

**Towards an Understanding of Cultural Biography of Monuments:
Interconnecting Archival and Field Data in Reference to Late Medieval
Jor-Bangla Temples of Bengal**

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Late medieval period of Bengal history is not only unique in terms of witnessing of the *Bhakti* movement ushered in by Sri Chaitanya, but also because of the tremendous proliferation in temple building activity in this region which followed. Bengal in this context refers to present day state of West Bengal in India combined with Bangladesh, which was then referred to as the *Subah-e- Bangal* under the Mughal administration. The reason for such inclusion is to discuss the common stylistic development of temple architecture of this region during the temporal framework dating from 16th century CE to 19th century CE. Even though the early phases of development of temple architecture of this region does show influence of architecture from Orissa, with the Muslim dominion of Bengal there did occur some fundamental shifts in terms of design, material and techniques of construction of these temples. The Islamic rulers introduced their distinctive architectural techniques like dome and arches which were favourably accepted even in the construction of the temples of this region; thereby giving the temples a unique indigenous regional character in terms of the designs mainly inspired by the domestic hut of Bengal. The styles further developed into many sub types like the *Chala*, *Ratna*, *Jor-Bangla* and many more.

The process of documenting these temples of this region began as early as 19th century itself by institutions like Archaeological Survey of India and individuals like James Fergusson¹ who primarily took measurements, drew illustrations, ground plan and also took photographs. The first individual to present some form of primary classification of the late medieval temples of Bengal based on some form of documentation was Monmohan Chakrabarti² way back in 1902. Other scholars like S.K. Saraswati³, Tarapada Santra⁴, Amiya Kumar

¹ James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (New Delhi: Price Publications, 2012).

² Monmohan Chakravarti, "Bengali Temples and Their General Characteristics," *Journal Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1909):147.

³ S.K. Saraswati, *Architecture of Bengal* (Calcutta: Bharadwaj and Company, 1976).

Bandopadhyay have also contributed to the body of knowledge. However the ground breaking work in terms of documentation of these temples was conducted by David McCutcheon⁵. His contribution is hailed as most crucial to the understanding of the late medieval temples of Bengal. He had not only documented them through an exhaustive field survey, but also was the first to present an elaborate and exhaustive classification of the same. He classified these temples into thirteen main types with a total of fifty eight sub-types. The work of other scholars after McCutcheon can primarily be seen as an extension of his work. The documentation methodology used by him was primarily collection of data with very scanty information on the social history of temple. The documentation procedures were partially influence by what can be contended as the orientalist perspective of several other earlier European scholars like James Fergusson. In the established and dominant trends of the available scholarship, late medieval temples are studied with the aid of documentation and analyses of their present formal attributes along with the terracotta plaques and ornamentations that are integral to the temple form. In this paper a different approach towards documentation and interpretation of the temples will be presented by taking into account their cultural biography with the aid of archival materials and by emphasizing the need for documenting, understanding and interpreting the continuity and transformations of their nature, form and ritualistic and social context with the aid of ethnographic survey.

Documentation can be approached through two distinctive methodologies: archival and field survey based. The archival approach mainly covers the tangible aspects of the monument and it is in this context that McCutcheon's work becomes crucial. However, such an approach to

⁴ Tarapada Santra, *Folk Arts of West Bengal and the Artist Community* (New Delhi: Niyogi Books, 2011).

