

An Early Modern Sacro Monte in Mumbai

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In the mid-twentieth century, the village of Mandapeshwar, like many small settlements scattered across Shashti Island north of Mumbai, experienced dramatic urban transformation as what had been a green rural setting gave way to an eclectic mixture of high-rise buildings, garden houses, and informal dwellings.¹ However, a group of historic structures and sites survived in the midst of this modern development, including a Shaivite rock-cut cave temple, a church, the ruins of an adjoining college, and a separate chapel. As the British Egyptologist Henry Salt observed during his visit to Mandapeshwar in 1805, all of these sites are intimately connected with each other:

There is no spot in the world where the Catholic and Heathen imagery come so closely in contact as here—where a Portuguese monastery has a temple of the Hindoos for its foundation, and where the exploits of their God of Terror are sculptured on one side, and the form of a meek Christian saint painted on the other.²

Today, as one approaches the Shaivite cave temple from its ample forecourt, one sees a group of ruined structures rising incongruously above the cave entrance: thick walls covered with lime plaster, weathered by the monsoon rains to expose their fabric of rubble stones, with occasional bricks fitted around door and window jambs (Figure 1). While the walls are of fairly recent construction, built as part of a

“royal college” by Franciscan missionaries during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the impressive sculpted program ornamenting the cave interior dates back to the eighth century CE. Reflecting the devotions of the Shaivite dharma, or religious tradition, these sculptures are dedicated mainly to Shiva in the form of the divine cosmic dancer Nataraj (Figure 2).³ Although twice consecrated as a Christian church, first in the sixteenth century and again in the nineteenth century, the cave has since been restored to its ancient faith.

To the south of the cave temple stands the church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, one of the important religious centers for today’s East Indian Catholic community (Figure 3).⁴ A ruined cloister adjoining the church at its northern flank occasionally serves as a primary school, with plastic tarpaulins strung between the walls to shade the students.

About 150 meters farther to the south, a small circular structure crowns the summit of a conspicuous hillock (Figure 4). Evidently a small chapel or a hermitage, painted with layers of whitewash, this structure must have been an impressive landmark in the surrounding landscape for centuries, before it was eclipsed by recent high-rises.⁵ As visitors approach the hermitage along a winding path, they spiral around a cylindrical structure built of rough masonry with seven small round chambers hollowed into its surface. Today all of the chambers are empty, their inner walls covered with moss. Although most scholars have overlooked this distinctive structure, Paulo Varela Gomes (1952–2016) argued that it formed part of an early modern Sacro Monte, a series of chapels presenting scenes from Christian scripture.⁶

This study builds on Gomes’s work, exploring the Sacro Monte in Mumbai as shaped not only by the late medieval values of the *Piedosos*, the Portuguese

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Figure 1 Shaivite cave temple, eighth century CE, and ruins of a Franciscan college, Mandapeshwar, Mumbai, ca. 1560–1623, view of eastern end (photo by Alice Faria).



Figure 2 Shaivite cave temple, eighth century CE, reconsecrated as the church of Our Lady of Sorrows, Mandapeshwar, Mumbai, reconsecration work 1548–55, view of southwestern area, toward sculpted panel of Shiva (author’s photo).

branch of the reformed Franciscans who founded the Franciscan mission in Mandapeshwar, but also by the existing Hindu rock-cut cave temples of Shashti Island. In addition, I point out the significance of the Marian program of the Sacro Monte in relation to the community of Indian Christian converts, primarily women and children, who lived around it. Drawing upon documentary evidence, I argue that the Franciscan friars, like other sixteenth-century educated Portuguese visitors, identified “Western,” “classical,” or “Hellenistic” qualities in many ruined Hindu or Buddhist sites that they encountered across South Asia, and that this (mis)perception played a fundamental role in stimulating their interest in these historic sites. Following upon the work of scholars who have addressed the cultural nuances of early modern missionary enterprise within the framework of the Portuguese Empire, this study asks how sixteenth-century Portuguese missionaries reconciled their admiration for these sites with their religious zeal.⁷

Can we understand the Sacro Monte’s design as a form of cultural compromise between Counter-Reformation missionary efforts on the one hand and the Hindu traditions of Shashti Island on the other?

The Northern Province

Following two decades of war between the Portuguese and the Gujarat sultanate, the Portuguese occupied Shashti Island in 1534, including the southern peninsula now occupied by Mumbai City. Wrested from the Gujarat sultanate through an imposed peace treaty, the island became a subdivision of a larger territory of about 4,500 square kilometers under Portuguese rule, known as the *Província do Norte* (Northern Province) of the *Estado da Índia*. The Portuguese established Baçaim, or Fort Vasai, as the headquarters of the province (Figure 5).⁸ Under Portuguese rule, Shashti Island, with its 115 villages, became a highly productive agricultural region, and Mandapeshwar, in the



Figure 3 Church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, Mandapeshwar, Mumbai, ca. 1574–85, rebuilt 1888, view of west end (photo by Gritli von Mitterwallner, 1960; © AIK–Archiv, Schenkung Gritli von Mitterwallner, Bildarchiv, Accession Cl.10.2.5.2; courtesy of the AIK–Archiv).

northwestern quadrant of the island, soon became the center of Franciscan missionary activity.⁹

The earliest Portuguese documents referring to Mandapeshwar include letters from Catholic missionaries, among them the Franciscan António do Porto (fl. 1540–70), who is credited with founding the first church on the island.¹⁰ Writing to King João III in 1548, do Porto reported that he had created a “handsome and devout” chapel in Mandapeshwar for the celebration of Mass “every Sunday and every holy day.”¹¹ In 1551, when the Jesuit Gaspar Berze (1515–53) visited the village, he reported that Friar do Porto had “made a church in a temple” that was “cut open in a rock.”¹² The church, dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Piedade (Our Lady of Sorrows, or Our Lady of Piety), with its façade built across the mouth of the cave, appears to have been completed around 1555.¹³

Shortly after the reconsecration of the cave temple, the Franciscans also took possession of the village of Mandapeshwar and its associated revenues as a semifeudal property lease.¹⁴ By the late 1550s, do Porto resided in the village, probably overseeing the construction of an orphanage and residency above the cave.¹⁵ Designated the Royal College of Mandapeshwar in the 1550s, the new



Figure 4 Sacro Monte, Mandapeshwar, Mumbai, ca. 1590–1630, view of western area (author’s photo).

institution focused on the education of young converts.¹⁶ In addition to revenues from Mandapeshwar, the college benefited from income collected from two other villages, Pare and Arengal.¹⁷

During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when the Franciscans built a new church dedicated to Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception on the southern side of the college, the older cave church was demoted to the status of a chapel.¹⁸ According to the evidence of an inscription, the college was partially rebuilt and enlarged in 1623.¹⁹ Damage caused by a tropical cyclone in 1618 probably necessitated this work.²⁰

With a cloister and two smaller courtyards at its northern side, the college represented one of the larger structures built by the Franciscans in the Estado da Índia (Figure 6). Its design as well as that of the adjoining church reflected the austere and almost minimalist forms characteristic of sixteenth-century Franciscan ecclesiastical architecture in the Northern Province (Figure 7; see Figure 3). With its steep-pitched roof, whitewashed walls, and bell tower rising above the chancel, the church was notable for its lofty scale.²¹ Fragmentary references attest to the economic importance of the college during the seventeenth century.²² Its revenues contributed significantly toward the



Figure 5 Map of the Northern Province of the Estado da Índia, 1534–1739, with the southernmost subdivisions roughly corresponding to the area of greater Mumbai region (created by author).

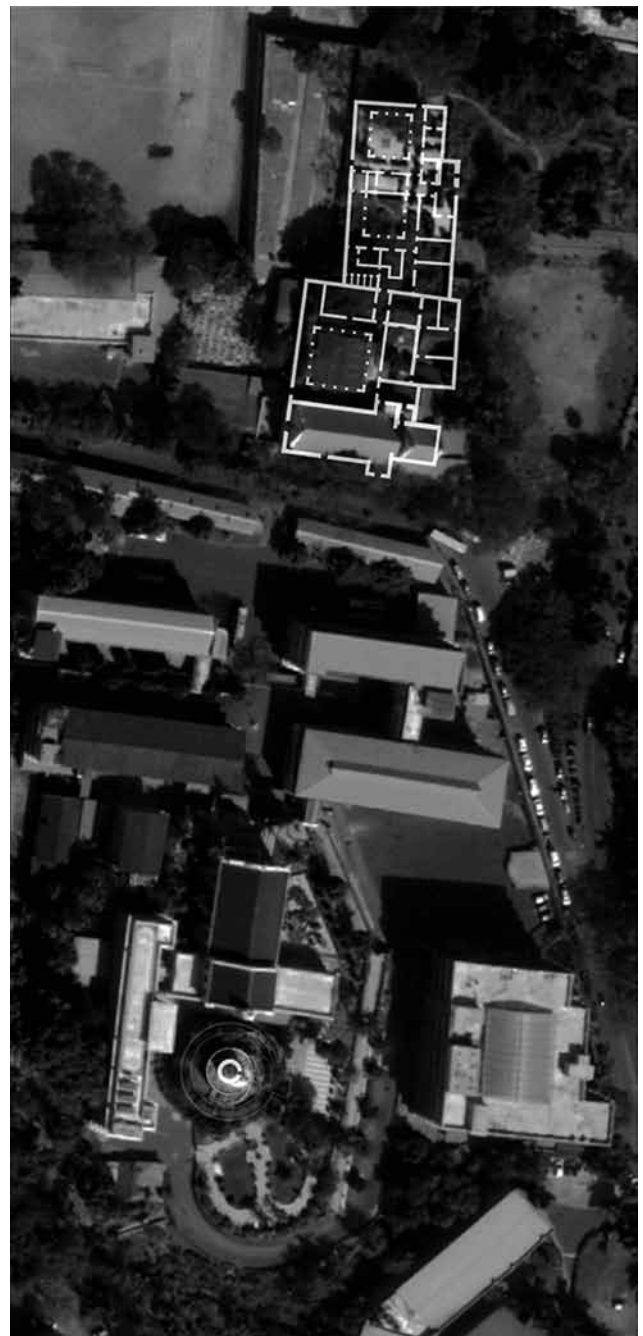


Figure 6 Franciscan college and Sacro Monte, Mandapeshwar, Mumbai, ca. 1560–1630, reconstructed plan over satellite imagery (Google Earth image, 2020; graphic additions by author).

upkeep of the motherhouse of the Observant Franciscans in Old Goa and helped to finance the grandiose reconstruction of their church in the 1680s.²³ The college occasionally hosted viceroys and other prominent visitors.²⁴ During the raid by the Omani sultanate on Shashti in 1700, Mandapeshwar served as the rallying point for a Portuguese-led counterattack.²⁵

By the mid-seventeenth century, the Christian population of Mandapeshwar numbered about 730, living in a “good settlement” on a knoll “opposite the college.”²⁶ The

