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The *Wada* of Maharashtra, an Indian Courtyard House Form

*Volume I*

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Abstract

This study of the *Wada* of Maharashtra (India) attempts the first systematic overview of the courtyard house form in the present day state of Maharashtra, across its five traditional regions. Between 1700 AD and 1900 AD the *wada* received royal patronage and proliferated. It was first the Marathas, and later their successors the Peshwas, who patronized this house form which was found not only in Maharashtra but areas around as well, where their rule spread.

Previous scholarships concentrated on small geographical regions, whereas this study attempts to evaluate the generalities and the variations across the entire state of Maharashtra. Regional and social variations have been identified while documenting 75 *wadas* across the five traditional regions of the state, covering over 30 towns. The data is organized in regional and sociological typologies, arriving at a classification of images, plans, sections and elevations. From this classification, the variables and commonalities become evident. These typologies have been studied in relation to the town plan, establishing a link with the broader urban context.

Reasons for the development of the plan, its continuity and disruption, have been examined, while considering the determinants of space and form. Socio-cultural, historical and geographical factors have been taken into account to understand their implications on space and form. The
study also investigates the emergence of a new architectural style, the Maratha style, which emerges as a co-existence of the Delhi or the Islamic arcuated style and the Gujarati or the Hindu trabeated style.

The spaces within the wada have been shown to follow the structural grid. The length of wooden columns and beams, which was the timber length, determined the grid dimensions. Spaces were multiples of this grid, emanating from the central courtyard which was the source of light and ventilation, and a hub of social activities in large wadas. Social systems determined space usage.

The research can become a reference point for further detailed work, and exploration of indigenous design solutions, which find relevance in the current context of design in India.
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From here on began a journey of data collection, assimilation, collation and preparation of drafts. The joys were far more than the hurdles.

A special thanks to the Kadam family of Sap, Jedhe family of Kari, Mohite family of Rajewadi, and the Jadhav family of Bhuins who continue to live in their original *wadas* and were an authentic source of information.

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CHAPTER 5: Classification

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Chapter 1

Chapter 1 introduces the research topic, previous works undertaken, approach adopted and methodology followed during the course of this work.
Fig. 1.1: Location of Maharashtra in India
Source: website: www.undp.org.in
Introduction

Architectural styles of residential buildings in India are derived from socio-political, economic and geographical factors, as they are world over. Land and resource availability are the primary requisites for construction. Methods and materials of building determine structural design, while topographical variations affect design elements. Courtyard houses which have been studied here reflected the style and culture of the times and were also indicative of the owner's self image and aspirations. These factors combine in various ways, to fulfill the basic need of protection from the elements as well as the artful and ingenious usage of these elements to advantage. Rituals of daily life, the movement of people within the house, and the uses ascribed to various parts of the house determine space allocation.

It was on the basis of these aspects that courtyard house architecture developed in medieval India, not just as an architectural style, but also as a receptacle for an indigenous way of life. The courtyard house was a form prevalent all over the sub-continent under different names: haveli in North India; wada in Maharashtra, Western India; deori in Hyderabad, on the southern Indian plateau; nalukettu in Kerala, southern most coastal India; rajbadi in Bengal, East India. All had regional variations in design and craft techniques, as they were built by artisans who doubled as architects, architectural tenets passing from one generation to the next. Courtyard houses, inspite of springing from similar cultural and geographical backgrounds across the present-day state of Maharashtra,
resulted in the house form having regional variations. These were houses in which the spatial and formal elements fell into a wonderful introverted blueprint. At the core of the house was the courtyard. A number of courtyard houses formed a residential cluster, called *peth* in Pune, *pol* in Ahmedabad and *mohalla* in north India. Enclosed by a perimeter wall with limited entrances, these clusters, consisting of a number of *peths* or *pols* were self sufficient with wells and places of worship within. Each cluster of houses also had an open courtyard-like space called *chowk* in their midst, for social activities, both daily and occasional.

Only a few of the courtyard houses survive because of the dismantling of the feudal system, breaking up of the joint family, divisions due to inheritance and tenancies, and a lack of appreciation by local authorities of the need to conserve heritage. The passage of time also has worn down old houses, making them difficult to live in. Rebuilding without artisans who would have skills to reconstruct or restore in the former style also proves difficult. Visible today are traces of these buildings, most often used for purposes other than what they were built for. In rare instances, they are inhabited by the descendants of the original owners.

The structures that have survived are those built as palaces for the kings and mansions for the rich, constructed in wood, brick and stone. These have been photographed, written and romanticised about, as they exist in different parts of India.

The *wada* of Maharashtra, which proliferated during the Maratha period between 1650 AD and 1815 AD, is the subject of this dissertation. A comprehensive study of the *wadas* of the entire Maharashtra region is undertaken to get an overview of this deteriorating house form, which has now become a legacy, representing the culture and grandeur of its time.
Maharashtra, the homeland of the Marathas forms part of a larger entity, the Indian subcontinent.

The core of research presented hereafter examines the phenomenon of the rise, fruition and decline of the *wada*, a house form that received patronage from the Maratha rulers and later from the Peshwas, their successors. The latter were responsible for its statewide spread, as well as its expansion to the adjoining regions of Malwa, parts of Gujarat, and Karnataka.

Architectural movements originated and developed with the patronage of powerful ruling dynasties or religious sects. Temple architecture flourished during the Gupta period, while during the Mughal period cross cultural influences resulted in a new style known as Indo Islamic architecture. These movements were an outcome of a cultural resurgence, patronized by rulers and their nobility. The downfall of the ruling dynasty resulted in a decline in affluence thereby resulting in a setback.

With roots in Maharashtra, I have long been aware that the eighteenth century witnessed a great upsurge in Maratha political power and as a result a powerful and wealthy elite comprising of military leaders and feudal lords thrived. The Maratha nobility and social elite of the eighteenth century supported a cultural rejuvenation, patronizing literature, music, dance and painting, and most visibly and durably in architecture. This florescence of culture is manifested in the monuments documented in this dissertation.

The rise, growth and decline in architecture, specifically domestic architecture, is, then, synonymous with the rise, decline and fall of Maratha political power. The beginning is associated with the Shaniwar *Wada* built by Peshwa Baji Rao I in 1725 AD and the end of their power
is marked by the Vishrambagh Wada built by Baji Rao II in 1805 AD. The formal eclipse of Maratha power is dated 1815 AD when the Shaniwar Wada was captured by the British.

The dissertation focuses on the development of this house form in Maharashtra, aiming to establish the principles behind the generic form, and the typological variations in the five traditional regions that comprise the present day state of Maharashtra: Desh, Konkan, Marathwada, Khandesh and Vidharbha. Spatial and formal analysis of the wada has been undertaken here, along with exploration of technology adopted for construction. However, this would be incomplete without investigating the traditional socio-cultural aspects, which were crucial determinants in establishing form.

1.1 Research Questions

Several research questions emerged at the outset of the research. The following is a summary indicating where each of these questions will be treated in the dissertation.

1. Are there regional variations among the wadas of Maharashtra?

Regional variations are discussed in detail in Chapter 5, and presented in tabular form.

2. How did this architecture reflect contemporary society, lifestyle, customs and taboos?

A social classification of the wadas is arrived at along with the regional one in Chapter 5. Secular architecture represented by garhis and wadas reflected lifestyle, customs and taboos of society at the time. The spatial
analysis in Chapter 6, and customs and traditions related to the spaces are discussed in Sections 6.9 and 6.14.

3. Did the Maratha architects follow local building traditions in terms of materials or techniques?

Examples of wadas built in the pre Maratha period, revealed in the excavations at Daulatabad in the Deccan region, a similar plan and similar timber construction as those of the Maratha Wadas. Some of the wadas of Paithan were built in the 15th century AD. This is an indication that local traditions, materials and techniques were followed.

4. Do these domestic structures relate to the Vastu shastra principles codified in ancient texts?

Chapter 3, Sections 3.1, 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 explain the principles of Vastu shastra and their practical applications revealed during field survey.

5. Do the wadas show distinct architectural styles? What was their nature, how were they distributed geographically and through time, and how do they relate to other regional styles?

The emergence of a new, composite style, which may be termed the ‘Maratha style’, will be shown to be combination of earlier Hindu and Islamic styles. Chapter 6, Section 6.18 explains the emergence of this new style.

6. How does architectural type relate to social class, and does caste determine variations in spatial organization within the wada?

Chapter 5 explains the sociological classification, with the similarities and variables among the wadas of different social groupings.
7. How are social groupings reflected in town planning, both in terms of
eighbourhoods and of distribution of wada types?

Chapter 5 explains classification both in terms of regional and social
types and Chapter 3 explains the location of wada types at a town
planning level showing their interrelation.

8. What determined interior spaces?

Chapter 7 explains the structural systems responsible for spanning spaces.
Chapter 4, fig 4.5 shows the structural grid of a typical plan of a wada.
The classification tables in Chapter 5 show plans of wadas documented
during the physical survey. These plans indicate space evolution around
the structural grid.

The main body of the text is based upon the physical survey. Regional
and sociological classification comparisons are found woven through the
dissertation.

1.2 Defining Terms

Maratha: The term ‘Maratha’ is steeped in significance, and is generally
used to describe the different facets of Hindu rule in Maharashtra from
the 17th to the 19th centuries AD. Its limitations and implications have to
be defined. The word ‘Maratha’ is related to Marathi, the mother tongue
of a group that inhabits the geographical area of present day Maharashtra.
The Marathas were a group of people that are identified by their strong
socio-cultural and religious affinities. When the term Maratha is used in
the politics of the 17th and 18th centuries AD, it represents a dynastic
entity that ruled the region. In the context of modern Maharashtra, it is
applied to the Marathi people of the Kshatriya or warrior caste. Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha dynasty, was himself a Kshatriya.

Marathas formally proclaimed themselves an independent state in 1674 AD, accompanied with the coronation of their first king, Chhatrapati Shivaji. Chhatrapati means king of kings. This title was handed down the dynastic rule of the Marathas.

**Peshwa:** The period of Peshwa rule formed a phase distinct from the previous chhatrapati rule in Maratha politics. The Peshwas were the powerful Brahmin prime ministers of the Maratha rulers. Maratha and Peshwa are complementary terms and the latter is an extension of the former. The specific use of these terms is significant in discussing issues of patronage and political ideologies.

**Wada:** The wada is the courtyard house form specific to the region of Maharashtra. This form has evolved with the integration of the built form and open spaces. There are two kinds of open spaces: one, where the built form has a front and rear yard adjoining it; the other where the open courtyard has become an integrated internal open space, where the built form offsets the open area.

**Wadi:** A cluster of village dwellings with an open space in their midst is a wadi. This open space is shared by all the hutmets around it. Household activities spill over in this space and the observation is that the open areas in relation to the built form are equally important. Each flows into the other, blurring the edges of the built form.
1.3 Previous Works

The study of the wadas in Maharashtra, strangely, begins not with scholarly attention to them, but with a more prosaic effort on the part of British administrators in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The collapse of the mutiny of 1857 AD resulted in the establishment of the Indian empire with the queen as its head. With the British government involving itself directly with the administration of the region, the need was felt for getting acquainted with the local populace, their way of life, social and religious customs and habitation.

Officers were deputed to collect data, and this exercise resulted in a volume of information regarding each district. This served as the foundation on which the administrative machinery governed the region. This information was published in the format of the District Gazetteers, between 1870 AD and 1880 AD. Each gazetteer contained information on the history, religion, festivals, markets, roads, agriculture, industry, and places of interest. The gazetteers provided detailed information on towns, villages, temples, houses and wards.

The Gazetteers of Poona and Nasik Districts provide information on houses in both cities. These are the earliest descriptions of the habitations. They elaborate on the plans, methods of construction and decoration. These Gazetteers record the castes that were engaged in construction during the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Historical research was undertaken in earnest around 1900 AD in Maharashtra. However the earlier generation of scholars was almost exclusively concerned with the discovery and study of documents, little attention being paid to other aspects. Prior to that attention of scholars
was concentrated entirely on political history and therefore on the
documenting of those aspects. Social and cultural aspects were entirely
ignored, as was the case for music, art and architecture.

A lone voice was that of V. K. Rajwade, who pioneered historical
research in Maharashtra by collecting information on political, social,
economic affairs of the state through pothis or texts and personal
documents recovered from powerful families like the Holkars. These
pothis also contained records of expenses that were incurred in the
construction of temples or other structures, besides giving an insight into
the way of life of the people of the region. Areas of technology, painting
and architecture were not covered in his research, as he devoted his
attention to the study of the pothis. The institute that he established, the
Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal of Pune, brought together people who
were willing to go beyond the limited field of paperwork. However, their
first step in the direction of architectural studies had to wait forty more
years. When they did begin to study antiquities and monuments, it was a
pioneering effort in Maharashtra.

Between 1940 AD and 1945 AD members of the mandal went around
Pune city and its various wards and collected information on temples,
wadas and samadhis. Their efforts resulted in four volumes of the
quarterly journal of that institute, called the Pune Nagar Sanshodhan
Vrutta. The drawback was that the publication was in Marathi and
therefore could not reach out to scholars from other regions. They not
only described existing structures but also contained information from
contemporary documents.¹

¹Discussion with Mate
One of the first scholars to turn attention to architectural heritage under the Marathas (1650 AD - 1850 AD) was Hermann Goetz. Goetz was the curator of the Baroda museum and picture gallery. In that capacity he had the opportunity of visiting historical sites in Maharashtra. He felt that a closer look needs to be taken at the structures of the Maratha period. The Yadava period (10\textsuperscript{th}-13\textsuperscript{th} centuries AD) was surveyed by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). Medieval Temples of the Deccan had been researched on by Cousens. The vacuum of scholarship between the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} centuries AD was brought to notice by Goetz in 1954 AD.

Following the lead provided by Goetz, Mate (work published between 1959 AD and 2003 AD) studied architectural creations under the Marathas. His canvas was fairly large and included structures like forts, garhis, wadas, temples, samadhis and ghats along rivers. This was the first systematic and scientific study of Maratha monuments, though not a detailed one. In such a broad-based study he has not undertaken an in-depth investigation into the wadas of Maharashtra. The evolution and development of this form, factors that determined its generic form or the reasons for variables have not been studied. Wooden decorations have been discussed by Mate in his work, *Deccan Woodwork* (1966 AD). Wall paintings and murals on wada walls were surveyed and results published by Chavan (1979 AD), Mate's student, in *Maratha Murals*.

A solitary study of the remains of a single place, Paithan in Marathwada was carried out by Morwanchikar (1985 AD). It surveys the entire period of the town's existence (2 AD - 2000 AD) with no detailed study of the wada. He has also authored a book on woodwork at Paithan.

Samita Gupta and Jaymala Diddi (2000 AD) have produced an exhaustive glossy publication on Pune, the city that formed the headquarters of the
Peshwas, prime ministers of the Maratha kings and their subsequent successors. Development of the city, its layout and growth, residential as well as commercial areas, was dealt with. Gupta was a scholar whose previous work dealt with the architecture of the British in Western India. It offers useful glimpses on the monuments in Pune. Samita Gupta and Jaymala Diddi’s book on Pune is non-academic and limits itself to the city of Pune.

Wai in Satara district was a centre of learning. This place was chosen by the Raste family as a resort to build a large wada. The Rastes were associated with the Peshwas through matrimonial alliances. Ashi Amchi Wai was a booklet published in Marathi by G. H. Khare in 1986 AD. It mentions a number of wadas, mostly of the late 18th century, but does not describe them in any detail.

Manda Khandge’s (2002 AD) Vaibhav Peshwekalin wadyanche is a non-academic Marathi publication. It contains superficial description of wadas, but provides information on traditions and myths.

In Architecture of Bhoslas of Nagpur by K. M. Girhe (2004 AD), the religious and secular architecture of Nagpur in Vidharbha has been discussed to a satisfactory extent with drawings and photographs of wadas although limiting itself to Nagpur.

All these works have limited their attention to what can be called the formal or structural aspect of Maratha secular architecture.

A study of the religious architecture during eighteenth century Maratha rule has been carried out by Ashutosh Sohoni titled Temples of the Marathas.
Although Mate (1959 AD) has made a reference to the politico economic conditions of society that brought these wadas into existence, his analysis does not refer to social conditions, needs or taboos.

A fresh look at Maratha wadas requires a much broader perspective. Along with the formal aspect, two other aspects need to be taken into account, social conditions and the non-formal or esoteric considerations in the planning of the wada.

At this juncture, reference to the work on the havelis of Gujarat and Rajasthan needs to be made. V.S. Pramar's (1990 AD) work, Haveli, Wooden Mansions of Gujarat is a research on this house form and is a comprehensive documentation of the dwelling unit. Shikha Jain's (2002 AD) scholarship on The Havelis of Rajasthan, Form and Identity is a parallel to the present study, dealing with a similar house form but in a different state. It describes the form and the gradual transformation of the haveli in Rajasthan, with a socio-cultural, economic and historical background, across the traditional regions of Rajasthan. The focus of Jain's dissertation is to bring out the similarities and variations of the haveli, depending upon societal and topographical diversity, as found in different parts of the geographical region. Her work uses a balanced, multi-disciplinary approach using anthropological studies, along with a formal analysis of architectural linguistics. The objective of the research has been to provide a framework to study traditional Indian architecture in other parts of India. Since the study of traditional dwelling forms is incomplete with only a formal analysis, her work has to a great extent gone beyond the study of plans, sections and elevations. She has sensitively integrated the impact of culture and rituals on the form.
Shikha Jain argues that rituals inherited from the ancient past determine the plan and disposition of available space. Her approach is broad based, taking into account the formal, the social and the esoteric.

Piecemeal scholarly studies on the wada in Pune, or Wai and Bhor have been conducted by students of architecture. Non-academic works have been published by authors romanticising the form.

1.4 Approach

Purely formal studies in traditional dwellings are considered inadequate according to the anthropological theories proposed by Amos Rapoport (1969 AD) and Jan Pieper (1979 AD), which focus on the impact of culture on form. Paul Oliver's Encyclopaedia of Vernacular Architecture (1997 AD) surveys diverse methodologies for the study of vernacular settlements and traditional dwelling patterns. A singular approach would be limiting and insufficient. Shikha Jain expresses this complexity in the following statement:

"Indian Architecture is not a systematic assimilation of plans and elevations. It is a living tradition. Sensitivity to the regional context and an inductive approach is essential to realise the intentions behind these traditional forms."^2

In today’s context, there is a need to explore traditional construction paradigms, in order to rediscover roots. There is also a realisation that traditional forms of building are more suitable to Indian conditions – both geographical and societal.

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^2 Shikha Jain, The Havelis of Rajasthan, Form and Identity. 2002 p. 1.15
1.5 Focus and Scope

The study focuses on the period between 1700 AD and 1900 AD. It is an investigation of the secular architecture of that period, contributing to the diachronic nature of the research. There is also an attempt to study the subject matter with reference to history and the origins and roots of the wada.

Geographically, the study concentrates on the following districts of the state of Maharashtra: Ahmednagar, Dhule, Jalgaon, Kolhapur, Mumbai, Nasik, Pune, Raigad, Ratnagiri, Sangli, Satara, Thane and Nagpur in the traditional regions of Desh, Konkan, Khandesh, Marathwada and Vidharbha.

1.6 Need for the Study

The study of the wada, principles behind the generic form and the typological variations because of geography, climatology, and economy is essential to understand how this form evolved, and its development over a period of time. No comprehensive work on this house form, taking into account all these factors, has been undertaken so far.

The state of Maharashtra, comprising the five traditional regions where this house form existed, has never been looked at holistically. During the peak of Maratha power and patronage it had spread even beyond the boundaries of the existing state, but a study of this aspect has never been undertaken.

There was therefore a need to make a cumulative study of every aspect of the individual wada, along with its placement in a community setting, in the context of the times in which it existed. Also, it is essential to impart
to modern day architects, town planners, historians and conservationists,
knowledge of the past, in order to establish a sense of history, materials
and approaches.

In the course of study, a concentration of the *wada* form was found in
western Maharashtra, especially in and around Pune, which was the seat
of Peshwa power. The rest of the areas were in the hands of noblemen or
commanders who controlled their own fiefdoms. Their *garhis*, or fortified
*wada* forms, dotted western and central Maharashtra. The palace *wadas*
of Satara in Desh and of Nagpur in Vidharbha in eastern Maharashtra, the
seat of power of the Maratha Bhonsles, still exist. Other than Nagpur,
Vidharbha did not show any concentration of this house form.

Representative examples have also been taken from the regions of Indore
in Madhya Pradesh as well as from Goa where the existence of the *wada*
necessitated a study for purposes of establishing relationships with
traditions in these adjoining areas (Table 6).

1.7 Methodology

Literature

Sources of information for the research have been through literature
available on history, geography and previous works done on the same,
similar or related topics.

The research process is based on a physical survey of 75 *wadas*
encircling the five traditional regions of the state, covering over 30
towns. Fieldwork involved obtaining permission to visit the *wadas*,
taking photographs, recording observations. A rigid interview format
could not be followed. Conversation, including an introduction in the
local language, Marathi, helped to achieve a level of comfort, followed by a basic interview. Women of the wadas, especially in Mohite Wada, Rajewadi, Jadhav Garhi, Bhuins and Jedhe Wada, Kari still followed the system of purdah. Here men initiated the interview process and conveying of information. But when the women realised that it was someone of the same gender who was interviewing and after a level of comfort was achieved, they came out with information that was pent up and this became an opportunity for them to communicate. Information regarding lifestyle, social customs, myths and traditions handed down through the generations, were conveyed in this manner.

Most towns visited had a central wada around which the town grew. For instance in Chandwad, the Holkar Wada was the central wada and other wadas like Pingte Wada and Brahmin Wada were on the periphery. Principles of town planning were revealed on site survey when the structures around the main wada were explored.

After reaching the town where wadas were expected, and after exploring these, nearby wadas in smaller towns were also explored. The presence of these wadas in smaller towns was conveyed by villagers on the way to the main towns where wadas of nobles existed. For instance Jedhe Wada in Kari was explored on the way to Mohite Wada in Rajewadi, Satara district.

**Sample Selection & Processing**

It was necessary to consult previous studies both in English and Marathi languages published so far, as a large number of wadas recorded by previous authors have been pulled down to make way for modern residential complexes in the last 25 years. Gazetteers of the states and
districts were a source of basic information about every aspect – historical, geographical, social and religious. Other sources of information have been factual, non-academic works.

**Research and Fieldwork**

Research work done by M.S. Mate between the period 1959 AD - 2003 AD and innumerable discussions with him on historical, geographical, traditional and sociological facts, formed a strong base.

Fieldwork has formed the backbone and discussions with Mate were an invaluable guide to the selection of places to study. Traditional regions were identified as an overlay on the districts. The starting point was Pune. Since this was the seat of political power, *wadas* were chosen here first. Selection of towns like Satara, Bhor, Vafgaon and Chandwad were made since *wadas* of noblemen existed there. In some places like Sap and Rajewadi, there existed in isolation, the *wada* of the Kadams, and that of the Mohites, respectively. The exploration of territories where the house form existed and the investigation that ensued of individual *wadas* was by word of mouth.

Representative examples were selected in the different traditional regions. Additions were made to the list drawn up initially with Mate. Basic information is conveyed through plans, sections, elevations, photographs and analytical data through schematic and conceptual drawings. Once basic data was collected principles underlying the generic form and variables because of topography, climate and socio cultural aspects were identified.
Chapter 2 deals with the geographical and historical background explaining the region where the *wada* was patronised and period of time in history that it received patronage. It integrates references to the sociological aspects for which background for the need to understand and assimilate sociology becomes relevant, as suggested by architects and anthropologists.
Fig. 2.1: Maharashtra - physical map
Source: website:www.mapsofindia.com

Fig. 2.2: Maharashtra traditional regions showing places visited where wadas exist
Background and Context

Architectural form is a response to the needs of the individual and society. To understand the origin and development of the wada form, the environment – historical and geographical, in which it has evolved, has to be considered.

2.1 Geographical Context

The Architecture of the Marathas in Maharashtra is the architecture of the people whose common language is Marathi, and who form one strong socio-cultural group with internal binding forces that gives them their identity.

The region under consideration is present day Maharashtra, a state in Western India, situated on the Deccan plateau. Today, the state does not constitute as large an area as the Maratha Empire in the eighteenth century, when the Marathas were at the peak of their power. Earlier it formed part of a wider area known as the Deccan, which included parts of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh.

The Deccan was the region bridging the north and south of the Indian peninsula. It was under the rule of the Rashtrakutas (8th-10th centuries AD) and later the Yadavas (10th-13th centuries AD). This was the region which later came to be known as Maharashtra. The Rashtrakutas, the Yadavas and the Muslim settlers (14th-18th centuries AD) before the Marathas came into power, influenced social and religious customs as
well as art and culture, resulting in the architectural form having a range of influences.

Maharashtra, is a triangular region and it is now geographically defined by the Arabian Sea on the west and extends from the River Tapi and Narmada in the north to the River Krishna and Tungabhadra in the south. Five broad regions form the present day state of Maharashtra: Konkan in the extreme west, Desh, which includes Mawal and Ghatmatha, Marathwada, Khandesh and Vidarbha. (Fig.2.2)

The Konkan and Desh regions are divided by the Sahayadri mountain ranges, also called the Western Ghats. Desh is the plateau region and lies in the rain shadow of the Western Ghats. Khandesh shares a common boundary with Gujarat. Marathwada lies between Desh in the west and Vidarbha in the east.

The Konkan is the coastal plain lying between the Arabian Sea and the Western Ghats and stretches 330 miles from North to South, and varies in width from 28 miles to 47 miles. This region is divided into five administrative districts: Thane, Mumbai, Raigadh, Ratnagiri and Sindhudurg. The topography of the Konkan coast is congenial to settlement. Bays, peninsula, estuaries and capes coexist (Fig. 2.1). There exist a number of naturally protected ports, making it ideal for commercial activity.