⁵ David McCutcheon, *Late Medieval Temples of Bengal* (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1972).

the study cannot explain much about the curious relationship which the temples had with the society in terms of its sustainability as merely a religious monument alone. It also cannot explain whether there were other forms of manifestations or expressions through their existence and it is this context that a very cautious attempt will be made of seeing the late medieval *Jor-Bangla* temple. This theorization can be explained by what John Berger in his critically acclaimed book refers to as,

Seeing comes before words. The child looks and recognizes before it can speak. But there is also another sense in which seeing comes before words. It is seeing which establishes our place in the surrounding world; we explain that world with words, but words can never undo the fact that we are surrounded by it. The relation between what we see and what we know is never settled.⁶

When this is applied to the understanding of the late medieval temples of Bengal, there is a shift of the focus from quantitative data analysis to qualitative data analysis. It turns the temple from being a structure for performing religious rituals or from being an adobe of the gods/goddesses into a critical object of research. Such a holistic perspective can be noticed in the work of Hitesh Ranjan Sanyal⁷, a contemporary of McCutcheon. Sanyal interprets the interrelationship between the changing social milieu and the temples rather than the other way round, that is, otherwise the popular and conventional academic practice. Recently, some path breaking work on ‘cultural biography of objects has been presented by Tapati Guha Thakurta. The approach could also be applied to the temples as any other monuments that have their birth, modifications through community practice or through institutionalized practice of conservation, restoration and preservation, and death. It is is therefore like a living

⁶ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books, 1972), 7.

⁷ Hitesh Ranjan Sayal, unpublished doctoral thesis *Temple –Building Activities in Bengal: From c.1450 to c. 1900 A.D.* (Unpublished PhD diss., University of Calcutta,1972).

entity temples that can be perceived as having their own biography and this position will be used to explain the existence of the *Jor-Bangla* temple.

The late medieval temples of Bengal have undergone changes since they were first constructed. They were erected as religious structures and were addressed from different perspectives by various scholars. Temple building activities, rather, has some denotations and connotations in terms of their socio-political context of building and later transformations. For example, particular objectives and processes had guided the patrons of the temples for indulging into such activity. They included: temple building as the ‘public means of expressing power’⁸, patronising a particular sectarian belief, temple building for earning merit during their mundane life and during after-life, and finally, legitimizing their authority in a persistently mobile social hierarchical order. Over the centuries these temples have undergone changes not only in terms of structure but also in terms of context. Not only has the appearance of the temples changed but also the surroundings in which the temple is presently located has been changed drastically owing to urbanization and expansion of settlements. Their status as living or dead temple, existence of multiple deities from different sects within a living temple and even its current utility is symptomatic of the contextual shifts. This implies that the temples are non- static or living with a dynamic ‘cultural biography’ which Kopytoff puts as a ‘cognitive process’. He further goes on to express that,

⁸ George Michell, *Bricks Temples of Bengal: From the Archives of David McCutcheon* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 7.

‘What would make a biography cultural is not what it deals with, but how and from what perspective.’⁹

Of the late medieval temples of Bengal the *Jor-Bangla* type is a unique temple type. It has been classified by McCutchion as a sub-type of *Chala* type. They are only one of its kinds because of their appearance of twin hut type structure joined together by a common wall and look like the alphabet ‘M’ when seen from the side view of the elevation. Also the former hut acts as the *Mandapa* and the later chamber as the *Garbha-Griha* or sanctum. These temples were constructed between the 17th and the 19th century CE after which they ceded to be built. These temples are very few in number. To be precise there were fifty temples in undivided Bengal, a number far less than than other types of terracotta temples. These *Jor-Bangla* temples have been documented by McCutchion and the photographs taken in 1970’s of the same are presently at the archival section of Victoria and Albert Museum in London. The Archaeological Survey of India has a collection of photographs of some of the *Jor-Bangla* temples, too. Most of the *Jor-Bangla* temples look completely different from their archival photographs in their present state. Hence, it becomes absolutely essential that the archival and field data are interconnected and compared in order to comprehend the transformation of form in the changing contexts- that is to address the cultural biography of these monuments. Therefore, the methodology for the field data collection was built around the form of a data sheet or index-sheet (Table 1).

⁹ Igor Kopytoff, “The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process,” in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 68.

