

RECOGNIZING AND PRESERVING THE HISTORIC IDENTITY OF DADAR WEST,
BOMBAY: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT CONTROL REGULATIONS 67

by

VINEET SHRIKANT DATE

(Under the Direction of ERIC MACDONALD)

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates and explains the gap observed between academic and practical application of historic preservation in Bombay City. The thesis offers a brief synopsis of the evolution of Bombay City, and documents and analyses the historic elements present within the urban section of Dadar West. The thesis also evaluates, the city's preservation guidelines with respect to historic elements within the Dadar West study area that are missing from the city's preservation program. This evaluation identifies the strengths and weaknesses of the city's preservation model. The thesis concludes with recommendations for strengthening the city of Bombay's preservation program.

INDEX WORDS: BOMBAY, MUMBAI, DADAR WEST, PRESERVATION
GUIDELINES, DEVELOPMENT CONTROL REGULATIONS
GUIDELINES 67

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Nurturing heritage has been a pervasive phenomenon of human history. In the last century there has been a tremendous rise in organized preservation of historic sites.¹ Although such preservation efforts have a long and a fruitful history in the first world, countries in the developing nations are only in the process of organizing efforts for this cause. There has been a steady increase in the number preservation organizations in the developing countries as well. The conceptual understanding of historic preservation and its importance in the city building process are also on the rise.² Yet in some cases, especially in developing nations, the process of historic preservation is considered as a luxurious and frivolous waste of resources. Some examples also highlight the basic lack of conceptual understanding of historic resources and this lack of theoretical perspective spurs halfhearted preservation efforts. A good example is the Archeological Survey of India, the prime governmental authority in the country of India, which does not have a category that identifies cultural landscapes.³ This lack of understanding, coupled with the market pressure of economic growth, only further excludes historic preservation from the process of healthy city building.

Such conflict between historic preservation and city development are clearly noticed in the urban centers of developing nations. This study will specifically examine one such case:

¹ Jeremy C. Wells, "The Plurality of Truth in Culture, Context, and Heritage: A (Mostly) Post-Structuralist Analysis of Urban Conservation Charters," *City & Time*, 3 (2), (2007): 1.

² Shalini Mahajan, "Learning to live with Heritage in Urban Indian Context: Conservation Challenges and Preservation Dynamics," Master's Thesis, University of IUAV of Venice and University of Nova Gorica Graduate School, 2008:182.

³ Priya Jain, "Preserving Cultural Landscapes: A Cross-Cultural Analysis," Master's Thesis, The University of Arizona, 2007:37.

Mumbai, India. One of the most populous cities of the world, Mumbai has preservation guidelines, but a lack of conceptual understanding of historic preservation among the agencies in charge of their implementation restricts meaningful historic preservation for the city. The preservation guidelines emphasize the aesthetic values of structures and fail to recognize social, economic, and cultural patterns that have helped manifest the city's architectural vocabulary. This lack in understanding creates a flawed preservation model that is biased towards preserving buildings with architectural aesthetic values.

This research will focus on examining the development of a particular section of Mumbai city, Dadar West. The figure 1.1 provides a map that illustrates the geographic location of the study area. The study will begin by understanding the evolution of Mumbai (Bombay) and its development. Furthermore, it will document and analyze the developmental history of Dadar West and describe the evolution of this urban pattern of the study area. Using this description as context, sites that are representative of the historic development of Dadar West, but which are unidentified due to the current preservation guidelines, will be recognized. This research will be used to comment on the shortfalls of the current preservation process of the city and recommend changes for its better functioning.

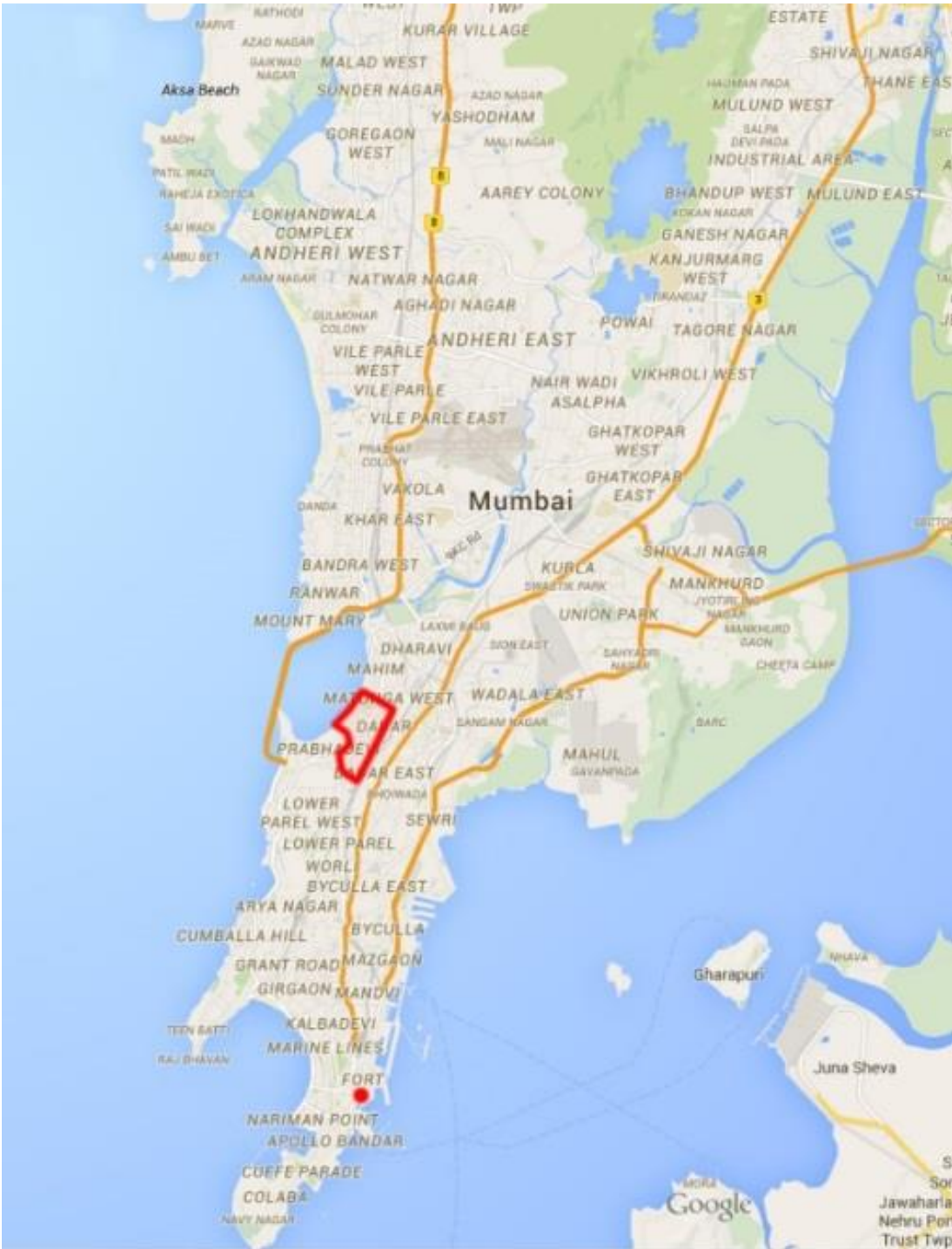


Figure1.1: Context Map, indicating Dadar West in relation to city of Bombay.
Red boundary indicates Dadar West and red dot at bottom shows location of Fort area.
(Base map from Google maps)

Terms and Terminologies

The document will use the term “historic preservation” with the intended meaning of a process of managing historic structures and sites. For readers from India or Britain, the word “preservation” means restoration of natural resources, but the readers have to bear in mind the use of this word and its intended meaning in this document.

The name Bombay was changed to Mumbai in the year 1994; since then the city is recognized as Mumbai. The name Bombay was given to the city by the British. The change of name happened in 1994; it was a political decision to get back to the original (pre-British) name. Although as an individual I respect and appreciate this name change, but as an author of this thesis, I have made the decision to use the name Bombay, as it represents the time this study is focused on.

Research Goal

- To narrate a concise historical evolution of the area of Dadar West that will contribute to a better understanding and appreciation of its historic resources.

Research Objectives

- Understand the evolution of the city of Bombay (Mumbai) from seven quaint, isolated islands to a bustling metropolis.
- Create a concise overview of the heritage sites within the study area.
- To use this study of Dadar West as a microcosm, to create a set of recommendations that can strengthen historic preservation process for the city.
- Make recommendations to better the identification and evaluation stages of preservation.

Research Question

What are the historic resources of Dadar West that are not identified by current preservation guidelines? And, how could the guidelines be modified in order to better recognize the Dadar's historic resources?

Defining the Study Area

“Since most social groups have defined spatial territories, the mental images of place and of community are congruent with each other. Centers and landmarks are symbols of common values.”⁴ This quote by Kevin Lynch, an American urban planner and author conceptually highlights the approach followed by this study to define its boundaries. Specifically, the study area for this thesis does not follow the constitutional boundaries of Dadar West; rather, it conforms to the cognitive image that Dadar West residents have of the spatial extent of their urban neighborhood. Consequently, the study area incorporates buildings and spaces such as Siddhivinayak temple and precinct around Shivaji Park that are not part of the political boundaries of Dadar West, but which are key landmarks in the cognitive maps of most of Dadar West's inhabitants.

Figure 1.2 illustrates two boundaries: the area in red is the constitutional boundary of Dadar West, and the boundary in black indicates the study area. The northern edge of the study does not follow the constitutional area of Dadar West, so as to incorporate the Shivaji Park Precinct in the study area. The southern boundary also exceeds the statutory boundary of Dadar West, so as to incorporate the area that has Siddhivinayak Temple. Although the temple is located in constitutional area of Praphadevi, as most of the devotees to the temple use Dadar West Train Station to commute from various parts of the city that causes the mental image to

⁴ Kevin Lynch, “Grounds for Utopia,” in *City Sense and City Design: Writing and Projects of Kevin Lynch*, ed. by Tribid Banerjee and Michael Southworth (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1990): 804.

incorporate this section of Prabhadevi as part of Dadar West. Residents of Dadar West generally consider temple to be part of Dadar West. The parts of the constitutional area of Dadar West that is not included in the study area have been excluded because they exhibit change in architectural, social, and economic morphologies. These changes mean that these areas are not part of the mental image that most Dadar West have of their neighborhood's extent.

The study area (Figure 1.2) is bounded by Tulsi Pipe Road (Senapati Bapat Marg) on the east. The northeastern boundary is defined by N. C. Kelkar Road. Where N. C. Kelkar road meets Lady Jamshejji Road is the eastern boundary. The northern most edge of the study is defined by Pandurang Naik Marg. The western boundary is defined by the Arabian Sea. The boundary moves east by including a listed site (Mayor's Bungalow), to meet Swatantra Veer Savarkar Road (Cadell Road), which deviates on and off Savarkar Road to incorporate a few listed sites. The boundary moves south till it wraps around the Sane Guruji Park and moves eastward following Khed Gully and meets Shankar Ghanekar Marg. The Shankar Ghanaker Marg follows a curved profile to meet Baburao Parulaker Marg that moves eastward and meets Tulsi Pipe Road, thus defining the complete boundary of the study area.

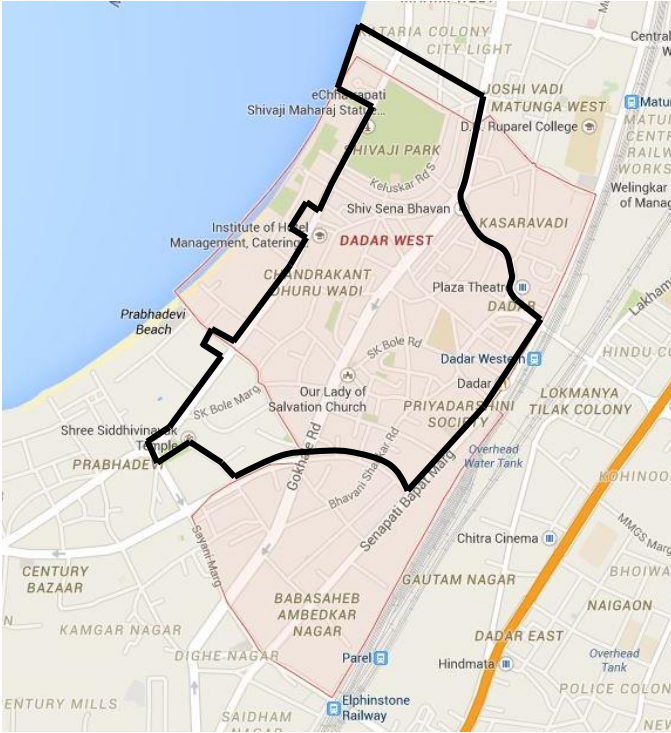


Figure 1.2: Boundary in black indicates the study area, the red indicates the constitutional boundary of Dadar West. (Base map source Google maps)



Figure 1.3: Aerial view of Shivaji Park Maidan, the precinct seen in the bottom of the picture that wraps the park from the three sides.

(Source: <http://images.indianexpress.com/2014/02/mumbaibmc-main.jpg>)



Figure1.4: Aerial view of Siddhivinayak Temple, Sane Guruji Park seen in the background.

(Source: http://photos.wikimapia.org/p/00/00/99/44/46_big.jpg)

Methods

The research methods employed to answer the core research questions of this thesis include: (1) review of relevant historic and contemporary literature; (2) research of published and unpublished government documents related to historic preservation in India and Bombay; and (3) field investigations of the buildings, structures, and landscapes of Dadar West. The literature review included published works related to the history of Bombay and Dadar West, the history and current functioning of historic preservation practice in India and Bombay, and historical and contemporary preservation theory and practice. Current news media also were researched in order to provide additional insight into the contemporary historic preservation scenario of the city. Research of published and unpublished government documents included the legislation and policy documents that established the historic preservation process in India and within the City

of Bombay, as well as reports and inventory forms that document historic resources within Dadar West and other parts of Bombay. A detailed description of literature review, which also includes a discussion of the relevant legal documents that govern historic preservation in Bombay, is provided in Chapter 2.

Information obtained from the review of published literature and from government documents was supplemented by thorough survey and photographic documentation of the existing urban environments of Dadar West. Individual buildings, landscapes, streetscapes, and small-scale landscape elements were mapped and photographed. This fieldwork aided in the identification of potentially significant historic resources, and also contributed to the delineation of the study area boundaries.

Overview

Following this introduction, Chapter two provides a brief overview of the literature that was analyzed to conduct this inquiry. Chapters three and four examine the historical development of Bombay city and Dadar West, respectively. Chapter five reviews the functioning of historic preservation at the national and municipal levels. This is followed by chapter six, which uses the findings from chapter three to develop an assessment of the cultural resources that have been unidentified under city's current preservation model, as well as the resources that currently have not been identified or recognized under that model. Chapter seven examines the conceptual foundations of historic preservation to recommend changes to city's current preservation model. The chapter includes a list of cultural resources that meet the current value criteria used at the municipal level, along with proposed levels of preservation for these resources. The final section of chapter seven provides recommendations for improving the preservation process in Bombay.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review will provide a basis for scholarly critique of the historic preservation process for the city of Bombay, and contribute to recommendations that will create a more holistic historic preservation process for the city. The literature for this study will be divided into three sections. The first section surveys major writings that explain the historic, social, cultural, economic, ecological, and political evolution of Bombay as a whole, and Dadar West in particular. The second section examines the governmental document(s) that guide the preservation activities for the city of Bombay. This section of literature review will be followed by the third section, a synopsis that illustrates the conceptual theory of historic preservation. Concepts which seem tangential to the current preservation processes for the city will also be examined (e.g., intangible cultural landscapes). Such a broad range of explorations will help to create a perspective that can provide suggestions to build a strong and holistic preservation process for the city. The assessment of all three sections will be approached chronologically, starting with the oldest literature and working towards the latest.

The city of Bombay as a subject has fascinated many scholars over the years, and consequently been a sustained topic of research, causing an array of scholarship commenting on the various aspects pertaining to the city.

Overview: History and Evolution of the City

The first section of the literature review will start by examining the translation of the detailed record of the city of Mumbai from the mid-1800s by Govind Narayan, a book entitled

Govind Narayan's Mumbai: An Urban Biography from 1863. Govind Narayan was a migrant to Bombay in the mid-nineteenth century, and his text describes the social and political landscape of the city. It also gives some detailed description of religious customs that have shaped the landscape, which have been lost to time. Such details, although tangential to the study of Dadar West, offer vital information about the social structure and functioning of its time. This book eloquently depicts the city's social fabric of its time.

The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, published in 1909, provides a detailed description of the geographic and ecological information of the seven islands of Bombay. The Gazetteer spans three volumes. The first volume mostly describes the ecological, social, and cultural aspects of the city when the Gazetteer was drafted. The second volume illustrates the political and strategic contest between the Portuguese, British and the Maratha Dynasty (natives) during the formative years of European powers trying to establish a colony on the Western coast of India. The third volume deals mostly with the various civic projects conducted by the British; it also documents the few pre-British settlement patterns and elements which had survived when the Gazetteer was prepared. The *Gazetteer* comments about the geographic, ecological, and political boundaries, these information help to understand historical texts such as *Govind Narayan's Mumbai* that gives the social and cultural makeup of the city. The Gazetteer also details the pre-European settlement patterns which help one to envision the landscape that survived until the early 1900s. Due to the nature of the document, it only sparingly comments on the study area of Dadar West.

The scattered descriptions of the study area of Dadar West from the Gazetteer was supplemented by scholarly editorial columns, such as the 1921 article authored by George Curtis, "The Development of Bombay." It describes the various schemes envisioned for the area of

Dadar and its surroundings. The article also provides excellent maps that show the spread of various governmental schemes through the city of Bombay that date back to the first few years of the twentieth century.

In a 1942 article in the *Journal of Indian Institute of Architects*, titled, “Architecture in Bombay during the Last Twenty-Five Years,” the authors Mistri and Billimoria, both architects by profession, give a description of important architectural projects that have shaped the island city. Although this article does not directly deal with Dadar West, it gives key projects in the surrounding areas that have helped shape the area of Dadar West as we see it today.

The chapter “Shetias, Intelligentsia, and Municipal Elections (1870-1885)” from the book, *Urban Leadership in Western India*, by Christine E. Dobbin, published in 1972, portrays the power struggle between the British and Indian communities during the mid to late nineteenth century. It also discusses the demographic distribution within the city and where the new migrant working class settled in the city of Bombay. It highlights details such as the location of tax payers, details which will be important in reading the historic social (economic) composition of the city. Due to the nature of topics covered in the above mentioned work, it only fleetingly comments about the area of Dadar West.

A similarly detailed commentary on the city’s evolution from seven inconsequential islands to the City of Bombay is written by renowned Marathi historian, Narhar Raghunath Phatak. Published in 1981, Phatak’s *Mumbai Nagri* gives an account of infrastructure projects, along with the cultural, social, and political development of the city. Since the book was printed only in Marathi, its use has been restricted to speakers of Marathi language. The imagery illustrated in this book is valuable, as other sources fail to include rare pictures of sites and views of historic Bombay, although none of the imagery pertains to Dadar West. Unfortunately, as with

the previous scholarly sources, the focus of the book is on the city scale, thus it only partially concerns the study area.

Thomas Metcalf's article from 1984, published in the University of California's interdisciplinary study journal *Representations*, "Architecture and Representation of Empire: India 1860-1910," traces the debate among contemporary architects about an appropriate morphology for British architecture in India. The article focuses on multiple key architectural projects in colonial India, providing a stage to happenings in the city of Bombay. The article also cites multiple British academic minds concerning British projects within colonial India. Such scholarly research will allow this study to better understand the architectural tone within the study area.

"Three Colonial Port Cities in India," by Meera Kosambi and John Brush, and "The Early British Port Cities of India: Their Planning and Architecture Circa 1640-1757," by Partha Mitter, were published in 1988 and 1986 respectively. These works survey the three port cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Although both articles investigate the same subject, their approaches are distinct. Kosambi and Brush argue that although the cities have evolved into distinct forms, yet the spatial model for all of them are the same. Kosambi and Brush conclude that there were no clear distinctions among the British (white towns) and native (black towns) as perceived by the majority of the scholarship. Kosambi and Brush rely on the cartographic representation to illustrate the evolution of the cities. Partha Mitter also investigates the evolution of the three port cities, but also draws conclusions from then-contemporary projects, such as the design and execution of the city of Jaipur by an Indian Princely State. Mitter compares and contrasts urban elements such as defensive walls, churches, hospitals, and gardens to eloquently detail the urban evolution of the three port cities. Mitter also relies on cartographic

representations, but also uses pictorial illustrations. Mitter also makes a comment about the advantage of Bombay, apart from the obvious geographic advantage. The city was very sparsely populated by native population as compared to the other Indian cities, so the British had relative freedom to conduct their city building process. The city of Bombay's jurisdiction was under the governor and had a relative free range to implement colonial projects. Both these scholarly explorations are mutually self-supporting and will help this research to understand the evolution of the port city of Bombay. The juxtaposition of Dadar West within the larger urban pattern of Bombay is understood by such scholarly explorations that help clearly read the urban patterns of the city. Mitter's article mentions the gardens planned in British taste close to the communication spine of Kings Way (currently identified as Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Road), which is not far from Dadar West. As Dadar West was relatively secluded from such modes of transportation, it did not have any similar projects. Due to this reason the architectural vocabulary of the study area of Dadar West has vernacular tones, fewer and less intricate architectural details.

“Civic Lives: Workers Housing and Rent in Bombay 1911-1947,” by Radha Kumar, published in *Economic and Political Weekly* 1987, illustrates the tremendous rise of the migrant population in the city from the early to mid-twentieth century. The migrants were dominated by unskilled workers who arrived searching for meager paying jobs in textile mills. The concentration of the migrants close to mills created a huge boom in the construction industry, and this is well documented by government statistics in this document. The geographic area discussed in this article is located south of the study area. The study area of Dadar West was dominated by construction of chawls (a housing typology with not more than two rooms per unit and not more than 200 total square feet, with a common corridor and shared toilet facilities on each floor) that were constructed by local entrepreneurs and government schemes never too root

in the area of Dadar West. For this reason Dadar West has a unique urban fabric as compared to its immediate surroundings.

Imperial Designs and Indian Realities: The Planning of Bombay City 1845-1875, by Mariam Dossal, published in 1991, elaborates the politics and social struggle of the city building contested among the British government officials and the Indian merchant elites. It explains the city's expansion projects in relation to global power shifts, such as the American Civil war and key civil projects such as the Suez Canal. Although the book details key historical facts on the international stage, it also gives details of urban projects under the colonial British that have directly shaped the area of Dadar West.

“The Quest for Urban Citizenship: Civic Rights, Public Opinion, and Colonial Resistance in Early Twentieth-Century Bombay” and “Colonial Modernisms and the Flawed Paradigms of Urban Renewal: the uneven development of Bombay City 1900-1925,” are works of Sandip Hazereesingh from 2000 and 2001 respectively. “The Quest for Urban Citizenship” looks at a brief period of Bombay's history from the (1905-1925). The article explains the political and economic elites and their struggle to maintain dominance in shaping the city of Bombay. The 2001 article, explains the urban development schemes of the British Period, which used architectural style as a mode to subdue the natives (i.e., the Bombay Gothic and Indo-Saracenic). The article explains the reasons behind the urban schemes, for example that recent migrants were in need of meager paying jobs in textile mills and the housing schemes were located such that it would be within a walking distance, less than a mile to the textile mills. The time frame in both the studies coincides with the rise of Dadar West and its environs making these articles highly relevant to this study.

Also published in same year 2001, the article, “Artisan Cloth-Producers and the Emergence of Powerloom Manufacture in Western India 1920-1950,” by Douglas Haynes, illustrates how just a single industry (i.e., powerlooms, a scaled-down version of a textile mill) located in a niche of the city (i.e., Dadar and its surroundings) changed the landscape around it. As the author mentions in this work, such powerlooms operations were not registered to evade taxes. Despite the lack of clear documentation, the author manages to cite sources that mention the existence of these undocumented operations. The processing and spatial requirements are supplementary to the mentions from the (2007) Marathi book, *Bahurangi Bahudhangi Dadar*, making this article one of the important documents to draw conclusions for this study.

Scholarly work by Neera Adarkar, published in 2003, “Gendering of the Culture of Building: Case of Mumbai,” provides a detailed distribution of migrating population to Bombay in the beginning of the twentieth century. The article comments on how clustering of migrating populations influenced the building typology. Although the article is concerned with the influence of gender bias in architectural design, it also comments about architectural styles and how they represented the various societal sections of the city. This article will help this study to understand the gendering of spaces, which for the most part is unexplored by most studies concerning architecture and urban studies.

The initial relationship between the Portuguese colonial establishment in India and novice British colonist who were trying to initiate their colonial project had a unique dynamic. This interaction between two European powers has not been thoroughly explored. Glenn Ames’s, “The Role of Religion in Transfer and Rise of Bombay, c. 1661-1687,” published in 2003, is one rare but solid source of information for this study. Ames’s study looks beyond the plain handing over of the islands to the British and highlight how this transfer laid the foundations of a secular

urban British colonial port city. The research helps to interpret the pre-British landscape patterns of the islands in the light of geographic features and political interactions between the two warring European powers. It also highlights the slow yet steady approach implemented by the British to overthrow the Portuguese claims over the islands. It distinctly points out the efforts of the British to either declare the Portuguese legal and feudal system obsolete or use the feudal process to its advantage (i.e., low land rents and use of agriculture to attract new migrants on the seven islands). Ames's study comments about the larger context of Bombay's transfer from Portuguese to the British, and it does not comment about Dadar West.

The work of Mariam Dossal (2005), "A Master Plan for the City: Looking at the Past," surveys the activities of the municipal authorities from the early twentieth century till the time the article was published. The author illustrates the political and economic factors that have shaped the decision making process (i.e., the urban schemes), that have shaped and are shaping the city of Bombay. The article illustrates the vested interests of the economic elites that have shaped the city we see; the article relates partly to the study area of Dadar West. The article also cites instances in which the new middle class formed self-defined spaces to form housing schemes. These schemes are a large component of the study area.

The scholarly article by Preeti Chopra, published in 2007, entitled, "Refiguring the Colonial City: Recovering the Role of Local Inhabitants in the Construction of Colonial Bombay, 1854-1918," explains the process of interaction between the subjugator and the subjugated. The research focuses on the architectural styles that evolved with the amalgamation of the European and indigenous architectural vocabulary. As the area of Dadar was nearly exclusively settled by migrating indigenous population, much of its architectural vocabulary is

dominated by indigenous architecture with hints of European architectural tones. This insight will help this research read the landscape features within the study area.

A 2007 published book in Marathi, *Bahurangi Bahudangi Dadar*, edited by Prakash Kamat, will be highly influential for this research as it details a concise history of the study area. The book is the only document which directly pertains to area of Dadar. As mentioned earlier, the book is an excellent source to gain a detailed history of the study area but lacks any historic imagery or maps that supplement the text.

“Housing Typologies in Mumbai,” authored by Prasad Shetty, et.al. and published in 2007, is an excellent survey of building types in Bombay. The study covers the entire metropolitan area and divides building typologies into twenty one categories. These individual categories are further explained with each typology looking at an example in detail. The study also provided detailed maps and explains the general geographic locations within the metropolitan area. This study will be helpful in reading the correlations among the landscape features in the study area of Dadar.

The 2011 journal article by Eric Beverley published in *Social History*, “Colonial Urbanism and South Asian Cities,” lays out the social construct of colonial cities in Asia. It speaks particularly about Bombay and how certain events have shaped the city as we see it today. This material supports the conclusions drawn by Kosambi and Brush, which state there was no stark distinction between the European and native settlements. The settlements were not identical in terms of their urban patterns, but were not segregated as perceived. Beverley’s article analyses multiple colonial cities in Asia and draws conclusions that the government organizations despite their appearance of democratic functioning were modulated by European and Indian elites. Many of the statements made in this article support comments made by Dossal

and Dobbin. This article only conceptually overlaps with this study and did not have any direct comments relevant to the intended research.

Caroline Arnold's 2012 excerpt commenting on the workings of Bombay Improvement Trust (BIT) and the process of urban development of Bombay between the years 1896 and 1918, published in *Economic and Business History*, explains the activities of the BIT and how international pressures helped the city gain vital services that otherwise were denied (i.e., sanitary housing for textile mill workers and the political contest between the commercial elites and the city improvement trusts). The research eloquently highlights the philosophical approaches taken by the improvement trusts and textile mill-owners and how such contests have shaped the city we see today. The material only partially concerns the study area of Dadar.

Another scholarly article published in 2012 entitled "Free to move, forced to flee: the formation and dissolution of suburbs in colonial Bombay, 1750-1918," and authored by Preeti Chopra analyzes a broad time spanning nearly 170 years in the evolution of the city of Bombay. The research's premise is that European officials' movements (i.e., for residence or leisure) were initiatives to spur urbanization of then rural settings of Bombay. The Europeans enjoyed the mobility, yet the native population was restricted in their movement. The author mentions events during 1890 – 1900s that opened the area of Dadar to settling of the native population. Chopra's comments regarding Dadar are very fleeting but provide a base to analyze other materials.

A book by historian Nikhil Rao, published in 2013, entitled *House, but No Garden*, comments about the town planning schemes implemented in Bombay during the first quarter of the twentieth century. The geographic area for Rao's research fringes the study area on the east. Due to close proximity to the area, Rao's work will serve as an excellent guide to understand the urban patterns within the area of Dadar West. The book also makes a few comments on one of

the urban projects (i.e., Shivaji Park) within my study area. The comments about projects within my study area are supportive of views expressed in an article by George Curtis entitled “The Development of Bombay.” Such eloquent and historically specific information will help this research immensely.

Another important study for this research is, *Empire’s Metropolis: Money, Time, and Space in Colonial Bombay, 1870-1930*. Shekhar Krishnan’s doctoral research analyses how India as a British colony, especially Bombay (the most important port city in India) was installed with services (i.e., governmental organizations in charge of creating development strategies). Krishnan inspects the social and political happenings within Bombay city during the 1870-1930 period to better understanding the functioning of the metropolis. He also closely examines the various urban development schemes implemented by government organizations. The detailed statistics about the area covered under individual schemes will help this research base its conclusions. The study by Krishnan also comments on the dynamics of communication lines and settlement patterns; these mentions will help to place the area of Dadar West in better light.

With the array of scholarly works discussed in the section above, one can conclude that a sizable volume of literature comments on the evolution of the city of Bombay. Although there exists a wide range of research material concerning the evolution of Bombay, it is mostly concerned with “the colonial city of Bombay” (i.e., southern part of the city). The scholarly commentary also focuses primarily on the British colonial projects of Bombay. The pre-British (i.e., the Portuguese and the native dynasties) histories are not examined in detail. Other urban sections of Bombay (i.e., the northern sections of city), although relatively younger than south Bombay and exhibiting considerable historic values, have not been examined rigorously. Contemporary scholarly works on the “relatively young” urban sections of Bombay are

dominated by commentary on the current social, political and urbanization processes. Although these restrictions do limit the published literature that is available for this thesis, this is the very reason research like this thesis is highly important.

Overview: Historic Preservation in India and in Bombay

The next body of literature addresses the historic preservation guidelines for the city. The Development Control Regulations number 67 (DCR 67) will be analyzed to understand the definition and workings of the preservation process of the city. The current DCR 67 that is used to guide the preservation process of the city was amended in 1995 to improve the 1991 document. DCR 67 is the only document that guides the preservation processes in Bombay city and its metropolitan area. There seems to be a lack of preservation guidelines even at the state level. Due to this reason a survey of preservation guidelines at the national level was conducted.

The agency in charge of preservation projects on the national level is the Archeological Survey of India (ASI). ASI's functioning are directed by the *The Ancient Monuments and Archeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958* (AMASR 1958). The act was last amended in 1972; this document will be analyzed to understanding the complete functioning of the organization. This document not only established the definitions of key concepts (i.e., monuments and archeological sites), it also prescribes the duties of officials in charge of the preservation process for the country. The document that defines its functioning was drafted by the Ministry of Law, a subsidiary of the Government of India.

The Gazette of India, Extraordinary, Part II-Section I, (Registered No. DL – (N) 04/0007/2003-09) is the document that further defines the preservation process for the organization, ASI. The latest published edition is dated March 30, 2010. This document will be examined to understand the preservation mechanism at the national level.

The document published on August 24, 2011, *The Gazette of India, part III- Section 3 – Subsection (i)*, registered no. DL – (N) 04/0007/2003 – 09, not only amends AMSAR 1958 but also defines the categories that distinguish protected monuments.

The above mentioned documents are the only “key” documents that govern the historic preservation at the national level. As already mentioned, apart from the DCR 67 there is no other document to guide historic preservation at the city level throughout the country.

Although the DCR 67 is the only set of document that guides the preservation process of the large city of Bombay, surprisingly there has been no major commentary or critique of it. The only documents that make comment on the functioning of historic preservation in the metropolitan area of Bombay is “Dismantling Cosmopolitanism: Transformation in the Sacred Heritage of the non-monumental in the Konkan,” by Smita Dalvi and Mustansir Dalvi, and “The Fort: Opportunities for an effective urban conservation strategies in Bombay,” by Radhika Savant Mohit and H. Detlet Kammeier. Dalvi and Dalvi’s conference paper was published in 2010, and Mohit and Kammeier’s essay was published in 1996. Dalvi and Dalvi comment about lack of preservation guidelines and implementation in the metropolitan area of Bombay. Their article also gives suggestions to implement sustained preservation policies so as to have a meaningful preservation program for the region. A lack of sustained preservation policies also seems to be one of the main downfalls of preservation in the metropolitan area of Bombay. The article by Mohit and Kammeier comments on the discontent among the urban planning professionals about the approach initiated by the preservation mechanism of the city of Bombay. The critique voiced is in identifying singular architectural monuments and the scheme for individually preserving them. These are the only scholarly researches that efficiently elaborate their concerns regarding the preservation approaches implemented for the city and metropolitan

area of Bombay. “Dismantling Cosmopolitanism,” comments on preservation processes in the urban-rural fringe area of Bombay. Mohit and Kammeier’s work comment on preservation approaches implemented at core area of the British settlement in Bombay. As with much of the material reviewed both the articles do not comment about the Dadar area directly.

Other relevant documents include an article (1994) by Parth Mitter, “The Formative Period (Circa 1856 – 1900): Sir J. J. School of Art and the Raj, a master’s thesis (2007) by Priya Jain, “Preserving Cultural Landscapes: A Cross Cultural Analysis,” and Shalini Mahajan’s master’s thesis (2008), “Learning to Live with Cultural Heritage in Urban Indian Context: Conservation Challenges and Preservation Dynamics.” Mitter’s article explains the influences of Victorian and Edwardian perspectives playing influential role in directing India’s “artistic” development. The article peripherally mentions the influences of European taste in shaping Bombay architectural morphology. Jain’s thesis identifies the lack of cultural landscape preservation policies for the country of India and recommends measures to incorporate it in the preservation consciousness of the country. Jain uses the National Park Service (NPS) and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as models to understand the preservation processes of cultural landscape management. Jain’s thesis inspects the conceptual understanding of cultural landscape by looking at the works of Carl Sauer and Yi-fu Tuan. The issues tackled in Jain’s thesis are relevant to this research and will be used as an important resource.

Mahajan’s thesis comments on the lack of conceptual understanding of historic preservation at the national level in India. The thesis elaborates conceptual functioning of preservation processes around the world by looking at multiple preservation organizations. A concise summary of each organization studied for her thesis has been provided, making the

thesis a handy reference document for this exploration. Although the works do not directly concern the area of Dadar West, the findings from both the documents will be crucial to help draw meaningful conclusions for this study.

The last section of this literature review looks at the conceptual understanding of heritage values. Works by Mitter, Jain, and Mahajan will provide an excellent transition into the last section of literature review, as Mitters explores the historical reasons for the art and architecture training in India and how its consequences are seen in the present-day workings of these professions. Jain and Mahajan both comment on the conceptual lacuna of historic preservation in India and analyze preservation strategies around the globe to give recommendations to better the preservation processes in India.

Overview: Preservation Philosophies

Alois Riegl's influential German article, published in 1903, "Der moderne Denkmalkultus: Sein Wesen und seine Entstehung," the text was translated in English by Karin Bruckner with Karen William, in the year 1996. The translated essay is entitled "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and Its Development." In which Riegl explains the various "values" that are associated with "monuments" and how they merge to give identity to the monument. The section of the article that directly pertains to this thesis is the need to have aesthetical knowledge to appreciate the historic resources. A lack of aesthetical knowledge renders a monument valueless, as the observer is unaware of its uniqueness. Such issues are at the root of lapsed preservation practices in the city of Bombay.

