

State Of Housing in the Medieval Indian City

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Abstract

This paper inquires into the state of the neo-globalized 'heritage' Indian city, built on principles driven by beliefs, rituals and craftsmanship. It intends to highlight shifts and modulations in morphology with respect to the transformations pressured, by the surge in the acts of commercialization and heritage tourism, upon the traditional urban form. A broader understanding of the nature of transformation and the variants to be considered in mitigating the dilapidating state of housing in such historic cores, is crucial to such cities to preclude chances of desolation. Jodhpur, the capital of ancient Marwar, in Rajasthan, and currently one of the largest fortified cities along the transect of cultural tourism in India, has been considered as a study site to understand its state of housing. There persists a threat to the historic core, driven by a constant movement of people beyond the fort walls to accommodate their justified aspirations and needs for expansion. Adaptations and transformations are methodologies resulting from the shift in the image, seen as mechanisms of growth, but intrinsic factors leading to gentrification and structural squalor. The discourses as discussed in the paper are empirical and based on first hand observations and conversations with stakeholders. Qualitative assessments have been made using subsequent GIS mapping techniques, to arrive at an understanding of the associative and value based attributes responsible for the structure of housing in the historic Indian city.

Keywords

urban form, morphology, affective tourism, conservation, transformation

1. Introduction

For years, there have been multiple studies documenting Rajputana architecture. There have also been books and research publications highlighting the

glories and intricacies in craftsmanship of the cities in the arid west of India. The acts and charters drawn to work with the nature of conservation deemed fit for such cities often tends to paint a rosy picture. However, there persists a threat to the historic cores, driven by a constant movement of people beyond the fortifications to accommodate their justified aspirations and needs for expansion. The paper here, is an attempt to draw parallels between the rationale behind planning in the medieval-imperial Indian cities and the commercially driven postmodern alterations to the traditional urban form. Jodhpur, the capital of ancient Marwar, in Rajasthan and currently one of the largest fortified cities along the transect of cultural tourism in India, has been considered as a study site to understand its state of housing and methodologies in urbanism resulting in the exodus. The discourses as discussed in the paper are empirical and based on conversations with stakeholders, part of an urban design graduate curriculum conducted at KRVI, Mumbai. The intent for the study was to cognize mechanisms of transformations based on the tangible and intangible associations of citizens. It also aims at understanding the positive and negative effects of tourism on historic urban fabric. The question here is- "What is the state of housing in the historic cores of most traditional Indian cities taken over by tourism, and the trends in transformation driven by the movement of the residents?" The methodology of the study involved visiting and carrying out extensive mapping exercises to arrive at conditional assessment and probabilities for the inner core of the city of Jodhpur as a whole.

2. Historical Background

Founded by the eminent Rao Jodha of the Rathore dynasty, Jodhpur has witnessed, acts of building and adaptations from time to time, with many Rathore kings commissioning building of palaces and temples. With Mughal regime, Islamic elements were

incorporated into the Rajputana architectural style, which further morphed into the intriguing Indo-Saracenic style during the British reign. [Jain, 2000] Jodhpur city was founded in 1459 by Rao Jodha, a Rajput chief of the Rathore dynasty. The city was located on a route linking Delhi to Gujarat, that enabled the city with opportunities to profit from trade in opium, copper, silk, sandalwood and other goods. The city was annexed by the Mughal empire after the death of Rao Chandrasen Rathore, a successor to the throne, making Jodhpur one of the most strategic annexes of the Mughal dynasty. After the decline of the Mughal empire in 1707, brought about years of treatises and negotiations and was finally entered into the British regime in 1818 under an alliance with the Marwar reign [Singh, 1994]. Colloquially referred to as the blue city & sun city, Jodhpur, marked by the majestic Mehrangarh Fort, is hemmed in by houses uniformly painted in hues of blue to reflect the harsh sunlight and effectively keep the interiors of homes cooler in the day. The built environment here, is of a typical Rajasthani town, constructed using locally available stone being cost effective, easy to transport and hence, the most widely used building material. Internal courtyards to houses and exquisitely carved *jharokhas* and stone relief works on facades, passed down through generations of artisans and master craftsmen are commonly found attributes of the urban character. Feeder streets emerge onto squares or *chowks*, having elaborate bazaars and eateries to complement them. The arid conditions made it essential to have a fabric as compact, as one could conveniently traverse through most of the city by stepping down or over terraces consecutively aligned to further act as healthy social spaces over the winter months. Careful consideration has also been given to the need to trap water from sources using aqueducts and from rainfall runoff, which led to the king commissioning the building of reservoirs located at critical confluences and water shed areas. [Jain, 2000] All the reservoirs are connected using concealed aqueducts to form a homogenous level of water below the sub-stratum in the inner city houses. The handicrafts industry has in recent years gained momentum, bringing about manufacture of textiles, metal utensils, glass bangles, cutlery, carpets, leather and marble products to the

