CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW

This research is organised as a series of fairly autonomous chapters which are dedicated to a specific research objective. It is also popularly known as an essay type or article style dissertation. It basically means that instead of a linear narrative which has a large literature review chapter followed by methods, data, analysis and conclusion chapters, the essay type thesis has a number of chapters that can be read as independent papers although connected in an overarching contextual and theoretical framework. I have followed a similar structure for this research. As a consequence, each of the major chapters has its own literature review section. The purpose of this review chapter is therefore limited as compared to a conventional literature review section.

This literature review is mainly focused on arriving at an understanding of the state of research on the architecture of eighteenth century Maharashtra. Besides these works, I have also explored literature related to various other aspects of my research. They can be grouped as under -

1. Related to primary and secondary data sources.
2. Spatio temporal and disciplinary context.
3. Theoretical literature related to the various themes explored such as patronage, design communication etc.
4. Literature related to Bourdieu’s practice theory which forms the conceptual framework of the research.
5. Methods of analysis.

This chapter has two main objectives first to review the existing scholarship in the field of eighteenth-century Maharashtra and second to introduce the relevant literature which forms a background to understand the references in the individual chapters.

2.1 The scholarship on eighteenth-century architecture of Maharashtra

From its beginnings in 1946 CE, the study of the architecture of Maharashtra has seen a number of scholars from the disciplines of History, Geography, Art, Architecture and even Sociology engaging meaningfully with the field. The review of these engagements is presented below. I have categorised these studies based on the scale as overview studies, city
studies and Building type studies. The earliest studies in terms of the year of publication are overview studies while the type or aspect based studies belong to the recent decades.

2.1.1 Overview studies. Herman Goetz (1898 – 1976 CE), that great pioneer of the museums in India was the first art historian to write about art and architecture of Maharashtra, which he called as ‘The Art of the Marathas’ (Goetz, 1946). In the opening pages of the essay with the same title, Goetz outlined certain principles which even today can serve as an entry point into the critique of the ‘Art of the Marathas’. Firstly he rejects the notion of Maratha Art being the ‘sunset of Indian greatness’. Secondly, he rejects aesthetic judgment based on Victorian notions of Art and thirdly he accepts ‘eclecticism’ as being inseparable from the evolution of art. Having established these Goetz goes on to pose the following research questions:

1. Which social forces have formed Maratha Art?
2. Which elements have contributed to its formation?
3. What has been the selective process and what are the characteristics of the style?

To answer these questions, Goetz performed a taxonomical analysis of ‘Maratha Art’ dividing the Maratha History into three phases linking the political history with that of the art and architecture, an approach that was the prevalent way of analysing Architecture. It definitely has its uses as it allows the historian to impose a structure onto historic evidence. A taxonomical analysis makes the totality of architectural output comprehensible, however; it also eludes a richer understanding. Such an understanding may be obtained by studying say patronage or typology as tools for organising the past.

The author has examined buildings from various centres of Maratha power and attempted to show them as part of the collective development of architecture in Northern India. The analysis follows a chronological order with due care to identify patrons. Two phases are identified, one till the war at Panipat and the other from 1761 to 1818. However, the predominant focus of Goetz’s analysis is to define a ‘Maratha Style’.

Goetz based his analysis on the notion that “Maratha Empire represented a Hindu revolution against Muslim Supremacy” (Goetz, 1946, p. 443), something that it never was! This approach colours his critique and produces arguments such as the following

“We may even say that by that time even the classical Mughal style had become more Hindu than Muslim. For it had been taken over by the Rajputs and was developed by them in a new, national Hindu spirit”
Such wordplay is a result of the stylistic analysis that has been forced upon the evidence of buildings which cannot be compartmentalised into stylistic categories of the so-called ‘Hindu’ ‘Rajput’ or ‘Muslim’ styles.

Goetz describes Maratha art as eclectic and assimilative, with its own identity and one that demands careful study. The study does not have a sufficient corpus of structures with dates which results in erroneous observations in some instances (eg. fluted sikhar as a late and ‘degenerate’ form). Goetz concludes his essay by emphasising the need for a careful study of Maratha Art hailing it as “the last national art of pre-industrial India” (Goetz, 1946, p. 444).

The prejudices outlined by Goetz have held good for many decades. The most comprehensive work after Goetz and till date on the architecture of Maharashtra is ‘Maratha Architecture (1650 AD to 1850 AD)’ by Mate (1959). Even this work, discussed in the following pages, suffers from comparative qualitative judgements regarding Maratha Architecture.

