

A Survey of Hindu Buildings in England Project Number 7078

**Prepared for Historic England by
Professor Emma Tomalin and Dr Jasjit Singh
The Centre for Religion and Public Life
University of Leeds
June 2018**

Contents page

Executive Summary	4
1. Introduction	6
2. What does Historic England want?	8
2.1 Background.....	8
2.2 Specific areas where knowledge is lacking and key areas of impact	9
2.2.1 Impact that is achieved by this project:.....	9
2.2.2 Impact that is enabled by this research:	10
3. An introduction to Hinduism in England	11
3.1 Hinduism arrives in England	11
3.2 Hindu demographics in England and an analysis of its diversity	14
3.3 Setting up temples and other caste, sectarian and cultural associations	15
3.4 Conclusion	20
4. Research Methods	21
4.1 Introduction	21
4.2 Desk-based national mapping and information gathering	21
4.3 Site visits and how the sites were chosen	22
4.4 Methodological Learning.....	24
4.5 Conclusion	25
5. A Survey of Hindu Buildings in England	26
5.1 Introduction.....	26
5.2 Types of Hindu-related organisations in the UK, their buildings and what they are used for	26
5.3 Types of Hindu Temple in terms of their style of identification or affiliation	28
5.4 The types of buildings used by Hindu communities for temples (places of worship)	30
5.5 Change and progress.....	33
5.6 Building Hindu Temples	34
5.7 Conclusion	37
6. A Survey of Hindu Buildings in England: a regional mapping	39
6.1 Introduction	39
6.2 Hindu Buildings in the North East	40
6.3 Hindu Buildings in the North West.....	58
6.4 Hindu Buildings in the West Midlands.....	86
6.5 Hindu Buildings in the East Midlands.....	104
6.6 Hindu temples in the South of England.....	118
6.7 Hindu Temples in London – non-South Indian/Sri Lankan.....	124
6.8 South Indian and Sri-Lankan temples in London	159
7. Conclusions and recommendations to Historic England	174
7.1 Introduction	174
7.2 Finding and developing the buildings.....	174
7.3 Hindu Building Terminology.....	178
7.4 The value and function of the buildings, and who uses them	179
7.5 Recommendations to Historic England.....	180
8. Appendices	183
8.1 Appendix 1 - Interview Questions.....	183
8.2 Appendix 2 – Glossary: Words for Hindu buildings and other relevant Hindu terms	185
8.3 Appendix 3 – suggested amendments to the NHLE.....	186
8.3 Appendix 4 – tables of Hindu temples in England	187
9. References	253

Boxes

Box 1: The Ramakrishna-Vedanta Centre of UK	13
Box 2: The Hindu Temple in England	18
Box 3: Hindu national representative bodies	28
Box 4 Steps in Temple Construction	35
Box 5: Jalaram Bapa	41
Box 6: Sathya Sai Baba	43
Box 7: Sai Baba Hindu Temple, Bradford	44
Box 8: Shree Prajapati Hindu Temple & Community Centre	46
Box 9 Shree Lakshmi Narayan Hindu Temple Bradford/Hindu Cultural Society of Bradford	47
Box 10: Leeds Mandir	52
Box 11: Kutch Satsang Swaminarayan Temple, Bolton	62
Box 12: Swaminarayana Sidhant Sajivan Mandal	66
Box 13: Veda Mandir Bolton	71
Box 14: Indian Association, Oldham Radha Krishna Temple, Oldham	77
Box 15: Gujarat Hindu Society, Preston	79
Box 16: Shree Ram Mandir (SSPC Birmingham UK)	89
Box 17: Universal Divine Temple Ek Nivas	94
Box 18: Baba Balaknath	96
Box 19: The Balaji Temple in Dudley	98
Box 20: Pushtimarg (path of grace)	107
Box 21: Hare Krishna Mandir (ISKCON), Leicester	107
Box 22: Shree Hindu Temple and Community Centre, Leicester	111
Box 23: BAPS Swaminarayana Hindu Mission, Leicester	115
Box 24: Shekin Ashram, Bhakti Yoga Ashram & Holistic Retreat Centre	118
Box 25: Kutch Satsang Swaminarayana Temple, Harrow	126
Box 26: Swaminarayana Hindu Mission, Neasden	130
Box 27: Shree Swaminarayana Mandir, Kingsbury	131
Box 28: Radha Krishna Temple, Soho	134
Box 29: Bhaktivedanta Manor Hare Krishna Temple, Watford	139
Box 30: Caribbean Hindu Society, Lambeth	146
Box 31: International Siddhashram Shakti Centre, Harrow	149
Box 32: Bhagwan Valmik Mandir	152
Box 33: Sanatan Hindu Mandir, Wembley	155
Box 34: Highgate Hill Murugan Temple	162
Box 35: Shree Ghanapathy Temple, Wimbledon	165
Box 36: London Sivan Kovil, Lewisham	171
Box 37 Puja	178

Executive Summary

A Survey of Hindu Buildings in England

Overview

The aim of this research was to provide Historic England (HE) with information about buildings that Hindus use in England so that HE can work with communities to enhance and protect those buildings now and in the future. It focused on three main questions:

1. Where are Hindu buildings and how many are there?
2. What kinds of buildings do Hindu communities use and what do they use them for?
3. What is the value of these buildings to their communities and individual users?

Where are Hindu buildings and how many are there?

Hindu temples in England by region:

	Number
North East	12
North West	20
West Midlands	32
East Midlands	30
South	29
London	64
TOTAL	187

What kinds of buildings do Hindu communities use and what do they use them for?

Hindus in England have established a range of buildings, including temples (*mandirs*), schools, community centres, welfare and advice centres, and centres for caste-based or regional organisations. Often, temples will include these other types of organisation within them. For the purposes of this study we have focused only on Hindu temples that have been consecrated for religious usage, and not on the other types of Hindu buildings.

Types of Hindu Temple (see section 5.3)

We have identified these main ***types of Hindu temple***:

1. Sanatana: universal, open for all Hindus.
2. Regional

3. Sampradaya-led ('sectarian')
4. Guru/Swami-led
5. Caste-focussed
6. Ashrams
7. Independent

The types of buildings used by Hindu communities for temples (section 5.4)

Our research has found that there are a number of **broad types of property/premises** used by Hindus in England:

1. House Temples
2. Borrowed/hired periodically for meetings
3. Purchased residential reuse and adaptation
4. Purchased other reuse and adaptation
5. Purpose built
6. Reuse/adaptation and purpose built

The functions of Hindu buildings

The **functions** of Hindu buildings include the following – and particular buildings may perform a number of these functions:

1. A home for the deities (*murtis*).
2. A space for Hindu religious practice and the celebration of Hindu festivals.
3. A place where the Hindu priest(s) live in order to be able to carry out the demanding duty of caring for the *murtis*.
4. A location where cultural activities for Hindus are carried out, including dancing, music and languages.
5. They sometimes incorporate community centres, schools, welfare and advice centres, and centres for caste-based or regional organisations.
6. Sports centres.
7. Halls and kitchens to hire for weddings and other large events.

A Survey of Hindu Buildings in England

1. Introduction

In 2012 Historic England (at that time known as English Heritage) held a series of consultations on minority heritages in order to develop a more inclusive approach to its National Heritage Protection Plan (NHPP). The research and findings presented in this report came about as a result of a consultation on faith groups and their history and heritage in England. It emerged that Historic England needed to increase its knowledge about the heritage of the buildings of other faith groups in Britain in order to help assess their significance and understand how they are used and valued. To begin to address this gap, an initial scoping project was carried out on Buddhist Buildings, which has been completed (Tomalin and Starkey 2016, 2017; Starkey and Tomalin 2016). This report comprises part of the second phase of the research, which focused on Hindu, Jain, Zoroastrian and Bahá'í buildings in England. Separate reports have been written for each of these four traditions.

Specifically, the aim of the project on Hindu buildings has been to 'scope and assess current knowledge of the buildings and relevant practices'¹ of Hindu communities in order to:

1. 'Enable HE and the [heritage] sector to develop its expertise and protect [these buildings] appropriately'²
2. To better understand the *heritage, nature and significance* of Hindu buildings for their respective communities/users
3. To better understand the ways in which building use reflects and enables Hindu practice

The research has involved two main parts: 1) a literature review and desk-based mapping of different Hindu buildings across England, linked to various Hindu traditions. A typology has been developed in order to organise the range of Hindu places of worship identified (section 5.3); 2) a more detailed study involving qualitative research on a selection of these Hindu buildings utilising face-to-face interviews. We have also kept a blog during the project – 'buildinghinduism' – which continues to be updated.³

The language used to talk about these buildings can vary. Most common is the word *mandir*, which means temple in Sanskrit. We have provided a glossary of these terms in appendix 2.

¹ This research lies within priority areas that HE is currently working in, and is specifically mentioned under Measure 4 of the Action Plan for the NHPP

(<https://content.historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/nhpp-rep-may11mar12/nhpp-year-end-1112-activity-programme.pdf>, accessed 22 April 2016).

² *National Heritage Protection Plan 2011–15, Publication Date: 26 Apr 2012, Year-end report and Activity Programme, May 2011 – March 2012* (<https://content.historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/nhpp-rep-may11mar12/nhpp-year-end-1112-activity-programme.pdf>, accessed 22 April 2016).

³ <https://buildingbuddhism.wordpress.com/> (accessed 26 February 2018).

Hindus in England have established a range of buildings, including temples (mandirs), schools, community centres, welfare and advice centres, and centres for caste-based or regional organisations. Often, temples will also include these other types of organisation within them. For the purposes of this study we have focused only on Hindu temples that have been consecrated for religious usage, and not on the other types of Hindu buildings.

The report begins with a discussion about what English Heritage wants from the current research (section 2). This will be followed by an introduction to Hinduism in England (section 3) and a discussion of our research methods (section 4). The next three parts of the report all then deal with different aspects of 'a survey of Hindu buildings in England': first we look at the types of Hindu buildings and their function (section 5); second, we map the buildings belonging to different traditions in England (section 6); and third, we present a thematic analysis, a summing up and a series of recommendations to HE (section 8). Our mapping of Hindu buildings is presented in a series of tables in appendix 4.

2. What does Historic England want?

2.1 Background

In 2012 English Heritage (now Historic England) ran a series of consultations as part of a project considering 'under-represented heritage'. Two of these focused on faith buildings. Regarding religious heritages in England, the majority of HE's case work focused on Christian buildings, especially those in the guardianship of the Church of England, as these constitute a significant proportion of England's listed buildings.

At this time there was less knowledge about, or experience of, working with some minority faith groups. HE wishes to develop its expertise and build capacity to work with communities from any religious tradition to help support the protection of the historic environment. This is the case both as new heritage is created and becomes eligible for statutory protection and as faith groups adopt or inherit existing heritage assets and need to care for them. No national survey exists to say where buildings of many minority faiths are and what characterizes them. Furthermore, in order to advise local authorities on proposals for change to listed buildings Historic England would benefit from a clearer picture of what kinds of changes different communities might wish to carry out to make existing buildings suitable for their new function. Work on Jewish heritage has been ongoing for some years (and in addition to churches and chapels, synagogues are often buildings with historic fabric). However, there has been less focus on other faith traditions, whose buildings are generally not as old due to relatively recent patterns of migration to England.

Faith buildings commonly have a special value to the community that uses them and often to a wider community that lives and works around them or uses them for other community purposes. In order to provide consistent advice, it is important to appreciate both the individual history of a place of worship and the aspects that are important to a local community and to the wider heritage sector.

Historic England has a dual role of advising Government on which buildings might be added to the statutory list of heritage assets and in advising owners and local authorities in relation to existing listed buildings. To fulfill this it seeks, through this project and others, to provide a baseline of information on which to build in order to expand the knowledge of minority faith buildings and their significance.

C20th buildings have been a priority area for HE, and faith buildings is one element of this programme of work. Even amongst Church of England churches, which are relatively well covered by the List, it has been shown that 20th century ones are under designated and that they are more likely to be demolished (Monckton 2014: 129). This could apply to other C20th faith buildings (that fit the designation criteria of being more than 30 years old), therefore it is important to scope the landscape of those buildings,

with an aim to showing the histories of minority faiths in England and providing an opportunity to provide protection for those eligible.

There exists a general gap in scholarship in this area of the built environment generally, so that while there is a large academic literature on migration and diaspora in England, within this literature, there is little on the buildings that illuminate aspects of these histories and most discussion has not been systematic nor carried out with respect to issues of heritage protection or architectural character.

There exists a general gap in scholarship in this area of the built environment generally, so that while there is a large academic literature on migration and diaspora in England, within this literature, there is little on the buildings that illuminate aspects of these histories and most discussion has not been systematic nor carried out with respect to issues of heritage protection or architectural character.

2.2 Specific areas where knowledge is lacking and key areas of impact

Our conversations with HE have highlighted three main areas where knowledge is felt to be lacking and which this project aims to address:

1. Where are Hindu buildings and how many are there?
2. What kinds of buildings do Hindu communities use and what do they use them for?
3. What is the value of these buildings to the communities and individuals that use them?

The following areas of impact have been signaled as important for HE and have been drivers for this project.

2.2.1 Impact that is achieved by this project:

1. To suggest terms that can be added to the terminology that is already present in the 'Thesaurus of Monument Types' so that it reflects Hinduism in England. There is a need to have a more comprehensive repository of terms so that people can access the information that they want, and also so that they can use the use appropriate terms when recommending buildings for listing. Our aim is to identify key terms, including those for key architectural features of Hindu buildings (see section 8.2 Appendix 2 – Glossary).
2. To make suggestions on new buildings that should be listed, or on currently listed buildings that should be upgraded.
3. To create a contact list for HE to connect with relevant Hindu organisations (websites and addresses of Hindu centres are provided for each entry in the tables in appendix 4).

6. To develop a timeline of the history of Hindu buildings in England (see section 3).

7. To add to the HE archive, including recent photographs and up-to-date information.

2.2.2 Impact that is enabled by this research:

1. To produce data that can be used to write an 'Introduction to Heritage Assets' resource on 'Hindu Buildings in England'. These are potted histories of England's 'heritage assets' that are relevant for the general public and other non-academic stakeholders. This could include architects and town planners who increasingly encounter the buildings of diverse religious traditions in their work.

2. To contribute towards the compilation of 'principles of selection' for the listing of Hindu buildings.

3. To raise awareness of these buildings to the general public.

3. An introduction to Hinduism in England

3.1 Hinduism arrives in England

The opening pages of Richard Burghart's important edited volume 'Hinduism in Great Britain' (1987) retell the story of Madho Singh, the Maharaja of Jaipur who, in 1902, was invited to travel to London to attend Edward II's coronation. Although Madho Singh wished very much to attend this event, he faced a dilemma that would not have been envisioned by the future King's assistants back in London. As Burghart tells us:

To him Great Britain was a remote, barbarous country, situated in the northwestern sector of the inauspicious 'Black Sea'. Madho Singh could not sustain his sacred person in such an alien environment. And such a journey would put his subjects at risk, for in the course of his coronation the people of Jaipur had been ritually constituted within the body of the king (1987: 1).

To find a way around this problem, he chartered a ship that was ritually cleansed by the royal priest of Jaipur, had food and cows brought on board so that fresh milk was available, and brought earth from India and sacred water from the Ganges so that he could 'perform his daily ablutions and purify his alien surroundings' (1987: 2). So by travelling to England without leaving India he 'was safely conveyed to Britain' (1987: 2).

It is worth retelling this story here as it illustrates the importance that the role of *ritual consecration* has for many Hindus in marking out a place as sacred so that they can live and worship in that environment. It also highlights the adaptations that had to be made in 'decentring the Hindu universe' (Burghart 1987: 4) from India to other locations as Hindus migrated from the subcontinent. From the 5th century CE, Hinduism spread across South East Asia, and 'Brahmins [Hindu priests/priestly caste] were called from India to perform temple and life-cycle rituals...[whereby] these places became ritually fit universes of social relations, and the inhabitants began to consider their land as part of the Hindu universe' (1987:3). Not all Hindus have consciously made their new environments 'home' in this way, for example in the late 19th century Hindu migrants to East Africa preferred to keep 'their families and ancestral deities in their natal villages in western India' (1987: 3). Moreover, a number of the Hindu reformers who travelled to the West from the 19th century onwards considered such ritual prohibitions to be part of a superstitious Hindu legacy that had no place in the modern world. Reformers such as Swami Vivekananda, Ram Mohan Roy and Sri Aurobindo all travelled to the West, including the UK, to bring Hindu spiritual values to a materialist West. As a recognition of these early

reformers, English Heritage has erected 'blue plaques' at the former London homes of these three Indian visitors.⁴

Turning, then, to focus on the coming of Hinduism to England, King tells us that the emigration of Hindus to Britain began in the 19th century as Indian workers were sent to all corners of the Empire by the British colonial regime, with a few Hindu families settling in Britain before 1914 (1984: 2). However, earlier than this we find the propagation of Hinduism in Britain by Hindu reformers and teachers, such as those mentioned above, as well as by emerging modern Indian religious movements such as the Theosophical Society.⁵

As Burghart explains, 'the aims and methods of these movements were diffused by lectures and pamphlets, the audiences were largely British, and the meetings took place in rented halls or in the homes of benefactors' (1987: 6). The Hindu families already settled in Britain established shrines within their homes, and there is no evidence of any Hindu temple existing in the first half of the twentieth century. According to Burghart 'the only active Hindu religious presence [at this time] was the Ramakrishna Mission [founded in India by Swami Vivekananda] led by the Bengali monk Swami Avyaktananda, who arrived in Britain in 1934' (1987: 6). Swami Avyaktananda was later replaced by another monk, Swami Ghananand and, eventually (in 1949) 'a bequest from an Englishman...enabled the mission to buy a property and establish a monastic community in Britain. This community...located in Muswell Hill in north London, provided the first public place of worship for Hindus in Britain' (1987:6-7).

⁴ <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/blue-plaques/vivekananda-swami-1863-1902>; <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/blue-plaques/roy-ram-mohun-1772-1833-a.k.a.-rammohun> (accessed 1/5/17); <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/blue-plaques/aurobindo-sri-1872-1950> (accessed 1/5/17)

⁵ This may be of interest: <https://heritagHEindusamaj.wordpress.com/about/> (accessed 1/5/17) – Hindu Samaj Heritage: 'The project will involve Sheffield's Indian community and friends of the Indian community in exploring aspects of colonial history that link the physical and cultural heritage of the Peak District and Sheffield to their Indian heritage.'

Box 1: The Ramakrishna-Vedanta Centre of UK

The Ramakrishna-Vedanta Centre of UK⁶

© Swami Dayatmananda, President Ramakrishna Vedanta Centre.



To quote from the centre's website:

The Ramakrishna-Vedanta Centre of UK, is the only centre in Great Britain affiliated to the Ramakrishna Order. The Centre was started in London by Swami Ghanananda in November 1948. Until 1969 he guided its affairs, established its monastery; edited the publications and also spoke in many parts of the country. Swami Ghanananda passed away in 1969.

After Swami Ghanananda, Swami Bhavyananda became head of the centre. The centre moved in 1977 to Bourne End, Buckinghamshire. Bourne End is 25 miles from London. Swami Bhavyananda guided the Centre till his passing away in 1993 when Swami Dayatmananda took charge....

There is a shrine with a meditation room which devotees may use and where morning and evening services are held. Monastic and lay members assist in the daily routine activities.

Hindu migration increased substantially after the Second World War, at which point men from the Indian sub-Continent, many of whom were Hindu, were encouraged to migrate in response to the labour shortage in Britain's industrial towns and cities. Most of these were Punjabis, along with some Gujaratis, and included Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs who settled in manufacturing towns and cities.

⁶ http://www.vedantauk.com/UK_Centre.aspx (accessed 1/5/17);
<http://web.onetel.net.uk/~suman11/Vcentre.jpg> (accessed 1/5/17).

Processes of 'chain migration' became established from particular localities in India to locations in Britain, gaining certain towns and areas in Britain 'a reputation for being Punjabi, (e.g. Southall, west London, and the Leeds Road area of Bradford) or as Gujarati areas (e.g. Harrow and Hendon in northwest London)' (1987: 7). Many of these migrants intended to return to India eventually but, by the early 1960s, they were increasingly joined by women and children from India. By the end of the 1960s, the East African governments of Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya had adopted processes of Africanisation, forcing many Indians to leave. This process reaching its zenith in 1972 in Uganda, when South Asians who held British passports were told to leave, taking no more than £50 with them.

While immigration to Britain from South Asia and East Africa was curtailed in the 1960s and 1970s, some immigration continued. Spouses and other family members, but also refugees from Sri Lanka and highly skilled IT workers, have come to the UK since the 1970s.

3.2 Hindu demographics in England and an analysis of its diversity

The most recent census data indicates that the Hindu population in England and Wales is increasing, having grown from 558,342 in 2001 to 816,633 in 2011 (Peach and Gale 2003).⁷ This highlights the importance of understanding how members of this sizeable group engage with religious buildings. For Hindus in Britain, temples are more than places where deities are worshipped, they provide locations where languages and cultures are kept alive and passed to younger generations, as well as places where support and advice can be given to the elderly or other vulnerable groups, around health, immigration and legal matters.

Using data gathered from the 'World Christian Encyclopaedia' published in 1982, King (1984) speculated that, of the 300,000 Hindus in Britain in 1975, about 46% were born or had parents born in East Africa. In terms of diversity, 70% of the Hindu population at this time were Gujarati (from India or East Africa) and about 15% Punjabi. The remaining 15% came from a number of different parts of India and also from Sri Lanka.

This diversity has been analysed by a number of scholars, including King, who noted that the Gujarati Hindu population is made up of variety of different castes, unlike Punjabi Hindus, who mainly belong to the Khatri caste (traders). These various castes still tend to dominate in different localities, with the majority of Lohanas (trading caste) living in Leicester, the Suthars (carpenters) in Coventry, and the Mochis (shoe-makers) in Leeds. Writing in the early 1990s, Nesbitt and Jackson (1993: 6) noted that the Hindu population of London differed from that in other British cities as it included members of Hindu diasporic communities in Fiji, Mauritius and Trinidad, for example. This diversity is still present in London today. In addition to the caste groups, and groups from particular geographic locations, Vertovec (2000: 93) highlights how a number of Hindus belong

⁷ UK Government. "Religion in England and Wales 2011". Office of National Statistics (11 December 2012).

to ideological groups including ‘three rival divisions of the Swaminarayani sampradaya, along with Arya Samajis, Radhasoamis, Pushtimargis (Vallabhacharyas) and people with special devotion towards the Mother Goddess, Sathya Sai Baba, Shirdi Sai Baba, Santoshi Ma, Baba Balak Nath or Jalaram Bapa.’ According to Nesbitt and Jackson, writing in the early 1990s (although it is still also the case today) there were also regional-minority Hindu communities with their own styles of religious practice, including Bengalis and Tamils, Telugus, Indo-Caribbeans, and groups which blur the boundaries between separate religious traditions, especially between ‘Hinduism’ and ‘Sikhism’ (notably Valmikis and Ravidasis) and ‘Hinduism and ‘Jainism’ (1993: 8).

As well as the groups that are followed by Hindus of Indian heritage, we also find the presence of Hindu groups for Western converts in England. King (1984) found that the Transcendental Meditation movement had 65 different centres in 1977 whilst the followers of Guru Maharaj Ji and his Divine Light Mission had 31 different centres. She noted, however, that ‘the members of these two movements are not necessarily Hindus in the fullest sense of the term’, unlike members of the Hare Krishna movement (ISKCON), which had 3 temples in England in 1973 (King 1984: 5). In this study we have mapped and discussed ISKCON, but not the less ‘traditional’ western-style groups noted here, as they do not attract many members of the South Asian diaspora.

Thus, Hinduism in the UK and elsewhere is not a homogeneous religious tradition and, as Nesbit points out, “Hindus’ sacred space is likely to need contextualising and decoding, not only in terms of ‘Hinduness’ but also [in terms] of the ethnicity (Gujarati, Punjabi, etc.) of those involved and their *sampradaya*’ (Nesbit 2006: 196). Nonetheless, ‘the largest numbers of Hindus are still Gujarati and Punjabi, respectively—and UK temples reflect this in their iconography, calendars of festivals, the provenance of their *pujari* and their style of worship’ (2006: 199).

This diversity of Hindu traditions present in England today, as well as in other parts of the globe, makes it difficult to provide a concise characterisation of Hindu beliefs and practices. While some have argued that the very idea of viewing Hinduism as a singular world religion distorts the facts (e.g. Fitzgerald 1990), others point towards common threads running through different Hindu sects and traditions. For instance, we commonly find a shared belief in the doctrines of karma and rebirth (the idea that one’s actions have an effect, both in this life and future lives), as well as shared practices directed towards a range of Hindu deities, both male and female. Most Hindu cultures also still practise caste segregation (to different degrees), including practices of cast- based marriages that involve the giving and receiving of dowries (e.g., see Knott 2000b).

3.3 Setting up temples and other caste, sectarian and cultural associations

Knott writes:

During the sixties small groups began to meet in people's homes, and cultural societies began to be formed. It was groups like these that preceded the formation of organized temple trusts and bodies. The first temple was opened in Leicester in 1969, and by 1979 there was a total of at least ninety-four temples throughout the country. This figure included only the larger places of worship. In addition there were also a number of small temples situated in private homes but open to the public. There were song and dance groups, discussion groups, youth organisations, caste associations and so on. A great number of Hindus also had small mandirs in their own homes at which they performed daily worship to the family deity (1981: 11).

Thus, in the late sixties and early seventies, when Hindu women and children from India and East African Asians entered the country, Hinduism began to be practised in a variety of locations (1981: 10).

Nesbit tell us that, for Hindus in Britain, the home is a more central space for worship than the temple, and therefore 'Hindu sacred space is not confined to public places of worship' (2006: 196). She writes:

My fieldwork among Hindus in Coventry reveals shrines, upstairs or downstairs, on a shelf, in a cupboard or (less often) occupying a whole room. In every home there are 'photos' (the usual way of referring to the devotional pictures), which are often brightly coloured calendar pictures of gods and goddesses. The time that individual adults or children spend in a devotional way varies, and might involve only 'doing *jay*' (pausing with the hands together pointing upwards), lighting an incense stick in front of a picture or repeating words such as '*om namah shiva*' (an invocation of Lord Shiva) (2006: 196).

Private houses are also often used for the 'setting for *satsangs*, devotional gatherings of (at least mainly) women, often on a weekly basis' (2006: 197). Nesbit asks:

Since worship at home is so widespread and significant to Hindus and since, increasingly, UK Hindus visit shrines in India or at least do so vicariously, why do they establish temples and why is the scale of temple construction in the United Kingdom greater than ever before? What considerations outweigh the considerable cost and effort necessary to establish and maintain temples in the United Kingdom? (2006: 198)

It is important to note that a Hindu temple is, according to Hindus, a 'place for our gods' (Nye 1995). For most Hindus, there is a great attraction to visit temples in order to 'see' (*darshan*) and to be seen by the deities, which have been 'installed' via a *pratishthapan* ritual whereby the icon is believed to actually become the god or goddess. By contrast, this ritual is not undertaken on pictures and icons in homes, so they are not as holy or sacred. Neither do they have to be looked after all day, every day, as they

do in the temple – this being the primary role of the Hindu priest or *pujari*. As Nesbit explains, such ‘consecrated *murtis* draw worshippers for *darshan* and require daily attention (bathing and food offerings) from *pujaris* (Brahmin attendants or priests), and these requirements necessitate temple premises’ (2006: 9).

Hindu religious and cultural institutions were increasingly established in Britain during the post WWII period. As we outline later in this report, there was a growth of ‘caste, sectarian and cultural associations’ (1987: 9) across England in this period, reflecting different facets of Hindu religious identities. In relation to the early formation of Hindu organisations in the UK, Knott (2000a: 91) describes how the desire of Bradford’s Gujaratis to meet together led to the establishment of the Bhartiya Mandal⁸ in 1957, which was founded to ‘provide mutual support [for Hindus] irrespective of caste difference’ (2000a: 91). Simultaneously, in Leeds, Punjabi Hindus and Sikhs established a joint gurdwara in 1958, with a Hindu vice-president. However, this joint venture had disintegrated by 1963, ‘when attention to theological differences became more pronounced’ (Knott 2000a: 91).

The immigration of Hindu women from South Asia during the 1960s has a strong correlation with the growth of religious and cultural institutions. The arrival of women meant that families were more likely to settle in the UK and, as a result, that it was worth investing time and energy on creating public places of worship and community centres. Although women do not typically perform central religious duties in temples, they are more active in supporting community religious activities than men. According to King (1984), the first Hindu temple in England was opened in 1969 in Leicester, and was inaugurated by East African lay migrants. Knott (2000a: 92) also notes that the same year saw the establishment of the first Hare Krishna temple in England.

Both King and Knott note that the number of Hindu temples in Britain is relatively small compared to the number of religious institutions established by Muslims and Sikhs, and attribute this primarily to the complicated installation ceremony necessary for installing the main statues for temple rituals – which have to come from India and be installed in the presence of a Brahmin priest – and the ongoing daily care the statues require from a priest. In terms of the management of these temples, King (1984: 7) notes that ‘it is often the case that the Hindus from East Africa are mainly responsible for the founding of temples and are still frequently central to the administration of British temples today’. Our mapping confirms this point, with the vast majority of Hindu temples having been established by Gujarati ‘twice migrants’ from East Africa. This is likely to be due, in part, to the fact that this is the largest population of Hindus in England, and also because East African Hindus have a generational memory of having already established themselves in a new setting, which included building

⁸ Although this was classified an ‘India Community Centre’ rather than a temple, religious practices would still have taken place there.

temples, and have thus brought with them the relevant social and cultural capital. As Knott tells us:

One writer on Hinduism in Britain suggests that temple worship in this country owes a great deal to the growth in importance of temple worship in East Africa (Jackson, 1981). To some extent, this is true. It was in Africa rather than India that temple worship was popularised as part of a common desire to retraditionalise Hinduism in a new environment, and to bring together those of the same ethnicity for social, cultural and religious activities (1981: 67).

At the time that Knott was writing this, the first purpose built temple was being erected in North London for the Swaminarayan Mission in Neasdeon [see box 26]. Thus, although Knott notes at this point that ‘no temple organisation has been able to reproduce the particular geometry and form employed in Hindu temple building...attention has been paid to the internal religious requirements of the temple, and these have been met, as far as possible, with the correct decorations, designs and instruments’ (1981: 68). In box 2 we present an excerpt from Knott (1981), where she describes a typical Hindu temple in England (in Leeds) at the time she was writing.

Box 2: The Hindu Temple in England

The Hindu temple in England (circa. 1986; Knott 1986)

“Temple worship takes place in religious or sacred time and in religious space, and, as such, stands apart from the normal activities of work and leisure; home worship occupies a space and time ‘within’ ordinary life” (Knott 1986: 70).



*Lingam and yoni*⁹

"In Indian Hindu temples, as in other places of worship, there is a focal point on which attention is centred. There is generally a representation of the deity to which the temple is dedicated. For most deities this representation takes the form of an animal or a human. Shiva, however, is worshipped in the form of a *lingam* in a *yoni*, although pictures of Shankar Bhagwan, the mountain-dwelling ascetic, often appear on the walls of Shaivite temples. The focus of worship or *murti*, is divided from the area set aside for participant worship by a rail and a curtain. This curtain is pulled back for *darshana* when the deity is revealed to the worshippers. It is immediately surrounded by any relevant items such as cloths, dishes of food, a vehicle or *gadi* such as a cow, bull or tiger, and by instruments used in worship like the bell, the conch and so on. Both the focus of worship and these important additional religious instruments and symbols, inhabit a sacred area or *garbhagrha* set aside from the participants. The space they occupy when they attend has no particular distinguishing features. It is a hall, the size of which is determined by the temple's popularity, importance, and physical geography, in which worshippers, having bathed at home and removed their shoes outside, sit or stand, make offerings and perform *pranama* or obeisance. Only the priest and his assistants are allowed to enter the sacred area behind the rail and curtain, and to touch the *murti* or image and the objects that surround it, although all the participants are entitled to circumambulate the sacred area during worship. In general, it is only the priest or Pandit who communicates with the deity present in the *murti*, who purifies the instruments and makes offerings and requests on behalf of those present. The congregation pay him money for his services, and show their gratitude by performing *pranama* and giving donations of money and food for the upkeep of the temple and its officiant. In small temples participants make their own personal offerings and show their respect by putting a *tilaka* mark on the forehead of the *murti*...

...A further comparison might be made between private and public mandirs. The domestic mandir, although of varying kinds and sizes, has a place in the homes of a large number of Leeds Hindus. The domestic mandir has no priest, and its images are not prepared to receive the deity in a *Pratistha* ceremony. Women, generally, make the offerings and perform the rites of purification but their roles and relationships with the supernatural are clearly not of the same nature as those of the priest and the temple *murti*" (1981: 69-70).

In addition to their religious function, Hindu temples have played an increasingly important role in British society as sites for interfaith activities, as interlocutors between Hindus and civil society and the state, and as 'resources for multi-faith religious education, which is a statutory element of the school curriculum' (Nesbit 2006: 202), including opening up to school visits. As Brown and Talbot write (2006: 126-7), places of worship have very different roles in the diaspora compared to their home location, and

this is most marked with respect to the Hindu mandir [where they] play a wider role in community life in Britain than they do in South Asia....as a substitute for other foci of community life, and to take on

⁹ A representation of the God (*lingam*) and Goddess (*yoni*) in the form of male and female reproductive organs;
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lingam#/media/File:Aikya_Linga_in_Varanasi.jpg (accessed 28/4/17)

new roles encouraged by the multi-culturalism of post-Christian Britain and the determination of the New Labour project to involve faith communities in urban regeneration initiatives.

They continue:

Another common experience is that, once religious places and institutions become the sites of material and cultural capital and of patronage, faith communities often fragment in competition for access to these increasingly important resources. It is clear, therefore, that neither of these tasks of creating domestic and sacred space is carried out in isolation; both imply and require negotiation with a wider society, its politics and culture (2006: 126-7).

Nesbit similarly draws attention to causes of tension that can arise in temple management, where

Younger Hindus express concern at the domination of temples by members of an older generation (often in their seventies), who are reluctant to involve younger people as office-bearers, and the unedifying 'politics' and factional in-fighting that are particularly apparent when a temple committee is being elected. Indeed, some Hindu organisations (for a number of reasons, and not only economic ones) dispense with temples. In many cities, the devotees of Sathya Sai Baba gather in homes and hired halls, as do *Radhasoamis*, *Pushtimargis* and the *Arya Samaj* (2006: 198).

3.4 Conclusion

In this section we have examined the coming of Hinduism to England and the emergence of Hindu temples there, including a brief look at their function. This topic is returned to in sections 5 and 6 of the report, where we look at different types of Hindu organisations, Hindu temples and the buildings they occupy, before presenting the findings of the research by region. In the next section we will outline and discuss our research methods.

4. Research Methods

4.1 Introduction

This research had two principal phases,¹⁰ each involving different methods, and each contributing to achieving the aims of the project outlined in section 1, and to fill the gaps in knowledge identified by HE in commissioning the project. The phases of the research were as follows:

1. Desk-based national mapping and information gathering about Hindu groups in England
2. Site visits to various Hindu buildings across England

The current section of this report will discuss the research methods employed in these two phases in turn. We finish the section with a discussion of some areas of ‘methodological learning’ achieved during the research process that could be useful for researchers to consider in related future projects.

4.2 Desk-based national mapping and information gathering

We began the desk-based mapping exercise using online lists of Hindu temples compiled by the National Council for Hindu Temples,¹¹ Hindu Council UK,¹² The Hindu Forum of Britain,¹³ Gujju-UK,¹⁴ London Hindu Temples,¹⁵ and the South Indian Society.¹⁶ We also checked against the database prepared by Ceri Peach.¹⁷ By comparing these sources alongside those identified through a broader Internet search, which was repeated several times over the course of the project (including looking at the websites, where available, of the buildings we identified through the directories), we compiled a series of tables of Hindu buildings that we categorised according to region (see appendix 4).

In the tables, as well as providing the names of the buildings, we also noted details about the Hindu traditions to which they belong. We designated these buildings, first of all, according to the region of India from which the community first came, and then followed this with details of any

¹⁰ We also attempted to get data from an online survey, but only one temple answered it, and we decided that such a method was inappropriate for this cohort.

¹¹ <http://www.nchtuk.org/index.php/extensions/hindu-temples-in-the-uk> (accessed 28/4/17).

¹² <http://www.hinducounciluk.org/> (accessed 28/4/17).

¹³ http://www.hfb.org.uk/index.php?option=com_k2&view=itemlist&layout=category&task=category&id=8&Itemid=62 (accessed 28/4/17).

¹⁴ <https://www.gujju-uk.com> (accessed 28/4/17).

¹⁵ <http://londonhindutemples.com> (accessed 28/4/17).

¹⁶ <http://www.sisnambalava.org.uk/useful-info/uk-hindu-temples.aspx> (accessed 28/4/17).

¹⁷ This was produced as part of a Leverhulme Trust-funded research project – ‘Ethnicity and Cultural Landscapes’ – carried out between 1998 and 2000 at the University of Oxford by Professor Ceri Peach.

particular *sampradaya* or teacher/guru. We also collected, where possible, information from the websites of different Hindu groups about the following points:

1. Building location and whether it is rural/urban/suburban
2. The building's use
3. Whether the building is listed
4. Additional notes of interest, including when the building was first used by the community etc.
5. Website address and physical address

Most of this information was sourced via the Internet and from the directories, and the tables we have produced are quite detailed and comprehensive. However, there are some gaps where we were not able to find the information we needed online. In addition to using the websites of different centres, we also made use of 'google maps' and 'google street view' to find out more about building types and the locations of centres. In the tables in appendix 4, we make a distinction between urban and suburban locations. By suburban, we mean locations that are largely residential and are not located within major shopping and business areas. By urban, we mean locations that are more central, near major railway stations, shopping and business areas. They are more likely to be areas with a greater 'footfall', whereas the suburban locations are more hidden away. There is a degree of subjectivity in designating locations as urban or suburban, and it is not always clear from desk-based research exactly where buildings are located. Neither was it always easy to tell from the desk-based research whether any major extensions have been added to existing buildings or new buildings have been erected at the premises.

To deepen our findings from the desk-based mapping we selected a number of significant sites to visit during the second phase of the research, using these visits to address a more detailed set of questions (see appendix 1 for a list of the research questions). The research received ethical approval from the University of Leeds Research Ethics Committee in August 2013.

4.3 Site visits and how the sites were chosen

In the second phase of the research, we drew on the data gathered in the mapping exercise to identify a range of Hindu traditions, building types and styles, across various geographical regions in England, and selected 24 Hindu buildings to visit. We also visited additional buildings based on the recommendations of research participants at these sites. As we carried out the research we also noticed trends that we had not been aware of at the start (e.g. the proliferation of different Swaminarayan temples and the growth of Tamil temples, particularly in London) and visited additional sites to take account of this.

The site visits we undertook were:

1. Shree Lakshmi Narayan Hindu Temple Bradford/Hindu Cultural Society of Bradford
2. Leeds Mandir
3. Kutch Satsang Swaminarayan Temple, Bolton
4. Swaminarayana Sidhant Sajivan Mandal, Bolton
5. Veda Mandir Bolton
6. Indian Association, Oldham Radha Krishna Temple, Oldham
7. Gujarat Hindu Society, Preston
8. Shree Ram Mandir (SSPC Birmingham UK)
9. The Balaji Temple, Dudley
10. Hare Krishna Mandir (ISKCON), Leicester
11. Shree Hindu Temple and Community Centre, Leicester
12. BAPS Swaminarayana Hindu Mission, Leicester
13. Shekin Ashram, Bhakti Yoga Ashram & Holistic Retreat Centre, Glastonbury
14. Kutch Satsang Swaminarayana Temple, Harrow
15. Shree Swaminarayana Mandir, Kingsbury
16. Radha Krishna Temple, Soho
17. Bhaktivedanta Manor Hare Krishna Temple, Watford
18. Caribbean Hindu Society, Lambeth
19. International Siddhashram Shakti Centre, Harrow
20. Bhagwan Valmiki Ashram, Southall
21. Sanatan Hindu Mandir, Wembley
22. Shree Ghanapathy Temple, Wimbledon
23. London Sivan Kovil, Lewisham
24. Highgate Murugan Temple

We selected these sites for a number of reasons. First, they were drawn from a cross-section of geographic locations across England – North East, North West, West Midlands, East Midlands, London and the South. Second, these specific sites also reflected a range of different building types, including buildings that were adapted from a previous use and those which had been purpose built as Hindu temples (and some that represented a combination of the two). Moreover, these sites are representative of the range of Hindu traditions that have been established in England to-date, some of which are high-profile and well-known and others which have received less attention outside their local setting. These different selection criteria enabled us to fully investigate the different types, styles and uses of buildings across different Hindu communities. Our aim was to provide a broad picture of the range of Hindu buildings in England to-date. Our selection criteria can be summarised as follows:

Geographical location (various localities in England; urban/suburban/rural)
 Hindu tradition (reflecting the range of traditions currently operational)
 Building size and function (reflecting different uses, including lay centre, monastery, community hub or small group)

During the site visits we used qualitative research methods, conducting semi-structured interviews, taking detailed field notes, and collecting 'grey' literature produced by Hindu groups, as well as taking photographs of both the inside and outside of buildings, their fabric, fixtures, and fittings. The interviews, which we most often conducted with a senior member of the Hindu group being visited, usually lasted between one and two hours, and included a tour of each of the buildings in question. Audio recordings were made for each interview and transcribed in full.

4.4 Methodological Learning

Here we discuss a number of reflections about the process of undertaking research into Hindu buildings in England that emerged during our fieldwork and the period of analysis that followed. It often proved difficult to make contact with and to arrange visits to the temples. We first of all made contact via email and then followed this up with a phone call. In many cases, this did not result in us being able to make an appointment to visit the temple. It proved difficult to find the appropriate person to speak to and there were sometimes language problems. We found two solutions to this. First, we found that the school visit coordinator, if there was one, tended to be the best person to go through to arrange a visit as they were used to liaising with outsiders. Second, it was sometimes only possible to arrange a visit by going to the temple in person and then arranging to return at a later date. This meant that the fieldwork took longer than anticipated, but it also meant that when we did our interviews the temple already had some knowledge of us and of this project, which was helpful once the interviews began.

We sent out the survey to most of the contacts in the database, but only received one response. As we had learnt from our experience of making appointments to carry out the interviews, the use of email is not an effective way of contacting Hindu temples, and it is not guaranteed that the person you are trying to contact will receive your message. Clearly receiving a request to fill out an online questionnaire 'out of the blue' is much less likely to receive a positive outcome than a personal approach.

Whilst some Hindu groups in England have very detailed and up-to-date websites, including contact details, this is not the case across the board. The Tamil temples in particular had less Internet presence and often their web-based material was in Tamil.

Many of the temples have more than one name and sometimes these have different spellings. One reason for different names is due to the fact that the temples often have multiple functions or affiliations, for instance as both *mandirs* (temples), organizations (*sama*) or centres (*bhavan*). The multiple spellings are a result of there being different conventions for transliterating from Indian languages into English e.g. Shri or Shree.

Whilst we established a clear research plan, including a list of fieldwork sites, we felt it was equally important to maintain an element of flexibility.

Part of the brief was to investigate significant Hindu buildings, and therefore whilst we were clear as to our selection criteria, we also responded to our interview participants and included sites that we had not anticipated at the outset of the research. This did mean that other sites were not included but we felt that our choices to include such sites reflected what our participants deemed to be of 'significant' research interest within the boundaries of different Hindu traditions.

4.5 Conclusion

Having outlined and discussed our research methods, the next section will provide an outline of the types of Hindu-related organisations in the UK, their buildings and what they are used for.

5. A Survey of Hindu Buildings in England

5.1 Introduction

In this section we begin to present our main findings. We start by giving an overview of types of Hindu-related organisations in the UK, which often have premises, including temples, in order to provide the wider context of Hindu community institutions. In this report we will not examine and map the buildings of these different organisations except where they have temples associated with them at the same premises (e.g. some of the caste-based organisations).

5.2 Types of Hindu-related organisations in the UK, their buildings and what they are used for

We identified a number of types of Hindu-related buildings in this research, not all of which are directly associated with religious functions. The main focus of this scoping study are Hindu temples, as opposed to the many other types of Hindu-related organisations that are linked to Hinduism and Hindus, but which are not temples per se. By ‘temples’ we are referring to buildings not only used for worship and festivals, but buildings that have also been consecrated and the deities installed using the proper ritual processes (*pratiprantistha/pranapratistha*).

Table 1: Types of Hindu-related organisations in the UK, their buildings and what they are used for

Types of organisation	Types of building/location	Functions
Temples (religious buildings – where deities are properly installed), often with adjoining community centres.	-Reuse: residential, churches, commercial buildings etc. -Adapted/extended -Purpose built	A space for Hindu practice and teaching (including daily worship of the deities and other devotional practices) and the celebration of Hindu festivals. A location where cultural and community activities for Hindus are carried out (e.g. weddings, language classes for children, dancing and singing classes and events) often involves activities in local languages and reflecting local customs and traditions. A place for Hindu priests (and sometimes also devotees) to live.

Representative bodies: national – such as The National Hindu Students Forum, National Council for Hindu Temples, Hindu Forum of Britain; regional – such as The Bolton Hindu Forum.	More likely to use rooms in other buildings or temples than to have their own dedicated building.	To represent Hindus at national and regional levels.
Branches of Hindu organisations that have their roots in India e.g. Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj, Vishva Hindu Parishad etc.	Sometimes have own buildings/premises and sometimes within/adjoining a temple.	Continuation of links to Indian organisations in diasporic setting for religious, cultural and/or political reasons.
Organisations linked to professions and professional organisations (e.g. Metropolitan Police Hindu Association).	May share premises.	To represent Hindus in the workplace; for networking purposes.
Hindu businesses e.g. ISKCON's Govinda's Restaurant, charity shops.	Many have own buildings.	A space for the establishment of Hindu businesses.
Caste-based organisations - e.g. Shree Prajapati Association, Shree Sorathia Prajapati Community UK, the Lohana Community North London.	Some have own buildings, but many are located in people's houses or in/adjoining temples.	To represent members of Hindu castes in Britain and as vehicle for cultural activities/needs.
Hindu schools e.g. Krishna Avanti Primary School, Harrow.	May have own buildings.	A place for the education of children in Hindu schools.
Social service organisations (may cater to South Asian communities more broadly) e.g. Barnet Asian Old People Association.	May be located in/adjoining temples or have own buildings or rooms in other buildings.	To serve the welfare of Hindus, as well as other South Asian groups.
Cultural organisations (may cater to South Asian communities more broadly) e.g. Angel Dancers Cultural Group.	May be located in/adjoining temples or have own buildings or rooms in other buildings.	To keep cultural practices alive.
Regional associations (typically cater across South Asian groups) e.g. Tamil Welfare Association Coventry.	May have own premises or be located in other premises.	To serve needs to groups of South Asian from different regions. Given the overlapping nature of regional, caste and ethnic identities with religious affiliation, some of these organisations are not exclusively for Hindus, and also involve other faith groups.
Hindu women and youth groups e.g. Tamil Women's Organisation or OM Youth.	Often located in/adjoining temples or community centres.	To represent particular demographics.

Box 3: Hindu national representative bodies

Hindu national representative bodies

There are three main bodies in the UK, and different Hindu organisations – some of which are located in/adjoining temples – can sign up as members. The first to be established, in 1978, was the National Council for Hindu Temples (NCHT), which was set up ‘primarily as an advisory body for groups hoping to set up temples, and also as a resource on Hinduism and Hindu worship for temples and educational institutions’ (Zavos 2013). This was followed by the Hindu Council UK (est. 1994): a nonpartisan organisation whose ‘main purpose was to give the UK Hindus an effective voice on policy matters with the Government of the day whilst enhancing mutual understanding among the major faiths predominant in the UK.’¹⁸ Then, in 2004, the Hindu Forum of Britain was formed and, according to its website, ‘is the largest umbrella body for British Hindus with more than 420 member organisations from around the country. HFB is the first port of call from the central government and the most reported Hindu organisation in the British media.’¹⁹

Each body lists their affiliates or members on their websites, which includes temples as well as Hindu organisations. Many of these organisations are based in temples whereas others rent rooms for meetings or are based in people’s houses.

5.3 Types of Hindu Temple in terms of their style of identification or affiliation

Sanatana: temples that claim to have a universal outlook in terms of being open and relevant for all Hindus regardless of the region they come from, their caste, or the type of Hinduism practised. In England, these have typically been set up by Gujarati groups, who comprise the largest Hindu demographic. They also include wide range of different deities to widen their appeal.

Regional: These are temples in which regional identity is emphasised and forms the primary focus for congregation:

- Gujarati/East African
- Punjabi
- South Indian/Sri Lankan – mostly Tamil
- Caribbean
- Nepalese
- Bengali
- Sindhi

Sampradaya-led:

¹⁸ <http://www.hinducounciluk.org/about-us> (accessed 28/4/17).

¹⁹ http://www.hfb.org.uk/index.php?option=com_k2&view=itemlist&layout=category&task=category&id=2&Itemid=55 (accessed 28/4/17).

'Sampradayas distinguish themselves as specific traditions through the teachings of their founding gurus or swamis who may or may not be considered divine incarnations of God. The teachings are passed on by a direct spiritual lineage of gurus or swamis to a community or body of devotees' (Wood 2008: 339).

In our study, this includes the different forms of Swaminarayan Hinduism, and ISKCON and Baba Balaknath.

Guru/Swami-led: These are temples that are focussed upon venerating the lives of particular individual gurus or swamis, such as Shirdi Sai Baba, Satya Sai Baba and Sri Jalaram Bapa. Many of these have foundations in India, with which temples in the UK can affiliate. There are thousands of such gurus in India, many of who are still alive, and some that are better known than others. We found a couple of temples linked to less well-known gurus than those above. In Nottingham, there is a temple called Sai Dham set up by H. H. Sri Sai Das Babaji, who claims to be avatar of Sri Shirdi Sai Baba, and in Harrow, there is the International Siddhashram Shakti Centre, which was set up by Shri Raj Rajeshwar Guruji in a former Salvation Army hall (see box 31). Moreover, it was often difficult to tell which other temples may have this kind of affiliation from their websites, even in a loose sense. A good number of the Sanatana and regional temples will have links to gurus or swamis in India, but often not to the extent that they rigidly control their activities, instead providing advice and services when they are needed.

Caste-focussed: Caste groups such as the Shree Prajapati, Shree Sorathia Leuva Patel, Leuva Patidar, Valmiki, Mochi etc. have formed caste-based associations in England as well as setting up temples.

Ashrams: This is a much less significant category in the UK than in India. We found it used only three times in our mapping: the SSRD Pashupati Ashram (UK) near Blackburn, a rural ashram on a former farm set up by white female teacher called Sri Ramana Devi; the Shekin Ashram, Bhakti Yoga Ashram & Holistic Retreat Centre in rural Glastonbury, set up by a white 'convert' to Hinduism; and the Harrow-based suburban International Siddhashram Shakti Centre, mentioned above.