city's economy. This has supplemented revenue through the market streets flourishing along with the booming tourism industry following the transect connecting Mehrangarh fort, Jaswant Thada, Ghanta Ghar and Umed Bhavan palace, where the royal family currently resides.

3. Traditional Urban Form

A historic fortification in the mid-1400s and subsequent expansions to accommodate a larger demography, meant to be protected from the continually warring tribes, called for the second ring of fort walls to have been established in the 1600s. Strategically and historically located along a vital trade route, the economy of the town was further strengthened by subsequent migration of traders from nearby towns and villages, settling within the fortification. With the fort walls and bastions, came about the establishment of gates suitably nomenclated with respect to their axes to the connecting towns, like Mertia Gate, Nagori Gate, Sojati Gate etc, which now seem to be oversaturated with needs for expansion catering to the inhabitants and their aspirations. [Jain, 2000]. In addition, following the traditional Indian urban hierarchy of public spaces, the public spaces in the inner city can be classified at various levels – city squares, *chaurahas* and neighborhood squares. Sardar Market, being the largest public square, is followed by smaller junctions or *chaurahas*, at intersections of streets governed by the inhabitant communities [Jain, 2000]. The *chauraha* is typically oriented by a temple, school or a stepped well. Traditionally lined by informal clubs known as *hathais* which act as the third places for citizens, the *chauraha* is further serviced by informal cart vendors parked under shades of trees flanked by *sitouts*. At the neighborhood level, the public space is further curbed by scale and restricts itself to the built form and smaller artefacts. For instance, areas around Gulab Sagar and Umed Chowk have drinking water facilities referred to as *pyaaus*, where people gather around seated, or waiting to pick their children from school or to simply socialize. Institutional, social and religious buildings open onto the streets, creating alterations in the facades of the residential fabric. Overall, the median width of primary streets doesn't

exceed 7.5 m with secondary streets ending up to 5m wide with areas acting as bottlenecks with widths as low as 3m. These are areas that pose major problems for the residents in traversing across the inner city.

The citadel posited atop a hillock is perpendicularly intercepted by a clock tower, built during the British era, at the centroid location of the inner city. Initially conceived for purposes of beautification and for dispensing royal orders and announcements meant for the public, the Ghanta ghar as it is referred to, has seen adaptations and is currently one of the most bustling markets in the inner core. An Indo Sarcenic tower rising five stories in height capped by an hourly bell. In its prime, the city was guided by building regulations on the basis of the height with respect to the clock tower, which ensured, houses would not cross three storeys in height. The nature of façade overhangs on the streets was also controlled to a maximum of two feet, which was governed by the material. A majority of the houses and ancillary buildings used Jodhpuri sandstone and Ghaatu stone in form of stone slabs or strips, which could be procured easily from the nearby quarries. However, the load bearing and tensile capacity of the material allows it a maximum span of eleven to twelve feet in length. Following this understanding of material, all the houses in the inner city can be found to be planned in multiples of eleven feet with the longer spans having binders.

