

CRITIQUE OF EARLIER SCHOLARSHIP

In the last century, numerous studies were undertaken on the Islamic Art and Architecture of India. However the focus was mainly on Mughal Architecture and Painting, but seldom any attention was paid to the different provinces, where Islamic Art and Architecture flourished. After the initial writings of Henry Cousens, Jas Burgess M.S Commissariat and James Fergusson, there has been a long period of inactivity in the field of Islamic research and especially in the Gujarat province. Historians like Percy Brown and Scholars like Dr Z.A. Desai and M.A Chaghatai, the noted Epigraphists can be considered as the second-generation scholars. A little later scholars like Satish Grover, S C. Sharma, and R. Nath related to the field of Islamic research, have thrown much light on the history of Islamic rule in India, as general studies, which also included the studies of the monuments.

The Pioneers in the realm of scholarship on Muslim Architecture are the scholars who are among the first Archeologists of India, like James Burgess, James Fergusson and Henry Cousens. They are not trained Art Historians or scholars on Architecture, but they are field Archeologists, belonging to the era of colonial rule in India, who, purely by their great intellect and instinct have done survey on the Indian Architecture. Their views and observation were so precise that till date they hold true in every perspective. Their historical comprehension was based on the translated works from the chronicles written by historians of medieval periods, traveller like Ibn Battuta, and many scholars with the like of Ptolemy. They got these work translated from Persian and Arabic into English and presented the medieval history of India, (here specially Gujarat) to the future generation of scholars. However, here their works are considered for a critical analysis not because of History that they have mapped out, but because of the analysis of Architecture that has been done by them.

Currently under consideration is the work of James Burgess "The Archeological Survey of Western India - The Muhammadan Architecture of Gujarat". James Burgess begins his book with a historical introduction of Gujarat. Incidentally, in those times, today's Gujarat was attached to Bombay Presidency and hence James Burgess has taken pain in describing the geographical location of the capital city of the Presidency and its geographical surroundings of the places, which he intends to discuss. Though James Burgess has titled "Muhammadan Architecture of Gujarat", he painstakingly provides the complete history of Gujarat, right from the period when the great Emperor Asoka got the copy of his edicts inscribed on the huge granite stone at the foot hills of Girnar, to the British rule in the smallest part of the state.

While commenting upon the "tribes" that were very dominating during the 12th century A.D., James Burgess writes "The prevalence of the Janas, and the temples they built from the eleventh century downwards at Abu and elsewhere in Gujarat, has led some to call the Hindu style of Gujarat and the neighbouring Rajputana, the Jaina style, as if it were the style of that sect. The fact, however, is that it is the style of a district and of a period, for the Brahmanical temples of Siddhapur, Somnatha and Ambernatha, are built in the same style as those of the Jainas on Mount Abu and elsewhere; and it is this style adapted to Muhammadan wants that we shall find at a later date characterising the buildings of Ahmedabad, Champanir, and other cities of Gujarat. It has affinities with the Chalukyan style of the Dekhan, but it is far more closely allied to that which prevailed in the Rajput kingdoms of Central India and Rajputana during the tenth and the following centuries. Its adaptations to the requirements of the Musalman conquerors of Gujarat in the fourteenth century will be noticed at a later point"¹. The amazing fact is that even at that early stage of writing on the architecture, when not much was known about the patrons, epigraphy and history, he could make such a perceptive

¹ Burgess James. - "Archeological Survey of Western India- The Muhammadan Architecture of Gujarat" chapter 1 page no 7

observation. He was successful in comprehending it as a style, which did not belong to the Jain sect and was also not restricted to the region but had spread to other areas also. He could also project that same style was seen in the fourteenth century monuments of Ahmedabad and Champaner. Thus his observation had set the grounds of future scholarship.

This is the precise reason, why the present scholar has taken up this project. James Burgess has no doubt observed that architectural features are getting changed into the style, which would be continued on the fourteenth century, but he has not analysed these features. It is also not clear from his writings as to which features have been continued and which are new, neither there has been any study of the development of the features. This has left a wide scope for the present study. However the study that has been done by James Burgess cannot be underestimated, as, upon his primary observation, thought and concept the, new studies on the Islamic monuments of Gujarat have come up.

James Burgess has largely depended on the works of Tod, H.G.Briggs, Forbes and Eliot. The work of Forbes i.e. Rasmala, has large dependency on the balladic and folk tales. H.G.Briggs and Eliot have worked on Muhammadan History. They have relied upon the texts like 'Mirat-I-Ahmedi', 'Ain-I-Akbari' and Farishta, which are not known for accurate information. Hence there are some pieces of information and few dates that might not tally with 'Mirat-I Sikandari' and 'Arabic History of Gujarat'. For Example, James Burgess mentions "Mahmud died 22nd Nov 1511, in the Seventieth year of his age, and was buried at Sarkhej in the Masoleum of Sheikh Ahmed Khattu"². Infact, Sultan Mahmud was buried in his own masoleum, at Sarkhej, which he himself got constructed during his lifetime.

Another incorrect information is regarding the description of the Bharuch Jammosque. On page 21 & 22, James Burgess gives the description of a pillared portico on a raised platform, on the southern

²Ibid: - Chapter 1, page no.12 and 13.

end of the mosque constructed with ten columns and two pilasters. There is indeed a raised platform, but not on the southern end. The raised portico, which is now closed, is on the northern end. The rest of the description of the portico matches with the present portico, which the present scholar has personally visited and seen.

He also writes " The inscription consists of usual formulae only, without a date"³. This points out that James Burgess must have come across an incorrect or imperfect translation of the inscription over central "Mihrab". The inscription does mention the date and patron of the mosque. The patron seems to be some Muhammad Buthari and the year is A.H. 721 i.e. 1321 A.D. This is probably the same patron who has also patronized the Jamimosque of Khambhat dated 1325 A.D. However there is still a controversy over the identity of Muhammed Buthari, as there is one Muhammad Buthari who accompanied Muhammad Thughlaq in one of the campaigns towards Malabar (?) and didn't return alive. Muhammed Thughlaq used to address him as uncle. However it is not sure that Muhammad Buthari, the patron of Jamimosque of Khambhat and Bharuch and Muhammad Buthari associated with Muhammad Thughlaq are one and the same.

Further in the following chapters, when he talks about monuments of Khambhat, Dholka, Champaner and Mehababad, James Burgess simply describes the monuments. He gives the literal description of the monuments by providing, number of pillars, ceiling, windows, domes, entrances, the measurement of the Ibadatkhana, colonnades and courtyard. Such kind of minute details has made this book as the most reliable source of information. The honest and sincerest insight which the author had shown earlier in the chapter is not clearly felt in all the chapters.

One very important observation that James Burgess has furnished "The Jami Masjid bears some resemblance to Hilar Khan Qazi's mosque, but the style marks it out as belonging to the later half of the fifteenth century, probably not later than 1485, and a comparison

³ Ibid:- Chapter 1, page no 21

with some of the mosques at Ahmedabad of about that age will show many points of agreement"⁴. But the author has not furnished the details on the basis of which he could come to this conclusion. The above quoted passage does not specify the Jamimosque about which the author has made his observation. The Jamimosque about which, James Burgess wrote, is probably the New Jamimosque of Dholka a popular name for the mosque beyond katakhana and other than Qasi HilalKhan's mosque. This particular mosque does not have any inscription at the central "Mihrab" and stylistically falls into late 15th century. For this research, the present scholar has used the book, "The Archeological Survey of Western India- The Muhammadan Architecture Of Gujarat" to reach out to the locations and identifying the monuments

History of Gujarat has been written by many historians from time to time. For the present purpose, the research works of Sir E.C. Bayley, S.C Sharma and Edalji Dosabhai have been referred. These historical works mostly depend upon the various chronicles related to the history of Gujarat written in Persian or Arabic. Picking up various informations and historical facts from different chronicles, these scholars have put all these facts chronologically, to give the complete picture of the history of Gujarat. The dates ascribed by Sir E C Bayley and Edalji Dosabhai divulge a difference of year or two. Both the scholars have begun their work with the introduction of Hindu period right from the times of krsna under different titles, thus trying to trace the continuity in the events

The books " A history of Gujarat from the earliest period to the present times "⁵ and "History of Gujarat - The local Muhammadean Dynasties of Gujarat"⁶ which was perhaps first published in late 19th century and that too when Sir E C. Bayley was not alive, perhaps around 1884 A.D These publications are during the Victorian rule in

⁴Ibid: - Chapter 4 page no.36

⁵ Dosabhai Edalji: - 'A History of Gujarat-from the earliest period to the present times' published in 1894. Publishers, Asan Publications services, New Delhi.

⁶Bayley E.C.: - 'History of Gujarat-The local Muhammedan Dynasties of Gujarat' first printed in circa 1884. Publishers S. Chand & Company.

India. It was the time when attempt was made to introduce Indian Heritage to Indians and seek admiration from other colonial power and thereby sanctioning themselves as the rightful authority or rulers and protectors of Indian sub-continents and its cultural heritage. By this statement no attempt has been made to demean the efforts of the scholars like Sir E.C. Bayley and Edalji Dosabhai. Their works are the sound preparatory ground on the basis of which the present project has been worked out. There is no attempt made to rewrite or correct the history written by them, in the present compendiums. Their works are included in this chapter due to some problematic areas in their writings and some crucial information that is missing from their works. These problems have occurred, perhaps because of the period in which they worked. It was the time, when the large corpus of material was yet to be unearthed and chronicles were to be re-read and re-interpreted. These subtle corrections are made by later generation of scholars. E.C. Bayley's "History of Gujarat-local Muhammadean Dynasties of Gujarat" incorporates freshly discovered manuscript called 'Mirat-I-Sikanderi', given to him by late Sir Salar Jung, G.C.S.I from Hyderabad. This manuscript has improved the work of E.C. Bayley's Local Muhammadean Dynasties of Gujarat', edited by Nagendra Singh. The author has written the history of Gujarat by using "Mirat-I-Ahmedi" and 'Mirat-I-Sikanderi' considering the situation of India in 1884 when Sir E.C. Bayley died and the corpus of work that he has done, it is really surprising that so much interest was shown in the History of Gujarat. The strains of this work were picked up by Henry Elliot much earlier and he has produced the works under the title "History of India as told by its own historians", which extended in VIII volumes.

It seems that E.C. Bayley was a great admirer of the Muslim rulers and their accomplishments. He writes with great concerns and love while describing them, sometimes overlooking the other related facts. The Muslim community too perhaps looked upon him as a

sympathetic and resourceful friend. Their feelings are revealed in the condolence message on the death of E.C Bayley "By the Mussalman Community of India, who now-a-days so sadly lack powerful friends and sympathizers amongst their rulers, and who for some inscrutable reasons now seem to have unfortunately fallen into disfavour of Government, the removal by death of a most kind-hearted and staunch friend, like Sir Edward Clive Bayley, must be felt not only as a personal loss, but will be viewed as a deep and public calamity "⁷

After reading the entire book it is realized that the word Gujarat has been used to describe the immediate political boundary, which was under the Local Muhammadean rulers. However it is the fact that this boundary kept on changing from time to time. The word Gujarat was first used by the chroniclers of medieval times, specifically those who wrote the history of Gujarat. After Burgess and Fergusson, E.C. Bayley has published important information regarding the Medieval History of Gujarat. With the publication of 'History of Gujarat' and "The Archeological Survey of the monuments of important places in Gujarat" by Henry Cousens, there was enough scope to search for more clues in understanding the architecture and the development of its style. These publications though complete in their own sense gave an incomprehensive and an incomplete picture of the monuments of Gujarat. The history looked clumsier with the discovery of 'Mirat-I-Sikanderi' manuscript.

This brings the pointer of discussion towards the mammoth task taken by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi under the able guidance of Colonel Watson; translation of 'Mirat-I-Sikanderi' by Sikander. Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi in his preface has expressed his views as to why Colonel J.W. Watson had requested him to re-translate the manuscript 'Mirat-I-Sikanderi' by Sikander. It was because, Colonel felt that "In some way, he observed, Sir Edward Clive Bayley's translation of Sikanderi broke off somewhat abruptly at the end of the

⁷Extracts from "The Mohammedan observer and Guide" May 1st 1884, published in E.C. Bayley's book, page no. 20, "The local Muhammedan Dynasties of Gujarat" edited by Nagendra Singh. Publishers S. Chand & Company.

reign of Sultan Mehmud III, omitting unhappily the record of the eventful period that ushered in Mughal Sovereignty. Many of the numerous anecdotes that form the most attractive features of the "Mirror" of the genial Sikander, were", he added, "omitted". The above quote clears out two points, other than an important observation.

