CONSERVATION OF HISTORIC CITIES IN INDIA - A SEARCH FOR DIRECTION

By

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CONSERVATION OF HISTORIC CITIES IN INDIA-

A SEARCH FOR DIRECTION

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SANDEEP KUMAR

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

Source: Thakur (1989)

It stood there
With only time as a friend
No one cared for it
Patiently waiting for its end
People came and looked at it
Threw stones and bricks
It had nothing for itself
Nothing but blows and kicks
It remembered the maharana and his kin
All the long last grandeur
The pageants and festivals
Now life - blander and blander
It overheard a rumour
That it would soon be demolished
Now things were such, it wanted
Nothing better could be wished
Soon another minaret would go
Another relic of the past
Two and three more and soon
The next one going would be the last.

A child's appeal for conservation (quoted in Gupta, '89)

Dedicated to my brother-in-law Naresh
and my sister Sandeepa

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Abstract

This thesis has evolved both from my profound interest in history, art and architecture of India and my earlier experiences of conservation works. Nowadays, the issue of conservation of built urban heritage is being given world wide attention. India being an ancient civilization has a rich heritage of mosaic of art, architecture, buildings and historic cities. However, phenomenal growth of cities and rapid urbanization in the recent years have led to an alarming crisis of this cultural heritage. Both past and contemporary conservation practices in India have failed to alleviate this acute problem.

This thesis seeks to examine the issue of conservation of historic cities in India with a view to develop an appropriate strategy for their conservation. However, due to monetary and time constraints, the scope and contents of the thesis are limited to some extent. The methodology employed in this research is essentially based on the review of traditional and current literature related to conservation in India, Nepal, Middle East, Europe and North America, discussions and conversations with various professionals and my long association with conservation projects and vivid experiences in the Indian historic cities.

With the intent of developing recommendations for a comprehensive conservation oriented planning model, the thesis comprises of a cross cultural comparative analysis of conservation concepts and movements in India and western countries, analysis of International Charters of conservation, examination of current conservation practices and changing urban dynamics of India along with lesson drawings from case studies of Nepal and India. The conservation model developed is a multidisciplinary in nature based on cultural and religious values, indigenous building knowledge and community economic development.

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Introduction

1.1. Context

The present century will no doubt be remembered for the unprecedented cultural, socioeconomic, political and environmental upheavals that have led to a condition of global instability. Unfortunately, this condition of instability is much more severe in the developing countries like India, Pakistan, Nepal, Egypt etc. leading to an alarming crisis of natural and built heritage. As portrayed in the preceding poem, the momentum of destruction of cultural heritage in these countries is currently so great that by the end of the century most important historical cities and archeological sites may well be plundered or paved over. 'We face a future in which there may be no past beyond that which is already known and excavated or... what is left may be so ruinously mutilated as to afford only a forlorn fragment of a vanished legacy'(Lowenthal, '81). The present condition created by our long time neglect of cultural heritage, environment and historical relics have raised the concerns among architects, planners, conservationists, environmentalists and policy makers around the world. The irony is that while on one hand a country like India proudly proclaims her inheritance of a civilization which has endured thousands of years, creating the sense of stability and identity that she craves, India is doing precious little to respect or even understand what this heritage is all about, much less regard it as the bedrock of her future (Grover, '89).

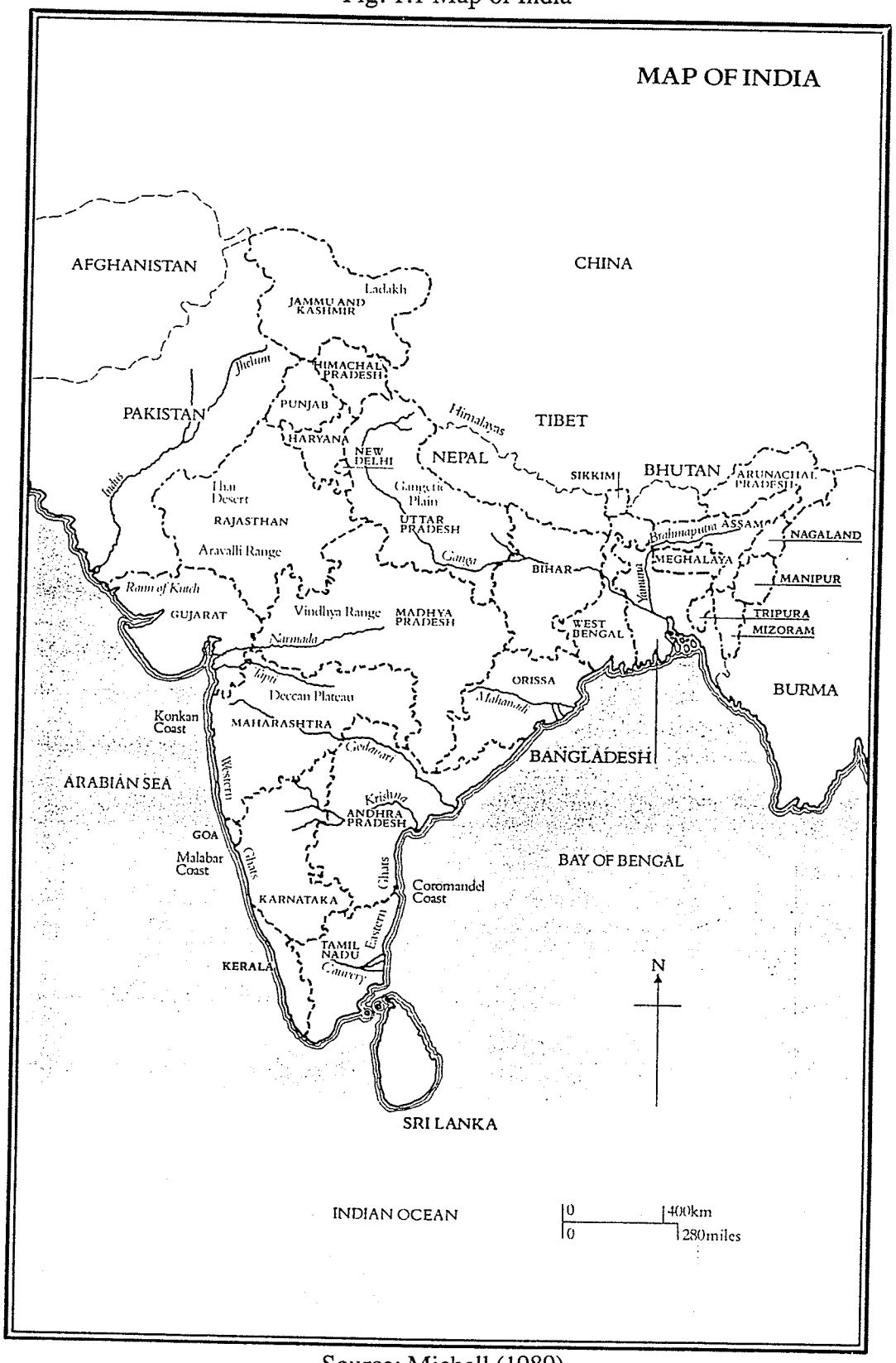
India, an ancient civilization dating back 2nd millennium B.C., has a rich heritage of historic cities and buildings which are considered to be both archaeological and sacred. Unlike other ancient civilizations such as those of China, Egypt, Greece or even Mexico, that of India is still very much alive. The purpose of this thesis is to examine the issue of conservation of historic cities in India with a view to developing an appropriate strategy for

their conservation. A strategy that can address the dilemmas in reconciliation with tradition, preservation of culture and change and the inevitable consequences of modernization. It is focused on the built heritage of urban scale. It examines various concepts and models of conservation being followed in western countries and in India along with an examination of present conservation practices and changing urban dynamics in India. Various case studies and cultural and religious ethics are drawn upon to illustrate the role of cultural values and indigenous knowledge for the successful implementation of conservation. Finally, the thesis aims to put forward recommendations to develop a comprehensive conservation oriented planning model.

1.2. Historic Cities of India

The evolution of cities in India dates back to 2500 B.C. to the cities of Harappa and Mohenjodaro of Indus Valley civilization. These cities flourished over a period of more than 600 years up to around 1700 B.C.. After a gap of about a thousand years, from around 600 B.C., India has more or less continuous history of urbanization in the form of towns and cities. Over this period, subsequent invasions and conquests by various cultures and rulers added their respective influences, transforming the cities and architecture of India into a mosaic of Hindu, Buddhist, Jainism, Muslim, Sikhism and number of other cultures. The development of numerous styles of architecture and towns, cities, palaces and forts are the result of the succession of civilizations in different periods of Indian history. As a consequence, India has probably more immovable artifacts than any other country in the world (Rebeiro, '90). These historic places vary diversely on the basis of religion, socioeconomic conditions, political system, geographical location, size, age and archaeological interest. For instance, the physical layout of towns and cities such as Bhubneshwar, Kancheepuram, Thanjavur, Varanasi, Srirangam, Madurai etc. developed between 500 and 1700 A.D., are the product of Hindu *Vedic* principles and concepts of

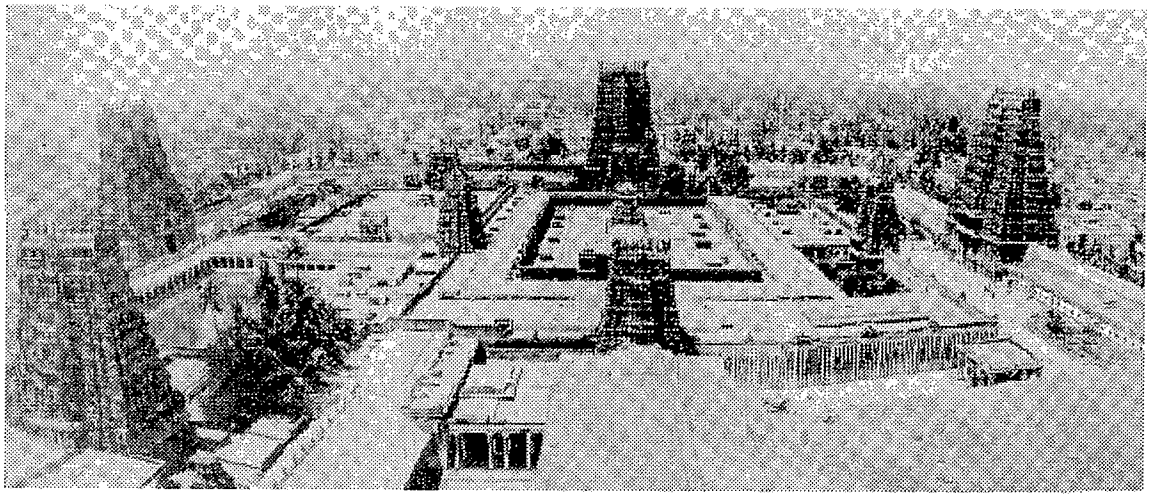
Fig. 1.1 Map of India



Source: Michell (1989)

cosmos (see Fig. 1.2). The temple city of Srirangam which comprises seven concentric walled enclosures each with a *gopuram* (gateways) of receding size, illustrates this characteristic. The concentric form of the temple city is based on Hindu philosophy of cosmic centre which directs all motion inwards to the sacred centre (Martyn '90,; Brown, '56). Within the concentric walls, spaces are further marked by elaborate system of rituals and rules.

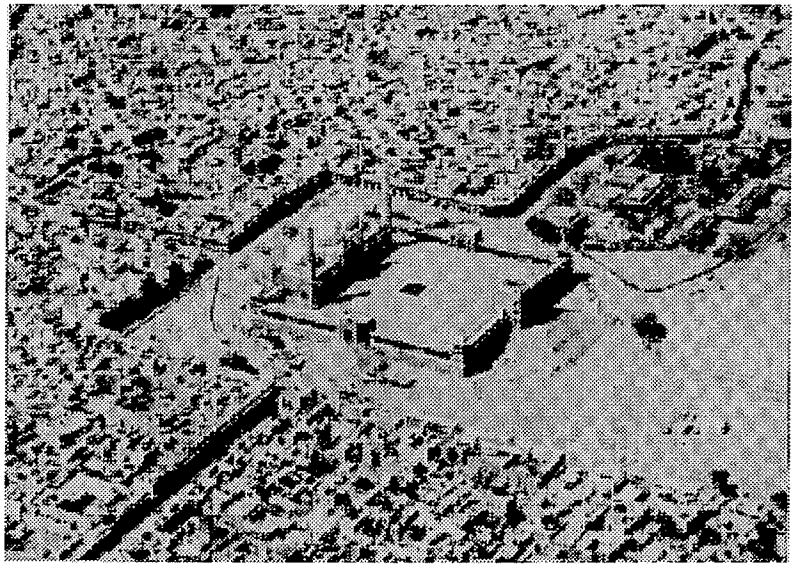
Fig. 1.2 Temple Complex at Madurai based on Hindu Vedic Principles



Source: Brown (1956)

On the other hand, the cities such as Shahjahanabad (Old Delhi) (see Fig. 1.3), Hyderabad, Ahmedabad, Lucknow, Meerut etc. developed between 15th and 18th century during the Moslem rule in India are in the form of large complexes of monuments and the organic development around them. Their organic form is characterised by residential neighborhoods (in the form of *Mohallas*, *Pols* etc.) and housing typologies (*havelies*) linked together by intricate network of streets (Fonseca, '71; Rewal, '84; Martyn, '90 ; Sabhiki, '90).

Fig. 1.3 Aerial View of Old Delhi (Shahjahanabad)



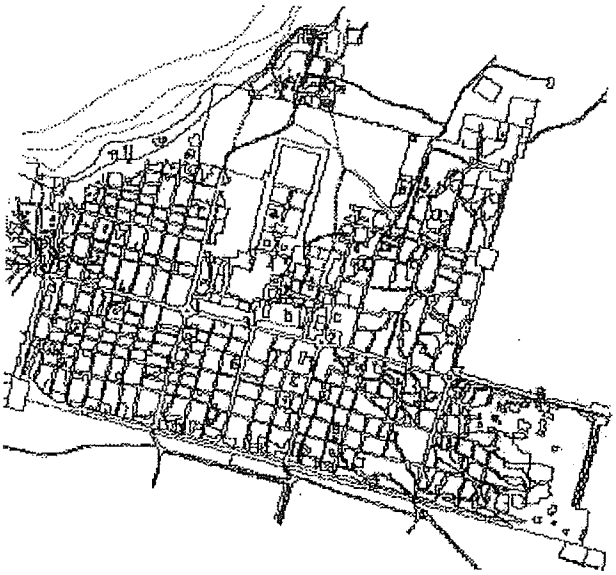
Source: Brown (1956)

In addition, there is another type of historic settlements mainly concentrated in the desert territory of the province of Rajasthan. The cities of Jaisalmer, Bikaner, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Bundi, Amber (see Fig. 1.7) are some of the better known settlements, the historicity of which vary from 250 to 1000 years. They exemplify the most significant characteristics of Indian townscape marked by densely packed built form and network of narrow and winding streets usually encircled within the walls of the city fort. This urban form is unique in responding to social, cultural and climatic need. The quality of these towns are further enhanced by highly ornamented facades of the buildings arranged in a sequential manner along the narrow shaded streets. Among these cities, Jaipur is the most outstanding one from the point view of planning and design. The city is laid down on the ancient Indian philosophy of planning '*VastuPurusha Mandala*'[1] (Doshi, '89; Jain,'86). Unlike other

[1]The Vastu Purusha Mandala is an image of the laws governing the cosmos in Hindu philosophy. Once in the past God Brahma forced the undefined *purusha* into a geometric form *Mandala* (Fig. 1.5). The central location is believed to be presided over by Brahma while the inner and outer rings of the *mandala* are occupied by 44 other Vedic gods. In Indian symbolism, a square represents a celestial world with the gods appropriately sited over the mandala. Within boundaries of this mandala, a town is divided into four, nine or sixteen major wards by an apropriate number of roads which run east-west and north-south. It further gives the details of sectors, neighbourhoods etc of the town. (Doshi, '89)

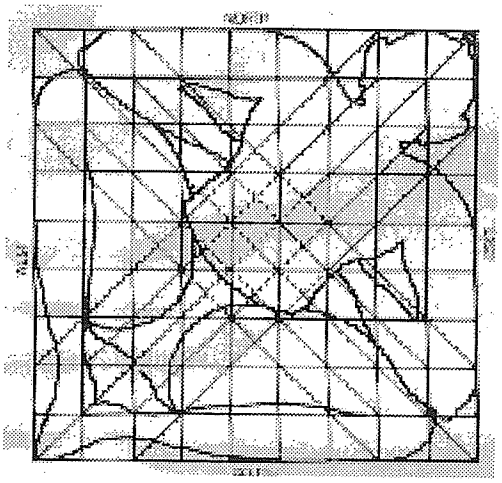
Indian cities which are mostly organic in character, Jaipur is formally divided into nine sectors with wide avenues dividing them (see Fig. 1.4).

Fig. 1.4 Plan of Jaipur based on Vastu



Source: Doshi (1989)

Fig. 1.5 Vastu Purusha Mandala

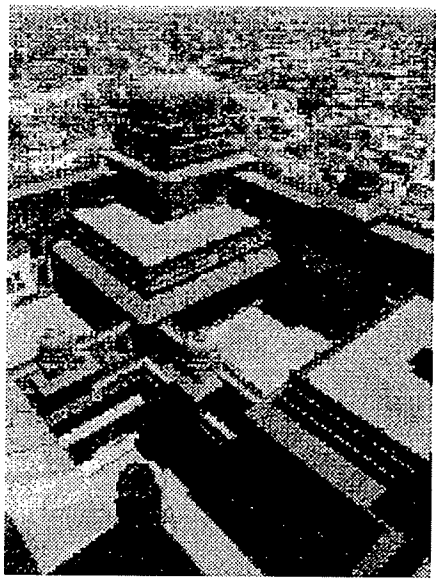


Source: Doshi (1989)

Menon notes,"...Ours is a diverse culture of several religions, historical antecedents and aspirations, all coexisting in discrete geographical regions. ..Almost every one of the over 3000 cities and towns in India displays this bewildering diversity in their characteristics, and therefore has potential for conservation" (Menon, '88). Therefore, almost all the cities in India can be considered to be historic in nature except the relatively new cities founded by British for specific functions e.g. Hill resorts such as Simla, cantonment towns e.g. Barrackpore and Transport towns such as Kharagpur, Bilaspur etc. and the new cities planned in the post-independence period e.g. capital city of Chandigarh, industrial townships such as Jamshedpur, Rourkela etc.(Tiwari, '87, Ghosh, '82, Sabhiki, '89). However, the cities which reflect an intense fusion of Indian and colonial cultures besides being old, are included as historic settlements. Some of them are British influenced cities of

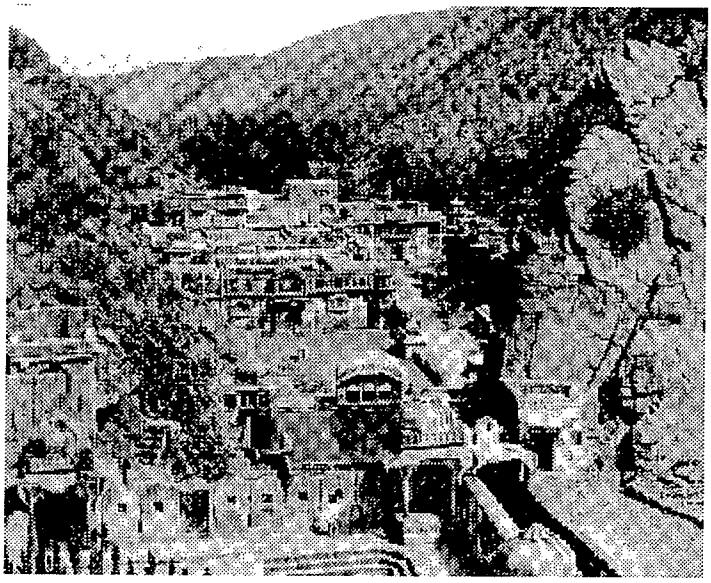
Bombay and Calcutta, French influenced Pondicherry and Portuguese dominated cities such as Panjim in Goa.

Fig. 1.6 Palace at Datia



Source: Sabhiki (1990)

Fig. 1.7 Fort City of Amber



Source: Michell (1989)

Inspite of the varying nature of these historic cities, there are certain strong common characteristics among them. The physical and social fabric of these places express a rich architectural heritage and social and cultural value of the country. "The architecture and urban form of historic cities of India are the physical expression of forces that effect the daily lives of people, representative of their self-image, wealth and aspirations. Assimilation of the forces of social patterning, historical consciousness, political and cultural influences, religious habits and ritual, symbolic associations, topography, geography, climate, the restricted availability of materials, behavioural patterns, functions and most of all the institutionalised craftsmanship have led to the richness, variety and vitally human qualities of the built environment" (Kamath, '84). One of the most important characteristics is that despite current problems, they are still living cities occupied by the people and by and large continue to maintain the traditional physical and social milieu. Most

of them have now been transformed into major economic centres of the country. That is why historic cities of India are the symbol of country's living architectural, economic, social and cultural heritage (Jain, '90). These cities show that 'History in the eastern context, by and large, is not an ossified memory that is retrospected, as tends to be the case in the west, but rather is a living entity' (Nanda, '90).

1.3. Meaning of Conservation

The term 'conservation' has different meanings in different countries and the whole conservation movement has evolved over time from its strict historic determinism to contemporary notion of tradition, heritage and philosophical and ecological determinisms. According to Kain and Appleyard, 'conservation' as a word can be interpreted in a number of ways (Kain, '81; Appleyard, '79). It can describe a variety of philosophical stances in relation to the natural, social and physical environments (Appleyard '79; Kain,'81; Riddle, '89; Sundaram, '89). It may also be associated with the ecological movement, energy crisis or with the fabric of historic cities. It is open to a wide range of interpretations, from outright preservation when we refer to the destruction of the fragile rain forest in Brazil to the threat of pollution to the Taj Mahal, to the urban revitalization and renewal of inner city areas of North America to the broader concept of Sustainable Development (as enunciated by Brundtland, '87) which involve the use of non-renewable resources in the natural environment and goes as far as the management of historical cities to accommodate new economic activities such as tourism and recreation. Thus, conservation is a connotation attached to both natural and built heritage. Referring to the built environment, conservation is applicable to both buildings and the city as a whole.

Many authors including Coopersmith and Hall consider conservation to be more closely related to activities such as renovation, rehabilitation and reconstruction rather than

preservation. To them, preservation of heritage focuses largely on saving things from destruction, protecting them by removing them from ordinary use. It has been more a matter of permitting a look-but-don't-touch object to "museofy" the world outside the museum than of using the buildings to affect the rest of the everyday environment (Coopersmith et.al. '76). On the other hand, conservation has a more dynamic connotation. In terms of urban form, it allows the selected retention of structures through the activities of renovation, restoration, alteration and modernization.

There are many facets and interpretations of conservation as it has been employed on a larger scale and magnitude. On an urban scale, conservation is synonymous to the concepts such as historic preservation, urban renewal, urban revitalization, urban conservation, historic area conservation or neighborhood conservation. However, each of the above processes differs in terms of the area of focus and nature of strategy. Basically, the above terms refer to the conservation techniques applied to a geographically defined space e.g. a group of buildings, a neighborhood, a part of city or city as whole (Appleyard,'79; Frenette, '79). The key thing to point out is that all these activities are not restricted to individual buildings but spread beyond the buildings to the surrounding neighborhoods.

Frenette differentiates some of the above terminologies on the basis of three typologies emerging from the function and form of the physical structure (Frenette, '79). In the first case, conservation entails the preservation of the resource at the risk of changing the function of the resource. For example, it would strive for upgrading the housing units through processes of rehabilitation which may change socioeconomic or even the very residential function of the structure keeping the physical form intact or improved further. This category includes historic conservation (e.g. a mill turned into museum) and architectural conservation (e.g. a warehouse is converted into apartment lofts).