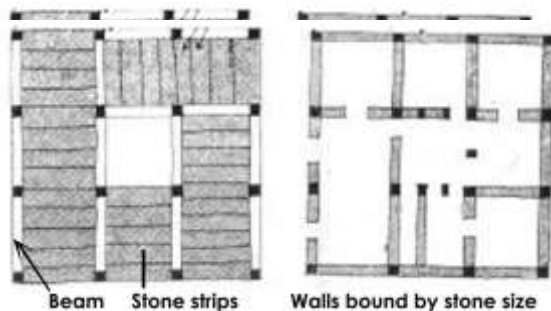


Fig 1. Material constraints for spaces; source: author

Since Jodhpur has majorly constituted of traders, it can be established that a bulk of the houses were planned and built to accommodate possibilities of commercial transformation in the future. With Aada bazaar, Tripoliya, Ubha bazaar, being some of the main markets, the houses lining these market streets

are ones with shops below and houses on the upper floors. Prior to 1990s, before the widespread liberalization of the country's economy, families would live on the higher floors of such houses and open shops along the streets on the ground floors, as an additional source of income. However, with time, the shops have remained, but the residents have been moving out of the inner city for better economic prospects and the crumbling infrastructure, leading to a haphazard transformation or in some severe cases abandonment, in such market places of the city. Most of such houses on the upper floors are either used as warehouses or as tenements for housing the labor. Due to an apathy for the built form, given the resultant resident occupation and temporality in tenure, these houses have over time undergone dilapidation. In areas with higher public frequency, such houses have been taken over by larger commercial investors, who have managed to capsize the traditional form and have erected manicured facades for overbearing post-modern showrooms.

4. Social Construct

The conventional home, is articulate with traditional norms and rituals, tending to categorize spaces based on the intended access to the outsider and the preserved ideals of the resident. A form manifested by thresholds, passages, enclosures and outdoors, the home comprises of an *otta* or entrance portico and a wooden gateway or *pol*. The *otta* acts as an element of convergence and a space to display identities and opportunities of transactions with the street and houses opening onto it. These extensions of the homes, can be observed to serve as healthy spaces for socializing, especially for the women of the households (who traditionally are restricted to the conservative confines). A passage way from the *otta* roofed by a terrace, leads to the *chowk* or inner courtyard, referred to as the *Brahmasthan* or the area with the most spiritual significance, of the house. Lining the external façade would generally be a *darajkhana* meant to be a meeting room for guests. Many of such *darajkhanas* today, are either used as store rooms or have been converted to shops depending on the location and frontage available to the house. In some houses it has been observed that the toilets are built alongside the *darajkhana* to

maintain the purity of the inner sanctum and could be accessible from the *chowk*. On entering the *chowk*, one is greeted with a shrine open to sky and a *tulsi manch* for rituals. The *chowks* are generally a step below the rooms opening onto it, where *chaukhats* serve as thresholds. As per Vastu Shastra, the central location in a house behaves as the binder for family wellbeing through the various collective acts it is capable of accommodating. Courtyards can often be found to house plantations to offer shade in summers. The south and west directions being the least pleasant orientations, owing to the sun path, are often suggested to be enclosed by walls occluding the harsh sun. This leaves the north and east areas of the house to be well-suited for outdoor activities eventually being the location for the *chowk* (Kaur, 2016). However, non-directional land distribution in the inner city over time has confounded the orientation, with houses managing to accommodate circulation as deemed fit. An *Osari*, or living room, generally a 2-3 bay room opening on to the *chowk* is used for family get togethers and meals on a festive day.

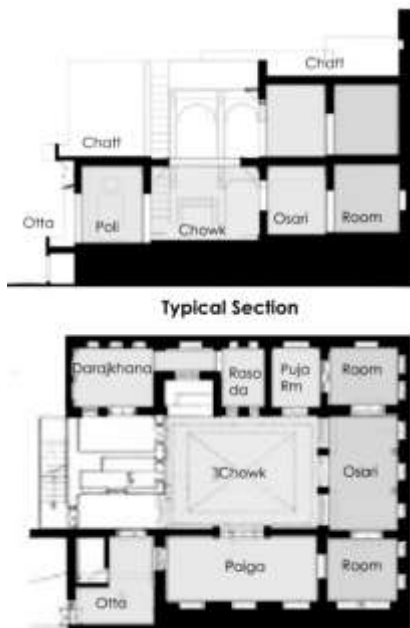


Fig 2. A typical courtyard house; source: author

Depending on the plot size, bedrooms open on to the *osari* with adequate storage accommodated within the thick walls of stone masonry. An east-west

