Introduction, Background, and Methodology
Sadar Bazaar, a bustling, cosmopolitan area in Pune’s Cantonment, is home to a rich array of cultural groups and architectural styles, and is an area of significant historical value. Today, ‘Sadar Bazaar’ is known more commonly as ‘Camp’ or ‘M.G. Road’, and can be identified as the area around Shivaji Market. It is loosely bounded by Ambedkar Road to the north, East Street to the east, Jaan Mohammed Street to the south, and Convent Street to the west (see Map on page 16).

Urban growth pressure and rising property values are prompting architectural and demographic change in the area, most notably the loss of heritage buildings and the development of nondescript structures that detract from Sadar Bazaar’s historic character and sense of place (see Figure 1). There is, however, growing interest in heritage protection in Pune, with many organizations and communities working to preserve their heritage assets. These assets are recognized as tangible records of the past and a means of protecting communities’ distinct identities in years ahead, while ensuring continued functionality and economic sustainability to serve contemporary needs.

This project developed a community-based heritage promotion and management strategy for Sadar Bazaar. The proposed strategy supports Janwani, a social initiative of the Mahratta Chamber of Commerce Industries and Agriculture Pune, in fostering appreciation for heritage among both locals and visitors.

To achieve the project goals of supporting heritage conservation efforts in Sadar Bazaar and promoting the area as an architectural and cultural destination within Pune, four objectives were identified. The project team sought to:

1. Research and review international best practices for managing and promoting cultural and architectural heritage;
2. Propose appropriate strategies to manage and promote architectural heritage in Sadar Bazaar;
3. Develop a heritage walking trail through Sadar Bazaar showcasing its historical, architectural, and cultural heritage; and
4. Create a ‘heritage walk’ toolkit that may be used to design heritage walks in the future.

‘Heritage,’ within the context of this report, is used to refer to both people and places, encompassing the physical features of the area, i.e. built heritage, and traditional or intangible heritage. Both bottom-up and top-down strategies are required to effectively conserve heritage assets, but generating an appreciation of heritage among area proper-
ty owners is better suited to the local context and falls within the purview of non-govern-
mental actors such as Janwani. Although policies are considered as part of the case study research, the report primarily focuses on strategies for community-based heritage promotion and management. The development and implementation of guidelines and policies to conserve heritage should follow once local stakeholders recognize the value of heritage conservation.

The proposed initiatives seek to engage local stakeholders in heritage conservation, with the intent of generating a sense of ownership and recognition of heritage value, mobilizing stakeholders to protect historic buildings and other cultural assets.
The following section provides context on the history and character of the study area, and identifies important actors involved in heritage conservation. Understanding the area’s history, existing conditions, and policy context is essential to the development of a relevant and feasible heritage management strategy.

2.1 History of the Sadar Bazaar

British forces assumed control of Pune following the Battle of Khadki in November 1817. By 1819, the British forces had relocated from Shaniwar Wada in the centre of the old city (see Figure 2), to an area east of the old city, in what is now the Civil Lines neighbourhood, to reduce tensions with the local population (Diddee & Gupta, 2013). When additional troops arrived from Bombay (now Mumbai), the camp was moved further southeast and a cantonment established in the area between the Bhairoba Nala and Manik Nala streams, where it continues to operate as a military facility to this day. A smaller cantonment was also set up, north of the Mula-Mutha River, in Khadki village (Diddee & Gupta, 2013). The Cantonment embraced two pre-existing villages, Ghorpadi in the north and Wanawadi in the south, but was for the most part
privately owned by feudal landlords. Negotiations over land acquisition were completed belatedly in 1827, by which time much of the Cantonment was already built (Diddee & Gupta, 2013).

