. T. S. Garrett, M.A., and W. B. Harris, M.A., L.T., of Tirumaraiyur. Rev. G. E. Hubbard, F.R.I.B.A., has been kind enough to discuss with me his own buildings in Tirunelveli Dt. and elsewhere in the South. The Editor of *The Kingdom Overseas* (Methodist Missionary Society) has kindly permitted reproduction of a plan and photograph of the Foster Memorial Church, Nagari; and my daughter, Anne C. E. Butler, of the School of Art, Goldsmiths' College, London, has prepared the necessary drawings.

P. 2, line 21.—For Paraguay read: South America.

P. 3, note 5.—Add to the refs.: L2, 9-10, 29, 34.—End, add: (For all that is involved in Hindu symbolism, *v.* KOa.)

P. 3, note 6.—Add: A4a; VOd; and the passage, packed with thought, in R2, 38-9. (The anthropologists seem to use the odd term 'acculturation' for what I have called, correctly, 'culture-mingling'.)

P. 5, line 22.—Add: Agra and even Narwar (Gwalior).

P. 5, note 2.—Line 1.—For 1945 read: 1491 (Church of Jesus, Setúbal).
—Line 6.—For Rocário read: Rosário.—Line 7.—Add: R4, pl. opp. 6. 128.
—End.—Add: In Goa, as in all areas of Spanish and Portuguese building,

Gothic tended to linger on in vaultings after it had been superseded elsewhere: a partly Gothic vault of 1562 or a little later still survives in the Sé, and there was even one of 1597 in the great Church of the Augustinians, now destroyed. (C10a, pl. vi ; C10b, 332 and pl. i ; C7, 235.)

P. 5, note 3.—For D1 read: D2.

P. 5, note 4.—Add: AOa ; A7a ; C10a ; D1c ; D1d ; F6 ; M1, 311–28 ; R5, 4–11 ; S6 ; T1a, pls. v and vi.

P. 6, first para and note 1.—Partial indigenization of Portuguese churches in India.—What I have said about this is, as it stands, very misleading. There is ample published evidence that in many of the towns and villages of Goa Territory, and in several places outside that Territory, there did spontaneously come about a considerable measure of integration between the Portuguese and the local styles. To the authorities already cited, add: AOe ; AOf, 20 ; B4a, 81, 203 and pls. i, v, vii ; C7, 236, 238, 239 ; C10b ; F4, 377 ; P1d, 249–50 and ill. opp. p. 252 ; R4, pl. opp. p. 97. F4, 376 shows, in a picture of Karingachery Church, a remarkable integration, or collocation, of Portuguese church and Malabar temple styles.

P. 6, note 2.—Add: R4, 19.

P. 6, note 3.—Add: R4, 179 ; and other refs. from note 1.

P. 6, note 4, line 1.—Add: A6a ; C8 ; C16 ; D1c ; D1d ; IOd ; S1b.

P. 8, lines 22ff.—Box-temple style churches.—Tirumaraiyur Chapel is wrongly referred to here: *v. infr.*, under 'P. 11, lines 15ff.' The new C.S.I. church at Suvishapuram, Rajahmundry, will be of this type.

P. 8, lines 38ff.—*Mandapam*-style churches.—For the Hindu prototype, *v. KOa*, 133, 142, 161–2, 218, 254–8, 367, and pls. i, lii, etc.—A further Christian example is the late Fr. Monachin's simple chapel of Shantivanam, the Roman Catholic *āśrama* at Tannir Palli, Kulittalai, Tiruchirapalli Dt. (S9, 46–51 and ill. on cover, on pp. x, xvi, 53, 67, and opp. pp. 158, 159).

P. 8, note 1.—Add: R5, 16–7 and ill.

P. 8, note 4.—Add, after the first ref.: AO^h, 143–5 ; L2, 16–7.—But probably this Mokameh experiment ought more properly to have been dealt with under para. 4 on p. 9 ; and the refs. in the latter part of the note need resorting in the light of what I add *infr.*, under the heading 'P. 11, lines 15ff.'—For L2 read: L2, 4, 7–9, 15–9, 22–3, 26, 29.

P. 8, note 5.—Add: G4 ; TO^b.

P. 9, para headed '3'.—Styles in Hindu sects possible for adaptation.—Sri P. Chenchiah suggests (C4a) that the Sikh *gurudwara* is sufficiently akin in purpose to the church to provide a suitable starting-point for adaptation: Mother Edith, F.M.M., and Fr. E. Cathier, S.J., suggest that the Buddhist 'congregational hall', now known in India mainly through cave copies and some few Hindu adaptations (*v. KOa*, 281–5), is akin in purpose and could be used by Christians.

P. 9, para. headed '5' and note 5.—Publication of pre-Portuguese Malabar Christian architecture.—What I wrote on this is inadequate. Actually, a good deal has been published on the pre-Portuguese Christian architecture of Malabar, notably in

Bp. Brown's and Card. Tisserant's books and in Fr. Placid's articles. V. AOb; B4a, 52-4, 121, 172, 203, 213-5, 275; H6a; M1b; P1b, 233-4 and pl. opp. p. 352; P1d, 249; R5, 1-4; T1a, pls. ii, 2, iii, 1, v. All this, however, is disjointed and incomplete: there is still need for a specialist monograph on the basis of much field work. Nevertheless, one point of importance does already emerge—the tower was normally above the sanctuary, or at least the sanctuary had a raised roof. Surely the symbolism of this is right: the altar is the most holy place, and this should be shown by height. The old Malabar church has this symbolism, as does the North Indian temple; whereas Christian churches elsewhere, like the larger South Indian temples, meaninglessly put their principal heights over places liturgically unimportant.

P. 9, note 3.—Syncretistic styles.—Add: Other examples are the Kerr Memorial Chapel, Dichpalli; St. John's College, Agra (GO, 131); Rev. G. E. Hubbard's work in Tirunelveli Dt. and elsewhere (GO, 132; H8); Erode ex-L.M.S. Church (1930) (R5, 18-9 and ill.); Dharapuram ex-Methodist Church (1931) (R5, 18 and ill.); Santoshapuram C.S.I. Chapel (1958) (M1a).