Independent: Across the different temple types, with the exception of the Sampradaya-focused temples, many are what we might call 'independent'. That is to say, there is no central authority in India dictating what they should do or how they should run the temple.

One of our interviewees suggested that, unlike in other religions,

In Hinduism, there's nothing that you can say 100% everyone believes, when we give talks and stuff, and I listen to a lot of different ones to say, Hindus promote a vegetarian diet or Hindus are vegetarian. They're not. About 30% are, so that isn't a core thing. All

Hindus believe in one God. Well, no, all Hindus don't believe in one God, not even in practice or in belief. A lot of people do say there's all these different Gods and they're just an aspect of the one God. Well, really, I think that's just happened because they wanted to jump on the bandwagon of the one God popularity of the Abrahamic religions.

5.4 The types of buildings used by Hindu communities for temples (places of worship)

As with other diaspora communities, Hindus in England first began to worship in people's homes. However, this is a normal Hindu way of worshipping, with the home playing a much more central role in people's religious lives than it does for members of some other religions. As communities began to grow and settle in the UK, there was an increased interest in finding places for communal worship, but also for having places where the deities could be properly installed and a sacred environment created for religious practice. First of all, domestic properties were used, and sometimes extended/adapted for this purpose, or communities rented larger properties either for specific festivals or on a long-term basis. Eventually communities could purchase larger properties, including former churches, community centres, cinemas, commercial buildings etc. These were often adapted, extended, knocked down and rebuilt, sometimes after a period of occupation. More recently – since the 1990s – there have been more examples of purpose-built temples in the UK as result of a greater acceptance of multiculturalism in the UK, together with the rising economic fortunes of South Asians and a wish to establish a visible identity.

Many buildings used by Hindus in England have previously had non-religious uses, and there are certain rules that need to be followed for change of use. According to the 1987 Town and Country Planning Order, uses of land and buildings fall within a range of categories. Places of worship come under class D1:

D1 Non-residential institutions – Clinics, health centres, crèches, day nurseries, day centres, schools, art galleries (other than for sale or hire), museums, libraries, halls, places of worship, church halls, law court. Non-residential education and training centres.²⁰

Change of use normally requires planning permission unless the building's new function falls within the same class of uses. Thus, to turn a residential house into a place of worship would require planning permission, but to change a library or a law court into a place of worship would not. It is also possible for places of worship to be formally 'certified' for religious worship as well as for the solemnisation of marriages. According to government guidelines:

²⁰ <http://www.planningportal.gov.uk/permission/commonprojects/changeofuse> (accessed 23 April 2016)

The Places of Worship Registration Act 1855 enables a place of meeting for religious worship to be recorded by the Registrar General. However, a congregation is still able to worship in a building which has not been recorded.²¹

Thus, although a community does not have to register their building as a place of worship, marriages cannot be performed there if it is not registered as one. There are also financial advantages to being registered as a place of worship:

registered places of worship do not have to subject their funds to inspection, under the terms of the Charitable Trusts Act 1853, and Council Tax is not levied on their premises. This exemption has applied since 1955. Since the passing of the Local Government Finance Act 1988, places of worship have not had to pay business rates; registration under the terms of the 1855 Act, while apparently not essential to gain exemption, "is an additional piece of evidence that the property is actively used as a place of worship".²²

Hindu families will generally have space to practice at home, and some have dedicated shrine rooms that may also be used by others – family and caste members in particular. However, many also go outside their homes, to temples, for practice and cultural activities. Our research has found that there are a number of **broad types** of property/premises used as Hindu temples in England. We did not ask our interviewees about planning permission, however, as we did not want to place them in an awkward position if any rules had been inadvertently broken:

1. 'Borrowed/hired periodically' for meetings etc. – even well-established temples may use hired premises (e.g. large sport halls) for big festivals such as Divali. Other communities may rent buildings on a periodic basis in the absence of a more permanent base. This would not require planning permission.
2. 'Purchased residential reuse and adaptation' – Hindu communities have bought houses of different types (e.g. suburban residential homes, large urban houses, manor houses and mansions in rural locations). These have often been extended or renovated to suit the needs of the community. This requires planning permission, as it requires a change of use from C3 (dwelling houses) to D1.

21

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/361328/How_to_Certify_a_Building_for_Religious_Worship_and_Register_for_the_Solemnization_of_Marriages_F78L.pdf (accessed 23 April 2016)

²² http://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Places_of_Worship_Registration_Act_1855 (accessed 23 April 2016)

3. 'Purchased other reuse and adaptation' – Hindus communities have bought other buildings, including shops on high streets, different municipal buildings (including schools), old industrial/commercial sites, and other places of worship. This might require planning permission if it involves a change of class.
4. 'Reuse/adaptation and purpose built' – some Hindu temples have developed from a building that has been purchased alongside purpose built elements on the same land. This would require planning permission, as it is a new-build project.
5. 'Purpose built' – increasing numbers of Hindu temples are purpose built This would require planning permission, as it is a new-build project.

When Hinduism first came to England, meetings for meditation and teaching tended to take place in people's houses or in rented rooms in community spaces. As the traditions became more established, Hindu communities began to purchase and move into their own properties. As Nesbit points out (2006: 13):

Currently, the construction of purpose-built temples increasingly includes those designed consistently with the tradition of Indian sacred architecture. These include the Bochasan Akshar Purushottam Sanstha (BAPS) Shri Swaminarayan Mandir that opened in Neasden, London in 1995 and, in Tamil style, the Shri Venkateswara (*Balaji*) temple at Tividale in the West Midlands. In Wembley, London and in West Bromwich, West Midlands, further construction is underway. All these mandirs involve skilled craftsmen from India. In the case of the Swaminarayan temple, the marble and limestone structure was assembled like a giant, three-dimensional jigsaw. It is the commitment and increasing wealth of the UK Hindu community rather than overseas benefaction (as in the case of many UK mosques) that allows construction of impressive buildings. There also is a competitive element as Hindus see the multiplication of architecturally distinctive Islamic and Sikh places of worship.

The present period of construction coincides with a developing interest in *shastric* (classical Hindu) principles of design. In Hardy's words,

The temple can...be understood not simply as a static microcosm, or image of the universe, but as a dynamic cosmogony, an image of the process of creation. *Vastu vidya* ('dwelling knowledge', or the art of architectural location and placement) is gaining in popularity as India's counterpart to China's *feng shui* (ancient art of placement and design), as is evident in the publicity its practitioners on the Internet and recent publications on the subject (2006: 201; Vertovec 1992).

5.5 Change and progress

Williams considers there to be four primary media for the transmission of Hindu traditions outside of India: temples, rituals, texts and exemplary persons (1996: 4). He writes that 'Hindu temples form messages in stone that enable devotees to read the sacred world and history at the same time they experience the sacred' (1996: 4). He also suggests that there are 'five trajectories, models, or ideal types of adaptive strategies' that can be found among Asian-Indian religious groups (1006: 231): individual, national, ecumenical, ethnic and hierarchical. He has developed this typology with respect to the North American setting, but it also works well for England:

1. The individual strategy involved early immigrants coming alone, where their 'strategy of adaptation was preservation of religious identity through acts in private or its opposite in the private disregard for any religious heritage' (1996: 232).
2. National strategies involve communities rebuilding a sense of national identity upon migration that has been fractured during the 'colonial period and the period of independence in India' (1996: 234). This involves setting up chapters of Indian national organisations and cultural centres in the USA, which are often secular in nature, but can be difficult to delink from religious identities (e.g. the Hindu nationalist Vishwa Hindu Parishad).
3. The next strategy is ecumenical where 'an ecumenical Hinduism is developing in the United States that unites deities, rituals, sacred texts, and people in temples and programs in ways that would not be found together in India' (1996: 239).
4. Ethnic strategies focus on distinct ethnic affiliations, be that Gujarati, Punjabi, Tamil etc., and temples are established that reflect this.
5. Finally, we find hierarchical strategies in which there is 'loyalty to a living religious leader who provides a unity for the group beyond ethnic or national loyalties', including Sai Baba groups and ISKCON.

Our findings are also broadly in line with the 'four stage cycle' outlined by Peach and Gale (2003), who chart the progression of the relationship between the British planning process and minority faith groups (and how this manifests in changing building types) as the latter establish themselves in properties to enable practice and community building;

1. '**Tacit change and planning denial**': places of worship are established in residential houses, often without planning permission since 'Faith communities were often unaware that British planning regulations require official permission to change the use of premises' (2003: 482).
2. '**The search for larger premises**': this most frequently involves the adaptive re-use of existing buildings – 'often conversions of disused chapels of churches or the conversion of factories, cinemas, or other commercial premises to places of worship' (2003: 482).

3. **'Purpose-built premises: Hiding and Displacement'**: this involves 'hiding the buildings from public view of truncating their iconic features' (2003: 483).
4. **'Purpose-built premises: Embracing and Celebration'**: this is where the full range of architectural features are on show (2003: 484-5).

5.6 Building Hindu Temples

'The Hindu temple is not primarily the assembly room of the congregation...but the place of the murti bhagavan, the embodied Lord' (Klostermaier 1994: 317).²³

Lipner tells us that we only begin to find evidence for stone temple buildings in the Indian subcontinent from around the 5th century BCE (1998: 278). In the Early Vedic period (1500-500 BCE the sacrificial ritual (*yajna*) was performed in the open air, with the ritual place becoming temporarily sacred and the patron of the ritual gaining 'new birth' (1998: 278). In time, image worship (called *puja*) emerged, taking shape by about the 5th to 4th centuries BCE, and 'it was believed necessary to build 'residences'...to house the objects of such worship' (1998: 278). Initially, natural features such as caves and bowers were used to house the *murti*. This may explain why the traditional sanctuary in a temple resembles a cave but may also link back to the Early Vedic ritual in which the sanctuary is called the 'womb house' or *garbhagriha*, where 'in the sacred confines of the temple the worshipper is to be transformed and reborn' (1998: 278).

Texts called *vastu shastra* outline how a temple should be built. As Michell writes:

To ensure the correct ritual and symbolic functioning of the temple...These works classify information about the selection of the temple site, laying out of the ground plan of the buildings, the merits of different materials the proportional relationship between plan and elevation, and the mouldings of basement, cornice and tower (2000: 33).

These texts do not just discuss how temples should be built but also 'lay out various principles and a diversity of alternate designs for home, village and city layout along with the temple, gardens, water bodies and nature'.²⁴

²³ <https://www.hinduismtoday.com/modules/smartsection/item.php?itemid=5315> (accessed 28/4/17).

²⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vastu_shastra#cite_note-stellakvolm1-31 (accessed 28/4/17).

Box 4 Steps in Temple Construction

Steps in Temple Construction²⁵

“The procedure for building a temple is extensively discussed, and it could be expressed in short as ‘Karshanadi Pratisthantam’, meaning beginning with ‘Karshana’ and ending with ‘Pratistha’. The details of steps involved vary...but broadly these are the steps in temple construction:

1. Bhu pariksha: Examining and choosing location and soil for temple and town. The land should be fertile and soil suitable.
2. Sila pariksha: Examining and choosing material for image.
3. Karshana: Corn or some other crop is grown in the place first and is fed to cows. Then the location is fit for town/temple construction.
4. Vastu puja [Bhumi Puja, ground breaking ritual]: Ritual to propitiate vastu devata [deity]
5. Salyodhara: Undesired things like bones are dug out.
6. Adyestaka: Laying down the first stone
7. Nirmana: Then foundation is laid and land is purified by sprinkling water. A pit is dug, water mixed with navaratnas, navadhanyas, navakhanijas²⁶ is then put in and pit is filled. Then the temple is constructed.
8. Murdhestaka sthapana: Placing the top stone over the prakara, gopura²⁷ etc. This again involves creating cavities filled with gems minerals seeds etc. and then the pinnacles are placed.
9. Garbhanyasa: A pot made of five metals (pancaloha kalasa sthapana) is installed at the place of main deity.
10. Sthapana: Then the main deity is installed.
11. Pratistha: The main deity is then charged with life/god-ness.”²⁸

5.6.1 Temple design

The temple architect, known as the *sthapati* is trained in the *vastu shastra* and produces the ground plan. Michell tells us that

Temple diagrams, or *mandalas*, are usually squares subdivided into lesser squares, each representing a ‘seat’ of a god. Some *mandalas* are occupied by a figure called the *vastu purusha*, or cosmic man whose limbs regulate the overall layout (2000: 33).

This mandala is “described as a symbolic, miniature representation of the cosmos. It is based on a strict grid made up of squares and equilateral triangles which are imbued with deep religious significance.”²⁹ The centre is where the main deity will be located in the inner sanctum – *garbhagriha* – with other deities positioned around it. This kind of diagram and the

²⁵ A version of this process is also carried out when a new house or other building is constructed.

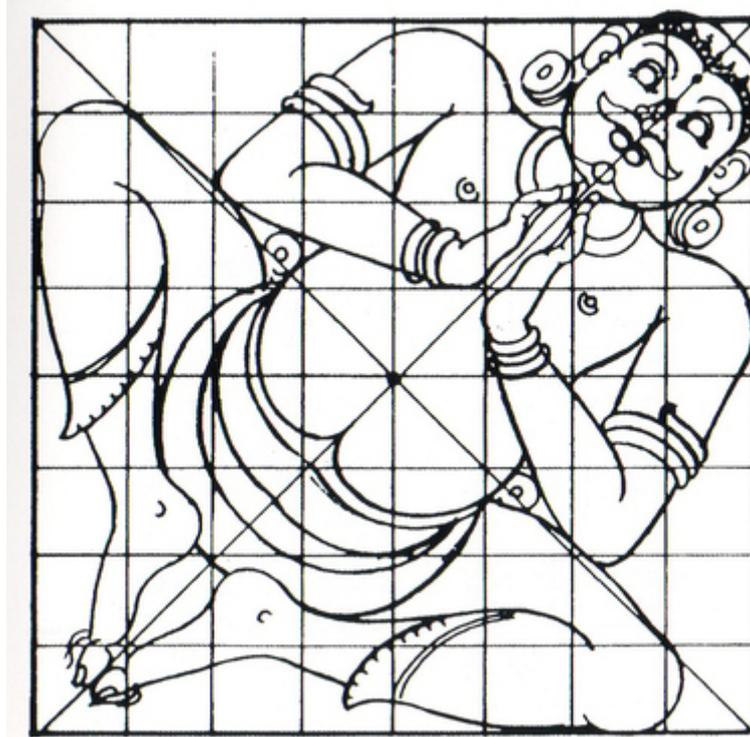
²⁶ Nine gems, nine grains and nine minerals.

²⁷ See glossary.

²⁸ http://www.hindupedia.com/en/Temple_Construction (accessed 28/4/17).

²⁹ http://www.hindupedia.com/en/Temple_Construction (accessed 28/4/17).

information in the *vastu shastra* represent an ideal type of temple and, in reality, temples are less detailed in their layout and design. This is particularly the case in the diaspora, where it is mostly not feasible to build temples in this complex style, as funds are limited and old buildings are reused. Some temple projects, however, have employed these principles. The south Indian temples, in particular, attempt more than the Gujarati north Indian temples to replicate this kind of layout.



Temple mandala with *vastu purusha*³⁰

It is also important to note another aspect of the design of the ground plan:

that it is intended to lead from the temporal world to the eternal. The principal shrine should face the rising sun and so should have its entrance to the east. Movement towards the sanctuary, along the east-west axis and through a series of increasingly sacred spaces is of great importance and is reflected in the architecture. A typical temple consists of the following major elements –

1. an entrance, often with a porch [gopuram];
2. one or more attached or detached mandapas or halls;
3. the inner sanctum called the garbagriha, literally 'womb chamber' the tower build directly above the garbagriha.³¹

³⁰ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vaastu_Purusha_Frontal.jpg (accessed 30/06/18).

³¹ http://www.hindupedia.com/en/Temple_Construction (accessed 1/5/17).

Michell tells us that

Worshippers approach the temple sanctuary in order to make visual contact with the sculpted image or emblem of the deity placed inside the *garbhagriha*, or 'womb chamber'. This act of seeing, called *darshana*, is central to all forms of veneration in India...Alignments within the temple are not restricted to the horizontal axis: a symbolic vertical axis connects the image or emblem of the divinity inside the *garbhagriha* to the summit of the tower that rises above it... the tower represents a sacred mountain: hence the term *shikhara*, or 'peak' (2000: 32).

From the seventh century, two definite Hindu styles of temple building emerged: 'the so-called *nagara* or North Indian style and the so-called *dravida* or South Indian style' (Klostermaier 1994: 321). In the thirteenth century, the *nagara* and *dravida* were fused to form a further style, the *vesara*. Overall the South Indian temples tend to be much larger and also to follow stricter rules for rituals.

5.6.2 Murti – 'The Embodied God' (Klostermaier 1994: 312)

Murti means, literally, 'embodiment' and 'designates the images of the divinities, made of metal, stone, or wood but sometimes of some perishable matter for special purposes' (Klostermaier 1994: 312). There are special instructions for making such murtis in key Hindu texts, and they are only to be produced by those from the correct artisan caste. However, the murti is not yet divine, and has to be consecrated by a ritual called the *pratishthapana*, where the last stage involves the opening of the murtis eyes.³² As one of our interviewees explained:

So when the deities, the statues are put into the temple, then you have rituals and it's translated as you're breathing life into the *murtis* so after that, you just have to see it as a real person, that's why they do the morning *aartis* and offer food and change their clothes because it's not just a statute that you pray to, it is God.

If you do the *pranapratistha* [establishing the breath], you have to make sure you can look after the Gods every day, morning and evening and you have to make sure everything's done according to the Holy books daily and if you can't do that, you shouldn't.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter we looked at types of Hindu-related organisations in the UK, their buildings and what they are used for. This included all types of Hindu buildings, including temples, to provide context for the rest of the report.

³² <http://www.baps.org/cultureandheritage/Traditions/HinduPractices/MurtiPratishtha.aspx> (accessed 28/4/17). See also <http://sanskrit.org/installing-a-sacred-image-murti-sthapanaprana-pratishtha/> (accessed 28/4/17).

We then outlined the different Hindu national representative bodies in the UK, discussed the types of Hindu temples found (e.g. house temples, sampradaya-led, guru-led, regional, caste-focussed and ashram); the types of buildings used by Hindu communities for temples; and, finally, patterns of change and progress in the buildings used to set up places of worship. We then gave some background on the history of Hindu temple building and the process of designing a temple according to sacred principles outlined in the *vastu shastra*. In the next chapter we present our findings.

6. A Survey of Hindu Buildings in England: a regional mapping

6.1 Introduction

This section provides information about Hindu buildings in England gathered through regional mapping. Although there is a range of different types of building, as 5.2 above explained, we have focussed on temples/places of worship. While it has always been difficult to accurately estimate the number of Hindu temples in the UK, there have been many attempts to do just this. In “The Asian Directory and Who's Who” of 1979, King (1984) found the addresses of 82 different Hindu temples, and Burghart tells us that, by 1987, there were over 100 in the UK (1987: 9). Nesbitt, writing in 2006, tells us that Weller puts the number at around 334, with 136 of these being located in London (2001),³³ whilst Nye estimates 250 (1995) and Vertovec 303 (2000). Others give much lower estimates: Peach and Gale 109 (2001), Rasamandala Das ‘over 150’ (1998), das 141 (2004), the International Society for Krishna Consciousness website ‘about 135’, and the National Council for Hindu Temples (NCHT) tells us there are 152 temples in the UK, with 139 of those in England. A key output from our project is a database documenting all Hindu temples in England (see appendix 4). It is likely that our data will be more accurate than these earlier figures, not least because of the ability to now use the Internet to locate temples. However, not all temples have an online presence or advertise their existence outside their community to a significant degree, so it is unlikely that our mapping data-base will include all the Hindu temples in the UK.

Overall, we found 187 ‘Hindu temples’ from our desk-based mapping exercise and interviews, and these are all included in the tables in appendix 4. To the best of our knowledge, this is the total number of Hindu temples in England. By Hindu temple we mean a place of worship for Hindus where the *murtis* have been properly installed (see section 5.5) and are looked after by priests. There are likely to be more buildings than these, particularly of the suburban house type or house temple, which we have not been able to find details of online or during the course of our fieldwork.

The account below has been divided into different regional sections of England: the North East, the North West, the West Midlands, the East Midlands, the South and London.

³³ <http://www.religionlaw.co.uk/reportad.pdf>

Table 2: Hindu temples in England by region:

	Number
North East	12
North West	20
West Midlands	32
East Midlands	30
South	29
London	64
TOTAL	187

6.2 Hindu Buildings in the North East

We have identified a total of 12 Hindu temples in the North East of England: 5 in Bradford, 2 in each of Leeds and Newcastle and 1 in each of Sheffield, Middlesbrough and Huddersfield. There is little extant literature on most of these, with only Bradford and Leeds having received significant attention. We will begin with these cities, and then make some more general comments about the other locations.

6.2.1 Bradford:

	Bradford (number)	Bradford (%)	England and Wales (%)
Christian	239,843	45.9	59.3
Muslim	129,041	24.7	4.8
Hindu	4,882	0.9	1.5
Other Religions	1,686	0.3	0.4
Buddhist	1,000	0.2	0.4
Jewish	299	0.1	0.5
Sikh	5,125	1	0.8
No Religion	108,027	20.7	25.1
Religion not stated	32,392	6.2	7.2

Table 3: Religion in Bradford - 2011 Census: Religion, local authorities in England and Wales, table KS209EW.

Bradford is located in the county of West Yorkshire and had a prosperous woollen and worsted industry that expanded during the Industrial Revolution and then declined in the 20th century. Its population increased through immigration from Germany in the 1820s and 30s, many of whom were Jewish; from Ireland in the 1840s; from Poland and Ukraine in post-WW2 period, and from the West Indies, India, Bangladesh and Pakistan in

the 1950s. There was then was a second wave of immigration from East Africa during the late 1960s and 70s.

Focusing on the largest Hindu cohort in Bradford – the Gujarati community – David Bowen (1987) has argued that there have been three stages in the development of Gujarati Hindu organisations in Bradford since the 1940s. First, organisations emerged to achieve a sense of unity within this newly arrived community; second, religious and caste-based fellowships formed, and, finally, the reemergence of unity occurred. We will describe these stages in some detail, as it is likely that they also reflect patterns in other locations in England.

Stage 1: When Bradford's first Hindu organisation – the Bhartiya Mandal (India Association) – was formed in 1957, less than 300 Gujarati Hindus lived in Bradford, and included families from larger castes – the Prajapatis, Patidars, Kanbir Patels and Mochis – as well as one Brahmin family (Bowen 1987: 16). Bowen writes that 'the association set out to organise social, cultural and religious events' (1987: 16) and to promote co-operation amongst Gujaratis so that they might find support in an alien environment (1987: 16). The organisation was able to purchase a property in Sawrey Place, Bradford 5, in 1959. A second organisation, with branches in India and East Africa – the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh – was set up in 1966, and at first held its activities in 'private homes, rented buildings or school halls hired from the local authority (1987: 17) but, in 1982, it opened its headquarters – Madhava Sangh – at 52 Rugby Place, Bradford 7. These organisations did not have consecrated temples, although religious and cultural events would have taken place in the premises of these and other Indian organisations, such as the caste-based groups below, but the buildings were/are not classed as mandirs.

Stage 2: Bowen explains that 'the initial impulse of the Bradford Gujaratis had been to form an organization which would fulfill a 'wide range of social and cultural needs, rather than to establish a temple' (1987: 17). Sikhs and Muslims in the city had been far quicker to set up places of worship since communal worship is more important in those traditions than it is in Hinduism, in which practice at home plays a greater role. However, demographic considerations were also at play here, as there was not a sizable Hindu population in Bradford until the late 1960s. In 1967, 'a Gujarati householder, living in Bradford 7, turned the cellar of his small terraced home into a semi-public shrine where he, his family, and a cluster of devotees regularly worshiped Jalaram Bapa' (1987: 17). This became known as the Shri Jalaram Shakti Mandal, and exists to this day. In Bradford, the family 'who provided Jalaram with a shine' are Prajapatis, a pottery caste now linked to joinery. Jalaram Bapa is revered across the Gujarati community in Bradford, but mainly by Prajapatis (see box 5).

Box 5: Jalaram Bapa

Jalaram Bapa

Jalaram Bapa (4 November 1799 – 23 February 1881) was a saint from Gujarat, who was devoted to the god Ram, and was well known for the miracles he performed. Today, he has a large following in India and temples abroad, including five in England (Bradford, Hounslow, Greenford, Leicester³⁴ and Ashton-under-Lyne), where people worship him as a deity (Bowen 1987: 19).³⁵ A murti of Jalaram Bapa is also common in other North Indian style temples, where he is worshipped alongside other deities.



'An Idol of Jalaram Bapa at a Temple in Vadodara, Gujarat, decorated in colorful clothes on eve of Jalaram Jayanti (birth celebration of saint)'³⁶

In February 1970, a second house temple was set up in Bradford, when Sathya Sai Baba devotees began to meet in a flat occupied by a family of Patels in Manchester Road, Bradford 5 (see box 6 and 7). When the family moved to a house in Laisteridge Lane, the congregation also relocated here, and it came to be called 'Sai Baba Temple' or the 'Sai Baba Centre' (although this was not a formally consecrated temple). The congregation included different caste groups – Mandhata Patel (or Kolis), Patidars (Leva

³⁴ See Palmer and Palmer 2000: 276.

³⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jalaram_Bapa (accessed 28/4/17).

³⁶ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jalaram_Bapa_Idol.JPG (accessed 28/4/17).
<http://www.shreejalaramsevatrust.org/index.php/about/jalaram-bapa> (accessed 28/4/17).

Patels), Prajapatis, and some Sikh and Hindu Punjabi families, with about half coming from east Africa (1987: 20).

Box 6: Sathya Sai Baba

Sathya Sai Baba

Sathya Sai Baba (23 November 1926 – 24 April 2011) was an Indian guru, renowned for his miracles, and who claimed to be the reincarnation of Sai Baba of Shirdi. Sathya Sai Baba's followers considered him to be the avatar of Shiva and Kalki, the 10th avatar of Vishnu. A great philanthropist also, he was revered by many who would visit him for blessings and to witness his miraculous acts, while others saw him as a fraudster.³⁷ In the 1960s, he founded The Sathya Sai Organisation (or Sri Sathya Sai Seva Organization) "to enable its members to undertake service activities as a means to spiritual advancement."³⁸ "The Sathya Sai Organisation reports that there are an estimated 1,200 Sathya Sai Baba Centres in 114 countries" and "Sathya Sai Baba founded a large number of schools and colleges, hospitals, and other charitable institutions in India and abroad."³⁹



Satya Sai Baba⁴⁰

³⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sathya_Sai_Baba#Africa (accessed 28/4/17).

³⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sathya_Sai_Baba#Sathya_Sai_Organisation (accessed 28/4/17).

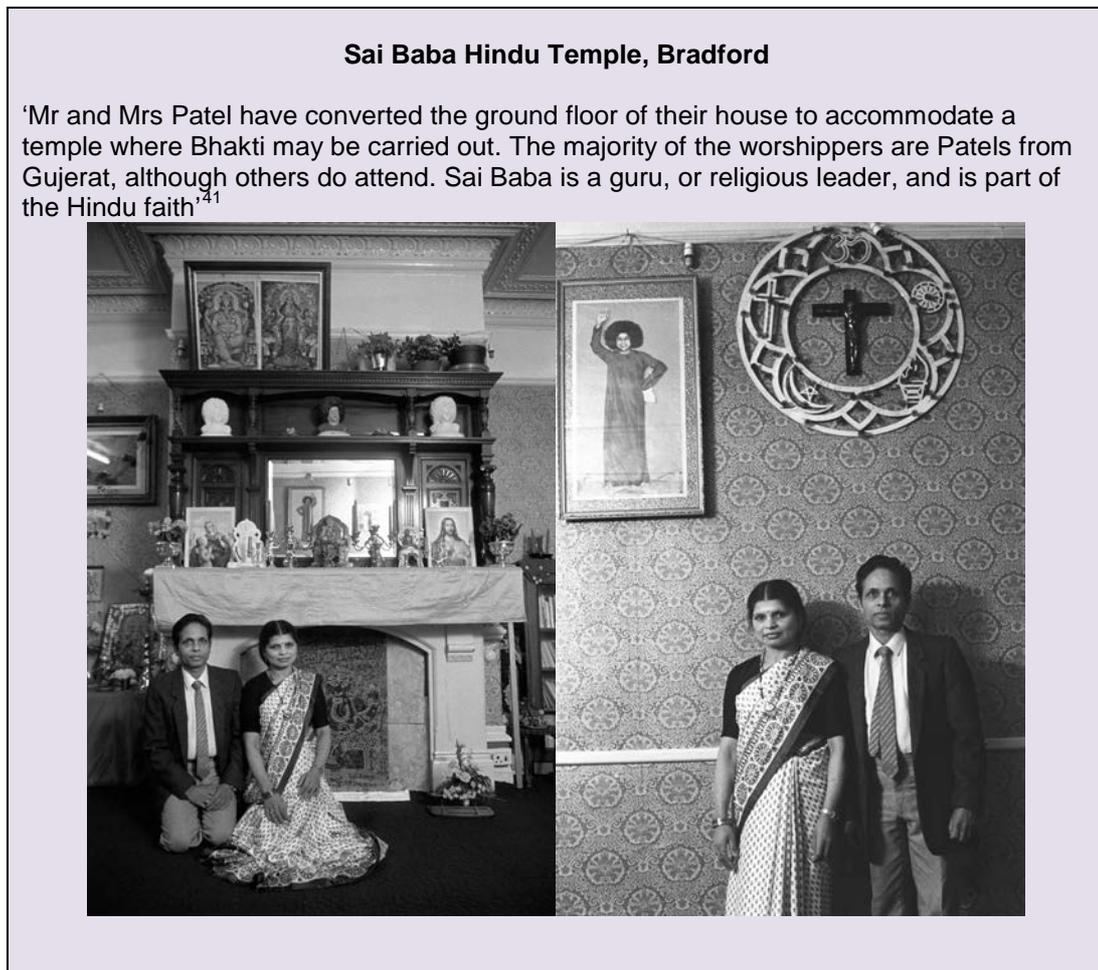
³⁹ Ibid

⁴⁰ Ibid

These two examples mark the emergence of 'devotional fellowships whose activities were organised for religious purposes rather than as part of the cultural life of the overall Gujarati community' (1987: 21). As Bowen writes:

The foundation of the Shri Jalaram Shakti Mandal in Bradford in 1967, and the later formation of the satsang of the devotees of Sathya Sai Baba, are significant in the history of the Gujarati Hindu population in the city. They marked the emergence within that ethnic community of structured alternatives to the religio-cultural performances organised at first by the Bhartiya Mandal and additionally, after 1968, by the Hindu Cultural Society. Their inception meant that there were religious events within the cultural life of Bradford's Gujarati Hindus that were neither sponsored by large associations acting on behalf of the community, nor organised by purely spontaneous groups for visits such as those of itinerant priests and teachers (1988: 35).

Box 7: Sai Baba Hindu Temple, Bradford



[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sathya_Sai_Baba#/media/File:Sathya_Sai_Baba_Photo_Gu_y_Veloso_\(www.guyveloso.com\).jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sathya_Sai_Baba#/media/File:Sathya_Sai_Baba_Photo_Gu_y_Veloso_(www.guyveloso.com).jpg) (accessed 28/4/17).

⁴¹ <http://photos.bradfordmuseums.org/view-item?i=44&WINID=1485013677101>; see also <http://arts.leeds.ac.uk/crp/files/2016/05/bowen1988.pdf> (accessed 28/4/17).

Bowen explains how caste organisations also arose in the latter half of the 1960s in Bradford. The first was the Kshatriya Sudharak Mandal (the 'circle for the uplift of the Kshatriyas'), associated with the smallest of the significant caste groups – the Mochi – in 1968. They were leatherworkers, but were not 'untouchable' as they only worked with prepared hides. The name of this organisation suggests they aspire to a past identity as Kshatriyas (the warrior class), and the association 'looks after Mochi interests in Bradford, organises family gatherings, and runs a cricket club. [And] Its menfolk are particularly active in the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh' (1987: 22). Another caste group, the Patidar, formed the Patel Samaj or Patel society in 1973, today known as the 'Leuva Patidar Samaj Yorkshire Prayer Hall & Community Centre'. Traditionally, most members of this caste have been shopkeepers.

The largest Gujarati caste group is the Prajapati, which formed an organisation in March 1975 – Shree Prajapati Association. Members of this group were traditionally potters, but became carpenters and builders in England. Again, as with the Hindu organisations formed in 'stage 1', not all of these have consecrated temples, and only ones with consecrated temples are included in the mapping.

The first branch of this association was set up in Coventry in 1974, and today it has fourteen branches (Bowen 1987: 23).⁴² The Bradford branch was set up in March 1975 and, initially, "Samaj meetings were held in the members' residence by invitation where a nominated chair-person for that meeting conducted the meeting to an agenda with the aim of carrying out the advancement and activities of the Samaj."⁴³ In the spring of 1980, the Samaj acquired a substantial former chapel on Thornton Lane, Bradford 5. Activities here included 'worship at the shrine which was set up upon acquisition of the building, sporting events...' (1987: 24). The Samaj also tries to support pan Hindu events and identity beyond caste, and today has a temple at its headquarters – Shree Hindu Temple (which was consecrated in 1982; see box 8). Marble images were brought from India to be installed at the temple:

Ram and Sita, together with Ram's younger brother Laksman, were given the central place in the temple; but Krishna and Radha, the universal architect Visvakarman, the giving mother Amba Mata and Siva were also prominently placed. Images of Ganesh and Hanuman are also present (1987: 24-25).

⁴² Bolton, Bradford, Birmingham, Coventry, East London, Leicester, London, Loughborough, Luton, Preston, Rugby, Tameside, Walsall and Wellingborough; <http://www.prajapati.org.uk> (accessed 28/4/17).; there is also the Shree Sorathia Prajapati Community (UK) <http://sspc-uk.org/aboutus.html> (accessed 28/4/17).

⁴³ http://www.spabradford.org.uk/web_documents/bradford_prajapati_journal_issue_20.pdf (accessed 28/4/17).

Box 8: Shree Prajapati Hindu Temple & Community Centre

Shree Prajapati Hindu Temple & Community Centre



© Copyright [Humphrey Bolton](#) and licensed for [reuse](#) under this [Creative Commons Licence](#).⁴⁴

Also known as the Shree Prajapati Association Bradford and the Ram Darbar Mandir. Hindu buildings often have multiple names to reflect the different purposes they have at the one site.⁴⁵

Stage 3: Bowen tells us that the Bhartiya Mandal, formed in 1957 and discussed above in 'stage 1', began to decline as 'caste and sectarian diversity became manifest within the community' (1987: 27). This was due to the fact that individuals were more likely to direct their resources towards caste associations and sectarian congregations, but also because the building on Sawrey Place was in decline and there was 'uncertainty about the city council's plans for the fate of the neighbourhood' (1987: 27), resulting in the premises being abandoned in 1983. In 1980, a new body –

⁴⁴ <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/2748210> (accessed 30/06/18).

⁴⁵ <http://www.spabradford.org.uk> (accessed 28/4/17).

Bhartiya Associations of Bradford – was formed to bring together the different ‘Gujarati Hindu cultural, caste, and devotional organizations that had emerged in the city’ (1987: 27). It is not clear that this is still in existence.⁴⁶

The most recent addition to Hindu buildings in Bradford is the Shree Lakshmi Narayan Hindu Temple Bradford/Hindu Cultural Society of Bradford on Leeds Road, which opened in 2007. This is not discussed in Bowen’s work, presumably because it was set up as a Punjabi temple, whilst Bowen was examining the larger Gujarati groups.

Box 9 Shree Lakshmi Narayan Hindu Temple Bradford/Hindu Cultural Society of Bradford

Shree Lakshmi Narayan Hindu Temple Bradford/Hindu Cultural Society of Bradford

In 1968 the Hindu Cultural Society of Bradford was established by mainly Punjabi immigrants, who set up a ‘make shift temple in a House and bought a house in Bradford 7 [2 St Margaret’s Road] and set up a temple in a Terraced House. They then started going round Hindu community member’s houses to conduct Sunday Kirtan to raise funds for a bigger place’.⁴⁷ Our interviewee told us that this original temple was set up by a couple called Mr and Mrs Chawla, who came to England in the 1960s from the Punjab, but that there were complaints from the Council about this temple, including ones concerning parking.

Then, in 1973, ‘the Hindu Culture Society of Bradford managed to buy the 311-321 Leeds Road. Planning permission was obtained from the Bradford Metropolitan Council to establish this Worship place for the Hindus of Bradford and the surrounding areas.’⁴⁸

On 3rd of August 1974 [a] Murti – [a] Procession of deities – took place around Bradford, and Murti Sataphan was performed at 321 Leeds Road, Bradford, and the first Hindu Place of Worship was established in the city of Bradford. It was a very joyous occasion for the Hindu Community of Bradford. The new Temple was decorated with five beautiful paintings of renowned artist such as Shri Shanti Dutta and Prof P.B Lal, which was funded by the Yorkshire Arts Council.⁴⁹

This premises was formerly a Jehovah’s Witness Kingdom Hall, and was used by both Hindus and Sikhs prior to each community setting up their own places of worship. Even today, members of the Sikh community continue to use the new Shree Lakshmi Naryaran Mandir as a community centre, and for community festivals like Divali. The building was bought in 1973 for £9,300 with a mortgage from the Irish Bank Leeds. The association still

owns that building [but] it’s falling into pieces, we don’t know what to do with it. We don’t have enough money to do anything with it either....there was a vision of perhaps making that into a playing sports hall, which can be used for multi-purpose reasons. It could be for weddings, parties and so on, but you need money for all that, which we don’t have at the moment.... we still need to do something with the building next door. Which obviously because people have worshiped there they

⁴⁶

http://www.thetelegraphandargus.co.uk/news/8180677.Indian_community_seeks_help_opening_centre/ (accessed 28/4/17).

⁴⁷ <http://www.bradfordmandir.org/2.html> (accessed 28/4/17).

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

have a connection. They don't want to just demolish it or let it go, they want to build something beautiful.

The community began to plan for a purpose-built temple and land was purchased near to the then current temple, on 'empty land which was often sort of taken up by a Gypsy Roma community to come and set up their caravans sometimes.' Our interviewee explained that, for many, it is significant to have a purpose-built temple, which people are more likely to visit than a community centre. And, 'on 14th of May 2006 the stone laying ceremony was performed in a very low-key affair and the contract of £2.7 million was awarded to Brenville construction company to build the first ever purpose-built Hindu Temple in the North of UK'.⁵⁰ The temple was constructed with finance generated from the association's savings, a mortgage, and donations and interest free loans from devotees. The association managed to secure the support of an Indian Guru – Dharamrattan H.H Swami Sri Gopal Saran Devacharaya Ji Maharaj⁵¹ – to 'guide us through the very difficult times and who could help us on the religious and spiritual side of the temple.' He first visited on 5 May 2007 and 'advised us about shrines and deities.' Moreover, 'It was on Swami Ji Maharaj's kind advice that we decided to install Shree Lakshmi Narayan as our main deity and name our Temple as Shree Lakshmi Narayan Temple.'

On 24 May 2007, Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Phillip opened the brand new £3 million Lakshmi Narayan Mandir in Bradford. According to the official website, this Mandir has an overall congregation of 2000–3000 worshippers and is attached to a community centre which provides hot lunches for elderly people, religious education classes, cultural activities and mother tongue classes.



The Shree Lakshmi Narayan Mandir, Bradford
Photo: author's own

Unlike many religious institutions, which only allow male priests, the priestly duties in Bradford are managed by a male and a female – a husband and wife team. Our interviewee thought that this arrangement worked 'really beautifully' because 'they

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ <https://nimbarka.wordpress.com/shri-golok-dham-ashram-vrindavan-and-new-delhi-india/> (28/4/17).

understand as a married couple the challenges of the worshipers who come here.'

As well as regularly hosting school visits from as far afield as York, activities which take place in the mandir include an elderly day centre, yoga classes and a children's group. The mandir also caters for important life cycle rites, including weddings and funerals. Furthermore, its role as a polling station means that visitors who may not have visited a Hindu mandir previously can come and have a look around.

Our interviewee explained that the busiest days for worship are Mondays and weekends. As Monday is a dedicated day of Shiva worship, those who wish 'to do hands-on worship rather than priests doing it for them' will visit on Mondays to worship 'a symbol of Shiva which is called [a] Shiva Lingam.'

Our interviewee explained that the mandir is named after the main deities in this temple, Lakshmi and Narayan, Narayan being another name for Krishna. Two deities were brought from the old temple to the new, and are displayed in the main shrine. These deities could not be brought to the new temple straight away, but only after a 'special process' comprising 'five days of intense worship, six hours at a time, [for] the whole process. We had 20 priests from India who would come. We washed the deities in running water.'



The main shrine
Photo: author's own



**The original deities (bottom left) from the old temple
Photo: author's own**

Originally, they had not planned to bring the deities from the old mandir to the new mandir. However, according to our interviewee, the planning application and development of the temple did not proceed smoothly until the two deities were brought from the old temple – indicating the power that the deities had to guide the direction of the project. Our interviewee explained how the deities were taken to the River Wharfe at Bolton Abbey to be washed before their installation, an idea suggested by the temple priest:

People out there didn't know what was happening, all these ladies dressed up in red and gold, bringing these beautiful deities and washing them with the water. Filling pots of water just to bring back and wash the bigger deity [back at the temple]...

I think very cleverly the priest, which helped us to install all this from India, had a very clever...process to analyse your surroundings. It's not all about India, it's where you're living. That cohesion, that appreciating, so every time now the Hindu community go to Bolton Abbey, it's special, but it's even more special because we can say... "Do you remember that day we came here?" It was fantastic.

A link to India also remains, primarily through the shrine, which is made of Makrana marble, the same marble that the Taj Mahal is made from. Indeed, one of our interviewees told us that the marble for the shrine at the mandir comes from the same quarry as the Taj Mahal stone. In a building made from Yorkshire stone, containing a shrine made from the same stone as the Taj Mahal, the Bradford Lakshmi Narayan Hindu Temple is a physical manifestation of a confident, prospering community who appreciate the customs of their ancestors and their Yorkshire heritage.

6.2.2 Leeds

	Leeds (number)	Leeds (%)	England and Wales (%)
Christian	239,843	55.9	59.3
Muslim	40,772	5.4	4.8
Hindu	7,048	0.9	1.5
Other Religions	2,396	0.3	0.4
Buddhist	1,000	0.4	0.4
Jewish	6,847	0.9	0.5
Sikh	8,914	1.2	0.8
No Religion	212,229	28.2	25.1
Religion not stated	50,717	6.7	7.2
Religion not stated	32,392	6.2	7.2

Table 4: Religion in Leeds – 2011 Census: Religion, local authorities in England and Wales, table KS209EW.

Like Bradford, Leeds is also in the county of West Yorkshire, and grew in prosperity due to its woollen industry and later a linen industry, which was in decline by the 20th century. A steady stream of immigrants have also made their homes in Leeds, coming from Ireland and other parts of Europe, and from the West Indies, India, Bangladesh and Pakistan since the 1950s, followed by a second wave of immigration from East Africa in the late 1960s and 70s. Today, communities from all parts of the globe reside in the city.

Leeds has also received some attention in the literature on Hindu buildings through the work of Kim Knott (1986), who wrote that

In the city of Leeds Hinduism appears in two distinct forms: the religion of the Indian temple, the small Hindu mandals and sabhas and Indian homes, and the concepts and practices of the Hindu-related 'new' religious movements (1986: 6).

Whereas the latter have not established permanent places of worship, a Hindu temple has been set up in Leeds, serving all Hindus in the city. Knott tells us that the Hindus settling in Leeds by the time she completed her study (1978-81) reflected a national pattern, with most being Gujarati,

followed by Punjabi, whilst other Indian Hindu groups were less well represented (1986: 16). While most of the Gujarati Hindus in Leeds came via East Africa, most of the Punjabis came directly from India. The Punjabi Hindus are mainly from the Khatri or Brahman jatis (1986: 43) and the Gujarati from Mochi, 'Patels' (Patidar and Kanbi) and other caste groups including Brahman, Lohana and Suthar (1986: 43). As in Bradford, 'Hindus in the city identify with a number of small groups which focus on social, cultural and religious issues and interests' (1986: 50).

The Hindu Cultural Society was set up in 1966, at 'about the same time as other city groups like those in Coventry and Preston' (Knott 1986: 61) and was, at that time, predominantly Punjabi-focused, as the major phase of immigration of Gujarati Hindus from East Africa had not yet begun. Hence, it was the Punjabi community who also made the initial plans to establish a place of worship in Leeds and, in 1968, which set up the Hindu Charitable Trust which, as a registered charity, was able to collect funds to build a temple (see box 10).

Box 10: Leeds Mandir

Shree Hindu Temple, Leeds



The Leeds Hindu Mandir
Photo: author's own

In the 1960s, the small Leeds Hindu community of 35 to 40 Hindu families decided to establish a venue for their community to meet. As our respondent explained, two individuals – Mr N.D. Misra and Mr N.K. Khanna – took a lead in this project, organising a meeting on 2nd October 1966 to explore the idea of establishing a Hindu Mandir in Leeds. From the 41 people present at this meeting, a committee of 11 members was formed. This committee then organised a Diwali event on 13 October 1966, which attracted over 300 people, including Hindu students from the University of Leeds. This was an important event in the history of the mandir as it attracted further members to the Hindu cultural society. As the society had low funds, a funding drive was organised. As our respondent explained, "we were collecting the money and they was collecting the money from the

Hindu families around Leeds, at that time it was collecting 50 pence for a month!”

In June 1967 a tragic event sped up the need for establishing a dedicated Hindu mandir. Kanji Mulji Luhar, a Hindu gentleman living in Leeds, went to Heathrow airport to receive his family, having not seen them for twelve years. On the way back to Leeds, Mr Luhar suffered a heart attack on the train, and died before getting home to Leeds. Although Mrs Luhar was able to get support from some of the Kenyan Hindu families that were already settled in the city, the episode sparked a real need for togetherness – and the Leeds Hindu Temple was born. The society had been trying to find a suitable place for the community to meet since this first Diwali celebration in 1966. In 1967, thirty-seven letters were sent to Estate Agents round Leeds, notifying them that the Hindu community were looking for a property which could be used as a community venue. Two properties were offered, one of which was the present temple on Alexandra Rd. As our respondent explained:

We saw so many buildings before ... this building actually belonged to the Salvation Army ... and so we were collecting at that time ... and this building at that time was £5500. They have written in their will that this building should go the charity people, not any other purpose, not a commercial or this or that ... The people put their property against that one to get that building, so I think in October 1967, they decided to take this building.

The clause that the building should only go to a charitable cause proved to be a blessing for the Leeds Hindu community. Having agreed the price of £5500, and having consulted with the community, the property was purchased in October 1969, with the five Trustees putting their properties up against the £3500 loan from the bank. Our respondent remembered how “most of our Hindu people was also going in the gurdwara also and then we was collecting money, even the Sikhs gave some donations ... because we had a good relationship.”

The first major event at the Temple after it was acquired was a Bhagvad Saptah in 1969, followed by a Ramayan Katha (retelling of the epic story the Ramayana). The mandir was supported by the Punjabi ladies group, with Gujarati classes also running there. During the early 1970s, the main building of the mandir suffered two major fires. Furthermore, race riots in Leeds led to a high steel fence being erected around the site. Our respondent explained how, at this time, “the surrounding area people, they gave a lot of trouble ... and we complained but slowly and slowly.”

In recent years, the Mandir management committee led by local businessman Suresh Shah decided to make a number of improvements to the Temple facilities, including building an extension to the Prayer hall and kitchen. Carved stone was imported from India and used to shape the entrance of the temple. The cost of this project was £400,000, raised entirely by the local Hindu community, and the building work began in August 2000. The new temple is built of marble specially brought over from India. The outside of the temple includes a traditional Shikhara, or mountain peak, common in many Hindu mandirs. Our respondent explained that “Well, they were saying that if we are making the mandir, it should look like a mandir.”



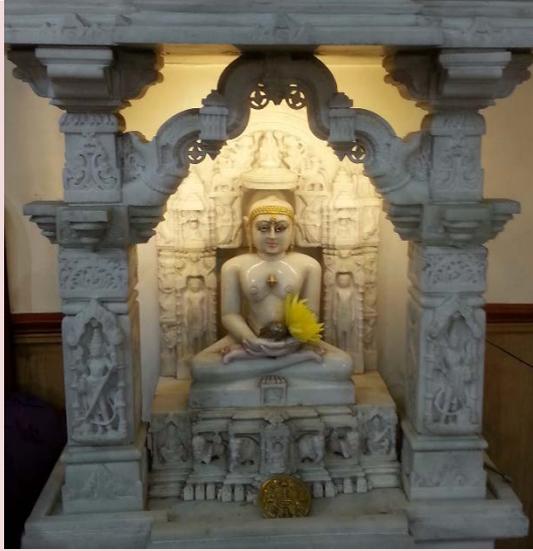
The Shikhara at Leeds Hindu Mandir
Photo: author's own

For our respondent, the Shikhara was important as, “from the outside, the people know that, you know like the Christian, the church building is different, from the outside you can say that this is a church and this is a temple, this is a gurdwara, so outside.” Our respondent explained that the Shikhara and marble for the mandir came from India, and that it was assembled by a team of four architects who spent two months at the mandir. A year later, two famous artists come from India to hand paint pictures in the main hall of the mandir. Our respondent explained that the paintings include depictions of incarnations of Lord Vishna, in the form of a fish, a tortoise, and the half man/half lion, Narsingh. The middle painting depicts Lord Krishna and nature with a picture of the sun and, underneath, are seven horses, representing seven planets. The rest of the paintings include depictions of Lord Shiva and the goddesses Durga and Lakshmi.



The Paintings at Leeds Hindu Mandir
Photos: author's own

The Temple contains the following deities: Amba Mata, a Shiva Lingum and Nandi, Lord Ganesh, Hanumanji, Shiva Paravati, Radhakrishna, Ramparivar, Lord Mahavira and Lord Kartikeya. Our respondent explained that these murtis were installed over a number of years, with families donating money for particular murtis. The diversity of the murtis further highlights how the mandir appeals to Hindus from a number of geographical and sectarian backgrounds.



Lord Mahavira
Photo: author's own



Lord Ganesha
Photo: author's own



Ramparivaar (Laxman, Rama and Sita)
Photo: author's own

Our respondent explained that when the mandir extension was built, the foundation stone was laid like in other mandirs, where a deep hole is dug in which precious objects are placed. The priest explained how these objects included nine gems and nine metals. These were placed in the middle of the Shikara. The priest also explained that the murtis in the mandir must be placed facing the East. Many of the ornaments within the mandir came from India, including the carved ivory displays, the donation boxes and the chairs.