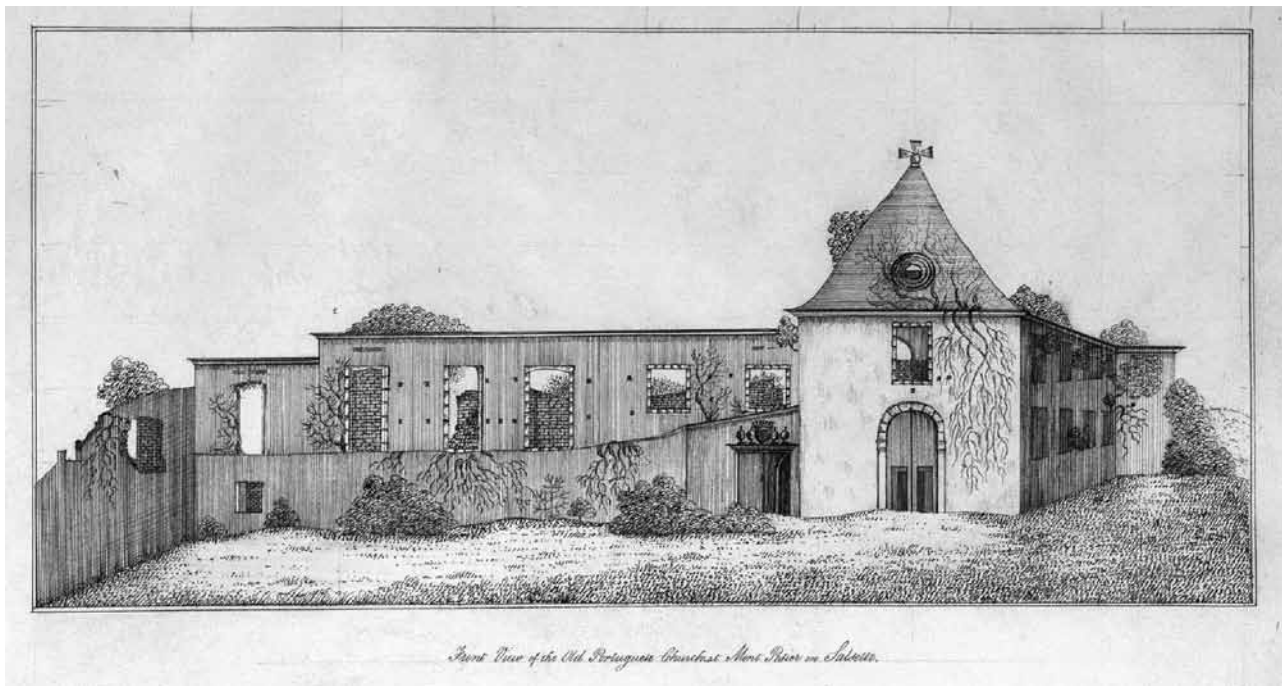


Figure 7 Church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception and Franciscan college, Mandapeshwar, Mumbai, ca. 1560–1630, west elevation, sketch by Charles Masson, 1850 (Charles Masson, “The Cave Temples of Salsette and Elephanta with Notes and Illustrations,” 1850, fol. 18, Mss Eur G43, Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections, British Library, London; © British Library Board).

Franciscans built the Sacro Monte at the center of this settlement, at the top of the hill.

In 1737, the Maratha Empire, centered in the western Deccan plateau, launched new efforts to conquer the Northern Province and swiftly defeated the Portuguese forces on Shashti Island.²⁷ After the Portuguese missionaries fled Mandapeshwar, the Franciscan church and its college were looted and abandoned. With the institution of the new Maratha administration, the cave church probably returned to the religious functions that predated Portuguese occupation.²⁸ A handful of accounts survive that describe the ruined site during this period, including one by the French Orientalist Abraham Anquetil-Duperron (1731–95) and one by the Polish botanist Anton Hové (d. ca. 1829).²⁹

By 1774, when the British East India Company took possession of Shashti, the Christian community of Mandapeshwar had dwindled, leaving ruins of churches and other structures across the island.³⁰ The antiquities of Shashti Island attracted the curiosity of artists such as James Wales (1747–95) and Thomas Daniell (1749–1840), who toured the island in the 1790s.³¹ Wales died in Mumbai after returning from one of those trips, lamented by his tour companion, Captain Millet, as “a Victim of the putrid Air we inhaled at the Caves [of Kanheri] in an unhealthy season of the year.” In the same manuscript, Millet described the rock-cut cave temple in Mandapeshwar: “The Figures painted by the Portuguese from the New Testament . . .

intermixed with the laborious and wonderful works of the Hindoos, very naturally leads the Mind into such a vortex of contemplation that it struggles with difficulty to swim out of the edges.”³²

Others British travelers, such as the aristocrat George Annesley, Viscount Valentia (1770–1844), and his secretary Henry Salt (1780–1827), as well as John Vaupell (1795–1852), who visited Mandapeshwar during the first half of the nineteenth century, attributed the ruined church and college to the Jesuit missionaries.³³ According to Viscount Valentia, Mandapeshwar revealed “the work of the intelligent followers of Ignatius Loyola” rather than that of “the lazy monks of St. Francis.”³⁴ Charles Masson (1800–1853) provided sketches and descriptions of the site and transcribed the 1623 inscription placed over the college entrance (Figure 7).³⁵ While Vaupell hypothesized that the Sacro Monte originally functioned as a watchtower, “with several chambers in its circumference, for soldiers,” Viscount Valentia and Masson judged it to be an “observatory.”³⁶

Watercolors and sketches produced by artists such as Masson, Wales, William Miller, and Robert Pouget also attest to ongoing artistic interest in the island.³⁷ During this period, Kanheri and Mandapeshwar became popular local destinations for British visitors traveling into the surroundings beyond Mumbai City. Contemporary European guidebooks encouraged visitors to tour the caves, but also to experience the “most picturesque views of the ruins of

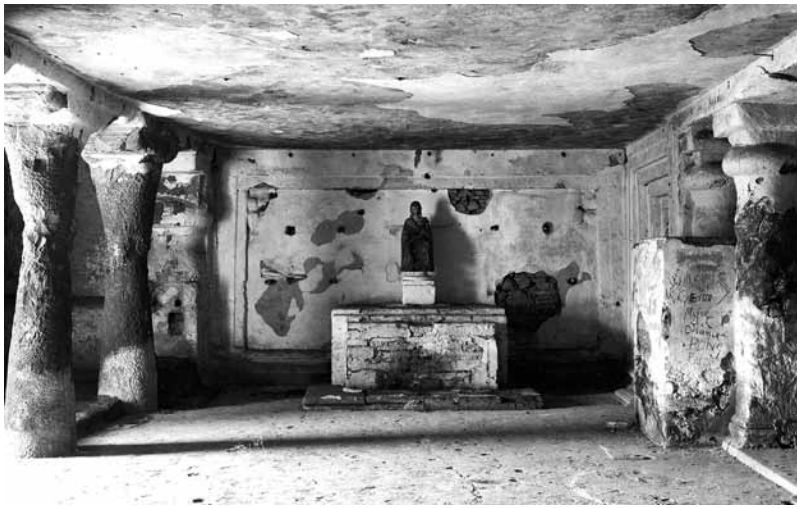


Figure 8 Shaivite cave temple, eighth century CE, reconsecrated as the church of Our Lady of Sorrows, Mandapeshwar, Mumbai, reconsecration work 1548–55, view of southwestern area, toward the Christian altar (photo by Gritli von Mitterwallner, 1960; © AIK-Archiv, Schenkung Gritli von Mitterwallner, Bildarchiv, Accession IVO.3.13.1.6; courtesy of the AIK-Archiv).

Portuguese churches, convents, villas &c . . . obtained from various beautiful spots on this charming island.”³⁸

These visitors tended to be more impressed by the scenic beauty of the settings than by the architecture of the churches themselves. Nineteenth-century British (or British-influenced) authors assessed the churches as “neither handsome nor imposing,” as “quaintly unornamented,” and of “ordinary” or “mean architecture.”³⁹ Writing in the 1860s, Dinshaw Wacha (1844–1936), a founding member of the Indian National Congress, judged the “Roman Catholic Churches” of Shashti and Mumbai Islands as having “no importance from the architectural point of view,” and observed “generally a sameness about them peculiar to early Portuguese churches.”⁴⁰ These comments highlight the common architectural typologies that characterized most of the churches in the Northern Province erected by Franciscan or Jesuit builders, which remained essentially unchanged through the nineteenth century. Unlike the baroque-inspired reconstructions or face-lifts that transformed many early modern churches of Goa during the eighteenth century, most of the churches in the nonurban areas of the Northern Province retained the original pragmatic and functionalist forms characteristic of what George Kubler later termed “Portuguese plain architecture.”⁴¹

By the late 1850s, the small Catholic community of Mandapeshwar still celebrated the occasional Mass in the old rock-cut cave temple, having refurbished the chancel area (Figure 8).⁴² During the 1880s, the ruined Immaculate Conception church, the solid walls of which must have been in fairly good shape, was rebuilt and provided with a new roof and windows.⁴³ Yet the rest of the Franciscan college and the Sacro Monte remained in ruins.

In the early twentieth century, a new wave of Franciscan missionaries of mostly German origin reoccupied the area surrounding the Sacro Monte.⁴⁴ These missionaries first

created an orphanage and later added a school. Known as the I. C. Colony (for the nearby church’s original invocation of the Immaculate Conception), this complex, along with the church, continued to cater to the local East Indian Catholic community. Finally, in the late 1960s, Hindu religious activists effaced almost all traces of the Christian layer from the cave church, dismantling the votive cross near its entrance and reestablishing it as a place of Shaivite worship.⁴⁵

Despite these various recent interventions and transformations, the structures at Mandapeshwar remain of critical historical importance. The Archaeological Survey of India has acknowledged this fact, classifying parts of the site as a national monument.⁴⁶ To understand the cultural significance of this multilayered environment, however, we must first consider the history of the *Piedosos*, the reformed Franciscan branch whose missionaries settled in Mandapeshwar in the sixteenth century.

The Missionary Agenda of the *Piedosos*

When the Franciscan António do Porto arrived in Goa in 1546, the religious climate of the *Estado da Índia* was growing increasingly intolerant. The same fleet that brought do Porto to India also delivered letters from the Portuguese king that instructed the bishop of Goa to demolish all “pagan” temples, both completed buildings and those still under construction.⁴⁷ This religious and cultural hostility, fueled by the crusading spirit of the Counter-Reformation, promoted a new missionary zeal in the various spheres of Portuguese administration and society in the *Estado da Índia*.⁴⁸

Both do Porto and Juan de Albuquerque, bishop of Goa (in office 1539–53), exemplified this missionary spirit. Both hailed from a reformed branch of the Franciscan order founded in 1496 by Juan de Guadalupe in the Spanish

Extremadura. Members of this branch founded the conventual house of Nossa Senhora da Piedade near Vila Viçosa after arriving in Portugal in 1500.⁴⁹ In Portugal they became known as Piedosos.⁵⁰ Another reformed branch associated with Martín de Santa Maria Benavides (ca. 1480–1550) established the convent of Nossa Senhora da Arrábida near Setúbal in 1539, and took the name Arrábidos. Although each of these Portuguese reformed Franciscan branches maintained its own religious statutes and provinces, collectively they became known as Capuchos.⁵¹

In Spain, the Guadalupense movement culminated after many decades of Franciscan reform efforts that anticipated the Council of Trent and combined reinvigorated Franciscan poverty with “Joachimistic eschatology.”⁵² Marian devotion represented a key common feature of this Franciscan reform movement. Imbued with these ideals, the Guadalupenses in Spain and the Piedosos in Portugal aspired to become the missionary arm of the Franciscan order and thereby initiate a new age of global Christian expansion.⁵³

The Piedosos decided to launch a bold Christianization policy in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) and the Northern Province, the two largest and most promising territories controlled by the Estado da Índia.⁵⁴ In the 1540s, two groups of Piedosos set out from Portugal for these regions.⁵⁵ One of the groups, consisting of six missionaries and led by Friar do Porto, disembarked in Goa in September 1546. However, four of the missionaries died or fled soon after their arrival, leaving only their leader with one companion.⁵⁶ Determined to persevere, the two Franciscans built a primitive residence at Fort Vasai and began their missionary work aimed at the conversion of the locals, including the inhabitants of Shashti Island.⁵⁷

According to the most conservative accounts, Friar do Porto founded eleven churches in the Northern Province.⁵⁸ Although do Porto did not identify the names of these churches, a 1585 list enables us to identify them (Figure 9).⁵⁹ Some of do Porto’s letters from the 1550s survive, signed from Mandapeshwar, but not much else is known about his missionary activities in the Northern Province.

