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Narrations of a domestic archival realm belonging to a family of hereditary temple practitioners in western India, highlighting that family's creative struggles with modernity and colonialism.

Living (in) the archive

Megha Chand Inglis

Let us sit down here on this seat. We had it made as a sample for a temple in Junagadh. Now it has a place here at home. We call its back the kakshasan. *Do you know why? Because the backrest supports the* kaksh *or the armpit, when you lean against it while sitting, just like this*.[1]

The seat and other stories

The seat on which an invitation was extended to me for a conversation around temple-building practices in June 2019 is no ordinary piece of furniture. It is key to the lifeworld of Balakrishna Amritlal Trivedi (b. 1932), a hereditary temple

1 Shri Balakrishna Amritlal Trivedi on a sample seat made for the Sahsavan Samvosaran Jain temple Mount Girnar, Junagadh, 1983, relocated in the front yard of the Trivedi home, Ahmedabad.

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2 Sahsavan Samvosaran Jain temple, Mount Girnar, Junagadh, Gujarat, 1983.

builder resident in Ahmedabad [1]. With a prolific family-based experience of temple design, production, and restorations, younger family members turn to him for his memories of working with immediate ancestors, calling him 'Balubhai'. And it is to him I was introduced by his nephew in 2013 – as Balubhai – for lived accounts of repairing the ornate twelfth-to-thirteenth-century classical temples of Dilwara at Mount Abu, Rajasthan, between 1951–63. The seat is located in a space open to the sky in the front yard of his home. It is used by family members as part of everyday life, fitting into the daily and seasonal rhythms of home and work. Balubhai often sits here with his grandchildren, after school hours, conversing over cups of coffee, while they sit on or straddle the backrest. Occasionally he reads the newspaper here sitting on his haunches, speaking of traces of bodily orientations accustomed to construction sites and stone carving techniques. The backrest of the seat has lotus and foliage details from Gujarati sacred and secular architecture. Cast in cement, Balubhai noted that the sample was prepared under the direction of his father, Amritlal Mulshankar Trivedi Sompura (1910–2005), a legendary figure in a community of temple builders of western India known as the 'Sompuras', as part of a larger architectural scheme for the Sahsavan Samvosaran Jain temple on Mount Girnar, Junagadh, Gujarat, completed in 1983 [2].[2]

While Balubhai's family's main expertise lies in the design, production, and restoration of temples using loadbearing stone, in this instance the building elements were translated to unreinforced concrete, cast on site, owing to difficult access and budgetary constraints. It constitutes an important moment of technical translation for the family, without the input of institutionally trained engineers or architects. Similarly, the columns embedded in the walls adjacent to the seat, brushed past every day, were samples cast in cement for the Atma Vallabh Smarak (1980) on the outskirts of New Delhi, a daring architectural conception that pushed structural design to the limits [3]. The long stretch of open-to-sky ground joining these relocated architectural fragments [1 refers] is a location where the family placed large taped sheets of paper and collectively drew full-size production drawings – now preserved

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3 A sample of a column made for the Atma Vallabh Smarak, Delhi, 1980, embedded in the walls of the Trivedi home, Ahmedabad.

carefully inside the house – before computer drafting became the norm from the late 1990s. There is an embodied sense of use and familiarity with these objects, which have been transposed from the scale of building sites to that of the home. These embedded fragments, and spaces around them, have stories to tell of human labour, a pragmatic negotiation with sites and technologies as worked out from the fringes of the profession of architecture.

The idea of the archive

Along with their pragmatic significance, these fragments and the narrations around them query the notion of the archive itself and what it has come to mean in modernity, primarily – but not exclusively – as an institutionalised material repository of textual knowledge. How do we read performative, situated, and affective dimensions to the archive that are explicated through bodily and verbal acts engaging with a range of architectural artefacts? Further, how does this archive play out in different ways to the imperial archive, while being in use and inhabited within specific contexts of the Global South? Ariella Azoulay's response to Jacques Derrida's *Archive Fever*, and arguments for 'potential history', invite us to consider the archive as made up of people who have produced and used it, rather than as something acting by itself of its own accord.[3] From this perspective the past may be comprehended as a companion of the present, dissolving anachronistic relations and authority. Far from the classical *habitus* of the historian tracing the past, Azoulay argues, such archival research does not treat the past as something that is over and done with, but rather remains attentive to the ways of intervention within it, its transmission, and the picture it gives of being together in the world. Far from understanding the archive as 'acting on its own', we may think of this domestic setting as an affective and active archival realm comprising not only architectural fragments and drawings, but also narrations and spatial practices around them out of which specific positions about modernity get articulated. I wish to show that the archive is made up of practices that involve using the archive and living (in) it, as much as preserving and guarding its objects with care. Further, engaging with building

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communities who have a lived relationship with the artefacts in the archive remains significant to reading that archive. Here, it has revealed, among other insights, that into the family archive is collapsed the colonial archive, whose codes get refigured or even taken on.

I argue that it is from the understanding of such quite specific practices of 'archiving', exemplified by the Sompuras, that assumed notions of 'modernity' and 'tradition' are questioned. The discourse of modern architecture in India with its multiple notions of social progress has produced an imagined constituency of the 'traditional' builder who is all-too-often portrayed as autonomous, hermetically sealed, and out of joint with the modern. One aim of this article is to open up an idea of porous lifeworlds, multiplicities, and entanglements with diverse forms of modern knowledge – including colonial knowledge – in the western Indian temple building tradition, through a discussion of how and what kinds of objects are kept, used, and narrated. These porosities point our attention to fluid and overlapping knowledges and practices, which query homogenised representations through which this community is imagined in professional domains. The notion of porous lifeworlds is motivated by the writings of Dipesh Chakrabarty, who compels us to examine this term as 'imagined and worlded within certain practices of modernity'.[4]

Chakrabarty's call to translate existing archives of thought, and practices of human relations, into universal categories of enlightenment thought has been critical for me in reimagining taken-for-granted categories that emerged in colonial modernity, seen from the vantage of building communities such as the Sompuras operating on the ground. Concepts such as 'antiquity', 'modern history', and the 'architect', when comprehended from those vantages point to other imaginations. I have attempted to show, through a set of situated relations emerging out of this familial archival realm, that the role played by the Sompura community at large challenges assumed boundaries between past and present. It also challenges categories of culture, art, history, design, technology, politics, and heritage in relation to contemporary, western-oriented definitions of the 'architect'.

By considering the notion of porosity, the article also unveils how this specific form of 'archive' relates to, differs from, and stands in resistance to other forms of archives that emerged in modernity. From the late nineteenth century onwards, colonial bureaucracy presented the colonial state as the only one that understood the value and state of repair of antiquated monuments. It is not hard to see the permeation of power through a consideration of how bureaucratic knowledge on care and repair was formed in the departmental context of the Archaeological Survey of India (established 1861). The progress reports of the Western India Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India between 1900–21, for example, repeatedly assert, with accompanying anxiety, the 'inability' of local artisanal labour and religious communities to recognise the value and authenticity of antiquated building fabric, in line with imperial Victorian sensibilities.[5] The Dilwara temple complex is one such site where clashes in aesthetic sensibilities and authority are played out and reported in shrill, racist tone.

The family archives of the Sompura community at large emerged in separate realms from the colonial archive, while also intersecting with it and absorbing it. Chakrabarty's framing of the question of how one can archive a collective past in the context of postcolonial societies emphasises the importance of thinking the political through affective evidence that resists historicisation, while also taking on the responsibility of thinking in historical time.[6] These affective narratives capture a 'translational' imagination and temporality of 'being modern', which, although porous to colonial modern institutions such as archaeology and architecture, are not reliant on their institutional and state-based definitions. Reading back difference into the same categories from the familial vantage allows for and yields a different reading of architectural belonging.