Another seminal work is by geographer Carl Sauer, first published in 1925 and titled "Morphology of Landscape." The document states the process of interaction between man and his surroundings and how it creates our construct within the natural system. Such clear vision to

examine the surroundings will help the remodeling of the field of historic preservation in the case of Bombay city. Visionaries such as Carl Sauer, J. B. Jackson, and Yi-Fu Tuan are important to understand the relationship of human construct (architecture) to its surroundings.

Yi Fu Tuan's work explores ways to read the interactions between humans and their surroundings, especially in his article "Significance of Artifacts" published in 1980. Tuan points out that architectural elements are like a document, a record that stores the information of the people who made them. These architectural pieces are connected to their surroundings and a sound preservation of it needs to understand and appreciate this aspect of the structures. Such lucid explorations in the preservation philosophies will help this study draw sound conclusions.

Writings by John Brinckerhoff Jackson will also be central in helping build a holistic approach of understanding the heritage values. His book, *Landscape in Sight: Looking at America*, published in 1997, contains a concluding section, "'Sterile' Restoration Cannot Replace a Sense of the Stream of Time," which states the need to determine the form and function of the historic entity. Both these values come together to impart meaning, and for a meaningful preservation considerable understanding is needed to manage both entities of form and function so as to have a strong preservation policy.

Paul Groth and Chris Wilson's (2003) "The Polyphony of Cultural Landscape Study: An Introduction," a chapter from *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J. B. Jackson*, mentions the need of interdisciplinary work for a stronger understanding of the field of preservation. The other comments made in this work that are pertinent to the study of Dadar West and preservation values in India are the need to appreciate the importance of history and social relations when evaluating historic structures. Groth and Wilson also make a general yet powerful comment, which contemporary preservation needs to be appreciative of its

surroundings and base its response in conjunction with it and not concentrate on preserving singular building.

Neera Adarkar's (2003), "Gendering of the Culture of Buildings: Case of Mumbai," not only highlights the gender inequality in architecture but looks at the evolution of Bombay city from the colonial port city under the British to the economic capital of a growing economy. Some of the issues raised by the author pertain to new projects and designs; they have implications for the field of preservation as well. Such tangential explorations will help this study provide solid recommendations.

The 2004 article by Leela Fernandes entitled "The Politics of Forgetting: Class Politics, State Power and the Restructuring of Urban spaces in India" mentions the use of the process of spatial purification and gentrifications that shape the urban areas. The same processes are at work with the preservation projects in Bombay, as one of the mills that were considered for preservation were taken off the list and demolished. Articles such as these give a social dynamic of urban projects, making Fernandese's comments vital to this study that plans to create recommendations for the preservation process of the city.

The thesis by Rebecca McCleary (2005), "Financial Incentives of Historic Preservation: An International View," exclusively explores the interaction of economy and historic preservation. This thesis surveys preservation processes from around the world to provide concise data on the use of economic incentives as tools to support historic preservation. Bombay being the economic capital of Indian and the most densely populated city in India, the land values are staggering and preservation seem to be an economic burden. Findings from McCleary will help provide suggestions for sound preservation policy for the city.

David Lowenthal's article titled "Natural and Cultural Heritage" published in 2005, highlights the conceptual similarities between natural conservation and historic preservation. The article examines concepts laid by the leading thinkers of the Victorian era George Perkin Marsh (born 1801 – died 1882) and John Ruskin (born 1819 – died 1900). Such explorations will be highly beneficial in analyzing and recommending strong preservation guidelines for the city of Bombay.

Conclusion

The overview of the literature for this research shows that there has been number of quality researches conducted to investigate the historic evolution of Bombay City. Yet there seems to be a lack of scholarly research pertaining to individual urban sections.

Development Control Regulations 67 (DCR 67) is the only legal documented in all of India that directs historic preservation at a municipal level. DCR 67 was created in 1995 and despite of the relative long time the document is not thoroughly critiqued or commented. The study of historic preservation in India also highlighted a few shortfalls in terms of conceptual understanding of preservation process. The exploration of preservation processes at the national level (India) was undertaken to compare and understand the functioning of Bombay's preservation model in the bigger frame of context. With this extensive research of historic preservation processes at India and Bombay, it was realized the preservation process for the city lacks conceptual understanding of historic values.

Therefore seminal works by Alois Riegl and J. B. Jackson were studied to provide meaningful critique and recommendations to strengthen the preservation process for the city of Bombay. This thesis aims to work towards providing a meaningful historic narrative for the area

of Dadar West. This narrative will be used not only to recognize historic elements but also recommend changes towards its preservation strategies.

The preservation guidelines for the city seem to lack key conceptual understanding, and this thesis especially plans to amend the situation by providing recommendations to strengthen the preservation process for the city. The city of Bombay and its metropolitan area use archaic laws to manage their historic resources. The document used to guide the preservation process is not extensive. This thesis will work towards recommending solutions for a holistic preservation guideline for the city of Bombay.

The next chapter of this thesis aims to provide a brief introduction to the historic evolution of the city of Bombay. It will start by looking at the seven sparsely populated islands and work its way up to the present megacity of Bombay. It will explore and illustrate the evolution of Dadar West and its dynamic interactions with the larger context of Bombay city.

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORY OF BOMBAY'S EVOLUTION

Evolution of the City

The city of Bombay and its metropolitan area has a population of around twenty million, making it one of the most populous urban centers in India. The city is known for its high urban density and for its role as the economic capital of the country. Bombay generates 33 percent of the country's income tax, 60 percent of its customs duties, 20 percent of central excise, and 40 percent of foreign trade.⁵ The city also exudes an image of glamour and fame, as it is also home to the legendary Indian movie industry "Bollywood." The abovementioned traits, although synonymous with present-day Bombay, did not exist just a few centuries ago. The seven islands were miniscule in terms of landmass and were surrounded by shallow sea, restricting the land use to rice and coconut cultivation. The area did not even appear on political maps of the native kingdom or those of the invading foreign armies, until the twelfth century. The area was little more than an archipelago of seven quaint islands off the western coast of India.

Although the islands were not an important part of the political maps, they were not devoid of human habitation. The area of present-day Bombay has yielded archeological artifacts including flint stones and other tools, which date human habitation on the islands to the Stone Age.⁶ Unfortunately, apart from those finds there are no other traces of human habitations from

⁵ Ram B. Bhagat and Gavin W. Jones, "Population Change Migration in Mumbai Metropolitan Region: Implication of Planning and Governance," *Asia Research Institute*, Working Paper Series No. 201, (2013): 3.

⁶ S. M. Edwards, *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, Volume II*. Bombay, India: Times Press 1909, reprinted with preface by B.G. Kunte, (Pune, India: The Government Photozinc Press, 1978), 2. [The reference just mentions Stone Age with no further details]

that era. Scholars in anthropology and history unanimously agree the islands since Stone Age have been inhabited by small population that earned subsistence by shallow sea fishing and hunting in the surrounding jungles, but they never created an empire of any substantial magnitude.⁷ The general landscape of the islands would have been a dense forest of *Acacia catechu* surrounded by shallow sea.⁸ The first traces of dynastic establishments in the area date back to eighth to sixth century B.C. by the southward migrating Aryan decedents (Aryans are migrating tribes from Europe, who seem to have settled Indian roughly 1800 BCE).⁹ By third century B.C. the Maurya Empire (located in the north of India) had established control over the area north of Bombay. The area had major seafaring trade activities with the Near East kingdoms.¹⁰

With the fall of Mauryas, the area of Bombay and surroundings as ruled under the Hindu kings (Dravidians) from the south of India.¹¹ As the *Gazetteer volume 3* states, the possession of the islands as exchanged among the native kings of south India until succumbing to the invading Islamic forces (Sultanate of Gujarat) from the north (present day Gujarat State in India) beginning in the twelfth century.¹² Although the Islamic powers gained control of Bombay and its surrounding area, their establishments in Bombay were mere outposts. Few physical traces from this period survive, with exceptions such as the shrine of Saint Makhdum Fakih Ali at Mahim, Bombay.¹³ The Islamic rulers from the present-day Gujarat maintained their dominance

⁷ S. M. Edwards, *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, Volume II*. Bombay, India: Times Press 1909, reprinted with preface by B.G. Kunte, (Pune, India: The Government Photozinc Press, 1978), 1.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., 3.

¹⁰ Ibid., 3-4.

¹¹ Ibid., 5-9.

¹² Ibid., 9.

¹³ Ibid., 24.

over the area of Bombay until their kingdom was overtaken by the Mughal Dynasty of Delhi in 1572.¹⁴

The Mughal rulers were not interested in maintaining claims over the area of Bombay. The landmass of present-day Gujarat was incorporated in their empire, but they excluded any landmass south of Gujarat. Before the fall of Gujarat to the Mughals, the Portuguese had signed a treaty with the Sultanate of Gujarat in 1534 that allowed the Portuguese to build a fort on an island off the coast of Gujarat.¹⁵ The territory of present-day Bombay was unclaimed and this void of governance gave an opportunity for the Portuguese to establish their colonial “presence” in Bombay.

Unfortunately for the Portuguese, during the same time they were at constant war with the Islamic seafaring kingdoms from the Middle East.¹⁶ This constant war drained Portugal of any sizable economic resources to continue its colonial projects. In order to maintain its claim over the colonial landmass the Crown of Portugal introduced a feudal system.¹⁷ The islands of Bombay were divided into fiefs, and a tenant was granted the land only if he agreed with religious Catholic conformity and military service to the crown of Portugal. Apart from the religious conformity and military service, the fiefs had an obligation to improve land and practice farming.¹⁸ *The Gazetteer* also explains the two prevalent forms of tenancy terms: *aforemento*, a payment of foro or quit-rent; and *arrendamento*, an annual letting of land on a fixed sum of cash or kind.

¹⁴ Ibid., 23.

¹⁵ Ibid., 24.

¹⁶ Ibid., 27.

¹⁷ Ibid., 30.

¹⁸ Ibid., 31.

By 1534, the Portuguese had defeated the native kingdom that had been established as rulers over the island of Bombay after the fall of the Sultanate of Gujarat. The Portuguese seat of governance was located to the north of present-day Bombay and known as Bassien (or Salsette), the present-day area between Vasai and Thana.¹⁹ Figures 3.1 and 3.2 are maps indicating the seven islands from 1670 and 1843 respectively. The 1843 map details the major activities that were happening at various locations on the islands. The seven islands, starting from the south, were as follows: 1. Colaba, 2. Old Women’s Island, 3. Bombay, 4. Mazagaon, 5. Worli, 6. Parel, and 7. Mahim. Due to the nature of tenant obligations, the islands were used only for agriculture.

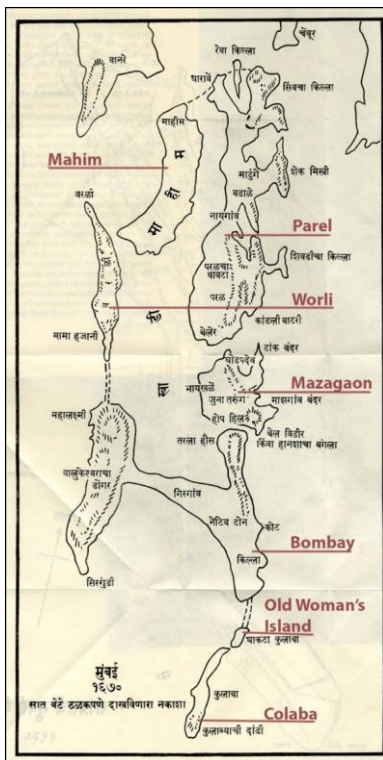


Figure 3.1: Map from 1670, indicating names of the seven islands.

(Source: *Mumbai Nagri*)

¹⁹ Glenn J. Ames, “The Role of Religion in the Transfer and Rise of Bombay, c. 1661 – 1687,” *The Historical Journal* 46, no. 2 (June 2003): 331. doi: 10.1017/S0018246X03003078.

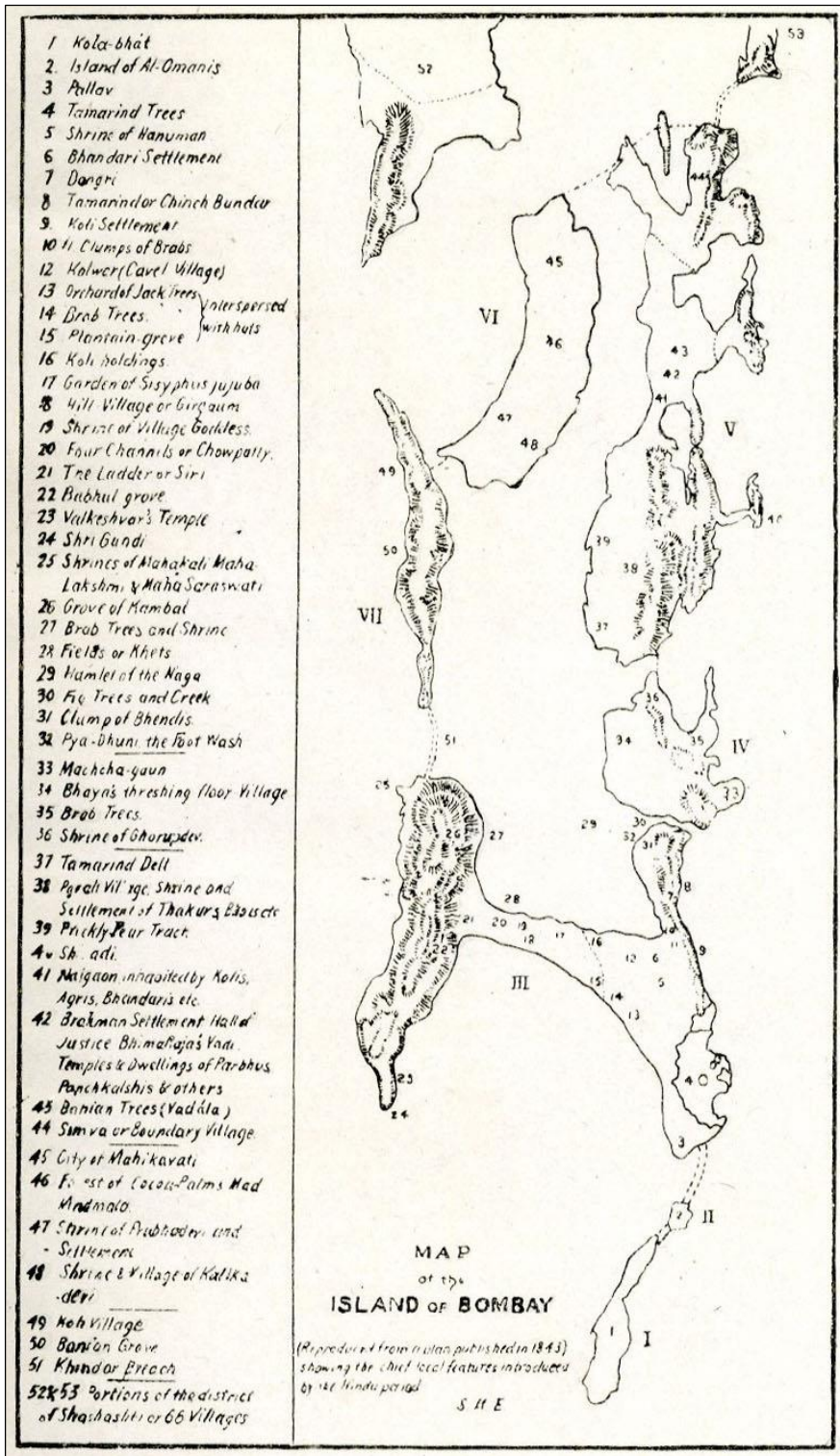


Figure 3.2: Map of seven islands from 1843.

(Source: *The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II*)

The islands were sparsely populated with seven settlements; these settlements were under two chief stations, which can be considered as county seats. The settlements of Mahim and Bombay acted as chief stations; the fiefs and scattered settlers (hamlets) of the island paid their taxes at these chief stations. The chief stations forwarded the produce and taxes to the seat of governance in Salsette Island.²⁰ *The Gazetteer*, commented regarding the island on Mahim that its main produce was coconut and rice. This comment is important for this study and it shall be referred in the subsequent chapter.²¹

Although the major landmass of the islands was claimed by the tenants (fiefs) for the Portuguese crown, it also had a small number of hamlets which were inhabited by the native fishermen or *Koli* community and small Hindu population. The *Koli* communities are the oldest residents of the islands, and some of the sites have been lived in since the Iron Age, as claimed in the *Gazetteer*. There also were settlements that were populated exclusively by the Muslim community. As the *Gazetteer* comments, these lived in seclusion and their main occupation was maritime trade. Apart from the introduction of fiefs (feudal system by Portuguese since the 1534) the landscape had not changed since the thirteenth century. The islands were under Portuguese rule for 125 years, and during this time the social, cultural, or economic patterns did not change much. Due to zealous promotion of the Christian faith on the islands, there were no native immigrants to the islands, as they feared conversion and in extreme cases even persecution.²² The perspective of the Portuguese toward their colonies was one of religious domination. This can be seen in the pre-British landscape as there was neither major city building efforts nor any

²⁰ S. M. Edwards, *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, Volume II*, Bombay, India: Times Press, 1909, reprinted with preface by B. G. Kunte, Pune, India: The Government Photozinco Press, 1978. 31.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 33.

²² Glenn J. Ames, "The Role of Religion in the Transfer and Rise of Bombay, c. 1661-1687," *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (June 2003): 325, doi: 10.1017/S0018246X03003078.

civic building of importance.²³ Due to their interest in promoting the Christian faith, the only markers the Portuguese built were churches. Saint Michaels Church at Mahim is one of the oldest churches in the city. A church still stands on the same location the original church once stood, but there is no physical evidence of original built fabric. Another church, the Nossa Senhora de Salvaco (better known as Salvation Church or Portuguese church) was built by the Portuguese on Mahim Island in 1596.²⁴ As mentioned earlier, the Portuguese primary intention was the spread of Christianity, and economic activity was a secondary objective. As stated in the literature review chapter, there is a lack of detailed historic records of pre-British Bombay, but from the scattered information in the *Gazetter* and articles by Ames and Karmerkar the Portuguese colonies had a very rural character. Food production (farming) was the main source of income, and major land use was employed for it. The Portuguese did not take up any city improvement projects or schemes that would attract economic activity.²⁵ This made the Portuguese land rich but cash poor. By the late 1500s radical factions amongst the Portuguese clergy disregarded the Portuguese Crown and were in constant dialogue with the French and Dutch, such instances further weakening their control over Bombay.²⁶

The Portuguese were the first European colonizers in India, followed by the Dutch and French. In comparison, the British were late to launch such an endeavor. The British motives during the initial stage of interactions with India were purely economic. In 1579, Thomas Stephens, son of a London based merchant, landed on Indian soil.²⁷ He dispatched a message to his father for bright prospects of trade with India. Multiple attempts were forged by the English

²³ N. R. Phatak, *Mumbai Nagri* (Mumbai, India: Bruhanmumbai Municipal Corporation Publication, 1981), 43.

²⁴ Edwards, *The Bombay City Gazetteer, Volume II*, 38.

²⁵ N. R. Phatak, *Mumbai Nagri* (Mumbai, India: Bruhanmumbai Municipal Corporation Publication, 1981), 44.

²⁶ Edwards, *The Bombay City Gazetteer, Volume II*, 41.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

to establish a safe trade route with India without much success. The London based Merchants recommended that the Queen of England establish trade arrangements with India. On 22nd September 1599, the merchants formed the “Association of Merchants of Adventure.” The Queen approved of this organization in 1600, and the first voyage with a sole purpose of trade was initiated in 1601.²⁸ The success of this 1601 expedition spurred attempts to secure a permanent trade arrangement with India.

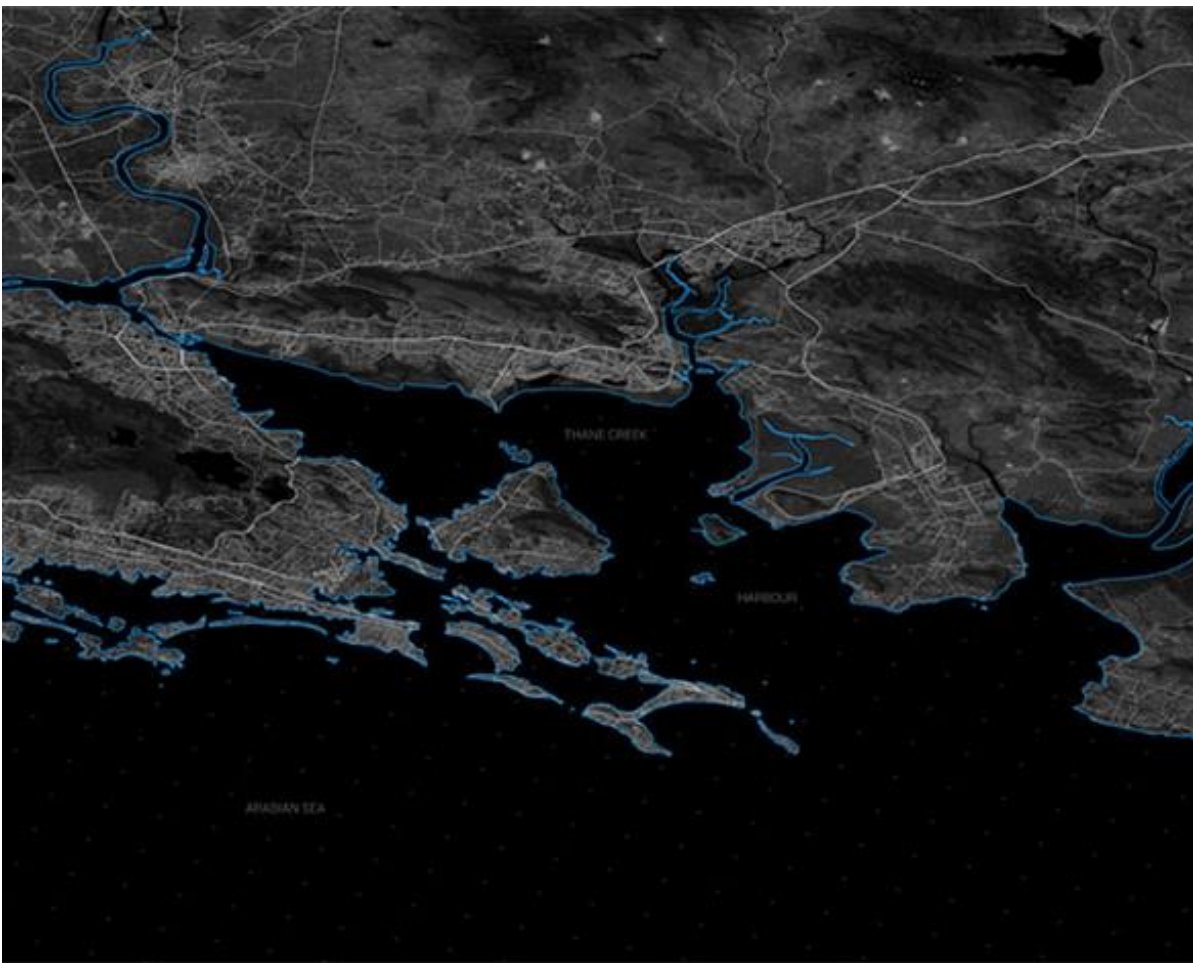


Figure 3.3: Seven Islands of Bombay and Environs, from 1670.

(Source: <http://www.noel-murphy.com/rotch/2013/08/19/evolutionary-mumbai-making-of-the-island-city/>)

²⁸ Edwards, *The Bombay City Gazetteer, Volume II*, 43.

In 1612 a shipment of lead and iron was dispatched for Surat, Gujarat, India, to win favor of the Mughals, which would allow the British to set up a trading post in their territory. The Mughals denied this proposal. Mughals did not have a strong navy and did not monitor activities on the sea. The Portuguese, although they did not have much of a landmass under them (just a fort at Diu, Gujarat), maintained supremacy over the seas. In this initial period the Portuguese denied the English petition to establish a colony. Despite this, the English anchored safely on a tiny sandbar off the coast of Surat, Gujarat.²⁹ By 1612-13 the English had a representative at the Mughal court in Delhi and with this strategic advantage over other European colonists the English were granted the right to establish their trading outpost at Surat.³⁰ This act of defiance and strategic coalition by the British laid the foundation of their empire in India. Although the English established themselves on the Indian landmass, the locations (trading post and sea access) were on Mughal territory and the constant threat of other European powers made the English fear to tread the seas. To remedy this, the British started to seek ideal locations on the western coast of India that could be claimed by them and avail the sea trade and provide a geographical advantage over their rival powers. Soon the English realized the strategic advantage of Bombay, an archipelago separated on the east side by a deep and calm bay. Although the Portuguese had the claims over the islands of Bombay, they were weak with limited resources, too financially weak to ward off any substantial attack. This precarious position of the Portuguese was self-inflicted, due to the zealous promotion of the Christian faith.³¹ Knowing this, in 1626 the British and Dutch joined forces to overthrow Portuguese off the Islands of Bombay. Historians state this attack was successful only in destroying a few structures on the

²⁹ Edwards, *The Bombay City Gazetteer, Volume II*, 43.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

³¹ Ames, "Transfer and Rise of Bombay," 317-318, and Phatak, *Mumbai Nagri*, 61.

island of Bombay, as the Portuguese, informed and intimidated by this attack, had retreated to their stronghold of Bessein (Salsette.)³² The death of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan in 1658 compelled the East India Company to pressure the British crown to secure a safe landmass on the western coast of India.



Figure 3.4: Portraits of Charles II of England and Catharine of Portugal

(Source: *Mumbai Nagri*)

During 1654-1659, The East India Company, after much debate and reconnaissance of the western coast of India, chose the islands of Bombay to be their secure base, from which to initiate trade in the region. The Portuguese were offered by the English to purchase the islands but were denied. The 1660s was a crucial time for both British and Portuguese. The British had just initiated their colonial project in India, and the Portuguese were undermined by their religious policies were too weak to continue holding the colony of Bombay. The constant raids by the Islamic fleets from the Middle East were another reason the Portuguese needed an ally.

³² Phatak, *Mumbai Nagri*, 44-45.

The East India Company, a mercantile organization, pressured the English Crown to pursue the possession of the Bombay Islands. The Portuguese wanting an ally both parties agreed to a “marriage treaty.” A marriage treaty between Charles II King of England and Donna Catharina of Portugal was arranged in 1661. The seven islands were given to the British Crown as a dowry. “The marriage treaty” was drafted by the Portuguese, the English not being involved in any way during the compiling of the document. By agreeing to the marriage treaty, the English had to provide assistance to the Portuguese in defending against any invading armies especially if the Portuguese went to war against the Dutch.³³ Although the marriage treaty was drafted by the Portuguese royalty, the vassals inhabiting the island of Bombay were not content with handing over the islands to the English. There are ample references provided by both the *Gazetteer* and Glenn Ames article “The Role of Religion in Transfer and Rise of Bombay, c. 1661-1687,” that highlight the measures applied by the Portuguese vassals to postpone the handover of islands to the English. Finally, with no more excuses to delay the handover of the island of Bombay, the English presence was established on the seven islands in 1667.³⁴

The marriage treaty prevented the English from proposing any changes to the property holdings on the islands; the rents and laws implemented by the Portuguese had to be respected and abided.³⁵ The Portuguese maintained their ownership of fishing settlements on the islands of Bombay and the area of Salsette, the area north of the seven islands, was still a Portuguese territory, till the Marath army defeated them in 1737. Despite the possession of the islands, the English did not have any detailed documentation (i.e., map) of the islands. To remedy this the English conducted the first survey of the islands in 1670-71.³⁶ Clauses of the marriage treaty

³³ Edwards, *The Bombay City Gazetteer, Volume II*, 47.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 57.

³⁵ Ames, “Transfer and Rise of Bombay,” 331.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 327.

were somewhat followed until 1672. The first major blow to the treaty occurred on September 21-22, 1668 when Sir George Oxenden became the first governor of Bombay. Although Bombay was subordinate to the settlement of Surat, Gujarat, Bombay was provided with a judicial system refuting the Portuguese laws.³⁷ Due to the advent of the English, the islands saw sudden development, a school, customs house, warehouse and quarry were founded on the island of Bombay.³⁸ In 1672 due to political turmoil in northern India, the English shifted their company headquarters from Surat to Bombay. This spurred radical changes in the customs and landscape of the islands. The English had already started to levy taxes on the Portuguese ships passing the English waters.³⁹ Apart from judicial changes implemented by the English, the previously important islands of Mahim and Mazagaon were not selected to establish the nucleus of English settlement. Instead the island of Bombay was selected to establish the fort. The fort was established on the remains of the manor built by Portuguese Garcia de Orta, the manor which was destroyed by the English attack of 1626. As the *Gazetteer* mentions, the island of Bombay also was provided with mint and the first hospital on the islands was built during circa 1680s. The religious fervor that influenced many of the Portuguese policies was completely abolished; on the contrary native population irrespective of their religious faith was encouraged to settle islands of Bombay.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 61.

³⁸ Edwards, *The Bombay City Gazetteer, Volume II*, 59.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 52.

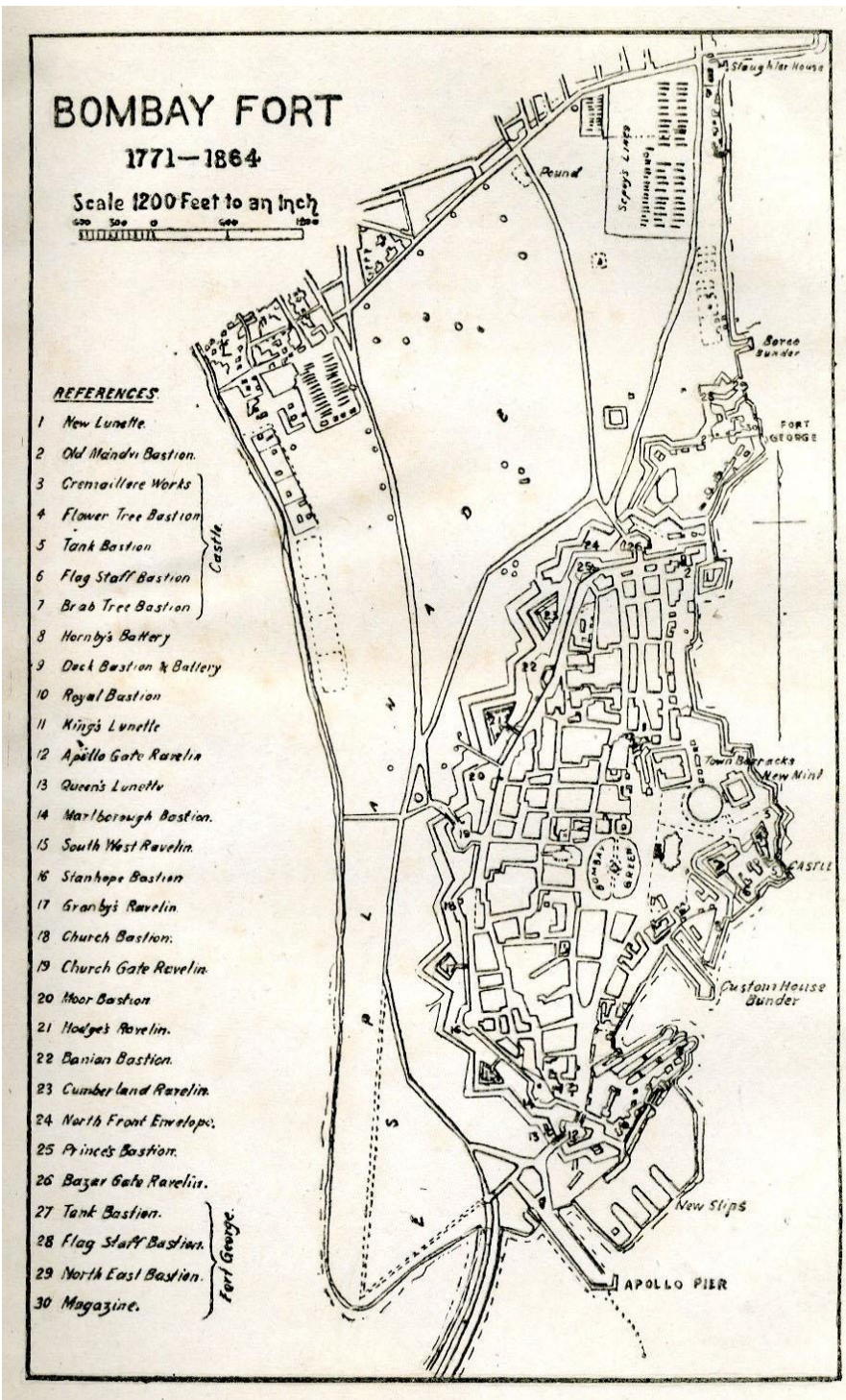


Figure 3.5: Bombay Fort, 1771 - 1864

(Source: *The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II*)

Mahim, which was one of the most important islands under the Portuguese, was not considered for any major establishment by the English. The southern islands were preferred by East India Company, and many of the civic projects already mentioned were located on the southern island of Bombay. The English also had to survive through imminent danger of plague, as there were multiple outbreaks from 1686-1696 on the western coast of India.⁴⁰ The English had also to sustain an attack by the Portuguese in 1689-1690. Both Phatak and *Gazetteer* claim the Portuguese launched this attack because the English were demonstrating religious tolerance and they had abolished the Portuguese laws. The Portuguese fiefs and church priests in Bombay, who were identified as guilty of treason, had their land seized. The seized land was instead used to erect cathedrals for the English community and distributed among the migrating population.⁴¹ The English aided native immigrants of various beliefs and trades to settle in Bombay. The English brought *Wadia* (shipbuilder) community from the area around Surat, to settle in Bombay to help the English build and maintain its fleet.⁴² The English since claiming the islands never deterred from installing civic projects in the city. During the 1670-1680s the fort on Bombay Island was erected, Sion fort was built (located on the northernmost tip of the islands), and Mahim fort was also created. Both the latter projects were located at strategic locations, Sion fort overlooking the only land rout that connected the archipelago to the Portuguese claimed Salsette. Mahim fort overlooked the western shore as a post against any naval threats. All the projects were aimed at providing a sound protection to the settlement of Bombay.

Soon after the plague subsided in about 1710, the English also began city building projects such as building roads to facilitate easy movement for the new settlers.⁴³ 1727 and 1728

⁴⁰ Edwards, *The Bombay City Gazetteer, Volume II*, 71-72.

⁴¹ Phatak, *Mumbai Nagri*, 18.

⁴² Edwards, *The Bombay City Gazetteer, Volume II*.

⁴³ Edwards, *The Bombay City Gazetteer, Volume II*, 44, and Phatak, *Mumbai Nagri*, 18.

reclamation projects at Varli or Worli (breach between the Mahim and Worli islands) and Mahalaxmi Beach (located between Malabar Hill and Worli island) were conducted which added some habitable landmass and promoted a safer road network that was moving northward.⁴⁴ The Marath Kingdom defeated the Portuguese in 1737 and over took Salsette and Bessain, providing some abatement in hostilities toward this English Colony.⁴⁵

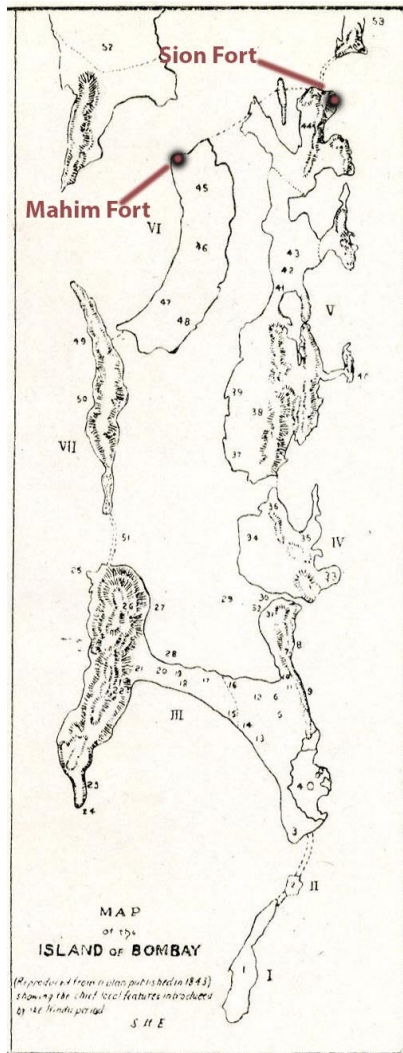


Figure 3.6: Mahim Fort and Sion Fort

(Source: *The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II*)

⁴⁴ Edwards, *The Bombay City Gazetteer, Volume II*, 110-111.

⁴⁵ Phatak, *Mumbai Nagri*, 17.