The second typology emphasises the conservation of function but not the form. It includes the efforts such as urban renewal in which the physical form of, for instance, a housing stock is demolished to be replaced by new housing without disrupting the function of neighborhood.

The third type of conservation where both the physical form and the function are preserved. It would include the restoration practices. It tends to disregard the natural process of neighborhood change and constrains social evolution. For example, the restoration of a church building for its continual use for assembly and worship or an area e.g. Williamsburg in United States of America where the colonial village was restored to preserve the country's earlier history, would qualify under this definition.

Depending upon the nature of strategy, conservation could be classified into many categories: economic, conservationist, political and empirical (Appleyard, '79). The economic style of conservation pays more attention to economic growth and employment. The conservationist style gives primacy to the quality, care and meaning of the physical heritage of the city. The political view of conservation consists of two radical aspects. It can be on, one hand of, formal style based on Marxism, heavily influenced by politicians and on the other hand, active participatory nature of community forming political group to push the cause of conservation. Finally, the empirical approach encourages social and attitudinal surveys to discover what people want.

Following the above theme, Conservation can best be defined by Burra Charter of International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) which refers to it as all the processes of looking after a **place** so as to retain its **cultural significance**. It includes maintenance and may according to circumstances, include **preservation**, **restoration**,

reconstruction and **adaptation** and will be commonly a combination of more than one of these. The Charter further defines above highlighted terms in the following way:

"**Place** means site, area, building or other work, group of buildings or other works together with pertinent contents and surroundings.

Cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value for past, present or future generations.

Maintenance means the continuous protective care of the fabric, contents and setting of a place and is to be distinguished from repair.

Preservation means maintaining the physical fabric of a place in its existing state and retarding deterioration without the distortion of its cultural significance.

Restoration means returning the existing fabric of a place to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing components without the introduction of new material.

Reconstruction means returning a place as nearly as possible to a known earlier state and is distinguished by the introduction of materials(new or old) into the fabric.

Adaptation means modifying a place to suit proposed compatible uses." (Burra Charter of ICOMOS).

The practice of **rehabilitation** is also considered to be a part of conservation (Coopersmith & Hall, '76) which is defined as the process of returning a property to a state of utility, through repair or alteration, which makes possible an efficient contemporary use while preserving those portions and features of the property which are significant to its historical, architectural and cultural values. (Standards & Guidelines for Rehabilitation of Shekhavati Havelies in Rajasthan[2] as quoted in Feilden, '89)

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[2] These guidelines are based closely on the Secretary of the Interior U.S. Department's Standards and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings, January, 1980 rev. (Feilden ,'89)

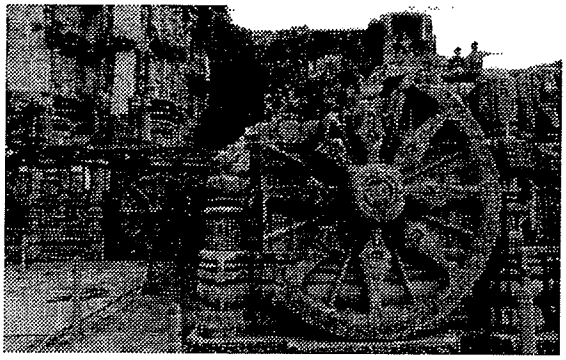
To recapitulate what has been discussed above, conservation is referred to the built heritage of a city or part of a city of which the buildings are one of its component. The subsequent discussions are based on this aspect of conservation with a view to define an ideological approach to conservation applied to the historic cities of India.

1.4. The Issues

The evolution of Indian cities continued in a humane manner until recently when the changes appeared to be occurring quite rapidly. The last three-four decades have witnessed a phenomenal growth of cities, most of which are directed towards their historic areas. Problems of rapid urbanization, densification, congestion, traffic, infrastructure overload are the most common ones that any growing city could face. Rapid commercialization and tourism are the other problems that these cities are occupied with. In the words of Jain 'Today while sprawling periphery is posing one problem in the cities, the stresses developing at the core are converting the beautiful core into another kind of mess' (Jain, '90). Most of these problems are interrelated, for instance, excessive vehicular traffic has led to road widening which subsequently damaged several buildings thereby disrupted the traditional lifestyle of the people living in the area. All this, eventually led to the destruction of cultural as well as architectural heritage. Ratna Naidu in her study substantiates this by describing the plight of the old city of Hyderabad in the following words "Congestion and heavy traffic in Hyderabad have necessitated the dismantling of most of the six-mile-long wall that gave the city of Qutub Shahis and the Asaf Jahis (the Nizams) protection and a definite boundary. Of the original 12 gates, the remnants of only two still survive. ...." (Naidu, '90). Similarly in Jaisalmer, a large portion of fort, bastions and palaces are collapsing due to lack of maintenance and increasing pilferation. The richly ornamented facades, *jharokhas* (balconies) of the *havelies* (mansions) are being mutilated because of indiscriminate construction activities and increasing demands for commercial spaces. The

overpopulation, commercialization and establishment of several modern industries inside the historic city is drastically changing the social and physical fabric of Udaipur. Incongruous and unauthorized developments and vandalization is threatening the survival of the temples of the old city of Bhubneshwar. The story of erosion of India's heritage does not stop here. There are many more which are undergoing similar changes.

Fig. 1.8. Dilapidating Konark Temple



Source: Biswas (1993)

Fig. 1.9 Crumbling Havelies of Jaisalmer

Source: Madhukar (1993)

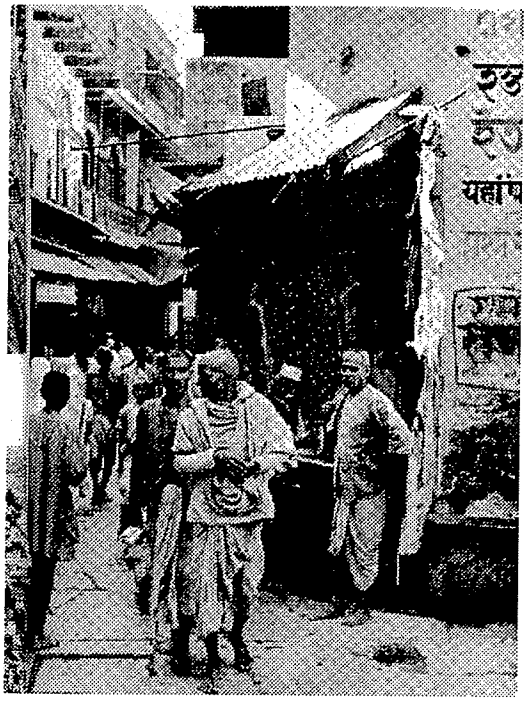
Many planners and conservationists are concerned with the inadequacy of the present approaches and legislative framework to deal with conservation. Some argue that while there are some legal instruments to preserve the 'protected' monuments, there is none to conserve the heritage of historical urban settlements and none for the integration of conservation with planning. Most of the conservation efforts to date have gone in vain and in fact, have contributed more to the extinction of the heritage. This is evident from the following quote: 'It is an irony that since Independence, the main thrust of town planning in India has generally operated against the rehabilitation, revitalization or urban conservation of inner city areas. Even though the master plans during 1960s-70s sought to decongest the core areas through proposed land use maps and the tools of floor area ratio and density, these documents only resulted in futile exercises' (Fonseca, '71). In

conclusion, it can be emphatically stated that at the moment, there is no clear approach to deal with the issue of conservation.

1.5. The rationale

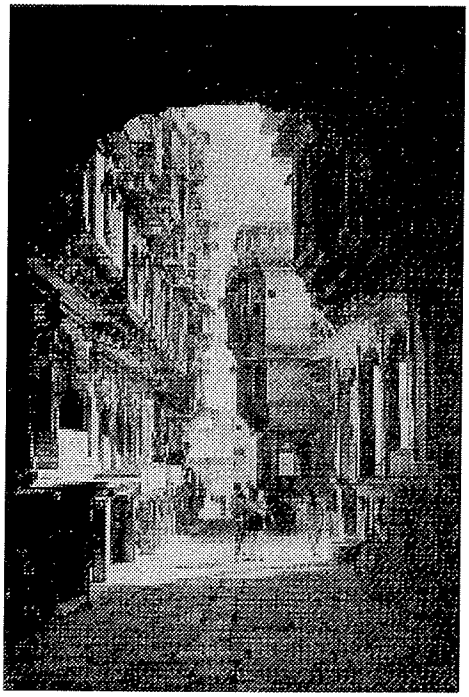
The first basic issue which arises from the above discussion is why should we bother conserving rather than demolishing the areas where the problem is so acute? It is the unique organic morphology that define historic cities and reflects the culture and ideologies and a way of life - rich and sacred of our past - the life of a community - a holistic community more in harmony with nature and ancestral gods. Earlier generations have brought to a higher degree of perfection that reflects their attitude towards life and have also expressed it in their buildings and the related spaces; the neighbourliness, the sense of an intense community life. It would be a tragedy if through negligence we lose this rich heritage. It is the past that informs the present and directs the future.

Fig. 1.10. A Street in Benaras



Source: Tyrwhitt (1947)

Fig. 1.11. A Street in Jaisalmer



Source: Sabhiki (1990)

One must ask - Why is conservation such as ubiquitous contemporary issue? The answer is simply that we live in an era where most of the things we use, wear, see around us are short-lived in comparison to our life span. And we have become more and more mobile because of the increased communication and travel due to rapid change in modern technology. Hence the environments and artifacts that surround us in later life are now seldom those we grew up with. The modern curiosity towards preservation can partly be attributed to the evanescence of the things that pass through our lives. This speed with which familiar touchstones of tradition have undergone transformation has greatly increased the psychological need for permanence. In the words of Lowenthal, "the pace of change increases attachments to scenes recalled from childhood, things that were here before us. Links with the past mitigate the strangeness of ever less familiar surroundings. Dissatisfaction with present and malaise about the future induce many look back with nostalgia, to equate what is beautiful and livable with what is old or past. The sense of place and the significance of community promote the endurance of landmarks and landscapes...And the diffusion of history and archeology makes us aware that scenes of our past are essential ingredients of our present identity - a country without historic buildings is like a man without a memory." (Lowenthal, '81)

1.6. Methodology

The methodology employed in this research is essentially based on the review of traditional and current literature related to conservation in India, Europe and North America, discussions and conversations with various professionals and author's earlier experience of conservation work in India. The research for this thesis is conducted in five phases.

The first phase consists of the study of general concept of conservation propounded by various authors in order to develop a better understanding of the concepts of conservation. Various similar terms like historic preservation, conservation, revitalization, restoration are explored and attempts are made to acquire adequate knowledge of the historic cities of India.

The second phase constitutes the identification of the difference in approach towards conservation in North America, Europe and India. It focuses on the evolution of conservation movement in India and their legislative and administrative framework. In addition, compatibility of the existing legislation with the present conservation practices and programmes is analyzed.

The third phase is composed of identification of the threats and challenges to the historical cities of India. It points out to the changing nature of the cities with respect to their society, economy and physical form and their impacts on the historical core areas.

The fourth phase consists of an in-depth analysis of the conservation movement in India through various case studies, examination of perception and attitudes of the Indian public about conservation. The intent is to draw lessons for directing future conservation activities in India. It examines various conservation projects completed and under completion in India such as temple city of Bhubneshwar, restoration of the *ghats*(banks) of Mathura and Vrindavan, conservation proposals for Fatehpur Sikri near Agra, Mehrauli at Delhi and Leh in Ladakh, recommendations for the desert city of Udaipur and Jaiselmer, conservation and restoration of Chanderi in MadhyaPradesh, French colonial city of Pondicherry and Portuguese influenced Fontainhas area of Panjim, Goa. The projects of Bhaktapur in Nepal and Leh in Laddakh (India) have been included in the thesis due to their unique approach towards conservation.

The fifth and the final phase consists of a synthesis of the research findings and the development of the approach for urban conservation in India.

1.7. Structure of the thesis

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. First chapter is devoted to the introduction of the thesis in terms of its purpose, objectives and basic issues encountered, till now and clarification of the terms 'conservation' and 'historic city in India'.

Chapter two outlines the evolution of various ideas about conservation in Indian context. It gives an overview of the thoughts and works of British planners in India during the colonial rule. Along with the examination of pros and cons of western conservation model, it also comments on the differences between Western and Indian outlooks.

Chapter three analyzes the challenges and threats to the cities in India. To accomplish this, it explores the cities in terms of physical morphology, economy and society. The section asserts on evolving dualistic nature of the cities and its impact on conservation.

Chapter four provides an analysis of the relevance of various existing preservation acts and legislation to the present dilemmas and threats to Indian heritage. It challenges the present practice of conservation and emphasises on the need for a change. The basic aim of the section is to identify various factors responsible for the present crisis and then look for scopes and ways to encounter them.

Chapter five is a search for direction focussing on the ethical issues of general public with respect to their religion and social and cultural practices. It reveals a startling linkage

between the religion and conservation ethos and their practical application in urban planning by Patrick Geddes's model of conservation planning in India.

The sixth Chapter presents the conservation study done on 'Leh' one of the historical cities of India and conservation project carried out in Bhaktapur, a town in neighboring country Nepal, in order to illustrate the means that will have their applications in conservation practices. Examples of various community action groups in India involved in promoting conservation have also been elucidated to present conservation as people's movement.

In the seventh chapter, conclusions are drawn from the investigations carried out in the previous chapters with reference to India.

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Conservation Movements in Western Countries & in India

2.1. Conservation in the West

The conservation movements of the Europe and North America essentially evolved from the pressures imposed on the historical centres of the cities due to rapid pace of urban growth and change. The industrialization, population pressures, new developments such as highway, shopping centre and drastic urban renewal schemes made a great impact on the core areas of the cities. This eventually led people to think about the past and raised the consciousness of preserving it.

2.1.2. Europe

The genesis of the conservation movement in Europe lies in the new aesthetics constructs, attitudes to nature and historicist philosophies of post-renaissance Europe (Kain, '81). Initially, what was considered worthy of protection was according to William Morris, father of conservation movement in England, anything "which can be looked on as artistic, picturesque, historical, antique or substantial, any work, in short, over which educated artistic people would think it worthwhile to argue at all" (Menon,'89). John Ruskin, another English guru of conservation, wrote about the decaying stone work and visual appearance of age and history as the 'golden stain of the time'. In his view, a building or painting after restoration loses its authenticity, it becomes a copy or counterfeit (Menon, '89). The first institutionalization of Britain's past came in the form of Historic Monuments Protection Act of 1882 that was based on the above two concerns of authenticity and picturesqueness in conservation.

In the beginning of the present century, the technical, social and economic changes have had important repercussions for the development of the conservation movement. The real change in the movement began after the World War II. The first two decades after the war were devoted mostly to the physical reconstruction and development of the old cities which were destroyed by the bombings. By 1960s, many European countries had achieved full economic recovery. This was accompanied with massive scale of developments and public infrastructure such as highways, malls etc. Some cities, such as Paris constructed large new centres like La Defense which destroyed the local economy and the importance of the old city. The rapid growth of Brussels led to the destruction of a major chunk of old city for new development. All these changes in physical as well as social fabric of the city fueled strong protests from the public that transformed into a mass movement by 1970s.

Since the evolution of conservation in the European countries, however, there has been a continuous shift within conservation philosophies. Opposition to the developments of 1950s and 60s came from those concerned with the physical conservation of the older city and its replacement by disliked modern buildings and transport systems. For example, in Paris, the controversy over Les Halles became a national issue. After the market had departed, an enormous mixed use commercial complex was proposed for the site, with a large cultural center on the neighboring Plateau Beaubourg, symbolizing the achievements of the Pompidou administration. The surrounding areas of slumlike housing at densities, obviously for a higher income population. In the summer of 1971, amid sharp protests, the cast-iron buildings were torn down (Appleyard, 79). The second type of protest came from those who were concerned with the displacement of social groups caused by the redevelopment. Among this class, a group called ARAU (the Ateleir de Recherche et d'Action Urbaine) was most active in Brussels. The concerns with social conservation came from the representatives of residents associations, citizen action groups and political

activists who were organized on behalf of disadvantaged social groups in European society.

In due course, the failure of the practice of architectural preservation due to high cost and gentrification changed the practice of conservation from the restrictions on the architecture and historicity to revitalization and rehabilitation with a recognition of the need for the social and economic life of the historic centres. This led to a shift in concern from buildings and monuments to the whole areas of the cities. The main emphasis was then on the character of the townscape experience through the elements like the texture of floorscape, vistas, sequences, landmarks, street furniture and so on. The conservation schemes of the city of Bath, York and Chester, best illustrate this concept of conservation. There were changes in the styles of conservation "from neo-classical concepts of purification, which fortunately remained only in the conceptual stage here, to romantic restorations and so-called scientific preservation, first in the passive sense and finally, for the present in the active sense" (Marasovic, '79). With the help of photography and by developing notation systems for recording the character of townscape expereince, a set of technique was developed that would lend value to the picturesque and provide a means of recreating it. The key idea that emerges from this is that even after so much of change in the perception of conservation, the notion of authenticity, character and the quest to preserve the structures as the relics of the past remains deep rooted.

Interestingly, the conservation philosophies in the communist countries of Europe such as Yugoslavia, Turkey, Italy, Poland, Sweden etc. were esentially based on Political view with a heavy influence of politicians and Government. That is why, in these countries, conservation was carried out mainly with massive Government support and control. (Appleyard, '79; Menon, '89).

2.1.3. North America

Until recently, in North America, the concepts of conservation movement had been borrowed from Europe. However, in both the countries, it has been primarily directed towards promoting nationalism and patriotism. According to Frenette, the rise of conservation movement in U.S. and Canada is attributed to several factors in which National birthdays of the two countries in 60s and 70s were the most significant which acted as a catalyst for expressions of patriotism, unity and national identity by preserving country's monuments (Frenette, '79). At the national level in both the countries, the conservation movement has been supported through two major interests: First is historic preservation i.e. preservation of historic objects for example landmarks, objects related to national figures etc. and Second is rehabilitation directed at the individual structures or neighbourhoods.

2.1.3.2. United States of America

The American conservation movement has gone through changes in different phases of time. The first phase, from the beginning of the nineteenth century to 1910 is characterised by the preservation of buildings and objects associated with outstanding persons or events. "In the United States, preservation began as a way of symbolizing reunification after the civil war; a group restored the decaying Mount Vernon home... preserving both it and Washington's memory and in this post war concord its function was not primarily to display beauty, excellence, or interesting artifacts but to recreate a total image of the life of a man who lived in a period which had already disappeared" (Coopersmith & Hall, '76). The second phase from 1910 to 1950, the idea of conservation widened as aesthetic and architectural facets of resources were considered for preservation with the establishment of National Trust for Historic Preservation (James, '82). This period was accompanied with restoration and architectural preservation activities e.g. restorations of Williamsburg,

Faneuil Hall Market, and Sacramento's Old Town. The third phase from 1960 to 1980 includes a rapid development of conservation movement from urban renewal to rehabilitation to neighborhood conservation. The urban renewal programmes of 1950s led to massive scale of demolition and clearance of neighborhoods and construction of new concrete towers. The adverse impact of urban renewal was not even solved by government's rehabilitation schemes. In mid 60s, an ambitious effort was made to introduce conservation as part of the planning process with the help of neighborhood conservation programmes. Furthermore, the amendments were made in the National Historic Preservation Act calling for the need for the conservation of traditional arts, crafts and vernacular architecture as part of the cultural heritage. In the fourth phase from 1980 to 1993, there is an increasing voice for grass root participation in preservation but no substantial efforts have been made yet in this direction (Hutlet, '93).

2.1.3.3. Canada

In Canada, the preservation movement initially developed for the conservation and management of natural resources, the example of which is Banff National Park established in 1885. However, the application of conservation to the built environment is quite recent. Coopersmith offers that the development of urban conservation in Canada essentially came with the energy crisis of 1973. "The oil crisis wasn't the only factor involved in the growing clamour over environmental wastefulness and deterioration, it was simply the catalyst that combined numerous voices in the night....After the fall of 1973, the ranks of re-cycling, rehabilitation and renovation advocates swelled; they chorused in the city halls, ratepayers' organizations and planning boards across the country. Their demand was for the inclusion of a modicum of common sense in future development schemes: for slower growth; for greater attention to the existing structures and neighborhoods; and for the introduction of alternations to the methods and motives employed over the previous years in developing the built environment." (Coopersmith et.al., '76). Efforts in conservation in

Canada followed much the same route as those of U.S., particularly with regard to the earlier experience of preservation of individual buildings, rehabilitation and rise and fall of urban renewal. A number of initiatives were taken by the Government and non-profit organisation Heritage Canada since 1973. The federal programs of slum clearance and renewal were replaced by the Neighborhood Improvement Program and Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program which were directed towards the revitalization of aged and deteriorating housing in urban areas. Main Street Revitalization programs were launched by the provinces to upgrade and improve the downtown areas (Frenette, '79). However, these programmes were primarily meant to market or promote the decaying downtown for economic purposes (Menon, '89). Heritage Canada through its Area conservation programmes, generated interest in the the conservation of community as whole. Attempts have also been made at including conservation programmes in comprehensive land use urban planning. In the recent years, there has been a major shift in the motives of conservation however, the direction is not clear. Federal government is trying to establish a relationship between heritage and Canadian identity and unity. Heritage Canada, on the other hand, now supports the grass root initiatives in which residents identify and promote their historic resources. There is, however no clear strategy to achieve these objectives (Hutlet, '93).

In North America, recent change in perception is evident from the Preservation conferences e.g. 47th National Preservation Conference held in 1993 and new conservation charters and legislations e.g. Appleton Charter (Appendix 4). A new approach now evolving is in a form of 'curatorial' management of the built environment which looks at building conservation less as an end in itself than the inevitable accompaniment to paying more attention to the management of change in their surroundings (Menon, '89).

From the above discussions, it is possible to observe the shifts in the focus in the movement from conservation of a building to conservation of an area, from historic preservation to housing rehabilitation to neighborhood planning and from individual efforts to growing governmental responsibility. In spite of these evolving changes in approaches, conservation continue to be seen as a preservation of architectural authenticity, its historic heritage and its materialistic values.

2.2. Conservation in India - a legacy of colonial rule

In India, even though there is an old and continuous civilization, the practice of conservation per se was introduced during the colonial rule by the British based on the notion of authenticity and restoration. The beginning of documented Indian conservation goes back to the last quarter of the eighteenth century when Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709-84), famous English lexicographer, wrote to Warren Hastings, the first British Governor-General of Fort William, Calcutta, 'to examine nicely the tradition and histories of the East...survey the remains of the ancient edifices, and trace the vestiges of its ruined cities'. This appeal by Dr. Johnson did not come into effect until Sir William Jones, judge of the Supreme Court of Calcutta founded the Asiatic Society in 1784 to inquire about the history, antiquities, arts, science and literature of Asia. Most of the research carried by the society were confined largely to translation and interpretation of ancient texts and inscriptions and descriptive accounts of monuments, however, much of the activity was carried out without any support from the government. Government involvement began in 1807 when it took the services of an archaeologist, Francis Buchanan. He prepared a topographical and statistical survey of the state of Mysore and undertook the survey of whole of eastern part of India, covering topography, history and antiquities.