Over the course of 2013, 2015, 2018, and 2019 Balubhai and family generously offered me their companionship in exploring both familial and colonial artefacts in their home in Ahmedabad. At times, I brought the colonial archive to them. My mobile phone camera's reproductions of photographs of the Dilwara temple taken by archaeologist, draftsman, and photographer Henry Cousens in 1900–01 in the collection of the British Library, London, became the basis of our conversations, as did reproductions of other imperial publications. Photographs of the Dilwara temples with broken architectural elements not seen by Balubhai previously were received with a sense of familiarity. '*Hum ko bhi maza aya* (I/we too have enjoyed this experience)', he noted quietly while comparing them to his own sketches made in the 1950s, or relating them to his own archive of memories, emphasising his pleasure and contentment in tracing the familial experience and the labour involved in repairing the damaged architectural elements.[7]

Sompura temple architects

Balubhai's family belongs to, and identifies with, a small, internally differentiated, highly competitive community of 'temple architects' concentrated in western India known as the 'Sompuras'. The English term 'temple architect' encompasses a range of roles including both design and production. It was invented and adopted by practitioners in the 1990s in an effort to make themselves legible globally. It also bears the impress of their marginalisation in national legal frameworks: the Architects Act 1972 protects the title 'architect', restricting its use to those who graduate from government approved schools of architecture. Their knowledge base and expertise is not indebted to formal education, although a small number have undergone professional education in state accredited schools. The Sompuras are embedded in a dynamic building and cultural practice of both western Indian temples

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4 Interior view, Vimal Vasahi temple (*c.* 1150 AD) at the Dilwara temple complex, Mount Abu, Rajasthan, renovated by the Sompuras between 1951–63 under the direction of Amritlal Mulshankar Trivedi. Photograph by Henry Cousens. From Archaeological Survey of India: Western Circle Photographs 1900–01, British Library, London, Photo 1009/8 (1947), captioned 'Mount Abu. Dilwara Temples, Vimala Sah's, General view of Interior of Hall'.

and texts known as the *Nagar shaili* transmitted between family members while also being networked into wider society. Some examples of constituencies they routinely work with include religious communities, industrial groups, architects, engineers, artisanal labour in a range of locations such as building sites, off-site *karkhanas* in the industrial heartlands of Rajasthan, or in machine-heavy environments such as the CNC factory.

It is through collaborations with Sompura practitioners that we are witness to a global proliferation of ornately carved stone temples from the mid-1990s such as those patronised by the transnational Hindu sect the Bochasanwasi Akshar Purushottam Swaminarayan Sanstha (BAPS). Throughout the twentieth century this community has been instrumental in repairing monumental stone temples built in the high medieval era, patronised by the Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi, a Svetambara Jain Trust. This building community, however, goes much further back in time, working with a heterogenous set of patrons in different cultural contexts. Contemporary families can trace their histories to the design and production of mid-nineteenth-century Jain temples on the Shatrunjaya hill, Palitana, as well as the construction of the 'Victorian Gothic' Victoria Terminus railway station (1887) in Mumbai (formerly Bombay) and the 'Indo Saracenic' Lakshmi Vilas Palace (1890) in Vadodara (formerly Baroda), designed by British architects either for the colonial state or native princes.

The Sompuras consider their ancestors to have built western India's ornately carved temples for Jain and Hindu communities such as at Mount Abu, Modhera, Taranga, Kumbhariya, Ranakpur, and Somnath, constructed between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, as well as mosques in the later medieval period for Muslim patrons. Aside from monumental examples, contemporary Sompuras are engaged in a range of scales for different faith groups in smaller locations both in India and around the globe, while also including domestic, commercial, and residential architecture. Currently, the youngest practitioner in the Trivedi family is of the fifth generation, while the architectural tradition itself stretches to the fifth century, with the earliest surviving *vastushastras* (treatises on temple architecture) appearing around the eleventh century. These are sacred texts, considered to be authored by *Vishvakarma*, the divine architect of the universe in their lifeworld. Sompura practitioners use printed modern-day versions of these in their routine architectural practice.[8] As a practice that predates the colonial encounter, surviving to the present moment, this living archival realm has much to say about the experience of being modern subjects with their own sight, distinct from inherited perspectives of the colonial gaze.

The struggle in architectural history

The Sompuras have appeared sporadically in writings by art and architectural historians as well as architects trained in the modern profession on a number of platforms and in a number of modes in the post-independence scenario, exemplifying certain struggles in representation. A key mode concerns their invisibility, activated by an antiquarian gaze that has prevented architectural historians from paying attention to their material practices. This is while extensive studies of medieval

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temples were conducted from the 1960s onwards, some of which were painstakingly repaired by a team of Sompuras, such as the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Dilwara temples at Mount Abu *[4]*.[9] Here, they remain invisible, while the focus is instead on probing the minds of the medieval masters who conceptualised the ornate temples.[10]

As far as architects qualified in the modern profession are concerned, in the 1980s, a similar antiquarian gaze marked the Sompuras' invisibility as valid contenders in India's postcolonial architectural landscape. Here medieval western Indian sites such as the eleventh-century Sun temple at Modhera and the fifteenth-century Adinath temple in Ranakpur were cited as indigenous sources from which a modern 'Indian' architecture could be thought out, in tune with the tenets of 'critical regionalism', however the very living practitioners of the 'tradition' cited were ironically invisible.[11] A deep faith in chronology marks other forms of architectural histories, where the development of western Indian temple architecture privileges medieval ruins and living sites as examples of aesthetic refinement, reaching full maturity by the end of the thirteenth century.[12] A manifestation of this mode can also be seen in formal evolutionary analysis of architectural forms of the *Nagar* tradition, as it is known in academic domains. Although immensely sympathetic and enriching scholarship, the focus is the idea of the temple in a linear sequence through the centuries, where contemporary Sompuras are placed at the end of a long evolutionary process, urged to look at ways of formal design palpable in the works of their medieval ancestors in order to better understand their own tradition.[13] The past appears alive in such architectural histories, while the present appears deeply compromised in the hands of the Sompuras.

Debates in the field of heritage and conservation in India from the late 1980s onwards began to see these practitioners as valid contenders in an immensely plural architectural landscape. However, this mode involved constructing a domain of autonomy comprising 'traditional' and 'indigenous' practice, understood as a critique of principles of preservation practiced by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). The ASI principles were inherited from colonial bureaucracy largely in-line with the 'anti scrape' movement of Victorian Britain championed by John Ruskin and William Morris, and it was argued in this mode that aesthetic practices arising out of devotional sentiments of the Sompuras went *against* the grain of ASI conservation codes, with no desire to keep apart ancient building fabric from the new.[14] This valuable insight did not acknowledge that colonial codes of conservation were themselves fragmented, with contradictory legislation on 'restoration' that went against the principle of displaying historical fabric.[15] It did, however, recognise that these builders continued practicing in an architectural language anathema to architects trained in the modern profession. In nuanced ways, this mode also recognised an idea of vantage, fluidity, and creativity.

These important moments of recognition are valuable for critical debate, however, it is hard not to notice the construction of a redemptive and homogenised perception of the temple makers. For example, in the early 1990s, the Sompuras were seen as seamlessly continuing ancient precepts of temple building enshrined in texts untouched by societal changes, while the western-oriented architect had purportedly been transformed culturally and materially by industrialisation and socioeconomic developments.[16] Other arguments have valued the Sompuras for their 'architectural mimesis', where imitation is seen as a creative strategy for new kinds of architectural imagination in India purportedly 'resisting' the forces of universalisation. Yet others have made strong arguments for their excellent craftsmanship in recreating older forms, as an offering to both ancestors and Vishvakarma.[17] A hardened and dominant facet of representation sees the Sompuras as producers of pale imitations of ancient architecture, sitting anachronistically in new cultural landscapes.[18] Further, their purportedly 'literal' application of ancient imagery tends to be seen as 'pale' in comparison with architecture designed following a modernist sensibility. This relation is emblematic of their representations in mainstream architectural discourse where they have been unproblematically relegated as 'non-modern' and 'un-modern'. This suggests that, despite being admitted into an album of contemporary Indian architecture, the Sompuras remain outsiders. More self-reflexive accounts of the profession examine how architectural form itself can play an emancipatory role in expressing the sacred while addressing societal injustices. However, these seem to reinforce the notion that radical potential in the contemporary lies with 'modern architecture'.[19] Finally, a sense of deep unease looms in the way that ancient forms in the contemporary architectural landscape of India, and the diaspora, have been co-opted by a divisive religious and political hypernationalism known as 'Hindutva'.[20] There are no easy answers to this ethical concern. Arguably, the Sompuras can be seen to be delivering this virulent nationalism. However, narrations in the family archive show that, when it comes to professional and business interests, they are aligned with multiple religious communities. Mosques, gurdwaras, and pagodas are also part of their portfolios, and so are a range of secular building typologies, all of which suggest dexterity and fluid orientations.[21]

These varied ways of valuing the Sompuras pose a representational challenge, demonstrating how scholars have grappled with thinking about the practitioners who do not fit the normative image of the architect. These are valuable debates to consider. However, there persists within professional architectural cultures an underlying theme that sees the practitioners not as modern subjects with their own sight, vantage, and preferences, but as carriers of unhindered traditions, innovating – or not – within the paradigm of indigenous knowledge systems. What is of interest is that being modern, it would seem, cannot be considered the Sompuras' attribute.