Maharashtra's neighbouring states in today's context are Gujarat in the North West, Madhya Pradesh in the north, Chhattisgarh in the east, Andhra Pradesh in the south east, and Karnataka and Goa in the south (Fig. 2.2). Outside the present boundaries of Maharashtra, the wada was present in Indore and Gwalior in Madhya Pradesh, which were ruled by
the Maratha Holkar and Scindia dynasties, respectively. The border regions of Belgam in Karnataka show the presence of this house form as well.

2.2 Historical Context: Broken Tradition of Hindu Rule

The research is an investigation into architectural history, focusing on domestic architecture in the region of Maharashtra, between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, during the rule of the Marathas and Peshwas. This period is a time of Hindu revivalism.¹

Hindu revivalism had its roots in the eleventh century, when the western Deccan region was under the rule of the Yadavas of Devagiri and the eastern Deccan area under the Kakatiyas. During their time, great strides were made in the intellectual and cultural life of people. The end of the thirteenth century marked the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate, and the beginning of a phase of Muslim rule. Alauddin Khilji (1296 AD – 1315 AD) destroyed the Delhi Sultans succeeding him. Yadava and Kakatiya powers and held sway for half a century. In 1347 AD local governors proclaimed themselves independent and the Deccan passed into the hands of the Bahmanis, again Muslim. The Bahmanis extended their power westwards and opened direct commercial and cultural contacts with the Islamic countries of the west Asian region. By 1527 AD, five independent Sultanates had risen on the ruins of the Bahmanis: Ahmednagar, Bidar, Bijapur, Berar and Golconda.²

¹Hindu revivalism: Prior to the Maratha period for nearly three centuries, Maharashtra and Deccan as a whole were ruled by Islamic Sultans whose cultural roots were deeply embedded in Persian and central Asian traditions. Both these obliterated the cultural traditions exemplified more particularly in architecture. Hindu tradition found expression in the monuments of the Yadavas who controlled the Deccan between the 10th and 13th centuries. This tradition was revived by the Marathas, especially in the religious architecture. Marathi Literature also got rejuvenated; local music too harped back to Yadava traditions. These Hindu cultural traditions, which were suppressed for a period of over three centuries, were rejuvenated under the Marathas.

²M.S.Mate. Maratha Architecture, 2002, Manasanman Prakashan, Pune.
Three centuries of Muslim rule caused a break in Hindu tradition of art and architecture. Skills traditionally transmitted from generation to generation verbally and through practice were eroded. Temple building activity was replaced by Muslim sponsored buildings with traditional Islamic forms, since funding was available only for the latter. Craftsmen gradually mastered the new construction vocabulary of wet masonry, arches, domes and vaults along with floral and geometric patterns. Lack of practice meant that skills would not survive in their traditional form. Islamic rule altered the traditional social structure of Maharashtra as well. Brahmins began losing their grip on their traditional profession, taking to farming, the army and even commerce, as these were more lucrative. These changes were also influenced by the socio cultural exchanges between the Hindus and the Muslims. The two communities lived harmoniously – antagonism was largely politically motivated. The fact that the common people – both Hindu and Muslim – lived in poverty and were oppressed, contributed to the cordiality of relations.

All this was happening in the absence of Hindu leadership. When the foundations of Maratha power were laid by Shivaji in 1646 AD, it symbolised the resurfacing of the Hindu kingdom, with a revival of Hinduism in every aspect of life, even secular architecture. However, when building activity received the royal patronage of the Marathas, there was no tradition to fall back on. Therefore, while the structure of a wada is essentially Hindu in the following of the Vastupurushmandala, the square grid form represented by the traditional ritual diagram, the styling is often Indo-Islamic in certain elements, such as the presence of cusped arches, cypress orders and bangla roofs.
Fig. 2.3: Maps of rise of regional powers during 1707-1766.
Source: Joseph E. Schwartzberg, A Historical Atlas of South Asia
It took more than half a century (1650 AD–1700 AD) for the Marathas to be able to indulge in building activity of any noticeable consequence, since their rule initially underwent a period of consolidation, when the land was ravaged by constant warfare, making peace time pursuits an impossible luxury. Shivaji(1627 AD–1680 AD), considered the greatest Maratha ruler, brought parts of the entire region of Maharashtra and areas surrounding it, under his control. However, Shivaji’s immediate descendants Sambhaji (1681 AD–1689 AD) and Rajaram (1689 AD–1700 AD) could not consolidate and expand on his ground work. The period between 1700 AD and 1707 AD saw Tarabai, the widow of Rajaram taking charge.

The history of Maratha power can be divided for all purposes into two distinct periods: early and late, the former consisting of the reigns of Shivaji, Sambhaji, Rajaram and the first decade of Shahu’s rule, while the latter pertains to the Peshwa period.

A major change in Maratha politics came about when Shahu (1707AD-1749AD) the last Chhatrapati, and grandson of Chhatrapati Shivaji took over the reigns of Maratha power in 1707 AD. His easy going nature and comparative lack of familiarity with Maratha political equations led him to repose confidence in Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath and subsequently in his son, Peshwa Bajirao. Shahu almost retired from active politics to settle in Satara. With Shahu relinquishing that role, leadership fell on the shoulders of the Peshwas. The second Peshwa, encouraged young Kshatriyas and Brahmins to come forward and share in the responsibility of expanding and governing the Maratha state. Thus the Scindias, Gaekwads, Holkars, Patwardhans, came to play a crucial role in Maratha power. Families of Peshwas, Holkars and Scindias patronised building
activity in Pune, Nasik, Toke and Satara. The Bhonsles concentrated on building activity in Nagpur.

The later phase of Maratha politics when the Brahmin Peshwas took over from the Kshatriya Marathas, saw a rigorous growth of architecture, especially the construction of temples and wadas. Cultural activities such as painting, music, dance, literature, festivals and kirtans (devotional songs) and pravachans (religious discourses) received patronage. A distinct phase of religious fervour ensued, as is evident from the number of temples that sprung up at this time. This new phase of socio-cultural and religious activity under the Peshwa domination had a lasting effect on its populace in heartland Maharashtra, where the emerging cultural and religious patronage was carried forward by the Peshwa families.³

Despite the fact that the Marathas were strong adversaries of the Mughals, and the anti-Muslim sentiment was strong, there never was an ideological crisis for the Marathas not to adopt Muslim customs and practices. A basic shift in Maratha-Muslim relations took place after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 AD. The earlier animosity changed to friendly relations of co-operation in the later phase of Maratha politics.

There were strong relationships with the Rajput courts of Jaipur and Udaipur. The first Peshwa, Balaji Vishvanath Bhat (1713 AD – 1720 AD), and his son and successor Bajirao I, (1720 AD – 1740 AD) fostered contacts with the Rajputs. This exposed them to several facets of Rajput life, including art and culture. In Rajasthan and Gujarat the tradition of Hindu temple architecture had survived the Muslim onslaught due to the support by Jain patrons.

³ M.S.Mate, Unpublished Paper, 2006
Coupled with Rajput contact was the increased political stability and economic prosperity of the Marathas. These factors facilitated the movement of craftsmen across the border. They carried with them the art forms of Rajasthani painting and mural decoration, and architectural traditions, especially that of temple craftsmanship. Since the Rajputs were themselves influenced by the Muslims, embellishments in the wada originated from this indirect Muslim influence, along with direct influence of local craftsmen who were patronised by the erstwhile local Muslim rulers.

However the decline of Maratha power from 1815 AD onwards affected construction activity greatly. Industrialisation brought with it the fragmentation of the joint family system and giving up of large land holdings, making it impossible to maintain these large wadas. The increase in land value in cities has been responsible for the demolition of these beautiful structures, their place taken by arbitrarily developed concrete jungles. The wada house form that had flourished until this time gave way to contemporary construction which had to adhere to zoning and by-laws.⁴

2.3 Castes & Regions and the Existence of the Wada

The wada house form is a reflection of the specific Maharashtrian community of Maharashtra. The Maharashtrian Brahmin community, who despite speaking Marathi, the language of the people distinguished themselves from peasant Kshatriya Marathas. The Brahmins were divided into the Deshastas, or those who lived in Desh, on the dry plateau above the sea, and Chitpavans or Kokanasths, or those who lived in the Konkan region, along the lowlands on the coast of the Arabian Sea. There were a number of sub-castes as well.

⁴ M.S.Mate, Unpublished Paper, 2006
During the period of Muslim rule, due to the broad patronage of the rulers, the Brahmins as well as Kshatriyas had established themselves in the administrative services of the Muslim regimes. Even at the level of rural governance, the Brahmins were the kulkarnis, or the keepers of records and village accounts, while the village headmen, called patils were drawn from the Maratha peasantry. Both came under provincial administrators known as deshmukhs, literally meaning head of the land.

During the period from the 13th-19th centuries AD, the Deshasthas were associated with civil administration of the Deccan. Many of them became fluent in Persian, the court language, and acquired high positions under the Bahmanis and their successor Sultanates. As a consequence, they acquired landed estates, and became wealthy. Shivaji, the Maratha ruler utilised their (Deshasths) experience for his swarajya (home rule) and six out of eight of his council of ministers were Deshasths. The military was dominated by the Marathas, the dominant non-Brahmin caste, generally classified as Kshatriyas. The typical surnames (professional designations) of the two communities were, Kulkarni, Deshpande and Pande for Deshasths, Deshmukh and Patil for the Marathas.\(^5\)

The dawn of the 18th century AD brought about some basic changes. Due to political turmoil, and a struggle for power, the Kokanasth Brahmins became powerful, while supporting Shahu, the grandson of Shivaji. Balaji Vishwanath (1713AD-1720AD) was the first of the powerful Kokanasth Brahmins. His son Bajirao I (1720AD-1740 AD) became a successful and ambitious soldier, and was loyal to Shahu. In order to support Bajirao, several of his community migrated from Konkan to Pune, and formed the

\(^5\) Burton Stein, *A History of India*, 2003, p.189,190
nucleus of the new nobility. They were the Rastes, Patwardhans, Dikshits and Pethes, to name a few.

The Marathas and the *Deshasths* were well entrenched and had landed estates all over Maharashtra. Their *wadas* were found in many places. The *Chitpavans (Kokanasths)* had no roots in rural Maharashtra. They were dependant on the Peshwas who had their seat of power in Pune.

Their *wadas* were concentrated in urban centres: Pune, Nasik and Wai. However all castes adhered to a common pattern of *wada* construction, establishing this house form as being spatially alike across communities.\(^6\)

### 2.4 Architectural Styles

The expansionist policies of the Marathas opened doors to external cultural and artistic influences. Influences of the Delhi style travelled through Rajasthan and Malwa, while the Gujarat style filtered through to Khandesh. The result was the Maratha style, not always an amalgamation, but recurrently a co-existence of styles. The distinctive natures of the styles were:

- Gujarati style had heavy brackets with *makara* (crocodile) motifs. Pimpalner and Nandurbar exhibit this style because the region of Khandesh bordered Gujarat, thereby making this style more accessible (*Fig. 2.4*).

- Delhi or Rajasthani style had cusped arches and fluted columns; arches were decorative and non structural (*Fig. 2.5*).

- The Maratha style, seen very evidently at the Holkar *Wada* Chandwad, was where both styles co-exist creating a very rich court façade(*Fig. 2.6*).

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\(^6\) Discussions with Mate
Fig. 2.4: Vishrambagh Wada,
originally built: c.1803, Pune,
Zilla: Pune, region: Desh,
bracket detail

Fig. 2.5: Holkar Wada,
originally built: c.1725, Vafgaon, Rajgurunagar,
Taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, Rangmahal

Fig. 2.6: Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad, Taluka: Chandwad, Zilla: Nasik, Region: Desh, elevation of first internal courtyard
Some of the Deccan Sultanates of the 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries AD like the Nizam Shahis of Ahmednagar and the Adil Shahis of Bijapur, were religiously tolerant towards Hindus and employed many Maratha officers in their courts. Influences in art, architecture, music and costumes from these surrounding areas seeped into the Deccan court. These are visibly reflected in the later phase of Maratha dominance, when a high quality of woodwork developed as an art and craft form.

An understanding of styles, both Hindu and Islamic and their co-existence is elaborated in Chapter 6, Sections 6.15, 6.18.

2.5 Socio-cultural Context: Evolution of Form from Traditional and Diffusive Culture

Buildings, particularly homes are cultural creations. Their architectural forms, designs and layouts are mediated and affected by a number of cultural factors of which religion and beliefs are one important set.\textsuperscript{7} Paul Oliver, in relation to traditional dwellings, argues that whereas tradition maintains continuity and is likely to inhibit or control change, diffusion tends to induce change and promote innovation. Diffusion operates where inter-cultural contact is maintained. Sometimes the flow may be mutual, with tools and techniques exchanged between contiguous societies, but more often the flow is from a dominant or expanding culture, whose building types are adopted and details copied by its neighbours. While the essence of tradition is that it is temporal, the essence of diffusion is that it is spatial. In practice both apply and interact: traditions may be adopted by contiguous cultures and diffusion takes time to have its effect.\textsuperscript{8}

\textsuperscript{7} Shampa Mazumdar, Sanjoy Mazumdar, Vernacular Architecture of the World, 1.11.13, p.102, Paul Oliver ed.
\textsuperscript{8} Paul Oliver, Transmitting Technologies, MIMAR 38, March 1991, p. 56-57
Paul Oliver goes on to say that besides the influence of the ideas of one culture on those of another, either through coercion or free will, there is also the exertion of the ideas of the dominant class on society. This is the reason that traditions are established in construction form and technology in places of authority – both religious and secular. The establishing of these traditions could be positive, if they introduce innovative changes through methods of persuasion. There are also, to a very limited extent, internal influences that emerge from within society, moving up the hierarchy, to create changes in tradition.\(^9\)

Oliver observes that diffusion occurs down through society. Physical survey in the present study reveals that diffusion occurs sociologically as well as geographically.

This has been elaborated in the regional and social analysis of the house form wherein regional variations occurred across regions and social variations occurred down the social ladder (Refer Chapter 5, Table 3, Table 4, and Table 5).

It is in this context that the development of the *wada* house form has been examined – as a development of the tradition of the courtyard from the dwellings of the rulers and the nobility, to the lowlier dwellings of the common person. Transfer of style, technology, material usage can be observed as a lateral phenomenon with features which have evolved out of climatological, social and cultural aspects, percolating to the dwellings of the commoners. The house form remaining the same, the degree of grandness, scale and ornamentation were variable. The dwellings that have survived are those which were built of stronger material like burnt brick and stone.

2.6 Material and Non-Material Factors that Contribute to the Evolution of a House Form

There are tangible and intangible factors responsible for the evolution of various house forms.

1. Nucleus and growth, cluster formation, response to topography, spatial relationships and scale contribute to material factors and are manifested as a reflection of spatial concepts.

2. Religion, beliefs, ideologies and rituals are a reflection of the religious and cultural traits of a society which get manifested in the built form.

A cultural analogy is an expression peculiar to a culture and involves human sciences. Western anthropologists have studied Eastern cultures in search of clues and design solutions. Amos Rapoport (1969 AD) was amongst the first architectural anthropologists to give a theoretical basis to this aspect. Gastal Alfredo and Jan Pieper, who followed a decade after Rapoport, have played a vital role in structuring the analysis.

Rapoport’s objective of research has been to understand the occurrence of form. He has analysed features of house forms across different cultural contexts in terms of material and non material traits. Jan Pieper documents variations in cultural forms and the forces that contribute to style, function and typology.

Gastal Alfredo uses anthropology to analyse culture. He concentrates on the functioning of each individual system such as social, economic, religious and other systems, and not the interrelations between them.

Pieper’s, Rapoport’s and Alfredo’s theories on factors affecting house form in a traditional environment are a model for solutions in cross
cultural situations. In the evolution of the house form in India, social and cultural systems play a major role in shaping it. These are carried forward and become tradition.

In the case of a traditional regional house form (in this case the *wada*) its evolution and continuity needs to be examined.
CHAPTER 3

Chapter 3 explains the principles of town planning as mentioned in the vastu texts. It has been an attempt to understand how far these textual principles have been followed through observation during field work, attempting to establish a link between the textual and practical.
Town Planning

3.1 Vastuhastras

Historians of Indian Architecture often refer to ancient texts known as *vastu* texts or *vastuhastras*. Almost all the important texts like Mansara’s *vastuhastra*, Vishvakarma’s *vastuhastra* are usually dated to the third and fourth centuries AD - others like the Samarangan Sutradhara are as late as the eleventh century AD.¹ These texts deal with all aspects of architecture like site selection, soil examination, standards of measurements, classes of artisans, plans of towns, houses and temples. These are prescriptive texts which associate their rules with the supernatural or mystic forces.

Construction of Hindu temples and palaces came to a halt with the beginning of Islamic rule in the 11th century AD, lasting until the end of the 18th century AD. During this period of seven centuries, mosques, and tombs palaces were built. Inspiration came from distant regions like Persia and Central Asia.²

The rise of independent Hindu political powers first in Karnataka and then in Maharashtra with the downfall of Islamic rule led to fresh construction activity. Most of the Vijaynagar and Maratha structures exhibit Islamic influences which preceded them (Refer Chapter-2, Section 2.2).

¹ D. N. Shukla, *Hindu science of Architecture according to Samarangana Sutradhara*, 1960
² Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Islamic Architecture* (2nd Volume), 1959
Catherine Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 1992
With a gap of seven centuries, the knowledge of ancient texts was forgotten. Any similarities in the eighteenth century plans to vastu principles can be explained as a parallel thought process or practical considerations. Town plans of Toke, Vafgaon or Chandwad are examples where the towns have grown around the nucleus of a garhi or temple.

Orissa in Eastern India and Saurashtra in Gujarat continued the tradition of Hindu architecture since Islamic influences were minimal, and temple architecture continued without interruption.³

Vastushastras were codified actual practices, which depended upon social and economic structure as represented by the caste system. The lower castes were always allocated areas away from the central nucleus, because interaction between Brahmins, Kshatriyas with the central garhi, which was the abode of the ruler, was maximum. This was observed in the Chandwad garhi which was the nucleus (Refer Table 4, Fig. 5.129) with the wadas of Brahmins (Refer Table 4, Fig. 5.184) and Kshatriyas around (Refer Table 4, Fig. 5.174). Polluting occupations like pottery, which required kilns for baking were found on the outskirts of towns as well as coppersmiths and ironsmiths because of the noise generated while pounding metal. This practical caste segregation is similar to what is prescribed in vastu texts.⁴ The Kumbhar Wada which is a potter’s slum settlement in Dharavi which is Asia’s largest slum is located on the periphery along with tanners who dried animal skins, the smell of which got absorbed because they were located on the outer periphery. This was an observation of my undergraduate dissertation on The redevelopment of Kumbhar Wada, a potter’s slum settlement in Dharavi, Mumbai.

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³Discussions with Mate
⁴M.S. Mate, Unpublished Paper, 2006
3.2 Background to Town Planning

Though there are elaborate rules for planning of towns in the traditional texts, most Indian towns were actually unplanned. They originated in a temple, a village, a market or at a natural locational advantage, like a valley, a bend in the river, a strategic point on the coast. Beginning with one or more small villages, they grew organically, through a process of addition, taking in agricultural lands and more villages as the need arose, very much like today. Cities therefore continued to have some primary agricultural activities, and many areas of the town had a distinctly rural flavour.⁵

Towns that were developed by the Marathas were Raigar, which was the capital of Shivaji; Satara, the capital of the other Chhatrapatis; Pune which was the headquarters of the Peshwas; and Toke and Anandvalli which were resorts. Satara and Pune have grown as commercial hubs. On the other hand Toke, Raigar and Anandvalli have degenerated are no longer recognized for what they were, to the extent that their original state is unrecognized.⁶

From observations it is evident that the town planning and growth of towns in medieval India was based primarily on:

a. Ancient town planning principles adapted to the medieval urban setting: either grid iron or radial or an amalgam of the two. The abode of the ruler was located as the nucleus. In cases of temple towns, the temple occupied the central location.

⁵ B. B. Dutt, Town Planning in Ancient India, 1925, pp. 21-24
⁶ M.S. Mate, Unpublished Paper, 2006
b. Political considerations: reasons of defence and security, and the relationship of the city to the ruler’s or chieftain’s residence. The existence of the town wall, within which was located the garhi or rajwada as the focus and the dwellings of Brahmins and Kshatriyas in the closest periphery. The dwellings of the polluting castes existed on the outskirts, not only for them having polluting occupations but also because of they being the lower castes.

c. Practical considerations: situation of the town on the banks of a river or on the coast, to fulfil the primary need of water, which facilitated agriculture as well as trade with other towns.

Detailed below are some of the generic reasons for the manner of growth and development of Maratha settlements, towns and cities in medieval India.

### 3.3 Ancient Town Planning Principles Adapted to the Medieval Urban Setting

The core of the Maratha town or city was the temple along with the palace wada. Begde (1978 AD) quotes in Ancient and Medieval Town Planning in India, that in earlier Indo Aryan cities, the temple had formed an essential feature of the city. Daily rituals made the temple an inseparable aspect of community life. It became the nucleus of public activity, as also a seat of religious learning, in the course of time. Population grew around temples and spread outwards. The temple was the Brahmasthana (Fig. 3.2) or the core. Markets, houses and other essential components developed around it in concentric rings in accordance with the Sarvatobhadra principle of town planning (Fig. 3.1).
Akin to the temple in ancient India, a palace also became the nucleus for the expansion of the town into cities.\(^7\)

Beggil further quotes that the village is either oblong or square and may be divided into chambers. In the centre of the village, the temple dedicated to Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva is situated. It is divided into zones by roads forming spheres of Brahma, gods, humans and demons. The internal streets are lined with a single row of houses while double row of houses range along outer streets. Shrines of protective deities are located outside the walls. Pilgrims' pavilions, rest houses, educational buildings are located in the outer ring. Vaishyas and Shudras should reside in the southern part. In the extreme south should be houses for cowherds and farmers. Weavers and drapers should be located in the west and southwest.\(^8\)

**Vasughtashastra:** Texts on *vastushastra* of 4\(^{th}\) - 8\(^{th}\) centuries AD laid down rules regarding site selection, auspicious days to begin construction and other rituals pertaining to house construction. They recommended not only profession wise allotment of residences, but caste wise allocation of residences as follows: Brahmins - North, Kshatriyas - South East, Vaishyas - South, Shudras - West. The rigid *varna* and caste system

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\(^7\) P.V. Bedge, *Ancient and Medieval Town Planning in India*, 1978, p. 41

\(^8\) *Ibid.*, p. 42
made it possible to divide the town into different zones, according to its activities. In many ancient and medieval cities people belonging to the same caste were grouped in one area. This classification according to varnas is replaced by the economic stratification of society during present times.

Begde (1978 AD), in Ancient and Medieval Town Planning in India, discusses principles regarding medieval towns with reference to vastupurushmandala. Since there was a spirit of Hindu revivalism, the vastupurushmandala and other esoteric figures, which had their origin in the sacrificial rites of the Vedic period, were drawn upon. As quoted by Begde vastushastra texts relate a myth in which a phenomenon with no form or name existed. The phenomenon was omnipresent and blocked both sky and earth. The Gods saw it and pressed it to the ground with its face downwards. In this process various gods held on to it. Brahma (the creator) gave this phenomenon a form and sat in the centre, surrounded by various gods. The name given to the form is vastupurusha. The vastupurushmandala is the phenomenal world set in order (Fig. 3.2).9

When the symbol of vastupurusha is marked on the ground, he lies there with each of the gods who keep him captive covering one quarter of his body (Fig. 3.2). Brahma occupies the centre of vastupurusha with other

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9 P.V. Bedge, Ancient and Medieval Town Planning in India, 1978, pp. 30, 31
gods surrounding him. The important gods occupy the quarter immediately around Brahma and gods of lower rank in the celestial hierarchy occupy the outermost ring.

The job of the sthapati (the chief architect), was to create order from disorder. The sthapati could achieve this by following the esoteric figure of vastupurushmandala in all his creations ranging from a hut to a city layout.¹⁰

Begde further goes on to say that, the general planning of the town followed the form of a cosmic cross because of the east-west and north-south axis of the principal streets. The former ensured the purification of the street by sunrays from morning till evening and the latter provided a perfect circulation of air and cool breeze. The plots of the site resulting from the layout of the mandala and streets were allocated to various castes. A social stratification of the people in general, led to a segregation of classes following different pursuits. The people of the same caste and profession were congregated in the same ward so that uniformity and economic efficiency and progress were secured.

The king's palace was situated in the centre of the city, slightly towards the north and occupied one-ninth of the total site inside the fort. The palace faced east or north. The royal teachers, priests, ministers as well as water reservoirs occupied the site north east to the palace. Royal kitchens, elephant stables, and store houses were situated on the south east sites. The treasury accounts and manufacturers were also located on the south eastern sites. On the eastern sites, merchants trading in perfumes, garlands, grains, liquids, artists and the Kshatriya class had their dwellings. To the south, people of the Vaishya caste and lower trades lived. To the south west were stables for

¹⁰P.V. Bedge, Ancient and Medieval Town Planning in India, 1978, p. 29
animals as well as workshops and storehouses of forest produce and arsenal. To the north-west were situated stables for conveyance and chariots as well as shops and hospitals. To the west artisans manufacturing worsted thread, cotton threads, bamboo mats, skins, armour, weapons and the Shudra caste had their dwellings.

To the north of the royal palace was located the temple of the royal family, the city temple, iron smiths, artisans working with precious stones and Brahmin residences. Other quarters of the city were occupied by different varnas, the higher castes occupying the sites around the palace. In the market place stalls or shops were placed according to the categories of the commodities. The best plots along highways were distributed with regard to the wealth and power of the residents. In many towns, shops selling specific commodities are still found grouped together in the market area.\(^\text{11}\)

This situation was observed during the present study from a field survey of Vafgaon and Pimpalner. Particular streets sold specific commodities, for instance a street of goldsmiths, a street of silversmiths and a street of cloth merchants existed. Similar professions existed on similar streets (Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.3, Fig. 8.30, also Refer Table 5, Fig. 5.216).

Quoting Begde further, the fixation of the external limits of the town was followed by the alignment of the main streets. The two principal streets which formed the arms of the cosmic cross were broad avenues lined with shady trees. The long one, generally running east-west was called Rajpath or the king’s street and the short one running north-south was Mahakala (Broad Street) or Vamana (South Street). There was a ring road or a circumambulatory road around the city within the wall, called Mangalvithi or the path of auspiciousness.