The main building is used every day, with arti every morning. The mandir is open until 12:30, then closed in the afternoon to reopen from 5:30pm-9pm. People come and go every day, with Monday being busy as it is Shiva day, Tuesday attracting worshippers of Hanuman, and the weekends attracting the largest numbers of devotees. Our respondent explained how the building "is mainly for religious functions but then in 2010, we started, we've extended for 200 people, then we start extending this hall in 2010." The community hall – which is available for hire – was funded through generous donations:



Photo: author's own

The mandir complex also contains a community centre which hosts a number of classes, including yoga and Bharatnatym dance.



The Top Floor of the Community Centre
Photo: author's own



The Dance Studio in the Community Centre
Photo: author's own

The Mandir attracts a congregation of all ages, with some “bringing the child at the temple, first time and they are from the hospital, they are going, before going to anybody's house.” Our respondents reported that devotees visit from all over Yorkshire: “some people are coming from, there is no temple in York, in Scarborough, some people are coming from Hull because they have a place now but people are coming from Huddersfield, Wakefield, now they've got a little temple I think in Huddersfield.” As our

respondent explained, even though many Hindus have shrines in their homes, many decide that they wish to do something for their deity at the mandir: “[they may] decide that they want to do something and then they come, they decide ‘every Monday I will go to the temple’ and some people decide that ‘I will go on the Tuesday’”. In this way, the Leeds Hindu Mandir will continue to play an important role for the varied and diverse Hindu communities of Leeds.⁵²

In 2016, another temple opened in Leeds in a former industrial unit just off Kirkstall Road – BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir.

6.2.3 Other locations in the North East with Hindu Temples

There are five further Hindu temples in the North East. One in Huddersfield – the Sita Rama Temple – supported by the local Gujarati and East African community is located in what looks like an end of terrace house in the city centre. There is a Hindu Cultural Society in Middlesbrough, situated in a large suburban residential property, and two temples in Newcastle – The Hindu Temple Newcastle and ISKCON Newcastle. Both are located in urban settings, the former in a building that used to be a Victorian factory and the latter in a corner residential property. The final temple is the Hindu Samaj Sheffield, otherwise known as the Hindu Mandir and Community Centre Sheffield, which is located in a suburban former school/church building.

6.3 Hindu Buildings in the North West

There are four temples in each of Bolton and Preston, three in Ashton-under-Lyne, three in Liverpool, two in Manchester, two in Oldham and one in both Warrington and Blackburn. We focussed upon Bolton in this regional section of the research, visiting three of the four temples there and carrying out an interview at the very active Bolton Hindu forum. We also visited one temple in Oldham and one in Preston.

6.3.1 Bolton

Bolton is a former mill town situated in Greater Manchester. Flemish weavers settled there in the 14th century, bringing wool and cotton weaving, and the town rapidly developed during the industrial revolution due to its textile manufacturing. This industry began to decline after World War I, and was virtually obsolete by the 1980s. In the 1950s and 60s, Punjabis and Gujaratis from India came to work in the textile industry.

⁵² Leeds Hindu Temple - A film for Voices of Asia at Leeds City Museum: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N_tTLqN2tU (accessed 28/4/17); Shree Hindu Temple – Leeds (2001), Wisdom House Publications Ltd., Leeds; Meanwood Primary School: <http://www.meanwoodschool.co.uk/leeds-hindu-mandir/> (accessed 28/4/17); Family of Leeds Hindu community founder return to visit temple, <http://www.yorkshireeveningpost.co.uk/news/family-of-leeds-hindu-community-founder-return-to-visit-temple-1-3352455> (accessed 28/4/17); Temple tale: <http://www.yorkshireeveningpost.co.uk/news/temple-tale-1-2200152> (accessed 28/4/17).

Then there was a second wave of immigration from East Africa in the late 1960s and 70s.

	Bolton (number)	Bolton (%)	England and Wales (%)
Christian	173,608	62.7	59.3
Muslim	32,385	11.7	4.8
Hindu	5,988	2.2	1.5
Other Religions	721	0.3	0.4
Buddhist	574	0.2	0.4
Jewish	174	0.1	0.5
Sikh	118	0.1	0.8
No Religion	47,567	17.2	25.1
Religion not stated	15,651	5.7	7.2

Table 5: Religion in Bolton - 2011 Census: Religion, local authorities in England and Wales, table KS209EW.

6.3.1.1 The Swaminarayan Movement

Out of the four temples in Bolton, two are from different Swaminarayan groups, and we visited both of these: the Kutch Satsang Swaminarayan Temple and the Swaminarayana Sidhant Sajivan Mandal. Swaminarayan traditions are the most rapidly growing Hindu traditions across the globe, including in England, where there are 27 (11 linked to Koshalendraprasad Pande of the Ahmedabad Gadi; 2 linked to Purushottam Priyadasji of the Ahmedabad Gadi; 2 offshoots; and 12 Bochasanwasi Shri Akshar Purushottam Swaminarayan Sanstha (BAPS) – see below for details) temples in total that are linked to the 18th century *acharya* (saint, teacher) called Swaminarayan.

Swaminarayan was born into a Brahmin caste in a village near Ayodhya in northern India in 1781. His parents died when he was 11, when he renounced the world to become a *brahmachari* (wandering ascetic). He travelled for 7 years, ending his travels in Gujarat, practicing celibacy and avoiding all contact with women. He joined a group of ascetics there, and became their *acharya* when their leader Ramananda Swami died. He had taken on the name of Sahajanand Swami, and soon also became viewed as an incarnation of god, and known as Swaminarayan. He primarily worshipped Krishna.

Although Swaminarayan faced some opposition, his movement grew and became very popular in Gujarat, with lay/householder devotees taking 5 principle vows – 1) not to steal; 2) not to commit adultery; 3) not to eat meat; 4) not to drink intoxicants; 5) not to receive food from a caste lower than one's own (Williams 2001: 20). There are many stories of people experiencing a trance-like state called *samadhi* just by coming into contact with him rather than through personal religious practice (Williams 2001: 21). Williams tells us that the historian R.C. Majumdar called his movement 'the greatest of all reforming sects of Gujarat', and that 'he spread a message of social and religious reform and organized a new religious community in Gujarati society' (2001: 23). He set up six large temples in the last ten years of his life – in Ahmedabada, Bhuj, Vadtal, Junagadh, Dholera and Gadhada.

During his lifetime, he delegated some responsibility and authority, choosing four of his closest followers as *sadgurus* to lead four groups of ascetics (individuals who renounce the world and live an austere and mendicant existence), and appointed householders to take care of administrative affairs, leading to a separation of spiritual from administrative leadership. The first two temples he built were in Ahmedabad in 1822 and Vadtal in 1824, and in each he established a *gadi* (*seat*), appointing his nephews as *acharyas* of these, and decreeing that this would be a hereditary position to be held by a householder rather than an ascetic. Thus, he left behind a strong religious movement with a 'clearly defined hierarchy of laymen, ascetics, and acharyas' (Williams 2001: 32).

The current acharyas of the Swaminarayan Sampraday are Koshalendraprasad Pande of the Ahmedabad Gadi (also called the Nar Narayan Dev Gad), and Rakeshprasadji Pande of the Vadtal Gadi (also called the Laxmi Narayan Dev Gad).



There are eleven temples associated with Koshalendraprasad Pande in England (1971-present, pictured),⁵³ but there are none directly linked to Rakeshprasadji Pande. Six of these are linked with an association called the SKSST – Shree Kutch Satsang Swaminarayan Temple – and are located in Bolton, Harrow/Kenton, Forest Gate, Plumstead, Willesden and Oldham. Four of these are linked with an organisation called the ISSO, and are located in Leicester, Streatham, Brighton and Gatwick. The temple in Leicester was opened in 1993, and was the first in Europe linked to the International Swaminarayan Satsang Organisation (ISSO), a charitable foundation formed in 1978 by the father of Koshalendraprasad Pande of the Ahmedabad Gadi (Nar Narayan Dev Gad). There is a further temple in England also linked to the Nar Narayan

53

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Koshalendraprasad_Pande#/media/File:HH_Acharya_Maharaj_Shri.jpg (accessed 28/4/17)

Dev Gad in Stanmore, which does not appear to be linked to either the SKSST or the ISSO.

Williams tells us that 'the administrative division into the two dioceses has been augmented by further schism and division as leading sadhus have separated themselves to form new religious movements of independent religious or educational trusts' (2001: 51). One of these new movements is a small sect founded by Muktajivandas, a sadhu born in 1907 who left the Ahmedabad temple in the 1940s, called the Swaminarayan Gadi/ Maninagar Swaminarayan Gadi Sansthan. Muktajivandas rejected the claims of householders to be *acharyas*, believing that Swaminarayan had instead appointed an ascetic, Gopaland Swami. Muktajivandas announced that he was god in 1972, and his images were placed in the temples of the sect. He died in Bolton in 1979 while on tour. His successor was another ascetic – Purushottam Priyadasji. There are two temples in England linked to this sect of the Swaminarayan movement: one in Bolton – the first Swaminarayan temple set up in the UK in 1973 – and one in Kingsbury, London.

Another important sect, which is rapidly growing, is the Bochasanwasi Shri Akshar Purushottam Swaminarayan Sanstha (BAPS), the founder of which left the Vadatal Gadi in 1905. The followers of BAPS hold Gunatitanand Swami to be the spiritual successor to Swaminarayan, and 'followers of BAPS believe that the *acharyas* were given administrative leadership of the sect while Gunatitanand Swami was given spiritual leadership by Swaminarayan. The current spiritual and administrative leader of BAPS is Mahant Swami Maharaj'.⁵⁴

In the 1920s, some members of the sect migrated to East Africa in order to improve their work opportunities and quality of life, amongst which were 'a large number of Kutchis of the Leva Patel/Patidar community, who remained loyal to the Bhuj temple under the Nar Nararayan Dev Gadi. All the temples built in Africa come under the temple in Bhuj'.⁵⁵ Then, in the 1960s and 70s in particular, but beginning after the World War II, some members of the movement moved from East Africa to the UK. Williams tells us that:

After the East African Gujaratis came and established themselves, the community was able to form organizations and build temples...The immigrants brought with them the organizational abilities developed in running the temples and centers in East Africa...There are hundred of Hindu religious groups in Britain, but Swaminarayan Hinduism is at present the largest and fastest growing (2001: 216-17).

In the interview that we undertook at the Harrow SKKST temple, we heard about two SN temples that have been set up under offshoots from well-

⁵⁴ <http://londonmandir.baps.org/about/history-of-baps-in-the-uk-europe/> (accessed 28/4/17).

⁵⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Swaminarayan_Sampraday (accessed 1/5/17).

established SN sects. The first, near Uxbridge, is called Anoopam Mission, an offshoot from BAPS.⁵⁶ The second has been harder to find information about, but is in Stanmore, and appears to be linked to a temple in Ahmedabad – the Kumkum Shree Swaminarayan Mandir in Maninagar.⁵⁷ There may well be others that we have not heard about.

Box 11: Kutch Satsang Swaminarayan Temple, Bolton

Kutch Satsang Swaminarayan Temple, Bolton, Adelaide Road (SKSST)

According to our interviewee, the first member of the community associated with this temple came to Bolton around 1966 and, in the early days, they started having congregations 'that would be in...either a labour club or a hall of some sort...We were renting out and that would be done on a weekly basis, because obviously during the week people were working so it wasn't always possible to have a daily prayer, but then, as I say, we'd hire some premises.'

Instead of a *murti* in the form of an 'idol', the community possessed a 'framed *murti*' that was 'easy to carry...[and]...doesn't have to be installed with all the mantras which would apply to a *murti*. So it's easier to then pray to those, because with a *murti* it would need more dedication and more time.'

In 1973 they purchased the site where the current temple is located, which became the first Swaminarayan temple in the UK. Our interviewee explained:

I believe at the time it was an old disused warehouse because, around us, where the car park is now, that used to be houses, but as time went on the houses got knocked down. We were able to occupy the land and create it to be a car park. The building that we're in now, we then renovated and completely demolished the existing building.

For twenty years they used the warehouse building that had been there but,

With it not being purpose built, we found that things weren't where we wanted them to be and the facilities and services weren't appropriate. Also, it wasn't big enough either – I mean it would probably be half the size of where we are now...So we got blessings from our priest in India, our swamis. That was granted to us. So, in 1993, we then completed it, and we had the installation sermon, so the *murti pratishtha* that took place, September 93. We had a parade, and obviously lots of VIPs from all over the world came over, and that's when we then opened as you see now, is a purpose built temple.

Twelve months earlier, in 1992, the *bhumi puja* took place.

⁵⁶ <http://www.anoopam.org/centers/amuk/amuk.php> (accessed 1/5/17).

⁵⁷ http://dnasyndication.com/dna/dna_english_news_and_features/Kumkum-temple-goes-international/DNAHM65744 (28/4/17).



Kutch Satsang Swaminarayan Temple, Bolton, Adelaide Road
Photo: author's own

The temple is not built in a traditional Indian style, and was designed by UK-based architects, but it does have some Hindu features – carved wooden doors, a carved stone porch with pillars (*gopuram*) and a carved stone dome/tower on the top of the temple (*shikhara*). Our interviewee explained that:

for the outside...there are some restrictions because we need planning permission, etc, but we're quite proud of, obviously, the stone tower that we've got outside. That's the first that we know of, or it was, if you like, the first when we established ourselves in 1993.

The height of the building had to be negotiated and there were some objections from neighbours. The stone for the tower was brought from India, as well as the carved doors, the shrine and the *murtis* (although they also brought along the old ones). The temple has three floors:

The top floor here, as you can see with the altar there, that's the prayer area, prayer room, if you like. The middle floor is more of a community hall, so sometimes we can hire it out for, like, a wedding or a party or those kind of functions.

Other groups can hire use the premises but they are very strict about smoking, alcohol and vegetarianism, with no onions and garlic permitted. This sect of Swami Narayan has also established a youth group and held a 'big camp' over the Easter weekend at Conover Hall in Shrewsbury, bringing together young people affiliated with this SN sect from different temples across the country.

Again, we'll have a special visit by the swamis from India and they'll be coordinating that and conducting presentations, like a fun packed weekend with religion as well....So we are concerned about, obviously, the future generation. A lot of the times, I mean I can probably speak for myself where my parents were obviously in part of the community and involved in a temple, so naturally I wanted to be involved

as well. I'm teaching my children to do that. Of course, as things go by, people do tend to go their own way so we're trying to get a boundary where they still stay on the right path, but of course with college and school and what have you, there's a lot of influences, peer groups and all those kind of things. If I was to say that all our community members, do they practice not smoking, not drinking? Probably not all of them.

There are around 200 families that use the temple, and about 350–400 come at the weekend, but during festivals like *divali* up to 1000 might attend. About 70% of the community are from East Africa and the rest are from India, and are Leva Kanbi Patels (Nesbitt 2006: 14). Our interviewee explained that

I myself won't go to the other Swaminarayan temples. Many do, but I think it's just how your focus is and where you'd like to go. In the early days, many people bought houses near the temple as they were less likely to have cars than today.

Today there is also a SN temple in Oldham, and people in Manchester, Bury or Salford can choose which temple to visit.

The temple has an internal barrier separating men and women, and separate entrances for them, which is unusual in Hindu temples both in the UK and abroad, although our interviewee suggested that this had been 'traditional' in India but, 'as time went on it wasn't being followed'. According to him, they are separated 'purely for concentration', although swamis in the tradition are not allowed to look at or touch women either.



The main shrine
Photo: author's own

The main shrine does not have 3d *murtis* but instead 2d picture *murtis*, which have been properly installed with the deity (*pranaprastha*). Our interviewee told us that 'the temples in Willesden, Cardiff and Harrow, Kenton, they've all got [3d] idol forms'. In Bolton, there were idols of the gods Hanuman and Ganesh to either side of the Swaminarayan. The walls of the temple are adorned with paintings from stories about SN's life and of the *acharyas*.



Ganesha
Photo: author's own



Hanuman
Photo: author's own

Our interviewee told us that 80–90% of the necessary funds were raised before they started building the temple, and that they then 'managed to accumulate funds on the opening ceremonies where we can then have a bit, if you like, for the first *aarti* or the door opening, those kind of things. So fundraising activities like that and I'm pleased to say that, yeah, we managed to build it.' The temple is open seven days a week, they have around ten school visits a year, and have one priest:

He actually lives in the temple and he does, if you like, looks after the idols for us, morning and evening, every single day. There's not been a single day since 1973 that we haven't had the deities, I mean they've always been looked after. We

obviously regard them, because one thing, again, which is in the Shikshapatri, in fact, our holy book, that any temple deity must be installed by the Acharya. That's quite clearly written and that's why our Acharya did actually attend.

Box 12: Swaminarayana Sidhant Sajivan Mandal

Swaminarayana Sidhant Sajivan Mandal

The Mandir on Deane Road, officially known as the Shree Swaminarayan Temple & Art Gallery, is one of two Hindu *mandir* in Bolton which affiliate to the Swaminarayan tradition. The mainly Gujarati Swaminarayan disciples who established this particular *mandir* were inspired by Jeevanpran Shree Muktajeevan Swamibapa of the Shree Swaminarayan Gadi Sansthan, who established Swaminarayan Temples all over the world. With migrants arriving in Bolton during the 1960/70s, mainly from East Africa, congregations were initially held in houses. As numbers increased, the devotees purchased a property at 164 Deane Road, which was converted into a Temple and inaugurated in 1974.



164 Deane Road
Photo: author's own

In 1991, as the congregation grew, the building was renovated and enlarged. While this renovation was taking place, the congregation used the ground floor of a church across the road at 161 Deane Road. Having this relationship meant that when the church officials decided to sell in 1996, they gave the Swaminarayan congregation first refusal. In 1996, the Swaminarayan community bought the church, allowing the church congregation to continue using it for 12 months until they found a new location. On Sunday the 15th June 1997, following a three-day Festival, the Temple was inaugurated by His Divine Holiness Acharya Swamishree Purushottampriyadasji Maharaj. There is also a temple in Kingsbury, London, linked to this SN sect.



161 Deane Road
Photo: author's own

As this old Unitarian church was not a listed building, the pews and stained glass windows were removed by the sellers when it was sold. The Swaminarayan congregation then built a function hall in the downstairs of the church, while continuing to use 164 Deane Road as the *mandir*. Following its inauguration as a *mandir* in 1997, the congregation moved into the building from across the road in 1998.

Once they had moved in, marble *murtis* (statues) were ordered, while artists from India were employed to complete the ceiling. Over two years – from 1998 to 2000 – sketches were drawn in India, canvases brought to the UK and fixed to the ceilings. The Soni family from Nahbard in Gujarat were responsible for the paintings.

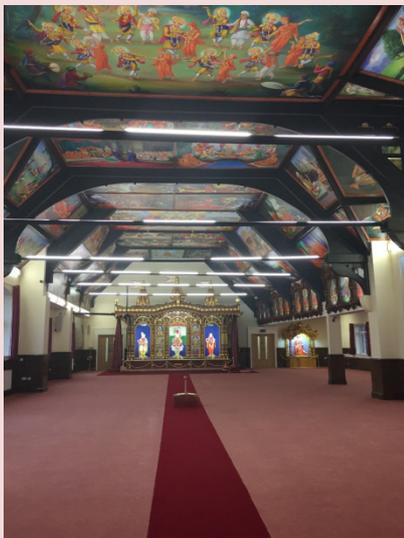
The ceiling of the *mandir* is a 3000 square foot canvas, with paintings of Lord Swaminarayan and Jeevanpran Swamibapa. The *mandir* contains the murtis of Lord Swaminarayan, Jeevanpran Abji Bapashree and Jeevanpran Swamibapa, along with those of Lord Hanuman and Lord Ganesh.

The Grand of Opening of the Shree Swaminarayan Mandir Arts and Culture Centre – the Murti Pratishtha Mahotsav – took place on the 16 August 2000.



Photos (Above and Below): author's own

The opening of the extension to the building in 2013 was reported by [local](#) and [national](#) media, with the Soni family producing more paintings for the new extension.



The intricate artwork has led to this temple being known as the Shree Swaminarayan Temple & Art Gallery. As our interviewee explained:

'When we bought the place the ceiling was in need of repair. We want to put a false ceiling, tiles, and then why? It's a beautiful structure, why put a false ceiling? You losing the beauty about the place. So we flew the artist from there in 1997, he came over here in 1998. He came with the plans to do this, and then came up with ...'

The paintings on the ceiling are all scenes from the life of Lord Swaminarayan. Our interviewee described the process of choosing the scenes as follows:

The artists and the gurus, or the swamis, they'll sit together and draw the sketches that they go off and they'll decide, 'Yeah, this story meets ...' Because sometimes they'll tell the story to an artist and an artist will start drawing sketches from the story they told. And once [they have] the meat of the story, they put extra figures onto it, the scene, but it has to tell a story.

So, why has Bolton become a key site for British Hindus in the North West of England? For our interviewee:

Bolton was easy because housing was cheaper and there were already people in Bolton, so they came. And the jobs were easy to find in textiles. Even though in Africa they were builders, over here they didn't want to go in building site, I don't know why. In Bolton nobody went in building site, they all went into textiles.

The paintings also enabled the *mandir* to fundraise, as each painting was sponsored. The total renovation cost of £2.6 million was underwritten by a Bolton businessman, allowing individuals and families to pledge money and then pay this back over a longer period. The *mandir* now attracts members from Oldham, Manchester and beyond.

The biggest annual function held there is Diwali, with the largest weekly event being the Sunday evening *arti* at 5:30pm, which attracts over 300 people. *Arti* takes place every day, in the morning and evening, and is run by the priest that lives on the site. In addition, the *mandir* runs a number of classes, including Indian *dhol* classes and meditation.

One of the main things that the Swaminarayan Mandir in Bolton is known for is the Shree Swaminarayangadi Pipe Band Bolton. Established in 2002, the Band has over 40 members and regularly performs at charitable fundraising events, at the Reebok stadium in Bolton and at events held in nearby Windermere. The band was also invited to play at the Olympic Torch event in Bolton in 2012, highlighting its importance to the city:

When the guru came in 1970, from Regents Park to Trafalgar Square, the parade, they were in October November and they hired a grenadier's guard to do the parade. And the must have paid them money. And the guru said, 'Why do you have to pay somebody? Why don't you learn it?' And that's where the kick off... There's one in Bolton, one in London [Kingsbury]. One in America, one in Kenya, one in India.'



The Pipe Band
© Swaminarayana Sidhant Sajivan Mandal

Going forward, there are plans to make the *mandir* look “more like a Hindu Temple”. The building will be clad in fibreglass. In relation to planning permission and regulations, our interviewee explained that the council had been very supportive of the development of the building, primarily as the *mandir* has developed derelict land. The *mandir* regularly hosts local, national and international dignitaries (including representatives from Bolton's twin towns of Le Mans and Paderborn), and also works very closely with Bolton Interfaith Council. Moreover, the *mandir* regularly hosts school children and members of the local

community, and it is thus clear that it is an important presence in Bolton, both for local Hindus and for the population of Bolton as a whole.⁵⁸

Box 13: Veda Mandir Bolton

Veda Mandir, Bolton

Initially we used to meet on the Queen's Park open space... We did exercises and yoga classes because this was something that we brought here that nobody else used to do. And then out of that group, a few people emerged to say that we really need a building to be able to work from.

Our interviewee told us that most of the Mandir's community had come, since the late 1960s, from

East Africa, Uganda, Kenya. Some came from India, Mauritius, Fiji. [The community] saw this building come up for sale [it was formerly the Church of St Barnabas, est. 1896]. We decided that we should go around fundraising. I think within 12 months we had enough. The enthusiasm was so great. And this building was only around £18,000 to buy. So we decided that everybody has to make a £10 contribution. It was high, in 1970s – wages were £3.... We organise trips to go to other temples as well. We've got our own bus, you know.

This was the first Hindu building in Bolton, acquired in 1975, and they had to ask for permission from the Church of England to use it as,

normally, they put a clause in or a covenant to say that you only use the building for community and nothing else, but we didn't want that in, so we requested permission so we can use as a place of worship and I think they deliberated but they agreed to give it to us... We still have a contact with them. Things we do to the church we let them know because it's part of our covenant.

There were a few churches up for sale and the time and the location suited them as it was near to where people were living.

58

http://allhindutemples.com/city/bolton/hindu_temple/shree-swamnarayan-mandir/ (28/4/17); <http://www.swaminarayanartgallery.com/aboutus/findingus.php> (accessed 1/5/17); <http://www.swaminarayangadi.com/bolton/activities/band.php> (accessed 28/4/17); <https://www.swaminarayangadi.com/pipeband/ourbands/index.php?band=bolton> (accessed 28/4/17).



Photo: author's own

Today, fewer of the community live in the direct vicinity of the temple, but it still has a membership of 2,500 families according to our interviewee. However, younger people were also moving away as they became educated and took up jobs elsewhere, with some coming back later 'because they want their children to follow the faith and the only place they can get that is here. So I know as soon as people get married, the second they are here for blessings.'

The building is used as a community centre as well as for religious activities and the temple committee runs Bolton Hindus' Age Inspiration, which opens every day providing lunch and snacks.

At the time of visiting the temple, they did not have a permanent priest, with daily rituals

being performed by volunteers instead, and a local freelance priest being brought in when necessary. The temple committee relies on donations for running the building and also raises money at festivals: 'we hold raffles, this is often, we hold cultural shows, Diwali show once a year. The Nine Nights of Festivals, biggest fundraiser for us.' They rent out space to others as long as they follow the 'no alcohol and no meat' rule: 'lots of groups, African groups come here, Muslim groups come here and use the ground floor'. For twenty years they have been running Gujarati classes for children on a Saturday morning.

Our interviewee also explained that when the Gujarat Hindu Society, GHS, in Preston first set up their new temple, that

they used to come to us, you know, see how we got all these things put together, what kind of things we do. They've gone there and they've built their new one haven't they?...They're on Meadow Lane. Brand new temple and everything, you know, they are absolutely brilliant. And there's another one that's a similar example, in Ashton-under-Lyne that came in, and they are called Bharatiya Mandal.

This kind of networking had been facilitated by the 'North-west Council of Hindu Temples, they're called. This is where we meet, you know, share ideas.'

He also explained how it had been 'practically impossible for us as an organisation now to buy a piece of land to build to start with.... but recently I heard in Ashton-under-Lyne, the council has given one of the Hindu organisations a piece of land to build and they've started raising funds. ... we've helped them raise some funds from here'

While he thought that the current building could be adapted to make it look more like a temple, this had not been possible due to funds. He had a vision to put up 'three domes, on the front on the side with the flags on.' He felt also that, 'to an average Hindu, if they come in and if their spiritual needs are met, they're happy with that. This is why we are here, otherwise if nobody was coming here it stops the whole purpose of being here, doesn't it?'

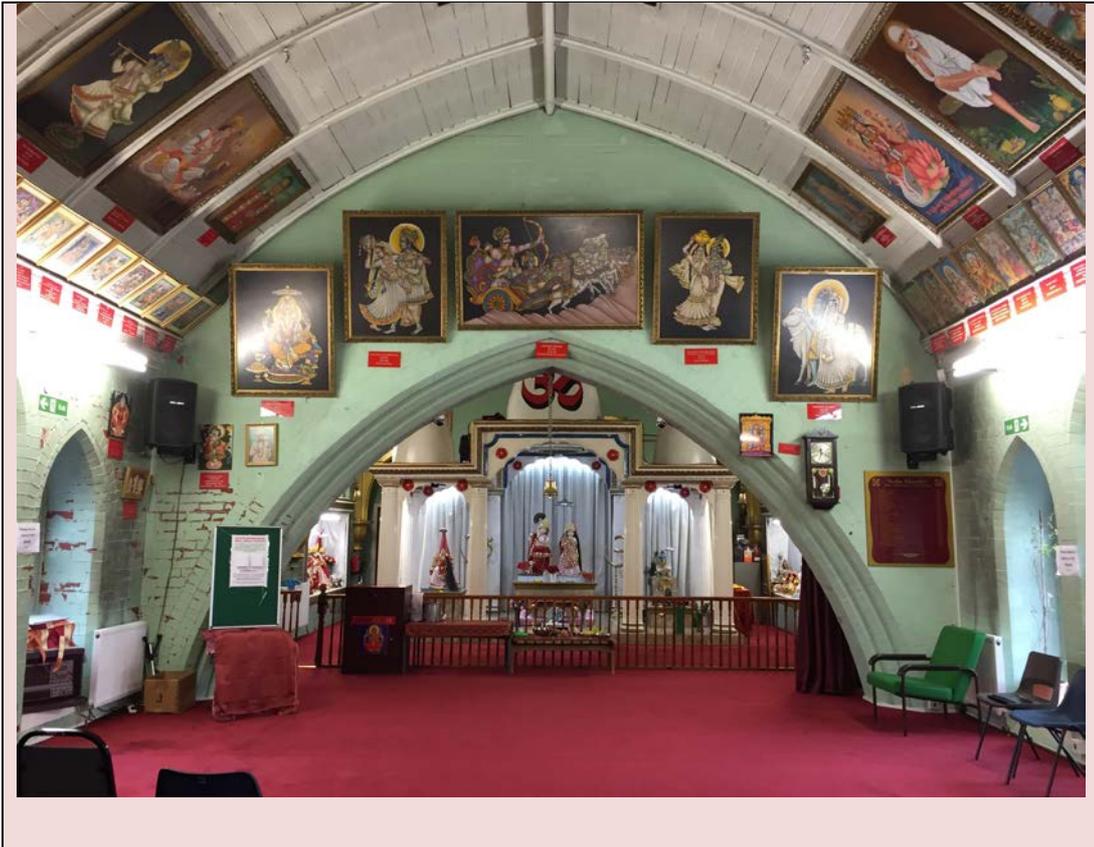
We call ourselves Sanatan which covers every Hindu sect. So if you're from Swaminarayan temple, it doesn't matter, you can still come upstairs because the deities and everything cover it. So if you come from Hare Rama, Hare Krishna, they come in here - Krishna, we cover that....So we are the only temple around in the North West which has got that, we cater for everyone. So you don't have to be...any particular person to be here...We organise trips to go to other temples as well. We've got our own bus, you know.

The 10–15 Jain families in Bolton also use the temple.

The building is not listed so it has not been that difficult to get permission to make changes, particularly to the inside. Recently, they had put a lift shaft in and, when they did that, they dug a hole in the ground and carried out *bhumi puja*.



Photos (above and below): author's own



The only temple we did not visit in Bolton for an interview was the Krishna Mandir and Mandhata Hitvardhak Mandal (an organisation linked to Koli Patel caste) on Beverley Road, which is located in a former Independent Methodist Church building from 1901.

Photo: author's own

6.4.2 Other areas in North West England with Hindu temples

In Ashton-under-Lyne there are three temples: the Shree Ram Mandir/Shree Jalaram Bhajan Mandal (a temple to the God Ram and to

Shree Jalalram Bapa), located in a suburban end of terrace house; the Shree Ambaji Mandir/Shree Bharatiya Mandal, Indian Association Tameside (est. 1964), located in what looks like a suburban new building with a temple adjoining and three *shikharas* (opened 1999); and the Swaminarayana Hindu Mission, a BAPS temple that looks to be located in a former factory/commercial unit.

Liverpool has three Hindu temples. The Gujarati Radha Krishna Temple is located in what looks to be a former church in a suburban area, and was set up at 31 Botanic Road, Liverpool in 1957 by a group of devotees. In 1976, the temple moved to its present location. The other two are both Tamil temples in suburban locations in reused buildings – Liverpool Ganesh Temple and Sri Muthumariyamman Temple, Tamil Community Centre.

Manchester also has three temples. First, the Gujarati Geeta Bhavan Mandir, which is located in church buildings with traditional features – three colourful *shikharas* – in suburban Whalley Range, established in 1987. There is a Hare Krishna Centre in a large suburban detached house, also in Whalley Range and, finally, the Radha Krishna Mandir in Withington, claiming to be the first Hindu temple in Manchester, established in 1969 and completely renovated in 1995.

There are two temples in Oldham: the Swaminarayana Temple in a converted Baptist Church in Lee Street – linked to Shree Swaminarayan Temple; and Bhuj under Acharya Shree Koshalendraprasadji Maharaj, set up by Kanbis from Kutch, who came to Oldham via East Africa in the mid-1960s.



Swaminaraayan Mandir Oldham⁵⁹

According to the temple website:

59

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shri_Swaminarayan_Mandir,_Oldham#/media/File:Swaminarayan_Mandir_Oldham.jpg (accessed 28/4/17).

Originally, religious sabhas were held at the Music Hall in Werneth Park. Acharya Maharaj Shri Tejendraprasadji visited Oldham in 1976 and suggested that we should build a temple in Oldham and firmly establish the Swaminarayan satsang there. A Baptist Church on Lee Street was bought in June 1977. It was so derelict that everything was stripped to the bricks and then renovated. All the satsangis, including children, worked day and night to have the temple completed for an official opening before Diwali of that year. With all the time and effort put in by the satsangis, the temple was completed well before Diwali. The official opening was on 22nd October 1977.⁶⁰

Box 14: Indian Association, Oldham Radha Krishna Temple, Oldham

Indian Association, Oldham Radha Krishna Temple, Oldham

'The Indian Association Oldham was established in 1968 with the arrival in Oldham of people from India, way back in the late 1950s. By late 1960s approximately 40 Indian families had made Oldham as their new home.... the Indian Association Oldham was then conceived on the 21st April 1968, with its Head Quarters made at Mr Sisodia's residence 60 Slater Street, Oldham.'⁶¹



Photo: author's own

In 1971 a building at 59 Fern Street was bought with donations and converted into a

⁶⁰ http://www.swaminarayan-oldham.org/mandir_history.html (accessed 28/4/17).

⁶¹ <http://indianassociationoldham.co.uk/about-us/> (accessed 28/4/17).

community centre known as Bharat Bhavan and a temple established here – the first in Oldham – on 8 September 1974, with Krishna and Radha as the presiding deities. In 1979 a major grant of £34,000 was obtained from the Urban Aid programme, which enabled the Indian Association to carry out renovation work on the building as well as to purchase the building next door. Thus, 'The Bharat Bhavan was extended and more Hindu Deities were installed in the Temple area on 21st April 1984.' As the community grew, they began to campaign for a new temple and community centre, and after lottery funding was obtained, they purchased a new site on Schofield Street. Fern Street is now occupied by a grocery shop. The new temple was inaugurated on 8 July 1999 and the community centre opened on 5 Dec 1999. In 2015, £400,000 was raised to build an annex, which also includes a sports hall.



Photo: author's own

Preston has three Hindu temples. The BAPs Swaminarayana Hindu Mission used to be located at 8 Avenham Place in an 18th century city centre terraced house that was formerly a synagogue. It is now called the Swaminarayan Hindu Mandir, and is housed in a purpose built structure in a suburban location, inaugurated in 2015. There is also a South Indian temple – the Telugu Community Association, formerly Andhra Social & Cultural Organisation, Preston, which was established in 1975. Finally, there is the Gujarat Hindu Society, Preston, which is outlined in Box 15.

Box 15: Gujarat Hindu Society, Preston

Gujarat Hindu Society, Preston



The Gujarati Hindu Society, Preston
Photo: author's own

During the 1960s, a number of Hindu families arrived in Preston to work in the cotton mills, and they had quickly established the Gujarati Hindu Society of Preston (GHS) by 1965, located at 4 Glover Street, a small terraced house situated in the Avenham Ward of Preston. This building was the home of one of the members of the GHS, who allowed it to be used for meetings and correspondence. At this time, a group of twelve members formed a committee to organise cultural and religious activities for the then eighty members. As the community grew, the members organised prayer meetings in local venues, including a Methodist hall. Following the arrival of significant numbers of Hindus from East Africa during the 1970s, the membership of GHS increased to four hundred families. By this point, the community realised that they needed a larger building to meet their needs.

As our respondent explained “in 1974 we bought an old school, which was derelict and was about seventy-five years old ... At that time, the Hindu community in Preston did not have any place to worship or socialise, so it was decided that our community then to try and buy a building.” The building was a Church of England school, which had been derelict for three years. Our respondent explained that, as the society did not have sufficient funds to develop the site, and as the banks refused to provide them with loans, five trustees decided to put their own houses up as security, and the contract for the building was signed on 13 February 1975. As the school was derelict:

we had to do it up, so we had one hundred volunteers ... and we did the whole place up in six months. We did the painting, we had people with skills and we had people who came in from outside who came and helped us. Within six months we were ready to open.

Our respondent explained that “because it was a church school, we couldn't call it a temple ... our title is Gujarati Hindu Society, Intercultural Recreational Centre, that's how we registered the society.” The building was officially opened on 25 August 1975 with the installation of Lord Krishna's shrine in the prayer hall – an event which attracted over

3,000 people and helped to pay off the £17,500 loan.

Further improvements and additions were made to the centre during the 1970s and 1980s. In 1978, the prayer hall was renovated, and more deities were installed, including Ambika and the Shiva Lingum. As our respondent explained:

In the early 80s we embarked on our second project that was to build an extension at the back. Because the school wasn't big enough and we wanted to run Gujarati language classes, so we decided to build an extension, which was this at the back ... So we did a National Lottery project [and] we were able to get Prince Charles to come and open it. So that was in 1981.

In 1996, the GHS carried out a feasibility study to examine how the building could be developed further. On 1 October 1996, NJSR were appointed as the main architects for the building project, and a full application was made to the Millennium Commission in February 1997. On 16 November 1997, the Millennium Commission announced that it would be providing a grant of £1.64 million towards the total project cost of £3.28 million. Our respondent explained:

the price was escalating from 2.78 to 3.28 and then we also had the issue of parking. We'd already bought some land at the back, but we still needed more spaces for another forty spaces. So there was a derelict building at the back in Westcliffe, which we set our eyes on. That was owned by a Hindu chap and they were going to open a nursing home there. These had been derelict for many years. So we sort of negotiated with them to see what we could do.

The project started in April 1998, was completed in December 1999, and opened on the 1 January 2000. The size of the building had increased from six thousand square feet to over twenty-four thousand. Our respondent explained how they paid off some of the loan by setting up their own lottery draw:

We had ten Mercedes cars as prizes. Every two months there would be a Mercedes, but you had to buy a ticket for £250. If you buy a ticket for £250, you got ten chances. That's £250, within two months, three months we were able to sell eight hundred tickets at £250. So we were able to pay for the cars.

Our respondent explained that, although the Society had secured a £750,000 loan from the bank, the strategy of opening the centre up as an enterprise centre for hire meant that they were able to pay back the loan in six years. This use has continued in the GHS Enterprise, which now also provides conferencing services, a luncheon club for the elderly, staffed by volunteers, which attracts over seventy people every week, and a youth club. Our respondent also described how the Society hosts over two hundred school visits a year from schools in Lancashire and Cumbria. Finally, the community centre includes a Badminton court, and regularly hosts sporting events.



Inside the Community Centre
Photo: author's own

The Society hosts annual Health Melas, which have been running for ten years. Approximately five Melas are organised per year.

nfhw National Forum for Health & Wellbeing
 Registered Charity No. 1159443
 www.nfhw.org.uk

Lancashire Teaching Hospitals **NHS**
 NHS Foundation Trust

3 BUSINESS AWARDS Winner

GHS
 Empowering the Community

Rotary

Celebrating 15th Annual PRESTON HEALTH MELA
 EMPOWERING COMMUNITIES TO IMPROVE THEIR HEALTH AND WELLBEING

Chief Guest - Sir Peter Dixon, Chairman of Diabetes-UK

uclan
 University of Central Lancashire

Saturday 16th April 2016 11am - 4pm
 Foster Building UCLAN
 Preston PR1 2HE
Free entrance and Car Parking

MAKE THE MOST OF THESE OPPORTUNITIES complete health checks including blood pressure, bmi blood sugar and cholesterol testing, personal and confidential health counselling, older person services, create your own smoothie on the smoothie bike, advice on children mental health and wellbeing, reiki, fun and games for children, colouring competition • **AND MUCH, MUCH MORE!**

• **Complete Diabetic Checks including Eye, Dental and Hearing**

nfhw
 NFW is based in the Centre for Research in Health and Wellbeing, University of Bolton, Deane Road, Bolton BL5 5AB

ENJOY EDUCATE EMPOWER

HEALTH OLYMPICS

Photo: author's own

The mandir is centrally located, with the majority of the members living within a fifteen to

twenty minute drive. For our respondent, the most important aspects of the mandir are the Sikar and the paintings on the ceiling. These paintings reflect a number of stories from Hindu mythology including the Ramlila and Krishnalila.



Photo: author's own

Ceiling paintings in the main hall

Other paintings in the main hall depict stories from the lives of key figures, including Krishna, Rama and Sai Baba. The main hall also includes large wooden pillars.



Photo: author's own

The Pillars and paintings in the main hall

Our respondent explained that the architectural features of the mandir are guided by religious scriptures known as Agama Shastras and Shilpa Shastras. At the entrance of the Preston Mandir stands a marble 'gopuram' (tower of the main entrance):



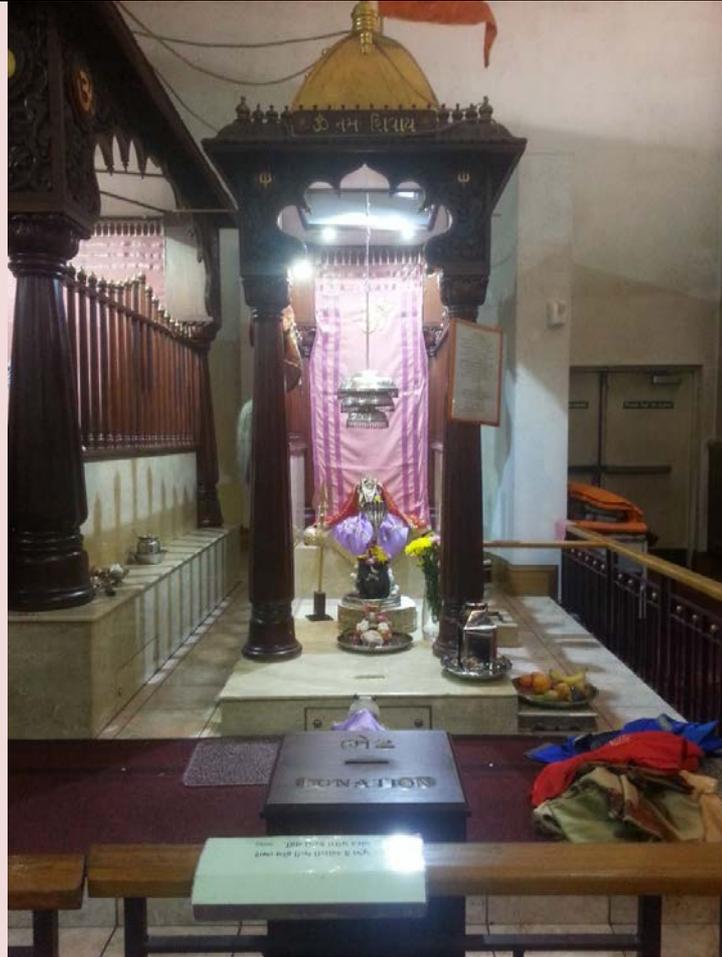
Photo: author's own

The Gopuram

To ensure a link to their local community, the wooden carvings of the mandir shrines were carried out by local craftsmen, Alan Knowles from Blackburn. The shrines are all made of mahogany.



The Shrine of the Goddess Shakti
Photo: author's own



The Shiva Lingum
Photo: author's own

From its humble beginnings as a derelict school, the Preston Mandir established by the Gujarati Hindu Society has clearly become a hub for people of Preston from all backgrounds.

Finally, there is one temple in Warrington and one in Blackburn. The Rama Krishna Temple Warrington is in what looks to be a former commercial building in a suburban location, and the Pashupati Ashram is in a rural location outside Blackburn. The latter was set up by a white convert to Hinduism called Satguru Sri Ramana Devi.

6.4 Hindu Buildings in the West Midlands

There are thirty-two temples in the West Midlands, seven in Birmingham, seven in Coventry, three in Wolverhampton, two in each of Walsall, Willenhall, Dudley and Bilston, and one in each of Leamington Spa, Nuneaton, Oldbury, Rugby, Smethwick, Telford and West Bromwich.

	Birmingham (number)	Birmingham (%)	Coventry (number)	Coventry (%)	England and Wales (%)
Christian	494,358	46.1%	170,090	53.7%	59.3
Muslim	234,411	21.8%	23,665	7.5%	4.8
Hindu	22,362	2.1%	11,152	3.5%	1.5
Other Religions	5,646	0.5%	1,641	0.5%	0.4
Buddhist	4,780	0.4%	1,067	0.3%	0.4
Jewish	2,205	0.2%	210	0.1%	0.5
Sikh	32,376	3%	15,912	5%	0.8
No Religion	206,821	19.3%	72,896	23%	25.1
Religion not stated	70,086	6.55%	20,327	6.4%	7.2

Table 6: Religion in Birmingham and Coventry – 2011 Census: Religion, local authorities in England and Wales, table KS209EW.

Birmingham is the second largest city in England, and its rapid growth over the past two hundred years has been in no small measure a product of the influx of immigrant workers, with leather and textiles and then, increasingly, the manufacture of iron leading to its prosperity. Major immigration from Ireland during the famine took place in the mid-19th century, followed by further waves in the 1950s and 60s. Immigration from the commonwealth countries then took off in the post WWII era, from South Asia and the Caribbean, and then from countries such as Kosovo, Somalia and Poland from the 1980s onwards.

Coventry has also attracted immigrants over the past couple of hundred years. It has made its fortunes through cloth manufacturing, watches and clocks, bicycles and more recently cars, where this industry boomed in the 1950s and 60s, declining by the 1970s. According to Taylor and Bains (nd):

More than 12 per cent have South Asian roots, while others come from Caribbean, African, Middle Eastern, Irish and other European backgrounds. These individuals range from those who arrived before the Second World War and their descendants, to much more recent migrants.⁶²

Taking Birmingham first, according to an Internet source, ‘The Shree Geeta Bhawan Mandir Birmingham is the first Hindu temple in the

⁶²http://historywm.com/wp-content/uploads/issue2/pp26-29_Taylor&Bains.pdf (accessed 28/4/17).

Midlands'.⁶³ It is located on the border of suburban Handsworth and Lozells in the former St George's Presbyterian Church, and was originally designed by J.P.Osborne in a cruciform shape in 1896, but was reopened as the Shree Geeta Bhawan Mandir Birmingham in 1969.⁶⁴ In a former Salvation Army Hall today, we can find the Shri Pashupatinath Mandir, which was founded by Acharya Chintamani Pandeya and opened on 17 August 2014. The ISCKON temple is in the more upmarket Edgbaston, in a residential building that is currently being renovated and extended. In the meantime, the religious events in the area are being held at either the Shree Geeta Bhavan or the Sri Durgha Bhavan, indicating a sharing of resources between these different Hindu communities. A temple set up by the Mochi Gujarati community – the Birmingham Pragati Mandal (BPM Krishna Temple – is located on Sampson road in Sparkbrook and was founded in 1994. It is hard to tell if it is purpose-built or a renovation, but has some Hindu features, including a Shikhara and a flag. The Laxmi Narayana Mandir, Birmingham/Shree Hindu Community Centre is in a former church in Tyseley. According to an internet source, the

Shree Hindu Community Centre (SHCC) was founded in 1979 when the presence of Birmingham's Hindu Community had started to take root. The property was an old church in poor condition requiring significant improvement and injection of funds. It took a further ten years and a persistent effort by the founding leaders with the help of the community to reach a stage for a Murthi Pran Pratishtha to take place in 1989 and for Shree Laxmi Narayan Mandir to become a fully functioning part of the SHCC.⁶⁵

There is also a BAPS Swaminarayan temple in Hall Green.

⁶³ http://allhindutemples.com/city/west-midlands/hindu_temple/shri-gita-bhawan-birmingham/ (accessed 28/4/17).

⁶⁴ http://allhindutemples.com/city/west-midlands/hindu_temple/shri-gita-bhawan-birmingham/ (28/4/17).

⁶⁵ <http://heyevent.uk/venue/hd63yggzl2ezya> (28/4/17).

Box 16: Shree Ram Mandir (SSPC Birmingham UK)

Shree Ram Mandir (SSPC Birmingham UK)



The Shree Ram Mandir, Birmingham⁶⁶
Photo: author's own

The Shree Ram Mandir on Walford Rd in Birmingham is a branch of the Shree Sorathia Prajapati Community (SSPC) UK, which has eleven branches and operates across the UK, in Birmingham, Bolton, Cambridge, Coventry, East London, Hounslow, Leicester, Peterborough, Rugby, South East London and Southall. Prajapati translates to "PRAJA – Citizen PATI-Father", or "Father of the nation", with Prajapatis recognising themselves as descendants of King Daksh Prajapati, the father of Ma Parvati, the consort of Lord Shiva. The Shree Ram Mandir is situated in the old Waldorf Picture Theatre, which opened in Walford Road on 29 November 1913. The building was taken over by Kewal Maini, a Punjabi businessman, in the early 1970s, and screened Bollywood films at this time. The cinema closed in 1983, and eventually became the Shree Ram Mandir, Birmingham's second Hindu temple (the first being in Handsworth). As our respondent explained: "This building was acquired by our community in about 1980, in the late 70s, when the videos arrived, the cinemas died a death, but prior to that, it was a thriving cinema for the local community."

Our respondent remembered visiting the cinema in the 1970s, having arrived from the "northern part of India in Gujarat, an area called Shrabast." Prior to buying the building, our respondent explained that the community regularly held events in local schools. Before buying the building, a number of other options were examined, but the other properties they viewed were either in poor condition, or were too expensive. Our respondent explained: "When this was bought, the asking price was £40,000. We

66

<http://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/nostalgia/old-birmingham-cinemas-remembered-8503764> (accessed 28/4/17); <http://sspc-uk.org/aboutus.html> ; '40th anniversary booklet available here: for SPA

<https://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&pid=sites&srcid=ZGVmYXVsdGRvbWFpbnxzGfIaXJtaW5naGFtGd4OjdlZGMNTQ5OTA0NmJkNzg> (accessed 28/4/17).

probably had about £10,000 at the time from events ... so a national appeal was launched.”

This national appeal involved other branches of the SSPC community. At the time, the only Hindu mandir in Birmingham was the Shree Geeta Bhavan in Handsworth, so there was a need for a mandir in South Birmingham. All the work on the building was carried out by members of the community “ who would work in factories during the day and then at night and weekends would come and give their services for free.”



**The main shrine at the Shree Ram Mandir
Photo: author's own**

According to our respondent, the local council was very encouraging when the community decided to buy the cinema, because “when the cinema shut down and the people stopped coming, the local economy suffered as a result, so when we bought the building, we applied to refurbish it in the way that we wanted it ... there wasn't any objections at the time and as long as you were funding it yourself, they really didn't care.”