oriented puja room for the daily prayers and an adjoining *rasoda* or kitchen are mostly planned together, as the daily cleansing of the kitchen favors the purity of the prayer room. Many of the mid sized courtyard houses can be found having an additional room the size of an *osari* opening on to the *chowk*. These were historically cattle rooms or *paiga*, to house the cattle and horses if any owned by the family. With most houses rising to another floor, the *chowk* also houses a flight of stairs built using stone treads rising to a minimum height of 250mm. A measure quite high and uncomfortable to a millennial urban dweller, the riser heights have sort of aided in maintaining the knee joints of the residents, accustomed to the frolic movement and the arid weather. The upper floors would repeat the bedroom layout as followed on the ground floor, opening onto a *dhalan* or seating area connecting all such rooms. Almost all of the houses in the inner city have a third floor terrace meant for festivities on occasions and for drying consumables on a daily basis. Based on the observations on visit, a majority of the houses in the inner city typically tend to follow a bay arrangement system of the formulae 1x3, 2x3, 3x3 ; 1x4,2x4,3x4 ; and 1x5,2x5,3x5 ; respectively. The *chowk* would typically be located in the central bay in all of these layouts flanked by the other rooms as described earlier, occupying the other bays.

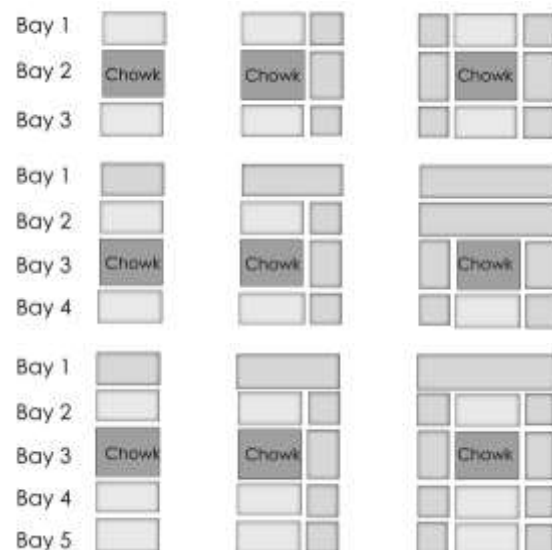


Fig 3. Bay wise typologies in housing; source: author

Ancient and medieval Indian cities were broadly planned as per the *Artha shastra* prescribed elemental features of sovereign society. (Deshkar, 2010) Ancient cities also had stratification based on the 'varna' system, defining the hereditary roots indicative of the color, type, order and class of the people. As per the Dharma Shastra, the varnas or castes are as follows – Brahmins (priests/intellectuals), Kshatriyas (warriors), vaishyas (traders) and shudras (lower chores) and those considered sinners, non Hindus and outcasts were considered untouchables [Joshi, 2017]. There subsists a large Islamic population, approximately 20% of the total population, in and around the inner city, owing to the conversions to Islam initiated by the Mughal empire, as part of treaties with the Marwar dynasty [Jodhpur City Census 2011, 2011].

The planning of Jodhpur had influences of the caste and occupation based segregation, a notion abhorrent to the inclusive city we aim for today. The Brahmins, the religious advisors and priests to the kingdom, live closest to the citadel to the northwest in Brahmapuri – a precinct that had initiated the blue demarcation on the walls to classify themselves from the rest. Their locale is visually characterized by the Jagannathji & Swami Narayan temples at the junctions of Juni Mandi chowk. The houses of the Brahmapuri residents are elegant with central courtyards generally rising to two stories in height with terraces. Their facades ornate with intricate stone relief works, and the entrances to the houses marked by flights of stairs to symbolically represent the higher pedestal, a technique similar to that observed in temples across. Virtually all of the houses in Brahmapuri are marked by a tulsī-manch, as a symbol of cleansing. Within the trade driven inner city, this is the only area with no provision for commercial transformation within houses, as the inhabitants of Brahmapuri had a divergent rationale to living and contributing to the city through aristocracy and religious supremacy. This is probably one of the most decisive reasons for the continuum in the state of the precinct, and lesser deterioration due to commercial appropriation. To the south of the citadel are houses of elites serving or honored by the Royal court. These houses are more elaborate in scale and involved more ornamentation on the facades and on the doors. The housing

typology followed for the higher classes was of the Haveli, a gated residential complex with an exquisite two storied house with central courtyard and a stable for horses.