1) Sir Edward Clive Bayley could not do proper justice to the project of writing "History of Local Muhammdian rulers of Gujarat". In order to re-create the entire historical events of Gujarat, as it might have occurred, he had incorporated 'Mirat-I-Ahmedi' which was already translated by Bird. This produced non-cohesive reading. 2) The book does not project convincingly to be a transliteration, and as mentioned in a passage quoted earlier, many anecdotes have been omitted and the history ends abruptly. Finally the book "The Local Muhammdian rulers of Gujarat" turns out to be neither a translation of 'Mirat-I-Sikanderi' nor a 'History of Gujarat'; but nevertheless, it is indeed a great piece of work, as it was a mammoth task to graphically map out a history, which was never attempted before. And while doing so, the author has tapped all the possible available sources. The book got published in late 19th Century. However, it is not known whether the book was published after or before the death of the scholar, i.e. 30th April 1884 A.D. Certainly in those times, this book must have been the life line of all the historians, but from a research point of view, there was much to be done; and that has been rightly expressed by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi and Colonel J.W. Watson.

Sikander starts the history of the local rulers by tracing their lineage back to the people, Sadhu and Saharan, who were the first converts of Islam under the rule of Sultan Firuz Shah. After converting into Islamic religion they got new names Wajih-ul-mulk and Shamshir Khan from Sultan Firuz Shah. The sister of Sadhu and Saharan was married to Sultan Firuz Shah and that is how they went to Delhi. Sikander narrates as to how these two brothers were raised to power and how they were able to seek the benediction of Hazrat Makhdum Jahanian, the renowned Sufi saint of 13th century. Quickly, Sikander mentions the rise of Sultan Muhammed Shah Thughlaq and his death

at Thattha at Sindh in 747 A.H. i.e. 1345 A.D. Twelve years after this event, Sultan Firuz Shah Thughlaq mounted the throne. Thereafter, briefing the readers regarding the character of Muzaffar Khan son of Wajih-ul-mulk Shamshir Khan to be very kind, "goodly race of men, have pure and virtuous souls, and they performed meritorious actions and gave numberless endowments, and showed good qualities and amiable traits in connection with God's creations,"⁸ Sikander narrates the beginning of fortunes for them (Muzaffar Khan and Shamshir Khan.) Firuz Shah died 1388 A.D. and Ghiasuddin was raised to throne, but he was soon murdered. Abu Baker was raised to the throne and after some time he was defeated by Sultan Muhammed. He was kept in prison where he died. Hence Delhi was once again ruled by Thughlaq dynasty in the year 793 A.H. i.e. 1391 A.D. During this time Rasti Khan, the Governor of Gujarat, rebelled, and the Sultan of Delhi, giving Muhammed Zafar Khan the red in signia, sent him to Gujarat to subdue the rebellion and take Rasti Khan as a prisoner. This was the first step that brought back the tribe to Gujarat. It was this event from where the local Muhammedean rulers gain footage, for further independence.

The most important fact is that, Sikander so far has not diverted from the main objective, that is, how the simple cultivators who were outcaste from their tribe, became rich and established at such a high post, so as to return back to their homeland as rulers. It seems that Fazlullah also has strictly restricted himself to what Sikander has written. However, Fazlullah Lutfullaha Faridi, has in footnotes, given clarification, whose source of information are Farishtah, and sometimes his own research work and observation.

The original work of Sikander might have been very ornate and Lucid, as the translation itself is very clear. The present scholar feels that 'Mirat-I-Sikanderi' is more reliable than any other source. The dates that are given by the Sikander come close to the inscriptions found in Gujarat. For example, the inscription of Navlakhi Vav at

⁸'Mirat-I-Sikanderi' Translated by Fazlullah Lutfullaha Faridi page no.4

Laxmi Vilas palace, Baroda, mentions the name of Zafar Khan but without any titles of Maharaja or Sultan of Gujarat. The inscription dates 1405 A D, the time when Zafar Khan was really not a Sultan of Gujarat. Sikander further mentions that Zafar Khan had invested the throne to his son, Tatar Khan⁹ with the sovereignty and the title of Nasiruddin Muhammed Shah. Zafar Khan ascended on the throne as Sultan Muzaffar at Birpur on 1407¹⁰. Thus Sikander gives the reliable dates.

Sikander, very strangely, does not dedicate much of his energy in sketching the life and events of Sultan Ahmed Shah '1', the grand son of Sultan Muzaffar, though he has been considered as founder of 'Ahmedabad Sultanate' or the 'Founder of Independent Rule of Local Muhammadian rulers of Gujarat'. Sikander, very superficially treats the life of Sultan Ahmed Shah '1' and he mentions the expansion of boundary, construction and destruction of the places done by him. But nothing of his personal character and the socio-economic growth of Gujarat during his time has been mentioned.

It seems that Sikander was in a hurry to talk about Sultan Mahmud 'Beghara'-1. Hence the successors to Sultan Ahmed Shah '1' are not given too much of importance. He dedicates more time, space and energy towards the regime of Fath Khan or Sultan Mahmud Shah '1'. Sikander sketches his entire life, right from his birth to his death, very cherishingly. He provides the minutest detail of his life, his adventures, conquests, escape bids on his life, the socio-economic status. He mentions the bravery of Sultan Mahmud Shah '1', in connection of keeping Portuguese at bay and keeping the trading waters of Gujarat clear and danger free. Sikander has, with very great interest incorporated the life of patron Saint, Shah-I-Alam and his relationship with the Sultan Mahmud Shah '1'. Very tastefully he describes the friends and nobles of Sultan Mahmud Shah-I, who got constructed mosques, tanks and quarters in Ahmedabad. Sikander has also mentioned the habits and desires of the Sultan. Such information

⁹'Mirat-I-Sikander' Translated by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi, page nos. 7 & 8

¹⁰ Ibid : page 9

about any other Sultan's life is not available. Sultan Mahmud Shah 'Beghara' ruled for 53 years, the longest in the entire lineage of the Ahmedabad Sultanate period. Such kind of bias provokes the researcher to take the facts with little reservation. On page 91, footnote number-2, Sikander mentions that, Sir Clive Bayley's manuscript is different from his manuscript as Clive Bayley's gives different date A.H. 910 /A.D. 1505 of martyrdom of a saint who proclaimed himself as the Mehdi Whereas his manuscript gives a different date, A.H. 917 /A.D 1515 And since Blochman (Ain-I-Akbari, p.v.) also gives the former date, so he has adopted A.H. 910 i.e. A.D 1505, as the authentic date for the incident. This highlights that there were two manuscripts of 'Mirat-I-Sikanderi' and then, in that case Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi has not mentioned from where did he get his manuscript. Another question that arises is that, which of the two is the original manuscript or which one is earlier to the other

'Mirat-I-Sikanderi' translated by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi gives the clear picture of political upheaval that was faced by other kingdoms and Sultanate like Malva, Dakhan and Jaunpur and incorporated the details, that were important in narrating the events of Sultans of Gujarat. It also very carefully embalms all the information of Gujarat during late medieval times into one, to present complete view of Gujarat and its prosperity.

M.S. Commissariat wrote extensively about the 'History of Gujarat' in three volumes, all published at different times. The first volume got published in 1937, the second in 1958 and the third one a little after that. He starts the 'History of Gujarat' from the take over of Gujarat by Alla-ud-din Khalji, till the British rule in India. The first volume is dedicated to the rule of both the Sultanates, Delhi and Ahmedabad. The second volume deals with the history of Ahmedabad Sultanate by Mughals till the year 1758 A.D. It begins with, supplementing the study by the information on the basic fabric of the local administration, the history of establishment of Mughal rule and from time to time facing the rebellions of predecessors of Sultan

Mahmud Shah III. Here in this volume one gets to know the flair of knowledge of M.S Commissariat in economics of which he was a teacher in Gujarat college along with the subject, history. His research shows that, he has used each and every detail of all the aspects in social history and economy of medieval Gujarat. At one stage a non-economist might loose interest in reading because of his lengthy explanations with great perfection, but it does give the lucid picture of the people, the society and the attitude of the people towards their own society. M.S.Commissariat's way of dealing with history, is an illustrious example for the scholars of Islamic History and Architecture of Gujarat. His apporaoch for writing the history of Gujarat is very simple, but at times he makes it complex by starying away from the topic. For instance, chapter three is entirely derived from the writings of Sheikh Abu Abdullah Muhammed Ibn Battuta's travelogue, his miseries and his good experiences, which seems to be rather out of place.

He has woven monuments, inscriptions and information provided in the travelogues by Zia-ud-din Barani and Sheikh Abu Abdullah Muhammed Ibn Battuta, while narrating the History of Gujarat. At times he has used the translations of inscriptions done by G. Yazdani and the translations that were being published in the book by James Burgess "Muhammadan Architecture of the town of Dholka, Cambay, Bharoah, Mahmudabad and Champaner." He has not analysed the monument in totality but has provided little information on architecture like inscription and the appearance of the monuments. Yet at one occasion, his opinion regarding the Islamic monument of Gujarat is so apt that today also we abide by his observation. "But the political conditions prevailing in the province during this early period were not favourable for any rapid development of the new 'Gujarat' style, and it was not till the rise of the independent sultans of Gujarat that the greatness of this school really began"¹¹, is idicative of

¹¹ Commissariat Manekshah S:-" History of Gujarat" –vol 1, page 62, published by Longman's and Green Co.Ltd-1937

his perception. Though his methodology is devoid of confusions it makes the reader tired of the minute details. Since in the present context, the purpose of this thesis was not the research on History of Gujarat, but to put forward another important aspects and issues of Islamic Monuments of Gujarat, his methodology has not been adopted. Yet one may find some similarity in the approach towards the treatment of the subject. The third volume of the same book 'History of Gujarat' throws light on the Portuguese take over of Gujarat ports and the beginning of British rule in India especillay, Gujarat. In the present context, volume 1 has been more important and has helped to make the base of this study moresound.

In 1930's - 1940's another scholar Percy Brown wrote a book of great knowledge, 'Indian Architecture' which came out in two volumes Volume-1 consisted of "Indian Architecture - Hindu and Buddhist period" and Volume-2 comprised of "Indian Architecture - Islamic period" This work is later to the works of Burgess and Fergusson. He is not the pioneer in utilizing the History and Archtecture together, to bring out a cohesive and integrated knowledge in one volume. Henry Cousens, James Burgess and Henry Fergusson had already done it, a generation earlier. Thus Percy Brown could be taken as second generation of scholars who are attempting at the basic understanding of the style of Islamic monument in India The basic thrust of Percy Brown is historicity and chronological development of the monument in the volume two. Percy Brown has picked up the important monuments from all the periods together in the same volume. He has assessed and appreciated the monuments elaborately Probably he is the first scholar who has tried to link the Islamic monument of India with that of middleast, especially Arabia. Although the effort that Percy Brown has poured in this book is noteworthy, the present scholar finds that he could have been more analytical and specific Spanning through all the monuments of all the provinces, Percy Brown could not justice to the Architecture of each provinces. This book is oriented more towards the physical description of mosques and tomb structures.

In case of the study of Islamic monuments of Gujarat, he was the first scholar, who could visualize three phases of development in the monuments. He too, like Burgess, Cousens and Fergusson, expressed the combination of two different lineages, Hindu and Jain with Islamic tradition of Architecture, but like them, was unable to specify what exactly has been borrowed. The present study hopes to fill this lacuna. Percy Brown, has, it seems got influenced from the methodology of Cousens and Fergusson, as like them he has picked up important monument of each city like Ahmedabad, Champaner, Bharuch, Dholka and Mangrol, analysed them on the basis of physical description and style. He has used the dates of the monuments to arrange them chronologically and to further classify them into the three different phases. According to him the first phase is that of destruction followed by the construction of monuments out of the ruined temples spoils, the second phase is that of appropriation i.e. appropriating the temples according to the needs of the patron of new faith. The third phase he calls it as 'Beghara phase', where he proposes that a new idiom has been born. He places all the monuments belonging to the late 15th century and 16th century to the third phase i.e. 'Beghara phase'.

What Percy Brown writes, is broadly true. Examples of destruction, appropriation (though seldom) and innovations are seen, but one fails to observe the sequence suggested by Percy Brown in these developments. These tendencies can be observed in all the periods irrespective of the sequential development. Indeed, the early monuments from Patan, Dist. Mehsana, North Gujarat, belong to the phase of destruction. It is the site where the early battles were fought during Khalji's and Thughlaq's rule. It is on the Delhi-Gujarat route. Monuments like Sheikh Farid's tomb and the adjacent mosque are constructed by using the material of pulled down temples. A Jamim Mosque was also created at Patan, but today this mosque is so badly renovated that hardly anything of the original monument survives.