The English created much more infrastructure and attracted a larger population in 70 years than the Portuguese did in 125 years. The English by now not only created a city that excelled in economic activities but also one that had a just legal system. The legal system was sophisticated for its time, and one also finds mention of building rules from 1748.⁴⁶ The nucleus of the English settlement was the fort it was located on the island of Bombay. The fort was surrounded by walls, construction of which started in 1716-17 and continued till 1760. The wall was brought down in 1862 as the English had created an unrivaled supremacy on the western coast and there was no fear of a surprise attack.⁴⁷ This settlement of a “fort,” however morphologically represented a divide between the Europeans and natives. In Bombay from the very beginning of the settlement, the fort was inhabited by both Europeans and natives. Although economic segregation existed, there was no racial segregation.⁴⁸ The walled settlement in the eighteenth century was a caution against hostile attacks on Bombay, but by the start of nineteenth century the English had achieved supremacy in the area, causing an abatement of hostilities towards this settlement. From this point in time until the wall was brought down in 1862, it acted much like their medieval predecessors in England; also it served territorial demarcation for trade activities.⁴⁹ In 1769 the dock in Mazagaon was completed by availing regular ferries connecting Bombay to other locations on the western coast of India.⁵⁰ The English civic project at Bombay rivaled any European colonial endeavors on the western coast of India. The English policies of freedom to practice desired religion, a just legal system, and tremendous opportunities for

⁴⁶ Edwards, *The Bombay City Gazetteer, Volume II*, 111.

⁴⁷ Preeti Chopra, “Free to move, forced to flee: the formation and dissolution of suburbs in colonial Bombay, 1750-1918,” *Urban History*, Vol. 39, issue 01 (February 2012): 85, doi.10.1017/S0963926811000794.

⁴⁸ Meera Kosambi and John E. Brush, “Three Colonial Port Cities in India,” *Geographical Review*, Vol. 78, no. 1 (Jan., 1988), 33.

⁴⁹ Radhika Savant Mohit and H. Detlef Kammeier, “The Fort: Opportunities for an effective urban conservation strategy in Bombay,” *Cities*, 13, no. 6 (1996): 388.

⁵⁰ Edwards, *The Bombay City Gazetteer, Volume II*, 119.

economic gain had spurred a continuous migration of native population from around the country. Although a building code existed for the city of Bombay as early as 1748, with the continuous huge migrant population construction activities were more than the officials could handle. It was noted that there were encroachments on East India Company lands and to stop this a survey was proposed in 1772.⁵¹



Figure 3.7: Activities on a regular day at Bombay Green, circa 1860.

(Source:

<http://ogimages.bl.uk/images/019/019XZZ000000400U00007000%5BSVC2%5D.jpg>)

⁵¹ Edwards, *The Bombay City Gazetteer, Volume II*, 119

Compared to other colonial cities in India (under the French and Portuguese), the settlement pattern of Bombay was less distinctly segregated on racial grounds. The fort became the center of trade activities and the native settlement settled on the northern edge of the fort and the European settlements in the south of the fort. As mentioned in the article by Kosambi and Brush, in the case of Bombay there was much more interaction between the European and native population.



Figure 3.8: Hornby Vellard, city's first major infrastructure project.[For plan check fig. 3.2, p.28]

(Source: <http://www.noel-murphy.com/rotch/2013/08/19/evolutionary-mumbai-making-of-the-island-city/>)

By circa 1769-70 the government of Bombay felt a need to prohibit development in the zone close to the fort. The Esplanade was developed around the fort and the native settlements

were asked to relocate northward.⁵² In 1773 cotton was started to be exported to China; during the same time the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) laid a platform for Bombay to dominate world cotton exports.⁵³ 1784 saw the construction of Hornby Vellard, one of the most courageous civic projects of its time and the first major planned project for urban improvement.⁵⁴ The breach between Malabar Hill and Worli Island was dammed, stopping the infiltration of a creek at high tide. The project was conducted during the tenure of Governor William Hornby. The term Vellard was created by a spin on the Portuguese term “vellado” meaning fence. Projects like these helped the northward expansion of the city and accommodation of the huge numbers of migrants. In 1785 the Marine Board was established to survey and control developmental activity along the coast.

The northward expansion that started in 1710 never subsided, and in 1798-1803 the Sion Causeway was built to connect the island city of Bombay to the mainland of India.⁵⁵ By 1803 this road connection extended to the Deccan Plateau, the cotton producing region in close proximity to Bombay. The period of 1820-1860 as crucial for the expansion of Bombay city, as the English had pacified any European powers in close proximity to Bombay and surpassed them in controlling trade on the western coast of India. This dominance in trading activities by the English made Bombay one of the richest settlements on the western coast of India and in turn helped the city’s growth. The fall of Maratha Kingdom in 1818 was also an important event that assured emancipation of attacks on Bombay City.⁵⁶ To avoid any further act of aggression, the

⁵² Edwards, *The Bombay City Gazetteer, Volume II*, 119.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 120.

⁵⁴ Kidambi, *The Making of an Indian Metropolis*, 33.

⁵⁵ Kidambi, *Making of an Indian Metropolis*, 132.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

English signed a treaty with the ruling classes (princely states, i.e. Kolhapur) of the adjoining area.⁵⁷ This laid the ground for the rampant economic development of Bombay.

Foreseeing the city's growth, the authorities tried to plan expansion of the city on a gridded format, but the rapid commercial growth fueled a haphazard, ad-hoc development.⁵⁸ As the population was growing at a phenomenal rate and the density of native towns was skyrocketing, water shortage in summer months became regular. Famines in 1824 led to the formation of a "Committee of Tanks and Wells." This committee dug wells and created or extended ponds on the islands of Bombay and Mahim.⁵⁹ This helped the northward migration of the native population. As the *Bombay Gazetteer*, states, by 1838 all seven islands were well connected.⁶⁰ The European settlement and the native rich settlement were concentrated in the south islands, close to the fort area. The native towns were just north of the fort and had tremendous densities. Kidambi in his book cites sources which state that a single house was inhabited by 43 individuals. The population density drastically decreased as one moved northwards on the other islands.

The population on the other islands mostly consisted of native people, and the landscape was dominated by agricultural activities. Europeans migrated to the northern islands, but they only came for the summer months. Since Bombay's inception it was composed of two parts, the "White Town" and the "Black Town." The power division between the two parts was highly unequal; the activities associated with these towns represented the disparity. The white town, located on the island of Bombay, had the castle, secretariat, court houses, arsenals, mint, and docks. The black towns were compact in size yet housed tremendous numbers of residents. The

⁵⁷ Edwards, *The Bombay City Gazetteer, Volume II*, 128.

⁵⁸ Kidambi, *The Making of an Indian Metropolis*, 33.

⁵⁹ Edwards, *The Bombay City Gazetteer, Volume II*, 152.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 143.

native towns showed no separation of spaces for living and working. The white town, located in the south of the city, represented a modern economy (i.e., international trade of cotton and opium), and the native town represented the domestic economy (i.e., the local traders exchanging local goods)⁶¹ There was no comparison between white towns and native (black) towns when it came to amenities such as open space. The white towns were spacious, and native towns were dense with a dearth of open spaces. The famous planner Patrick Geddes commented that native towns had overcrowded spaces not fit for human habitation. Despite this situation the city since its inception by the English never failed to attract a huge population based on the lure of economic activity. The authorities knew the city would not be able to keep this pace of progress if the disparity between these two settlements was not amended. The subsequent steps taken toward improvement had dual motives: to provide amenities to the population; and also to create an infrastructure that would help the industrial growth of Bombay. The first step was to form an organization to guide and manage the city's development. To further this cause the city limits were laid out for the first time in 1864.⁶²

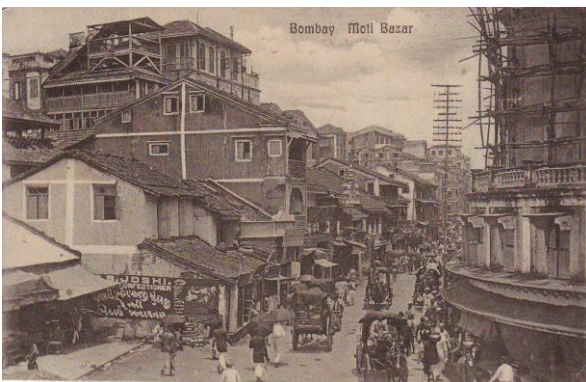


Figure 3.9: Street view of a Native Town or Old Town, circa 1860.

(Source: http://wiki.fibis.org/images/9/9c/Bombay_-_Moti_Bazar.JPG)

⁶¹ Mariam Dossal, *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities: Planning of Bombay City, 1845-1875*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, 16-17.

⁶² Edwards, *The Bombay Gazetteer, Volume I*, 30-31.

The city was divided into eleven areas to create ease of management. The Conservancy Board which was originally in charge of this activity was dissolved in 1858 in order to create an operation under the Municipal Commissioner.⁶³ This form of city management was in operation, for just under a year, until 1865, eventually making way for the Bombay Municipal Corporation, a more democratic (participatory) form of city improvement and governance.

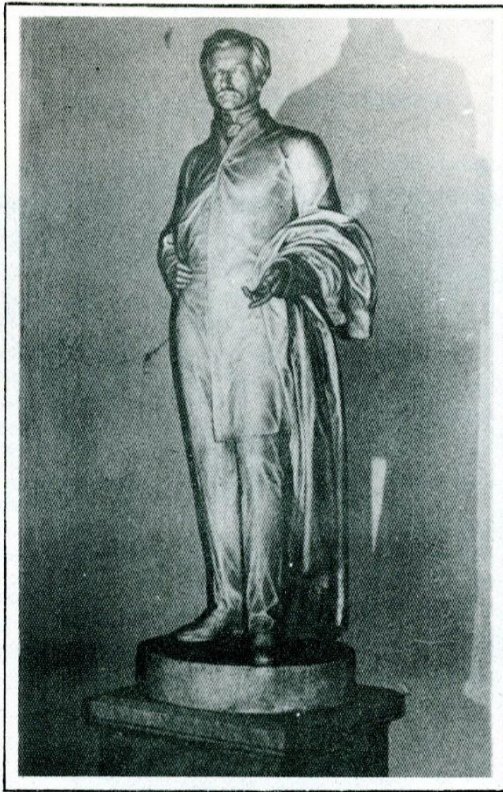


Figure 3.10: Bartle Frere, Governor of Bombay (1862-1867). Many ambitious projects were initiated under his term as a governor and most of them saw a fruitful end.

(Source: *Mumbai Nagri*)

⁶³ Edwards, *The Bombay Gazetteer, Volume II*, 155.

The Works: Reclamation, Railways and Water Works Reclamation

Reclamation

The three processes that have shaped the Bombay we see today are reclamation, railways, and water works, not listed in any specific order as these elements were planned and executed in small increments. Reclamation of the shallow seas surrounding the island had been proposed since the mid-eighteenth century. As mentioned earlier, Hornby Vellard, a causeway that not only provided northward road connections but also acted as a dam to stop the sea water infiltration of the islands, was a major project for its time, yet had a limited impact. The account of Mr. Grose from 1755 states, “In the middle between Parell, Mahim, Sion and Bombay is a hollow wherein is received a breach, running at three several places, which drowns 40,000 acres of good land (the Flats), yielding nothing else but samphire, athwart which from Parel to Mahim are the ruins of a stone causeway made by Pennannees.”⁶⁴ A reclamation project was not envisioned as a comprehensive scheme until 1843.⁶⁵ The entire reclamation scheme was broken into small phases, and private firms worked alongside the government authorities to execute the projects. The Governor of Bombay, Sir Henry Edward Bartle Frere (1862-1867) was instrumental in mustering faith and funds from the central government. His term coincided with the American Civil War (1861-1865) that brought a large economic gain for the city that was important for Bombay’s development. During the four years of war the prices for cotton skyrocketed creating huge profits for traders in Bombay. These years were also crucial for Bombay’s growth. The reclamation endeavors from 1861-1864, added 22 square miles of valuable land to Bombay and also provided locations to build new docks, mills, factories, and

⁶⁴ Edwards, *The Bombay Gazetteer, Volume I.*, 6-7.

⁶⁵ Mariam Dossal, *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities: Planning of Bombay City, 1845-1875*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, 150-151.

warehouses, which were needed to sustain the economic growth of the city.⁶⁶ Despite detailed figures of reclaimed acreage, none of the documents specify the location, but as they mention docks and mills it would have been on the Eastern waterfront of Bombay.

Roads and Railways

Since the English made Bombay their center for economic gains they never halted their improvement projects. The road building process that was first initiated in 1710 was a priority until the railways were installed in 1853. Yet the road building process never subsided, as new roads were laid in all possible directions to aid easy connectivity and in turn economic growth of the city. Roads connecting to the cotton rich region in close proximity of Bombay were laid as far back as 1803.⁶⁷

By the early 1800s the British had undermined all major native rulers (dynasties) and controlled the entire Indian subcontinent. This created social unrest in the native population and caused the Indian Rebellion of 1857. After crushing this rebellion, the British had ended all native empires and created their empire which spanned present-day India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Myanmar (Burma). To be able to reap maximum benefits from the landmass, a road network through India was planned for ease of extraction for the British. Although the roads were necessary to maintain the empire they had their shortfalls as they were relatively slow and prone to easy tampering. To overcome these shortfalls railways were installed. As many of the civic projects installed by British had a dual purpose, so did the railways. Railways were installed not only to procure raw materials but also for connectivity for the army to stifle any discontent. This view is supported by Dossal in her book *Imperial Design and Indian Realities*. After 1857, when Bombay was transferred from the British East Indian Company to the British Crown, this power

⁶⁶ Ibid., 164.

⁶⁷ Edwards, *The Bombay Gazetteer, Volume II*, 141.

shift in governance structure that did not deter any course of improvements planned for the city of Bombay.

Because it was the most prosperous city in British India, it was obvious that Bombay would be selected to receive first railway tracks in India. The train track, 21 miles in length from Bombay to Thane, was inaugurated on 16th April 1853. This was the beginning of the rampant growth of the Indian railway system. By 1870 railroads spanned more than 1200 miles connecting Bombay and Calcutta (present-day Kolkata).⁶⁸ This rampant growth of railways in India was not only for dominance but also for economic gains.

The idea to install railways in India was laid by a group of merchants in London. In 1845 these merchants created a company under the name Great Indian Peninsula (GIP).⁶⁹ The GIP Company heavily funded the railway project since its planning stages. With this strong economic support the 21 mile long track was laid by 1853. The Bombay Baroda and Central India Railway (BBCI) which planned on connecting the city of Bombay to cotton rich lands of Gujarat, followed the establishment of the rail system of GIP.⁷⁰ The BBCI line connected Ahmadabad, in Gujarat and Bombay by 1864.⁷¹ The increase in cash flow in terms of trade and the investments from English capitalist ceased after the end of American Civil War in 1865.⁷² By now the railways lines connected Bombay to disparate parts of the country. The railways not only created a conduit that confirmed a continuous flow of raw materials to Bombay, but large number of natives came to settle the city.

⁶⁸ Dossal, *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities*, 1991, 177.

⁶⁹ Dossal, *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities*, 176.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 177.

⁷¹ Edwards, *The Bombay Gazetteer, Volume III*, 161.

⁷² Kidambi, *The Making of an Indian Metropolis*, 2007,

The years of 1861-1864 had the most fervent market activities in Bombay. During this time many native Indian merchants amassed huge quantity of wealth. When the cotton economy of Bombay got hit at the end of Civil war and collapsed, these native elites of Bombay stepped forward to sustain the growth of the city. Institutes such as Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art (1857), the Bombay University (1857), Grand Medical College (1845), and Bombay Law schools were established.⁷³ With these came other amenities that attracted migrants from rural areas, such as better schools and facilities for health care. But all these institutions were located in close proximity to the fort, keeping the growth of the city restricted to the southern part of the city.

Water Works

Bombay is not located in proximity to any potable water body, wells and ponds on islands had served as the sole sources of water and since the days of Portuguese rule. The English created a committee that was geared towards digging wells and maintaining sources of water supply. The tremendous increase in population during the 1860s, however, rendered this provision insufficient. By 1864 the population of Bombay had peaked at 816,000 from 516,000 in 1849, nearly a 158 percent increase.⁷⁴ Schemes were drawn, and tanks and ponds were created within the Bombay city limits. Even these failed to mitigate the water shortage. The Vihar (Vehar) Waterworks proposal, drafted in the 1850s, was one of the biggest municipal projects until that date. The native merchants openly debated with the municipal authorities on the need of this project. The merchant community was afraid the project was a burden on tax payers.⁷⁵ Despite opposition, the Vihar project was executed by 1861. This project brought nine and a half

⁷³ Edwards, *The Bombay Gazetteer, Volume II*, 170-170.

⁷⁴ Dossal, *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities*, 80.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 102-103.

million gallons of water per day,⁷⁶ a phenomenal increase as compared to the quality of water supplied by wells and tanks within the city limits. The project coincided with the American Civil War, which caused tremendous growth of the city. The Tulsi Dam project was planned and executed in 1872-1879. This project brought another four-and-a-half million gallons a water per day.⁷⁷ During the next couple of years this project also proved unable to quench the thirst of Bombay city, so Tansa Waterworks was planned and executed between 1885-1892.⁷⁸

Effects of Reclamations, Railways and Water Works

Trains connecting Bombay to the cotton-rich regions of India ensured a steady supply of cotton to Bombay. Coupled with an excellent harbor, Bombay soon became one of the biggest suppliers of cotton. Statistics from 1870-1890 show that cotton export from ports of Bombay increased by 529%.⁷⁹ Opium was another product that brought in huge revenues.⁸⁰ Native traders (i.e., non-English) gained high profits on both these products and amassed fortunes. The Indian elite merchants started to invest in mills that produced the final product of cloth rather than exporting the raw material to textile mills in England. The rail lines also provided (non-English) merchants with another reason to diversify: the material reached Bombay sooner as compared with the road network, but it also needed huge capital to sustain himself with market competition. The larger European firms had the resources to buy in bulk, forcing native merchants out of the business.⁸¹ Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company Mills, was operational in 1854, making it the first mill in Bombay.⁸² The years 1870-80 saw a large number

⁷⁶ Kidambi, *The Making of an Indian Metropolis*, 39.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 69.

⁸⁰ Christine E. Dobbin, *Urban Leadership in Western India: Politics and Communities in Bombay City 1840-1885*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1972, 2.

⁸¹ Kidambi, *Making of the Indian Metropolis*, 20.

⁸² Edwards, *The Bombay Gazetteer, Volume II*, 154.

of mills develop on the recently reclaimed lands (the flats).⁸³ Another reason for sustained increase in exports from Bombay was the Suez Canal, which opened in 1869, connecting the city to the European market. The growth of the city both in terms of economy and population forced the English officials to devise a system of management that would be overarching the varied needs of a growing city. This situation laid the foundation for the Municipal Corporation, which was implemented in 1854.

The development schemes and management of citywide services (amenities) were controlled by the municipal corporation. Although the population of Bombay was increasing, decision-making positions were controlled by the elites of the society. Between 1888 and 1923 only one percent of the population had the right to vote.⁸⁴ The composition of the municipal corporation members supports the statement just made. Fifty-one of the seventy-two members of the municipal corporation were prominent businessmen and industrial elites.⁸⁵ The document further gives the breakup of the committee as follows, seventeen landlords, fifteen mill owners, seven large merchants, and twelve European businessmen.

By now the municipality had detailed plans of water supply, drainage, and road network, but they were restricted to the southern part of Bombay. The flats that were recently reclaimed had already accumulated population, but the services had not reached these areas as yet. There were no comprehensive schemes that segregated population on ethnicity or nationality. But certain areas of the city were preferred by the economically strong class. With the municipal offices held by the economically stronger class, their part of the city had the updated services. The areas inhabited by the economically weaker class were slow to update the latest services

⁸³ Kidambi, *The Making of an Indian Metropolis*, 70.

⁸⁴ Caroline E. Arnold, "The Bombay Improvement Trust, Bombay Millworkers and the Debate over Housing Bombay's Millworkers, 1896 – 1918," *Essay in Economic and Business History*, (2012), 110.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 110.

(e.g., covered sewers). During 1865-68 laws were passed to have a more even development of the city.⁸⁶ Yet the Health Officers repeatedly had to remind the Municipal Corporation about the poor sanitary conditions in the area of Byculla and Parel as late as the 1890s.⁸⁷

The first record of plague affecting Bombay was in 1686-96, followed by a long hiatus. The city was affected once again in circa 1790, and then again in 1890s. Even with this regularity of such deadly epidemics looming over Bombay, the immigration of large numbers of native migrants never subsided. Immigrant populations stayed low during the active years of plagues, but picked up once the epidemics subsided. Apart from the plague epidemics which were regular, the city of Bombay was never free from the clutches of cholera, typhoid, influenza, and malaria.⁸⁸ The areas most affected by these epidemics were the highly dense native towns. The Bombay Municipal Corporation, which was the active organization in the city since 1850s, by the 1880s was overwhelmed by the amount of work and was barely able to manage the city's infrastructure. The plague of 1896 changed this dynamic, with the mortality due to plague in the last part of the 1890s being as high as 1,000 individuals per week.⁸⁹ These high numbers were sustained for a prolonged time, leading the corporation into action. In 1898 another organization was initiated under the name of the Bombay Improvement Trust (BIT). The BIT was modeled on English and Scottish town planning models. The BIT was made legally superior to the corporation when it came to claiming land. The primary objective of the trust was to decongest the native towns by reclaiming land and creating new housing schemes in the northern parts of the city.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Edwards, *The Bombay Gazetteer, Volume II*, 186.

⁸⁷ Kidambi, *The Making of an Indian Metropolis*, 40.

⁸⁸ Rajnarayan Chandavarkar, *History, Culture and the Indian City*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 51.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁹⁰ Aronld, "Debate over Housing Bombay's Millworkers," 110.

Before such organizations were appointed to lay out new towns, the immigrant population had concentrated in the black or old towns. These old towns were located just outside the fort walls. Urban infrastructure projects such as Hornby Vellard (1784), which connected the densely settled southern islands to the sparsely populated northern islands, alleviated this problem to a certain extent. Although the vellard provided the connection, the land was not yet reclaimed. The reclamation projects happened piecemeal and were active since the mid-eighteenth century reclaiming proportions suitable for human habitation. The settlements that were created on these reclaimed lands were identified as new towns. The municipal administration included development schemes for both old towns and new towns. The administration drafted schemes to have a planned layout for the new towns (i.e., orthogonal streets). However, these schemes could not be implemented due to the high volumes of immigrants that caused rapid development, leading to organic haphazard growth.

In Search of New Lands

Before the seven islands were merged together to form the city of Bombay, the northern islands such as Worli and Mahim were sparsely populated. The land use of these islands was dominated by agriculture and horticulture. In the early nineteenth century, when the municipal corporation was looking at land masses that could be utilized to settle the growing population of Bombay, these agriculture dominated islands were defined as oart districts (rice fields or coconut groves). These oart districts or garden plots, although they had houses, had a low human (housing) density. The municipal authorities deemed these “orat” districts unfit for urban dwelling and therefore presumed not to change the land use. Therefore these oart districts were never surveyed in detail nor had any schemes drawn for them.⁹¹ The description of the landscape

⁹¹ Mariam Dossal, *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities: Planning of Bombay City, 1845-1875*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, 23.

of the Mahim area from the mid-seventeenth century will help one understand why this settlements were considered as oart districts “...Mahim are woods of cocoas under which inhabit the Bundaries (those that prune and cultivate them), these hortoes (oarts) being the greatest purchase and estates in the island for several miles together, till the sea breaks in between them,....”⁹²

Since Mahim was dominated by agricultural activity and had a low human population density, it had a relatively large number of water wells and tanks. During the water crisis of 1855, the government officials planned to relocate people from native towns to alleviate this crisis.⁹³ Dossal states that the residential population of Mahim (referring to Mahim Woods as well) was ready to allow people to settle at their properties until the water crisis was resolved. The relocation did not happen in 1855, but by March 1856 the water shortage was so drastic that some of the population from old towns had to relocate to the Mahim Woods. Dossal further states that when the rain resumed in 1856 most of the population migrated back to the native towns. With the introduction of railways and a decent road network, these areas started to attract more settlers.

During the later part of nineteenth century the elite class of Bombay had summer homes in these oart districts, with spacious gardens.⁹⁴ The structures were erected at will, so the layout had no strict order to the settlement. The background of continuous coconut groves and the open sea gave the settlement a vernacular character. With the introduction of multiple communication lines (i.e., railways and roads) these areas attracted diverse population including both rich and poor residents. Although both rich and poor lived in close proximity one another, their housing

⁹² Edwards, *The Bombay Gazetteer, Volume I*. 6.

⁹³ Dossal, *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities*, 105.

⁹⁴ Bahurangi Bahudhangi Dadar....

typologies were different. The diary record of Mrs. Postans from 1838 describes the prevalence of summer homes and their whereabouts; the diary entry is as follows “...Girgaum, Byculla, Chintz Poogly, and other places beyond the bazaars [native town that had sprung up beyond the Fort], where European residents have erected groups of pukka built [or of masonry construction], and handsome houses, with excellent gardens and office attached.”⁹⁵ The quote does not mention Dadar, as it predates Dadar’s emergence as a desired location for summer houses. If it had been written during in the late 1800s, however it would have almost certainly mentioned Dadar.

During late 1860s and early 1870s, the flats or the shallow sea that separated the islands was completely reclaimed. With the reclaimed lands connecting the seven islands, the island city of Bombay was formed. The population growth of Bombay was unrelenting, and to maintain sustained growth the municipal authorities in 1864 incorporated the recently reclaimed areas previously considered outside the city limits. This was followed in 1865 by the enactment of Municipal Act II, which divided the area of the city into eleven wards and granted legislative powers to the municipal organization to negotiate land values.⁹⁶ Mahim Woods and Matunga were considered part of the city. In 1872 the eleven sections were consolidated into six wards.⁹⁷

By 1880 all the services necessary for the growth of industrial activities were in place: all the major water works project were in place; railways had penetrated the cotton growing regions of India; there was a steady supply of unskilled rural migrants; the American Civil War boom had made a few Native India merchants wealthy; and reclamation projects had added a large swath of landmass to the city. The rich native class took advantage of this situation and instead of being providers of raw materials they involved themselves in creating the final product, the

⁹⁵ Preeti Chopra, “Free to move, forces to flee: the formation and dissolution of suburbs in colonial Bombay, 1750-1918,” *Urban History*, Volume 39, Issue 01, (February 2012), 92.

⁹⁶ Edwards, *The Bombay Gazetteer, Volume I*, 30-31.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 31.

cloth. This started a boom in the establishment of mills owned and operated by Indians. The period 1860-70 saw the addition of sixty textile mills.⁹⁸

This boom drastically changed the landscape of the island city. Mr. J. M. McLean mentioned from 1875, “Mahim palm-grooves, stretch the Flats bristling with many lofty chimney-stack and dark with masses of huge steam-factories, the most distant being the Kohinur mill at Dadar and the Jacob mill, and northward of these lie the lately built villas of Matunga and the sinuous line of the new Port Trust Railway.”⁹⁹ This hierarchy of the Europeans and wealthy Indians that resided in close proximity of the mill area (Matunga, located north of Dadar), raised concerns against this industrial land use, but the push for industrialization was so strong that even the economically powerful of the society had to back down. The affluent class moved to the residential areas along the coastal areas of Malabar Hill in the southern part of the city.¹⁰⁰ The industrialization of the landscape could not be abated for another reason. Much of the land that was converted to industrial use was owned by the Indian community (non-elite). Either the land was owned by Bhandari community, a caste of people involved in palm grove maintenance, or the Parsi community. The lands were granted to the Parsi Community, Wadias (the shipbuilders), by the English government in 1783, 1821, and 1885, the grant being made to the Wadia family for their excellent shipbuilding services at Bombay.¹⁰¹ The land granted was either *fora land* or *inami land*. *Fora* lands were also known as “Salt Batty” (salt marsh). As salt batty lands were less productive, these lands were not taxed heavily. As the *Gazetteer* states, these lands in the early 1700s had a fixed amount of taxation. This taxation was never amended, and therefore the

⁹⁸ Prashant Kidambi, *The Making of an Indian Metropolis: Colonial Governance and Public Culture in Bombay, 1890-1920*, Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007, 20.

⁹⁹ Edwards, *The Bombay Gazetteer, Volume I*, 16-17.

¹⁰⁰ Preeti Chopra, “Free to move, forced to flee: the formation and dissolution of suburbs in colonial Bombay, 1750-1918,” *Urban History*, Vol. 39, issue 01 (2012): 92, doi.10.1017/S0963926811000794.

¹⁰¹ Edwards, *The Bombay Gazetteer, Volume I*, 374.

fora lands created very little revenue. The word Inami has its root in Marathi. *Inam* means gift, therefore inami land means gifted. As these lands were gifted by the British to the Wadias, these lands were not taxed. Fora lands were located at Byculla, Parel, Worli, Upper and Lower Mahim, Dadar and Matunga and equaled 3408.7 acres (5.5 square miles). The inami lands covered roughly 878 acres (1.4 square miles).¹⁰²

As mentioned earlier the railways drastically changed the landscape of Bombay. The stations on the railroads were the new nucleus of urban settlements. By the early 1900s these lands were subjected to ad-hoc development, as huge numbers of migrants came to settle the oart lands after the 1896 plague outbreak.¹⁰³ The description of landscape from the same time paints a picture of Worli having 46 mills whereas Mahim still was thickly covered with coconut palms.¹⁰⁴ The same description states that the area between Parel station on the south and Dadar station on the north was thickly populated.

The dense settlement caused numerous public health problems including cholera, typhoid, and malaria, however plague was the most dreaded of all. With the outbreak of plague in 1896, the railroad and the tram systems helped even the economically weak section to migrate northwards as they fled the plague-infested settlement of old/ native towns. 1896-1901 census data indicated the city of Bombay lost 113,818 individuals due to plague. During the same time 86,182 individuals fled the city in fear of death. To halt this exodus of population temporary camps were set up in Mahim, Dadar, and Sion.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Preeti Chopra, "Free to move, forced to flee: the formation and dissolution of suburbs in colonial Bombay, 1750-1918," *Urban History*, Vol. 39, issue 01 (2012): 94, doi.10.1017/S0963926811000794.

¹⁰⁴ Edwards, *The Bombay Gazetteer, Volume I*, 30-31.

¹⁰⁵ Chopra, "Suburbs in Colonial Bombay," 97.

An estimated 20-30 percent of textile millworkers fled the city during 1896-1918.¹⁰⁶ This exodus of millworkers in such numbers strained the pockets of the millowners. This economic strain on the elite class set in motion an array of committees that aimed to remedy this dire situation. The Municipal Corporation and the Bombay Port Trust (BPT) these elite institutions realized there was serious need to improve living conditions in Bombay. In response they passed the City of Bombay Improvement Act 1898, and formed an organization under the name of Bombay Improvement Trust (BIT). The act was a way to unite the two factions of the powers towards a singular goal of city improvement. The colonial authority of the city was dominated by the Europeans, and the provincial government (i.e., Bombay Municipal Corporation) by wealthy Indians.¹⁰⁷

The BIT and Bombay Port Trust (BPT) were actively involved in the city building process, but the congested alleys and overcrowded native towns in south Bombay (old towns) were a prolonged project that kept these organizations busy. With a shortage of housing and a collapsing economy, there were rumors that Bombay's cost of living was going to be more expensive than London.¹⁰⁸ To intervene, the colonial authorities pressured BIT to act on this issue by conducting a survey and using the findings from a survey to guide the city's development. In 1907 a questionnaire was created by the government of Bombay consisting of three questions. The aim of the survey was to plan best approaches in creating a comprehensive development scheme for the city. The three questions were: (1) segregation of areas by income groups, (2) improving channels of communication, and (3) best means of traveling. This questionnaire was distributed to institutes (i.e., Municipal Corporation, Chamber of Commerce,

¹⁰⁶ Arnold, "Debate over Housing Bombay's Millworkers," 105.

¹⁰⁷ Nikhil Rao, *House, but no Garden*, (Minneapolis, MN: The University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 24.

¹⁰⁸ Chopra, "Suburbs in Colonial Bombay," 98.

BPT, GIP, BCCI, and the Indian Merchants Chamber) and each answered it according to their interest.¹⁰⁹ Segregation of the population on economic basis was chosen as the desired developmental goal. Mahim Woods and Worli were rejected as being too far from the native towns that were in close proximity to the fort, and Worli was fouled by the sewage disposal scheme.¹¹⁰ By 1917, proposals were made to reclaim land between Colaba and Backbay located on the southern side of Bombay in order to create a scheme that aimed at housing the wealthy section (i.e., merchants of both Indian and non-Indian ethnicity) of the city. Schemes for creating housing for the poor (i.e., millworkers) were restricted to walking distance from their textile mills. The reason provided by the municipal corporation was that travel needed money, and the poor could not afford it, therefore their housing had to be in close proximity to their workplace. With this logic the millworker housing was concentrated in areas of Parel, Nagpada, and Byculla.¹¹¹ The BIT drafted 33 schemes, out of which Schemes 4-7 were specifically intended to provide housing in recently reclaimed areas.¹¹² Schemes 4 and 7 were aimed at providing housing for the higher income groups. Out of the 33 schemes there was not even single scheme that was planned for housing for a middle income group. Chopra cites that, it was presumed the middle income group would move into locations previously inhabited by the rich. Out of all the schemes planned by BIT, Scheme 4-7 were the most important; with the exception of Scheme 4 and 7, all other schemes were located in the northern section of the city. Making the population move northward was the motive behind these schemes.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Edwards, *The Bombay Gazetteer, Volume II*, 190.

¹¹² Mariam Dossal, "A Master Plan for the City: Looking at the Past," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 40, No. 36 (Sep3-9, 2005), 3898 and Chopra, "Suburbs in Colonial Bombay," 95.

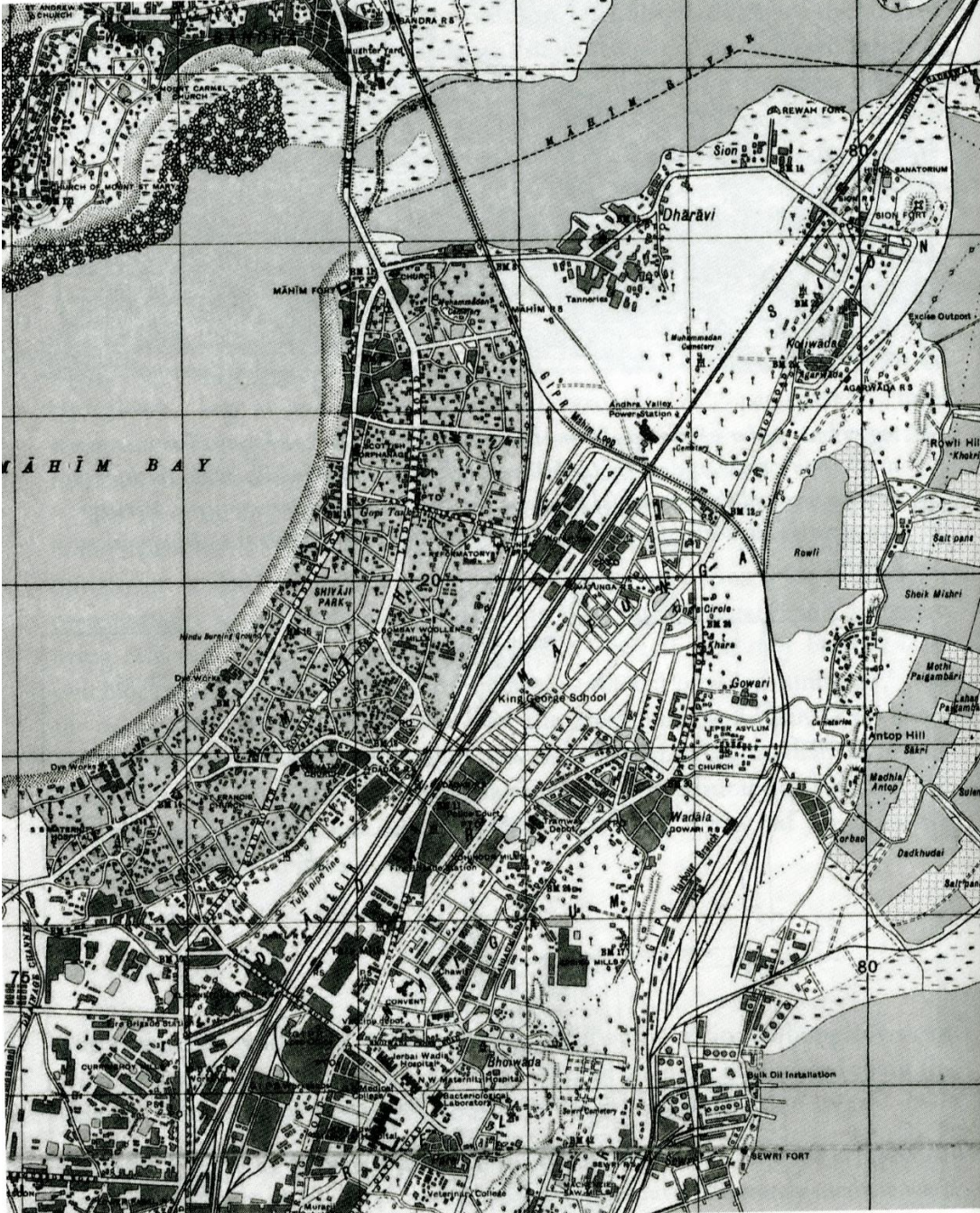


Figure 3.11: The 1933 map of Dadar West organic street pattern and Dadar East Scheme 5 and Scheme 6. The train tracks running north-south divides the area of in Dadar East and Dadar West.