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It is these struggles with representation that gives them the attribute of subalternity: a location and a space, as argued by architectural historian Swati Chattopadhyay, 'both within and outside the structure of domination and subordination, which poses a difficulty in recognition and therefore representation.'[22] Chattopadhyay has argued that subalternity

> [...] *carries an element of recalcitrance or unassimilability that merits closer scrutiny as a resource for everyday practices, resistive and creative. This would not imply favouring the temporal over the spatial, but to locate the conjunctural moments that* enable *visibility and representation* [emphasis added].[23]

I have found it useful to locate these moments of 'conjuncture' in the family archival realm through a specific idea of the 'lifeworld'. Here, through an ethnographic enquiry, attention is given to the movement and entanglement between the world of everyday pre-analytical practice and that of historicised reflection of the past that routes through colonial modern notions of 'ancient India' as well as familial, ancestral perceptions of medieval monuments. It is this simultaneous activity that allows an alignment of visibility where difference is not considered external to the universal and the modern, rather can be seen to live in 'intimate and plural' relationships within these very universal paradigms.[24] Being modern in this framework draws on the ingenuity of some scholars of Subaltern Studies, like Dipesh Chakrabarty. This however is not an apology for divisive forms of material practice associated with religious nationalism, nor a plea for returning to indigenous knowledge systems. Rather what is foregrounded is an alternative, emergent and inhabited form of modernity of these practitioners, which operates creatively and with agility across and between numerous paradigms.

As this article will demonstrate, personalities in the Trivedi family were open to diverse sources and technologies, in full encounter with colonial modern institutions like the ASI, and modern notions of 'antiquity', as well as the architectural profession. These encounters are activated in specific ways through conjunctures between the everyday production of drawings, treatises, sculpture, and buildings, on the one hand, and a historical reflection that involves recalling architectural lineages, creating archives, seeking out medieval texts, and valuing colonial knowledge about ancient ruins, on the other. By paying attention to this lifeworld at both the most intimate and global scales, we might begin to rethink the Sompuras' practice itself not as a resistance but as constitutive of multiple fragments which co-opt a range of colonial, regional, national, global, and familial currents in the process of negotiating change. What follows is based on informal interviews with Balubhai and his family that were bound up with spaces in the home, the objects, and narrations around them. I have organised these as three vignettes, each exemplifying an idea of multiplicity and translation.

5 **Architectural models in the Trivedi garage space, Ahmedabad.**

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6 **Viewing the drawing archive. In the picture are Balubhai (left), his nephew Virendra Trivedi (right), his son Vipul Trivedi (top).**

7 **Full-scale production drawing of an arch of a *mandap*, Palitana, 1995, in the Trivedi home.**

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Entering the archival realm

In his everyday life, Balubhai spends several hours in the morning and in the evening in the family *puja* room, worshipping. A mounted photograph of the eleventh-century ornately carved Sun temple at Modhera hangs above the door frame amid a string of leaves and small-scale cement casts of Hindu divinities. Currently a protected monument maintained by the ASI, the Sun temple has been valorised as a ruin from the early nineteenth century by European explorers and it is here revered in architectural and devotional terms.[25] Inside the *puja* room, the walls are decorated with framed and un-framed prints of divinities from the Hindu pantheon. Most of these are 'calendar art': affordable, mass-produced images venerated here in the same way as an expensively carved and consecrated statue might be in a temple. Amid this collection of myriad Hindu gods and goddesses is a coloured print depicting the Christian nativity. Its presence here in this *puja* room gives a sense of how, in the innermost domains of domestic and ritual life, a certain idea of fluidity flourishes in pre-analytical ways.

Next door, in a garage space that was formerly a workshop, are hung numerous small-scale models of architectural details, cast in cement *[5]*. Their moulds were prepared from Plaster of Paris models based on sketches drawn on sites such as at the twelfth-to-thirteenth-century Dilwara Jain temples at Mount Abu or the eighth-century Jain temples at Osian, both of which Balubha's family had renovated in the 1950s and 1970s, respectively. The moulds were also prepared from drawings based on photographs of medieval structures as well as actual architectural fragments rescued from renovations. Balubhai described these reproductions with as much care as entire architectural conceptions, in terms of the labour invested in crafting them. In his narrations these small models appeared to 'seize' the best examples of details that the family had encountered, made with the intention that they might be reused. This notion of use continues in the office spaces in the main body of the family home.

In the inner domains of the family home on the first floor, in two office spaces surrounded by bedrooms, effused with the smell of cooking from the kitchen below, exists a vast collection of drawings drawn by Balubhai's father, Amritlal Mulshankar Trivedi. These range from sketchbooks, to scaled drawings, to full-scale production information covering more than seventy temple and 'non-temple' projects between 1936 and 1999. Survey drawings by other family members stretch further back to 1924. These are all preserved in custom-made plan chests and high-level cupboards. My act of viewing these took place with Balubhai and his family, both while sitting on the floor and at a table, suggestive of specific embodied and affective relations *[6]*. These drawings – referred to as '*pitaji's* (father's) drawings' – are kept not only as traces of Amritlal Trivedi, but as valuable conduits of practice. They were in use, such as in the process of being digitised for CAD libraries, as well as being a ready source of reference for younger generations active in temple design and production.

Not all drawings were amenable to digitisation and reuse. A class of hand drawn full-scale production drawings – made routinely, before the introduction of computers, to communicate overall profiles and carving details to site supervisors and carvers – pose a conundrum to the family. Their large format and fragile paper meant that they could not be fed through the large-scale scanners present in these office spaces and they appeared cumbersome to handle and store. They contained information such as carving patterns and profiles that were specific to family identity and could not be freely shared. In these office spaces, they were relegated to high-level

8

8 A small album of prints collated by Amritlal Mulshankar Trivedi.

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cupboards, out-of-bounds to daily use. While showing me one full-scale drawing of an arched opening of a *mandap* (assembly hall) in Palitana completed in 1995, family members freely walked over the drawing in bare feet, as they would have done when producing these collectively. These moments give glimpses of embodied relations with art and architectural works that are no longer in production yet speak of a residual script *[7]*. These varying relations of use and redundancy exemplify the awareness of the value and relevance of the drawings in the worlds of the practitioners at an immediate level.

One of the smallest objects kept in the plan chests is a palm-sized album in which mass-produced prints had been carefully collated by Amritlal Trivedi. Numerous prints of divinities, saints, mythical figures, and scenes sit alongside political figures such as Indian independence activists Gandhi and Sarojini Naidu. Many of these are prints of reproductions of paintings by Raja Ravi Verma, a celebrated Indian salon artist who, in unprecedented ways, imagined Hindu divine and legendary figures into human form in late nineteenth-century colonial India, painting them in naturalist techniques and in naturalised settings. Amritlal Trivedi admired these immensely, his son Balubhai recalled, in relation to his interest in representing the body.

An interest in various forms of depiction, and the global circulation of ideas, can be glimpsed in a print showing the Hindu god Ganesh and his mother Parvati, portrayed here as Madonna and Child *[8]*. Alongside the Ganesh and Parvati is an image of a European winged cherub nestled in a flowering tree. Balubhai described this as a 'Michelangelo style *chitra* [picture]'. He narrated that his father considered Michelangelo to be a great artist and architect and aspired to be like him. In this collection of small-scale prints we catch a glimpse of the numerous representational and inspirational sources that Amritlal Trivedi was looking at, along with western Indian temple art and architecture. The very notion that the high Renaissance artist Michelangelo is part of an aspirational imagination is suggestive of the way in which the best of the world – a European world – is harnessed into this home world. Here, ideas of western art and artists have been made their own, in preanalytical ways. This small album links up to broader ideas about how colonial representations of India's monuments have become constitutive of the Sompura imagination, also made their own in particular ways.