P. 9, note 4.—Add: B4a, 56, 203, pls. i, v, vii; T1a, pl. i; and, for the crosses, B4a, 79-81, 278-9 and pl. ii; T1a, frontispiece; W3, W4.

P. 10, line 15.—For *Jamā'* read: *Jāmi'*.

P. 10, line 20.—After mosque, add: and other mosques were even worse acoustically (C18, II. 355).

P. 10, note 2.—Add: C19, 34-6, 39, 74-6, 110-1.

P. 10, note 3.—Add: C17, 7, 10, 12, 16, 59-73; C18, I. 72, 14, 25-6, 123-35, II. 138, 333; C19, 7, 16, 59, 73.

P. 10, note 4.—Add: CO; SOa; SOb.

P. 10, note 5.—Add: C18, I. 111, 118, 137-9; C19, 74-5; D1b, 124; S8, 87.

P. 10, note 6.—Add: C18, I. 98-9; C19, 44.

P. 11, line 11.—Muslim tombs as models for adaptation.—Add: In many places, as at Calcutta, Agra and especially Surat, wealthy Europeans built their own tombs in the Mughul style, generally on a small but occasionally on a large scale. V. BOB; B1a; B2a; R1, 114, 134-8, 145-6 and pls. opp. pp. 110, 111, 134, 135; S6. And this was not without a little influence on church architecture, for tomb and chapel could blend, in the form of the cemetery chapel. This actually is the origin of one of the most pleasing of the small church buildings of the Portuguese period, the 'Padres Santos' Chapel (sometimes called 'the Martyrs' Chapel'), in the Old Cemetery at Lashkarpur, Agra—an octagonal domed building, just like a fair-sized Mughul tomb, except for the cross surmounting it. V. M1, 332, 334, and pl. opp. p. 329; B2a.

P. 11, lines 15ff.—In discussing 'the smallish courtyard mosque' as a model for an Indian church, 'the courtyard church', as I call it, it is interesting to note that something very like this form is known also in Hinduism: v. KOa, 198-9, 201-4. And there is a close though somewhat rare and 'specialized

parallel to it in a type of building produced by the early Christian Church, the *basilica discoperta*, a hypaethral form used for funeral and memorial basilicas (D1b, 22-5, 32-3, cf. 54, 78, 110-2)—not to mention the very common early use of an *atrium* as a forecourt to the basilica (D1b, *pass: v. index s.v.*), though this was not so integral a part of the church proper as is the courtyard for whose use in India I argue.

Besides the examples of such courtyard churches already mentioned in my article (where add a ref., for St. Andrew's, Ummedpur, to TOa, 63-4 and pl. opp. p. 32), at least four others have been built or projected in India, and they are all of great interest. They are:

(1) K. M. Heinz' project for a Roman Catholic mission centre at Irudayakulam (L2, 25).

(2) The chapel of the Bishop's (now Tamilnad) Theological College, Tirumaraiyur, Tirunelveli Dt. (began 1938). I had previously (B10, 8) taken this to be of the Hindu box-temple type: but I now know from the architect, Rev. G. E. Hubbard, F.R.I.B.A., that the enclosed portion was intended only as the sanctuary: this forms the lower storey of, and then projects eastwards from, a central tower: on the first floor of this tower is an open-air pulpit, facing west over a 'courtyard which virtually becomes an open-air nave' (H8, 259). However, as this western yard is used only as a cloister for lectures and for general sitting about, and never to house any part of the congregation at the chapel services, it would seem to me to correspond more to the early Christian *atrium* than to a real nave—useful for a variety of odd purposes, but not part of the church proper.

(3) I ought also in this context to have referred to, and indeed much stressed, Fr. H. Heras' pioneering project of a courtyard church of a special type. It never got, I believe, beyond the maquette stage: but it was well publicized and provoked much useful discussion. V. C14, 272, 281, E4, H2; H3; LOd; L2, 26; O1; T1; V1, 29-30, 39. It consists of a *mandapam* set in the middle of a cloister-court and filling up most of it; at its back, or east, end it shelters the altar, under a *vimāna*. (This east end of the *mandapam* stands away from the back cloister: but I think it could, with some practical advantage and with no change of principle, be drawn into it.) The *mandapam* gives shelter to the whole of the congregation at high-altar masses, except overflow congregations on very great occasions: such overflows can stand in the court, unsheltered, or in the cloisters, rather cut off. The cloisters are not intended for any normal congregations at the high altar, but they do provide shelter for various subsidiary purposes, such as baptisms, confessions, stations of the cross, masses at side-altars: they might be said, indeed, to fulfil the purposes of the aisles and transepts of a western-style church, when, that is, those parts of the fabric are really used and are not mere awkward extras demanded by tradition alone. The *gopuram*, in the centre of the west cloister

facing the high altar, acts as a bell-tower. The whole design, in fact, whatever its deficiencies may be, is an object-lesson, not only because of its strong sense of Indian form, but because of its equally strong sense of Christian purpose: every part of it has a liturgical function to house.

(4) A very interesting variant is the new C.S.I. Foster Memorial Church at Nagari, Chittoor Dt. (1956) (H4a). The plan shows extreme ingenuity in providing coverage for a good-sized congregation and also open-air accommodation for the specially