In terms of its usage, our respondent explained that they “celebrate upwards of twenty Hindu festivals a year, the biggest of which is the Krishna Janamasthmi”. Whereas previously families within the SSPC community were involved in this festival, “now in the last five or six years, we've actually started branching out with other temples ... we've done that with a temple in Milton Keynes ... and we did it with the Krishna temple in Coventry.” The temple is busy all week and runs a number of weekly events as well, including a day centre for the elderly, where “we have 50 to 60 people, they come ... we have a chap comes in and teaches them yoga and then they have lunch.” The mandir has also run events for the younger generation. As our respondent explained:

There was a time when they said the music was very traditional and they didn't understand it and they wanted a bit more modern music, so we had a DJ in and we said, there's strict guidelines, obviously we're not going to allow alcohol ... apart from that, you have to respect the women in here, you can't be rowdy, this is not a nightclub, this is a temple so you have to abide by the rules of the temple. But once we broke down those two or three barriers, yeah it was great, it's active here.

As well as hosting murtis of Radha, Krishna, Ram, Sita and Laxman, the mandir hosts a particular murti called Shreebai, which has a special significance to the Prajapati

community. Our respondent believed that “this temple is the only temple, we believe, in the Northern Hemisphere, that has actually got this particular deity in it.”



The Shreebai Murti
Photo: author's own

The Temple was consecrated by specialised priests in 1986. Our respondent explained that “there was a four-day ceremony for that consecration to take place.” The temple has one main priest, and our respondent informed us, that in choosing this priest, their “requirement was very, very specific, in so far as that the priest should hold a religious qualification from an established religious university and should be fluent in English.”

The temple is part of the Birmingham Interfaith Group. Consequently, all sections of the wider Birmingham community, including schools and other academic establishments, regularly visit the mandir. Our respondent explained that this had allowed some sections of the Birmingham population to engage with Hindus for the first time:

We had a lot of Eastern European, Romanians and Hungarian people, nothing like this at all, they're of the Muslim faith but they've never been exposed, one of the things I told them is that we are vegetarians, they could not accept the fact that people can actually live without meat.

For our respondent, the most important areas of the mandir were:

the shrine area, the main hall. Another very important part for our temple is the kitchen area because we get a lot of bookings for our non-religious use, where we find that we have to prepare food ... and that for us is one aspect where we want to develop, so that we can serve the community better.

In terms of its funding, the mandir is funded by voluntary donations, with the main hall also being available for rent to the public.



**The Main Hall at the mandir, looking on to the shrine
Photo: author's own**

Coventry has a total of seven temples:

1. The Shree Magha Sithi Vinayagar Hindu Temple is a Tamil temple in a suburban residential street.
2. Sanatan Dharm Hindu Temple was set up in suburban office buildings in the late 1980s.
3. The Hindu Temple Society is 'believed to be one of the oldest Hindu Temples not only in Coventry but in the UK'.⁶⁷
4. The Shree Gujarati Hindu Satsang Mandal Shree Krishna Temple appears to be purpose built.
5. The BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir Coventry looks as though it is in a reused building.
6. Finally, there is a temple to Baba Balak Nath, a Hindu deity worshipped in the northern Indian states of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, and looks to be purpose built (see box 17).
7. We have also included the Jagat Guru Valmiki Ji Maharaj Temple, which is the only Valmiki temple in the UK to have the sacred text of Sikhism, the Sikh Guru Granth Sahib, side-by-side with the Hindu text the Ramayana, and was set up in a former suburban Royal Mail parcel sorting office in 1979. This temple provides a good example of the difficulty of differentiating Sikhism and Hinduism in some instances. The Ravidass tradition provides another example of this, but we have not

⁶⁷ <http://www.coventrytelegraph.net/news/coventry-news/coventry-hindu-temple-open-after-3041020> (accessed 28/4/17).

mapped these temples as they all contain the Guru Granth Sahib (Sikh holy text). Nesbitt has examined these overlaps (1990a; 1990b; 1994). See also Singh and Fenech 2014; Jacobsen and Myrvold 2011).

We have located at least four temples in Wolverhampton, possibly five. The one we are unsure about is the Bhagwan Valmik Temple (Ashram) and Community Centre – it is not clear if this still exists, although our interviewees in Southall said that there was a Valmiki temple in Wolverhampton. The Krishna Mandir is in what looks like a purpose-built premises on Penn Road, with the photos below likely being an earlier location for this place of worship.



Photograph of the interior of a Hindu Temple, Penn Road, Wolverhampton 1975.⁶⁸
© 2005 Wolverhampton City Council.

⁶⁸ <http://www.wolverhamptonhistory.org.uk/people/faith/hinduism/temple>
(accessed 28/4/17).



Photograph of the interior of a Hindu Temple, Penn Road, Wolverhampton 1975.
© 2005 Wolverhampton City Council.

There are two temples on Wellington Road in Bilston, a suburb of Wolverhampton. The Rama Krishna Temple, Wolverhampton is in semi-detached property and the Durga Bhawan/Durga Dhawa Hindu Welfare Society is in the Old Crown Works, which looks as though some adaptation has taken place to add Hindu features (e.g. a flag) and possibly an extension. Finally, the Universal Divine Temple Ek Nivas is in what looks like a purpose built temple on Dudley Road. Ek Niwas was founded in November 1990, and aims to include all religions although, in practice, it is more obviously a blending of Sikh and Hindu elements. Geaves and Geaves (1997) describe it as linking back to the Punjabi cult of Baba Balaknath, emerging 'from Shahtalai in Himachal Pradesh, down to the plains of the Punjab and then out into the Sikh/Hindu diaspora' (1997: 3). They write that the 'cult in Britain is concentrated in the West Midlands [Wolverhampton and Walsall] area but also has followers in West London' (1997: 3). We have also found a Baba Balaknath temple in Leicester, possibly set up since Geaves and Geaves (1997) paper was written as they do not mention it.

Box 17: Universal Divine Temple Ek Nivas

Universal Divine Temple Ek Nivas

The temple known as Ek Niwas was opened in 1995 and, like the Walsall mandir, its unusual design was inspired by an 'individual priest'. 'It is not connected officially with the

Gufa in Shahtalai' (Geaves and Geaves 1997: 18).



Ek Niwas Temple⁶⁹

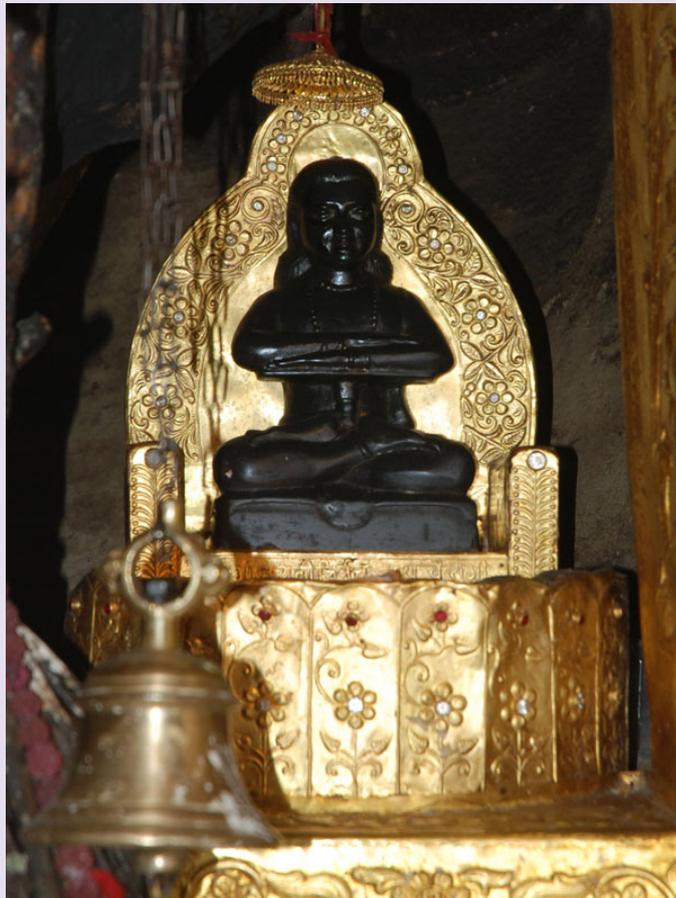
The decor of this temple is completely different from any other Hindu temple that we have seen, either in Britain or in India. The interior is designed to reproduce the mountain upon which the *Gufa* (cave) is situated, and the *murtis* are set against a Himalayan backdrop. Each *murti* is set upon a complex structure of fibreglass mountains and dense foliage. An artificial waterfall is negotiated by a bridge across which the devotees can walk. Stuffed

⁶⁹ <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/683289> (accessed 28/4/17) © Copyright Roger Kidd and licensed for reuse under this [Creative Commons Licence](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/); see also <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AiMoVHOVjiM> (accessed 28/4/17).

animals hide in bushes amidst waterfalls and caves and some scenes depict famous events in Baba Balaknath's life. The various caves form shrines to deities or contain scriptures of the world's major traditions. All this is presided over by a large picture of the God which hangs above the other *murtis* with the legend in English: "God's Voice is heard in many Ways". Flanking the *murtis* are two pictures; one of Guru Nanak and the other of Guru Gobind Singh. On the left hand side are newly installed *murtis* of Krishna and Radha and on the right hand side at the entrance is a Shiva *lingam* shrine. This apparent attempt at universalism has been further developed by the installment of a statue of Jesus Christ (Geaves and Geaves 1997: 18).

Box 18: Baba Balaknath

Baba Balaknath



Baba Balak Nath⁷⁰

Baba Balak Nath or Sidh Baba Balak Nath is a Hindu deity worshipped in the northern Indian states of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh....Baba Balak Nath is believed to be a re-incarnation of Lord Kartikeya, son of Lord Shiva and Goddess Parvati.

There is also a Baba Balak Nath temple in Walsall. Geaves and Geaves tell us that 'Each of the temples or groups is centred around the charismatic authority of individual devotees that claim to be a channel for

⁷⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sidh_Bawa_Balak_Nath#/media/File:Gufa-sidh-bawa-balak-nath-ji.jpg (accessed 28/4/17).

the healing power of Baba Balaknath' (1997: 13). Finally, in Walsall, is the suburban purpose-built Ram Mandir, which opened in May 1991.

We found two temples in Dudley – Mata Da Mandir, Hindu Cultural association, which is located in a large detached building, and the Shree Krishna Temple and Shree Gujarati Hindu Centre Dudley, which is located in what looks like a former church. There is one in Leamington Spa – the Krishna Mandir – which is located just off the main street in the town centre. Nuneaton also has one – the Hindu Gujarati Samaj Nuneaton, which looks purpose built, but does not look like a Hindu temple. There is one in Rugby – the Rugby Bhajan Mandal – first formed in 1968 in the Late Shri Khusalbhai Mistry's residence. Six years after, in June 1974, the mandir was relocated to a residential property that they purchased.

We found two temples in Willenhall – The Shirdi Saibaba Maha Shiv Shakti Mandir is in a converted Anglican church, where the Goddess is worshipped alongside Shirdi Saibaba, as well as other deities (for Shirdi Saibaba, this temple is one of three in England); and the Shri Durga Bhawan Temple International, run by KC Baba (Kuldip Singh).

The suburban Durga Bhawan in Smethwick displays three *shikhara*, and is probably purpose built. And the Shree Krishna Temple in West Bromwich (see photo below) opened in 2010 – 'after 18 years and £1.6 million, an ornate Hindu temple...' has been built after the previous temple was destroyed by an arson attack in 1992. The timing of this attack coincides with others in the UK thought to be a reaction against an event in India where a mosque was destroyed by right wing Hindus in the city of Ayodhya.⁷¹ The new temple has been designed in accordance with the *shilpa shastra*.⁷²



⁷¹ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/fears-grow-over-temple-attacks-1562566.html> (accessed 28/4/17).

⁷² <https://www.yelp.co.uk/biz/shree-krishna-mandir-west-bromwich> (accessed 28/4/17); <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-black-country-11131579> (accessed 28/4/17).

Shree Krishna temple in West Bromwich⁷³

This is the only temple in the UK that we have encountered that is in a listed building. It is grade II listed, list entry number: 1287293.⁷⁴ It was listed in 1987 as the Sri Krishna Temple. The list entry details report:

Methodist church, now Hindu temple. 1839. Stuccoed brick. Facade symmetrical, of two storeys and three bays, flanked by pilasters. The middle bay projects slightly. The windows have iron glazing bars. The middle window on the first floor has a round head, recessed within a round arch with keystone and impost blocks. Entrance flanked by pair of free-standing fluted Doric columns in antis. Below the cornice is an inscription: "EBENEZER 1839". The nave is of five bays with two storeys of windows. At the east end is a small semi-circular apse. Interior: ceiling, and galleries on three sides carried on slim-iron columns. The apse is flanked by pilasters.

Beside the current newly built temple there still exists an older building that has 'School' carved on the front. It would seem that this is not the building referred to in this listing description. Instead the building in the listing description is likely to be the building that the temple was located in before it burnt down in 1992 – The Ebenezer Congregational Chapel.⁷⁵ Therefore this list entry should be updated to reflect the fact that the chapel no longer exists.

Box 19: The Balaji Temple in Dudley

⁷³ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Shree_Krishna_Temple_West_Bromwich.JPG (accessed 28/4/17).

⁷⁴ <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1287293> (accessed 28/4/17).
<http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-219332-shree-krishna-temple-#.WldK72VwU0Y> (accessed 28/4/17).

⁷⁵ http://blackcountryhistory.org/collections/getrecord/GB146_NC-SU_2/;
<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/staffs/vol17/p70> (accessed 28/4/17).

The Balaji Temple, Dudley⁷⁶



Photo: author's own

Opened in August 2006, the Shri Venkateswara Temple (Balaji) in Dudley was proclaimed to be 'the largest Hindu temple in Europe'. Costing £6.5m to build, and taking thirty years in the planning, the temple was inaugurated during a five-day ceremony that attracted over ten thousand people.

The Shri Venkateswara Temple complex in Dudley is built on 12.5 acres of a former tip, and has been constructed in the style of the temple of Sri Venkateswara in Tirupati, India.

⁷⁶

http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/west_midlands/5276562.stm (accessed 28/4/17);
<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-402098/Europes-largest-Hindu-temple-opens-doors-Midlands.html>(accessed 28/4/17);
<http://www.expressandstar.com/news/2013/10/01/freddie-mercury-honoured-in-unveiling-of-tiviale-statue/32273298/>(accessed 28/4/17);
http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/blackcountry/hi/people_and_places/religion_and_ethics/newsid_8936000/8936896.stm (accessed 28/4/17);
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/west_midlands/5278896.stm (accessed 28/4/17).



The temple of Sri Venkateswara in Tirupati, India⁷⁷

The site was funded by a £3.3m lottery grant from the Millennium Commission, and has taken over thirty years to come to fruition since local Hindus first decided to build a temple in the West Midlands in 1974. They spent the next twenty years searching for a site and trying to secure funding, but were unable to obtain planning permission. In 1992, they finally located Brades Hall Farm, a disused farm and a tip, locally known as 'Monks Tip' bounded by a canal.

In 1994 the Black Country Development Corporation agreed to allow the devotees to build on the site, granting them planning permission for a temple. As our respondent explained, the Black County Development Corporation had decided that the land would be designated for community purposes as it could not be used for housing. Although originally only allocated 3.5 acres for the site, as the other occupants were unable to occupy the site, the Hindu community were allowed to develop all 12.5 acres. The huge site now contains a number of distinct buildings including the temple, a community centre and seven 'faith hills'. The 'faith hills', an initiative of Dr Narayan Rao, chairman of the temple hit the headlines on 1 October 2013 when a Farohar symbol with a man in the centre was unveiled in a ceremony at the temple to represent the Zoroastrian tradition.

77

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d9/Tirumala_Venkateswara_temple_entrance_09062015.JPG (accessed 30/1/18).

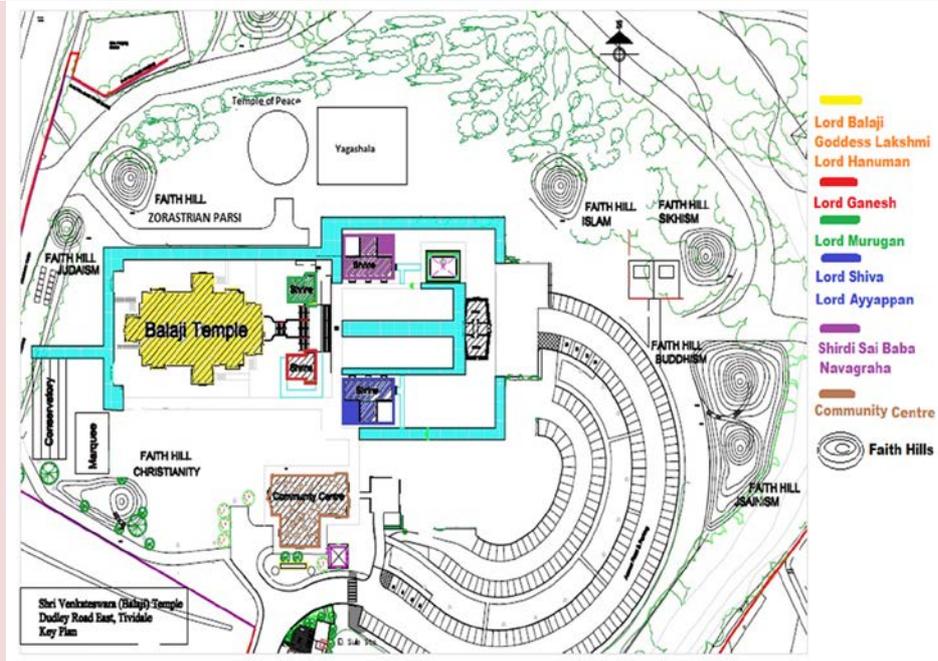


Photo: author's own

This symbol now sits alongside a dedication to Freddie Mercury on top of the Zoroastrian Parsi Faith Hill, one of seven hills representing Islam, Sikhism, Judaism, the Zoroastrian tradition, Buddhism, Jainism and Christianity.

In 1996 the Millennium Commission approved a matched funding scheme. Work started on the site in 1997 with a foundation laying ceremony – Bhoomi Pooja (ritually sanctifying the ground). The Ganesh and Shri Venkateswara Utsava Moorthy murtis were installed in 1999 as the first of three smaller shrines next to the site of the main temple were completed. In the same year, a team of six hundred builders started work on the main temple building in India. The installation of the main murtis of Shri Venkateswara and Hanuman took place in the main temple in April 2000, with further ceremonies taking place between 2000 and 2004 during the time when the main temple was being completed. August 2006 saw the grand opening ceremony of the main temple.

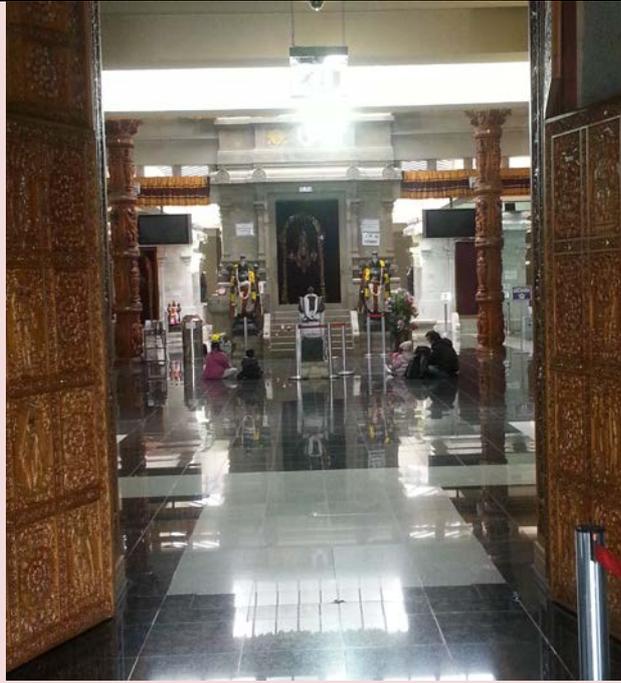


Photo: author's own

In May 2007 an ornamental pond with the statue of Ananthapadmanabha was opened. The shrine for Shiva was built and the statue (natural stone selected from the river Ganges in the foot hills of Himalayas) was installed in 2011.



Photo: author's own

The concrete, granite and glass structure was built in stages in India before being shipped to the UK to be assembled on site. A team of thirty highly-skilled craftsmen and stone masons were brought over from India to work on the carvings of Hindu gods and goddesses that adorn mahogany doors, stone pillars and the walls and ceilings inside the temple.



Photo: author's own

The temple did face opposition from the local population, as Dr. Kandiah Somasundara Rajah, involved with the project since its origins in the 1970s explained:

we had a lot of opposition from the locals – we organised a meeting and nearly got lynched ... But we went ahead with it anyway. It came from small beginnings and it is wonderful seeing it being celebrated. It is a dream come true for all of us.

Dr Rajah explained that “there were rumours that dead bodies were going to turn up in the river.” In order to ensure that the project succeeded, three of the founders had to put in £100,000 each to stop the temple going bankrupt.

The mandir operates through a team of volunteers and twenty-two full and part time employees, including nine priests. The priests, all from India are employed on two-year rolling contracts. The priests are employed from two different schools, to work in different parts of the temple – the upper temple, called the Venkateswara Temple, focuses on Vishnu, and the lower temple focuses on Shiva. As Dr VP Narayan Rao, the founding chairman of the temple explained, the priests are trained from the age of seven to perform the chanting in Sanskrit. Our respondents explained that the ceremonies at the temple are deliberately conducted in Sanskrit, with some Hindi translations for those who don't understand it. This is to maintain the ‘purity’ of the rituals, as in the “translation from poetry to prose you lose something ... we wanted to retain the tradition and then people like it. People may not understand everything that the priest chants, but they know the gist of it.”

The mandir attracts tourists and visitors from a number of different backgrounds, playing host to tourist companies from as far away as Germany, and hosting over eight thousand school visits a year. Weddings are conducted in the community centre, which is also a venue for lectures and health and wellbeing days.



Photo: author's own

The temple was designed through a collaborative venture between an Indian and British architect and [Dr Adam Hardy](#), then at Leicester University, who assisted with the initial planning permission. Our respondents explained that they were responsible for ironing out a number of issues, including the placement of toilets:

So the Indian architects said you can't have toilets in the temple. I said, "If you can't have toilets in the temple you will have a temple in the toilet." Because in India they build temples, no toilet. So early in the morning, people defecate all the way round. I went to India about six months ago, and met a priest coming out of a temple and just defecating there. So I said, we are not building the old India fashioned toilets ... we've installed a brand new surgically clinical toilet, it's a flush toilet and people wash thoroughly, shower if they want to, and then we go up to the temple in their bare footed without being affected by the weather.

Another innovation in terms of the temple management is the advisory council, which includes the mayor of the city and other faith representatives. Our respondents explained the reasoning behind this as follows: 'It is pointless in constructing something which is so isolated inside a community and being apart'.

In terms of its future, Sandwell council have recently approved a scheme for the new one-storey building at the Shri Venkateswara Balaji temple on Dudley Road East. This will allow for the construction of a Yagashala building, which caters for a special ceremony to introduce babies to the faith.

6.5 Hindu Buildings in the East Midlands

The East Midlands has seen significant immigration of Hindus from India and East Africa, with Leicester having the largest concentration of Hindus in England at 15.2% of the population.⁷⁸ We have found eighteen temples

⁷⁸ ["2011 Census: Religion, local authorities in England and Wales"](#). United Kingdom Census 2011. Office for National Statistics. Retrieved 12 December 2012 (accessed 28/4/17).

in Leicester, five in Nottingham, three in Loughborough, three in Wellingborough and one in Derby (thirty in total).

	Leicester (number)	Leicester (%)	England and Wales (%)
Christian	106,872	32.4	59.3
Muslim	61,440	18.6	4.8
Hindu	50,087	15.2	1.5
Other Religions	1,839	0.6	0.4
Buddhist	1,224	0.4	0.4
Jewish	295	0.1	0.5
Sikh	14,457	4.4	0.8
No Religion	75,280	22.8	25.1
Religion not stated	18,345	5.6	7.2

Table 7: Religion in Leicester – 2011 Census: Religion, local authorities in England and Wales, table KS209EW.

According to an article online, ‘Leicester is Britain's top ethnic city. Migration over the last century means that by the year 2012 ethnic groups in Leicester will make up the majority of the population.’⁷⁹ During the industrial era, its main industries were hosiery, textiles, footwear and engineering, with its diverse economic base rendering it more adaptable in times of economic uncertainty. It experienced large-scale immigration during World War II, including Polish, Irish, South Asian and East African migrants. Nearly ‘a quarter of initial Ugandan refugees (around 5000 to 6000) settled in Leicester, and by the end of the 1970s around another quarter of the initially dispersed refugees had made their way to Leicester.’⁸⁰ More recently, Somalis and East Europeans have made homes there. Manufacturing declined during the 1970s and 80s, replaced by the service sector, particularly retail.

Leicester has a cross-section of the different types of Hindu temples found across the country, plus some not found elsewhere. There is:

- One ISKCON temple, the Hare Krishna Mandir (ISKCON) Leicester, in a converted Victorian bank in the town centre (see box 21).
- Two pushitmarg temples (see box 20), a tradition we did not encounter elsewhere: Vrajdharm Shreenathji ni Haveli, located in a

⁷⁹

http://www.bbc.co.uk/leicester/content/articles/2005/10/10/al_leicester_backgrounder_feat_ure.shtml (accessed 28/4/17).

⁸⁰ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leicester> (accessed 28/4/17).

large semi-detached house in an urban area, and the Shree Dham Haveli, a purpose-built temple in a suburban location.

- Two Swaminarayan temples (Gujarati): the BAPS Swaminarayana Hindu Mission Leicester, located in a converted jeans factor in an urban area, and the Swaminarayana Temple (ISSO), Leicester, located in an urban adapted building with shikharas built onto it.
- Two Tamil temples: Leicester Shri Siva Murugan Temple, located in a Suburban Industrial unit with ornate embellishment outside, and Sri Jeya Durga Temple, Leicester, located in a large suburban detached house.
- A temple to Jalaram Bapa (Gujarati): Jalarama Pratharna Mandal, Leicester, which has urban purpose-built premises.
- A temple to Baba Balak Nath (Punjabi): Mandir Baba Balak Nath, located in a former pub – the Uppingham Hotel - in an urban area.
- Two temples that have their caste affiliation in their title (Gujarati): the Shree Ram Mandir Lohana Mahajan Leicester, located in a suburban former social club for a shoe factory, and the Shree Prajapati Community Centre (Leicester Branch), located in a suburban industrial area.
- Shri Shirdi Sai Baba Temple, in Colton Street, located in an urban former Guild hall.
- Gayatri Chetna Kendra founded by Pandit Shriram Sharma Acharya from UP in India. This has not been encountered elsewhere in the UK, and is situated in an adapted four-storey large Victorian (?) house in a suburban location.
- Three other Gujarati temples: Sanatan Mandir Leicester, located in a suburban former church and school that has been extended – Carey Hall Baptist Church – with shikharas added; the Shakti Mandir Leicester, located in a suburban former Roman Catholic Trinity Church – Our Lady of Good Counsel Catholic Church – built in 1820; and the Shree Geeta Bhavan Leicester, located in a suburban purpose-built premises that has been renovated and extended.
- Leicestershire Brahmo Samaj (an Indian religious reform group dating back to late 19th century). This organisation has a building in an urban location that is currently not being used but was used by ISCKON when it was waiting for its new temple to be ready.

It is also important to mention here that the UK-wide federation of Hindu Priests UK has its headquarters in Leicester, but does not have its own temple.

Box 20: Pushtimarg (path of grace)

Pushtimarg 'path of grace'

Pushtimarg is a Vaishnava devotional (*bhakti*) sect that was established by Vallabhacharya in around 1500 CE, with its central deity being Krishna. Vallabhacharya was born into a Telugu Brahmin family in South India, now in Andhra Pradesh, and today the sect is most popular in north and west India. It has also spread to the western world, including to England, where temples (*haveli*) have been set up by descendants of Shri Vallabhacharya, known as Goswami Balaks Vallabhkul.⁸¹

The absolute and exclusive rights to grant "Brahmsambandh" in the path of grace, in order to transform an Ordinary jiva (soul) into a Pushti "Jeev" lie only with the descendants of Shri Vallabhacharya...They are the actual and direct descendants of Shreemad Vallabhacharya Mahaprabhu. Goswamies are responsible for the "pushti" (literally "spiritual nourishment") of all the disciples initiated by them.⁸²

In the UK we have identified two *haveli*, which were founded by different Goswami:

1) Shree Dham Haveli, founded by H D H Shashtpeethadishwar Goswami 108 Shree Dwarkeshlalji Maharajshree, opened in 2012 and located in a purpose-built premises

2) Vrajdam Shreenathji ni Haveli, founded by Pujya Goswami 108 Shree Dwarkeshlalji Mahodayshree (Je Je), opened in 2011 and located in a large converted semi-detached house.

Box 21: Hare Krishna Mandir (ISKCON), Leicester

Hare Krishna Mandir (ISKCON), Leicester

ISKCON (International Society for Krishna Consciousness) established its first centre in the UK in London in 1969, on Bury Place, Bloomsbury, and then set up another centre in a manor house bought for that purpose by the Beatles band member George Harrison in 1973, renamed Bhaktivedanta Manor. In England today, ISKCON has nine temples with their own buildings. This includes three in London (Radha Krishna Temple, Soho; ISKCON South London; and ISKCON Redbridge), two in the North (in Newcastle and Manchester), three in the Midlands (in Birmingham, Coventry and Leicester) and one in the South (Bhaktivedanta Manor, Watford). There is also a charity shop in Kings Cross, London, called Matchless Gifts, and a longstanding vegetarian restaurant called Govinda's, which is next door to the temple in Soho. In addition to these, there are many more ISKCON groups that meet across the country, renting or borrowing buildings for meetings and other activities.

In 2011, ISKCON Leicester obtained a grade II listed former HSBC bank in the centre of Leicester, at 31 Granby Street. The building was designed by Joseph Goddard (opened in 1874), in the Gothic style, and we went to visit this towards the end of 2015, shortly after it had opened as a new temple.

⁸¹ <http://www.vpofca.org/pushtimarg.html> (accessed 28/4/17).

⁸² <http://www.vpofca.org/pushtimarg.html> (accessed 28/4/17).



31 Granby Street, Leicester
Photo: author's own

ISKCON, however, has a far longer history in the city, with devotees coming there to teach since the 1970s. Our interviewee told us that...

...the first place we had was on Belgrave Road in one of the shops in the basement...a small shrine and a restaurant and that was it...Then we moved around the corner to a terraced house where we used the front room [That would have been early 80s]...The front room was used as the temple and then we had some monks staying upstairs...Then we moved from there and got a five bedroom house [in North Evington on Thoresby Street] and thought "wow, progress, bigger property, a bigger temple hall" and then we were there for over twenty years.

In September 2010 there was a massive explosion, caused by a gas cylinder used for cooking, at the temple on Thoresby Street. About one third of the house was destroyed, but 'miraculously' the deities, even though they were only made from plaster, survived. They were taken to the house of a couple of devotees who 'could look after them – they had space and time', and the community began to reflect on what had happened and what they were going to do in the future.

The community had relatively recent experience of being in another location as, for three months in 2005, the temple had been based on Belgrave Road in a building belonging to a branch of the Indian organisation the Brahma Samaj, while repairs were being made to the Thoresby Street property. Our interviewee told us...

...speak to anyone in ISKCON in Leicester, they will tell you that those three months were the best that they ever had...Because we were on the main road, every morning for the morning service, we had forty people...People from the Belgrave area came up and said, "Since you were in Belgrave, we thought you left Leicester, we didn't know you had a place in Evington". Every evening we would have one hundred people for the service, every Sunday, it's like a community day where we have a full meal... just going there doubled the amount that we were cooking every single Sunday and, by the end of that time, we were tripling the amount we were cooking from when we started, just because of the volume of people.

Being in this property underscored the importance of a central location for ISKCON and, after moving back to Thorseby Street, they began to look for another property. Our interviewee informed us that ISKCON tends to have a younger demographic, with most of its devotees in Leicester being British-born, and the majority of these being British Asian. Also, in contrast to many other Hindu organisations in the UK, they focus on providing a 'very systematic, step-by-step learning opportunity' about the Hindu tradition in English language. Being in a central location makes it more likely that this demographic will be able to find out about and access ISKCON.

Before obtaining the former HSBC bank on Granby Street, which had been empty for four years, ISKCON devotees had met in different venues, including the 'East West Centre just off Narborough Road'. The Granby Street bank was on the market for £1.5 million, but needed a further £3 million work doing to repair it. After a period of fundraising and hard bargaining with HSBC, the community managed to secure it for just £350,000.

Our interviewee also told us about a news article that the Leicester Mercury had run – 'Can City Bank be Saved From Ruin' – that had supported their case. In fact, we were told that the article had represented a 'turning point' in their acquisition of it. The article was about 'Leicester's at-risk heritage buildings', with most of it focussing on the Granby Street building, drawing attention to 'HSBC's negligence of a major heritage building' and including a 'quote from the Civic Society chairman, Stewart Bailey [who] says, "it is our hope that ISKCON can take this and make it into something beautiful".'



The Victorian bank, 31 Granby Street
© ISKCON Leicester 2013⁸³

A landmark in Leicester's Victorian architecture the former bank in Granby Street used to be the headquarters of the Leicestershire Banking Company. According to the ISKCON Leicester website:

⁸³ <http://www.iskconleicester.org/goddards-architecture.php> (accessed 26/2/18)

The Leicestershire Banking Company was established in 1829 to finance the burgeoning industries of Leicester. By 1840, the bank stood at Granby Street. The Three Crowns Hotel had previously stood here for more than a century, providing rooms and refreshments for travellers on the busy route between London and Manchester.

By 1872, the expansion of the bank's business required a similar growth in its premises. Local architects were asked to submit their designs for a new bank in an open competition. ISKCON Leicester's website documents that:

The winner of the competition was Joseph Goddard....The spectacular gothic building was executed in red brick and Portland stone with an unusual corner porch and French pavilion roofs. The front to Granby Street is particularly impressive with its three tall-decorated windows. The finished building cost £7439 and opened for business in 1874....

The interior of the bank is also a masterpiece of design. The enormous hammer beams form a lantern roof, giving the building a lofty and imposing atmosphere. The pillars are hand-carved with individual friezes, and each corbel stone is decorated with a different coat of arms. These heraldic arms belong to those towns and cities where the Leicestershire Banking Company conducted its business. It is not certain whether or not the stained glass windows were part of the original plan, as they display certain art nouveau features. The clock in the banking hall was made by Dent's of Southwark, who were also responsible for Big Ben. The portraits in the banking hall depict H Simpson Gee and Samuel Bankart, past chairman of the Leicestershire Banking Company.'



© ISKCON Leicester 2013⁸⁴

The news that Listed Building Consent and Planning Permission for the design and renovation work for 31 Granby Street had been granted was received in August 2013 and, as our interviewee told us,

we then did some initial work which completed in 2014, opened up the main hall, put some new toilets in, cleaned it up a bit and so on. From the end of 2014, we

⁸⁴ <http://www.iskconleicester.org/temple.php> (accessed 26/2/18)

then moved all of our activities into the building, opening once a week, maybe in the evenings for different classes and for celebrating all of our festivals.



Photo (above and below): author's own



When we visited in July 2015, the deities had not yet been properly installed at the new temple, with the community instead using pictures since, 'when we have deities properly installed in the shrine...there have to be people living on site as part of the services that need to happen.'

In addition to religious activities, there will be a restaurant, a coffee shop, a heritage room and facilities for classes in Hindu teachings, music, drama and dance. Recently, ISKCON Leicester have been awarded £37,500 from the Heritage Lottery Fund to restore the historical stained glass windows in the building, and work has already started on this project.

Box 22: Shree Hindu Temple and Community Centre, Leicester

Shree Hindu Temple and Community Centre, Leicester



Photo: author's own

The Shree Hindu Temple and Community Centre is located at 34 St Barnabas Road in the North Evington area of Leicester within a building that used to house a British Telecom exchange workshop. It was purchased by members of the Gujarati community for £180,000 in 1996.⁸⁵ When the property came up on the market, the community had looked at around 15 different buildings in the city and had spent a large sum of money on solicitors' fees, search fees, surveys and applying for planning permission.

Prior to this, the temple had been located at 47 Cromford Street, in the Highfields area of the city, a former Co-operative corner shop purchased for a few thousand pounds in 1969. Money had been raised within the local community under the leadership of a female religious teacher called Shyama Devi, who arrived from India in 1968. On 3 June 1969, the murtis of Radha and Krishna were installed by Shyama Devi, and this became the first Hindu temple in Leicester.



47 Cromford Street

© 2018 Google, image date September 2015

⁸⁵ <http://shreehindumandir.tripod.com/id4.html> (accessed 28/4/17); <http://rcweb.leicester.gov.uk/planning/onlinequery/PPRNResults.aspx?PPRN=RLQ4464> (accessed 28/4/17); <http://rcweb.leicester.gov.uk/planning/onlinequery/ResultSet.aspx?AppNo=&Address=french%20road&UPRN=&Wrd=&AppType=&DateRecFrm=&DateRecTo=&DateDecfrm=&DateDecTo=&Proposal=&DecisionType=> (accessed 28/4/17).

The size of the Hindu community began to grow more quickly from the early 1970s as people emigrated from East African countries following Africanisation policies in those settings. 47 Cromford Street provided the first contact with other Hindus for many of these newly arriving migrants. Indeed, Leicester was attractive for the very reason that it had a Hindu temple, whereas London was yet to have one at that time.

By 1989, the Cromford Street property had been handed over to Shyama Devi and another property was being sought. Shayama Devi continued to operate a temple from Cromford Street and, in 1977, a second temple was opened in a vacant shop in Balham High Street, South London. Later, a second shop there was converted to become part of the temple.

It was not until 1996 that the current property on 34 St Barnabas Road was purchased and planning permission obtained to use the property as a temple, notwithstanding some objections about parking and noise from bells. The new temple in St Barnabas Road was more suitable for a growing community, seating up to 500 people. Renovations and extensions were undertaken, including the installation of a kitchen, toilets and a committee room. In 1997, planning permission was granted to add three *shikhara* (towers) at a maximum height of 10m, giving the temple its distinctive Indian aesthetic. In 2013, planning permission for change of use was granted to convert an old factory at the rear of the temple into additional space for the community.

Money was borrowed from the bank to purchase the temple in 1996, and to make the necessary changes, but within five years it had been paid off by generous donations from the community. £100,000 alone was raised from the opening ceremony, including donations that people paid for the privilege of being the first to perform puja to the newly installed deities, or the first to ring the bell at the deity's shrine.



Shree Krishna and his consort Radha
© Shree Hindu Temple and Community Centre, Leicester

The opening ceremony of the temple, which took place over several days, also included the important prana pratishtha ritual, where 'prana [breath] means to instil life into that deity, and pratishtha is to install'. It is important to note that, for Hindus, the 'statues' in the temple are not representations of the gods, but are actually the deities incarnate. This explains the important role of the prana pratishtha ritual – and of the pujari (priest) in the temple – in attending to the deity: waking him/her up, bathing, clothing, feeding and then putting the deity to bed to rest.

The main deities in the temple are Shree Krishna and his consort Radha, but we also find other popular deities, including Shree Ram, Sitaji and Laxman situated together; Shree Hanumanji (the monkey god); Shree Ganesh (the elephant god); the goddesses Shree Durga Mataji and Shree Randal Mataji; and the god Shiva, as well as a display of Baliya Dev, Shitla Mataji, Jalaram Bapa, Shirdi Saibapa and Shree Vishwakarma. As our interviewee told us: 'the decision was a collective decision of the committee members of "what do we want?", and we wanted to provide a temple for all the different sectors of the Hindu community.'



Shree Ram, Sitaji and Laxman
© Shree Hindu Temple and Community Centre, Leicester

Our interviewee explained that in addition to pujas for deities,

a typical Hindu temple provides religious requirements, spiritual needs of the people, anything people have to do with birth, death, moving into a new house or any particular ceremony they want to hold, either in their own homes or at the temple. The priest's job is to advise and guide them, and the committee will also be involved in that process. So that is taking care of the spiritual side of the temple's goals....The other bit is to provide educational facilities, social facilities, drop-in centres, libraries and also a place where people can come and eat as well.

The temple also runs school visits and has welcomed 'local councillors, including MPs or government officials, and even the royal family.'

Box 23: BAPS Swaminarayana Hindu Mission, Leicester

BAPS Swaminarayana Hindu Mission, Leicester



Photo (above and below): author's own

The BAPS Swaminarayan temple in Leicester opened on 9 October 2011, with a colourful procession to mark the event. Our interviewee explained that, from the early 1970s, the Swaminarayan congregation in Leicester had worshipped in a small house at 148 Doncaster Road before moving to St. James Street in 1979.



The city centre location of St James Street became less and less ideal due to increasing issues relating to the safety of cars and of members of the congregation. In 2008, Leicester City Council approved the building of the Swaminarayan mandir on Gypsy Lane. The site which was originally a warehouse was chosen for its road links and location.

The process of converting the Jeans factory into a Hindu mandir involved a collaboration between British and Indian architects, the BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir specialists in India, and Leicester's Kent Porter Warren Associates. The structural engineers, DWS Consulting, describe how the "creation of the BAPS temple complex involved the conversion and extensive refurbishment of an existing multi-bay former factory building and construction of a new entrance portico and colonnade in a traditional Hindu style."

Given the expertise in India in building temples, it made sense for Indian architects to have their input. Once the design had been set, our interviewee described how:

all the carvings, all the stones were hand carved in India by craftsmen, then transported over here and with the help of some craftsmen from India, some builders here, and the volunteers from this organisation, [who] all helped to piece it together. So, basically, the temple we've got, we call a labour of love, so it's the people's love for God and their guru – their inner spiritual leader – that they wanted

to build this temple and also all help to build it, so they look after it, because it would mean they had a hand in it, so they look after it properly.

In total, the temple cost £4 million, with hand-crafted stones from Gujarat being brought to the UK by boat before being assembled on-site. The building work was funded through donations and fund-raising, including a women's 500-mile cyclathon and Indian cooking events.

Our interviewee explained that although the mandir looked like a traditional mandir, it was not a Shikharbaddha or traditionally built mandir – built according to scriptures – as it had been converted. When asked whether they would eventually like to build a Shikharbaddha mandir, our interviewee said “that would be good but it depends again, like, have we got sufficient land for a temple like that? Also, have we got the funding for it? And so on. So it's not easy, but it's something that we would want to consider.”

Nevertheless, the architecture of the mandir does follow a number of Vastu Shastra principles of directional alignments and geometrics that are laid out in the scriptures, incorporating features which would be found in a Shikharbaddha mandir, including three shikhars representing the mountain peaks of the Himalayas. On top of these are gold painted pinnacles known as “kalashes”. The six domes on the temple roof are known as “gumats”. Inside the mandir, a 15-metre frieze depicts Lord Swaminarayan, with the rooms clad in white marble.

The mandir is run by a group of volunteers that our interviewee described as his “Dad's Army” – retirees who spend most of their time at the temple. School visits are regularly received, as are groups from other establishments, including a number of local interfaith councils and the Church of England. Indeed, our interviewee noted that “the amount of coach groups that come from there is really amazing”.

The weekly congregation takes place on a Saturday evening to enable both children and parents to attend at the same time. Weddings do not take place at the mandir in order to maintain the ambience of the temple, but music classes do take place.



Photo: author's own

The Swaminarayan mandir in Leicester maintains strong links with the Neasden mandir, with monks (sanyasis) from Neasden visiting regularly to preach. The priest, who lives at the temple, is responsible for looking after the murtis (deities). It attracts a regular weekly congregation of around 500 devotees of all ages, which rises to over 1000 devotees during festivals like Divali.

Having faced objections from local residents during the planning phase, particularly concerning parking issues, the Swaminarayan Mandir has grown to become a key landmark in Leicester, taking part in the 'go blue for Leicester city' event that took place in honour of Leicester City's extraordinary Premier League exploits during 2015/16, and giving the residents of Leicester an insight into the lives and practices of British Hindus.⁸⁶

Nottingham has the next highest concentration of Hindu temples in the East Midlands with four. The Sri Thurkkai Amman Temple is a Tamil temple located in a suburban former church; the BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir Nottingham is located in a suburban industrial/commercial unit; the Bhagwati Shakti Peeth was set up by Sewadars (a caste group), and is a Nepalese temple serving Maa Bhagwati (a goddess) that is located in a suburban end of terrace industrial/commercial unit (this community also appears to have a new temple project underway); and, finally, the Sai Dham, set up by H. H. Sri Sai Das Babaji, who claims to be avatar of Sri Shirdi Sai Baba, is located in a suburban premises that looks like a former pub or school.

Loughborough has three temples: the Rama Krishna Temple, Loughborough / Shree Ram Krishna Community Project is a Gujarati suburban temple that looks purpose built (but not very temple like); the Shree Geeta Bhawan, Loughborough is another Gujarati temple located in a former school, built in 1894; and the BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir is located in a suburban former factory / community hall. 'Yogiji Maharaj had sanctified Loughborough during his visit to the UK in 1970, and it has been blessed many times thereafter by Pramukh Swami Mahraj.'⁸⁷

Wellingborough also has three temples: the BAPS Swaminarayana Hindu Missio is in an urban premises, and looks purpose built; the

⁸⁶ <http://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/procession-marks-opening-new-temple/story-13520431-detail/story.html>; <http://www.baps.org/Global-Network/UK-and-Europe/Leicester.aspx> (accessed 28/4/17); <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-15229649> (accessed 28/4/17); <http://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/landmark-buildings-leicestershire-blue-leicester/story-29200129-detail/story.html> (accessed 28/4/17); <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/europe/united-kingdom/articles/Heritage-Open-Days-2015-10-of-the-best-secret-sites/> (accessed 28/4/17); <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-14970889> (accessed 28/4/17); <http://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/hindu-temple-takes-shape/story-12760538-detail/story.html> (accessed 28/4/17); <http://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/labour-love-true-faith/story-13439041-detail/story.html> (accessed 28/4/17); <http://www.diamondwoodandshaw.co.uk/religious.php> (accessed 28/4/17); <http://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/landmark-buildings-leicestershire-blue-leicester/story-29200129-detail/story.html>

⁸⁷ <http://www.baps.org/News/2001/New-Swaminarayan-Mandir-Opened-1811.aspx> (accessed 28/4/17).

Wellingborough District Hindu Association is a Gujarati suburban temple that looks purpose built; the Northampton Kutumb Centre / Indian Hindu Welfare Organisation is in a suburban/rural, and is a new temple that is presently being built. Finally, there is a temple in Derby – the Geeta Bhavan Derby – in a brand new purpose-built modern building with two floors.

6.6 Hindu temples in the South of England

The South of England has far fewer Hindu Temples than other regions of England because there have been lower rates of immigration from India, Sri Lanka and East African there than to other places in England. We have found twenty-nine in total. Bedford with two and Crawley with three each, have the largest concentration of temples, with Bourne End, Brighton, Bristol, Cheltenham, Clacton, Gillingham, Glastonbury, Gloucester, Havant, High Wycombe, Ipswich, Luton, Middleton Stoney, Milton Keynes, Norwich, Peterborough, Ramsgate, Reading, Romford, Slough, Southampton, Southend, Stoneleigh and Swindon each having one. Thus, there are no particularly large Hindu areas in this region with a concentration of temples. But there is a relatively large concentration of Tamil temples, with four being found in this region, whereas there are none in the NE. There are over twenty Tamil temples in nearby London, so London's proximity can explain the high number in this region.

The only temple we visited was the Shekin Ashram, Bhakti Yoga Ashram & Holistic Retreat Centre in Glastonbury (box 24).

Box 24: Shekin Ashram, Bhakti Yoga Ashram & Holistic Retreat Centre

Shekin Ashram, Bhakti Yoga Ashram & Holistic Retreat Centre

Located in a Victorian detached house built in 1854, the Shekin Ashram was set up thirteen years ago, originally as a spiritual community and only later taking in paying bed and breakfast guests.



Photo: author's own

There is accommodation inside the house, as well as some yurts and huts in the large garden.



Photo: author's own

Our interviewee explained that

our mood here is...to help give people access to a type of lifestyle that's alternative to their worldly lifestyle, so even though it's called an ashram, it's not really like a full power ashram like you get in India, people come here to live here, the residents learn about yoga tradition and they practise certain types of spiritual practice... so in that respect it's an ashram but...as you can see, we have to operate a business in order to fund the rest of the activities that we do.



Photo: author's own

Although they take paying guests, there is a religious programme every morning and classes during the day as well as in the evening. At the weekend, the 'temple' is rented out to different groups. The temple is a room in the house where a shrine has been set up to Radha and Krishna, and where there are photos of the teachers followed by the founders of the ashram, including Amma.

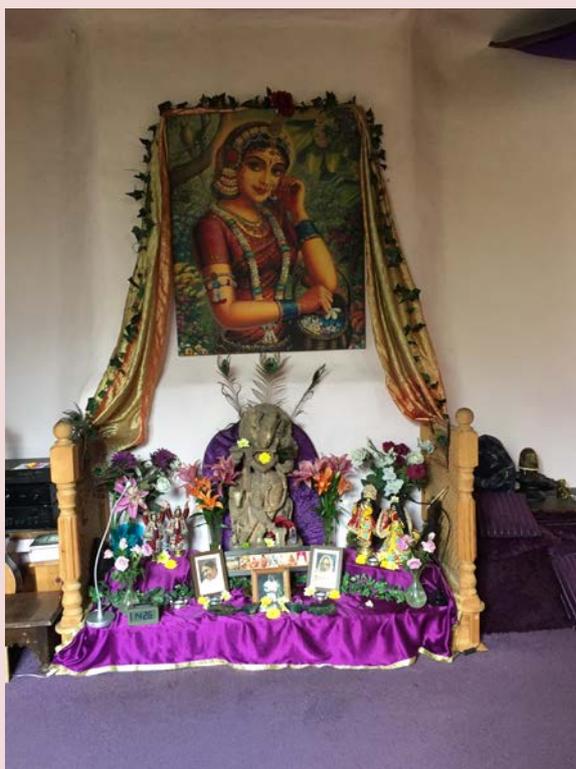


Photo (above and below): author's own

Our interviewee told us that the murtis on the shrine were not properly installed because:

once you do that, you have to be full-time looking after them properly, and that's okay if you've got a *pujari* who's dedicated to that...in ISKCON they change the deities three times a day, very elaborate, they've got people on the case twenty-four hours a day, dealing with the deities, you know, so we keep things very simple

About the Ashram:
Shekinashram is a Bhakti Yoga Ashram. Run on a mostly voluntary basis and operating without motivation for profit, it is a registered place of worship, a hub of activity, and a space of sanctuary for many from around the world.