The Cantonment was developed to suit the needs of the British colonialists, and consisted of low-density, low-rise developments divided into three main land use areas – military, bungalow, and bazaar (Diddee & Gupta, 2013). A large central area was dedicated to military uses, and became home to parade grounds, a race course, messes, stores, armouries, hospitals, and barracks. The original soldiers’ tents were soon replaced by long, low, tiled-roof hutments, which in turn were later replaced by permanent barracks. As soldiers began to die from tropical diseases, the built form of the barracks changed to prioritize air circulation and hygienic conditions. Later barracks for British troops had high ceilings with windows high on the walls, and the rooms were raised on high plinths surrounded by deep verandahs to shield living quarters from the sun and “noxious vapours.” Native troops, who were more accustomed to the local climate, had more traditional and cheaply-built barracks similar to the old hutments (Diddee & Gupta, 2013). The area surrounding the military zone was used for the lodgings of officers and their families. This area was characterized by bungalows reminiscent of English cottages, surrounded by colourful English-style gardens on plots sized by military rank. As a planned, suburban environment, it was very different from the old city. The largest plots were reserved for the most senior officers and occupied as much as two acres (Diddee & Gupta, 2013). Bungalows were built on high plinths, with large verandahs, high ceilings, and windows and doors placed to maximize air circulation but minimize sun penetration. Each plot had its own well, and dwellings featured separate kitchens to contain smoke and smells. Servants’ quarters were also located separately on the property. British officers had many servants and enjoyed a lifestyle many of them could not afford in Britain (Diddee & Gupta, 2013).

Officers usually did not own their own bungalows, as they were regularly rotated between postings in Britain and abroad. As a result, it became commonplace for Indians from the old city or Sadar Bazaar to purchase the units and lease them out. Though they owned the buildings, Indians were not permitted to reside in the bungalows until the end of the 19th century (Diddee & Gupta, 2013). The bazaar was generally where commercial activities would take place. In addition to smaller bazaars in Wanawadi, Ghorpadi, and Sholapur Road, a larger piece of land was dedicated at the west of the Cantonment for the main commercial area, Sadar Bazaar (Diddee & Gupta, 2013). Located between the camp and the old city, Sadar Bazaar by the end of the 19th century became the primary economic hub in Pune, with over 2,400 houses and 700 shops. The British forces it served replaced local courtiers as the city’s most lucrative consumer segment (Diddee & Gupta, 2013).

Sadar Bazaar was laid out by the British with narrow east-west streets connecting four wide north-south streets: Main Street (now Mahatma Gandhi Road - See Figure 3), Centre Street, East Street, and West Street. The roads were lined with trees and had open gutters on both sides, although in some places these were covered with slabs of stone. Main Street was especially well-treed. Plots of land were assigned to Indians along these streets, where they could erect shops and houses (Diddee & Gupta, 2013). Initially, thatched huts were built in rows
along Main Street and Taboot Street. As the street grid was laid out and expanded, the huts were replaced with permanent structures. While the British designed the street plan, established building codes, and conducted regular inspections to enforce cleanliness and code adherence, the residents of Sadar Bazaar were free to design their own buildings (Diddee & Gupta, 2013).

For the most part, bazaar residents built two or three-storey houses, with shops on the ground floor and dwellings above, in the traditional Indian style (Diddee & Gupta, 2013). Although plots of land were small, the traditional Indian courtyard plan remained popular. Building facades were the medium for property owners to showcase the architectural styles of their places of origin, and so an eclectic streetscape evolved with a variety of building materials and stylistic elements (Diddee & Gupta, 2013).

The earliest groups to take up residence and establish shops in Sadar Bazaar were grain dealers from Marwar and Gujarat who followed the British army (Diddee & Gupta, 2013). There was already a large grain-trading industry in Pune, and many existing grain dealers opened branches in Camp or relocated entirely from the old city to peths near Sadar Bazaar to be closer to the new consumer base (Diddee & Gupta, 2013).

Another early group was the Parsis, who had previously supplied the British army in Bombay and Sirur, Karnataka. They introduced “Europe Shops,” selling timepieces, groceries, textiles, liquor, wine, and products previously not found in Pune. They would later establish the city’s first ice-making factory and photography studios. Increasingly prosperous, the Parsi community became major landowners, including in Civil Lines, where they built bungalows to lease to British officers (Diddee & Gupta, 2013).

Another successful community was the Bohris Muslims, who were already well established as hardware traders in the old
city and successfully shifted their business to Sadar Bazaar, where they also dealt in Chinaware and textile imports from England (Diddee & Gupta, 2013).

Bene-Israelis, the “Sons of Israel”, arrived in the mid-1800s and were considered to be “a rising class.” Because they closed their shops on Saturdays, they were called the “Shaniwar Telis”. They prospered and came to live in large houses of two storeys or more, and own a great deal of property (Diddee & Gupta, 2013).