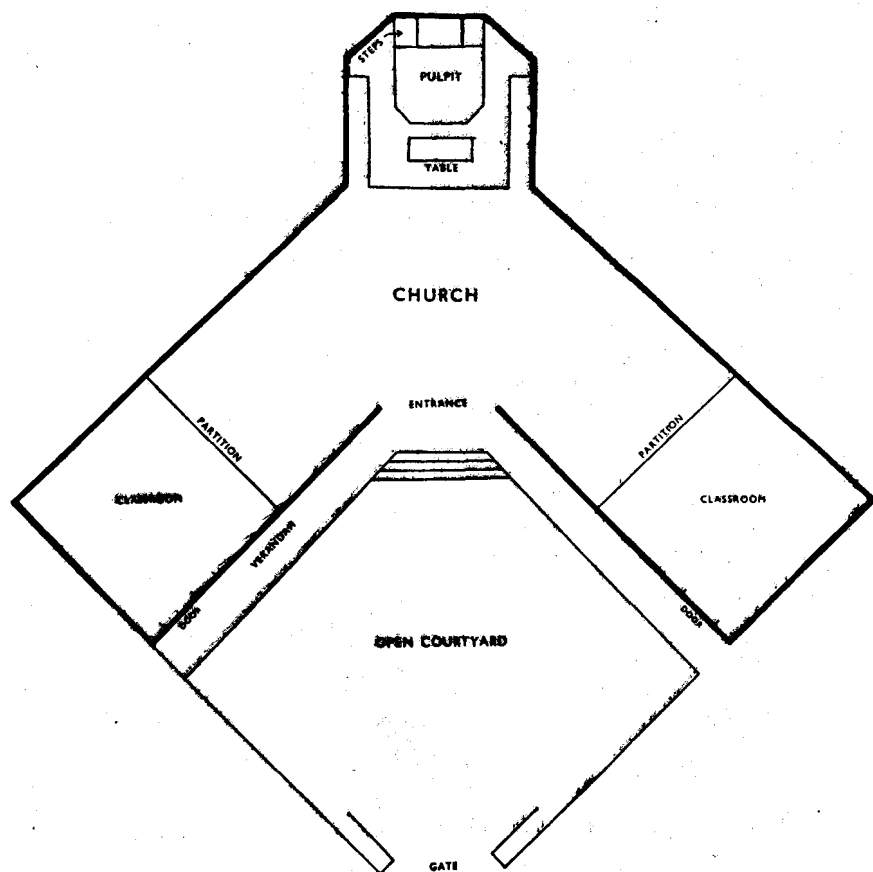
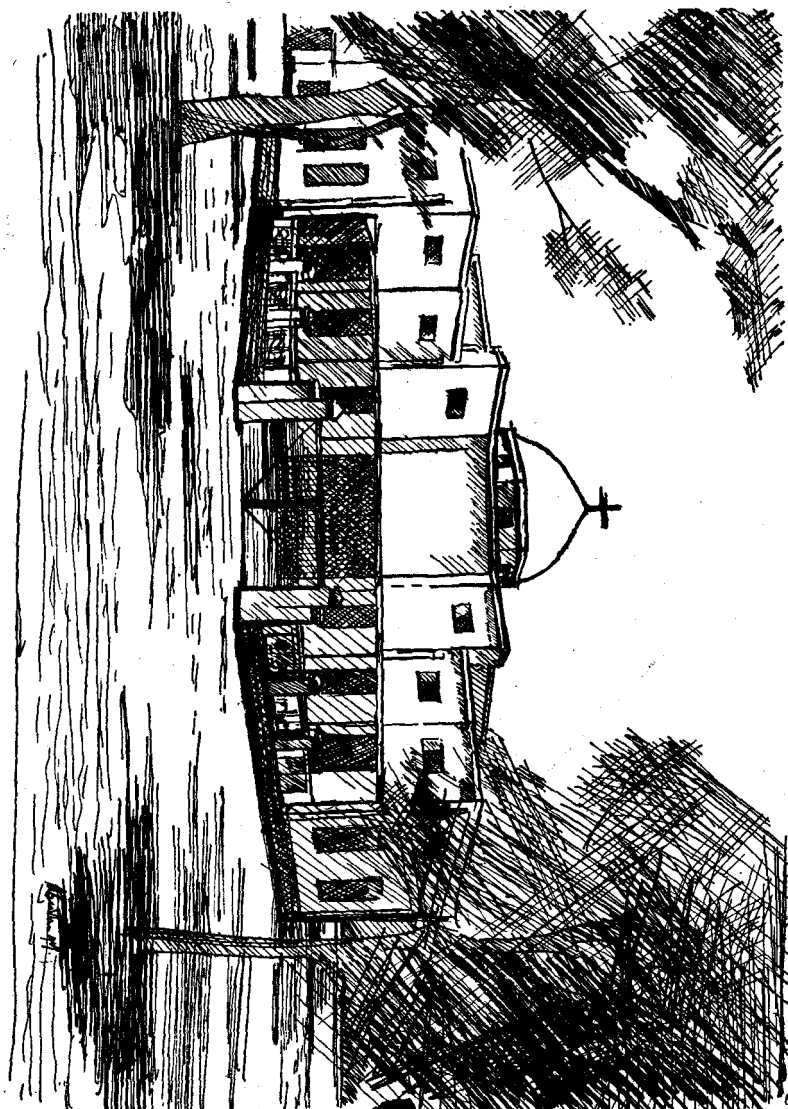


FIG. 1. Plan of Foster Memorial Church, C.S.I., Nagari, Chittoor Dt.

big assemblies at festivals. It has, I should judge, some disadvantages: the altar is very open to the outside public view: the overflow congregation has no shelter whatever: the ordinary congregation seems more enclosed than is desirable for coolness,

FIG. 2. Foster Memorial Church, Nagari, Chittoor Dt.



and moreover is bifurcated—this indeed suits the Indian segregation of the sexes at worship, and will not much affect the celebrant at an Eucharist, but it must create difficulties for a preacher.

P. 11, note 5.—Add: D1b, 39, 78, 91; D1e, 312; and *cf.* the doors of the Church of the Holy Name, Hubli (TOa, pl. opp. p. 64).

P. 13, line 22.—Open-air prayer-areas.—Replace this inadequate comment by: These experiments in open-air worship in Indian villages actually have a good deal of Christian tradition behind them. When Britain was a mission-field, preaching-crosses were regularly set up as Christian centres before churches were built (C11b, 5, etc.; C12a, 18-9); and this custom continued in the early Portuguese missions (W2, 22, 39, 75). The Friars in mediaeval Europe often had arrangements for preaching to crowds outside their churches (which themselves were largely designed as preaching-rooms) (A4a, 53): many mediaeval open-air pulpits survive in England, in their original form (as at Magdalen College, Oxford), or as later copies (as at Holy Trinity, Marylebone); and there are occasional modern revivals of the custom (M2a, 58, 98). Open-air crosses, in various parts of Europe, are used to stimulate devotion, as the Breton 'Calvaries' and the 'oratoires' of Provence, and 'grottoes' all over the world. In India the great Maramon Convention is held with a vast *pandal* as its only building. The Church in Southern Sudan is now experimenting with open-air chapels, on local Islamic models (G6).