A meeker typology of the haveli was followed for other positions in the royal court. In such a typology, the haveli stands by itself as a consecutive structure to neighboring houses. These are houses that have provisions for a storeroom along the street façade on ground. Most of such houses have two such rooms along the front façade which they have leased out to shopkeepers presently. The location of such a mixed use haveli would generally be around major marketplaces. The inner city is well serviced by cohorts of goods based markets like Kapda bazaar (for clothes), Sarafa bazaar (for silverware and jewellery), Lakda bazaar (for timber), Katla bazaar (for handicrafts) and many more. Such populous market streets are marked by houses of traders. Housing typology along such market streets is of a conjoint row house with a shared wall. Laid along the topography and the street pattern, such houses are conspicuously referred to as the "*neeche dukaan upar makaan*" typology. A few of these houses have internal courtyards, on the ground floors, which tend to act as thresholds between the shop and the entrance to the home. Another widely prevalent housing typology is the 'Pol house', a group housing complex marked by a single entrance. This typology, similar to the *katras* in Old Delhi and the '*pols*' in Ahmedabad, is representative of a community bound by relations or by occupation. It would be quite common to come across many such 'pols', in the inner city with families with similar interests in profession living as neighbors and working as a collective. However, the shift from ownership to rental tenures, has brought about arbitrary transformations in many such pols. Original inhabitants have moved out of the inner city and have leased their units to migrant families, who dissociative, tend to develop a more generic vocabulary. Laborers in the inner city, were historically located towards the internal peripheries of the fort walls, unfrequented by people belonging to higher classes and castes. Most of the labourers at present can be observed to have inhabited areas near Bhil basti, Jalori gate and Baiji ka talab to the

southern periphery and around Fateh sagar tank, Naya talab & Kallal colony to the eastern periphery of the inner city. Most of the houses in and around these communities are either of the typical shared wall typology or are multi tenement/infilled in nature. The multi tenement houses generally signify one single house but rented on multiple leases to multiple individuals or families occupying different rooms or compartments of the house. The rental nature of such houses has affected their character as well, wherein the lessees lacking the sense of belonging would informally resort to uncharacterized additions to the house. The lessees, mostly migrants, hail from nearby villages or towns, or from areas of skill based expertise. Untouchables or Harijans, as they still are referred to, were not permitted occupancy within the fort walls and tended to squatter in areas unapprehended by the royal court. Presently, most of the people belonging to other backward classes and tribes can be observed residing beyond the fort walls, a conscious decision of exclusion that the monarchy had mandated to maintain the inviolability of the inner city artefacts and public infrastructure. Land in the inner city was disseminated based on the patta system under the jurisdiction of the Royal court. Further divisions in plots was under the discretion of the designated. The sizes of the allotted lands were based on the hierarchies as discussed above. Most of the largest plots of the inner city were dispensed to members or confidantes of the royal family and those serving the court. This justifies the hierarchy in the housing typologies and the emergent social morphology.

5. Affective Tourism

Tourism has had an enormous contribution to developing economies. The Indian tourism industry has recorded phenomenal growth since the 1990s [Chakrabarty, 2016]. Statistics suggest that as per a survey conducted in 2006 by the Ministry of tourism, approximately 13,75,644 was the total number of domestic tourists and 75300 international tourists visiting Jodhpur over the year, including overnight stays and longer stays. It is also suggested that an approximate number of 211 hotel facilities have been provided to host the tourists [Ltd., 2006]. As per the field study of the inner city, it has been observed that

as per 2016, the extant green-field hotels as described, are mostly concentrated beyond the fortified town, amidst the increasing newer development. The role of a plugin that a tourist plays and the imminent intangibility determines the activities and movement patterns contingent to the constructs offered, which in turn depends on a holistic image of the place as perceived by the host for the outsider. The identification and glorification of the artefacts contributing to this image is generally defined by the 'state', which is typically a reflection of the level of consciousness in the realm of preservation. A cognitive image for tourist activity can be considered based on dimensions such as 1) must have conditions 2) attracting (existing) conditions 3) anchor activities and 4) the natural environment. [Andronikidis, 2013]. The attracting conditions here, are the stories of royalty and places sheltered in the narrative covering most of the fort complex, the water bodies, notable *havelis*, Jaswant Thada and the remnants of the fort walls and the gates.