Table 1

Core data standard recording Sheet for <i>Jor-Bangla</i> Temples		
1. Name:	2. Local name:	
3. Database code:	4. Grid reference:	
5. Date of Survey and documentation:		
6. Location:		
6.1. District:	6.2. Upazila:	6.3. Union:
6.4. Mauza:	6.5. Village:	6.4. Country:
6.6. Nearest Rivers, distance and direction:		
6.7. Other Water bodies:		
6.8. Descriptive locations:		
7. Description of Monument:		
7.1. Type: Simple <i>Jor-Bangla</i> / <i>Jor-Bangla</i> with <i>At-Chala</i> tower/ <i>Jor-Bangla</i> with <i>Char-Chala</i> tower/ <i>Jor-Bangla</i> with <i>Navratna</i> tower/Other		
7.2. Date of the Monument:	7.3. Source of dating:	
7.4. Size & Shape:	7.5. Measurements:	
7.6. Facade:	7.7. <i>Garbhagriha</i> entrance:	
7.8. Other description (in detail):		
8. Condition	8.1 Partially broken	8.2 Mound
	8.3 Front broken	8.4 Back broken
9. Ornamentation & Decoration (numbers, type, locations):		
9.1. Bricks:	9.2. Stucco:	
9.3. Cornice	9.4. Others (if any):	
10. Building materials:	10.1. Bricks and size:	10.2. Mortar
	10.3. Wood	10.4. Plaster
11. Terracotta Plaques:	11.1. Conditions:	11.2. Numbers:
11.3. Positions	11.4. Sketch plan of terracotta locations:	

12. Inscription	12.1 Script	12.2 Text
	12.3 Translation	12.4 Location of inscription
	12.5 Notes on inscription	
13. Landscape context:		
	13.1. Terracotta plaque and their relation to architectural components	
	13.2 Narrative depicted in the terracotta plaque	
14. Local historical, cultural and religious context		
15. Cultural Biography		
16. Local legends:		
14. Photographs (if necessary in separate sheets):		
15. Drawings and their numbers:		
16. Cross-references:		
17. Signature of the recorder:		
18. Checked by:		Date:

This form was constructed by considering the guidelines prescribed by CIDOC for documentation of monuments with suitable modifications by taking into account the contextual variables. One of these was the entry for the documentation of the cultural biography as key element.

In this paper four temples and their context as case studies will be presented. These are: the Kali Temple located at Itanda of Birbhum District, West Bengal, Radha Gobindo Temple at Maheshwarpasha of Khulna district in Bangladesh, Mahaprabhu and Kestaryana temple at Bishnupur of Bankura district of West Bengal.

The *Jor-Bangla* Kali temple in Birbhum can be dated to as early as early 19th century based on the appearance, stylistics and the themes of the terracotta decoration on the façade of the temple. The temple is a protected monument by the State Archaeological Department and has

been renovated in the recent past by Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH). The term 'renovate' is being used intentionally to highlight the drastic visible changes with respect to the appearance of the temple instead of conservation and preservation and trying to keep the temple as much untouched as possible in terms of its cultural context. The definition of conservation as presented by International Council of Museums – Conservation Committee (ICOM-CC) is,

All measures and actions aimed at safeguarding tangible cultural heritage while ensuring its accessibility to present and future generations. Conservation embraces preventive conservation, remedial conservation and restoration. All measures and actions should respect the significance and the physical properties of the cultural heritage item.¹⁰

The task of preservation and conservation of this completely dilapidated temple was taken up by the Shantiniketan Chapter of INTACH, which they did, as they claim, after a thorough research. The archival images of the temple from McCutcheon's collection make it amply clear that the temple was in an extremely poor state and needed urgent care (Plate 1).

¹⁰ http://www.icom-cc.org/242/about-icom-cc/what-is-conservation/terminology/#.Vb8_fG6qqkp



Plate 1: Dilapidated façade of the temple

(Courtesy: David McCutcheon photo archive, V&A Museum, London)

The main causes for the damage to the temple were several floods in the River Ajoy, which once even submerged the temple completely, the torrential rains, the temple abandonment and finally dense vegetation growth as a result of the cracks that had appeared on the surface of the temple.