While both do Porto and Bishop Juan de Albuquerque lobbied for the creation of a separate jurisdiction—a *custódia*, or custody—for the Piedosos in the Estado da Índia, the Observant Franciscans in Goa thwarted this initiative. As a consequence, the churches do Porto founded in the Northern Province fell to the Custody of St. Thomas, under the jurisdiction of the Observant Franciscans.⁶⁰ This intra-Franciscan rivalry might help to explain do Porto’s low profile in the order’s chronicles. All the same, his legacy became inextricably linked to his missionary exploits in Shashti. According to the chronicler Diogo do Couto (1542–1616), do Porto “penetrated all the secrets of that Island . . . which were many.”⁶¹

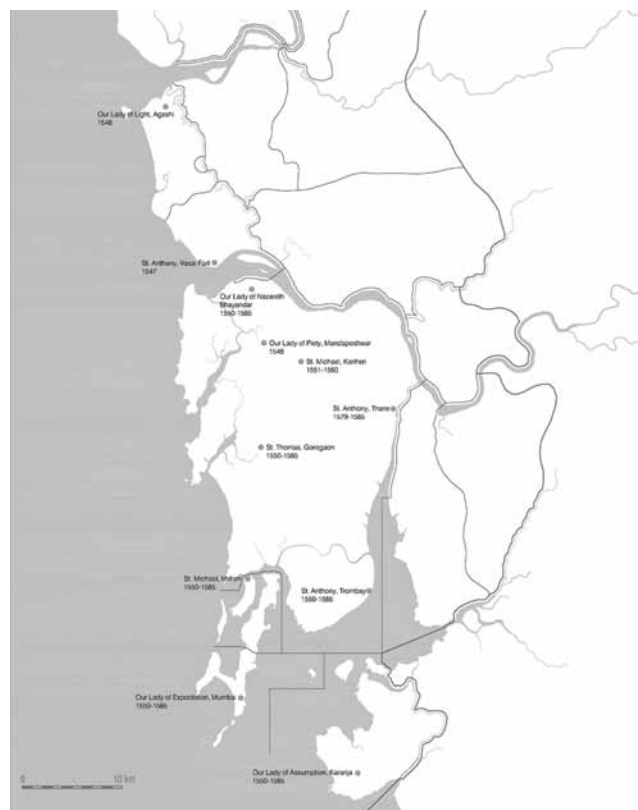


Figure 9 Map of churches founded by Friar António do Porto in the greater Mumbai area from 1547 through 1585 (created by author).

The Rock-Cut Cave

Although Shashti Island held great significance for both Hindu and Buddhist religions, the Portuguese missionaries expressed particular interest in its premodern Christian traditions.⁶² The Piedosos drew inspiration from the so-called martyrs of Thane, four Franciscan missionaries killed in 1321 (according to later chronicles), as well as from surviving information about pre-Portuguese churches and communities that once existed in the region (Figure 10).⁶³ These traditions built upon the myth of Prester John, the legendary ruler of a powerful Christian kingdom somewhere in Asia.

The Franciscans took this “evidence” of a pre-Portuguese Christian presence as further justification for their campaign of religious conversion in India. By the mid-fifteenth century, the notion of a “just war” as proposed in the *Summa theologiae* of Saint Thomas Aquinas had met with widespread approval throughout European Christendom, encouraging Christian rulers to wage war to recover “lost ground” for Christianity. This same rationale drove the Spanish and Portuguese monarchs in the so-called *reconquista* of the Iberian Peninsula and their subsequent conquests in North Africa.

Later Portuguese missionaries and administrators also seized upon the notion of a “just war” to rationalize their



Figure 10 Wood panel, probably depicting Saint Thomas Tolentino, from the Jesuit church of the Mother of God in Thane, ca. 1580–95, now in the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya, Mumbai (photo by Gritli von Mitterwallner, 1960; © AIK–Archiv, Schenkung Gritli von Mitterwallner, Bildarchiv, Accession Cl.10.2.34.5; courtesy of the AIK–Archiv).

belligerent acts in India. In this context, the identification of a pre-Portuguese Christian element—a statue, cross, or relic—acquired tremendous importance as both inspiration and justification for their missionary enterprise. The myth of Saint Thomas and the alleged “discovery” of the saint’s burial site in Mylapore (part of present-day Chennai) exemplified such efforts, assuming immense significance and prestige for the Portuguese crown and its evangelical ambitions.⁶⁴

Soon after landing at Vasai, do Porto and his companion, João de Goa (fl. 1540–70), ventured further into Shashti Island. They first headed for Mandapeshwar, one of the island’s most important Hindu sites, where they managed to reconsecrate its rock-cut cave temple as a church dedicated to Our Lady of Sorrows. They then traveled to the cave complex at Kanheri, where they reconsecrated the

largest rock-cut cave temple as a chapel dedicated to Saint Michael.⁶⁵ The chapel at Kanheri was soon abandoned, however, leaving no Christian traces; thus, the Shaivite temple at Mandapeshwar remains the only Hindu rock-cut cave temple that continued to function regularly as a Christian church.

Today the visitor to Mandapeshwar encounters two surviving caves hewn out of the rock (Figure 11). The smaller cave, a single chamber with a carved bench, was possibly the “original Buddhist excavation.” According to K. V. Soundra Rajan, the larger cave “is to be considered among the large-sized mandapa type of architecture of the Chalukyan period” (dating between the sixth and twelfth centuries).⁶⁶ Beginning in 1548, the Franciscans made changes to this larger cave, which included several chambers, structural columns, and extensive ornamentation, transforming it into a Christian church. This work, which included sealing off chambers and plastering over walls, both disguised and preserved a group of preexisting sculptures. In the main chamber, the Franciscan interventions caused extensive damage to the columns and pilasters. While the Franciscans used plaster to hide a few of the original details from view, they decided to chisel off most of the applied sculpture in that chamber to replace it with flat surfaces, ornamented only by plain columns and pilasters.

The Franciscans also covered the mouth of the cave with a lime-plastered masonry wall into which they built an arched entrance flanked by two rectangular windows. Facing east, this became the front façade of the church. They carved two more windows out of the existing rock to illuminate the northern and southern chambers alongside the main hall or nave. In the western wall of the southern chamber, the missionaries plastered over an impressive sculptured panel depicting “a tandava Shiva . . . flanked by the usual paraphernalia of attendant figures,” including a central female identified as “apparently . . . Parvati.”⁶⁷ In this same space, the Franciscans installed a chancel with its main altar dedicated to Our Lady of Sorrows, as well as probably two other altars. The axis of the nave and chancel stood perpendicular to the main entrance, an extremely rare arrangement in medieval and early modern Portuguese churches (with the exception of nuns’ convents).⁶⁸

Anquetil-Duperron’s 1760 description of the church and accompanying floor plan indicate that most of the Portuguese interventions in the cave were still in place two decades after the Maratha conquest of Shashti Island. Some of the Hindu sculpture groups had been liberated from their plaster coatings. The main altar and the masonry wall across the mouth of the cave were still in place, and the chancel’s Christian frescoes remained visible in 1803.⁶⁹ According to John Wilson, writing five decades later, the cave had been “[re]appropriated by the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Salsette [Shashti Island] as a church.”⁷⁰

Figure 11 Shaivite cave temple, eighth century CE, reconsecrated as the church of Our Lady of Sorrows, Mandapeshwar, Mumbai, reconsecration work 1548–55, plan showing rock carved by the Portuguese during the sixteenth century (dotted lines) and walls built from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries (in darker gray) (author’s drawing from a survey conducted in 2006).

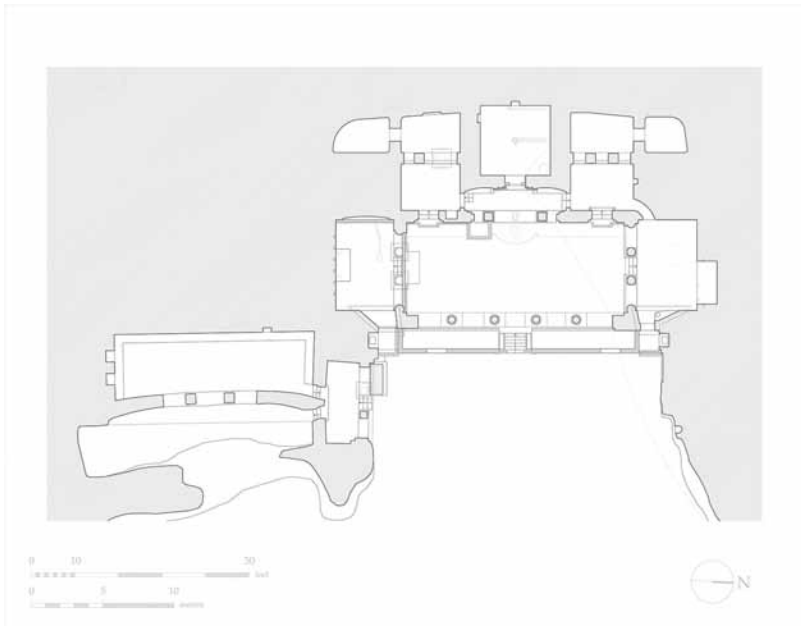


Figure 12 Shaivite cave temple, eighth century CE, reconsecrated as the church of Our Lady of Sorrows, Mandapeshwar, Mumbai, reconsecration work 1548–55, view of eastern façade and surrounding area (photo by Gritli von Mitterwallner, 1960; © AIK–Archiv, Schenkung Gritli von Mitterwallner, Bildarchiv, Accession IVO.3.13.1.2; courtesy of the AIK–Archiv).



According to these sources, supplemented by a plan dating to 1880, the demolition of the sixteenth-century masonry wall built by the Portuguese occurred only in the late 1960s.⁷¹ Other interventions took place during this second phase of Christian religious use in the nineteenth century. These included the enclosure of the old chancel area, which served to remove the main Hindu sculptures from view yet again. They also entailed the building of a new altar, which remained in place until the 1960s. Further interventions in the arched entrance and the façade windows appear to have taken place during the first half of the twentieth century (Figure 12).

In the 1960s and early 1970s, Gritli von Mitterwallner (1925–2008) and Walter Spink (1928–2019) undertook a series of extensive campaigns to photograph the cave (Figure 13; see Figures 8 and 12). Both scholars documented conditions before and immediately after the cave’s

reappropriation by the Hindu community.⁷² At present, the only surviving trace of Christian usage found there is a cross chiseled into the rock surface among the winged divinities in the southern chamber.

The sixteenth-century appropriation and refitting of these Hindu rock-cut cave temples brought together both Franciscan and Iberian traditions. The reconsecration of mosques as churches was widespread in the Iberian Peninsula during the late medieval period, as the Christian kingdoms slowly took over territories formerly occupied by Umayyad rulers. This form of adaptive reuse, as one might describe it today, was practiced by both members of the Franciscan order and the secular clergy, and whether it represented solely utilitarian pragmatism or it demonstrated some kind of Christian admiration for Islamic structures remains a matter of debate.⁷³ Later, the Jesuits also converted mosques into churches, with examples in Hormuz in Iran as well as



Figure 13 Shaivite cave temple, eighth century CE, reconsecrated as the church of Our Lady of Sorrows, Mandapeshwar, Mumbai, reconsecration work 1548–55, view of eastern façade (photo by Gritli von Mitterwallner, 1970; © AIK–Archiv, Schenkung Gritli von Mitterwallner, Bildarchiv, Accession IVO.3.13.6.4; courtesy of the AIK–Archiv).

Daman and possibly Old Goa in India.⁷⁴ These projects aimed at the appropriation of sacred ground may have served as a pragmatic first step in the effort to disenfranchise and suppress the presence of preexisting religions.

Although it appears that Franciscan proselytizing activity in Mandapeshwar generated little opposition, the means by which the Franciscans appropriated Hindu sacred sites remains unclear. Do Porto himself acknowledged the “prudence and good dissimulation with the people of land” of the captain of Fort Vasai, Jerónimo de Noronha, whose conduct was crucial in avoiding the “uproar” that followed when Hindu temples were “pulled down” in Tiswadi Island (Goa) in the 1540s.⁷⁵ Following upon (but also independent of) do Porto’s efforts to expel the Hindu religious community and to convert local inhabitants, the Mandapeshwar mission grew to become the epicenter of Franciscan activity in the Northern Province.