\(^{11}\)P.V. Bedge, Ancient and Medieval Town Planning in India, 1978, p. 35
The plots or *padas* resulting from the division were further subdivided by alleys and pedestrian thoroughfares. When the entire city was divided into 81, 64, or 49 *padas* there was a division into zones one within the other. The innermost zone known as *Brahma*, the next zone known as *Daivika*, (the sphere of gods), the third ring is called *Manusha* (sphere of humans), and the fourth and the outermost ring of plots is known as *Paisacha* (sphere of demons). The houses of the Brahmins were placed in the second zone, and the houses of other classes occupied subsequent zones. The *Brahmasthana* was occupied either by a temple or by the palace. Like the temple, a palace also became the nucleus for the expansion of the town into cities. The grid was most important to the town planner since the square or rectangular *mandala* was utilised for site planning (Fig. 3.3).\(^\text{12}\)

\begin{center}
\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{division_of_plots.png}
\caption{Division of plots}
\end{figure}
\end{center}

\(^{12}\) P.V. Bedge, *Ancient and Medieval Town Planning in India*, 1978, p. 33
3.4 Practical Application of Town Planning Principles

The cities of Pune and Nagpur were based on the grid iron plan where the city was divided into peths or wards. Other towns following this pattern were Toke and Wai. Peths in Satara, Nagpur and Pune were named after the day of the week in which the weekly bazaar was held. Hence names like Somwar peth (Monday peth) and Mangalwar peth (Tuesday peth) came about. These exist even today.

Though most wards were homogenous in nature, there were those that developed around specific professions, like that of the tailors (Shimpi Alee), the fishermen (Bhoi Alee), the ivory comb sellers (Phani Alee) and the Brahmins (Narayan Peth in Pune). Though the peths were caste based, segregation by caste or class was absent. Even in peths dominated by higher castes, there was a mix of lower castes as well as untouchables, although they were located on the outer edges of the ward.

The actual setting up of a peth was structured, while the development was spontaneous. The ruler issued a koul or a written proclamation to an official, who generally acquired this honour on a hereditary basis. He was called the Shete or Shete Mahajan. The edict granted the Shete certain rights to set up the town, as well as bestowed on him certain responsibilities. It was his duty to divide the land and assign plots, to make sure of amenities and to facilitate commercial activity. He could also impose levies, according to certain laid down norms.

At first the peth had one or two wadas of the well-to-do, probably the residence of the Shete, and some huts. As migrants, traders, shopkeepers, bankers were enticed to come in and settle in the territory, the Shete would allot spaces for shops, houses and workshops. Water was provided
by digging wells and tanks or connecting up the peth to the city's elaborate aqueduct system. Temples, shrines, bazaars, orchards, gardens, police posts, ward offices would appear. A certain amount of overall planning was combined with organic growth.¹³

A good example of an element of organic growth was the presence of the city walls. According to the Shilpa Shastras, that gave directions for the planning of an ideal village, every planned village and township had to have a protective wall and moat. In practice, even wadis which were clusters of huts around a central open space, had a boundary defining it. However, this was not a studied effort rooted in the Shilpa Shastras, but simply due to a natural instinct of marking a boundary around a dwelling place. In towns like Vafgaon, Chandwad, Srigonda, it was observed that parts of the external wall still exist (Figs. 3.5–3.7). Figs. 6.13 and 6.14 show the central open space bound by a cluster of huts with a fence beyond.

3.5 Settlements Types

Political

Defence: The primary need of all settlements was defence because of the unsettled conditions prevailing, especially during the period of the Marathas when conquering territories and expansion missions was the focus of the rulers. Town walls were built with large gateways at the cardinal points (Figs. 3.5 – 3.7). The morphology of the settlements was dense with narrow streets and closely set dwellings.

¹³Jaymala Diddee, Samita Gupta, Pune Queen of the Deccan, 2000, p. 63
Town plans in Fig. 3.8 illustrate the location of the garhi or rajwada with respect to the rest of the town. The thick peripheral outline indicates the town wall with the town gates as illustrated in Figs. 3.5–3.7.

Whole towns were surrounded by sturdy walls. Existing till today are the town gateways and dilapidated walls of Chandwad, Vafgaon and Srigonda. Brick and stone ramparts were an essential feature of an Indian village. Sometimes, when a city grew concentrically, it extended outside the wall. To protect these outskirts, another wall was built around. Some cities may have thus had more than two such concentric walls, as the city grew in size (Fig. 3.4).

Medieval ramparts were stronger than the earlier ones. The thickness and height increased because of the fact that guns were used in warfare. Wooden ramparts or brick and mud walls became redundant and stone walls were built.

City gates demarcated the periphery of the town or city, while the rajwada or garhi was most strategically located in the centre of the town (Fig. 3.8).
Fig. 3.5: Entrance gate, originally built: c.1700, Srigonda, Taluka: Srigonda, Zilla: Ahmednagar, exit from the walled city

Fig. 3.6: Gateway of town wall, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad, Taluka: Chandwad, Zilla: Nasik, Region: Desh

Fig. 3.7: Entrance Gate, Holkar Wada, originally built: c. 1725, vaigaon, Rajgurunagar, Taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, village rampart and gateway
Fig. 3.8: Town plans – illustrating the location of the garhi which is the nucleus of the town with respect to the rest of the town. The thick peripheral outline indicates the town wall with the town gates.
The Kshatriya military commanders too had their *wadas* close to the *garhi*, to facilitate quick grouping of the army in the eventuality of war. This was clearly evident in the town of Chandwad where the central Holkar *wada* was surrounded by the *wadas* of Brahmans and Kshatriyas.

Town were a congregation of many villages which can be compared to a ward of a present day municipal corporation. Any village with natural defences, abundant water resources and material resources could be expanded into a town. During periods of political instability when it became necessary for the king to change his royal seat from one place to another, villages could easily be grouped together into a city to function as a capital.

**Practical**

**Water Sources and Supply:** Other practical considerations that went into developing townships were the digging of wells, building of tanks and dams, and construction of terracotta and masonry pipes through which water could be supplied. The Muslim rulers of the Deccan were responsible for introducing water supply systems and the Marathas adopted these methods. They built tanks and water towers, sunk deep wells, constructed dams and laid conduits to carry water for miles.

In *Maratha Architecture*, Mate states that, commercial towns were inhabited by all classes of people. These towns were situated on banks of rivers, on the confluence of rivers and along sea shores, to facilitate commerce with other countries and to tap the other benefits of water bodies. The nature of growth of cities was always governed by site conditions. The town which was not situated on the river bank had a large ritual tank in it as an essential feature. The towns which grew on the
banks of rivers, such as Toke in Marathwada and Wai in Desh, were generally oblong in size to take maximum advantage of the river. Thus all temple cities do not follow concentric growth.\textsuperscript{14}

Mate further states that, in Satara, drinking water was supplied from the Yathweshwar Lake, through a pipe line, while in Nagpur, drinking water was supplied from the Ambhajhari Lake through a pipe line made of stone, two to three feet long and ten inches wide, combined with collar joints.

Wells were dug everywhere, as a form of charity. The government in turn aided these works by giving cash incentives or by gifting small pieces of land. Oze, a renowned Vedic scholar had constructed a well at Dharol in Saurashtra, on the road to Dwarka in the Saurashtra region of Gujarat. In 1777 AD, the Peshwa granted an annual subsidy for the maintenance of the well and for the construction of a water lift.\textsuperscript{15}

The best examples of wells of the Maratha period are found in Ranje, Rajewadi and Shirval in Desh region. They are square in plan and built in stone masonry, with steps. Water from here was supplied to the entire village, as seen in the Vafgaon Garhi.

Step wells also existed in Karad, Limb and Satara, although wells in this region were simpler in design than those found in Gujarat. Private Wells were circular with a diameter of not more than five or six feet. They had no steps but had a wooden wheel to draw up water. These were built in either brick or stone (Figs. 3.12, 3.13).

\textsuperscript{14} M. S. Mate, \textit{Maratha Architecture}, 2002, p. 17
\textsuperscript{15} ibid, p. 44
Fig. 3.9: Temples, Wai, Zilla: Satara

Fig. 3.10: Phadnis Wada, originally built: c.1768, Menawali, Taluka: Wai, Zilla: Satara, the ghats

Fig. 3.11: Ahilyabai Holkar talab, on the way to Saswad
Fig. 3.12: Pimpalner, originally built: c.1725, 
Taluka: Sakri, Zilla: Dhule, Region: Khandesh, well

Fig. 3.13: Kothavde Wada, originally built: c.1725, Pimpalner, Taluka: Sakri, Zilla: Dhule, Region: Khandesh, well
Fig. 3.14: Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad. *Taluka*: Chandwad, *Zilla*: Nasik, *Region*: Desh, steps leading to water tank in the rear.

Fig. 3.15: Holkar Wada, 1725, Vafgaon, Rajgarnagar. *Taluka*: Khed, *Zilla*: Pune, *Region*: Desh.
The construction of tanks was patronized by the Peshwas and grants were given for their maintenance. Large reservoirs were constructed in catchments areas in dry regions, so that water could be stored all year round. Sources of water for tanks were springs, rainwater, or water brought in aqueducts. A tank could be sustained on all the three sources, or just on one or two.¹⁶

Step wells were observed in the Holkar garhis of Chandwad and Vafgaon (Figs. 3.14, 3.15).

Town growth was dependent primarily on the availability of water. The Jadhav Rao Garhi at Saswad and Purandhare wada at Modwa are examples of only the garhi existing. Because of a lack of water the village around could not survive and because the dwellings around these garhis were not as strong, they deteriorated.

Sanitation: In most towns, dwellings had narrow side lanes or rear lanes. These were service lanes into which toilets opened. Janitors picked up soil waste manually and waste water went through open gutters, which lined the streets. In Shivapur and Shaniwar Wada, Pune, the underground drainage lines emptied into nearby streams or rivers. There were no main lines into which individual pipes were connected.

However, all the houses in Toke, a town built on the confluence of the Godavari and Pravara rivers, had a sophisticated sanitary system, portions of which exist even today. Every house had a bathroom, the walls of which supported small water storage tanks. The bathrooms were paved in stone and waste water was carried by underground pipes to the main drainage pipes. Stone and brick drainage pipes were laid under the houses

¹⁶ M. S. Mate, Maratha Architecture, 2002, p. 45
(Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.13, Fig. 8.145). The main lines were made in stone and were two feet and six inches in square section. These were covered with flat stones or mortar slabs. Waste water was emptied into the Godavari and Pravara rivers. There is no evidence of choked pipes which indicates that the slopes were good. WCs in the houses were also stone paved. These were connected to individual soak pits, some of these functional even today.\textsuperscript{17}

**Agriculture and Trade**

Where agriculture was the dominant factor and big \textit{wadas} were not the focal points of the town, such as in Pen and Panvel in Konkan, towns had an agrarian focus.

Where trade was the dominant factor, as in the towns of Paithan and Pimpalner, towns developed a mercantile focus. In commercial towns there were streets selling silverware, others selling cloth, still others selling crafts. In Pimpalner which continues to be a commercial town, specific streets selling specific ware exist even today. They are known by names such as \textit{sonar galli} (Street of Goldsmiths), \textit{kapad galli} (Street of Cloth Merchants).\textsuperscript{18}

**3.6 Classification of Towns**

From the above section it was observed that towns that developed in medieval Maratha times were the result of:

a. **Military Focus**: where the \textit{garhi} or \textit{wada} with embattlements formed the heart of the town with the temple in close proximity, such as Chandwad and Vafgaon in Desh.

\textsuperscript{17} M. S. Mate, \textit{Maratha Architecture}, 2002, p. 51
\textsuperscript{18} Information sourced through fieldwork
b. **Religious Focus:** where caste-based hierarchy was observed with the temple being the focus, such as the religious towns of Nasik and Wai, in Desh.

c. **Agrarian Focus:** where agriculture was the dominant factor as in Pen and Panvel in Konkan.

d. **Mercantile Focus:** where trade was the dominant factor, such as in the towns of Paithan and Pimpalner.

### 3.7 Nucleus and periphery

*Garhis* were fortified *wadas* with bastions and ramparts. These were located as the focus of the village or town and around these structures the village or town grew (*Fig. 3.16*). Shaniwar *Wada* in Pune, Holkar *Wadas* of Chandwad and Vaigaon are some examples of *garhi* as nucleus with peripheral *wada* clusters, observed during the course of field visits. Also refer town plans (*Fig. 3.8*).

*Garhis* were imposing introverted structures in brick and stone (*Figs. 3.17, 3.18*). Within the ramparts was a large *wada* with a series of courtyards (Refer Table 3, plan *Figs. 5.4, 5.15, 5.26*). In plan, these are square or rectangular modules with a courtyard. The size and area of the

*Fig. 3.16: Garhi and wada clusters forming nucleus and periphery*
garhi depended upon site conditions. Examples of garhis are Shaniwar Wada in Pune, Jadhav Garhi in Saswad, Patwardhan Wada in Modva, Kadam Wada in Sap. Refer Chapter 5, Table 4, and for details refer Chapter 8, Sections 8.1–8.7.

Fig. 3.17: Shaniwar Wada, originally built: c.1736, Pune, Zilla: Pune, main entrance with bastions and ramparts

Fig. 3.18: Purandhare Wada, originally built:c.1700, Saswad, Zilla: Pune, main entrance to the wada
**Rajwada or Palace wada:** This was also the central focus of the town. It was around this structure that the town grew. *Rajwadas* at Bhor and Satara are examples of *rajwada* being the nucleus with peripheral *wada* clusters. In the *rajwadas*, there was a noticeable absence of the external ramparts and bastions (*Fig. 3.19, Refer Table 3, plan Fig. 5.65*). The elevation was made up of bays perforated with windows. Here too the square module with the courtyard was multiplied depending upon the area. Bhor *Rajwada* has one module which is eccentric. The Satara *Rajwada* has two modules with courtyards. Refer Chapter 5, Table 4, and for details refer Chapter 8, Sections 8.8–8.10.

**Smaller wadas** around the central focus of the *garhi* or *rajwada* were built along streets forming a wall along streets and were part of a series that made the street façade. These were individually built on deep and narrow plots with the narrower side forming the street frontage (*Figs. 3.23–3.26*). Refer Chapter 5, Table 4, and for details refer Chapter 8, Sections 8.14, 8.15.

On the one hand were *garhis* and *rajwadas* which were independent structures on large areas of land and on the other were the *wadas* which were part of the street façade.
Fig. 3.20: Vishrambagh Wada, originally built: c.1803, Pune, Zilla: Pune, front elevation

Fig. 3.21: Bhor Rajwada, originally built: c.1750, Bhor, Zilla: Pune

Fig. 3.22: Rajwada, built originally built: c.1700, Satara, Zilla: Pune, front elevation
Fig. 3.23: Smaller wadas forming street facades

Fig. 3.24: Layout of smaller wadas

Fig. 3.25: Layout of wadas forming street facades

Fig. 3.26: Pimpalner, originally built: c.1725, Taluka: Sakri, Zilla: Dhule, Region: Khandesh
3.8 Garhi, Rajwada Location in relation to rest of the town

The two levels at which planning principles need to be understood are individual planning principles of isolated structures of garhis and rajwadas, and areas with streets around this central focus of the rajwada or garhi, with smaller wadas which form rows on either side of the street.

Town Level

Generic Town Planning: Within a town there was a variation in spatial experiences. On the one hand was the rajwada or garhi which were independent entities, e.g. Holkar wada, Chandwad, (Fig. 6.10), and on the other were the wadas which formed part of a street façade, (Figs. 3.25 and 3.26). They shared common outer walls, their individual identities determined by the treatment of the elevation. Elevation of each wada varied and despite this variation, the richness in ornamentation or sometimes the lack of it lent interest to the street façade.

The plinths as well as the floor heights were determined by the principles of town planning. There were slight variations in height within the defined parameters; the outcome was still interesting (Refer Table 4, Fig. 5.190). The oltas (platforms) at plinth level on either side of the entrance staircase were the first stage of public interactive spaces. News and gossip was exchanged here (Fig. 3.32).

A study of towns like Pune, Bhor, Satara, Chandwad, Vafgaon revealed a certain structure in their planning which is described in Section 3.7 as well as a sociological classification typology of the wadas (Refer Table 4, Table 5) depending upon the size of the structures.
Fig. 3.27: Chintamani temple, originally built: c.1700, Theur, Taluka: Srigonda, Zilla: Pune. Temple courtyard.

Fig. 3.28: Dutta Paar, originally built: c.1860, Region: Konkan.

Picture courtesy: Sanjay Udamale, Architects Conserving Urban Heritage of Kalyan.
Individual Wada

Garhi: The Garhi was located as the central focus of the village or township. This was an isolated structure built in many hectares of land, having external ramparts with bastions, making it an imposing introverted structure. Within the ramparts was the large wada with a series of courtyards. Refer Chapter 5, Table 4, and for details refer Chapter 8, Sections 8.1–8.7

Rajwada (Palace wada): The Rajwada was also located as the central focus of the town. There was an absence of the external ramparts with bastions. If the external ramparts of the garhi were removed, the structure within was similar to the palace wada, although the elevation of the palace wada was more elaborate than the structure within the garhi. Refer Chapter 5, Table 4, and for details refer Chapter 8, Sections 8.8–8.10

Ordinary Wadas: The smaller wadas formed a wall along streets and were part of a series that built the street façade. These were individually built on deep and narrow plots with the narrower side forming the street frontage. Refer Chapter 5, Table 4, and for details refer Chapter 8, Sections 8.14, 8.15.

3.9 General Typology of Habitation Patterns

Comparison of individual garhi or rajwada with rest of town is based on observations. There existed three kinds of habitation patterns:

The Introverted: These towns had the garhi or rajwada as the centre, with the rest of the town existing because of the presence of this upper class structure. When the garhi or rajwada formed the centre, the design
of this individual structure was mirrored in the structure of the town plan, in its broad elements.

- **Garhi** wall mirrored in town wall: The town wall formed a definite boundary around the town, as did the *garhi* wall around the *garhi*. Just as the walls of the *garhi* were made impenetrable to the enemy, so also the town wall made a physical barrier to movement of people (*Fig. 3.29*).

- **Garhi** centre mirrored in town centre: Just as the *garhi*'s centre – the women's quarter – formed its most impenetrable part, separated as it was from the rest of the *garhi* by the *majghar* (built up structure between the inner and outer courtyard), so also, the town's most impenetrable structure was its centre – the *garhi* (*Fig. 3.29*).

- **Garhi** first courtyard mirrored in town first rung: Just as the *garhi* had the first courtyard of offices and professional activity, so also the town's first rung of habitations around the centre were those of professionals who served the *garhi* (*Fig. 3.29*).

- **Garhi** service area mirrored in town service area: The rear portion of the *garhi*, which existed on the periphery, is akin to the town's outer edges, where the lowest castes lived (*Fig. 3.29*).

As the walls of the *garhi* were made impenetrable to the enemy, so also the town wall made a physical barrier to the movement of people. As a corollary to all these factors, these towns were introverted in terms of their social structure as well. Just as women were cloistered in the *garhi*, caste-based segregation was clearly defined at the town level.
**The Extroverted:** These were poor, rural dwellings or wadis, with the central chowk (open court), and hutments gathered around. There was merely a kuchha (temporary) boundary, just to mark territory, not as a barrier. Men and women mingled freely, giving people freedom of movement. The central space itself was not as defined as it was in the garhi or rajwada or even the ordinary wadas (Fig. 3.33).

**The Combination-type Clusters:** These had mostly the wadas of the common people, with the main centre being the garhi or rajwada, and the cluster level centre being the chowk, appearing in the form of a tree or small temple. While segregation was practiced, it was not stringent.
Fig. 3.30: Bhor Rajwada, originally built: c.1750, Bhor, Zilla: Pune, Tulsi Vrindavan, internal court

Fig. 3.31: Paithan, Taluka: Paithan, Zilla: Aurangabad, temple focus

Fig. 3.32: Pimpalner, originally built: c.1725, Taluka:Sakri, Zilla: Dhule, Region:Khandesh, Otla

Fig. 3.33: Wadi, Dist: Ahmednagar, Ahmednagar-Paithan, highway activity spill over in the cluster courtyard

Fig. 3.30: shows use of open space within integrated courtyard
Fig. 3.31: illustrates cluster level chowk.
Fig. 3.32: illustrates use of platforms at cluster level as community space
Fig. 3.33: depicts central open space in a wadi
Women did have freedom of movement, but not to the same extent as those of the lower classes, who had space constraints and could not afford to remain in domains strictly assigned to them.

It was observed that most towns had a sort of an organised layout within the external town walls. There was a central focus of the most important structure, with peripheral residential structures radiating from this centre. Caste based segregation with particular areas defined for a particular profession was observed. The interrelation between the central garhi and the peripheral wadas has been established, comparing spaces and social systems.
Chapter 4 moves to the scale of the wada house form citing reasons for its emergence and at a general level explaining space etymology by giving references to typical examples.
Overview of The Wada

4.1 Proliferation of the Wada form in Western Maharashtra

The latter half of the eighteenth century witnessed the expansion of Maratha power over large parts of India. This was also a period of affluence in Maratha society. The kingdom, under the rule of the Peshwas, invested resources in building and construction activity, in almost all the regions of Maharashtra. The most common architectural form of residence was that of the courtyard mansion, or wada, which became synonymous with this time period and this region. As Maratha rule got firmly entrenched in the area, wadas changed from having fort-like façades to being fanciful and decorative structures, with internal embellishments, fluted columns and intricate carving on the wooden support structures, brackets, consoles, ceilings, doors and doorframes.

Expression of the architectural renaissance could be seen in the construction of halls for dance and music, as in the Deshpande Wada in Shivapur, Pune district. Revival of tamashas (folk dances), concerts of classical music – both instrumental and vocal, singing of powadas (ballads) and lavanis

Fig. 4.1: Phadnis Wada, originally built: c.1738, Menavli, Taluka: Wai, Zilla: Satara, view of the diwankhana
(amorous poems), all required halls for performances. Walls of rooms called *rangmahal* or *chitrashalas* were covered with framed miniature paintings, as in Patwardhan *Wada*, in Tasgaon, Sangli district. Some *wadas* had walls covered with murals, as in Holkar palace, in Chandwad, Nasik district or Phadnis *Wada*, in Menavli, Satara district. Collection of manuscripts, very often illustrated, were stored in libraries in the *wadas*, as in Shaniwar *Wada*, Pune.¹

The *wada* itself was structured around a series of open courtyards. The external walls of the *wada* were made of brick, plastered with lime, built on a timber framework and set on a high stone plinth. Most *wadas* were two storeys high, but some went up to five floors.

While the *wada* façade had little embellishment, the internal courtyards had columns, arched galleries, ornamental windows, and chandeliers. Mirrors and glass paintings added to the feeling of opulence. Morobadada Phadnis, a minister in the Peshwa courts had an ivory inlaid hall as well as one covered in copper; the Ghorpades had a large cistern with a room in the middle (called *jala mandir*) for the hot summer nights. Haripant Phadke’s *wada* had seven courtyards; many even had Persian wheels and the facility to lift water up to the higher floors. The *wadas* thus flowered into beautiful and luxurious mansions.

So grand were the larger *wadas*, that some like the Raste *Wada* were 1, 20,000 square feet in area, had five hundred rooms, and were equipped to feed fifty people everyday. The Phadke *Wada* was five storeys high and had seven quadrangles. The wood was exquisitely carved and a *ganeshpatti* was engraved on the main gate. There are also tales that tell

¹Information collected from K. Chavan, *Maratha Murals*, G.H. Khare, *Shaniwar Wada*
of the grandeur in which festivals were celebrated. During Ganeshotsav\(^2\), the Dixit Wada would invite the Peshwas and all the sardars, or chieftains to a grand feast. Twenty-one sweets were offered to the deity. Five hundred people ate daily for the five days of festivities. Food was served in silver platters. A hundred and fifty headmen, along with the Peshwa, would dip their hands in ghee (butter) before savouring the next sweet. The lady of the house, draped in a paithani sari woven in Paithan, (Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.16) with beautiful, heavy jewellery from head to toe, including the essentials for a married women – goth (amulet), nath (nose ring), patlya (bangles), bilwar (bindi, worn on the forehead) – would serve this ghee.\(^3\)

No matter how large or ornate, the framework of all wadas was always the same, with the outer courtyard and quarters around being used by the men for their entertainment and for the office where clerks and accountants sat and business was transacted. The inner courtyard was always inhabited by the women, who developed a whole routine around this courtyard.\(^4\)

4.2 Defining Wada

Wada has been defined as a Marathi word denoting a large mansion, the term in all probability derived from the Sanskrit word vata, meaning a plot or piece of land meant for a house. In course of time, it came to denote the house built on that plot. Wadi, an extended meaning of wada, denotes a cluster of huts.\(^5\)

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\(^1\) An annual Hindu festival. It is generally celebrated from Ganesh Chaturthi to Anant Chaturdashi during the months of August or September

\(^2\) Manda Khandge, Vaibhav Peshwekalin Wadyanche, January 2002

\(^3\) ibid

\(^4\) M.S. Mate, Unpublished paper, 2006
The Gazetteer, the principle source of information on the house form and the context in which it existed, defines a wada as a large manor or palace-like structure. But field survey revealed that the wada is not only a large mansion in the form of a garhi or rajwada, but the humble home of the ordinary too. Field survey also revealed that in the case of the houses of commoners, there was no internally integrated courtyard, but front and rear yards. These dwellings were also termed wadas.
By my observation the wada may be defined as a courtyard dwelling found in Maharashtra, a state in western India. It is identified by a stone plinth over which is built a trabeated structure in brick with wooden beams and columns. The wooden columns rested on a stone base. The external façade was plain as compared to the rich internal courtyard facades. The rich wooden ornamentation of deeply carved brackets, beam heads, balusters and railings were the identifiable elements. In areas of typical Hindu influence, there were no arches or fluted columns like in Khandesh region, but in areas where Islamic influence was evident, the cusped arch and fluted columns in wood were present. Even here the cusped arches were non structural – essentially two brackets meeting at the centre to form an arch.