(Source: *House, but No Garden*)

Scheme 5 and Scheme 6 comprised Dadar-Matunga and the Matunga-Sion respectively. Both schemes covered a total area of 720 acres and had 800 assigned building plots.¹¹³ BIT, the authority in charge of the project, knew how important the services (i.e., open space for recreational uses and laid out streets) were for making the new scheme strike a chord with potential residents, so extra efforts were taken so that all the amenities were provided. Because education was supposed to be the new way to achieve prosperity, an area of just more than a square mile had 13 institutions of learning.¹¹⁴ The Dadar – Matunga scheme also had locational advantage, as it was close to the Dadar Railway Station. The Great Indian Peninsula and Bombay, Baroda, and Central India train tracks converged at Dadar making it one of the most desired areas for development.

Complete implementation of the Dadar-Matunga scheme was not possible, as one major component of the scheme, five straight streets connecting to the beach (one and half miles to the west), could not be accomplished. The residents and taxpayers of Dadar West rebuffed Scheme 5's plan to have the five straight streets cutting through their properties. Scheme 5 also proposed a recreational area at the beach, and all these designed elements blatantly slashed through their private properties. Outraged by these design proposals, the residents of Dadar West protested against the scheme. A court ruling went in favor of the residents of Dadar West, stating that if the complete scheme had been implemented it would have compromised their living.¹¹⁵ Although “conceptual” work on Scheme 5 started in 1907, the dispute between the residents of Dadar West and BIT occurred after 1915. Concurrent to this was passing of the New Bombay Town Planning

¹¹³ Shekhar Krishnan, *Empires Metropolis: Money Time and Space in Colonial Bombay, 1870 – 1930*,” Doctoral Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2013, 208 and George Curtis, “The Development of Bombay,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. 69, no. 3528, (July 1921), 567.

¹¹⁴ Prasad Shetty et al., *Housing Typologies in Mumbai* (Mumbai, 2007), e-book, 45.

¹¹⁵ Rao, *House, but No Garden*, 48–49.

Act of 1915. Multiple authors have credited this law with helping the residents rebuff the BIT's scheme and maintain their claims over their properties. Sources also credit Patrick Geddes's concepts as instrumental in forming the said law. The work for Scheme 5 was in full swing by 1921. In 1917 the Parel Dadar tram line extension was constructed based on anticipated increase in ridership due to Scheme 5 and the potential business of train commuters at the Dadar station.¹¹⁶

With the omission of Dadar West from Scheme 5, the area remained relatively unaltered by such planned schemes. This did not make Dadar static, as during the same time it was undergoing dynamic changes of its own course. There were additions of new land uses (i.e., the powerlooms mentioned in Haynes' article, also supported by mentions in Bahurangi Bahudhangi Dadar, and the filling up of tanks to create playgrounds with termination of the Tanks committee stated in 1915).¹¹⁷

Also during the 1920s, another scheme was taking shape on the northwestern edge of Dadar West. The Mahim scheme was being shaped by the Bombay Municipal Corporation. The scheme revolved around an open space, identified as central Mahim Park. Two arterial roads were also proposed to be aligned and widened to a width of 100 feet. Cadell Road and Lady Jamesetji Road were envisioned to be arterial thoroughfares connecting the north to the south of the city.¹¹⁸ The housing along the periphery of the Mahim Park was intended to house economic stronger class. Due to this reason the density of this development was kept low. The architectural typology was adopted that was highly influenced by the art-deco.¹¹⁹ One mile south of the

¹¹⁶ Sandip Hazereesingh, "The Quest for Urban Citizenship: Civic Rights, Public Opinion, and Colonial Resistance in Early Twentieth-Century Bombay," *Modern Asia Studies*, Vol. 34, no. 4 (October 2000): 250-252.

¹¹⁷ Edwards, *The Bombay Gazetteer Volume I*, 68.

¹¹⁸ George Curtis, "The Development of Bombay," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. 69, no. 3528, (July 1921), 570.

¹¹⁹ Kamu Iyer, "Boombay: From Precincts to Sprawl," (Mumbai, India: Popular Prakashan, 2014), 108.

Mahim scheme was the Worli scheme, an undertaking by the Bombay Improvement Trust and Bombay Development Directorate. It covered an area of 1,350,000 square yards. This scheme was one of the unique examples of schemes in which all the three economic sections of the society were planned to have housing units in close proximity. The scheme planned to provide seaside apartments for the elite economic group. Middle income group housing was supposed to be located along the main road (Dr. Annie Besant Road). The working class housing was located away from the main road.¹²⁰ Although the scheme is nearly 100 years old the separation of the economic groups is still evident to the present-day.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the evolution of Bombay from the early 1600s to early 1900s. The chapter also provided various maps and images that would help the reader understand the evolution of Bombay and how a small urban section of Dadar West was created on the secluded island of Mahim. The chapter focused on the early 1900s because it was during this time that Dadar West was rising to prominence. Moreover, the various planning schemes and development projects that were implemented in and around Dadar West during the early 1900s greatly contributed to the typological uniqueness exhibited by the area today. The area's evolution after 1900 will be examined in Chapter 4, which will further focus on the development of architecture and landscapes within Dadar West.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 567.



Figure 3.12: Shown on the map are the Scheme 5 and Scheme 6 by BIT and Worli Scheme, worked by Municipal Corporation and BDD.

(Source: Base map from Google maps)

CHAPTER 4

HISTORIC BUILDINGS AND LANDSCAPES IN DADAR WEST

Any person who has visited Bombay or is acquainted with it knows Dadar. It is considered the heart of the city. The name is synonymous with the bustle of city life. Just a century ago this place was completely the opposite of what it is today. People will be astonished if told that this place was not identified as Dadar but known as *Salvasong*. This name was derived from the church built by Portuguese Franciscans in 1596. The name of the church was Church of Nossa Senhora de Salvacao.¹²¹ Even the English accounts of the area from 1673 to 1698 refer to it as *Salvasong*.¹²² This area was part of Mahim Island, which was predominately covered by coconut palms and rice fields until the early 1900s. For the better part of its history, the island did not have large settlements, nor did it have a harbor for anchoring seafaring vessels of any substantial size. Only small boats could be anchored safely at the bay of Mahim. This geological limitation gave the island anonymity. Although the island housed one of the strategically important settlements during the era of Portuguese rule, the island slipped into anonymity with the advent of the British. One of the seven islands of Bombay, Mahim was the last to be incorporated into the municipal system of Bombay.

The road building project that had started in 1710 in the southern part of the city and moved northward with construction of Hornby Vellard in 1784, had connected Mahim Island to other islands by 1845. The connection with the nucleus of Bombay to the south was vital for the island's urban growth. The channels of communication (i.e., railways laid between 1853 -1860

¹²¹ Edwards, *The Gazetteer of Bombay, Volume I*, 38.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 29.

and roads by 1845) passing through the area connected the urban center of Bombay to the rural hinterlands of Bombay and beyond. By 1870s trains had traversed nearly 1200 miles and connected Bombay to Calcutta (present-day Kolkata) These channels of communication and the socio-political scene of the city (i.e., settling of Marathi speaking lower and middle income population), caused a unique microcosm of neighborhoods on the island of Mahim. Although Dadar was initially one of the components that constituted Mahim Island, due to the way its urban evolution took shape it soon created a separate identity for itself. This chapter will help the reader understand the various elements that helped Dadar gain its unique identity.

There are several stories about the root of the name Dadar. The word “Dadar” in archaic Marathi, means “set of steps.” The most common story claims the area had a rudimentary wooden bridge from, which the name Dadar had been derived. Another story is the area is elevated as compared to the surrounding areas of Mahim, Matunga and Worli, so the whole area is like a “set of steps” above the surrounding low terrain. Being a resident of the area, the second tale makes more sense, as the area never gets flooded even in torrential rains. The adjoining areas do get inundated relatively easily.

The first written mention of the area of Dadar dates from 1726-36 published in Portuguese government documents (tax records). The text explains the existence of a distillery at Salvason (Dadar), an operation that converted coconut sap into an alcoholic drink known as *toddy*. The first mention of this location under the British dates from January 1st 1879, when a distillery was opened for business. Its location was given to be a mere 50 yards from the Dadar railway station. The text further states that in 1910 there were 17 licensed distillers in the area.¹²³ This description is reciprocated by Govind Narayan’s book, as the area of Dadar was involved in

¹²³ Edwards, *The Bombay Gazetteer, Volume III*, 255-256.

toddy making and there were multiple shops owned and operated by Bhundaris or Parsis.¹²⁴ The footnotes in the same text speculate that the operation of distilleries dates back to 1726-1736, as some documents indicate that the Portuguese Government purchased large quantities of country-spirit from Salvasong. The map from 1812 helps illustrate the unchanged landscape of the area. Rapid changes to the area's settlement patterns occurred at the start of twentieth century. The urban center of Bombay that formed under the English was egalitarian since its inception, and Dadar was not an exception to this generalization. The landscape of Dadar was scattered settlements with a continuous background of coconut trees.¹²⁵

Urban settlement in Bombay did not depict clear segregation based on caste-structure within the Indian community. Yet certain activities within the Indian community were restricted by the caste divide. For example the processing of alcoholic beverages was restricted to the *Bhandaris*. These communities settled in close proximity to each other. This settlement typology was identified as *wadi* or *wada*. Although the word *wada* means a single house of a wealthy family, sometimes clustered settlements (irrespective of caste) were also referred as *wada*. If a cluster of housing is of a particular caste or sect, then the caste or sect was the prefix and *wada* or *wadi* was the suffix. For example of group of *Bhats* (Hindu priests) stayed in a cluster or owned a piece of land, then the area was known as Bhatwadi. Similarly Memonwada is created when Memons (Muslims originating from Gujarat) lived in close proximity.

¹²⁴ Murli Raghunath, translated, *Govind Narayans Mumbai: An Urban Biography from 1863*, New York: Anthem Press, (2008): 208.

¹²⁵ Patil, "Dadar Kalche anik Aajche,": in Bahurangi Bahudhangi Dadar, 35.

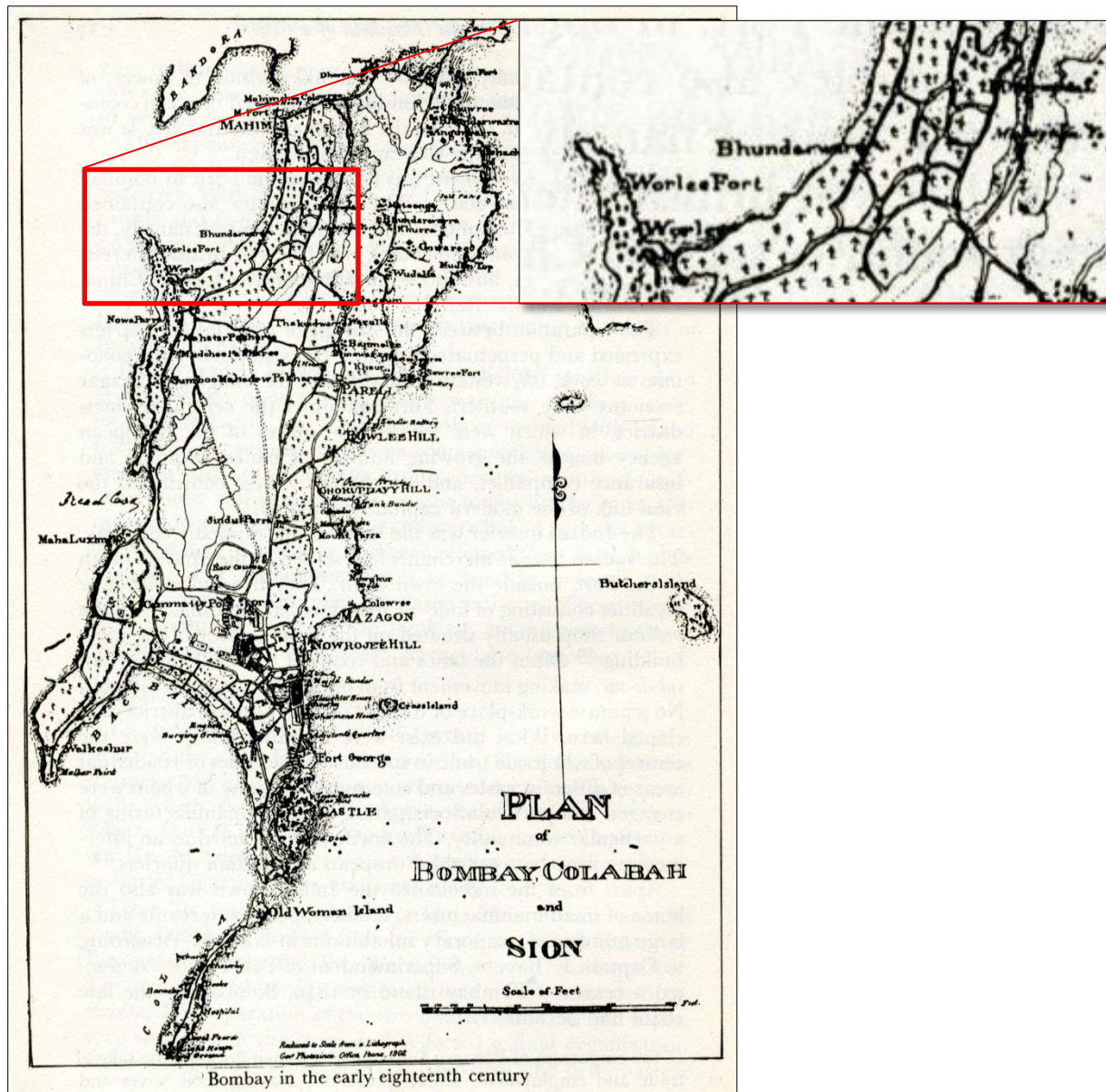


Figure 4.1: Map from the early 1900s showing Bhundarwada, currently identified as Dadar West (Source: *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities: The planning of Bombay City, 1845 – 1875*)

Being a predominantly agriculturally based society, these societal systems can be considered as a version of feudalism. A single owner (at times a family of a certain caste or person from any caste could own a property, given that he should have the resources to buy the

property but cannot be from the *shudra*¹²⁶ cast), owned the land or the wadi. People from the subordinate caste or even economically weak members within the same cast, helped the owner cultivate his land. Both parties stayed on the same property, but their housing typologies were different. The owner's house was ornate with a large footprint, while the servant's quarters were basic shelters.¹²⁷ The owner's house was made from finer or costlier materials (many times stone was used as the main building material and tiles formed the roof) and had multiple rooms. The servant's quarters were single or rarely two room dwellings. The material used for servant's quarters was cheaper (e.g., thatched roof) on an overview the settlements did not seem to have any fixed layout, yet there was an order to the chaos. The richer strata (owner) occupied locations next to main streets, and the poorer classes were located in the interior of the *wadi* or *oarts* (horticulture or garden plots).¹²⁸ The houses of both owner and workers were located along the periphery. The central area was dedicated to the main produce, and vegetable gardens for sustenance were at the edges. The well or a water source was kept relatively untouched or in some cases the owner's house was closer to the well.

This type of land settlement was seen in pre-English, Bombay islands, as the economy was predominantly agrarian. With the advent of the English the economy changed from agrarian to urban. Agriculture was replaced by trade and commerce. Govind Narayan, also makes similar observations about the change in the social structure of Bombay as market trade becomes the nucleus of Bombay.¹²⁹ The land owners abandoned agriculture and became landlords of

¹²⁶ Shrudra are the lowermost caste in the four tiered caste system in Hindu cast system.

¹²⁷ Ganesh Patil, "Dadar Kalche ani Aajche," in *Bahurangi Bahudhangi Dadar*, ed. Prakash Kamat (Mumbai, India: Dadar Sarvajanic Vachanalaya, 2007), 25-26.

¹²⁸ Mariam Dossal, *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities: Planning of Bombay City, 1845-1875*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, 23.

¹²⁹ Murli Raghunath, translated, *Govind Narayans Mumbai: An Urban Biography from 1863*, New York: Anthem Press, (2008): 125.

constructed and rented houses for the migrants.¹³⁰ This change was first seen in areas adjoining the fort, but the pattern expanded northward along with the growth of the city. The fort was the nucleus of the new economy and, as mentioned earlier the areas in close proximity (i.e., Girgaum, Bhuleshwar, and Paidhooni) were first to change. Due to its distance from the fort, urbanization of Dadar occurred much later. Apart from the geographic segregation of Dadar, another factor that helped to preserve its land use was the way in which English approached the development of this part of the island. When the preliminary topographic and property surveys were arranged in the seventeenth century, the island of Mahim was never fathomed to be part of the city, therefore no map detailed the landscape at that time. Detailed surveys of this area were only initiated after 1850, and lands under agricultural activity and scattered housing were categorized as *oarts districts*. Even these were not documented in any great detail, because the government presumed they would remain unchanged for perpetuity. Once the railway and road systems became integral components in the city during mid-1850s -1880s, such areas attracted population.¹³¹ These areas attracted native migrants who sought to create homes for themselves in the new urban center as well as English and wealthy native families who desired locations for their summer retreats.

The “*Oart districts*” or “*wadis*” in Dadar were settled by scattered groups as mentioned above. The building typology of each wadi shows a distinct character depending on its location and the time when it was initiated for change into the urban morphology. The traditional pattern of agrarian land use has long been lost for the area of Dadar. Yet the typology of change from wadi to contemporary development is distinctly illustrated, again depending on the time when the change was initiated.

¹³⁰ Prasad Shetty et al., *Housing Typologies in Mumbai* (Mumbai, 2007), e-book, 4.

¹³¹ Chopra, “Suburbs in Colonial Bombay,” 98

Speaking especially of Dadar West, Dadar station became the nucleus of an urban core (mercantile activity) that developed with the laying of the train tracks in 1853, so the wadis that were in close proximity were the first to change. The open land in the wadis was used to create *chawls*, a single room tenement not more than 150-200 square feet. The building type of a chawl was created by stacking single room tenement in length and on top, the arrangement was devised to house maximum number of residents in least amount of space and using smallest amount of building materials.¹³² A common passage for access was provided and the bathroom facilities were shared among the tenants. The buildings typically had two to four stories; the layout mostly consisted of a central open space with chawls arranged around it. If the wadi abutted a major thoroughfare the ground floor of the chawl had shops (Figure 4.2). This typology is seen at Dhuruwadi on Veer Savarkar Marg (Cadell Road), which has a structure adjoining the road for commercial activity (Figure 4.3). Cadell Road, which was established during the Mahim schemes (1911), was and still is a major thoroughfare for north-south traffic.

¹³² Prasad Shetty et al., *Housing Typologies in Mumbai* (Mumbai, 2007), e-book, 31.



Figure 4.2: A chawl building with shops on the ground floor, facing the main road.

(Source: http://photos.wikimapia.org/p/00/02/17/79/74_big.jpg)



Figure 4.3: Dhuruwadi located on Cadell Road, shops along the main road.

(Source: MMR-HCS Proforma for Dhuru Building and Group listing)

The wadis that were located on secondary streets had a similar morphology, but they generally did not have a commercial ground floor. Hedavkarwadi, on N.M. Kale Marg, is a good example. The two wadis, located in different urban settings and built at various times, are good examples to illustrate the historic resources of Dadar West, Dhuruwadi dating from the early twentieth century, and Hedavkarwadi built in the mid-twentieth century (Figure 4.4). These examples illustrate the distinct typological changes representative of their geography and the times when they were constructed. Although the agrarian economy has long been lost, there are pockets of properties in present-day Dadar West that represent such landscapes of the last century.



Figure 4.4: Hedavkarwadi, typical chawl typology with building on sides and central open space. It is located on a secondary road, so there is no building facing the street and no commercial on ground floor. (Source: Photograph by author)

Remnants of the Agrarian Wadi Landscape

Raichandwadi, located in close proximity to the Portuguese, or the Salvation Church, exhibits the features of an “agrarian” wadi landscape. The site maintains the dense cover of coconut palms and has building typologies that depict the old housing pattern of the feudal system. The site is approximately 12,650 square feet in area, with dimensions of 100 feet by 115 feet, and the difference between the housing typology of owner and servants is clearly seen. The *Murzello House* (bungalow) and a ground plus two residential apartments abutting the main access road is where the owner’s house stood. The once servants housing is along the periphery of the property. The coconut trees are at the center of the property as seen in the picture. The vegetable and ornamental yards are not located at the center of the property. The material used for the servants’ housing is made out of tin or asbestos sheets. A small shed with a maximum size of 10 feet by 12 feet is standing by itself, the room where the sap is collected and brewed into toddy (alcohol). The features and land use existing on this site are reminiscent of the era when agricultural land use dominated the landscape of Dadar.



Figure 4.5: Raichandwadi seen from above, with former servant’s housing seen on the right.

(Photograph by Rashmin Dighe)



Figure 4.6: Servant's quarters as seen from the ground level.

(Photograph by Smita Date)



Figure 4.7: Entrance to the wadi.

(Photograph by Smita Date)



Figure 4.8: Subsistence vegetable or ornamental flower bed located at the edge

(Photograph by Smita Date)



Figure 4.9: Recent development encroaching on wadi.

(Photograph by Smita Date)



Figure 4.10: Raichandwadi and Environs.

(Photograph by Smita Date)

A feature that distinguished Dadar from any other urban section of Bombay was convergence of the Great Indian Peninsula (GIP) and Bombay, Baroda, and Central India (BBCI) railways at Dadar Station. This was the key feature that caused rapid growth of Dadar. These railway lines were used by a large number of people who left Bombay during the plague years of the late nineteenth century. When the epidemic subsided, these same railway lines were used to bring people back to the city. The population of Bombay increased 51.7 percent between the years 1872-1906, while Mahim increased 118 percent and Worli grew 529 percent.¹³³ The reclaimed lands, or “flats,” were where the new mills were located. Figures from 1911 suggest

¹³³ Edwards, *The Bombay Gazetteer, Volume I*, 201.

that 54 percent of textile mills in Bombay were located in the Worli-Byculla-Tarwadi area.¹³⁴

This made Dadar an ideal location for poor urban migrants to set up residence. The high rate of growth for this area did not subside for several decades. The “chawl boom” continued until the 1920s with a 90 percent increase in chawl numbers but only five percent of the mill worker population. The chawl typology, previously restricted as worker class housing, was also used by clerks and peons working at government offices.¹³⁵

Douglas Haynes, in his “Artisan Cloth-Producers and the Emergence of Powerloom Manufacture in Western India 1920-1950,” states that informal small-scale industry played a major role in employing the migrant labor in the early part of twentieth century. Powerlooms by definition are 10-12 looms installed in a small operation. Powerlooms do not produce their yarn nor dye their cloth; they just concentrate on weaving. This eliminates use of large amount of chemicals and therefore such operations were not taxed heavily. Mills on the other hand did all three things of spinning the yarn, weaving and dyeing. Therefore they needed more capital for setup, huge running costs, a large area for operations, a huge fuel requirement, and were subject to heavy taxation. Powerlooms, on the contrary, could be installed at homes or in a small setups and were powered using oil or electricity. The community involved in such activity had previous knowledge of weaving. They were migrants to urban area, but they were from the caste that historically were weavers.¹³⁶ As these operations were not heavily taxed and labor was mostly from the same family, these operations evaded any major documentation or taxes.¹³⁷ This setup also freed powerloom operators from the long hours working in chemically infested mills. The

¹³⁴ Caroline E. Arnold, “The Bombay Improvement Trust, Bombay Millowners and the Debate over Housing Bombay’s Millworkers, 1896-1918,” *Essays in Economics and Business History*, Volume XXX (2012): 115.

¹³⁵ Priyanka N. Karindikar, “Chawls Middleclass Housing Type in Mumbai, India,” MA dissertation, Iowa State University, 2010, 32-33.

¹³⁶ Douglas E. Haynes, “Artisans Cloth-Produces and the Emergence of Powerloom Manufacture in Western India 1920-1950,” *Past and Present*, No. 172, (August 2001): 171-173.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 173.

article also states that these operations had on an average 10-20 looms, and that the operation of *Karhana* was prevalent. *Karkhana* is a Marathi word, and its literal translation is “factory.” The book *Bahurangi Bahudhangi Dadar*, mentions the area of Dadar having karkhanas, and these were integral part of the cultural landscape of the area. Unfortunately none of this informal weaving industry in Dadar has survived to the present.

Although no resources associated with the informal weaving industry exist, a number of related resources, as well as buildings, structures, and landscapes representing other facets of Dadar West’s history, do remain. The remainder of this chapter will describe these significant yet underappreciated historic resources.

Remnants of Historic Water Features: Veer Kotwal Udyan

Because this area was once dominated by agricultural activities, there were a number of wells, tanks, or ponds. Proliferation of tanks and wells in this area of Mahim Island was partially due to the water crisis in the mid-1800s. These tanks in later times (1920s-1940s) formed an integral part of the mill landscape. Many of the parks seen in today’s Dadar were sites of such water bodies. The *Veer Kotwal Udyan*, an island park in close proximity of Dadar Station, was one such tank, known as Hansali Tank. The tank was an integral part of the Dadar’s landscape. Every morning farmers’ wives brought leafy vegetables and other produce from the hinterlands of Salsette and Bassain. They used railways to bring their produce in the tank, before selling it to vendors.¹³⁸

After the 1920 plague the Bombay Municipal Corporation passed laws that mandated the filling of ponds and tanks. This was when coke from the surrounding mills was used to fill up the Hansali tank. The infill of coke gave the reclaimed ground a distinct black color; since then it has

¹³⁸ Ganesh Patil, “Dadar: Kalche ani aajche,” in *Bahurangi Bahudhangi Dadar*, ed. Prakash Kamat (Mumbai: Dadar Sarvajanic Vachanalay, 2007), 30.

been identified as *Kale Maidan*, which means Black Park.¹³⁹ The park was renamed *Veer Kotwal Udyan* in 1943. Despite the loss of water to wash their produce, wholesale traders continued to bring their produce to the same location, so that the local vendors could still buy produce there. The farmers have been replaced by wholesale merchants, but the pattern of the market is unchanged. The market happens on the sidewalk and the entire unloading and distribution happens in a matter of hours. The market starts at 5:00 a.m. and the municipal sweepers are done cleaning after the market by 9:00 a.m.



Figure 4.11: Morning market in action, unloading of produce.

(Photograph by Smita Date)

¹³⁹ Ibid., 42.



Figure 4.12: Morning market in action, the façade seen in the background is of Plaza Cinema.

(Photograph by Smita Date)



Figure 4.13: Interaction between vendors and customers at the morning market.

(Photograph by Smita Date)



Figure 4.14: Same area after the market. The building façade seen in this picture is of Plaza Cinema.

(Photograph by Smita Date)

Also in the Veer Kotwal Udyan area is Plaza Cinema, a movie hall that is culturally significant for the Marathi speaking population of Bombay, was built in 1937, making it one of the oldest movie halls in Dadar. It was the first movie hall to screen Marathi movies. Veer Kotwal Udyan and Plaza Cinema are in close proximity to each other, and this conglomeration of sites forms an important urban node in the fabric of Bombay.

Kabutarkhana and Dr. Antonio Da Silva School

Another landmark in Dadar is *Kabutarkhana*. Its literal translation means “Pigeon Compartment.” It was established in 1923. The Kabutarkhana is located on a traffic island in close proximity to Dadar station. The Kabutarkhana acts as a traffic island as it is located between the intersection of two major roads and is a major landmark in Bombay. A grain market is in close proximity to the Kabutarhana. This market predates the kabutarkahana. Prior to

development of a kabutarkhana, vehicles loaded with grains used to stand at the intersection, thus attracting the pigeons. A Jain¹⁴⁰ Temple across from the Kabutarkhana can be considered a historic site in its own right. It was established in 1905, although the building façade has been changed. The priest and the temple management took the initiative to create the landmark that exists today.¹⁴¹ As mentioned earlier, the train station remains the nucleus of Dadar West. For this reason most of the historic buildings are in close proximity to the train station. The next historic structure is the Dr. Antonio Da Silva School, located a couple of hundred yards northwest of kabutarkhana.



4.15: Jain temple across Kabutarkhana

(Photograph by Smita Date)

¹⁴⁰ Jainism, an Indian religion, originated in the 5-6th century BC. One of the main teachings of the faith is *ahimsa* or non-violence against all living beings. For more information, Institute of Jainology. "Timeline," <http://www.jainpedia.org/about/jainpedia-the-website.html>

¹⁴¹ Pati, *Bahurangi Bahudhangi* Dadar, 32.



4.16: Kabutar Khana and its environs

(Photograph by Smita Date)

Dadar has always been at the forefront of educational activity in Bombay, and it boasts one of the oldest schools in Bombay. In 1868, Reverend John started a school. This school was later identified as Saint John School, after the founder. It is currently known as Dr. Antonio Da Silva School.¹⁴² Although the school has had multiple additions and alterations, its historic fabric still retains its character. Some buildings dating from the early twentieth century are part of the campus. To a certain extent the spatial configuration of the old buildings is also unaltered.

From 1816-1837, mile markers were installed throughout the city. The mile markers were installed at every mile starting from Saint Thomas Cathedral, located inside the Fort (in south Bombay). Mile marker VII (figures 4.7 and 4.18), is located just outside the Antonio Da Silva

¹⁴² Ganesh Patil, "Dadar: Kalche ani aajche," in Bahurangi Bahudhangi Dadar, ed. Prakash Kamat (Mumbai: Dadar Sarvajanic Vachanalaya, 2007), 32.

School. *Chabildas School*, started in 1889 as the New English School, is the second oldest school in Dadar. The school is located a few hundred yards northeast of the Dr. Antonio Da Silva School. The school building bears its first name.



4.17: Seven-mile marker's engraving

(Photograph by Mamata Shelar)



4.18: Seven-mile marker

(Photograph by Mamata Shelar)

Shivaji Park and Environs

The development of a recreational park for residents of Dadar was proposed circa 1910.¹⁴³ The cost of the project was to be incurred by the residents of the area, however, residents demonstrated their discontent with this scheme.¹⁴⁴ The Municipal Corporation incorporated the Dadar scheme of 1910 and the Mahim scheme that was formulated in 1918, which included an open playground as a key feature.¹⁴⁵ In the initial scheme the park was called central Mahim Park. It was renamed Shivaji Park in 1927.¹⁴⁶ The park was roughly conceptualized by the 1920s, and its western boundary was defined by Cadell Road (Veer Savarkar Marg / Road) a north-south thoroughfare. The other boundaries of the park were not defined as late as 1930s. Major building stock abutting Shivaji Park was developed during 1925-1935. The height restrictions for the building abutting the park were also contested and the initial limit of ground plus one story was increased to ground plus three.¹⁴⁷ During the same time roads in the area were laid out or aligned. Gokhale Road, one of the major north-south thoroughfares, was laid out in during the late 1920s and early 1930s. The map (figure 3.11) illustrates this road. Nearly all the buildings along this road date from 1934-1937.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 32.

¹⁴⁵ Curtis, "Development of Bombay," 576.

¹⁴⁶ Pati, *Bahurangi Bahudhangi* Dadar, 30.

¹⁴⁷ Curtis, "Development of Bombay," 576.

¹⁴⁸ Ganesh Pati, *Bahurangi Bahudhangi* Dadar, 31.



Figure 4.19: Building along Gokhale Road, buildings from 1934. The central court and building along the edge is seen in this example as well.

(Photograph by Mamata Shelar)



Figure 4.20: Plaque on the building.

(Photograph by Mamata Shelar)



Figure 4.21: Building in the left corner Savarkar Sadan and its environs

(Photograph by Mamata Shelar)



4.22: Building façade of Savarkar Sadan. Structure built in 1938, has been subjected to additions.

(Photograph by Mamata Shelar)

Resources Associated with Historically Significant Persons

Apart from this rich stock of historic fabric, the area of Dadar has been home to local and national legends. Freedom fighter Vinayak Damodar Savarkar lived in one of the premises in close proximity to Shivaji Park. As Savarkar was actively involved in the freedom struggle he was constantly on the move. He may have spent substantial time in the premises after Indian Independence (1947) until he died on February 26, 1966. Other historically important events have happened at the site; Savarkar's house was stoned by an angry mob after he was allegedly involved in Mahatma Gandhi's murder in 1948. Although there have been a few additions to the original fabric of the building, the family still owns and resides in the structure.

N. V. Modak, city engineer of Mumbai who helped the BMC engineer a dam during the early twenty-first century, also lived in Dadar West. From the basic research that could be conducted for this thesis, it can be concluded that his family still owns the bungalow; it is not architecturally distinctive, but while buildings around it are listed the Modak bungla (bungalow) is not even mentioned in the revised DCR 67 list. Modak gave the city the Dadar Pumping Station in 1935, a waste water (grey water) treatment plant that has also functioned as a bio-fuel plant since 1945. The bio-fuel plant was functioning until 1999; the gas collected from the bio-waste was used by residents of Dadar for heating and other purposes.¹⁴⁹ Modak was also instrumental in town planning. He worked alongside Albert Meyer, an American Town planner, to draw up schemes to utilize the mill lands located on the flats (present day Lower Parel and Tarwadi).¹⁵⁰ Unfortunately his schemes were never implemented.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 38.

¹⁵⁰ Dossal, "Looking at the past," 3899.



4.23: Front façade of Modak Bungalow

(Photograph by Mamata Shelar)



4.24: Circle in front of Modak bungalow.

(Photograph by Mamata Shelar)

Grandfather of the Indian movie industry, Dadasaheb Phalke, lived in Dadar for the most part of the period before he released his first movie in 1918. Mahim Woods gave him the much needed calm to pursue his dreams of starting movie-making in India. His career spanned two decades during which he made some of India's pioneering movies. Another renowned movie director, V. Shantaram, also played an important role in shaping Dadar. Most of the movie halls in the early 1930s were concentrated in the southern part of the city and they screened only English movies. To create a movie hall that catered to Marathi movies, he created *Plaza Cinema*, which is next to the Veer Kotwal Udyan. The theater was built in 1937 and even today it is a prominent landmark in the urban fabric of Dadar.¹⁵¹

In 1914 Mr. Khandke, a local tailor, got the contract to provide uniforms for the English Army. Such an assignment for a local tailor is not a regular event. What made this assignment special was that Khandke secured the assignment to provide army uniforms for the English Army fighting in the First World War (1914-1918). The profit from this assignment was invested in the construction of twelve chawls in close proximity to Dadar station. All twelve chawls were constructed and rented out by 1922-23 (Figure 4.25).¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ Pati, *Bahurangi Bahudhangi* Dadar, 38.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 39-40.



4.25: Khandke building number 2, one of the twelve buildings built by Mr. Khandke with profits from his contract with the English Army during World War I.

(Source: <http://static.dnaindia.com/sites/default/files/1897480.jpg>)

The BMC passed a law in the 1960s that banned any further construction of chawls, a law that affected how the city approached its housing issue. This law paved the way for a mid-rise building typology in the city of Bombay, defined as ground floor with three stories. After the 1960s nearly all the residential houses have been designed on the concept of a common core area and individual apartments flanking the core.

Conclusion

Once a ubiquitous land use pattern in Dadar, there are now fewer than ten remaining wadis within the study area. Most of the remaining wadis have changed and depict typological differences. Wadis have been affected by land use change or demolition, followed by implementation of a new mid-rise development projects. However, the Raichandwadi located on

Professor V. S. Agashe Road, despite tremendous changes around it, has remained mostly unchanged. The site seems to have maintained its historic vegetative cover. The building typologies for the most part have also been preserved. The spatial relations of the site components also have been retained. Unfortunately the owner's residence seems to have been replaced by the Art Deco-inspired bungalow. The age and detail information about this structure is not known. The building vocabulary of tenement housing (servant housing) is vernacular. The landscape of this site and the activities seem to be reminiscent of its previous land use of an orat, or horticulture plot. The wadi site currently covers a small landmass compared to its extent even a few years ago, but it is the only surviving landscape of its time within the study area. It may be a unique example of an orat within the city limits of Bombay.

Dhuruwadi along Cadell road is one of the few wadis that have maintained the morphological integrity of its built fabric. The wadi illustrates the typological change, which was indicative of the early twentieth century, represented in a chawl with a relatively small foot print. Dhuruwadi also has a residential building. This residential building's date and details are not known but it seems to be of relatively recent construction. This makes Dhuruwadi unique, because it documents all the changes incurred to the property.