Dwellings occupied by Christian converts spread along the hillside a few meters to the south of the college. According to do Porto, the people he converted were often “despised by the other Hindus,” and thus required economic support. As he argued, they should live in all-Christian settlements, like the one at Mandapeshwar, with collective activities centering on religious practices.⁷⁶ The Jesuits probably followed this example when they developed their own mission of Santíssima Trindade in the central area of Shashti Island (founded in 1557).⁷⁷

From the 1550s onward, more laws promoting Christian conversion and the subordination of other religions made proselytizing in the *Estado da Índia* increasingly militant, culminating in the establishment of the Inquisition at Goa in 1560. A particularly harsh measure, known as the *Lei dos Órfãos* in Portuguese documents, targeted the orphans of non-Christian families, requiring their conversion after a brief period of catechism.⁷⁸ According to a stringent interpretation of the *Lei dos Órfãos*, any fatherless child (up to fourteen years old for boys, and up to twelve for girls) could be judged an orphan.⁷⁹ As a result, the converts’ settlement near Mandapeshwar included a large number of widows whose “orphans” attended the Franciscan catechism and college. Several Portuguese documents mention these widows as the main beneficiaries of Franciscan charity, depending on the mission’s communal way of life even for the distribution of rice.⁸⁰ Overlooking this settlement, and dominating the surrounding landscape, stood the *Sacro Monte*.

The Sacro Monte

As seen today, Mandapeshwar’s *Sacro Monte* consists of two levels, raised up on a small conical earthen mound. The first level is a stone-and-rubble cylindrical structure about 12.6 meters in diameter, with seven small circular compartments or grottoes carved into its volume (Figure 14; see Figure 4). These grottoes, arranged along the western side of the structure, feature ceilings with hemispherical domes ornamented with delicate stuccowork of different designs. Each grotto also features a niche on the curved wall opposite the entrance.⁸¹ Steps spiraling up the southeastern side of the structure bring the visitor to the upper level. Here, on a circular platform protected by small rectangular parapets, stands a round hermitage, about 6.36 meters in diameter, crowned by a spherical dome. Inside, the dome’s masonry appears intentionally rugged and uneven, as if to suggest a grotto-like appearance. On the exterior, the dome is crowned by a lantern faced with six arched openings that may have served as a belfry. Six plain spheres mounted on the surrounding pilasters encircle a statue of Christ with arms extended (Figure 15). According to an 1847 sketch by Charles Masson, a small cupola once crowned the lantern, which probably explains the small size of the spheres. In the late 1920s, the cupola was replaced by the statue of Christ.⁸² A doorway facing east provides the only entrance to the hermitage. Inside stands a statue of Our Lady of Fátima, also a twentieth-century addition.

Other twentieth-century interventions at the structure can be identified by the use of brick construction, including the guardrail protecting the steps that join the two levels.⁸³ The earthen mound at the base of the *Sacro Monte* has

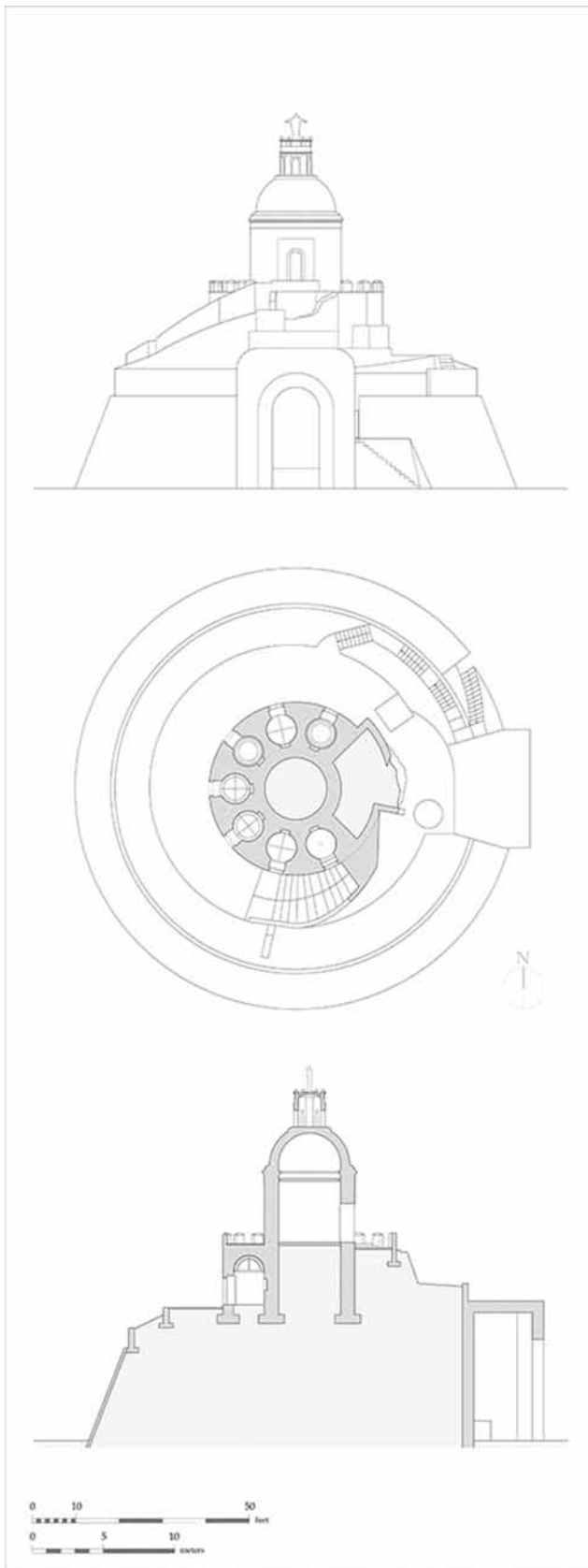


Figure 14 Sacro Monte, Mandapeshwar, Mumbai, ca. 1590–1630, plans, section, and elevation (author’s drawings from a survey conducted in 2006).



Figure 15 Sacro Monte, Mandapeshwar, Mumbai, ca. 1590–1630, detail of belfry (author’s photo).

been considerably altered, with the addition of walls, steps, a water tank, and lighting fixtures. A grotto-like structure standing on the mound’s eastern side now houses another statue of Our Lady of Fátima.⁸⁴

Despite the graceful architecture and spectacular setting of the Sacro Monte, we have frustratingly little information regarding the history of the structure. At present we have only two references from the Portuguese period. In the 1690s the Italian traveler Gemelli Careri (1651–1725) visited the area and reported that “upon the hill neighboring the aforementioned College [of Mandapeshwar] one can see another hermitage with a chapel,” but he failed to provide any further details.⁸⁵ The second reference appears in an anonymous compilation dating from 1737 recording the churches abandoned by the Franciscans as a result of the Maratha conquest of Shashti Island, copied from an earlier compilation dating to 1642. It mentions only that there is a “hermitage dedicated to the Holy Spirit” close to the Franciscan Royal College in Mandapeshwar.⁸⁶

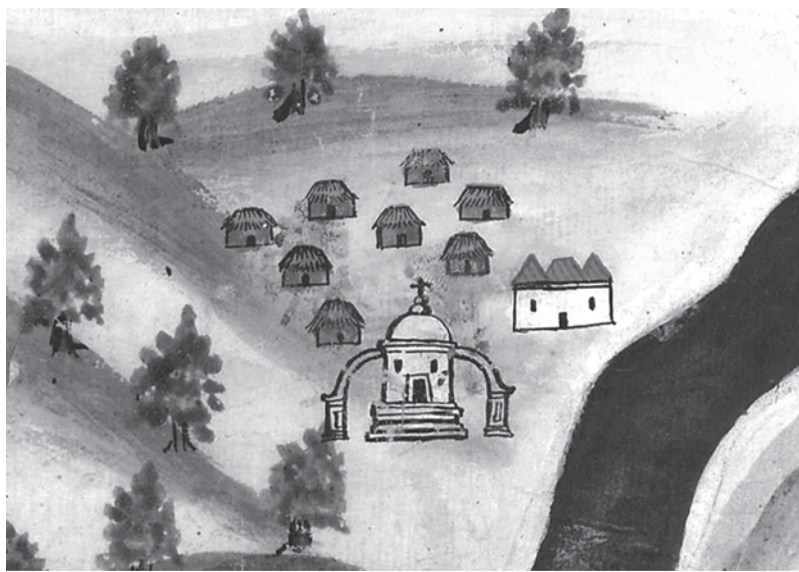


Figure 16 Depiction of the Sacro Monte, Mandapeshwar, Mumbai, ca. 1590–1630, detail from a view of Shashti Island attributed to Pedro Resende, 1634–35 (António Bocarro and Pedro Resende, *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental* [1634–35], fols. 177r–v, cod. CXV/2-1, no. 23, Planta da Fortaleza de Taná, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora).

In addition, there is a well-known visual representation of the Sacro Monte dating from 1634–35 (Figure 16). Although relatively rudimentary, it clearly depicts the Sacro Monte as a circular domed structure, painted white, with a portal flanked by two windows, raised upon a plinth or flight of steps. It appears to be supported by two semicircular flying buttresses resting on pedestals. The drawing does not depict the larger stone-and-rubble cylindrical structure below with its grottoes.⁸⁷

The small spheres crowning the pilasters of the belfry are among the few ornamental elements that enable us to date the building, assuming that these date from the same time as the hermitage. Evidence suggests this kind of feature was first introduced by the Jesuits in ecclesiastical architecture at Old Goa during the 1560s.⁸⁸ In the Northern Province, I believe it was first used at Fort Vasai for the design of the Jesuit church of the Holy Name of Jesus, built between 1560 and 1575.⁸⁹ Given that the visual representation of the Sacro Monte dates from 1634–35, I argue that the construction of the Sacro Monte occurred between approximately 1570 and 1634.

The shrine, complete with its hermitage and grottoes, is disarmingly simple and elegant. Originally the structure must have been a conspicuous landmark on Shashti Island, with its brilliant whitewashed walls standing high above the vegetation and visible to vessels sailing along the coast. From such a vantage point, the belfry could have provided a useful alarm in case of attack, especially in response to the frequent raids of the so-called Malabar corsairs along the western coast of India during the sixteenth century. While the design of the circular hermitage at the upper level represents a familiar type in early modern European architecture, the lower level, with its seven grottoes, is much more unusual. According to Gomes, it might even

be considered “unique in the panorama of Christian architecture.”⁹⁰

The phenomenon of the Sacro Monte first arose at the end of the fifteenth century in Northern Italy, thanks to the work of the Franciscans. The complexes known as Sacri Monti may be described as both architectural and landscape interventions established in elevated locations outside urban centers, conceived as a means of offering the Christian faithful a virtual pilgrimage experience.⁹¹ These sacralized landscapes usually included chapels, stations, or compartments placed along an ascending path, where either sculptural or painted representations narrated various scriptural passages. Most Sacri Monti, both in Italy and elsewhere, represented scenes from the Passion of Christ, typically divided into fourteen stations corresponding to the stations of the cross along the Via Dolorosa of Jerusalem. For this reason, some Sacri Monti were also identified with the hill of Calvary. However, with the surge of Marian devotion that took place across Catholic Europe in the sixteenth century, a number of Sacri Monti were dedicated to the Virgin.⁹² Popular devotional themes included the Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary, the Seven Sorrows, and the Seven Joys of Mary.

During the Counter-Reformation, the construction of Sacri Monti with both Christological and Marian themes spread beyond Italy to other countries. In Portugal, devotions to the Virgin’s Seven Sorrows gained popularity during the sixteenth century, as did devotions connected with the Mysteries of the Rosary. Of the hundreds of churches and chapels dedicated to Our Lady of Sorrows built in early modern Portugal, several may have been associated with Sacri Monti. At present, we can identify only a few surviving examples of Marian Sacri Monti with certainty, including Our Lady of Montalto, near Arganil; Our

Lady of Abadia, near Amares; and Our Lady of the Castle, near Mangualde.⁹³ On the other hand, Christological Sacri Monti, or Santuários, as they are commonly known in Portuguese, are far more numerous.