The report by the INTACH clearly mentions the intensive examination of the reasons for the damage and the possible treatments that could be applied to initially reduce the ongoing damage and eventually to stop it. Of the several steps, the most essential was to stop the damage caused by the growth of the trees on the cavities of the temple and hence in the first phase, treatments included killing the roots of the trees and their further germination was taken up. The second phase was the placement of temporary steel scaffolding around the structure to prevent the structure from any further physical damage. It is at this stage that the

field trip was conducted and a thorough documentation of the structure was carried out (Plate 2).



Plate 2: Temple façade during restoration

And it is only about two years ago that the final stages of repair of the temple were concluded by INTACH, which unfortunately ended up in ‘renovation’ rather than conservation and preservation. The façade of the temple is striking as a result of the white and the ochre coloured lime wash on it, thereby making the temple more presentable for ‘touristic gaze’ (Plate 3).



Plate 3: Temple façade after restoration by INTACH

The cultural biography of the temple represents very dramatic shifts which is clearly evident by comparing and interconnecting the images from McCutcheon's collection along with the images from the field trip to the recent images after its renovation. The temple from what it was in its stages of decay, to what it has been transformed, is suggestive of the fact that with restoration not only has the appearance of the temple changed but the 'way of seeing' the temple too has shifted from being an abandoned late medieval temple to a protected monument by the state government, quite suitable to attract tourist who come to visit Rabindranath Tagore's Shantiniketan from all over the world and end up having an additional glimpse of 'the rich cultural heritage of the Bengal'. Clearly, from a ritualistic space the temple transformed into an abandoned structure leaving no precise clues regarding the residing deity and patron. It has then been reborn with the modern discourses of preservation and conservation by becoming the object of disciplinary inquiry and representation of

‘glorious past’ of the region and the nation. In this way, commoditization of the temple becomes integral to its cultural biography. A ritualistic space for the worshippers in pre-modern period turns into a space for touristic consumption for many. This is not to say that through the processes of giving the temple its new life, its ritualistic aura went into oblivion. For a believer, it becomes a space of veneration in the modern conditions.

The other case study is the Radha-Gobindo temple of Maheshwarpasha in Khulna district of Bangladesh (Plate 4).



Plate 4: Temple façade

(Courtesy: David McCutcheon photo archive, V&A Museum, London)

The date of the temple cannot be said with certainty because only the last four lines of the inscriptional plaque are present on the side wall of the temple. Also scholars have dated the

temple differently¹¹. The photographs from the archival collection of McCutcheon clearly show the terracotta decoration over the spandrel section of the arch which depicts the theme of the epic battle between Rama and Ravana over his abduction of Sita, Rama's wife (Plate 5)

¹¹ Md.Alamgir, "The Jor-Bangla Temple at Maheshwarpasha," *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bangladesh* 38(1993): 201.

According to him, "It may be mentioned that unlike in the reading of Mitra the word 'Sara Reetukee' has been noted instead of 'Sura Sutakee'. Of course the word *sura* or *sara* does not change the meaning, but the word 'sutakee' should be corrected by the word 'Retukee' and that obviously the real meaning of the sentence. According to the above mentioned reading, we get the following verse about the date of the establishment of the temple from the script. " Ksmitee Sara Reetukee Brishni". On the basis of the digital translation, the meaning of those words is as follows:

Ksmitee(earth)=1: Sara(tune)= 7: Reetu(season)= 6: Brishni(Sree Krishna)= 1:

After placing these digits in order we get the number 1761. There is some uncertainty as to the calendar which the builder followed in dating the temple. Among so many calendars (Banglai, English, Hizra and Sakabda) it is difficult to say which the temple builder used. Due to the loss of the upper portion of the inscription, it is not possible to ensure whether any information about the year was etched there. But other temples built during this period in Bangladesh allow us to guess at this as Sakabda calendar year from the information contained in their inscriptions. Temples bearing such inscriptions are mentioned below:

1. Mohammadpur (Magura) Dashvuzar Temple 1621 Sakabda
2. Raygram (Jessore) *Jor-Bangla* temple 1646 Sakabda
3. Chachara(Jessore) Shiva Temple 1618 Sakabda
4. Raynagar (Magura) Math 1510 Sakabda
5. Mokimpur (Jessore) 1540 Sakabda
6. Mostafapur (Shaymnagar-Satkhira) Nav-Ratna temple of Damreli 1505 Sakabda
7. Handilal(Pabna)Jagannath Temple 1512 Sakabda
8. Goshwami Durgapur (Kushtia) Radharaman Temple 1596 Sakabda
9. Shether Bangle (Pabna) *Do-Chala* 1701 Sakabda
10. Kapileshwar (Tarash ,Pabna) Shiva Temple 1636 Sakabda

From the above mentioned examples it can guess that the number mentioned in the said inscripational *belongs* to the Sakabda calendar and by that formula we get the number 1671, according to the left line border of reading which is usually adopted for the Sakabda calendar in such cases. After comparing it with English



Plate 5: Terracotta decoration over central arch

(Courtesy: David McCutcheon photo archive, V&A Museum, London)

However, during the field trip the appearance of the temple turned out to be completely different. The spandrel section over the arch at the entrance to the *Mandapa* has completely fallen and it is thus impossible to decipher how or what the terracotta decoration ever looked like (Plate 6).

calendar year we get 1749 A.D. and we can easily conclude that the said temple was built in 1749 A.D., when Nawab Alivardi Khan was on the throne of Murshidabad. It is not surprising to find that the temple was built during the reign of Alivardi, a noble-hearted man of patience.”

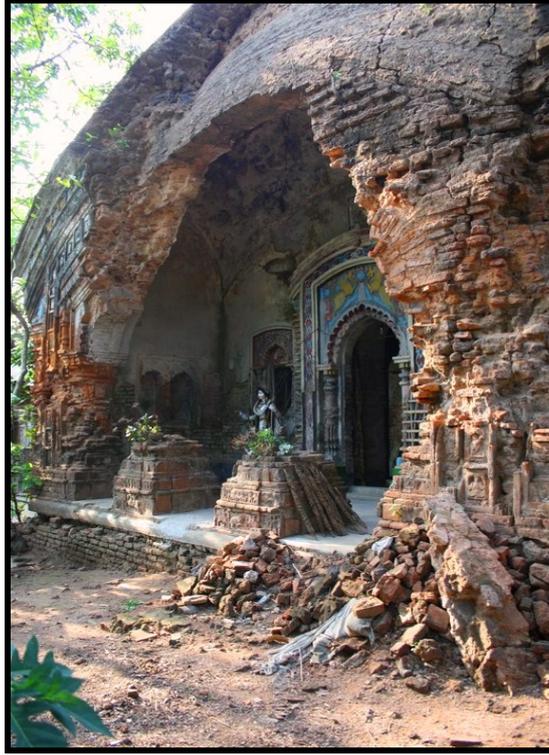


Plate 6: Present state of the temple façade

Also several other houses have come up very close to this temple, which makes it completely impossible to be able to even trace it if otherwise not known. Not only have the residential houses covered the temple from all around, but also another temple devoted to goddess Kali has been constructed within a close distance of fifty meters from this temple. In addition, the present owners of the temple have admitted to the fact that there have been additions to the number of deities that are presently worshipped; which include *Salagram Sila*¹², Shiva

¹² T.A.Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (Delhi: Motilal Banarasilal Publishers Pvt. Ltd.:1997(reprint)), 8-9.