After reading James Burgess, reading Percy Brown is a good relief, because, of the analytical study and comparative approach of the

research adopted by him for the study of monuments. Like he compares the façade of a Dargah of Nizamuddin Auliya with the façade of mosque of Jamimosque of Khambhat. This sort of comparative study is missing in the works of James Burgess, Henry Cousens or James Fergusson. While describing Hilal Khan Qazi's Mosque, he calls the diminutive structures on the corner of the "Maqsura" appropriately as 'turrets' as they do not have any functional properties. They are just symbolic of the structures that will be seen in future monuments as 'minarets'. Percy Brown finds similarity in the style and character of Hilal Khan Qazi's mosque and Jamimosque of Khambhat. This apparently is not true as the physical appearances of both the mosques are different. The main central arch of Hilal Khan Qazi Mosque is not higher and is pressed inside. This creates a Maqsura, which is not straight. The ornamental turrets are on the main archway and there is a small portico over the northern end, which gives shelter to the stairs, constructed in the northern wall. There is no colonnade in Qazi Hilal Khan's mosque. A small exit gate has been deliberately pierced into the southern wall. The main entrance is from the eastern gate, which is elaborately treated. It is connected to an elaborately decorated double storied domical structure. There is nothing similar in Jamimosque of Khambhat dated 1325 A.D. to be equated it with Qazi Hilal Khan's mosque dated 1383 A.D. Hence, through the reading of Percy Brown, it is not clear as to what kind of style and character he is pointing to, which makes his study seemingly incomplete. The decorative tendency, employment of all the architectural elements of the structural temples by deconnoting them, has been on the rise in the centuries to come, and Hilal Khan Qazi's mosque is the stepping-stone towards a new lineage

His statement, "The former is in the same tradition as the Jamimosque of Khambhat, the old threads of the building art being picked up again after an interval of some seventy five years", shows that he has not properly considered monument of other locality, say for instance, Saurashtra, specially Junagadh district, the Chara-Bazar

Jamimosque of Mangrol town, which has been dated in 1384 A.D. Besides this, there is Qazi Hilal Khan mosque and Tanka Masjid (reused material) both from Dholka, Ahmedabad district which indicates that there was no intermission in building-art. And if he is referring to the Jamimosque, then even that is not true as Jamimosque of Mangrol town was constructed in 1384 A.D. The construction of many such monuments during that period is not ruled out. But we do not have any detailed account of them, either because they were destroyed or they were not studied in their proper perspective. It is also possible that they are so badly renovated today that the new structure refuses to acknowledge their earlier existence, and we would never know whether they ever did existed

Unlike other scholar, it is realized that even Percy Brown tries to allocate new nomenclatures to the various ruler's phases viz, Ahmed Shah's phase, Beghara phase etc Ahmed Shah's phase, no doubt ushered in the new architectural zeal and decorativeness in the Islamic monument of Gujarat. But these phases cannot be treated as water-tight compartments because the decorativeness and the architectural features of the structural temples that one sees on the Islamic monuments of Gujarat during his rule has its strong roots in the earlier decades. There has been a development on earlier known values for Islamic monuments. Hence instead of calling the period of Sultan Ahmed Shah '1's rule as second phase in architectural activity it would be logical to consider it as an expected development in the field of architecture. However the difference in architectural style, which Percy Brown credits to the period of Ahmed Shah '1', can also be due to the regional disparity and the difference in time period. The hectic building activity definitely precipitated the fury of architectural activity but there has not been any direct influence on the architectural style.

Referring to the Haibat Khan's mosque, Percy Brown calls the butteresses as bastions having Thughlaqan influence; and the turrets as,
 " ..they mark a further step in the formation and position of that

characteristic feature, the minaret, to attain which the builders were evidently striving"¹². It is primarily due to these reasons that the mosque of Haibat Khan has been considered as the connecting link between the 14th and the 15th Century monuments, even though this mosque, largely, has been built by the reused materials.

The author has very confidently placed different monuments like, Teen darwaja, Tomb of Ahmed Shah '1', Rani-ka-Hajira during the period of Muhammed Shah, without substantiating the reasons for doing so. He adopts the same approach while mentioning the 'Rauza of Surkhej'. The complex at Surkhej was not meant to be a 'Rauza' It was conceived to be the centre of spiritualism, but as the saint died, the centre turned to be a 'Rauza'. The complex contained his tomb and at a later stage, the tombs of his follower Sultan Mahmud Shah '1' and his wives. The present scholar during her research for the dates of the monuments at Surkhej, was unable to find a confirmed date of construction of monuments at Surkhej. But Percy Brown has placed it during the rule of Muhammed Shah for which he has not given any explanation.

It would be highly audacious to categorically say that all these were mistakes, but one may call them as lacuna in the proper writings. In Percy Brown's time such a little piece of information might have had served the purpose right, but after all these centuries of research and advanced knowledge, these researches are given a rethought.

The references which Percy Brown has used, are the researches done by James Burgess, who has been already talked about. Percy Brown has categorized, a mosque near Delhi gate and mosque of Alifkhan at Dholka, in the reign of Sultan Qutub-ud-din Ahmed Shah '1'. While writing about Qutub-ud-din Ahmed Shah '1' he writes that, "Qutub-ud-din's reign of seven years (1451-58) produced several buildings, only two of which however are associated with this ruler personally. One of these is his own mosque named after him and of no outstanding character, while other is a mosque and a tomb in the

¹²Brown Percy. - 'Indian Architecture-Islamic Period' Taraporewala Publications-Mumbai 1942. Chapter 10, page 51.

suburb of Rajpur, erected in the memory of his queen, Sayyid Buddha bin Sayyid Yakut”¹³. The so called mosque of Sultan Qutbud-din Ahmed Shah ‘1’, which is near Delhigate at Ahmedabad, according to the inscription of its central “Mihrab”, is the mosque of Nizam b. Hilal. The inscription over the central “Mihrab” has been read and translated by M.A.Chaghatai. In his article he has not mentioned anything regarding the inscription being lifted up or of a later date and hence, it is understood, that the inscription is original and that it belongs to this mosque. How does Percy Brown considers it to be Qutub-ud-din's mosque is unexplainable

According to Percy Brown, Sayyid Buddha bin Sayyid Yakut is the Queen of Sultan Qutbud-din Ahmed Shah ‘1’ But M.A.Chaghatai, in his translation of the inscription placed over central “Mihrab” of the said mosque at Rajpur quarter, mentions the name of the Mother of Sultan Qutbud-din Ahmed Shah ‘1’; as ‘Makhduma-I-Jahan’¹⁴. Regarding the name, Sayyid Buddha bin Sayyid Yakut, Chaghtai in the translation of the same inscription mentions, “ It is generally alleged that the mosque was built by one Budhah-bin-Sayyid Yakut in memory of his wife.” And therefore no such name of any lady of Royal house has ever been known. Hence the name Sayyid Budhah bin Sayyid Yakut belongs to a gentleman and not to the Queen as ascribed by Percy Brown. The name of wife of Sultan Qutbud-din Ahmed Shah ‘1’ was Rani Rupmanjari. Beside this, no other name gets mentioned as the Queen of Sultan Qutbud-din Ahmed Shah ‘1’ in the history of Gujarat.

Thus his source of information remains unclear. Likewise, while mentioning the brick constructions and the tomb of Daryakhan at Daryapur quarter at Ahmedabad, he includes the mosque of Alafkhan at Dholka to the reign of Sultan Qutbud-din Ahmed Shah ‘1’. Whereas the truth is that, Alifkhan was one of the friends of Sultan Mahmud

¹³ Ibid :- Chapter 10 page 54.

¹⁴ Chaghatai M.A.: ‘Muslim Monuments of Ahmedabad-through their Inscriptions’, Reprinted from the bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute-Poona, Vol.3.no. 2-1942, page 53

Shah '1' (also known as Prince Fathkhan) during their young age. Alifkhan (Alaf Khan) could not have made such a large mosque at Dholka while he was still young and his friend Prince Fathkhan was to become a Sultan yet. Prince Fathkhan raised all his friends of youth to higher position in his court after becoming Sultan.

His assumption of the newly seen style in case of tomb of Daryakhan and mosque of Alafkhan at Dholka, to have come from the Southern Persia, due to trade relations, is not fully correct. If one compares them with the Iranian mosque at Varamin 1322 A.D. and with the mosques from Anatolia, Sultaniyeh, Aleppo, Cairo and Syria, then it becomes clear that the flow of tradition was not from one country. Instead a chosen architectural features, which had become canon over the years in the Islamic Countries, together came down to India and spread its influence, especially in Gujarat. And it happened during the Golden Age of Sultan Mahmud Shah '1' and not during the reign of Sultan Qutbud-din Ahmed Shah '1'.

Lastly, he has dedicated a complete section to the architecture that was constructed during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah I. Percy Brown chose to call this as the 'third' or 'Beghara Period'. The architectural activity during Sultan Mahmud Shah I sped up multifold and new style was introduced, i.e. of 'stucco'. It is during this phase that much of decorations from the Jain temples of the Shetrunjya and Ranakpur complexes were amalgamated once again into the Islamic architectural style, that was already built up in Gujarat. It was the phase of Re-Renaissance in the Islamic Architecture of Gujarat. All these features continued even after the death of Sultan Mahmud Shah '1'. Hence this nomenclature would be incorrect if there was no 'fourth phase' or a 'Phase of stucco' and minimum of decoration. But Percy Brown does not do so. His identification of three different phases as early as 1942 A.D., is landmark but lacks deep analysis. There cannot be watertight compartments appears from the writings of Percy Brown. The architecture and its decoration during the rule of Sultan Mahmud Shah '1' is the result of decades of experiments and innovations done

by the guilds and the craftsmen, very well supported by the healthy and peaceful socio-politico-economic situation and the rich Patron. The style cannot be segregated from its predecessors.

Percy Brown's observation of highest number of Rauza constructed during this phase is indeed true. Sultan Mahmud Shah '1', though tolerant towards other religion was himself a staunch muslim, who made his son recite entire Koran by heart and himself offered 'Namaz' five times a day. This is to suggest that though there was nothing imposed on any person, people especially from muslim community followed the decrees of Islamic faith very faithfully. According to it any royal person or a saint of highest degree or a caretaker of a mosque or a dervish can be buried in the compound of a mosque and the same thing is observed by the present researcher also. As mentioned by Percy Brown, the Rauza of Sayyid Usman has both the monuments; mosque and tomb build in hypostyle. The mosque is indeed built in hypostyle, but not the tomb structure. The main dome over the grave rests on a system, which is arcuate, but the arches are not seen all over. The main dome rests over the circular ring created by the arches that sprouts from the cluster of the pillars and eventually joins them back. The same method is observed at the four corners. The space between all these corners must have once been covered up by the jalis /wall, as suggested by the existing structure of the height of 2 1/2 feet. The space outside this wall has the ceiling created by the small ring domes, which can be said as the hypostyle. The date of masoleum and the mosque has a gap of approximately 5-10 years. Saint Sayyid Usman has created and got populated the suburbs called Usmanpur. It must have taken at least two decades for populating the area to such an extent that the need of this big mosque arose. The date of death of the Sayyid Usman is not mentioned in any chronicles, but he was still alive when Prince FathKhan was crowned as Sultan of Ahmedabad Sultanate in 1458 A.D and Percy Brown rightly dates it to 1460 A.D.

His observation that there was increase in the usage of arcuate system (technique of construction using arches), since the construction of tomb of Sayyid Usman, is correct. Percy Brown speaks of Masoleum of Shah-I-Alam, but does not speak about the mosque of Shah-I-Alam, which is also built in arcuate style. It is discussed in the second chapter of the present thesis, as to why this mosque has been considered to have been built in the date bracket of 1450-1475A.D. While mentioning the interior of tomb (masoleum) of Qutub-I-Alam, Percy Brown writes, "what makes this monument remarkable is that all its parts are either arched or vaulted so that certain vistas of interior are strangely reminiscent of aisles of Gothic Church". He must have felt so because of the arches of the ground floor, which bears the weight of upper storey, which is also built in arches. This technique is typical of Early Mediaeval and Gothic churches. But there is a slight discrepancy between the two. The vaulting and arches that are seen here, are more robust and austere with eaves and brackets supporting the upper crest of the ceiling, which is not the feature of Gothic Churches. Moreover the arches and vaulting of Gothic Churches are uniformly created with emphasis on symmetry and geometric calculations. The arches of the clerestory and the ground floor are in complete harmony to each other. The arch window of clerestory is placed exactly above the arch of the aisle. In case of mausoleum of Qutubi-I-Alam, this feature has not been thought over. However the idea of usage of vaults and arches to gain height is novel in case of Islamic architecture of Gujarat, but then the Middle East Islamic countries are full of such examples and it is with these countries that seaports of Gujarat were continuously trading.

The mausoleum of Mubarak Sayyid, according to Percy Brown, was erected in 1484 A.D. From the chronicle 'Mirat-I-Sikanderi', it is known that Sayad Mubarak Bukhari was alive in 1553 A.D. and not before that.¹⁵ His masoleum, therefore, could not be earlier than 1553 A.D. The battle in which Sayad Mubarak Bukhari became martyr took

¹⁵'Mirat-I-Sikanderi' Translated by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi, page no.255

place in some year, later than 1553 A.D. But Sikander does not give its precise date, as he does for the incidents and events of other Sultan's regime. Hence the exact era of construction of mausoleum is not known. There is no explanation provided by Percy Brown either. Again, the date of mosque of Muhafiz Khan has been wrongly ascribed by him. His mosque according to the inscription at the central "Mihrab" and translated by M. A. Chaghatai is 1485 A.D. How has Percy Brown calculated the date 1492 A.D. is not clear. Similarly he has dated mosque of Sidi Sa'id between 1510-1515 A.D, whereas it is known that he died in 1572 A.D his mausoleum and mosque was constructed in the same year. It is very strange that Percy Brown is trying to equate Jamimosque's construction of elevation with the Latin cross. His approach has been 'occidental' in this case, because there has been no influence of European Architecture on Islamic Monuments of Gujarat. And as such the question of influence does not arise here, as there has been no connection of Gujarat with European countries during 15th and 16th centuries.