The roof form was typically pitched with bamboo purlins and rafters on trusses supporting terracotta tiles. Arched alcoves for lighting lamps or for storage were seen on façades and internal walls.

Narrow straight flight wooden staircases within thick mud mortared brick walls connected floors.

**Characteristic Principles of the House form**

- The court and the surrounding mass constitute the two basic elements of the wada. The court is the principle organizer of spaces and all the functions are oriented towards it.

- The wada is an introvert house form and thus the court becomes the focus of the house. Whereas the outer periphery is clearly defined by the built form surrounding the court.

- A definite spatial hierarchy is maintained, right from the level of the
cluster to the innermost realm of the house. The thresholds defining the hierarchy which may be physical or sensory.

- Horizontal circulation is always through the open courts along the central spine joining them. Vertical circulation however, is by means of narrow and dark staircases, sandwiched between two walls. The open courts are the primary source of natural light and ventilation.

- Thick walls, a relatively plain exterior and very few openings; all expressing an introvert nature.

- The overall dimensions of the wadas are in the multiples of the unit bays or khann and ghaee determined by the spanning wooden members (Refer Chapter 6, Section 6.3).

- The strong need for security permits spatial porosity only within the same realm. Thick walls act as boundaries between two realms of the house. Most of the spaces within the same domains are multifunctional. The spatial organization of all wadas is essentially the same. Variations in the number of courtyards and the placement of these courts within the mass, is what categorizes them into sub types.

- Variations within the types are caused due to differing site conditions such as location of the house and topography and also due to variations in the economic levels, dominance of certain cultural systems and occupation of the family. Socio-cultural rigidity as well as limitation of building materials does not leave much room for individuality.

- Uniformity in building materials, in the type of construction and also in the elements of making, attributes to the entire city fabric certain
homogeneity in character. Yet, due to the topographical conditions and also the local variations attributing to interesting street profiles; monotony and repetitiveness do not characterize the built form.

- Dense clustering not only helps climatically but also induces a sense of security and community living within the culture.

4.3 Etymology of Spaces

Usage of spaces

On entering a wada, one arrived at the first chowk. On either side of the entrance were Devdis, which were small rooms like vestibules, which incorporated the space for lamps, weapons.

Kacheri was the office space of the Sardars or Sahukars and Daphtars the record room adjoining the office space.

The pillared hall or Sopa lead to the Kacheris and Daphtars and can be referred to as the unprogrammed semi-open space around the court.

The outer courtyard had Shastraghar – the weapons room, Pothichi Kholi – the manuscript room, Kalbatkhana – the negotiation room.

Along the inner courtyard was the women's domain with deoghar – the shrine of the family deity, Balantinichi Kholi–the room for the delivery of a child and the period after, Swaipak Ghar – the kitchen area, Pangaticha Sopa–the dining area.

Also at the rear were located Kothars–storehouses for grain, Goshals–cowsheds, Houd–bathing area. The Tulsi Vrindavan or the potted sacred herb in a stone or brick receptacle existed in the second courtyard.
4.4 Meaning of Spaces in a Typical Wada.

1. Ground Floor Level

The easiest to access from the outside, the semi public and semi private domains of the house are located at this level. The courts on the ground level are the organizing spaces of the functions around. So they house most of the daytime activities associated with living. Though the wadas
are inward looking structures, the ground level is amply ventilated through the courts. The thick walls induce a sense of security and keep the interior of the *wada* cool. Being the lowest level, this floor receives minimum, and indirect sunlight through the courts which helps in maintaining low temperatures within these houses located in hot dry climates.

**Otah**

The transitional space between the public realm and the inside, the *otah* acts as the threshold of the house (*Fig. 4.6*). To accommodate a larger public user group, the *otah* is more defined and dimensionally larger as in the Bhor Palace. The *devdi* is located on the plinth of the *otah* and is the place for the watchmen. Equipped with arms, ammunition and lamps it is graced with paintings of guardian deities like Hanuman and Garuda. This transformation has evolved out of the dire need for security (*Fig. 4.7*).
**Pahila chowk** - the outer court, literally meaning the first court. The most important element of the house, the outer chowk formed the centre of all activity and life of this introverted house form. The semipublic functions like the kacheri or office space, the daphtar or record room, the khalbatkhana or negotiation room, and the meeting hall were organized around the court. Water fountains decorated the centre of this court, which essentially was a predominantly male domain (*Fig. 4.8*).

It served the function of a climatic moderator providing ventilation and an indirect, diffused quality of light to the spaces around it. Religious functions, marriages and festivals of a semi public nature were celebrated here. Keeping in view, the nature of all such activity, the wooden columns and beams in the outer court would be ornately carved. Ornamentation in this court was maximum and was a showcase for visitors (Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.2, *Figs. 8.16-8.18*).

*Fig. 4.8*: Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad, *Taluka*: Chandwada, *Zilla*: Satara, view of the devdi, through the courtyard

*Fig. 4.9*: Patil Wada, originally built: c.1700, Paithan, *Taluka*: Paithan, *Dist*: Aurangabad, *sopa* abutting internal court
**Sopa**

The *Sopa* constituted the semi open pillared vestibule that ran along the four sides of the court. It provided access to the *Kacheri*, where the feudal lord and his *phadnis* or accountant sat. It was the spillover or unprogrammed kind of space for the activities that took place, in and around the court. Well lit by indirect sunlight and adequately ventilated, the *sopa* was the ideal space to carry out informal day to day activities (*Fig. 4.9*).

*Atala chowk* – literally meaning the inner court situated towards the rear, this was the more private court of the *wada*. The bright and sun-lit rear court also projected a diffused and indirect kind of light to the surroundings. The *majghar*, literally meaning the middle area or the hall which was the buffer space between the outer and inner domains, was a relatively dark space, inhibiting any outsider from venturing into the private realm.

Thus the focus was on the *tulsi* plant in the centre of the bright light, surrounded by this near ethereal kind of diffused light. The overall picture evoked a sense of sanctity associating the *tulsi* plant with sacredness. This was the women's domain, the space where all the ladies of the house sat together to do the daily chores. Festivals and celebrations that were restricted to ladies, like

*Fig. 4.10:* Mhurkar *Wada*, originally built c.1870, Mahur, *Taluka:* Purandhar, *Zilla:* Pune, Internal courtyard with *tulsi vrindavan*
the Mangala Gaur⁶ were performed in this court (Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.2, Figs. 8.19, 8.20). Together the outer and inner courts were instrumental in keeping the house well lit and cool.

**Pangaticha sopa**

The semi-open vestibule space surrounding the inner court also doubled up as the dining area. The Deoghar (the shrine of the deity), the swaipak ghar - the kitchen and the kothars or the grain - stores were located around this space. Sometimes a Pothichi kholi (a library) and the Aushadh Bhandar (the medical supply room), also existed in this space, besides providing access to all these functions, the inner sopa also housed the Balantinichi Kholi, where women in labour or in their menses that is when they were considered impure, were confined to this space. The sopa which was a pillared hall, much like the temple mandapa was present in rajwadas of Bhor (Fig. 8.98) and Satara (Fig. 4.11).

**Sandpani**

On the rear side of the wada, were located the services like the nal (bathing areas), the houd (the sink area), a well and the sandpani or the sewers. A narrow lane along the width of the wada provided a separate access from the rear to be mainly used by cleaners. Cattle were housed in

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⁶Festival celebrated by the new bride every Tuesday, for four weeks in the month of Sravan of the Hindu calendar. The goddess Parvati is worshipped by the bride and women of the wada participate. Source of information: verbally communicated by Padma Raje.
the *goshalas* (Figs. 4.12 – 4.14) illustrate the rear or service courts.

**Fig. 4.12:** Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad, *Taluka:* Chandwad, *zilla:* Nasik, Region: Desh, Stables in the rear courtyard

**Fig. 4.13:** Jadhav Garhi, originally built: c.1700, Bhuins, *Zilla:* Satara, *goshale and kothars* in the rear courtyard

**Fig. 4.14:** Jadhav Garhi, originally built: c.1700, Bhuins, *Zilla:* Satara, well in the courtyard
2. First Floor Level

Relatively more private in nature than the lower floor, the only semi public area that the first floor housed was the diwankhana or the durbar hall. Other than this hall, there were the multi-functional areas meant for sleeping and other activities. All the floors above the ground level were just projections of the lower floors and hence were similarly organised around the court. They were well ventilated and lit by the vertical shaft of the court space (Fig. 4.15).

Diwankhana

Every wada had at the least one or more halls meant for the purposes of entertaining honoured guests and hosting important and private functions. Covered with ornate wood carved ceilings and bedecked with chandeliers, this space instilled a sense of grandeur.

Fig. 4.15: Vishrambagh Wada, originally built: c.1803, Pune, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, first internal courtyard

Fig. 4.16: Kadam Wada, originally built: c.1700, Sap, Taluka: Mulgaon, Zilla: Satara, diwankhana on the upper floor
These halls were adorned by wooden arches and columns of Mughal origins, but adapted to Maratha expression (Fig. 4.16). Situated along the front of the house, they were well ventilated and lit by the arched openings along the façade of the house and the court space along the inner edge. Barring a few occasions, these halls were strictly a part of the male domain. So as not to invade upon the privacy of the house, there was a separate access for the outsiders from the semi public domain below.

**Living Spaces**

The other spaces on the first floor were essentially multi functional spaces meant for living purposes. All the spaces were large and had a minimum number of partition walls. In some cases, there were rooms set aside for women partitioned by screens. A number of internal stairs lead to the upper floors from the ground level. These were sandwiched between the two walls which separated two domains, the upper and the lower (Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.7, Fig. 8.95).

**3. Second Floor Level**

Generally used as the attic space, this floor below the roof had no partition walls. The roof being pitched was supported on rafters and beams by the column structure. This floor felt like one large space. It was lit and ventilated by windows located on the wall facing the court as well as on the external walls. This space was mainly used for storage throughout the year, except during festive gatherings when a large number of guests had to be accommodated and the attic was utilized for sleeping. The pitch, covered with terecotta tiles brought in a lot of heat in dry climate. The attic floor however, acted as a thermal cavity between
the roof and the living areas (Figs. 4.17, 4.18) illustrate the attic in the second floor.

*Fig. 4.17:* Section of attic in second floor

*Fig. 4.18:* Datar Wada, originally built: c.1600, *Taluq:* Pen, *Zilla:* Raigad, attic on second floor

Spaces in the *wada* were seen to follow an organization around the courtyard as multiples of the structural grid. The social systems suggested space usage.
Chapter 5 deals with the classifications of the *WADA* based on the observations of fieldwork resulting in a categorisation across the five traditional regions of the state, thus bringing a semblance to this house form scattered across the width of Maharashtra. The Regional Classification Table suggests at a glance plan typology, similarities and variables across the regions as well as sociological typologies which exist within every region. The Sociological Classification Table indicates typology based on social stratification.
Classification

The survey began with a study and documentation of *wadas* in and around Pune which was the seat of Peshwa power. At the peak of Peshwa power this house form received patronage and spread across the present day state of Maharashtra as well as beyond when expansion policies brought wider territories under their hold and *wadas* of the nobles were constructed in these regions. The random documentation of the *wadas* was classified under the regions in which they existed. Once classified under the regions, it became evident that there existed a social stratification within every region. Thus the regional classification format and social classification format were generated.

Table 1 broadly classifies social typologies in every region and Table 2 indicates distribution of types within regions – each colour indicating a particular type. At a glance, the link of typologies across the regions can be noticed.

Images, plans, sections, and elevations have been tabulated according to regional or geographical classification in Table 3, Regional Classification. All *wadas* documented can be located in Table 3 under the region in which they exist and in the Sociological Classification Table 4 or Table 5 under the sociological structure in which they exist. For example, Vishrambagh *Wada*, can be located in ‘Desh’ region in Regional Classification Table 3 and under ‘Rajwada’ in Sociological
Classification Table 4. Sociological Classification Table 6 indicates the presence of this house form beyond the present boundary of Maharashtra.

Maharashtra has been classified by the traditional regions based upon geographical variables: The coastal or the Konkan region, the Plateau or the Desh Region, (the Sahayadri mountains dividing the coastal and plateau regions), Khandesh, Marathwada and Vidharbha which are in the plains (Fig. 2.2). There are variables in the houseform because of climatological variations in the different regions, for instance pitched roofs in Konkan, where rainfall is heavy and sometimes an absence of an internal courtyard. The flat roof is observed in Marathwada, where there is sparse rainfall.

5.1 Geographical and Regional Classification

It was observed that plans were similar across regions. There was an absence of the rajwada or the garhi in Konkan and Khandesh. The Sahayadris were a natural barrier between Konkan and Desh; therefore infiltration beyond Desh was difficult. Konkan lay protected between the mountain ranges on one side and the sea coast on the other. Since there was no infiltration, there is a conspicuous absence of the fortified garhi or rajwadas of the Peshwas and it never became a seat of administration and power. Konkan became a trade route and the powerful community here were mostly of tax collectors or agriculturists.

The plan of the garhi and rajwada remained the same although they were built during different periods of history. The garhi being a fortified structure was introverted and self-sufficient with ramparts and bastions as protection against invaders.

Rajwadas lacked fortification, suggesting stable and peaceful times, with a focus on ornamentation.
The garhi symbolized power, therefore powerful noblemen quite often built their wadas with external ramparts and bastions. The wada inside was sometimes very richly decorated like the Holkar wada at Chandwad or the Holkar Wada at Vafgaon (Refer Chapter 8, Sections 8.2, 8.3).

The ordinary wadas belonging to the common people existed across all regions and during all periods. Plots were narrow and deep. The open spaces or yards were in the front and the rear but insufficient for social gatherings (Refer Table 3, Fig. 5.106).

Location

The garhi or rajwada was located as the nucleus in the centre of the town with the Brahmin Wadas and Kshatriya Wadas around it, beyond these were the wadas of the lower castes (Figs. 3.16, 3.19).

Almost always there was a town wall around (Refer Town plan Fig. 3.8). Sometimes there were concentric town walls, suggesting expansion beyond the original wall (Fig. 3.4). Across all regions, social stratification was observed. It was in Desh that the Marathas and Peshwas had established their seat of power. The presence of garhis and rajwadas was naturally evident here.

Satara and Pune was where the Peshwas had built their garhis and rajwadas. Nagpur in Vidharbha was the alternate seat of power, therefore there was the existence of the rajwadas there. Marathwada had garhis as well as rajwadas of noblemen. But most wadas were flat roofed here, since rainfall was sparse. An absence of the garhi and rajwada was noticed in Konkan and Khandesh. Refer Table 2. Tax collectors lived in Konkan as this was a trade route. Garhis were absent in mercantile towns like Pimpalner in Khandesh. No large independent wada existed in these regions. Long narrow plots with narrow frontages and common walls
between *wadas* existed. Wooden carvings on railings, balusters, beams and brackets were rich and ornamental, typical of the Gujarat style. Gujarati influence filtered here since Khandesh bordered Gujarat.

This geographical or regional classification was visibly evident as one traversed across the regions. Societal stratification existed in every region and became a sub-classification within the region.

**Table 1: Classification**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Konkan</th>
<th>Desh</th>
<th>Khandesh</th>
<th>Marathwada</th>
<th>Vidharbha</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOCIOLOGICAL</strong></td>
<td>Noblemen's wada</td>
<td>Fort/ Palace wada</td>
<td>Noblemen's wada</td>
<td>Noblemen's wada</td>
<td>Palace wada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Noblemen's wada</td>
<td>Ordinary wada</td>
<td>Ordinary wada</td>
<td>Noblemen's wada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenement wadas</td>
<td>Temple wada</td>
<td>Wadas of merchants</td>
<td>Ghat wada and temple complex</td>
<td>Wadas of merchant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muslim wadas</td>
<td>Ghat wada and temple complex</td>
<td>Wadas of merchants</td>
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<td>Wadas of merchants</td>
<td>Wadas of merchants</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The above table illustrates a regional classification of the wada across the traditional regions of the state. Within each region is the societal stratification. The wadas under the headings of the different regions indicate plan types, section types and elevation types.

**Table 2: Colour Graph**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Konkan</th>
<th>Desh</th>
<th>Khandesh</th>
<th>Marathwada</th>
<th>Vidharbha</th>
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<td>Muslim wadas</td>
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The above table indicates distribution of types within regions – each colour indicates a particular type.
Table 3: Regional Classification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KONKAN</th>
<th>DESH</th>
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Fig. 3.7: Konkan, Plan
Fig. 3.8: Konkan, Plan and Elevations

Fig. 4.2: Desh, Plan
Fig. 4.3: Desh, Plan and Elevations

Fig. 4.4: Khandesh, Plan
Fig. 4.5: Khandesh, Plan and Elevations

Fig. 5.1: Marathwada, Plan
Fig. 5.2: Marathwada, Plan and Elevations

Fig. 5.3: Vidharbha, Plan
Fig. 5.4: Vidharbha, Plan and Elevations

Note: The images are not fully legible, but they appear to represent architectural plans and elevations for different regions of India.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KONKAN</th>
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**Fig. 5.49**. Shinde Rana Court, originally built c. 1510, Persad, Thakur Freel, Jula Domba

**Fig. 5.50**. Palace at Pimpalwadi, originally built c. 1720, Thakur Saleri, Jula Domba

**Fig. 5.51**. Palace at Pimpalwadi, originally built c. 1720, Thakur Saleri, Jula Domba

**Fig. 5.52**. Nagari Wada, Plan

**Fig. 5.53**. Nagari Wada, Plan

**Fig. 5.54**. Akbari Wada, originally built c. 1538, Nagari, Thakur Nagari, Jula Nagari

**Fig. 5.55**. Plan and Section

**Fig. 5.56**. Plan and Section
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**Fig. 3.54: Kadari Wada, originally built c. 1700, Taluka Mulgund, Zilla Satara**

**Fig. 3.55: Makalji Shinde Wada, originally built c. 1700, Taluka Srigonda, Zilla Amaravati**

**Fig. 3.56: Vindur Wada, Plan and Section**
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<th>MARATHIWADE</th>
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**Fig. 2.17**: Shindewadi, originally built: c. 1660; Parner, Tahaka, Parner, Zilla Raigad

**Fig. 2.18**: Rajarwadi, originally built: c. 1580; Parner, Tahaka, Parner, Zilla Raigad

**Fig. 2.19**: Tanaji Palace, originally built: c. 1610; Parner, Tahaka, Parner, Zilla Raigad

**Fig. 2.40**: Wadi of Chaw, originally built: c. 1746; Chaw, Tahaka Khed, Zilla Parner, Phra.

**Fig. 2.61**: Nalabul Anwar, Vavker Wadi, Plan and Elevation.
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<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Marathwada Image" /></td>
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**Fig. 5.48: Viharanaghi Wada, originally built c. 1615, Panhala, Kolhapur District, Maharashtra.**

**Fig. 5.71: Lakhdar's Lake, originally built c. 1480, Poona, Kolha-Peth, Zilla Aurobindo.**

**Fig. 5.72: Schuak's Lake, originally built c. 1700, Kolha-Peth, Zilla Aurobindo.**

**Fig. 5.78: Viharanaghi Wada, Plan and Sections.**
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<th>KIHANDESH</th>
<th>MARATHWADE</th>
<th>VIDHABHA</th>
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**Fig. 5.9:** Nere Wada, originally built c. 1773, Pune, Thane Poona, Zille Poona

**Fig. 5.9:** Nere Wada, Plan and Elevation
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Region</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<td>Konkan</td>
<td>Fig. 3.80: Forts built in Konkan; e.g., c. 1760, Kolaba, Panhala, Alat, Phansad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desh</td>
<td>Fig. 3.81: Forts built in Desh; e.g., c. 1779, Pune, Jalalka, Kolaba, Phansad.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Khandesh</td>
<td>Fig. 3.82: Forts built in Khandesh; e.g., c. 1760, Sonwada, Jalalka, Alal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathwada</td>
<td>Fig. 3.83: Forts built in Marathwada; e.g., c. 1760, Kolaba, Sonwada, Alal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vindhya</td>
<td>Fig. 3.84: Forts built in Vindhya; e.g., c. 1760, Kolaba, Sonwada, Alal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KONKAN</td>
<td>DESH</td>
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**Fig. 5.56**: Korni Waal, originally built c.1660, Pune, Taluka Purne, Zakha Nauri

**Fig. 5.57**: Holkar Waal, originally built c.1760, Chandwad, Taluka Chandwad, Zakha Nauri

**Fig. 5.58**: Waal, originally built c.1796, Mehre, Taluka Nighoj, Zakha Nauri
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<th>KONKAN</th>
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<th>KHANDES</th>
<th>MARATHWADA</th>
<th>VIDHARBAHA</th>
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Pig. 3.38. Jolka Pasha, originally from:
- Konkan, Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Goa.
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<th>MARATHWADA</th>
<th>VIDHARBHA</th>
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<td>Fig. 4.47. Kadash Carpent, originally built c.1710, Pune, Taluka Pune, Zilla Pune</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fig. 4.47. Kadash Carpent, originally built c.1710, Pune, Taluka Shigra, Zilla Shigra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fig. 4.47. Kadash Carpent, originally built c.1710, Pune, Taluka Wai, Zilla Wai</td>
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-1-
a. Desh

This region has a variation of plot sizes, the main garhi or Rajwada being the focus, with the other wadas in long, narrow plots, forming a street façade along narrow streets (Fig. 3.16, Fig. 5.118). In Chandwad and Vafgaon, streets with row housing of wadas existed, each of these identified for specific requirements, one street for selling silverware, or one selling grocery (Fig.5.118). These had wide platforms or plinths which made it convenient to sell their wares. All these streets radiated from the garhi in the centre.

![Fig. 5.118: area around rajwada, originally built: c.1750, Bhor, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune](image1)

![Fig. 5.119: Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad, Taluka: Chandwad, Zilla: Nasik, Region:Desh, wadas abutting street around fort](image2)

b. Marathwada

In Marathwada plots were squarish, compared with the narrow deep plots in Desh as well as Khandesh.

In Paithan in the Marathwada region and Srigonda in Desh region (although Srigonda is in Desh, it was close enough to Paithan for similarities to exist); the smaller wadas are characterized by the typical façades of garhis. At a smaller scale and without bastions, these wadas here reflected the same fortified exteriors as the garhis. Stone up to

-126-
parapet level, with brick above are materials used for construction, similar to the garhi (Fig. 5.121). The corners of these wadas were invariably rounded. One reason could be that the rounded edges facilitated movement on horseback along the cobbled streets, especially since lanes were narrow.

**Fig. 5.120:** Paithan, originally built: c.1650, *Taluka*: Paithan, *Zilla*: Aurangabad, temple focus

**Fig. 5.121:** Sridhundinath Maharaj Wada, originally built: c.1650, Paithan, *Taluka*: Paithan, *Zilla*: Aurangabad, external facade

**Fig. 5.122:** Morphology of built form Paithan, originally built: c.1650, *Taluka*: Paithan, *Zilla*: Aurangabad
Façades are flat with no projections and there is an absence of *Nagarkhana, Peshwai* arches and fluted columns. Here the character of the main *wada* and those around is similar (*Fig. 5.122*). Plots were wider and the *wadas* did not form a façade similar to the narrow streets façades of Shimpi Alee in the Desh region (Refer Table 3, *Fig. 5.106*).

The character of *wadas* in Paithan in Marathwada was different from those in other mercantile towns like Pimpalner or Shimpee ali in Pune. In Paithan each *wada* was introverted (*Figs. 5.121, 5.122*). There was an absence of plinths where goods were sold. Roofs were flat because of little rainfall. Paithan is famous for silk weaving, especially for the *paithani* sari. Looms were on the outskirts of the town and motifs on saris were adapted from those on wooden columns and brackets (Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.15, *Figs. 8.155, 8.156*).

Srigonda, which was not a mercantile town, exhibited similar characteristics or a similar morphology. Flat roofed, *garhi* like, introverted *wadas* existed here too. But the presence of the Mahadji Shinde *wada* as the nucleus in Srigonda made it different from Paithan, where there was no central *garhi* (Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.7).

In Srigonda, the *garhi* of Mahadji Shinde, existed as the nucleus but it was not as imposing as the *garhis* in Chandwad, Vafgaon, Jadhavgarhi at Saswad, or Patwardhan *Wada* in Modva. In Srigonda, the peripheral *wadas* around this nucleus were on large square plots, making the central *wada* and the periphery uniform.

c. Konkan

In coastal Konkan plots are square, making the plots larger and wider. Streets too are wide. Pen in Konkan was on the trade route between Desh
and Konkan. Active trade carried on between the two areas. Caravans of pack animals carried goods to and from the Deccan, across the passes of Nane and Bhor through the Sahayadri ranges. Prominent wadas like those of Datars and Limayes are found here (Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.13). There was a conspicuous absence of a garhi or rajwada here. The inhabitants were the proletariat, comprising mostly tax collectors.

The larger wadas found here belonged to the wealthy traders and farmers; the smaller ones to the common people. Despite large plot areas the wadas in the Konkan sometimes did not have internal courtyards, because of heavy rainfall.

d. Khandesh

Pimpalner, a mercantile town had a temple as a nucleus. Narrow streets lined with wadas formed the street façade. Continuous balconies on the first floor projected beyond the façade. Continuous plinths extended through the width of the dwelling units (Figs. 5.125, 5.126).
e. Vidharbha

Located away from any major water body and at the centre of the Indian peninsula, Vidharbha is dry or mildly humid for most of the year except for the rainy season. Summers are extremely hot, with daytime temperatures regularly exceeding 40°C.