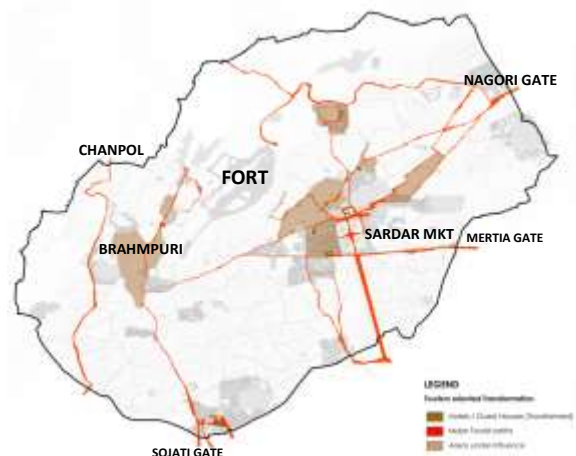


Fig 4. Anchor Points for tourists; source: author



Fig 5. Heritage walk route; source: author

The anchor activities are the ones governed by the market streets. To a tourist, the nature of the shop, nature of the product and nature of the shop owner, designates the success or failure of the establishment. Other anchor activities are the coincidental rituals during tourist visits that tend to mystify the spaces. Thus visibility, approachability and relatability constitute the must have conditions. It can be derived from the discussed criteria, that suitable signage, coherence in connectivity, adequate provisions of supporting infrastructure are often looked at as vital characters in temporality. In lieu of the growing tourist population and opportunities of capitalizing, private organizations in liaisons with the Fort trust have initiated heritage walks commencing at Chand Pol and ending at Sardar Market, constructing a perpetual environment for the visitors. In recent times, homestays have been becoming more widely accepted and seen as more sustainable business opportunities by small scale entrepreneurs. This format of tourism encompasses a host or business owner providing serviced rooms or entire residences in some cases to travelers willing to live and experience the modes of living. [A History of Indian Tourism, 2013]

With more tourists keen on staying within the inner city and preferring locations with proximity to the Mehrangarh fort, it has been observed that most of the houses lining this path taken by the heritage walk, have been transformed into homestays or hotels. The typologies of shared wall houses and courtyard houses have seen transformations into homestays in parts of the city that manage to offer unhindered

views of the fort, whereas larger standalone havelis and compounded havelis around Gulab Sagar and Sardar Market have been transformed into lavish hotels extensively occupied across the seasonal months from October until February. The figures 6 & 7 demarcate the areas most affected by the discourses in transformation. The intervention of the Nayi Sadak in early 1900s by the British was a mechanism used

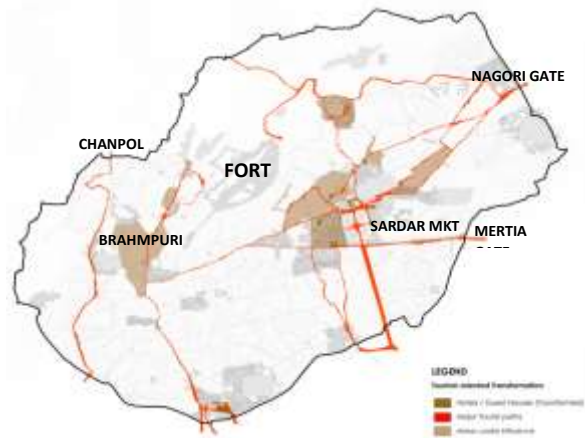


Fig 6. Home stay locations; source: author

Over time, it has been observed that the developments along the Nayi Sadak tended to be commercially driven owing to the 20 feet width and increased accessibility for goods' carriers to and from the inner core. This has been instrumental in a way in the affectation of the neighbouring areas as well. Presently considered as the busiest market street of Jodhpur, the Nayi Sadak is lined by larger textila shops, that have their workspaces and storage godowns along the inner market streets, further affecting deterioration of the character of housing.