Translating the colonial archive

Within such a broader regional and global scale of imagination, we may consider temple conceptualisation by the Sompuras to be informed by an entanglement between both colonial and hereditary forms of representations. This can be seen in the presence and active use of the *Shilparatnakar* in the Trivedi office spaces, at hand similarly to the drawings, objects, and picture album recalled above. The *Shilparatnakar* is a bilingual modern-day *vastushastras* in Sanskrit and Gujarati published in 1939 and republished in 1990.[26] The earliest *vastushastras* have been in existence since the eleventh century. Recent scholarship has shown that these texts were generally devoid of illustrative content, however they presupposed drawing in the way that verses therein were composed.[27]

The modern text *Shilparatnakar*, on the other hand, is unprecedented in the way it brings privately held manuscripts into the public sphere through print media using a variety of illustrations. Its prime significance, and use today, for the Trivedi family and the community at large lies in its illustrations, which were interpreted from a range of medieval architectural texts by the practitioner Narmadashankar Muljibhai Sompura (1883–1956). Some of the medieval textual sources, spanning the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, are named in the introduction but not located historically, and nor are there clues provided as to their connections with the fourteen chapters in the *Shilparatnakar*. Along with this, the treatise stitches in drawings produced by the colonial ASI, by Henry Cousens and Indian draftsmen. A range of photographs of twelfth-to-fifteenth-century-western Indian temples punctuate its pages, again with names and locations included but no dates. These are monumental Jain temples at Kumbhariya, Taranga, Mount Abu, and Ranakpur in Rajasthan. The images are in a distinctly 'archaeological mode' of the ASI, devoid of human inhabitation. Included in the pages are two plates that depict 'Mughal style' architecture, but we are not told more. We see here a creative practice that is actively concerned with historical reflection and an idea of mining antiquity. It is simultaneously marked by a pragmatic sense, which knits multiple strands of knowledge together without carrying the burden of modern historical conventions. The text gives advice not only on aesthetic considerations of *Nagar* temple elements, but also astrological calculations that connect design practice to sacred realms. As Balubhai narrated, a key aim for the Sompuras is to connect divinities dwelling in the skies to 'this' earthly world.

It is through this text that Balubhai and family gave me a glimpse of how deeply the illustrations are connected to their practice. Although the text is primarily a framework not a recipe book, practitioners try to follow them in their best endeavours. However, they are also aware of the contingencies of sites and demands of patrons both in India and the diaspora, and this inevitably necessitates breaking out of the architectural and sacral frameworks given therein. Pointing to an untitled drawing made by Amritlal Trivedi for a Jain temple in Palitana taleti otherwise known as the 'Vir Vikram Prasad' (1982) *[9, 10]*, Balubhai directed my attention to a diagram titled 'Vir Vikram Prasad' in the *Shilparatnakar [11]*, which gave detailed proportions of the plan with an elevation of the *shikhar* (curved tower above the principal deity). Accompanying this diagram is Gujarati prose and Sanskrit verses in the form of injunctions spoken by *Vishvakarma* describing the plan projections and the elevation of the spire to his son *Jaya*. Direct

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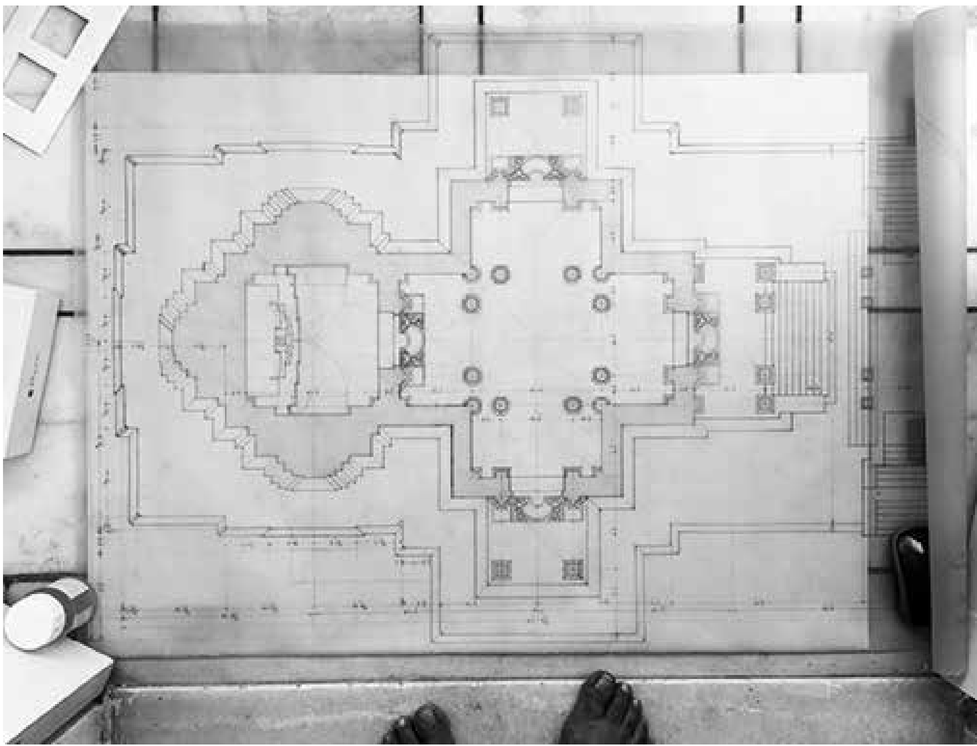

9 Amritlal Trivedi, plan of the '*Vir Vikram Prasad*', Jambudweep Yojana, 1982, Palitana taleti.

10 Amritlal Trivedi, '*Vir Vikram Prasad*', Jambudweep Yojana, 1982, Palitana taleti.

correspondences can be drawn between the illustrations and the architectural conception. As Balubhai explained, in providing the illustrations, the text had simplified matters for them because it is the diagrams, neither the Sanskrit verses nor the Gujarati prose, that are of most value.

There are around one hundred *prasada* (main shrine including the *shikhar*) types that are illustrated in the *Shilparatnakar*, along with other architectural elements. It is routine practice for Sompura practitioners to refer to this text and decide on a type of *prasada* for new conceptions, speaking of texts as ready aids to architectural practice in concrete senses, this relationship profoundly adjusted to modern contexts in the early twentieth century. The very idea that a direct correspondence can be made between a text such as the *Shilparatnakar* and live practice in contemporary times speaks of a particular way of inhabiting modernity. Before its publication in 1939 for instance, practitioners would largely imagine drawings from verse, whereas after its publication a shared and explicit architectural vocabulary on *Nagar* temple forms comes into play through printed drawings. The need to produce illustrations at this moment in time emerged from a desire to consolidate knowledge in response to a perceived suppression of temple architecture and builders through a variety of external institutions, such as the engineering and architectural professions.

Saliently knitted into the *Shilparatnakar* are a number of architectural drawings reproduced from the colonial volume *The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat More Especially of the Districts Included in the Baroda State* prepared and published under the aegis of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1903, reconfigured here for a regional audience.[28] The ASI drawings were made by members of Indian staff working under the supervision of Henry Cousens as part of an exercise mapping India's antiquities in orthographic projections, and transferring them into a rationalist, historicised, standardised grid of recognition and control. In the ASI volume, the

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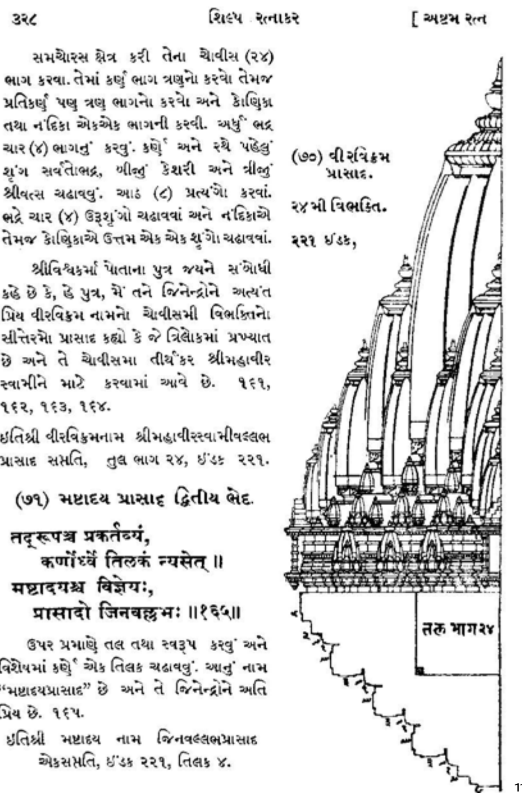
૩૨૮ શિલ્પ રત્નાકર [અષ્ટમ રત્ન

સમચોરસ ક્ષેત્ર કરી તેના ચોવીસ (૨૪) ભાગ કરવા. તેમાં કર્ણ ભાગ ત્રણનો કરવો તેમજ પ્રતિકર્ણ પણ ત્રણ ભાગનો કરવો અને કોણિકા તથા નંદિકા એકએક ભાગની કરવી. અર્ધું ભદ્ર ચાર (૪) ભાગનું કરવું. કર્ણે અને રથે પહેલું શૃંગ સર્વતોભદ્ર, બીજું કેશરી અને ત્રીજું શ્રીવત્સ ચઢાવવું. આઠ (૮) પ્રત્યંગો કરવાં. ભદ્રે ચાર (૪) ઉરૂશૃંગો ચઢાવવાં અને નંદિકાએ તેમજ કોણિકાએ ઉત્તમ એક એક શૃંગો ચઢાવવાં.