Other prominent ethnic groups in Sadar Bazaar in the 19th century were the Memon Muslims from Bombay, Christians from Goa, Kamathis, and various other Indians, Eurasians, and Europeans (Diddee & Gupta, 2013). Prominent castes included Shimpis and Deshastha Brahmins. Languages spoken in the bazaar at this time included Marathi, Hindi, Gujarati, Kutchi, Telugu, Tamil, and English. Religious institutions included Hindu, Jewish, and Jain temples, Muslim masjids and dargahs, Christian churches, and Zoroastrian agiaries (Diddee & Gupta, 2013).

The population of Sadar Bazaar was thus very heterogeneous and cosmopolitan. Its various cultures distributed themselves into ethnicity or profession-based enclaves, in keeping with the traditional Indian urbanism found in old Pune (Diddee & Gupta, 2013).

In addition to the economic activities mentioned above, businesses in Sadar Bazaar included money lending, carpentry, book binding, coach building, hat making, shoe making, hair cutting, masonry, contracting, and trade in textiles, timepieces, clothing, groceries, and other merchandise, both locally made and imported. The first cinemas arrived in the bazaar in the early 20th century, introducing a new form of entertainment (Diddee & Gupta, 2013).

To manage the Cantonment, the British established a committee consisting of nine British officials and four civilian residents of the Cantonment, and installed the Cantonment Magistrate. Solely controlling the judiciary, police, jail, registrar, conservancy, and sanitation, the magistrate ruled autocratically with little resistance from the Cantonment Committee (Diddee & Gupta, 2013). Resentment towards the magistrate manifested in periodic protests in the 19th century, but the system of governance remained until the 20th century; this, despite the old city holding its first democratic election in 1883 (Diddee & Gupta, 2013).

Though the economy of Sadar Bazaar was based on serving the needs of the British military camp, bazaar residents did not socially intermingle with either the British soldiers and officers or the residents of the old city of Pune (Diddee & Gupta, 2013). They existed in a self-sustaining community which was more heterogeneous and cosmopolitan than either the Camp or the old city.
2.2. Existing Conditions

Pune Cantonment today has a population of over 67,000, a decline from its population in 1981 of 86,000 (see Figure 4) (Pektar & Diwan, 2012). Land use in Sadar Bazaar is approximately one-third residential, one-fifth commercial, one-fifth road network, one-seventh mixed-use, one-tenth amenities and services, and less than one-twentieth open space (see Figure 5) (Pektar & Diwan, 2012).

Sadar Bazaar today remains a cosmopolitan and heterogeneous community. Areas within it retain names based on 19th century ethnic enclaves such as Shimpi Ali and Teli Ali, though the demographics of these areas have changed and many enclaves have dispersed or relocated within the Cantonment and the surrounding peths (Diddee & Gupta, 2013). To summarize and organize relevant considerations to our project, we performed a preliminary, pre-fieldwork SWOC analysis which can be seen in Appendix 2.1.

2.3 Policy Context

Heritage conservation in India is supported by the central, state, and local governments, as well as by non-governmental organizations (NGOs). As the central and state governments focus primarily on major archaeological sites and prominent Indian monuments, local governments and civic organizations have assumed the responsibility to protect local heritage, which largely takes the form of historic buildings, structures, and...
sites (Republic of India, 1958; State of Maharashtra, 1960). In the Cantonment area of Pune, the protection of local heritage has been acknowledged by local government, though NGOs have taken a leading role in heritage promotion and protection activities.

2.3.1: Pune Cantonment Board

The Pune Cantonment Board (PCB) is a body of civic administration responsible for the Pune Cantonment, its present mandate stemming from the Cantonments Act, 2006. The PCB is distinct from the Pune Municipal Corporation, which manages the city government. The PCB is responsible for the Cantonment’s administration, and manages utilities and basic infrastructure, hospitals, primary schooling, taxation, and the preparation and implementation of town planning schemes (PCB, 2013). Though cantonment boards have discretionary power to provide for the maintenance and preservation of historical monuments and archeological sites, the PCB has to date been reluctant to involve itself in the protection of local heritage (Republic of India, 2006). Consequently, conservation efforts in the Cantonment have focused largely on religious heritage, led by religious groups and NGOs.

The Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (PCB, 2013a), a central government initiative aimed at improving infrastructure and quality of life in Indian cities, outlined a model City Development Plan for the PCB in 2013. The plan, which will help guide the Cantonment’s future development, speaks directly to the need for improved conservation measures (JnNURM, 2013). In response, the PCB acknowledged the importance of heritage protection and accepted a planning framework that encourages progress on this file.