There was very little activity in the area of conservation following Buchanan's surveys. Governor General Lord Minto (1807-13) appointed a committee to look after the maintenance of the Taj Mahal, Earl Moira, (1813-23) took the initiative for conservation at Sikandara, Fatehpur Sikri and Rambagh and Lord Amherst (1823-8) caused special repairs to be carried out on the Qutub Minar in Delhi. While there were some attempts at historic preservation in India by the government, negligence was rampant. For example, the marble bath in Shahjahan's (a Mughal emperor of India from 1628 to 1657) palace was dismantled and presented as a gift to King George IV and attempts were made by Lord Bentinck (1828-35) to demolish Taj Mahal, one of the seven wonders of the world, for mere value of its marble (Thapar, '84).

It was not until 1861 that the government appointed an Archaeological Surveyor charged with the task of illustrating the existing monuments by plans, measurements and drawings or photographs and to trace and record their history. However, the scope of the programme was limited to descriptive accounts of the monuments with no attempts at any conservation measure. The real age of conservation began with concerted efforts of Governor General of India, Lord Curzon which resulted in the establishment of Archaeological Survey of India and the enactment of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act in 1904 making preservation of ancient monuments and remains, statutory. The Act made provisions for the acquisition, protection and preservation of archaeological monuments or remains without disturbing their religious character.

Much of this legislation was, however, alien to Indian heritage. It ignored local cultures, myths and symbolic association with historic places and buildings. The mandates of conservation agency Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) and the legislations were confined to the preservation of individual historic monuments with little regard to the social and physical context. The necessity of conservation on urban scale was never realized and instead, clearance schemes were used to create an order in the historic cities. The most cited

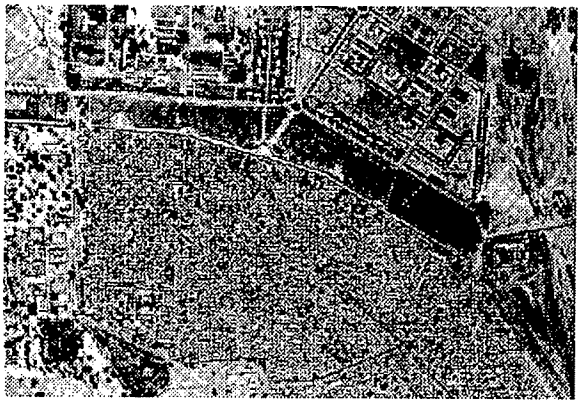
example of devastation of a living heritage during this era is Old Delhi. Following is a quote from Noe's research on Old Delhi describing the fate of Old Delhi in the hands of colonial government which is symptomatic of the destruction of Paris by Haussmann's boulevards:

"The character of the British impact on Old Delhi changed dramatically following 1857....a swath of land about three to four hundred yards was cleared around the Red fort. About two thirds of the area inside the fort was also levelled...thus by 1860s, virtually the entire eastern third of the city was transformed by the British. Delhi's main passenger station, with its associated marshalling yards and tow flanking roadways was constructed inside the old city. This required clearance of a path over three hundred yards wide frame one side of the city to the other. Construction of New Delhi had its major impact on the old part transforming it into a heavy through and peripheral traffic. This created conditions highly attractive to wholesale commerce ..." (Noe, '82)

It was planning practice based on the concepts of Ebenezer Howard's 'Garden City' idea which was responsible for the destruction of the traditional fabric of the Indian cities. In fact, Howard sought a balance between town and country and symbolic relationship between city and the surrounding farmland, but this was reduced, in the Indian context, to picturesque suburban sprawls, civil lines, garrison towns and cantonments based on grid layouts with isolated houses on vast areas of land. The planning of New Delhi, cantonments of Agra and Barrackpore are some of its legacies. These new developments, in contrast to the closely knit fabric of the traditional towns, become the low density middle class suburbs (Sabikhi, '90) (see Fig. 2.1). Most of these planning schemes conceived at that time were primarily executed by demolishing the older congested parts of the city and creating new developments as a means of decentralizing. A striking example of this type of planning was the moving of the old vegetable market from the old Delhi to the newly

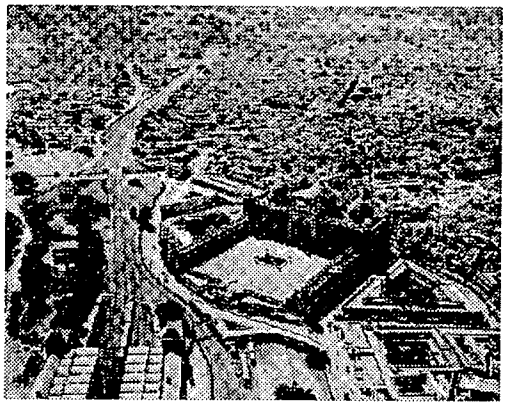
planned areas. The move caused the first planning related riot in Delhi. (Goodfriend, '82). However, Patrick Geddes, a Scottish planner who worked in India from 1915 to 1919, did not endorse the prevalent planning activities in India. His approach was more of community based. Although Geddes studied a number of Indian towns and cities, his concepts made a very little impact on planning in India. This was partly because most of his studies were for small Princely cities and his reports were implemented only on the consent of the king of the respective city and partly, it was British Government of India which never encouraged him to promote his ideas.

Fig. 2.1 Contrast between Old and New Delhi



Source: Tyrwhitt (1947)

Fig. 2.2 Railway Station in old Agra



Source: Brown (1956)

Besides the imposition of western planning models on India's historic cities, the advent of railways and cars in India further disrupted the indigenous urban fabric. Vast portion of old cities were destroyed and railway stations and highways were built for production and distribution of industrial products and for movement of people and products (see Fig. 2.2).

2.4 Differences between western and eastern concepts of conservation

These planning actions were incompatible in the Indian context because the concepts of conservation in India encompass a distinctly different perspective from the western notion of conservation. According to Menon, in the west, there is a strong bias to preserve or freeze the visual quality of the heritage and control the process of decay. The West also places considerable importance on the building as an object reflecting an interest in it as valuable commodity with material values.

Two forces influenced the conservation approached in the West - first, the complete transformation of built environment in the west is caused by industrialization and successive wars, second, their culturally rooted concept of space and time (Menon, '92) as also evident in Harvey's words "The definition of space and time is essential to the creation of any sense of individual or collective identity - we define who we are, in large degree through locating ourselves against the background of secure space-time coordinates. But when those coordinates shift, become insecure, it is hard to know who we are" (Harvey, '90). As indicated in the preceding sections, the traumatic transformation of environment is certainly a catalyst for galvanizing the conservation movement in Europe and North America. India is of course transforming, but it has not yet experienced the scale of transformation happened in western countries.

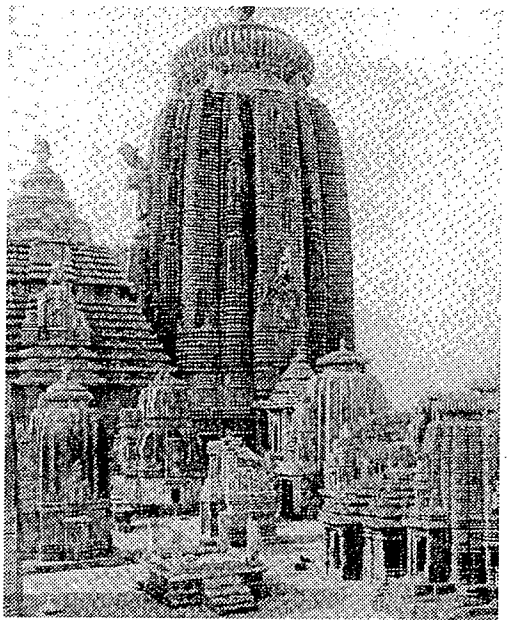
Most of the time, it is the cultural, intellectual, historical and psychological frame of reference that define the conservation attitudes of a society. For example, in the west, the cultural belief in the linear perception of time highlights their concept of authenticity in conservation. The awareness of time's irreversibility emphasises the temporal qualities of objects and events which results in the considerable importance on the building while in India, the cyclical perception of time as also embedded in the belief in reincarnation, places

no critical temporal value on man-made objects (Menon, '92). This is evident from the continuous change and renewal associated with most of the religious, non-religious and vernacular structures in urban as well as in rural areas.

Further, it is interesting to note that Moritimer Wheeler, a British archaeologist who trained many archaeologist in India, took this training as his goal to establish order out of chaos in Indian conditions. The image of chaos and disorder in the cities is sustained by most of the western planners and conservationists. The fact is that although civic life may appear to be chaotic and unbearable, these cities are vibrant, pulsating and even innovative places in their own way. Many cities are thriving centres of learning, arts, architecture, science and above all urbanity. The paradox of invisible order and visible chaos has not been realized in the West (Qadeer, 83).

Besides these differences in the two cultures, the emulation of the western idea of relationship between time and aesthetics does not work in Indian situation. Menon argues that Indian townscapes never really contain the rich variety of old buildings assumed to exist in an ancient continually existing culture as is the case in Europe (Menon, '92) (see Fig. 2.4). Even in cities like Varanasi which is perhaps India's oldest existing city, the durable domestic architecture is seldom more than 200 years old and often far more recent. In most of the historic cities, past has been partly or totally obliterated, however, only cases such as Old Bhubneshwar (see Fig. 2.3), Satrunjaya (see Fig. 2.5) and Srirangam could be exceptions in this regard due to fairly high concentration of temples built between 500-1700 AD. (Brown, '56; Menon, '89). However, none of such development existed among non-religious buildings following that period. Indian towns seldom display the dialectic rhythm of time observable in many European towns such as Rome, Venice, Athens etc.

Fig. 2.3 Temples at Old Bhubneshwar



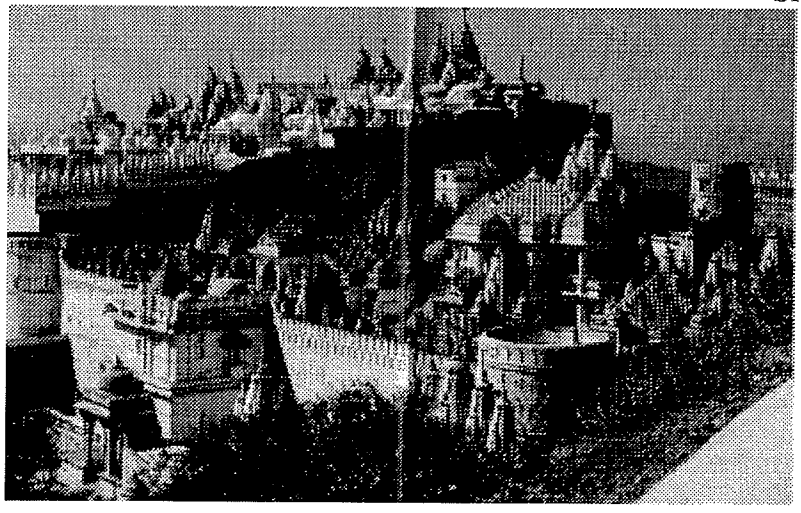
Source: Brown (1956)

Fig. 2.4 Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola, Italy

Source: Norberg-Schulz (1975)

The collage of time observable in Indian towns consists of different entities that constitute - the historic, the colonial, the modern and the settlements of the urban poor rather within the historic town itself.

Fig. 2.5 Jain Temples at Satrunjaya, Gujarat

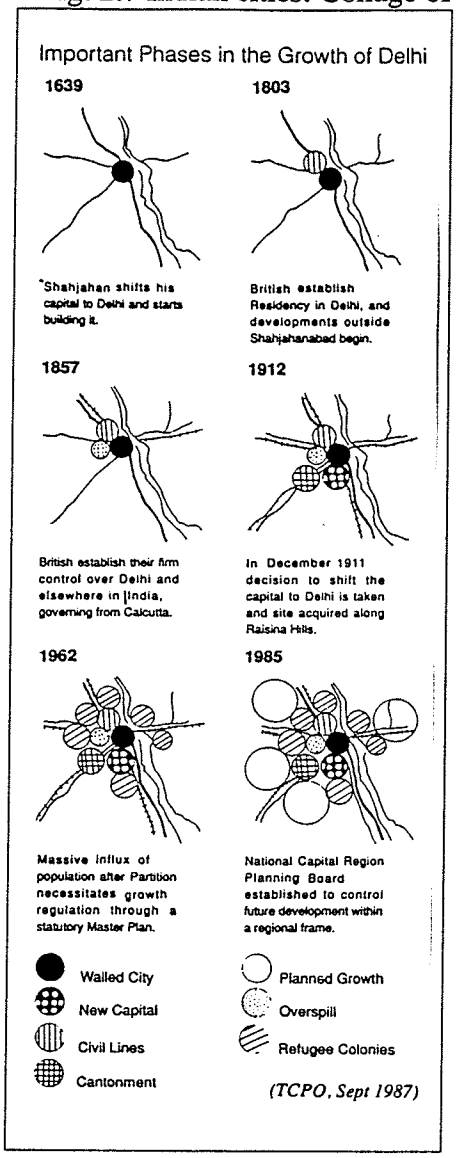


Source: Michell (1989)

Fig. 2.6 New Sectors in Indian cities - Slums and New Developments

Source: Mahrotra (1990)

Fig. 2.7 Indian cities: Collage of Time



Source: Martyn (1990)

The reason for the lack of variety with respect to time is embedded in the use of degradable material for the non-religious buildings and the effect of climate on these material which initiates a repetitive cycle of development through their constant renewal. The argument of constant renewal of buildings leads to the revelation that local building practices are still prevalent and continue to meet the entire range of building needs of the community.

In almost all the cities including Delhi which is supposed to be the most planned and funded, more than 60% of its development bypasses the regular planning process which are euphemistically labelled as 'unauthorized colonies'. These 'unauthorized' colonies are not necessarily slums and shanty towns, but include middle-class and elite residential colonies. This clearly reflects that the wisdom of traditional building system is not completely wiped out but still present in the society in an invisible form. Most of the existing temples e.g. Madurai, Srirangam and other historical structures are constantly being repaired by the traditional master-masons who are the only messenger of knowledge of indigenous construction at the present time. One of the most recent examples of the continuation of artistic tradition is the reconstruction of Somanatha temple at Prabhas Patan, a 12th century monument in Western India which was desecrated by the muslims on several occasions. However, in view of the current pursuit of modern material and technology, there is a clear danger of loss of these traditional skills which to a large extent are already beginning to disappear. Unless necessary steps are taken, there may be a great loss to Indian heritage.

Despite these contradictions, the legacy of western conservation and planning practices still prevail in modern India with very little attempt at understanding its impact on India's traditional culture and heritage. The best example is Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), established in 1902, which is still the sole agency responsible for the protection of monuments of national importance. It is ironic that even after 50 years of India's independence, ASI continues to follow the conservation practices and programmes introduced by the British during their *raj*. This is evident from a large difference in the number of monuments ASI protects in comparison to the protected monuments in Britain. Currently just over 5000 monuments of national importance come under ASI's jurisdiction while Department of Archaeology in the various states look after another 4000 monuments of local importance (Ribeiro, '89; Menon, '89; Sundaram, '88). The protection of only

9000 monuments in a country of the size and history of India, is infinitesimally small as compared to 30,000 monuments receiving special care out of 500,000 listed ones in Britain. It is apparent from this that in India, several categories of heritage buildings have been left out. This leads to the fact that British colonial government which established the criteria for selection that ASI presently follows, did not recognize the objects of cultural worth besides identifying handful of archaeological sites and buildings.

The ASI currently operates under 'The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act' of 1958 which is in fact the revised version of the 'The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act' of 1904 developed by British on their earlier concept of preserving the authenticity. Morris's concept of picturequeness is deeply penetrated in most of Indian legislations pertaining to conservation. Again due to strong British influence, the bias in India is towards scientific restoration, succinctly contained in the advice that "it is better to consolidate than repair, better to repair than restore, better to restore than to rebuild, better to rebuild than to embellish; in no case must anything be added, and above all, nothing should be removed" (Menon, '89).

It is clear from the above discussion as to why western conservationists devote more attention to surviving structures and other evidence of the past and while in India, there is a need for an strong emphasis on continuity of traditions that created the historic monuments and ensembles in the first place. The need for conservation lies not in the buildings which are considered to be ephemeral in nature but in the continuity of craftspeople, their skills and technologies, rituals and customs which are responsible for informing us of the nature of the past.

2.5. International Charters on Conservation

Besides being indebted to the western notion of conservation, the Indian conservation policies also blindly adhere to the principles enunciated in the International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, held in Venice in 1964 under the patronage of UNESCO, commonly known as Venice Charter. The main concern which ironically forms the premise of the principles of the Charter here is the assertion on mitigating the effect of the changes so that authenticity of the historic areas could be maintained. Most interesting principles among all are Article 9 and 12 (Appendix 1) which reject any reconstruction of a monument and emphasises more the aesthetic and authentic value of the structure. The Charter, thereby denies any continuity of tradition in the evolution of a building. It neither recognizes the tradition of master-mason who is still able to build and restore not only the monuments but also the vernacular forms of building. There is an ample evidence to sustain the view that old monuments in use are continuously being maintained. The Madurai, Srirangam and Lingraj temple complex and even the shrines at Varanasi and the small villages are all well taken care of and the ones in derelict state are due to the loss of meaning of the monument to the community - partly due to desecration - and partly due to fiscal impoverishment (Menon, '92).

The guidelines of the Charter is plagued with western concern for material values in architecture and interest in monumentality and scale. Attitudes towards the vernacular and respect for local building traditions have no meaning in the document because the symbolic values associated with the buildings are of no significance to the western culture. Yet Venice Charter is still a basic reference for modern architectural conservation doctrine. The documents of International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), an international non-governmental organization e.g. Charters for Historic Town Areas (Appendix 5), The Florence Charter on Historic Gardens and Sites, 1982 were framed on the same theme.

Even UNESCO formulated some recommendations pertaining to conservation e.g recommendation concerning the safeguarding and contemporary role of historic areas, in 1968 UNESCO General Conference, Paris and in 1976 UNESCO General Conference, Nairobi, taking Venice Charter as its premise.

Although these recommendations and charters call for an urban dimension to conservation rather than on individual basis, the documents envisaged conservation as a subordinate activity within a wider developmental process of modernization. Over the past few years, there have been some shifts in the direction of the conservation practices in the west. Responding to the Resolutions of the 5th General Assembly of ICOMOS held at Moscow in 1978, Australian ICOMOS in 1981 adopted a charter called 'The Burra Charter' (Appendix 2) which acknowledges the cultural dimension in conservation but it rules out the reconstruction and restoration without documented evidence. The 8th General Assembly of ICOMOS, held at Washington D.C. in 1987 adopted another Charter for conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas as a supplement to the Venice Charter. This is the first time that an attempt is made to recognize city as a universal phenomenon and to develop universal concepts of conservation practices. It recognizes cities as the value base of traditional urban culture rather than a historic entity. The interesting thing to note here is that recently there has been a swift change in the attitudes of international community towards conservation. This change in attitude however is not evident in India and if action is not taken expeditiously, there would be dramatic loss of Indian historic built environments and associated cultural heritages.

2.5. Conclusion

Some critical observations can be made about the conservation efforts in Western countries and in India. The first one is that western conservation ideologies emphasise more the

physical manifestation of society assessing it in terms of historical significance, age, architectural pedigree and nationalism/regional pride. This idea of conservation is product of their cultural belief in irreversibility of time. Second, the western thinking of conservation is not suitable for the conservation of Indian heritage, the meaning of which is generally misinterpreted. In India, values attached to buildings are of very different nature. The cyclical perception of time associated with the physical structures induces the need for constant change and renewal. Unlike West, conservation of building in India is a social norm however, it mainly comes out of religious and cultural necessities rather than conscious attempts based on historic or aesthetic values. Although historical monuments exist in great numbers in Indian cities, they represent only one facet of the culture. India's built heritage actually consist of both large monuments and vernacular form of buildings as well. The conservation schemes must have to deal with these two components of India's heritage. There are some legislations and an agency to look after monuments but there is none to conserve the indigenous structures on urban scale. Moreover, the course of action may not be suitable for vernacular and indigenous buildings which in contrast to the conservation of large monuments requires a different type of conservation practice.

To resolve the impasse between these two points of view would be to separate their spheres of influence by distinguishing between the monuments of national importance and the vernacular/indigenous knowledge and architecture. The International Charters which mostly refer to the authenticity of the structures, could be applied to the monuments which have their historical antiquity while a new Indian Charter could be applied to the continuously changing vernacular architecture which is not recognized as heritage in western perception. The new charter would include hundreds and thousands of less than exemplary monuments and permit reconstruction, encourage duplication, value invention and seek transformation (Menon, '92). The premise of the new set of guidelines should be based on the understanding that the true heritage of India lies in the traditional skills of

artisans and craftsmen and less in the objects they created which would deteriorate with time.

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Urban Challenges

Historic cities of India, today face many urban challenges. In the historical period, from ancient times to the British period, the physical expansion within the historic settlement was limited due to its defined urban form in the form of city wall or fortification and geoclimatic constraints. However, foreign domination, modernization, political and economic factors as well as technological progress established a new set of predicaments resulting in expansion of the cities and shift in their axis of growth. Not only these, cities are now splitted into two or more parallel economies and subcultures. Broadly, they are being transformed into dualistic economic and social organizations. Although distinguishable, formal and informal economic sectors exist together in the city. The old traditions now accommodate and assimilate new cultural element resulting into a continuous interpenetration of modernity into tradition. Social organizations and old communal ties are turning into brotherhoods of shared economic and ethnic interests. The dynamics of change in Indian cities can be analyzed in mainly under three areas:

- 1. Physical morphology
- 2. Society and Community &
- 3. Economy

3.1. Changing morphology of the city

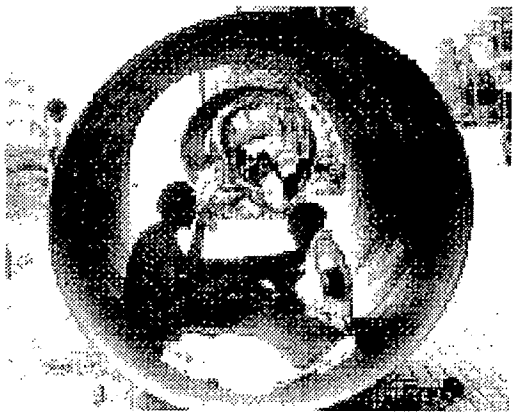
Most Indian cities now bear a close resemblance to each other irrespective of where they are located. Qadeer aptly says "All contemporary cities (of the third world) are the same. If you have seen one, you have seen all. Each has avenues lined with plate glass windows, an airport, smoky industries and quaint old towns" (Qadeer, '83). One of the most noticeable features of Indian cities is their combination of very high population density in the older

areas and relatively low density in the newer developments. The continuous change in the city form has resulted into three main distinct sectors: the historic town, the newly planned and unplanned developments and the 'spontaneous', informal growth of the urban poor, both within and at the periphery of the cities (Menon, '88, '89). This characteristic is evident from the study of the cities like Delhi, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Jaipur and many more. These two new additions to the original settlement are incompatible to the overall structure and sustenance of the city and are exerting a lot of pressure on the historical core area. This shift in the development of the cities occurred during the colonial rule when the new formal areas in the form of cantonment, civil lines and new suburbs were developed outside the old part of the city. The changing economic circumstances due to industrialization attracted people from the surrounding rural and semi-urban areas. Since then, there has been a huge influx of people in the city in search of jobs and place to live. The problem of adequate housing and employment forced many of them to live in squatter settlements on the outskirts of the city (see Fig. 3.1 & 3.2).