(૭૦) વીરવિક્રમ પ્રાસાદ.

૨૪મી વિભક્તિ.

૨૨૧ ઇંડક,

શ્રીવિશ્વકર્મા પોતાના પુત્ર જયને સંબોધી કહે છે કે, હે પુત્ર, મેં તને જિનેન્દ્રોને અત્યંત પ્રિય વીરવિક્રમ નામનો ચોવીસમી વિભક્તિનો સીત્તેરમો પ્રાસાદ કહ્યો કે જે ત્રિલોકમાં પ્રખ્યાત છે અને તે ચોવીસમા તીર્થંકર શ્રીમહાવીર સ્વામીને માટે કરવામાં આવે છે. ૧૬૧, ૧૬૨, ૧૬૩, ૧૬૪.

ઇતિશ્રી વીરવિક્રમનામ શ્રીમહાવીરસ્વામીવલ્લભ પ્રાસાદ સપ્તતિ, તુલ ભાગ ૨૪, ઇંડક ૨૨૧.

(૭૧) મષ્ટાદય પ્રાસાદ દ્વિતીય ભેદ.

तद्रूपश्च प्रकर्तव्यं,
कर्णोर्ध्वे तिलकं न्यसेत् ॥
मष्टादयश्च विज्ञेयः,
प्रासादो जिनवल्लभः ॥१६५॥

ઉપર પ્રમાણે તલ તથા સ્વરૂપ કરવું અને વિશેષમાં કર્ણે એક તિલક ચઢાવવું. આનું નામ "મષ્ટાદયપ્રાસાદ" છે અને તે જિનેન્દ્રોને અતિ પ્રિય છે. ૧૬૫.

ઇતિશ્રી મષ્ટાદય નામ જિનવલ્લભપ્રાસાદ એકસપ્તતિ, ઇંડક ૨૨૧, તિલક ૪.

11 N. M. Sompura, '*Vir Vikram Prasad*' in the *Shilparatnakar* (1990).

drawings are instruments for knowing the colony and its subjects. These instruments of colonial knowledge in the *Shilparatnakar* become conduits for practice, which they were never intended for. The ASI drawings are recoded in this regional publication to make them legible to Gujarati practitioners.

During my interactions with Balubhai and family in relation to the *Shilparatnakar*, the ASI drawings were barely noticed, so ubiquitous was their presence. Their purpose, Balubhai said, was merely to show built examples of abstract typologies appearing in the *vastushastras*. As an example, he showed me the *Nandan Prasad* interpreted from medieval verses into a framework drawing. This was followed by an altered ASI drawing to demonstrate what a built example of the *Nandan prasad* might look like [12]. If we look at the 'original' ASI drawing from *Architectural Antiquities* [13], we begin to appreciate the recoding exercised by N. M. Sompura in 1939: all English titles have been removed, scale bars also omitted, names of English surveyors and Indian draftsmen erased. They are stripped of the very historical information that made them comprehensible to the ASI as instruments of control, while at the same time giving a new legibility to Gujarati-speaking practitioners explicitly for the purpose of practice and ritual.

The *Shilparatnakar*'s production between 1927 and 1939 was motivated by an awakening of key patrons to a modern value of 'antiquity' assigned to ancient monuments of India through the colonial survey, as well as an idealising of builders who operated outside institutional frameworks.[29] Further, it was bolstered by a growing significance placed on medieval texts as valuable cultural resources that could help view ancient buildings beyond the frame of archaeological objects alone. This threefold nationalist awakening can be discerned in the encouragement offered by Sayaji Rao III, the ruler of the princely state of Baroda (r. 1875–1939), to Sompura to resurrect the ancient art of temple making through an accessible text.[30] In his own introduction, penned by Sompura, we see an appreciation of the ASI's documentation and conservation efforts of temples in ruinous state, and so see him 'figuring out' a modern value placed on historic fabric as antiquity. In short, a cultural nationalism, preceding independence in 1947, can be seen criss-crossing elite, colonial, and nationalist domains, spurring the production of the *Shilparatnakar*. However, by abandoning the very codes of modern historical consciousness, in the way that the colonial and familial textual archive are reused, reimagined, and brought into relation with one another, this text is not assimilable to any idea of autonomy promoted in nationalist circles.

Apni theory (a theory of his own)

Listening closely to Balubhai about the decade of the 1950s reveals dense encounters and struggles with architectural professionals, showing an ambivalent ground in the formulation of approaches to repairing the decayed fabric of the medieval Jain temples of Dilwara between 1951–63. I aim to highlight that these approaches are not entirely in a relation of 'difference' or 'resistance' to the antiquarian mode of the ASI, as also alluded in the introduction, rather they constitute a more porous terrain comprising of both devotional *and* antiquarian sensibilities. A year after independence in 1948, the Anandji Kalyanji trust – an important organisation representing the Svetambara Jain community of India – took over the repair of the temples, with Amritlal Trivedi leading a team of around seventy Sompura artisans. Of the five temples in the complex, the two that needed the most repair were the Vimal Vasahi temple (*c.* 1150 AD) [4 refers] and the Luna Vasahi temple (*c.* 1230 AD). The scope of the works to both temples included the in-situ repair of numerous flat and domed ceilings [14], the repair and replacement of broken statues, and the replacement of particular sections of beams and ceilings in both temples.[31] These latter replacements had, in a previous repair, been carried out in plain black granite and according to Balubhai jarred with the white marble of the 'original'. The project also included the removal of all previous attempts at repair that had used Makrana marble, which was considered too bright compared to the yellow tint of the older structure. A forgotten quarry that had the correct tint of marble was identified in Jharivav, near Ambaji in 1948. The idea was to restore the medieval temples to their former medieval glory.

This approach was formulated in consultation with Kasturbhai Lalbhai, an Ahmedabad-based industrialist and head of the Anandji Kalyanji Trust,