2.3.2: Janwani

Meaning “voice of the people,” Janwani is a social initiative dedicated to the promotion of sustainable and equitable development in Pune (Janwani, 2014). Formed in 2006 with support from the Mahratta Chamber of Commerce Industries and Agriculture, the organization employs a community-based approach, involving both government and non-government actors, to improve quality of life. Its projects address a range of focus areas, such as urban planning, transportation, governance, and the environment. In the area of heritage, Janwani has developed walks, organized an annual heritage festival, and distributed promotional materials to increase public awareness of local heritage. Janwani has taken a leading role in increasing the profile of heritage in Pune.

2.3.3: INTACH

Founded in 1984, the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) is an NGO dedicated to the preservation of Indian cultural heritage (INTACH, 2014). INTACH lists and documents heritage structures and properties through local chapters, and develops recommendations to promote heritage protection in government policy. The organization works both independently and in partnership with other government and non-government bodies.
3.0 Methodology

The project team used a variety of complementary qualitative methods to guide the research process and achieve identified goals and objectives. The combination of research techniques and varied sources of information allowed for in-depth study of heritage promotion and helped to validate project conclusions and recommendations.

3.1 Literature & Document Review

Prior to travelling to Pune, the project team conducted detailed background research and analysis of secondary data to build a good understanding of Pune, its history, and how to approach heritage management and promotion in the Indian context. The team also familiarized itself with planning processes, legislative framework, and heritage strategies in Pune, India. In addition, the team studied literature on heritage conservation, public space and place identity, urban design, and streetscape assessment. The team also used secondary data sources to analyze several case studies of precedents and best practices relevant to the project.

Figure 6: Conducting the workshop at BVDU
3.2 Workshop

Prior to commencing fieldwork in Pune, the project team conducted a workshop at Bharati Vidyapeeth Deemed University (BVDU) College of Architecture to gain feedback on the background research and to inform the direction of the field research (see Figure 6). The fifteen workshop participants included representatives from Janwani, local architecture and heritage conservation professionals, and BVDU faculty and students. (For details regarding the workshop see Appendix 3.1).

3.3 Site and Route Observation

3.3.1 Assessment Tool

Drawing from the literature and document review, the team created an integrated streetscape audit instrument for creating the heritage walk. Following the workshop and feedback from Janwani, the tool was adjusted to adopt an approach better suited to the context of Sadar Bazaar.

Revisions made to the integrated streetscape audit tool included dividing the audit into two sections, one observing key heritage sites identified by Janwani and workshop participants, the other assessing street segments connecting the sites (For details regarding the instrument see Appendix 3.2). The revised assessment tool includes the following components, as described in Figure 7 below: (See Appendix 3.3 for further elaboration).

![Figure 7: Site and route assessment categories and indicators](image-url)
Adjustments to the assessment tool ensured that all sites chosen for the route were significant in adding architectural, commercial, culinary, cultural, or religious aspects to the trail. Observing and analyzing street segments within the study area was key to ensuring that the most diverse and enjoyable routes were selected, while remaining mindful of characteristics such as ease of travel and accessibility, comfort, physical design.

### 3.3.2 Fieldwork

Over four days, the project team, with the assistance of six BVDU students, completed 44 site assessments and 45 street segment assessments (see Appendix 3.4). Assessments were conducted during morning hours, reflecting the normal time the walk would occur. The data collected was then compiled and analyzed by each assessment group (see Appendix 3.5).

### 3.3.3 Establishing a Route

After completing fieldwork, a subgroup of four team members compared their findings to identify sites and routes for the trail. Multiple maps of the study area were annotated, indicating which sites and streets ranked the highest and offered the most pleasant experience. The draft route was then tested and further adjusted.

### 3.4 Key Informant Interviews

In addition to the input gained from the workshop and fieldwork analysis, several key informant interviews were conducted to discuss heritage promotion strategies in Sadar Bazaar and the team’s overall research approach.

The project team conducted seven semi-structured interviews with local informants. The interviewees represented a range of backgrounds and skillsets, including professional architects, urban designers, professors, and master’s students (see Appendix 3.6).

The interviews provided opportunity for dialogue on topics ranging from the economic benefits of heritage in Pune, the importance of public-private partnership, and advice for the creation of the heritage trail. This also allowed for constructive feedback and suggestions, as well as validation of the team’s method in completing the project.