He writes “The objects worshipped by Hindus are images, of gods and goddess, *śālagrāmas*, *bāna-liṅgas*, *yantras*, certain animals and birds, certain holy rivers, tanks, trees and sepulchers of saints. Besides these, there are several minor objects of local importance and personal predilection, which are also used as objects of worship.” He further writes, “A *śālagrāma* is generally a flintified ammonite shell, which is river worn and thus rounded and beautifully polished. The river Gaṇḍaki, which is one of the well known tributaries of the Ganges, is famous in India for its deposits of *śālagrāmas*. Each of these has a hole, through which are visible several interior spiral grooves resembling the representation of the *chakra* or the discus of Vishṇu. Remarkable virtues are attributed to its fabulous prices are often offered to some particular specimens of it.

Lingam and some broken parts of a sculpture believed to parts of the original statue (Plate 7-8).



Plate 7: Multiple residing deities



Plate 8: Multiple residing deities

Thus, the archival images again come to the rescue for understanding the cultural biography of this temple by interconnecting it with the data available during field visit.

The next two temples are the Mahaprabhu and the Keshtaraya temple, both situated close to one another at Bishunupur of Bankura district in West Bengal. The first temple is an abandoned temple, lost into oblivion, believed to have been built in the 18th century CE.

There is no inscriptional plaque at the temple, but Alexander Cunningham dates it to 1734

There are treatises on the subject of the examination and the evaluation of *śālagrāmas*; and there are also, here and there, a few experts to be found even in these days for estimating their value. The number as well as the disposition of the spirals visible through the holes is utilized in ascertaining which of the many aspects and the *avatāras* of the Vishṇu a given specimen represents and what the value of it is to the worshipper. The *Varāha-purāṇa* states that the river-goddess of the Gaṇḍaki requested Vishṇu to be born in her womb, to which Vishṇu acceded and came to be born in the river *śālagrāmas*.

It is fairly common sight to find *śālagrāmas* in many important temples, in monasteries called *maṭhas* and even in certain old households. They are worshipped by Vaishṇavas and also by persons of the Vaidik Śaiva persuasion; but not the Āgamic Śaivas and the Vīra-Śaivas do not worship them”.

CE¹³ without mentioning the source from which he derived this crucial data. The uniqueness of this temple lies in the fact that this temple is the only one of the two such *Jor-Bangla* temples which is classified as the *At-Chala Jor-Bangla* temples. At present the façade and the *Mandapa* are broken (Plate 9).

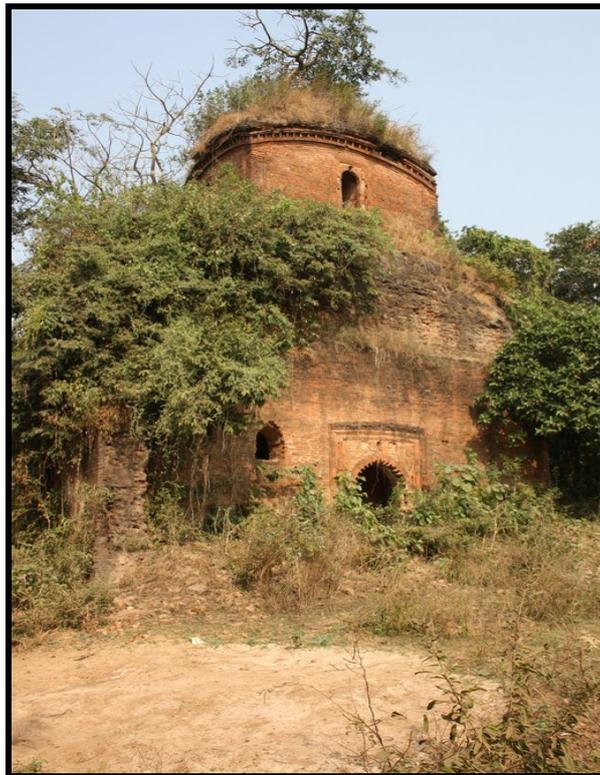


Plate 9: Temple façade with the *Mandapa* and the top most superstructure missing

The present super structure resembles a *Chara-Chala* and thus derives the name *At-Chala*, which includes the four sides of the roofs and the roof of the super structure. This makes it obvious that all the literary sources refer to it as an *At-Chala* structure. Interestingly the

¹³ Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report, Vol VIII*.pp.204.

archival images present at ASI (Archaeological Survey of India) prove beyond doubt that the temple was definitely a *Baro-Chala* structure prior to the present change in its appearance (Plate 10).