Fig. 3.1 Squatters and the City

Source: Correa (1987)

Fig. 3.2 Life in Drain



Source: Correa (1987)

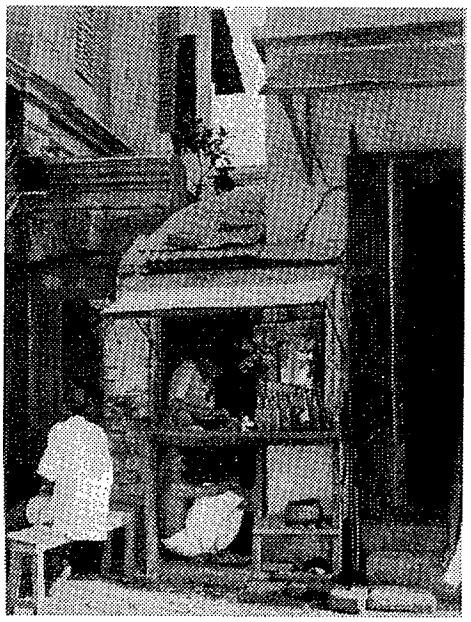
At the same time, the old walled city is also getting denser due to increased commercialization and the large influx of migrants. What was a total city at one time has

now become a central area in a larger, metropolitan context. However, it is important to recognize that these parts are now organically related to each other and their interdependence must be viewed in the context that current trends in the rate and pattern of urbanization are unlikely to change in the foreseeable future.

3.1.1. Congestion

One of the basic physical problems occurring in the historical areas is congestion. Congestion refers to inadequate facilities in the house, inadequate infrastructure in the neighbourhoods and lack of proper circulation space. According to Naidu, it is not the density as commonly perceived problem, but it is congestion. Congestion occurs when physical infrastructure can not cope up with the density of an area (Naidu, '90).

Fig. 3.3 Dimension of Congestion & Physical Blight



Source: Tyrwhitt (1947)

To a large extent, it is being caused by the intricate physical fabric of Indian cities where primary and secondary streets are limited in extension, low rise and densely packed houses

which are far beyond renovation and laying of new sewerage lines is next to impossible due to lack of space. The existing roads, sewerage lines, water-pipes, electricity and playground have become old, obsolete, overloaded and are inadequate for the present population. According to statistics, nearly a fourth of the population in most Indian cities don't have either tapped water or sewage facilities and a good third live without electricity (Chengappa, '88). In old city of Hyderabad, 82% of residents do not have proper sewage system, only 41% of the households have water facility which is overloaded by 6 to 10 times of their capacity (Naidu, '90). In Old Delhi, 25% of the houses are without water supply and 50% are without municipal sewer connection (D.D.A., '91). In addition to the overload on physical infrastructure, certain vital social infrastructure facilities e.g. schools, banks, post offices, hospitals, playgrounds etc. have also not been able to keep up with the increasing population. Furthermore, congestion is compounding due to lack of proper circulation space. The circulatory system in the walled city in the form of narrow and winding streets was meant for a different era and a different culture. They are unsuitable for present needs as they obstruct the free flow of fast-moving and heavy vehicles which passes through them as thoroughfare. The slow moving vehicles like cycles and *rickshaws* [1] still ply in the walled city which in turn force fast moving vehicles to move at a speed slower than what they are designed for, causing further congestion. As a result, there are frequent breakdowns in the flow of traffic and the roads which have already crossed their carrying capacity, are deteriorating further. Survey of old part of Hyderabad reveals that almost 70% of roads are in bad shape (Naidu, '90). Not only this, in order to cater to the demands of the automobile, walled cities have been stripped of their walls, several residential, commercial and religious structures to widen the roads. The cumulative result of all this is further escalation in traffic, increasing congestion and air and noise pollution.

[1] Richshaw is a primary mode of transportation in Indian cities especially in older parts. It is similar to a cycle but has three wheels - one in the front and two in the rear and similar to a cycle, a person in the front rides it.

3.1.2. Physical Blight

Despite being important economic centres of India, the problem of poor quality housing and dilapidation in the historical areas is quite high. Naidu's study of Old Hyderabad further indicates that poor housing in the walled city is due to the presence of a large number of old and mud houses and the economic inability of most families to renovate them. Dilapidation has further increased due to sub-letting rooms. In Delhi, the entire walled city of Shajahanbad has been declared a slum due to acute congestion and high proportion of dilapidated buildings.

3.2. Community and Social Dynamics

Besides these physical changes, cities are also undergoing rapid cultural and social transformation. There is a continuous erosion of the old order and emergence of a new social organization. Social units which are being formed are smaller in size and relatively uniform by class, ethnicity and interest. The traditional communities are giving away to family groups, kindred brotherhoods and friendship cliques often of similar interests and social standing (Qadeer, 83). The interesting fact is that although there is a breakup of the traditional urban social structures, there is new ethnicity and recommunalisation on the basis of religion taking place and acting as a new social cement. This situation is partly contributed towards many communal tensions that have taken place in cities like Delhi, Moradabad, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad which started from the old cities and spreaded outward in the newer developments.

3.2.1. Social Condition: Multiple Deprivation

In many historic cities of India, the social conditions are such that they are leading to 'Multiple deprivation'. 'Multiple deprivation' is a series of correlated, cross cutting deprivations which often compound one another. In the social science literature, this vicious cycle of multiple deprivation of, for instance, poor education and training, low income, poor diet and poor hygienic conditions leading to low efficiency and ability to enhance incomes, is analytically applied to understand poverty at the individual, community and class levels (Naidu, '90). In the old city of Hyderabad, about 57% of households are either below or on the poverty line (Naidu, '90).

3.3. Economic Dynamics

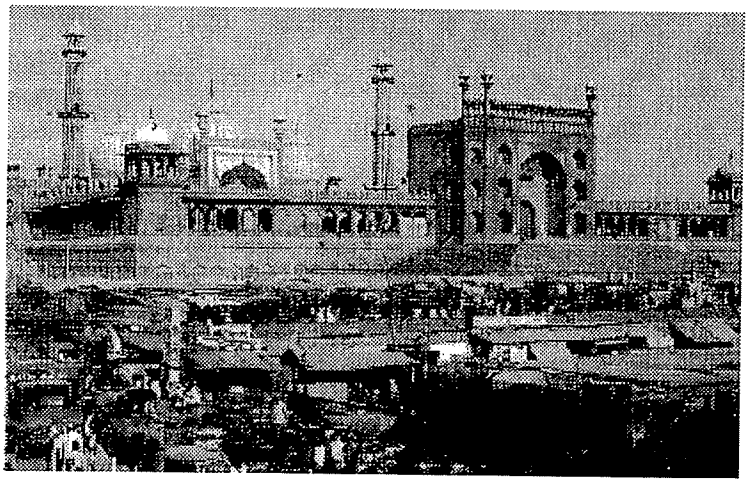
The dualism in the economy of Indian cities is a widely acknowledged fact. The indigenous economy of the old city coexists with a powerful parallel economy of formal sector which constitutes large international and national business corporations, bureaucratic enterprises and industrial establishments. This modern economy has mostly emerged in the last 50 to 100 years under the direct influence of the colonial rule. The informal bazaar economy has more of social and religious orientation rather than economic. The introduction of the new formal economic sector has significant repercussions on the society as a whole. It is transforming the society into capitalist market economy fractionating it along class lines. This coupled with recently introduced privatization scheme is leading to further break down of the communities and the emergence of individualism and ethos of self-interest. The two sectors of the city's economy in turn have introduced two social and economic status based on consumption and employment operating within the same city area. The bazaar sector of the old city traditionally constituted of four layers. Among those layers, the upper class consists of wholesalers, merchants, religious leaders etc. The middle class

comprises of self employed artisans, shopkeepers, religious teachers, and skilled workers. The lower class is made up of casual labourers, hawkers, domestics etc. At the bottom are the beggars, orphans, sweepers etc. The new formal sector introduced a different layer of ruling class of the country e.g. industrialists, bankers, elites etc., the middle layer comprises of professionals, scientists, dealers etc. The bottom of this sector are clerks, industrial workers, salesmen and so on. This combination of social strata with the sectorial duality is beginning to shape into a stepped and oligarchic society (Qadeer, '83).

3.3.1. Commercialization

The introduction of new formal economic order into the existing informal sector of economy has resulted in a large scale conversion of old residential areas into commercial zone (see Fig. 3.4). In Old Delhi, about 40% of the buildings have been converted into commercial and industrial use (D.D.A., '91). The scarcity of land and increasing population have increased the land value many times in these areas, giving better financial returns from the property that is converted into a commercial use. The commercialization has introduced some more changes in the physical fabric of the city to accommodate new needs for example production space, storage areas, increased traffic in the form of heavy vehicles e.g. trucks, vans etc. The sign boards, posters, iron shutters and other extraneous material are increasing the rate of deterioration of visual and architectural quality of buildings.

Fig. 3.4 Commercialization in front of Jama Masjid in Old Delhi



Source: Martyn (1990)

In Old Delhi, Goodfriend notes 'Archways and windows are widened or sealed up to conform to the requirements of goods, transit and storage. *Baithaks* (living rooms) are being transformed into shops, factories, godowns and printing presses. *Katras* (neighborhood) once housing 10 to 20 families have become cloth bazaars, forcing those families into even tighter quarters in nearby *mohallas* (neighborhoods) (Goodfriend, '82). The commercial activity has also resulted in the decrease of the residential population of the area (Jain, '90) raising the fear of obsolescence and decay.

3.3.2. Tourism

Tourism is adding further to the rapid transformation of economy of historic cities. The rich architecture and unique experience of everything from monuments to markets to the traditional lifestyles of the people in the historic city attract a large portion of both domestic and foreign tourists. While the tourism industry is generally beneficial to the nation's economy, its environmental, cultural and social repercussions are quite severe. Many cities such as Udaipur and Jaisalmer are facing a potential threat to their cultural heritage due to

unregulated tourism. To cater to the needs of the tourists, roads have been widened to allow buses and cars to come as close to the historic monuments as possible. Hotels and recreation facilities are now mushrooming up in the historic areas, further adding to the congestion. This is leading to the introduction of an elite class culture as well as economy increasing the gulf between rich and poor.

3.4. Contemporary National and Regional Planning

Most of the above problems occurring in the cities affecting the historical areas are attributed to the tidal flow of population due to the "pull" affect of big cities acting as the potential economic centres. Much of this influx in urban centres is because of distress migration from the villages where the existence is no longer sustainable (Correa, '85). A variety of policies and programmes implemented so far for altering the urban structure remained by and large ineffective. The concept of developing ring towns or "counter magnets" to the metropolitan cities was implemented in an attempt to stem the growth of large urban areas. However, the alternative townships could not offer the same level of economic activities and infrastructure as that of metropolitan city and thus, the population continues to migrate to major cities for employment. Industrial decentralization, another attempt made by the Government also ended up in failure. This time the problem was the close proximity of the new industrial towns to the existing major urban centres. The establishment of industries displaced the local population which started moving to the major cities as the industries could not provide the type of jobs, they were suited for. Furthermore, the process of decentralization of the industrial activities in the city resulted in ribbon development along the arterial routeways and contributed more to the peripheral sprawl. It is the ineffectiveness of these regional policies coupled with mishandling of planning issues by local development authorities, have led to social, physical and economic transformation of the cities.

3.5. Conclusion

From the above discussion about the nature of the Indian cities, the main inference which comes out is that in spite of forty decades of modernization, India is perhaps, as a whole, a more divided society rather than a more developed, or less conservative one. Both 'Bharat' and 'India' are realities in the contemporary scene (Menon, '89). The historic town is a significant part of the prevailing urbanized sector of the Indian environment harboring a large population in its defined limit. Although it is not a part of the formal sector of the city, it is being influenced and in turn influencing the other sectors and city as a whole. Therefore, it can be reiterated that "historic parts of the Indian cities cannot be isolated for conservation purposes as is done in the case of individual structures. It is also not possible to fence off these areas and convert them into living museums. What is considered important is the idea that a historic city or a part of it must relate to the larger urban context around it and respond to the aspects which demand its interaction with the rest of the city. At the same time, an historic area should have the privilege of making claims on the rest of the city for a special position" (Jain, '90). The new developments in cities must be coherent with the characteristics of the historic areas in the form of spatial relationships, land use, material and master masons. Conservation of historic cities will have to respect their changing and evolving nature taking the inherent continuous development activity into account. It can thus be asserted that conservation in India needs to shift its priority to what is becoming of historic cities rather than on what they were. This shift in values is predicated on an understanding of the current reality of Indian cities and future prospects that change in morphology, social condition and urban economy will continue.(Menon, '89)

The changing social and economic scenarios in the cities have introduced a fused culture which is a collage of the traditional as well as the new ones. An interesting point is that the Indian identity is no more the one which used to exist, but now the above form of cultural pluralism is an accepted fact. The conservation objectives must cater to the contemporary cultural aspect of India and only then it can contribute meaningfully to the reconstruction of the Indian identity. In the words of Menon, "What is being posited here is that in the Indian context, the collage of cultures should not - and need not - in the western sense refer to the conservation of historical images. It should refer to evolving images" (Menon, '89).

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Present Conservation Practices in India

4.1. Government Policies and Interventions

Most of the planning policies and conservation measures adopted by the government tend to be more restrictive rather than acting as facilitator for positive intervention. Government still uses western planning techniques like land use maps, floor area ratio and density standards to regulate the organic morphology of the historic areas in spite of their ineffectiveness (Fonseca, '71). The Master plans which were adopted from the British planning practices prevalent during 1950s, are the only means of exercising urban planning in India. This rational comprehensive, goal-oriented nature of planning is based on physical construction and spatial arrangements with the assumptions that social and economic despair can be eradicated. Even after repeated failures and further deterioration in conditions, these policies nevertheless seek the dedensification and substantial redevelopment as the solutions for the dilemmas of the old parts of the cities.

Through out the Master plans of various cities, a vision of tower and multistoreyed blocks is projected for the old city. The urban renewal plan of the Jama Masjid-Chawri Bazaar Redevelopment scheme of old Delhi substantiates this dubious attitude which envisioned the replacement of dense neighborhoods surrounding the Jama Masjid (The Friday mosque) with high rise apartment complexes. With further inspiration from western counterparts, a new wave of construction of commercial complexes is also on its peak. The most interesting examples of which is the commercial development of Asaf Ali Road in Delhi for which the historic stone wall of the walled city of Shahjahanbad was pulled down (Sabikhi, '90).

One of the most unfortunate decisions made by the Government was to declare the entire historic Old Delhi as a 'slum' under the Slum Areas Improvement and Clearance Act, 1956. A partial implementation of this policy in the 1960s and 70s resulted in complete demolition of several hundred dwelling and rehabilitation of these residents in five or six storied apartment buildings in the peripheral areas of the city. The 1962 Master plan of Delhi proposed an urban renewal scheme specifying population density targets and balancing, land use zones and a new circulation pattern for the old city. The recommendations also included the clearance of several markets and development of parks instead. The tool used for decongestion was no different from the British method of uprooting people from one place and relocating them to other. The implementation of these types of urban renewal, slum clearance and rehabilitation projects resulted in severe economic, social and physical displacement of large segments of population. The establishment of exclusive zones of activity through zoning bylaws disrupts the vital link between people and their livelihood which is the key feature of the neighborhoods where workplace and residences co-exist. "Foremost among such impediments are slum clearance programs, rent control measures and zoning regulations....slum clearance reduces the housing stock and displaces low income groups. Rent control discourages maintenance of the housing stock and speeds the flight of investment to the more profitable areas of land speculation and luxury housing and invariably gives rise to a black market in apartments; zoning regulations often arbitrarily cut across boundaries of viable markets and effectively prohibit occupational mixing in new developments" (Fonseca, '71).

While in the old city of Hyderabad, a development authority was created to specifically deal with the urban crisis in the old city, the authority has never been able to achieve its goal. The main problem is associated with periodic change in its policies due to changes in the parties at the Municipal level. Most of the parties in the area have a strong communal bias in their articulation of policies and whenever one party comes into power, it directs all the

activities towards its own community. Besides this, the authority is fraught with lack of coordination and a coherent vision among the agencies working in the area. The major development schemes produced by this authority have proposed road-widening programmes without any consideration of its feasibility or recognition of the physical and social disruption it would cause.

One of the initiatives taken by the Government was the establishment of Building Repairs and Reconstruction Board for upgrading the old buildings of Bombay, thereby preserving the existing housing stock without uprooting the residents of the building. The scheme assures timely repair and reconstruction of the housings which are in derelict conditions but still occupied by the people. However, too much of bureaucracy, corruption and lengthy negotiations are impeding Board's work (Martyn, '89).

The problem with the government policies can be summed up as "Clearly there is a lack of unified policy with respect to location of basic economic activities and desirable patterns of growth. This seems to reflect a lack a systematic coordination between economic planners on the one hand, and city planners and housing reformers on the other. One group makes many of the decisions that actually shape development patterns for better or worse, while the other struggles with the resulting problems, too often without looking into their causes."(Fonseca, '69).

4.2. Legal and Administrative Framework for Conservation

Although it is true that Government planners are obsessed by the western notion of planning, there are several inadequacies present in the existing legal framework in which they work. India is one of the largest democratic country in the world with a federal constitution under which the powers and functions are divided between the Central Government and the constituent states. However, it only allows the States to have full control of the sectors like Urban Development, Town Planning and Municipal Government, thus, legally only State Governments are competent to enact laws regulating the governance of urban areas and the establishment of Municipal agencies and also to formulate and implement programmes in this sector. In spite of these powers and legislations, the responsibility for the preparation of Development plans and enforcement is not clearly distributed amongst the State and Local agencies in different states and the position is actually quite confusing both from the point of the city level agencies and the citizens (Sundaram, '89).

One of the acute problems in the legislations is that conservation is not yet considered to be part of urban planning process. No concerted effort has been made so far in various legislations dealing with urban conservation to take a comprehensive look at the problems of urban planning and conservation. The same tools of zoning applied to other relatively new developments, are used in the old portions of the historic city also where there is a considerable extent of overlap of activities. As well there is no statutory requirement for the listing of buildings and monuments of historic and architectural importance. The only legislation directly devoted to the preservation of monuments are the Central and State statutes dealing with ancient and archaeological sites which has not been revised since 1958. It is worth noting that only those monuments and sites are to be protected by law which have been in existence for over hundred years. But there is no scientific basis for

this time-limit. This keeps the buildings like India Gate, Rajghat, Parliament House etc. in New Delhi out of the purview of granting protection by Archaeological Survey of India. Due to this arbitrary limit, once even the Federal Government made an attempt to remove a rare piece of Victorian architecture from a roundabout near India Gate in New Delhi just because it was a symbol of colonial era. It is important to recognize monuments and sites of cultural, historical, archaeological or artistic interest irrespective of their age.

Apart from the above lacunas, there is no provision either to involve the communities and voluntary agencies in any conservation effort. In the case of Municipal legislation, there is no requirement for the Local Planning Authority to pay attention to elements of conservation while examining building plans and nor does it constitute a condition for refusing to approving of a building plan (Sundaram, '89). Moreover, the act does not provide any provision to control the location of industrial units in close proximity to protected monuments and to shield them from atmospheric and environmental pollution. A case in point is the Taj Mahal, one of the wonders of the world that is threatened by the pollution from the adjoining Mathura oil refinery. It is also worth noting that many of the settlements established during the colonial rule e.g. British (Bombay, Calcutta), French (Pondicherry) and the Portuguese (Panjim and Vasco da Gama) which have rich heritage and long antiquity, are fast loosing their character and history and could well be lost. This is due to the lack of adequate conservation and heritage legislations.

4.3. Agencies for Preservation

Apart from Municipal Planning authorities which are essentially controlled by State Government Town Planning Departments, there are numerous Central Government agencies associated with the preservation of cultural heritage such as Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) under The Ministry of Education and Culture, Ministry of Environment, the

Town and Country Planning Organization (TCPO) and Central Public Works Department (CPWD) under the Ministry of Works and Housing and Ministry of Tourism. To some extent, Ministry of Shipping and Transport, Ministry of Railways and Planning Commission also influence the decision making in planning process. Ministry of Tourism and TCPO are responsible for preparing the land use plans for the areas of tourists interest and of historical importance. Till now, a number of master plans for tourist places such as Fatehpur Sikri, Mathura and Sarnath (Jain '89; Sundaram, '89; University of Illinois, '88) have been prepared by these two agencies. However, the main problem occurs during the implementation of the plans due to inefficiencies and bureaucratic hindrances at the State level. The architectural wing of CPWD has the power to render advice on matters of conservation of buildings. But its suggestions are questionable considering the incongruous and incompatible architecture it has created all over in Delhi.

Government took a wise step by establishing Delhi Urban Art Commission under the Ministry of Works and Housing which has been quite effective in preserving, developing and maintaining the aesthetic quality of Delhi. The Commission also has the authority to scrutinize and approve the re-development of historic areas, conservation of monumental buildings and public parks. However, the decisions taken by the commission have been mostly based on aesthetic quality and beautification of the city rather than on conservation of social, cultural and historic milieu.

As indicated earlier, the one and the only agency which is the oldest and exclusively devoted to preservation activities is ASI. ASI currently manages more than 9000 monuments in India which is infinitesimally small considering the number, size and heritage of India. Even in one place like old Delhi, there are 411 historical monuments, sites and buildings, however, out of these, only 42 are protected by ASI (D.D.A., '91). However, the agency has successfully executed the restorations of many temples like

Jagnnatha Temple at Puri, Dwarakadhish temple at Dwarka and the temple at Nattery, Tamil Nadu (Thapar, '89). The activities of ASI are restricted to the restorations of the monuments and are more of archaeological in nature. In other words, ASI stresses preservation and protection and not conservation. Also, the agency's management practice is fraught with numerous shortcomings. Many of the monuments and sites are poorly maintained and are being misused. Thousand others remain either as identified or as noted artefacts or are often ignored as unnoticed structures amidst escalating land value situation (Ribeiro, '89). This attitude and knowledge of the ASI staff is apparent from the quote: "Despite the court ruling nearly a decade later, not everyone is willing to make a connection between foundry fumes and discolouring of the Taj Mahal. The Taj Mahal's conservation staff blame faulty Moghul workmanship..." (Stackhouse, '93).

In spite of so many organizations currently involved in the field of conservation, India is lagging far behind in its quest for encountering the vexing problems with its heritage. In addition to above deficiencies in the framework, the part of the reason is a complete lack of coordination as well as coherent vision among the various organizations to address the issue.

Besides these governmental agencies, there are numerous non-governmental organizations beginning to take interest in preservation of Indian cultural heritage. Some of which are Indian Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) in Delhi and National Research Laboratory for Conservation of Cultural Property (NRLCCP) at Lucknow. There are, in addition, the Indian Heritage Society (IHS), National Institute of Urban Affairs (NIUA) and among others, several voluntary action groups like the Conservation Society of Delhi (CSD), the Golconda Society, the Save Bombay Group and the Bombay Environmental Action Group (BEAG).

The establishment of INTACH in 1984 however, generated a change in the attitude and initiatives, marking a complete departure from the earlier activities. INTACH is a wholly autonomous body, set up for the conservation of Indian natural and cultural heritage. The society aims to create an awareness among the public for the preservation of the heritage, by acting as pressure groups when any part of it is threatened by damage or destruction arising either out of private acts or public policy. One of the audacious efforts made by INTACH was to make a list of historical monuments, identify and establish heritage zones. The concept of heritage zone articulated by this organization enunciates a multidisciplinary approach towards conservation with more emphasis on the people. On the basis of this philosophy, the agency has identified various zones through out the country and undertaken the study and documentation of most of them. The organization also promotes the preservation of traditional arts and crafts; organizes and facilitates workshops and conferences and undertakes the publication of journals, books, newsletters etc. related to conservation.

In spite of its success in the field of conservation, INTACH is currently facing two main problems. First, the multidisciplinary scope of work envisaged by the organization is very complex and large. Because the work includes a new dimension relating people, activities and monuments especially when all of them are under severe external and internal pressures to change, highly qualified professionals with the knowledge of interdisciplinary work are required. The shortage of professionals interested in such a difficult exercise is the biggest obstacle for INTACH. Second, the work in most of the heritage zones have not gone beyond the study stage. This is because of serious shortage of professionals willing to commit for the implementation of the project. The mindset of most of the professionals in India is trapped by the Victorian tradition of protecting themselves from getting their hands dirty. The dearth of interest and attitude towards conservation has resulted in shelving many projects and studies.