The customary insistence on the enclosure of an altar would seem to be a relic of the Early Church's requirement of complete privacy for the Church at the Eucharist and the prayers which went therewith: catachumens and even pagans were admitted to the instructional part of the Christian assembly, the preparatory 'Synaxis' or 'Mass of the Catachumens', but were dismissed as soon as the Church set itself to prayer (D1e, 16-21, 41-2, 46, 92-4, 103-4, 149-50, 209, 478; S7, 12-3, 33-6, 42, 66-7, 139). These dismissals became merely formal when the gradual conversion of Rome and the Empire broke down the Church as a closed society, and were either dropped or said without any accompanying action (D1e, 305-6, 331, 434-40; S7, 55, 63, 232). Such desire for secrecy in prayer and in ritual has parallels in Hinduism (KOa, 142, 156-7, 272) and in Islam (S1a, 41). Huizinga bases it on a deep psychic urge for the marking-out and use of an enclosed space for religion, magic, ceremony and play, which has countless manifestations in life, ranging from the magic ring and the law-court to the tennis-court (H9, 19-20, 77). All this evidence from religious tradition and from psychology and from anthropology—I wish that there had been space here to do more than simply refer to it: it needs analysing and discussing at length—means that, for a proper decision about the enclosure, or degree of enclosure, of our places of worship, we need to decide not only about climatic needs, but also about three propositions, two of which are theological and one psychological. These are: (a) A true understanding of Christian prayer in general and of the Eucharist in particular requires that they be kept as acts of the Church *qua* the Church, and therefore fully screened off from unbelievers or the unbaptized. (b) A true understanding of Christian prayer and of the Eucharist

shows that they are parts of a community life which like the rest of that community life are meant by God to preach His Gospel, which is the universal gift of His grace, and therefore they ought to be as public as possible, 'showing forth the Lord's death' to all who will hear and watch. (c) Ritual secrecy is a deeply embedded human feeling with which, as with other parts of the 'racial unconscious', we do well to come to terms. My own answer would be to reject (a) as superstitious, accept (b) fully, and regret that this full acceptance of (b) must prevent me from attaching as much weight to (c) as I otherwise should have done. But I am not mainly concerned here to press for any particular answers, but only to urge that the problem of the open church should be looked on as largely a problem of theology, and not mainly one either of climate or of archaeology.

P. 13, note 2.—Delete the first five words, and replace by: This was one early type of mosque. It was developed partly from one of the very earliest mosques, Muhammad's house (*dār*) at Madīna; the covered part representing the row of chambers of the wives; one part of the portico being originally a prayer-shelter, another the accommodation for houseless followers; the courtyard being for private prayers and also for the various casual uses of an Arab household (C18, I. 3-7, 9, 11, 20; C19, 3-6); and partly from the use of confiscated Christian churches—as these in Syria were wrongly orientated for Muslims, the *qibla* was placed in the centre of the south wall; the overspill of a Friday congregation could then cluster round the door opposite the *qibla* and be quite near the prayer-leader or preacher; the next stage was to replace the solid wall on that side, the north, by arches, thus giving the overspill congregation a better hearing and view; in effect they were then in an open court, whose *qibla* side was a portico open to that court (C17, 62, C18, I. 12-4; C19, 7, 73).

P. 13, note 3.—This very inadequate note should be replaced thus: Most of the very early mosques were merely rectangles lightly marked off, as by a ditch or a palisade of reeds (Qubā, 624—C18, I. 9; Basra, 635—C17, 62; C18, I. 15; C19, 9), soon eked out with a simple roofed colonnade at the *qibla* end (C18, I. 15-8; C19, 9). Such simplicity was in line with the puritan precept and practice of the Prophet: he built no mosque himself (his house which he built at Madīna was not made into a mosque till 655-74); and one of his most famous sayings was: 'Verily, the most unprofitable thing that eateth up the wealth of a Believer is building' (C18, I. 4; C19, 4).

P. 14, fig. 4, caption.—For Tepogcolula read: Teposcolula.

P. 14, note 1.—Replace the part in brackets by a ref. to C11a.

P. 15, lines 2-3.—I have since come across a few other instances of 'open chapels'. K1, I. 430-1, 445, cites some partial parallels in Syria and Italy. G5 shows an apparent example by Michelangelo himself, the Chapel of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the Cortile delle Palle, Castel Sant' Angelo, Rome (c. 1515-22). WOa, 37 and Fig. 5 shows a clear and fine one on the first floor, over the doorway, of the principal façade of the House of the Mercedarian Order, Cuzco, Peru, which enabled Mass to be said for a congregation assembled in the square.

P. 16, lines 1ff.—This discussion about the religious potentialities of modern art, and the bibliography of it, might be extended indefinitely. Here I have space only briefly to note

that: (1) In my original article I was far too pessimistic about the religious powers of ferro-concrete; (2) LOb, 76-88; LOc, 44-9; M1c; M2a, 16, 19; S5; R2, 25, 29-30; R3 are of special importance; (3) In this debate the important thing is to ensure that neither the aesthetic nor the theological aspect swamps the other.

P. 16, line 15.—After Mexican, add: , and the same is true of Brazil (M2a, 88; M2b; cf. F5, 238).

P. 16, line 30.—Add refs. to BOa; C15; P1a; Z2.

P. 16, line 33.—This is not now true, since the building of the Nirvashteshvar Temple at the new town of Gandhidham: v. IOa.

P. 16, line 37.—This, I am glad to say, is not true. There has recently been some such experimenting, with Indian modernist churches, on paper and in actuality: v. L2, 17, 20-3. It is worth while here to quote Maurice Lavanoux: 'As I ponder this problem of adaptation, as it exists, today, I am coming closer to the idea that what has been called the "modern" style in architecture—with proper climatic overtones peculiar to India—might now be the basis for church design in that country . . . How far this architecture can be integrated with an adaptation of Indian motifs is for the future to decide. At any rate, a return to the *past* is hardly valid or desirable.' (L2, 2-3; cf. 14, 17: this is also the general conclusion of Mgr. Malenfant in IOc, 20; and of the eminent Flemish critic M. Louis van den Bossche, in a wonderful series of articles, models of the interpenetration of deep aesthetic and theological thought, of which perhaps VOa, VOb, VOc are the chief *ct.* R3, 425-7.)