Hedavkarwadi, on the other hand, represents the change from a much later time. This statement can be made based on the use of concrete as building material. The building design is based on the same concept of chawls of long corridors, common toilet facilities, and buildings on the periphery with central open space. The building may have been built during the late 1940s or early 1950s, as there similar buildings that have the same typology were constructed during that time.

Dadar West has array of historical resources that are still part of the urban landscape. The morning market at Veer Kotwal Udyan is a unique cultural phenomenon; it is representative of sustained use over a long period of time and it is an integral part of Dadar West. Despite this uniqueness the resource is unidentified.

Many historically significant people have called Dadar West their home. Many of these residences (buildings) are still present in Dadar West. Even though the associations of these structures to historically important people are widely known, these structures are not acknowledged by current preservation process.

This chapter started with a brief overview of the urban development of Bombay and the various historic events that have shaped the city as we see it today. The text then examined the urban evolution of Dadar and how it oriented itself to the events happening within the bigger context of Bombay city. In doing so, the chapter highlighted the various historic events and their manifestations on Dadar's landscape. This understanding drove the research toward finding historical facts and figures that help explain the landmarks seen today within the study area. This brief yet fairly comprehensive description of the study area provides a baseline for identifying Dadar West's varied historic resources.

The next chapter will examine the British influences historic preservation in India. This will be followed a description of the work of BMC and its approach toward historic preservation. This will be followed by an overview of the BMC Heritage list that pertains to the Dadar West study area. This list reflects the various criteria and approaches implemented by the BMC to document and maintain historic resources within the city.

CHAPTER 5

HISTORIC PRESERVATION PROGRAMS, INDIA AND BOMBAY

Existing Historic Preservation Processes in India: A Brief Overview

As mentioned in the introduction chapter, preserving historic resources is a relatively new professional field in developing countries. Historic preservation efforts in Bombay have a recent past. This research surveyed the entire country of India to find if there are any contemporary city level preservation guidelines that could inform efforts to amend the preservation guidelines for the city of Bombay. However, the research revealed that Bombay Municipal Corporation (BMC) is the first and only local government entity to create laws that protect its heritage structures.¹⁵³

With this discovery, this study focused on examining national-level preservation processes in India. This exploration was intended to produce a conceptual understanding of the preservation process in the country that might contribute to recommendations for amending the historic preservation process of Bombay city. Archeological Survey of India (ASI), the sole government organization to oversee preservation activities at the national level, was the obvious choice for the further exploration. The entire country of India is divided into 24 circles (i.e., zones), and each zone has a head office that oversees all preservation activities within the zone. Funds from the government of India help ASI maintain historic preservation projects throughout the country. This oversight role of ASI has its roots in the way the organization was formulated. A closer examination of its history will help us understand its functioning.

¹⁵³ Shalani Mahajan, “*Learning to Live with Cultural Heritage in Urban in Indian Contexts: Conservation Challenges and Preservation Dynamic*,” Master Thesis, University IUAV of Venice and University of Nova Gorica Graduate School, 2008: 128.

Roots of Historic Preservation in India's Colonial Past and Post-Colonial Mistakes

Sir William Jones, a philologist, started an organization under the name Asiatic Society on January 15, 1784. This organization of antiquarians aimed to create an inventory of historic structures within India.¹⁵⁴ During the early 1800s, Sir Alexander Cunningham, a second lieutenant at the Bengal Engineers, understood that inventorying alone would not preserve the historic structures. In 1848, Cunningham requested that the British Government increase funds for the organization, which would allow it to not only document structures, but help in their physical preservation.¹⁵⁵ With this change in the organization's objectives, a new organization was created in 1848, under the name of Archeological Survey of India (ASI). Since then ASI has been solely responsible for managing preservation activities in India. Even after Indian Independence in 1947, the organization maintained its status as the only government office in charge of preservation activities throughout the country.

ASI's operational guidelines were established during the past century, when historic values were represented primarily by individual "monumental" structures. The approach has not been modified to incorporate a more current understanding of historic values. The ASI's antiquated approaches are reminders of the organization's colonial past. Even after India attained independence in 1947, the organization did not sever its philosophical umbilical cord to its predecessor organization. The organization still bases its operations on archaic laws, such as *The Indian Treasure Trove Act of 1878*.¹⁵⁶ This law was established to protect accidentally found treasures. After independence, the laws were changed superficially, but they still are highly

¹⁵⁴ Archeological Survey of India, "History of Archeological Survey of India," Archeological Survey of India. Last modified 2011, accessed, January 22, 2015, http://asi.nic.in/asi_aboutus_history.asp#1784.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Shalani Mahajan, "Learning to Live with Cultural Heritage in Urban in Indian Contexts: Conservation Challenges and Preservation Dynamic," Master Thesis, University IUAV of Venice and University of Nova Gorica Graduate School, 2008: 112.

influenced by archaic laws. *The Ancient Monuments and Archeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958*, (AMASR) is the act that defines the organization's approaches toward preservation of historic sites.¹⁵⁷ Historic sites are only referred to as “protected monument,” and the preservation process lists a precinct or set of buildings as protected monuments. Such approaches that emphasize the physical remains of historic sites seem to be oblivious to the social or the cultural aspects of historic sites. AMASR fails to credit and appreciate the intangible social or cultural “values,” laying emphasis on the built fabric. The document further defines protected monument as “any structure, erection or monument, or any tumulus or place of interment, or any cave, rock-sculpture, inscription or monolith, which is of historical, archeological or artistic interest and which has been in existence for not less than one hundred years, and includes –

- (i) the remains of an ancient monument,
- (ii) the site of an ancient monument,
- (iii) such portion of land adjoining the site of an ancient monument as may require for fencing or covering in or otherwise preserving such monument, and
- (iv) the means of access to, and convenient inspection of, an ancient monument.”¹⁵⁸

The document (AMASR) further defines its purpose as, “An Act to provide for the preservation of ancient and historical monuments and archeological sites and remains of national importance, for the regulation of archeological excavations and for the protection of sculptures, carvings and other like objects.” ASI is the sole governmental organization legally obligated to protect historic sites in India, and the functioning of the organization promotes a top-down approach.

¹⁵⁷ Archeological Survey of India, “Legislations: Archeological Survey of India,” Archeological Survey of India. Last modified 2011, accessed, January 31, 2015, http://asi.nic.in/asi_legislations.asp.

¹⁵⁸ Government of India, Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958 (Act No. 24 of 1958) (New Delhi, India: Government of India, 1958), 8.

Because India is a vast and diverse country, there cannot be a single approach that will lead to an appropriate preservation process. Yet the organization (ASI) fails to amend this shortfall. On the contrary, as an organization, it has created even broader generalized approaches recently to manage historic sites through the country. The amendment to AMASR published on August 24 2011, *The Gazette of India, Extraordinary, Part II-Section 3-Sub-Section (i)*, defines the categories of monuments and archeological sites for the entire nation as follows:

Table 1: Grading Criteria followed by Archeological Survey of India (ASI).

(Source: ASI website)

Category I	Protected monuments/ archeological sites inscribed on the World Heritage Cultural Sites lists of UNESCO.
Category II	Protected monuments and archaeological sites included in the Tentative List by the World Heritage Committee.
Category III	Protected monuments and archeological sites identified for inclusion in the World Heritage Tentative List of UNESCO.
Category IV	Ticketed protected monuments and archeological sites (other than the World Heritage Sites and sites included in the Tentative List).
Category V	Monuments and sites with adequate flow of visitor identified for charging entry fee.
Category VI	Living monuments which receive large number of visitors/ pilgrims.
Category VII	Other monuments located in the Urban/Semi urban limits and in the remote villages.
Category VIII	Or such other category as the Authority may deem fit.

The workings of ASI are reminiscent of its British past. Many of the key individuals involved in organizing and defining the role of ASI seem to be ones who can be identified as “orientalists.” The concept of Orientalism was developed by Edward Said, a political activist, literary theorist and a professor at Columbia University, which critiques the forms of colonial

powers dictating the course of discussion when it concerned the Orient or East. The definition by Said highlights the flaws that are still present within the current preservation model:

“Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it making statements about it, authorizing views of it, by teaching it, steering it, and ruling over it.”¹⁵⁹ This is clearly seen in many of the approaches taken by not only the preservation process which were laid out by the British, but much of the education system (the case of art and architectural education will be discussed in later text).

The workings of ASI are still highly influenced by documents and processes laid by the British. The continued use of the *Treasure Trove Act (1878)* exemplifies the lingering influence of the British colonial past on ASI. The categories of monuments identified in the current ASI’s model heavily emphasize architecture to justify a site’s historic value. As a result, the preservation of architectural fabric seems to be the ultimate aim of ASI’s current preservation model. The categories used by ASI also classify sites as “monument(s),” another indication that ASI relies on built, architectural fabric to determine heritage values.

As this is the only governing body to oversee preservation process for the country of India, it divided the vast country in 24 circles. The organization directs the preservation efforts from the national level to the local level, as all the funding and decisions are made at the headquarters in New Delhi. The circle is the smallest geographical unit in ASI’s current preservation model. The organization implements identical guidelines at a national level and a circle level. Preservation at both levels (national and circle) are directed by AMASR 1958. The AMASR’s definitions, which were drafted for preservation of historic sites of national significance, are used to judge locally-significant or regionally-significant historic sites. The

¹⁵⁹ Siddharth Sen, “Between Dominance, Dependence, Negotiation, and Compromise: European Architecture and Urban Planning in Colonial India,” *Journal of Planning History* 9, no. 4 (2010): 204.

definition uses two main criteria to determine the historic significance: material presence and minimum age criterion of 100 years. Words in the AMASR such as structure, cave, or rock-sculpture indicate heavy reliance on physical or material presence. Due to such reliance on material evidence to classify as protected historic structure, resources such as cultural landscapes are not identified and protected. Such approaches do not help the organization preserve the vast wealth of historic structures (values) and sites in India. In Bombay, some of the shortfalls in applying the ASI process at the local level have been addressed through development of the city's own historic preservation program.

Preservation Approaches in Bombay and Their Roots in the British Colonial Past

Development Control Regulations 67 (DCR 67) a document created by the Bombay Municipal Corporation (BMC) in 1995, is the only example in the entire country of India that approaches historic preservation at a city level. DCR 67 has established listing and grading criteria that are separate from the workings of ASI. It is the first initiative in India that has strived to recognize and preserve historic structures at a local level.

The roots of the Development Control Regulation 67's tendency to rely on architectural or aesthetic value lies in the way the British dominated the country of India as a colony. The patterns of education and politics have not changed much even after a long passage of time. Many of the important governmental institutions have barely changed as well. Most of the governmental organizations and power structure that are currently functioning in India were founded during the middle of the nineteenth century. ASI is one such organization, founded in 1848. The Orientalists from the early 1800s until the late 1900s, such as Sir William Jones and James Fergusson to mention a few, were pioneers in studying Indian scriptures, languages, and architecture. These individuals published multiple works that were seminal in their own rights,

but they had a biased tone when commenting on India culture.¹⁶⁰ In 1778 Jones started the *Asiatick Research Journal* to publish the various findings from linguistics and architectural exploration of India.¹⁶¹

Many of the subsequent institution used these documents or their (orientalists) thesis to base their workings of their organizations.¹⁶² Sir William Jones was the founder of the Asiatic Society (1784), which later evolved into the Archeological Survey of India (1848). The functioning of these organizations was oriented to identify and appreciate aesthetic and monumental qualities.

James Fergusson, a self-proclaimed expert on Indian architecture, was a merchant settled in India for trade purposes, yet he published *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* in 1876. Fergusson's two-volume study surveyed India and created a "catalogue" of the various architectural styles of the country. This publication was highly influential.¹⁶³ Siddhartha Sen quotes Fergusson as saying, "It cannot of course be for one moment contended that India ever reached the intellectual supremacy of Greece or moral greatness of Rome." Such acrid remarks toward Indian culture were the foundations of institutions that followed. Education institutions were influenced by such views, especially those involved in the architectural education.

There was no school for architectural education until the opening of Sir J. J. School of Art in Bombay. The school started in 1857 and maintained its status as the sole art education institution in colonial India for the nearly five decades. For the most part, education imparted in

¹⁶⁰ Siddharth Sen, "Between Dominance, Dependence, Negotiation, and Compromise: European Architecture and Urban Planning in Colonial India," *Journal of Planning History* 9, no. 4 (2010): 211.

¹⁶¹ ASI, website.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 111-112

such institutions was biased against native forms of art and architecture.¹⁶⁴ The architecture program at J. J. School of Art did not have an art theory class until the 1930s.¹⁶⁵ Such institutions were only created to make excellent draftsman and workers.¹⁶⁶ Such education also created docile professionals, who did not challenge the flawed narrative of Indian culture, which continued on the path laid by orientalists.

Discussion regarding architectural education under the British Raj may seem tangential to the subject of historic preservation in India. However, it influences the preservation scene in India where, until recently, there were no special degree programs for historic preservation. To work in the field of historic preservation one had to have a degree in architecture, and all the architecture programs in India, especially those in Bombay, were based on the orientalist philosophies of education.¹⁶⁷

The Governance of the Bombay Megalopolis

The previous chapters described how the English established an administrative hierarchy to create the mega-city of Bombay. Many of the administrative and bureaucratic mechanisms established by the English still exist in India. The Bombay Municipal Corporation (BMC), which was created in 1882, is one such organization.¹⁶⁸ The organization was created as a singular body of governance that would direct the city's sustained growth and conduct infrastructure projects. The organization since its inception also was in charge of overseeing of various projects within

¹⁶⁴ Madhavi Desai, Miki Desai, and Jon Lang, *The Bungalow in the Twentieth-Century India: The Cultural Expressions in the Domestic Architecture of Colonial and Post-Colonial Societies*, Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012. and Mitter, "J. J. School of Art," 4.

¹⁶⁵ Desai, Desai, and Lang, *Twentieth-Century India*, 79.

¹⁶⁶ Partha Mitter, "The Formative Period (Circa 1856-1900): Sir JJ School of Art and the Raj," *Marg*, Vol. 46, Issue 1, 1994: 4.

¹⁶⁷ Desai, Desai, and Lang, *The Bungalow in the Twentieth Century*, 96.

¹⁶⁸ BMC / MCGM, "Overview." Accessed February 9, 2015.

the city limits of Bombay. Since then the BMC has played a key role in shaping Bombay into a megapolis.

The process of assimilating suburban areas into the city core is a global phenomenon and Bombay city is no different in this respect than other world mega-cities. By 1970, BMC was unable to oversee the civic and infrastructure development in Bombay and its suburbs. To help BMC manage the expansion and management of this megalopolis a new organization was formed in 1975, under the name *Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority* (MMRDA).¹⁶⁹ This organization's primary role is to assist BMC by developing new growth centers and infrastructure projects in the metropolitan area of Bombay.

With the understanding that heritage is a vital component in the city building process, BMC and MMRDA both started offices dedicated to historic preservation projects. While these organizations and their projects were discussed briefly in the introduction chapter, this chapter shall further examine both the BMC and MMRDA to describe their operations. This discussion will help to establish a holistic understanding of the preservation mechanism for the city.

Historic Preservation in Bombay

BMC is in charge of projects pertaining to civic development schemes within the limits of Bombay City, which occupies a landmass of 169 square miles, or 437 square kilometers. MMRDA has authority to oversee infrastructure improvement projects within the substantial territory adjoining Bombay identified as the Mumbai Metropolitan Area, which covers roughly 1681 square miles, or 4355 square kilometers. Both organizations are involved in multiple projects and studies to create a better understanding of historic resources within their respective jurisdiction. Reporter Poorvi Kulkarni of *Hindustan Times*, in her article dated May 2, 2014,

¹⁶⁹ MMRDA, "Who we are." Last modified November 11, 2014, accessed January 3, 2015.

quotes Prasad Shetty, Chairman of Mumbai Metropolitan Region – Heritage Conservation Society (MMR-HCS), as stating that 100 studies pertaining to heritage precincts within the metropolitan region are at various levels of completion. The article also states that there are 17 listed heritage precincts and 41 proposed precincts in the city. Both organizations employ private preservation firms to either conduct pilot projects or create preservation plans. The pilot projects are conducted as a feasibility study of a large-scale project, which shall provide the organization a better understanding of the projects efficiency. The BMC is exclusively in charge of heritage preservation within the city, and MMRDA is in charge of preservation projects in the metropolitan area. As MMRDA was created to aid BMC in its endeavors, some of MMRDA’s study or pilot projects are within the city limits. If the pilot project moves into the implementation stage, MMRDA works with BMC.

The quintessential ordinance to guide historic preservation in the city is the heritage Regulations for Greater Bombay 1995, also referred as Regulation Number 67, or Regulation 67, or Development Control Regulation 67 (DCR 67). This legal document can be divided into three major components. The first component explains the legal precedents that led to development of DCR 67 and further describes the grading criteria of heritage properties. The second component provides the list of identified heritage buildings and sites. The document’s concluding section highlights the workings of the heritage listing process and the constitution of its preservation committee. Table 2 summarizes grading criterions implemented by the preservation process at Bombay.

Table 2: Development Control Regulation 67, heritage grading criteria.

Source: BMC, *Development Control Regulations 67*, (1995).

Grade I	Grade II	Grade III
A. <i>Definition-</i>		

Grade I	Grade II	Grade III
<p>Heritage Grade-I comprises of buildings, and precincts of national or historical importance, embodying excellence in architectural style, design, technology and material usage; they may be associated with a great historical event, personality, movement or institution. They have been and are, the prime landmarks of the City.</p>	<p>Heritage Grade-II (A & B) comprises of buildings of regional or local importance, possessing special architectural or aesthetical merit, cultural or historical value, though of a lower scale than in Heritage Grade-I. They are also landmarks contributing to the image and identity of the City. They may be the work of master craftsmen, or may be models of proportion and ornamentation, or designed to suit particular climate.</p>	<p>Heritage Grade-III comprises of buildings, and precincts of importance for town scape[sic]; they evoke architectural aesthetic or sociological interest though not as much as in Heritage Grade-II. These contribute to determine the character of the locality, and can be representative of lifestyle of a particular community or region and, may also be distinguished by setting on a street-line, or special character of the façade and uniformity of height, width and scale.</p>
<p><i>B. Objective –</i> Heritage Grade-I richly deserves careful preservation.</p>	<p>Heritage grade-II deserves intelligent Conservation.</p>	<p>Heritage Grade-III deserves protection of unique features and attributes.</p>
<p><i>C. Scope for Changes –</i> No interventions would be permitted either on the exterior or interior unless it is necessary in the interest of strengthening, and prolonging, the life of the buildings or precincts or any part or features thereof. For the purpose, absolutely essential and minimal changes would be allowed and they must be in accordance with the original.</p>	<p>Grade-II (A) Internal changes, and adaptive reuse will be generally allowed, but external changes will be subject to scrutiny. Care would be taken to ensure the conservation of all special aspects for which it is included in Heritage Grade-II. Grade-II (B) – In addition to the above extension or additional buildings in the same plot or compound could, in certain circumstances, be allowed provided that the extension/ additional building is in harmony with (and does not detract from) existing heritage building(s) or precincts especially in terms of height and façade.</p>	<p>External and internal changes and adaptive reuse would generally be allowed. Changes can include extensions, additional buildings in the same plot or compound provided that extension/ additional building is in harmony with and does not detract from existing heritage building/ precinct especially in terms of height and/or façade. Reconstruction may be allowed when the building is structurally weak or unsafe or when it has been affected by accidental fire or any other calamity or if reconstruction is required to consume the permissible FSI and no other option other than reconstruction is available. Reconstruction may be allowed in case of those buildings which attract the provisions of Regulations 33 (3), 33(7), 33(9) and Appendix II and Appendix III of Development Control Regulations, 1991. Reconstruction may be allowed in those buildings being repaired/ reconstructed by MHADA. However, unless absolutely essential nothing should spoil or destroy and special features or</p>

Grade I	Grade II	Grade III
		attributes for which it is placed in the Heritage List.
<i>D. Procedure –</i> Development permission for the changes would be given by the Planning Authority on the advice of Heritage Conservation Committee to be appointed by State Government.	Development permission for the changes would be given by the Planning Authority in consultation with a sub-committee of the Heritage Conservation Committee.	Development permission would be given for changes by the Planning Authority itself but in consonance with guidelines, which are to be laid down by Government in Consultation with the Heritage Conservation Committee.
<i>E. Vistas/ Surrounding Development –</i> All the development in area surrounding Heritage Grade-I shall be regulated and controlled, ensuring that it does not mar the grandeur or views from, Heritage Grade-I.		


Heritage Listing for Dadar West

The preservation process of Bombay relies heavily on site surveys. The preservation process at Bombay is known for its periodic surveys of the city. The DCR 67, which included the first published listing of heritage sites in the city of Bombay, was based on field investigations that were carried during the early 1990s. Once a potential building or site is identified, thorough documentation of the site is conducted. This process helps identify the features that help define the site’s heritage value. The identified features are listed and grouped to help the decision-making process of defining its grade criterion. The Mumbai Heritage Conservation Committee (MHCC) decides the status of the site. The composition of the committee is provided in Appendix A, (part of the excerpt). The tabular grade criteria illustrated in Table 2 are the tools used to determine the sites heritage value.

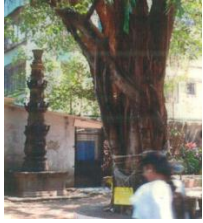




Once the site is approved to have heritage value by the MHCC, a revised heritage listing is then published to inform the citizenry. If there are no concerns from the owner, public, or the larger city developmental organization (e.g., BMC or any jurisdictional organization), then the list is amended and published.








The DCR 67 as amended in 1995 lists of 633 structures with heritage value within the city limits. The document also lists 15 historic markers and eight precincts. These structures, markers, sites, and precincts are listed as worthy of preservation. Since 1995 the DCR 67 has been amended a couple of times. The latest amendment occurred in July 2012. The amendment did not alter the definitions or grading criteria. The amended list was divided into six sections, which represent how the city of Bombay and suburbs were zoned for the resurvey. The amended list did not change the listing process. The resurvey was intended to identify any previously unrecognized heritage elements. The original list from the 1995 document included a total of 656 structures, markers, sites and precincts within the city limits. The 2012 revised heritage list consists of 1501 structures, sites and precincts. The historic markers were not considered worthy of preservation.¹⁷⁰ The only other change, apart from the increase in the number of structures was the additional of details relating to the Transferable Development Rights (TDR) program. The following list is a compilation of structures, and sites in Dadar included in the 1995 and 2012 list.









Table 3: Compilation of structures listed in 1995 and 2012 DCR 67 heritage list.

No.	Nature of Buildings, monuments, precincts (<i>Location</i>)	Value and criteria	Existing (1995)/ Proposed Grade (2012)	Image
1.	Pyaaau for Animals/ Anand Vitthal Pyaaau (<i>S.K. Bole Road and Gokhale Road</i>)	Person, design, period, and use	III / III	

¹⁷⁰ Aparna Bhatte, (former assistant architect to the Mumbai Heritage Conservation Committee (MHCC), currently employed under city improvement office), in telephonic conversation with author, January 28, 2015.

No.	Nature of Buildings, monuments, precincts (<i>Location</i>)	Value and criteria	Existing (1995)/ Proposed Grade (2012)	Image
2.	Deepmala (<i>S.K. Bole Road</i>)	Period, design, well-known person, and culture	III / III	
3.	Antonia D'Silva School Complex (<i>S.K. Bole Road and N.C. Kelkar Road</i>)	Architectural, period, and design	Deleted / III	
4.	Kabutarkhana and Cast Iron Fountain (<i>M.C. Javale Marg and Bhavani Shankar Road</i>)	Feature and distinct way of life	II-A / II-A	
5.	Mayor's Bungalow (<i>Veer Savarkar Marg</i>)	Architectural, historical, period, design, and well known person	II-B / II-B	
6.	Chury House (<i>Veer Savarkar Marg</i>)	Group value and social value	Deleted / III	

No.	Nature of Buildings, monuments, precincts (Location)	Value and criteria	Existing (1995)/ Proposed Grade (2012)	Image
7.	Vidyadhar Bhuvan (Veer Savarkar Marg)	Deleted (as it was listed part of group of buildings, but most buildings do not exist anymore)	Deleted / Deleted	
8.	Dhuru Building and Group (Veer Savarkar Marg)	Architecture, design, period, and group value	Deleted / Deleted	
9.	Green Villa (Bhavani Shankar Road)	Architectural and Cultural (chain of architectural development)	N.A. / III	
10.	P'Alex D'Souza Bungalow (Bhavani Shankar Road)	Architectural and cultural	N.A. / III	
11.	30, Tom's Cottage (Bhavani Shankar Road)	Architectural and being part of a chain of architectural development	N.A. / III	
12.	Nazreth House (Bhavani Shankar Road)	Architecture and Design	N.A. / III	
13.	Narayansmruti Bldg (Chabildas Road)	Architecture, Unique value and Style	N.A. / III	

No.	Nature of Buildings, monuments, precincts (<i>Location</i>)	Value and criteria	Existing (1995)/ Proposed Grade (2012)	Image
14.	Park View (<i>H. Parelkar and H.M. Patil</i>)	Architecture and street / sky line	N.A. / III	
15.	Shastri Building (<i>P.L. Kale Guruji Marg</i>)	Architectural and Historical	N.A. / III	
16.	Kitte Bhandari Building (<i>Gokhale Road North</i>)	Architectural, cultural, and use	N.A. / III	
17.	Shivaji Park (<i>N.C. Keluskar Road</i>)	Architecture, social, and group value	N.A. / I	
18.	Shivaji Park Precinct (<i>Not Applicable</i>)	Architectural, social / economical, and group value	N.A. / I	
19.	Sane Guruji Park (<i>Kakasabhe Gadgil Marg and Sayani Marg</i>)	Open space, social and economic history	N.A. / II-A	
20.	Sitaram Prasad Building (<i>Ranade Road</i>)	Architectural and cultural	N.A. / III	
21.	VII Mile marker (<i>S.K. Bole Road</i>)	No value assigned / deleted from 2012 list	N.A. / Del	

An Analysis and Evaluation of the Current Dadar West Heritage List

The compiled list of 21 heritage buildings and sites that has been created from the 1995 and 2012 heritage list (Table 3) revealed certain patterns in the preservation process for Dadar West. Out of the twenty-one heritage elements only two sites have no mention of architecture or design under their value or criterion classification. Sane Guruji Park and VII-mile marker are the only two that have no mention of architecture as a value criterion. There are many elements in the list provided in Table 2 that have been classified under architecture or design, although other (e.g., cultural and economic) aspects are omitted from the listing. A detailed examination of the few examples from the list will help further strengthen the argument that the current preservation model in Bombay relies on architecture and aesthetics to determine historic values. This examination will be illustrated in the chapter six. The current model of preservation in the city of Bombay also does not recognize the values of natural heritage.

Due to the dense urban fabric of Dadar West no “natural landscapes” remain, but a few examples located outside the study area will help highlight how DCR 67 inadequately recognize natural heritage. These natural elements will be discussed in detail in chapter six.

The above-mentioned shortfalls of listing pertaining to Dadar West, suggests the following critiques of the preservation process:

(1) The grading parameters for recognizing historic structures appear to favor architecture and aesthetic value over age value or cultural value. The current listing so heavily emphasizes aesthetics and architecture that not even a single historic structure is listed due to its engineering or infrastructure value.

(2) The DCR 67 vaguely defines grading criteria without establishing an articulate definition of what can be identified as heritage. The grading criteria have three categories and utilize terms such as building, structure, and site that are not defined in the policy document.

(3) DCR 67 fails to establish any firm constraints of age or setting of a resource.

(4) DCR 67 does not dictate a specific documentation procedure (i.e., format of documentation or type of photographic documentation). All of the listed structures have a proforma (documentation form), which contains 12 sections ranging from denomination (i.e., information such as name and location), significance and value, construction, condition, and transformation (i.e., section documenting current state of historic structure, including additions or changes). However, the forms do not have any substantial sources documenting historic maps or site layouts that could help one read the historic setting of the site.

(5) The DCR 67 does not compel researchers to examine the historic evolution of the properties or elaborate on any social, cultural, or natural features. The inventory form (proforma) for Deepmala and Kabutarkhana are provided in the appendices D and E respectively, as both examples will be analyzed in detail in Chapter 6 in order to illustrate the listing and documentation process of heritage structures. The shortfalls enumerated above are described in greater detail below.

Reliance on Architecture for Grading

Out of the 21 listed heritage sites for the area of Dadar West, only two listings have no mention of architecture or design as their value criteria. There are multiple examples of listings that emphasize architectural aesthetics even when there is relatively lack of architecture components. An excellent example is the Deepmala listing (Table 3, and Appendix D). The value criteria for this listing are B (per) is for date or period, B (des) unique design, D (bio) well

known person or event, and A (cul) value for cultural reasons (refer, appendix C for value criteria). Although the listing mentions historically important figure (Thakur of Mahim or the administrator of Mahim from 1750s), there is no mention of the significant person's contribution or achievements that makes this site unique. The architectural description mentions Konkani style architecture as the value defining criterion, yet there is no further explanation of this claim.

An approach that relies on design and architectural aesthetic quality to identify historic values is practical in areas that have been occupied by economically wealthy classes of society. However, in an urban section like Dadar West, in which many early residents were poor migrants, much of the building stock lacks flamboyant architecture. The architecture that truly represents Dadar West's historic past is the vernacular buildings that exhibit subtle cultural and social influences. The heavy importance that DCR 67 places on architecture is creating architectural "relics" that have been severed from many societal connections and put on the pedestal for their aesthetic value. The current grading system needs to move away from aesthetics and appreciate non-aesthetic, yet vital historic resources within the city. Area of Dadar West has few vital non-architectural cultural resources that are neglected due to the current method of identification.

The seven islands were reclaimed to form an island city of Bombay, and there are multiple key infrastructure or engineering projects that have helped the city become a megapolis. One such example is of Hornby Vellard (currently identified as Lala Lajpatrai Marg) has been discussed in detail in chapter 3, and such crucial infrastructure is not listed. Although Hornby Vellard is not part of Dadar West, its mention was necessary as to highlight the lack of celebration of such projects. Despite of this vital role played by infrastructure projects there is

not even a single mention of a project in the current listing. The grading criterion does not have a category that recognizes infrastructure projects to have any historic values.

Lack of Definitions

The DCR 67 uses key terms such as building, precincts, preservation, conservation, and protection without establishing the definitions. These words are used in the grading criteria and yet there is no mention of its definitions throughout the entire document of DCR 67. There are no further documents or a publication that defines these key terms. Due to lack of definitions the terms can be used with varying interpretations, and may be some of the previous listed heritage elements were delisted because of the variance in interpretation. For example, the 1995 DCR 67 list recognized fifteen mile markers located throughout the city, but the 2012 amended list delisted these vital historic markers. There was no clear explanation of the reason for their delisting. If the term “heritage objects” was clearly defined in DCR 67, perhaps these mile markers would still be listed.

Lack of Age Criterion

DCR 67 fails to establish an age criterion to determine the heritage value of historic sites. Due to this lack of an age criterion, some crucial components of Dadar West’s history are unrecognized. An excellent example is the VII-mile marker (Figure 4.17 and 4.18), which was deleted from the list in 2012. The object itself clearly identified its date of installation as 1816-1837, making it more than 170 years old. The object is also a cultural marker, as it indicates the presence of trade activities on the island city of Bombay for more than a hundred years. If a minimum age criterion was established, such omissions would have been less likely.

Inadequate Documentation Standards

Deficiencies in the inadequate documentation and evaluation process are illustrated in the documentation form (proforma) for Deepmala. The section 5.4 of the form is allocated for value classification. The section includes B (per): unique period, B (des): unique design, D (bio): associated with well-known person or event and A (cul): cultural value. On a brief overview all of these criteria seem to be applicable to a site, but there is no clearly defined process for how the listing has come to a conclusion to add particular criteria. The section 5.1 is for townscape, which describes the contemporary townscape setting. This contemporary setting is necessary to convey the site's contemporary contextual location. However, if the townscape from the site's period of significance had been described, this would add legitimacy to the nomination. This survey of historic and current settings will help one read the landscape (settings) of the site in better light. An assessment of the historic townscape might help preservationist better understand the spatial relations of the structure to its surroundings. Investigations that look at historic landscapes will produce a more holistic historic research.¹⁷¹

Inadequate Depth of Historical Research

None of the inventory forms examined for this study had any form of archival information (i.e., historic image or historic property map). For example, Kabutarkhana's and Cast Iron fountain's unique values are listed as, "f" value for architectural features or artifact, and "j" open space related to a distinct way of life. The form fails to mention the resource's association with the Jain Temple directly across the street and how the Jain faith played an important role in creating this monument (Figure 4.15 and 4.16). Because of this association, value section of the form should have indicated the value classification as P (cul): cultural form

¹⁷¹ Wells, "Urban Conservation Characters," 11.

or community value (refer to Appendix C for value classifications). The addition of such information would help create better preservation strategies for these heritage structures.

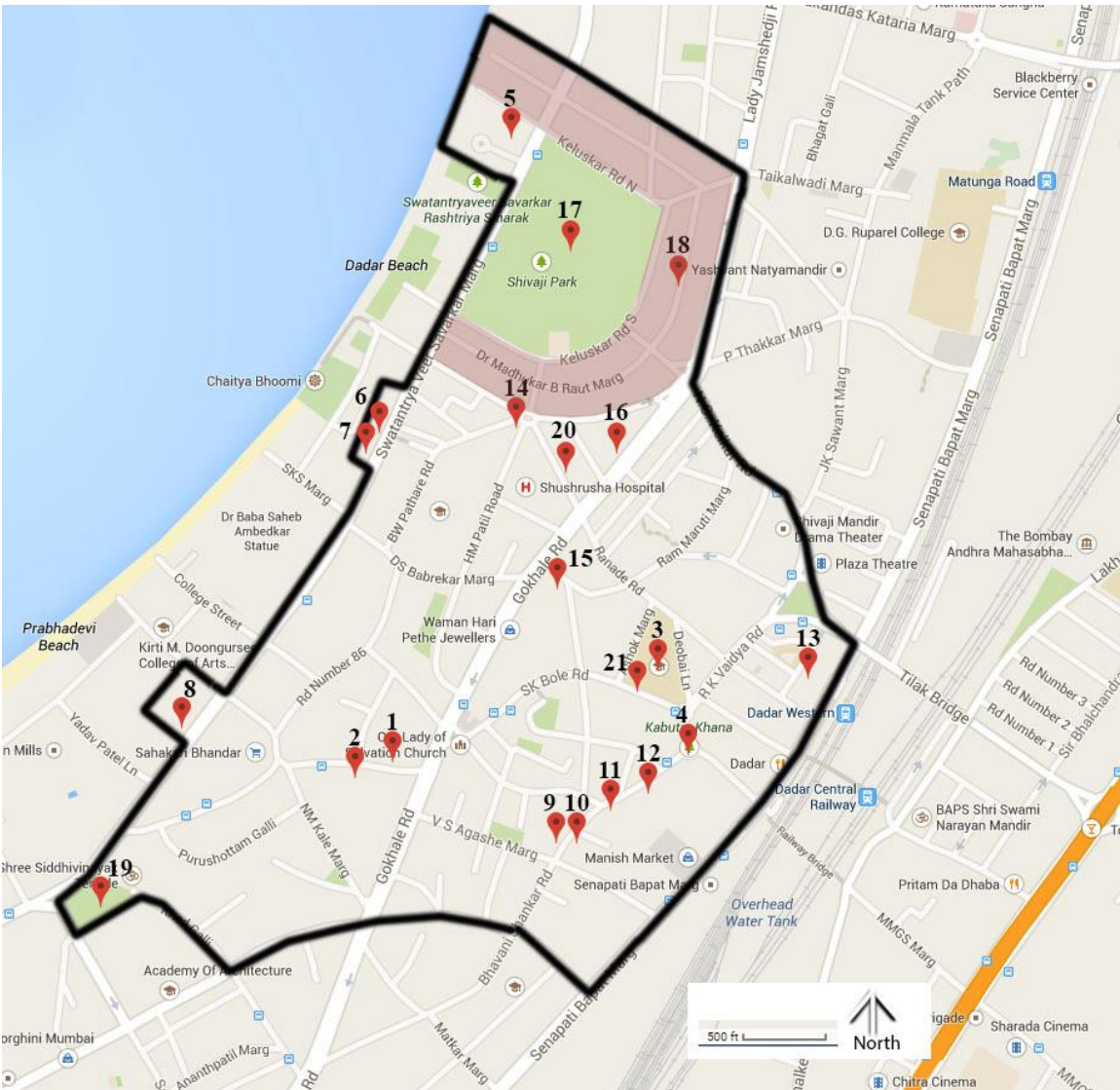


Figure 5.1: Map indicating the location of the 21 listed sites. The list of 21 sites is created from compiling the 1995 and 2012 heritage lists.