Similar to the Desh region, here too the wadas have varying plot sizes, the Rajwada being the focus, with the other wadas occupying long narrow plots forming a street façades. Courtyards moderate the hot dry climate of the region. Senior Bhosle Wada, Junior Bhosle Wada, Late Rani Bakabai Bhosle Wada, Kaptan Wada, Ahirrao Wada, Sahukar Wada are some of the prominent wadas found in this region.
5.2 Sociological Classification

Social stratification is observed in every region. The large garhis and rajwadas being the central focus and smaller wadas around this centre were observed in hierarchal order (Figs. 3.16, 3.19).

a. Garhis (Table 4)

Garhis are fortified wadas with bastions and ramparts. These were located as the focus of the village or town and around these structures the village or town grew (Fig. 3.16). Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.1 – 8.7.

b. Rajwada or Palace wada (Table 4)

This was also the central focus of the town. It was around this structure that the town grew (Fig. 3.19). Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.8, 8.9, 8.10.

c. Smaller wadas (Table 4)

Smaller wadas around the central focus of the garhi or rajwada were built along streets forming a wall and were part of a series that made the street façade. These were individually built on deep and narrow plots with the narrower side forming the street frontage (Figs. 3.23 – 3.26, 8.13). Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.14, 8.15.

d. Wadas of Nobles (Table 4)

Large wadas belonging to noblemen formed a part of the segment belonging to the powerful sociological class. Examples of these were in Pune and some representatives of this type are Raste Wada, Nana Wada. Spaces reflected in these were basically the same as the wada within the garhi or the rajwada, except that these were built in comparatively smaller land areas. The organisations spaces around the central courtyard remained the same (Refer plan Figs. 5.78, 5.80, 5.84).
Konkan region had *wadas* similar to nobleman’s *wadas* built in large square plots. This region was protected from invasions by the *ghats* on the east and the sea on the west, making it largely agriculture and trade based, and low on political importance.

The nobility did not exist in Pen and Panvel which lay on the trade route between Desh and Konkan, the area being dominated by large *wadas* of tax collectors and the rich landed class. The Datar *Wada* and Limaye *Wada* are examples of this type (Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.13).

e. Tenement *Wadas* (Table 5)

The Bapat *Wada* was built in 1650 AD, with the express purpose of giving out individual rooms on rent, to workers. The Bapats themselves never resided here. The Bapat *Wada* was built with the same structure as the generic *wada* form. However, it had no halls, just rooms with the strip of gallery or corridor in front, made for individual use. This design formed the archetype for the latter day Mumbai *chawls* or one room tenements constructed for migrant labour filtering into the commercial hub (Refer Table 5, *Fig. 5.214*).

f. Muslim *Wadas* (Table 5)

The town of Kalyan had streets radiating from the central *chowk*. Streets almost parallel were alternately dominated, one by Hindu *Wadas* and the other by Muslim *Wadas*. The Muslim *Wadas* like Fangari house, Dhuru *Wada*, and Tanki Palace were two-courtyard *wadas*. The outer courtyards had the *tulsi* shrub in the centre, planted for its medicinal properties. The courtyard was the social hub of the *wada* as well used for prayers. The women had a separate entrance from the rear. Portuguese influence reflected in the colonial arches in the façade and stained glass windows is

-132-
evident since Kalyan was on the sea trade route between Portugal and western India (Refer Chapter 8, Sections 8.18, 8.19).

**g. Temple Wada complex (Table 5)**

The Tulsibagh Wada, Pune is representative of the typology and is built on a site of *tulsi* gardens; the *wada* derived its name from the sacred basil plant (Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.17). Others belonging to this typology are Kasba Ganpati, Pune (Refer Table 5, *Fig. 5.204*) and Sri Krishna Mandir, Mulher (Refer Table 5, *Fig. 5.205*).

**h. Ghat Wada and Temple Complex (Table 5)**

Phadnis Wada in Menavli, Desh: This was built as a retreat for the Phadnis family who had their main *wada* in Pune. *Shiv* and *Vishnu* temples were built on the banks of the river Krishna with the *wada* built at a height, the *ghat* connecting the temple and the *wada*, thus forming a complex (Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.16).

Sri Krishnadaryanav Math in Paithan, Marathwada: This was a *Samadhi* (mausoleum) Temple *Wada* built on the banks of the river Godavari. A one-of-a-kind, black, eight-armed idol of Krishna, was developed from the divine imagination of Sri Krishnadaryanav Maharaj, a Brahmin *pujari* (priest) (Refer Table 5, *Fig. 5.215*).

**i. Wadas of Merchants (Table 5)**

The *wadas* of this class could be identified in any region. They were characterized by very ornate facades in wood, the detailing in the lattice work not seen in any other kind of *wada*. Mobility of this class led to occurrence of this form across different regions. This typology could be identified by the ornate wooden facades.
Sahukar Wada in Paithan, Marathwada, had courtyard facades in fine lattice work (Refer Table 5, Fig. 5.224). Pawar Wada (Refer Table 5, Fig. 5.209) and Bhale Rao Wada (Refer Table 5, Fig. 5.207) in Nasik, Desh, exhibited the same work in the street façade.

The above tables suggests at a glance wada typology: Regional and Sociological.
Table 4: Sociological Classification

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*Note: Images and descriptions are placeholders and need to be replaced with actual content.*
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### Notes
- Section:
- Description:
- Location:
- Region:

**Fig. 2.42:** Kanker, Phal, originally built c.1793, Phase, VerdO/Phase, Zell/Phase, Region/Detail

**Fig. 5.42:** Taware, Phal, Naik, Region/Detail
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1. **Garh**: Originally built c. 1000, built, Tada. Lata Sanchi, Zilla Purn, Region: Delhi
2. **Rajwada**: Originally built c. 1725, Panchmahal, Tulkiya Saka, Zilla: Delhi, Region: Chandrakant
3. **Noblemen's Wada**: Originally built c. 1725, Panchmahal, Tulkiya Saka, Zilla: Delhi, Region: Chandrakant
4. **Ordinary Wada**: Originally built c. 1725, Panchmahal, Tulkiya Saka, Zilla: Delhi, Region: Chandrakant
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**Fig. 5.1(a):** Mohendaro Rajwada, Gymkhana, c. 1723, Paper: Bichitra, Paper: Bichitra, Region: Delhi

**Fig. 5.1(b):** Mohendaro Rajwada, Gymkhana, c. 1723, Paper: Bichitra, Paper: Bichitra, Region: Delhi

**Fig. 5.3:** Kaka Mohar Rajwada, Paper: Bichitra, Region: Mohendaro.
Fig. 3.171: Ambika or Wada, Nand, Taluka Nand, District Nand, Region: Deccan

Fig. 3.172: Maharaja Wada, originally built c. 1790, Ambegaon, Taluka Ambegaon, District Ambegaon, Region: Deccan

Fig. 3.173: Noger Wada, Poole, Region: Mahratwada
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Fig. 1.20: Caw Kali Kalchvda (Rajiv Wada, originally 104 x 130), Nagaon, Jalna, Nagaon, Jalna. Nagaon, Rohri-Daryawada
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<th>Table 5: Further Sociological Classification</th>
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<td>Fig. 5.205: Tahirbehagh Wada, originally built c. 1791, Pune, Zilla Naka, Region: Deccan</td>
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<td>Fig. 5.207: Shadi East Wada, originally built c.1750, Naka, Zilla Naka, Region: Deccan</td>
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<td>Fig. 5.206: Kamal Ganpat, originally built c.1750, Pune, Zilla Naka, Region: Deccan</td>
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<td>Fig. 5.208: Venkata Shankar, originally built c.1790, Naka, Zilla Naka, Region: Deccan</td>
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<td>Fig. 5.209: Pavana Wada, originally built c.1750, Naka, Zilla Naka, Region: Deccan</td>
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<td>Fig. 5.210: Mandir Wada, originally built c.1790, Naka, Zilla Naka, Region: Deccan</td>
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<td>Fig. 5.211: Kashi Pukar, originally built c.1800, Kalyan, Zilla Naka, Region: Konkan</td>
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<td>Fig. 5.212: Purnell House, originally built c.1800, Kalyan, Zilla Naka, Region: Konkan</td>
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<td>Fig. 5.213: Dolacker House, originally built c.1850, Kalyan, Zilla Naka, Region: Konkan</td>
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Fig. 5.21: Wadi al-Faraj, originally built: c.1225, Tuludda Salim, Zilla 'Dhaka.

Fig. 5.22: Wadi al-Faraj, originally built: c.1225, Tuludda Salim, Zilla 'Dhaka.

Fig. 5.22a: Wadi al-Faraj, originally built: c.1225, Tuludda Salim, Zilla 'Dhaka.

Fig. 5.22b: Ladder Shaped Wadi, originally built: c.1630, Tuludda, Tuludda, Zilla 'Arousqab.
Fig. 5.224: Sahkar Wada, originally built c. 1700, Pahkhar, Sahkar Pahar, Zilo Aventure.

Fig. 5.225: Pilkhar, originally built c. 1730, Zikdar Pahar, 250° Aventure.

Fig. 5.234: Sahkar Wada, originally built c. 1790, Nager, Zilo Nager.
Table 6: The Wada beyond the boundary of Maharashtra

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<th>Fig. 6.20</th>
<th>Fisher Wada, Indore, originally built: c.1730, Indore, Madhya Pradesh</th>
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<td>Fig. 6.21</td>
<td>Vally House, Hari Maroti, originally built: c. 1926, Goa</td>
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<td>Fig. 6.22</td>
<td>Motiyo House, originally built: c.1690, Cordem, Falna, Goa</td>
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Fig. 6.23: Holcar Wada, Indore, Plan and elevation
Chapter 6 explains in theory the evolution of a built form along with open spaces. This is in relation to Hindu architecture. This background is linked with observations of field work where a correlation of the structural grid and evolved spaces has been established. The inter-relationship between the spaces evolved and resultant form is made.

In the architecture of the region, open spaces and their co-existence with the built form, the importance of the open in relation to the built form has been explored.
Space and Form

6.1 Background to Spatial and Formal Analysis

Addressing the origin of human dwellings in India, P.K. Acharya observes in the “Encyclopedia of Hindu Architecture” (1927 AD) that trees supplied to primitive man, the model of his future house. The word sala (house) is stated to have been derived from sakha (branch), because originally branches were arranged lengthwise, breadth wise, crossed and then thatched to make the first houses. Sala primarily means a thatch of straw for the shelter of men or for their cattle and stores. Later sala came to include stalls and sheds. Finally it came to signify a house in general. It also began to get suffixed onto names given to rooms of a house, such as agnisala, gosala, gajsala, patsala. During the course of time, houses of the middle class and humble people, who according to social stratification of society belonged to lower castes and professions, came to be known as salas.

There were ten definitions of sala buildings from eksala to dasasala. Sala was a span comprising one long rectangular structure. One such structure was known as eksala. A house consisting of two eksalas joined at right angles was known as divisala. It occupied two sides of a square or rectangular plot. Trisala occupied three sides and chatusala occupied all four sides with a central court (Fig. 6.1).
The length, breadth and height of sala houses varied according to the social status of the owner. The Shilpa Shastras laid down measurements for different types of sala houses for different varnas (castes). The chatusala house of the religious leaders - Brahmins - was to measure 32 hastas, that of the king 108 hastas.¹ The trisala of the commander of the army - Kshatriya - 64 hastas. The house of a vaisya was to be dvisala and the house of a Shudra, eksala. According to the texts, the square being the perfect form, it was recommended for temples and the houses of Brahmins.

Height restriction along a street was to be limited to a specific number of storeys. Thus high rise buildings were to be built along principal streets. Height of buildings was also related to the width of the road. Houses had to have plinths above street levels and verandahs or alinda. From ground level to the plinth was to be a flight of stairs. A vedika or raised seat was to be provided on either side of the entrance.

¹Hasta: 24 angulas: equals one and a half foot
one angula: width of small, middle and big fingers
The unit of design was the open quadrangle surrounded by chambers – chatusala. This unit was repeated two, three, or four times or more, depending upon the amount of accommodation required by the occupants.

Case studies across Maharashtra revealed that the courtyard plan of the wada was based upon the above concept of kakshya and sala. Kakshya, was the courtyard and sala, the built form. The presence of the vedika (the raised platform on either side of the entrance) and the alinda (the verandah) are seen in many wadas (Figs. 6.48, 6.49).

6.2 Open Spaces and the Built Form

Integration of Open Spaces with the Built Form: The courtyard and the built form

World over open spaces have their significance in any form of housing. The concepts of porticos, front and rear yards, gardens and sit-outs have evolved to bring people out of the inner spaces of the built form to the external spaces in good weather. In extreme winter, interior spaces are meant to dominate usage. Sunlight trappers in the form of skylights and sky roofs are used.

In tropical regions though, the skylight was dispensed with, and the resulting area, open to the sky, formed a courtyard. The courtyard moderated extremes in weather in the Indian subcontinent and was a source of light and ventilation.

This form of architecture was climatically suitable. The courtyard functioned as a convective thermostat, giving protection from extremes of weather, averaging out the large diurnal temperature differences. The courtyard was narrow enough to maintain a shaded area in summer and
wide enough to receive the winter sun. In arid areas the courtyard was used for collecting and storing scarce rainwater.

The images above show the use of open spaces in the village of Karanji of Ahmednagar district. A spillover of activities in the open area adjoining the built form is observed. Even cooking is done outside when the weather permits.
From squatter settlements to vernacular architecture in villages, the courtyard is an omnipresent feature in the indigenous housing of the subcontinent. The courtyard may be found within the structure of the individual *wada*. It is also mirrored at a cluster level, in the *chowk*, found within the structure of a group of smaller *wadas*.

The main feature of the courtyard in the context of the cluster of houses was that its function was not rigidly defined for any particular activity; most activities spilled over here. It was this outdoor usage of space, from a climatological and social point of view, that necessitated the courtyard getting formally integrated into the built form.

Once it was an intrinsic part of the built form, the courtyard became the hub of activity in a more organised way. While there was the informal gathering of the household community for the sharing of daily chores, joys, celebration and grief, there were also rituals performed in the courtyard that precipitated a certain degree of method in the use of the space. The *sopa*, or the pillared built space around the courtyard, had undefined functions, its role determined by the inhabitants. So while the *sopa* in the women's quarter may have been used through the day that of the men's work area may have been used only when there were meetings and entertainment sessions. The built form however, had definite functions.

A study of slum settlements which I had undertaken, in a potter's slum settlement in Mumbai's Dharavi, Asia's largest slum, has revealed the fact that even when there was paucity of land, activities were carried outside the built area. In Dharavi, the study revealed community clusters. Communities of *kumbhars* (potters), *dhobhis* (washer men) and tanners,
All had their dwelling units and small home industries within the cluster. All these required the use of open spaces. For instance, kumbhars would take their professional activities of turning the wheel, clay mixing, kneading and drying outdoors. Dhobis used the open space to dry clothes, while tanners used them to dry out animal skins.¹

Besides these professional uses, there was also the importance that religion and ritual played in the lives of people. The chowk (courtyard) became the central feature of the built form, and was referred to as the womb or the sacred centre and became an icon of cosmo-religious symbolism. It also became a transition between public, semi-private and totally private areas of the dwelling. It was from this centre that the rest of the built form revolved.

The courtyard thus became the womb, from where the form emerged, the hub, from where all activity radiated and the bindu (centre), symbolising the religious centre.

6.3 Determination of Spatial and Formal Aspects

Construction, in terms of eksala, dvisala depended on site conditions and the size of the site.

Sala meant hall, room or constructed portion built around or abutting a chowk, and kakshya was this chowk or open quadrangle. Applications of texts describing planning principles were observed in the implied plan, which is the arrangement of kakshya and sala.

An analysis of plans showed that within this implied plan, the structural grid was worked out. This was the structural bay. The grids of measurement were khann and ghaee (Fig. 6.8). Dimensions of the structural unit depended upon the size of the construction materials available, in this case wood. Wood came in lengths of eight feet to ten feet. Whether ekbhumi or dvibhumi depended on the number of floors that were visualized; these were expressed in the elevation. Both plan and elevation were inherent in the structure which was the skeleton of the form.

6.4 Defining Concepts: Spatial and Formal

The structural bay or structural unit was the generator of form. The plan was based on a configuration of squares where at every intersection there was a column. The structural module regulated the size of the built form (Refer Table 3, plan Figs. 5.2, 5.4, 5.8, 5.10, 5.21, 5.30).

Expression of the structure on the façade was evident because wooden columns were exposed and beams were visible. The façades of the wada had a clear indication of the structural bays, within which openings were punctured (Fig. 6.9). The structure was a framework of wooden columns
and beams, all these supporting wooden rafters which acted as ceiling of the lower storey, and floor for the upper storey.

Fig. 6.9 indicates the expression of structure on the façade with columns, beam heads, brackets visible and each bay punctured with openings

Fig. 6.9: Kadam Wada, originally built: c.1700, Sap, Taluka: Mulgaon, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh. internal courtyard.

In the footprint of the plan, the column position determined the structural grid which in turn determined the form of the wada. The structural grid also became the design grid. Positioning of the internal walls was coordinated within the grid layout. Chapter 5, Regional Classification, Table 3 indicates plans with the structural grid. The typical wada plan is represented in Chapter 4, Fig. 4.5.

The nature of spaces arranged around the courtyard range from a verandah-like sopa, or patsala (lobby), adjacent to the chowk, to more private living quarters beyond. The physical openings connecting spaces such as doorways or archways are positioned with respect to the grid. There was a layering of spaces in plan as well as in elevation, the transition between layers determined by walls in plan, and floors in elevation.
6.5 Site Availability and Landholding

At the level of town planning, it was observed that position in the ruling class led to availability of land and this in turn made funds available for construction. Thus quantum of land and economy became factors for the emergence of form.

Smaller plots around the nucleus of the garhi or rajwada were allocated on the basis of profession or caste. These resulted in the emergence of smaller wadas, with the front and rear yards. This phenomenon was observed during the physical survey of towns like Chandwad, Vafgaon, and Pimpalner.

The courts in larger wadas were the areas of community activities for men and women of the wada.

The front and rear yards in smaller wadas were not large enough for community activities, ceremonies and festivities remaining the same across communities, only the scale being smaller here.

In smaller wadas, the village chowk, present around the temple or nearby, became the area for community activities, like wedding preparations or celebrations for the birth of a child. This was observed in the area around Mahukar Wada where the temple mandapa was used for community activities. Yards in the front and the rear were meant for a spill over of daily activities.

6.6 Spaces Generated in Available Landholding

Within the available land area, the structural grid determined spaces, with the outer spaces being public areas and the inner being private areas. The
structural grid had the courtyard as the space generator in the centre of it. The number of grids really depended upon space availability. The presence or absence of the courtyard was determined by climatological factors. Tradition and rituals, especially those arising out of religious beliefs and myths, determined space usage, space which was obviously generated by the structural grid.

Fig. 6.10: Space generation in individual wada level and cluster level
6.7 The Plan

The wadi, which was a rural grouping of huts around a central open space called a chowk, formed the basis for the urban wada (Figs. 6.11, 6.13 – 6.16). This rural phenomenon came into the urban setting by the proliferation of ordinary wadas, which formed the street façade. The central chowks that were the generators of the wada clusters around formed the focal point, usually dominated by a tree or temple. In the case of the individual garhis and rajwadas, the central open space, or chowk, got incorporated into the built form as an integrated courtyard, or a series of courtyards (Fig. 6.10).

![Diagram of a wadi: Cluster of huts around central open space]

**Fig. 6.11:** Relationship of built form to open spaces
Fig. 6.12: Tisgaon, Zilla: Ahmednagar, Mandai, village: market place

Fig. 6.13: Wadi, Zilla: Ahmednagar, Ahmednagar-Paithan highway, courtyard formed by mud dwelling clusters

Fig. 6.14: Wadi, Zilla: Ahmednagar, Ahmednagar-Paithan highway, courtyard formed by mud dwelling clusters

Fig. 6.15: Wadi, Zilla: Ahmednagar, Ahmednagar-Paithan highway, courtyard formed by mud dwelling clusters

Fig. 6.16: Wadi, Zilla: Ahmednagar, Ahmednagar-Paithan highway, courtyard formed by mud dwelling clusters

Fig. 6.17: Wadi, Zilla: Ahmednagar, Ahmednagar-Paithan highway, interior

*Images above exhibit the usage of open spaces in the rural wadis of Maharashtra*
The *wada* plan stemmed from a single *kakshya* or open quadrangle, which formed the centre or *chowk*. This *kakshya* was a single multiplicable unit. A pillared, semi-open corridor called *sopa* formed the layer around. The rooms beyond constituted the built form, which was based on square grids, with columns placed at every intersection of the square. In the plan of a *wada*, a square or rectangular module with a central courtyard was replicated; the number of times it was replicated depended upon the area of the site (*Fig. 4.5*) (Refer Table 3, plan *Figs. 5.4, 5.65, 5.70*).

**Centre-chowk-Courtyard**

It was observed that courtyards in *wadas* across Maharashtra existed in different forms, as an integrated open space large enough for gatherings or as front and rear yards where spill over of activities took place but this was not large enough for gatherings. In this case the village or town square called *chowk* became a space for social gatherings (*Fig. 6.10*).

1. The *chowk* or courtyard etymologically means a central open space with four corners, used as a space for gathering. The *chowk* or courtyard is described as the hub or the centre of activities. It is further referred to as the *bindu* or centre, which is an area from where other spaces emanate or are generated (*Fig. 6.18*).

a. Examples of the integrated open courtyards are found in the *garhis* of Chandwad and Vafgaon, in the *rajwadas* of Bhor and Satara and in the large *wadas* of noblemen as in Mohite *wada* at Rajewadi and Raste *wada* in Pune. In *garhis*, *rajwadas* and the large *wadas* of noblemen, the number of courtyards varied between two and seven (Refer Table 3, *Figs. 5.8, 5.70*).
b. The front and rear yards in long rectangular plots, which existed around the periphery of the central *garhi* as in Chandwad and Vafgaon; or in the periphery of the central *rajwada* in Satara or Bhor; or a central temple as in the case of narrow plotted development in the mercantile town of Pimpalner (Refer Table 3, Fig. 5.28).

c. It was observed in towns like Chandwad, Vafgaon, Pimpalner that the village or town square was also a *chowk*, this being the central open space, which was used as a social gathering space, since the yards of the individual narrow plotted *wada* clusters were not large enough for such gatherings. These could be termed cluster level *chowks* (Figs. 3.27, 3.28, 3.32).

2. The courtyard as a climatological centre: as a source of light and ventilation, averaging temperatures inside the *wada*, as well as within the courtyard, through a natural means of air flow currents.

![Diagram]

*Fig. 6.18: Chowk as Brahmasthana*
3. The courtyard as a social centre: hub of social and professional activities in the men's courtyard, and a social and ritualistic centre for women's activities.

4. The courtyard as the brahmasthana: applying concepts of vastu shastra the courtyard occupied the brahmasthana or the centre of the vastupurushmandala, this area being of prime importance (Fig. 6.18).

5. The courtyard as a space generator: structural modules extended beyond the courtyard, spaces evolving around it (Fig. 6.19).

In plan type 1A (Fig. 6.20) the central courtyards were large enough for social gatherings. It was observed that social systems prevailing revealed a certain structure in the function of the courtyard.

It was also observed that there was a hierarchy of courtyards and the spaces around, broadly categorising three courtyards with the sopa and built form.
The first courtyard: In upper class medieval Maharashtra, there existed a segregation of male and female areas. The first court was a male bastion, serving as a gathering space, both for social and official gatherings, restricted for the men of the wada. The built area around the public quadrangle was assigned for kacheri (offices), the reception room for guests, and waiting rooms for officers and visitors (Fig. 6.23).
First Courtyard: This was the public courtyard dominated by male activities with kacheri and offices around it. Fig. 6.23

Second Courtyard: Second courtyard or the private courtyard dominated by female activities with residential units around it. The tulsivrindaban is present in this courtyard. Fig. 6.24

Third Courtyard: Third courtyard or the service courtyard has servant rooms, stables for animals, and stores. Fig. 6.25
The second or inner courtyard: Since intermixing between men and women was not encouraged, particularly in the upper castes, it led to a strong spatial demarcation in the courtyard for men and that for women. The women's and children's segment of the wada was situated in the area around the second courtyard, signifying the ensconced lives that they lived. Theirs was a private courtyard, where they dwelt almost as a community unto themselves, performing tasks and rituals, and entertaining each other in a way they could not have done, had the men folk been present (Fig. 6.24). It was in this courtyard that the tulsi vridavan (basil plant) was worshipped in the centre (Figs. 6.26 – 6.29). Besides daily rituals, there were those rituals associated with the various milestones in women's lives, such as birth and marriage, as well as those related to the celebration of festivals.

The rooms around this quadrangle were swaypakghar (kitchen), kothar (store room), a dining hall and a deoghar (room where the family deity was worshipped). Bedrooms, retiring rooms and bathrooms were offsetting this courtyard.
Fig. 6.27: *Tulsi Vrindavan*, Fallary House, Hari Mandir, originally built: c.1936, Goa.


Fig. 6.30: Mohite Wada, originally built c.1700, Rajewadi, Taluka: Raje Wadi, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, deoghar

Fig. 6.31: Jedhe Wada, originally built c.1600, Kari, Taluka: Bhor, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, view of deoghar

Fig. 6.32: Goshale Raste Wada, originally built c.1750, wai, Taluka: Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, deoghar with idol to be placed over the shivling, Kashi Vishweshwara village temple
The third courtyard: The presence of the third court was for goshala (cowsheds) and wells for water (Fig. 6.25). The step wells in the garhis of Chandwad and Vafgaon provided water for the entire village. These were service areas and housed the servants, as well as the stores. Latrines were located in the outer courtyard from where sewage was carried away through a narrow lane.

In plan type 1B (Fig. 6.21) the front and rear yards were sources of light and ventilation. Front yards were limited to usage for a spill over of daily activity, while rear yards were used as service areas, individual wells being located here. Due to the lack of external spaces, the yards tended to be used for purely functional purposes. This necessitated the use of internal spaces for some amount of social activity. Social functions remaining the same across communities, preparations for ceremonies and rituals were conducted in the built form.

In plan type 1B (Fig. 6.21), the paucity of space in the front and rear yards as well as within the built form, necessitated the use of the central cluster level chowk, plan type 1C (Fig. 6.22), for family celebrations and community level festivities. One of the reasons the central chowk could be used by all, was the non-segregation of men and women in the lower strata of society. Here demarcation of male and female areas was not rigid because of less area available.