The seven *guaritas*, or small hermitages, of the Franciscan convent of Our Lady of Arrábida, near Setúbal, are among the earliest of these Portuguese Sacri Monti, albeit unfinished. The late seventeenth-century hermitage in the Carmelite convent of Buçaco emerged from an earlier Via Crucis. Bom Jesus do Monte, a baroque sanctuary placed at the top of a dramatic monumental staircase in Braga, was the most elaborate Sacro Monte built in Portugal.

Outside Portugal, one notable late eighteenth-century Christological Sacro Monte was built in Brazil, with six stations lining the path toward the church of Bom Jesus de Matosinhos, in Congonhas (Minas Gerais). But in the eastern Portuguese Empire, despite the central role of processions, plays, and reenactments of the Passion of Christ, and despite the strong Marian devotion among the missionaries in the Estado da Índia, no other Sacro Monte has been identified.⁹⁴

On the other hand, many small buildings in medieval and early modern Portugal, including chapels and hermitages, featured centralized plans, which became more popular from the 1520s onward. The vast majority of centrally planned churches across western Europe were dedicated to the Virgin Mary.⁹⁵ The Portuguese also constructed circular-plan chapels in and around Old Goa in the first half of the sixteenth century. Most of these structures were later transformed into axial spaces with the construction of additional volumes.⁹⁶

Three circular-plan hermitages, two in Goa and one in Portugal, have features in common with the hermitage at Mandapeshwar. The hermitage of São Jerónimo, built on the property of the Jesuit novitiate of Our Lady of Grace on Chorão Island, Goa, probably dates to the second half of the sixteenth century. Possibly modeled on Donato Bramante's Tempietto in Rome (1502), it remains relatively unchanged, and its design may recall that of earlier centralized chapels in Portugal, including the Chapel of São Gregório in Tomar (ca. 1500–1525) and the Chapel of Santo Amaro in Lisbon (1549).⁹⁷ The circular plan of São Jerónimo is crowned by a dome with a hexagonal solid lantern. Massive piers support a porch around the perimeter, and a continuous stone bench runs around the whole structure.⁹⁸ A few kilometers east, on the island of Divar, there is another chapel with a centralized plan dedicated to Our Lady of Candelária.⁹⁹ The present design of this building probably resulted from an intervention in the 1630s, following the reconstruction of a preexisting hermitage dedicated to Our Lady of Sorrows.¹⁰⁰ The building features pilasters and sphere-bearing pinnacles not unlike those seen at the Mandapeshwar hermitage.

The third example is in Barroca d'Alva, near Alcochete, not far from Lisbon. This hermitage, dedicated to Saint Anthony, is also a circular-plan structure, enclosed by a remarkable set of parapet walls, the lower wall on the outside, the higher wall on the inside, with a circular path between them. Vestiges of a crowning element, possibly a belfry, survive at the top of the dome.¹⁰¹ The shape and scale of the chapel at Barroca d'Alva, as well as its conspicuous parapets, closely resemble the form of the Sacro Monte at Mandapeshwar. Yet no other early modern Sacri Monti appear to have included grottoes as devotional stations. What motivated the Franciscans to adopt the grotto design at Mandapeshwar?

The Grottoes

I argue that the grottoes at the Sacro Monte in Mandapeshwar were a response not only to the ascetic practices of the reformed branch of the Franciscan order in the Iberian Peninsula—as were the grottoes of Our Lady of Arrábida—but also to the rock-cut cave temples of Shashti Island and other ancient sites in India. If the Sacro Monte's hermitage was dedicated to the Holy Spirit, as reported in the list of 1642, this brings us back to the millenarian ideas of the theologian Joachim del Fiore (ca. 1135–1202), whose mystical theory of the age of the Holy Spirit gained a strong foothold first in Portugal during the fifteenth century and then later overseas throughout Portuguese possessions.¹⁰² In the eastern Portuguese Empire, during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the consecration of some churches to the Holy Spirit apparently signaled a new wave of devotion. However, nothing suggests the development of a full-fledged cult, as in the Azores.¹⁰³ When Gomes first identified the Sacro Monte in Mandapeshwar, he argued for its Marian dedication, pointing to the strong devotion to the Virgin among the Franciscan Piedosos, further demonstrated by the seven grottoes of the hermitage and its circular plan.¹⁰⁴ A path devoted to the Seven Sorrows of Mary might well culminate at a hermitage dedicated to the Holy Spirit, sheltering a depiction of the Holy Spirit presiding over the coronation of the Virgin. Both sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Portuguese iconography made use of such depictions. Also, the invocation of the Holy Spirit might explain the absence of the Sacro Monte from the voluminous eighteenth-century Portuguese compilation describing the sanctuaries devoted to the Virgin, the *Santuário Mariano*.¹⁰⁵

In the context of early modern church building in the Portuguese Empire, chapels or hermitages often memorialized the names of the patrons who sponsored them. It is tempting to attribute Mandapeshwar's Sacro Monte to Jerónimo do Espírito Santo (d. 1599), custodian and



Figure 17 Hermitages, or *guaritas*, of the convent of Nossa Senhora da Arrábida, Setúbal, Portugal, 1580s–1630s (Duca696, 2011, Wikimedia Commons).

first general commissary of the Franciscan Province of St. Thomas in India. Friar Espírito Santo, from Arrábida near Lisbon, studied in the Franciscan college at Coimbra and assumed responsibility for reforming the troubled Province of St. Thomas, as well as providing new statutes both for the main Franciscan branch and for several reformed houses created since 1569.¹⁰⁶ He spent several months in Sri Lanka, and he was credited with the foundation of twelve religious buildings, including the Chapel of the Holy Spirit in Negumbo.¹⁰⁷

At the time Espírito Santo set sail for India, the first three *guaritas* at the convent of Nossa Senhora da Arrábida, the motherhouse of the Arrábida Province of the reformed Franciscans in Portugal, had probably reached completion. These *guaritas* are small, centrally planned hermitages or stations following the western wall over hilly terrain (Figure 17). Following the construction of the first three hermitages in the 1580s, the other four were completed in the 1630s as part of a Christological program for the whole group.¹⁰⁸ While two of the seven hermitages were fitted with interior elements, the others remained empty or “unfinished.”¹⁰⁹ The hermitages feature circular, square, or octagonal plans and are all roofed by domes of different designs, some with solid lanterns. Most of the hermitages stand on sizable platforms that project above the sloping hillside.

The complex at Arrábida also features a set of “grottoes,” which form part of the “old” conventual building at the first Marian shrine on the site, the thirteenth-century Memory Hermitage. The first Franciscans who arrived in 1539 created five cells and a refectory, in part hewn out of the rocky slope and in part enclosed by masonry walls.¹¹⁰ The building provided isolated places for prayer and contemplation in remote and mystical surroundings. As they did at Arrábida, the Franciscans probably used the smaller

caves at Mandapeshwar as cells during the early days of their missionary activity.

If Jerónimo do Espírito Santo commissioned the design for the Sacro Monte at Mandapeshwar, it is likely that the grottoes and *guaritas* of Arrábida offered him important sources of inspiration. By recalling the convent of Nossa Senhora da Arrábida, the grottoes reinforced Espírito Santo’s reforming ambitions for Franciscan missionaries in India. On the other hand, the vaulted circular-plan grottoes of the Sacro Monte recall the design of two of seven of the circular-plan *guaritas* at Arrábida. One might even speculate that Friar Jerónimo do Espírito Santo intended the Sacro Monte to evoke the memory of Friar António do Porto himself. The Franciscans who reoccupied the site in the twentieth century believed that “Friar António do Porto lay buried in this hill,” while an earlier oral tradition identified the structure as belonging to a Franciscan and designated it “Sir Padri’s Bungalow.”¹¹¹ In any case, it is clear that the topos of the cave appealed both to the Piedosos and to the Arrábidos, following the sixteenth-century Franciscan reforms related to the Iberian Peninsula.¹¹²

It is also important to consider the significance of Shashti’s rock-cut cave temples, and in particular the Shaivite cave at Mandapeshwar, as possible models for the grottoes of the Sacro Monte. This argument takes into account the pragmatic strategy of accommodation employed by many Portuguese missionaries in India to achieve their conversion goals, as well as a certain admiration expressed by some missionaries—along with a number of contemporary Portuguese and Italian authors—for Hindu architecture.

While Jesuit missionaries such as Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), and Roberto de Nobili (1577–1656) perfected this accommodation

approach, earlier Franciscan and Dominican missionaries, in both Goa and the Northern Province, had used the same tactic. Ângela Xavier highlights this strategy as key to the success of Piedosos such as Juan de Albuquerque and Vicente Lagos (fl. 1538–50) in influencing recent converts to accept and adopt devotional practices toward the Virgin Mary.¹¹³ As an example of such accommodation, Ines Županov identifies “turning the Virgin Mary into a manifestation of the [generic female power of a Hindu] goddess.”¹¹⁴

By the same token, the Franciscan cave topos suggested a familiar and revered sacred element for the recently converted Indian population in the region. Both the reconsecration of Mandapeshwar’s rock-cut cave temple in 1548 and the later usage of the grottoes in the Sacro Monte offer examples of Franciscan accommodation in India.

As noted earlier, do Porto chose to establish his first church in Shashti Island in a cave temple, where he plastered over but did not destroy most of the existing notable religious sculptures, possibly as a sign of his esteem for the site and for other prominent local Indian caves at Kanheri and Elephanta. Several sixteenth-century Portuguese authors described with great admiration the cities, palaces, temples, and gardens that they encountered in India.¹¹⁵ Partha Mitter has pointed to the appreciation expressed by educated Portuguese for the cave temples at Kanheri and Elephanta in a number of the first published descriptions of those sites.¹¹⁶

Such Portuguese writers often identified parallels between Hinduism (both as a religion and as a civilization) and classical antiquity.¹¹⁷ For example, the Jesuit Giacomo Fenicio (1558–1632) wrote that Hinduism’s legends were “greater than those written by Ovid.”¹¹⁸ As the historian Manuel de Faria e Souza (1590–1649) affirmed, “The Malabaric Ovids need not envy the Latin ones.” As Gomes notes, the Portuguese genealogy of this comparison may be traced to the famous *Colóquios dos simples* by the physician Garcia da Orta (1501–68), who in his discussion of the myth of the weeping willow observed, “It appears that Ovid was from these lands, since he composed fables in such a manner.”¹¹⁹ The Dutch merchant Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (1563–1611) shared with the Italian traveler Pietro Della Valle (1586–1652) the notion that Jainism descended from “Pythagoreanism.”¹²⁰ As Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa suggests, these and other comparisons presented Indian cultures as having the same origins as the cultures of Western Christendom, sharing with the latter both a “biblical genealogy” and an “ancient theology (*prisca theologia*).”¹²¹

More to the point, various sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Portuguese and Italian accounts described notable buildings or ruins in Africa and Asia as classical in their origins. Some of the authors actively sought the material traces of a Hellenistic presence. Afonso de Albuquerque

(1453–1515), one of the early governors of the Estado da Índia, received a copy of Neẓāmī Ganjavī’s *Eskandar Nameh* (*The History of Alexander the Great*) from a resident of Khawr Fakkân, a port city in the Gulf of Oman. Delighted with the gift, Albuquerque not only spared the man’s life—as Portuguese soldiers looted the city and killed its inhabitants—but also rewarded him with gifts from Portugal.¹²² Writing in the 1530s, the historian João de Barros (1496–1570) ascribed “Roman” or “Greek” origins to the “admirable” buildings of Malindi and Mombassa on the eastern African coast.¹²³ Domingos Paes (fl. 1510–30) observed “Roman-like” monumental sculptures during his visit to Vijayanagara in the 1530s.¹²⁴ João de Castro (1500–1548) recorded “Roman” elements and sculptures “worthy of Apelles” in the Kanheri and Elephanta caves, a view echoed half a century later by the Venetian merchant Gasparo Balbi (fl. 1570–90).¹²⁵ The Jesuit Gonçalo Rodrigues (d. ca. 1561) mentioned a “sumptuous” temple in the village of Vihar, also in Shashti Island, built after the “Roman manner,” while his coreligionist Francisco de Monclaro (1531–95) saw “Roman” and “fluted” shafts in the columns at Elephanta, although he judged the capitals not “quite as fine as Corinthian ones.”¹²⁶ Diogo do Couto felt “hurt” by the vandalism of Portuguese soldiers at the same site, lamenting damage caused to “one of the world’s admirable things,” while in his account of the Kanheri caves, he speculated that they were the remains of the palace built by the Christian king Barlaam.¹²⁷ In Sri Lanka, the Franciscan Francesco Negrao (fl. 1610–25), probably the first European to write on the ruined city of Anuradhapura, considered its buildings to be “Roman work.”¹²⁸

Behind this admiring misperception we can identify two parallel notions of antiquity that early modern Europeans applied to India, as related to the classical or Hellenistic world, and as related to the world of Christian antiquity. These two notions were not mutually exclusive, but rather overlapped at a time when educated Portuguese circles harbored deep admiration for classical culture. The stronger the signs of classical (Western) culture in India, the stronger the probability of finding traces of “lost” Christian kingdoms and communities, construed by the Portuguese as Hellenic successors, or traces of an even earlier mythical Christian past with its original paradise somewhere in the Orient.