Mate begins his work by a short historical note that talks about the socio-political conditions of the period under study, however, he does not map these events onto the architectural developments. The study chooses to deal with the entire span of two hundred years as a homogeneous whole as far as architecture is concerned which is not the case as seen from the various examples noted in the introduction chapter. The aim of Mate’s research is “To study Maratha Architecture as a step towards a complete history of Indian Architecture” and “To study architecture as a reflection of the cultural life of the people concerned.” (Mate, 1959, pp. 1-2) The method adopted for this purpose is very similar to that used in the prevalent architectural histories (similar to that followed by Percy Brown (1956) for example), which is heavily inclined towards the analysis of the ‘formal’ from contemporary standards of aesthetics. Mate’s sampling focuses on architecture from important political and cultural centres from where Marathas ruled, which would be a logical sampling strategy to follow.

As the first comprehensive work in the area of Architecture of Maharashtra, it is an important work. However, the following may be listed as its limitations:

1. Narrow geographical focus and limited sampling - Geographically the complete neglect of Kokan as an important cultural component of the eighteenth century Maharashtra means that a lot of social and architectural interactions remain unattended.
2. Study of the monumental and neglect of the ordinary

3. Lack of good architectural plans and sections

The narrative of ‘Maratha Architecture’ does not engage with the questions of patronage as well as the processes of construction and occupation of architecture. Like any research endeavour Mate’s conclusions are limited by the kind of questions that he asks of his data. Nowhere is it more evident than in the section on Town Planning. In the beginning of the chapter, he raises the question as to whether the Marathas had any knowledge about Town planning. Although parts of the answer are scattered across his thesis, (descriptions of settling of neighbourhoods (Petth), water-supply networks, construction of roads, water bodies etc.) the chapter on town planning concludes by denying the existence of town planning in the Maratha country.

Mate, being a trained Historian has been meticulous as far as the dating of the structures is concerned. The lists of forts and temples with their dates of construction are of value to any student of Architecture of this era. Mate’s thesis also has a bibliography which lists a number of primary and secondary sources that serve as an excellent entry point into the subject. Further work by Mate on woodwork (1967) and a book in Marathi on Architecture (2008) have continued with the method formal analysis.

The next important publication that addressed the art and architecture of Maharashtra was the ‘Marg’ issue on Maratha Architecture (Doshi, 1981). It brought together the state of art scholarship on the subject with contributions by Mate, Morwanchikar, G.H. Khare, G.K. Kanhere and the like. The articles, lavishly illustrated and concise in nature, cover all aspects of the material culture and till date are the best sources of information on Marathi Culture to be had in one volume.

Avinash Sowani’s doctoral dissertation on Town planning in Maharashtra (2011) aims to be a comprehensive work covering a span of 200 odd years (seventeenth and eighteenth century). After a historical note, the narrative rambles through the rest of the document which is scattered with data. The whole research is structured as a search for ‘grid’ which is assumed to be an ‘advanced’ way of town planning, an ‘ideal’ that is to be worked towards! The obviously problematic assumption reduces the credibility of the whole thesis.

While discussing seventeenth-century Islamic towns of Maharashtra, the author relates them to the descriptions in Arthashastra. This results in neglect of the influence of Arabic Islamic planning principles on town and cities of Maharashtra. The evidence for such
an influence is very much present in the data collected by the researcher, however, the analysis entirely misses what the data is trying to communicate.

The research underplays agency of the individual in the planning of towns and cities in the eighteenth century. As I demonstrate later individual initiative played a very important role in eighteenth-century urbanism. In the end, the research concludes that the ‘progress’ of Maratha town planning was from ‘zigzag’ and ‘curvilinear’ road pattern in the seventeenth century to a rectangular grid pattern in the eighteenth century. As with the search for the grid, such teleological explanations are not adequate to explain the data that is much more varied and complex. However, Sowani’s thesis is important for data collected which can be used for further research into historic urbanism in Maharashtra.

2.1.2 City studies. Since Mates work of 1959, a number of city-level studies have been published as works on urban geography and urban history. Studies on cities such as Kolhapur (Malshe, 1974), Pune (Sawant, 1978), Sātārā (Kulkarni, 1995) and Vāī (G H Khare, 1979) are some such examples. These studies are rigorous in terms of the data collected and analysed. Aside from such detailed studies; some historians have published small monographs focused on settlements which serve as guidebooks (eg. Nāśik (R.S. Morwanchikar, 1994), Cāṅdvad (Morwanchikar, 2009), Khāndeś (B. A. Mahajan, 2014)). These are descriptive in nature and act as introductions to the various literary sources available regarding that particular place. In recent years reporters and amateur historians have also published studies of cities like Peṇ (Vairagi, 2009) in Raigad district. Together these studies have made a lot of data available to the students of architectural and urban studies.