In such wada clusters, the village chowks were used as gathering places for the women of the cluster, for daily chores, marriage preparation and other ceremonies. These village chowks were used by the men folk for gossiping, playing cards and gambling. The chowks were also used as weekly bazaars.
These multi-purpose spaces were dominated in the centre by a huge tree, which gradually formed the centre of the village itself. Around this tree was built a low platform or paar (Fig. 6.33). This facilitated the conglomeration of people for religious congregation and an open air sit out.3

Following are examples of Paar in Kalyan in the Konkan region:

Dutt Paar, Kalyan

A paar is a low platform built below a tree. Traditionally an umber tree is planted in front of a Dutt Deol. However this paar has a banyan tree located in front of the Dutt Deol. Until 1907 AD there was a practice of sacrificing an ox on Dusshera day at the paar.4 Jyestha poornima,5 and Vata poornima6 are celebrated by women at the banyan tree.

There was an open ground in front of Subedar Wada and the paar was located in the north axis.

The stone plinth around a banyan tree is in axis with the Dutt temple. It is a place for religious congregation and an open air sit out.7

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3. The above observations based on physical survey
4. Hindu festival of vanquishing Ravan or evil celebrated in the month of October
5. Full moon night in the month of May
6. Full moon celebrated by women around the banyan tree

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*Fig. 6.33: Dutt Paar, Kalyan.*

*Photograph courtesy: Sanjay Udamale, Architects, Conserving Urban Heritage of Kalyan*
2. **Built form:** the built form was the extension beyond the *sopa*. Here spaces were defined.

Public spaces around the first courtyard were defined – there were offices, and public dealing areas, with fixed uses.

The women's domain around the second courtyard had the *deoghar*, kitchen, and dining areas, as well as a labour room for the birth of a child. These areas too were defined.

The floor above had the living quarters of family members which were allocated to each member. Spaces were designated and defined.

Daily and annual festivals and rituals were performed by women. Women were obsessed with these rituals since there was no other form of entertainment.

### 6.9 Ceremonies, Rituals and Daily Living

#### Daily Informal Rituals Performed Exclusively by the Women

Daily chores like needlework, cutting vegetables, making sweets, pickles and snacks, were jobs that were performed by the women, in the inner courtyard. Though some of these tasks could be done individually, they were made into community activities, to make work light and more enjoyable. These joint efforts took on importance, as women in large *wadas* were restricted to certain areas of the *wada*, rarely venturing outside.

#### Daily Formal Rituals Performed Exclusively by Women

Daily *pooja of tulsi vrindavan:* The *tulsi* plant signified the transplantation of the bride from her parents' home to the new home of
her husband, especially since the era saw the practice of child brides being married. Nurturing and worshipping this sacred plant was said to bring auspiciousness to the lives of the women of the wada and prosperity for their husbands, on the war front, in another town or in the wada itself.

**Daily pooja in the deoghar:** The deoghar, offsetting the women's inner courtyard, housed the family deity and other idols of daily worship, together with ritual objects and accessories. The women conducted a daily pooja here, to honour God and pay homage to ancestors.

**Festival-related Rituals Performed Chiefly by Women**

Festivals like holi, diwali, kojagiri were celebrated in the women's courtyard. Rangoli designs, or patterns made of rice flour paste, were drawn on the floor, symbolising auspiciousness. These patterns varied with the occasion. For instance, for Diwali, foot prints depicting the entry of goddess Laxmi (goddess of wealth) were made, along with geometric or floral patterns.

**Vat Poornima:** Women would gather around the vat (banyan tree) on this full moon day and do pooja for the longevity of their husbands. A sacred thread was tied around the tree and the tree was worshipped.

**Rituals Associated with the Cycle of Life**

Preparations and rituals concerning birth, barse (naming ceremonies), upanyana or munj (thread ceremonies of male children), weddings, and

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9 Hindu festival of colours celebrated in March, signifying the beginning of spring
10 Hindu festival of lights celebrated in the month of October and November
11 Festival celebrated on a full moon day during the month of Ashwin it was believed that on this night, the moon shone, is the brightest in the whole year. Kheer (rice pudding) was cooked and left in the moonlight. It was eaten to purify the system. Ashwin is the 10 or 11 month of the year in the English calendar.
12 Orally conveyed by Padma Raje, who has participated in this rituals
deaths were all given great importance. The women's courtyard hosted most of the activities associated with these, and the older women took important decisions for ceremonies and their preparations. There were two kinds of ceremonies, one in which only the women participated like birth of a child, haldi kumkum (smearing turmeric and vermilion on the forehead), and the other, where both men and women participated like naming ceremony, thread ceremony, wedding celebrations.13

Major Events

Birth: Exclusively the prerogative of the women, the birth of the baby took place in the Balantinichi Kholi, where the dayi (mid-wife) conducted proceedings. Once the baby was born, the father was given a glimpse of the child from a narrow window, called the jawaiyachi khidki (literally meaning son-in-law window). The placenta was ritualistically buried in a clay pot in one of the outer courtyards or somewhere in the vicinity of the wada.14

Barse (naming ceremony): The twelfth-day ceremony of naming the child was a social celebration, where women neighbors, friends and kinswomen were invited to attend.15

Upanayana or munj (thread ceremony): Upanayana literally means leaning to the acharya (teacher) for instruction. This ritualistic ceremony involved investing a Brahmin batu (boy) with the yajnopavita (sacred thread), signifying his readiness for learning. Friends and relatives, both male and female were invited for the ceremony. A mandapa was erected

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13 Bombay State Gazetteer, Poona District, p. 84 – p. 95 of volume 20
14 ibid. p. 84 – p. 95 of volume 20
15 ibid. p. 84 – p. 95 of volume 20
for the ceremony in front of the house. The boy’s father played an important role.16

**Marriage:** Marriage consisted of a series of ceremonies, and preparations that began months ahead. It is said that when Bala Purandare of Pune got married, the girl’s people came from Hyderabad a year and a half ahead, to make preparations. Most of the celebrations took place in the girl’s house.

A *mandapa* or a decorated booth was erected in the courtyard of the bride’s house. Women neighbours, friends and kinswomen were invited to attend these ceremonies and to sing and dance in celebration – specific songs for specific functions. In the Phadnis *Wada* at Menavli, there was even a separate entrance for ladies, which facilitated the intermingling of women of different *wadas*. The *vivaha* (wedding ceremony) and the *saptapadi* (seven steps) were conducted in the *mandapa*. It was only after; these ceremonies held in the bride’s home that she departed to her husband’s new home.

With the help of fellow women friends and relatives, the ladies of the *wada* would make sweet meats, *papad, sangde*, always taking care to begin baking on a lucky day. Grain and pulse grinding also began on an auspicious day, when five handfuls of rice were ground by five married women. Wheat and *urad* pulse were also ground. All this was done amidst singing of songs in the courtyard. The *sopa* extending from this courtyard had a swing, which was the size of a bed and was used by the women to swing as they performed ceremonial chores. 17

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16 Bombay State Gazetteer, Poona District, p. 84 – p. 95 of volume 20
17 ibid, p. 84 – p. 95 of volume 20
Entertainment

The first courtyard, which was a public space and the area for social interaction amongst the men, was also used as an entertainment area for song and dance performances. The men sat in the sopa, or the covered pillared portico, from where they could appreciate and applaud the performers. In the rajwadas of Bhor and Satara, the sopa extended into the courtyard and formed a mandapa or diwankhana, which was a pillared hall. Here performances took place, the visual spectacle enhanced by the presence of one or many fawwaras (fountains). The mandapa was similar in structure to that of the temple mandapa, as a place for congregation (Figs. 3.35, 3.36).

The women of the wada did not directly view these performances but saw them through jallis (screens) or viewing galleries on the upper floor. The larger wadas had the rangmahal, which was part of upper floor. The rangmahal was a hall fashioned specially for religious ceremonies, festivals and family functions. Staircases led up to it when it was on the first floor. It consisted of a rectangular hall with a mihrab (window) in the centre of the width of the hall. With wooden ceilings covered in floral or geometric patterns, fluted columns, cusped arches, and walls that were adorned with motifs and paintings, the rangmahal was the most ornamental part of the house. Paintings portrayed divinities and episodes from the epics and puranas. In a richly decorated rangmahal, there would be fanoos (chandelier) of coloured glass with oil lamps, and shamadans (floor lamps).18

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18 Manda Khandge. Vaibhav Peshwekalin Wadyanche, January 2002
6.10 Formal Analysis

Factors responsible for determining form are material and construction technique and time and period of history of which style is inherent.

Topography whether hilly, plain or coastal, suggested material availability therefore creating variables within the region availability of laterite stone in Konkan and basalt in other regions.

Climatological variations across Maharashtra led to variables in form, such as the flat roof in low rainfall areas like Aurangabad in Marathwada, (Refer Table 3, Fig. 5.19), sloping roofs in other regions where there was moderate to heavy rainfall as in Desh (Refer Table 3, Fig. 5.81) and steep sloping roofs in Konkan (Refer Table 3, Fig. 5.11), where rainfall is heavy.

Social factors of caste and occupation, also contributed to variables in form. The rich ornamental facades of the trading community and plainer facades of Brahmin Wadas (Refer Table 3, Fig. 5.98) and Kshatriya Wadas (Refer Table 3, Fig. 5.90).

6.11 Garhis, Rajwadas and other Wadas

For classification details refer Chapter 5, Social classification, Table 4.

In garhis, the outer enclosure of ramparts and bastions was made of blocks of laterite with the parapet courses in brick. Circular or octagonal bastions flanked the main entrance or were at the corners. These ramparts made an impervious wall for the wada within. Shaniwar Wada, in Pune and Purandhare Wada in Saswad, both had octagonal bastions flanking the main entrance. Purandhare Wada in Modwa and Holkar Wada in
Vafgaon had circular bastions at the corners (Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.3 Figs. 8.32, 8.33, Section 8.5, Fig. 8.58).

Patterns of embrasures in brickwork for guns and small openings in the stone ramparts relieved the austere facade. These openings in the ramparts were meant to pour oil from. Oil made the surface slippery and prevented enemy from climbing up. These openings were observed in Purandhare Wada, Modva (Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.5, Fig. 8.58) and in Purandhare Wada, Saswad (Refer Table 4, Fig. 5.140).

Rajwadas: There was an absence of the external ramparts and bastions as in the Bhor and Satara Rajwadas. The structural grid was exposed, with punctures in the bays of the grid visible. The openings in the bays were either plain or ornamental. The entrance was enhanced, with the nagarkhana highlighting it. Here too facades were in stone and brick (Figs. 6.42 – 6.45).

Ordinary wada facades comprised the street facades with each individual wada elevation forming continuity with the one adjoining. Each wada was an expression of the wada owner and together these facades, which were narrow in width with the height which was three-times the width, forming individual vertical strips varying in height (Fig. 6.37) (Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.2, Fig. 8.13).

![Fig. 6.37: Individual wada elevations forming street façade](image-url)
In the rajwada, the external elevation had a central entrance with equal structural bays on either side without ramparts and bastions (Fig. 6.42).

6.14 Rituals and Symbolism Attached to the Entrance

Rangoli or patterns made with rice flower paste were drawn at the entrance. These were sprinkled with coloured powder, turmeric and vermilion. Foot prints of goddess Laxmi, the goddess of wealth, were made facing the entrance, symbolizing wealth coming into the wada (Fig. 6.52). Niches on either side of the entrance had burning oil lamps.

Along the Ganesh patti or the lintel with lord of auspiciousness engraved, was tied a garland of marigold flowers and mango leaves.

The significance of the umbartha or threshold was that during weddings, the new bride entering the husband's home was made to push a karha or pot of water placed on a mound of rice with her right foot. She then dipped her feet in vermilion water and took her first steps into her new home. Her footsteps symbolized goddess Laxmi's footsteps.
Chapter 7 explains construction methodologies in the state with variables across regions.
Wooden rafters were inserted inside the wall to prevent vertical cracks. With the passage of time these rafters rotted and the wall gave way.

Kiln burnt bricks were used and they measured 10 inches × 6 inches × 2 inches, 10 inches × 8 inches × 2 inches, 7½ inches × 5 inches × 1½ inches. Moulded bricks were made for corner junctions. Decorative bricks were used for relief work. The Purandhare Wada at Saswad and the wadas at Paithan are examples where decorative bricks have been used (Refer Chapter 5, Table 4, Fig. 5.140).

Bamboo frames were used as a base for plaster. The houses of the poor were built walls with bamboo framework and covered with mud or cow dung.

There was no great revolution in the planning of houses and mansions. Plans around open quadrangles as well as the trabeated system of construction existed in India since very early times. Durbar halls, rangmahals, chitra mandirs existed in the palaces of ancient India.

The same systems of construction traversed from the early Maratha period through the period of the Peshwas. The use of the arch was limited to the minimum. The shape of the arches seen in the earlier phase resembles those of Bijapur style while the cusped arches of the later phase belong to the North.

The method of construction was trabeated with no arches used in the early phase. A timber framework of pillars, brackets and beams was used. Brick walls were used as partition walls and strengthened the framework. Walls as thick as two and three feet were non-load bearing. It was the timber framework that took the entire structural load. Even the thick walls had horizontal wooden rafters to prevent the spread of cracks.
**Ordinary wadas:** The structural grid was organized within the long narrow plot area leaving front and rear yards (Refer Table 3, *Fig. 5.106*).

It has been observed that multiples of the structural grid within the architectural plan had been responsible for a sociological typology. Regional variations depended upon topography and climate.
The *Wada* of Maharashtra,
an Indian Courtyard
House Form

*Volume II*

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Chapter 8 describes representative examples from the typological classification. Regional classification indicates *wada* types in different regions of the state. It was observed that variables did not occur across regions in terms of material or plan type but a social classification, indicating plan type exists in every region.

The illustrative examples give an insight into spaces and architectural styles of individual *wadas*, and allow a comparative analysis of spaces and architectural styles.
Representative Examples

The examples chosen represent region, typology or in many cases identifying characteristics peculiar to this house form – the wada.

Most wadas described in detail are those that are not documented earlier. Examples are chosen from across the traditional regions of Maharashtra. They demonstrate generalities in plan type and peculiarities specific to the particular wada.

The wadas discussed demonstrate the typologies proposed in this thesis. They are chosen from across the geographical expanse of the state of Maharashtra. The examples illustrate the typology based upon societal stratification: the Garhi, Rajwada, Nobleman’s Wada, Ordinary Wada, Temple Wada, Ghat Wada Temple Complex and Muslim Wada. Societal stratification occurred in all regions, although the garhi and rajwada types are not found in Konkan or Khandesh. Reasons for their absence in these regions are explained in Chapter 2, Section 2.1 and Chapter 5, Section 5.2.

Garhis are represented by Shaniwar Wada, Holkar Wadas at Vafgaon and Chandwad, Purandhare Wada, Kadam Wada, Mahadji Shinde Wada. Rajwadas are represented by Bhor Rajwada, Satara Rajwada Vishrambagh Wada. Nobleman’s Wadas are represented by Mohite Wada and Datar Wada. Examples of Ordinary Wadas are found in Joshi Wada,
Patil Wada. Muslim Wadas are represented by Fangari House and Tanki Palace.

The Ghat Wada Temple Complex is represented by the Menavli Wada which also falls in the category of Nobleman’s Wada. The Goshale Raste Wada is a typical wada which was built as a shelter for cows. Temple Wadas are represented by Tulsibagh Wada.

Plans have been tabulated according to Regional or Geographical Classification in Table 3, under the region in which they belong and Sociological Classification in Table 4 or Table 5, under the sociological structure in which they existed. For example Vishrambagh Wada, can be located in Desh region in Regional Classification Table 3 and under Rajwada in Sociological Classification Table 4.

Styles which influenced the wadas of Maharashtra are primarily the Delhi style, sometimes called Rajasthan or Islamic style and the Gujarat style, also known as the Hindu style. The Delhi style came into Maharashtra through Malwa in Rajasthan and the Gujarat style entered Maharashtra through Khandesh which bordered Gujarat. The new style which emerged can be termed the Maratha style (Refer Chapter 6, Section 6.18).

Following are the Representative Examples:

8.1. Shaniwar Wada, Pune.......................... Figs. 8.1 – 8.9
8.2. Holkar Wada, Chandwad ...................... Figs. 8.10 – 8.27
8.3. Holkar Wada, Vafgaon ......................... Figs. 8.28 – 8.47
8.4. Jadhav Rao Garhi, Saswad ................... Figs. 8.48 – 8.57
8.5. Purandhare Wada, Modva ..................... Figs. 8.58 – 8.69
8.6. Kadam Wada, Sap ................................ Figs. 8.70 – 8.84
8.7. Mahadji Shinde Wada, Srigonda .......... Figs. 8.85 – 8.95
8.8. Rajwada, Bhor ..................................................... Figs. 8.96–8.109
8.9. Rajwada, Satara ..................................................... Figs. 8.110–8.119
8.10. Vishrambagh Wada, Pune ........................................ Figs. 8.120–8.126
8.11. Senapati Mohite Wada, Rajewadi ............................ Figs. 8.127–8.34
8.12. Nana Wada, Pune ..................................................... Figs. 8.135–8.137
8.15. Patil Wada, Paithan ..................................................... Figs. 8.152–8.64
8.16. Menavli Wada, Wai ..................................................... Figs. 8.165–8.182
8.17. Tulsibagh Wada, Pune ..................................................... Figs. 8.183–8.190
8.18. Fangari House, Kalyan ............................................. Fig. 8.191
8.19. Tanki Palace, Kalyan ............................................. Fig. 8.192
8.20. Goshale Raste Wada, Wai ................................. Figs. 8.193–8.205
8.1 Shaniwar Wada, Pune

Regional Classification: Table 3, Desh, *Fig. 5.3*

Sociological Classification: Table 4, Typology: Garhi, *Fig. 5.127*

Pune, originally built: c.1736, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh

The Shaniwar *Wada* represents the *garhi* in all its glory, although only the ramparts and bastions exist, the plinth within suggests the kind of structures that may have existed. The Shaniwar *Wada* marks the initiation of Peshwa rule in Pune and is a landmark in the city of Pune. Refer Town plan *Fig 3.8*, Appendix B.

This magnificent *garhi* was built by Peshwa Bajirao in 1736 AD in an area of five acres and is the focus of the city of Pune (*Fig. 8.3*). The massive stone ramparts with circular and octagonal bastions make an imposing outer façade (*Fig. 8.1*). Intact exterior ramparts built in stone, the *wada* inside have been devastated by fire. Only the plinths of the *wada* have survived (*Fig. 8.2*).

In the present state of its architectural preservation, this palace is remarkable mainly for the striking proportions of its ramparts, the heavy bulk of its bastions, the imposing design and height of the main gateway with the *nagarkhana* at the top. The foundation plinths of the central block with court halls and residential apartments and a number of well designed masonry fountains, cisterns and lawns suggest well proportioned structures.

The main entrance doorway, strengthened with iron spikes is flanked by octagonal stone bastions (*Fig. 8.4*). The entrance is an ogee arch of the Bijapur period (1489 AD – 1686 AD). Above the entrance is the
nagarkhana or the hall of music. This is an arched pavilion where musicians played (Fig. 8.9). In the wadas built later and which were smaller this feature remained, and evolved as a scaled down version over the main entrance.

The rampart has nine bastions and five gateways, built of brick masonry on stone foundations. This wall and bastions are twenty feet in height. Of the nine bastions, four are on the four corners of the enclosure and these are circular, the two bastions flanking the main gateway are octagonal and are constructed of black trap stone. Within the enclosure walls are small cells for guards on the southern and western sides (Fig. 8.6). There are eight staircases leading to the top of the enclosure wall. The main gateway opens in the centre of the north façade and since it faces Delhi, it is called Dilli darwaza (Fig. 8.5). The opening in this is the dindi darwaza. The smaller entrance on the same side was the Mastani darwaza or Ali Bahadur darwaza. Besides these entrances there were three others, but of all the entrances, the most imposing was the Dilli Darwaza. The outer surface of the thick wooden door is heavily spiked over most of its surface. This prevented enemy onslaught on horseback or elephant back. It is said to be modelled on the main gateway of Indraprastha, the famous Hindu fort in ancient Delhi. If the enemy succeeded in opening the huge spiked door which had a 4 inch square wooden section, of length 10 feet as a lock from within, a heavy wooden overhead platform, suspended on pulleys from the ceiling was allowed to drop on the invading enemy, thus crushing several and hampering the entry of others (Figs. 8.4, 8.5).

A two courtyard wada, the first courtyard, a public one, had the offices of the Peshwas offsetting it whereas the second courtyard was surrounded
by private apartments. The oblong apartment separating the two courtyards was a hall called the *majghar* (Refer Table 3, plan *Fig.5.4*).

Within this was a complex of temples, palaces and gardens with fourteen water bodies. All this was in an area of two hectares in the heart of Pune city. The plinth shows a large number of rooms attached rather haphazardly around the main *wada*. Also seen on the eastern side are the remains of a large hall which was known as *Ganesh rang mahal*.

The external fort walls are 33 feet in height, the lower portion ranging from 10 to 18 feet is in dressed stone and the upper part is in brick. The bastions were eighteen feet in height. The top of the wall is eleven feet in width and the base even wider. The entrance was flanked by octagonal bastions and had the *nagarkhana* at the base of the parapet wall. This was an open cusped arch pavilion and rose in height over the bastions. Staircases rose from within the walls and reached the bastion parapets.

The Shaniwar *Wada* was declared as a focus monument for the years 1997 AD – 1998 AD. In March 1991 AD the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH), a nation wide NGO concerned with heritage, prepared and handed over a comprehensive and co-ordinated action plan for Shaniwar *Wada* and its surrounding areas. The Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), The Maharashtra Tourism and Development Corporation (MTDC) and the Pune Municipal Corporation (PMC), Non Government Finance Institutions, Corporate Houses and Industrialists were identified for aiding the project. Pune based conservation architects – KIMAYA were responsible for preparation of the perspective plan, commissioned by INTACH (New Delhi). A twenty year time period and a project cost of 20 million Rupees were envisaged.
Fig. 8.3: Shaniwar Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1736, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, front view from nagarkhana
Fig. 8.4: Shaniwar Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1736, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, entrance gateway with dindi darwaza
Fig. 8.5: Shaniwar Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1736, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, entrance gateway with dindi darwaza and spikes
Fig. 8.6: Shaniwar Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1736, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, dindi darwaza seen from within the main entrance
Fig. 8.7: Shaniwar Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1736, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, entrance gateway viewed from within rampart

Fig. 8.8: Shaniwar Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1736, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, rampart and bastion detail
Fig. 8, 9: Shaniwar Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1736. Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, nagarkhana
Fig. 8.10: Holkar Wada, originally built c. 1760, Chandwad, Tah. of Chandwad, Dist: Nasik, Regency: Desh, front elevation
8.2 Holkar Wada, Chandwad

Regional Classification: Table 3, Desh, Fig. 5.25

Sociological Classification: Table 4, Typology: Garhi, Fig. 5.129

Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760 AD, Chandwad, Taluka: Chandwad, Zilla: Nasik, Region: Desh

This garhi represents the Hindu style of ornamentation, which is profuse and not found in any other garhi to this level of exuberance. Along with the Hindu style, elements of the Delhi or Islamic style, represented by the arched canopies are seen to coexist here. The reason for this exuberance was the accumulation of wealth by the Holkars in the later Peshwa period who were also at the peak of their power, thus making this garhi a symbol of their power and wealth.

Built by the Holkars in Chandwad near Nasik in 1760 AD, this fort wada like the Holkar Wada in Vafgaon forms the nucleus of the town (Fig. 8.10). Around this fortified isolated wada, the town grew with streets leading to the garhi. The wadas of the sainiks or warriors existed immediately outside the ramparts of the garhi. These wadas lined the streets and formed the street façade. All these had narrow frontages and were deep plots with common walls and elevated otlas as a transition from the street to the interior (Figs. 8.12, 8.13).

The external ramparts and bastions with the entrance gateway are in stone but the entrance is more ornate than Vafgaon (Fig. 8.10).

The wada within is a large structure with two courtyards (Fig. 8.15). The main entrance faces north. The entrance to the first courtyard is through a
passage along the *rangmahal*. The *rangmahal* is a double height space with fluted columns in pairs supporting single cusped arches (*Fig. 8.23*).

Walls have alcoves which are miniature versions of the fluted column and Peshwai arch module- these areaedicules or scaled down versions of the larger module.

The first internal courtyard measures approximately 50 feet × 50 feet and around this were the offices or *kacheris* (*Figs. 8.16, 8.17*). This was the main and the public courtyard (Refer Table3, plan *Fig. 5.26*). Beams, brackets, beam heads which formed part of the covered colonnade surrounded the courtyard and were profusely carved (*Fig. 8.18*). There was an absence of the fluted columns and cusped arches. Here the deep wood carvings on beams, brackets and beam heads, found in Gujarat and typical of the Hindu style are observed. This distinct style of carving came to this region from Gujarat via Khandesh.

The structure is ground plus two storeys and from the first courtyard an elevated structure over the second storey is observed. This curvilinear roof, similar in form to the *meghdambari* accentuates the elevation from within the first courtyard and acts as a viewing balcony or *jharokha* (*Fig. 8.16*). The coexistence of this curvilinear form, an adaptation of the Islamic style along with the deep carved beams and brackets of the Hindu style is the Maratha style of architecture. Refer Chapter 6, Section 6.18.

The second courtyard had private rooms and the kitchen abutting it. Here too beams, brackets and beam heads were carved but there was a clear distinction between the exuberance of carving in the two courtyards (*Fig. 8.19*). The second courtyard did not have carving as ornamental as in the first courtyard. A stone *tulsi vrindavan* is found in this courtyard
(Fig. 8.20). This area was typically the area dominated by women’s activities.

The south façade or the rear façade has a very interesting asymmetrical play of perforations on it. Arches in relief on some openings, neither repetitive nor symmetrical are seen on it (Fig. 8.21).

Cow pens and horse stables are to be found in the rear of the wada as independent structures. This area contributed to the service area of the courtyard.

The step well within the ramparts of the wada stored and supplied water to the entire town (Figs. 8.24, 8.27). Images in relief are found on the stone wall (Figs. 8.25, 8.26).