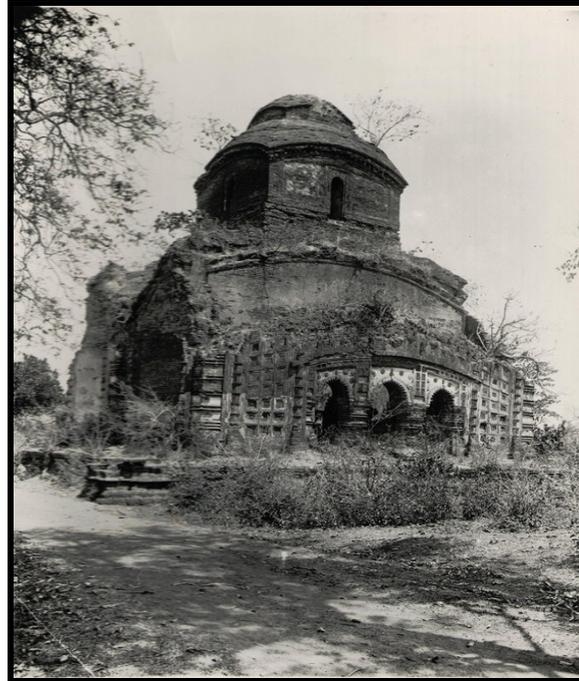


Plate 10: Temple façade with the *Mandapa* and the top most super structure visible

(Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India)

This change has occurred as a result of the weathering which the monument has undergone in the past century. This change unfortunately has gone un-noticed and has not been mentioned in any of the literary sources. For the mere reconstruction of the original structure it becomes absolutely essential, as mentioned earlier, to interconnect the archival data with the field data in order to avoid any form of presentation of distorted history of the monument itself by overlooking the cultural biography of the monument.

On the other hand, Keshta Raya temple (Plate 11), a late medieval temple, found very close to the above mentioned Maharprabhu temple, gradually transforms into an embodiment of the technological and artistic excellence of the region of Bengal.