4.4. Conclusion

It is evident that western planning is not conducive to the Indian situation. The European ideologies not only exacerbated many of the earlier problems but also gave rise to many new ones. Ironically, despite this fact, the contemporary Indian planners and conservationists are following the usual trend with no change in their convictions. The Indian planner does not profess any explicit ideology in planning, but often it is no less present for being officially ignored (Menon, '89). This is the time to recognize the reality that if this practice continues any longer, the rich heritage of India will be lost. Besides being unique, the old areas of Indian cities have their own special characteristics which must be addressed in correlation with the other parts of the city. It is aptly said by Menon (1989)"it is only by confronting our past (and not containing it within enclaves of conservation areas) and establishing a positive and dynamic dialogue with our historic cities that the Indian planner can redeem the promise of his profession to improve the quality of life of his fellow citizens". For this, a real commitment and interest is required from the planners and the intelligensia to serve the common people.

It is also imperative to recognize the potentials that India has, in terms of various governmental and non-governmental agencies which can begin to work with a coherent vision. In fact, it is not the financial constraints as commonly perceived, but it is the lack of inclination and positive perception about conservation among the government officials which acts as a major roadblock. Another unfortunate fact is that conservation is still considered to be of non-remunerative and intangible in nature among the federal, state and local officials and hence makes it a low priority.

Conservation is a social and cultural attitude that has constantly been ignored in the modern city planning policies and practice in India, however, conservation is perhaps the only way of saving the present menace in the cities. The present orientation of developmental planning should change from a mere exercise in restrictive measures to a more prescriptive approach with more imaginative blending of planning and urban conservation. In India, there is a necessity for conservation oriented planning. However, even certain changes in the development plans, the present legal instrument for guiding urban development, can make a substantial difference. One example is to apply special provisions for an historic area by declaring it a 'protected area'. Further, a separate development authority could be created exclusively for the historical city to deal with its problem and regulate the developmental activities in the area. The approach should be area-based matched with people - centred plans giving more attention to the needs of the people in terms of employment, education and health.

In spite of having so many legislations and administrative agencies working for urban conservation, conservation has yet to become a high priority in national urban policy of India. Conservation in India is at cross roads. At this point of time, it has to look for new ideology - conservation oriented development policy as the premise for urban conservation.

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Search For Direction

The aim of this chapter is to explore various means for a new direction for historic urban conservation. It deals with three themes: the culture of conservation, the conservation ethics in India and the role of religion in conservation practices. It first presents an overview of Patrick Geddes's concept of conservation in India which is essentially based on the traditional knowledge and grass root participation of the community rather than on scientific methods and techniques. The discussion of identifying the underlying morals of the society in Geddes's theory leads to the exploration of conservation ethics in the common Indian people. It is believed that many lessons can be derived from the past social and cultural ethics of conservation that were imbibed into the way of living of Indians. Being a religious society, an attempt has also been made to initiate a dialogue between religion and conservation. The significance of this encounter lies in the critical light it casts upon the need for serious attention on conservation ethics and positive role religious communities might play in meeting that need.

5.1. Patrick Geddes's Concept: role of culture in conservation

An approach to the field of conservation can be learned from Patrick Geddes's thoughts and paradigm. Patrick Geddes was a biologist, planner and an educator from Scotland who lived in India from 1915 to 1919. His methods of overcoming the urban problems were subtle and incremental in nature in harmony with the needs of the common people. His method was to give due consideration to the historicity of the place and the needs of local inhabitants. It was imperative for Geddes that all town planning operation be directed towards the people. For him, "Town planning is not a mere place planning, nor even work planning. If it is to be successful it must be folk planning. This means that its task is not to

coerce people into new places against their associations, wishes and interests... Instead, its task is to find the right places for each group of people; places where they will really flourish... I differ from engineers in not wanting plan these people into my ways or in the style I bring from Europe. On the contrary, I try to discover how these people need and really want, to be planned. This is the difference between false and true planning"(Geddes as quoted in Tyrwhitt, '47). This is what contemporary Indian planners have yet to realize. A concerted effort from the planners, is highly needed to make their planning policies people oriented.

For this kind of planning, Geddes first prescribes a diagnostic survey of the city concerned. The survey involves the study of the existing conditions of the city, the historical evolution and its advantages and problems. The principle here is "to meet the wants and needs, the ideas and ideals of the place and persons concerned". Geddes feels that : "Environment and organism, place and people, are inseparable but, since the essential unit of a city is the home, it will be as well to start by examining its especial requirements. With the dwelling we must consider its occupants, the man, the woman and the child" (Geddes as quoted in Tywhitt,'47). He also gives a significant consideration to the existing physical fabric of the city and its integration with the changing needs of the people. The concept gives due importance to the evolving nature of the built form as a criterion for conservation rather than focusing on authenticity and restoration. In his own words "The transition in an Indian city, from narrow lanes and earthen dwellings to small streets, great streets and buildings of high importance and architectural beauty, form an inseparably interwoven structure. Once this is understood, the city plan ceases to appear as an involved network of thoroughfares dividing masses of building blocks, but appears instead as a great chessboard on which the manifold game of life is in active progress"(Geddes as quoted in Tywhitt, '47).

Next stage in this planning process is Conservative Surgery. This phase is based on the method of sketching the plan of an area taking the physical structures, the functionality and usability of spaces and the needs of the local inhabitants into account. It is in complete opposition to the then British policy of sweeping clearance of densely populated areas with a view to broaden the roads and make them as straight as possible. To Geddes, the prevalent techniques of planning were completely unacceptable because they were planned on the drawing boards and passed over the heads of the local inhabitants in the name of abstract order. He does not approve the other extreme end of preservation based on the romantic manner either. "Timely and direct acquaintance with each situation is the only way to ensure suitable intervention in each case, capable of satisfying the needs posed by the space available and the expectations of the inhabitants" (Tyrwhitt, '47).

Responding to the question of conservation, Geddes in April 1915 gave his views about the issue of the demolition of the fort walls of the city of Ahmedabad.

"But there is yet another line of argument. The walls of the city may legally belong to the Government as old military structures: or they may have passed over to the Municipality as their historic boundary or defence, but in deeper sense, they belong to the tradition of the whole community life past, present and to come. We asked our guide in another historic city, a man peculiarly acquainted with his town, and interested in its improvement, whether he would oppose the destruction of its walls if town planner and architect, sanitarian and engineer came, with attractive plans and promises, as at Ahmedabad.

'Yes, certainly!

'But why?'

'Because the history of our city is concerned and its dignity would be impaired'."

(Geddes as quoted in Jain, '86)

The above quote reflects Geddes's belief in historic structures as the manifestation of the traditional values of the community.

Geddes's planning is also characterized by his concerns about the problems of urban hygiene and linking health to the planning practice. He approached health and cleanliness indirectly from the standpoint of traditional religion, expressed by public festival and personal participation in ritual. The important thing to learn from his concept is that improvement is not achieved by vainly lamenting the past or by harshly insisting upon the needs of progress but by setting to work to clear away the accumulation of miscellaneous rubbish and filth. He believed that the ancient tenets of each faith always put forward the need for purity of all the elements of air, water and earth and fire, and of the human body in relation to these. The revival of this faith may lead to better health of the city people. It may thus be possible to rouse those who oppose measures of "public health" to a renewed consciousness of the vital spirit of their creed.

There is an opportunity for Indian planners to learn from Geddes's ideas of controlling congestion in the cities. He said that the best way of controlling the problem of congestion is by creating open spaces. Whereas the new street will only too readily destroy any remaining social character within an area, the new open spaces will do as much towards renewing the values of village social life. He believed that the open spaces could be created without uprooting the people but by doing a detailed survey of the area and then identifying the sites that are already vacant or by cleaning away ruinous, dilapidated or insanitary dwellings.

The concept of planning in juxtaposition with conservation enunciated by Geddes is a milestone. The most striking point about his paradigm is the importance given to the local tradition, religion and culture which in his opinion actually ensembles a place rather than the physical structures. It can also be concluded from his theory that the means to approach conservation is imbued in the people's way of life. "If the connection between conservation

of their past and traditional religion could again be manifested, conservation and way of living might once more become one, as with every priesthood of the past" (Geddes as quoted by Tyrwhitt, '47).

Geddes was also concerned with forging a symbiotic relationship between various parts of the city as well as the city as a whole and its surroundings, similar to the views expressed in the previous chapter. He strongly believed that planners must keep in view, the whole city, old and new alike, in all its aspects- social, physical and economic and at all its level while addressing any urban problem.

As propounded by Geddes, cultural and social dimensions in conservation planning are very important to understand. Many of the ideas and values held by ordinary people in the different cultures, often have long history coming from times and places where humans lived in close harmony with their local environment. This approach is a kind of conservation from below i.e. from the grass root level. It is an attempt to build on indigenous and traditional knowledge and practice and to ensure the maximum amount of local direction in environmental and conservational matters. This ultimately brings up the importance of community development and popular participation for the success of planning and conservation.

With this notion of conservation, following section explores the Indian culture and its relation to conservation ethos. In this context, a basic understanding is developed as to how a common person's attitude to conservation has been shaped by his or her religion's view. At the same time, it also examines why this religion has not been able to sustain a caring attitude towards nature.

5.2. Conservation Ethics in India

Although in a world of rapid change, conservation of Indian heritage is a great concern which may range from the medieval town of Fatehpur Sikri to the giant banyan tree of Bodh Gaya (place where Buddha is believed to have been enlightened) or the cave and frescoes of Ajanta, India certainly possesses a rich conservation ethic because of which there is a continued existence of many facets of the country's heritage. Hence, it is imperative to understand and recognize the vast reservoir of culture, traditional knowledge, philosophy and expertise within the society which is accountable for preservation of not only the natural heritage, but also the preservation of its culture and cultural artifacts. A full understanding of India's tradition of conservation ethic would play an important role in shaping new and prudent approach to resource use.

In the ancient days, Indian society was made up of thousands of closed, self governing communities or castes. Each of these castes was an endogamous group that means there was no linkage or dependence on other groups. All marriages were restricted within the caste. The interesting fact is that this is still, by and large, true in most of the places irrespective of their nature. Besides this, each caste was distributed over a restricted geographical region. This is also still true, by and large, except for few major urban-industrial centres where large number of people have come out of their traditionally defined range. Furthermore, each caste possessed a heritage and a hereditary way of making a living. Gadgil explains that the way of subsistence of the caste was actually based on the concept of conservation by dividing the use of natural resources. For instance, in a region, one caste was allowed to catch fresh water fish, a second could keep buffalo, a third depended on the salt it used to make from the sea water, a fourth relied upon the liquor from palm trees and so on. A system of resource partitioning and division of labour emerged whereby the primary users of natural resources did not worry about encroachment

from other castes. Gadgil illustrates this by the following example: the tracts of the Western Ghats of Maharashtra were primarily occupied by just two castes - Gavlis and Kunbis. The Kunbis cultivated the river valleys and lower hill slopes and hunted wild animals throughout the tract while Gavlis engaged themselves in cultivation of upper parts of the hill slopes. Similarly, in the semi-arid tracts of Western Maharashtra the three groups of hunters, Phasepardhis, Vaidus and Nandiwallas had each specialized to hunt different animals. Phasepardhis hunted deer and antelopes, Vaidus small carnivores and Nandiwallas porcupines (Gadgil, '85, '89).

As described above, Indian subcontinent has abundant examples of traditions of restraints and cultural practices on the use of natural resources which include plants and animals. One of the specific ways of doing this was through territoriality. This practice persisted in almost all the castes in which each of them had defined area where the resources could be used prudently. One of the main characteristics of this tradition was that the pressure of resource utilization was evenly distributed. As well, it helped raise an awareness that resources of the territory had to be sustained being the only mode of survival for that particular caste. Many Indian villages used to maintain village forests on communal land. The village forests were protected and carefully exploited by the village community as whole. There were well specified limits on the quantity of exploitation for material such as fuel wood. In consequence, at some places, village forests are still well preserved, although most of them were taken over by the British government for their own use. As a social practice, many varieties of plant and animal species are considered sacred by communities and therefore, are never destroyed. The most widely protected of these are *Peepal* tree (Ficus Religiosa) (see Fig. 5.1. p.70). The animals like monkey, tiger, cobra are widely accepted as sacred and thus, are never killed.

An effective way of keeping the biological nature in balance was achieved through the traditional practice of maintaining a network of sacred groves, ponds and pools around a settlement. This characteristic of the ponds is incorporated by Geddes in his concepts of Health Planning for cities. He found the cooling value of tanks and reservoirs to be of remarkable influence on health and comfort of city people. He proposed that instead of filling them up, it would be in public interest to maintain and keep them clean.

Although the above discussion relates more to conservation of nature, it brings out the point that the conservation ethic is part of cultural norms of the Indian society.

5.3. Religion and Conservation

Until recently, it has been feared that bringing religion into the conservation movement will threaten the objectivity, scientific investigation, professionalism or democratic values. As a matter of fact, the spiritual dimension if introduced in the process of conservation policy planning, administration, education and law, could help reinforce a self conscious moral society especially in India where all the activities in life have a religious significance. At this point, it is important to differentiate between Indian culture and religion because Indian culture is often wrongly referred as Hindu religion. Culture is a primary set of dispositions that have been inherited from the early past of a race which is subject to change by social dynamics, forces of nature and alien events (Roy, '76). For instance, in the case of India, although majority of population is Hindu, the general culture remains different from ritualistic Hinduism as practiced among its sectarian adherents. This has occurred because of amalgamation of various other cultures and religions in Indian society. It is believed that spiritual notion of religion could put conservation and respect for God's creation first and relegate individualism, materialism and the modern desire to dominate nature in a subordinate place. According to Dwivedi, religion can provide atleast three fundamental

mainstays to help human beings cope with overpowering attitude of a technological society. First it defends the individual's existence against the depersonalizing effects of the techno-industrial process. Second, it forces the individual to recognize human fallibility and to combine realism and idealism. Third, while technology gives the individual the physical power to create or to destroy the world, religion gives the moral strength to grow in virtue by nurturing restraint, humility and liberation from selfcenteredness (Dwivedi, '91).

There is an urgent need for conservationists to recognize their cultural roots and learn that many of their analyses and prescriptions accept utilitarian and anthropocentric norms. Likewise, the great faiths and their cultures need to realize how urgent the environmental crisis is, and learn how to express to this generation, the eternal truths they bear regarding the relationship of man with nature.

In India, the religious factor has played a great role in maintaining the conservation ethics in the ordinary people. According to Gadgil, even the evolution of two religions in the Indian sub-continent originated as a result of the extensive sacrifice of animals especially oxen and extensive cutting of trees which were used for the holy fire. As the Gangetic plains were used more for agriculture, the source of wood decreased and importance of oxen increased as a source of power for agriculture. Consequently, there was strong opposition against continued animal sacrifices and tree cutting, the expression of which found its place in two new religions, Buddhism and Jainism that evolved in sixth century before Christ. (Gadgil, '89)

While a variety of such practices must have led to prudent use and conservation of much of India's living resources, the north-western arid regions with their unstable environments led to a sect of Hindus known as Bishnois about 500 years ago. The Bishnois afforded strict protection to all wildlife and plants (Gadgil, '85, '89). Even today, the villages of

Bishnois are islands of greenery with various kinds of wildlife in an otherwise desolate landscape. their community is the best example of a true Hindu-based ritual defense of the environment in India.

Chipko movement is another example which started when in March 1973 in the town of Gopleshwar in Chamoli district villagers formed a human chain and hugged the earmarked trees to keep them from being fueled for nearby factory producing sports equipment. The genesis of this movement is, not only in the ecological or economic background, but also in religious belief. The local people believe that each tree has *Vriksadevata* (tree god) and that the deity *Van devi* (the Goddess of forest) will protect their family welfare. They also believe that each green tree is an abode of the Almighty God *Hari* (Dwivedi, '91).

Although many religions in the world have denounced the abuse and exploitation of nature, Hindu religion in particular teaches a lot as to how to treat the nature. It says that only God has absolute sovereignty over all creatures and consequently human beings have no dominion over their own lives or non-human life as expressed in a Hindu scripture 'Yajurveda':

The loving sage beholds that Being, hidden in mystery,
wherein the universe comes to have one home;
Therein unites and therefrom emanates the whole;
The Omnipresent One pervades souls and matter like warp and woof in created beings (Yajurveda 32.8).
(quoted in Dwivedi, '91)

"All the Hindu scriptures attest to the belief that the creation, maintenance and annihilation of the cosmos is completely dependent on the Supreme will. In the Gita, Lord Krishna says to Arjuna: 'Of all that is material and all that is spiritual in this world, know for certain that I am both its origin and dissolution.' (Gita 7.6). And the Lord says: again 'The whole

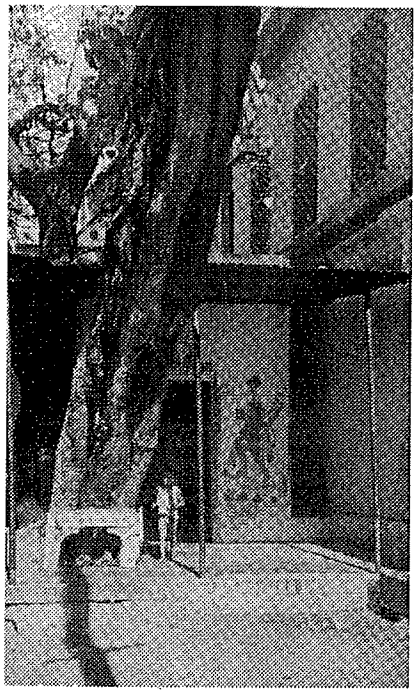
cosmic order is under me. By my will, it is manifested again and again and by my will, it is annihilated at the end' (Gita 9.8). Thus, for ancient Hindus, both God and *Prakriti* (nature) were to be one and the same. While the *Prajapati* (as mentioned in Rigveda) is the creator of sky, the earth, oceans and all other species, he is also their protector and eventual destroyer. He is the only Lord of creation" (Dwivedi, '91). According to the common belief, God Brahma is considered to be the one who created the earth and the life on it, God Vishnu is responsible for maintaining this life and God Shiva is capable of destroying the world when human beings stop following the rules of the nature i.e. of the creator. Thus, human beings have no special privilege or authority over other creatures; on the other hand, they have more obligations and duties towards the nature.

Hindu scriptures also reveal a clear conception of ecosystem. An important part of the environmental ethics put forward by the codes of conduct is maintaining a proper sanitation. Water is considered to be the most powerful media of purification and source of energy for Hindus. Even today, many rivers, ponds, lakes are considered to be sacred. Among these, the river Ganges is considered as the most sacred.

In addition to the traditional respect for nature, Hindu treatises such as *Silpa Shastra*, *Niti Shastra*, *Smrti Shastra*, *Vishnu Dharmottar Purana* deal extensively with conservation of built heritage and town planning in particular. The living example of the city based on the tenets of these sacred books is Jaipur. The city's structure, orientation, road network, public spaces, buildings are governed by *Vastu Purusha Mandala* elaborated in the Hindu treatises (Doshi, '89, Jain, '86). These *Shastras* also describe intensively about *dhara* (ground) and *Vastu* (building). Building is defined in terms of *Vastu* as a place where people and gods reside together. This is evident from the present tradition of performing consecration ceremony to establish god before occupying a building (Doshi, '88) (see Fig. 5.1). This suggests that in Hindu religion buildings, irrespective of their types, have

metaphysical and spiritual meaning attached to them. The building art in the sacred books dwell upon three basic aspects: *Sukhdarshan*, that which is visually pleasing; *ramyam*, that which is spiritually pleasing, *bhogaadyam*; that which is utilitarian (Shankar, '90). This means that beauty, sacredness and endurance must be taken into account while constructing or conserving a building. *Shastras* also specifically elucidate on the importance of maintenance and preservation of buildings. They go into detail about the design principles and building techniques to be used. In the scriptures, master mason of the building is considered to be one of the forms of Lord Brahma, the creator of universe (Dutt, '77). This clearly indicates the strong relationship of buildings and master mason with the religious framework of the Indian society. Today, although there are very few traditional master builders who know the practical implementation of the teachings of the *Shastras* and traditional art of the building in the country, there continues to be their dominant presence in maintenance as well as construction of temples, shrines and houses all over the country.

Fig. 5.1 Religious Significance of a Dwelling



Source: Tyrwhitt (1947)

The question that now arises - if such has been the tradition, philosophy and ideology of Hindu religion, what then are the reasons behind the present state of heritage crisis? The only reason behind this could be the displacement of values from the society because of the invasion of the faith of the general mass by foreign culture, religion and administrative system. This is true in the case of India which had been ruled by colonial forces who introduced Western institutions and values which were in total contradiction with Hindu culture. Because of long colonialism and domination by other culture, the ancient educational system which taught respect and reasons for preservation have completely been forgotten. As the alien culture began penetrating into all levels of society, the general mass became more and more inward looking and self-centred due to lack of direction from the religious leaders. The phenomena of capitalism, consumerism, rapid industrialization, corporatism is further transforming a traditional society to a materialistic one, where everything is now being equated in terms of money.

It must be noted that this section does not strive to encourage people to become introvert or exacerbate the religious frenzy or to harm the securalism of India. The aim here is not to become primitive but to extract the values which were prevalent and come to terms with the issues of present time. As a matter of fact, this could develop into a movement, whereby spiritual guidance is made available to the secular system of governance and socioeconomic interaction (Dwivedi, '91). This leads to the need for a concerted effort to understand the value systems and traditional practices and revive these ethics, values and belief systems which are being lost due to materialistic orientation.

5.4. Conclusion

As stated earlier, new directions and policies have not so far been able to solve urban crisis. This is partly due to lack of recognition of conservation ethic. The need to revive and draw

lessons from the older traditions of conservation practices rooted in religious and cultural ethos rather than the modern rational tradition based on a scientific analysis, is becoming increasingly important. "The interest in conservation is not a sentimental one but the rediscovery of a truth well known to our sages. The Indian tradition teaches us that all forms of life- human, animal and plant - are so closely linked that disturbance in one gives rise to imbalance in other "(Indira Gandhi as quoted in Singh, '89). In spite of the near total breakdown of the old society, many elements of the traditional conservation ethic still persist. The value of respect for nature has indeed not yet been totally eradicated from India's cultural ethos. This could be substantiated by the survival of large Ficus trees even in populous cities and villages all over India and performance of consecration ceremony to please the god of the building. It is quite important to understand that in the present day conditions, these remaining values will surely vanish under economic compulsions unless they are reinforced. Geddes gives an example of using religious values in planning activities "Diwali (a Hindu festival) is at once the festival of material "spring cleaning", spiritual purification and the New year. It thus provides an opportunity for an enterprising municipality to carry out many improvements to the town" (Geddes as quoted in Tyrwhitt, '47). He showed that the practical application of religious and cultural values present in the Indian society can form the foundation to build a new approach to conservation planning.

Another interesting fact is that contrary to the common perception, general public continuously rely on the traditional building practices. Still today, traditional processes and principles of the building continue to determine the generation of new urban space and architectural forms in most parts of the country. The evidence of indigenous beliefs and construction practices were found in *Sompuras* (a caste of master masons) of Gujarat (Menon, '89), *Sthapatis* (a caste of master masons) of Madras(Shankar, '90), the conservation study of Bhagwanpur (Dept. of Architecture, Univ. of Roorkee, unpublished) and the study of Chanderi and at Bhubneshwar (Menon, '89) where the use of traditional

materials is still widely prevalent. The role of master-mason is still ,inevitably, an important one because of the nature of building materials, climate and above all, the religious and cultural sentiments. However, the master-mason who possesses all the skills and knowledge to maintain old buildings along with the new ones, construction style of which is not so different, remains invisible in his action. The crux of this discussion is that heritage of India inheres to the tradition of the master-mason and this indigenous knowledge which continues to flourish should be recognized and conserved.