(Source: Base map from Google maps)

CHAPTER 6

CRITIQUE OF THE PROCESS OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN BOMBAY

A Closer Examination of the Preservation Process

The DCR 67 guides the preservation programs of both Mumbai Heritage Conservation Committee (MHCC) and Mumbai Metropolitan Region Heritage Conservation Society (MMR-HCS). Both the organizations use DCR 67 to guide their preservation process. Since the DCR 67 lacks clear definitions of key concepts such as historic preservation and heritage sites, just to mention a few, the studies seem to have been approached with a bias toward architecture. The *Bandra Village Precinct: A Suburban Village Renewal and Revitalization Scheme*, a study conducted by some of the established preservationists from the city for MMR-HCS, illustrates the bias toward architecture. This study created a 72-page report that documents the historic value of the fishermen village of Bandra, a suburb of Bombay. The document very eloquently describes and records the architectural typology of the village, but fails to explain the importance of natural landscape features and connections (i.e., the access to bay and how the street patterns responded to fishing activity).

The Bandra Village Precinct is one of the most ornate fishermen communities in Bombay. The report fails to explain the reason what made this settlement so unique. A distinct trait of this settlement is the small open spaces around which groups of houses are located at the periphery. The study looks at these spaces purely as architectural manifestations, including details of the general dimensions of these squares. The report also mentions the relationship of the surrounding building heights to the open space (squares). It explains the current use of the

square, but fails to describe the original use of the space (i.e., how the previous residents used the same squares). The spatial configuration of a square with houses on all four sides is a unique spatial typology in Bombay. The report does not inquire into the history of such a unique spatial configuration. There seems to be no social or cultural documentation of the current inhabitants, as the report only mentions the current residents are not involved in fishing activities as much as their ancestors. A recent demographic profile of the population would have given a better understanding of the social situation of the precinct. If only a small number of residents are involved in fishing, this may explain the change in use of the open spaces. The report focuses on the building typology, with people considered only as a secondary concern. Such architecture-heavy reports are necessary, but they cannot be used for the community's renewal and revitalization project. The village is inhabited by a population that is representative of the current users. The preservation approach should balance the needs of historic preservation, which aims to preserve the historic fabric of the city, with the requirements of the current inhabitants.¹⁷² A detailed study that only analyzes the architecture will not be able to guide the project towards a holistic preservation of historic fabric.

The report fails to conduct detailed historic research. The architecture of the precinct, which is unique to say the least, is not explored to understand the reasons behind its manifestations. Based on the research for this thesis, it is established that Salsette was under the Portuguese until the 1730s. The fisherman village may have some connections with the Portuguese spatial configurations, but such possibilities were not addressed in the report. The section of the report that comments on the squares of the village is part of Appendix I.

¹⁷² Mahajan, "Learning to Live with Heritage," 4.

What Is Missing from the Current Preservation Approach

Although the approaches taken by both MMRDA and BMC are trendsetters in their own rights, the preservation process promotes a top-down approach. All the reports that have been reviewed for this study lack any involvement with the residents or public. The scholars or professionals compiling the report did not mention any involvement with the inhabitants during the course of their studies. This approach in its own way is very elitist.

Nearly all the reports studied for this thesis were missing any substantial historical information. There were few studies that used cartographic as an excellent tool to highlight the findings of the study. The Bandra village report uses cartography as a tool to create number of maps that help the reader understand the contemporary spatial configuration, however report does not provide any historic layouts. The report also does not provide any historical images or archival documents that would help the reader understand the historic settings. These shortfalls are also evident in many of the sites listed in the current DCR 67 (2012).

Deepmala, listed on both the 1995 and the 2012 listing further highlights the shortfalls in the current preservation process for the city of Bombay. The name used on the form for the listing is Deepmala, not *Bhaskar Maruti Mandir*, the name of the temple. The site that is labeled as Deepmala has multiple elements including a temple, deepmala, and a banyan tree. The temple, Bhaskar Maruti Mandir, is the main element on this property and the deepmala, although ornate, is secondary. The deepmala¹⁷³ would not exist if there was no temple to begin with. The deepmala is a votive offering to the deity. Such cultural nuances are missed by the form, these

¹⁷³ The word “Deepmala” means deep + mala = light + garland. The deepmala is a votive offering to the deity. The offering is made to show gratitude toward the deity. The offering is only made to selected few temples or deities, by the devotee on fulfillment of a vow.

details are important as they are the defining characters of the site. The cultural details are discussed in the following text.

The form for the Deepmala listing does not mention other elements that are part of the complex. The banyan tree (*Ficus benghalensis*), is seen in the picture in Table 3 and also a part of Appendix D. The tree has cultural significance, and that is the reason it is part of the site. The tree is considered sacred as part of the Hindu beliefs system. The tree that grows as a part of a religious or temple complex is never felled, and if it has to be chopped for some reason an offering and prayers are presented to the tree before it is axed. Despite its significance in the Hindu cultural system, the form fails to mention the banyan tree or even indicate it on the map. The listing for this site relies on pure aesthetics to determine the heritage value, and lacks any Hindu cultural reference. There is no mention of the deity's statue that is located within the temple. The picture showing the statue of the deity is the topmost picture on the right is part of the Appendix D. The deepmala is dated to be from 1756, and as mentioned earlier the temple and the deity statue were present on the site before deepmala. The God (in this case Maruti) for whom the temple was built, in the konkan region (costal region of Maharashtra) is honored with temples that are never ornate. The temple exhibits very basic architecture and this is the essence of such temples. These cultural nuances are not mentioned. Even the name used for the inventory form entry, the "ornate Deepmala," is an attempt to highlight the ornate.

The Shortfalls of Historic Preservation in Bombay and Dadar West

When it established DCR 67, BMC became India's first city administration to recognize historic preservation and provide the legal backing to preserve the historic structures. The Mumbai Heritage Conservation Committee (MHCC), with its diverse board members, is a refreshing attempt by BMC to move away from the dominance of architecture. The committee

plays a key role in directing the organization's efforts by overseeing preservation activities. The committee also directs studies and implements projects. But to have a diverse committee without holistic preservation guidelines is the job half done. As a result, a number of historically important elements of Dadar West have been overlooked. These are highlighted below.

Historically Significant Natural Features

The 2012 revised heritage list still does not include a single entry that is based purely on biological or natural features. The only natural feature mentioned in the 2012 list is the mangrove area close to a historic Prong's light house. This is the only natural feature listed among the 1501 heritage sites within the city of Mumbai. The Prong's light house, built in 1885, may be the only reason this site is even listed. The amended heritage lists after 1995 and prior to 2012 seem to have a few natural features as part of the list, but the current list seems to have delisted these sites. The mention of the delisting of natural sites is mentioned in the cover letter to the 2012 amended list and is included in Appendix J. The following text will examine one such case, Gilbert Hill.

Gilbert Hill is a 66-million year old rock formation located in the suburbs of Bombay. It is a towering 200-foot tall basalt monolith. It is a unique geological formation, as there is no other outcrop of this size in its close vicinity. The cover letter of the 2012 revision of heritage list calls for the removal of Gilbert Hill, Andheri from the heritage list. The justification for its removal is not clearly stated, and no further conclusive source for further clarification was located during the course of this research. The BMC and MHMR-HCS websites although relatively up-to-date did not have any updates about these decisions. There were no secondary sources that explained the reasons for this delisting. The delisting of Gilbert Hill occurred despite its geological uniqueness, and the landmark is already subjected to high urban development

pressures. An article by Richa Pinto in *The Times of India* provides a political picture that supports development of this natural feature. The article states Gilbert Hill is to be developed for tourist activities. Due to the dense urban nature of Dadar West there are no natural features that could be discussed to highlight the shortfall to identify natural heritage and therefore a reason outside the study area had to be discussed. The pictures from the MMR-HCS report regarding Gilbert Hill are provided in the Appendix H.

Sites Associated with Historically Significant People

The current preservation process not only fails to recognize such iconic natural features, but it also fails to identify structures that were associated with historically important figures. These includes engineer N. V. Modak, who was instrumental in designing and executing a mega dam known as Modak Sagar. This project executed in early 1900s, was an instrumental infrastructure project that helped the sustained growth of Bombay. Engineer Modak was also instrumental in creating the first wastewater treatment plant in Dadar that was built in 1935. Engineer Modak was a resident of Dadar West, and the bungalow that was his residence from the 1930s until his death in 1970 is still an integral part of the Shivaji Park area. Despite his contributions to the city of Bombay, his bungalow is not mentioned in any list, although the buildings next to it are listed, under the Shivaji Park Precinct (Figures 4.23 and 4.24).

One of the key political and social figures of India, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar was a resident of Dadar West. Despite clear indications of Savarkar's presence, the structure (his residence) is not included in the list. Historically important events have occurred at Savarkar's residence. One of the most important event was when an angry mob stoned the building as Savarkar was accused to have ties with Mahatma Gandhi's assassination. A major arterial road in

close proximity is named after him, but there is no mention of his residence (Figure 4.21 and 4.22).

Underappreciated Vernacular Building Stock

The revised heritage list of 2012 was based on surveys conducted between 2004 -2007, which were intended to amend the list created in DCR 67 (1995). Yet these surveys seem to be very abrupt, as they missed multiple sites that have an obvious heritage value. Due to the scarcity of information related to the listing process, a clear reason for this lapse was not identified, but the resurvey seems to have clearly missed one of the planned neighborhoods from the 1930s. This neighborhood has some of the excellent examples of vernacular typology that has been heavily influenced by western design styles, especially Art-Deco.

The two parallel streets along Gokhale Road, Seva Bhuvan Path and D. L. Vaidya Road, have multiple structures that date from circa 1930-1940, although none of them are listed. The two parallel streets are distinct, as compared to the street layout surrounding them. The straight pattern suggests they were laid out as part of a scheme. Many of the buildings have been lost to recent re-development, but the remaining stock has a distinct vernacular tone. Some of them have distinctive Art Deco details, yet they fail to be identified as having any significant heritage value. Yet again with lack of information for the listing process, no clear reason can be identified for the site's omission from the list.



Figure 6.1: Vernacular bungalow residence along Shivsena Bhavan Path. Built in 1935, a unique blend of vernacular and European typology.

(Photograph by author)



Figure 6.2: Plaque provides name of the building and year of construction (1935).

(Photograph by author)

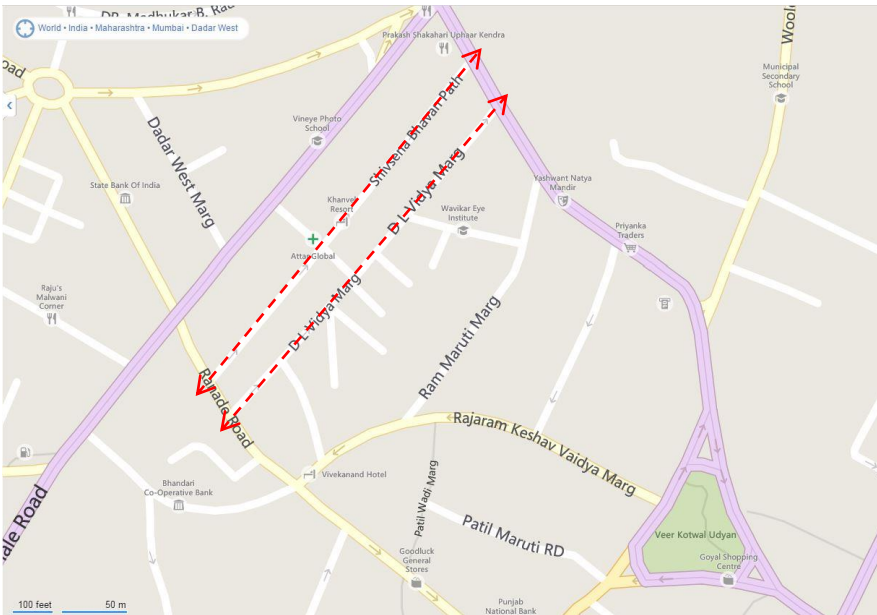


Figure 6.3: Map showing detail road network of study area. Multiple buildings with Art Deco influenced vernacular houses exist along Shivsena Bhavan Path and D. L. Vaidya Marg, indicated in red lines. Also seen in the map is the triangular Veer Kotwal Udyan, where the morning market takes place.

(Source: Bing maps)



Fig 6.4: Art Deco-inspired vernacular apartment building. Located along Shivsena Bhavan Path.

(Photograph by author)

Small-Scale Elements

The discussion regarding shortfalls of the current preservation process, until now has highlighted lack of identification of natural (environmental) heritage, buildings affiliated with historically important person(s), and structures that exhibit vernacular architectural typologies have not been listed. The current preservation process not only lacks in recognizing the above mentioned historic features, but it also fails to identify some crucial historic elements. The fifteen mile markers, would be an excellent example. Fifteen milestone markers were listed in the 1995 heritage list, but these markers are no longer listed. Although the 1995 list, clearly states these multiple markers were installed during the period of 1816-1837. These mile markers are indicative of the activities happening in Bombay during the first half of the 1800s. The fifteen mile markers originate from the Saint Thomas Cathedral, located within the British settlement in the south of Bombay that was the center of all commercial activity in the Bombay. The cathedral was close to the Bombay Green, an open area that was a nucleus for the economic activity of its time, influential until the mid-1800s. The fifteen mile markers indicated distances to the traders who approached Bombay Green by land route.

Delisting the markers seems to have been justified because the markers have lost their significance due to the change around them.¹⁷⁴ The logic behind the delisting does not seem justifiable. The landscape around these markers would surely have changed from their time of their installation (1816-1837); therefore delisting seems extreme for such a crucial history of the city of Bombay. One of the fifteen mile markers, the seventh mile marker is located in the study area in close proximity to Dadar West railway station. Figures 4.17 and 4.18 show that the milestone has been buried due to increasing the road elevation. Such indiscriminate treatments to

¹⁷⁴ Aparna Bhatte, Telephonic conversation, December 23, 2014.

historic entities are not justifiable. If the VII-mile marker is an indication of the rest of the markers, an immediate resurvey should assess their status. Immediate and strict action should be taken to amend this situation.

Culturally Significant Parks

To further this critique of current DCR 67, it will be helpful to examine a listed site of Sane Guruji Park. The park is located at the south western edge of the study area. Is a well-known open space located along the major north-south arterial road of Veer Savarkar Marg. It is a recreational area, the original name of the park was *Nardulla Tank Maidan*, which suggests that it had a pond or a tank that was filled later. There is no inquiry in the form to understand this unique aspect of the site. The name Nardulla is Muslim, and this area has always been predominantly Hindu. Yet there is no research to locate the roots of its nomenclature and understand a clear evolution of the site from a water body to a playground. The site is listed under the criteria (J) for open space and C (seh) relevance to social or economic activities. The form mentions contemporary conditions of the sites locations and uses, under the townscape column. The form for this listing also exhibits lack of historic research or documentation explaining the historic setting of the site.

Lack of Age Criteria

Another major flaw with DCR 67 is that it does not define any age criteria to determine historic value and due to this lack there are few examples within the study area that are unidentified. A good example will be the church object at Nossa Senhora de Salvacao (currently Our Lady of Salvation). A church object, seen in figures 6.6, 6.7, and 6.8, has a marker that clearly dates the structure to 1885. The object is also seen in the picture from the late eighteenth century (figure 6.5). The structure is not identified in the current historic listing. As the object

clearly illustrates its establishment from 1885, that makes the structure 130 years old. Even if DCR 67 had emulated the age criterion of ASI, which is 100 years, this structure would have been listed. The object is a clear marker of the church and the Christian community being present in Dadar West for a prolonged past, thus adding a cultural criterion to the church object's value assessment. The ASI criterion of 100 years also highlights the potential age value of the nearby graveyard. Recommendation of a specific age criterion is not part of this research, however a further detailed research and discussion is necessary before any final criterion is established. Figures 6.5 and 6.6 also show the location of the graveyard, which seems to be unchanged. Figure 6.6 illustrates the church's built fabric from the late 1800s to early 1900s and figure 6.5 is a photograph of the site from the late 1900s. With the pictographic comparison it can be concluded the graveyard is in the same location since the late 1800s. The unchanged location can not only be interpreted from the archival picture but also from the early twentieth-century mentions of the graveyard's in the gazetteer.¹⁷⁵ Multiple mentions of the graveyard in the *Gazetteer*, help the justification of the graveyard as a historic element of Dadar West. This unchanged graveyard location can not only be classified under the age criteria, but also cultural significance to this listing. The current preservation process fails to document such cultural landscapes.

Significant Modern Architecture

The current listing process not only fails to recognize cultural landscapes, but also not recognize contemporary architectural works of substantial architectural designs. The current church complex of Our Lady of Salvation (or Portuguese Church) is one such contemporary architectural project that may be worthy of preservation. The church was established in 1596,

¹⁷⁵ Edwards, *The Bombay Gazetteer, Volume III*, 95.

although since then it has been rebuilt four times.¹⁷⁶ The congregation has used the same plot since its inception; the church was rebuilt most recently in 1974-77. The architect for the project was Charles Correa. Jon T. Lang in his book, *A Concise History of Modern Architecture in India* (2002), comments that the concrete shell construction of the church was revolutionary for its time. A few of the elements employed by Correa are artful and worthy of mention. The baroque gable-like structures over the internal courtyard entry seem to pay homage to the baroque church that was demolished to construct the church we see today (figure 6.5 and 6.6). The Baroque-inspired, gable-like structures are seen in figure 6.5, one of the structures is highlighted in the figure. Correa also employed artful design elements that are worthy of mention. For example the church complex is spatially divided by sets of beams and columns that mark out spaces for specific uses there by creating visual barriers for example a set of columns that separate the graveyard and form the entrance courtyard, while also concealing rain water gutters that eliminate the need for visible rainwater drains. The contemporary design also is developed without disturbing the historic graveyard (figure 6.5).

Architect Charles Correa has artfully employed design elements that used modern materials (e.g., concrete for shell construction) to create forms that make this design unique. Correa also has used architectural morphologies that are indicative of the past (e.g., the baroque gable-like structures). All of the above-mentioned features are seamlessly blended to form a unique design. The finishes and materials are also worthy of mention. The top of the shell structures are finished with painted glass, adding drama to the play of light and also indicating reverence of painted glass in church structures. The entire church complex is concealed by a thick and tall random rubble basalt stone, compound wall. These walls add mystery to the site, as

¹⁷⁶ Patil, *Bahurangi Bahudhangi Dadar*, 28-29.

one cannot see any activities inside the church except through the opening for the main entrance. With all the above-mentioned features architect Charles Correa has implemented articulated concepts into precise design interpretations.

The design was executed in 1974-1978, making it less than forty years old. The age criterion (e.g., the 100-year age requirement of ASI) may not be applicable to this case, but the above mentioned uniqueness of the design adds artistic value to the site. The project was designed by renowned architect Charles Correa, who is known for his thoughtful details and strong conceptual platforms for his designs. Both of his traits are clearly seen at the Portuguese Church Complex. The evaluation and final decisions to incorporate modern architecture is a challenging task, and clear set of parameters and criteria should be established before such task is taken at hand. The text above has briefly stated the reasons to propose the church complex's preservation, but for further references publications by National Park Service (NPS), titled: *Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years* (1998) and *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluating* (1995), should be referred for further development of this proposal. The mentioned sources will also be useful as benchmark documents to create set of documents that can establish sound preservation policies for the city of Bombay. Although the recommended documents are crafted for preservation mechanism in the United States, the document discusses conceptual and theoretical constructs that help one identify unique features in contemporary architecture. These features of the documents render them appropriate references to develop listing parameters for contemporary architecture in Bombay.

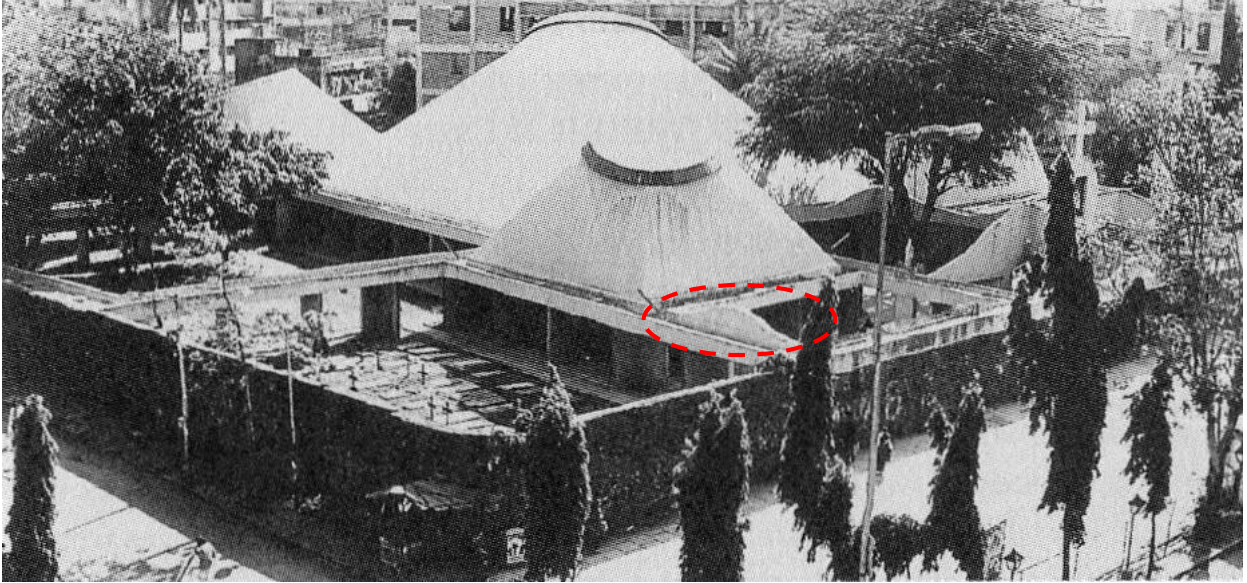


Fig 6.5: Salvation Church, designed by Charles Correa (1974-78). The graveyard is in the same location on record at least from 1730s. The red dotted ellipse highlights the Baroque-inspired gable like structure.

(Source: Concise History of Modern Architecture in India)

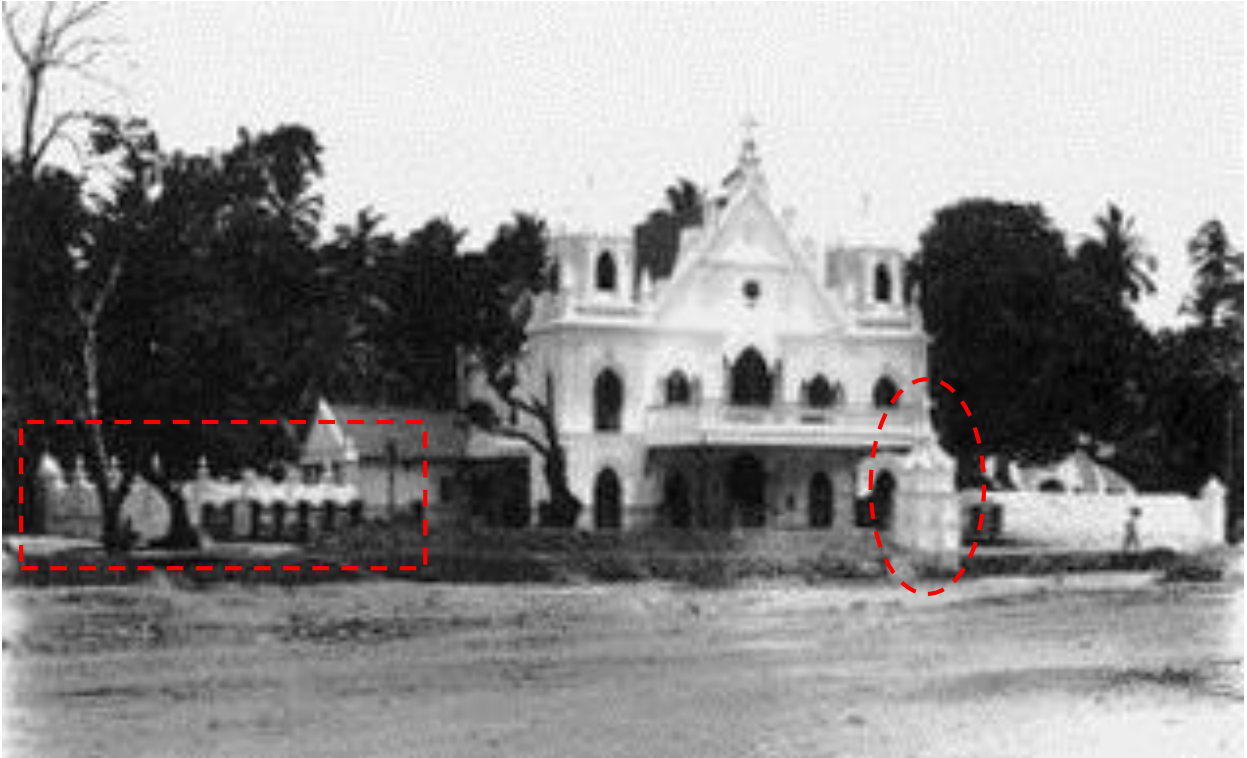


Fig 6.6: Old Portuguese church late 1800 – early 1900. The structure highlighted on the right is still on the site with a clear date and structurally in sound condition. Also highlighted on the left is the graveyard at corner location, which seems unchanged.

(Source: [http://lh4.ggpht.com/_kpWpvtDX5bY/ShFqdydj0ZI/AAAAAAAAAIk/uepF2oQiAHs/vintage% 20mumbai% 2036% 20\(portugese% 20church% 20dadar.jpg](http://lh4.ggpht.com/_kpWpvtDX5bY/ShFqdydj0ZI/AAAAAAAAAIk/uepF2oQiAHs/vintage%20mumbai%2036%20(portugese%20church%20dadar.jpg))



6.7 & 6.8: Contemporary photograph of Church object.

(Photograph by author)



6.7 & 6.8: Contemporary photograph of Church object.

(Photograph by author)

Conclusion

From the assessment of multiple listings undertaken for this research, it is evident the current preservation process relies on architecture to judge the value of historic sites. This approach of judging the value of historic resources is based on aesthetic values that, although relatively easy to document, fails to account for the dynamic of social and cultural activities that give the place its character.

This reliance on architecture to determine the historic value of sites has its roots in the laws established by the British during the Victorian era. The agencies started by the British during this era are still part of the preservation process in India. Even after India attained independence in 1947, the structure and functioning of the organizations did not change. The classification criteria used to identify significant historic resources, which were based on preservation understanding of the last century, have not been altered to accommodate contemporary understanding of historic preservation.

In 1995, Bombay Municipal Corporation, with establishment of DCR 67 and MHCC, became the county's first city government to identify and preserve historic resources. This was the first step taken by the preservation mechanism in the country to work at preserving the historic sites from the local level and do not depend on the central government for economic support. Although the steps taken by BMC in creating preservation process for the city are credible, a few flaws need to be addressed to make the preservation process even stronger. The preservation process heavily relies on architectural evaluation. A social, cultural, and ecological value of sites are not completely understood, and therefore lacks the appreciation of such vital processes. BMC's classification approach needs to analyze the site and surroundings and analyze the historic element in the surrounding landscape. This study looked at multiple examples where

the focus of research was on aesthetic values, while other elements worthy of preservation were not recognized (e.g., residences of regional and national figures). Although the city's preservation process recognizes precincts, not all aspects of these precincts are recognized. The preservation process seems to be weak when evaluating non-architectural elements such as natural processes, social dynamics, and cultural values.

To amend these shortfalls the organization needs to strengthen its conceptual understanding of preservation philosophies. The next chapter will examine some key preservation theories and suggest how changes to DCR 67 might build on their ideas. With this understanding, recommendations will be made to strengthen the city's preservation process.

CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE PRESERVATION PROCESS
IN BOMBAY

As mentioned in the introduction chapter, the process of appreciating and preserving historic elements at a local level is a relatively new field, especially in developing countries. Bombay is at the forefront of historic preservation activities in India. Bombay was the first city in the country to legally protect heritage elements and create preservation plans at the city scale. This led to formation of the *Development Control Regulation 67*. The DCR 67 was published in 1995, and since then no other city in India has enacted a similar initiative.¹⁷⁷

Although DCR 67 was a path-breaking attempt to preserve historic properties at the city scale, it has some conceptual shortfalls. The shortfalls have been discussed at length in the previous chapters, yet this will be an appropriate juncture to summarize the critique and provide recommendations to improve the preservation process.

The DCR 67 fails to establish definitions for historic elements. The current DCR 67 (1995) document mentions buildings and precincts, but fails to explain or elaborate on what it means by buildings and precincts. The document needs to establish concepts and terms such as preservation, conservation, buildings, precincts, sites, structures, and objects. This establishment of definitions would have assured a thorough guided survey that would not have missed historic objects such as a mile marker and the church object, both of which have been discussed in detail in the previous chapters. An appropriate example to develop definitions of resources is

¹⁷⁷ Mahajan, "Heritage in Urban Indian Context," 128.

Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning, by Anne Derry et al., published in 1992. This publication is divided into five chapters. The chapters are divided as follows: (1) Pre survey or planning a survey, (2) Conducting a survey, (3) Review of survey data, (4) Use of survey data to reach to a conclusion, and (5) Publication. Each chapter establishes definitions of key terms, and further explains in detail the various components of a historic survey. Although this may seem redundant information, such a document helps to avoid individual interpretation and deviation from the set standards.

The guidelines developed by Derry *et al.* were specifically designed to explain a survey process that conformed to the standards and policies established in the United States by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, (NHPA) as amended. The U.S. National Park Service is federal agency designated by the NHPA to guide and oversee historic preservation at the national level. NPS has published numerous documents that explain various aspects of the theory and practice of historic preservation, as established in the NHPA. The DCR 67 and preservation mechanism of Bombay currently lacks similar guidance documents. Resources similar to the *Guide for Local Surveys* should be crafted to explain the functioning of DCR 67 and the preservation mechanism at the metropolitan level of Bombay. Documents that explain the conceptual constructs of preservation process would help preservationists realize the rationale that underlies the various criteria used to identify and evaluate historic resources. With this gained insight, a better historic preservation process may emerge.

The current approach represented by DCR 67 fails to establish an age criterion upon which to base the justification of preservation of the historic resource. The current approach by DCR 67 documents the age of listed structure, but age is not used as a criterion for judging its historic value. Although superficially this lack of age a criterion seems to free the evaluation

process from the dogmatic following of an arbitrary number of years to justify heritage value, yet the lack of an age criterion weakens the preservation approach. The age value helps one read the setting of a historic structure, and this understanding aids in drawing better preservation approaches. Typically, historic resources have endured many years before they are identified as historic resource. A process that identifies this passage of time will help in determining the “age of significance.” This understanding would help the preservation mechanism to recognize the historic setting of the element.¹⁷⁸ Such a well-rounded understanding of age and setting of the heritage element would support a more holistic preservation approach. Sauer further stated that perception of time would help one to appreciate the “setting” of the element in its period of significance and enhance the understanding of the current situation of the element.¹⁷⁹

Similar justifications were raised by Alois Riegl in his seminal work, “The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and Its Development.” Riegl further articulate a difference between historic value and age value, and how these values come together to impart meaning to a historic structure. According to Riegl’s concepts age value is evident in the decay of the historic element’s physical fabric. The historic value on the other hand tries to restrict, or at times erase, any presence of decay. The current model of preservation in Bombay functions under the heavy influence of historic value. Riegl states that a holistic approach to preservation depends on calibrating age value and historic value to suit the preservation of the desired historic element. If the preservation mechanism at Bombay develops a document based on a deep exploration of the conceptual constructs underlying historic preservation, it will help strengthen the city’s

¹⁷⁸ Carl O. Sauer, “Regional Realities in Economics (1936), ed. Martin S. Kenzer,” in *Carl Sauer on Culture and Landscape: Readings and Commentaries*, ed. William M. Denevan and Kent Mathewson (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 2009), 120.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 132.

preservation process. This deep understanding is only gained from extensive historic research, which is not conducted within the current bounds of the preservation model outlined by DCR 67.

The DCR 67 does not specify a format to document a sites' history. The inventory form does include sections that examine the history of sites in detail. However the DCR 67, does not dictates format for graphic or pictorial documentation. All the forms examined for this research provided substantial and high-quality photographic documentation. The photo documentation of the structure captures the current state and provides a visual aid for readers of the forms to better understand the resource's contextual setting. However, since there were no archival photos, and there was no attempt to elaborate on the historic setting of the site.

The built fabric in certain sections of Bombay is extremely dense. Pictorial documentation oriented to document a specific feature within the dense urban fabric will be an excellent tool in understanding the setting of the historic element within the urban context. A figure ground plan of a historic resource and its surroundings would help one understand the arrangements, alignments and orientations of the site. J. B. Jackson emphasizes the very facet of cartographic documentation by saying a diagram gives a sense of site's setting, as it helps one to easily understand the spatial configuration of the site.¹⁸⁰ Aerial or Satellite imagery may also be useful in certain cases, as these images give detailed textures of ground that may be unrecognized by other means of observations. These satellite images also can be used to create spatial models in computer programs such as Geographic Information System (GIS) to better understand the resources present on a site.

¹⁸⁰ Tracy Walker Moir-McClean, "Observations of Faith: Landscape Context in Design Education," in *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J. B. Jackson*, ed. Chris Wilson and Paul Groth (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 148.

Oral historical records and interviews and other forms of ethnographic studies would help the researcher understand the evolution of historic sites.¹⁸¹ Such investigations would help explain the site's function. This gained insight would not only help guide the research, but also help analyze the gathered information.

As previously mentioned, the official listings for Dadar West have not explored the historic resources (e.g., archival pictures or historic property maps) to determine the historic setting and historic values for the site. Due to this lack of information, no clear date of a site's significance can be established, and therefore in many cases field notes were used to describe the site's significance and value classification. A good example is of Dhuruwadi, (Appendix F).

Bombay's current preservation model does not recognize historic infrastructure projects. This has been briefly mentioned in Chapter 5. This seems to be appropriate juncture to illustrate the lacuna and illustrate the importance of the unlisted historic infrastructure projects. Multiple infrastructure projects had to be weaved together in a tight knit of services to help the city become an economic capital of the country. Some key infrastructure projects are part of the Dadar West study area. Tulsi Pipe Road is one such case of crucial but unrecognized infrastructure. A significant share of the water supply to the city of Bombay comes from the Tulsi Dam. The dam was constructed in 1879. It was located roughly 20 miles north of the fort, which was the center of economic, social, and political center of Bombay. A pipeline was laid that brought water from the dam to the city of Bombay. A road was constructed over the pipeline, which thus lent its name to the road. The road runs parallel to the railway tracks. Currently the road is also identified as Senapati Bapat Marg. Due to lack of access to data it

¹⁸¹ Anne Derry, H. Ward Jandl, Carol D. Shull, and Jan Thorman, *Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning*, ed. Patricia L. Parker (Washington DC: U.S. Department of Interior, 1985), 40.

cannot be confirmed whether Tulsi Pipe retains the material integrity, but it can be assured the pipeline is still functional and is an integral part of the city's infrastructure.

There are multiple examples of other historical and crucial infrastructure projects scattered throughout city of Bombay that are unidentified by the current historic grading process. One such example is of a bridge located right on the periphery of the study area. The bridge was built in 1925.¹⁸² The bridge spans over the train track connecting Dadar East to Dadar West. Such historical infrastructure projects have become an integral part of the city, and these projects need to be appreciated for their contributions towards making city of Bombay. The coming together of people, architecture, and infrastructure renders the city a habitable space and this amalgamation should be recognized to create and maintain an excellent city.¹⁸³ The preservation model should revise to include preservation policy for the city's infrastructure.

Conceptual Recommendations

The current preservation approach does not have a set age criterion. Concepts developed by Riegl might form the basis for changes to the preservation process that will remedy current shortfall. Riegl defines age value as a value that is created with passage of time, which results in decay and disintegration of the historic element. The age value intensifies as the decay of monument build up. The historical value prompts an attempt to deal with the monument by "freezing it" to a particular point in its evolution. Riegl also introduces another value that works on the same conceptual divide with historical value, and he labeled it newness value. He noted that newness value is at work when a monument is interpreted by a novice (uninformed person) in that case the historic element is never allowed to exhibit age value. According to Riegl's

¹⁸² Patil, *Bahurangi Bahudhangi Dadar*, 25.

¹⁸³ Michael Neuman and Sheri Smith. "City Planning and Infrastructure: Once and Future Partners." *Journal of Planning History*, 9, no. 21, (2010): 21.

theory, a fine balance between the historical value and age value will provide an appropriate response to preserve a historic resource. The current preservation approaches by BMC and MMR-HCS attempt to halt all changes to a historic resource. In more than one way this is the prime “motive” of historic preservation. Yet Alois Riegl states that unprejudiced preservation is a fine balance between historic value and age value. On a superficial level the first two values appear to be similar but, deep understanding of these concepts will help recognize the core value of historic structures that will guide preservationist in Bombay towards a more complete, “holistic” practice. Only then can preservation strategies be imagined that do not fossilize the “monument” but rather make it a part of the living landscape.