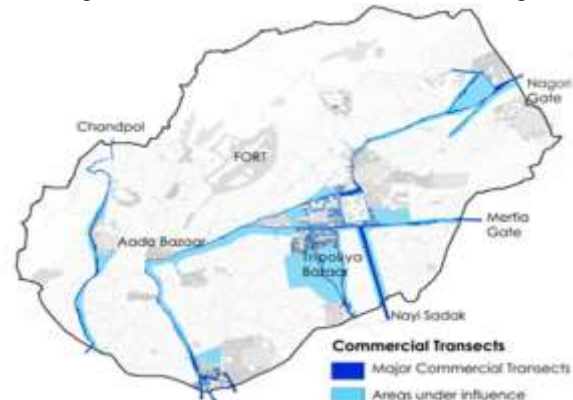


Fig 7. Commercial transformation; source: author

As per the study carried out, it has been found that approximately 76% of the transformations in the inner city are resultants of commercialisation and landuse alterations leading to a decline in the housing fabric. Most of the houses along market streets have been pulled down due to dilapidation, financial prospects and have been reconstructed as showrooms evidently flouting the traditional development regulations. There are cases of decline due to abandonment especially in areas where most of the resident population have moved to the extensions of the municipal boundaries. Some special cases like the RajDadi ka Nohra at Umed Chowk, a haveli meant for the Royal family, has been passed onto the caretakers who have sublet the rooms to make way for multiple tenements in such complexes. This has resulted in degeneration due to unaffordability.

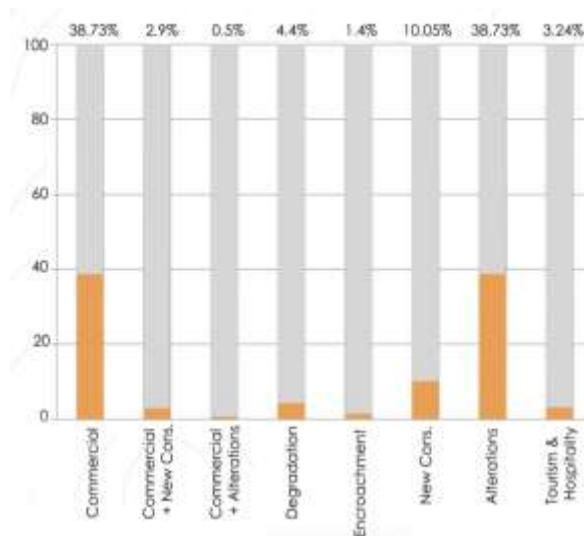


Fig 8. Factors affecting transformation; source: author

6. Approaches in Conservation

Vedic scriptures suggest the concept of 'jeernoddhar', which means renovation and revitalization. This validates the practice of conservation in dilapidating Indian cities and precincts. The Mehrangarh Fort Trust, led by Maharaja Gaj Singh, had commissioned the conservation of the Fort complex and some of its ancillary buildings within the citadel, carried out by

noted conservationists Kulbhushan Jain & Minakshi Jain. "We are still grappling with this misplaced notion of beautification of a heritage site in order to satisfy expectations of visitors who come to the site." say the conservationists who continually strive to mitigate necessities of the contexts as opposed to the pressures of global appeal [Jain K. , 2017]. Jain also discusses the fact that conservation policies laid out in the formal legislation cannot always cater to the context, for such decisions stem out of policies governed by European & British systems, which have unique canvases for themselves and cannot be compared to the Indian context. This is so, as the traditional and ritualistic beliefs of the community and its association with the artefact in the Indian context is far more symbiotic and regular, as opposed to the occasional nature in the European context. However, initiatives of the heritage walks have lead to interventions by communities catering to the tourist population, which has indirectly helped in the preservation of the precincts covered by the transect.

Micromanagement placates the psyche against the formal tools of planning and conservation - a tendency to adhere to informality, can be tacit as to be one of the key reasons for the decay and misuse of the many cultural artifacts in the fortified city. The lack of a coherent structure to bind all the elements and buildings vital to the character has been detrimental at individual scales. Non - regulated methods of signage, and public infrastructure such as seating, lighting and improper jurisdiction resulting in flouting of building regulations is clearly observed in the poor state of the transformed houses, stepped wells, and other long standing traditional forms of social infrastructure. In places around the inner city, tugged in between edges of communities, are also, potential public spaces that have simply been disregarded and left to be managed by the community in concern.