P. 16, note 2.—Add: A2a; F5.

P. 16, note 3.—Add: LOb, 116-63; LOc, 35-41.

P. 17.—Conclusion.—I think I ought to have stressed here that these problems of Indian church building are very largely *theological* ones. The whole of my original article, in spite of its title, failed to stress this sufficiently. I hope that in this one what I have said about the symbolism of the Malabar pre-Portuguese tower over the sanctuary, the liturgical purpose and suitability of some types of courtyard church, the supposed requirements or ritual secrecy as regards the open church, and the difficulties and opportunities as to the religious nature of modern styles, will have done something to redress this error.

If the nature of religious architecture must ultimately depend on theological purpose, then the true form of Indian church building cannot be settled till solutions have been found to the problems of the indigenization of the liturgy—urgent and vital problems, but problems about which very little seems yet to have been done, despite much discussion (AOc; AOf, 16-22, 26-9 (Mgr. Malenfant)); AOg, 45-8; D1a; GO; HO; IOB; LOa; L2; P2a; TOa, chaps. ii-iv; WOb, chaps. vii-xi; W5;

W6). Of course, not all liturgical reforms would call for any alteration in the form of church buildings: but some would. If, for instance, suggestions for the increased use of Indian music and *kālakshēpams* and allied forms were taken seriously, these would require a suitable platform, perhaps at the side of the sanctuary end of the nave, opposite the pulpit. As for that pulpit, ought it not to become not a box for standing in, but a small platform on which the preacher could sit cross-legged, as an Indian *guru* should? If the suggestions were developed that indigenous dances should be adapted for Christian worship (L2, 29; P2b; TOa, 70, 112, 133, 151-2), this might call for a broad platform in front of the sanctuary, and perhaps a slightly sloping nave. And ought we not to give better accommodation for the Indian type of offertory? Offertory in kind is both a thing of symbolic beauty and a necessity under present Indian village conditions: the personal bringing of the gift to God is a part of Hindu worship that we have very properly incorporated to some extent and could well incorporate further into our patterns of worship; this, too, could call for a broad platform, and a spacious altar at the back of it, to accommodate a bulky offertory and a long offertory procession. I will offer no more examples, because such developments must be of spontaneous local growth. But I have indicated the kind of practices that could develop in Indian worship: and, if they did, then our churches would have to evolve *pari passu*, to house such rites with convenience and with worthy symbolism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the Bibliography appended to my original article (B10, 17-20) I listed practically all the books and articles to which I gave references, in order to save space and trouble in the notes. For the sake of consistency, I follow the same principle in these Addenda, though if I were starting the whole work again I think I would confine the list to publications dealing with Indian Christian architecture. As it is, there are anomalies such as the inclusion of works on Indo-Portuguese 'minor arts' and the exclusion of works on modern Indian Christian painting. The Addenda given here more than double the size of the Bibliography, which I hope will now be of real service to students. I have lettered and numbered the items so as to fit into the alphabetical arrangement of the original list, of which I have included also a few corrigenda.

- AOa *A arte das missões no Oriente Português e no Brasil*. Catalogue of an Exhibition of Photographs at the Museu de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, 1957, in connection with the III Colóquio Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros. (Wholly Western.)
- AOb ARRAHAM, C. and JOSEPH, T. K.: 'The Old Church at Kotamangalam and a Chattannur Inscription of A.D. 1273', in *Kerala Society Papers*, 2 (1932, Trivandrum), 277-8.
- AOc ADINARAYAN, S. P. (PROF. DR.): 'Indigenization of Worship and its Psychology', in *The Indian Journal of Theology*, v. 2 (Oct. 1956), 27-30.
- AOd *Agence Fides*, div. 446: 1936, Rome: 'Un temple hindou converti en chapelle catholique aux Indes'.

- AOe ALEXANDER, STELLA: 'The Architecture of Old Goa', in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, lxxxvi, 20 Feb. 1955. (A popular article based on the Exhibition catalogued in A5: some of its illustrations show marked indigenization in ornament and even in design.)
- AOf *Apostolic Approach*: Souvenir of the First Inter-Diocesan Conference of Priests, Pachmarhi, M.P., 12-17 June 1956. Ed. and publ. by Frs. A. Nazareth, and Y. Rocha, Archbishop's House, Nagpur.
- AOg *Apostolic Approach*: Do., Second Conference, 21-26 May 1957: etc., Ed. and publ. by Fr. V. Rocha, etc.
- AOh ARADI, ZSOLT: *Shrines to Our Lady around the World*: 1954, Farrar, Straus and Young, New York: Pp. 143-5. (On Mokameh.)
- A2a *Architectural Review, The*: Nov. 1955, 318-21; Nov. 1957, 323-32. (Articles, highly illustrated, much in colour, on the Engineering College and Polytechnic Institute designed for the University of Rangoon by Raglan Squire and Partners. A masterly adaptation of modern building styles to tropical conditions.)
- A4a ATKINSON, THOMAS DINHAM (F.R.I.B.A.): *Local Style in English Architecture*: 1947, Batsford.
- A5 Add: (The Exhibition was held at the Courtauld Institute of Art, Park Lane House, Oct. 1953. Probably related are the following Catalogues: *Exposição temporária de desenhos de Lopes Mendes e de fotografias de monumentos indianos*, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, 1953; Do., Museu Regional de Évora, 1953; *Monumentos da Índia Portuguesa, Exposição de fotografias*, Museu Regional de Évora, 1956.)
- A6a AZEVEDO, CARLOS DE: 'Pintura e escultura no Índia Portuguesa', in *Panorama*, 2nd ser., Nos. 13-4: 1955, Lisbon.
- A7 For D4 read: A7a, C10a, C10b, D3.—Before the final bracket add: But I can so far (July 1959) get no further news of this project.
- A7a AZEVEDO, CARLOS DE: 'The Churches of Goa', in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, xv. 3 (Oct. 1956): U.S.A.
- BOa BACCUET, E.: 'Opening of the Maseru Church', in *Basutoland Witness* (P.E.M.S., Morija, Basutoland), xii. 1 (March 1958), pp. i, ii, 2-4. (A very fine modernist Africanized church: v. *infr.*, C15; P1a; Z2.)
- BOb BANERJI, AMIYA K.: "'Hindoo" Stuart', in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, 28 July 1957. (An illustrated account of a curious Indianized European tomb, of 1828, in South Park Street Cemetery, Calcutta.)
- B1 After Kandurathy add: (Kaṭutturutti).—And delete the whole comment after Travancore: it is now out-of-date: v. *infr.*, B4a and Tia.
- B1a BELLASIS, A. F. (C.S.): *Old Tombs in the Cemeteries of Surat*: 1868, Education Society's Pr., Byculla. (Pamphlet reprint of an article in *J. of Bombay Br. of Roy. As. Soc.*, vi. 146.)
- B2a BLUNT, E. A. H. (I.C.S.): *List of Christian Tombs and Monuments of the United Provinces*: 1911, Allahabad.
- B4a BROWN, L. W. (BP.): *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas*: 1956, Cambridge Univ. Pr. (Contains brief and tantalizing, but useful, architectural notes on some of the pre-Portuguese churches of Malabar: also some good pictures showing Hinduizings.)
- B9 Add at end: , 15-25.
- B10 BUTLER, JOHN F.: 'The Theology of Church Building in India', in *The Indian Journal of Theology*, v. 2 (Oct. 1956), 1-20. Also pamphlet reprint (Serampore).
- CO CASTRO, AMERICO: *España en su historia: Christianos, moros, judíos*: 1948, Losada, Buenos Aires.