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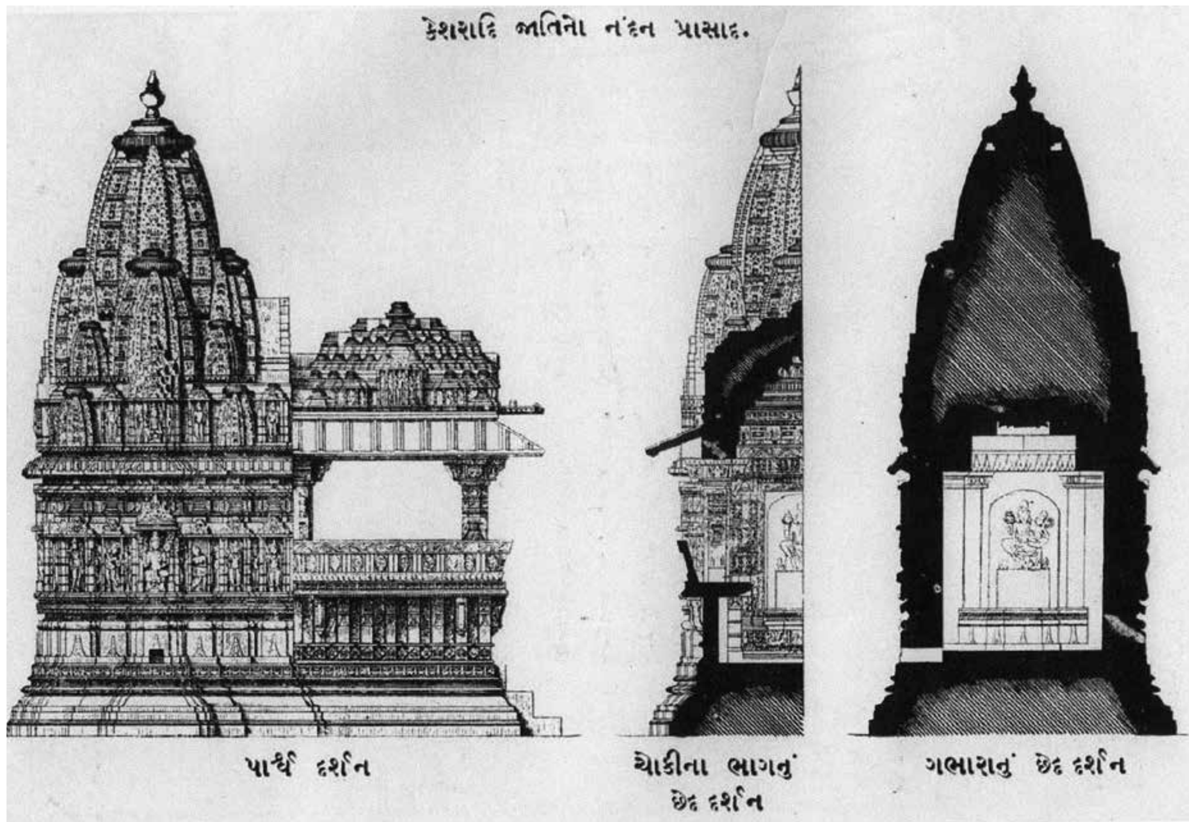

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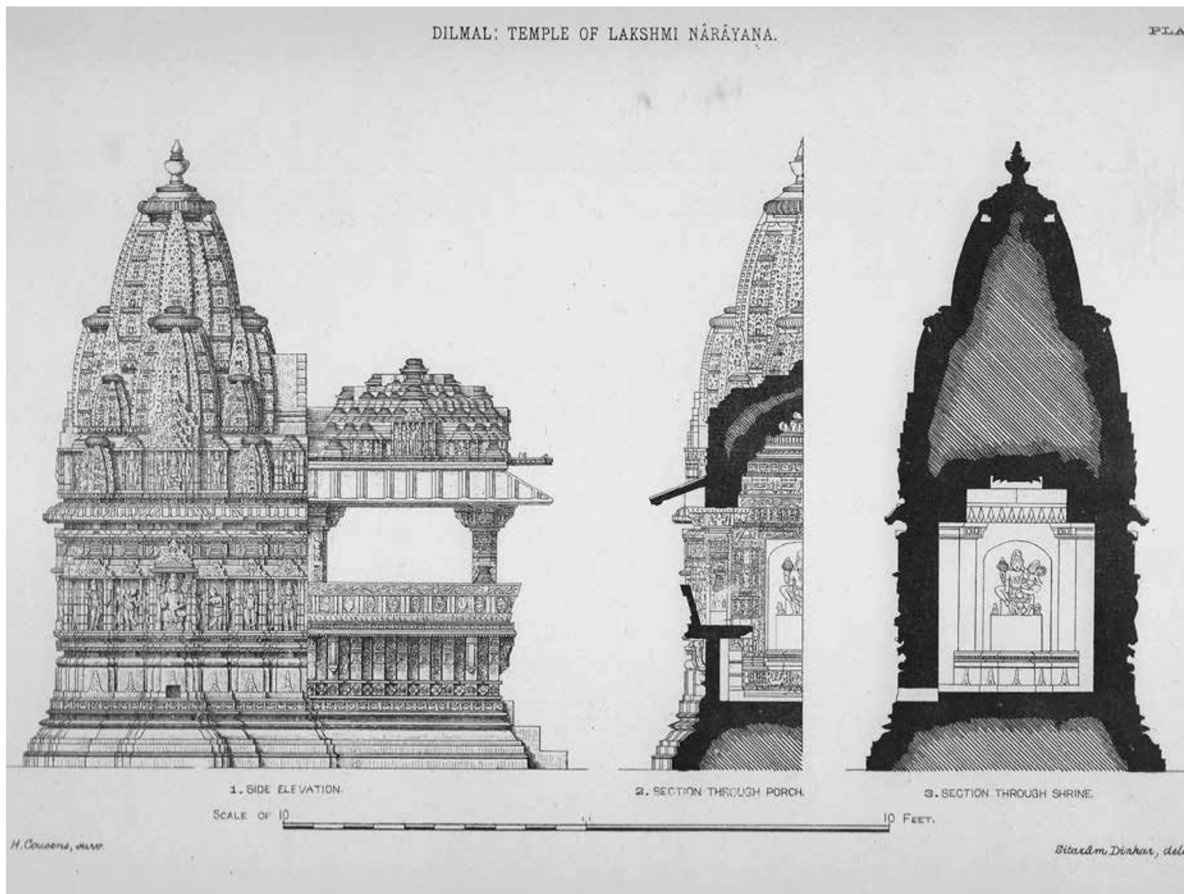

13

12 **N. M. Sompura, '*Nandan Prasad*' in the *Shilparatnakar* (1990). A drawing from the ASI's *The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat* (1903) repurposed to illuminate shrine typologies.**

13 **'Dilmal: Temple of Lakshmi Narayana'. Drawing by Henry Cousens and staff, Archaeological Survey of India, from *The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat* (1903).**

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the patron for the works. Lalbhai's aesthetic sensibilities, in terms of unadorned stone transmitted through English influences, have been discussed elsewhere.[32] Encounters with professional architects acting as advisers on the project are revealing. Remarkably, Amritlal Trivedi's drawings from this period reveal that he was also using the English term 'architect' and thus, in his imagination, builders outside the profession were on par with those from proprietary schools of architecture. Claude Batley (1879–1957), an influential English architect, educator, and institution builder of the time was working in an advisory capacity to the Anandji Kalyanji trust. Batley's views on conservation and repair were at loggerheads with Amritlal Trivedi's. According to Balubhai, Batley, in keeping with ASI's conservation codes, had recommended that the old, dilapidated structure should not be touched and no broken statues should be repaired. He had concerns about the lack of available skills to perform the delicate repair, but Batley's position also reverberated with codes enshrined in British bureaucracy detailed in John Marshall's prescriptive *Conservation Manual* published in 1923.[33] Here, in the vein of Ruskin and Morris, keeping apart historical layers was the prerogative: 'the repair of divine or human figures is never to be attempted and that of free floral designs only in very exceptional cases [...]. Broken images should not be mended with new limbs or other parts, but old portions may be pieced together as far as that is practicable.'[34] For Amritlal Trivedi, leaving intact broken images and architectural elements was anathema. Instead Balubhai noted, his father had a 'theory of his own'.[35]

Amritlal Trivedi's theory involved protecting as many of the old and original architectural elements as possible. In addition, contrary to Batley's advice, new marble insertions were to be added in situ. A key aim operationalised at this site concerned the joint between the old and the new. This was to be made imperceptible, achieved through a painstaking process of checking against texts, drawing, clay modelling and carving, followed by artificial staining. As figures [14] and [15] show, in a panel depicting a *Vidyadevi* (goddess of learning), we catch a glimpse of the imperceptible joints through 'before' and 'after' scenarios.

Balubhai used the word *prachin kam* to denote antiquated stonework. According to him there was 'originality' in *prachin* fabric, and Amritlal Trivedi's idea was to communicate to worshippers and art lovers alike that they were experiencing an antiquated structure from the time it was built. The Sompuras could have taken out entire ceiling panels and replaced them with newly carved ones but this was not considered a valid operation because the new ceilings, according to Balubhai, 'would not have had any value'. This was not a hard-and-fast rule though. There were occasional instances where new ceilings *were* designed from scratch, especially where the black granite was being replaced. These, Balubhai narrated, were aesthetically in line with other existing ceilings and were 'not new'. As an example, he spoke about the newly conceived ceiling panel of the *Vidyadevi Chakreshwari* in the Vimal Vasahi temple [16], which was designed afresh by Amritlal Trivedi along the lines of an existing panel of *Vidyadevi Achhupta* in the same temple [17]. It took two years for his team to produce this ceiling, which involved the making of full-size drawings, a clay model, followed by a Plaster of Paris model and finally, the stone ceiling.