Fig 9. Some transformed havelis; source: author

such conformist and adaptive techniques, to preserve the traditional character. The choice of material, patina, scale and accommodation of working services in these houses, have worked well and are also dependent on the fact that these have been investments made by some of the elites in the core city, that have been successful in attracting a larger demography especially the international tourist, resulting in a larger financial turnover. However, the state of transformation in the houses belonging to the middle classes has seen considerable deterioration. Increasing competition and an unavailability of incentives from the Fort Trust and the Municipal authorities also adds up to the mismanagement led by non-feasibility of the not-so-well-to-do classes of residents. Unaffordability being one of the major



Fig 10. Transformation GIS map ; source : KRVIA

Owing to the vitality and market demand, many of the transformed havelis and homestays have, to a large extent, managed to maintain the integrity of the original houses and have made justified extensions and alterations based on conservative approaches such as adaptive reuse. Hotels like Pal Haveli & Raas Haveli, prove to be examples of the ideal scenario for

concerns, has been sufficient enough to lead to a poor state of housing. Unregulated extensions to the existing houses, haphazard façade treatments and unwarranted changes in heights surely reflects on the condition of such houses and affects the larger fabric.

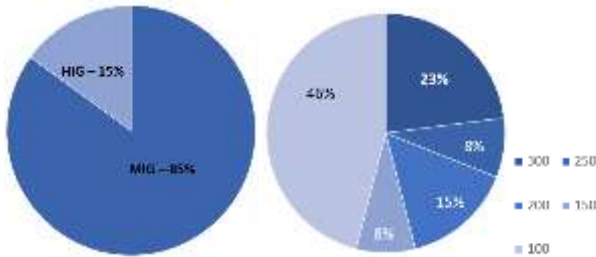


Fig 11. Income groups ; Ages of houses; source :author



Fig 12. Commercial transformation; source: author

7. Conclusion



Fig 13. Future plan of action; source: author

There are lot many positives to tourism in historic cities, such as income generation, increased employment opportunities, sources of foreign exchange earnings, preservation of heritage, infrastructure development. However, it also tends to bring about undesirable social transformation and cultural change. Tourism being temporal in nature, and subject to change with changes in policies and international relations, can pose a threat to the adaptation of the houses in the long run. In such scenarios, it becomes imperative to devise a structure of cohesive methodologies that work at both macro and micro scales. A successful management plan involves participation of the residents and visitors as well, and a structure plan with regards to the city as a whole considering the people, places and policies that shape it, in sustaining the values of the historic core. Conservation, can be undertaken at changeable layers involving preservation, restoration and administration that specifically formulate guidelines to protect the antiquities and their contextual influences. Case specific auditing and periodic assessments of the built environment is crucial in historic cores, for which a separate committee comprising of consultants, residents and a competent workforce, needs to be established at the earliest. The roles of such committees would be to document, assess, report and suggest necessary measures. In the case of the inner city of Jodhpur, the Fort trust along with the representatives of the various communities, can be the driving force for such an initiative, working with the Ministry of Tourism, in a joint venture to uphold the integrity and administer changes with respect to changes in the demography. In practice, conservation is based on deliverables through public & private approaches. The private approach happens at individual levels and is considered at par with any normal turnkey project handed over by a property owner or an organization to the conservationist. The public, is one as decided by a governing authority, based on studies of the antiquity and its context. This generally tends to be a top-down approach, where property owners generally are compensated as per regulations as imposed for protection. Here, the empathy for preserving at the cost of their wellbeing and feasibility is often a contested idea, that many occupants debate over, driven by inadequate funds



for maintenance (especially middle class residents). However, the introduction of the resident to this process has the potential to further realize their needs and adhere to sustainable processes that can be well managed for longer tenures as decided by the residents themselves. Such an act is appropriate for areas with more residential land use as opposed to institutional and trust run structures. Areas in historic cores that involve higher levels of degradation to the extent of non-reversible changes, can be categorized as “rebuilding projects” for the core. Instead of dealing with these structures at an individual level, a committee can be established to identify the requisite infrastructure and ways in which newer infrastructure can be induced in the city, from the perspective of both the tourist and the resident. Further ahead, through democratic modes of public meetings and offers for grievances similar to what many of our

cities today follow, for their respective development processes, can yield more imaginations and have an open dialogue. In this process, the resident doesn't remain a mere spectator as is the case in processes today, but acts as a simultaneous contributor to the changing morphology of the traditional city.

8. Acknowledgement

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