- C4a CHENCHIAH, P. (M.L.): in *The Guardian* (Madras), 28 March 1957, 129 (9). Also in *The South India Churchman*, Sept. 1957. Review of B10.
- C5 For *geral* read: *da Agência-Geral*.—The English title should (I think) read: 'Aspects of the Religious Art of Portuguese India —Architecture and Gilt Woodwork.'
- C7 Add: Lisbon, 233-9 and 6 plates. (The photographs excellently show Hindu features, and also include pictures of the great church of the Augustinians at Goa, now destroyed.)
- C10a CHICÓ, MÁRIO TAVARES: 'Algumas observações acerca da arquitectura da Companhia de Jesus no distrito de Goa', in *Garcia de Orta*, número especial, 1956 (Lisbon), 257-72 and 12 plates. (Italian influence discussed.)
- C10b CHICÓ, MÁRIO TAVARES: 'Igrejas de Goa', in *ib.*, 331-6 and 12 plates. (Much on architectural Indianizings in towns of the Goa Territory outside of Goa City itself.)
- C11a *Codex Juris Canonici* (1917), canon 822, paras 1, 4. (The modern Roman Catholic law on open altars, based of course on ancient authorities.)
- C11b COLLINGWOOD, W. G.: *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age*: 1927, Faber and Gwyer.
- C12a COOK, G. H.: *The English Mediaeval Parish Church*: 1954, Phoenix.
- C15 COUPRIE, PIERRE (REV.): 'Erection of the New Church in Maseru', in *Basutoland Witness* (P.E.M.S., Morija, Basutoland), xi. 4 (Dec. 1957), 2-6. (V. BOa; Pla; Z2. This article is particularly interesting for a theological argument, mistaken, I think, but nevertheless suggestive, that the nature of the church building requires that it should resemble a house.)
- C16 COUTO, JOÃO (DR.): *Alguns subsídios para o estudo técnico das peças de ourivesaria no estilo denominado Indo-Português: Três peças de prata que pertenceram ao Convento do Carmo da Vidignera*: 1928, Lisbon.
- C17 CRESSWELL, K. A. C. (PROF.): 'The Muslim Period: I: Architecture', in *The Art of Egypt through the Ages*, ed. Sir E. Denison Ross: 1931, The Studio, London: 61-71.
- C18 CRESSWELL, K. A. C. (PROF.): *Early Muslim Architecture*, I (1932), II (1940): Clarendon Pr. (A prime source book: sumptuous.)
- C19 CRESSWELL, K. A. C. (PROF.): *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*: 1958, Pelican. (C18 much reduced, to only xvi + 330 pp. and only 72 much smaller pls.: yet not only is it much more accessible, but it also has some additional matter, besides many changes of view and of emphasis.)
- D1a DAS, R. C. (REV.): *The Indigenisation of Christian Worship in the East*: Paper for the Conference on Worship, Bangalore, 1955. (V. W5.)
- D1b DAVIES, J. G.: *The Origin and Development of Early Christian Architecture*: 1952, S.C.M.
- D1c DE CAGIGAL E SILVA, M. M.: 'A arte Indo-Portuguesa', in *Arte Portuguesa: Artes Decorativas*, I: 1953.
- D1d DE MENDONÇA, D. MARIA POSÉ: 'Alguns tipos de colchas indo-portuguesas no colecção do Museu de Arte Antiga', in *Boletim do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*, Jan.-Dec. 1949.
- D1e DIX, GREGORY (DOM): *The Shape of the Liturgy*: 1945, Dacre Pr. (Refs. are to the reprints of ed. 2, 1945.)
- E4 *Examiner*, *The* (Bombay), 22 Oct. 1927. (Includes a plan of Fr. H. Heras' temple-church.)
- F4 FORTESCUE, ADRIAN (Ph.D., D.D.): *The Lesser Eastern Churches*: 1913, Catholic Truth Soc., London.