This wada now houses state government offices in the area which was once assigned to the kacheri. The second courtyard is almost unused.

There is a coexistence of the Delhi (also called Islamic or Rajasthani) style and Gujarati (also called Hindu) style of architectural elements in this garhi. The Delhi style is evident in the pairs of fluted columns supporting foliated arches as is in the case of the rangmahal as well as in the curvilinear roof over the balcony or jharokha. The Gujarati style is evident in the deep carvings on the beams, brackets and beam heads where there is a noticeable absence of the cusped arch.

It was during this period that both the styles were existing, the Delhi style found in the North which is Delhi and Rajasthan and the Gujarati style, prevalent in Gujarat. Both styles found a route into Maharashtra, the Delhi style through Malwa, and the Gujarati style through Khandesh which borders Gujarat.
**Fig. 8.11:** Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad, *Taluka:* Chandwad, *Zilla:* Nasik, Region: Desh, *gateway of town wall*

**Fig. 8.12:** Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad, *Taluka:* Chandwad, *Zilla:* Nasik, Region: Desh, *wadas abutting street around fort*
Fig. 8.13: Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad, Taluka: Chandwad, Zilla: Nasik, Region: Desh, street façades around fort
**Fig. 8.14:** Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad, Taluka: Chandwad, Zilla: Nasik, Region: Desh, elevation first internal courtyard

**Fig. 8.15:** Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad, Taluka: Chandwad, Zilla: Nasik, Region: Desh, wada within rampart wall
Fig. 8.17: Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad, Taluka: Chandwad, Zilla: Nasik, Region: Deash, elevation of first internal courtyard
Fig. 8.18: Holkar Wada, originally built: c. 1760, Chandwad, Taluka: Chandwad, Zilla: Nasik, Region: Desh, bracket and beam detail
Fig. 8.20: Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad, Taluka: Chandwad, Zilla: Nasik, Region: Desh, tulsi vrindavan in second internal private courtyard
Fig. 8.21: Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad, Taluka: Chandwad, Zilla: Nasik, Region: Desh, rear elevation showing composition of openings

Fig. 8.22: Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad, Taluka: Chandwad, Zilla: Nasik, Region: Desh, wooden ceiling showing main beams and cross beams
Fig. 8.23: Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad, Tatuka: Chandwad, Zilla: Nasik, Region: Desh, view of rang mahal with double height arches supported on paired columns
Fig. 8.24: Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad, Taluka: Chandwad, Zilla: Nasik, Region: Desh, steps leading to water tank in the rear.
Fig. 8.25: Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad, Taluka: Chandwad, Zilla: Nasik, Region: Desh, relief on wall of stepwell
Fig. 8.26: Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad, Taluka: Chandwad, Zilla: Nasik, Region: Desh, wall of stepwell

Fig. 8.27: Holkar Wada, originally built: c.1760, Chandwad, Taluka: Chandwad, Zilla: Nasik, Region: Desh, stepwell arch
8.3 Holkar *Wada*, Vafgaon

**Regional Classification:** Table 3, Desh, *Fig. 5.14*

**Sociological Classification:** Table 4, Typology: *Garhi, Fig. 5.128*


Vafgaon is located to the north-east of Pune, at a distance of approximately 40 kilometers. Today it is a small village and was the original home of the Holkar family – the erstwhile princes of Indore in Madhya Pradesh. Malhar Rao, was one of the assistants or colleagues to achieve prominence in the courts of the second Peshwa Bajirao Balaji (1720 AD – 1740 AD). It was with the encouragement of Bajirao that Malhar Rao made forays in the Malwa region, established himself first at Ujjain and later on at Indore. Local legend claims that the *garhi* and the *wada* within were built in 1725 AD; however, the more probable date of the construction is around 1775 AD. In 1725 AD, Malhar Rao was a lieutenant of Bajirao and had not acquired the wealth and power which would have enabled him to erect several mansions, *garhis*, the most prominent among them being Vafgaon and Chandwad.

Deprived of the princely patronage, the village today has been reduced to its original condition of poverty and neglect and the Holkar *garhi* and *wada* have been donated to an educational institution which is not in a financial position to maintain it. Parts of the entire enclosure and the mansion within are compartmentalized and locked up—perhaps forever. This made a thorough survey impossible; however the main countours of the plan could be made out. This is a clear indication that as long as the nobles who erected these *garhis* and *wadas* had the power to patronise,
that these structures survived in all their glory. Once the princely estates were abandoned, these structures were left on their own, to their destinies.

The village in or near which the garhi is located has two clearly distinguished parts one a fairly well ordered and the other a cluster of houses and huts located at any spot found vacant or convenient to the owners. The ordered part is located to the north of the Garhi. The streets are straight and cross each other at right angles. On either side are houses wherein different castes and professions are located. Same houses like those of gold-smiths have a higher plinth and more open space in front (Figs. 8.30, 8.31). All these professions converged here, after the Holkars erected their mansion, or more probably they were invited by them. Today very few of the original professions or practitioners of those professions remain, since princely patronage is absent and these people have migrated to cities like Pune to make a living.

This garhi built by the Holkars is indicative of the nature of location of these structures in isolated or remote areas of Maharashtra, suggesting the independent land holdings that were gifted to noblemen as a reward for serving in the courts of the Peshwas. These nobles became jagirdars or feudal lords of these jagirs or land holdings. These garhis dotted western Maharashtra becoming the nucleus of the towns in which they were built.

The Holkar Wada is spread over \( \frac{3}{4} \) km \( \times \) \( \frac{1}{2} \) km. It has two ramparts, one within the other. The external rampart is in brick and stone and has nine semi-circular bastions. The main entrance is an arched opening facing north with bastions on either sides (Figs. 8.32, 8.33).

The external ramparts with bastions on either side of the main entrance were built in stone while the parapet is in brick, and the second protective
wall within is in brick. The ramparts do not have crenellations. The parapet of the rampart is in brick while the base is in stone. This is one of the few wadas with a double protective wall.

Nearly a third of the wada has been artificially raised - it occupies the entire southern part and is outside the residential mansion. A third of the raised area in the south east corner is today bare; however the rest of the area is enclosed by an arcaded wall with balconies on three sides looking inwards. This feature has not been observed in any other garhi. The rampart within contains the residential mansion, the entrance of which faces east (Fig. 8.28).

The first courtyard was surrounded by pillared cloisters around which rooms and halls were situated (Fig. 8.36). The rangmahal had a series of pairs of fluted columns with a double foliated arch (Figs. 8.44, 8.45). The extensive use of cypress pillars along with cusped arches reflect northern architectural influences what the Nasik gazetteer terms the ‘Delhi Style’.

Relief on walls of the rangmahal were composed of smaller versions of the arches and columns. These were aedicules (Fig. 8.47).

The second courtyard was at a different level and much larger in size as compared to the first one (Refer Table, plan Fig. 5.15). This had arcaded verandahs on two floors which appeared like viewing galleries. The lower floor had cusped arches, while the upper floor had plain arches. The courtyard seemed to have been used as a parade ground or for some large performances (Figs. 8.37–8.40).

The third courtyard too was large but was not surrounded by arcaded verandahs. It had a water tank and a gateway kind of a structure with decorative arches in relief on the upper floor (Fig. 8.35). The structure
around the courtyard is two storeyed. The facades are interesting with crenellations on all internal walls. Openings in walls create patterns on the façade and arches over openings in relief contribute to patterns on the wall. These arches in relief appear like a precursor to the arched balconies also known as meghdambari seen in many wadas with projecting arched balconies. Nana Wada (Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.12) and Vishrambagh Wada (Refer Chapter 8, Section 8.10) in Pune have these arched balconies.

The fourth courtyard was a large expanse with plain structures which were used as stables or servants units. This was the service court. From here was an approach to the underground step well which stored and supplied water to the entire village (Fig. 8.46).

The very noticeable feature of the second, third and fourth courtyards were the vast expanse of open space, not observed anywhere else.

The interior of the rangmahal is double height with overlooking balconies. Fluted columns in this double height space are in pairs supporting Peshwai arches (Fig. 8.44).

Walls have alcoves which are miniature versions of the fluted column and Peshwai arch module - these are aedicules or scaled down versions of the larger module (Fig. 8.47).

This wada is now used as a school run by Rayat Shikshan Sanstha at Satara, with residential facilities for boys.
Fig. 8.29: Holkar Wada, Vafgaon, originally built: c.1725, Rajgurunagar, taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, village rampart and gateway
Fig. 8.30: Holkar Wada, Vaifgaon, originally built: c.1725, Rajgurunagar, taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, village street

Fig. 8.31: Holkar Wada, Vaifgaon, originally built: c.1725, Rajgurunagar, taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, village street
Fig. 8.32: Holkar Wada, Vaigaon, originally built: c.1725, Rajgurunagar, taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, bastion in external rampart

Fig. 8.33: Holkar Wada, Vaigaon, originally built: c.1725, Rajgurunagar, taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, entrance gateway in external rampart

Fig. 8.34: Holkar Wada, Vaigaon, originally built: c.1725, Rajgurunagar, taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, Temple outside village rampart
Fig. 8.35: Holkar Wada, Vafgaon, originally built: c.1725, Taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, courtyard

Fig. 8.36: Holkar Wada, Vafgaon, originally built: c.1725, Taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, view of the inner court
Fig. 8.37: Holkar Wada, Vaigaon, originally built: c.1725, Rajgurunagar, taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, durbar courtyard

Fig. 8.38: Holkar Wada, Vaigaon, originally built: c.1725, Rajgurunagar, taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, durbar courtyard
Fig. 8.39: Holkar Wada, Vafgaon, originally built: c.1725, Taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, inner courtyard

Fig. 8.40: Holkar Wada, Vafgaon, originally built: c.1725, Taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, durbar courtyard
Fig. 8.41: Holkar Wada, Vafgaon, originally built: c.1725, Rajgurunagar, taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, residential palace, inner courtyard
Fig. 8.42: Holkar Wada, Vaigaon, originally built: c.1725, Rajgurunagar, taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, rangmahal first floor

Fig. 8.43: Holkar Wada, Vaigaon, originally built: c.1725, Rajgurunagar, taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, rangmahal first floor
Fig. 8.44: Holkar Wada, Vafgaon, originally built: c.1725, Rajgurunagar, taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, column detail
Fig. 8.45: Holkar Wada. Vafgaon, originally built: c.1725, Rajgurunagar, taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, rangmahal
Fig. 8.46: Holkar Wada, Vaigaon, originally built: c.1725, Rajgurunagar, taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, stepwell

Fig. 8.47: Holkar Wada, Vaigaon, originally built: c.1725, Rajgurunagar, taluka: Khed, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, adicules details
Fig. 4.49: Jadhav Rao Garhi, Purandhar, originally built c. 1600. Taluka: Purandhar, District Pune, Region: Deccan, Front elevation.
8.4 Jadhav Rao Garhi, Saswad

Regional Classification: Table 3, Desh, Fig 5.40

Sociological Classification: Table 4, Typology: Garhi, Fig 5.141

Purandhar, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Purandhar, zilla: Pune, Region: Desh

The Jadhav Rao Garhi was a garhi that stood isolated on a hilltop and could not go unnoticed on the way from Pune to Saswad. It represents the garhis that were built by nobles in the land holdings gifted to them in return for their services in the Peshwa courts. Although the village that once existed around it, did not grow because of a lack of water, the garhi stands indomitable, recreating life that may have existed years ago. The peculiarity of this garhi is that the courtyards are at different levels, taking advantage of the hill profile.

This garhi or Fort Wada originally built in 1700 AD in Purandhar near Pune stands isolated on a hilltop. It has ramparts with a noticeable absence of the bastions. Instead the corners have curved edges. Similar features are observed in the wadas at Srigonda and Paithan, where even the smaller wadas appeared like scaled down versions of garhis without bastions. The wada is approached by a wide flight of steps and has a formidable entrance (Fig. 8.48). The entrance doorway is spiked and is embedded within an ogee arch. This has a smaller entrance within called the dindi darwaza. Above the main entrance doorway is the nagarkhana or the drum tower (Fig. 8.49). This drum tower was in two storeys, the lower storey being a gate and the upper a chamber for musicians.
The external walls are in stone up to a height of twenty feet above which is a five feet band in brick. The entrance is similar to the entrance of Shaniwar Wada except that there is a conspicuous absence of bastions flanking the entrance. Here the corner junctions in stone and brick are rounded as is seen in the wadas of Srigonda and Paithan. There are no bastions in the ramparts.

Jadhav Rao Garhi is a four courtyard Fort Wada built by Jyotaji Ladoji Jadhav (Refer Table 3, plan Fig. 5.41). The courtyards are at different levels. The internal courtyard has a receptacle for the sacred basil plant known as the tulsi vrindavan (Fig. 8.56). A Ganesh temple built by Jyotaji Ladoji Jadhav stands outside the garhi ramparts (Fig. 8.50). Deep lotus bud carving on wooden brackets in the Gujarati style is seen in the block adjoining the courtyard (Fig. 8.55).

The Jadhav Rao Garhi was abandoned because of lack of water. The small village which grew around it also lacks water and is sparsely populated. Since the water table is not high wells have gone dry. Today one finds villagers who have not migrated, living there, and water is depended upon through water tankers which are brought from as far as Pune. This abandoned garhi is now used as a locale for period film shootings.
Fig. 8.50: Ganesha temple, Jadhav Rao Garhi, originally built: c.1600, Taluka: Purandhar, zilla: pune
Fig. 8.51: Jadhav Rao Garhi, originally built: c.1600, Taluka: Purandhar, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, entrance gateway into the goshala.

Fig. 8.52: Jadhav Rao Garhi, originally built: c.1600, Taluka: Purandhar, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, external layer of the built form connected to the core.
Fig. 8.53: JadHAV Rao Garhi, originally built: c.1600, Taluka: Purandhar, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, view of the sopa
Fig. 8.54: Jadhav Rao Garhi, originally built: c.1600, Taluka: Purandhar, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, view of sopa with wooden columns, beams and ceiling
Fig. 8.55: Jadhav Rao Ghar, originally built: c.1600, Taluka: Purandhar, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, wooden bracket detail

Fig. 8.56: Jadhav Rao Ghar, originally built: c.1600, Taluka: Purandhar, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, internal courtyard with tulsi vrindavan
Fig. 8.57: Jadhav Rao Garhi, originally built: c.1600. Taluka: Purandhar, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, doorway opening into servant’s units in the external layer
Figure 35: Purandhar Wada, Modha.

Originally built: c. 1700, Zilla, Pune.

Taluka: Banmali, Region: Deol.
8.5 Purandhare *Wada*, Modva

**Regional Classification:** Table 3, Desh, *Fig. 5.32*

**Sociological Classification:** Table 4, Typology: *Garhi, Fig. 5.130*


The Purandhare *Wada* exists in isolation in Modva. This is one of the two *garhis* of the Purandhare family which exist next to each other, although the other is ravaged by fire. Even the external ramparts have been damaged, the *wada* within is totally destroyed (*Fig. 8.59*).

The older generation of the Purandhare family continues to live in though the younger Purandhares have migrated to cities. Wells have dried up and the once fertile land remains barren now. This is one *garhi* which again represents the power of the nobles or *jagirdars* on the land holdings allotted to them. The reason for illustrating this example is that it connects to form a pattern of the *garhis* which existed in western Maharashtra.

This *wada* located in Modva is a fort *wada* with an imposing façade in stone and brick. The cylindrical bastions at the ends of the front façade are added onto the cuboids main structure (*Fig. 8.58*).

The base is in dressed stone with brickwork on the portion above. Brickwork has perforations and projecting bands, making the elevation look interesting. The perforations were used, to pour oil from. This made the façade slippery making it difficult or impossible for the enemy to attempt climbing into the *wada*. 

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The large gateway had a small doorway or the *dindi darwaza* within. The former was for elephants and horses and the latter for people to enter the *wada* (*Fig. 8.60*). The *wada* within is a two courtyard *wada* and is detached from the external wall. The *wada* is an unimposing structure in contrast to the fortified external wall (*Fig. 8.65*). The second courtyard had the *tulsi vrindavan* or the receptacle with the sacred basil plant (*Fig. 8.69*).

This *wada* is a trabeated structure of wooden beams and columns (*Fig. 8.66*). There is an absence of the foliated arches and fluted columns which were present in the *wadas* built later during the Peshwa period, when the *wadas* became fanciful and the arts received royal patronage.

The simplicity of this *wada*, a lack of ornamentation and only neat, clean straight lines make it stark and functional (*Fig. 8.62*). The *wada* continues to be lived in by the older generation of the Purandhares while the younger ones have moved to metropolitan cities of Pune and Mumbai and some have gone abroad for further studies and have settled there.

Migration to cities for sustenance became essential since there was no income from agriculture, as there was no water left in wells. The *wada* stands alone as testimony to the time gone by. The area around is barren with the hot dry sun making it impossible for any vegetation to grow.
Fig. 8.59: Purandhare Wada, Modwa, originally built: c. 1700, Taluka: Baramati, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, second garhi
Fig. 8.60: Purandhare *Wada*, Modwa, originally built: c.1700, *Taluka*: Baramati, *Zilla*: Pune, Region: Desh, entrance doorway

Fig. 8.61: Purandhare *Wada*, Modwa, originally built: c.1700, *Taluka*: Baramati, *Zilla*: Pune, Region: Desh, main courtyard
Fig. 8.62: Purandhare Wada, Modwa, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Baramati, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, built form overlooking the main courtyard

Fig. 8.63: Purandhare Wada, Modwa, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Baramati, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, main courtyard
Fig. 8.64: Purandhare Wada, Modwa, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Baramati, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, wada entrance

Fig. 8.65: Purandhare Wada, Modwa, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Baramati, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, wada within the ramparts
Fig. 8.66: Purandhare Wada, Modwa, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Baramati, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, wooden beam and column structure
Fig. 8.67: Purandhara Wada, Modwa, originally built c.1700, Taluka: Baramati, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, detail of structure
Fig. 8.68: Purandhare Wada, Modwa, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Baramati, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, interior

Fig. 8.69: Purandhare Wada, Modwa, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Baramati, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, **tulsi vrindavan** in the second courtyard
8.6 Kadam Wada, Sap

Regional Classification: Table 3, Desh, Fig. 5.54

Sociological Classification: Table 4, Typology: Garhi, Fig. 5.143

Sap, originally built c.1700, Taluka: Mulgaon, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh,

The Kadam Wada is an illustrative example of the garhi typology. This wada had never been noticed earlier since it is off the route from Pune to Satara. A road leading to the small village of Rahimatpur in Mulgaon led on to this vast garhi, establishing a link in the garhis documented. The stark façade of the ramparts and bastions complimented this expanse of land on which nothing else was present.

This fort wada has bastions on either side of the double storied entrance with a truncated pyramidal roof over the nagarkhana (Fig. 8.70). The wada is a two courtyard wada, built by Indroji Kadam who was a sardar in the courts of Shahu Maharaj, and is the residence of the Kadam family who live in Gwalior. The wada lies within the external ramparts with bastions. The stark two storied structure is built in brick and sits on a stone plinth and is plastered partly.

The first internal courtyard is the inner courtyard. The façade of the built form overlooking the courtyard has the structural grid exposed and the first floor projected beyond the lower floor (Figs. 8.73, 8.74). Square wooden columns on stone pedestals with beams ending with birds carved in wood and carved brackets on either side of each column are observed (Fig. 8.80).
Although it is a two courtyard *wada*, the area covered is large and though not a palace *wada*, the scale of the large courtyards and the built form reflect similar spatial characteristics. The *diwankhana*, on the first floor (the area where meetings and discussions took place) has fluted columns with the Peshwai arch (cusped arch) (*Figs. 8.78, 8.79*). The columns here are made out of shisham wood. Elsewhere columns are in sangwan wood on stone pedestals. The lower floor has a pillared *sopa*, the upper floor with openings overlooking the courtyard which are six feet in height, with low wooden balusters (*Fig. 8.73*). The seating was on the floor and the low balusters made it convenient to view the proceedings in the court. The second courtyard was the one in which was the receptacle for the *tulsi vrindavan* (*Fig. 8.77*).

A shaft for ventilation in the kitchen over the low cooking area circulated cold air over left over cooked food preventing it from getting stale (*Fig. 8.84*). There is a basement running through the length of the *wada*. This was large enough to store grains for all the inhabitants of the *wada* as well as a hideout during an attack.

The Kadam family who live in Gwalior in central India, are converting this *wada* into a hotel resort with a golf course. The agricultural land adjoining the *wada* shall be converted into the golf course. The *wada* is looked after by caretakers.

The Kadams are Marathas (Refer Chapter 2, Section 2.3) by caste who worship Tuljapur Bhavani goddess. The daily *puja* ritual is done by professional *pujaris* called *bhopis* or *Ambabai pujaris*. These sects of wandering minstrels do puja for goddesses, and are devotees of Ambabai and Tuljabai.
During festivals, men played chausar (a dice game) and ganjifa\(^1\) which were circular cards with images of deities. These activities were carried on in areas like the diwankhana which were used mostly by men. 

During festivals, the majghar was where women of the wada got together. The haldi kumkum\(^2\) ceremony was only for women. Singing and gossiping were their main occupations, with the decorated swing as the most prominent seat. 

Children played around in the courtyard and all occupants of the wada were dressed in their finery. A host of servants moved around serving everyone on the directions of the ladies of the wada. 

The Kadam family has traditionally not been orthodox and has supported inter-caste marriages, although the joint family system continues to exist.

\(^1\)Ganjifa: They are the origin of tarot and playing cards. They have a long history and came to be known as ganjifa during the Mughal period. When India was invaded in the 11th century, traditional knowledge was lost or smuggled out. The secrets of the cards traveled out of India with the gypsies and survived in Europe. They have come back in the form of tarot cards. Ganjifa are beautiful handmade cards, now mostly found in museums. They are circular, based on the avatars of Vishnu, the ten planets or the epics of Ramayana and Mahabharata.

\(^2\)Turmeric vermilion powders, smeared on the forehead of married woman
Fig. 8.71: Kadam *Wada*, originally built c.1700, *Taluka*: Mulgaon, *Zilla*: Satara, Region: Desh, view from the internal courtyard towards the main entrance

Fig. 8.72: Kadam *Wada*, originally built c.1700, *Taluka*: Mulgaon, *Zilla*: Satara, Region: Desh, first courtyard
**Fig. 8.73:** Kadam *Wada*, originally built c.1700, *Taluka*: Mulgaon, *Zilla*: Satara, Region: Desh, built form overlooking the courtyard

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**Fig. 8.74:** Kadam *Wada*, originally built c.1700, *Taluka*: Mulgaon, *Zilla*: Satara, Region: Desh, internal courtyard
Fig. 8.75: Kadam Wada, originally built c.1700, Taluka: Mulgaon, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, view sopan with wooden columns and beams

Fig. 8.76: Kadam Wada, originally built c.1700, Taluka: Mulgaon, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, built form overlooking rear internal courtyard
Fig. 8.77: Kadam Wada, originally built c.1700, Taluka: Mulgaon, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, rear internal courtyard with tulsi vrindavan
Fig. 8.78: Kadam Wada, originally built c.1700, Taluka: Mulgaon, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, diwankhana on the upper floor.
Fig. 8.79: Kadam Wada, originally built c.1700, Taluka: Mulgaon, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, column detail
**Fig. 8.80:** Kadam *Wada*, originally built c. 1700, *Taluka*: Mulgaon, *Zilla*: Satara, Region: Desh, detail of beam head

**Fig. 8.81:** Kadam *Wada*, originally built c. 1700, *Taluka*: Mulgaon, *Zilla*: Satara, Region: Desh, carved wooden doorway

**Fig. 8.82:** Kadam *Wada*, originally built c. 1700, *Taluka*: Mulgaon, *Zilla*: Satara, Region: Desh, *deoghar*
**Fig. 8.83:** Kadam Wada, originally built c.1700, *Taluka*: Mulgaon, *Zilla*: Satara, Region: Desh, cooking area

**Fig. 8.84:** Kadam Wada, originally built c.1700, *Taluka*: Mulgaon, *Zilla*: Satara, Region: Desh, cooking area with air vents
8.7 Mahadji Shinde Wada, Srigonda

Regional Classification: Table 3, Desh, Fig. 5.55

Sociological Classification: Table 4, Typology: Garhi, Fig. 5.151

Srigonda, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Srigonda, Zilla: Ahmednagar, Region: Desh

The Mahadji Shinde Wada of Srigonda is representative of the garhi typology. This is not a garhi that stands apart like all others which are imposing and intimidating. The external ramparts extend in length, not in height and there is a conspicuous absence of bastions and the nagarkhana. This garhi blends with the rest of the wadas in Srigonda town. The wadas around this garhi, which is the nucleus of the town are built on large square plots and most have a garhi like façade.

This garhi of the Shinde’s has external ramparts in stone with curved corner junctions. The bastions at the corners of the ramparts have been replaced by these corner junctions. There is an external stone wall upto lintel height above which the wall continues in brick (Fig. 8.85). The wada within is a two courtyard wada (Refer Table 3, plan Fig. 5.8). The entrance is through an ogee arched gateway leading into the first courtyard (Fig. 8.88).

The projected balcony of the upper floor around the courtyard had a series of cusped arches which were non structural and ornamental. These arches were Islamic in style. The columns were square wooden shafts which were not fluted. Beams and fascia were rich in ornamentation, reflecting the Hindu style. This again reflects a coexistence of Islamic and Hindu styles (Figs. 8.89, 8.90).
Typically, the first courtyard had public offices located around it and was more ornamental (Figs. 8.89, 8.92). The kitchen and women’s areas were in the area offsetting the second courtyard (Fig. 8.90). Large earthenware pots for storage of water were found in the rear. These were known as ranjan or urns and were made of stone (Fig. 8.94).