The work on Pune needs to be separately mentioned because of the continuous scholarly engagement and for the richness of material available. Starting from ‘Poona in the bygone days’ written by Parasnis (1921) to ‘Pune – Queen of Deccan’ (Diddee & Gupta, 2000), a number of studies have provided an overview of the city’s history. The most important for the present study have been the three volumes of transliterated documents related to Pune. Published under the name of ‘Pune Nagar Samshodhan Vrutta’ (Karve, 1942a) these documents throw light on aspects of urban management which otherwise have not been published for any other city of Maharashtra.

Another substantial source of information about settlements is the entries under ‘places of interest’ in the district gazetteer series of Maharashtra state. The first series edited by Campbell and published in the 1890’s is closer to the century under study and therefore of importance regarding information not only on places and patronage but also on crafts, urban services, units of measurement, various rituals etc.
Lack of architectural drawings is a major shortcoming of all these studies. However, these works bring together a lot of locally relevant references which give important information especially regarding patronage and dating of architectural projects.

2.1.3 Building type studies. These studies can be broadly grouped as those on religious architecture and those dealing with residential architecture.

2.1.3.1 Religious Architecture. The first to be published among the studies on religious architecture is the ‘Temples of Maharashtra’ (Kanhere, 1988). This book is a compilation of significant temples from Maharashtra. The selection does not have any specific criteria for inclusion. However, it is important as the first contribution on the subject.

More comprehensive in its treatment is the doctoral thesis by Ashutosh Sohoni (1998). The aim of the study is “to record the formal characteristics of the temples at the various stages of development, in order to understand the evolution of the temple architecture” along with the “aspects of patronage, political perceptions and ideological views” (A. Sohoni, 1998, p. 21). To this aim, the researcher compiled a corpus of around 150 temples along with their plans. However geographically he limits his inventory to a few places (namely the districts of Pune, Nasik, Satara and Sangli). Konkan region is not a part of the study area which is an omission of concern.

The study divides the evolution of Maratha temples into three phases (Early – 1650-1719, Middle – 1719-1763 and Late 1763-1818) all the phases are analysed under a fixed format comprising of History, Materials and construction, Plan form, Plinth, wall surface and śikhar.

Sohoni concludes his work by noting that the political ideologies of the patron and their reasons for patronage may have no ‘direct’ influence on the architectural design. While this is true he neglects the question of patronage which, as the present research demonstrates, was a significant component, especially of religious architecture. The second important conclusion of Sohoni’s research is his identification of two formal groups of temples as ‘revivalist’ and ‘indigenous’ with a third subtype that he calls as ‘combination’ type. An assessment of the merits or demerits of such classification are uncalled for in the present research and I will restrict my assessment to what is relevant for the present.

While discussing architectural sources for temples of the eighteenth century, Sohoni talks about Yadav temples, Islamic architecture of Deccan as well as Mughal and Rajput influences however the impact of vernacular traditions has not been given due mention(for example the wooden pillared halls (sabhāmaṇḍap) attached to the main shrine that seems to
be a local tradition). Sohoni has done a detailed analysis of the temple form, however, the temples that he analyses have been removed from their contexts and converted into art objects. The removal of context has meant that the linkages of the temples with the immediate physical context as well as with the settlement around are not interpreted as integral to the meaning of these temples. Efforts to trace dates, prepare sketch plans and systematic sampling can be stated as the main strengths of this research.

2.1.3.2 Residential Architecture. The year 1998 CE saw the publication of a small volume on House in Maharashtra (Glushkova & Feldhaus, 1998). This perhaps is the only book about this particular geographical area that looks at the house from a multi-disciplinary perspective touching on the aspects of language, gender, rituals, kinship along with architecture. The paper by Glushkova demonstrates the use of proverbs to define house form. Other authors (Manjul, Feldhaus, Kale, Kosambi et al) explore traditional literature and autobiographies to define the ‘house’. The excellent introduction by the editors, Glushkova and Feldhaus, makes it clear that the home would be a sum total of all of these meanings. This collection of papers is important for the study of Architecture in Maharashtra as it establishes the need and value of studying house and home as a cultural product enmeshed in the various tangible and intangible aspects of culture.