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Case Studies

Having discussed the importance of cultural and religious values in the conservation, this chapter explores the conservation approaches with the help of case studies to illustrate the principles discussed in the earlier chapter. Two case studies - one on Bhaktapur, Nepal (see Fig. 6.1) and the other on Leh, Ladakh (see Fig. 1.1 & 6.5) - have been included to develop a functional approach while addressing urban conservation in relation to planning. The concluding section emphasises upon a multidisciplinary conservation model with a view to revive cultural and religious morality of the society through urban community development activities.

6.1. Bhaktapur, Nepal: Community Development as the Strategy for Conservation

The Bhakatapur project (1974-1985) is one of the most successful projects in the field of conservation. The most stimulating part of project is the inclusion of community development as the tool for conservation. The study of Bhaktapur and subsequently, the project was initiated with an agreement between Government of Nepal and the Federal Republic of Germany. The town of Bhaktapur was selected for this kind of project because of its unique historical value (see Fig. 6.2 & 6.3). The main emphasis of the project was on the restoration of historical and religious structures in the town although the means of achievement changed constantly and substantially throughout its different phases. The realization of the benefits of community participation, the approach gradually changed to a more socially directed project with the aim of building up the indigenous skills and social organizations of the towns' people through working with local user groups and local institutions.

0. NEPAL AND ITS CAPITAL

0.1 The Kingdom of Nepal

0.1.1 Nepal on a page

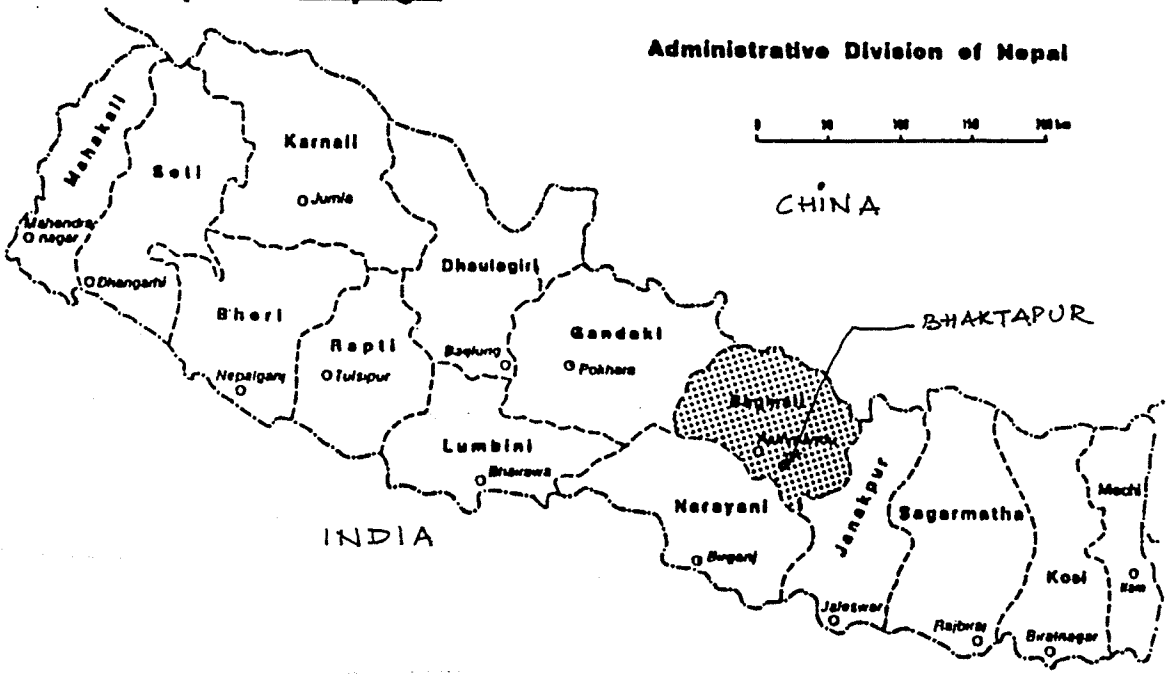
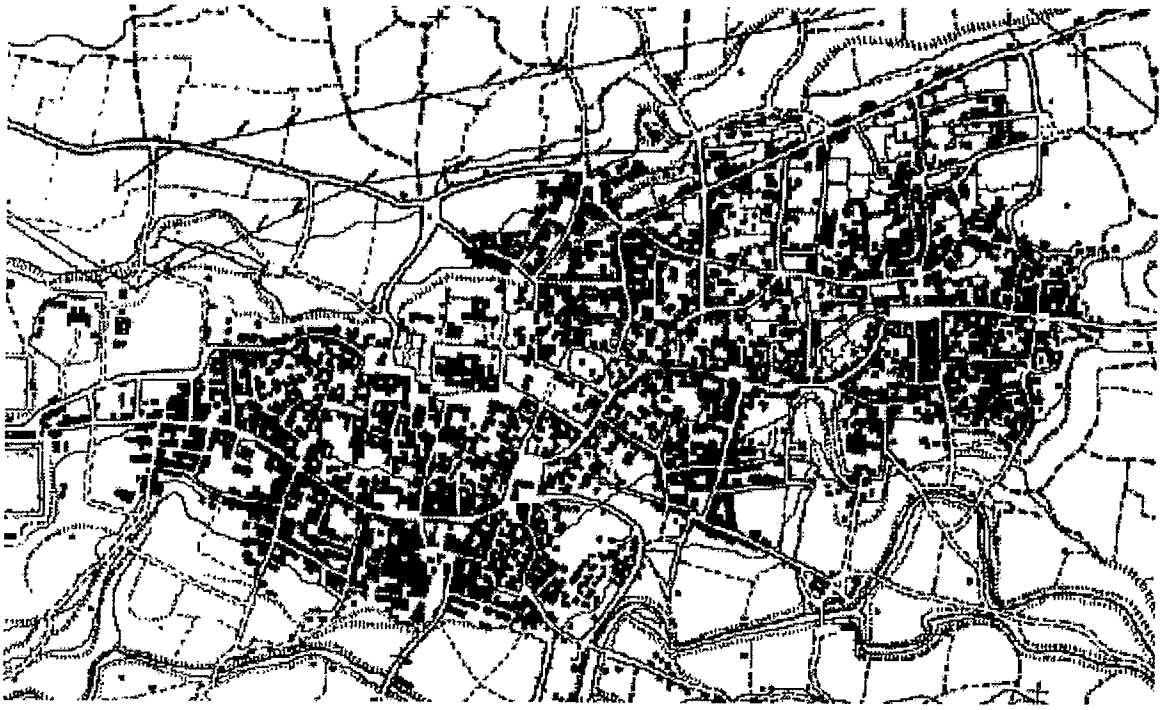


Fig. 6.1 Map of Nepal

Fig. 6.2 Plan of Bhaktapur



Source: Haaland (1985)

This conservation project is the only one of its kind which deals with community economic development approach calling for full participation of the people and with in the social, cultural, political and economic context of the area. The ten year period of its implementation is in the form of a story of human and political development which made people's participation more than a rhetorical supplement to traditional round table discussions. In order to get better knowledge of the local attitudes, beliefs, problems and priorities of the people, the project involved a multidisciplinary team ranging from planners, engineers, architects, anthropologists to social scientists to help identify and bridge the communication gap at different levels between the general public and the staff members of the project.

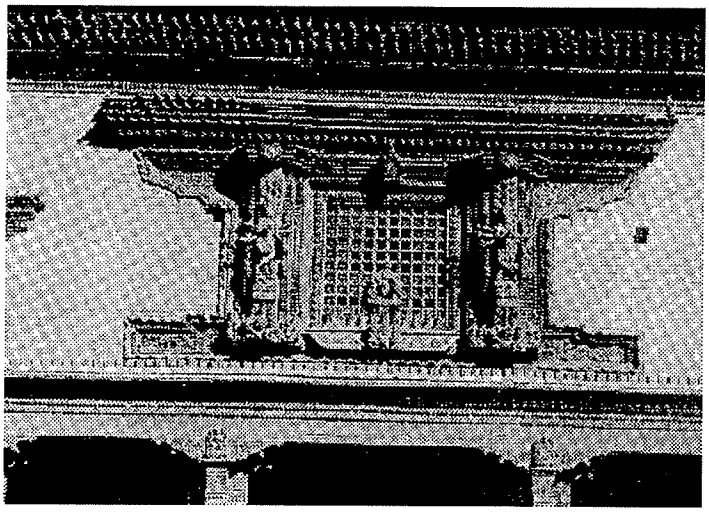
Bhaktapur is a town of 45,000 inhabitants most of which depend upon agriculture. After agriculture, crafts and construction works is the secondary source of income for the local

people. Some of the reasons for the decline of economy of this town, once an affluent kingdom, are a) the closure of Indo-Tibetan trade and b) the earthquake of 1934 which destroyed large parts of the town and its infrastructure. Also, being in close proximity with Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, an increasing number of people are moving out thereby depriving the town of its energy, talent and of young generation.

Similar to the Indian cities, Bhakatpur is also in the state of transformation. The traditional agriculture society is now changing into a more cash oriented one. The traditional economy is dying out because of the encroachment of the market by the new products from the neighbouring country, India. It is important to mention that in spite of these changes, social system of the town is still bound by the religion. Religion is a culture, a way of life. It still is both functional as well as spiritual frame for the common people of Bhaktapur.

The physical living conditions in Bhaktapur are in a state of transition. The houses which were traditionally built of bricks with tiled roofs and beautiful carved wooden windows are now being replaced with cement houses with corrugated iron top and balconies. The new building materials, being cheaper and having better usability and adaptability, find more use in the maintenance of the buildings. Besides this, the past values and technologies used in the houses are no longer practical or appropriate for today's needs. That is why there is not much appreciation among the average Bhaktapurians for the value of preserving the townscape as picturesque relic of the past.

Fig. 6.3 Ornamentation on windows



Source: Brown (1956)

The first phase of the project lasted two years (1974-76) in which emphasis was placed on restoration works of temples and religious public buildings (see Fig. 6.4), town planning and on urban infrastructure (water and sewage systems, road pavement, waste collection and disposal, etc.). Although there were many people who were working on the construction front, most of them took their work as a source of income rather contributing to the development of the town. Furthermore, it was found that the lack of involvement of the Bhaktapurians and local politicians in the planning and decision-making processes began causing problems for the project.

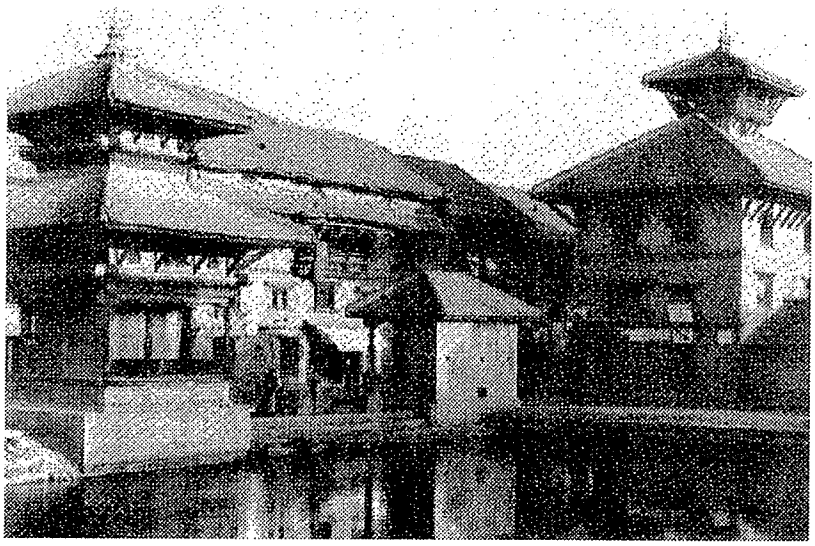
During the second phase which lasted for three years (until mid -79), the focus was mainly on infrastructure works and economic development. The idea of economic promotion came from the realization of the fact that although people appreciated the restoration of temples, these works were not a priority for majority of the inhabitants, for whom poverty was the main problem. The rejection of the concept of restoration became apparent when people started tearing down some project works and express open hostility toward project staff. It became clear that emphasis had to be given to the economic promotion keeping in mind that

improvement of the Bhaktapurians' living conditions, in an increasingly cash-oriented society, depended upon growth in their income. Besides this, it became very important to involve town-people in all stages of the work which was altogether ignored in the beginning.

Before the start of third phase, one year from 1979 to 1980 was devoted to lay down a ground-work for new approach of involving people in the project. Although the restoration work continued on in this period, its pace was reduced substantially and more time was spent to prepare the programme for the third phase.

The third phase which started in mid-1980 was based on seeking the participation of people and delegating responsibilities to local committees and institutions. The new approach of the third phase was mostly people oriented, concentrating on the human aspect, non-quantifiable parts of project like how to work with people, how to understand them, motivate them and train them in the areas of, for example, health, education etc. For the townpeople, the new approach meant a change of attitudes about development from being something passive that "happens" to them, to development being something they can be actively involved in. In this phase of the project, the number and role of the international staff was cut to half and national experts were given more responsibility.

Fig. 6.4 Restored Buildings in Bhaktapur



Source: Harling (1987)

Although the idea of preservation that was the main force behind the initiation of the project, it was partially halted in accordance with the wishes of the people. The projects intent was then to conserve the heritage of the town by building up indigenous skills and social organizations and by strengthening the existing institutions to ensure that the development could be sustained even in the absence of this project. It was made mandatory to learn the local Newari language for the project staff which created instant rapport with people as a result of which a growing number of people began to feel that staff members were more interested in them and thus were more approachable.

There was a team of planners which was responsible for giving advice for long term planning and programming, revision of existing plans and programmes according to the changing needs of the town, neighbourhood planning and coordination and administration of the training and scholarship programmes. Since the first phase of the project, planning and implementation started simultaneously. One of the main difficulties that faced the planners in the first phase was the continuously growing demand from the implementation sector for day to day decisions, leaving long term thinking in an offside position. Despite

this, several legal instruments had been worked out during the first and second phase of the projects. The Land Use Plan and the Land Use Regulations were laid out for Bhaktapur, outlining how to use the different areas of town. Local plans for industrial, housing, sports and service areas had been worked out. The transportation plan of Bhaktapur made sure that heavy transport was kept away from the narrow streets of the town and public transport facilities was increased. The misconceptions about the plans were resolved by communicating with the public, explaining them what the plans were for, why they were necessary and how it would benefit the town in the long term. Through localized planning, people were involved actively from the conception to the implementation of the plans with the help of Local Development Committees (LDCs). LDCs were different groups of people representing their respective areas and responsible for the work to be carried out in those areas. Planning assistance at the local level was also given priority to take care of immediate needs of the people. Planners and policy makers were asked to talk to opinion leaders and other local people to find out more about what their needs are and how they could be resolved. The creation of Community Development Units (CDUs) helped in having a closer contacts with the people and communicating with Bhaktapurians through official and unofficial channels and implementing the changes on a grassroot level. CDUs were responsible for supporting the physical work e.g. laying sewer lines, water works and pavement works through Local Development Committees. Another main task which was supposed to be carried out by CDUs was neighbourhood planning.

With the help of several government departments, an adequate infrastructure of water supply, sewer, roads, waste collection were laid out. This helped considerably in improving the hygienic condition of the town. The most of important aspect was the training of the labourers in infrastructure works. Because of this, there are now many plumbers, road pavement specialists, draftsmen and overseers with useful skills for the future development of the town.

Although economic considerations were given more importance than the restoration activities, the few restoration works done on buildings, temples and wood carvings in fact increased tourism activities in the town. The unique difference in the selection of buildings for restoration in this phase was the importance placed on their religious and social functions of the various buildings and their role in the community.

In order to generate the economic development in the town which each and every Bhaktapurians was advocating, local consultants were trained to assist existing small businesses. A training program and credit -fund was created for entrepreneurs to establish new industries, a portion of the town was zoned industrial and appropriate technologies were developed. These economic programmes helped in reviving the traditional small scale industries of handicraft, Thangka-painters who make the religious paintings, mask makers who paint ferocious faces of the traditional religious masks, puppeteers who make puppets as well as perform puppet shows on the street and textile designers who make modern garments from the local cotton materials. The establishment of Women's Tailoring Cooperative helped mostly young, illiterate, unmarried women to find work on the basis of the skills which they have acquired at the cooperative.

As a result of developments initiated by the project, there have been many changes induced in the people, their attitudes and policies governing those shifts. For instance, the construction activities and economic development initiated by the project have already considerably increased job opportunities and incomes in the town. Cleaner water and better sanitation improved the health of the townpeople and reduced infant mortality. However, the important fact to recognize now is that in the long run, the resulting population growth may put a heavy pressure on scarce urban space and limited resources. At the same time, rapid growth in construction industry could threaten the very existence of the historical

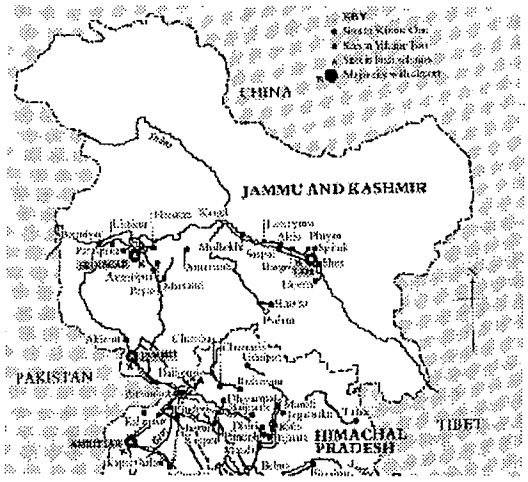
structures on which the whole project was initially based on. This is a vicious circle in which the one and prime aim of the project to improve the living conditions of the town, counteracts with the other initial target of preserving its unique historical townscape - tradition and change.

Despite this, Bhaktapur project has enunciated some new approaches in the field of urban conservation. It has become clear that without first sustaining the social and cultural aspects of the society, urban conservation can never be accomplished. In order to understand the physical manifestations of itself, the society has to be geared to take pride in its values and belief system. Another interesting inference comes out from this case study is that conservation is development-oriented activity. As seen earlier, conservation must have to be accompanied with the new or improved physical, social and economic infrastructure.

6.2. Leh, India: a multidimensional approach to conservation

The conservation study of Leh in India was initiated by Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH). For the first time, it was recognized that there was a need for multidisciplinary approach to the conservation planning of an area because of its association with complex socioeconomic, cultural, political and developmental issues.

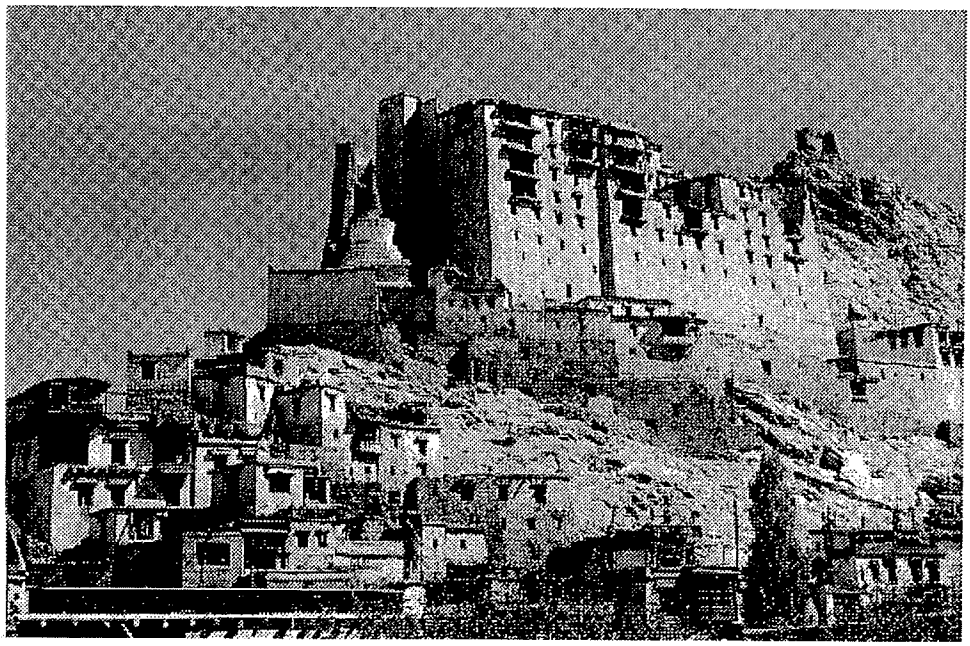
Fig. 6.5 Map Showing the Location of Leh



Source: Michell (1989)

The town of Leh lies in Ladakh region of the Himalayan Range at the extreme northern tip of India. The town achieved its pre-eminent position in the early seventeenth century when it became an administrative centre and an important junction along the Silk route to Tibet, China, Yarkand and Pashmina.

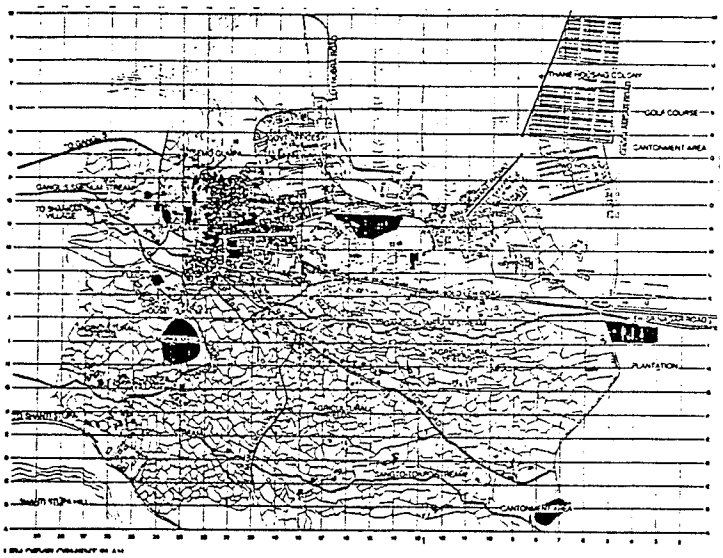
Fig. 6.6 Palace Complex in Leh



Source: Chaturvedi (1989)

The present town of Leh is composed of three main types of development - 1) the central core of the town (see Fig. 6.6 & 6.7), 2) the Naushahr or area of Dogra expansion (see Fig. 6.7) and 3) the new expansion.

Fig. 6.7 Plan of Leh



Source: Chaturvedi (1989)

The historic central core of the town, had population concentrated only in a picturesque hill settlement enclosed by a defensive wall, leaving acres of land to the south and west free for cultivation. A monumental palace complex with a temple of the guardian deities at the highest point was the focus of development during this period. The second phase of expansion, the construction of the Naushahar, dates back to the mid-nineteenth century, introduced a lot of changes in economic organisation and physical structure of the town. In this era, most of the expansions took place in the southern and western side of the old core. The most rapid change came in the town after India's independence when Leh became a strategic location for army and the influx of people who were associated with caravan trade. This transformation led to unregulated, large scale construction on agricultural land,

unauthorized structures and rapidly increasing government colonies. These recent interventions had a major impact on the character and conditions of the town.

Some of the findings of the study were quite interesting. The research indicated that unregulated and uncoordinated activities were due to fundamental distortions in the development policies which appeared to have been formulated without any recognition to the real needs of the region. One of the most alarming results was the nature of economy which depended on the other parts of the country for consumer goods resulting in the stagnation of local production base. The investments were directed towards urban infrastructures rather than agriculture, livestock and handicrafts which were the traditional source of earnings.