- F5 FRY, MAXWELL (C.B.E., B.A.R.C.H., F.R.I.B.A.) and DREW, JANE (F.R.I.B.A.): *Tropical Architecture in the Humid Zone*: 1956, Batsford.
- F6 FURTADO, JOSEPH V.: 'Bombay's Stately Churches', in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, 10 June 1956, 68-9. (Includes photographs and a popular history of some Portuguese churches of Bombay.)
- GO GARRETT, T. S. (REV., M.A.): 'The Indian Church at Worship', in *The Indian Journal of Theology*, vii. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1958), 127-33. (On some indigenizings of worship, and some of the recent experiments in indigenized church architecture.)
- G4 GIBSON, J. P. S. R. (REV.): 'A Christian Singhalese Artist', in *The C.M.S. Outlook*, lxxv. 770 (May 1938), 101-2.
- G5 GOLDSCHIEDER, LUDWIG: *Michelangelo*: 1953, Phaidon: 17 and pl. 139.
- G6 GREENLAW, JEAN-PIERRE: 'Notes on Open-Air Churches and a Dinka-Luak Type Church in the Southern Sudan', in *Liturgical Arts*: 1958, 110-3.
- HO HALL, G. N. (now BP.): 'Worship and the Indian Church', in *The Church Overseas*, v. 20 (Oct. 1932), 312-26.
- H4a HERRICK, ALAN G. (REV.): 'A CSI CHURCH: the Foster Memorial Church—Nagari', in *The Kingdom Overseas* (M.M.S.), Jan. 1957, pp. ii (ill. and plan), 3-4.
- H6a HOSTEN, H. (S.J.): 'Christian Archaeology in Malabar', in *The Catholic Herald of India*, xx (1922), 829ff.
- H8 HUBBARD, GEORGE E. (REV., F.R.I.B.A.): 'The Christian Use of Indian Architecture', in *The East and West Review*, v. 3 (July 1939), 254-60. (Describes the author's own work at Oyyungudi and Tirumaraiyur.)
- H9 HUIZINGA, J. (PROF.): *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture*: E. trans., by R. F. C. Hull, 1949, Routledge and Kegan Paul, of the German ed. of 1944.
- IOa *Illustrated Weekly of India, The*, lxxviii. 39 (29 Sept. 1957), 60-73. (A 'Gandhidham Supplement', including an account, with pictures, of the ferro-concrete temple at that new town.)
- IOb IMMANUEL, R. D. (PROF. DR.): 'Hindu Festivals and the Christian Calendar': a Paper read at the Conference on Christian Worship, Matheran, Apr. 1957: in *The Indian Journal of Theology*, vi. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1957), 111-7. (V. W6.)
- IOc *Indian Culture and the Fullness of Christ*: All-India Study Week, 6-13 Dec. 1956: The Madras Cultural Academy, The Catholic Centre, Madras: 1957. (Little directly on architecture, but much very good work on indigenization in general and in art.)
- IOd *Influências do Oriente no arte Portuguesa Continental: a arte nas Províncias Portuguesas do ultramar*: Catalogue of an Exhibition at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, 1957, in connection with the III Colóquio Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros. (Descriptive catalogue, with 32 pls. showing the mixture of Christian and Hindu motifs, and some Persian and Classical elements also, in much of the minor arts of 16th-18th cent. Portuguese India.)
- I1 For D, read: DIEGO.
- KOa KRAMRISCH, STELLA: *The Hindu Temple*: 1946, Univ. of Calcutta Pr.
- K1 Delete sentence in brackets.
- K2 For 56 read: 54.
- LOa LASH, WILLIAM Q. (BP.): 'Reflections on Indigenization', in *The Indian Journal of Theology*, iv. 2 (Oct. 1955), 24-9. Summarizes some recent discussions under the aegis of the W.C.C.: v. W5.)
- LOb *Le Corbusier*, V: 1953. Zurich, ed. Brosiger, publ. Girsberger. (Refs. to 2nd ed. of 1955.)

- LOc *Le Corbuser*: Catalogue of an Exhibition at the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, 10 Dec. 1958-17 Jan. 1959, and at the Building Centre, London, 3 Feb.-6 Mar. 1959.
- LOd *Liturgical Arts*, 1935, i: Liturgical Arts Soc., N.Y. (A number devoted to Christian art in the Far East.)
- L2 Add: (A number on India, after the Editor's tour there.)
- M1 For 22 read: 222.
- M1a *Mail, The Weekly* (Madras), 2 May 1958: a picture of the new C.S.I. chapel at Santoshapuram. (Mixed Hindu, Islamic and European features.)
- M1b MANHALL, V.: *A Brief History of the Palayur Church*: 1926, Trichur.
- M1c MAUFE, EDWARD (R.A., M.A., F.R.I.B.A., now SIR): *Modern Church Architecture*: 1948, I.C.B.S.
- M2a MILLS, EDWARD D. (F.R.I.B.A.): *The Modern Church*: 1926, Architectural Pr., London.
- M2b MINDLIN, HENRIQUE E.: *Modern Architecture in Brazil*: 1956, Architectural Pr., London.
- P1a PESTER, A.: 'Sefika, Our New Church', in *Basutoland Witness* (P.E.M.S., Morija, Basutoland), xii. 2 (Aug. 1958), 12. (V. BOa; C15; Z2.)
- P1b PLACID OF ST. JOSEPH (VERY REV. FR., T.O.C.D.): 'The Social and Socio-Ecclesiastical Customs of the Syrian Christians of India', in *The Eastern Churches Quarterly*, vii. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1947), 222-36.
- P1c PLACID OF ST. JOSEPH (VERY REV. FR., T.O.C.D.): *The Church of Palayur*: 1951, Chundal. (In Malayalam: has an account of recent excavations.)
- P1d PLACID OF ST. JOSEPH (VERY REV. FR., T.O.C.D.): 'The Syro-Malabarians, their Life and Activities', in *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft (Nouvelle revue de science missionnaire)*, XII Jahrgang: 1956, Seminar Schöneck, Bechenried, Schweiz, 241-56.
- P2a POPLEY, H. A. (REV.): 'The Use of Indian Music in Christian Worship', in *The Indian Journal of Theology*, vi. 3 (July-Sept. 1957), 80-8.
- P2b PROKSCH (Fr. S.V.D.): in *The Word*, x. 2 (Mar. 1951), 33-6.
- R1 RAWLINSON, H. G. G.: *British Beginnings in Western India: 1579-1657: An Account of the Early Days of the British Factory of Surat*: 1920, Clarendon Pr. (Includes an account and pictures of a remarkable series of Indianized tombs for Europeans.)
- R2 READ, HERBERT (SIR): *Contemporary British Art*: 1951, Pelican.
- R3 RÉGAMEY, PIE-RAYMOND (O.P.): *Art sacré au XXme siècle?*: 1952, Éd. du Cerf, Paris.
- R4 RÉMY (COL.): *Goa, Rome de l'Orient*: 1955, France-Empire. Refs. are to the Eng. trans., by Lancelot G. Shepherd, *Goa, Rome of the Orient*: 1957, Arthur Barker, London. (This book, by a former French Resistance leader, is very pro-Portuguese and crusadingly Catholic: it cannot but give offence in India. Nevertheless it contains some good pictures of buildings not easily to be found illustrated elsewhere, and a readable account of parts of Goan history.)
- R5 RICHARD, L. C. (M.A.): *Church Architecture in Malabar*: 1956, P. K. Brothers, Kozhikode. (A pioneering pamphlet, with several pictures.)
- SOa SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOS, C.: *España y el Islam*: 1943, Editorial Sud-americana, Buenos Aires.
- SOB SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOS, C.: *La España musulmana*: Buenos Aires.
- S1a SCHELLES-MILLIE, J.: 'La prière en Islam', in *Rhythmes du monde*, vii. 1 (N.S.) (1959), 36-56.