Therefore, in addition to recalling early Christian and Franciscan monastic traditions, the rock-cut caves of Shashti Island could suggest traces of a classical antiquity associated with the larger-than-life figures of Alexander the Great, Prester John, and Saint Thomas—or at least that is how many educated sixteenth-century Portuguese wanted to see them. For this reason, for the Portuguese these remains were objects of particular interest and admiration.

This probably explains why zealous Counter-Reformation Franciscans like Friar do Porto could both admire the rock-cut cave temples and reconsecrate them as churches.

It can hardly be considered a coincidence that the only known Sacro Monte to feature grottoes as part of its design stands just a few kilometers away from the Kanheri and Elephanta caves, and just a few meters away from Mandapeshwar's rock-cut cave temple. As the architectural historian James Fergusson (1808–86) observed, “Some strange feeling of reverence seems to have prevented the [Franciscan] priests from destroying” the Shaivite sculptures in the Mandapeshwar cave.¹²⁹ Gomes invokes this sense of admiration, noting that the Franciscans “recognized angels when they saw them.”¹³⁰ At the Sacro Monte at Mandapeshwar, the Franciscans also “recognized” the numinous quality of Shashti's rock-cut cave temples, and they appropriated that quality to enhance the *mysterium* of Our Lady's Seven Sorrows and, arguably, to commemorate Friar António do Porto's evangelical labors.

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Abstract

Mumbai's diverse cultural heritage includes several Christian churches associated with the city's East Indian community and with the legacy of Portuguese colonial rule between 1534 and 1739. This study addresses one such site in the village of Mandapeshwar, which developed from an eighth-century CE Hindu rock-cut cave temple and was transformed during the period of Portuguese rule into a center of Franciscan missionary activity, including through the creation of a Sacro Monte, or series of pilgrimage stations. By reconstructing the activities of the early Franciscan missionaries on Shashti Island north of Mumbai, this investigation reveals that the Sacro Monte functioned as a Marian devotional shrine, with a crowning chapel dedicated to the Holy Spirit. The Sacro Monte, with its grottoes, represents a unique synthesis of rock-cut Hindu cave temples and Christian hermitic traditions.

Keywords: India; Mumbai; sixteenth century; Sacro Monte; Indo-Portuguese; colonialism; cave temples; Franciscans; churches; missionaries

Notes

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with my collaboration: Paulo Gomes, “‘There Is No spot in the World Where the Catholic and Heathen Imagery Come So Closely in Contact as Here’: Franciscan Architecture in Mandapeshwar / Mount Poincur, Bombay, India” (paper presented at the Arts & the Portuguese Colonial Experience Symposium, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, March 2006). The paper was an output of the research project Bombay before the British (funded 2005–8), coordinated by Walter Rossa and P. V. Gomes, and based in the Architecture Department, University of Coimbra, Portugal. Gomes's work was interrupted by illness that led to his untimely death in 2016. I carried out further research for this article while working on my postdoctoral project, Framing Identity: Cityscapes and Architecture of Mumbai's Catholic Communities (16th to the 20th Centuries) (FCT/SFRH/BPD/89298/2012), and the research project PORTofCALL: African-Asian-European Encounters: Cultural Heritage and Ports of Call in the Indian Ocean during the Early Modern Period (FCT/PTDC/ART-DAQ/4357/2021), coordinated by Marta Peters Oliveira. Both projects are funded by the Science and Technology Foundation, Portugal. This article is dedicated to the memory of Paulo Varela Gomes.

2. Henry Salt, “Account of the Caves in Salsette, Illustrated with Drawings of the Principal Figures and Caves,” *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay* 1 (1819), 49.

3. Regarding the history of Mandapeshwar's cave temple, see K. V. Soundra Rajan, *Cave Temples of the Deccan* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1981), 94–102; Walter Spink, “Monuments of the Early Kalachuri Period,” *Journal of Indian History* 46, pt. 2, no. 137 (1968), 263–70; Dulari Qureshi, *Rock-Cut Temples of Western India* (New Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 2009); James M. Campbell, ed., *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1882), 14:223–27; Samir S. Patel, “Mumbai's Rough-Hewn Legacy,” *Archaeology*, 4 Apr. 2007, <https://archive.archaeology.org/online/features/mandapeshwar/1.html> (accessed 29 Dec. 2022).

4. According to a late nineteenth-century source, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception at Mandapeshwar, on 8 December, was the second most important religious gathering for the East Indian community, next to the feast at Bandra. “Mandapeshvar,” in Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, 14:225; Braz Fernandes, *A Historical Sketch of Mount Poincur* (Bombay: Examiner Press, 1923), 15, 16; *Mount Poincur and Our People, by a Bandrite* (Bombay: J. B. C. Noronha, 1921).

5. The term *hermitage* (*ermida* in Portuguese) as used here refers to a small chapel in an isolated, nonurban setting.

6. Gomes, “‘There Is No Spot in the World,’” 2. For scholarly publications on Sacri Monti, see note 91.

7. Key works in this field include Paulo V. Gomes, *Whitewash, Red Stone: A History of Church Architecture in Goa* (New Delhi: Yoda Press, 2011); Ângela Xavier, “A invenção de Goa: Poder imperial e conversões culturais nos séculos XVI e XVII” (PhD diss., European University Institute, 2003); Ines Županov, *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (16th–17th Centuries)* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005); Alan Strathern “Os Piedosos and the Mission in India and Sri Lanka in the 1540s,” in *D. João III e o império: Actas do Congresso Internacional comemorativo do seu nascimento* (Lisbon: Centro de História de Além-Mar e Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2004), 855–64.

8. For an introduction to the history of the Northern Province, see Walter Rossa, “Northern Province,” in *Portuguese Heritage around the World: Architecture and Urbanism*, vol. 2, *Asia and Oceania*, ed. José Mattoso and Walter Rossa (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2010), 65–76. For an overview of the Christian missionary activity in the territory, see André Teixeira, “Baçaim e o seu território: Política e economia (1534–1665)” (PhD diss., Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2010), 80–98, 162–86; Sidh Mendiratta, “Framing Identity: Bombay's East-Indian Community and Its Indo-Portuguese Historical Background (1737–1928),” *Anais de História de Além-mar* 18 (2017), 209–15.

9. In Portuguese documents, Mandapeshwar is usually rendered as “Manapacer” or “Manapasser.” The *Tombo* of Simão Botelho, written in 1554, is probably the earliest concrete published reference to Mandapeshwar. Earlier mentions of the site and its religious structure by Friar António do Porto and Jesuit missionaries fall short of naming the village. Simão Botelho, “O tombo do Estado da Índia por Simão Botelho,” in *Collecção de monumentos inéditos para a historia das conquistas dos Portuguezes em Africa, Asia, e America*, vol. 5 (Lisbon: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1888), 209–10.

10. António do Porto was born in Porto, Portugal, as António de Gouveia, son of Henrique Nunes de Gouveia and Beatriz Madureira, main patrons of the Jesuit College instituted in that city during the sixteenth century. His two brothers were Jesuits, and his two sisters were nuns of Saint Claire (Clarissas). Diogo B. Machado, *Bibliotheca lusitana*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Na Officina de Antonio Isidoro de Fonseca, 1741), 360; Jorge Cardoso, *Agiologio lusitano dos sanctos e varoens illustres em virtude do reino de Portugal*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Na Officina de Henrique Valente d’Oliveira, 1657), 264; Lazaro Iriarte, *História franciscana* (Valencia: Editorial Assis, 1979), 356; Paulo da Trindade, *Conquista espiritual do Oriente*, ed. Félix Lopes (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1962–64), 2:112.

11. António do Porto to D. João III, 7 Oct. 1548, in *Documentação para a história das missões do padroado português no Oriente*, ed. António Rego (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1950), 4:60, my translation. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

12. Gaspar Berze to the Jesuit College of Coimbra, Portugal, 20 Dec. 1551, in *Documenta indica*, ed. Joseph Wicki (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1950), 2:271. Berze went on to visit the caves of Kanheri and Elephanta while traveling from Diu to Goa.

13. A late nineteenth-century source describes an inscription placed over the cave’s main entrance to commemorate the completion of the church in 1555. See *A Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon* [. . .] (London: John Murray, 1901), 22, 23.

14. Achilles Meersman, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India, 1500–1835* (Bangalore: Christian Literature Society Press, 1971), 194–95; Panduranga Pissurlencar, *Regimentos das fortalezas da Índia* (Bastora: Tipografia Rangel, 1951), 334–35; Botelho, “O tombo do Estado da Índia,” 209–10.

15. Friar do Porto first instituted an “orphanage” at Fort Vasai in 1548, intending for it to be the nucleus of the “royal college” authorized by King João III. Following the arrival of the Jesuits in the city in 1549, the college was relocated to Mandapeshwar. Do Porto to D. João III, 7 Oct. 1548, 4:59–61.

16. The earliest mention of a Franciscan “college” functioning in Mandapeshwar appears to be in 1557. Trindade, *Conquista espiritual do Oriente*, 2:148n2. In Franciscan documents pertaining to the Custody of St. Thomas, the mission is normally designated as a rectory (*reitoria*). Félix Lopes, “Os franciscanos no Oriente português de 1584 a 1590,” *Studia* 9 (1962), 37.

17. Meersman, *Ancient Franciscan Provinces*, 193–95; Jacinto de Deos, *Vergel de plantas, e flores da provincia da Madre de Deos dos Capuchos Reformados* (Lisbon: Na Officina de Miguel Deslandes, 1690), 23.

18. The traveler Abraham Anquetil-Duperron mentions the date of 1590 on a tombstone in the church. Anquetil du Perron, *Zend Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre* [. . .] (Paris: N. M. Tilliard, 1781), 1:393. Meersman suggests the church was built between 1574 and 1585. Meersman, *Ancient Franciscan Provinces*, 199.

19. This inscription, described by both John Vaupell and Charles Masson, was part of the ornamented lintel over the entrance to the college, immediately to the north of the church’s main façade. Placed beneath the coat of arms of Portugal, it read, according to Masson’s transcription (diminutives expanded): “Collegio Real fundado em 1544 por mando del Rei Dom João 3º pelo Padre Frei Antonio do Porto. Ano de 1623 sendo provedor o Muito Reverendo Padre Frei Garcia da Conceição” (The Royal College founded

in 1544 on the order of King Dom João III by Father Friar António do Porto. During the Year of 1623 under the Provedor Very Reverend Father Friar Garcia da Conceição). In 1544 D. João III authorized funding for the mission of the six Piedosos to the Northern Province. Repairs to the church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception in the 1880s led to the removal of the coat of arms to its current location, above the church’s main entrance, where it is hidden behind the church’s front porch. John Vaupell, “Continuation of the Desultory Notes and Observations, on Various Places in Guzerat and Western India,” *Transactions of the Bombay Royal Geographic Society* 7 (1844), 147; Charles Masson, “The Cave Temples of Salsette and Elephanta with Notes and Illustrations,” 1850, fol. 18, Mss Eur G43, Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections, British Library, London. See also Fernandes, *Historical Sketch of Mount Poincur*, 14.