Situated at the foot of Chalice Hill in the heart of Glastonbury, Shekinashram has been a favourite retreat for spiritual aspirants since opening in 2003. There is a friendly and homely devotional atmosphere where work is treated as meditation and selfless service is used as a spiritual practice.

About Us:
Shekinashram was set up and is run by E'lahn Keshava & Gisela (Radhe) Lirusso and a dedicated staff of volunteers. E'lahn & Radhe have a beautiful daughter called Tulsi, and when not at the ashram they travel and share their kirtan & their love of bhakti yoga.

Shekinashram, Dod Lane, Glastonbury, Somerset BA6 8BZ - UK
Telephone: 0044(0)1458 832 300 E-mail: info@shekinashram.org

here... Even to be practising in the tradition properly, there are lots of regulations that you follow. We follow some, but we're not strict, because... we don't want people to be uncomfortable, so we're relaxed... It is quite alienating – people come to the ashram with a whole range of different expectations and not only that but also anticipation, trepidation even, "What am I allowed to do? What am I not allowed to do?" And they come in, they realise it's really quite relaxed, it's just like a family committee with spiritual activities...

[However] I would say we're just starting to get ongoing, increasing amounts of India people coming or Asian people coming, or people who this is their original cultural spiritual focus and they've often lost it in their Western life and they want to reconnect with it. A lot of the time I'll get Indian people

coming here and I'll be like "oooooh, my pronunciation of Sanskrit" but they don't know anything about it, most of the time I know way more than they know about it and that's always quite surprising to me.

Prior to setting up the ashram in this location, the founders had another place, but the interviewee stated:

I started this place because I was running a lot of workshops and a lot of retreats and I had a lot of people around me at that time, that wanted to spend more and more time together so we thought let's get a place, we've got our own venue, we can put on our courses any time we like and we can all be together and do the work... Before we came here, it was a Sai Baba Centre. The people that owned this place [not South Asians] own the place next door, which is a great big house and they... sold that house first and then they kept this one and moved to Canada and it used to be called the Ramala Centre which, in the 70s, was quite a big place.

In Bedford, the Shri Sai Sidh Baba Balak Nath Mandir can be found in a suburban commercial unit, a temple to the Punjabi Baba Balaknath, where Shri Sai Sidh Baba is also worshiped. There is also the Bedford Valmiki Sabha, a temple in a detached building in an urban location, which is probably purpose built, but does not look like a Hindu temple. There is another Valmiki temple (linked to the Valmiki caste group) in Southall (see box 32). The Hindu Society of Bedford also used to run a temple, but this has since closed due to a lack of support. Crawley has two temples. First, there is the Swarna Kamatchi Amman Temple, a Tamil temple located in a suburban area, in what looks like a former industrial/commercial unit. Second, there is the Sanatan Mandir, Crawley/Gurjar Hindu Union (GHU) Mandir which, in 2010, opened a purpose-built temple and community centre in a suburban location.

Brighton has the Brighton Swami Narayan Temple, which is linked to the ISSO, and is located in a large converted 19th century premises on a street corner that used to house two shop units, and was opened in 1999. Bristol has the Gujarati Bristol Hindu Temple in the former urban located Redfield Methodist Church, founded in 1979, and inaugurated in 1981. Cheltenham

has the Krishna Mandir, Cheltenham – a Gujarati suburban/urban mandir located in the former St Paul's Hall, Swindon Road, which has an attached community centre that opened in July 1986. The Sri Ram Temple/Hindu Cultural and Heritage Centre in Clacton is a Gujarati suburban temple in a detached residential property. It began as a house temple in 1979 that later became a public temple with properly installed deities looked after by the family.

Medway Hindu Mandir caters for Hindus from all regions and is located in a suburban former residential property in Gillingham. There also appears to be a temple in Gloucester, but we cannot find any more details about it, and its address may well be a private residence in a suburban location. There is a BAPS Shree Swaminarayan Mandir in Havant in what looks like a suburban large detached, former residential property.

The High Wycombe Uchi Murugan Temple is a Tamil temple in a suburban community centre that appears to be shared with other users at present, but there is currently a fundraising campaign to build a standalone temple nearby. The Ipswich Hindu Temple appears to be above or adjacent to a clothing alterations business in an urban location, that has been leased since the end of 2010 and was previously the location of the Triratna Ipswich Buddhist Centre.

The Gujarati Shree Sanatan Seva Samaj in Luton is located in a suburban area in what looks to be a purpose-built temple, but does not look like an Asian temple. This was first established in 1975, but has undergone additional work since. The Arulmihu Meenakshi Amman Temple is a Tamil temple, this time in Milton Keynes in a suburban industrial/commercial unit. The Guru Kripa Kshetra is another Tamil temple in Middleton Stoney, near Oxford. It is in a rural location and is a house temple in an outbuilding.

The Norfolk Mandir/Vedic Cultural Society of East Anglia is probably Gujarati and is in a rural location outside Norwich in the former Stracey Arms Pub. It was bought on December 10th 2014 for £169,00 and has 6 acres of land as well as 400 meters of mooring, which the temple rents to raise funds. This appeared in an episode of the BBC series, Homes Under the Hammer, series 20 episode 21.

The Rama Mandir, Peterborough/Bharat Hindu Samaj Mandir is a Gujarati suburban mandir that is located in a former school that was donated to them by Cambridgeshire County Council and set up around 1986. The Gujarati Reading Hindu Temple is an urban mandir in a former church that is more than 100 years old.

The Kent Thanet Amman Temple/Kent Thanet Sri Swarna Dhurgai Amman Temple is in an urban location in Ramsgate. The Radha Krishna Temple, Romford is, unusually, in a rural location, in what appears to be a former school that was acquired in 2008. The Gujarati Hindu Temple, Slough, is a suburban mandir, which claims to be the first purpose-built Hindu temple in England (dating to 1981). The BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir,

Southend-on-Sea is in a suburban location and the Vedic Society Hindu Temple Southampton aims to be the first purpose-built temple in England, and opened in 1984 in a suburban location.

Another Tamil temple is the Raja Rajeswary Amman in Stoneleigh – an urban mandir located in some old warehouses. Finally, the Swindon Hindu Temple and Cultural Centre is probably Gujarati and looks as though it is currently located in a suburban industrial area. There is a fundraising campaign to raise money to build a new Hindu temple and cultural centre.

6.7 Hindu Temples in London – non-South Indian/Sri Lankan

	London (number)	London (percentage)	England and Wales (%)
Christian	3,957,984	45.4	59.3
Muslim	1,012,823	12.4	4.8
Hindu	411,291	5.0	1.5
Other Religions	47,970	0.6	0.4
Buddhist	82,026	1.0	0.4
Jewish	148,602	1.8	0.5
Sikh	126,134	1.5	0.8
No Religion	1,694,372	20.7	25.1
Religion not stated	47,970	8.5	7.2

Table 8: Religion in London - 2011 Census: Religion, local authorities in England and Wales, table KS209EW.

We found sixty-four temples in London, with twenty-three of these being South Indian/Sri Lankan. For this region, we have decided to look at the South Indian/Sri Lankan temples separately to the rest, as they have a different and interesting history. We will begin by providing information on the non- South Indian/Sri Lankan temples, of which there are forty-one in total:

- Ten of these are Swaminarayan temples: six are linked to the Shree Swaminarayan Temple, Bhuj under Acharya Shree Koshalendraprasadji Maharaj – four SKSST and one ISSO, which are dealt with in a separate section below, and one in Stanmore that is also linked to Bhuj, but does not mention either the SKSST or the ISSO on its website; one BAPs Swaminarayan Hindu temple in Neasden – which we visited but did not conduct an interview at (details are outlined in box 26); one temple in Kingsbury linked to His Divine Holiness Acharya Swamishree Purushottampriyadasji Maharaj (there is another of these in Bolton – the one with pipe band); and two Swaminarayan temples that have been set up under offshoots from well-established Swaminarayan sects. The first, near Uxbridge, is called Anoopam Mission, and is an offshoot of BAPS.⁸⁸ The second has been harder to find information about, but is located in Stanmore, and appears to be linked to a temple in

⁸⁸ <http://www.anoopam.org/centers/amuk/amuk.php> (accessed 28/4/17).

Ahmedabad, the Kumkum Shree Swaminarayan Mandir in Maninagar⁸⁹

- Four of these are linked to ISKCON
- There is a Bengali, a Sindhi, a Nepali and two Caribbean temples
- International Siddhashram Shakti Centre, Harrow (founder is from Gujarat)
- There are two temples linked to Jalaram Bapa and one to Shirdi Sai Baba
- There is a temple linked to the Valmiki caste
- There are seventeen other Gujarati temples

6.7.1 Swaminarayan (SN) London

Overall, there were ten SN temples in London:

Six are linked to the Shree Swaminarayan Temple, Bhuj, under Acharya Shree Koshalendraprasadji Maharaj:

1. Kutch Satsang Swaminarayana Temple, Forest Gate/SKS Swaminarayan Temple (SKSST) East London: this is a purpose-built temple in a Hindu style, located in a suburban area, which opened in 1987
2. Kutch Satsang Swaminarayana Temple, Harrow (SKSST): see box 25
3. Kutch Satsang Swaminarayana Temple, Plumstead / Shree KS Swaminarayan Temple (SKSST), located in South East London. The precise location of this temple could not be determined from our Internet research. It has a temporary address at present as it is being rebuilt, and should be completed in 2017
4. Shree Swaminarayan Temple, Willesden (SKSST): This temple is on the site of a former church in an urban location that was bought in 1975, and was then renovated, demolished and rebuilt as 'a three temple storey complex, which would combine the traditional Hindu Temple architecture and British designs', and opened in 1988

⁸⁹ http://dnasyndication.com/dna/dna_english_news_and_features/Kumkum-temple-goes-international/DNAHM65744 (accessed 28/4/17).

5. Int. Swaminarayana Satsang Organisation, Streatham (ISSO): established in 1995 in a former church in a suburban location, with what appears to be a small *shikhara* on its roof, plus a flag-pole.
6. Shree Swaminarayan Temple Dharma Bhakti Manor, Stanmore: this is, unusually, in a rural location, in what appears to be a purpose-built/converted premises on the site of a disused health centre. It opened in 2005, and has some Hindu embellishments (e.g. *shikhara*). It does not appear to be linked to either the SKSST or the ISSO.

Box 25: Kutch Satsang Swaminarayana Temple, Harrow

Kutch Satsang Swaminarayana Temple, Harrow

Our interviewee explained that:

We were actually based in West Harrow before. It was an older church building...we had a temple there. We bought that in 1976 and then we acquired this in 1988 or 89. Then, obviously, because of the lack of space there... So we bought this – this was an old derelict ice cream factory. So it was basically a small warehouse with a mezzanine floor and...car park for these ice cream vans that you go and see on the roads. Then we opened this temple in 1997, first of January.



Kutch Satsang Swaminarayana Temple, Harrow⁹⁰
© 2018 Google

This new location was affordable and well placed for devotees, of which there are about 1,000 local families that use the temple over the year and about 300 that come regularly:

As the community grew then we grew with hired halls...houses and then smaller halls on weekends or festival days. Then, slowly, slowly built up to a temple and then, obviously, as time went by [and the] community grew, we've moved here... We bought two office blocks...as you enter the temple the two office blocks...on the right hand side. But when you come in on the left hand side, that's ours now as well. At the moment it's offices because they've got the leases to run, so we're

⁹⁰ <http://mapio.net/o/1925451/> (accessed 28/4/17).

letting the leases run out for probably another five years.

Plans are emerging to use that premises for a school and/or a medical centre for the whole community when the lease is up on the office building. The temple building was designed by a local architect, and 'we gave input – the devotees and the trustees of the mandir gave a lot of input, what type of building it should be...we gave him the understanding of what a mandir should look like. Because we had Willesden at that time, we had Bolton at that time as temples'.

The temple has some Hindu features externally, namely the 3 *shikhara*, with planning restrictions and finance preventing more features. It took two years to build – 'the first phase was just the shell building and the second phase which we call like the interior was all done entirely by devotees.' The temple is built in stone and bricks, and only the shikaras come from India: 'they're built in special red stone...specially carved in India.'



Swaminarayan

Apart from religious activities:

We have community projects here where people can come and learn mother tongue language Gujarati. We...have a nursery next door, which we bought another building just across the road there. We have culture classes, we have youth classes and then we have...English classes...We had computer classes, but obviously now everybody's learned the basics...We still have classes, but we don't have enough students now as we used to have in the beginning, about seven or eight years ago.

The community is made up from people who have emigrated from Kutch in Gujarat, mostly via East Africa. Our interviewee told us that there are 40,000 Kutchis in England from 25 villages. In addition to the temple, there is also a community centre for people from Kutch Northolt, the Shree Kutch Leva Patel Community (UK). Our interviewee told us that there are a total of six temples in London linked to the same sect of SN (Koshalendraprasad Pande, of the Ahmedabad Gadi – also called the Nar Narayan Dev Gad): Harrow, Forest Hill, Willesden, Streatham, Stanmore and Plumstead, which is being (re-) built on the site where there was previously a temple. The community:

get together in a hall every weekend just to keep the congregation going.... The Murtis are in a house that they bought next door to the existing site at the moment. They just go and bow down...They've gone back to basics of starting in a small house with a small room and then going to halls and expanding. Because of no facility it's what they've had to do. But I think soon it should be finished. It will be a huge building – three floors.

Our interviewee told us that these temples:

were all built in the same sort of times you know. Not in the 70s because...originally in 1976 we were at Wogan Road in Harold West Hill. After that, all the mandirs started existing...The first one was the temple [in] Willesden, that was built I can't remember when, but they also bought a church there as well, it was a church there.

There are some similarities between these different SN temples but:

it depends what sort of devotees does your facility want to give. But the key is we hold a ladies and gents congregation separately... We all have similarities, even if you go to visit that and you went to Bolton, the build-up is all similar. You know, kitchen facilities, prayer facilities, community gathering halls...because we've got two halls now upstairs where we hold community functions. Now we're going to be starting sports activities for the youngsters. We have yoga classes going there on Tuesdays – gents and ladies.

⁹¹ <http://sksst.org/dailydarshan> (accessed 28/4/17).



The women's side of the temple, with the barrier down the middle.

Photo: author's own

b) There is one BAPS Swaminarayan temple:

Box 26: Swaminarayana Hindu Mission, Neasden

Swaminarayana Hindu Mission, Neasden⁹²



This temple was built using traditional methods and materials and was the first purpose-built Hindu temple in Europe, inaugurated in 1995. The first BAPS temple in the UK was set up in 1970 in a former church in Islington, North London. Then the community moved to a former warehouse in Neasden in 1982, when the first temple became too small.

According to *Guinness World Records 2000*, the current temple was:

[The] Biggest Hindu Temple outside India: The Shri Swaminarayan Temple in Neasden, London, UK, is the largest Hindu temple outside India. It was built by Pramukh Swami, a 92-year-old Indian sadhu (holy man), and is made of 2,828 tonnes of Bulgarian limestone and 2,000 tonnes of Italian marble, which was first shipped to India to be carved by a team of 1,526 sculptors. The temple cost £12 million to build.

Following the traditional shilpa shastras, no iron or steel was used in the construction of the temple. Adjoining it is the BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Haveli, a cultural and community centre built from wood.

Opposite the Mandir there is a school – The Swaminarayan School – founded in 1992.⁹³

⁹²

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/BAPS_Shri_Swaminarayan_Mandir_London#/media/File:London_Temple.jpg (accessed 28/4/17).

c) There is one temple linked to the *Maninagar Swaminarayan Gadi Sansthan* (and there is another one in Bolton).

Box 27: Shree Swaminarayana Mandir, Kingsbury

Shree Swaminarayana Mandir, Kingsbury

Our interviewee told us that their community first met in houses and then bought a Church hall in Hendon where they set up a temple –

The Hendon temple was in about the 1970s, early 70s and then we bought the Golders Green [which] was a church – an old church...the Golders Green temple was bought in 1981....It was a presbyterian church, but it was, when we bought it – hadn't been used for about ten years – it was called St Ninian's. But I can remember when we bought the place, and it was completely derelict, and it was leaking, and we took it over, we renovated it, did all the repairs. If you were inside, you wouldn't think you were in a church, but we kept a lot of the original features so the original stained glass windows with figures of Mother Mary...And we thought that was really interesting because that was the original features of the church, of the temple... And we wanted to preserve that, Lord Swaminarayan has advocated in his little book of commandments...to respect other religions and when we see other deities, we would bow down to them and we would respect them, so again, we didn't want to disrespect the heritage of that church....I think we're quite pleased that that space had been used for worship prior to us using it and for no other purpose.

The spiritual leader of this SN sect, who is still alive – His Divine Holiness Acharya Swamishree Purushottampriyadasji Maharaj – opened the temple in 1982, during which he consecrated the space and installed the murtis. The temple was located in Golders Green for thirty-two years:

and we expanded the space to suit our purposes, our needs, as I said you went inside, you wouldn't think that you were in a church, outside obviously there's still the façade of a Christian ... No, not outside – outside it looked like a church except for the name at the front and our flag, but apart from that, it looked like a church.

Then from 2004/5 onwards they began to look for

alternative premises to build a traditional temple because all these years, our forefathers had come here and it was everybody's wish to have a traditional Indian temple. But additionally to that, we've got a lot of other activities that we organise as part of our worship or the wider worship as it were, so we do a lot of charity work, we have a lot of academies, sporting academies and teaching academies, we preserve our Indian culture or dancing and music.... We wanted a space which was traditional or traditional temple, to cover our spiritual needs but also we wanted the facilities to cater for or to accommodate all our other extra-curricular activities as well, so we've got a lot of social activities, a lot of cultural and charitable activities that we run here.

⁹³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/BAPS_Shri_Swaminarayan_Mandir_London (accessed 28/4/17).



Shree Swaminarayana Mandir, Kingsbury
Photo: author's own

The current site was found in 2008 and the planning process took two years to sort as the area was a 'protected employment zone'. The site use to be

the headquarters of a company called Skanska, and they do road building and development and that kind of thing and, before that, it was McNicholas who, again, is a building firm – a construction company – and this was their headquarters and, basically, they outgrew these premises, so where we're sitting here – this used to be offices and it used to join onto the other building that's on there, that's the only existing building – and they used to put warehouses on the other side and a large car park in the middle....So we knocked down the warehouses, we knocked down this part of the offices and created the temple and the multifunctional hall on the other side.

The temple took eighteen months to build and the opening ceremony took place in 2014. 'The £20m that went into the construction of this place, the land cost about just under £5m and the construction was about £14m, but yes, it's through donations from our own community and we're quite proud of that.' The temple has 'received a lot of awards as well, planning awards, the way it's been constructed and the ethos behind the construction and the design as well and we pride ourselves as being the world's first eco-temple.' In the construction process they also attempted to incorporate green principles by not transporting all of the materials from India:

And the way we did it was that the main structure was constructed here and only the Indian architectural features were constructed in India and transported over. So we've reduced the number of containers to be shipped here from about 250 to about 20, and that was one of the things that Acharya Swamishree Purushottampriyadasji Maharaj wanted – that we could reduce the carbon footprint in the construction of this place....And then, everything is very highly insulated – the cold outside will not penetrate inside, in the summer the heat won't come in and so

there's no air conditioning in the building, and yet it remains cool in the summer and in the winter, it remains warm, we've got solar panels on the top and all the solar panel energy is used to light and heat the premises, all the water is collected and reused so there's a lot of those kind of features.

They used both Indian and UK architects, with the Indian features of the temple being moulded in India out of reconstituted stone. Solid stone would have been inappropriate for the British weather and would have disintegrated with the 'acid rain'.



Photo: author's own

The temples were designed by Acharya Swamishree Purushottampriyadasji Mahara, who still comes 'once a year or once every couple of years, but he will be here for a couple of weeks in August of this year, just to do the ceremony of the anniversary of the temple.'

d) offshoots

In the interview that we undertook at the Harrow SKKST temple, we heard about two SN temples that have been set up under offshoots from well-established SN sects. The first is near Uxbridge and is called Anoopam Mission. It is an offshoot from BAPS.⁹⁴ The second has been harder to find information about, but is in Stanmore, and appears to be linked to a temple in Ahmedabad – the Kumkum Shree Swaminarayan Mandir in

⁹⁴ <http://www.anoopam.org/centers/amuk/amuk.php> (accessed 28/4/17).

Maninagar.⁹⁵ There may well be further offshoots that we have not heard about.

6.7.2 ISKCON (4)

There are four ISKCON temples in London – the Radha Krishna Temple in Soho (box 28); Bkaktivedanta Manor in Watford (box 29); The Radha Krishna Cultural Centre in South Norwood, which is located in a suburban detached house that is currently being renovated; and the Radha Krishna Temple in Stratford, which is a suburban temple located in an adapted residential property with three shikara erected at the front.

Box 28: Radha Krishna Temple, Soho

Radha Krishna Temple, Soho

Srila Prabhupada, the spiritual leader of ISKCON (International Society for Krishna Consciousness), brought the Hare Krishna movement from India to the West in the 1960s, establishing the first temple in England at 7 Bury Place in 1969 – a ‘narrow skinny building’ that the Krishnas rented near to the British Museum.

⁹⁵ http://dnasyndication.com/dna/dna_english_news_and_features/Kumkum-temple-goes-international/DNAHM65744 (accessed 28/4/17).



Srila Prabhupada outside 7 Bury Place, reproduced here with permission from www.backtohome.com⁹⁶

Our interviewee told us that Prabhupada ‘always felt that London was one of the most important places in the world as a capital centre and he really wanted Krishna consciousness to be established here because he felt that it’s truly international.’

The Hare Krishnas remained at Bury Place for ten years and, in 1977, they acquired their current building on Soho Street – which used to be a nightclub – moving the deities there in 1978. By the mid-1970s the premises at Bury Place had ‘got too small and we were looking for a larger place and one of the members of the community drove past and he thought this would be a nice new larger centre for us to move to.’ Although Prabhupada passed away in October 1977, earlier that year ‘he saw the building [on Soho Street] and said, “Okay, yeah, buy it”...he kind of gave us blessings for us to move the deities here.’ They opened a restaurant there in 1979, which is today called Govinda’s – referring to another name for Lord Krishna – but at that time was named ‘Healthy, Wealthy and Wise’.

⁹⁶ http://www.sda-archives.com/tftd/tftd/2012/aug/tftd_071012.html (accessed 24/06/18).



Govinda's restaurant, next door to the Radha Krishna Temple
Photo: author's own

Prabuphada's vision had been to open a large temple in central London and, back in the 1970s, the hope was that

with George Harrison's help that would happen, but George Harrison's vision was that we should have a nice place in the country and that's where he donated Bhaktivedanta Manor. Then, once we got that new place in the country, all the focus had to go there because it was such huge grounds – [a] big facility – so then a lot of focus went there...the plan has always been for the deities to have their own purpose-built temple. This again was also just meant to be a temporary stopover for them – that's been thirty-six years now that they've been here.

With a growing community of devotees, the premises on Soho Street are now too small for them, and on festival days the queues snake around around the block. However, it has not been possible to extend the building or to find another central location. Our interviewee stressed the importance of being in 'zone 1':

I would never want to get rid of this [temple] because it's such a wonderful position, I mean we're able to serve as a bit of a spiritual oasis in the centre of London, so a lot of people who come in are kind of really overwhelmed by the materialistic concept of society.

The central location means that the temple is accessible to people, drawing in a multicultural crowd with 'nationalities from over 150 different countries'. But the temple is also part of the fabric of that part of London:

because we've been here so long and in some cases three generations of families have passed through here from grandfather to son to grandson, it's become part of your life almost, part of your heritage...millions of people around the world know where we are now because of the restaurant, so it's just not possible to let it go.

ISKCON teaches a style of Hinduism that has traditionally appealed to Westerners, but that also attracts growing numbers of people of South Asian background. One of the

attractions is the careful and structured emphasis upon teachings about Hinduism in the English language, as well as upon devotional practices (*bhakti*). Our interviewee explained that some other Hindu temples in the West are not as accessible to those outside traditional Hindu communities, nor do they emphasise teachings about the religion to the same degree.

Some devotees live at the temple, a maximum of around twenty-four at any given time, which is divided into 'houses' or 'ashrams' with 'a separate floor for the ladies and a separate floor for the men. The style of living is...a communal style [with] bunk beds in shared accommodation on the floors'. The programme of worship begins at 4.30 am in the main shrine room on the first floor of the building, with eight opportunities throughout the day to see the deities (*darhsan*) and to take part in worship/offerings (*arti*). People come into the building for these rituals, and also to hear teachings on a daily basis. A range of courses and seminars are also held at the temple, as well as the celebration of festivals.



Hare Krishnas chanting on Oxford Street (image free to use from UK Indymedia)⁹⁷

Other key Hare Krishna activities, co-ordinated from the temple, include the distribution of books (about Krishna, Hinduism and vegetarianism), street chanting (*Harinaam*), the Food for Life project that distributes food to the needy and Radha Krishna records, a not-for-profit record label and owned by the Radha-Krishna Temple, producing devotional music about Krishna that can be accessed on iTunes.

Most of the activity at the temple takes place in the main shrine room. This is not a large room and the walls have been decorated with ornately crafted alcoves housing pictures of Krishna and stories about his life. At the rear of the temple room is a shrine with a statue of Srila Praphupada and at the front of the room is the main shrine to the deities.

⁹⁷

<https://web.archive.org/web/20130324111845/https://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/12/330503.html> (accessed 24/06/18)



Srila Prabhupada statue
Photo: author's own

Our interviewee told us that the deities 'were brought to England by a Radha Krishna temple that was going to open in Ilford and, when they arrived, Radha had a chip on her finger'. It is a traditional Hindu custom that if the deity is damaged in any way it can't be installed, so the temple donated them to Srila Prabhupada. He said 'that this was just Krishna's trick, because he actually wanted them to come here. So then he installed the deities, the deity was repaired and he installed them.'



Shrine at Radha Krishna Temple

Photo: author's own

2016 marked the 50th anniversary of ISKCON, and a range of activities took place at the Radha Krishna temple to mark this important occasion. Included in this has been a renovation project, of which phase 1 is complete and a process of fundraising is underway, including sponsorship for a 10 km race that the president of the temple and his wife undertook at the end of May 2016:

For the 50th Anniversary, we have ambitious plans to renovate the Temple in order to be able to better serve Their Lordships, Sri Sri Radha-Londonisvara, and our growing community and guests.

ISKCON's Seven Purposes, written by Srila Prabhupada, explain the importance of erecting a place dedicated to the personality of Krishna and bringing the members closer together in order to teach and learn a simpler and more natural way of life.

The Temple renovations are intended to support these aims. We want to enhance the quality of service rendered to Their Lordships and also enhance the experience for our community and guests who visit the Temple every day. If you can help us reach our goal we would greatly appreciate it as we run for Krishna in May!⁹⁸

Box 29: Bhaktivedanta Manor Hare Krishna Temple, Watford

Bhaktivedanta Manor Hare Krishna Temple, Watford

The beginnings

Srila Prabhupada – the founder of ISKCON – first arrived in London on 11 September 1969 and,

after a short press conference, he was driven to the Beatle John Lennon's Tittenhurst Manor. John Lennon had personally sent his white Rolls-Royce and chauffeur to drive Prabhupada from the airport. After arriving at the Manor, Prabhupada's first visitors were the Beatles George Harrison and John Lennon and Yoko Ono. He took off the garland he was wearing and gave it to George Harrison. George smiled welcoming him to England.⁹⁹

This relationship between Srila Prabhupada and the Beatles – and with George Harrison in particular – was to shape the future of ISKCON in the UK.

Our interviewee told us that Prabhupada approached one of his disciples – Shyamasundar das, whom he knew had become friendly with George Harrison – to see if he could help them to buy a new property, as the temple at Bury Place had become overcrowded and was no longer large enough for their needs. When Shyamasundar das posed the question to George, 'a lightning bolt hit the building they were in, the lights went off, came back on, and George turned round and said, "I guess I'll have to help you then."'

George tasked another devotee – Dhananjaya das – to select a property. Dhananjaya das found what was to become Bhaktivedanta Manor. Our interviewee told us that there

was an old Scottish woman [Mrs Ruffles] living here, in one room of the entire building, with quite a few cats. He looked at the property and he thought, "This is a

⁹⁸ <https://www.justgiving.com/fundraising/ISKCON-London-Ltd?> (accessed 28/4/17).

⁹⁹ <https://theharekrishnamovement.org/2013/02/27/srila-prabhupadas-england-visit/> (accessed 28/4/17).

good one". He phoned George Harrison – it was a coin phone from what is now our temple. He said to him, "This is what's here, this is what's available," and George Harrison said, "Get it, but don't pay a penny more than the asking price," and that was it, and he got it.



Grade II listed, Bhativedanta Manor, Parish of Aldenham in Hertfordshire¹⁰⁰
Photo: author's own

The temple was established in 1973 in a stunning mock-Tudor manor house and became one of the first Hindu temples in England. Our interviewee emphasised that he has 'always been of the view that the Hare Krishna temple inside a mock Tudor mansion has been an iconic thing for British Hindus.' The estate can be traced back to 1261, when it belonged to Geoffrey Picot, and a Tudor house was built on the site in the 16th Century. This was purchased by George Villies in 1884, who demolished the house, constructing the building we see today. It was named 'Piggots Manor' after Geoffrey Picot, and was renamed Bhaktivedanta Manor in 1973 which, at that time, included seventeen acres of land.¹⁰¹

When they first bought the property it seemed too big for their needs but within a few years the Hindu population in England began to grow as people had to leave their homes in East Africa, including from Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. As the Indian High Commissioner said at a recent function at the Manor, 'This was a great watering hole for the tribes of people that arrived with no place of worship in the UK.'

The first Hindus that many of these East Africans saw or met in England were these western converts that comprised Swami Prabhupada's first followers there. They would have been:

¹⁰⁰ https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/ca/Bhaktivedanta_Manor_-_19.JPG (accessed 28/4/17).

¹⁰¹ http://www.bhaktivedantamanor.co.uk/home/?page_id=6 (accessed 28/4/17).

wearing Indian traditional clothes and probably not wearing them very well...the common things was people... wrapped in bed sheets....not knowing quite what the traditional clothes were...they went out and got whatever they could. At one point, rather than the sacred Tulsi plant, they were growing Basil, and their beads...were whatever they could get...But the thing about us then was western people were the growing Hindu influx, and it was all happening in the village of Letchmore Heath. At the time it was just an alien presence.

Growth and resistance

Situated in middle-England, in the Parish of Aldenham in Hertfordshire, just over a mile from Radlett and four miles from Watford, the juxtaposition of this 'alien' presence alongside the trappings of quaint British rural life has over the years generated some local opposition to the activities undertaken at the Manor, not least due to the increased levels of traffic. Our interviewee explained that 'dealing with the local complaints, the council of Hertsmere took a position to shut the worship here down on the basis of what this place had permission for being I think just a theological college and training place.' In 1981 the council 'tried to stop worshippers and pilgrims by banning all festivals. Later, however, a compromise was reached to limit large festivals to six days a year'¹⁰². As a solution the temple proposed to buy adjacent land to build an access road but this fell through. This gave rise to a 'massive campaign from the 80s that went on right through to 1996 when it concluded with the Secretary of State finally [granting] permission for this 'access land' to be purchased'. They were told that this land 'must be purchased and accessed, a road must be built or you're closing for worship.'

In his concluding report, the Secretary of State acknowledged that '[the temple] is unique in the UK because there is no comparable alternative place for teaching, worship and meditation; and the level of provision of these religious facilities is to an exceptionally high standard. Furthermore, the close association of the Hare Krishna movement's founder with the Manor makes it a special, if not unique place . . . so that association must continue.'¹⁰³

Activities and facilities

Our tour around the Manor took us to the private quarters of Praphupada which have been preserved as he used them, as a shrine to his memory.



Photo: author's own

¹⁰² bhaktivedantamanor.co.uk/home/?page_id=7 (accessed 28/4/17).

¹⁰³ *ibid*



Photo: author's own



Photo: author's own

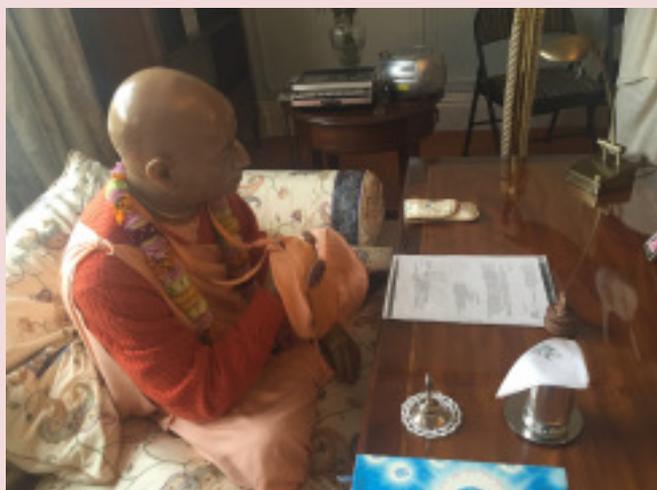


Photo: author's own



Photo: author's own

In addition to the worship of the deities throughout the day and the celebration of religious festivals the estate also houses the Bhaktivedanta Manor School, the Krishna Club/Sunday School, the Manor Preschool and the College of Vedic Studies.

Another key aspect of the work undertaken at the Manor is New Gokul a dairy farm and visitor centre, comprising:

a mixed herd of 57 animals, some of whom give milk, some who are working oxen, and some who are retired or in their childhood. We operate a system of cow protection. This means that unlike most commercial farms we don't slaughter any of our cows, bulls or calves, regardless of whether they give us milk or not.

In Hinduism it is a sacred duty to protect the cow, and many Hindus are vegetarian.



Photos: [author's own](#)



Photo: author's own

The future

In 2012, Hertsmere Borough Council carried out a consultation process about the use and future needs of the Manor and produced a 'planning brief' to guide future plans for development.¹⁰⁴ The brief recognises the special significance of the site for ISKCON specifically and for Hindus more broadly and that 'the whole of the Manor estate is a 'Dhāma' – a sanctified place'.¹⁰⁵ Given the listed status of the Manor house and the fact that it does not meet modern accessibility requirements, limits the extent to which the Manor itself can be altered or extended to meet current needs. In 2014 permission was sought for the 'Erection of a two storey community building (Haveli)...Relocation of existing poly tunnels, greenhouses and playground, revisions to existing playground and erection of a single storey extension to the ladies Ashram, including landscaping to site.'¹⁰⁶ Much more recently in 2016 Hertsmere Borough Council Planning Committee has given consent for the Manor to build the Shree Krishna Haveli.

¹⁰⁴ <https://www.hertsmere.gov.uk/Documents/09-Planning-Building-Control/Planning-Policy/Planning-Publications/Bhaktivedanta-Planning-Brief.pdf> (accessed 28/4/17).

¹⁰⁵ <https://www.hertsmere.gov.uk/Documents/09-Planning-Building-Control/Planning-Policy/Planning-Publications/Bhaktivedanta-Consultation-Supporting-Documentation.pdf> (accessed 28/4/17).

¹⁰⁶ <http://www6.hertsmere.gov.uk/online-applications/applicationDetails.do?activeTab=summary&keyVal=NGZ51LIF1W000> (accessed 28/4/17).

6.7.3 Others (26)

There was more diversity in London than in other regions, with Nepali, Bengali and Caribbean Hindu communities being represented. Pashupatinath Temple London in Plumstead is linked to the Nepali community. It was the first Nepali temple in the UK, according to its website, and the current temple building – a detached suburban house with red prayer flags hanging up outside – was bought in 2011. The temple opens daily and has a dedicated priest.

The London Sevashrama Sangh is a Bengali temple in Shepherds Bush, and is a branch of the Bharat Sevashram Sangha – an all-India and international organisation with its head office in Calcutta. It is located in an urban semi-detached house, and was set up in 1961 by a Hindu reformer called Swami Purnandaji Maharaj.

The Holy Mission of Guru Nanak (Sindhi Community House) is linked to the Sindhi Community, founded by Dada Ishwar R. Balani, which is a blend of Hinduism and Sikhism. It is in an urban location in a very large property in Circklewood, and opened in 1997.

There are 2 Caribbean temples: the Caribbean Hindu Society, Lambeth (see box 30), and the Maha Lakshmi Vidya Temple, Forest Hill, which opened in 1999 and looks like a converted hut/community hall adorned with flags.

Box 30: Caribbean Hindu Society, Lambeth

Caribbean Hindu Society, Lambeth



The Caribbean Hindu Cultural Society, Lambeth has its origins in the 'Hindu Dharma Sabha' set up in 1959 by a group of Caribbean Hindu students who, in 1961, established the "Caribbean Hindu Society". As our respondent informed us, from 1959 to 1972, major religious festivals such as Divali were celebrated in buildings hired "on a rental basis for specific functions, e.g. Lambeth Town Hall, the Commonwealth Institute, South Asian Action Group, Railton Methodist Church and Royal Overseas League."

In 1967, the society obtained charity status and began fundraising for a building. The society raised £11,000 to buy a building through organising chartered flights to Guyana, although the flights had to stop due to limitations on commercial activities that apply to charities. In 1972, a bid of £6,500 was made for the purchase of 16 Ostade Road, a derelict building that had last been used by the Boy Scouts Association. As our respondent explained:

Photo: author's own

For many years we were searching for a building to buy, but always encountered difficulties from the Local Authority, because it would not allow a change of use of a residential building. As most of our members were from South of the River, our search was confined to South West London. The building was a burnt out shell when we bought it in 1972.

In 1978, a successful grant application was made to Lambeth Council and, after the building work was completed in 1982, the Temple became fully operational. In September 1983, the Singhasan (shrine) in the upstairs Pooja room was commissioned, and Murti Prana Pratishtha (installation) was performed on 22 September 1985.



Photo: author's own

The Singhasan in the main hall was commissioned on 26th August 1987, with the installation of the first set of Murtis taking place on 3rd April 2008 and the second set being installed on 15th August 2010.



Photo: author's own

Our respondent explained that this site was chosen “as most of the congregation were from South of the River, so our search was confined to South West London.” In addition, as the building was not a residential property, there was no need to request a change of use. Our respondent informed us that “the building is currently used for religious events and celebrations, classes, cultural events and a social meeting place for members/elderly ... people of all ages participate in its activities. It is a secular organisation with membership open to all.”

The building is owned by the Society, with the Trustees as custodians. It cannot be sold without the approval of the Charity Commission. A new Executive takes office every two years and has the responsibility for its daily upkeep. This is all done on a voluntary basis, and the building is solely maintained by its members. The maintenance of such an old building takes substantial effort, as our respondent explained:

Decades ago, we did receive a grant from the Local Authority for some renovation of those parts not used for religious practices. We have also been [a] beneficiary of two separate grants from Lottery funds— one to help towards renewal of the heating system a few years back, and one more recently for the installation of a disabled toilet. These grants, although most welcomed, did not cover the full cost for the jobs and the Society has had to meet the extra expenditure. An interest-free loan was obtained for the renewal of the heating system and the Society has had to cover the remaining cost of the disabled toilet. The Society, on occasions, put on fund raising concerts, excursions etc. for maintenance of the building. It is always a challenge to raise funds and financially maintain the building.

Occasionally the main hall is rented to members, non-members and other groups for a very small fee, although meat and alcohol are strictly prohibited. The Society actively participates in the Borough's Inter Faith group, and it was a Christian gentleman who

attended the Christian church next to our building who told the society about the building's availability. As it is an old building, there is limited space for the society to conduct its activities, especially during major religious celebrations, and there is very little opportunity to extend the building. Nevertheless, the building ensures that the long-standing Caribbean Hindu presence continues to thrive in South London, hosting visits from local schools and from dignitaries including the Mayor of Lambeth.¹⁰⁷

There are also two temples dedicated to well know gurus: the Jalaram Mandir in Greenford, which was founded in 2000 on the suburban site of a synagogue built in the 1950s, and the urban Shirdi Sai Baba Temple Association of London (SHITAL) Wembley, which is situated in a former church.



Photo: author's own

Shirdi Sai Baba Temple Association of London (SHITAL) Wembley

Box 31: International Siddhashram Shakti Centre, Harrow

International Siddhashram Shakti Centre, Harrow

This ashram, which can accommodate up to 200 people, was set up fifteen years ago by Shri Raj Rajeshwar Guruji in a building that used to be a Salvation Army hall.¹⁰⁸ In addition to this centre, this organisation also has one in India, Mauritius and Miami. Guruji is the founder and the spiritual leader, whose own teacher and guide was Narayan Dutt Shrimali from Jodhpur in Rajasthan.¹⁰⁹ He described his brand of Hinduism as follows:

‘Sampradaya Sanatan Dharma...The Sanatan Dharma is a way of life, is like an open ocean. So anybody can join, anybody can learn, anybody can teach whatever

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.brixtonblog.com/prayers-for-peace-as-inter-faith-week-starts-in-lambeth/34079> (accessed 1/5/17); <https://clirwellbelove.wordpress.com/tag/the-caribbean-hindu-cultural-society/> (accessed 1/5/17).

¹⁰⁸ He has a weekly TV show called ‘Spiritual Live’ on the MATV (Midlands Asian Television) channel based in Wembley.

¹⁰⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Narayan_Dutt_Shrimali (accessed 28/4/17).

they can learn from Vedas and Puranas.'



The ashram is open to anyone regardless of class/caste, or who they worship, and is always open – 'So the Ashram is beyond a temple, it's...open.' The main deities in the ashram are Lord Shiva and Shakti, who are looked after by two priests. In addition to religious activities, the ashram also runs dance classes, an immigration surgery, and provides a service for reporting hate crimes to the police at set times.

Photo: author's own

Before setting up this ashram, Guruji was

giving services from my home...Then I decide myself how we can improve, because there are many people we cannot fit the house. I used to rent the temple hall – another hall – every month to preach to people and teaching the people. Then we decide, no, we can do on our own....because as a Salvation Army hall there was just benches and everything. So what we need – we got the bamboo from India and we make sure a special architect [from Indian and England] who can design for us what we want....Externally, also, we made difference like a little statue we put outside, and there's a flag outside. So the people from [the] external [view], they can see there's some place of worship.

He told me that they were in the process of planning to build a new temple that would look more South Asian and would combine the three elements of temples, Ashram and community service. This project was part of a local urban regeneration project. This time only an architect from England would be used since:



Photo: author's own

'The architecture – now everything's Google, he can find whatever extra knowledge they need to know. So for the architect, it's also easy. So the architect who's working for the temple he recently visited India, he recently went to the different temples...Ours is more simple. Why? Because the importance in Ashram philosophy is importance of the education, the importance of the religion, importance of the teaching ways. Ashram philosophy is not spending thousands of pounds in the buildings and then after a few years they don't know who's going to look after, they don't know how they're going to maintain. Because you can see the main temples are made and they cannot maintain them....So my idea is that I don't want to give any burden to the community. Give simple, the youth

come, learn philosophies that each person can you can make the temple itself. So it's like their own temple. If you teach them, they can teach ten others. So that is my philosophy.'



Photo: author's own

Box 32: Bhagwan Valmik Mandir

Bhagwan Valmik Mandir

This temple

was completed in 1987. Prior to that, the Valmiki community that came to Southall from various parts of the world, they bought a house in New Southall [in the 1970s] which is over the other side, and we had to shut it down because of council rules and regulations – because you can't have a temple in a house street.



Photo: author's own

The current temple is:

two houses connected and there was a lot of rooms and stairs and it wasn't suitable for a temple. We had to have a place where we had a hall for the congregation, a dining hall and the other facilities...so this is what we ended up with...we bought it and then we started thinking about building our own temple – with our own requirements – and we applied for a grant, which we got, and the whole building was then demolished and rebuilt to what it is now.'

They weren't allowed to change how the building looked, having to build it exactly the same outside using the old bricks. However, 'inside we could do whatever we want but the outside front had to stay as the rest of the buildings.' Building from scratch meant that they could perform the bhumi puja and other rituals. They have one priest, who does not live there, although there is a flat upstairs where a priest could live, and about one hundred people might visit each day, with up to five hundred on a festival-day.

It's now a full temple, the congregation, mostly people come on Sundays because we are not [a] very large community – an ethnic within the ethnic. So, Sunday is the largest gathering, although the temple is open every day from half nine to six

o'clock, and people turn around, come in, but not in as large numbers as the other temples.



Photos: author's own

Valmiki is the saint that Hindus believe to have written the Hindu Epic called the Ramayana. However, Valmiki is also a word that is used to refer to a dalit caste group that claims to be descended from the saint Valmiki. The community that worships him here come from the Punjab, and our interviewees told us there are over 100,000 of them in the UK. There are four or five temples in England – in Bedford, Southall, Wolverhampton, Coventry and Birmingham (although we are not sure about the temple in Birmingham). There are two possibilities – there is a Bhagwan Valmiki Ashram / Bhagwan Valmiki Sabha in Hockley, located in what was formerly Icknield Street School, a grade II* listed

building, but it is not clear if this is a temple or just a community centre; and there is the Valmiki Temple on Booth Street, although it is not clear whether or not this temple survived a fire in 2014).



Photo: author's own

Our interviewee told us that the Valmiki temple is only used by their group, and that their community is getting smaller as youngsters marry out of the caste group.

The remaining seventeen temples in London are all Gujarati.

1. Radha Krishna Temple, Balham was set up by Guru Shyamadevi, who also established the Shree Hindu Temple and Community Centre in Leicester (box 22). The Balham temple is located in two converted shops in an urban location adorned with a colourful sign and a flag-pole.
2. The Hindu Centre, Belsize Park is in a suburban very large old house.
3. The Krishna Yoga Mandir, Edmonton is located in a suburban residential house on a street corner.
4. Kali Mata Mandir, Hayes, is in a suburban residential property.
5. The Durga Mandir, Ilford/Shree Sanatan Dharm Mandal Durga Mandir is in an urban setting in what looks purpose built but not like temple.

6. The Hindu Centre, Ilford, linked to the VHP, is in a reused building with some extension in an urban location.
7. The Shri Nathji Sanatan Hindu Mandir in Leytonstone is linked to the Wembley Temple under a charity called Shri Vallabh Nidhi UK (see box 32). It is a suburban temple in what looks like a former church. Our interviewee in Wembley told us that: 'We started off as our base in Leytonstone in East London and that was the first one we started. It's a charity and that particular temple is still up and running... it's not purpose built it was an old...church and it was converted into a temple.'
8. The Hindu Cultural Society, North Finchley is located in a large off-road building with no visible Hindu elements.
9. The Greenwich Hindu Mandir Plumstead/ Sri Radha Krishna Dham is in a suburban former St. Nicholas Mission Hall and has no visible Hindu elements.
10. The Rama Temple in Southall is a purpose built urban temple with some Hindu features.
11. The Vishwa Hindu Mandir in Southall is a purpose built urban temple with some Hindu features.
12. The Hindu Society in Tooting is in an urban location next to a petrol station and doesn't look like a Hindu temple.
13. The Shree Adhya Shakti Mandir is in Cowley is a suburban hut on the edge of a park.
14. See box 33 for the Sanatan Hindu Mandir, Wembley.
15. The Shakti Mandir, Wembley is mainly Gujarati by also has 'clients from Hindu, Punjabi, Sikh, Tamil, some of Mauritian Fijian origin' and is in a suburban semi detached house.
16. The Gayatri Temple, West Hendon is in an urban location in a narrow building between shops with a large room or adjacent building at the back.
17. The South East Hindu Association, Woolwich is in a suburban converted house.

Box 33: Sanatan Hindu Mandir, Wembley

Sanatan Hindu Mandir, Wembley



The architecture of Shri Vallabh Nidhi UK presents an epitome of mystical scales and proportions along with the heavenly carving which turns the structure into a magnificent celestial body.

*Being located on 2.4 acres of land in the centre of the well-known shopping area on the Ealing Road, Wembley, the temple plays the role of a place of deep relaxation and is visited by thousands each year.*¹¹⁰

A temple that is smaller than the well-known purpose-built Swaminarayan Temple in Neasden, but no less impressive, this temple comes under a charity called Shri Vallabh Nidhi UK, which has two mandirs – the one, and one in Leytonstone, East London. Migrants started coming from Uganda around 1968 and, by early 1970s, the Gujarati Hindu population of areas such as Wembley and Harrow had grown considerably. In 1974-75, the elders of the charity started looking for a site, and ended up buying a former church seventeen miles away in Leytonstone, where they established the Shri Nathji Sanatan Hindu Mandir. Then again, in 1982, they started looking again for a site in Wembley, and began a process of fund raising. As one of our interviewees explained:

They started doing these annual functions, saying that we will build a temple in Wembley.... Then what [was] happening was that about 1988-89 we had enough money.... From donations, temple plus doing all these programmes and all that.... So we said, "Fine now we can go somewhere." So we talked to our banks, Indian banks, because English banks didn't know what the temple was and they said, "Fine this is what we will do." Indian bank said, "Yes we'll give you the money."

It took them some time to find a property and, at one point, they were trying to acquire the same property as the BAPS Swaminarayan group in Neasden, and also lost out to a higher bid on land near Wembley stadium, where there was a plan to build a mosque. Planning permission was refused for the mosque, and they were invited to then buy the land at a much higher price than they had previously offered in their bid for it! Finally, they bought a former teaching centre and then community centre on Ealing High Street. Some buildings on the site were demolished to build the impressive new temple that was

¹¹⁰ <http://www.svnu.org/our-temples/wembley-temple/> (accessed 29/4/17).

finished in 2010, taking 16 years to complete and costing 16 million pounds. Some remaining buildings, where the temple had originally been housed, were about to be renovated to provide meeting rooms and offices, as well as a wedding hall.

A Sanatan Temple – Often in India and abroad, Hindu temples are built to service particular deities and Hindu groups. However, our interviewee explained that it had been the particular vision of the founders of the temple to ‘make a place where everybody [can] come and say this is mine.’ Although this had a positive financial benefit (i.e. bringing in more donations), it had primarily been underpinned by this strong vision. Whereas in India, one village might have fifteen different small temples to cater for different communities, the idea of a sanatan temple is that it caters for such diversity in one place.



Photo: author's own

There are 11 separate shrines and 18 wall shrines in the temple to a wide range of deities, as well as to individuals such as Swaminaryan and a Jain saint. Thus, people from different castes and regions in India – North and South – use the temple. As the interviewee continued:

This one is quite unique in some ways because we even have some priest from Sri Lanka who comes here, and he's got his followers, and there's a huge ceremony when he comes here. So we have good Sri Lankan followers and we have a good number of, would you believe, [the] Nepalese community, and they support this temple as well. I suppose because this temple is kind of unique in lots of ways – because it's got so many deities...

...the word sanatan means something which is eternal, but is also all inclusive...Hinduism is a very complicated religion and people get very confused, "Why do you need to have so many deities?" But there is a reason why – because for each and every deity it's got one particular area, one particular reason. Communities choose to worship a particular deity if they wish to. But because this temple has so many little temples within the big complex, communities from North India, South India, they all get drawn in....

...We wanted it to be all-inclusive because at that point twenty years ago there weren't so many temples. And those which were there, they were dedicated to one particular deity. Whereas this is very, very unique in a lot of ways.