An article by Jaymala Didee (2004) on house form of Maharashtra has elaborated on the traditional house types of Maharashtra and their relation to the climatic context. It is an important contribution for its methodological clarity and the understanding that it brings to the subject of the traditional residential architecture of Maharashtra.

Studies of a more general nature have been appearing in Marathi through all these years. A book by Khandge (1992) documented for the first time various vādā of Pune. Since 2010, Shivde has published two volumes on vādā of Maharashtra (2013). The work of these two authors has provided a rich corpus of buildings that can be used for further research.

A doctoral study on Courtyard houses of Maharashtra by Rupa Gupta (2007) has subsequently been published as a book (2013). As per the author, the main intention has been to “document and analyse the vādā in order to develop an understanding of a regional type of the courtyard house form” (Gupta, 2007). The book begins with an attempt to define the town planning by referring to the vāstu traditions. The analysis misses out on interpreting the influence of Islamic town planning and therefore offers an incomplete picture of planning tradition in Maharashtra. Raje offers an analysis of the vādā starting with a structural understanding followed by the explanation of the spaces. The author has not considered the fact that residences grow over time and a neglect of this fact has resulted in categories like
‘temple vāḍā’ (example cited by the author is that of Tuṣābāg in Pune) which are erroneous interpretations of the data. The author has taken into account the entire state of Maharashtra and therefore has a good geographic representation.

2.1.4 Thematic studies. A number of thematic studies have also been published on the eighteenth century Peśīṇ Architecture. The important ones include those on woodwork by Mate (1967) and Morwanchikar (1994), on wall paintings by Apte (1988) and Chavan (1981), and on water architecture by Mate (1998) and Kule (2007).

2.1.4.1 Woodwork. Mate’s book on Deccan woodwork (1967) focuses mostly on Maharashtra. The study is descriptive in nature. The woodwork has been analysed as components namely pillars, arches, corbels, Braces, Brackets, Beams, doorframes etc. The analysis is comprehensive, however, the segregation of associated elements results in a fragmented understanding which does not look at the residence and its ornamental scheme as a whole. The book does not have a list of the buildings surveyed which makes it difficult to follow up the study with further work. However, like mate’s other work, the book is a pioneering study and is important just for the sheer data that it has brought forth. Another book on woodwork is by Morwanchikar (1994). It focuses on the woodwork from Paithan near Aurangabad. A tighter geographical focus makes for better interpretation as compared to Mate’s work. Morwanchikar also gives a brief introduction to the settlement, houses studies and adds a note on the overall planning of the house referring to the location of the woodwork. This increases the usability of the study to a large extent. However, the analysis itself again moves to a separation of elements and their individual discussion. Both these books are good references for an understanding of the articulation of residential form in traditional architecture of Maharashtra.

2.1.4.2 Water Architecture. Water architecture, as will be seen in the succeeding study on patronage (chapter five), was a very important aspect of the eighteenth century built environment. Mate’s book (1998) is a pan-Indian survey that traces the history of water management from 1500 BCE to 1800 CE. Using various sources author has given an introduction to the techniques as well as architectural manifestations. Understanding the system as a whole consisting of the catchment, source, and transport is the main contribution of Mate to the study. For the present study, his analysis of architectural types associated with water management is useful in contextualising the examples from the study area.

Kule’s book (2007) although not exclusively focused on water architecture, has two chapters dedicated to such structures. The book brings together many of the examples of ghāṭ
and wells along with their brief history and most importantly the name of the patron. It is, therefore, a good information source for the present study.

### 2.1.5 Cultural Histories

Cultural histories can be a very good source for an overall understanding of the context of the period under study. I have referred to three cultural histories of eighteenth-century written till date. Following is a summary of their characteristics.

The first and the most important is the work titled ‘Peshwekalin Maharashtra’ (Maharashtra of Peśvā era) (Bhave, 1935a). It is part of a four-volume cultural history of Maharashtra. Written in a simple style and bereft of any disciplinary position the book is a very good source for a factual understanding of the culture of Maharashtra. The accompanying comprehensive bibliography is an asset that has been of help in the present study.

Second work is ‘Peshwaichya Sawalit’ (1937) (In the shadow of Peśvā) by N.G. Chapekar. In authors own words the book is meant as an aid for the Social, Commercial, Religious and Linguistic history of the Peshwa era. The book is a collection of papers from financial accounts of various prominent families of the eighteenth century. The documents are classified into a number of sections such as Administration, Justice, Revenue, Construction activities etc. The erudite introduction by the author which summarises the data collected makes this book an important resource for understanding cultural processes of the eighteenth century including those related to architecture and urban development.