Thus, though the work of Percy Brown 'Indian Architecture - Islamic Period' is remarkably scholarly, it has many facts and observations, which either had to be re-evaluated or to be negated. The work done by him is sourced from James Burgess, who was his veteran. In those days his work must have created a spur among the scholars of architecture, but in this century the work appears to be insufficient. Many monuments that are mentioned by him have wrong dates and at times his observation and comparison is not justifiable especially because he has not provided any explanation for it.

In the work of earlier generation scholars, in-depth analysis of monuments is seldom seen. Their contributions towards the general studies were pioneering and even today they are useful as a major source of information. These studies also provide wide scope for further research. An overview of the research that has been already done in the last century would help to explain and justify the purpose and objective of the present investigation. Though chronology,

patronage and stylistic analysis is the central concern of this study, epigraphy had been the integral part of it. Most of the articles of epigraphy, that have been published in relation to monuments in Gujarat, specially the Islamic monument of Gujarat, are bilingual. These are mainly written in Persian and Arabic and then translated into English. These readings are accompanied by brief historical references in connection to the characters mentioned in the inscriptions. Such inscriptions have helped to understand the history of Gujarat better. They also fill up the gaps in the known history of Islamic rule in India. Inscriptions have also helped to rightly identify and to understand the monuments better. There are many sources that give the details of monuments. For example articles that are written in the gazetteers and historical sources and tour guides written by various scholars. This information if used for analyzing the monument, creates confusions as the information gathered from these sources and the facts insitu do not tally. Inscriptions and the articles written on them give the clear picture of the monument. It gives the actual name, patron and date of the monument. The mosque of Qutub-ud-din Ahmed Shah near Delhi Chakla Ahmedabad, Gujarat, is till today goes by the same name. Whereas its real name as realized by the inscription embedded over the central "Mihrab", is different. This inscription quotes the name of some Nizam b. Hilal, who has constructed this mosque. Thus the inscription helps to understand the site accurately. It is because of these inscriptions that a new perspective comes to light, that even the large and the elaborate mosques were also patronized by the nobles. This knowledge also enables to analyze the monument according to the status of the patron. The usefulness of inscription is thus proven. In this context the name of the two epigraphists deserves to be recalled, M.A. Chaghatai and Dr. Z. A. Desai.

Recalling the works of Dr. Z.A. Desai, the corpus of the work that he has produced is enormous. He has translated the entire range of inscriptions that were related to the Islamic monuments of Gujarat and that came across him. After translating the inscriptions, he has

carefully categorized them according to either the period or the rulers. In each article that he has written, a short history of the characters mentioned in the inscription has been provided. This has helped the present scholar to analyze the monuments in the historical perspective and place them chronologically. It is through such studies that one comes to know that the bilingual inscriptions did exist during the rule of Solankis and Waghelas.

Though the epigraphical articles are great sources of knowledge and information, they can also create confusion, if one is not aware of the historical facts. A single example can illustrate this observation.

In the Borwad Mosque of Junagadh district, there are two inscriptions mentioning the construction of the mosque. The placement of one inscription is, in the niche over the central "Mihrab". This inscription is in-situ and belongs to the same mosque. But there is one more inscription mentioning the construction of some Jamimosque during the rule of Sultan Mahmud Shah 'I', embedded above the central "Mihrab" on the left side. The Borwad Mosque, which might have been the private property of some royals in the past, has features not different from any other Jamimosques of Gujarat. And if one is not aware of the historical fact then one can easily get misguided regarding the type of mosque and can easily assume that it is the same Jamimosque, which is mentioned in the inscription. Sultan Mahmud Shah 'I' conquered Girnar and Junagadh in the year 1472 A.D. In the same year he got constructed a fort city and named it as a Mustafabad. In Mustafabad, there were several palaces and rich house of all those nobles and Ulemas, which he had invited from the region around Kutch and Sindh. He also got build many mosques and a Jamimosque, which still exist at Upper Kot. Unfortunately, this mosque does not contain any inscription. It is known from the history that after 1472 A.D. there was no conquest by Sultan Mahmud Shah 'I' and no construction of Jamimosque took place. Bringing together the facts from inscription and from the history it was realized that, as questioned

by Dr. Z. A. Desai in the article on the translation of the inscription from Borwad mosque¹⁶, and supported by present scholar, the inscription belonged to the Jamimosque of Upper Kot as the stylistic feature of this mosque bears the close semblance with the other monuments from the Junagadh district.

Barring few examples, most of the inscriptions that are deciphered by Dr. Z.A. Desai are illuminating and lucid. He has tried to connect the facts that are revealed by the inscriptions, with the history. This has helped the present scholar to understand the history of Gujarat more coherently. The inscriptions published by him in 1961, has placed the historical facts chronologically, which otherwise are not available even in the chronicles like 'Mirat-I-Sikanderi', and 'Arabic History of Gujarat'. In this inscription dated 1218, from Khambhat, Gujarat, Dr. Z.A. Desai has not only read the inscription but has also tried to connect it to the history by incorporating three different facts. This suggests that the portion of history which otherwise is vague can be comprehended clearly only with the help of epigraphy. However while reading his article, it was not clear whether he was able to locate the place of the mosque that has been described in the inscription.

Like many scholar of his repute, he normally confesses the unexplainable parts of his studies, but in the particular article we come across a little complacency which otherwise is never experienced in his work

Many articles that are written by Dr. Z.A. Desai were not necessarily related to the monument but are based on some *farmans*. One such, *farmans* which is worth mentioning here is the one that got published in the year 1968-69 A.D. This article mentions the recording of the discontinuation of the marriage tax, levied only on the Hindus of the Mangrol town of Junagadh district. The inscription

¹⁶Dr.Desai Z.A. · Epigraphica Indica Arabic And Persian Supplement 1953-1954, pages62-63, 65-66 and 66-67 'Inscription from the Borwad Mosque Junagarh',

bears the date A.H. 804 /1403-04 A.D. This suggests that the marriage tax that was imposed on the Hindus was discontinued in the beginning of the Ahmedabad Sultanate. This even suggests that this imposition was done during the Thughlaqan rule in Gujarat. Both the acts are not to be traced in this history. This also helps us to understand the administration and revenue collection process. DR. Z.A. Desai has himself pointed out the problem caused by the absence of the names of either the Governor of the province or the King of Delhi. Also the title of the person, who has issued the notification of the removal and remittance of the tax, is missing.

Since, inscriptional data is the central concern of his investigation, no wonder he does not probe into the stylistic and aesthetic problems of architecture. Using his material in various ways, the present scholar could proceed further and feels indebted to him.

Another scholar who has been frequently referred for this thesis is, M.A. Chaghatai. Most of the inscriptions that have been relied upon, are the translations done by him and published in a book format under the title, "Muslim Monuments of Ahmedabad - through their inscriptions". The revered scholar has not provided much of the history, as one might expect, after reading the articles written by Dr. Z.A. Desai. This has created a little difficulty in knowing or identifying the characters as named in the inscription. One such example is the inscriptions of monuments related to Malik Sha'ban. At the site, the mosque of Malik Sha'ban is not just a single structure, but it is accompanied by his tomb structure. This Rauza is at Rakhyal, which does not get clarified from the information provided along with the translation of the inscription done by Shri M.A. Chaghatai. According to him, Malik Sha'ban mosque is near Bhadra and his tomb is in Rakhyal. So whose tomb is in the courtyard of the mosque of Malik Sha'ban? According to 'Mirat -I- Sikanderi', the mosque of Malik

inscription From the Borwad Mosque Junagarh', Other Inscription from the Borwad Mosque' respectively.

Rauza of Malik Sha'ban



Minarets



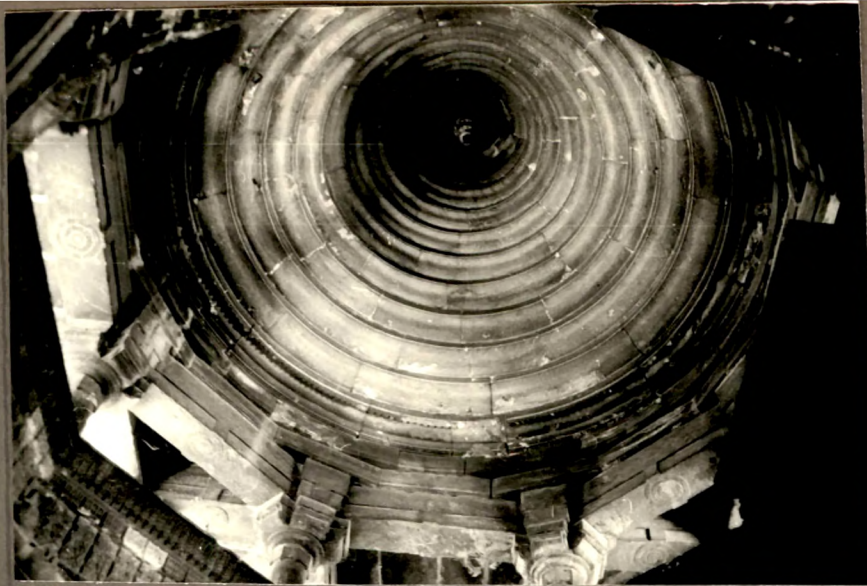
Ibadatkhana



Mihrab



Mihrab

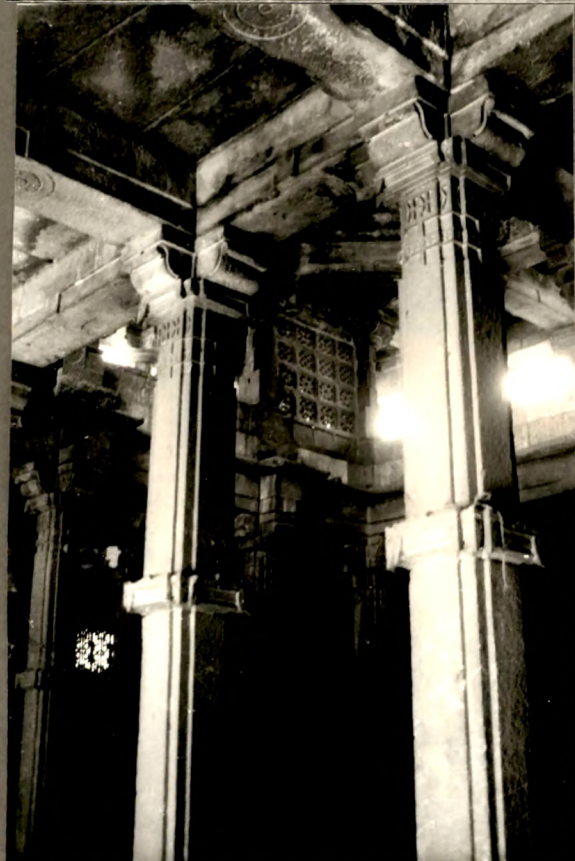


Rauza of
malik shabam

→ Dome
(ceiling)



→ Dome
(ceiling)



Tomb of Malik Sha'bam



Central Arch:
Rauza of Malik Shah



→ ceiling
near Mihrab
Mosque of
Malik Shah



→ ceiling

Sha'ban lies in the east of Ahmedabad and his tomb lies within the courtyard¹⁷ Thus it can be concluded that the said Rauza is of Malik-Sha'ban, as its details matches with the Rauza, which the present scholar has visited. The locality is probably called as Rakhyal. However, this does not get clarified from the inscriptions that are translated by M. A. Chaghatai. Second example, of the same problem is the inscription related to Malik Sarang, popularly called as *Siddi Bashir ka Minara*, by the name of the attendant of the mosque, Siddi Bashir.¹⁸ In both the inscriptions complete title and the entire detail of the nobles of Sultan Mahmud Shah '1' has been given, but the characters of the inscriptions are not connected to the sites. In none of the inscription there is an exact description of the mosque. This creates confusion regarding the identity of the mosque and the character thus named in the inscription.

M.A. Chaghatai fails to provide a convincing answer to the problem, which arises due to the location. In none of these translations, an attempt to study the queries leading to investigation has been sensed. Such studies have been inadequate to relate the epigraphy to the study of monument and history, in general. The writings of M. A. Chaghatai, otherwise, are very lucid and easy to understand. In his introduction to the book "Muslim monuments of Ahmedabad-through their inscription", he hopes that "this effort will be treated as a supplement to other larger works on Ahmedabad and that it will prove to be an aid to the study of Gujarat Muslim History". It indeed does. It has helped immensely in the present research.