Aarti is performed to each of the deities on a daily basis from a central position in the temple. There are three full-time priests, 'but on special days when we need more priests then we have a pool of young, educated and very clever priests who would come in.'

I visited the temple on the day of Diwali celebrations, but before the main rituals took place. The temple was particularly busy that day, with stalls set up to receive the large number of donations made by devotees, all carefully recorded in a ledger. However, my interviewee explained that every day 'there's a group of people and a large group of people who...come to the temple first thing in the morning, do their prayers and then go to work...', and then others attending after work. During the day there was a steady stream of mainly older devotees, no longer of working age. Hindus and others visit from various parts of the country, and the temple authorities cater for many school visits each month.

Building the temple

In addition to the vision that the temple should be inclusive (sanatan), the temple committee also decided to design and build the temple according to the ancient shilpa shastras. As one of our interviewees explained: 'shastra is an Indian sort of bible thing, whereby they configure every dimension – the differences between the two columns, difference between the two beams, the height, the height of the beam – it's all been given up in that particular book or bible.'

The temple was designed and made in pieces in India, shipped back to the UK in 329 containers and then constructed in situ:

If you can imagine Lego that's how it was...We've got three types of stones, the yellow stone is the one which is outside, then inside it's a pink stone and the floor is marble. So, the yellow stone outside is called Jaisalmer stone [from Rajasthan]. It's a sandstone basically. Then the inside one is called Bansi Bharatpur, again from that Rajasthan area, but it's a pinkish one...those two stones were... shifted to a place in Ahmadabad...in Gujarat, and we had a huge site courtesy to a temple there. We set up a, like, a little factory where the two stones were cut to size and we had workers, stone masons, stone crafters [who came from Rajasthan]. Then they carved each one of them by hand... literally [with] a chisel and hammer. If, for example... whilst carving the nose, if the tip of the nose is chopped off, you can't use it, you start again. Everything...was hand crafted...

Then, with the right information and marking and numbering and labelling, they were shipped here, and we had some of those skilled craftsmen here from India...And then put it together...We started from the bottom and then, of course, it took years. Because it's like a jigsaw...I mean like [that] one big pillar that you can see – it's not one big pillar, it's actually four or five different little parts.

The temple was designed in India by an architect from the Sompura caste 'who are experts in temple building' who, in collaboration with the governors from the temple, 'got each and every design correct because everything had to be drawn on paper.' Builders were also brought over from India and no English builders were employed. However, they did employ a UK-based structural engineer (Austin Trumann and Partnership) and an additional architect (Amrish Patel, who had already worked on the Swaminarayan temple in Neasden) to make sure that there was someone who could:

...communicate with the councils and people like that... Well not only that, we also wanted to make sure that we follow all the English rules. Because we couldn't afford to break any of those laws. So we had to make sure that our temple was built according to the Hindu Sompura design and Shilpa Shastras. Supported and approved by English law....

...we had a cohesion between the two bodies – you know, to the Indian architects and the English architects. They talked to the structural engineer [in India], who designed the stones and cut the stones, and the structural engineer here, along with engineers from the council. But it was difficult for the council engineers to understand, so we used to re-transcribe everything in English... The problem is all the drawings which came from India had imperial dimensions, and then we had to convert them into metric, and there were some other areas which were marked in Hindi language, and even I don't understand Hindi language....

...For the work permits, we had quite a lot of struggle as well. So they said, "Why don't you take the people from EEC?" But they don't even know the first thing about anything.

One of the shastric stipulations is that temples should not include any steel/metal in their construction, and convincing the building regulators in the UK about building in this way took some time. However, the fact that the Neasden temple had already been built in this way meant that a precedent had been set, and that this was not a wholly alien idea. There was an ongoing relationship with the Neasden temple, built on the need to share advice and experiences in a non-Hindu environment.

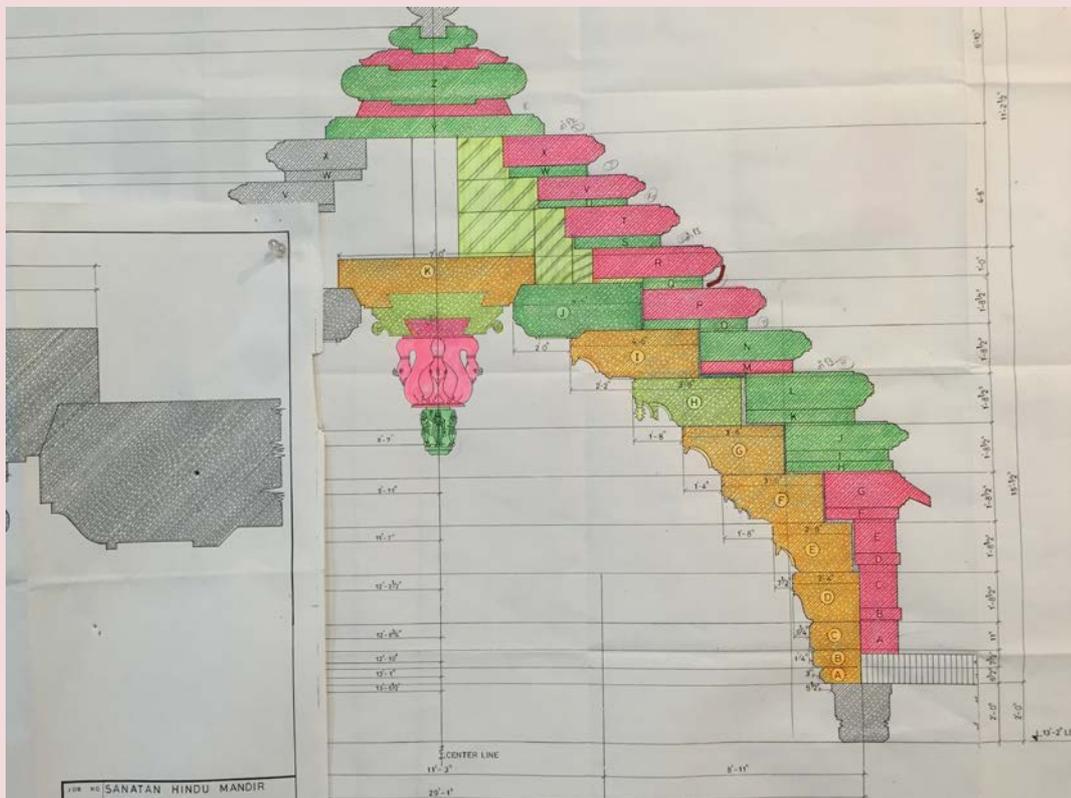


Photo: author's own

6.8 South Indian and Sri-Lankan temples in London

The temples that are associated with South Indian traditions have a less well developed web presence than the Gujararti temples do, for instance, and their web material is more likely to be in Tamil or other regional languages. We found twenty-three in total and visited three. Most people who visit these temples are from Sri Lankan backgrounds, having come to

England to escape the civil war in the 80s, 90s and early 2000s. They speak Tamil and practise South India styles of Hinduism.

Only six of these temples are suburban, the rest being urban, but located in areas away from central London. By contrast, the other Hindu traditions have temples that are closer to the centre of the city. Also there are many more of these temples than one would expect given the size of the population of South Indians and Sri Lankans in London.

Our interviewee at the Sivan Kovil Temple in Lewisham (see box 36) explained that some of the Tamil temples

are even on a shop floor, they have a small place of worship but they register themselves as a temple...If you go back to the villages of South India or Sri Lanka where Tamils lived, almost for every local community, they have a small place where they set up a place of worship...Every small community, every small village will have two or three temples if you go to the villages in India or in Sri Lanka...Wherever we go and live, say about 100 or 200 families gather, they want a place immediately there, so they'll set up something and some of them are very poor conditions for a temple – they're not fit – but they still bring a deity, they bring a stone structure and establish it there and people start going and it gradually starts growing.... Because there is a need for them to have some focus for protection, for worship, to feel secure. It is that same kind of need, it's virtually impossible for them to live in a place without going to a temple and praying at least once a week. That's the majority of people...But these are the big temples, the ones I've mentioned and ours is very much later, although we started worshiping in 1993 but it was in a warehouse until, for about thirteen years, we just had nothing but this and it was terribly cold in the winter.

The first Sri Lankan temple was the Murugan Temple in Highgate (see box 35), then the Ganpathi in Wimbledon started in 1979 (see box 33). Ten years later, one was set up in Ealing in a Baptist church. He told us that 'then a number of small temples have mushroomed in the last about fifteen years [and] almost entirely, all of the big temples are Christian churches which have been acquired because it is hard to get planning permission'.

The UK has welcomed many Sri Lankan immigrants, and these may be divided into three types. First, those coming between the 1950s and 1980s, including well educated people settling into professions as doctors or engineers. Second, from the 1980s, increasing numbers of young men in particular came as refugees, escaping the civil war that started in 1983. Finally, IT professionals, many of whom were itinerant. Our interviewee at the Sivan Kovil temple in Lewisham (see box 34) explained:

Most of it started from the people who came in the mid to late 80s, as refugees or asylum seekers, there must be about 8–10,000 people in this area who are Sri Lankan Tamils who have come mostly as asylum seekers or refugees...[In] 1985, there was a big conflict – a big massive drive which was driven by the government to target Tamil minorities all over the island – that was a big impact, and a lot of the Western governments, high commissions condemned the government because they were taking a leading role in driving these people, that's what led to the British Government saying because thousands of people went into temples and became refugees. There were thousands of people in a small place and that's when the British High Commission opened the gates and said, "anyone who wants to flee the country because their life is in danger ..." and plane loads of people [were] coming. They all came without anything, some of them might have had their children, like

elderly people, their children might have been working here but many people came with nothing other than the fact that they felt they had to flee the space because they didn't feel safe or secure...I think we have people all around the Outer London, there's a substantial population in South-West, which is Wimbledon, New Malden, Croydon, all that area. There's a substantial population in West London, Ealing, Harrow, West and North-West. There's another group of people in Enfield, and there's a large number of people in the South-East, in Kent, and Dartford and Essex, so right around Outer London, there's a number of people, a number of pockets of Sri Lankan Tamils. There are smaller numbers in cities such as Manchester, Leeds and Glasgow.

It is hard to know how many Tamils are in the UK as 'Tamil' is not one of the tick-box answers for the ethnicity question in the UK Census. People are, however, given an opportunity to write an answer if they tick the "Any other Asian" box. In the 2011 Census, 24,930 wrote that they were Tamil in England, but the number of people in England and Wales that said that they speak Tamil as their main language was 100,689:

In 2008, community estimates suggested that 150,000 Tamils lived in the UK, with a 2006 Human Rights Watch report putting the number of Sri Lankan Tamils in the UK at 110,000. A 2009 article in the FT Magazine put the figure at up to 200,000. The majority live in London though.¹¹¹

We found 6 SI/SL temples in East London:

1. Walthamstowe Kali Amman Temple – an urban shop front with a gopuram added.
2. Sri Katpaga Vinayagar Temple, Walthamstowe – a suburban converted hall/hut with a gopuram.
3. London Sri Selva Vinayagar Temple, Ilford – a commercial property (?), with a cut-out 2-d Gopuram at the entrance to the temple and flags.
4. Tillai Natarajar Sannidh/Saiva Munettra Sangam, Manor Park – an urban end-of-terrace house.
5. Murugan Temple, Manor Park – an urban purpose built in the South Indian style (est. 1984).
6. Maha Lakshmi Temple, Manor Park – an urban street corner with embellishments in the South Indian style. It looks like a converted house, with a South Indian style porch – a gopuram (est. 1990). Fund-raising is under way for a new temple.

We found 6 SI/SL temples in North London:

1. Nagapooshani Ambaal Temple Enfield – a suburban reused detached commercial building, painted with red and white stripes, adorned with flags and a picture of a goddess (est. 2003, but site now being redeveloped).

¹¹¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Tamil (accessed 28/4/17).

2. Sree Ayyappa Sevasangam, Harrow – this is a Keralan temple and not Tamil – located in a suburban hut, painted with red and white stripes (est. 2008).
3. Eelapatheeswarar Aalayam Edgware, Wembley – an urban Pavitt Hall, shared with Brent Labour club, having no embellishments outside except a flag.
4. Hanuman Mandir West Hendon – a suburban community centre – shared building?
5. London Nadarajar Temple South Indian, Wembley – an urban single-story hut, painted with red and white stripes, and with a gopuram.
6. Highgate Hill Murugan Temple – an urban purpose built (see box 33).

Box 34: Highgate Hill Murugan Temple

Highgate Hill Murugan Temple

In 1966, the Hindu Association of Great Britain was inaugurated to support the South India style of Hinduism that promotes the worship of the deity Shiva. According to the Temple website:

The main object of the Association was to foster the Saiva Siddhantha religion and its form of worship. The other aim was to generate a unifying force among the Dravidians [South Indians] from various parts of the world such as Fiji, Malaysia, Singapore, India, Ceylon (Srilanka), Mauritius, South Africa, so that children of these families may mix in a religious atmosphere so as to encourage them to follow their parent's religious faith and culture.¹¹²

Our interview told us that, in the absence of a temple, the founder and the chairman – who lived in Wimbledon – would take a statue of Murugan (a form of Shiva) to the Kenneth Black Memorial Hall¹¹³ in Worplesdon Road each Friday for people to come to worship. By the early 1970s, 'it was felt that the time was ripe for the launching of a campaign to raise funds for the building of a Temple Trust' and 'the Britannia Hindu (Shiva) Temple Trust was created by the Hindu Association of Great Britain, on the 17th August 1974'. A period of fundraising 'made it possible for the Trust to purchase a spacious freehold property at 200A, Archway Road, Highgate Hill in 1977, where finally the Temple was built'. The property was a former Synagogue and was purchased for £12,000. In 1979, an 'annexe consisting of a prayer hall and a Priest's flat with all conveniences at a cost of about £3,000' was established.

Between 1952 and 1976, when it was destroyed by a fire, the Highgate Synagogue was located in this building.¹¹⁴

¹¹² <http://www.highgatehillmurugan.org/History.html> (accessed 19/4/17).

¹¹³ <http://www.wimbledonandwandlescouts.org/kbhistory.htm> (accessed 19/4/17).

¹¹⁴ <http://www.jewishgen.org/jcr-uk/london/highgate/index.htm> (accessed 19/4/17).



Photo: author's own

Our interviewee explained that when they first acquired the property 'they were not allowed to change any outside appearance [and]...in those days, it looked like a synagogue or some other church, or something like that.' According to the website:

On the 2nd December 1979 we had the grand ceremony on the occasion of the opening of the premises with a congregation of more than 700 people. On the day of the Hindu New Year of the following year we had a preliminary Prana Prathisda (life-giving) ceremony to the Statues of Shanmuga and the Shakthis...The final Prana Prathisda was held on 28th May 1982, the auspicious day of Vaikasi Visakham.

Our interviewee told us that the selection of Highgate – a traditionally Jewish neighbourhood – as a location was unusual, as it did not have a large Tamil population, with most living in Wimbledon and Ealing. They had wanted to buy land in Wimbledon to build a temple, but that had not been possible and, instead, they had found the site in Highgate, which at least had the advantage of already being registered for use as a place of worship, although they were not permitted to change the outside of the building. The website reports that the 'Temple [had] become very popular in 1980', when 'it was decided to appoint a permanent Priest' and, by 1982,, they 'were ready to build the three-storied building complex for the Temple'. Our interviewee explained that:

six people came from South India to design the temple...they came here, first to finish all the floors and the roof and everything, after that, first six people came and they went back and another set of people came and did it...After that our service properly started there, earlier it was in basement, then only in that other hall also, then we moved upstairs to the proper temple.

The temple is upstairs in the building, whilst food is served on the ground floor, and there is a wedding hall for Hindu weddings only in the basement. According to the website, the 'Temple incorporates some of the richest facets of south Indian Temple architecture, a library, two Concert Halls accommodating 500 people each, residential quarters for the

chief priest etc.’ The temple was formally opened in 1986, and the ‘The Maha Kumbabhishegam (Consecration Ceremony) was held between 9th – 13th July...followed by Mandala Abishegams for 45 days’.

Our interviewee also emphasised that, after the war started in Sri Lanka in 1983, ‘a lot of people came here as refugees, then, at that time...more Tamil temples were set up in London’. While this did not massively swell the Tamil population of Highgate itself, the larger Tamil population in other parts of London meant that there were then more people travelling to use the temple. Today the membership is mostly elderly, with people coming to the temple from Wembley, Ealing and Edmonton, particularly on Fridays and Sundays, when 50–60 people typically attended.

The temple trust purchased some flats from which they earn rental income to help fund the temple, including paying the utility bills and paying for the three priests from Sri Lanka. A significant change was that, a couple of years previously, the ‘council approved... he outside changes. Now it looks like a Hindu temple’. Architects from India had recently re-designed the outside of the temple. I asked why the council changed mind about what they could do the outside. He explained that the fact that permission had been granted to the East Ham Temple had set a precedent. East Ham is an area where there are many ‘Sri Lankan Tamils and Indian Tamils...about 10,000 people and the MPs and members of that council...depend on these people.’

The Highgate Temple has a chariot festival each July and, in 2002, Queen Elizabeth II visited. Before the Neasden Temple was built, Highgate hosted a lot of school visits, but now schools prefer to go there as it provides easier parking for coaches.

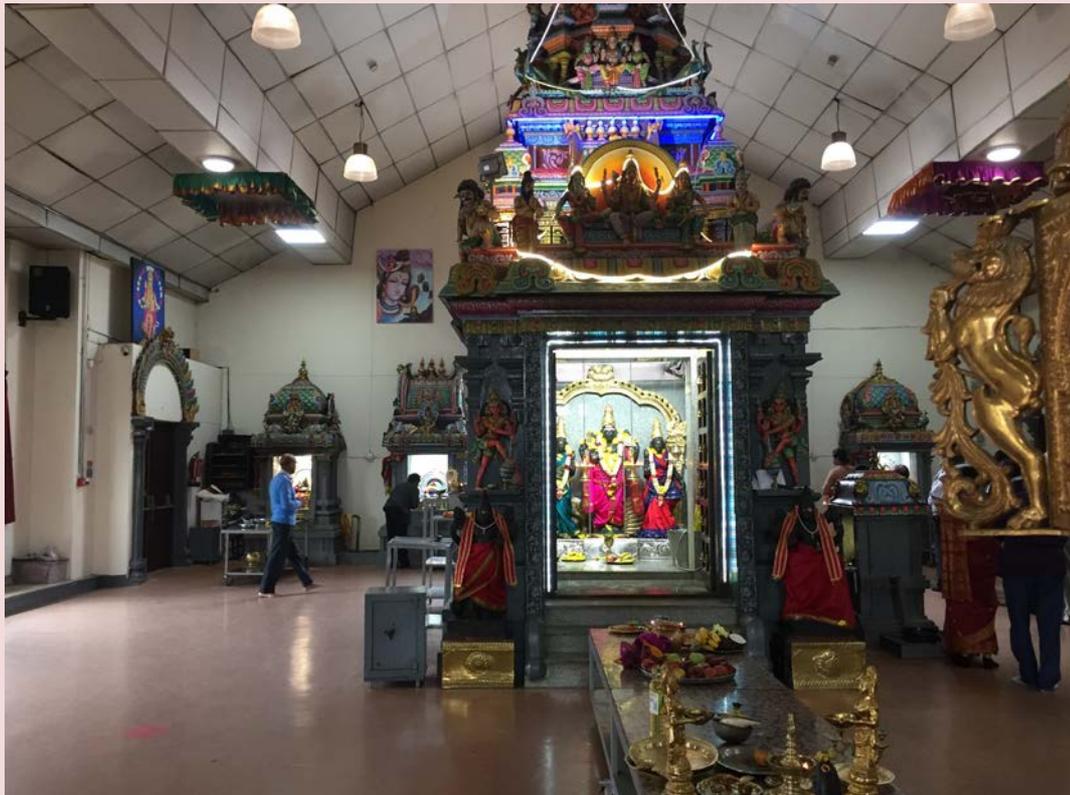


Photo: author's own

We found 10 SI/SL temples in South London:

1. Sri Vel Murugan Temple, Lewisham – using a suburban building.

2. Muthumari Amman Temple, Croydon –an urban detached house.
3. Sivaskanthagiri Arulmigu Murugan Temple, Croydon.
4. Muththumari Amman Temple, Tooting – an urban converted shop.
5. Jegatheeswaram Arulmihu Meenakshi Sunthareswar Wimbledon – not sure what building is used, but is in an urban location near a Sainsbury's.
6. Ganapathy Temple, Wimbledon – a suburban renovated Church (see box 34).
7. London Sivan Kovil, Lewisham – an urban purpose built (see box 35).
8. Sri Ranga Thiruppathy Arulmiku Astalakshmi Temple, Tooting – urban, but not sure what the premises are.
9. Sri Thiruthanigai Vale Murugan Temple, New Malden.
10. Sri Sakthy Ganapathy Temple, Croydon – an urban hut (?).

We found 1 SI/SL temple in West London: Kanaga Thurkkai Amman Temple, West Ealing – an urban converted West Ealing Baptist Church (Dwyer et al 2015).

Box 35: Shree Ghanapathy Temple, Wimbledon

Shree Ghanapathy Temple, Wimbledon



The Shree Ghanapathy Temple
Photo: author's own

The history of the Shree Ghanapathy Temple dates back to 1966 when Hindu families living around Wimbledon began to meet together in houses to pray. As our respondent explained, "when the house got too small for the number of people the Hindus in this area, we started hiring local halls. We did that for probably about six or seven years, until the numbers grew so much that we felt there needs to be a permanent place." By 1978 the temple's founder (Mr ATS Ratnasingham) brought a statue of Lord Ghanapathy from India, which is still in the Temple today. He also hired a Hindu priest to lead regular Friday services in local halls in Wimbledon, including the Sidney Black Memorial Hall.



**A statue of Lord Ghanapathy
Photo: author's own**

Our respondent explained, "it was a former Presbyterian church and then that fell into ruin and it was converted into a community centre. This property was owned by the Black family who was very prominent. Sir Cyril Black was a local MP here and he had halls in various areas in Merton." In 1980, the community bought the Churchill Halls in Wimbledon and, within a year, these became the Shree Ghanapathy Temple. The Temple had its Maha Kumbabishekam (consecration ceremony) in September 1981, and became the first fully consecrated Hindu Temple in Europe. The adjoining church hall was converted into a Sai Mandir in January 1981. Our respondent explained what happened in the consecration ceremony:

it was a three-day celebration where the foundations are dug, the Yantras (tantric images) are put in there, the gems are put in there ... Priests were brought from India as well as all the local ... Anybody we could find who was a proper priest came, and they installed all the deities with the proper Vedic traditions that were expected.

When designing the inner hall at the temple, our respondent explained that it was important to "keep the traditional side of things, but we should bring in a bit of meaning of what living in the west is as well." This has been done by incorporating both English and Sanskrit words as the following photograph shows.



'OM' written in English
Photo: author's own

The architects of the inner sanctum were professional temple builders in India. Our respondent explained that they came from a particular area in Southern India, from families in which architectural skills had been passed down from generation to generation. Prior to designing the inner sanctum in Wimbledon, they had designed temples in Africa and many temples in India. Although it appears to be made of stone, the sanctum is made out of concrete, sand and cement, all carved by hand.

The work took around seven months to complete, and included installing under-floor heating, digging the foundations and taking out a wall. According to our respondent, one of the temple devotees, trained in health and safety, created a course for the builders in Tamil:

He delivered the course – they came a week early and he did a whole week of health and safety training with them. We bought them the boots, the hard hats, high vis jackets and everything. Every now and again they'd come to us and point to one of these Irish digger guys saying, "He hasn't got his hat on." It was hilarious – they were used to just clambering up bamboo scaffolding in India. So it was a learning experience.

The inner sanctum designers from India were taken to Westminster, to the Houses of

Commons and Buckingham Palace. On the way back from this tour, the designers “wanted to bring a little bit of what they'd seen into their architecture. So if you look on the pillars they have done are I think Doric pillars, the Greek pillars.”



Doric Pillars in the inner sanctum
Photo: author's own

The main hall includes an inner sanctum which houses a murti of the dancing Ganesha, chosen because Indian classical dance is taught at the mandir. Our respondent explained: “we have about 100 girls who learn from three different teachers throughout the week here.” As well as dance, the children are taught yoga and meditation, and the temple also receives regular visits from local schools, with roughly 3,000 school children visiting every year. In addition, around 500 children learn music and dance at the temple.



**A 'dancing Ganesha' in the inner sanctum
Photo: author's own**

Our respondent explained that the temple caters for Hindus from both North Indian and South Indian backgrounds. As one of the few temples in the area, it remains open all day. In addition, even when the temple is closed, a Ganesha has been placed outside in order to allow people to still come and pray.



The Ganesha statue outside
Photo: author's own

The temple played an important role in helping victims of ethnic violence in Sri Lanka. Our respondent explained:

when the war came to its Zenith in 2009, we had a lot of devotees coming to us and absolutely breaking down in tears because they couldn't get hold of people in Sri Lanka. They didn't know if their people were dead or alive. Government was refusing to accept that even a single civilian casualty had been done. Now we know that it's 40,000 at least who died at that time. So they were going through a real emotional trauma and, although we have done a lot in-house before then, because the war's gone on for thirty years or so. So our volunteers were able to cope with it – we had psychiatrists who could give us advice etc.

As part of the Wandsworth Community Empowerment Network (WCEN), the temple volunteers managed to help the victims of the violence by organising counselling sessions in the Mandir. For our respondent, “they felt in a safe environment and we were able to introduce prayer, meditation as well as part of an NHS course, and with Tamil speaking counsellors.”

The temple is part of the federation of [SAIVA Hindu temples](#) – of South Indian temples in the UK. The temple employs four priests, with two living in the vicarage next door, and the other two living out with their families. The priests are the only salaried employees, with everything else being done by volunteers.

Although the main worship day would traditionally be Friday evening, the main day at the temple is a Sunday, with about 1,000 devotees coming through the doors on that day. Throughout the week, about 2,000 devotees in total are estimated to attend. With Ganesha as the main murti in the temple, our respondent explained that “Ganesha's very charming, he's a nice guy. So people have that feeling for him. So they may go to other temples, but they still come here as well.”

Box 36: London Sivan Kovil, Lewisham

London Sivan Kovil, Lewisham

This temple complex is just off the main shopping street in Lewisham, South East London, on a site that previously housed a storage warehouse. It wasn't until the early 1990s that the Sri Lankan Tamil community had become large enough to begin discussing setting up a temple in the Lewisham area. A dilapidated warehouse had been spotted, and was felt to be a good location to set up a temple. However, it belonged to an elderly English woman who did not want to sell it. Our interviewee explained that, alongside the warehouse, 'an old dilapidated building was up for sale in 1994/5, at the time it was £140,000 – there are about half a dozen medical doctors, as well as engineering doctors, a lawyer ... so there are about 15 trustees – so we all contributed small amounts and collected the money also from donations' to purchase it.



Photo: author's own

They were also able to rent the warehouse and established a temple there. The building that was purchased was developed to make a cultural centre – the London Shivan Centre – borrowing £3–400,000 to do this: 'there's a fully equipped stage, lighting and music centre performance with 300 seats...we conduct classes, music classes, Tamil and English, mostly Asian oriental music lessons in violin, percussion instruments...'

They still have not been able to purchase the warehouse and its land, but the owner has given permission for them to knock the warehouse down and to build a new temple there. They have a twenty-year lease, but the land is not owned by the community.

The new temple was designed by architects from South India: 'they've already built several temples in America, in Germany and they are very well, a family of father and six

sons and they are very experienced sculptors, this was the company in Chennai, South India, they were the original people.' A team of architects came and stayed at the temple site for about eighteen months in 2008/9 while it was built – a job that took two years in total.



Photo: author's own

The temple has been designed and built according to rules laid out in the Shilpa Shashtras. He explained that:

The scriptures have said this is the way you build a temple, and the scriptures have designed a Hindu temple in the form of the human body – the altar is the head, so the altar sits at the top...That is the head of the temple and the foot is the front door, where Shiva is....According to our scriptures, it's meant to be built in granite. [The use of] granite, [in] the Hindu philosophy, is based on the fact that we have, we think, the five elements – water, earth, air, fire and space – five elements of this universe are present in the granite stone, it's got earth, it's got spaces in between with air, the original man, when he rubbed the two stones, he produced fire. So the granite stone is the structure that all temples are built [from], the main part of the temple – of course what you build on top is out of cement....the shrines are all made out of granite up to this level, where the actual deity is kept. Above that is not granite, it's too heavy.

While this temple had one *gopuram* at the entrance, traditionally in South India there would be one in 'all four directions, north, south, east and west, all four have spires [but] we don't, we don't have the space for it and its cost'.

I asked about planning permission for this and he told me:

I think we had no problem, the local community was excellent, the local council was very good, you know?...Because in East Ham, the Murugan temple, they were very first to build a spire....In East Ham, there is a Murugan temple, if you go into the London Hindu Temples.com, you'll come across that, they were the first to build a

spire, so we were inspired by that, and we said, because this is the classic structure of the Hindu temple.

While the other larger Tamil temples in London are in former churches he told us that:

this was an exception because this was a warehouse, and then we applied to Lewisham Council and in fact it functions more as a cultural centre by the permission rights, although they know we worship...but as a place of worship, if we applied, they would not have given permission. We applied for it as a place for cultural activities, community activities and then a portion of that we use for ... but then over a period of time, the worship becomes the dominant activity.

Most of the people who use the temple are Tamil and:

We have on average [of] about 1500 people throughput but, on the chariot festival day, we had 4500 people – on 11th September. We prepared 4500 meals and we had 4500 people here. Almost 100%, I would say there, are a lot of North Indians who visit here [too].

7. Conclusions and recommendations to Historic England

7.1 Introduction

In this research we visited 23 Hindu temples in England and, in our mapping exercise, located 187 temples in total (see Table 9).

Table 9: Hindu temples in England by region:

	Number
North East	12
North West	20
West Midlands	32
East Midlands	30
South	29
London	64
TOTAL	187

While Table 1 provides details of the range of different types of Hindu-related buildings in the UK, our survey has predominantly included formal temples (*mandir*) where the deities (*murti*) have been properly installed. In section 5.3 we then outlined different types of Hindu temple in terms of their style of identification or affiliation: *sanatana* (universal) temples; those with a regional focus; *sampradaya*-led; guru/swami-led; caste-focussed; and ashrams. While the majority of Hindus in England are of Gujarati origin, mostly migrating via East Africa, but with others coming directly from India, we also find communities with regional links to India via the Punjab, Bengal and South India (Tamil Nadu, Kerala and other South Indian regions) and outside of India (Sri Lanka, Nepal and the Caribbean). As we discussed in section 3, the timing of and reasons for migration to England vary between these different communities, and these factors have shaped the type of buildings that are today used as Hindu temples.

In this section of the report we will summarise and conclude our findings across these different communities around four areas that we focussed on in our interviews: finding and developing the buildings; Hindu building terminology; the value and function of the buildings; and who uses them.

7.2 Finding and developing the buildings

Most Hindus in England emigrated to industrial towns and cities, beginning in the 1950s, mainly in the North of England, the Midlands and London. Temples were not set up straight away, but instead local organisations were formed to represent and support Hindus, such as the Bhartiya Mandal (India Association), formed in Bradford in 1957, when less than 300 Gujarati Hindus lived there. Worship in the home is more important and widespread amongst Hindus than it is for Sikhs and Muslims (Bowen 1987), so temples were slower to emerge in this community than in some other immigrant groups. The emergence of communal worship amongst Hindus in England began with the formation of house temples, periodic use

of other public spaces (such as community centres) and, eventually, the purchase of residential houses to use as temples rather than homes.

Alongside these developments, as the size of the Hindu communities grew, so did the number of organisations representing them, and we also begin to find the growth of caste-based organisations such as the Shree Prajapati Association, the Shree Sorathia Prajapati Community UK and the Lohana Community North London. Eventually, some smaller caste-based temples began to be set up, such as those belonging to the Valmiki community. Alongside a desire to coalesce around caste and regional-based identities, however, another strategy has been the establishment of temples that are *sanatana* – inclusive or universal – which are intended to welcome and appeal to Hindus regardless of caste, regional identity or the style of Hinduism practised.

While some Hindu communities have extended and embellished the buildings that they originally occupied to serve the needs of a growing membership, others have been able to raise money to either buy larger properties that might then be extended, or to purpose build from scratch. For all of these different types of building, it is becoming increasingly common, although not widespread, to involve architects and sculptors from India – from the traditional castes that that carry out these occupations, with these individuals often spending time in England working on the temples and importing sculpted parts of temples and other materials from India. There is a transnational flow of expertise and materials, with diasporic building projects playing an important role in keeping traditional temple-building practices alive. Moreover, although most temples have been unable to incorporate traditional *vastu shastra* design features – due to the fact that they are located in pre-existing buildings with practical, financial or planning restrictions – some temples today incorporate these building techniques and rules either in parts of the temple (e.g. the *shikara* or *gopura*) or the entire premises (e.g. the Balaji Temple in Dudley).

Most of the purpose-built or significantly extended/adapted buildings that are used for Hindu temples are designed to be functional for Hindus in contemporary Britain, and do not follow traditional building styles (although they may mimic some features). They tend to have a dedicated area for the deities and for worship, but also separate rooms for teaching, libraries, kitchens, dining rooms, offices, priests' quarters and wedding halls. The architectural design of these temples, both externally and internally, mostly blends British with Hindu/Indian design features and materials, for reasons of both cost and practicality.

From our conversations in Hindu temples, we gained the impression that attitudes towards planning consent for more ostentatious designs has relaxed over the decades, and that communities are now more likely to be granted planning permission for extensions or purpose-built premises than they were in the past. As one interviewee told us, at the temple in Highgate, they had been allowed to add a *gopura* to the front of their temple following a similar successful planning bid in East Ham. In fact,

most of the objections to planning applications for Hindu temples centre on access to parking and noise rather than to the aesthetic features of the buildings.

In contrast to the Buddhist buildings in England project (see Tomalin and Starkey 2016), where there are a good number of Buddhist centres in listed premises, we have only found one Hindu temple that used to be in a listed building (before it burnt down in 1992 – the Krishna Temple, West Bromwich, part of which is a former grade II listed Methodist Church). There are, however, a few purpose-built temples or significantly adapted buildings that are, in principle, old enough to be listed. One reason for the Hindu community's lack of use of listed buildings could well be because they eventually want to adapt buildings and there would be greater restrictions on this were they listed, so they probably avoid listed buildings for this reason.

In section 4, we discussed traditions of temple building in India according to the *vastu shastra* and the fact that, in England, it is difficult to design a building according to these traditions, and so compromises are made both externally and internally. We noticed a difference in the extent to which communities deviated from traditional styles between the temples of North Indian origin, which are mainly of Gujarati origin, and the South Indian style of temples. Whereas the latter are more likely – both internally and externally – to resemble traditional Indian temples, North Indian/Gujarati temples are more modern, showing greater differences to traditional styles. Even in South Indian temples that do not look traditional on the outside (e.g. Ganpathy Temple, Wimbledon), the internal design resembles temples that have been laid out in a mandala design (see figure 1). By contrast, none of the North Indian/Gujarati style temples that we visited were internally configured in this way. Instead, they typically had the main deities at the front of the room, and often also lesser deities around the sides of the room (compared to the traditional mandala layout of deities in temples). This, therefore, left a large open space for communal worship, which was absent in the South Indian temples we visited, where people tend to come individually or in smaller groups and to make their way round the temple to the various shrines often accompanied by one of the priests. In South Indian temples, there is also a stronger emphasis on carrying out the rituals in a more traditional way, following strict agamic traditions.¹¹⁵

Moreover, many of the adapted South India temples have erected elaborate *gopurum* and other sculptures outside of their buildings (e.g. London Sivan Kovil, Lewisham).

We have some suggestions about the possible reasons for these differences. The largest North Indian community in England is the Gujarati

¹¹⁵ <http://www.differencebetween.net/miscellaneous/religion-miscellaneous/the-differences-between-north-and-south-indian-hindu-temples/> (accessed 29/4/17); <https://www.quora.com/What-are-the-differences-between-North-Indian-and-South-Indian-Hindu-temples> (accessed 29/4/17).

from East Africa, and the largest South Indian is Hindu from Sri Lanka. Thus, two of the largest populations of Hindus in England are communities from outside of India – although with links to Indian Hinduism. The ancestors of the Gujarati Hindus settled in East Africa from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, where Hinduism was – and has – remained a minority religion (Nye 1995: 48). By contrast, Hinduism has existed in Sri Lanka for far longer – since the 3rd century BCE – and was the dominant religion in Sri Lanka by the time Buddhism arrived there later in that century, although today it's members only constitute around 12% of the population. We suggest that, whereas traditional forms of temple building emerged over the longer time period that Hinduism was present in Sri Lanka – indeed alongside the development of temple-building in India – the closeness of Sri Lanka to the Indian subcontinent also playing a role. By contrast, in East Africa, traditional building practices did not have the opportunity to flourish to the same degree. Moreover, the local context and constraints in East Africa had an impact upon the types of temples that were established there. Thus, when the Gujarati Hindus migrated to England from East Africa, their experience of and commitment to building traditional brahmanical temples was less strong than for the Sri Lankans, who began arriving in large numbers from the early 1980s onwards.

The Gujarati Hindus, as a community, had experienced two periods of upheaval and resettlement, which could mean that they were also more likely than South Indians/Sri Lankans to modernise and adapt their temple-building styles. Also, compared to Sri Lanka, where traditional forms of Hinduism were still strong when people migrated to England, Hinduism in East Africa had been influenced by reform movements that had modernised temple building and ritual practices (e.g. the Arya Samaj and the Swaminarayan movement) (Younger 2007; Waghorne 2004; Nye 1995: 52-62). More generally, the influence of Muslim and Sikh traditions in North India can perhaps also be seen in the more pared back and less ritualistic styles of worship seen in modern Hindu temples and traditions. Thus, in order to understand temple-building practices in England, we need to also look at how these developed in different East African settings, as well as in Sri Lanka. For instance, Younger (2007) tells us that Hindus developed caste-based temples in East Africa – which are largely unknown in India – and that these grew from the caste-based associations that were set up to represent the interests of new immigrant groups of Hindus so that they could prosper in an alien setting (2007: 204). Both Younger and Nye explain that these caste-based communal organisations which formed in East Africa were 'modelled on highly successful Shia Imam Ismaili projects, initiated by the Aga Khan and his followers...[the success of the Ismailis]...made them into a 'pace-setter' for developments among the Asian population as a whole' (Nye 1995; Younger 1997). Younger also tells us that, for these groups of Hindus,

it is not so much the limits of the architecture that give away the immediate focus of worship as it is the style of the community worship. In a traditional temple in India, a cosmic pattern defined by the *mandala* underlying the temple determines the layout, and the

subsidiary deities are arranged so that the worshipper starts with Ganesa and is then taken clockwise around the cosmos to other points and finally to the central deity who is facing east in the centre of the cosmos. In a community-center temple, there is no cosmic pattern and subsidiary images are not set on a *mandala* pattern. There are usually a number of images, but, without a pattern and without *vahanas* or vehicles, they are often hard to identify... (2007: 212).

The majority of temples in England, then, are of the type that Younger calls 'community centre temples' (2007: 212). Such a use of space in Hindu temples could also have been an influence of the development of Bhakti or devotional sects within Hindu religiosity where, as Mukerji and Sanghamitra (2015) write, 'alternative religious practices of the emergent Bhakti cults would have given rise to different space types – praying in groups and religious kirtan recitals required open verandas for gathering' (40).

7.3 Hindu Building Terminology

The main word used for Hindu temples is *mandir*, and this refers to a public place of worship where properly installed deities are present (it is a Sanskrit term). We also found the word *kovil* used to describe one of the Tamil temples (it is a Tamil term 'for a distinct style of Hindu temple with Dravidian architecture'.)¹¹⁶ It is a sacred building where *murti* have been installed through rituals (a Sanskrit term for the images of deities).

Traditionally, the *murti* is enshrined within the *garbagriha* or 'womb chamber', with towering *shikhara* (a Sanskrit term meaning 'mountain peak') above the shrine and visible from the outside of the temple. In South India, the word used for this is *vimana* (Tamil). Another important term is *gopuram* – the ornate towers at the entrance to South Indian temples (Tamil). A special ritual performed by the priest – *pujari* – is necessary for installing the deity within the *murti*, and this is known as *pranaprastha*.

Other building-related terms that are used in association with Hindu temples are *haveli* (mansion, Hindi), *bhavan* (building, Hindi) and *kendra* (centre, Hindi). These words are often used to describe other buildings or rooms attached to or nearby to the temple that are used for community activities.

Important words related to Hindu rituals that occur in temples are *puja* (see Box 37), *aarti* (part of the puja – see below), *satsang* ('a spiritual discourse or sacred gathering'), *kirtan* (devotional songs) and *bhajan* (devotional songs).

Box 37 Puja

¹¹⁶ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Koil> (accessed 29/4/17).

Indologist Jan Gonda has identified 16 steps (shodasha upachara) that are common in all varieties of puja:

1. Avahana (“invocation”). The deity is invited to the ceremony from the heart.
2. Asana. The deity is offered a seat.
3. Padya. The deity’s feet are symbolically washed.
4. Water is offered for washing the head and body.
5. Arghya. Water is offered so the deity may wash its mouth.
6. Snana or abhisekha. Water is offered for symbolic bathing.
7. Vastra (“clothing”). Here a cloth may be wrapped around the image and ornaments affixed to it.
8. Upaveeda or Mangalsutra. Putting on the sacred thread.
9. Anulepana or gandha. Perfumes and ointments are applied to the image. Sandalwood paste or kumkum is applied.
10. Pushpa. Flowers are offered before the image, or garlands draped around its neck.
11. Dhupa. Incense is burned before the image.
12. Dipa or Aarti. A burning lamp is waved in front of the image.
13. Naivedya. Foods such as cooked rice, fruit, clarified butter, sugar, and betel leaf are offered.
14. Namaskara or pranama. The worshipper and family bow or prostrate themselves before the image to offer homage.
15. Parikrama or Pradakshina. Circumambulation around the deity.
16. Taking leave.¹¹⁷

7.4 The value and function of the buildings, and who uses them

At the start of this report, we cited the story of Madho Singh, the Maharaja of Jaipur, who was reluctant to come to England as that would mean leaving the sacred land of India, which would threaten his sacred personhood. This story and the multitudinous others that tell us about the journeys of Hindus from India, East Africa and other settings, are similarly tales about how to maintain a sacred location for the performance of essential Hindu rituals, particularly once the *pranapratishta* rituals have taken place and the *murti* is properly installed, and the processes of compromise and adaptation that are necessary as a result of bringing Hinduism to foreign surroundings and effectively ‘decentring the Hindu universe’ have been performed (Burghart 1987: 4).

All of the temples we visited placed emphasis on the importance of the decision to only carry out *pranapratishta* once the community was settled enough to properly look after the *murtis* and to perform the necessary *puja* every day. The presence of the deity makes the temple sacred, and has tremendous benefits for those perform *darshan* (Sanskrit for ‘seeing’ – it means to see the deity and to be seen by the deity).

One question of interest was the extent to which people felt that a temple was more sacred the more traditional it looked. On the whole, people had pragmatic responses to this question, which reflected their situations. If they had not been able to make their temple look traditional – e.g. to employ traditional temple-building practices and designs – then this was fine, and seen as something to be expected in a foreign environment.

¹¹⁷ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puja_\(Hinduism\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puja_(Hinduism)) (accessed 29/4/17).

However, if they had managed to make a traditional-style temple, then this was seen as being better for everyone – it brought more merit and attracted more visitors.

While, as we have already mentioned, the communal function of temples and their congregational role is less important in Hinduism than in some other religions, in the diaspora, temples take on a new significance in providing a base for cultural activities, for the provision of social welfare and support, and as a location through which Hindus can represent themselves to local and national governments as well as other faith and community groups. In addition to the main temple area where the deities reside, modern Hindu temples in England also often have kitchens, dining areas, halls for weddings and other functions, and rooms for educational and cultural purposes (Nye 1996). Luncheon clubs for elderly people, exercise classes or mother and baby groups are often also held in temple premises. Events or surgeries for advice on health, immigration, or dealing with hate crimes are also sometimes located in temples. Most of the activities performed at temples are directed towards members of the community, and are often conducted in South Asian languages. The temples also play an important role in enabling public and third sector organisations to reach South Asian groups who may not make use of mainstream services. However, we also found that temples organise their own social service and welfare activities, sometimes with local authority funding, but more often using their own funds. Many of the temples we visited hosted a number of school visits throughout the year, with some having dedicated school liaison volunteers.

Nye (1995: 93-102), writing about the Hindu temple in Edinburgh, suggests a number of roles that it plays in the lives of Hindus in that city, and his analysis overlaps with our own in capturing its roles. These are as follows:

- ‘The temple as a public place’ – in contrast to private worship in the home.
- ‘The temple as a place for the Gods’ – where devotees can attend to be in the presence of the deities.
- ‘The temple as an expression of community’ – where temples include community centres and other public spaces in addition to a place where the gods can be worshipped.
- ‘Hindu “churches”’ – where, in the diaspora, temples are becoming ‘socio-religious centres in which Hindu worship is performed in a communal and congregational atmosphere very similar to the communal atmosphere that Christian churches are perceived as sustaining’ (1995: 99).
- ‘New temple traditions’ – where the temple plays a role in shaping the practice of Hinduism in the diaspora.

7.5 Recommendations to Historic England

It is clear from this research that Hindu communities in England are already making a significant contribution to heritage. In contrast to the

Buddhist buildings surveyed in an earlier report (Tomalin and Starkey 2016), Hindus in England have engaged in more purpose-building and less renovation of listed buildings (we only encountered this once for Hindu groups). This is due to the fact that, for Hindus in England, there is a desire to build or renovate premises that look like Asian Hindu temples because of the higher proportion of Hindus that have firm links to South Asian Hindu traditions and ethnicities compared to Buddhists in England. For Buddhist communities in England and Wales, around 33% are from the 'white British' ethnic group, whereas only 1.5% of Hindus in England and Wales are 'white British'.¹¹⁸

In response to and adding to the discussion in section 2, where we outlined the anticipated impact of this project based on what HE told us it wanted from the research, we make the following recommendations:

1. The glossary in appendix 3 includes terms that can be added to the terminology that is present in the 'heritage gateway' so that it reflects Hinduism in England.
2. See section 8.3 for the one amendment we suggest to the NHLE.
3. It is important that HE knows whom to contact about Hindu buildings and traditions in England. The mapping tables in appendix 4 (separate document) include websites for most of the buildings mapped, and contact details can be found there. There is no one overarching representative body for Hindus in England, although several organisations have established themselves as such. These are:
 - National Council for Hindu Temples (<http://www.nchtuk.org>)
 - Hindu Forum of Britain (<http://www.hfb.org.uk>)
 - Hindu Council UK (www.hinducounciluk.org)
4. We have presented a detailed discussion of the development of Hinduism in England, including key dates for each tradition in Section 5. This could be presented in an alternative way (for example in list form) upon request.
5. We have collected a large number of photographs that can be added to the HE archive.
6. The material in this report will enable the production of an 'Introduction to Heritage Assets' resource on 'Hindu Buildings in England'. The authors of this report would be interested in producing this as a further piece of work under guidance from HE.

118

http://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011/LC2201EW/view/2092957703?rows=c_ethpuk11&cols=c_relpuk11 (accessed 1/5/17).

7. The material in this report contributes towards the compilation of 'principles of selection' for the listing of Hindu buildings. The authors of this report would be interested in producing this as a further piece of work under guidance from HE.

8. The blog that has developed from this research has contributed towards raising awareness of these buildings to the general public.

8. Appendices

8.1 Appendix 1 - Interview Questions

Questions for Hindu buildings:

Can you give us a brief history of this building, and your presence here?

Have you occupied other buildings/spaces in the past?

Why did you choose this place?

What activities is the building currently used for? (classes, residence for monastics?)

Who owns the building? Who has responsibility for upkeep? (volunteers?)

How do your community use this building? (regular, drop in, festivals?)

Who uses the building (adults, children, men, women, converts/ethnic, ages, regular, drop in?)

Do community members also go elsewhere for religious practice?

Is this purpose built, or adapted, or a mixture of both?

Is it listed? Does being 'listed' concern you?

What do you refer to it as? Does it matter?

What issues do you have in relation to the upkeep of the building? (problems with regulations, issues of fundraising)

Do you have spaces that you rent out to the public? Are these 'secular' spaces?

What is your relationship with the wider (non-Hindu community) – any issues with having a Hindu building located here?

How important do you think buildings are to Hindus in Britain?

What are the key issues facing your group in relation to its building?

Have you seen the built landscape of Hinduism in Britain change over the years?

Does your institution or organisation hold archives itself (there will usually be over 20 years old as opposed to modern records in current use)? If you have retained archives, please indicate their nature, covering dates, format and approximate quantity? [If any of the participant organisations indicates

that they would like advice on their archives, then TNA would be pleased to help – the person to contact is Dr Tim Powell – Senior Advisor, Religious Archives. (Tim.Powell@nationalarchives.gsi.gov.uk)]

8.2 Appendix 2 – Glossary: Words for Hindu buildings and other relevant Hindu terms

aarti (waving of sacred flame)

bhajan (devotional songs)

bhavan (building, Hindi)

garbagriha (Sanskrit, 'womb chamber'/inner sanctum where *murti* is located)

gopuram (Tamil, ornate tower at the entrance to South Indian temples)

haveli (mansion, Hindi)

kendra (centre, Hindi)

kirtan (devotional songs)

kovil (Tamil, temple)

mandir - (Sanskrit, temple)

murti (idol/image of the deity)

pranaprastha (ritual to install deity)

puja (ritual involving worship of murti/deity)

pujari (priest)

satsang ('a spiritual discourse or sacred gathering')

shikhara (Sanskrit, 'mountain peak', tower above the inner sanctum and visible from the outside of the temple).

vimana (Tamil, tower above inner sanctum).

8.3 Appendix 3 – suggested amendments to the NHLE

Krishna Temple, West Bromwich – Grade II listed former Methodist chapel - The Ebenezer Congregational Chapel¹¹⁹ – list entry number: 1287293.¹²⁰ It was listed in 1987 as the Sri Krishna Temple but, in 1992, it burnt down and new temple was built in its place, opening in 2010. The list entry has not been updated to reflect the fact that the chapel no longer exists.

119

http://blackcountryhistory.org/collections/getrecord/GB146_NC-SU_2/;

<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/staffs/vol17/p70> (accessed 28/4/17).

¹²⁰ <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1287293> (accessed 28/4/17).

<http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-219332-shree-krishna-temple-#.WIdK72VwU0Y> (accessed 28/4/17).

8.3 Appendix 4 – tables of Hindu temples in England

Rows highlighted in pink are ones that were visited.