- S1b SCHURHAMMER, GEORG (S.J.) (text) and MOOSBRUGGER, BERNHARD (photos): *Der Silberschrein des Hl. Franz Xaver in Goa*: offprint from *Münster*, Jahrgang VII, Heft 5/6, Mai/Juni 1954, München. (A model of exact scholarship and copious illustration.)
- S5 SJÖBERG, YVES: *Mort et résurrection de l'art sacré*: 1957, Grasset, Paris.
- S6 SPATE, O. H. K. (PROF.): 'Monuments of Imperial Rule in India', in *The Listener*, 26 July 1956, 122-3. (A popular talk; but contains some information on the Portuguese buildings and survivals at Bassein, and a picture of Jacob Hessing's Mughul-style tomb, c. 1803, at Agra. A correspondent in *The Listener* of 9 Aug. 1956 corrects 'Jacob' to 'John William'.)
- S7 STEUART, BENEDICT (DOM): *The Development of Christian Worship: An Outline of Liturgical History*: 1953, Longmans Green.
- S8 STRZYGOWSKI, JOSEF: *Ursprung der christlichen Kirchenkunst*: 1919. Refs. here are to the Eng. trans. by O. M. Dalton, M.A., and H. J. Braunholtz, M.A.: *Origin of Christian Church Art*: 1923, Clarendon Pr.
- S9 *Swami Parama Arubi Anandam (Fr. J. Monchanin)*, 1895-1957, A Memorial: 1959, Saccindananda Ashram.
- TOa THOMPSON, H. P. (REV., M.A.): *Worship in Other Lands*: 1933, S.P.G.
- TOb *Times of Ceylon Sunday Illustrated, The*, 23 Oct. 1927: 'A Sinhalese Chapel for Trinity College, Kandy'.
- T1a TISSERANT, EUGENE (CARD.): *Eastern Christianity in India: A History of the Syro-Malabar Church from the earliest time to the present day*: 1957, Longmans Green. Eng. adaptation, by E. R. Hambye, S.J., of the Cardinal's article 'Syro-Malabare (Église)' in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, Vol. XIV, pt. ii: 1941, Vacant et Mangenet. (This most instructive book has relevance to architecture only in some of its illustrations.)
- VOa VAN DEN BOSSCHE, LOUIS: 'Art et civilisation', in *Le bulletin des missions*, xv. 4 (Dec. 1936), 267-76.
- VOb VAN DEN BOSSCHE, LOUIS: 'Chronique d'art chrétien indigène', in *ib.*, xvii. 4 (4th Q., 1938), 253-6.
- VOc VAN DEN BOSSCHE, LOUIS: 'Les arts en pays de mission', in *ib.*, xxvi. 3-4 (3rd-4th Q., 1952), 178-90. Also pamphlet reprint.
- VOD VASCONCELOS, JOSÉ: *La Raza Cósmica*.
- VI For lxiv. 29-31; 1936, Düsseldorf, read: lxiv. 2 (Feb. 1936): Düsseldorf, 29-31, 39.
- WOa WHITE, EMMONS E. (REV.): *Appreciating India's Music*: 1957, C.L.S. for Serampore (No. 14 in The Christian Students' Library).
- WOb WETHEY, HAROLD E.: 'La Merced in Cuzco, Peru', in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians (U.S.A.)*, v. 1945-6 (Special Issue on Latin American Architecture), 35-8 and ills.
- W2 WILTGEN, RALPH M. (S.V.D., D.MSS.): *Gold Coast Mission History: 1471-1880* 1956, Divine Word Publ., Techy, Ill., U.S.A.
- W3 WINCKWORTH, C. P. T.: 'A New Interpretation of the Pahlavi Cross-Inscriptions of Southern India', in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, v. 30 (1929), 237-44. Reprinted in *Kerala Society Papers*, ser. 3: 1930, Trivandrum, 159-68.
- W4 WINCKWORTH, C. P. T.: 'Revised Interpretation of the Pahlavi Cross Inscriptions of South India', in *Kerala Society Papers*, ser. 5: 1930, Trivandrum, 267-9.
- W5 World Council of Churches, Commission on Faith and Order, E. Asian Theological Commission on Worship: *Report of Conference on Worship, Bangalore, 18-19 March 1955*.
- W6 World Council of Churches, Commission on Faith and Order, E. Asian Theological Commission on Worship: *The Report of the Conference on Worship held at Matheran, April 26-30, 1957*.

22 ZOHONCON, CHRISTIAN: 'Art chrétien en Afrique', in *Missi*, 8: 1958, 280-1. (Includes a picture of the new P.E.M.S. church at Maseru, and a rather hostile criticism of it by a young African architect.)

ADDENDA These should be deleted, as they refer to aspects of Indian Christian art which have been excluded from the scope of this Bibliography.

PROTESTANTISM

The Protestant has no doubt a greater appeal to the Indian Christian (than the Catholic). The sturdy sense of the individual, vigilant guardianship of the freedom of conscience, and the liberty of opinion, its repugnance to superstition, its opposition to priest-craft are welcome and fits in with the spiritual mood of the Christian. Yet it may be doubted whether the Indian in the Christian will ever find a natural habitat therein. One essential quality the Indian Christian misses in the Protestant Church is the spirit. Doctrine occupies a too prominent place to permit the growth of the spirit. Its severe rationalism, though in a sense congenial, cannot develop the finer qualities of the soul.

P. CHENCHIAH