The third and the latest of the cultural histories is “18th century Deccan” by Shirgaonkar (2010). The section dealing with lāvanī engages with issues of women’s position in society and offers important insight into the same. The book brings together scattered data into a single volume with a commentary by the author.

These studies are important in understanding the interrelations between agents which are an important part of defining the field of eighteenth-century built environment. It should perhaps be noted here that the cultural history of Maharashtra still remains a field to be investigated by a cultural historian using the range of theoretical perspectives and methodologies that have become available as the discipline has developed.

### Summary

The above review of the literature related to eighteenth-century Architecture of Maharashtra has certain common concerns that need to be stressed. The studies that have focused exclusively on architecture have limited themselves to the built form, for their inferences. As a result, they do not reveal an understanding of the processes.
that went into the making of the eighteenth-century architecture of Maharashtra. The overview studies (Mate, 1959; A. Sohoni, 1998) have focused on a specific geographical region (viz Deś) missing out on the intra-regional influences (say from Kokan and Marāṭhvādā) that have shaped eighteenth-century architecture. On the other hand studies with a wider sample (Gupta, 2013) have tended to blur the regional differences diminishing the interpretative value of their conclusions.

2.2 Introduction to relevant literature – Disciplinary, Conceptual, Theoretical and related to data sources

The following is an outline review of various works as mentioned above which is limited to introducing them. Most of these have been discussed in detail in Chapter three-Plan of Inquiry.

2.2.1 The discipline of Architectural history and cultural history. The discipline of architectural history has come a long way since its beginnings as a sub-discipline of art history. A good introduction to the evolution of the field can be found in Watkin’s book (1983) which is a diachronic overview of the discipline of architectural history. A more India-centric overview of the discipline is to be found in the excellent introductory essay by Monica Juneja in her edited volume on Medieval Indian Architecture (2001). The concerns raised by her regarding various issues such as patronage have been the prime motivators for the research I have undertaken.

It is a fact that buildings themselves will form important evidence that historians of Architecture will have at their disposal, however, to better understand architecture we need to use evidence other than the buildings themselves. Andrew Leach (2010) has discussed the types of evidence for the purpose of Architectural History which includes the buildings themselves as well as written records, photographs, oral histories, correspondences and so on. Leach shows the inner working of the field along with the state of art disciplinary inclinations in an unaffected manner. The changing contours of the discipline are more fully delimited in Arnold’s ‘Rethinking Architectural Historiography’ (2006). It explores the various disciplinary choices that an architectural historian of the twenty-first century has at his disposal. From these discussions of the discipline, it is apparent that the idea of Architecture as a cultural product is an important concept that is becoming the basis of various studies of Architecture.

To understand the implications of this affinity of architectural history with cultural history, we need to turn to Burke (2008). In the book, Burke discusses the meaning of the
word ‘cultural history’ and introduces key thinkers (Bakhtin, Bourdieu, Foucault…), whose writings have changed the discipline of cultural history. These authors especially Bourdieu have much relevance for understanding contemporary as well as the historic practice of architecture. Bourdieu’s work forms the epistemological framework of this research. The next section introduces Bourdieu’s work in brief. The theoretical implications of these have been discussed in detail in Chapter three - Plan of Inquiry.

2.2.2 Conceptual framework. Bourdieu (1930-2002) was a sociologist, an anthropologist and a philosopher who was concerned with societal behaviour. He built his theories on the work of his predecessors as well as from field surveys that he conducted. His most important contributions have been his theory of social distinction, the theory of cultural production and the theory of practice. In the theory of social distinction, Bourdieu described how family upbringing and access to culture determined the social status of children. The theory of cultural production maintains that to understand art it is important to understand its production and reception. The third major theoretical contribution of Bourdieu is his theory of practice. It refers to the behaviour of agents in a particular field, for example, the behaviour of teachers, students, administrators and parents in the field of education. The agents and their behaviour in the field together form the ‘practice’ of education.

Bourdieu developed the theory of practice as a series of interrelated concepts over the years. In fact, all of his theories share a number of concepts such as that of ‘capital’ which for Bourdieu was not only economic but also social and cultural. For an architect, understanding Bourdieu can be a tall order. An introductory text, ‘Bourdieu for Architects’ (Webster, 2011) offers an excellent entry point into his writings, especially from an architectural perspective. Extensive citations help the reader to explore Bourdieu’s concepts by further reading.