20. *Relaçom da mais extraordinaria, admiravel, e lastimosa tormenta de vento . . . era de 1618, aos 17 do mes de Mayo* (Lisbon: Pedro Craesbeeck, 1619).

21. Gomes, *Whitewash, Red Stone*, 41–43.

22. Trindade notes that the “Royal College was for a hundred orphan boys, sons of the gentiles and Christians from that Island [of Shashti], who are therein taught in the things of our Faith and learn to read, write, strum, sing and Latin, many of whom have become ministers [*sacerdotes*].” Trindade, *Conquista espiritual do Oriente*, 2:149.

23. Meersman, *Ancient Franciscan Provinces*, 195.

24. Viceroy António de Melo e Castro stayed in Mandapeshwar while hunting tigers on Shashti Island. António de Melo e Castro to D. Afonso VI, 30 Dec. 1662, cx. 44, doc. 129, Índia, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon. Another viceroy, Pedro Noronha de Albuquerque, sojourned in the Franciscan college in 1696 to oversee the gathering of a fleet destined for the Persian Gulf. J. Humbert, “The Goa Archives in 1693,” *Indica* 1, no. 1 (1964), 56.

25. António Luís Gonçalves da Fonseca, governor of India, to the captain of Baçaim, 25 Aug. 1700, Livro da Correspondência de Baçaim no. 3, Ms. 1251, fol. 7v, Historical Archives of Goa, Panaji.

26. Trindade, *Conquista espiritual do Oriente*, 2:150.

27. For a detailed account of the Maratha–Portuguese war of 1737–39, see “Relação da guerra que o infl. Maratá fez no Estado da Índia [. . .],” cod. 1605 A.G., Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, in Panduranga Pissurlencar, “Portugueses e Maratas: Como se perdeu Baçaim,” *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 9–12 (1931–32), 22–81, 25–60, 30–81, 77–111.

28. Valentia mentions that the Catholic priests had covered the Shaivite sculptures, but “at present [1803] the original [religious] proprietors have been uncovered, and have again become objects of adoration to the ignorant native.” Viscount Valentia, *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt* [. . .] (London: William Miller, 1809), 2:196.

29. Du Perron, *Zend Avesta*, 1:393; Anton Hové, *Tours for Scientific and Economical Research Made in Guzerat, Kattiarwar, and the Conkuns in 1787–88* (Bombay: Bombay Education Society’s Press, 1855), 12.

30. Around 1830, the Christian population in Mandapeshwar together with the neighboring village of Poinser was reported to number 584. F. Rodrigues, “General Statement Shewing the Position of the Roman Catholic Churches [. . .],” ca. 1830, Arm V–VI, no. 10, fol. 5, Secção de Cimélios, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora.

31. Wales visited Shashti Island several times from 1792 to 1795. Most of his drawings related to these visits are held in the James Wales Collection, B1977.14.22244–22441, Prints and Drawings Department, Yale Center for British Art, Yale University.

32. George Millet, “A Hasty but Faithful Account of a Tour to the Island and Caves of Salset [. . .],” Oct. 1795, fol. 22, Mss Eur E/2, Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections, British Library, London.

33. Vaupell, “Continuation of the Desultory Notes,” 146.

34. Valentia, *Voyages and Travels to India*, 2:193.

35. Masson, “Cave Temples of Salsette and Elephanta,” fol. 18. Charles Masson was the pseudonym of James Lewis.

36. Vaupell, "Continuation of the Desultory Notes," 146.
37. William Miller, *An Album of Forty-One Views of India and Indian Figures, Various Inscribed, Including: Monte Pasier, Salsette* [. . .] (ca. 1830), private collection (the album was auctioned by Christie's in 2002); Robert Pouget, *A Series of Views in India: No. 1, Vicinity of Bombay* (Exeter, 1843).
38. George Bradshaw, *Bradshaw's Hand-Book to the Bombay Presidency, and North-Western Provinces of India* (London: W. J. Adams, [1864]), 67.
39. Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, 13:207, 14:22, 14:351; Gerson da Cunha, *Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein* (Bombay: Thacker, Vining, 1876), 164; L. C. Pera and R. N. Santos, eds., *In the Mission Field* (Bombay: Times Press, 1925), 304; Reginald Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824–1825* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Society, 1995), 3:86, 3:90.
40. Dinshaw Wacha, *Shells from the Sands of Bombay, Being My Recollections and Reminiscences, 1860–1875* (Bombay: Bombay Chronicle Press, 1920), 323.
41. George Kubler, *Portuguese Plain Architecture: Between Spices and Diamonds, 1521–1706* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1972).
42. John Wilson, "Memoir on the Cave-Temples and Monasteries, and Other Ancient Buddhist, Bráhmical and Jaina Remains of Western India," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3, pt. 2 (1851), 41.
43. Fernandes, *Historical Sketch of Mount Poinsur*, 12, 14.
44. Fernandes, 28–33.
45. This information comes from individuals I spoke with during visits to Mandapeshwar in 2006 and 2010. The details of the reoccupation process remain unclear.
46. Recognition of the site as a national monument took place in 1969. The Archaeological Survey of India ID number is N-MH-M11, and the listing describes the Sacro Monte as a "large watch tower." "List of Monuments of National Importance in Mumbai Circle," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Monuments_of_National_Importance_in_Mumbai_circle (accessed 30 Dec. 2022).
47. D. João III to João de Castro, governor of India, Mar. 1546, in Rego, *Documentação para a história das missões*, 4:507–9.
48. Xavier, "A invenção de Goa," 152–57.
49. Manoel de Monforte, *Chronica da provincia da Piedade, primeira Capucha de toda a ordem* [. . .] (Lisbon: Na Officina de Manuel Manescal da Costa, 1751), 27–32.
50. José Sánchez Herrero, "Los movimientos franciscanos radicales y la misión y evangelización franciscana em América," in *Actas del Congreso de Historia del Descubrimiento*, vol. 4 (Madrid: Deimos, 1992), 567–72.
51. John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 444–500; Iriarte, *História franciscana*, 205–12.
52. John Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley: University of California Press: 1970), 44–46.
53. On this topic, see Maria de Lurdes Rosa, "D. Jaime, duque de Bragança: Entre a cortina e a vidraça," in *O tempo de Vasco da Gama*, ed. Diogo Ramada Curto (Lisbon: Difel, 1998), 319–32; Strathern "Os Piedosos and the Mission in India"; Ângela Xavier, "Itinerários franciscanos na Índia seiscentista, e algumas questões de história e método," *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd ser., 18 (2006), 87–116; Xavier, "A invenção de Goa," 145–46.
54. According to Félix Lopes, the formulation of this missionary project dated back to 1544, when Friar Silvestre, the guardian of the Piedade motherhouse in Vila Viçosa, wrote to D. João III regarding his intention to send a mission of Piedosos to India, and, together with those already assisting in the East, to create a separate custody directly dependent on the Piedade province. Félix Lopes, notes in Trindade, *Conquista espiritual do Oriente*, 1:247–48.
55. Strathern, "Os Piedosos and the Mission in India."
56. Trindade, *Conquista espiritual do Oriente*, 2:101–2, 2:171–72; Rego, *Documentação para a história das missões*, 3:258–61.
57. Meersman, *Ancient Franciscan Provinces*, 170–222.
58. Deos, *Vergel de plantas, e flores*, 8.
59. Meersman, *Ancient Franciscan Provinces*, 170–71.
60. The Custody of St. Thomas (Custódia de São Tomé) was part of the Province of Portugal of the Observant Franciscans. Only following the creation of the Mother of God convent in the suburbs of Old Goa in 1569 did the Piedosos acquire a separate jurisdiction in the Estado da Índia. However, while some Franciscan convents and residencies aligned themselves with this new reformed branch, the College of Mandapeshwar remained affiliated with the Observant Franciscans. Rego, *Documentação para a história das missões*, 2:362, 3:526; Meersman, *Ancient Franciscan Provinces*, 11–12, 25–30; Ricardo Michael Telles, *Os franciscanos no Oriente e seus conventos* (Nova Goa: Tipografia Rau & Irmãos, 1922), 4.
61. Diogo do Couto, *Decadas da Asia de Diogo de Couto . . . do Oriente: Decada VII* (Lisbon: Na Regia Officina Typografica, 1782), bk. 3, chap. 10, 239.
62. According to Fergusson and Burgess, writing in the 1870s, there were "at least" 130 distinct Buddhist or Brahmanical caves in Shashti and Elephanta Islands. James Fergusson and James Burgess, "Part II: Cave Temples of Western India," in *Cave Temples of India* (London: W. H. Allen, 1880), 168.
63. Trindade, *Conquista espiritual do Oriente*, 1:73, 2:66. The martyrs of Thane were Friars Thomas of Tolentino, James of Padua, and Peter of Siena and lay brother Demetrius of Tiffis.
64. Luís Thomaz, "A lenda de S. Tomé Apóstolo e a expansão portuguesa," *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd ser., 3 (1991), 349–418; Luís Thomaz, "A carta que mandaram os padres da Índia, da China e da Magna China: Um relato sírica da chegada dos portugueses ao Malabar e seu primeiro encontro com a hierarquia Cristã local," *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* 36 (1991), 126–27, 137, 152–58; Županov, *Missionary Tropics*, 87–88, 96.
65. Garcia de Orta (ca. 1499–1568), who provides us with the first published early modern description of the Kanheri caves, refers to the Franciscan reconsecration of the principal cave. Garcia da Orta, *Colloquios dos simples e drogas e cousas medicinaes da Índia . . . 1563* (Lisbon: Na Imprensa Nacional, 1872), 211v–212.
66. Rajan, *Cave Temples of the Deccan*, 94.
67. Rajan, 100.
68. The vast majority of medieval and early modern nuns' convents in Portugal adopted this solution for their churches. In India, the only known example of Portuguese influence is the church of the convent of Santa Mónica in Old Goa. For this typology, see Paulo Varela Gomes, "A fachada pseudo-frontal na arquitectura das igrejas de freiras no mundo português," in *14,5: Ensaio de história e arquitectura* (Coimbra: Almedina, 2007), 249–62.
69. Du Perron, *Zend Avesta*, 1:393; Salt, "Account of the Caves in Salsette," 48.
70. Wilson, "Memoir on the Cave-Temples and Monasteries," 41.
71. Fergusson and Burgess, "Part II: Cave Temples of Western India," 481.
72. Spink's notes on Mandapeshwar are available on microfiche at the American Committee for South Asian Art Archives at the library of the University of California, Berkeley. Some of his photographs, digitized by the American Institute of Indian Studies, are available online through the Digital South Asia Library portal: <https://dsal.uchicago.edu/images> (accessed 30 Dec. 2022).
73. Vicente Cañal, "De mezquitas a templos: Las catedrales andaluzas en el siglo XVI," in *L'église dans l'architecture de la Renaissance: Actes du colloque tenu à Tours du 28 au 31 mai 1990* (Paris: Picard, 1995), 213–22.
74. Gaspar Berze to the Jesuits of Coimbra, 24 Nov. 1550, in Rego, *Documentação para a história das missões*, 4:528; Édouard Hambye, "Damão," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 14, ed. R. Aubert and E. van Cauwenbergh (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1960), 42.