HINDU BUILDINGS IN THE NORTH EAST – 12 total

	Name	Tradition/location	Location	Urban/Suburban/Rural	Use	Type	Listed or Not	Additional Notes	Address	Website
1.	Jalarama Shakti Mandal, Bradford	Guajarati Shree Jalaram Bapa, Gujarati (born 1800 CE in Virpur, Gujarat) Prajapati caste	Bradford	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.)	Small terraced house – house temple	No	Temple founded in 1967 (also in Hounslow, Greenford, Leicester, Ashton-under-Lyne)	148 Arncliffe Terrace, Bradford BD7 3AG Email: tejaslakhani@hotmail.com	http://www.jajaliyan.com http://www.shreejalaramevatrust.org/index.php/about/jalaram-bapa
2.	Leuva Patidar Samaj Yorkshire Prayer Hall & Community Centre, Bradford	Leuva Patel caste, Gujarati	Bradford	Suburban	Not sure if this is a (consecrated) temple?	Reuse – small hut?	No	Founded, 1973 Linked to Patidar caste community found in Gujarat and Maharashtra http://www.patidars.org https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leva_Patel , http://www.slp-samaj.org.uk/Home/History	5 Legrams Mill Ln Bradford West Yorkshire, BD7 2BA Phone: 01274 521185	https://plus.google.com/102067813872366477548/about?gl=uk&hl=en

3.	Shree Lakshmi Narayan Hindu Temple Bradford Hindu Cultural Society of Bradford	Punjabi and Gujarati, India and East Africa	Bradford	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre, provides hot lunches for elderly people	Purpose built	No	'The Bradford Mandir is a Hindu Temple on Leeds Road in Bradford. It is the oldest place of Hindu worship in West Yorkshire. The temple, which started out with just a handful of families, now attracts some 2000-3000 worshippers'. Opened 2007 (http://www.bradfordmandir.org/2.html - history)	341 Leeds Road Bradford BD3 9LS Phone: 01274 395603; fax 01274 395603; Email: info@bradfordmandir.org	http://www.bradfordmandir.org
4.	Shree Prajapati Hindu Temple & Community Centre Ram Darbar Mandir	Gujarati, Sri Prajapati Association (14 branches in UK)	Bradford	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre, sports team	Reuse - municipal, church?	No	Est. 1975 and in 1983 the Ram Darbar Mandir was established at the upper hall of the associations' building.	Thornton Lane, Off Little Horton Lane, Bradford West Yorkshire United Kingdom BD5 9DN Phone: +44 1274-578115	http://allhindutemples.com/city/west-yorkshire/hindu_temple/shree-prajapati-hindu-temple-community-centre/ http://www.spabradford.org.uk
5.	Sai Centre	Sathya Sai Baba, India wide	Bradford	Suburban	Worship of Sathya Sai Baba	Small terraced house – house temple	No	Established in 1970 on first floor of home of Mr and Mrs Patel, from East Africa (Bowen 1987: 19)	252 Legrams Lane Lidget Green Bradford, BD7 2HR	
6.	Sita Rama Temple, Huddersfield	Gujarati	Huddersfield	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Reuse – end terrace house	No		20 Zetland St, Huddersfield HD1 2RA Phone: 07944 335855	http://www.huddersfieldhindutemple.co.uk/ https://www.facebook.com/Huddersfieldhindutemple/

7.	Leeds Hindu Mandir	Gujarati, Punjabi (India) and East Africa	Leeds	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Former Salvation Army building	No	Property purchased in 1969.	36 Alexandra Road, Burley, Leeds, LS6 1RF Phone: 0113 2307106	http://www.leedsmandir.org.uk https://www.facebook.com/pages/Leeds-Hindu-temple/183668374986778
8.	BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir	Swami Narayan, BAPS	Leeds	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Former industrial unit?	No	Opened in 2014 http://www.baps.org/News/2014/Opening-of-New-BAPS-Shri-Swaminarayan-Mandir-6798.aspx	1 Weaver Street Leeds LS4 2AU, UK Phone: (+44) 7845 112599 (+44) 7801 632 315 Email: info.leeds@uk.baps.org	http://www.baps.org/Global-Network/UK-and-Europe/Leeds.aspx
9.	Hindu Cultural Society	Gujarati?	Middlesbrough	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Reuse – large adapted house?	No		54 Westbourne Grove, Middlesbrough TS3 6EF Phone:01642 218428	http://hinduteesvalley.blogspot.co.uk/
10.	Hindu Temple, Newcastle	Gujarati?	Newcastle	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre, Geeta Class, Music Class, Kathak Class, Yoga Class, Hindi Class	Reuse – Former Victorian Factory?		'The Hindu Temple in Newcastle Upon Tyne has been running since the late 70s when group of Hindu families started to worship from a terraced house in Newcastle Upon Tyne. In 1982 the Temple was relocated to the current address.'	172 West Road, Newcastle Upon Tyne, NE4 9QB Phone: 0191 273 3364	http://www.hindutemple.co.uk
11.	ISKCON Newcastle	ISKCON	Newcastle	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural	Reuse – house on	No	Seem to share building	304 Westgate Road,	http://www.iskcon.org.uk/newcastle

					activities and community centre.	corner of street				Newcastle upon Tyne, Tyne and Wear NE4 6AR Phone: 0191 272 1911 Email: info@iskconnewcastle.org	
12.	Hindu Samaj, Sheffield Hindu Mandir & Community Centre Sheffield	Gujarati?	Sheffield	Suburban	Pooja, Havan, Religious festivals, Aarti, Hindu gods, Mandir, Hindu temple,	1913 School or Church?	No	http://sheffield.cylex-uk.co.uk/map/buckenham%20street.html https://heritagehindusamaj.wordpress.com/about/	21, Buckenham Street, Sheffield, S4 7JQ Email: info.hindusamajsheffield@gmail.com	http://www.hindusamajsheffield.org.uk http://hmaccs.co.uk	

HINDU BUILDINGS IN THE NORTH WEST – 20 in total

Name	Tradition/location	Location	Urban/Suburban/Rural	Use	Type	Listed or Not	Additional Notes	Address	Website
------	--------------------	----------	----------------------	-----	------	---------------	------------------	---------	---------

1.	Shree Ram Mandir / Shree Jalaram Bhajan Mandal Rama Temple	Gujarati Shree Jalaram Bapa, Gujarati (born 1800 CE in Virpur, Gujarat) Prajapati caste	Ashton-under-Lyne	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	End of terrace house	No	Jalaram Bapa and Ram worshipped Jalaram temples also in Hounslow, Greenford, Leicester, Bradford	58 Kenyon Street, Tameside, Ashton-Under-Lyne, Lancashire OL6 7DU Phone: 1613434639 Email: shree_ram_mandir@hotmail.co.uk	http://opencharities.org/charities/1126252 https://www.facebook.com/shreerammandirashton
2.	Shree Ambaji Mandir Shree Bharatiya Mandal, Indian Association Tameside	Gujarati	Ashton-under-Lyne	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre, computer classes, surgery on immigration, health and benefits advice, translation service	New building? Maybe adapted bits. Hindu features on temple part.	No	Established in 1964. In 1999 the New Ambaji Mandir and the Community Centre was built.	103 Union Road, Ashton-Under-Lyne Lancashire OL6 8JN Phone: 01613302085	http://www.sbm.org.uk
3.	Swaminarayan a Hindu Mission	Gujarati	Ashton-under-Lyne	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.,	Reuse – old factory?	No		BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir 29 Russell Street Ashton-Under-Lyne OL6 9QS, UK Phone: (+44) 161 330 5196 Fax: (+44)	http://www.baps.org/Global-Network/UK-and-Europe/Ashton.aspx

									161 330 5152 E-mail: info.manches ter@uk.baps. org	
4.	SSRD Pashupati Ashram (UK) And SSRD URBAN Ashram	?	Blackburn	Rural	Darshan, teachings etc..	Farm and village property space.	No	'Sri Ramana lives at Her beautiful 30 acre Ashram in Rossendale, Lancashire, UK. Sri Ramana lives a Sattvic, Cruelty Free Life, and Her Pashupati Ashram is a vegan farm and Animal Sanctuary with over forty animals who live there as souls, seeking self realisation! Sri Ramana shares passionately that we are all souls and were all created equally by God.' 'Satguru Sri Ramana Devi has had no guru or formal instruction in spiritual matters, she had not practised meditation, or tapas. Sri Ramana's knowledge comes effortlessly from within. The teachings she gives come from her own inner experience of the self, rather than from any formal training'	Satguru Sri Ramana Devi PASHUPATI Ashram Meadows Farm, Dean Lane, Water BB4 9RB Phone: 07792 788 627	http://ramanadevi.org/contact/ http://www.pashupatiashram.org/about-1/
5.	Krishna Mandir & Mandhata Hitvardhak Mandal, Bolton	Gujarat, Koli Patels	Bolton	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre; yoga, ladies keep fit	Reuse – Independent Methodist church 1901, flag pole, railings with Om sign	No	http://dev.sunilp.co.uk/kt/aboutkoli.php Linked to caste group, Koli Patels (Mandhata) Apparently not properly installed deities here, according to one of my interviewees.	8-10 Beverley Rd, Bolton, Lancashire BL1 Phone: 01204 497420	http://www.krishnatemplesbolton.com http://dev.sunilp.co.uk/kt/contactus.php
6.	Kutch Satsang Swaminarayan a Temple, Bolton	Gujarati SKLP Shree Kutch Leva Patel http://www.sklp.com/contact-us/getting-	Bolton	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre; yoga Classes Dance Classes Hinduism classes	Purpose built 1993, some Hindu features	No	First est. 1973, rebuilt 1993. One of six temples linked to an association called the SKSST – Shree Kutch Satsang Swaminarayan Temple – in Bolton, Harrow/Kenton, Forest Gate, Plumstead, Willesden and Oldham	1 - 11 Adelaide Street Bolton BL3 3NT UK Phone: +44 (0) 1204 652	http://www.lordswaminarayan.org.uk/ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shri_Swaminarayan_Mandir,_Bolton

		here/ Linked to Shree Swaminarayan Temple, Bhuj Acharya Shree Koshalendrapr asadji Maharaj			Balmandal classes for young children Sports and fitness events Youth events				604 Fax: +44 (0) 1204 652 604 Email: info@lordswaminarayan.org.uk	
7.	Swaminarayan a Sidhant Sajivan Mandal	Gujarati, East Africa Maninagar Swaminarayan Gadi Sansthan the founder left the Ahmedabad Gadi in the 1940s. His Divine Holiness Acharya Swamishree Purushottampri yadasji Maharaj is the current acharya.	Bolton	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre; arts and culture centre; charitable work	Reuse with additions in Hindu style, former Unitarian Church.	No	http://www.swaminarayanartgallery.com/newtemple/newtemple.php Opened 1974 in house, moved to current location 1997 http://www.theboltonnews.co.uk/news/10592257.Hindu_temple_gets___2_5_million_redevelopment/	161 Deane Road Bolton Greater Manchester BL3 5AH Phone: 01204 651 934; 01612803508 Email: Bolton@ Swaminaraya Gadi.com	http://www.swaminarayanartgallery.com
8.	Veda Mandir, Bolton	Gujarati	Bolton	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Old church	No	Location of Bolton Hindu Forum since 2016.	Street: 1 Thomas Holden Street City / Town: Bolton BL1 2QG Mobile/Phone No: 0120452749	http://giju-uk.com/uk/ads/veda-mandir-bolton/ http://www.boltonhinduforum.org.uk/

									2	
9.	Radha Krishna Temple, Liverpool Hindu Cultural Organisation	Gujarati	Liverpool	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Old Church	No	Est. 1957 and moved to current location in 1976 http://allhindutemples.com/city/liverpool/hindu_temple/shree-radha-krishna-mandir_liverpool/	253 Edge Lane Liverpool L7 2PH Phone: 01512637965 Email: hcoliverpool@yahoo.co.uk	http://www.hcoliverpool.com
10.	Liverpool Ganesh Temple	Tamil	Liverpool	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Hut	No		Entrance between house No. 11 and 15 Delfby Crescent Kirkby L32 8TN Phone: 0151 5467611 Mobile: 07534444468 Vaithyanatha Kurrukkal: 075 0865 7674 Suresh:	http://www.facebook.com/ganesh.sivan.5

									07534444468 / 07812013198 Email: liverpoolkirkbyganesh temple@gmail.com	
11.	Sri Muthumariamman Temple, Tamil Community Centre	Tamil	Liverpool	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Former commercial unit?	No		17 Fielding St, Liverpool L6 9AP Phone: 0151 260 3657	https://www.facebook.com/pg/Liverpool-Sri-Muthumariamman-Temple-326401550888382/about/
12.	Geeta Bhavan Mandir, Manchester	Gujarati	Manchester	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Reuse – church buildings with traditional features added – 3 colourful <i>shikharas</i>	No	Est. 1987, renovated 1995.	231 Withington Road Whalley Range, Manchester M16 8LU Phone: +44 07949071379 Email: info@gitabhavan.co.uk	http://www.gitabhavan.co.uk
13.	Hare Krishna Centre (ISKCON), Manchester	ISKCON	Manchester	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Large detached house	No		20 Mayfield Road Whalley Range Manchester M16 8FT Phone: +44 (0)161 226 4416	http://www.iskconmanchester.com

									Email: contact@iskconmanchester.com	
14.	Radha Krishna Mandir, Manchester	Gujarati?	Manchester	'Pleasant suburb'	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Community hall	No	First Hindu temple in Manchester; est. 1969	Shree Radha Krishna Mandir Gandhi Hall Brunswick Road Withington Manchester M20 4QB Email: info@radhakrishnamandir.co.uk	http://www.radhakrishnamandir.co.uk http://www.indianassociation.org.uk/contact.html
15.	Indian Association, Oldham Radha Krishna Temple, Oldham	Gujarati	Oldham	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre; dance classes, Youth Club, Luncheon Club, Saheli women's group, Shakha group for boys and girls, community garden project	New build	No	Est. 1971 and in 1999 new temple and community centre built	Schofield Street, Hathershaw, Oldham OL8 1QJ Phone: 0161 633 0043 Temple Tel. 0161 633 0863	http://indianassociationoldham.co.uk/contact-us/
16.	Swaminarayana Temple, Oldham	Gujarati SKLP Shree Kutch Leva Patel http://www.skल्पc.com/contact-	Oldham	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Converted Baptist Church	No	East Africa to England Oldham 1965, premises bought 1977 http://www.swaminarayana-oldham.org/mandir_history.html 3 rd SN temple in UK, new altar installed in 1980	270 Lee Street Oldham OL8 1BG Phone: 0161 652 0993	http://www.swaminarayana-oldham.org/contact_us.html

		us/getting-here/ Linked to Shree Swaminarayan Temple, Bhuj Acharya Shree Koshalendrprasadji Maharaj						One of six temples linked to an association called the SKSST – Shree Kutch Satsang Swaminarayan Temple – in Bolton, Harrow/Kenton, Forest Gate, Plumstead, Willesden and Oldham	Email: info@swaminarayan-oldham.org Other Contacts Yuvak Mandal Email: ssym@swaminarayan-oldham.org	
17.	Gujarat Hindu Society, Preston	Gujarati	Preston	Suburban, but near city centre	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Former church school that has been adapted and extended	No	Est. 1965, but temple not opened until 1975 in former church school. Renovated and re-opened in 2000. looks purpose built but don't know history http://www.thomasconsulting.co.uk/portfolio/case.shtml?c=P00993	South Meadow Lane Preston PR1 8JN Phone: 01772 253901 or 01772 253912. Email: admin@ghspreston.co.uk	http://www.ghspreston.co.uk

18.	Swaminarayan a Hindu Mission Swaminarayan Hindu Mandir	Gujarati BAPs, Swaminarayan	Preston	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Large terraced house in 1984 that used to be a Synagogue. Purpose built temple 2015.	No	http://www.blogpreston.co.uk/2013/12/flats-plan-for-former-hindu-temple-due-to-be-turned-down/ http://www.baps.org/News/2015/Inauguration-of-BAPS-Shri-Swaminarayan-Mandir-8750.aspx history here	8 Avenham Place Preston PR1 3SX BAPS Shri Swaminaray an Mandir Ribble Bank Street Off Gerrard Street Preston, Lancashire PR1 8AH, UK Phone: (+44) 1772 562252 E-mail: info.preston @uk.baps.or g	http://www.yelp.co.uk/biz/swaminarayan-hindu-mission-temple-preston http://www.baps.org/Global-Network/UK-and-Europe/Preston.aspx
19.	Telugu Community Association Andhra Bhavan	Telagu (a South Indian Language and cultural group)	Preston	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Adapted house on street corner, industrial area, suburban	Est. 1975		28 St Mary's Street Preston Lanchashire PR1 5LN England UK Phone: 017 72-798512 E-mail: info@venkat eswara.co.uk	http://www.venkateswara.co.uk

20.	Rama Krishna Temple	Gujarati?	Warrington	Suburban, industrial area	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Looks like some kind of converted industrial unit	No		7 Haydock Street Warrington7 Haydock, WA2 7UW Phone: 01925 572042	https://www.facebook.com/LordRamaKrishnaTemple http://www.lordramakrishnatemplelrkt.epaguk.com
-----	---------------------	-----------	------------	---------------------------	--	---	----	--	--	--

HINDU BUILDINGS IN THE WEST MIDLANDS – 32 in total

	Name	Tradition/location	Location	Urban/Suburban/Rural	Use	Type	Listed or Not	Additional Notes	Address	Website
1.	Rama Krishna Temple, Wolverhampton	Gujarati?	Bilston, Wolverhampton	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Semi detached house	No		39 Wellington Rd, Bilston WV14 6AH, UK Wolverhampton, West Midlands Phone: 01902 492190	
2.	Durga Bhawan Durga Dhawa Hindu Welfare Society	Gujarati	Bilston, Wolverhampton	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre, social welfare activities	Looks like a Hindu temple - possibly addition to existing structure Former factory complex of some sort?	No		Old Crown Works, 188 Wellington Road, Bilston, WV14 6BE Phone: 01902354081 Email: admin@shridurg	http://www.shridurgabhawan.com https://www.facebook.com/Shridurgabhawan/ http://www.durgabhawan.com

									abhawan.com	
3.	Geeta Bhawan, Birmingham	Gujarati	Birmingham	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre 50 plus club	Ex-Presbetarian church built 1896	No	Youtube Documentary here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KDuuVC7SatY Temple est. here 1969.	107-117 Heathfield Road, Birmingham B19 1HL, UK Phone: +44 (0)121 554 4120, (0)121 523 7797 Email: info@shreegeetabhawan.com	http://www.shreegeetabhawan.com
4.	Shri Pashupatinath Mandir of UK (Shani Dham)	Gujarati?	Birmingham	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Building converted to Hindu temple Former Salvation Army hall	No	Opened 17th of August 2014, founded by Acharya Chintamani Pandeya. Appears to have been previously used by Hindu Initiative for Global Harmony on same street www.thehigh.co.uk Not sure how they are linked	Park Street, Rowley Regis West Midland, B65 OLS Phone: 07888 836056 Email: chintamaniji@yahoo.co.uk	http://www.shripashupatinathmandir.co.uk https://www.facebook.com/PashupatinathTempleofUK/
5.	ISKCON, Birmingham	ISCKON	Birmingham	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Detached residential building currently being extended. Weekly programmes being conducted at Shree Gita Bhawan, Heathfield Road,	No		84 Stanmore Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham, B16 9TB. Email: iskconbirmingham@gmail.com	http://www.iskconbirmingham.org Twitter: @ISKCONBhamUK https://www.facebook.com/ISKCONBirminghamUK/

						Handsworth, Birmingham B19 1HL and/or Bilston Shri Durga Bhavan				
6.	Birmingham Pragati Mandal (BPM Krishna Temple)	Mochi Gujarati	Birmingham	Suburban	Puja, Hinduism classes, Table Tennis & Badminton Sessions Yoga, Men's Club for Over 50's; Satsang Group; Balvihar Gujarati School	Appears to be a converted factory or similar; could be purpose built; temple features – <i>shikara</i> and flag	No	Founded in 1994	10 Sampson Road, Sparkbrook, Birmingham B11 1JL Phone: 0121 - 771 4478 Email: jaysky70@gmail.com	http://www.bpmsamaj.com/ze.com/ https://www.facebook.com/pages/BPM-Shree-Krishna-Temple
7.	Laxmi Narayana Mandir, Birmingham Shree Hindu Community Centre	Gujarati	Birmingham	Suburban/Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre Anand Milan Kendra (AMK) day centre facilities for the elderly.	Converted church	No	Founded 1979	541A Warwick Road, Tyseley Birmingham B11 2JP	http://www.shcc.org.uk @SHCC_Birmingham
8.	Shree Ram Mandir (SSPC Birmingham UK)	Shree Sorathia Prajapati Community (UK) (Gujarati)	Birmingham	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre. Sports clubs for indoor cricket, football, badminton, table tennis, pool and netball, Senior Citizens	Originally a cinema. Further details here: http://myroute.org.uk/the-transformation-of-a-cinema/	No	Consecrated in 1986, cinema closed in 1983.	8 Walford Rd, Birmingham B11 1NR Phone: 0121 773 5735	http://sspc-uk.org/branches/bham/index.html

9.	Swamynarayan Mandir, Birmingham	BAPS Swamynaraya	Birmingham	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Appears to be an ex-school	No		75 Pitmaston Road Hall Green, Birmingham B28 9PP, UK Phone: (+44) 121 733 7903	http://www.swaminarayan.org/globalnetwork/europe/birmingham.htm
10.	Coventry Shree Magha Sithi Vinayagar Hindu Temple	Tamil	Coventry	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre		No		65A George Elliot Road Coventry CV1 4HT Phone: 024 76632211	https://sites.google.com/site/cssvtemple3/ www.coventrypillaiyar.com
11.	Jagat Guru Valmiki Ji Maharaj Temple	Valmiki – this is the only Valmiki temple in UK to have Sikh Guru Granth Sahib side by side with Ramayana	Coventry	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Former Royal Mail parcel sorting office	No	http://westsiders.net/dev/w18/temple-history/ Bought 1978 opened to public 1979. Others in Southall, Wolverhampton and Bedford.	16 Fisher Road, Coventry, CV6 5HW Phone: 02476662536 Email: admin@mvscoventry.org.uk	http://westsiders.net/dev/w18/
12.	Sanatan Dharm Hindu Temple	Gujarati	Coventry	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre, activities for ladies and elderly men	Detached, reused, offices	No	Permission to use as community centre in 1988	56 Mason Road, Foleshill Road, Coventry, CV6 7FJ Phone: 024 76685125	
13.	Hindu Temple Society	Gujarati?	Coventry	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Purpose built	No	Est. 1960s at 274 Stoney Stanton Road, in two outdated building structures. Moved to 380 to purpose built temple in 2011.	380 Stoney Stanton Road, Coventry, West Midlands, CV6 5DJ Phone: 02475	http://www.hindutemplecoventry.co.uk

									685898	
14.	Shree Gujarati Hindu Satsang Mandal Shree Krishna Temple	Gujarati	Coventry	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Looks Purpose built	No		Harnell Lane West, Coventry CV1 4FB Phone: 024 7625 6981	http://www.sktcoventry.org.uk
15.	BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir, Coventry	BAPS Swaminarayan	Coventry	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Reuse?	No		53 Heath Rd, Coventry CV2 4QB Phone: 07932 603696 Email: info.coventry@uk.baps.org	
16.	Baba Balak Nath Mandir	Punjabi, Baba Balak Nath	Coventry	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Looks purpose built	No	There are 5 in the UK in total: Walsall, Wolverhampton, Coventry, Southall and Leicester	9 Proffitt Avenue, Coventry, West Midlands, CV6 7EQ	
17.	Mata Da Mandir, Hindu Cultural association	?	Dudley	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Large detached building	No	http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/2968519	57-59 King St, Dudley DY2 8PX, United Kingdom Phone: +44 1384 243244	https://www.facebook.com/DudleyMataDaMandir/
18.	Shree Krishna Temple and Shree Gujarati Hindu Centre Dudley	Guajarati	Dudley	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Possible former church?	No		Hope Street, Corner of Churchfield Street Dudley DY2 8RS	https://shreekrishnahinducentre.org.uk

									Phone: (01384) 253253 Email: KrishnaTempleDudley@gmail.com	
19.	Krishna Mandir, Leamington Spa	Gujarati?	Leamington Spa	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., ? cultural activities and community centre		No	http://www.heritageopendays.org.uk/directory/hindu-temple-leamington-spa	10b High St, Leamington Spa CV31 3AN, UK 12 Crown Terrace, Leamington Spa CV31, UK Phone: 01926 422077; 01926 452247	http://www.shreekrishnamandir.org.uk
20.	Hindu Gujarati Samaj, Nuneaton	Gujarati	Nuneaton	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Looks purpose built but not like a temple	No	http://www.itv.com/news/central/story/2013-12-01/hindu-temple-fire/ 2013 fire https://www.instantstreetview.com/@52.525079,-1.472367,-138.96h,8.2p,1z	45 Upper Abbey Street Nuneaton Warwickshire United Kingdom CV11 5DH Phone : +44 2476-739395	
21.	Venkateshwara (Balaji) Temple	Tamil	Oldbury	Rural	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Purpose built	No	Opened 2006, largest Hindu temple in Europe.	Dudley Road East Tividale West Midlands B69 3DU England Phone 0121 544 2256 Fax 0121 544 2257	http://www.venkateshwara.org.uk

22.	Kalyan Mandal, Rugby	Gujarati	Rugby	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre, yoga, tabla	Adapted houses	No	Est. 1968 in house of the Late Shri Khusalbhai Mistry. 1974 property bought	4-6 Kimberley Road Rugby, CV21 2SU Phone: 01788 565105	http://kalyanmandal.co.uk/wp/
23.	Durga Bhawan, Smethwick	?	Smethwick	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre, classes – computer, music, Hindi	Could be purpose built, 3 shikaras	No		360 Spon Lane South Smethwick West Midlands B66 1AB Phone: 0121 558 3003; 0121 5581222 Email: welcome@durgabhawan.com	http://www.durgabhawan.com/index.html
24.	Shri Radha-Krishna Temple Hindu Cultural Resource Centre	?	Telford	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre There will also be a space for yoga centre, computer classes and Indian cooking etc	?	No	Initiated in 2008 and is the first site in Shropshire for a Hindu temple http://www.bbc.co.uk/shropshire/content/articles/2009/02/19/shropshire_telford_hindu_temple_feature.shtml http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/shropshire/hi/people_and_places/religion_and_ethics/newsid_8127000/8127205.stm	20-22 Bank Road, Dawley, Telford, Shropshire, TF4 2AZ Phone: 07890 313 038 Email: info@hinducrct.org	http://www.hinducrct.org/
25.	Mandir Baba Balak Nath, Walsall	Punjabi, Baba Balak Nath http://uk-indians.co.uk/index.php?route=product/product	Walsall	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Former church, renovated	No	Est. 1983, meeting before then in house of founder of temple from 1964 Bhagat Jaspal Bhatti http://www.mandirbababalaknath.co.uk/about.php http://indiantemples.co.uk/temple/mandir-baba-balak-nath-walsall	96a Caldmore Road Walsall West Midlands WS1 3PD England Phone: +44(0)	http://www.mandirbababalaknath.co.uk https://www.facebook.com/MandirBabaBalakNath

		ct&product_id=84						http://www.casas.org.uk/papers/pdfpapers/Balaknath.pdf	1922 621177 cell: +44(0) 7860 528 245 Email: info@mandirbababalaknath.co.uk Email: jaspalbhatti@btinternet.com	
26.	Rama Mandir, Walsall Gujarati Hindu Social and Cultural Centre	Gujarati	Walsall	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre, weddings, youth club	Purpose built	No	Est. 1991	Ford Street Pleck Walsall West Midlands WS2 9BW. Phone: 01922 634462	http://www.shree-ram-mandir-walsall.org.uk/about
27.	Krishna Temple, West Bromwich	Gujarati?	West Bromwich	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Purpose built – Replaced one that burnt down Part of it is old school which still remains.	Was in grade II former Methodist Chapel https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Shree_Krishna_Temple_West_Bromwich.JPG List entry number: 1287293.	http://www.expressandstar.com/news/2010/08/23/1-6m-hindu-temple-opens-after-18-years/ Temple burned down in 1992; new build opened in 2010. Methodist Chapel no longer exists.	81, Old Meeting Street B70 9SZ West Bromwich West Midlands England Phone: 0121 553 5375; 0121 525 9577	http://www.skm-wb.org

28.	Maha Shiv Shakti Mandir Shirdi Saibaba Maha Shiv Shakti Mandir	Gujarati? Temple where the Goddess is worshipped and Shirdi Saibaba, as well as other deities – Ganesha and Siva	Willenhall	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Converted Anglican Church	No	http://saitemples.com/temples/shirdi-saibaba-maha-shiv-shakti-mandir-willenhall (3 in England – Willenhall, Nottingham and Wembley)	4-15 Fletcher's Ln, Willenhall WV13 2QW Phone: 01902 633361 Email: contact@mahashivshaktimandir.co.uk	
29.	Shri Durga Bhawan Temple International	Run by KC Baba (Kuldip Singh)	Willenhall	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Looks like reuse, maybe former school building?	No		743 Willenhall Rd, Willenhall WV13 3LH	
30.	Bhagwan Valmik Temple (Ashram) And Community Centre	Valmiki Punjabi	Wolverhampton		Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	not sure if this is house or temple?	No	'The Bhagwan Valmiki Temple in Cable street opened in 1997, to serve a congregation of people who had migrated in the early 1960s from the Punjab state of India and from Singapore, and their descendants.' http://www.wolverhamptonhistory.org.uk/people/faith Others in Bedford, Southall and Coventry.	Gable Cottage 197 Goldthorn Hill Penn Wolverhampton valmikimandir@gmail.com	
31.	Krishna Mandir, Wolverhampton	Gujarati	Wolverhampton	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Looks purpose built	No		123 Penn Road Wolverhampton West Midlands WV3 0DU Phone: 01902 772416	
32.	Universal Divine Temple Ek Nivas, Wolverhampton,	Punjabi, His Holiness Baba Tarlochan Singh Ji Boparai and Her Holiness Mata Kawaljit	Wolverhampton Walsall, Wolverhampton, Coventry Southall	Suburban/urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre Unity of all religions	Looks purpose built	No	Ek Niwas was founded in November 1990; represents Hindus and Sikhs; opened in 1995 http://panthic.org/articles/2503 http://www.casas.org.uk/papers/Balaknath.pdf	71-72 Dudley Road, Blaken Hall, Wolverhampton, WV2 3BY email: ekniwas-enquires@hotmail.com	http://ekniwas.net/welcome-to-ek-niwas/facts-about-ekniwas

		Kaur Ji Virdee Baba Balak Nath	Leicester							il.co.uk Phone: 01902 450494 Mob: 07836320825	
--	--	-----------------------------------	-----------	--	--	--	--	--	--	---	--

Hindu Temples in the East Midlands (30 in total)

	Name	Tradition/location	Location	Urban/Suburban/Rural	Use	Type	Listed or Not	Additional Notes	Address	Website
1.	Hindu Temple Geeta Bhawan, Derby Hindu Cultural and Welfare Society of Derby		Derby	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre, Bollywood dance class, Bharat Natyam classical dance class, yoga, senior citizens luncheon club; Malayalam	Brand new purpose built modern building with two floors, does not look like temple	No		96 - 102 Pear Tree Road, Derby Derbyshire DE23 6QA Phone: +44 1332- 380407 Email: derby.hindu.temple@gmail.com	http://www.derbyhindu.co.uk http://allhindutemples.com/city/derby/hindu_temple/hindu_temple-geeta-bhawan-derby/

					(Kerala) and Hindi language classes					
2.	Gayatri Chetna Kendra Sri Vedmata Gayatri Pariwar UK	Founded by Pandit Shriram Sharma Acharya from UP, India https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shriram_Sharma	Leicester	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre, youth events and for elderly, seminars, yoga, wedding, funeral services.	Adapted – 4 storey large Victorian (?) house	No	European headquarters for AWGP (All World Gayatri Pariwar) for over 10 years, refurbished in 2010. Central base for organisation in UK, doesn't seem like any other buildings although there are branches	16 Rendell Road Leicester, LE4 6LE Phone: 0116 2669902 Email: info@svgpuk.org	http://www.awgpuk.org/index.php/contact-us/leicester-hq
3.	Hare Krishna Mandir (ISKCON), Leicester	ISKCON	Leicester	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Former bank	No	Former bank in city centre purchased in 2011.		http://www.iskconleicester.org
4.	Vrajdharm Shreenathji ni Haveli Haveli Shriji Dwar, Leicester	Pushtimarg sect, founded Shrimad Vallabhacharya Mahaprabhuji (born 1479 AD) Gujarati temple set up by Pujya Goswami 108 Shree Dwarkeshlalji Mahodayshree (Je Je) One with a beard.	Leicester	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Large house, semi-detached	No	5 th November 2011 Opposite Gujarati Hindu Association http://www.vaishnavsangh.org.uk/HaveliProject.aspx http://www.vaishnavsangh.org.uk/Documents/VrajdharmOpeningPressRelease.pdf Also wants to start one in London http://www.vaishnavsangh.org.uk	58 Loughborough Road, Leicester LE4 5LD Mobile/Phone No: 0116 268 2425 Email: Leicester.VrajdharmHaveli@gmail.com	https://www.guji-uk.com/ads/haveli-shriji-dwar-leicester/?doing_wp_cron=1459760298.2918748855590820312500 Doesn't seem to have own website

5.	Shree Dham Haveli Pushti Nidhi UK	Pushtimarg sect, founded Shrimad Vallabhacharya Mahaprabhuji (born 1479 AD) Gujarati temple set up by Shashtpeethadishwar H.D.H. Goswami 108 Shree Dwarkeshlalji Maharajshree	Leicester	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre, Gujarati languages classes, youth council, music, keep fit, table tennis, large halls and kitchen.	Purpose built	No	24 June 2012 https://www.bardaionline.com/features/new-temple-feature-shreeji-dham-haveli-leicester/2012/09/17/	504 Melton Road, Leicester, LE4 7SP, United Kingdom. Phone: 0116 212 2827 Email: info@shreedham.com	http://www.shreejidham.com/haveli.html
6.	Shree Hindu Temple & Community Centre, Leicester	Gujarati	Leicester	Suburban.	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Former British Telecom exchange workshop	No	Purchased in 1996. Prior to this, the temple had been located at number 47 Cromford Street, in the Highfields area of the city, in a former Co-operative corner shop purchased for a few thousand pounds in 1969	34 St Barnabas Road Leicester LE5 4BD UK Tel: 0116 246 4590 or 0116 276 3293 Fax: 0116 246 4590	http://www.shreehindutemple.net
7.	Jalarama Pratharna Mandal, Leicester	Gujarati Shree Jalaram Bapa, Gujarati (born 1800 CE in Virpur, Gujarat) Prajapati caste	Leicester	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Old temple was in house on Meer Road now purpose built	No	1995, also in Hounslow, Greenford, Bradford and Ashton-under-Lyne https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jalaram	85 Narborough Rd, Leicester LE3 0LF, United Kingdom Phone: +44 116 254 0117 Email: info@jalarambapa.com	http://www.jalarambapa.com

8.	Leicester Shri Siva Murugan Temple	South Indian, Tamil	Leicester	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Industrial unit with ornate embellishment outside	No	http://rcweb.leicester.gov.uk/planning/onlinequery/Details.aspx?AppNo=20070529 I was told that they were permitted to get retrospective planning permission for the temple. 2007	Unit 3b, Abbey Mill, Ross Walk, Leicester LE4 5HH, United Kingdom Phone:+44 116 251 0625 Email: info@leicestershrimurugantemple.org.uk	http://www.leicestershrimurugantemple.org.uk
9.	Leicestershire Brahma Samaj, Leicester	N/A	Leicester	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Derelict, was used by Hare Krishnas for some time, has statue of Gandhi outside. Former vicarage.	No	Not currently used	St Marks Vicarage, 15 Belgrave Road LE4 6AR Leicester Leicestershire Phone: 0116 262 4359	
10.	Mandir Baba Balak Nath	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baba_Balak_Nath North Indian deity Punjabi	Leicester	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Former pub Uppingham Hotel http://rcweb.leicester.gov.uk/planning/onlinequery/PPRNResults.aspx?PPRN=QLM0190 Change of use granted in 1999	No	There are 5 others in Walsall, Wolverhampton, Coventry, Southall and Bedford http://equalitydiversityofficer.blogspot.ie/2013/04/tirath-yatra-walk-2013-stage-4-mandir.html	1, Uppingham Rd LE5 3TA Leicester Phone: 0116 276 7764 Email: info@mandirbababalaknath.co.uk	

11.	Rama Mandir, Leicester Shree Ram Mandir Lohana Mahajan Leicester Smt Nitiben Maheshbhai Gheewala Centre	Gujarati, Lohana caste	Leicester	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Think it was social club for shoe factory	No	http://www.lohanaleicester.org.uk Link to history of building and Lohana community.	1 Hildyard Road Leicester LE4 5GG United Kingdom Tel: 0116 2664642 Email: info@lohanaleicester.org.uk	http://www.rammandir.info
12.	Sanatan Mandir, Leicester	Gujarati, 1969 visit by Pujya Ram Bhakta/ Morari Babu initiated setting up of temple	Leicester	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Former church and school, has been extended; Carey Hall Baptist Church, shikaras added	No	http://rcweb.leicester.gov.uk/planning/onlinequery/PPRNResults.aspx?PPRN=OKE6939 : already Hindu temple by 1977 when planning application made for alterations. http://sanatanmandirleicester.com/index.php/2016-01-04-18-55-54/our-history 'At first there were only Bhajan Mandals. This was where Hindus met at people homes on auspicious days to pray, sing hymns and celebrate festivals together. As the community grew larger, it was apparent that there was a need for a permanent mandir for Hindu worship.'	Weymouth St, Leicester, United Kingdom Phone:+44 116 266 1402 Email: sanatanmandir1@gmail.com	http://www.sanatanmandir.org.uk
13.	Shakti Mandir, Leicester	Gujarati Bought and set up by his Holiness Sri Karunashanker Valji Purohit, sanctified 13 temples in the UK, set up Federation of Hindu Priests UK with his son Sri Harish (murdered in	Leicester	Suburban	Aarati, puja, weddings, dining hall	Former Roman Catholic Trinity Church, Our Lady of Good Counsel Catholic Church built in 1820. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Our_Lady_of_Good_Counsel_Catholic_Church	No	Purchased 1973 and registered as temple in 1975. First temple to be registered to carry out marriages http://uk-indians.co.uk/index.php?route=product/product&product_id=115 http://shreeshaktimandir.org.uk/about-us/about-shree-shakti-mandir-leicester/	Moira St, Leicester LE4 6NH, United Kingdom Phone:+44 116 266 4138 Email: info@shreeshaktimandir.org.uk	http://shreeshaktimandir.org.uk

		2000 - https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2000/oct/28/vikramdodd				Moira Street, Leicester UK (now Shree Shakti Mandir).png				
14.	Shree Geeta Bhavan, Leicester	Gujarati	Leicester	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre classes in Hinduism, Hindi and Sanskrit, kitchen facilities	http://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/VIP-guests-launch-163-500k-temple-extension/story-12086993-detail/story.html	No	http://rcweb.leicester.gov.uk/planning/onlinequery/PPRNResults.aspx?PPRN=ORE6096 Used as a temple and community centre since the 1980s, and in 2010, a £500,000 renovation extended the centre and added the beautiful and distinctive columned porch. Run by the Hindu Religious & Cultural Society of Leicester http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/2361665	70 Clarendon Park road, Leicester, LE2 3AD Phone: 01162707756 info@shreegeeta bhawan.com	https://geetabhavanleicester.wordpress.com/about/ https://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/archaeology/research/projects/mapping-faith/Faith%20Trail%20booklet%202012-print.pdf
15.	Shree Prajapati Community Centre (Leicester Branch) Prajapati Hall	Gujarati – is this a temple? Bradford one is.	Leicester	Suburban, industrial area	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Industrial unit?	No	14 branches in the UK	Ulverscroft Rd, Leicester, Leicestershire, LE4 6BW Phone: 0116 262 8560 leicester@shreeprajapati.org.uk	http://spaleicester.btk.co.uk
16.	Shri Shirdi Sai Baba Temple, Colton Street	Gujarati? Linked to temple in Wembley	Leicester	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Former Guild Hall	No		Guild Hall, Colton Street, Leicester LE1 1QB Sat-Nav : LE1 1QA Phone: +44(0) 1163671833 Email: sai@shirdisai.org.uk	http://www.shirdisai.org.uk

17.	Sri Jeya Durga Temple, Leicester	South Indian, Tamil	Leicester	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Large detached House?	No		201 Loughborough Rd, Leicester LE4 5PL, United Kingdom Phone: 01164295703 Mobile : 07904355338 Email: info@jeyadurgatempleleicester.org	http://www.jeyadurgatempleleicester.org
18.	Swaminarayana Hindu Mission, Leicester	BAPS	Leicester	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Former Jeans factory with South Asian Hindu temple facade	No	Opened 2011. From the early 1970s, the Swaminarayan congregation in Leicester had worshipped in a small house at 148 Doncaster Road before moving to St. James Street in 1979.	135 Gipsy Lane Leicester LE4 6RH, UK Phone: (+44) 116 262 3791 E-mail: info.leicester@uk.baps.org	http://www.baps.org/Global-Network/UK-and-Europe/Leicester.a
19.	Swaminarayana Temple (ISSO), Leicester	ISSO, Gujarati	Leicester	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Adapted building, Shikharas added on front.	No	From early 1960s came from Tanzania and met in houses. House was bought on Rendell Road and converted into a temple. Bigger premises obtained on Loughborough road – offices. Deities installed there 1994. ISSO temples in Leicester, Streatham, Brighton and Gatwick.	139 - 141 Loughborough Road, Leicester Leicestershire LE4 5LQ UK Tel/Fax: +44 116 266 6210 Email: info@swaminarayan.info	http://www.bhujmandir.org http://www.swaminarayan.info/Temples/Display.asp?CategoryId=5&Chapter=43

20.	Rama Krishna Temple, Loughborough Shree Ram Krishna Community Project	Gujarati	Loughborough	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Looks purpose built but not very temple like	No		Alfred St, Loughborough LE11 1NG, United Kingdom Phone: +44 1509 232401 shreeramkrishna@btconnect.com	
21.	Shree Geeta Bhawan, Loughborough	Gujarati	Loughborough	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Former school built in 1894. http://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/WMQE6J_Church_Gate_Board_School_Lemyngton_Street_Loughborough_Leicestershire	No		2 Lemyngton Street LE11 1UH Loughborough Leicestershire Phone: +44 (0) 1509 233570	
22.	BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir, Loughborough	Gujarati	Loughborough	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Not sure – former factory/ community hall?	No	http://www.baps.org/News/2001/New-Swaminarayan-Mandir-Opened-1811.aspx 'Sunday 11 November 2001 opened Yogiji Maharaj had sanctified Loughborough during his visit to the UK in 1970 and it has been blessed many times thereafter by Pramukh Swami Mahraj.'	132 Moira Street Loughborough LE11 1AX, UK Phone: (+44)7809 621 099 (+44)7853 126 050 E-mail: info.loughborough@uk.baps.org	http://www.baps.org/loughborough
23.	Hindu Temple, Nottingham	Trimurti (Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu)	Nottingham	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre, Hindi school, yoga, luncheon club, Hall hire,	http://www.hindutemple.org.uk/index.php large – purpose built? Partial reuse too?	No	Set up in early 1970s, extended/adapted in later years	215 Carlton Rd, Nottingham, NG3 2FX Phone: (0044) 0115 911 3384 Email:	http://www.hindutemple.org.uk

					kitchen, weddings and other events				info@hindutemple.org.uk	
24.	Sri Thurkkai Amman Temple, Nottingham	South Indian, Tamil	Nottingham	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Former church	No	Opened 2012? http://www.nottinghampost.com/six-foot-statues-of-hindu-gods-could-soon-grace-front-of-beeston-temple/story-29486866-detail/story.html - planning application submitted in 2016 to erect six foot statues at entrance and other embellishments	10A West Crescent Beeston Nottinghamshire NG9 1QE United Kingdom Phone: +44 115 9677 751	http://www.nottinghamamman.org
25.	BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir Nottingham, UK	Gujarati	Nottingham	Suburban, industrial estate	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Industrial unit?	No	Started meeting in Nottingham in 1988 and temple opened 28 May 2007.	102-103 Palm St, Nottingham NG7 7HS, United Kingdom Phone:+44 115 978 8029	http://www.swaminarayan.org/news/uk/2007/05/nott_man_dir/
26.	Bhagwati Shakti Peeth	Sewadars (caste group) Nepalese serving Maa Bhagwati (goddess)	Nottingham	Suburban industrial	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	End of terrace industrial unit? Appears to be new temple project underway as well.	No		Social Club, 43 - 47 Eland Street New Basford Nottingham NG7 7DY Phone: 07868755506 Email :webmaster@bhagwatishaktipeeth.com	http://open.nottinghamcity.gov.uk/library/service.asp?s=832&c=369&min=1&max=4 http://allhindutemples.com/city/nottingham/hindu_temple/bhagwati-shakti-peeth-nottingham/ http://bhagwatishaktipeeth.org
27.	Sai Dham (Nottingham)	H. H. Sri Sai Das Babaji, avatar of Sri Shirdi Sai Baba	Nottingham	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Building has 1906 plaque on it. Pub, school?	No	Set up in 1994, 10 globally. This is only one in UK http://saiham.org.uk/about_sai_dham.html see here for history	75-79 Egypt Road New Basford Nottingham United Kingdom	http://www.saiham.org.uk

		http://www.coe.world.org/peoples/hh-sri-sri-sri-saidas-babaji-deceased critique of him: http://www.examiner.com/shortnews/gurugallery/saidas.htm http://saicopycats.blogspot.ie/2006/09/saidas-babaji-is-dead.html							NG7 7GN Email: info@saidham.org.uk OR saidhamnottinghamuk@gmail.com	
28.	BAPS Swaminarayana Hindu Mission, Wellingborough	Gujarati	Wellingborough	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Looks purpose built	No	Began meeting in 1972 and temple opened 1977. Planning application to extend on site submitted in 2004 and were granted. Ground breaking ceremony took place in May 2008.	2-22 Mill Road Wellingborough, Northants NN8 1PE, UK Phone: (+44) 1933 272061 E-mail: info.wellingborough@uk.baps.org	https://plus.google.com/118356642096974959179/about?gl=uk&hl=en
29.	Wellingborough District Hindu Association	Gujarati	Wellingborough	Suburban		Looks purpose built	No		133 Highfield Rd, Wellingborough NN8 1PL, United Kingdom Phone: +44 1933 222250	

30.	Northampton Kutumb Centre Indian Hindu Welfare Organisation		Wellingborough	Suburban/rural	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre , sports and leisure facilities.		New being built; IHWO founded 1996.	http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-northamptonshire-260899	IHWO (Northampton) Ltd. C/O Weston Favell Parish Hall Booth Lane South Northampton NN3 3EP email: info@ihwo.org.uk Phone: Neelam Aggarwal 07791 618450	http://ihwo.org.uk/unanimous-approval-for-hindu-temple-in-northampton/
-----	--	--	----------------	----------------	---	--	-------------------------------------	---	---	---

HINDU BUILDINGS IN THE SOUTH – 29 in total

	Name	Location in South Asia/tradition	Location	Urban/Suburban/Rural	Use	Type	Listed or Not	Additional Notes	Address	Website
--	------	----------------------------------	----------	----------------------	-----	------	---------------	------------------	---------	---------

1.	Shri Sai Sidh Baba Balak Nath Mandir	Punjab, Baba Balaknath (see http://www.mandirbababalaknath.co.uk/about.php)	Bedford Temples to Baba Balak Nath also in Walsall, Wolverhampton, Coventry Southall Leicester	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre, including, women's group	Commercial unit	No	http://www.casas.org.uk/papers/papers/skanda.pdf http://www.faithneteast.org.uk/pdf/Hindu%20presence%20and%20relationships.pdf Controversy? http://www.bedfordtoday.co.uk/news/women-s-safe-haven-set-to-make-way-for-houses-1-6427535	2 Derwent Place Bedford Bedfordshire MK42 9HY Phone: 01234 405 916 Email: santoshkumarijogi@hotmail.com.uk	http://www.balaknath.org/about.php
2.	Bedford Valmiki Sabha	Bhagwan Valmik Ji (Dalit caste group - Valmiki) Also in Southall, Wolverhampton, Coventry, Birmingham	Bedford	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities, community centre, youth group, legal and immigration advice, MP surgery	Detached building, purpose built but does not look like temple.	No	First Valmik Committee in Bedford formed in late 1960s, bought land where temple is in 1975, built temple after committee change in 1978. http://www.faithneteast.org.uk/pdf/Hindu%20presence%20and%20relationships.pdf	6 – 8 Muswell Road Bedford United Kingdom MK42 9PH Phone: General Secretary, Kishor Kumar, 07891 155495 Email: kishor.kumar@nahars.co.uk	http://www.bvsbedford.org.uk/?page_id=2
3.	Ramakrishna-Vedanta Centre of UK		Bourne End, Buckinghamshire	Rural	Yoga, puja, bookshop, lectures	Large detached house in grounds	No	Started in London in 1948 and moved to Bourne end in 1977.	Blind Lane, Bourne End, Buckinghamshire SL8 5LF Phone: (01628) 526 464 E-Mail: vedantauk1836@gmail.com	http://www.vedantauk.com/Default.aspx

4.	Brighton Swami Narayan Temple	ISSO (International Swaminarayan Satsang Organisation), Swaminarayan	Brighton	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Looks like large converted premises on street corner; opened in September 1999 in a 19th-century building which formerly housed two shop units	No	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shri_Swaminarayan_Mandir,_Brighton https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Shree_Swaminarayan_Hindu_Temple,_Victoria_Road,_Portslade.jpg	79a Trafalgar Road, Portslade (Brighton), East Sussex BN41 1XD UK Phone: +44 1273 420 200 Email: info@swaminarayan.info	http://www.swaminarayan.info/Temples/Display.asp?CatID=5&Chapter=45
5.	Bristol Hindu Temple	Gujarati	Bristol	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Former Redfield Methodist Church http://www.churchcrawler.co.uk/bristol3/wesleyan.htm Plus peripheral building called the Gandhi Hall.	No	Founded in 1979 by Hindus from Kenya and Uganda after 1972; inaugurated in 1981.	163A Church Rd, Bristol BS5 9LA, United Kingdom Phone: +44 117 935 1007 Email: info@bristolhindutemple.co.uk	http://www.bristolhindutemple.co.uk http://www.bristolhindutemple.co.uk/aboutus.php?
6.	Krishna Mandir, Cheltenham	Gujarati	Cheltenham	Suburban/Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Former St Paul's Hall, Swindon Road; attached community centre too http://www.churches-uk-ireland.org/images/gloucs/cheltenham/hindu.jpg	No	http://www.bbc.co.uk/gloucestershire/untold_stories/asian/hindu_community.shtml July 1986 the Hindu Temple opened, refurb with help from National Lottery Fund.	64 Swindon Road, Cheltenham Gloucestershire United Kingdom G150 Phone: +44 1242-584250	No website