Bourdieu has described his work as ‘constructivist structuralism’. It is an epistemological position that accepts the existence of objective social structures as well as the role of the individual agency. In a way, it is a position that is in between that of structuralism and post-structuralism. A good discussion of constructivist structuralism can be read in an article by Flecha, Gomez and Puigvert (2003). Bourdieu himself articulated his position in a lecture published in Sociological Theory (1989). A number of his writings describe the theory of practice. So in a way, it is an umbrella theory which brings together the indispensable constructs of field, habitus and capital that Bourdieu developed over the years. The article ‘Forms of Capital’ appears in a publication from 1986 while ‘Logic of practice’ (1990) discusses the concept of Habitus at length. The definition and characteristics of a field are explained in detail by Hilgers and Mangez in their book on the theory of Social Fields (2015). These concepts and their relevance for the research are discussed in detail in next chapter.
2.2.3 Supporting theories. As explained in the chapter introduction the various chapters of the thesis have a section on review of relevant literature both conceptual and related to the aspect of practice under consideration. I mention below a summary of the work thus reviewed.

2.2.3.1 Patronage. I approach the question of patronage from a historical perspective. To enable this I have referred to the work of Romila Thapar (2000) and the volumes on Dharmaśāstra by Kane (1941).

2.2.3.2 Design Process. The traditional design process in architecture has been a neglected area in the Indian scholarship. The work I have referred to comes from scholars who have worked on American vernacular architecture such as Dell Upton (1979), Thomas Hubka (1986) and Henry Glassie (1976).

2.2.3.3 Design Communication. The work by Bishir on eighteenth-century contract documents from North Carolina (1991) forms the basis for analysing of documents from Maharashtra. I also make use of the theory of linguistic codes developed by Bernstein (2003) which informs the analysis.

2.2.3.4 Urban Management – Symbolic, Physical, socio-economic. The work of Besim Hakim on Mediterranean building codes (2014) and the conclusions that he draws are of relevance for the research. This relevance is also due to the fact that the context of eighteenth-century Pešvā culture region shares similarities in terms of the urban planning with the Arabic-Islamic city.

I discuss the role of myths and rituals in urban management from a grounded theory perspective, where I have gathered qualitative data and then tried to derive a coherent structure from it. The subject of historic urban taxation also is not a very well researched area in the Indian context. While some economists and historians have worked on the history of taxes in general and on building expenditure, there are hardly any studies that link urban taxes and urban growth in pre-colonial India.

2.2.4 Introduction to Data sources. The following is a brief note on primary and secondary sources of data that have been used in the research. The sources are fully explained in Chapter 03 – Plan of Inquiry.

2.2.4.1 Primary Sources. The primary sources that I have used in the present research are basically collections of documents which were transliterated from modī script to devnāgarī script. A major chunk of these documents was published between last decades of
the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century. The various sources used are fully described in the chapter on ‘plan of inquiry’ where I discuss the nature of data used.

2.2.4.2 Secondary sources. The secondary sources comprise of the various building type and city studies that have been mentioned earlier. These studies are an important source of information regarding the dates of construction of various buildings and the names of patrons. Along with these, I have also used biographies of important religious, social political persons and families which are primarily focused on the political life of the person but also contain some information on the building projects that the particular person patronised.

Summary

To summarise, the various studies of Architecture of the eighteenth century Maharashtra have focused on the product rather than the process; as Bourdieu would say on the ‘opus operatum’ rather than the ‘modus operandum’. Secondly, the architectural tradition has to be studied with reference to its geographical context. Thirdly architecture cannot be studied solely on the basis of standing buildings. The buildings that have lost the original usage patterns are unable to communicate about their owners and about their lifestyles. The idea that buildings have meanings is not new. In the field of vernacular architecture, it has been a constant concern of leading researchers such as Rapoport (1969). The subsequent argument of this axiom is that many times it is not possible to understand these meanings due to the gap of time which separates the intended use of the building and the present. What is required to bridge this gap, therefore, is using different types of evidence for interpreting architecture, which in turn means a different conceptualization of the way we have traditionally understood the history of architecture.

Use of multiple data sources and various theoretical frameworks for interpretation of this data is the strategy that the present research uses. In the next chapter, I lay out a plan of inquiry that brings together the various aspects of ‘practice’ of architecture that I have reviewed, into a meaningful structure of the inquiry.