75. “Os pagodes e misquitas, que derribamos com paz e socego e sem alvoroço da gente da terra, por ventura se nom fora sua [de D. Jerónimo de Noronha, capitão de Baçaim] prudencia e boa dissimulação com a gente da terra, que as vezes não lhes sabia bem isto, nom se fizera tão asoçegadamente, porque em Goa se derribarão com muito alvoroço, sendo nada em comparação com os desta terra.” Do Porto to D. João III, 7 Oct. 1548, 4:63–64.

76. Do Porto to D. João III, 7 Oct. 1548, 4:60, 4:63.

77. Gonçalo Rodrigues to the Jesuits in Portugal, 21 Nov. 1557, in Wicki, *Documenta indica*, 3:108; Gonçalo Rodrigues to the Jesuits in Portugal, 5 Sept. 1558, in Wicki, *Documenta indica*, 4:16; Belchior Dias to the Jesuits in Portugal, 1 Dec. 1565, in Wicki, *Documenta indica*, 6:85.

78. Ângela Xavier, *A invenção de Goa* (Lisbon: Instituto de Ciências Sociais, 2008), 333–75.

79. Xavier, “A invenção de Goa,” 176–78.

80. “Apologia dos Frades Menores em que se mostra quam grande fructo fizerão nesta Índia na propagação da Fé [. . .],” 1757, fol. 45, Arquivo da Província Portuguesa da Ordem Franciscana, Lisbon; Trindade, *Conquista espiritual do Oriente*, 2:149–51; Achilles Meersman, “Statutes of the Franciscan Province of St. Thomas the Apostle in India, 1688–1697,” *Studia* 13–14 (Jan.–July 1964), 332.

81. Four different dome designs are still visible. In the places where the stucco has disintegrated, central elements are still suspended above, possibly to support lanterns. Very probably, the niches within the grottoes housed paintings or bas-reliefs representing the Seven Sorrows of Mary.

82. *East Indian Jubilee Souvenir* (Bombay, [1937]), 122.

83. The parapets made of brick surrounding the hermitage replaced older ones made of stone, as reported by Vaupell in the first half of the nineteenth century. Vaupell, “Continuation of the Desultory Notes,” 147.

84. Like the statue within the hermitage, this statue of Our Lady of Fátima was commissioned after 1930.

85. The original passage reads, “Nel monte vicino al suddetto Collegio, si vede un’altro Romitaggio con una Cappella.” Gemelli Careri, *Giro del mondo . . . : Parte terza contenente le cose più ragguardevoli vedute nell’Indostan* (Naples: Nella Stamperia di Guiseppe Roselli, 1700), 39.

86. Lista [1737], Documentos Avulsos, S3-E2-P8, doc. 60, Arquivo Nacional / Torre do Tombo, Lisbon.

87. António Bocarro and Pedro Resende, *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental* (1634–35), cod. CXV 2-1, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora.

88. Spheres crowning pilasters, used as an applied ornament in religious buildings in Portugal beginning in the 1540s, became distinguishing features of what Kubler identifies as “Portuguese plain architecture.” In the context of Portuguese-influenced architecture in India, the same element was probably introduced in Old Goa in the Jesuit church of St. Paul, built between 1560 and 1572. The churches of Bom Jesus (built 1586–1605) and See Cathedral (built ca. 1565–1636), also in the capital of the Estado da Índia, made extensive use of plain spheres atop pilasters, especially as part of balustrades.

89. Paulo V. Gomes, “College and Church of the Holy Name of Jesus,” in Mattoso and Rossa, *Portuguese Heritage around the World*, 168–69. See also Paulo Varela Gomes, “College and Church of the Holy Name of Jesus,” Património de Influência Portuguesa, <https://hpiip.org/en/heritage/details/340> (accessed 30 Dec. 2022).

90. Paulo V. Gomes, “Sacro Monte,” in Mattoso and Rossa, *Portuguese Heritage around the World*, 142. See also Paulo Varela Gomes, “Sacromonte,” Património de Influência Portuguesa, <https://hpiip.org/en/heritage/details/289> (accessed 30 Dec. 2022).

91. The Sacro Monte at Varallo, founded in 1493 in the Piedmont region, is traditionally considered to be the first Sacro Monte in Italy. For recent discussion of Varallo, see David Karmon, “The Building of Devotion,” in *Architecture and the Senses in the Italian Renaissance: The Varieties of Architectural*

Experience (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 106–39. For an introduction to the Sacro Monte phenomenon, see George Kubler, “Sacred Mountains in Europe and America,” in *Christianity and the Renaissance. Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento*, ed. Timothy Verdon and John Henderson (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 418–25; Amilcare Barbero, *Atlante dei sacri monti, calvari e complessi devozionali europei* (Novara: Istituto Geografico de Agostini, 2000); Bram de Klerck, “Monti sacri in Italia e in Europa,” *Incontri: Rivista europea di studi italiani* 24, no. 2 (2009), 195–206; Luigi Zanzi and Paolo Zanzi, *Gerusalemme nelle Alpi: Per un atlante dei Sacri Monti prealpini* (Milan: Fondazione Cariplo, 2002); Kathryn M. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imaging Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

92. Anthony Stevens-Arroyo, “The Evolution of Marian Devotionality within Christianity and the Ibero-Mediterranean Polity,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37, no. 1 (Mar. 1998), 52.

93. Paulo V. Gomes, email correspondence with author, 29 Dec. 2013; Arlindo Ribeiro da Cunha, *Senhora da Abadia, monografia histórica-descritiva* (Braga: Confraria de N. S. da Abadia, 1951).

94. Xavier, “A invenção de Goa.” Gomes hypothesized that a Christological Sacro Monte originally stood along the stair leading to the church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Old Goa, although in my view the Via Crucis appears more plausible. Gomes, *Whitewash, Red Stone*, 86–89.

95. Gomes, *Whitewash, Red Stone*, 89.

96. Gomes, 89–102.

97. The Chapel of São Gregório in Tomar was built close to the Convent of Christ in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, probably on the same site where the Knights Templar built a structure in the twelfth century. Jorge Ferreira, *Tomar: Perspectivas* (Tomar, 1991), 81. The Chapel of Santo Amaro, built in 1549 and attributed to the architect Diogo de Torralva (ca. 1500–1566), “consists of two little cylinders of different dimensions, the nave and the chancel,” and stands out for its originality. Gomes, *Whitewash, Red Stone*, 91–92.

98. The cement piers possibly incorporated earlier columns. Denis Cottineau de Kloguen, *An Historical Sketch of Goa [. . .]* (Madras: Gazette Press, 1831), 88; Gomes, *Whitewash, Red Stone*, 93–96.

99. On the Chapel of Our Lady of Candelária, see Paulo Varela Gomes, “Chapel of Our Lady of Candelaria (Narora),” Património de Influência Portuguesa, <https://hpiip.org/en/heritage/details/1494> (accessed 30 Dec. 2022).

100. Gomes, *Whitewash, Red Stone*, 98–99. The rectangular volumes attached to the centralized plan date from the mid-nineteenth century.

101. Vítor Serrão, “Existe no território da Herdade de Barroca d’Alva (Concelho de Alcochete) uma ermida do século XVI,” Facebook, 6 May 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/vitor.serrao.58/posts/2846533405415509> (accessed 30 Dec. 2022).

102. Lista [1737], Documentos Avulsos.

103. Significantly, the motherhouse of the Observant Franciscans in Old Goa was rededicated to the Holy Spirit in 1603 at the zenith of the Estado da Índia, in a ceremony presided over by Archbishop Aleixo de Meneses. António Pereira, *A arquitectura religiosa Cristã de Velha Goa* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2005), 84–88.

104. Gomes, email correspondence, 29 Dec. 2013.

105. Agostinho de Santa Maria, *Santuário Mariano e historia das imagens milagrosas*, vol. 8 (Lisbon: Na Officina de Antonio Pedrozo Galram, 1720).

106. Trindade, *Conquista espiritual do Oriente*, 1:107–10.

107. Trindade, 2:31–33.

108. According to a Franciscan chronicle, the first three hermitages were built under the patronage of Álvaro de Lencastre, third Duke of Aveiro (1540–1626), and nephew of João de Lencastre, first Duke of Aveiro (1501–1571), founding patron of the Arrábida convent. Fr. Joseph de Jesus Maria, *Espelho de penitentes e chronica de Santa Maria da Arrabida [. . .]* (Lisbon: Na Officina de Joseph Antonio da Sylva, 1728), 97.

109. “[E] as Ermidas, ficando acabadas para o ornato da Serra, ficarão imperfeitas pela falta do seu ornato.” De Jesus Maria, 98. The later four hermitages were sponsored by Ana Maria de Cárdenas y Manrique de Lara (1600–1660), daughter-in-law of Álvaro de Lencastre, third Duke of Aveiro.
110. Paulo Pereira and Paula Benito, *Convento da Arrábida: A porta do Céu* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2006), 77–80.
111. A commemorative plaque affixed to a votive cross close to the Sacro Monte’s base in 2001 reads: “Fr. Antonio do Porto & Companions (Franciscans) the Pioneer Evangelizers of Bombay, Salsette and Bassein: They built the I[mmaculate] C[onception] Church in 1544, a magnificent Franciscan Monastery and a College over the rock caves for the education of the natives. It was this Franciscan heritage that attracted Bros. Paulus Moritz and Nicholas Hohn to choose this place as center for all activities of the Congregation. Fr. Antonio do Porto lay buried in this hill.” The name Sir Padri’s Bungalow is mentioned in Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, 14:226.
112. From the caves in the Eremo delle Carcere in Umbria, Italy, to the caves of the Old Convent at Arrábida, Portugal, this component of ascetic life characterized Franciscan reform and spiritual beliefs. The ascetic tradition was particularly strong in the Iberian Peninsula, as also demonstrated by Christian sects such as the Priscillianists and other religious orders such as the Hieronymites.
113. Xavier, “A invenção de Goa,” 152–57, 342–62, 414–15.
114. Županov, *Missionary Tropics*, 24.
115. On the admiration for Indian architecture among the Portuguese, see Paulo V. Gomes, “Ovídio Malabar: Manuel Faria de Souza, a Índia e a arquitetura portuguesa,” in 14, 5, 159–86.
116. Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 30–39.
117. See Gomes, “Ovídio Malabar”; Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, “Antiguidade e novos mundos,” in *Ideias e imagens em Portugal na época dos descobrimentos: Francisco de Holanda e a teoria da arte* (Lisbon: Difel, 1992), 9–54.
118. Quoted in Gomes, “Ovídio Malabar,” 161.
119. Quoted in Gomes, 161, 162.
120. Gomes, 172.
121. Deswarte-Rosa, “Antiguidade e novos mundos,” 29, 35, 36.
122. Ana Moás, “Afonso de Albuquerque and the Consumption of Material Culture in the Indian Ocean (1506–1515)” (MA thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2016), 37, 38.
123. Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, “Antiquité et nouveaux mondes: A propos de Francisco de Holanda,” in *Revue de l’Art* 68 (1985), 65.
124. Quoted in Gomes, “Ovídio Malabar,” 163.
125. Quoted in Gomes, 164; Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, 37.
126. Gonçalo Rodrigues to the Jesuit Assistance of Portugal, 5 Sept. 1558, in Wicki, *Documenta indica*, 4:99–100; Francisco de Monclaro to the Jesuit General, 18 Jan. 1575, in Wicki, *Documenta indica*, 10:15.
127. Couto, *Decadas da Asia*, bk. 3, chap. 10, 258. Diogo do Couto was, very probably, the first modern European to recognize and write about the connection between the life story of Buddha and the legend of Saint Josaphat and Barlaam (bk. 3, chap. 10, 246–47). See Margarida Correia de Lacerda, *Vida de Honrado Infante Josaphate Filho Del Rey Avenir: Versão de Frei Hilário da Lourinhã e a identificação por Diogo de Couto (1542–1616), de Josaphate com o Buda* (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1963).
128. Quoted in Gomes, “Ovídio Malabar,” 171.
129. Fergusson and Burgess, “Part II: Cave Temples of Western India,” 481.
130. Gomes, ““There Is No Spot in the World,”” 13.