It seems that, while producing such new artworks, Balubhai was also ascribing a value of authenticity to the old fabric. Although to him this was a familial practice, there is a reverberation with colonial ideas of conservation here, which stressed saving as many parts of the original since it was deemed that the antiquated material fabric was where the value of 'authenticity' rested. In this case the 'original' was considered to be the twelfth-to-thirteenth-century remains, and not the later additions in black granite. I highlight that, along with devotional and ritual imperative, where broken idols could not be consecrated and worshipped, we are also seeing a specific aesthetic appreciation here of the structure, as an antiquated artefact.

It is only through Balubhai's narrations in 2018

14 A damaged ceiling panel depicting a *Vidyadevi* (goddess of learning), Luna Vasahi temple (*c.* 1230 AD), Mount Abu. Photograph by Henry Cousens. From Archaeological Survey of India: Western Circle Photographs 1900–01, British Library, Photo 1009/8 (1962), 'Mount Abu. Dilwara Temples, Tejahpala's [Neminatha Temple], Ceiling in Corridor'.

15 Repairs performed on ceiling panel in Figure 14, Luna Vasahi temple (*c.* 1230 AD), Mount Abu, by Amritlal M. Trivedi and Sompura craftsmen, 1951–63. AIIS, ar_030389.

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16

that it came to light that, central to this process of matching the old with the new was the artificial process of staining. The reason for this was simple: 'it would look *bhadda* [unsightly] if the new elements shone brightly against the old.' The staining mixture that was used at Dilwara temples consisted of clay, oil, and water applied over the new marble insertions. '*Maila kar diya*', he said, which is to say they stained the temple interiors so that both 'devotees and art lovers' could experience it as a whole, and crucially also as an antiquated structure.

16 Plaster of Paris model of new ceiling depicting *Vidyadevi Chakreshwari* conceived by Amritlal M. Trivedi, modelled, and carved by various craftsmen, 1950s, Vimal Vasahi temple (*c.* 1150 AD), Mount Abu.

17 A damaged ceiling panel depicting *Vidyadevi Acchupta*, Vimal Vasahi temple (*c.* 1150 AD), Mount Abu. Photograph by Henry Cousens. From Archaeological Survey of India: Western Circle Photographs 1889–1901, British Library, Photo 1009/7 (1906), captioned 'Mount Abu. Dilwara temples, Vimala Sah's [Adinatha (Vimala Vasahi) Temple], Ceiling in Corridor'.

17

Although, for Balubhai, this process was devised by his father, staining procedures warrant more attention in the way that they are enshrined in colonial conservation codes from the early twentieth century, most notably in John Marshall's *Conservation Manual*. In the *Manual*, artificial means of staining are considered desirable where the old stonework had weathered to a darker tint in order to avoid any 'violent and unpleasant contrast between the old and the new surfaces'.[36] Recipes are provided therein with instructions on matching the new with the old as closely as possible: the bark of acacia, water, cement, powdered *murum* and powdered charcoal, and if necessary, cow dung.[37]

The larger aim of unifying the old with the new was tied into minute operations. When Balubhai quietly sifts through a spiral bound sketchbook of photocopies of drawings prepared by various family members at the Dilwara construction site during the 1950s, he speaks of strain on the neck: the work was laborious. Taking the example of the damaged ceiling of *Narasimha Avtar*, he narrated the process devised by Amritlal Trivedi *[18]*. Preparing sketches was a central activity in the repair process as a tool for communicating to clay modellers, casting specialists and stone carvers the shapes they were to prepare. In this case the sketch was prepared by his late uncle Jaganath Rai *[19]*. To imagine the missing elements required consulting sacred texts like the *Shilparatnakar*, which outline descriptions of divinities in terms of their attributes, the vehicle they rode and objects they carried in their arms. The

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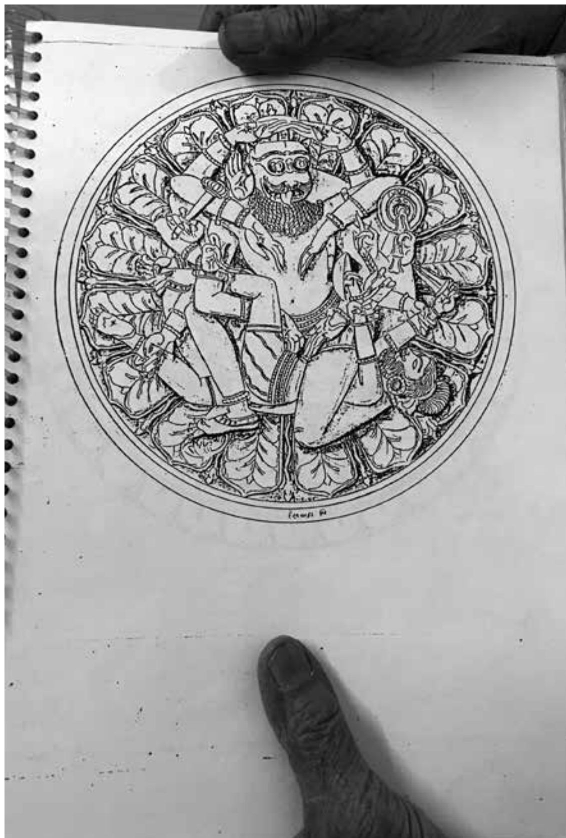

18 A damaged ceiling panel depicting *Narasimha Avatar*, Vimal Vasahi temple (c. 1150 AD), Mount Abu. Photograph by Henry Cousens. From Archaeological Survey of India: Western Circle Photographs 1889–1901, British Library, Photo 1009/7 (1899), captioned 'Mount Abu. Dilwara temples, Vimala Sah's [Adinatha (Vimala Vasahi) Temple], Ceiling in Corridor.'

19 Late Jagannath Rai's sketch proposal for the repair of the Narasimha Avatar ceiling panel, 1950s, in Balubhai's bound collection.

proposed drawing was given to a clay modeller who would sit on the scaffold and model the missing elements on to the incomplete ceiling. Wax was applied on top of the clay insertions to make a mould. The clay model and the wax mould were taken down to the ground. The clay was removed from the mould. Plaster of Paris was poured into the hollow mould. Once set, the mould was then broken and a stone carver would be given this plaster of Paris model as a basis to prepare a stone element. This was then joined into the original ceiling panel using white cement. Balubhai called this process his 'art education'. Younger family members accord this twelve-year repair process as central to their fathers' and grandfathers' training, which they now benefit from in terms of the reuse of drawings, of building techniques and indeed these narrations.

Whether the staining practices of the ASI were known to the Sompuras in the 1950s is difficult to ascertain. It is likely that colonial practices had been absorbed by local groups by the time the works started in Mount Abu. For Balubhai, these were processes devised by the family and must be treated so. As is abundantly evident, the display of historical layers was not, and is not, the prerogative of the Sompuras, but at the same time the very presence of artificial means of staining suggests that their repair practices were much more multiple, varied, and complicated and cannot be seen as an autonomous realm of indigenous practice. For the purpose of this article, staining was not performed from the vantage point of bureaucracy but rather from that of a family profession, where the appearance of antiquity was valued as a way in to acts of devotion and art appreciation.

Concluding, on *Maza*

I return to the feeling of *maza* expressed by Balubhai in piecing together the Dilwara temple story through familial and imperial archival knowledge. By concluding this article on the notion of *maza*, I emphasise the place given to qualities and affective relations that marked the familial archival realm. The term *maza* came up many times during my engagement with Balubhai and other practicing temple architects in the family. It was used to denote pleasure, enjoyment, and relish in design and production of temples. It included friendly debate and disagreements, competition, conversation, and telling stories. But *maza* is not restricted to pleasure and enjoyment alone: it signals a mode of knowing and creative pulling together of a variety of knowledges in temple building, as demonstrated through narrations in the family archive. In turn, this revealed a variety of ways of positioning oneself in relation to the long-standing temple building tradition itself, to the colonial archive as well as the architectural profession. As we saw, in the case of the transposed elements from the construction site to the home, these were activated by an affective bond that placed current, immediate, and long ancestors in one location as everyday companions. The *Shilparatnakar* brought together realms of disparate architectural knowledge in one sacral text, changing both the nature of the long textual tradition and imperial knowledge. The repair of the Dilwara temple complex enabled the activation of self-devised theories open to English notions of conservation. The framing of intersecting issues in the vignettes through the perspective of direct accounts and everyday productions demonstrates how the Sompuras are, and should be recognised as,

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both 'modern' subjects and part of India's practices of 'modernity'.