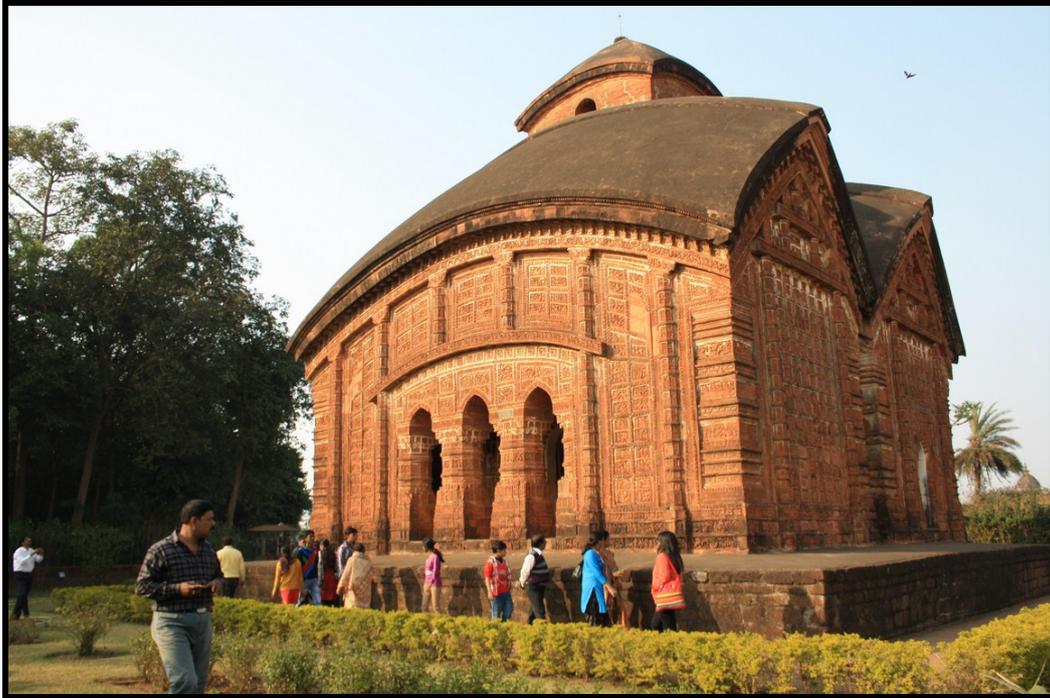


Plate 11: Present appearance of the temple

It has gone through various changes since its discovery in modern period and especially, since its integration into the list of protected monuments by the state. Now it is not a religious monument as no rituals are performed here. The temple is an embodiment and representation of secular nationalistic desires and aspirations. At the same time, it has turned into one of the much cherished object of scientific enquiry from various disciplinary perspectives. The temple in its modern life is worshiped by both experts and lay persons alike.

The history of Bengali nationhood and its relationship to archaeological heritage like this particular temple have been interpreted in a fascinating way by Tapati Guha Thakurta¹⁴.

¹⁴ Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories : Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2004), 140-171.

Through various legal and technical procedures of modern conservation, preservation and management, its biography as an object of veneration still continues. This veneration is both religious and secular, expert oriented and touristic, scientific as well as artistic. The temple has gone through various procedures of conservation and modification of its surrounding landscape. It has been commodified and transformed according to the desire of consumption of the local and foreign tourists who come here for pilgrimage as well as to have a feeling of glorious history of the nation. The temple in its late biography as an archaeological monument and a religious monument has a different modern life than it had during its use and functioning in late medieval period. The popularity of this temple could be recognized through its replications in the walls of the local buildings, gateways of government offices, and in the advertisements of the local tourism departments or even the local hotels. A detailed essay could be written about the cultural biography of this much venerated temple in modern period when monument-centric heritage discourses are central to the construction and representation of collective identity. As a city, Bishnupur is advertised through its temples and Keshta Raya Temple is one of the most crucial in this advertisement of past glory, achievement and advancement of a temple-town. It is a protected monument by Government of India under ASI, the protection procedures give emphasis to only the visible dimensions. David McCutcheon too has exhaustively documented this temple. Through the accounts of both ASI and McCutcheon, it can be clearly identified that the temple has undergone several changes in the past (Plate 12).



Plate 12: Temple façade

(Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India)

The terracotta plaques inside the veranda are therefore neglected and they are in an extremely deteriorated condition because of various factors of decay (Plate 13).



Plate 13: Deteriorated condition of terracotta plaques on the inner wall of *Mandapa*

As it is not visible from outside, these terracotta plaques that are integral to the entirety of the monument are not cared for. The biography of this temple as a unique representation of secular and religious collective identity could be a great example of the construction and representation of monumental past in contemporary India and Bengal.

It is interesting also to point at the disparity between the Keshta Raya and Mahaprabhu Temple in terms of the attention they have obtained. In spite of being situated in close vicinity, one becomes the epitome of veneration and another is left to be lost into oblivion. Is Keshta Raya is more suitable for representing the 'glory' and 'achievement' of the past than Mahaprabhu Temple? Perhaps, Mahaprabhu is not a profitable commodity in comparison to Keshta Raya Temple and other much adored and restored temples in the temple-town of Bishnupur? Archival data thus can help us to engage with the monument from a multiple perspective. They along with the data gathered systematically from field survey can help not only to understand the formal changes, but also to address the cultural biography of the monument in the conditions of modernity and its discourses pertaining to conservation, originality, authenticity, tourism, rituals, consumerism and finally, researchers' perspective from her/his theoretical orientations.