Another approach toward holistic preservation was expressed by John Ruskin. Ruskin mentioned a subtle difference between seeing and observing. In seeing, the person is involved intimately with the subject. Observing was defined by him as having a scientific approach, in which a rigorous method is applied that documents the physical elements but fails to see its essence.¹⁸⁴

The preservation model of the city is currently functions under the influence of observing and categorizing things in “compartments” labeled according to superficial interpretation, without understanding the roots of historic resources. Most of the inventory forms analyzed for this study were observed to exhibit a process that is based on “observing.” The section in the inventory forms that comments on significance and value of the sites provides information that could be compared to field notes. Apart from the date of construction of the building and easily gathered information regarding its past users, most of the forms failed to provide substantial historic information. This approach of “observing” leads to the fossilization of the historic

¹⁸⁴ Denis E. Cosgrove, “John Ruskin and the Geographical Imagination,” *Geographical Review* 69, no. 1 (1979): 45.

properties. Without documentation of the site's evolution and present setting, historic preservation interventions might be more inclined toward arresting any form of decay. Such incomplete understanding of historic resources not only attempt to completely erase their age value but also risk freezing them, disconnecting them from their settings.

Such narrow perception of historic preservation not only fails to understand the evolution present within the site, but absolutely fails to understand the site's interaction with its surroundings. This lack of understanding of connections that surpass the "site" or individual scale is seen to be at work in the present preservation process. The current working of the preservation processes in Bombay recognizes precincts, yet it does not seem to consider landscape outside the site boundary. The focus of investigations pertains to architecture. The Bandra Village study illustrates this point, in which the investigation focuses on documenting the architectural typology, not understanding the human-to-nature relations. The report analyzed the architectural typologies around the precinct, but failed to highlight the uniqueness of its landscape elements, and such lack of understanding leads to lapsed preservation effort.

To remedy such shortfalls, works of Carl Sauer, Yu-Fu Tuan, and J. B. Jacksons would be important. Carl Sauer's influential work, *"The Morphology of Landscape,"* can be deemed as the seminal work for English-speaking audience. In the early 1920s, Sauer introduced the concept of *Cultural Landscape*. He defined cultural landscape as follows: "The Cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by cultural group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result."¹⁸⁵ This concept proved to be a stepping stone for fields such as historic preservation to realize the importance of the surroundings of "architectural monuments." J. B. Jackson built on this concept to state the

¹⁸⁵ Carl Ortwin Sauer, "The Morphology of Landscape," University of California Publication, *Geography*, 2 no. 2 (1925): 309-310.

importance of various elements that come together to impart meaning to the built environment. Jackson further stated the importance of documenting these layers using various tools. He also suggested that diagrammatic representations are one of the most proficient means to convey architectural ideas.¹⁸⁶

Works of Yu-Fu Tuan will also be important to understand the true value of historic elements. In his essay, “Significance of the Artifact,” Tuan comments that cities are complex entities and multiple values need to unite to create a singular entity of the city. When speaking about architecture, Tuan states that there is a need to document and understand architecture, but one cannot be restricted to plain architectural documentation. Tuan further states that “artifacts” tell more about the people who created these monuments than the object itself.¹⁸⁷ Historic preservation deals with nurturing this “documentation,” and such conceptually-informed approaches will lead toward a holistic preservation process for Bombay.

Concluding Comments

The City of Bombay, compared to most other Indian cities, is very young. Despite its relatively young age, it has amassed immense political, social, cultural, and economic clout not only on the regional level but on a national level as well. The scholars of various disciplines have documented and commented on the city. Despite the quantity of scholarly research, most works have mostly focused on the southern section of the city. Historical explorations of the city also have been concentrated on the mid-nineteenth century to early-twentieth century. Similar historical studies of the northern section of the city are nearly non-existent.

¹⁸⁶ Moir-McClean, “Landscape Context in Design Education,” 148-149.

¹⁸⁷ Yi-Fu Tuan, “The Significance of the Artifact,” *Geographical Review*, Vol. 70, No. 4 (Oct., 1980): 464.

The historic literature regarding the study area of Dadar West was restricted to just one book that was published in Marathi. A similar lack of historical research for other urban sections of Bombay is reflected in the city's historic preservation process.

In 1995, Bombay became India's first city to recognize and legally protect its historic elements. A set of guiding principles was compiled to form the Development Control Regulations 67. The document (DCR 67), despite its avant-garde approach, has some shortfalls. The DCR 67 uses terms such as preservation, conservation, and restoration to list a few, yet these key terms are not defined. A clear definition should be established to help appropriate interpretation and implementation of the DCR 67. One of the biggest flaws that was highlighted during the course of this research was that DCR 67 does not have an age criterion to evaluate heritage values of structures. Despite these shortfalls the preservation method is relatively thorough process of listing of historic structures.

Credit should be given to the preservation mechanism in Bombay for installing such a systematic approach. A detailed investigation and evaluation process is followed by listing of historic resources. The standard form (proforma) used to document the listed historic structure seems to conduct a relative thorough investigation of the historic structure under scrutiny.

Despite the rigorous structure of the inventory form, the historic assessment for the listed entities researched for this thesis lacked a thorough exploration of a resource's history. The history section of the inventory form seems to be populated with field notes, which lack any citations to published or archival materials. If thorough investigations of the historic properties are undertaken, it will help historic preservationists and other residents of Bombay to better understand the significance of historic resources. Once this thorough understanding of individual historic resource is developed, the preservationist will be well informed to analyze and

appreciate the urban history. This understanding of historic resources at urban scale will not only provide sound preservation strategies for historic resources but also aid in informed city development.

The current working of preservation for the city does have a category that documents precincts, but emphasizes architectural elements within the precinct. The cultural, social, and environmental elements are not documented, and this flaw was highlighted during this study. The preservation model should move away from singular historic building protection to consider urban history and ways to celebrate it.

The 2012 heritage list includes 1501 listed sites and structures; this list was created by surveying an area of 437 square kilometers. The survey included the areas of the city and suburbs of Bombay. Although Bombay is a highly dense urban environment, the city exhibits unique natural heritage (e.g., Gilbert Hill) that seem to be missing from the DCR 67 list. Out of 1501 sites only one site has been listed for its natural values. Even its listing is due to a historic lighthouse (Prongs Light House) in close proximity. The preservation process should remedy this lacuna in recognizing and celebrating natural heritage.


During the course of this research multiple sites were noticed that exhibited historic values but seemed to be unrecognized despite a strong presence of historic cultural landscapes. Raichandwadi is one such example that needs to be recognized as a historic cultural landscape and preserved. The preservation process for the city should also understand the importance of the cultural landscape and incorporate this vital category of historic preservation in their operations.





The Final Summation





1995 saw the publishing of the first heritage list for the city of Bombay. The list was part of the Development Control Regulations 67, a document that also established the grading and


listing criteria that were implemented to create the list. A subsequent major amendment to the list happened in 2012. The amendment was restricted to the heritage list. The section of the document that defined the grading and listing process was unchanged. The 1995 heritage list included eight buildings and one milestone from the study area of Dadar West. The 2012 heritage list included 20 buildings, and the one milestone was delisted from the amended list. Although the number of listed buildings on the 2012 list more than doubled, many of the crucial historic elements from the study area of Dadar West have been omitted. During the course of this research nine unlisted heritage elements were identified that are indicative of Dadar West's history. These nine sites are presented in Table 4.

Table 4: List of heritage elements from the Dadar West area that have not been listed in the 2012 heritage list. Note: these resources were identified according to the existing grading criteria developed by BMC and MMR-HCS. Please refer to Appendix C for the proposed grading criteria.

Number	Name of Property [Current names] and Notes	Appropriate Category	Years of Significance	Proposed Grade	Picture
1.	Raichandwadi (Coconut wine or Toddy has been made in the area since 1726. By 1910, 17 alcohol distilleries operated at Dadar West)	Cultural Landscape	1726,1879 and 1910	III E (GRF)	
2.	Our Lady of Salvation Church (Graveyard and Object)	Cultural Site (Religious and Culture)	1596 and 1885	II A (sef)	

Number	Name of Property [Current names] and Notes	Appropriate Category	Years of Significance	Proposed Grade	Picture
	(Church established on site since the 1596. The location of graveyard unchanged since 1800s and church object dated from 1885)				
3.	VII mile, mile marker (The markers indicate distance from the main center of business district the Bombay Green. Markers indication of distance for traders coming via land route)	Object (Trade and Economy)	1816 to 1837	III C (seh)	
4.	Savarkar Sadan (Residence of a nationally important freedom fighter. Historical events such as vandalism post Gandhi's assassination had occurred on the site)	Famous Person (Architecture)	1930s	II A (ev)	
5.	Modak Bungalow (Residence of regionally important engineer. Modak's contribution to helping Bombay become a megapolis cannot be denied)	Famous Person (Architecture)	1930s	II A (bio) / B (bio)	

Number	Name of Property [Current names] and Notes	Appropriate Category	Years of Significance	Proposed Grade	Picture
6.	D.L. Vaidya Marg and ShivSena Bhuvan Path (Most of the remaining buildings date from 1930-40s. Building typology exhibits vernacular interpretation of European design styles, e.g. villa style and art-deco)	Precinct (Site)	1830 to 1840	II B (per)	
7.	Veer Kotwal Udyan (A culturally and commercial important water tank, until it was filled in the early 1900s to create a park)	Historic Site	1920s	III J (opn)	
8.	Plaza Morning Market (The market developed due to the water tank mentioned above. Although the tank was lost the market still happens on the same site)	Cultural Landscape	1860s / 1900 - till date	II B (uu)	
8.	Sane Guruji Udyan (Old name, Nardulla Tank, indicates a water body was filled in to create a park. The previous name has Islamic roots; the area is predominantly Hindu, yet this history is not explored)	Historic Site	1910-20s	III J (opn)	

Number	Name of Property [Current names] and Notes	Appropriate Category	Years of Significance	Proposed Grade	Picture
9.	Tulsi Pipe Road (The road is named due to the water conduit that carries water from Tulsi lake, approx. twenty miles north, the pipeline was laid in 1880s)	Infrastructure	1880s	II B (lm)	

Most of the heritage elements compiled in Table 4 are non-architectural. These sites were not previously recognized due to an interpretation and application of DCR 67 that relies primarily on architectural elements to determine heritage value. Although the DCR 67 does not clearly identify cultural landscapes, it does mention the need to preserve such spaces of social interests that are representing a regional or a communal past. These spaces could be listed and preserved if thorough historical research was conducted, followed by site survey that reexamined the area. The DCR 67 needs to emphasize that such spaces should be recognized. To further strengthen a more holistic approach, the preservation process for the city should create a category that recognizes such collective spaces, and application of DCR 67 should move away from reliance on architecture and aesthetics to recognize heritage values.

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APPENDIX A
EXCERPT FROM THE DEVELOPMENT CONTROL REGULATIONS 67.

Heritage Regulations for Greater Bombay 1995

Regulation No. 67 regarding conservation of listed buildings, areas, artefacts, structures and precincts of historical, aesthetical, architectural and cultural value Final sanction to the.....

GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA

URBAN DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT

Mantralaya, Bombay 400 032,

Resolution No. DCR. 1090/3197/RDP/UD-11, Dated 21st April 1995

RESOLUTION

MAHARASHTRA REGIONAL AND TOWN PLANNING ACT, 1966.

Whereas, the Municipal Corporation of Greater Bombay (hereinafter referred to as "the said Municipal Corporation") being the Planning Authority for the areas under its jurisdiction under clause (19) of section 2 of the Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act, 1966 (Mah. XXXVII of 1966) (hereinafter referred to as "the said Act") has, by a declaration under sub-section (1) of section 23, read with section 38 of the said Act, given notice of its intention to prepare a Revised Development Plan for Greater Bombay, which has been published in the *Maharashtra Government Gazette*, Bombay Divisional Supplement of 13th January, 1977;

And whereas, the Municipal Corporation after following the legal formalities stipulated under the said Act has submitted under sub-section (1) of section 30 of the said Act, the Revised Draft Building Bye-Laws and **Development Control Rules** for Greater Bombay to the State Government on 30th April 1985 for sanction;

And whereas, by Government Notice, Urban Development Department, No. DCR. 1089/3814/RDP/UD-11, dated 14th December 1989, published in the *Maharashtra Government Gazette*, Part I, Konkan Divisional Supplement, the draft Development Control Rules for Greater Bombay, 1989 (hereinafter called "said draft Development Control Rules") were published for public objections and suggestions;

And whereas, it was considered expedient to modify the said draft Development Control Rules by the addition of two Regulations No. 67 and 68 as specified in the Schedule appended thereto;

And whereas, by Government Notification, Urban Development Department, No. DCR-1090/3197(a)/RDP/UD-11, dated 20th February 1991, published in the *Maharashtra Government Gazette*, Part I, Konkan Divisional Supplement, the Draft Development Control Regulation No. 67 for Greater Bombay, 1991 was published for inviting suggestions and objections.

And whereas, by the notification No. DCR-1090/3197(b) RDP/UD-11, dated 20th February 1991 a list of such buildings and precincts of historical, aesthetical, architectural or cultural value was also published and objections and suggestions on the said list were also invited;

And whereas, Government had appointed Shri G. S. Pantbalekundri, Deputy Director of Town Planning and *Ex-Officio* Deputy Secretary to Government, Urban Development Department to be the officer for the purpose of hearing objections/suggestions from any person in respect of the said Draft Regulation No. 67 and to submit his report thereon for the consideration of Government ;

And whereas, on September 27, 1991, Government had published a subsequent notification setting out the classification of the buildings/precincts in certain grades and indicating the effect of the Draft Regulation No. 67 on the different grades of the said buildings and precincts and called for suggestions on the said notification;

And whereas, the said officer had submitted his report after giving due hearing to the persons who have raised objections and given suggestions on the said Draft Regulation No. 67 and the said classification;

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And whereas, in accordance with sub-section (3) of section 31 of the said Act, Government has taken into consideration the objections and suggestions received and report of the said officer;

And whereas, in accordance with first proviso to sub-section (1) of section 31 of the said Act the Government, has by its notification No. TPB-4387/716/UD-11 (RDP), dated 23rd February 1995 extended the period for sanctioning the said Development Plan and draft Development Control Regulations up to and inclusive of 31st October 1995;

Now therefore, in exercise of powers conferred by sub-section (1) of section 31 of the said Act and all other powers enabling it in that behalf, the Government hereby—

(a) Sanctions the Development Control Regulation No. 67 alongwith Appendix VIIA as specified in the Schedule appended hereto and;

(b) Fixes 1st June 1995 to be the date on which the said Regulation No. 67 as specified in the Schedule to the notification shall come in to force.

SCHEDULE

Regulation No. 67.—Conservation of listed buildings, areas, artefacts, structures and precincts of historical and/or aesthetical and/or architectural and/or cultural value (heritage buildings and heritage precincts).

1. *Applicability.*—This regulation will apply to those buildings, artefacts, structures and/or precincts of historical and/or aesthetical and/or architectural and/or cultural value (hereinafter referred to as Listed Buildings/Heritage Buildings and Listed precincts/Heritage precincts) which will be listed in notification(s) to be issued by the Government.

2. *Restriction on Development/Redevelopment/Repairs, etc.*—(i) No development or redevelopment or engineering operation or additions, alterations, repairs, renovation including the painting of buildings, replacement of special features or demolition of the whole or any part thereof or plastering of said listed/heritage buildings or listed/Heritage precincts shall be allowed except with the prior written permission of the Commissioner. The Commissioner shall act on the advice of/in consultation with the Heritage Conservation Committee to be appointed by Government (hereinafter called "the said Heritage Conservation Committee") :

Provided that in exceptional cases for reasons to be recorded in writing the Commissioner may overrule the recommendation of the Heritage Conservation Committee :

Provided that the power to overrule the recommendations of the Heritage Conservation Committee shall not be delegated by the Commissioner to any other officer.

(ii) In relation to religious buildings in the said list, the changes, repairs, additions, alterations and renovations required on religious grounds mentioned in sacred texts, or as a part of holy practices laid down in religious codes shall be treated as permissible, subject to their being in accordance and consonance with the original structure and architecture, designs, aesthetics and other special features thereof. Provided that before arriving at his decision, the Commissioner shall take into consideration the recommendations of the Heritage Conservation Committee.

3. *Preparation of list of Heritage Buildings and Heritage Precincts.*—The said list of buildings, artefacts, structures and precincts of historical, and/or aesthetical, and/or architectural and/or cultural value to which this regulation applies shall not form part of this Regulation for the purpose of Section 37 of the Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act, 1966. This list may be supplemented, altered, deleted or modified from time to time by Government on receipt of proposals from the Commissioner or from the said Heritage Conservation Committee, or by Government *suo motu*, provided that before the list is supplemented, altered, deleted or modified, objections and suggestions from the public be invited and duly considered by the Commissioner and/or by Government.

4. *Power to Alter, Modify or Relax Regulations.*—With the approval of Government and after consultation with the said Heritage Conservation Committee, the Commissioner shall have the power to alter, modify or relax the provisions of other Regulations of the Development Control Regulations of Greater Bombay, 1991 (hereinafter referred to as "the said Regulations") if it is needed for the conservation, preservation or retention of historical, aesthetical, cultural or architectural quality of any listed Buildings/heritage building or listed Precincts/heritage precinct.

5. *Hearing etc. to persons likely to be affected.*—Provided that in case any alterations, modifications or relaxations of any of the provisions of the Development Control Regulation, 1991 will cause undue loss to the owners/lessees of Heritage Buildings/Heritage Precincts, the Commissioner shall give an opportunity of hearing to the said owner/lessee and to the public.

6. *Grant of Transferable Development Rights in cases of loss of Development Rights.*—If any application for development is refused under this Regulation or conditions are imposed while permitting such development which deprive the owner/lessee of any unconsumed FSI the said owner/lessee shall be compensated by grant of Development Rights Certificate (hereinafter referred to as "TDR") of the nature set out in Development Control Regulation No. 34 and Appendix VIIA and as may be prescribed by Government from time to time. The TDR from heritage buildings in the island city may also be consumed in the same ward from which it originated. The extent of TDR Certificates to be granted may be determined by the Commissioner (if required in consultation with the Heritage Conservation Committee and will not be awarded unless sanctioned by Government) *on recommendation of*

7. *Maintaining Sky Line.*—Buildings included in Listed Heritage Precincts shall maintain the sky line in the precinct (without any highrise development) as may be existing in the surrounding area, so as not to diminish or destroy the value and beauty of the said listed Heritage buildings/Heritage precincts. The development within the precinct shall be in accordance with the guidelines framed by Commissioner in consultation with Heritage Conservation Committee.

8. *Restrictive Covenants.*—Restrictions existing as on date of this notification imposed under covenants, terms and conditions on the leasehold plots either by State Government or by Bombay Port Trust or by Bombay Municipal Corporation shall continue to be imposed in addition to Development Control Regulations. However in case of any conflict with the heritage preservation interest, the said Regulations shall prevail.

9. *Repair Fund.*—Non-cessed buildings included in the said list shall be repaired by the owners/lessees of the said buildings themselves or if they are cessed buildings, those can be repaired by MHADA or by the owner or by the Co-operative Society of the owners and/or occupiers of the old building. With a view to give monetary help for such repairs a separate fund may be created, which would be kept at the disposal of Municipal Commissioner, Bombay Municipal Corporation, who will make disbursement from the funds in consultation with Heritage Conservation Committee. Provision for such a fund may be made through District Planning and Development Council Budget.

10. *Grading of the Listed Buildings/Listed Precincts.*—In the last column of the said list of Heritage buildings Heritage precincts, "Grades" such as I, II or III have been indicated. The meaning of these Grades and basic guidelines for development permissions are as follows :—

Listing does not prevent change of ownership or usage. However such usage should be in harmony with the said listed precinct/building. Care will be taken to ensure that the development permission relating to these buildings is given without delay.

"WHAT POSTERITY WOULD NOT WILLINGLY LET DIE"

Grade-I	Grade-II	Grade-III
<p><i>A. Definition—</i> Heritage Grade-I comprises of buildings, and precincts of national or historical importance, embodying excellence in architectural style, design, technology and material usage; they may be associated with a great historical event, personality, movement or institution. They have been and are, the prime landmarks of the City. <i>Then why not Portuguese Church?</i></p>	<p>Heritage Grade-II (A & B) comprises of buildings, of regional or local importance, possessing special architectural or aesthetical merit, cultural or historical value, though of a lower scale than in Heritage Grade. They are local landmarks, contributing to the image and identity of the City. They may be the work of master craftsmen, or may be models of proportion and ornamentation, or designed to suit particular climate.</p>	<p>Heritage Grade-III comprises of buildings, and precincts of importance for town scape; they evoke architectural aesthetic or sociological interest though not as much as in Heritage Grade-II. These contribute to determine the character of the locality, and can be representative of life style of a particular community or region and, may also be distinguished by setting on a street-line, or special character of the facade and uniformity of height, width and scale.</p>
<p><i>B. Objective—</i> Heritage Grade-I richly deserves careful preservation.</p>	<p>Heritage grade-II deserves <u>intelligent Conservation.</u></p>	<p>Heritage Grade-III deserves <u>protection of unique features and attributes.</u></p>
<p><i>C. Scope for Changes—</i> No interventions would be permitted either on the exterior or interior unless it is necessary in the interest of strengthening, and prolonging, the life of the buildings or precincts or any part or features thereof. For this purpose, absolutely essential and minimal changes</p>	<p>Grade-II (A) Internal changes, and adaptive reuse will be generally allowed, but external changes will be subject to scrutiny. Care would be taken to ensure the conservation of all special aspects for which it is included in Heritage Grade-II.</p>	<p>External and internal changes and adaptive reuse would generally be allowed. Changes can includes extensions, additional buildings in the same plot or compound provided that extension/additional building is in harmony with and does not detract from the existing heritage</p>

Grade-I	Grade-II	Grade-III
would be allowed and they must be in accordance with the original.	Grade-II-B)— In addition to above extension or additional buildings in the same plot or compound could, in certain circumstances, be allowed provided that the extension/additional building is in harmony with (and does not detract from) existing heritage building(s) or precincts especially in terms of height and facade.	building/precinct especially in terms of height and/or facade. Reconstruction may be allowed when the building is structurally weak or unsafe or when it has been affected by accidental fire or any other calamity or if reconstruction is required to consume the permissible FSI and no option other than reconstruction is available Reconstruction may also be allowed in case of those buildings which attract the provisions of Regulations 33(3), 33(7) 33(9) and Appendix II and Appendix III of Development Control Regulations, 1991. Reconstruction may be allowed in those buildings being repaired/reconstructed by MHADA. However, unless absolutely essential, nothing should spoil or destroy any special features or attributes for which it is placed in the Heritage List.
<i>D. Procedure.—</i>	Development permission for the changes would be given by the Planning Authority on the advice of the Heritage Conservation Committee to be appointed by State Government.	Development permission for the changes would be given by the Planning Authority in consultation with a sub-committee of the Heritage Conservation Committee.
<i>E. Vistas/Surrounding Development—</i>	Development permission would be given for changes by the Planning Authority itself but in consonance with guidelines, which are to be laid down by Government in Consultation with the Heritage Conservation Committee.	
All development in areas surrounding Heritage Grade-I Shall be regulated and controlled, ensuring that it does not mar the grandeur of or views from, Heritage Grade-I.		

By order and in the name of the Governor of Maharashtra,

D. T. JOSEPH,
Secretary to Government.

APPENDIX VIIIA

(Regulation No. 67)

REGULATIONS FOR THE GRANT OF TRANSFERABLE DEVELOPMENT RIGHT TO OWNERS/LESSEES OF HERITAGE BUILDINGS/HERITAGE PRECINCTS AND CONDITIONS FOR GRANT OF SUCH RIGHTS.

1. As provided in Regulation 67 (6) Development Rights of the owner/lessee of any Heritage buildings who suffers loss of Development Rights due to any restrictions imposed by the Commissioner or Government under Regulation 67 shall be eligible for award of Transferable Development Rights (TDR) in the form of Floor Space Index (FSI) to the extent and on the conditions set out below. Such award will entitle the owner of the Heritage Building to FSI in the form of a Development Rights Certificate (DRC) which he may use himself or transfer to any other person.

2. A DRC will be issued only on the satisfactory compliance with the conditions prescribed in this Appendix.

(5)

3. If a holder of a DRC intends to transfer it to any other person, he will submit the DRC to the Commissioner with an appropriate application for an endorsement of the new holders name, i.e. transferee on the said Certificate. Without such an endorsement by the Commissioner himself, the transfer shall not be valid and the Certificate will be available for use only by the earlier original holder.

4. A holder of a DRC who desires to use the FSI credit certified therein on a particular plot of land shall attach to his application for development permission valid DRC's to the extent required.

5. DRCs may be used—

On any plot in the same ward as that in which they have originated or in any ward in the suburbs except as specified in clause (6) below.

6. A DRC shall not be valid for use on receivable plots in the areas listed below :—

(a) On plots falling within 50 m. on roads on which no new shops are permitted as specified in sub-regulation (2) of Regulation 52.

(b) Coastal areas and areas in No Development Zones, Tourism Development Zones, and areas for which the Bombay Metropolitan Region Development Authority or Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority is the Special Planning Authority ;

(c) On plots for housing schemes of slum dwellers for which additional FSI is permissible under sub-regulation (10) of Regulation 33 ;

(d) Any heritage building.

(e) Any heritage Precinct except with the prior approval of the Heritage Conservation Committee and subject to compliance with the regulations of the particular precinct.

7. The user that will be permitted for utilisation of the DRCs on account of transfer of development rights will be as under :—

Zone in which designated/reserved plot is situated	User to be permitted in receiving areas
1. Residential	Only residential users and in Residential Zones only.
2. Commercial (C-2)	Commercial (C-2) users if the plot where the FSI is to be utilised is situated in C-2 Zone. Commercial (C-1) if the plot where the FSI is to be utilised is situated in C-1 zone. Residential only in Residential zones.
3. Commercial (C-1)	Commercial (C-1) if the plot where the FSI is to be utilised is situated in C-1 zone. Residential in Residential Zones.
4. Industrial (I-1), (I-2), (I-3)	Residential only in Residential Zones.

8. DRCs may be used on one or more plots of lands whether vacant or already developed or by the erection of additional storeys, or in any other manner consistent with these Regulations, but not so as to exceed in any plot a total built-up FSI higher than that prescribed in clause 9 below in this Appendix.

9. The FSI of a receiving plot shall be allowed to be exceeded by not more than 0.4 in respect of a DR available in respect of a Heritage Building and upto a further 0.4 in respect of a DR available in respect of land surrendered for road-widening or construction of new roads [according to sub-regulation (1) of Regulation 33], where the said road as shown as passing through the receiving plot itself.

10. With an application for development permission, where an owner/lessee seeks utilisation of DRs, he shall submit the DRC to the Commissioner who shall endorse thereon in writing in figures and words, the quantum of the DRC proposed to be utilised, before granting development permission, and when the development is complete, the Commissioner shall endorse on the DRC in writing, in figures and words, the quantum of DRs actually utilised and the balance remaining thereafter, if any, before issue of occupation certificate.

11. A DRC shall be issued by the Commissioner himself as a certificate printed on bond paper in an appropriate form prescribed by Commissioner. Such a certificate will be a transferable " negotiable instrument " after due authentication by the Commissioner. The Commissioner shall maintain a register in a form considered appropriate by him of all transactions, etc. relating to grant of utilisation of DRS.

And whereas, in accordance with first proviso to sub-section(1) of section 31 of the said Act the Government has by its notification No. TPB. 4387/716/UD-11 (RDP), dated 23rd February 1995 extended the period for sanctioning the said Development Plan and draft Development Control Regulations up to and inclusive of 31st October 1995

And whereas, in exercise of powers conferred by sub-section(1) of section 31 of the said Act and all other powers enabling it in that behalf, the Government has *vide* Notification No. DCR. 1090/3197/RDP/UD-11, dated 21st April 1995 already—

(a) Sanctioned the Development Control Regulation No. 67.

(b) Fixed 1st June 1995 to be the date on which Regulation No. 67 shall come into force.

Now, therefore, Government hereby sanctions the list of buildings and precincts of historical, aesthetical, architectural or cultural value as per scheduled annexed.

Conservation of Buildings/Precincts Areas, artefacts historical, architectural, aesthetical and cultural value in Greater Bombay.

Constitution of the Committee to advise the Commissioner on development/redevelopment of Heritage Building, Precincts etc. preparation of additional list Heritage buildings, precincts by way of altering, deleting, modifying or adding buildings in the list etc. in Greater Bombay.

GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA
URBAN DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT

Resolution No. TPB 4385/2680/UD-11
Mantralaya, Bombay 400 032, dated 25th April 1995.

RESOLUTION

MAHARASHTRA REGIONAL AND TOWN PLANNING ACT, 1966.

Government vide Resolution No. DCR-1090/3197(RDP)/UD-11, dated 21st April 1995, have sanctioned the Development Control Regulation No. 67 for Greater Bombay dealing with conservation of listed buildings, areas, structures and precincts of historical, aesthetical, architectural and cultural significance, and vide Resolution CR. 1090/3197(RDP)/UD-11, dated 24 April 1995 have sanctioned the list of heritage buildings and heritage precincts.

This Regulation brings control *inter alia* on development/Redevelopment/Repairs of listed/ heritage buildings and heritage precincts. The Municipal Commissioner, Municipal Corporation of Greater Bombay is to grant/refuse development permission in case of listed heritage buildings and heritage precincts in accordance with the provisions of Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act, 1966 and of D. C. Regulation No. 67. The Regulation contemplates appointment by Government of a Heritage Conservation Committee to advise the Municipal Commissioner.

With a view to discharge its duties and functions under the said Regulation Government is pleased to lay down the qualifications for membership of the Heritage Conservation Committee. The qualification/ composition of the Committee shall be as follows :—

- (1) Retired Municipal Commissioner of Bombay Municipal Corporation or a retired Secretary to Government of Maharashtra with relevant experience. Chairman.
 - (2) Structural Engineers having experience of 10 years in the field and membership of the Institute of Engineers. 2 Members.
 - (3) Architects having 10 years experience and membership of the Council of Architecture. 2 Members.
 - (i) Urban Designer.
 - (ii) Heritage Conservation Architect.Architects shall be urban design specialists or having experience in conservation architecture.
 - (4) Director Prince of Wales Museum ... Member
 - (5) An environmentalist having in-depth knowledge and experience of 10 years of the subject matter. Member
 - (6) A City historian having 10 years experience in the field. Member
 - (7) Director of Municipal Engg. and Services, Bombay Municipal Corporation. Member Secretary
- (a) The Committee shall have the powers to co-opt upto five additional members who may have lesser experience, but who have special knowledge of the subject matter.
- (b) The tenure of the Members of category 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 above shall change after every 3 years, provided however that the same person shall be eligible for reappointment as Member.
- (c) Vice-Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, BHADA, MHADA or his representative shall be associated at the time of scrutiny of proposals of cessed buildings.

The terms of reference of the Committee shall be, *inter alia*,—

4.1. to recommend to the Municipal Commissioner whether development permission should be granted under Regulation no. 67 and the conditions thereof.

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- 4.2. to prepare a supplementary list of historical, aesthetic architectural, or cultural value to which the provisions of Regulation No. 67 would apply.
- 4.3. to advise whether any relaxation, modification, alteration, or variance of any of the Development Control Regulations of Greater Bombay, 1991, is called for under Regulation No. 67(a).
- 4.4. to advise the Municipal Commissioner in the operation of Regulation No. 48 to regulate or eliminate/erection of outside advertisement/billboard on the facade and to recommend to the Municipal Commissioner guidelines to be adopted by the private parties who sponsor beautification schemes at public intersections.
- 4.5. to advise whether to allow office user in the island city and when to terminate the same.
- 4.6. to advise whether Development Right Certificate may be allowed to be consumed in a heritage precinct.
- 4.7. to advise the Municipal Commissioner to evaluate the cost of repairs required to be given to the owners to bring the existing buildings in the original shape. For this purpose the committee may also try to help the Municipal Commissioner to raise funds through private resources.
- 4.8. to prepare special designs and guidelines for listed/cessed buildings and non-cessed buildings, control of height and essential facade characteristics such as maintenance of special type of balconies and other heritage items of the buildings and suggest suitable designs adopting new materials for replacements keeping the old form intact to the extent possible.
- 4.9. to prepare guidelines relating to design elements and conservation principles to be adhered to and to prepare other guidelines for the purposes of Regulation 67.
- 4.10. to frame special Regulations for Heritage precincts and to advise the Municipal Commissioner regarding the same.
- 4.11. to advise Municipal Commissioner on any other issues as may be required from time to time during course of scrutiny and in overall interest of heritage conservation.
- 4.12. to appear before Government either independently or through or on behalf of the Municipal Commissioner in cases of appeals u/s 47 of MR & TP Act, 1966 in cases of listed buildings/heritage buildings and listed precincts/heritage precincts.

By order and in the name of Governor of Maharashtra,

D. T. JOSEPH,
Secretary to Government.

APPENDIX B

NEWSPAPER ARTICLE COMMENTING ON PRESERVATION PROCESS IN BOMBAY

(MUMBAI), MAY 2, 2014.

hindustantimes Pg-9 2/5/13

Study to frame strict norms for heritage redevelopment

PRESERVATION If adopted in time, guidelines will be integrated into development plan for city

Poorvi Kulkarni

■ poorvi.kulkarni@hindustantimes.com

MUMBAI: In a move aimed at preserving the architectural and social identities of historical areas in the city, the Mumbai Metropolitan Region Heritage Conservation Society (MMRHCS) has undertaken a study to formulate comprehensive guidelines for redevelopment within all heritage precincts in the city.

The study, which is currently in its initial stage, was commissioned on request by the Mumbai Heritage Conservation Committee (MHCC) in September and received a push after a recommendation by the state government in October.

The recommendation was made after a report sent by municipal commissioner Sitaram Kunte on redevelopment guidelines for the Marine Drive precinct in the context of the redevelopment of Vasant Sagar building on A Road.

In its letter, dated October 14 last year, the state urban development (UD) department, listed four broad recommendations in light of redevelopment of buildings in the Marine Drive precinct and stated that "it was desirable that guidelines be formed for development within a precinct" and "it is necessary to ascertain the permissible height of structures within precincts".

Once the guidelines are finalised and ratified, all redevelopment activity within precincts will be regulated based on the stipulated height and other norms.

"The study is in process and will be conducted in two phases. In the first phase, general guidelines for different categories of

THE SAGA OF HERITAGE REVAMP

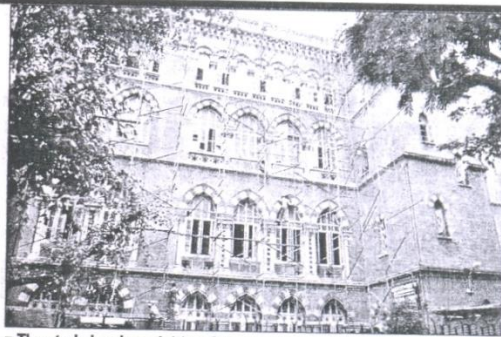
The issue of guidelines for redevelopment of buildings in heritage precincts came to light when a public interest litigation was filed over the redevelopment of Vasant Sagar building located in the Marine Drive precinct which was sanctioned to be redeveloped to a height of 58 metres (or 19 floors)

The high court, on March 25 last year, directed the municipal commissioner to consult the MHCC on the matter and submit a report to the state within a period of three months

On May 9, the MHCC submitted a set of guidelines for the entire Marine Drive precinct which restricted the height of buildings after redevelopment to 24 metres (or 8 floors), along with norms for other aspects

Taking a contradictory view, municipal commissioner, Sitaram Kunte, submitted his report to the state UD department, which stated that considering the parking requirement and incentive FSI as per DCR provisions, the height of the

precincts such as old gothans, villages etc will be framed. These will pertain to aspects of form, height, setback and open spaces for redevelopment. This will be finalised in a few months," said Prasad Shetty, secretary, MMRHCS. The study extends to the entire MMR and will pertain to more than 100 precincts.



■ The study has been initiated to preserve architectural and cultural identities of historical areas in Mumbai.

HT PHOTO

buildings was bound to be more

On October 10, the UD department wrote back to the BMC taking note of both the MHCC's guidelines and the municipal commissioner's views while deferring a clear stand on the issue

It made four recommendations - to finalise the delineation of the Marine Drive precinct, to form guidelines for development within precincts, to consult the MHCC to ascertain the permissible height of structures and to take case-wise decisions in accordance with the guidelines to permit height of more than 24 metres.

"In the second phase, specific guidelines on the types of the building surface, edges, roofing and other decorative elements will be formulated and these will be specific to each precinct," added Shetty.