Studies further revealed that tourism was allowed to develop without any pre-planning resulting in the negligence of ecological and environmental safeguards, loss of scarce agricultural land, localized inflation and escalating tension owing to the diversion of scarce source of water from agriculture to hotels.

In order to address these problems of Leh, an integrated multi-disciplinary approach was considered to be the best solution. It was understood that a comprehensive plan for the revitalization of settlements and structures of value could not be formulated in isolation from the overall socioeconomic, cultural and political issues affecting the region. These issues include climatic and resource constraints, socioeconomic systems, religious organization and value systems and transformations due to factors like end of international trade, seat of geo-political balance with neighbouring countries like China and Pakistan, presence of army and the role of tourism.

Taking the above factors into account along with the present social, religious and architectural significance of various landmark elements of the town, three heritage zone boundaries were demarcated which included. First, the old core and associated sections of the Dogra expansion which included the monumental palace on the hill. The second zone consisted of the core settlement which developed around the Palace complex on the lower slopes of the hill. The south and west of this which included the Dogra expansion was designated as third zone.

The recommendations further included the strengthening of the local production base by increasing the production of essential commodities and exploring the market for surplus production. A water resource management plan was proposed to revive the agriculture and livestock sectors through the integration of traditional distribution of water and commissioning of construction of a new canal. A system of providing credits to the households was propounded to help augment the handicrafts and cottage industries. In order to curb the problem of unemployment, it was suggested to establish agro based industrial units which would absorb the urban unemployed.

The growing demands for tourism was controlled by enacting comprehensive tourism plan and encouraging future tourist facilities within heritage zone without disturbing the other established urban infrastructure. It was proposed that the district hospital be upgraded in terms of water supply, sanitation, heating and the setting up of new medical amenities. One of the important recommendations was concerning the integration of traditional system of medicine in which most of the inhabitants believe, into the health plan.

It was recognized that improvement in services was essential for stopping the deterioration in the old town. A major part of the proposed development plan included the upgrading of the water supply system and the traditional sanitation system. A full fledged plan for the

removal and control of the pollution was also developed. In addition to these, a detailed set of regulations regarding heights, densities, morphological and aesthetic characteristics and the effective use of traditional materials were worked out for the different heritage zones. In order to solve the problem of congestion in the old town, a proposal for redensification through new settlements and associated diversification of functional and economic opportunities was put forward.

For the purpose of conservation specifically, an inventory of all the important structures of the town was made. The type of conservation action, ranging from maintenance works, restructuring for change of use, to replacement and introduction of new facilities was recommended for various structures. Potential reuse and rehabilitation of the architecturally rich structures for community, cultural and tourists related activities were formulated.

For the implementation of these proposals through the existing community organizations and systems, a strong linkage with the legislation was proposed. The implementation strategy took into consideration community development work and transaction of knowledge regarding technologies and materials. Above all, in order to inform the community and seek their support, regular newsletters and radio broadcasts were initiated.

The most important point was that all the recommendations be self-financing or if the funding was from external sources, there should be an effective management of funds. Leh Development Committee was established which consisted of the Governor of Ladakh, key administrators from various departments, politicians, INTACH and agencies such as Archaeological Survey of India to manage and implement and monitor the plans and programmes.

The conservation programme which emerged from this project was the result of a thorough understanding of the culture, tradition, available resources and the problems associated with them. The proposals demonstrated the possibility of achieving conservation objectives by taking a multidisciplinary approach and by the integration and strengthening of traditional systems.

6.3. Conclusion

The two case studies discussed above seek a multidimensional approach to conservation, recognising the people's needs and the social and economic structure, health, education and cultural values. It has been found that conservation must be development-oriented through improvements in physical infrastructure such as roads, sewer lines, water etc., social infrastructure such as hospitals, schools, community centres etc. and economic life by encouraging traditional small-scale industries. A strong emphasis is also placed on the development of a strong community based on self-help and active citizen participation. This grass root approach did eventually help in identifying the basic needs of the community, revive local values and belief system and bring about the changes in attitude by creating civic consciousness about conservation. The means of community development can be an integral part of urban conservation in which citizens of urban communities empower themselves by collectively seeking their priority and the sustainment of their heritage. Through this approach, the community and cultural values can hold the same power as economic and capital values.

In the present changing circumstances of the urban areas, urban community development could be a possible strategy of intervention to combat urban problems through citizens' participation. Basically, it is a social process by which city dwellers can become more competent to live with and gain some control over local aspects of a frustrating and fast

changing world. The concept of community development is not new, however, its inclusion in urban conservation is definitely a fresh outlook towards conservation. Urban Community Development (UCD) is quite prevalent in the western countries. In India, this programme was initiated in 1958 in the form of Delhi pilot project to alleviate Delhi's slum problems (Clinard, 66). Since then, there have been a number of projects launched throughout the country. However, none of these has been directed to the historical city areas. If structured properly and supported from government as well as the people, the UCD can be become one of the important tools of conserving heritage.

One of the criteria for the success of the community development programme is the active participation of the people. Recently, these kinds of community action groups have been very active in India, particularly in the field of ecology, environment and rural development. The most popular among them are the ones concerned with environment and ecology e.g. Chipko, Centre for Science and Environment, Navjeevan Ashram, Maharogi Seva Samiti which are concerned with the infamous construction of Tihri Dam on Ganges and Sardar Sarovar on the Narmada river.

However, there are few community action groups currently active in the struggle for conservation of urban heritage, two of which are described below. Though each works at different levels - one directed towards the common man and the young, the other towards effecting change through legislation - there is a basic belief that it is imperative that inculcation of a respect for the heritage be realized at grass root level.

6.3.1. Conservation Society of Delhi (CSD)

CSD is a purely voluntary citizens' action group, organized to press for the need for conservation of Delhi's historic monuments through active participation of the people of Delhi. The group organizes walking tours of the historic areas of Delhi and disseminates

knowledge of the Delhi's cultural and architectural heritage. Besides publishing a bilingual newsletter, CSD also makes audio-visuals to spread the message of the urgent need for conservation.

The group has been quite active in pressing for the retention of the India Gate Canopy which the Federal Government intended to remove considering it to be a colonial symbol. Furthermore, the demolition of a sixteen century structure, Chaumachi Tomb at Mehrauli in Delhi, has been stopped by the concerted efforts of CSD. One of the aims of the organization is to pursuade the Archaeological Survey of India and local administration to declare a building 'protected' on the basis of its cultural value and irrespective of its type of architecture and age. CSD is also involved with the Conservation Committee created by Delhi Administration to solve the disputes over the land use in Delhi. One of the most decisive efforts made by CSD is its quest for promoting an awareness of conservation among children. A separate newsletter is published for the children to aquaint them with games and activities linked to environment and conservation. CSD is no more confined to Delhi region. It has found several means to promote its activities through out the country. One of them is National Service Scheme, a nation wide volunteer organization of students with the help of which CSD organizes 'conservation camps', screens films, lecture demonstrations and excursions for students.

The most exciting and encouraging part about CSD is that it is not preoccupied with the financial or time constraints in pursuing its activities. It strives for enthusiasm among the people in the hope that it will eventually help in expanding and promoting its message.

6.3.2. Bombay Environmental Action Group (BEAG)

BEAG is also a voluntary agency which was initially organized as a protest against the displacement of peasants for the construction of an industry. The activities of the

organization is not restricted to the protection of monuments but it works under its broad mandate to look after the environment in all its aspects and to ensure an enhanced quality of life and maximum civil amenities for the Indian citizens. However, to date, the agency has worked more successful in pressing for greater legal protection of historic monuments and in streamlining existing procedures to ensure statutory protection to these buildings and precincts. One of the significant activities of BEAG was to lobby the authorities of Pune to reduce the Floor Space Index[1] (FSI) of 400-500 to 150-200 and revoke all illegal building permits which had led to proliferation of high-rise structures that caused severe damage to the environment. In part, due to persistence of BEAG, many of the cantonment towns of India have been ordered to rationalize their building regulations and plans.

It was through the efforts of the agency that it became mandatory for all local authorities to furnish information regarding building sanctions to concerned civic groups or individuals. The BEAG's activities pressurized Bombay Municipal Corporation to set up a committee for the protection and preservation of historical and aesthetic buildings and precincts. In order to achieve this objective, the group is actively involved in formulating a legislation and preparing listings of the historical buildings in Bombay. BEAG has also helped ASI to identify the historic buildings that were not protected.

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[1] Floor Space Index is the percantage ratio of floor area to the plot area.

Recommendations

This thesis has so far addressed the nature and need of conservation of historic cities and some of the challenges it faces. This chapter focuses on recommendations for implementing an urban conservation strategy.

The research highlights some interesting points that the real meaning of Indian heritage lies in indigenous knowledge and skills, that Indian cities and buildings are constantly transforming and that conservation has to be a development oriented activity. The need for conservation to be webbed with planning policies has also been found imperative.

It is concluded that the emerging dual socioeconomic characteristics of the cities must have to be kept in mind while addressing the issue of conservation in India. It has been found that there is a need for strong emphasis on the soft area of planning i.e. the human approach through community development activities rather than hard approach involving a technical solutions. The efforts must be directed towards the revival of the traditional culture and religious aspects of the society. The research further indicates that this can not be achieved without changing the present negative attitudes of planners towards conservation and resolving numerous loopholes in the existing legal system.

A fact which has not been paid attention till now, is that Indian historic cities are a rare mosaic of both historic monuments and the vernacular and indigenous architecture, all of which are constantly being evolved, renewed and adapted to changing needs and circumstances. The unique social, cultural, religious and psychological values and feelings attached to the buildings call for a different perspective to address the issue. The earlier discussions made it apparent that it is not so much the building that has to be conserved in

terms of its physical representation but the concept of building in the form tradition and indigenous building skills and methods. In a society where guru-disciple relationship was paramount, now when old masons and artists die, their knowledge and skills often die with them. In India, as one of the most profound of the world's old civilizations, these losses may have grave consequences. A concerted effort is, therefore, required for transmission and dissemination of this knowledge. One of the major issue responsible for this rapid dilapidation of heritage is the cultural conflict and the erosion of indigenous values, the conflict exists between the aspirations towards modernization and of traditional values of which buildings are a part of.

Many contemporary planners being confined to the present inadequate legal framework and incompatible international charters of conservation, have become mostly inattentive to these facets of Indian cultural heritage. While several federal, state and local agencies have been active during the last four decades in conservation movement, not much has been accomplished. This is due to the conflicting mandates of various agencies and incoherency present in their visions of conservation. Furthermore, the changing social, economic, communal life of urban dwellers and shifting morphology of urban areas are presenting new challenges to conservation. What is needed is a concerted effort not only from Planners and all levels of Government and but also from the people. It requires a two way approach - a 'top down' and a 'bottom up' - both concurrently and in a contemporary way. A comprehensive approach can be developed based on the following three essential principles:

7.1. Build a strong knowledge base

It is of great importance that a knowledge base of country's cultural heritage be established. To accomplish this, planners, architects and conservationists must be given sufficient

knowledge and skills to understand the Indian heritage, be able to make critical judgement and to act on the critical issues. Their present perception based on western notion about Indian heritage must be changed. They must recognize both national monuments and vernacular structures which are still inhabited by the people, as part of the Indian built heritage. Their role is not only to preserve the material culture but also to analyse, develop and transmit cultural heritage and folklore. Not only this, planners must have to encourage master masons to keep the traditional and indigenous building skills intact.

7.2. Build awareness among all Development Institutions

It is evident that to a large extent, the development policies adopted by planners in the name of progress are accountable for the damage of the country's heritage. There is an important need to train the development planners and implementors in the basics of conservation and the meaning of heritage in Indian context. It is highly important that they recognise the need of conservation and to factor it into spatial and sectoral plans. Conservation should be viewed as a planning technique of both community and economic development as a way of dealing with poverty, poor housing, lack of basic services, unemployment and problems with heritage as well.

7.3. Build pride in cultural heritage in the community

The social and economic transformation of the society has led to the change in the usual conservation norms. The heritage of a community, can only be conserved through active participation of the people. While government machinery can protect and care for a very limited number of significant monuments, it is the community that has to take responsibility to preserve the history and the tradition of the country. In order to seek community involvement, it is important to generate awareness of the heritage among the people through educational programmes. It is not sufficient to legislate the protection of monuments alone,

public education is equally important to reviving traditional building skills and conservation ethics. Pride in cultural heritage can be built in three ways: 1) Generating awareness, 2) education and 3) participation in decision-making process. The responsibility of generating awareness amongst people goes to the planners and the community, indigenous and religious leaders. Through various means such as media e.g. T.V., Newspaper, Radio, exhibitions on heritage and fairs devoted to conservation activities, a significant change can be made.

Conservation in India requires efforts based on the above three principles at three distinct levels of society: Planners, Government and People.

7.3.1. Planners

7.3.1.1. Creation of a new Charter of conservation

A conservation Charter, on the line of Appleton and Burra Charter, should be developed which will address the concerns afflicting Indian heritage. However, the guidelines of the charter should be framed in such a way that it gives due consideration to the real meaning of heritage in Indian context. Unlike Appleton and Burra, the Indian charter should allow for the reconstruction, encourage duplication, value invention and seek transformation. It should realise the contribution of master mason in carrying on the traditional building skills. The emphasis should be shifted to understanding the means rather than ends. Above all, the charter should consider vernacular architecture as part of the Indian heritage besides the nationally famous monuments.

7.3.1.2. Development oriented conservation planning

It is a common perception among Indian planners that conservation and development cannot be achieved concurrently and that conservation will eventually halt development and

progress. As a matter of fact, conservation must be accompanied with development. It has been seen in earlier discussions and case studies that conservation can only be accomplished by developing or improving the economic, social and physical conditions of the people e.g. by improving roads and drains, water supply, schools, hospitals etc. Conservation must have to be seen as a dynamic process in which development and growth are inevitable.

7.3.1.3. Integration of conservation and planning

Conservation must be given an important place in the Development Plans and planning policies. The Plans should recognise the conservation of the character of the historic town. The new development beyond the old city which is bound to happen in the present circumstances, must be integrally linked with old town. This would discourage the separation of the entities and the benefits accruing to one would be shared by the other. The new development must respect the existing characteristics of the town in terms of its identity and imageability. Development must adhere to the historic characteristic of the hierarchical spatial relationship between courtyards, *chowks* (public squares) and open public spaces, mixed land uses, local building materials and incentives to encourage interaction between mason-builder and the owner.

7.3.1.4. Inclusion of Conservation in Master Plans

Presently, none of the master plans of Indian cities deal specifically with conservation. They are mostly land use and zoning based plans. It is suggested that special provisions for historic city areas must be made in these master plans. Historic areas could be declared as 'protected area' for conservation and revitalisation schemes. Unlike other parts of the city, historic areas need careful and sensitive approaches in designing and in organising traffic, parking and other infrastructure placement.

7.3.1.5. Planners' role as educators, mediators

Planners must assume active role as a liaison between various departments concerned and give advice to the Government on planning policies and programmes related to conservation. They should also assume the role of a disseminator, researcher and developer of cultural heritage and folklore. They must emphasize on the role of traditional and indigenous values and recognition of the importance of master-mason in continuous building and maintenance of heritage.

7.3.2. Government

7.3.2.1. Legislations

Besides planners' role in the integration of conservation and planning, it is important to incorporate these ideas and make it mandatory in all the Preservation acts and in the town planning and municipal legislations. It is also imperative to recognise the affects of tourism on conservation and incorporate it as part of conservation and planning schemes. Based on the previous discussions on the legal framework of conservation in India, it is suggested that Federal Government must play an active role rather than the present catalytic one. All conservation and development plans must go through environmental impact assessment to reduce the effect of environmental pollution from industries, tourism and many other factors. In the case of municipal legislation, there should be a provision to compel the local body to pay attention to elements of conservation while scrutinizing building plans.

7.3.2.2. Broaden the scope of Archaeological Survey of India (ASI)

ASI, being the sole agency working in the field of preservation, must not be confined to the preservation of national monuments but it should also cater to the Indian heritage as a

whole which includes both monuments and indigenous settlements. ASI's current operations are based on 'Archaeological and Remains Act of 1958 which requires the preservation of nationally important monuments and archaeological sites. As opposed to this, ASI's work must be based on separate act recognizing the importance of traditional building skills in a building besides its age, architecture and historicity.

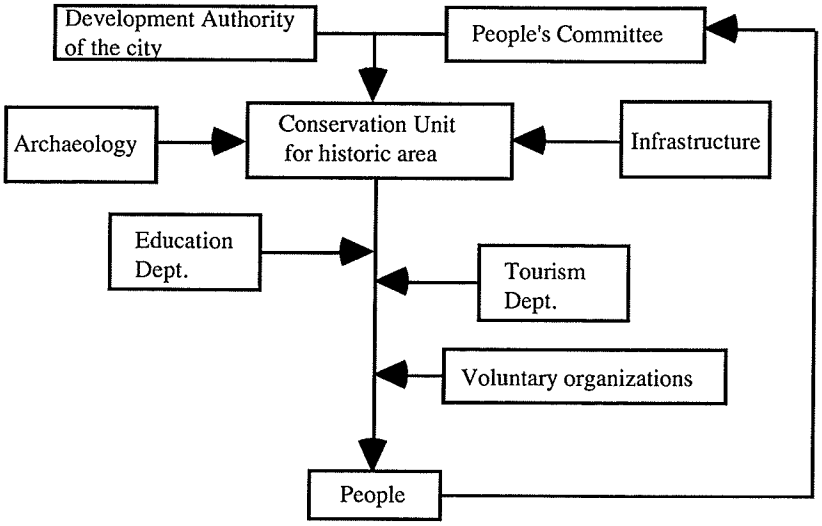
7.3.2.3. Encourage voluntary organizations

Voluntary organizations like Indian National Trust for Arts and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) and local citizen committees should be encouraged to take part in the decision making and implementation phases. It should be made mandatory to seek the support of Non-governmental organization working in the field of conservation.

7.3.2.4. Create a separate development authority or conservation unit

Similar to Quli Qutub Shah Urban Development Authority(QQSUDA) in the old city of Hyderabad, it is necessary to form a development authority or conservation unit for every historic city area to specifically deal with the development issues on site to site basis with due consideration to conservation. It is also important to make sure that as opposed to QQSUDA, the authority must remain free from political exigencies. The agency can be an autonomous or part of the development authority of the city, however, it must have representation from the people and its mandate must be supported by all other government departments e.g. education, tourism, archaeology etc., voluntary agencies and above all the local people as shown in Diagram 7.1.

Fig. 7.1 Diagram showing the proposed structure of conservation authority



7.3.2.5. Coordination among various agencies

All the levels of Government must be required to coordinate and interact among themselves and with the voluntary agencies, commercial and industrial groups, interested professionals and local amenity groups.

7.3.2.6. Urban Community Development & Self Help Programs

Community Development programs should be initiated by the government with a view to alleviate the heritage crisis through citizens' participation, self help and cooperative efforts of all the levels of government, professionals and voluntary agencies. The primary aim of the programmes should be to bring about changes in attitudes towards heritage by creating civic consciousness and by motivating people to improve their social and physical conditions of life. The activities should be directed not only towards education aiming at heritage, health, sanitation etc. but also development of local economy, social institutions and health care. A process of wider community education will have to be initiated so as to make the people realize their own stakes in the future of the city life and its proper

conservation and development. This can only be ensured if the whole idea of urban community development takes the shape of a movement where everybody - planners, architects, educators, business groups, industrialists, administrators and political elite - share the concern for the cultural heritage.

7.3.2.7. Establish Institutions to promote Indian heritage

There is a dire need of institutions to promote and revive cultural heritage of India. One of the best works in this direction was the organisation of Festivals of India in various countries. Government College of Sculpture and Architecture at Mahaballipuram is another good example where students, architects, conservationists are being trained in classical style of Indian temple architecture.

7.3.3. People

7.3.3.1. Participation

Most of the people look at conservation as something which government does and they have presumed that they have little or no say in the decisions about what should be done and how to approach conservation of historic heritage. Many people have become cynical about conservation as they face the reality of their poor and deteriorating living conditions in spite of all the national and international efforts. They see no tangible results. They believe more in the activities like construction roads, laying pipe lines etc. There is no respect and desire for community development through education, building social institutions. Furthermore, they have lost their hopes in the present development institutions and carry a general negative perception about developmental activities as only meant for rich and influential people. However, conservation can only be successful by active participation of the community in decision making and through self-help activities. Community must have to organize themselves for the betterment of their own lives. They

have to develop civic consciousness and acceptance of civic responsibility with the help of directions from professionals and government to make conservation a success.

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Venice Charter

Source: Feilden (1989)

The Venice Charter

International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites

Venice: International Council on Monuments and Sites, 1966.

Imbued with a message from the past, the historic monuments of generations of people remain to the present day as living witnesses of their age-old traditions. People are becoming more and more conscious of the unity of human values and regard ancient monuments as a common heritage. The common responsibility to safeguard them for future generations is recognized. It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity.

It is essential that the principles guiding the preservation and restoration of ancient buildings should be agreed and be laid down on an international basis, with each country being responsible for applying the plan within the framework of its own culture and traditions.

By defining these basic principles for the first time, the Athens Charter of 1931 contributed towards the development of an extensive international movement which has assumed concrete form in national developments, in the work of ICOM and UNESCO and in the establishment by the latter of the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and the Restoration of Cultural Property. Increasing awareness and critical study have been brought to bear on problems which have continually become more complex and varied; now the time has come to examine the Charter afresh in order to make a thorough study of the principles involved and to enlarge its scope in a new document.

Accordingly, the IInd International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, which met in Venice from May 25th to 31st 1964, approved the following text:

DEFINITIONS

Article 1. The concept of an historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the evidence of a particular civilisation, a significant development or an historic event. This applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time.

Article 2. The conservation and restoration of monuments must have recourse to all the sciences and techniques which can contribute to the study and safeguarding of the architectural heritage.

AIM

Article 4. The intention in conserving and restoring monuments is to safeguard them no less as works of art than as historical evidence.

CONSERVATION

Article 4. It is essential to the conservation of monuments that they be maintained on a permanent basis.

Article 5. The conservation of monuments is always facilitated by making use of them for some socially useful purpose. Such use is therefore desirable but it must not change the lay-out or decoration of the building. It is within these limits only that modifications demanded by a change of function should be envisaged and may be permitted.

Article 6. The conservation of a monument implies preserving a setting which is not out of scale. Wherever the traditional setting exists, it must be kept. No new construction, demolition or modification which would alter the relations of mass and colour must be allowed.

Article 7. A monument is inseparable from the history to which it bears witness and from the setting in which it occurs. The moving of all or part of a monument cannot be allowed except where the safeguarding of that monument demands it or where it is justified by national or international interests of paramount importance.

Article 8. Items of sculpture, painting or decoration which form an integral part of a monument may only be removed from it if this is the sole means of ensuring their preservation.

The Venice Charter is the foundation for several subsequent adaptations and refinements. There are comprehensive national documents based on its precepts, as well as international charters for specialized aspects. Of particular interest are the following:

- The Florence Charter on Historic Gardens, 1982 (ICOMOS)
- Recommendation concerning the preservation of cultural property endangered by public or private works, 1968 (UNESCO General Conference, Paris)
- Recommendation concerning the safeguarding and contemporary role of historic areas, 1976 (UNESCO General Conference, Nairobi)*
- The Burra Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance, 1981 (ICOMOS Australia)
- Archeology and Historic Preservation: Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines, 1983 (U.S. National Park Service)*
- The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings, 1983 [revised] (U.S. National Park Service)*
- The Appleton Charter for the Protection and Enhancement of the Built Environment, 1983 (ICOMOS Canada)
- Code of Ethics and Guidance for Practice, 1985 (International Institute of Conservators — Canadian Group)

Copies of these texts are available through ICOMOS Canada; those with an asterisk (*) may be found in KEUN84.