Dr. Z. A. Desai's monumental work especially in the field of epigraphy related to the monuments alongwith the work of G. Yazdani is almost like a bible to the scholars of this area. Unfortunately a large corpus of Dr. Desai work, the detail translation of Arabic & Persian inscriptions, in particular, is not incorporated in this study of Islamic monuments of Gujarat.

¹⁷'Mirat-I-Sikanderi', Translated by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi page no 88-89.

His "Indo-Islamic Architecture" and "Mosques and Tombs of India", have been referred to, extensively for this thesis. Presently the book in discussion is "Indo-Islamic Architecture" published in December 1970. By this time Dr Z A. Desai had already worked on large number of epigraphs and almost all of them were published in "Epigraphica Indica" and "Epigraphica Indica-Indo Moslemica" (later named as "Epigraphica Indica-Persian and Arabic Supplement") Dr Desai's works are mainly concentrated on the epigraphs that were found in Gujarat, belonging to the 'Rajput period' as he has labeled them, and to the 'Muslim rule' in Gujarat.

It has already been discussed that the epigraphical translations done by Dr. Z.A.Desai are the best available sources for studying the stylistic feature of the monuments and its place in the history. But from the chronological point of view, the book "Indo-Islamic Architecture" does not maintain the same standard. In fact this book surprises the reader with its casual presentations. There are few problematic areas found in this book. The present concern is only the portion of the book, which is related to the architecture of Gujarat.

Further Dr. Z.A. Desai writes, "As against this, Gujarat had singularly beautiful style of its own characterized by spaciousness and elegance"¹⁹. There is no doubt that most of the monuments of Gujarat, especially Islamic, are spacious and elegant. He has given the credit to the 'Khalji Architecture' at Delhi for the conception of symmetry and the proportion of the Khalji style. However, he also mentions that Indian elements have been dominating in the Architecture and decorative fields. Apart from the common notion, Dr. Z A Desai rightly recognizes the usages of jalis, for admitting light and air, to be unique to Gujarat Architecture. Desai, observed the indigenous origin of the features like jalis and celrestories in 1970's, against the prevalent belief that they were borrowed from the foreign Islamic

¹⁸ Chaghatai M. A., 'Muslim Monuments, Of Ahmedabad-through their inscriptions', Re printed for the Bulletin Of the Deccan College Research Institute-Poona, 1942 page no.55.

¹⁹ Dr.Desai Z.A. 'Indo-Islamic Architecture', page no 19, Publication Division Ministry of Information And Broadcasting, Government of India-1970

tradition. Curiously, this important and very significant observation is presented very casually and fails to draw the attention that it deserves, probably because the book was addressed to the common reader and not to the scholars

The same casual attitude is divulged from the following quote, "Among a few monuments representing this early style at Mangrol, the large and spacious Jamimasjid, built out of Hindu materials, is considered to be the finest in peninsular Gujarat and is a solid and massive building of the closed variety"²⁰. This statement is debatable, as the Jamimosque of Mangrol is large and spacious but it is certainly not the finest or among the finest. The mosque is simple and not of a great excellence and grandeur. The mosque has double storied colonnade and perhaps in the Ibadatkhana the same feature gets repeated. This might be a clerestory or a mezzanine floor. The gender discrimination didn't allow the present scholar to see the Ibadatkhana from inside. Hence the nature of the carving of the Ibadatkhana is a mystery to her. Jamimosque of Mangrol projects a rudimentary form of Architecture. It does not provide the clear picture of a real Ibadatkhana and "Maqsura". The concept of minarets to be used for 'adan' was perhaps unknown in the Gujarat province, till the construction of Jamimosque of Mangrol. This concept remains unexplored until the Sultan Mahmud Shah 'I' Begada's regime. The only thing that gets standardized in this mosque is the treatment of butteresses. The Jamimosque of Mangrol is massive in dimensions but its basic character is rudimentary and hence it cannot be considered as the representative example of Gujarat architecture. The treatment of "Maqsura" with arches and balconies has been attempted for the first time. Later on under the independent rule of Gujarat Sultan this form of façade decoration becomes a prototype, which could be the reason why Desai gives so much importance to this mosque.

Dr Desai says, "Under the independent Sultans, a period of unparalleled architectural activity started with the foundation of capital

²⁰ Ibid page 20.

city of Ahmedabad in 1411 A.D", which is indeed so. But this 'unparalleled activity' should not be linked to the period of different dynasties but should be understood as a creative urge for the development, which is very unique. The establishment of independent rule in Gujarat gave a very strong impetus to the germination and flowering of a new Architectural style.

His views on Jammosque of Ahmedabad, "lack of symmetry of composition and free from monotony" needs some attention. It is difficult to understand what Dr. Z.A. Desai meant by "lack of symmetry of composition". Does he mean that the North and South porches which are not in axis to each other, does not create any symmetry or that the number of architectural elements do not tally on the four sides? The mosque when visited, does not give such an impression. There are three entrance (or exit) porches, North, South and East. The dimensions of Northern porch and the Southern porch are not the same. The Northern porch has been constructed on the same level as that of Southern porch, but it has a span of flight to ascend or descend, from the main road, meeting Tripolia Gate. This suggests that the geographical location of the mosque is uneven. If this is the reason of his argument about 'lack of symmetry of composition' then there is a need of rethinking. Talking about the compositions, the mosque has a beautifully treated and balanced façade. The main arched entrance is flanked by two minarets having same designs on them. This set has been complimented by two sets of arches on either side, which are not of same height. The immediate archways flanking the main archway are a little smaller in height than the earlier one. The archways adjoining to this second archway on the either side is still smaller in height. This way the architect has dispelled monotony. Inside the Ibadatkhana, there is Zenana Khana on both the sides. The difference is that the entrance to the Zenana Khana on the southern end is through the colonnade and to that for northern is through a high raised platform. This indeed is lack of compositional symmetry. This is the only place where the observation of Dr. Z.A. Desai stands true.

While describing the mosque of Haibat Khan he writes, "Another early mosque is that of Haibat Khan which has two tapering turrets at the front and five round towers at the back of the prayer hall" By "tapering turrets", he perhaps means the symbolic version or the preliminary forms of minarets. They are 'turrets' in real sense because they are non functional and are mere decorative. However it is not clear as to why he has used the term 'Towers' for the structures at the back of the prayer hall, which act as buttresses, as these structures are not buttresses in the sense that has been used in Gothic Architecture. Dr. Desai, in his article does not give a comprehensive and an elaborate description of all the monuments, which are constructed in Gujarat during the rule of independent Sultans of Ahmedabad Sultanate but instead has been very particular in giving the description of only those monuments that are constructed in Ahmedabad under the rule of different rulers.

There is one more thing, which is very important, and that is the dating of monuments. From his entire article it is not clear as to how he has arrived at those dates. For instance, while mentioning the mosque and the tomb of Sheikh Ahmed Khattu Ganj Baksh, Dr. Z A Desai writes 'd 1446', whereas in the chronicles like 'Arabic History of Gujarat' and 'Mirat-I-Sikanderi' the dates given is 14th Shawwal, 849 AH i.e 1446-47 A.D and 20th Ramzan, A.H 849, i.e 1445 A.D respectively. Similarly Dr. Z.A. Desai has given the date of mosque and the tomb of Malik Shaban, as 1452 A.D whereas, M.A Chaghatai dates it to 1461 A.D /866 A.H²¹. Hence the question about the authenticity of the dates ascribed by Dr Z.A Desai, arises. Further, Dr Z.A Desai does not even clarify whether these monuments are already dated or the dates are ascribed to them, causing a little ambiguity in the study of these monuments.

²¹Chaghatai M.A.: 'Muslim Monument of Ahmedabad-through their Inscriptions', Reprinted from the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona-1942, Vol.3 no 2 page 53

In addition to this, Dr Z A Desai has made some sweeping observations like, "The place of the minars, an essential part of Gujarat mosques, was finally determined in the mosques where the prayer-hall was of the open-pillared variety, the minars were placed at the corners, but they remained on the sides of the central archway where prayer-halls were of the closed type" This does not hold true for Jammosque of Bharuch and for Surkhej, which though of the open pillared variety, do have any minarets anywhere, neither at the centre nor at the end. On the other hand, Nagina Mosque and Nila/lila Gumbaz at Champaner are of open pillared variety and yet they have a huge central arch flanked by towering minarets. Dr Z A. Desai perhaps did not notice these exceptions. Further while mentioning about the mosque of Miyan Khan Chisti (C.1465) and Achyut Kuki (1469 A.D.) Dr Z A. Desai writes, "The mosques of Miyan Khan Chisti (C-1465) and of Bibi Achyut Kuki (1469 A D) are similar in design being of the closed prayer hall variety, with three archways in the front wall, of which the one in the center is flanked by two richly carved buttresses"²² There is a door on the side of the arch attached to the minaret, suggesting its functionality as the one. Its explanation would have justified the term 'butteress' that he chose.

The most important feature of this article of his book "Indo-Islamic Architecture" is the critical chronology that has been formulated by Dr Z A. Desai, highlighting the significance of each monument. It has helped all the scholars immensely, working on the History and Architecture of medieval Gujarat. He gives perceptive descriptions of various monuments, like the mosque of Ram Sibrai (1514) "Quite small in size, this mosque exemplifies perfect balance between decorative and architectural features, its tall and slender minarets of the most graceful type are in perfect harmony with the open prayer hall of the pillared variety. Its richness of details, more particularly the delicate tracteries and jewel like carvings, and the exquisite design and sculpture of its ornamental minarets, make it the

²² Op cit: page 22.

most beautiful monument of Ahmedabad"²³. While talking about the brick structures like tomb of Daryakhan, tomb of Azzam Mu'azzam and Qutub-I-Alam, and mosque of Alif Khan at Dholka (also known as Khan Mosque), he says, "...the style is still different, showing distinct signs of Persian influence"²⁴. The researcher is apprehensive about the Persian influence. Dr Z.A.Desai places the mosque of Shah Khub contemporary to the tomb of Shah-I-Alam, which is thought provoking. It is opined that the mosque of Shah Khub and the Ram Mosque of Paladi Koachrab are later only to the mosque of Rani Sabrai (1514 A.D.). And the Tomb of Shah-I-Alam can be dated from 1475-1480 A.D. as the revered Saint died in 1475. Hence the mosque of Shah Khub and Tomb of Shah-I-Alam cannot be contemporary. Here too, Dr. Z. A. Desai fails to substantiate his observations leading further to confusions. His observation that 'Kiosk' is the element, which is different and has been used for the first time in the history of Islamic Architecture of Gujarat, is noteworthy. The tomb of Sayyid Mubarak Bukhari, rightly adjudged by him, is constructed in 1558 and "represents the concluding phase, political as well as architectural, of the Gujarat Sultanate..." After this decade the phase of architecture of Gujarat Sultanate gets aucified and is seen continuing during the Mughal rule over Gujarat. One cannot argue about the fact that the mosque of Sidi Sa'id is structurally important, as .. "it indicates a marked departure in the composition of its prayer hall, the flat roof of which is laid not on pillars but entirely on arches springing from the square stone piers. Likewise, for the support of the ceiling, three different systems-bracket, diagonal beam and squinch- have been employed"²⁵.

His second book, "Mosques of India", first published in 1966 and revised in 1970, is more stimulating than the earlier book, "Indo-Islamic Architecture". The book "Mosques of India" clarifies all the doubts and the queries, which arose while reading the earlier book

²³Ibid : page 23

²⁴Ibid : page 22.

²⁵Ibid . page 24.

However in chapter 4, 'Outstanding Mosques' the criterion for the selection of the mosques is not clear. Curiously some of the most outstanding structures like, Jamimosque of Khambhat is not mentioned in the list. While mentioning the details of Jamimosque of Mangrol, Dr Z.A. Desai for the first time mentions the name of the patron, along with its date. This indicates that the date and the name of the patron have been arrived at, with the help of the inscription at the central "Mihrab". This book also helps us to understand his methodology to interpret the monument. This becomes clear from the description of the "Maqsura" of Jamimosque of Ahmedabad 1425 A.D. He considers the starting point of the minaret to be the terrace level and the construction below the terrace level to be the base of the minarets. This is in contrast with the usual understanding of the 'minarets' construction that starts from the base reaching till its finial. In the same chapter, while giving information regarding the tomb and the mosque of Rani Sibrai, Dr Z.A. Desai writes that ". this mosque is of a moderate size. It measures about 14 by 5m, and was built in 1514 by Rani Sibrai, widow of Sultan Mahmud Shah I (1458-1511)"²⁶. This information suggests that, even after the death of Sultan Mahmud Shah 'I', his wife Rani Sibrai, continued to enjoy the same status. The scale of the monument suggests that perhaps it was meant for the queen only, to offer the prayers. It is because of the same reason that the mosque is lavishly decorated.