If drafted and adopted by the civic body in time, these guidelines could be integrated into

THE STUDY IS IN PROCESS AND WILL BE CONDUCTED IN TWO PHASES. IN THE FIRST PHASE, GENERAL GUIDELINES FOR DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF PRECINCTS WILL BE FRAMED.

PRASAD SHETTY, secretary, MMRHCS

the revised development plan for the city and be part of the new Development Control Regulations (DCR).

There are 17 notified heritage precincts and 41 proposed precincts in the city. Out of these, draft guidelines for about six precincts have already been sent for approval of the state government.

APPENDIX C

VALUE CRITERIA USED FOR PRESERVATION OF HERITAGE SITES IN BOMBAY (MUMBAI).



a) Value for architectural, historical or cultural reasons.	A
- architectural	A(arc) / B(arch)
- historical	A(his)
- cultural	A(cul) / B(cul)
- Artefacts listed due to exhibiting local architectural characteristics	A(arch)
- Artefacts which mark social or political events	A(ev)
- Archaeology	A(chae)
b) The date and/or period and/or design and/or unique use of the building or artifact	B
- period	B(per)
- design	B(des)
- use	B(uu)
- Value for historical reasons which would primarily include the age of the building / distinctive building typology or usage emerging in a particular period which is of cultural relevance	B(his)
- Buildings having an adaptive reuse value	B(reus)
c) Relevance to social or economic history	C(seh) / SOC / A(seh) / B(ev)
d) Association with well-known persons or events	D(bio)/ PER / A(bio) / B(bio)
e) A building or groups of buildings and/or areas of a distinct architectural design and/or style, historic period or way of life having sociological interest and/or community value.	E
- style	STY
- historical	GRF
f) The unique value of a building or architectural features or artifact and/or being part of a chain of architectural development that would be broken if it were lost.	F / CRF

g) Its value as a part of a group of buildings	G(grp) / B(grp)
h) Representing forms of technological development	H(tec)/ B(tech)
i) Vistas of natural / scenic beauty or interest, including water front areas, distinctive and/or planned lines of sight, street line, skyline or topographical	I (sce) /NAT
- Urban landmarks or features	URB / A(lm) / B(lm)
- Location or position significance, the value as its location in the context of city or neighbourhood.	LOC
j) Open spaces sometimes integrally planned with their associated areas having a distinctive way of life and for which are and have the potential to the area of recreation.	J / OPN
k) Precincts	P
- Areas / Group of buildings having a distinctive architectural character, emerging from a specific period which contributes to the physical character of locality / region and is of community / cultural value	P(arch)
- Areas which have relevance to the socio - economic history, which would include areas that retain original / earlier communities, their activities and resources necessary for their livelihoods	P(seh)
- Areas exhibiting a distinctive cultural form / of community value or retaining special activities that are of cultural significance	P(cul)
- Environmental assets which have relevance to the socio - economic history, which would include assets that sustain original / earlier communities, their activities and resources necessary for their livelihoods.	E(seh)
- Environmental assets which have value as local landmarks	E(lm)
- Environmental assets having an ecological relevance	E(eco)
- Environmental assets which have value as a part of a group of talavs or other heritage assets	E(grp)
- Environmental assets having cultural significance	E(cul)
- Environmental assets with significant political or social events that are of local / regional / national relevance	E(ev)
- Environmental assets with specific architectural character	E(arch)

APPENDIX D

PROFORMA (DOCUMENTATION FORM) FOR DEEPMALA HERITAGE SITE

LISTING & GRADING OF HERITAGE BUILDINGS & PRECINCTS IN MUMBAI
TASK II: Review of Sr. No. 317 to 632 of the Heritage Regulations

545 DEEPMALA	
	
Common Ref no:2005/GII/545 Card No. 229 Ward (Part): G / North Ward (Part 5) CS No. NA Plot Area NA B U Area NA Date 28 th October 2004 Record by Sheetal Gandhi, Vinitha Krishnan Review by Abha Narain Int VK Ext VK Photo Ref 545a - 545j	
	
1.0	DENOMINATION
1.1	Name of Premises Deepmala
1.2	Earlier Name Bhaskar Maruti Mandir
1.3	Built In 1756. Extension Date (if any): None
2.0	ACCESS ROADS
2.1	Main Rao Bahadur S.K Bole Road, Off Gokhale Road (Road leading from Portuguese Church to Siddhi Vinayak Temple)
2.2	Subsidiary None
3.0	OWNERSHIP PATTERN
3.1	Present Trust
3.2	Past Trusts
3.3	Status Owner
4.0	USE
4.1	Present Temple – Place of worship
4.2	Past Temple – Place of worship
4.3	Usage Daily
5.0	SIGNIFICANCE & VALUE CLASSIFICATION
5.1	Townscape(Natural/Manmade) The temple is situated on an important road connecting two landmark places of worship, one being the Portuguese Church on Gokhale Road, Dadar and the other Siddhi Vinayak Temple in Prabhadevi. This is easily accessible by public transport. Both the Dadar local railway station is in close proximity and it is also well connected by many BEST bus routes. Deepmala Bhaskar Maruti Mandir has a large open space in front of it with a tree and tree surround built around it.
5.2	Architectural Description Planning The layout of the temple is very simple. It is square in plan with a large open space and the deity at the far end of the space. The back side of the space is used for residential purposes, occupied by the priest and his family. The deepmala is donated by Pandu Laxman, Thakur of Mahim, 1756. Stylistic Classification Konkani Style Architecture.
5.3	Intrinsic Character Defining Elements External Pitched roof with Mangalore tile roofing, timber framed structure, timber brackets, multi cusped arches.

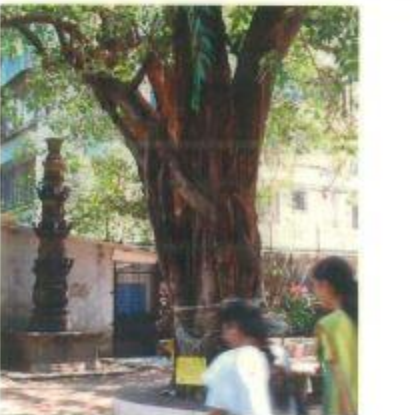
LISTING & GRADING OF HERITAGE BUILDINGS & PRECINCTS IN MUMBAI
TASK II: Review of Sr. No. 317 to 632 of the Heritage Regulations

545 DEEPMALA		
		Internal Multi – cusped arches, idol at the far end, coffered false ceiling in Plaster of Paris.
5.4	Value Classification	Existing Grade: Grade III B(per), B(des), D(bio), A(cul) Recommended Grade: Grade III
6.0		TOPOGRAPHY
6.1	Floors	Ground
7.0		CONSTRUCTION
7.1	Plinth	Stone plinth plastered and painted.
7.2	Walls	Timber framed structure with half brick thick walls and timber and wire mesh partitions between timber structural members.
7.3	Floor	Stone floor
7.4	Stairs	No staircase present.
7.5	Openings	Multi cusped arches both on the external façade as well as on the interior supported between timber posts. Small rectangular opening on the side elevation (side facing main road) with vertical jaali in circular cross section in iron.
7.6	Roofing	Simple roof with timber joists and rafters to support a small span finished with Mangalore tiles. The roof is cantilevered about 60 cm on all sides and supported intermediately by timber brackets. Original circular sections of timber roof members are also present and now seem to be replaced by rectangular cross section structural members. The back room has a lean to timber roof also in timber and Mangalore tiles.
7.7	Articulation	Articulation is seen on the inside where the deity is placed. Other interesting elements are the multi-cusped arches and timber brackets supporting the roof overhang.
7.8	Finishes	Walls The external walls are lime washed in a crème colour and timber members, multi-cusp arch profile and jaalis are painted red in oil paint. The interior walls and timber columns are all oil-painted in a crème, pink and red colour scheme. The rear wall behind the deity has a 4 feet high ceramic tile dado. Flooring The open space outside the building has IPS. The two entrance steps to the temple are in basalt stone and the interior space has square white ceramic tiles of 30 cm. Staircases Not applicable.
7.9	Interiors (Movable & Immovable)	White Ceramic tile dado upto 4' on the rear wall behind the deity. Timber columns and multi-cusped arches to support the span. Coffered false ceiling with timber members and plywood planks.
7.10	Compound/Fence/Gate	No formal fencing or Gate to the temple. A large tree symbolizes the entrance to the open space in front of the temple.
7.11	Curtilege/ Unbuilt space/out buildings/landscape	The open space in front of the temple has a large tree, which marks the entrance from the road. There is a deity installed on the outside, under the tree. There is also a large, 6 feet high stone and brass diya beside this deity. Otherwise, this large open space is used as a social space during festivals etc.
8.0		SERVICES & UTILITIES

LISTING & GRADING OF HERITAGE BUILDINGS & PRECINCTS IN MUMBAI
TASK II: Review of Sr. No. 317 to 632 of the Heritage Regulations

545 DEEPMALA		
8.1	Lighting	Tube Lights have been added in the garba graha. The back residential room also has tube lights installed in it.
8.2	Ventilation	Ceiling fans and wall mounted fans from the timber members have been introduced in the main room.
8.3	Electricity	BEST is the main electricity supplier
8.4	Water Supply	Municipal water supply is available for the building. This source is adequate to fulfill the needs of the temple and the priest's residence at the back.
8.5	Drainage (Plumbing and sanitation)	Toilet block has been added at the back of the building in the residential part. No sanitation pipes are visible on the façade and one down take pipe from the roof is seen on the rear.
8.6	Fire Precaution	No fire precaution system has been installed within the temple building.
8.7	Other (HVAC/BMC/Security Systems)	The building has no special Maintenance agency.
9.0		CONDITION
9.1	Plinth	No rising damp or other defects are observed anywhere all around the plinth.
9.2	Walls	The external walls being white washed and the internal walls oil painted, no seepage or dampness or peeling paint or plaster is observed. All walls and timber members seem to be in good condition.
9.3	Floor	The ceramic tiles present inside the temple are new and in good condition. The IPS flooring outside is also leveled and dwell maintained and in good condition.
9.4	Stairs	Not Applicable
9.5	Openings	External openings are mostly blocked by jaalis and wire mesh. An additional steel framed gate is added to the central externals arched opening for security purposes.
9.6	Roofing	No water seepage is observed. All Mangalore tiles are intact. Overall condition of the roof is good.
9.7	Articulation & Finishes	The temple does not have any heavy articulation and detailing. The deity arches and timber brackets are in good visual condition.
9.8	Services	A toilet block is added to the rear, in the residential part, but this does not show any leakage or service problems.
9.9	Outbuildings	There is a deity installed on the outside, under the tree. There is also a large, 5 feet high stone and brass diya beside this deity.
9.10	Overall Condition	Good Maintenance level: Regular
10.0		TRANSFORMATION
10.1	Form	A small extension is done to the rear of the temple. This houses the residence of the priest and his family. This extension is more like an enclosed verandah with a timber lean to roof and Mangalore tile.
10.2	Structure	No major structural transformations. Newer rectangular timber joists replace some circular timber roof members.
10.3	Articulation & Finishes	Floor finishes have changed from the original to White ceramic tiles. The interior walls have oil paint on them and rear wall has a 4 feet high ceramic tile dado.
11.0		DP REMARKS/PERCEIVED THREATS
		None
12.0		ADDITIONAL NOTES/REFERENCES/DOCUMENTS AVAILABLE/RECOMMENDATIONS & SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

545 DEEPMALA





APPENDIX E

PROFORMA (DOCUMENTATION FORM) FOR KABUTARKHANA

HERITAGE SITE

LISTING & GRADING OF HERITAGE BUILDINGS & PRECINCTS IN MUMBAI
TASK II: Review of Sr. No. 317 to 632 of the Heritage Regulations

554 KABUTARKHANA & CAST IRON FOUNTAIN	
	Common Ref no:2005/GII/553
	Card No. 238
	Ward (Part): G North (Part V)
	CS No. NA
	Plot Area NA
	B U Area NA
	Date 5 th February 04
	Record by Aishwarya Tipnis
	Review by Sheetal Gandhi
Int AT Ext AT	
Photo Ref 554a-554h	
1.0	DENOMINATION
1.1 Name of Premises	Kabutarkhana & Cast Iron Fountain (Dr. Yadneshwar Vitthal Purandare Chowk)
1.2 Earlier Name	Kabutarkhana & Cast Iron Fountain
1.3 Built In	1930's Extension Date(if any) NA
2.0	ACCESS ROADS
2.1 Main	M.C. Javale Road, Bhawani Shanker Road, Basant J. Path
2.2 Subsidiary	None
3.0	OWNERSHIP PATTERN
3.1 Present	Public Trust [Dadar Kabutarkhana Trust]
3.2 Past	Public Trust [Dadar Kabutarkhana Trust]
3.3 Status	Trust
4.0	USE
4.1 Present	Traffic roundabout and pigeon feeder (kabutar khana)
4.2 Past	Traffic roundabout and pigeon feeder (kabutar khana)
4.3 Usage	Fountain is in disuse and Kabutarkhana is regular(daily) use
5.0	SIGNIFICANCE & VALUE CLASSIFICATION
5.1 Townscape(Natural/Manmade)	Erected at the junction of M.C. Javale Road, Basant J. Path and Bhawani Shanker Road in Dadar (west), the Cast iron fountain and Kabutarkhana form a local landmark and an important traffic node.
5.2 Architectural Description	Planning Essentially a circular node, with a centrally placed cast iron fountain. Within the circle are placed some pigeon holes in one of the corners and a permanent structure along the periphery diagonally opposite to the pigeon holes. Centrally placed within a circular pool of water about 4' in diameter, the fountain is about 4' high in two tiers. The cast iron fountain in two tiers, is painted in silver colour and has a spout in the shape of a cow's head at the bottom most tier. It can be conjectured that there were such spouts on all four sides of which only one survives, indicated by the presence of holes on the other three sides. Each level is embellished with floral motifs. The stop cork for the water supply is at the topmost level. Stylistic Classification European Neo Classical form with a hybridization in the form of local vernacular motif of a how head as spout.
5.3 Intrinsic	Character Defining Elements The cast iron fountain and the cast iron fencing around the circle.

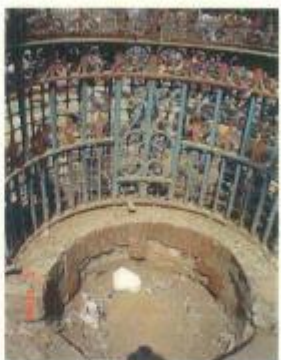
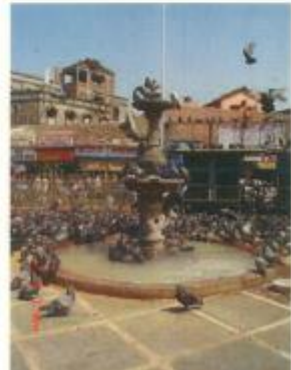
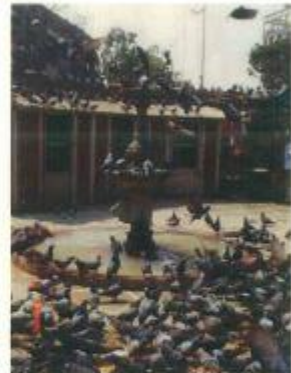
LISTING & GRADING OF HERITAGE BUILDINGS & PRECINCTS IN MUMBAI
TASK II: Review of Sr. No. 317 to 632 of the Heritage Regulations

554 KABUTARKHANA & CAST IRON FOUNTAIN		
5.4	Value Classification	Existing Grade: Grade II A Recommended Grade : Grade II A F, J Urban node with local historical value
6.0		TOPOGRAPHY
6.1	Floors	Not Applicable
7.0		CONSTRUCTION
7.1	Plinth	The plinth around the circle is 4" high in concrete and clad in brown coloured granite stone.
7.2	Walls	Not Applicable
7.3	Floor	Kota stone 2' X 2' laid in a checkered pattern interspersed with white marble strips 2" wide.
7.4	Stairs	Not Applicable
7.5	Openings	Not Applicable
7.6	Roofing	Not Applicable
7.7	Articulation	The central fountain and railing around the circle is in cast iron.
7.8	Finishes	Not Applicable
7.9	Interiors (Movable & Immovable)	Not Applicable
7.10	Compound/Fence/Gate	Cast iron fencing around the circle, a gate is inbuilt within the fence painted in blue and red colours.
7.11	Curtilege/ Unbuilt space/out buildings/landscape	Within the circle, are pigeon holes and a permanent structure with three doors, also within the circle is a gazebo in white marble and brown granite. The single storey permanent structure with sloping roof within the circle, is clad in marble and granite and has pictures of various Hindu gods inlaid on the outside
8.0		SERVICES & UTILITIES
8.1	Lighting	Not Applicable
8.2	Ventilation	Not Applicable
8.3	Electricity	Not Applicable
8.4	Water Supply	A Municipal water supply line did exist at one point of time which facilitated the functioning of the fountain; however the fountain has been in disuse for a long time.
8.5	Drainage (Plumbing and sanitation)	A semi-circular drainage pit at the southern end towards Bhavani Shankar Road , indicates that drainage line runs under the flooring to this pit and into the municipal drain. However since the fountain has been not been operational for a long time, the drainage pit has got blocked with stones.
8.6	Fire Precaution	Not Applicable
8.7	Other (HVAC/BMC/Security Systems)	The Kabutarkhana is open for all between 7:00 AM to 7:00 PM for all devotees to feed grain to the pigeons.
9.0		CONDITION
9.1	Plinth	The granite stone cladding is missing in some places.
9.2	Walls	Corrosion of some metal features, requires restoration
9.3	Floor	Not Applicable
9.4	Stairs	Not Applicable
9.5	Openings	Not Applicable
9.6	Roofing	Not Applicable
9.7	Articulation & Finishes	The cast iron fountain is not operational but appears to be in a structurally stable condition.

LISTING & GRADING OF HERITAGE BUILDINGS & PRECINCTS IN MUMBAI
 TASK II: Review of Sr. No. 317 to 632 of the Heritage Regulations

554		KABUTARKHANA & CAST IRON FOUNTAIN
9.8	Services	Not Applicable
9.9	Outbuildings	The structures appear to be in a fair condition.
9.10	Overall Condition	Fair Maintenance level Regular by Dadar Kabutarkhana Trust
10.0		TRANSFORMATION
10.1	Form	The addition of the permanent structure and gazebo in the 1990's
10.2	Structure	Not Applicable
10.3	Articulation & Finishes	The structures have been clad with marble and granite recently and the flooring has been redone in kotah stone.
11.0		DP REMARKS/PERCEIVED THREATS
		None
12.0		ADDITIONAL NOTES/REFERENCES/DOCUMENTS AVAILABLE/RECOMMENDATIONS & SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPLEMENTATION



554 KABUTARKHANA & CAST IRON FOUNTAIN



APPENDIX F

PROFORMA (DOCUMENTATION FORM) FOR DHURUWADI HERITAGE SITE

LISTING & GRADING OF HERITAGE BUILDINGS & PRECINCTS IN MUMBAI
 TASK II: Review of Sr. No. 317 to 632 of the Heritage Regulations

559 DHURU BUILDING AND GROUP	
	Common Ref no:2005/GII/559
	Card No. 243
	Ward (Part): G North Part (III)
	CS No. NA
	Plot Area NA
	B U Area NA
	Date 7 th June, 05
	Record by Aishwarya Tipnis
	Review by Abha Lambah
Int AT Ext AT	
Photo Ref 569a to 569i	
1.0	DENOMINATION
1.1	Name of Premises Dhuru Building & Group
1.2	Earlier Name Dhuru Wadi
1.3	Built in Group of buildings built in different time periods, but, mostly in early 20 th century Extension Date (if any): -
2.0	ACCESS ROADS
2.1	Main Veer Savarkar Road (Cadell Road)
2.2	Subsidiary Kashinath Dhuru Marg
3.0	OWNERSHIP PATTERN
3.1	Present Most of the buildings are Private owned and tenanted
3.2	Past Private owned and tenanted
3.3	Status Private and tenanted
4.0	USE
4.1	Present Residential
4.2	Past Residential
4.3	Usage Daily
5.0	SIGNIFICANCE & VALUE CLASSIFICATION
5.1	Townscape(Natural/Manmade) Characteristic of a wadi settlements, Dhuruwadi comprises primarily of 7 heritage buildings including two Neo Classical Villas and one Chawl type structure along with modest structures with typical sloping roof and verandah
5.2	Architectural Description Planning Characteristic of a wadi settlements, Dhuruwadi comprises primarily of 7 heritage buildings including two Neo Classical Villas and one Chawl type structure along with modest structures with typical sloping roof and verandah. Three of these structures, including the 2 Neo Classical villas are located on the main Veer Savarkar Road. The other structures are in the compound at the back. With no formal town planning guidelines, these houses do not constitute a recognized architectural style but fall within the category of a vernacular structure that has climatically and morphologically evolved to its present form. Stylistic Classification The common feature is the sloping terracotta tiled roofs, neo classical compound wall with stucco ornamentation. While one villa has a linear front verandah with timber posts and more hybrid, the other has Neo

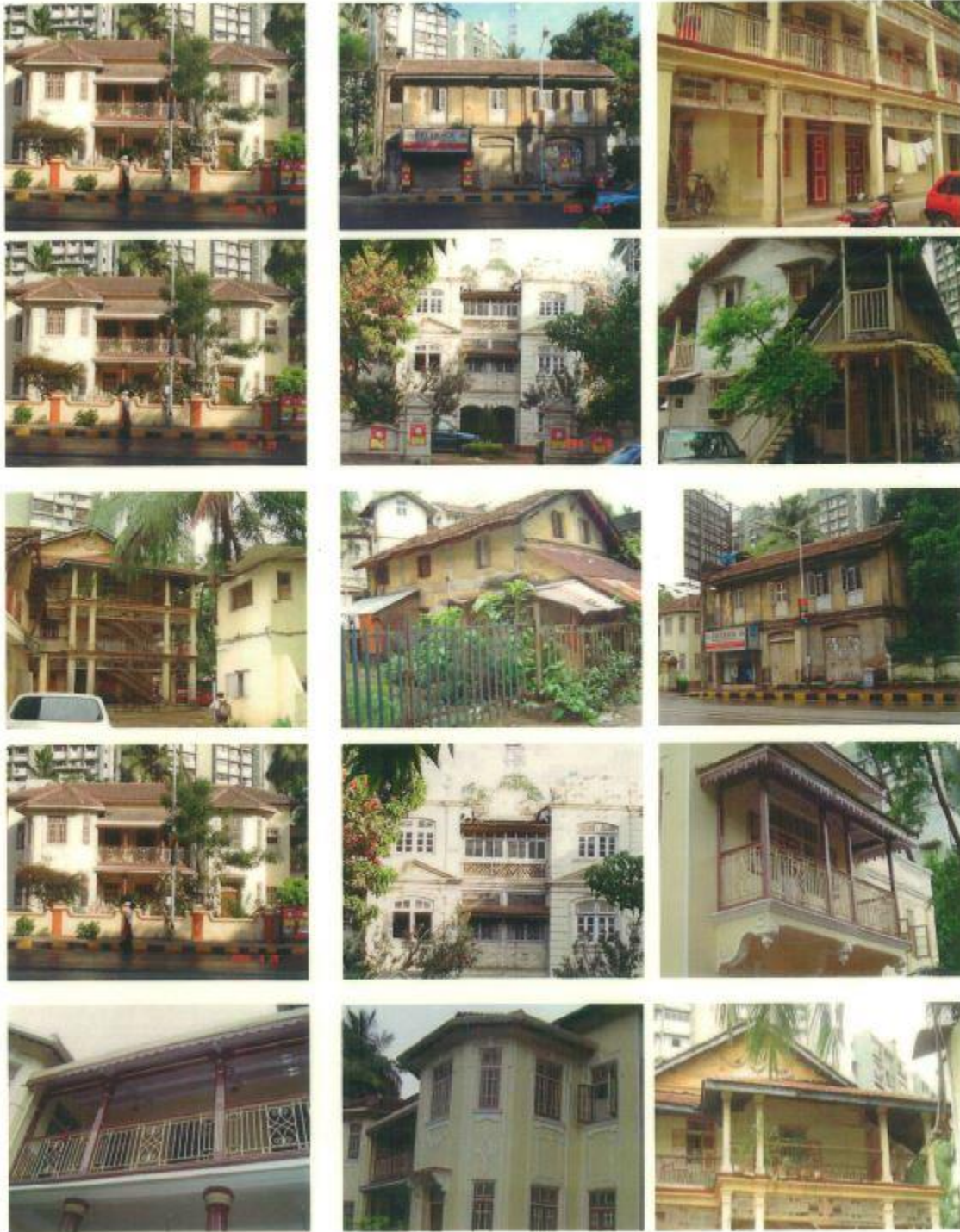
LISTING & GRADING OF HERITAGE BUILDINGS & PRECINCTS IN MUMBAI
TASK II: Review of Sr. No. 317 to 632 of the Heritage Regulations

559 DHURU BUILDING AND GROUP		
		Classical rustication, pediments and such Edwardian detailing on facade. The chawl type structure has linear verandas and timber posts along with sloping tiled roof, timber staircase in verandah, pedimented gable end with stucco decoration and timber framed decorative glass panels in verandas.
5.3	Intrinsic	<p>Character Defining Elements</p> <p>External Sloping tiled roofs, timber eaves board, stucco pilasters defining the corners and floor heights. One villa has more Edwardian detailing such as rusticated stucco courses, pediments. The second Villa has more hybrid features with balcony supported on decorative brackets, sloping tiled roof and cast iron railing in balcony The third chawl type building has beautiful timber posts on front linear veranda has timber framed decorative glass panels, timber staircases in veranda's and stucco decoration on gable end.</p> <p>Internal Timber staircases. Internal access not allowed</p>
5.4	Value Classification	<p>Existing Grade: Deleted Recommended Grade: Grade III A(arc), B(des), B(per), G(grp), E</p>
6.0		TOPOGRAPHY
6.1	Floors	The buildings of early 20 th century are G + 2 storeys and G+1. There is also a new modern highrise apartment construction in the compound.
7.0		CONSTRUCTION
7.1	Plinth	Random rubble masonry lime plastered
7.2	Walls	Random rubble masonry construction with lime plastered surfaces and building edges and floor lines highlighted by lime stucco plain pilasters
7.3	Floor	Internal access denied
7.4	Stairs	Internal access denied
7.5	Openings	Rectangular window openings in teak wood
7.6	Roofing	Mangalore tiled sloping roof
7.7	Articulation	Lime mortar plain pilasters highlighting building corners and floor levels. Chawl has timber posts. The Villas have stucco ornamentation of quoins, rustication, pilasters, decorative panels and keystones.
7.8	Finishes	<p>Walls Lime plaster</p> <p>Flooring Internal access denied</p> <p>Staircases Internal access denied</p>
7.9	Interiors (Movable & Immovable)	Internal access denied
7.10	Compound/Fence/Gate	Decorative stucco plaster compound wall
7.11	Curtilage/ Unbuilt space/out buildings/landscape	Large compound
8.0		SERVICES & UTILITIES
8.1	Lighting	Not applicable
8.2	Ventilation	Not applicable
8.3	Electricity	Not applicable

LISTING & GRADING OF HERITAGE BUILDINGS & PRECINCTS IN MUMBAI
 TASK II: Review of Sr. No. 317 to 632 of the Heritage Regulations

559 DHURU BUILDING AND GROUP		
8.4	Water Supply	Not applicable
8.5	Drainage (Plumbing and sanitation)	Not applicable
8.6	Fire Precaution	Not applicable
8.7	Other (HVAC/BMC/Security Systems)	Not applicable
9.0		CONDITION
9.1	Plinth	Plaster flaking both due to lack of repair and rising damp
9.2	Walls	Though the private villas are in better condition, the chawl and other ancillary structures indicated seepage and such issues.
9.3	Floor	Internal access denied
9.4	Stairs	Internal access denied
9.5	Openings	Save cases where the hardware has worn out, the windows are intact
9.6	Roofing	Largely intact with almost negligible cases of replacement of material
9.7	Articulation & Finishes	Intact but in need of restoration
9.8	Services	Not applicable
9.9	Outbuildings	Not applicable
9.10	Overall Condition	Fair Maintenance level: Poor for smaller ancillary structures. But good for private villas
10.0		TRANSFORMATION
10.1	Form	The precinct boundary comprises of a few structures but even these nominal buildings are constantly under threat of redevelopment, aided by the precinct's deletion from the heritage list. This is evident from the several reconstructions within and around the periphery of the precinct. However, the handful of surviving buildings within the precinct have not been altered and retain the original massing and proportions. The characteristic front porch too has been preserved.
10.2	Structure	Except the reconstructed buildings where the material has completely altered, the existing buildings have retained the construction methodology.
10.3	Articulation & Finishes	The modest vernacular elements such as the pilasters and decorative fascia board have been retained.
11.0		DP REMARKS/PERCEIVED THREATS
		Unless the listed status of this precinct is revised from its deleted state to that of a Heritage precinct, it faces complete obliteration due to constant development pressure.
12.0		ADDITIONAL NOTES/REFERENCES/DOCUMENTS AVAILABLE/RECOMMENDATIONS & SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

559 DHURU BUILDING AND GROUP



APPENDIX G

NEWSPAPER ARTICLE COMMENTING ON GILBERT HILL DEVELOPMENT

PROPOSAL, JANUARY 29, 2015

Plans on to conserve Gilbert Hill

Richa Pinto @timesgroup.com

Mumbai: The BMC, along with the collector and state agencies such as Mhada, is working out ways to preserve Andheri's Gilbert Hill, which is a Grade II heritage structure. A meeting was held between the civic body officials and local MLA Ameet Satam recently to draft measures to for the conservation of the ancient basalt rock structure.

The land on which the rock stands belongs to the collector but it is the BMC that grants permissions for the construction of buildings around it. "There were talks of developing the hill as a tourist spot; for that, the MTDC also comes into the picture. So, we are first deciding the role of individual agencies," said Sanjay Deshmukh, additional municipal commissioner. Architect PK Das has also prepared a plan

NOT QUITE ROCK SOLID

THE STRUCTURE | Gilbert Hill is a 200-ft-tall black basalt rock in Andheri. The 66-million-year-old sheer rock was formed from extruded molten lava. Intense quarrying has resulted in the change in the original form and the unstable base has made it dangerous



IN DANGER FROM

- ▶ Encroachments
- ▶ Deep cracks in the structure
- ▶ Illegal developments in open space surrounding it

ARCHITECTS PLAN

- ▶ Build boundary wall to prevent further encroachment
- ▶ Make open spaces accessible to public
- ▶ Clear road and design access points to Gilbert Hill

for the conservation of Gilbert Hill and precinct.

Earlier this month, Satam wrote to the municipal commissioner warning him of a Malin-like disaster, which wiped out villages at Ambeagoon in Pune in July 2014, waiting to happen at

to the lives of thousands of people living at the foothills," said his letter. But

Satam, who was present at the meeting, said he was keen on developing place into a tourist spot. Welcoming the proposal, Juhu resident Ashoke Pandit of Save Open Spaces NGO said if foothill increases around the hill, encroachments would stop. "The rock has been destroyed to a large extent and immediate steps have to be taken," said Pandit.

Architect Das said a large open space surrounded the site that should be developed. "This is a very significant rock formation and if developed well, it will attract tourists not only from outside but even Mumbaiers would want to visit it. It's important to educate people about the heritage of the city as we have somewhere lost the understanding of such natural formations," said Das.

APPENDIX H

PHOTOGRAPHS OF GILBERT HILL FROM REPORT BY MUMBAI METROPOLITAN REGION-HERITAGE CONSERVATION SOCIETY

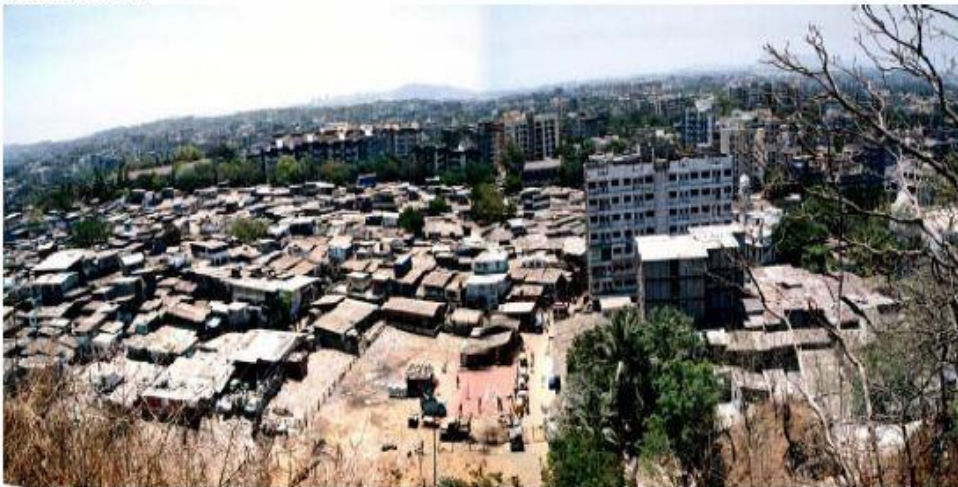
170 | GILBERT HILL | PLATE B



DETAIL OF THE COLUMNAR BASALT FORMATION ; STAIRS TO THE TOP OF HILL ; GAO DEVI AND DURGAMATA TEMPLE ON THE TOP



VIEW FROM THE TOP



VIEW FROM THE TOP

APPENDIX I

EXCERPT FROM REPORT COMMENTING ON SQUARES FROM THE BANDRA

VILLAGE PRECINCT STUDY

OPEN SPACES

The square open spaces in the interior of Ranwar precinct form one of its most unique characteristics. Formed as a result of the conscious organization and planned placement of the structures such as a group of 4 – 5 bungalows face the common central square

There are 4 such open squares found within the demarcated precinct. The biggest one goes upto 15m X 15m and is accessed by a wider vehicular lane whereas the smallest measures 5m X 5m and can only be reached by pedestrian pathways. The presence of a cross in each open square adds to the quiet, at the same time inviting ambience of the neighborhood. These are commonly used as plain sit-outs and play areas for children or just as daily meeting places for the community, affording the right balance of public use as well as privacy.

Unfortunately, the addition of new compound walls outside the bungalows facing the open squares disturbs the quality of the existing space and mars its special character.

Other open spaces of any consequence are the few empty plots that stand resulting from the demolishing of the earlier bungalows that stood on them. Presently urtbuilt upon, these are covered with overgrown vegetation and are not maintained. Some are used as playgrounds, while the others have generated into dumping grounds.

Chapel Street is however completely devoid of any such squares either planned or accidental.



Rest Ranwar

APPENDIX J

COVER LETTER OF THE 2012 AMENDED HERITAGE LIST

MUNICIPAL CORPORATION OF GREATER MUMBAI

CHIEF ENGINEER (DEVELOPMENT PLAN)

No. CHE / 1271 / DP / Gen Date : 31/07/2012

NOTICE

Subject: Proposed modification to the existing Heritage List and additional listing of structures / sites / Precincts from City, Western Suburbs & Eastern Suburbs; to be included as supplement to the existing Heritage List.

The Municipal Commissioner, MCGM, has decided to publish the following after The Mumbai Heritage Conservation Committee had forwarded a proposal to Hon'ble Municipal Commissioner suggesting certain modifications/additions to existing Heritage list.

- i) Modification to the existing Heritage List (Task I & II), and
- ii) Additional structures / sites / precincts from City, Western Suburbs & Eastern Suburbs (Task III & IV, V and VI respectively) to be included as a supplement to the existing heritage List.

The structures / sites, for which process under DCR-67(3) has already been completed, such as Mill Lands, Gilbert Hill and Parsi Agiaries have been deleted from the List(s) forwarded by the MHCC.

The details of the abovesaid are being published herewith on the M.C.G.M. Web Site at following link (www.mcgm.gov.in). The details of the structures / sites proposed to be reviewed / listed (as per available photographs, documentation, listing criteria etc.) can also be inspected by public at office of the Chief Engineer (Development Plan) in the Dy.Municipal Architect (Development Plan) Section, at 6th Floor, M.C.G.M. Head Office Annex Bldg., CST, Mumbai-400001, in between 2.00 PM to 5.00 PM on any working day.

Suggestions / objections from the public are herewith invited on the said proposal of modification / review to the existing Heritage List & new listing. The recommendations / remarks of the M.C.G.M. / M.C., after due process is completed in accordance with the provisions of DCR-67(3) after inviting & considering the suggestions / objections, would then be forwarded to the Govt. for approval who would take the final decision in the matter for issuing appropriate Notification.

The suggestions / objections will have to be submitted in writing within one month from the date of publication of this notice to the office of the Chief Engineer (Development Plan), 4th Floor, M.C.G.M. Head Office - Annex Building, Mahapalika Marg, CST, Mumbai-400 001.

The suggestions / objections received thereafter will not be considered.

Sd/-
(Sudhir Y Ghate)
Chief Engineer
Development Plan