RESTORATION

Article 9. The process of restoration is a highly specialised operation. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents. It must stop at the point where conjecture begins, and in this case moreover any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp. The restoration in any case must be preceded and followed by an archaeological and historical study of the monument.

Article 10. Where traditional techniques prove inadequate, the consolidation of a monument can be achieved by the use of any modern technique for conservation and construction, the efficacy of which has been shown by scientific data and proved by experience.

Article 11. The valid contribution of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected, since unity of style is not the aim of a restoration. When a building includes the superimposed work of different periods, the revealing of the underlying state can only be justified in exceptional circumstances and when what is removed is of little interest and the material which is brought to light is of great historical, archaeological or aesthetic value, and its state of preservation good enough to justify the action. Evaluation of the importance of the elements involved and the decision as to what may be destroyed cannot rest solely on the individual in charge of the work.

Article 12. Replacements of missing parts must integrate harmoniously with the whole, but at the same time must be distinguishable from the original so that restoration does not falsify the artistic or historic evidence.

Article 13. Additions cannot be allowed except in so far as they do not detract from the interesting parts of the building, its traditional setting, the balance of its composition and its relation with its surroundings.

HISTORIC SITES

Article 14. The sites of monuments must be the object of special care in order to safeguard their integrity and ensure that they are cleared and presented in a seemly manner. The work of conservation and restoration carried out in such places should be inspired by the principles set forth in the foregoing articles.

EXCAVATIONS

Article 15. Excavations should be carried out in accordance with scientific standards and the recommendation defining international principles to be applied in the case of archaeological excavation adopted by UNESCO in 1956.

Ruins must be maintained and measures necessary for the permanent conservation and protection of architectural features and of objects discovered must be taken. Furthermore, every means must be taken to facilitate the understanding of the monument and to reveal it without ever distorting its meaning.

All reconstruction work should however be ruled out *a priori*. Only anastylosis, that is to say, the reassembling of existing but dismembered parts can be permitted. The material used for integration should always be recognisable and its use should be the least that will ensure the conservation of a monument and the reinstatement of its form.

PUBLICATION

Article 16. In all works of preservation, restoration or excavation, there should always be precise documentation in the form of analytical and critical reports, illustrated with drawings and photographs.

Every stage of the work of clearing, consolidation, rearrangement and integration, as well as technical and formal features identified during the course of the work, should be included. This record should be placed in the archives of a public institution and made available to research workers. It is recommended that the report should be published.

Burra Charter

Source: Feilden (1989)

THE BURRA CHARTER

1.16 Preamble

Having regard to the *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (Venice 1966), and the *Resolutions of 5th General Assembly of* ICOMOS (Moscow 1978), the following Charter has been adopted by Australia ICOMOS.

DEFINITIONS

Article 1. For the purpose of this Charter:

1.1 **Place** means site, area, building or other work, group of buildings or other works together with pertinent contents and surroundings. (*Note:* Place includes structures, ruins, archaeological sites and areas.)

1.2 **Cultural significance** means aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value for past, present or future generations.

1.3 **Fabric** means all the physical material of the **place**.

1.4 **Conservation** means all the processes of looking after a **place** so as to retain its **cultural significance**. It includes **maintenance** and may, according to circumstance, include **preservation, restoration, reconstruction** and **adaptation** and will be commonly a combination of more than one of these.

1.5 **Maintenance** means the continuous protective care of the fabric, contents and setting of a place, and is to be distinguished from repair. Repair involves restoration or reconstruction and it should be treated accordingly.
(*Note:* The distinctions referred to in Article 1.5, for example, in relation to roof gutters, are: maintenance — regular inspection and cleaning of dislodged gutters to their place; repair involving reconstruction — replacing decayed gutters.)

1.6 **Preservation** means maintaining the **fabric** of a **place** in its existing state and retarding deterioration.

1.7 **Restoration** means returning the *existing* **fabric** of a **place** to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing components without the introduction of new material.

1.8 **Reconstruction** means returning a **place** as nearly as possible to a known earlier state and is distinguished by the introduction of materials (new or old) into the **fabric.** This is not to be confused with either recreation or conjectural reconstruction which are outside the scope of this Charter.

1.9 **Adaptation** means modifying a **place** to suit proposed compatible uses.

1.10 **Compatible use** means a use which involves no change to the culturally significant **fabric,** changes which are substantially reversible, or changes which require a minimal impact.

CONSERVATION PRINCIPLES

Article 2. The aim of **conservation** is to retain or recover the **cultural significance** of a **place** and must include provision for its security, its **maintenance** and its future.
(*Note:* Conservation should not be undertaken unless adequate resources are available to ensure that the fabric is not left in a vulnerable state and that the cultural significance of the place is not impaired. However, it must be emphasised that the best conservation often involves the least work and can be inexpensive.)
Article 3. Conservation is based on a respect for the existing **fabric** and should involve the least possible physical intervention. It should not distort the evidence provided by the **fabric.**
(*Note:* The traces of additions, alterations and earlier treatments on the fabric of a place are evidence of its history and uses.
Conservation action should tend to assist rather than to impede their interpretation.)
Article 4. Conservation should make use of all the disciplines which can contribute to the study and safeguarding of a **place.** Techniques employed should be traditional but in some circumstances they may be modern ones for which a firm scientific basis exists and which have been supported by a body of experience.
Article 5. Conservation of a **place** should take into consideration all aspects of its **cultural significance** without unwarranted emphasis on any one at the expense of others.
Article 6. The conservation policy appropriate to a **place** must first be determined by an understanding of its **cultural significance** and its physical condition.
Article 7. The conservation policy will determine which uses are compatible.
Article 8. Conservation requires the maintenance of an appropriate visual setting, e.g. form, scale, colour, texture and materials. No new construction, demolition or modification which would adversely affect the settings should be allowed. Environmental intrusions which adversely affect appreciation or enjoyment of the **place** should be excluded.
(*Note:* New construction work, including infill and additions, may be acceptable provided it does not reduce or obscure the cultural significance of the place, and it is in keeping with Article 8.)
Article 9. A building or work should remain in its historical location. The moving of all or part of a building or work is unacceptable unless this is the sole means of ensuring its survival.
(*Note:* Some structures were designed to be readily removeable or already have a history of previous moves, e.g. prefabricated dwellings and poppet-heads. Provided such a structure does not have a strong association with its present site its removal may be considered.
If any structure is moved it should be moved to an appropriate setting and given an appropriate use. Such action should not be to the detriment of any place of cultural significance.)
Article 10. The removal of contents which form part of the cultural significance of the place is unacceptable unless it is the sole means of ensuring their security and preservation. Such contents must be returned should changed circumstances make this practicable.

CONSERVATION PROCESSES

Preservation

Article 11. Preservation is appropriate where the existing state of the **fabric** itself constitutes evidence of specific **cultural significance,** or where insufficient evidence is available to other conservation processes to be carried out.
(*Note:* Preservation protects fabric without obscuring the evidence of its construction and use.
The process should always be applied where the evidence of the fabric is of such significance that it must not be altered. This is an unusual case and likely to be appropriate for archaeological remains of national importance where insufficient investigation has been carried out to permit conservation policy decisions to be taken in accord with Articles 23 to 25.
A new construction may be carried out in association with preservation when its purpose is the physical protection of the fabric and when it is consistent with Article 8.)
Article 12. Preservation is limited to the protection, **maintenance** and where necessary, the stabilization of the existing fabric but without the distortion of its **cultural significance.**

(*Note:* Stabilization is a process which helps keep fabric intact and in a fixed position. When carried out as part of preservation work, it does not introduce new materials into the fabric. However, when necessary for the survival of the fabric, stabilization may be effected as part of a reconstruction process and new materials introduced. For example, grouting or the insertion of a reinforcing rod in a masonry wall.)

Restoration

Article 13. Restoration is appropriate only if there is sufficient evidence of an earlier state of the **fabric** and only if returning the **fabric** to that state recovers the **cultural significance** of the place.
(*Note:* See explanatory note for Article 2.)
Article 14. Restoration should reveal anew culturally significant aspects of the **place.** It is based on respect for all the physical, documentary and other evidence and stops at the point where conjecture begins.
Article 15. Restoration is limited to the reassembling of displaced components or removal of accretions in accordance with Article 16.
Article 16. The contributions of all periods to the **place** must be respected. If a **place** includes the **fabric** of different periods, revealing the **fabric** of one period at the expense of another can only be justified when what is removed is of slight **cultural significance** and the **fabric** which is to be revealed is of much greater **cultural significance.**

Reconstruction

Article 17. Reconstruction is appropriate where a **place** is incomplete through damage or alteration and where it is necessary for its survival, or where it recovers the **cultural significance** of the place as a whole.
Article 18. Reconstruction is limited to the completion of a depleted entity and should not constitute the majority of the **fabric** of a **place.**
Article 19. Reconstruction is limited to the reproduction of **fabric** the form of which is known from physical and/or documentary evidence. It should be identifiable on close inspection as being new work.

Adaptation

Article 20. Adaptation is acceptable where the **conservation** of the **place** cannot otherwise be achieved, and where the adaptation does not substantially detract from its **cultural significance**.
Article 21. Adaptation must be limited to that which is essential to a use for the **place** determined in accordance with Articles 6 and 7.
Article 22. Fabric of **cultural significance** unavoidably removed in the process of **adaptation** must be kept safely to enable its future reinstatement.

CONSERVATION PRACTICE

Article 23. Work on a **place** must be preceded by professionally prepared studies of the physical, documentary and other evidence, and the existing **fabric** recorded before any disturbance of the **place.**
Article 24. Study of a **place** by any disturbance of the **fabric** or by archaeological excavation should be undertaken where necessary to provide data essential for decisions on the **conservation** of the **place** and/or to secure evidence about to be lost or made inaccessible through necessary **conservation** or other unavoidable action. Investigation of a **place** for any other reason which requires physical disturbance and which adds substantially to a scientific body of knowledge may be permitted, provided that it is consistent with the conservation policy for the **place.**
Article 25. A written statement of conservation policy must be professionally prepared setting out the **cultural significance,** physical condition and proposed **conservation** process together with justification and supporting evidence, including photographs, drawings and all appropriate samples.
Article 26. The organisation and individuals responsible for policy decisions must be named and specific responsibility taken for each such decision.
Article 27. Appropriate professional direction and supervision must be maintained at all stages of the work and a log kept of new evidence and additional decisions recorded as in Article 25.
Article 28. The records required by Articles 23, 25, 26 and 27 should be placed in a permanent archive and made publicly available.
Article 29. The items referred to in Article 10 and Article 22 should be professionally catalogued and protected.

Standards & Guidelines For the Rehabilitation of Shekhavati Havelis in Rajasthan

Source: Feilden (1989)

PROPOSED STANDARDS AND GUIDELINES FOR THE REHABILITATION OF SHEKHAVATI HAVELIS IN RAJASTHAN*

5.17 Rehabilitation means the process of returning a property to a state of utility, through repair or alteration, which makes possible an efficient contemporary use while preserving those portions and features of the property which are significant to its historic, architectural, and cultural values.

The following 'Standards for Rehabilitation' shall be used by the Central Authority when determining if a rehabilitation project qualifies as 'certified rehabilitation'.

1. Every reasonable effort shall be made to provide a compatible use for a property which requires minimal alteration of the building, structure, or site and its environment, or to use a property for its originally intended purpose.
2. The distinguished original qualities or character of a building, structure, or site and its environment shall not be destroyed. The removal or alteration of any historic material or distinctive architectural features should be avoided, when possible.
3. All buildings, structures and sites shall be recognised as products of their own time. Alterations that have no historical basis and which seek to create an earlier appearance shall be discouraged.
4. Changes which may have taken place in the course of time are evidence of the history and development of a building, structure, or site and its environment. These changes may have acquired significance in their own right, and this significance shall be recognised and respected.
5. Distinctive features or examples of skilled craftsmanship which characterize building, structure, or site shall be treated with sensitivity.
6. Deteriorated architectural features shall be repaired rather than replaced, wherever possible. In the event replacement is necessary, the new material should match the material being replaced in composition, design, colour, texture, and other visual qualities. Replacement of missing architectural features should be based on accurate duplications of features, substantiated by historic, physical, or pictorial evidence, rather than on conjectural designs or the availability of different architectural elements from other buildings or structures.
7. The surface cleaning of structures shall be undertaken with the gentlest means possible. Sandblasting and other cleaning methods that will damage the historic building materials shall not be undertaken.
8. Every reasonable effort shall be made to protect and preserve archaeological resources affected by, or adjacent to, any project.
9. Contemporary design for alterations and additions to existing properties shall not be discouraged when such alterations and additions do not destroy significant historical, architectural or cultural material, and such design is compatible with the size, scale, colour, material and character of the property, area or environment.
10. Wherever possible, new additions or alternations to structures shall be done in such a manner that if such additions or alterations were to be removed in the future, the essential form and integrity of the structure would be unimpaired.

* These are based closely on the Secretary of the Interior U.S. Department's *Standards and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings* (January 1980 rev.).

Guidelines for applying the 'Standards for Rehabilitation'

The following guidelines are designed to help individual property owners formulate plans for the rehabilitation, preservation, and continued use of historic buildings consistent with the intent of the 'Standards for Rehabilitation'. The guidelines pertain to buildings of all occupancy and temporary construction on the exterior and interior of historic buildings as well as new, attached or adjacent construction.

Techniques, treatments and methods consistent with the Secretary's 'Standards for Rehabilitation' are listed in the 'Recommended' column on the left. Not all recommendations listed under a treatment will apply to each project proposal. Rehabilitation approaches, materials and methods which may adversely affect a building's architectural and historic qualities are listed in the 'Not Recommended' column on the right. Every effort will be made to update and expand the guidelines as additional techniques and treatments become known.

Specific information on rehabilitation and preservation technology may be obtained by writing to the National Conservation Laboratory, Lucknow. Advice should also be sought from qualified professionals, including architects, architectural historians and archaeologists skilled in the preservation, restoration and rehabilitation of old buildings.

THE ENVIRONMENT

Recommended	Not recommended
Retaining distinctive features such as the size, scale, mass, colour and materials of buildings, including roofs, porches and stairways that give a neighbourhood its distinguishing character.	Introducing new construction into areas that is incompatible with the character of the district because of size, scale, colour and materials.
Retaining landscape features such as parks, gardens, benches, walkways, streets, alleys and building setbacks that have traditionally linked buildings to their environment.	Destroying the relationship of buildings and their environment by widening existing streets, or by introducing inappropriately located new streets and parking lots that are incompatible with the character of the area.
Using new plant materials, fencing, walkways, street lights, signs and benches that are compatible with the character of the neighbourhood in size, scale, material and colour.	Introducing signs, street lighting, benches, new plant materials, fencing, walkways and paving materials that are out of scale or are inappropriate to the area.

The Appleton Charter

e Appleton Charter for the
)tection and Enhancement of
: Built Environment.
:awa: ICOMOS Canada (English-
eaking Committee), Fall 1983.

A. Preamble

This charter acknowledges *The International Charter for the Conservation of Monuments and Sites* (Venice, 1964), the Australia ICOMOS *Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance* (the Burra Charter of February 23, 1981), and the *Charter for the Preservation of Québec's Heritage* (Declaration of Deschambaults), without which it could not exist.

It further recognizes that the sound management of the built environment is an important cultural activity; and that conservation is an essential component of the management process.

B. Framework

Intervention within the built environment may occur at many *levels* (from preservation to redevelopment), at many *scales* (from individual building elements to entire sites), and will be characterized by one or more *activities*, ranging from maintenance to addition.

Though any given project may combine intervention scales. levels and activities, projects should be characterized by a clearly stated goal against which small-scale decisions may be measured.

The appropriate level of intervention can only be chosen after careful consideration of the merits of the following:

- cultural significance
- condition and integrity of the fabric
- contextual value
- appropriate use of available physical, social and economic resources

Decisions concerning the relative importance of these factors must represent as broadly based a consensus as possible.

Legitimate consensus will involve public participation and must precede initiation of work.

The relationship between scales of intervention, levels of intervention, and intervention activities is summarized below.

	Activity			
	Maintenance	Stabilization	Removal	Addition
Levels of Intervention				
Preservation	●	●		
Period Restoration	●	●	●	●
Rehabilitation	●	●	●	●
Period Reconstruction				●
Redevelopment				●

Levels of Intervention

Preservation — retention of the existing form, material and integrity of site.

Period Restoration — recovery of an earlier form, material and integrity of a site.

Rehabilitation — modification of a resource to contemporary functional standards, which may involve adaptation for new use.

Period Reconstruction — recreation of vanished or irreversibly deteriorated resources.

Redevelopment — insertion of contemporary structures or additions sympathetic to the setting.

Activities

Maintenance — continual activity to ensure the longevity of the resource without irreversible or damaging intervention.

Stabilization — a periodic activity to halt deterioration and to put the existing form and materials of a site into a state of equilibrium, with minimal change.

Removal — a periodic activity: modification which involves the subtraction of surfaces, layers, volumes and/or elements.

Addition — aperiodic activity: modification which involves the introduction of new material.

C. Principles

Respect for the existing fabric is fundamental to the activities of protection and enhancement.

The process of protection and enhancement must recognize all interests, and have recourse to all fields of expertise which can contribute to the study and safeguarding of a resource.

In intervening at the scales, levels, and activities described, measures in support of the protection and enhancement of the built environment will involve adherence to the following principles:

Protection: Protection may involve stabilization; it must involve a continuing program of maintenance.

Artefactual value — Sites of the highest cultural significance are to be considered primarily as artefacts, demanding protection as fragile and complex historical monuments.

Setting — Any element of the built environment is inseparable from the history to which it bears witness, and from the setting in which it occurs. Consequently, all interventions must deal with the whole as well as with the parts.

Relocation — Relocation and dismantling of an existing resource should be employed only as a last resort, if protection cannot be achieved by other means.

Enhancement: The activities of removal or addition are characteristic of measures in support of enhancement of the heritage resource.

Use — A property should be used for its originally intended purpose. If this is not feasible, every reasonable effort shall be made to provide a compatible use which requires minimal alteration. Consideration of new use should begin with respect for existing and original traditional patterns of movement and layout.

Additions — New volumes, materials and finishes may be required to satisfy new uses or requirements. They should echo contemporary ideas but respect and enhance the spirit of the original.

Environmental Control — Systems of insulation, environmental control, and other servicing should be upgraded in ways which respect the existing and traditional equilibria and do not set in motion processes of deterioration.

D. Practice

Documentation — The better a resource is understood and interpreted, the better it will be protected and enhanced.

In order to properly understand and interpret a site, there must be a comprehensive investigation of all those qualities which invest a structure with significance.

This activity must precede activity at the site.

Work on site must itself be documented and recorded.

Conjecture — Activities which involve the recovery or recreation of earlier forms must be limited to those forms which can be achieved without conjecture.

Distinguishability — New work should be identifiable on close inspection or to the trained eye, but should not impair the aestetic integrity or coherence of the whole.

Materials and Techniques — Materials and techniques should respect traditional practice unless modern substitutes for which a firm scientific basis exists, which have been supported by a body of experience and which provide significant advantage can be identified.

Patina — Patina forms part of the historic integrity of a resource, and its destruction should be allowed only when essential to the protection of the fabric. Falsification of patina should be avoided.

Reversibilty — The use of reversible processes is always to be preferrred to allow the widest options for future development or the correction of unforeseen problems, or where the integrity of the resource could be affected.

Integrity — Structural and technological integrity must be respected and will require attention to performance as well as to appearance.

APPENDIX 5

ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns & Urban Areas

Source: Feilden (1989)

ICOMOS CHARTER FOR THE CONSERVATION OF HISTORIC TOWNS AND URBAN AREAS

5.16 Preamble and definitions

1. All urban communities, whether they have developed gradually over time or have been created deliberately, are an expression of the diversity of societies throughout history.

2. This Charter concerns historic urban areas, large and small, cities, towns and historic centres or quarters, with their natural and man-made environment. Beyond their role as historic documents, they embody the values of traditional urban cultures. Today many such communities are being threatened, physically degraded, damaged or even destroyed, by the impact of the urban development that follows industrialization in societies everywhere.

3. Faced with this dramatic situation, which often leads to irreversible cultural, social and even economic losses, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) deems it necessary to draw up an international charter for the protection of historic towns and areas that will complement the Venice Charter. This new text defines the principles, objectives, methods and instruments necessary for the conservation of historic towns and urban areas. It also seeks to promote the values that they engender — particularly the preservation of those cultural properties, however modest in scale, that constitute the memory of mankind.

As set out in the UNESCO *Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas* (Warsaw-Nairobi, 1976), and also in various other international instruments, we understand 'the conservation of historic towns' to mean those steps necessary for their protection, restoration, as well as their development and harmonious adaptation to contemporary life.

PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES

1. For the conservation of historic towns to be most effective, it should be an integral part of a coherent policy of economic and social development and of urban and regional planning

2. The values to be preserved include the historic character of the historic town and all those material and spiritual elements that create this character, especially:

(i) the urban patterns as defined by lots and streets;
(ii) the relationships between buildings and green and open spaces;
(iii) the formal appearance, interior and exterior, of buildings as defined by scale, size, construction, materials, colour and decoration;
(iv) the relationship between the historic town and its surrounding natural and man-made setting;
(v) the roles that an historic town has acquired over time.

Any threats to these values would undermine the authenticity of the historic town or area.

3. The participation and the involvement of the town's people of every age is essential for the success of the conservation programme and must be encouraged. The conservation of historic towns concerns first and foremost the residents.

4. Conservation in an historic town demands prudence, sensitivity and precision without rigidity, since each case presents a specific problem.

5. Planning for the conservation of historic towns and areas should be based upon preliminary multidisciplinary studies. The conservation plan must address all relevant aspects, including archaeology, history, architecture, techniques, sociology and economics.

The principal objectives of the conservation plan should be clearly set out along with the legal, administrative and financial measures necessary to attain them. The conservation plan should seek a harmonious relationship between the historic area and the town.

The conservation plan should determine which buildings should be preserved in their entirety, which could be adapted to changing circumstances and which, under quite exceptional and thoroughly documented circumstances, might be considered expendable.

The plan should be supported by the residents.

6. Before the adoption of a plan, any necessary conservation activity should be taken according to the principles and following the aims of this Charter and the *Venice Charter*.

7. Continuous maintenance is crucial to the effective conservation of an historic town.

8. New activities should be compatible with the character of the historic town. Adaptation of an historic town to contemporary life requires the careful installation or improvement of public service systems.

9. The improvement of housing should be one of the basic objectives of conservation.

10 When it is necessary to construct new buildings or adapt existing ones, they should respect the existing spatial layout, especially in scale and lot size. Contemporary elements in harmony with the surroundings should not be discouraged and such features could contribute to the enrichment of the area.

11. Knowledge of an historic town's past should be expanded through archaeological investigation and by appropriate presentation of the archaeological findings.

12. Traffic inside the historic town must be controlled, the parking areas should not disturb the historic fabric or degrade the environment.

13. When urban or regional planning provides for the construction of major motorways, they must not be permitted to penetrate an historic town; rather they should improve access to it.

14. Historic towns should be protected against natural disasters and nuisances such as pollution and vibration, not only to safeguard the heritage, but also for the security and well-being of the local people.

Whatever the nature of disaster affecting an historic town, preventive and repair measures must be adapted to the specific character of the properties concerned.

15. In order to ensure participation and involvement of residents, a general information programme should begin at school age.

The action of associations for the protection of heritage should also be encouraged and financial measures in favour of conservation and restoration should be taken.

16. Specialized training should be provided for those professions involved in conservation.