Another historical work is the translation of 'An Arabic History of Gujarat'. Originally written by Hajji-ud-Dabir. It is translated by M.F. Lokhandwala and published under Gaekwads's Oriental Series (G.O.S. 152) in the year 1970. This book must be the faithful translation of the original Arabic work, for the remarks of M.F. Lokhandwala that "he is not very clear when he describes abridged versions of any event. He jumps by leaps and bounds without maintaining a connected link of the whole event. His abridged

²⁶Dr Desai Z.A. 'Mosques of India', Publication Division-Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi 1970. Chapter no 4, page no 46-47

versions from Zia-ud-din Barani are of this type. In between the narration of such abridged versions, he introduces other topics and so the reader fails to understand what he means to convey. He gets himself confused and makes the reader confused"²⁷. The same opinion is also formulated by the present scholar. There is lot of discontinuity in the reading, which leaves the reader confused and puzzled. This was felt from the translation very clearly As mentioned by the author of translation, M.F. Lokhandwala, "copy of the book as found by Sir E. Denison Ross is incomplete." "It is probable that the missing portion of the book must have contained as Sir E. Denison Ross surmises an introduction to the book" whereas Lokhandwala believes that "it must have also contained the history early conquest of Gujarat by the Muslims as he has given the history of the first conquest of Muslims in Dekhan"²⁸ This History of Gujarat has largely dependent upon Husam Khan's Tabakat-I- Bahadurshahi.

His other sources are Manjhu Sikander and twice or thrice he has borrowed material from Tuhfat-us-Sadat of AramKashmiri, Tabakat-I-Nasiri of Juzjani, Tarikh-I-Firuzshahi of Barni and Tarikh-I-Bahadurshahi of Husam Khan. The present scholar has read the translation of 'Mirat-I-Sikanderi' by Fazallulaha LutFullaha Faridi but the other translations of the history of Gujarat were not referred. To the present scholar the translation of Sikander was more handy as it clearly stated the events, though at the end of History of Gujarat, he fails to provide the date of the event while mentioning them, as he had done in the case of Sayad Mubarak Bukhari's Martyrdom 'Mirat-I-Sikanderi' was completed some where in between 1594 A.D., which is the last date mentioned in the 'Mirat-I-Sikanderi' and 1611 A D , forty years after the destruction of Gujarat Sultanate This piece of information as written by M.F. Lokhandwala is provided by Mirat-I-Ahmedi.

²⁷ Abdullah Muhammad Al-MakkiAl-Asafi Al-UlughKham Hajji Ad-Dabir: 'An Arabic History Of Gujarat' English Translation by M.F. Lokhandwala, Editor B J Sandesra, Gaekwad Oreintal Series no.152 page no.XXV.

The book 'An Arabic History of Gujarat' opens from the information on the death of Saint Sheikh Ahmed Khattu Ganj Baksh and the ascension of Muhammed Shah, the fourth ruler in the line of hierarchy, on the throne. Though both the books are almost contemporary, certain piece of information do not tally with each other e.g The date of ascension of Sultan Muhammed Shah according to Hajji-ud-Dabir is 1442 A D /7th Rabi II 846 A.H and according to Sikander it is ; 3rd day of death of Sultan Ahmed i.e. 1443 A D /845 A.H. But the date of birth of Prince Fath Khan son of Muhammed Khan in both the case is 1445A D. /20th Ramzan 849A H Death of Muhammed Shah is 20th Muharram 855A.H. in 'Mirat-I-Sikanderi' and 8th Muharram in Arabic History of Gujarat' 855A H This creates the confusion as to which date is authentic and should be believed in In the year 1472A D / 877A.H according to 'Mirat -I-Sikanderi', Junagadh was won over by Sultan Mahmud Shah, but according to Hajji-ud-Dabir this event took place in 1470A D / 875A H and in 1472A.D./877 A H, he conquered Sindh and vanquished Nutak, the archer who engineered the rebel in Sindh. Sikanderi makes note of three events in the year 1472A D/ 877A.H (1) Conquest of Junagadh (2) March against Sindh to curb the rebellion under the leadership of Nutak, the archer (3) Conquest of Bet and Jagat.

Hajji-ud-Dabir gives important details whenever he remembers to furnish them The chronological continuity is thus broken and he has done this repeatedly Forexample, while writing the details of the event that happened in the year 1480, he suddenly remembers the event that had happened long ago i.e. Death of Imad-ul-Mulk in 1452 A.D/855 A H This creates confusion and the valuable piece of information, thus gets isolated like an island "An Arabic History of Gujarat" does not provide the clear information about the last Sultan of Ahmedabad Sultanate, Sultan Mehmud III. In the last chapter XXI of this book i.e all the narrations are by using the word he, him, she, where the

²⁸Ibid - page no XXIII

names of the individual character of the events are missing. While narrating the sequence of events, the author, suddenly talks about the heroes and rulers from Persia like Asfinyander, Gustaph and Rustam. He seems to mix up all the events without indicating what is the purpose of such information. The author has mentioned the end of the then ruling nobles and Amirs and ministers along with their burial places, but there is no mention of the end of Sultan Mehmud III. Even the series of events of passage of Gujarat Sultanate into the hands of Mughals. Also no mention is found regarding the last port/town that was captured by Mughals. On the other hand 'Mirat-I-Sikanderi' it is mentioned that the Sultan was offered help by the local ruler of Kutch and they hid him in the hilly terrains of Kutch, but the King's Viceroy learnt about it and proceeded towards the Kutch to loot and besiege it. When the local ruler realized this, they offered apology and handed over the refugee Sultan Mahmud III to the King's Viceroy. On the way back towards the Morbi, Sultan Mehmud III committed suicide by slitting his throat with a razor. This took place in the year 1000 after Hijrah i.e. 1603 A.D.²⁹. This book has much information regarding the contemporary social life. But with many serious problems and improperly placed information, all the facts and data have been accepted with slight reservation.

Coming to the General History of Gujarat, it has been written by various scholars. Among them, with the most reliable scholar is Edalji Dosabhai. And so is his book -"History of Gujarat"-from earliest times to the present time " first published in 1851 A.D republished in 1986. The book in its preface has remarks made by A K. Forbes in his report of the Society for 1850. "While on this subject, I may add that I have in my possession a compilation by Edalji Dosabhai written in very good Gujarati and giving a useful summary of the History of the Province. This may be published immediately, and may be very good school book." This indicates the basic purpose behind the book, besides the other fact, that in the study of History of Gujarat a lacuna

²⁹'Mirat-I-Sikanderi': - Translated by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi, page no 327.

in the general history of Gujarat and its continuity was felt in the first half of the 19th Century. This book served both the purposes. It highlights the general approach of Britishers of making Indians aware of their own history, which was also felt in the literary and the creative field of 19th century Indian Political and Social History.

In order to prove the antiquity of Gujarat and its people, the author began the history of the people of Gujarat with the conquest of Okha by Lord Krishna and the date is ascribed as B.C. 1400. Though the date and the existence of Okha and so-called Dwarkapuri created by Lord Krishna has yet to be proved. May be the scholar abided by the oral traditions, which still haunts the ancient history of India. Though there are places in Gujarat like Dholka, which is assumed to be Viratdesa of 'Mahabharat', the association of Pandavas with Gujarat is still to be proved. Even the antiquity of Dholka up to the date of 'Mahabharat' is still awaited. Moreover even the date of compilation of 'Mahabharat' still has to be assigned. Hence it would have been logical to begin the history of Gujarat with the Harappan civilization, as there are proofs and antiquities going back to that era in Gujarat. Dosabhai's history of Gujarat ends in 1893 with the implementation of local self-government.

Surprisingly, even after the publication of this book, while writing on the Islamic monument of Gujarat in the year 1942, Percy Brown does not incorporate and weave historical facts so lucidly written in this book. Reading the chapters of early period it is realized that, though the work was introduced at the school level, the quality of the research work was far better than its purpose. It showed sense of perception and analysis, which the other works could not do. By 1894 A.D. Archeological Survey had done lots of excavations and many finds like seals, sculpture, coins etc had been already published under Indian antiquary of which Bulher and Edalji Dosabhai had taken a good note of, in explaining many facts e.g. Girnar rock edict of Asoka. The author in absence of other factual information could perceive that,

Asoka's empire stretched till this part of the country, and it must have been governed by Kshatrapas or deputies, with their head quarter probably at Junagadh.

Similarly the author provides next succession, as if in hierarchy, the rule of Kaniska, whose dominion he believes was from Kabul and Yarkand, till Agra and had extended his rule to Gujarat also. According to him Gujarat was ruled by a race of rulers known as Kshatrapas on behalf of Kushanas (he does not mention the word Kushana, but expectedly uses the word Kaniska), and later they gained independence "during the time of that King's successors". "They are supposed to have conquered Kutch which remained a portion of the Gujarat principality in the time of Vallabhis also" "Kshatrapas are known as powerful monarchs. Probably they worshipped both the Sun and the Fire. On their coins the monarch is depicted wearing the Macedonian helmet, while the reverse shows a fire altar and the representation of the sun and the moon"³⁰. These quotes would help to understand the perception and analytical knowledge of the author. Over the years, not much has changed in the general history used by Art Historians, only the identity of Kanishka, as one of the Kushana tribe, of the origin of Yueh Chih tribe, the indepth analysis of new finds, coins, portrait sculptures and other artifacts, have been added to the studies already done by Edalji Dosabhai. This has helped us to understand the legacy of Kushana's rule, their contribution to Indian Art and also their submission in the Ancient Indian Tradition and Culture. But the date and the appearances of the different dynasties on the political scenario of India, as whole do not change. However it is observed that since the intention is to write the continuous history of Gujarat, events outside Gujarat has been very carefully avoided.

Notably enough, at the time of publication of this book of Edalji Dosabhai " A History of Gujarat from earliest time to the

³⁰Dosabhai Edalji : - 'A History of Gujarat-From its Earliest Period to its Present times', Asian Publication Services, New Delhi-1986, part-1, Chapter 1, page no.3.

present time" in the year 1894 A.D, 'Mirat-I-Sikanderi' perhaps was not known. At least this is what has been sensed from the bibliography mentioned by the author. Yet the details mentioned in this book are very close to the details provided by 'Mirat -I-Sikanderi'. There has been the difference of a year or two in the facts, which is mentioned by the author of the book e.g. quelling of rebel Rastikhan happened, according to 'Mirat-I-Sikanderi' in the year 4th January 1392 A.D/7th of Safar 794 A.H³¹. Whereas according to Edalji Dosabhai it happened in the year 1391 A.D. This probably, the author has taken up from Mirat-I-Ahmedi. The name of the Viceroy who defeated Rastikhan was Zafar Khan and not Jafar Khan as mentioned by Edalji Dosabhai. It has been noticed, that, no detailed information of any event has been provided in this book. Each event of each ruler occurs as a statement with the closest available dates. Occasionally, the author seems to dwell upon the local traditions of various locations at Ahmedabad, especially about Manek Burj and Manek Chowk, perhaps under the influence of A.K. Forbes's Rasmala. It is in connection with the mosque and the masoleum of Sheikh Ahmed Khattu Ganj Baksh, Edalji Dosabhai writes "He was buried at Surkhej, where Muhammad Shah caused a superb masoleum and mosque to be erected in his memory". This piece of information, of Muhammed Shah being the patron of the Mausoleum, is found only in the book, "A History of Gujarat from its earliest time to the present times". The author does not specify the source of, this piece of information gathered by is by him. As for the present scholar, this information could not be crosschecked from any other source. In fact there has been a controversy regarding the construction of the reservoir, the tomb and the mosque and its patron. Often Muhammed Shah has been said as the patron of all these monuments of Surkhej, but, researches over the years have found out that the Saint of Surkhej Sheikh Ahmed Khattu Ganj Baksh, had not received any grants from any royal personage and that he collected the money generated from alms and donations made to the saint, and had

³¹'Mirat-I-Sikanderi':- Translated by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi page no.5.

Barring these few examples, where drawbacks in the study are discussed, the study done by Edalji Dosabhai is far more advanced than its own times. The researches done over these many centuries have definitely improved the historical evidences, but the greatness of works of this author and others like him has undoubtedly provided enough scorings for future studies.

In contemporary times many scholars have paid their attention towards, assumingly untouched section of research i.e. Architectural Traditions in Gujarat. Out of them only two scholars have paid much attention towards the Islamic Architecture of Gujarat, M.A. Dhaky and Late R N Mehta who is an eminent Archeologist. These are the most important scholars who wrote towards the understanding of the monuments

M.A. Dhaky has done most of his works as research papers on the stylistic development and understanding of the temple tradition of the areas which once comprised Gujarat as a whole, and today much of that section has remained as Gujarat and part of it has gone into the making of another state-Rajasthan. Since this research involves temple tradition and its decorative idiom in the mosques and tombs of Gujarat, referring to articles written by M.A. Dhaky on temple tradition of Gujarat under various titles, suggests that his research work is very precious. His works are so comprehensive that they hardly leave any scope for further research in the field of stylistic development of temple traditions in Western India. His writings give you the idea of his vast research, patiently thought over and presented, as tracing the monuments belonging to different locales of Ancient Gujarat, with their ancient names, was not an easy task. No other scholar before him could provide clear picture of various style that were evolving within the hinterland of this part of country. Tracing the frutation of various styles of Gujarat and later finding its result into the culmination into a single style, which was getting amalgamating into another style, thus

forming a unique tradition of Structural Temples of Gujarat was his valuable contribution.