7.	Sri Ram Temple Hindu Cultural and Heritage Centre	Gujarati	Clacton	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Detached residential property	No	House temple that became public temple with properly installed deities looked after by the family http://www.hchc.org.uk/history.htm , since 1979. In 2007 began campaign to fund raise for a community centre.	18 Coan Ave, Clacton-on-Sea CO15 1BH	www.hchc.org.uk/
8.	Swarna Kamatchi Amman Temple	South Indian, Tamil	Crawley	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Former industrial/commercial unit?	No		Unit 18 Stephenson Way, Three Bridges RH10 1TN Crawley Phone: 01293 619 918	https://londontemples.wordpress.com/2011/07/10/crawley-sri-swarna-kamadzi-amman-temple-main-page/
9.	Sanatan Mandir, Crawley Gurjar Hindu Union (GHU) Mandir	Gujarati	Crawley	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities, community centre. Gujarati classes, Bharatnatyam dance classes; yoga and zumba; pranic healing; carers service and day care centre; bhajans; harmonium classes; volleyball and badminton; blood donation etc.	http://crawleyhindu.com/apple-tree-centre/about-the-apple-tree-centre/ - link to film about temple buildings; 2010 opened, purpose built temple and community centre http://crawleyhindu.com/apple-tree-centre/history-of-ghu-the-journey/	No	Gurjar Hindu Union (GHU) over 40 years old http://crawleyhindu.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/GHU-Newsletter.pdf https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_places_of_worship_in_Crawley#Current_places_of_worship	Apple Tree Centre, Ifield Avenue, Crawley, RH11 0AF Phone: 01293 530105 Email: bharat@ghu.org.uk	http://www.crawleyhindu.com

10.	Swaminarayan Manor Gatwick	ISSO (International Swaminarayan Satsang Organisation), Swaminarayan	Crawley, West Sussex	Rural	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre. accommodation for worshippers	Converted hotel on a country lane near Crawley. http://www.crawley.gov.uk/pw/Planning_and_Development/Planning_Permission_Applications/Planning_Applications_Search/index.htm?accept=Search&pRecordID=32251&pApplicationNo=&pAD=yes&pAppNo=CR/2009/0439/CON	No	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_places_of_worship_in_Crawley#/media/File:Swaminarayan_Manor_Hindu_Temple,_Bonnetts_Lane,_Crawley_(October_2011).jpg	Bonnetts Lane, Ifield, Crawley RH11 0NY, United Kingdom Phone: +44 1293 550660	http://www.swaminarayan.info/Gatwick/
11.	Medway Hindu Mandir	The Medway Hindu Temple welcomes, and proudly celebrates the rich diversity of India. Devotees from all corners of India including Punjab, Gujarat, Bengal, Kerala, Maharashtra and Bihar celebrate various festivals together. Devotees from	Gillingham	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Former residential property	No	Est. 1978/1981. Only functioning temple in Kent.	361 Canterbury St, Gillingham ME7 5XS	http://medwayhindumandir.co.uk/

		Nepal, Sri Lanka, Mauritius and other countries regularly visit and participate in many events held at the Mandir.'								
12.	Shekin Ashram, Bhakti Yoga Ashram & Holistic Retreat Centre	Krishna and Radha	Glastonbury	Rural	Yoga, shrine to Radha and Krishna, Kirtans, teachings, bed and breakfast, spiritual community	Victorian house with large garden including yurts and huts for paying guests	No	Started by while British 'convert' to Hinduism. No priests and installed deities.	Dod Lane, Glastonbury, BA6 8BZ Phone: 0044 (0)1458 832 300 Email: info@shekinashram.org	http://shekinashram.org
13.	Gloucester Hindu Temple	Gujarati?	Gloucester	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Suburban Semi, could just be a residential location rather than temple?	No		15 Cherston Crescent, Barnwood, Gloucester Gloucestershire United Kingdom GL4 7LE	No website
14.	BAPS Shree Swaminarayan Mandir	Gujarati	Havant	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Large detached, probably former residential property	No		Strathfield House 9 Leigh Rd, Havant PO9 2ES Tel: (+44) 23 9259 5932 Fax: (+44) 23 8055 7422 E-mail: info.havant@uk.baps.org	http://www.baps.org/Global-Network/UK-and-Europe/Havant.aspx

15.	High Wycombe Uchi Murugan Temple	Tamil, South Indian, Saivite	High Wycombe	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Located in a community centre	No	http://uchimurugankovil.com/Future-Plans.php http://uchimurugankovil.com/home.php - fund raising for new temple 197-199 New Road High Wycombe HP12 4RQ	Castlefield Community Centre, Rutland Avenue, High Wycombe, HP12 3LL Phone: 07834455516, 07841522514 (also in Hounslow, Greenford, Leicester, Ashton-under-Lyne) Email: info@uchimurugankovil.com	http://uchimurugankovil.com/home.php
16.	Ipswich Hindu Temple	Probably Gujarati	Ipswich	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Appears to be above a clothing alterations business	No	5 Thoroughfare, Ipswich, IP1 1BX, formerly the Ipswich Buddhist Centre, was leased from 3rd November 2010 as the Ipswich Hindu Samaj Community Centre & Mandir.	5 Thoroughfare, Ipswich IP1 1BX	http://www.ipswichhindusamaj.org.uk/
17.	Shree Sanatan Seva Samaj, Luton	Gujarati	Luton	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre, Gujarati and Hindi classes, yoga, health seminars, luncheon club, harmonium and table classes	Looks purpose built but not like an Asian temple	No	Established in 1975	Hereford Rd, Luton, Bedford LU4 0PS Phone: 01582663414 Email: info@hindumandir-luton.org	http://www.hindumandir-luton.org/

18.	Guru Kripa Kshetra	Tamil	Middleton Stoney, nr Oxford	Rural	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	House temple, in outbuilding. See Nesbit 2006: 52.	No	'Hindu Temple which conforms to the Tamil Saivite tradition and is run by Athis and Chandra Vadivale, in a tiny hamlet in Oxfordshire. For the past 26 years major festivals like Shiva rathri and Navarathri have been observed.'	Contact: The Old Rectory, Middleton Stoney, Oxon OX6 8RZ Email: saivale@aol.com	https://www.admission.ox.ac.uk/eop/religionandbelief/fairhsocietiesgroupsorreligiouscentres/#d.en.31127
19.	Arulmihu Meenakshi Amman Temple	South Indian, Tamil (Meenakshi is incarnation of Parvati, wife of Shiva)	Milton Keynes	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Industrial/commercial unit?	No		4 Sinclair Court Bletchley Milton Keynes MK1 1RB Phone: 01908 630 000 Email: Srimeenakshiamman@yahoo.co.uk	http://srimeenakshiamman.teknofuture.com/#
20.	Norfolk Mandir Vedic Cultural Society of East Anglia	Probably Gujarati	Norwich	Rural	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre	Former Tracey Arms Pub	No	Features in episode of BBC 1 programme Homes Under the Hammer http://forum.norfolkbroadsnetwork.com/topic/10962-stracey-armshomes-under-the-hammer/ Sold on December 10 2014 for £169,00. 6 acres of land and 400 meters of mooring	Acle Rd, Moulton St Mary, Norwich NR13 3AP	http://vcsea.org/
21.	Rama Mandir, Peterborough Bharat Hindu Samaj Mandir	Gujarati	Peterborough	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre, badminton, luncheon club, Gujarati language classes.	Former school, donated by Cambridgeshire County Council	No	Bharat Hindu Samaj est. 1974, after Ugandan Asians came in 1972. Came to Rock Road in 1986; initially had photos of deities and in 1995 carried out Murti Prathistha	6 New England Complex, Rock Road, Peterborough. PE1 3BU Phone: 01733 347188; 01733315241 Email:	http://www.bharathindusamaj.co.uk/events/

									info@mandir.org	
22.	Kent Thanet Amman Temple Kent Thanet Sri Swarna Dhurgai Amman Temple	Tamil	Ramsgate	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	?	No	?	1903 King's PI, Ramsgate CT11 9AD	http://www.kentthanetsriswarnadhurghaiamman.com/
23.	Reading Hindu Temple	Gujarati	Reading	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre, sports facilities	Former church, more than 100 years old	No	http://readinghindutemple.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/rhtfr1.pdf details of temple refurbishment	112 Whitley Street, Reading, RG2 0EQ Berkshire Email: hello@readinghindutemple.com	http://www.readinghindutemple.com
24.	Radha Krishna Temple, Romford	Gujarati (probably)	Romford	Rural	Worshiping, Puja and Bhajan/Kirtand activities for children and elderly	Former school?	No	The Hindu Welfare Association was founded in January 2005. 2008 the association acquired the present building for £630,000.	The School House, Church Road, Noak Hill, RM4 1LD Phone: 01708 347 628	http://hinduwa.org.uk/

25.	Hindu Temple, Slough	Gujarati	Slough	Suburban	Mandir, Vedic science; Gujarati and Hindi classes, discussions on Hinduism and current affairs, yoga, Bollywood & Indian Classical Dance, music classes	Claims to be first Purpose built Hindu temple in England, 1981	No	http://allhindutemples.com/city/slough/hindu_temple/hindu-temple-slough/	Keel Drive Slough SL1 2XU Phone: 01753 790 135	http://www.hindutempleslough.com
26.	Vedic Society Hindu Temple Hindu Temple, Southampton	Lohana Community http://www.lohana.info	Southampton	Suburban	http://www.vedicsociety.com/pages/Main/activities.htm	Purpose built opened 1984; claim in BBC article that this was first purpose built temple in England	No	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LxFG2KbweQU (opening of new temple) http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/hampshire/hi/people_and_places/religion_and_ethics/newsid_8263000/8263258.stm http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13537908808580621?journalCode=cjcr19#.VvIGe8fnvdk Shirley Firth http://www.casas.org.uk/papers/pdf/papers/deathandbereavement.pdf	79 - 195 Radcliffe Road Northam Southampton SO14 0PS Phone: 023 8063 2275 Email: secretary@vedicsociety.com	http://www.vedicsociety.com
27.	BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir, Southend-on-Sea	Gujarati	Southend-on-sea	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	?	No	?	190 Queensway, Southend-on-Sea SS1 2LU	?
28.	Raja Rajeswary Amman	Tamil, South Indian, Saivite	Stoneleigh	Urban	Mandir	Old warehouses, significant local objections see planning website, not least fruit in road that cars	No	http://www.epsomguardian.co.uk/news/14332274.Stoneleigh_residents_fear_Hindu_temple_expansion_could_mean_death_knell_of_Broadway_businesses/ http://eplanning.epsom-ewell.gov.uk/online-	Dell Lane, Stoneleigh, Epsom, Surrey, UK Phone:080 83938147 Email:srirajaraj	http://www.srirajeswariamman.com

						drive over for good luck		applications/simpleSearchResults.do;jsessionid=CDD79F76DD3C0CA20E2648DA87B00F02?action=firstPage	eswariamman@gmail.com	
29.	Swindon Hindu Temple & Cultural Centre	Probably Gujarati	Swindon	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Looks like industrial area	No	Fundraising to build Hindu temple and cultural centre	103 Darby Cl, Swindon SN2 2YZ info@swindonhindutemple.com	http://www.swindonhindutemple.com/

HINDU BUILDINGS IN LONDON (non-South Indian and Sri Lankan) 41 in total

	Name	Tradition/location	Location	Urban/Suburban/Rural	Use	Type	Listed or Not	Additional Notes	Address	Website
1.	Radha Krishna Temple, Balham	Gujarati, set up by Guru Shyamadevi (see also Shree Hindu Temple and Community Centre, Leicester)	Balham	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities, community centre, upliftment of poor in India.	2 shops	No	Linked to female teacher in Leicester who opened temple there in 1967. This one opened in 1977 http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http://www.movinghere.org.uk/stories/story476/story476.htm	33 Balham High Rd, London SW12 9AL Email: contact@radhakrishnatemple.org	http://www.radhakrishnatemple.org.uk/index.php/balham/contacts
2.	Hindu Centre, Belsize Park	Gujarati	Belsize Park	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community	Large old house, semi, hall attached at back?	No		39 Grafton Terrace, Off Malden Road, London	

					centre.					NW5 4JA Mobile/Phone No: 020 7485 8200	
3.	Holy Mission of Guru Nanak (Sindhi Community House)	Sindhi Community, founded by Dada Ishwar R. Balani, blend of Hinduism and Sikhism	Cricklewood	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre. Guru Granth Sahib on site?	Very large building; reuse?	No	http://www.sindhimandir.org/html/holycentres_london.html New centre opened 1997	318 Cricklewood Broadway London NW2 6QD United Kingdom Phone : 020 8450 1341 Fax : 020 8452 7802 Email : london@holymis sion.org.uk Contact : Didi Kamla Roopchand	http://www.holymission.org.uk	
4.	Krishna Yoga Mandir, Edmonton	Gujarati	Edmonton	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Looks like house on street corner	No	?	57 Balham Road, Edmonton Green, N9 7AH Mobile/Phone No: 020 8363 9187	?	
5.	Kutch Satsang Swaminarayana Temple, Forest Gate SKS Swaminarayan Temple East London	Gujarati SKSST Linked to Shree Swaminarayan Temple, Bhuj Acharya Shree Koshalendrapr asadji Maharaj	Forest Gate	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre, Yuvak Mandal – youth group.	Purpose built	No	From 1976 devotees started meeting in houses, 1985 bought site to build temple, which opened in 1987 http://www.eltemple.uk/our-temple/our-temple/	Swaminarayan House 22/24 Shaftesbury Road Forest Gate, London E7 8PD Email: info@eltemple.uk +44 (0) 20 8470 9375	http://www.eltemple.uk/our-temple/	
6.	Maha Lakshmi Vidya Temple,	Caribbean?	Forrest Hill	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural	Doesn't look purpose built –	No	Temple opened 1999, Maha Lakshmi Satsang formed	Honor Oak Park Forest Hill	http://www.mahalakshmi.net	

	Forrest Hill	Sanatana			activities and community centre.	converted hut/community hall? http://www.mahalakshmi.net/docs/Brochure2008-04.pdf - p21 history		1982.	SE23 3LE Email: bankim.gossai@aol.com Phone: 020 8949 6565 07768 066884 Email: rameshcharan56@sky.com Phone: 020 8650 3728 07956 803730	
7.	Jalaram Mandir Greenford	Jalaram Bapa, Gujarati	Greenford	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities, community centre and food for homeless	Reuse, site of former synagogue and now being rebuilt.	No	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9PFTkOnH7sQ&feature=youtu.be ; founded 2000 and on site of old synagogue built in the 1950s (also in Hounslow, Bradford, Leicester, Ashton-under-Lyne)	39/45 Oldfield Lane South Greenford, Middlesex United Kingdom UB6 9LB Has temporary address	http://www.jalarammandir.co.uk/
8.	International Siddhashram Shakti Centre, Harrow	Set up by Shri Raj Rajeshwar Guruji	Harrow	Urban		Former salvation army hall		http://www.swaminarayan.info/Temples/Display.asp?CategoryId=5&Chapter=49	Westfield Lane Kenton Harrow Middx HA3 9EA UK Phone: +44 20 8909 9899 Fax: +44 20 8909 9897 Email: info@sksst.org	http://www.siddhashram.com
9.	Kutch Satsang Swaminarayana Temple, Harrow	Gujarati SKSST Linked to Shree	Harrow	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., Gujarati school, IT classes, maths classes, band and lazium,	Purpose built		http://sksst.org/temple-history Swaminarayan temple in Vaughan Rd since 1976, became too small. Site	Westfield Lane Kenton Harrow Middx HA3 9EA United Kingdom	http://sksst.org

		Swaminarayan Temple, Bhuj Acharya Shree Koshalendrprasadji Maharaj SKSST			yoga.			known as Mark House on Westfield Lane, Kenton came to the market. The architects brief was to create a temple, which would blend the use of natural stonework typical of temple architecture in India and the brickwork much used. The stone sikhars entrance domes from Rajasthan and the curved stone window surrounds and corner quoins from Lancashire appeared to give the right balance. Completed mid-1990s. Extended in 2006 to build Nilkanth Hall.	Phone: +44 20 8909 9899 Fax: +44 20 8909 9897 General email: info@sksst.org	
10.	Kali Mata Mandir, Hayes	Gujarati caste	Hayes	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities, community centre.and works against homelessness	Two addresses found online. Not sure if either is temple or just residential address?	No	http://www.newshopper.co.uk/news/578158.Guru_Ji_s_ole_ful_devotion_to_charity/ founded charity in 1994 by Sikh man who became Hindu after visions of Kali.	892A Uxbridge Road Hayes Middlesex United Kingdom UB4 0RR. Phone : +44 2085-737561 16 Botwell Common Road, Hayes, UB3 1JA Mobile/Phone No: 020 8581 1598 Email: guruji@kalimata.co.uk	http://www.kalimata.co.uk
11.	Jalaram Jupadi Virpur Dham Hounslow	Gujarati Shree Jalaram Bapa, Gujarati (born 1800 CE in Virpur,	Hounslow	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Converted hut with flag	No	SJST acquired a premises in Hounslow in 2000, and was formally opened as Jalaram Jupadi in 2001 http://www.shreejalaramseva.org/index.php/about-us	497A Barrack Rd, Hounslow TW4 6AF, UK Phone: 0208 569 5710 Email:	http://www.shreejalaramseva.org

		Gujarat) Prajapati caste							info@shreejalaramsevatrust.org	
12.	Durga Mandir, Ilford, Shree Sanatan Dharm Mandal Durga Mandir	Gujarati, Sanatana	Ilford	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Looks purpose built but not like temple	No	http://allhindutemples.com/city/essex/hindu_temple/shree-sanatan-dharm-mandal-durga-mandir/ Formed in 1960s, charitable trust set up on 1978, present set up from 1995	3-9 Norman Rd, Ilford, Essex IG1 2NH Phone:020 8514 4781	http://www.durgamandir.org.uk https://www.ishtadevata.com/durga-mandir-ilford-greater-london.html
13.	Hindu Centre, Ilford	Gujarati, linked to the VHP	Ilford	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Reuse, with some expetnsion?	No	http://london.iwitness24.co.uk/en/photos/news/2013-10-24/4017/ilford-hindu-centre.html	V H P Ilford Hindu Centre, 43, Cleveland Road, Ilford, Essex IG1 1EE Phone 020 8553 5471 or 020 8478 6049	http://vhp.org.uk
14.	Shree Swaminarayana Mandir	Gujarat, East Africa; <i>Maninagar Swaminarayan Gadi Sansthan</i> the founder left the Ahmedabad Gadi in the 1940s. His Divine Holiness Acharya Swamishree Purushottampriyadasji Maharaj is the current	Kingsbury	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Purpose built and opened in 2014.	No	http://www.swaminarayandi.com/contacts/addresses/europe.php - linked to Bolton temple	Shree Muktajeevan Swamibapa Complex, Kingsbury Road, Kingsbury, London NW9 8AQ	http://www.swaminarayandi.com/london/

		acharya.Maharaj								
15.	Caribbean Hindu Society, Lambeth	Guyana?	Lambeth	Suburban	Worship, havan, yoga, community activities	Last used by the Federation of Boys Scouts Incorporated but when it was obtained, it was in a derelict state and almost completely destroyed by fire some time previously .Refurbishment was started by the members. In 1978 a successful grant application was made to Lambeth Council and in 1982 building works were completed and the Temple became fully operational.	No	first Hindu organisation in South London for the promotion of Hinduism and Hindu Culture.	Caribbean Hindu Cultural Society 16 Ostade Road, Brixton Hill, London, SW2 2BB Phone- 0208 674 0755	http://www.chcstemple.org/#/about/aboutPage http://www.chcstemple.org
16.	Shri Nathji Sanatan Hindu Mandir Leytonstone	Gujarati, Sanatan Linked to Wembley Temple of Shri Vallabh Nidhi UK	Leytonstone	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Reuse – former church? Used to be have Sunday School and reading room on site.	No	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shree_Sanatan_Hindu_Mandir June 1980, inaugurated	159-161 Whipps Cross Road Leytonstone London E11 1NP Phone: +44 208 989 7539; +44 208 989 2034	http://www.svnu.org/our-temples/leytonstone-temple/

17.	Swaminarayana Hindu Mission, Neasden	BAPS	Neasden	Urban	Aarti, Puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Large purpose built	No	Built using tradition methods and materials and was the first purpose built Hindu temple in Europe, inaugurated in 1995. The first BAPS temple in the UK was set up in 1970 in a former church in Islington, North London. Then the community moved to a former warehouse in 1982 in Neasden, when the first temple became too small.	105-119 Brentfield Road Neasden, London NW10 8LD, UK T: +44 (0)20 8965 2651 F: +44 (0)20 8965 6313 E: info@londonmandir.baps.org	http://londonmandir.baps.org/
18.	Hindu Cultural Society, North Finchley	Gujarati?	North Finchley	Urban	Aarti, Puja etc., day centre for elderly, ladies forum, yoga, music, Hindi classes prayers and youth groups	Reuse – large off road building.	No	Est 1974	3 Lyndhurst Ave, London N12 0LX Phone:020 8361 4484 Email: info@hinduculturalociety.co.uk	http://www.hinduculturalociety.co.uk
19.	Greenwich Hindu Mandir, Plumstead Sri Radha Krishna Dham	Gujarati? Hindus from all parts of India and also from Fiji, Guyana, Kenya, Mauritius, Nepal, Sri Lanka,	Plumstead	Suburban	Aarti, Puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Former St. Nicholas Mission Hall	No	Was also used as scout hut and sports hall, built 1909. Greenwich Hindu Mandir (GHM) was founded in March 1978. Initially, members met at each other's homes. Present building purchased in 1984 on a 99 year lease and the building was	63-67 Bannockburn Rd, London SE18 1ER Phone:020 8854 4566 Email: info@greenwichh	http://www.greenwichhindutemple.org.uk

		Trinidad and USA regularly visit						converted into a Temple. Refurbished 1993.	indutemple.org.uk	
20.	Kutch Satsang Swaminarayana Temple, Plumstead Shree KS Swaminarayan Temple South East London	Gujarati SKSST Linked to Shree Swaminarayan Temple, Bhuj Acharya Shree Koshalendrprasadji Maharaj	Plumstead	Not clear where site is	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre, Yuvak Mandal – youth group.	http://www.swaminarayan.gb.net/Home/?IPageID=c4ca4238a0b923820dc509a6f75849b http://www.swaminarayan.gb.net/Home/?IPageID=8038da89e49ac5eabb489cfc6cea9fc1 building new temple 'buy a column' 'buy a brick' – for completion 2017, on same site http://www.swaminarayan.gb.net/files/newsletters/Woolwich%20Temple%20Nutan%20Mandir%20Community%20Newsletter%20Issue%201.pdf	No	Opened 1988, used to meet in houses before that. 'The land where the temple is built, used to be an army training base. Before developments started in 1986, the building remains had either rotted away or collapsed. The temple committee, which consisted of satsangis (devotees) living in the South East London, area got together and, after liaising with saints from Bhuj, India brought the land for £45,000. There was a lot of work that needed to be done and had to start immediately'	Temporary 1A St Margaret's Grove Plumstead London, SE18 7RL Phone: +44 20 8854 0823 Email: info@swaminarayan.gb.net	http://www.swaminarayan.gb.net/Home/?IPageID=c4ca4238a0b923820dc509a6f75849b
21.	Pashupatinath Temple London	Nepali	Plumstead	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities;	Detached house, with prayer flags	No	First Nepali temple in UK; In 2011, the current temple building was purchased	The Lodge (opposite 16b) Swingate Lane,	http://pashupatinath-skillsandcare.nationbuilder.com

					community centre	outside			SE18 Plumstead	
22.	London Sevashrama Sangh, Shepherds Bush	Bengali Branch of Bharat Sevashram Sangha, an all-India and international organisation with its head office in Calcutta	Shepherds Bush	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre	Semi detached house.	No	The London Sevashram Sangha was founded in 1961 by Swami Purnandaji Maharaj. Hindu reformer	99a Devonport Rd Shepherds Bush London W128PB Email: sevashramglobalv@hotmail.com	http://www.london-sevashramsangha.org
23.	Radha Krishna Temple, Soho	ISKCON	Soho	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre	Former club/brothel (!)	No	Est. 1978	10 Soho St, Soho, London W1D 3DL Phone: 020 7437 3662	http://www.iskcon-london.org
24.	Radha Krishna Cultural Centre, South Norwood	ISKCON	South Norwood	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre	Detached house. Undergoing renovation. http://www.iskconsouthlondon.org/	No		42 Enmore Road, South Norwood, London, SE25 5NG Phone: +44 (0) 208 656 4296 Email: iskcon.southlondon@gmail.com or krishnaprema89@hotmail.com	http://www.iskconuk.com http://www.iskconsouthlondon.org
25.	Bhagwan Valmik Mandir	Punjabi Valmiki caste First one in Coventry 1978	Southall	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre	Adapted but no external Hindu features; two adjacent houses.	No	Est. 1987	Siri Guru Valmik Sabha 16-18 Featherstone Road UB2 5AA	

		Dalit caste who workshop valmiki, and in Bedford and Wolverhampton.							Southall Middlesex 020 85716318 020 85713211 ajitnagar@hotmail.co.uk ; valmikms@msn.com	
26.	Rama Temple, Southall	Gujarati	Southall	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre	Looks purpose built, some Hindu features	No		22, King Street, Southall UB2 4DA Phone: +44 (0)208 574 5276 Email: reachus@shreerammandir.co.uk	http://www.shreerammandir.co.uk
27.	Vishwa Hindu Mandir, Southall	Gujarati	Southall	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre	Purpose built, some Hindu features	No		2 Lady Margaret Rd, Southall, Middlesex UB1 2RA Phone:020 8574 3870 Email: vishwahindutemple@gmail.com	http://Gujarati://www.southallmandir.co.uk www.vishwahindutemple.com
28.	Kumkum Shree Swaminarayan Mandir	SN, offshoot from temple in Ahmedabad, offshoot from same sect as Kingsbury and Bolton.	Stanmore		Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre					

29.	Shree Swaminarayan Temple Dharma Bhakti Manor	Gujarati Not SKSST or ISSO Linked to Shree Swaminarayan Temple, Bhuj Acharya Shree Koshalendrprasadji Maharaj	Stanmore	Rural	Seva to Lord Swaminarayan in a variety of areas, Satsang Classes, Music Classes, Gujarati and Culture Classes, Community Health and Well-being activities.	Purpose built/converted, with some Hindu embellishment (e.g. Shikhara)	No	Opened 2002, smaller temple in what used to be a community hall. 2005 purchased disused health centre which was converted into a new temple which opened in 2005. http://www.swaminarayansang.com/history	Wood Lane Stanmore Middlesex, HA7 4LF Phone 020 8954 0205 Email: info@swaminarayansang.com	http://www.swaminarayansang.com
30.	Radha Krishna Temple, Stratford	ISKCON	Stratford	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre	Large adapted residential property with Hindu features, 3 shikhara.	No		5-7 Cedars Road Stratford London E15 4NE Phone: 020 8534 8879	http://www.iskcon-london.org
31.	Int. Swaminarayana Satsang Organisation, Streatham	ISSO Gujarati Linked to Shree Swaminarayan Temple, Bhuj Acharya Shree Koshalendrprasadji Maharaj	Streatham	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre, Yuvak Mandal – youth group.	http://www.swaminarayanwales.org.uk/?ID=Mandirs_Worldwide&sContinent=Europe&sMandir=Streatham-Temple Former church, looks like small shikhara on roof plus flag pole	No	Est. 1995	72 Colmer Road, Streatham London SW16 5JZ UK Phone: +44 20 8679 8050 Email: info@swaminarayan.info	http://www.swaminarayan.info/Streatham/
32.	Hindu Society, Tooting	Gujarati	Tooting	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre Senior citizens	Doesn't look like Hindu temple, next to petrol station, reuse – community	No		664 Garratt Lane, Tooting, SW17 0NP Phone: 02089 440251	

					luncheon club Yoga & keep fit classes Hindi classes Dance classes Lectures on various subjects Weddings	hall?				Email: secretaryhindusociety@gmail.com	
33.	Shree Adhya Shakti Mandir, Cowley, Uxbridge	Gujarati	Uxbridge	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre	Hut on edge of park	No	Started in Southall in people's houses 1970. Planning permission refused 2010 then granted 2011, set on fire 2013 temporary porta cabin http://www.itv.com/news/london/story/2013-06-19/cctv-of-temple-arson-suspect/#man-sought-after-hindu-temple-arson-attack_219574 http://www.matajitemple.com/information.html	55, High Street,, Cowley, Uxbridge, London, Middlesex UB8 2DX Phone:07882 253540	http://www.matajitemple.com/	
34.	Bhaktivedanta Manor Hare Krishna Temple, Watford,	ISKCON	Watford	Rural	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre; residential community, school, farm, production of dairy products, shop	Manor house with additional development in the grounds	No	Established 1973	Dharam Marg, Hilfield Ln, Radlett, Aldenham WD25 8EZ Phone: 01923 851000 Email: info@krishnatemple.com	http://www.krishnatemple.com	
35.	Sanatan Hindu Mandir, Wembley	Sanatan	Wembley	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre	Purpose built	No	Purpose built according to <i>vastu shastra</i> , opened 2010	Shri Sanatan Hindu Mandir Wembley Ealing Road,	http://www.svnu.org	

									Wembley Middlesex HA0 4TA Phone: +44 208 903 7737	
36.	Shakti Mandir, Wembley	Gujarati mainly, but also , 'clients from Hindu, Punjabi, Sikh, Tamil, some of Mauritian Fijian origin'	Wembley	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre	Semi detached house	No	Established 1972	30 Talbot Road, Wembley, Middlesex, HA0 4UE, London United Kingdom Phone: : 0208 903 6100 Mobile No: 07958 341 561 E-Mail: dipak_shakti@yahoo.co.uk	http://www.shaktimandir.co.uk
37.	Shirdi Sai Baba Temple Association of London (SHITAL), Wembley	Gujarati	Wembley	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre	Former church	No	Linked to Leicester one in Guild Hall	Union Hall, Union Road, Wembley, HA0 4AU PhoneL +44(0) 208 9022 311 Email: sai@shirdisai.org.uk	http://www.shirdisai.org.uk/
38.	Gayatri Temple, West Hendon	Gujarati	West Hendon	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre	Narrow building between shops with large room or adjacent building at the back.	No		201 West Hendon Broadway London NW9 7DE Phone: 020 82021000	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kbeJq8seAol

39.	Shree Swaminarayan Temple, Willesden	Gujarati SKSST Linked to Shree Swaminarayan Temple, Bhuj Acharya Shree Koshalendrprasadji Maharaj	Willesden	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre	Old church bought 1975 and renovated, demolished and rebuilt 'a three temple storey complex, which would combine the traditional Hindu Temple architecture and British designs' - 1988	No	http://www.swaminarayan.info/Temples/Display.asp?CategoryId=5&Chapter=48	200-222 Willesden Lane, Willesden, London NW2 5RG UK Phone: +44 20 8451 1763 (Office) +44 20 8459 4506 (Temple) +44 20 8459 3084 (Wedding Hall) Fax: +44 20 8830 4651 Email: temple@shreeswaminarayan.org.uk	http://www.swaminarayansang.com
40.	South East Hindu Association, Woolwich	Gujarati	Woolwich	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre	Converted house	No	http://seha.org.uk/about-us/ ; 1976	2 Anglesea Mews (off Anglesea Road) Woolwich London SE18 6ER Phone: 020 8854 4906 Email: mail@seha.org.uk	http://seha.org.uk
41.	Anoopam Mission Shree Swaminarayan Spiritual Cultural	Swaminarayan, BAPS offshoot.	Uxbridge	Rural	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities; community centre	Former old people's home		Anoopam Mission founded 1978 had small house in Wembley. 1981 bought current property. http://www.anoopam.org/centers/amuk/amuk.php	Brahmajyoti The Lea Western Avenue Denham Bucks UB9 4NA	http://www.anoopam.org/index.php

	& Community Centre									Phone : +44 (0)1895 832 709 Fax : +44 (0)1895 834 338 Email : amuk@anoopam.org
--	--------------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	---

HINDU BUILDINGS IN LONDON (Tamil and other South Indian/Srilankan) (23 in total)

	Name	Tradition/location	Location	Urban/Suburban/Rural	Use	Type	Listed or Not	Additional Notes	Address	Website
--	------	--------------------	----------	----------------------	-----	------	---------------	------------------	---------	---------

1.	Sri Merupuram Maha Pathira Amman Temple Walthamstowe Kali Amman Temple Sri Merupuram Maha Pathiragali Amman Devasthanam	South Indian, Tamil "SriKailai Kalidasan" ShivaSri Linga Loganatha Gurukkal (Founder & Director)	East London Walthamstow	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Shop front with gopuram added.	No		271 Forest Road, Walthamstow, London, E17 6HD, United Kingdom, Phone: 0208 531 0872 Email: merupuram@gmail.com	https://londontemples.wordpress.com/2011/04/24/walthamstowe-kali-amman-temple- http://www.srimerupuramuk.org/main-page/
2.	London Sri Selva Vinayagar Temple	South Indian, Tamil	East London Ilford	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community	Reuse, commercial property (?), cut out of	No		299-303 Ley Street, Ilford, Essex, IG1 4BN	

					centre.	Gopuram at entrance to temple and flags.			Phone: 0208 911 8934	
3.	Tillai Natarajar Sannidh Saiva Munettra Sangam	South Indian, Tamil	East London Manor Park	Urban		End of terrace house	No	https://www.instantstreetview.com/@51.549483,0.045572,-136.06h,7.29p,1z	2 Salisbury Road Manor Park E12 6AB Phone: 0208 514 4732	
4.	Murugan Temple, Manor Park	South Indian, Tamil	East London Manor Park	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Purpose built in South Indian style.	No	Completed and consecrated in 1984	78 Church Road London E12 6AF Phone: 0208478 8433/0407 Email: admin@london srimurugan.org Web Contact Email : iyar.mutthu@gmail.com Secretary Contact : secretary@london srimurugan.org	http://www.londonsrimurugan.org

5.	Sri Katpaga Vinayagar Temple	South Indian, Tamil	East London Walthamstow	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Converted hall/hut with gopuram http://katpaka.pathy.com/temple.php	No		2 - 4 Bedford Road Walthamstow London E17 4PX Phone: 0208 527 3819 Email: info@srikarpahavinayagar.co.uk	http://katpakapathy.com
6.	Maha Lakshmi Temple, Manor Park	South Indian	East London, Manor Park	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Old temple: street corner with embellishments in South Asian style. Looks like converted house, with a South Indian style porch – gopuram. Fund raising for new temple; has planning permission – Chola Style http://www.srimahalakshmitemple.net/documents/LNTBrochure.pdf	No	Lakshmi Narayana Trust was registered with Charity Commission in September 1985. Sri Mahalakshmi Temple was built in 1989 and was consecrated on 2nd February 1990. http://www.srimahalakshmitemple.net/NewTemple/ProposedTemple.aspx http://www.srimahalakshmitemple.net/documents/News.pdf http://www.crowdfunder.co.uk/new-hindu-temple-london-sri-mahalakshmi-temple https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=21dw4iimHBM	272 High St N, London E12 6SA Phone:020 8552 5082 Email: contact@srimahalakshmitemple.net new location: 241 High Street North Email: info@srimahalakshmitemple.net	http://www.srimahalakshmitemple.net

						The construction of the whole temple and Rajagopuram entrance in Chola style.				
--	--	--	--	--	--	---	--	--	--	--

7.	Nagapooshani Ambaal Temple	South Indian, Tamil	North London Enfield	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Reuse, commercial building, detached painted red and white stripes, adorned with flags and picture of goddess. http://www.ambaal.org/index.php?type=page&pageid=51 Change of use from commercial building. Local tensions: http://www.thislocalondon.co.uk/NEWS/11502382-We-need-to-create-a-sense-of-god-will/?action=complain&cid=13236823	No	2003; but now want to redevelop site http://www.ambaal.org/gallery.html - photos of laying of foundation stone etc..	61-65 Church Ln, London N9 9PZ Phone:020 8884 3333 Email: info@ambaal.org	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XZ5wCuzxwic http://www.ambaal.org/index.php
8.	Sree Ayyappa Sevasangam	South Indian, Kerala	North London, Harrow	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Hut painted with red and white stripes	No	http://www.londonayyappan.org/ayyappan/aboutayyappan.php 1980 worship of Ayappa came to UK, in Lord Murgan temple in Eastham London. The numbers of devotees grew.	36 Masons Ave, Harrow HA3 5AR Phone:020 8861 5825	http://www.londonayyappan.org

								In the beginning there was only make shift temple in a thatched shed along with the charitable centre near the location. Eventually temple was designed in typical Kerala style conforming to the traditional shastraic stipulations and was completed on September 2008.	Email:public@londonayappa n.org	
9.	Eelapatheeswarar Aalayam, Edgware	South Indian, Tamil	North London, Wembley	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Pavitt Hall, shared with Brent Labour club, no embellishments outside except flag	No	http://www.harrowtimes.co.uk/news/588583.temple_leader_tells_of_capture_by_tamil_tigers/	22 Union Rd, Wembley HA0 4AU Phone:020 8902 3238 info@eelapatheeswarar.com	http://www.eelapatheeswarar.com
10.	Hanuman Mandir, West Hendon Sri Jeya Veera Hanuman Temple, West Hendon	South Indian, Tamil	North London, West Hendon	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Community centre – shared building?	No	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SjYqZKDYdno	Marquin Centre Marsh Drive West Hendon, NW9 7QE Phone: 0203 609 4313 MOB: 07506 903252 Email: info@anjaneyar.co.uk	http://www.anjaneyar.co.uk website in tamil
11.	London Nadarajar Temple	South Indian, Tamil	North London, Wembley	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Single story hut, painted with red and white stripes and with	No	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vSNoeGmKC5Q	3C Ranelagh Rd, Wembley HA0 4TW, United Kingdom	

						gopuram.			Phone:+44 20 8795 4258	
12.	Highgate Hill Murugan Temple,	South Indian, Tamil Saivite,	North London, Highgate Hill	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Purchased a spacious freehold property at 200A, Archway Road, Highgate Hill in 1977, where finally the Temple was built. This Temple incorporates some of the richest facets of south Indian Temple architecture, a library, two Concert Halls accommodating 500 people each, residential quarters for the chief priest etc.	No	http://www.highgatehillmurugan.org/History.html	200A Archway Road London N6 5BA Tel: +44 (0) 208 348 9835 Fax: +44 (0) 208 482 6508 Email: admin@highgatehillmurugan.org	http://www.highgatehillmurugan.org
13.	Sri Vel Murugan Temple, Lewisham	South Indian, Tamil	South London, Lewisham	Suburban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Using the hall – not just their place	No		Lochaber Hall Lochaber Road Lewisham London SE13 0208 690 9310	

									Manor Ln Terrace, London SE13 5QL, United Kingdom Phone:+44 7843 761699	
14.	Muthumari Amman Temple	South Indian, Tamil	South London Croydon	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Detached house?	No		2 Elmwood Rd, Croydon CR0 2SG, United Kingdom Phone:+44 20 8684 6838	
15.	Muthumari Amman Temple, Tooting	South Indian, Tamil	South London Tooting	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Converted shop?		Sivayogam Wedding Hall	180-186 Upper Tooting Road London SW17 7EJ Tel:020 8767 9881	http://www.londonhindutemples.com
16.	Sivaskanthagiri Arulmigu Murugan Temple, Croydon	South Indian, Tamil	South London Croydon	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Shopfronts?	No	Linked to Tamil welfare association – at same address http://www.citikey.co.uk/ display/croydon-tamil- welfare-association- 0Q6D5	13-15 Thornton Road Thornton Heath Croydon Surrey CR7 6BD 0208 684 0747 0208 810 0835	
17.	London Sivan Kovil, Lewisham	South Indian, Saivite Tamil	South London, Lewisham	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	the London Sivan Kovil is reconstructe d in accordance to the ancient Saiva scriptures.	No		4A Clarendon Rise, London SE13 5ES Phone:020 8318 9844 sivan.kovil@ya	http://www.londonsivankovil.org.uk

						Once completed, the temple will be the first of its kind in Europe as a traditional Lord Shiva temple.			hoo.co.uk	
18.	Ganapathy Temple, Wimbledon	South Indian, Tamil Saivite, there is also a Sai Mandir there too	South London Wimbledon	Suburban	Worship and community activities voluntary projects, educational programmes and interfaith work.	Old church with temple built inside	No	http://www.ghanapathy.co.uk/our-heritage	125-133 Effra Road Wimbledon London SW19 8PU United Kingdom +44 (0) 20 8542 7482	http://www.ghanapathytemple.org.uk
19.	Jegatheeswaram Arulmihu Meenakshi Sunthareswar	South Indian, Tamil	South London Wimbledon	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Not sure – Sainsbury's Supermark on site.	No		106 Haydons Rd, London SW19 1AW, UK 0208 543 7239	
20.	Sri Ranga Thiruppathy Arulmiku Astalakshmi Temple	South Indian, Tamil	South London Tooting	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Not sure	No		56A Tooting High St, London SW17 0RN, UK	
21.	Sri Thiruthanigai Vale Murugan Temple	South Indian, Tamil	South London New Malden	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Commercial building, little indication that it is Hindu temple apart form signage	No	https://www.instantstreetview.com/@51.400527,-0.238224,-54.79h,5.96p,2z	255 Burlington Road New Malden Surrey KT3 4NE 0208 942 4475	

22.	Sri Sakthy Ganapathy Temple, Croydon	South Indian, Tamil	South London Croydon	Urban		Hut?	No	https://www.google.ie/maps/uv?hl=en&pb=!1s0x487606d1b8558a4b:0x481e5002a8949588!2m5!2m2!1i80!2i80!3m1!2i10!3m1!7e115!4s/maps/place/Sri%2BSakthy%25E2%2580%25A8Ganapathy%2BTemple,%2BCroydon/@51.3980579,-0.1015052,3a,75y,142.84h,90t/data%3D*213m4*211e1*213m2*211sYvLP2qTaUb4SGihp6joLcw*212e0*214m2*213m1*211s0x0:0x481e5002a8949588!5sSri+Sakthy%E2%80%A8Ganapathy+Temple,+Croydon+-+Google+Search&imagekey=!1e2!2sYvLP2qTaUb4SGihp6joLcw&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj21N315onMAhVJHxoKHSUPB30Qpx8lazAK	21 Brigstock Road Thornton Heath Croydon Surrey CR7 7JJ 0208 689 3466	
23.	Kanaga Thurkkai Amman Temple, West Ealing	South Indian, Tamil	West London, West Ealing	Urban	Aarti, puja etc., cultural activities and community centre.	Converted building, used to be West Ealing Baptist Church. Gopuram and glass shelter for chariot at front of premise. See Dwyer et al Buildings of suburbia	No?	http://ealing.cmis.uk.com/Ealing/Document.ashx?czJKcaeAi5tUFL1DTL2UE4zNRBcoShgo=W94Bkb0RtDbEIDmhdgEXIsGdweZf5A22e1Tn1VOKfljvz26YQ%2F4OA%3D%3D&rUzwrPf%2BZ3zd4E7lkn8Lyw%3D%3D=pwRE6AGJFLDNih225F5QMaQWCtPHwdhUfCZ%2FLUQzgA2uL5jNRG4jdQ%3D%3D&mCTIbCubSFfXsDGW9IXnlg%3D%3D=hFflUdN3100%3D&kCx1AnS9%2FpWZQ40DXFvdEw%3D%3D=hFflUdN3100%3D&uJo	5 Chapel Road. Ealing London W13 9AE UK	http://www.ammanealing.com

							vDxwdjMPoYv%2BAJvY tyA%3D%3D=ctNJFf55v VA%3D&FgPIIEJYlotS% 2BYGoBi5oIA%3D%3D= NHdURQburHA%3D&d9 Qjj0ag1Pd993jsyOJqFv myB7X0CSQK=ctNJFf5 5vVA%3D&WGewmoAf eNR9xqBux0r1Q8Za60I avYmz=ctNJFf55vVA%3 D&WGewmoAfeNQ16B 2MHuCpMRKZMwaG1P aO=ctNJFf55vVA%3D		
--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

9. References

- Bowen, D. 1987: 'The Evolution of Gujarati Hindu Organizations in Bradford.' In Burghart, R. (ed.) *Hinduism in Great Britain: the perpetuation of religion in an alien cultural milieu*. London and New York: Tavistock
- Brown, J. and Talbot, I. 2006: Making a new home in the diaspora: opportunities and dilemmas in the British South Asian experience. *Contemporary South Asia* 15(2): 125-131.
- Burghart, R. (ed.) 1987: *Hinduism in Great Britain: the perpetuation of religion in an alien cultural milieu*. London and New York: Tavistock.
- Das, R. 1998: *Places of Worship: Hindu Temples*. Oxford: Heinemann Library
- das, Bimal Krishna (ed.) 2004: Directory of Hindu Temples in the UK, 2004–2006 (Leicester: National Council of Hindu Temples [UK]), p 7.
- Dwyer, C. Gilbert, D, and Ahmed N. 2015: Building the Sacred in Suburbia: Improvisation, Reinvention and Innovation. *Built Environment*, 41(4): 477-490.
- Fitzgerald, T. (1990) 'Hinduism and the 'World Religion' fallacy.' *Religion*. 20(2): 101-118
- Geaves, R. and C. Geaves 1997: 'The legitimisation of a regional folk cult: the transmigration of Balaknath from rural Punjab to urban Europe', *Scottish Journal of Religious Studies*, 20(1):
- Jackson, R. 'The Shree Krishna Temple and the Gujarati Hindu community in Coventry', in David Bowen (ed), *Hinduism in England* (Bradford: The Faculty of Contemporary Studies, Bradford College, 1981), pp 61–85.
- Jacobsen, K.A. and Myrvold, K. (ed) 2011: *Sikhs in Europe: Migration, Identities and Representations*. Farnham Surrey and Burlington VT: Ashgate.
- King, U. 1984: 'A Report on Hinduism in Britain'. *Community Religions Project Research Paper 2*, University of Leeds.
- Klostermaier, K. 1994: *A Survey of Hinduism*. New York: SUNY Press.
- Knott, K. 2013: 'Hinduism in the United Kingdom'. In Jacobsen, K. (ed.). Brill's *Encyclopedia of Hinduism*. Leiden: Brill, Vol. V, p. 334-341
- Knott K 2000a: 'Hinduism in Britain'. In Coward, Hinnells and Williams

(eds) *The South Asian Religious Diaspora in Britain, Canada, and the United States*, pp. 89-107.

Knott, K. 2000b: *Hinduism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks.

K. Knott 1987: 'Hindu Temple rituals in Britain: the reinterpretation of tradition', In Burghart, R. (ed.) *Hinduism in Great Britain: the perpetuation of religion in an alien cultural milieu*. London and New York: Tavistock pp 157–179.

Knott, K. 1986: *Hinduism in Leeds: a study of religious practice in the Indian Hindu community and in Hindu-related groups* (<https://arts.leeds.ac.uk/crp/files/2015/09/knott1986Hindu.pdf>, accessed 1/5/17).

Lipner, J. 1998: *Hindus – their religious beliefs and practices*. London and New York: Routledge.

Michell, G. 2000: *Hindu Art and Architecture*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Monckton, L. (2014) "An Age of Destruction?": Anglican church closure past and present' in *Ecclesiology Today*, April 2014 (issues 47 & 48 for December 2012 & July 2013), pp. 121-132.

Nesbit, E. 2006: Locating British Hindus' sacred space. *Contemporary South Asia*, 15(2): 195-208.

Nesbit, E. 1994 'Valmiki in Coventry: The Revival and Reconstruction of a Community', in R. Ballard (ed) *Desh Pardesh: The South Asian Presence in Britain*, London, C Hurst and Co, 117-141.

Nesbitt, E. and Jackson (1993) *Hindu Children in Britain*. London: Trentham

Nesbit, E. 1990a: Religion and identity: The Valmiki community in Coventry. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 16(2): 261-274.

Nesbit, E. 1990b: Pitfalls in religious taxonomy: Hindus and Sikhs, Valmikis and Ravidasis. *Religion Today*, 6(1): 9-12.

Nye, M. 1995: *A Place for Our Gods: The Construction of an Edinburgh Hindu Temple Community*. Richmond Surrey: Curzon Press.

Nye, M. 1995: *Place for Our Gods: The Construction of an Edinburgh Hindu Temple Community*. London and New York: Routledge.

Nye, M. 1993: 'Temple congregations and communities: Hindu constructions in Edinburgh', *New Community*, Vol 19, No 2, pp 201–215.

Peach, C. and R. Gale 2003: 'Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs in the New Religious Landscape of England', *Geographical Review*, 93/4, pp. 469-490

Palmer, M. and N. Palmer 2004: *The Spiritual Traveler - England, Scotland, Wales: The Guide to Sacred Sites and Pilgrim Routes in Britain*. New Jersey: Hidden Spring.

Singh, P. and L.E. Fenech (eds) 2014: *The Oxford Handbook of Sikh Studies*. Oxford: OUP.

Starkey, C. and Tomalin, E. 2016: 'Building Buddhism in England: The Flourishing of a Minority Faith Heritage', *Journal of Contemporary Buddhism*. 17(2): 326-356

Srinivas, S. 2008: *In the Presence of Sai Baba: Body, City, and Memory in a Global Religious Movement*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Tomalin, Emma and Starkey, Caroline 2016: *A Survey of Buddhist Buildings in England*. Swindon: Historic England. <https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/survey-of-buddhist-buildings-in-england/> (accessed 26/16/2016)

Tomalin, E. and Starkey, C. 2017: 'Buddhist Buildings in England: The Construction of Under-Represented Faith Heritages in a multicultural and post-Christian setting'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 23(2): 156-172.

Vertovec, S. 2000: *The Hindu Diaspora*. London and New York: Routledge.

Vertovec, S. 1992: 'Community and congregation in London Hindu temples: divergent trends', *New Community*, 18(2): 251– 264

Weller, P. 2001: *Religions in the UK 2001–2003* (Derby: Multi-Faith Centre at the University of Derby in association with the Inter Faith Network for the United Kingdom, 2001), pp 297–356.

Williams, R.B. and Y. Trivedi 2016: *Swaminarayan Hinduism: Tradition, Adaptation, and Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Williams, R.B. 1996: *A Sacred Thread: Modern Transmission of Hindu Traditions in India and Abroad*. New York: Columbia University Press

Williams, R.B. 2001 *An Introduction to Swaminarayan Hinduism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Younger, P. 2009: *New Homelands: Hindu Communities in Mauritius, Guyana, Trinidad, South Africa, Fiji, and East Africa*. Oxford: OUP.