There is a need to recognise that the modern includes the cultural and technical horizons of building communities like the Sompuras, whose practices are not usually considered a proper subject of architectural inquiry. This work involves reimagining history writing itself, recognising their contributions not in a chronological sequence placing them at the end of a linear evolution of temple architecture, but as valid architectural practitioners in their own right with their own sight. It involves recognising their trans-religious capabilities and intelligence to work across different kinds of histories, practices, contexts, and technologies. It involves reimagining the architect outside the professional definition of architecture, giving them a stage that is equal to all others.

The objects in the domestic archival realm are active. They are actively collected, preserved used, loved, venerated, and valued as conduits for practice in deeply pragmatic ways. They give a glimpse into the lifeworld of Balubhai and his family particularly in terms of their relations with ancient objects and texts, translated into modern contexts, while also showing how this domain is porous to other forms of knowledge invented during colonial modernity. As such, the article both speaks of lifeworlds and demonstrates possibilities of a living in process: of authors as subjects; objects as characters; archives as actions; pasts as present. Balubhai and family members' narrations of objects in their family home have the potential to radically challenge our understanding of hereditary builders in the way that they work across assumed boundaries of culture, art, religion, archive, design, and technology, and in the way that multiple and diverse fragments of knowledge are co-opted, translated, integrated, and made their own.

Notes

1. Conversation with Shri Balakrishna Trivedi, 30 June 2019, Ahmedabad. Although I had met him in 2013, 2015, and 2019, the bulk of the fieldwork for this article was conducted in April 2018.
2. Two other key figures that the family and the community routinely invoke for their remarkable contribution to advancing temple architecture in the twentieth century are Narmadashankar Muljibhai Sompura (1883–1956) and Prabha Shankar Oghadbhai Sompura (1896–1978). See Megha Chand Inglis, 'Factory Processes and Relations in Indian Temple Production', in *Industries of Architecture*, ed. by Katie Lloyd Thomas, Nick Beech, Tilo Amhoff (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 114–24; Megha Chand Inglis, 'Stories from a CNC factory in Ahmedabad', *Dearq*, 27 (2020), 20–35; Megha Chand Inglis, *Companions of Stone: Building and Technological Life-Worlds of the Sompura Temple Architects of Western India* (in preparation, Routledge)
3. Ariella Azoulay, 'Archive', in *Political Concepts: A Critical* Lexicon, trans. by Tal Haran <www.politicalconcepts.org/issue1> [accessed 15 July 2021]; Ariella Aisha Azoulay, *Potential History: Unlearning Imperialism* (London: Verso, 2019), pp. 1–57.
4. Dipesh Chakrabarty and Saurabh Dube, 'Presence of Europe: An interview with Dipesh Chakrabarty', *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 101:4 (2002), 869–68 (p. 860); Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, 2nd edn (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008).
5. These reports accompany the Photo 1009 series of the ASI Western Circle Photographs, British Library, London.
6. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, p. 179.
7. '*Hum ko bhi maza aya*' also signalled that the benefit of knowledge exchange was experienced both ways in the research process, such as in the in the coproduction of family histories.
8. For a survey of western Indian *vastu shastras*, see M. A. Dhaky, 'The Vastushastras of Western India', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, 71 (1997), 65–85.
9. As an example, see M. A Dhaky and J. M. Nanavati, *The Ceilings in the Temples of Gujarat*, Series: Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery; 16–17 (Baroda: Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, 1963).
10. M. A. Dhaky's authoritative survey of western Indian treatises acknowledges contemporary Sompuras as avid collectors and possessors of manuscripts but does not concern itself with how these texts are transformed in modern practice or in their entanglements with colonial knowledge. See Dhaky, 'The Vastushastras of Western India'.
11. See, for example, Charles Correa, 'Vistara: The Architecture of India', *Mimar,* XXVII (March 1998). For a wider discussion on such quasi auto-orientalist approaches of the 1980s, see Peter Scriver and Amit Srivastava, *India: Modern Architectures in History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015), pp. 271–310.
12. See, for example, M. A. Dhaky, 'The Genesis and Development of Maru-Gurjara Temple Architecture', in *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, ed. by Pramod Chandra (Varanasi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1975), pp. 114–65.
13. Adam Hardy, *The Temple Architecture of India* (Chichester: Wiley, 2007), p. 242.
14. A. G. Krishna Menon, 'A Master Builder: Amritbhai Sompura', *Architecture + Design*, 6:1 (1989), 121–21 (p. 23).
15. Indira Sengupta, 'A Conservation Code for the Colony: John Marshall's Conservation Manual and Monument Preservation between India and Europe', in *'Archaeologizing' Heritage?: Transcultural Entanglements between Local Social Practices and Global Virtual Realities*, ed. by Michael Falser and Monica Juneja (Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer 2013), pp. 21–37.
16. A. G. Krishna Menon, 'The Architecture of Religious Buildings', *Architecture + Design*, 7 (1990), 87.
17. See A. G. K. Menon, 'Inventive Mimesis in New Delhi: The Temples of Chhatarpur', in *Architectural Imitation, Reproductions and Pastiches in East and West*, ed. by Wim Denslagen and Neils Gutschow (Maastricht: Shaker Publishing BV, 2005), pp. 99–123; Rabindra Vasavada, 'Sompura: Traditional Master builders of Traditional India', in *Authenticity in Architectural Heritage Conservation:*

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19. This inside-outside relation is discernible in Rahul Mehrotra, 'Counter Modernism: Resurfacing of the Ancient', in *Architecture in India since 1990* (Mumbai: Pictor, 2011), pp. 251–301. For a more reflexive discussion, see A. Srivathsan, 'Sacredness outside Trdaition? Dilemmas in Designing Temples', in *The Contemporary Hindu Temple: Fragments for a History*, ed. by Annapurna Garimella, Shriya Sridharan and A. Srivathsan (Mumbai: The Marg Foundation, 2019), pp. 132–149. Only recently have the Sompuras been recognised as modern subjects within architectural discource in India. See the introduction to this Special Issue of **arq** by Chand Inglis and Branfoot for a broader discussion.
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21. For a brief discussion on the Sompuras' ambiguous relationship with Hindutva, see Kavita Singh, 'Temple of Eternal Return: The Swaminarayan Akshardham Complex in Delhi', *Artibus Asiae*, 70:1 (2010), 47–76.
22. Swati Chattopadhyay, 'The Optical Field', in *Unlearning the City: Infrastructure in a New Optical Field* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), pp. 39–62 (p. 59).
23. Ibid., p. 59.
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25. For a brief account of early European interest from 1809 as well as colonial ASI's documentation in 1903, see James Burgess and Henry Cousens, *The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat: More Especially of the Districts Included in the Baroda State* (London: Bernard Quartich, 1903), pp. 71–81.
26. Narmadashankar Muljibhai Sompura, *Shilparatnakar*, 2nd rev. edn (Dhranghadra, Kathiawad: Narmadashankar Muljibhai Sompura, 1990).
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28. Burgess and Cousens, *The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*.
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30. See Dinkar Rai Sompura's introduction in the second edition of the *Shilparatnakar*.
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32. John E. Cort, 'Communities, Temples, Identities: Art Histories and Social Histories in Western India', in *Ethnography and Personhood: Notes from the Field*, ed. by Michael Meister (Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 2000), pp. 116–18.
33. John Marshall, *Conservation Manual: A Handbook for the Use of Archaeological Officers and Others Entrusted with the Care of Ancient Monuments* (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing Press, 1923).
34. Ibid., pp. 25–6.
35. As an aside, this theory was also spoken of as a critique of the demolition of the remains of the twelfth-century Somnath temple in Prabhas Patan, in the early 1950s, soon after independence. This ruin was replaced by a new temple designed by another prominent Sompura practitioner. For a detailed account, see Richard H. Davis, *Lives of Indian Images* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 186–221. Self-critical 'in jokes' abound on how the Sompura community at large participated in vandalising its own ancient architectural heritage. See also Davis's account of the blurred lines between 'vandalism' of historical remains and their 'reconstruction', p. 214.
36. Marshall, *Conservation Manual*, p. 64.
37. Ibid.

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