His three articles " Chronology of the Solanki temples of Gujarat"³⁷, "Renaissance and late Maru-Gurjara Temple Architecture"³⁸, and " The Genesis and Development of Maru Gurjara Temple Architecture"³⁹, have been considered for this thesis

In the article " The Chronology of the Solanki Temples of Gujarat, M.A.Dhaky, has very carefully studied the *pitha* and *sikhara* style right from its formative phase giving suitable examples of temples. It is due to this inherent quality of the article, that the present scholar has used the articles a source of information for studying the Islamic monuments. This particular article made the present scholar to identify different mouldings, the decoration on them and also the *Sikhara* types. Unfortunately many of the temples have lost their *Sikhara* either partially or completely. Here the scholar has given an elaborate description of the developmental process of the temples tradition, which later on under the rule of Solankis came to fruition. While mentioning about the structural temple's fruition, M.A. Dhaky has often quoted sources like Prabandha Cintamani and scholarly works by H D. Sankalia, S K. Saraswati and Burgess.

The present scholar has not added any new research to the work of MA. Dhaky as that was not the central concern of her research. Since the Islamic Monument has lots of borrowings from temple tradition, this article of M.A. Dhaky has enabled to understand all the elements of the structural temples and the decorative programme of the temples including the names of the moulding of the *pitha*, elements of temple like *Mandapa*, *Ranga mandapa* etc, in a very coherent way

³⁷Dhaky M.A. : Journal of Madhya Pradesh Itihas Parishad No.3-1961.

³⁸Dhaky M.A. : Journal Of Indian Society Of Oriental Art. 'Western Art' 1965-1966

³⁹Dhaky M.A : 'Studies in Indian Temple Architecture', papers presented at a seminar held at Varanasi-1967, American Institute Of Indian Studies, Published in 1975.

Hence without any hesitation, I express my indebtedness to M.A. Dhaky.

At a juncture, in order to trace the original source of all those decorative features and allied architectural members that are found in the mosques and the tomb structures of Gujarat, the present scholar had to inquire into the structural temple tradition of Gujarat. While tracing the source of many these, it was realized that many of these queries and its result are similar to what M.A. Dhaky has inferred in his two papers. These two papers are "Renaissance and the Late *Maru Gurjara* Temple Architecture"⁴⁰ and "The Genesis and development of *Maru Gurjara* Temple Architecture"⁴¹

While the present research was in its preliminary state and the scholar was visiting the sites related to this research made her to conclude that a mature dominant temple tradition has taken over the internal and external organization of mosques and tombs of Gujarat. These field trips aroused a query about those temples, which could have given birth to this strong dominant lineage, and the examples that were immediately recollected, belonged to Somnathpattan, Somnath Temple 1025 A.D, Modhera Sun Temple and all those Jain/ Brahmanical temples that were constructed under the auspices of Solanki and Waghela rulers. There were two different idioms, among which one was so alien to the land and yet had so comfortably amalgamated with the original temple tradition peculiar only to Gujarat region and so the answer was provided with the temples, which are currently under the political boundaries of Rajasthan. After reading M.A. Dhaky's article on "The Genesis and Development of *Maru-Gurjara* Temple Architecture" it was realized that observation of the present scholar, were not new and different. Instead of re-researching the material which has been already worked upon extensively and when there was nothing new to suggest, the present scholar decided to

⁴⁰ Opcit.

⁴¹ Opcit.

quote the writings of M.A. Dhaky with due acknowledgement. This can be felt from the chapter on Orthogenesis and Synthesis.

M.A. Dhaky's article on " Renaissance and the late *Maru-Gurjara* Temple Architecture" was another enlightening article on the Jain temples of Mt. Girnar and Ranakpur of the period contemporaneous to the Islamic Architecture of Gujarat. This article gave the present scholar the exact situation prevailing in the field of architecture of Rajasthan during 15th Century. It also made a fact known that the Architectural traditions of Western India continued till the fag end of 17th Century. In this particular article, M.A. Dhaky has concentrated on the development of temple tradition of specifically 15th and 16th Century Jain pilgrim centers of Gujarat and Rajasthan by carefully studying the inscriptions and its related temples. This, however, does not come directly under the present research. The article has helped the present scholar to consciously observe the Jain Temples, which are contemporaneous to the Islamic monuments of Gujarat and to understand the changing rather, evolving decorative features or motifs and also the occasional insertion of new architectural allied members in the Islamic monuments of Gujarat. Fortunately this article provides the researcher hordes of dated monuments, with the comparative study. It also highlights the impact of Islam, where one gets to realize the sharp contrast of presence of figural decoration as well as geometric decoration, through this article. "..... the displacement of figural in the *jangha* of the lower pillars by arabesque and geometric. Some of these patterns are traceable on the *phalakas* (vertical slabs) of the *vedikas* (balustrade dados) of the *Maru-Gurjara* temples of Rajasthan and Gujarat. There are still others whose precursors are found in the *Maha-Maru* temples of the eighth and ninth century in Rajasthan. Their revival in the fifteenth century with no antecedents in Solanki Period, is per se, indicator of concise efforts of

the sculptors to go to the sources and study the originals⁴² When M.A. Dhaky wrote these lines, he must have had only Jain temples of Rajasthan or in larger term Jain pilgrim centers, at the back of his conscious mind. As this is equally true for the mosque and tombs of Gujarat, specifically the decorative motifs and their placements.

Both these articles have helped the present scholar to abstain from diverting the research into the early and late *Maru-Gurjara* temple Architecture. However they were handy source of information for the study of exchange program of decorative motifs and allied architectural members. Besides these three profound articles on architecture of *Maru-Gurjara* temples, he has written two very important articles on the Islamic Architecture of Gujarat. One of these is written in Gujarati language and was published in Gujarati monthly, an Oriental Institute publication called *Swadhayaya*⁴³ In this article the author has concentrated on the incomplete (due to lost pages) canonical text called "Rehmanprasada". This canonical text has been found attached to the last pages of *Jayapriccha* probably (according to the author) of *Maru-Gurjara* lineage written down either in Rajasthan or Gujarat. The text of *Jayapriccha* sounds incomplete due to missing pages, as mentioned by the author. There are two strong observations made from this article that on basis of the canonical grounds, firstly there was already an acceptance of Islamic monuments, as a part of architectural tradition of Gujarat, right from the first decade of 12th century and this seems quite true, as there was already an obvious physical assimilation of two different architectural Idioms. The earliest example of this being the mosque of MaiGadechi constructed during the period of Sarangdeva of Waghela clan. Secondly, if there was Vilayan/Sanskritization of Islamic architecture with the main stream of architectural tradition of Gujarat and since Rehmanprasada's surviving pages mentions the instructions of constructing the mosques

⁴²Dhaky M.A.. 'Renaissance and the late Maru-Gurjara Temple Architecture', *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, "Western Art" special number 1965-1966 Editors U P Shah and Kalyan K. Ganguli, page no 12

⁴³Dhaky M.A.. '*Maru Gurjara VastuShastra Man Masjid Nirman Vidhi*', *Swadhayaya* Vol. 7 no 1 Baroda V.S. 2025 Page no 64-79.

and its probable measurement on plan, "not more than seven *chaukis*", then the amalgamation of two different architectural tradition is self explanatory and the kind of Islamic monument that are seen in Gujarat, should be the anticipated result of the written canons in *Rehmanprasada* in a Sanskrit text of *Jayapriccha*.

The only disappointment in this article is the discrepancies of the dates of different monuments. These dates are different from those divulged by the epigraphical evidences. He has not analysed the dates for dating the monument accurately, perhaps that was not his intention and priority. M.A. Dhaky has not given any justification for the dates that he has ascribed to *Raveli Mosque* (Plate number 5) and *Jammosque of Mangrol*, *Jammosque of Bharuch*, and *Rani Sibrai of Ahmedabad*. Nevertheless this draw back does not lessen the importance of the article

Many scholars have written about the synthesis of two different architectural lineages but so far no one could really explain the real synthesis. M.A. Dhaky's article on "The minarets of the *Hilal Khan Qasi's Mosque, Dholka*"⁴⁴, for the first time demonstrates the amalgamation of the two traditions. From this article one can easily understand how the local *sthapati* and the guild worker secularized the *garbhagrha* till the *Sikhara* and transformed it into non-functional minarets or "turrets" as labelled by M.A. Dhaky. In the same article he once again begins by the eternal question, 'When was the first mosque built?' or what could be the antiquity of the mosque architecture. On page 72, point 8, of the earlier article⁴⁵, he mentions that in *Jayapriccha's Rahmanprasada*, there is no mention of minarets, whereas on page 19 of the article "The minarets of the *Hilal Khan Qasi* (Plate number 3-4)'s *Mosque, Dholka*" he writes: "The *Jayapriccha* takes notice of *mimar* in context of mosque, nor do the *Bhadresvara* and the *Junagadh mosque* referred to earlier have any" Further he writes "

⁴⁴Dhaky M.A.: 'The Minarets of the *Hilal Khan Qasi's Mosque, Dholka*', *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. XIV, 1972, no 1 Asiatic Society, 1-Park Street Calcutta-16 page nos 18-24

It is not certain whether the Gujarat mosques of the Solanki period (942-1298) possessed minarets. Even when they occur, as they do in Cambay and Dholka, they are by far small and not particularly monumental as the later ones of the Sultanate Period (1412-1537) in Ahmedabad are". But when the present scholar visited the mosque Mai Gadechi, she found four inconspicuous turrets like structure over the fag end of the corner of the hypostyled mosque. If these error are ignored than one finds that the author has considered very carefully the earlier scholarship, analyzed them and takes a note of them and repeating them where ever he felt it important to do so, like he does for James Burgess, as on page 20. It is really delightful to read how Shri M.A. Dhaky step by step decodes the making of turrets of Hilal Khan Qasi's mosque and compares them to the *pitha*, *upapitha*, through *mandovara* till the finish. He proposes that, just by reducing the scale of, temple's *pitha*, *upapitha* through *mandovara* till the finial, to the minimal, the sthapati could secularize them to delineate the "non-functional minarets"

Of the recent writings on the monuments of Gujarat specially the Islamic monument, a book was published under the auspices of Marg in 1985/86. The book concentrated mainly on the city of Ahmedabad and its suburbs. It also included Surkhej and Mehamdabad or Mahmudabad. The main intention of the book is clearly defined in the passage of preface and acknowledgement by George Michell and Snehal Shah. "The volume is laid out with the intention of providing basic information about the historical buildings of the city and its environs"⁴⁶.

In the above quoted passage there has been underlined confession regarding the limitations of the book on 'Ahmedabad', probably an attempt to retract the work done by James Burgess and

⁴⁵ Op.cit.

⁴⁶ Editors, Michell George and Shah Snehal: "Marg" 1985/1986, Marg Publications, Army and Navy Building, Mumbai, page v.

Cousens and trying to add new information to the already existing one. Surely the book does not provide in-depth knowledge regarding, what is so temples like among the mosques and tombs of Gujarat and the source of genre of the decorative elements, and the socio-political reasons. So far, only one stray article⁴⁷ by M.A. Dhaky has given insight into the process of secularizing various elements of temples. This Marg issue of 1985/86 in the book form, has a simple description of monuments with a little of analysis

The introduction to the book by John Burton Page, for Pre-Islamic history of Gujarat, is similar to, what has been understood by the present scholar and formulated over the years of research. The dates that he has ascribed to the monuments are similar to what has been achieved by the understanding of various monuments and their inscriptions. John Burton Page, in his essay on the Pre-Islamic History, of this book, does not mention the fact of existence of colonies along the sea coast of Gujarat specially Khambhat and Saurashtra, prior to the advent of Islam. The businessmen from Persia, who had come down to Gujarat, on a business adventure, stayed back in Gujarat for generations to come. When Islamicization took over Iran and Iraq, the people settled at the coastline of Gujarat too, got converted. This large-scale conversion, which must have happened slowly, seems to be unreported in their contemporary history. However it is difficult to ascertain, why the people living on the coastline of Gujarat felt the necessity of the conversions. It is also difficult to know that they were converted by force or they got converted willing. Nevertheless, those were the important people, who were responsible in many ways, in bringing those elements of architecture, which were alien to temple tradition of Gujarat. These elements were mostly decorative beside the essential architectural feature of mosque and tomb construction. As a community, they also played important role, and this is highlighted from the riots of Khambhat during the rule of King Siddharaja

⁴⁷ Dhaky M A. Op cit

Jaisingh. The justice given by Raja Siddharaja Jaisingh is significant enough for us to realize that, beside Siddharaja Jaisingh being a just ruler, the Muslim community existed at Khambhat in such a large populace that they had a mosque for their prayers, with the minarets (perhaps with the Golden Cupolas) Another significant aspect of that event is that this population was large enough to be recognized and to secure justice The present scholar considers this historical event to be too significant to be missed. The source of this information has been the quote from the historical writings of Aifi quoted by Dr. Z.A. Desai in his article on the inscription of Swaalla Mohalla mosque⁴⁸ Such type of vital information, which should have been used and assessed very carefully, has been missing from the Pre Islamic History of Gujarat.

"Gujarat came under Muslim rule as the result of a decisive battle in March 1298; The armies of Delhi Sultan Alauddin Khalji setting out for the further plunder of the rebuilt Somnath Temple, defeated Karan, the last Vaghela Ruler, sacked Anhilvada, despoiled Somnath and set up local garrison. Part of the army moved on to sack Khambhat, securing besides enormous booty, Negro Slave, Kafir, nick named "Hazardnara" sold for thousand dinars, who as Malik Kafur was to become the greatest general in Khalji army"⁴⁹ Here with the help of "An Arabic History of Gujarat" by Hajji-ud-Dabir⁵⁰, it is found that Alauddin Khalji routed, Devgiri (Daulatabad) 696 A.H./1296 AD and Ranthambhor 699AH/1300 A.D leading the army personally, but as for Gujarat he deputed two of his nobles, UlughKhan and NusratKhan to invade Gujarat, first capturing Nahrwala Patan and moving towards Khambhat, where Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan found the handsome and beautiful eunuch called "Kafur Hazar Dinari". He was taken forcefully from his master and given to Alauddin who kept him and loved him. Alauddin raised him to the rank of Nawab. This entire event happened in 1297 A.D.

⁴⁸Dr.Desai Z.A Epigraphica Indica Arabic And Persian Supplement 1961, page 4-7

⁴⁹John Burton Page: 'Historical Context', page no 8-9



A little correction is suggested in the Islamic History provided by John Burton Page, Sultan Ahmed Shah 'I' had conquered Girnar in 817 A.D. 1415 A.D. He did not stay back nor did he appointed any Viceroy to rule Girnar / Junagadh but returned back after laying taxes for their independence. Sultan Ahmed Shah 'I' wanted to teach lesson to Raja Tribamkadas of Champaner, for inviting Sultan Hoshang Shah of Malwa to the land of Gujarat, but he considered it much necessary to suppress Hoshang Shah. So he laid waste the neighbourhood of Champaner (Actually that is the neighbourhood of Vadodara), Sankheda Bhadhrpur and exacted tribute to them and not on Pawagadh. The word Champaner does not stand correct to the area ruled by Triambakdass. It was always and better known as Pavagadh / Pavakdurg. Another minor correction suggested is that, the mosque of Sayyid Alam was constructed in 1412/814 A.H.⁵¹ and not in 1420 A.D.⁵² as John Burton Page mentions it.

John Burton Page refers 'minarets' as 'buttresses'. Buttresses are the structures which support the 'Qibla Wall'. He has divided the monuments according to the inscription found on the central "Mihrab", and accordingly ascribed it to the period of the corresponding Sultan. There has been no attempt to keep them under any watertight compartments as Percy Brown does in his book "Indian Architecture - Islamic Period". An attempt has been made to understand the monument in totality, but despite this, no concrete result has been effectively presented before the readers. Probably, as it has been already stated, the intention of the book was to fill in the gap of research since Burgess and Percy Brown.

⁵⁰Zafar Ul Wahh B. Muzaffar Wa Ali: "An Arabic History Of Gujarat", Translated by M.F. Lokhandwala, general editor B.J. Sandesara, vol. 1, page no 650-651

⁵¹Chaghatai M.A.: 'Muslim Monuments Of Ahmedabad-Through their inscriptions', reprinted from the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute-Poona, Vol.3, no 2 1942. Page no.42.

⁵²John Burton Page "Historical Context", page no 32, Marg, Marg Publication Division, Mumbai. 1985/86

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Before concluding the chapter, an important reference should be made about two articles written in Gujarati Language and published in *Samipya* a Gujarati magazine. " *Sarkhej Ni Masjid ane Talao kone Bhandhavaya*"⁵³ and the second article "*Mahmud Shah Pehala (Begada) Na samaya na vadwa ni vav na char Shilalekha*"⁵⁴. Both the articles are perhaps missing their due share of attention and consideration. The article on the mosque and the tomb of Sarkhej is worth taking note of, since it argues about the date and the patron. This article sheds light on very vital information regarding the patron Sheikh Ahmed Khattu. Though the article itself does not provide the exact date, but it substantially proves it to be of an earlier date rather than that of Muhammad Shah. The construction of the tomb is undisputedly of Qutbud-din-Ahmed Shah's period, but regarding the mosque no one has decidedly proved the date and through this article it has been proved. The mosque owing to its stylistic feature, specially that of the internal organization and typical characteristic feature of the colonnade, is quite crude and early in date. It is quite likely that this mosque which Sheikh Ahmed Khattu Ganj Baksh himself patronized without any financial assistance from the Royal House was built during the rule of Sultan Ahmed Shah '1'.

The article by Pravin Chandra Parikh and Bharati Shelat translates the four Sanskrit inscription in the stepwell of Vadwa, which is popularly and locally known as Metpur ni Vav. The script of the inscription is Devanagiri whereas the language is Sanskrit. It shows that the stepwell was constructed during the rule of Sultan Mahmud Shah, who in various other inscriptions has been addressed as *Swasti*

⁵³ Qureshi Zuber " *Sarkhej Ni Masjid Ane Talao Kone Bhandhavaya* ", *Samipya* January-March 1986, pustak 2 ank4.

⁵⁴ Parikh Pravinchandra and Shelat Bharati: " *Mahmud Shah Pehala (Begada) Na Samaya Na Vadwa Na char Shilalekha* ", *Samipya*, October 1986- March 1987, page no 18-24

*Sri-sri-sri-sri-sri-sri Sri Patsha Sri Mahmud Shah-n-Shahdata Vijaya
Raje Shri man vir Sri Mahmud Shah Jambudvipakshanupalaruapase*

All the inscriptions of the stepwell has the date e.g V.S. 1539 i.e. inscription 1 and 2, inscription no.3 has V S. 1538 and No.4 has V S. 1544. Thus they belong to the rule of Mahmud Shah and the prime interest of the scholar was to use the article for dating the monuments, believing the authenticity in the translation.

While "reviewing" the mammoth scholarship, of all the scholars, it is realized that there has been a tremendous potential in the subject. Even after so many past scholarship, the topic sounds incomplete as if nothing decisive has been achieved until now. Despite so many of the then contemporary chronicles and other historical writings, the political and social picture of Gujarat during the medieval period is still not crystal clear. Many more evidences from other source should be welded into the political history, to help us to understand the prevailing situation in which the monuments were being constructed. In such connection Dr. Z.A. Desai's work is very enlightening. His fascination for Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic inscriptions gave very interesting insights into social life of the people of the town of Mangrol. There has been an inscription in the record office of Mangrol, stating the uplifting of the marriage tax, which was paid by the Hindus of Mangrol town to the tax collector of the town. This tax was up lifted during the rule of Sultan Zafar Khan⁵⁵. (Muzaffar Shah I i.e. AH 1805 / 1403-1404 A D). The person who issued the order was the " His Highness Maliku't Umara Mu'nu'd Daulat Wa'd-Din Malik Malikshah, son of Badr the Muqti' of the region (Shiq) of Sorath", for the prosperity of the qasba (town) of Mangrol and welfare of its inhabitants.

The inscription thus highlights the actual political situation of Nahrwala Patan, the capital of Gujarat. Zafar Khan had not assumed

⁵⁵Dr. Desai Z.A.: "An early fifteenth century inscription from Gujarat". Epigraphica Indica Arabic And Persian Supplement 1968-1969.

royal insignia and had to yet read a Khutbha in his name, which Zafar Khan assumed a year later. It also indicates that within a century, even the local administration was out of the hand of the Hindu rulers and such kind of information is not available in the chronicles. The chronicles are the detail narrations of the military exploits of all the rulers of Ahmedabad Sultanate.

There has been another inscription translated by Dr. Z.A. Desai "Inscriptions of the Sultan of Gujarat from Saurashtra"⁵⁶ mentions removal of some illegal practices enjoined by the local authorities. The inscription was issued during the rule Ahmed Shah 'I' by Prince Fathkhan. According to Dr. Desai, Prince Fath Khan's expedition to Girnar during the rule of Ahmed Shah 'I', is not mentioned in the inscription and hence it becomes very important. It also hints that Malwa Sultan was still audacious to invade the territory of Gujarat till Girnar, also indicating that impact of Ahmedabad Sultanate - was still to be made on the political scene of eastern frontiers.

Apart from this it has also been realized that the works of James Burgess, Henry Cousens and Fergusson are indeed the Bible to the researchers in Islamic Architecture, but simultaneously, all the scholars should have absorbed the work of their contemporary scholarship, to arrive at a solid ground. This would have helped every reader to arrive at reasoning about the unique tradition of architecture of Gujarat. Reading through all these writing, it has also been learnt that there had been a canonical text called *Rehmanprasada*, describing the construction of the mosque and its architectural units, supplemented to *Jayapriccha*, the twelfth century silpa text from Gujarat. The existence of such a text, in *Jayapricchakar*, a Sanskrit text of Gujarat lineage in the beginning of 12th century, indicates that before the amalgamation of the two different traditions, the Sanskritization of the text had been already done. It was a sort of a

⁵⁶Dr Desai Z.A. "Inscriptions of the Sultans Of Gujarat From Saurashtra", *Epigraphica Indica Arabic And Persian Supplement*, 1954-1956, page no. 57-58

sanction that was provided to, perhaps, the patron and the *sthapati* to work for both the architectural tradition. This Sanskritization must have made a great impact upon the thinking of the *sthapati*. He must have convinced himself that he is not working for an alien patron, though in fact he was, but for his own architectural tradition. This must have helped him to use all those decorative, architectural features of temple tradition freely, which today every scholar finds in abundance on mosques and tombs of Gujarat. Else could there have been a better answer to the dominance of *sthapatis* over the patron's requirement of edifices of their faith. The patrons otherwise were their over lords.

M.A. Dhaky's article on "The Genesis And Development Of *Maru-Gurjara* Temple Architecture" gives an insight into the process of unification of *MahaMaru* and *MahaGurjara* temple architecture. There has been an event of Renaissance in this period as many of those motifs that have not been a part of the either or *Maha-Gurjara* architecture can be seen on the *Maru Gurjara* Architecture, and hence to be found on the mosques and tombs of Gujarat. Further in his second article when he talks about 'Renaissance and the late *Maru Gurjara* Architecture, it is felt that a "Re-Renaissance" in the Indian Context had taken place, wherein when Renaissance did actually takes place in the late *Maru Gurjara* temple Architecture, the mosques and tombs of Gujarat of Ahmedabad Sultanate period. This can be said from many of architectural and allied architectural members along with few of those decorative motifs whose origin can be traced back to the temples from Kotai, Kerakot and Kutch region, few of them could have their home in the temple of Jagat and Nagda. Thus both the articles by M.A. Dhaky have contributed in understanding the mosques and tombs of Gujarat, Ahmedabad Sultanate Period.

Chronicle translations by E.C. Bayley, M.F. Lokhandwala and Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi, provides a different world. Many a times the location provided by them during the narration of an event confuses the reader. Sultan Mahmud Khilji's incursion into Gujarat

during the rule of Sultan Kutbud-din Ahmed Shah of Gujarat gives a brief story of an elephant getting killed by the Brahmins of that place, where the event took place. According to the "An Arabic History of Gujarat" - Hajji ud-Dabir this incident took place at *Varnama* near present day Baroda and according to the translation of 'Mirat-I-Sikander' by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi, the event took place at 'Neriad' i.e. present day Nadiad of Kheda district. Both these locations are near Baroda/Vadodara, but in opposite direction and Vadodara is that crucial location enroute Dhar / Mandu, on which Sultan Mahmud Khilji trodded. Which could be the actual location is difficult to say, as the route to Dhar is only through Vadodara. However, if the little detail of the locality, where the event took place, is believed to be true then, Hajji-ud-Dabir would be correct, as even present day *Varnama* has a pond in the village, and the site is still a little village, But that's not the place from where Dhar can be reached. If a little detail is allowed to be added that the mad elephant of Sultan Mahmud Khilji of Malwa might have got strayed and might have got killed by Brahmins of Varnama, then the argument regarding the locality as mentioned by Hajji-ud-Dabir is verified. It also indicates that reliance for the correct information and the point that sole dependency on the chronicles can be dangerous is also verified. The translators are the great scholars who without any deliberate bias have reproduced the text faithfully.

In the course of this chapter many objections or reservations have been put down by the present scholar and many new suggestions are made, it is very obvious that the researches that have been done till now had limitations, as new material is discovered over a period and that suggests fresh scholarship and a new understanding was the need of the hour. This research in no way is to lessen the importance of great researches done earlier but is to provide a new understanding about the unique architectural tradition in Gujarat, showing tolerance to two different architectural idiom.