Long, narrow staircases within thick brick walls connected one floor to another (Fig. 8.95)

This wada was originally four storeys, only two storeys exist now. The terrace has a Samadhi of Chakan Baba, a Muslim saint (Fig. 8.93). The wada now belongs to a trust and is used as a high school.
Fig 8.86: Mahadji Shinde Wada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Srigonda, Zilla: Ahmednagar, Region: Desh, exterior view from street

Fig 8.87: Mahadji Shinde Wada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Srigonda, Zilla: Ahmednagar, Region: Desh, built form adjoining main courtyard
Fig 8.88: Mahadji Shinde Wada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Srigonda, Zilla: Ahmednagar, Region: Desh, entrance into main building
Fig 8.89: Mahadji Shinde Wada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Srigonda, Zilla: Ahmednagar, Region: Desh, exterior view of the first internal courtyard

Fig 8.90: Mahadji Shinde Wada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Srigonda, Zilla: Ahmednagar, Region: Desh, tālītī vrindavan, second internal courtyard
Fig 8.91: Mahadji Shinde Wada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Srigonda, Zilla: Ahmednagar, Region: Desh, doorway of entrance into main building

Fig 8.92: Mahadji Shinde Wada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Srigonda, Zilla: Ahmednagar, Region: Desh, detail of wooden arch and ornamental carving
Fig 8.93: Mahadji Shinde Wada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Srigonda, Zilla: Ahmednagar, Region: Desh, view of terrace showing samadhi of Chankan Baba

Fig 8.94: Mahadji Shinde Wada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Srigonda, Zilla: Ahmednagar, Region: Desh, earthenware pots for water storage
Fig 8.95: Mahadji Shinde Wada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Srigonda, Zilla: Ahmednagar, Region: Desh, staircase detail
8.8 Rajwada, Bhor

Regional Classification: Table 3, Desh, Fig. 5.64

Sociological Classification: Table 4, Typology Rajwada, Fig. 5.131

Originally built: c.1750, Bhor, Taluka: Bhor, Zilla: Pune

The Bhor Rajwada represents the palace wadas that were built during the later Peshwa rule. Unlike garhis, these palace wadas were not fortified structures. Whereas in the garhi façades, ornamentation and openings were minimum, the façades of the rajwadas had openings in every structural bay as well as a highly ornamental entrance. It seemed like the peeling of the external layer of ramparts and bastions of the garhi and exposing the wada within, except that in the case of the rajwada, the façade became ornamental with the nagarkhana over the main entrance, while the wada within the garhi was simple with no ornamentation on the façade.

The Bhor Rajwada was originally built as a palace of Pant Pratinidhi (representative of the monarch) and Pant Sachiv (secretary in the ministry) to function as courts and police stations.

The rajwada is a three courtyard wada with one module with courtyard, eccentric. It was built for Pantsachiv Raghunathrao who was a nobleman in the Peshwa courts. A regular column grid marks each module and all three modules are interconnected through one open central structural bay. (Refer Table 3, plan Fig. 5.65) The first courtyard was entered through a one and a half floor height adaptation of the nagarkhana at the main entrance. On either side of the main entrance was the double storeyed structure (Fig. 8.96).
The first courtyard had public spaces offsetting it – for instance, offices (Fig. 8.97). The second courtyard had the Rama durbar which was an open pillared portico of double height. This space was similar to the temple mandapa. Meetings or darbars were held here (Fig. 8.98).

Each structural bay was marked by a square column and a Peshwai arch. The Peshwai arches were non structural and were essentially a composition of two brackets forming a cusped arch, either pointed or flat at the top. The notable feature was the presence of the Peshwai arch or cusped arch but an absence of the fluted column (Fig. 8.101, 8.102).

Each façade of the courtyard had the structural bays defined since the wooden columns were exposed. The high plinth supported the columns on the lower floor and the columns of the upper floor rested on the ones below. The first floor extended beyond the column grid, thus making a composition of the fascia for the floor, beam and bracket junction (Fig. 8.103). The upper floor had a balcony projection running all around the courtyard. The roof was sloping, on one side into the courtyard (Fig. 8.100). The third courtyard was the private courtyard with the tulsi vrindavan in the centre of it. Around this courtyard there was the kitchen and the living quarters of the women (Figs. 8.99, 8.100). There was a hierarchy of public, semi-private and private spaces with the most public spaces around the first courtyard and the private inner sections around the inner courtyards.

In elevation, the raiwada is an imposing structure with a symmetrical elevation on the main façade. The elevation of the module which is eccentric does not have a symmetrical composition. The juxtaposition of the symmetrical and asymmetrical makes it interesting (Fig. 8.96). In section, the raiwada is elevated beyond the first courtyard.
The **durbar** hall on the first floor has fluted columns with cusped arches. Rich in ornamentation with very fine detail and scale, the hall is highly decorated. The *rajwada* is set in the centre of the town of Bhor with its main entrance facing east. The town streets faced north-south and east-west. The Bhor *Rajwada* is the nucleus of the town of Bhor, with the rest of the town grown around it (Refer Town plan *Fig. 3.8*, Appendix B).

Currently the south of the *wada* is used as residential and other areas are rented out for marriages, functions and film shootings.
Fig. 8.97: Bhor Rajwada, originally built: c.1750, Bhor, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, entrance from within the first courtyard

Fig. 8.98: Bhor Rajwada, originally built: c.1750, Bhor, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, view from internal court
Fig. 8.99: Bhor Rajwada, originally built: c.1750, Bhor, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, tulsi vrindavan, internal court

Fig. 8.100: Bhor Rajwada, originally built: c.1750, Bhor, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, tulsi vrindavan, internal court
Fig. 8.10: Bhor Rajwada, originally built: c.1750, Bhor, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, detail of cantilevered projection, supported by wooden brackets
Fig. 8.102: Bhor Rajwada, originally built: c.1750, Bhor, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, detail of Peshwai arch and ceiling

Fig. 8.103: Bhor Rajwada, originally built: c.1750, Bhor, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, bracket and wooden ceiling detail
Fig. 8.104: Bhor Rajwada, originally built: c.1750, Bhor, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, wooden jali door and deoghar

Fig. 8.106: Bhor *Rajwada*, originally built: c.1750, Bhor, *Taluka*: Pune, *Zilla*: Pune, impression of a niche
Fig. 8.107: Bhor Rajwada, originally built: c.1750, Bhor, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, view from internal court

Fig. 8.108: Bhor Rajwada, originally built: c.1750, Bhor, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, wooden with bracket in devudi

Fig. 8.109: Bhor Rajwada, originally built: c.1750, Bhor, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, wooden column and brackets supporting ceiling
8.9 *Rajwada*, Satara

**Regional Classification:** Table 3, Desh, *Fig. 5.74*

**Sociological Classification:** Table 4, Typology: *Rajwada, Fig. 5.133*


Like the Bhor *Rajwada*, the Satara *Rajwada* is an illustrative example of the palace *wadas* built during the later Peshwa rule. The study of these examples helps to establish links in this typology. The exposure of the *wada* and the absence of the external ramparts and bastions are similar features determining this type.

This *wada* was built as a palace *wada* of the Bhonsles (*Fig. 8.110*). It is built on the foothills of the fort Ajinkya Tara which literally means the star that cannot be conquered. It forms the focus of the town of Satara. (Refer Appendix B). The external façade is not fortified. It is a ground plus two storeyed *wada* with openings in every bay, making it look very light, unlike the formidable elevations of the *garhis* which were solid with very small perforations.

The façade is composed of a series of arches which are tall and onion shaped, broken with bays of cusped arches, flat on top (*Fig. 8.110*). The entrance is also a larger opening in one bay and not highlighted by a large spiked gateway with a threshold and projecting offsets like observed in *garhis* (*Fig. 8.118*).

The first internal courtyard has a two storeyed structure on all sides of it. The courtyard is large and the built form on the four sides is stark and without ornamentation. Full length window openings on the first floor are
present in every bay, making the façade a composition of repetitive bays (Fig. 8.111). The large courtyard is used as a ground for assembly as well as a school play ground.

The second internal courtyard has the sopa or the pillared hall. The columns are two storey high with onion shaped foliated arches spanning columns. The foliations in the arches are very gentle. The wooden columns are square shafts without ornamentation. On either side of the sopa were a series of fountains (Figs. 8.112, 8.114 – 8.117). The rajwada today is used for the offices of the municipal corporation and a high school.
**Fig. 8.111:** Rajwada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Satara, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, main courtyard

**Fig. 8.112:** Rajwada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Satara, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, pillared hall, sopa in courtyard
Fig. 8.113: Rajwada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Satara, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, built form between courtyards

Fig. 8.114: Rajwada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Satara, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, sopa beyond the courtyard
Fig. 8.115: Rajwada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Satara, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, detail of wooden Peshwai arches in the sopa.

Fig. 8.116: Rajwada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Satara, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, pillared hall, sopa in courtyard.
Fig. 8.117: Rajwada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Satara, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, pillared hall, sopa in courtyard
Fig. 8.118: Rajwada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Satara, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, view into internal courtyard through deori
Fig. 8.119: Rajwada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Satara, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, window with a Peshwai arch in the front facade
8.10 Vishrambagh Wada, Pune

Regional Classification: Table 3, Desh, Fig. 5.69

Sociological Classification: Table 4, Typology: Palace Wada, Fig. 5.132

Pune, originally built: c.1803, Taluka: Pune  Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh

This rajwada represents elements of the Delhi style and elements of the Hindu style co existing in the façade (Fig. 8.120). This coexistence of styles came to be known as the Maratha style. The façade composes of the meghdambari (arched canopy) over the nagarkhana, (drum house) and thick fluted columns with cusped arches, all representing the Delhi style. The makara (crocodile) brackets representing the Hindu style. The Vishrambagh Wada is an illustrative example of this style as well as it generates a link for this typology.

This wada was built by the last Peshwa, Bajirao II in 1803 AD, as his private residence before it became a college for vedantas and shastras in 1818 AD. It does not have the external stone wall boundary with bastions. The entrance is ornamental and fanciful, not forbidding and protective and the scale is not monumental.

The wada faces east and is remarkable for its entrance which has a wooden balcony above. It is a three courtyard wada, each courtyard surrounded by a three storied built form (Fig. 8.121). The built forms were pillared halls earlier and have now been enclosed (Refer Table 3, plan Fig. 5.70). The courtyards are paved quadrangles. Wooden staircases connected two floors (Fig. 8.125).

Ten massive pillars of the cypress form in wood mark the outer veranda of the entrance and similar columns appear above (Fig. 8.122). The
canopy covering the balcony is domical in shape and is called *meghdambari* (Fig. 8.120). This roof form was typical in Bengal as a thatched roof form. It evolved into a domical roof form in structures built during Muslim rule and came to be known as the Bengal roof. The presence of this roof form in Maharashtra is an indication of architectural influences travelling across through artisans and craftsmen. This is known as the Rajasthani or Delhi style and came into Maharashtra through Malwa. The *diwankhana* and the *Mastani Mahal* on the first floor are large pillared halls which were used for *durbars* or meetings and entertainment. These were the areas where the Peshwai arch and fluted columns existed and were elaborately decorated.

The architectural style reflected in the front elevation belongs to both Hindu and Islamic traditions. Their co-existence is observed in the façade. The *makara* (crocodile) brackets of the Gujarat style (Fig. 8.123), the fluted columns supporting cusped arches (Fig. 8.122) and the *meghdambari* (arched canopy) of the Islamic style.

Bricks of size 12 inches × 24 inches × 1.5 inches were used for construction of walls which were plastered with lime plaster. Door and window openings were in wood.

The Vishrambagh *Wada* is now with the Pune Municipal Corporation and is used as their offices as well as the General Post Office. Many additions and alterations have been made to the old structure.
Fig. 8.121: Vishrambagh Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1803, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, first internal courtyard
Fig. 8.122: Vishrambagh Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1803, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, conservation of columns
Fig. 8.123: Vishrambagh Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1803, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, bracket detail

Fig. 8.124: Vishrambagh Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1803, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, slab, fascia and beam head detail
Fig. 8.125: Vishrambagh Wada, Pune, originally built: c. 1803, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, Staircase to first floor.
Fig. 8.126: Vishrambagh Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1803, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, entrance into first courtyard
8.11 Senapati Mohite Wada, Rajewadi

Regional Classification: Table 3, Desh, Fig. 5.81

Sociological Classification: Table 4, Typology: Nobleman’s Wada, Fig. 5.155

Rajewadi, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Rajewadi, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh

The Senapati Mohite Wada is a striking example of an isolated wada which exists in Rajewadi (Fig. 8.127). Unlike the imposing garhis this wada which is not fortified and belonging to senapati, meaning an armed forces personnel, exists in isolation with no other wada around. Standing aloft a raised platform, it comes under the category of nobleman’s wada.

This wada was built by Captain Laloji Rao Mohite and Chander Sen Rao of Baroda. Agriculture was the main source of income, with rice, wheat and jowar as the main crops grown.

This is a two courtyard isolated wada with the structural grid exposed in the entrance module (Refer Table 3, plan Fig. 5.82). The whole structure is on an elevated plinth. This wada is neither a garhi nor a palace wada but has its own identity. The base of the wada is constructed in stone and the upper portion in brick. The pitched roofs contained attics, supported by king post trusses (Fig. 8.127).

The first courtyard had public spaces around (Figs. 8.128, 8.129) while the inner court had the kitchen and women's areas around it (Fig. 8.130).

The columns are square wooden shafts on stone pedestals. Columns, brackets and beams are with minimum ornamentation. There was an absence of fluted columns (Figs. 8.129, 8.130). The courtyards are paved
in stone with open joints facilitating rain water to drain off. This is one of the few wadas where women observe purdah even today. Because of the purdah system, the segregation of spaces was very conspicuous.

In their conservative system, marriages are arranged within the community. Marriages continued to be traditional and inter caste marriages are not yet encouraged. Marriage alliances were solemnized between wadas of traditional families of the same caste and district. This wada had formalized alliances with Jadhav Garhi at Bhuins in Satara district.

The Mohites were Marathas and the Jadhavs. of Bhuins were Marathas allowing marriages between families. (Refer Chapter 2, Section 2.3).
Fig. 8.128: Senapati Mohite Wada, originally built: c.1700, Rajewadi, Taluka: Khandala, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, view into the internal courtyard
Fig. 8.129: Senapati Mohite Wada, originally built: c.1700, Rajewadi, Taluka: Khandala, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, view from the internal courtyard
Fig. 8.130: Senapati Mohite Wada, originally built: c.1700, Rajewadi, Taluka: Khandala, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, view of tulsi vrindavan in courtyard

Fig. 8.131: Senapati Mohite Wada, originally built: c.1700, Rajewadi, Taluka: Khandala, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, overlooking court below
Fig. 8.132: Senapati Mohite Wada, originally built: c.1700, Rajewadi, Taluka: Khandala, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, cooking area

Fig. 8.133: Senapati Mohite Wada, originally built: c.1700, Rajewadi, Taluka: Khandala, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, wooden railing detail
Fig. 8.134: Senapati Mohite Wada, originally built: c.1700, Rajewadi, Taluka: Khandala, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, deoghar
8.12 Nana Wada, Pune

Regional Classification: Table 3, Desh, Fig. 5.83

Sociological Classification: Table 4, Typology: Nobleman’s Wada, Fig. 5.156

Pune, originally built: c.1775, Taluka : Pune, Zilla : Pune, Region: Desh

The Nana Wada is a representative example of a Nobleman’s Wada existing in the city of Pune. The Shaniwar Wada which was the garhi of the Peshwas was the nucleus of the city and around it were built the wadas of noblemen. The Nana Wada was one of these. The meghdambari or the canopy over the internal staircase within the courtyard and the carved wooden balcony railing were the identifying features of this wada (Fig. 8.137).

Nana Wada was built by Nana Phadnavis about 225 years ago. It is located near the south east corner of the Shaniwar Wada in Pune (Refer Town plan Fig. 3.8, Appendix B). Nana Phadnavis built this wada as a rest house. This was a Nobleman’s Wada, built near the Shaniwar Wada which was the nucleus and the palace of the Peshwas. The other wada built by Nana Phadnavis was at Menavli, which was a ghat, wada, temple complex and served as a resort for the family. The front façade of the wada is in a comparably better condition (Fig. 8.135). The curvilinear roof form, typical of the Rajasthani style (also referred to as the Delhi or Islamic style) exists as a canopy over the wooden staircase landing within the first courtyard (Figs. 8.136, 8.137). The cusped arches and fluted columns mark the edge of the first floor projected into the courtyard below (Refer Table 3, plan Fig. 5.84).

For many years Nana used this wada for his office. In 1890 AD it was handed over to the Deccan Education Society for a school. The front portion of the wada was dismantled and a school building was built. In 1953 AD the Deccan Education Society sold the wada to the Pune Corporation.
Fig. 8.136: Nana Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1775, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, sopa adjoining courtyard
Fig. 8.137: Nana Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1775, Taluka : Pune, Zilla : Pune, Region: Dehu, upper floor as seen from the courtyard
8.13 Datar *Wada*, Pen

**Regional Classification:** Table 3, Konkan, *Fig. 5.31*

**Sociological Classification:** Table 4, Typology: Nobleman’s *Wada*,
*Fig. 5.149*


The Datar *Wada* at Pen in the Konkan region typified the *wadas* of the wealthy tax collectors of the region. The study of the plan type indicates similarities in plan as compared to similar typology *wadas* in other regions. A study of the region of Konkan indicated the absence of the fortified *garhi*, instead large *wadas* under the category of Nobleman’s *Wadas* were found here.

This *wada* belonged to the Datar family and was built in Pen in Raigad district of the Konkan region. Pen was the stockyard of the region of Konkan. Goods from Pune, Satara, Khopoli transited through Pen. Jungle wood, *sangwan* (*Tectona grandis*), mangoes, *jamun* (*Syzygium cumini*) were traded. The Datars were tax collectors here.

The dominating feature of the external façade is the large entrance doorway made in wood with a smaller doorway within called the *dindi darwaza* with the clay tiled sloping roof above. The lintel of the doorway is extensively carved. The entrance door is also carved and does not have the spikes that were embedded in the entrance doorways of the fort *wadas* (*Fig. 8.138*). Walls were made of 18 inch thick brickwork on a stone plinth. There is no fortified wall outside the built form. The sloping clay tiled roof is characteristic of the roof form prevailing in the Konkan region where rainfall is heavy.
Although this *wada* was built around the same time as many of the fort *wadas* with extensive fortification which were built in Desh – the *wada* form indicates that the region was not prone to attacks. It is a four courtyard *wada* with a Ganesha temple in one courtyard (*Fig. 8.140*). The ground floor has walls in stone which are 30 inches thick and the first floor has walls in brick, 30 inches thick. Wooden beams and brackets have deep ornamentation (*Figs. 8.143, 8.147, 8.148*). Fluted columns and cusped arches mark the balconies above and overlooked into the courtyard below (*Fig. 8.142*).

The *wada* which was originally used by the Datar joint family had one kitchen, but now has six brothers each having an independent kitchen and *deoghar*. Three generations of women observed *purdah* but the women of the present generation are educated and working. Marriages used to be conservative but not any more and inter caste marriages have become acceptable. The present generation belongs to the service background. *Ganeshotsav*¹ and *Kojagiri*² are celebrated very enthusiastically and the *wada* comes alive during these celebrations with every member participating.

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¹ *Ganeshotsav* is an annual Hindu festival. It is generally celebrated from Ganesh Chathurthi to Anant Chaturdashi during the months of August or September.

² *Kojagiri* is celebrated on a full moon day during the month of Ashwin it was believed that on this night, the moon stone, is the brightest in the whole year. *Kheer* (rice pudding) was cooked and left in the moonlight. It was eaten to purify the system. Ashwin is the 10 or 11 month of the year in the English calendar.
Fig. 8.139: Datar Wada, originally built: c.1725, Taluka: Pen, Zilla: Raigad, Region: Konkan, builtform overlooking central courtyard.

Fig. 8.140: Datar Wada, originally built: c.1725, Taluka: Pen, Zilla: Raigad, Region: Konkan, temple in the wada complex.
Fig. 8.141: Datar Wada, originally built: c.1725, Taluka: Pen, Zilla: Raigad, Region: Konkan, attic on second floor

Fig. 8.142: Datar Wada, originally built: c.1725, Taluka: Pen, Zilla: Raigad, Region: Konkan, Peshwai arches overlooking main courtyard
Fig. 8.143: Datar Wada, originally built: c.1725, Taluka: Pen, Zilla: Raigad, Region: Konkan, wooden column and beam supporting wooden ceiling
Fig. 8.144: Datar Wada, originally built: c.1725, Tahuka: Pen, Zilla: Raigad, Region: Konkan, courtyard view through jharokha
Fig. 8.145: Datar Wada, originally built: c.1725, Taluka: Pen, Zilla: Raigad, Region: Konkan, part of stone drainage piple with interlocking detail

Fig. 8.146: Datar Wada, originally built: c.1725, Taluka: Pen, Zilla: Raigad, Region: Konkan, stone container for storage of water
Fig. 8.147: Datar Wada, originally built: c.1725, Taluka: Pen, Zilla: Raigad, Region: Konkan, detail of wooden carving on the frame of doorway

Fig. 8.148: Datar Wada, originally built: c.1725, Taluka: Pen, Zilla: Raigad, Region: Konkan, detail at beam and column junction
Fig. 8.149: Joshi Wada, Kalyan, originally built: c.1850, Old Kalyan, Taluka: Kalyan, Zilla: Thane, Region: Konkan, front elevation
8.14 Joshi \textit{Wada}, Kalyan

Regional Classification: Table 3, Konkan, \textit{Fig. 5.1}

Sociological Classification: Table 4, Typology: Ordinary \textit{Wada}, \textit{Fig. 5.135}

Kalyan, originally built: c.1850, Old Kalyan, \textit{Taluka}: Kalyan, \textit{Zilla}: Thane, Region: Konkan

The Joshi \textit{Wada} in the Konkan region is an illustrative example of the ordinary \textit{wada} typology. It suggests similarities in plan, the variables being in the pitch of the roof form. The presence of the pitched roof over entrances of even the smaller ordinary \textit{wadas}, seems like a scaled down version of the \textit{nagarkhana} (drum house) which existed over large entrances of \textit{garhis} and \textit{rajwadas}.

The Joshi \textit{Wada} is a ‘C’ shaped two-storied structure, with a central court abutting the street (\textit{Figs. 8.149, 8.150}). The house and its main entrance are oriented towards the east (Refer Table 3, plan \textit{Fig. 5.37}). Built on a narrow plot, this small \textit{wada} represents characteristics of the ordinary \textit{wadas}. In Konkan, plots were observed to be square, and not narrow and deep, as seen in Desh and Khandesh. It is a wooden framed structure with thick brick infill walls on a high basalt stone plinth and wooden trusses supporting the sloping Mangalore tiled roof. It has a well and two-tenanted ground storied structure in the rear courtyard (\textit{Fig. 8.151}).

Clearstory windows, floor to lintel double shutter windows and the ornamental entrance door give a distinct character to the verandah and the central court (\textit{Fig. 8.149}). The \textit{wada} was originally built by Phadke and was bought in 1942 AD by Gagalshe Joshi, the well known rice merchant of Kalyan.
Fig. 8.150: Joshi Wada, Kalyan, originally built: c.1850, Old Kalyan, Taluka: Kalyan, Zilla: Thane, Region: Konkan, main courtyard
Fig. 8.151: Joshi Wada, Kalyan, originally built: c.1850, Old Kalyan, Taluka: Kalyan, Zilla: Thane, Region: Konkan, rear courtyard
Fig. 8.152: Patil Wada, originally built: c.1700,
Taluka: Pakhan Zilla: Aurangabad,
Region: Marathwada, front elevation.
8.15 Patil Wada, Paithan

Regional Classification: Table 3, Desh, Fig. 5.19

Sociological Classification: Table 4, Typology: Ordinary Wada, Fig. 5.198

Paithan, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Paithan Zilla: Aurangabad,
Region: Marathwada

The Patil Wada of Paithan typified the ordinary wada in the trading town of Paithan. Similarities in plan type with similar wadas in other regions were observed. This wada shared common walls with the adjoining wadas. Even the ordinary wadas in Paithan had scaled down garhi like façades with deep ornamentation in wood, typical of the Hindu style. The moulding details and details for bird shelters were typical in the wada façades here. The Patil Wada illustrates these details as well as similarities with the plan type.

The trading town of Paithan was composed of a dense layout of individual wadas. The town has characteristic narrow lanes and the corners of the wadas are rounded, probably so that animal carts, horses and elephants could move more easily and during an attack the rounded corners in the narrow streets would facilitate movement on horseback or on foot. Bricks have been planed and curved for corner junctions. None of the wadas was heavily fortified and deep engravings in wood especially the bulbous mouldings typical of the Hindu style are seen hanging from the wooden lintels (Figs. 8.162, 8.163).

In the Patil Wada, the external wall is in stone up to a height of eight feet and above it the wada is constructed in brick (Fig. 8.152). Although the difference in material is functional, it adds to the aesthetic quality. The
openings in the wall are square or rectangular compositions on a textured surface. Lintels over the openings look like mouldings and these act as the drip course. Small niches in the elevation are bird shelters and the elevation looks complete with parrots sitting in these shelters (Fig. 8.164).

The Patil Wada is a three courtyard wada (Refer Table 3, plan Fig. 5.20). It is an unimposing structure with a seven feet high entrance door. The wooden doorframe and lintel are heavily carved (Fig. 8.163).

The courtyard is surrounded by open verandahs with a trabeated beam and column structure (Fig. 8.153). Wooden columns rest on stone pedestals. Deep motifs of flowers and birds are carved in wood (Figs. 8.155, 8.157). Wood from the Dang forest of Nasik was floated in the Godavari River.

Paithan is a centre of silk weaving and silk handloom saris woven here are known the world over. The motifs seen on beams and columns have been an inspiration for the silk weavers. The deep peacock and floral engravings found on the columns are typical motifs on the borders of the silk sarees (Fig. 8.156).

This wada is comparatively simpler in decorative elements than the wadas of the sahukars which are richly carved. It continues to be the residence of the Patils but has a convenience store added from where grocery is retailed. The wada has an underground cellar in one part of it which is used for storage of grains as well as valuables.

The Patils are Brahmins (Refer Chapter 2, Section 2.3) and the wada is simpler than that of the sahukars (merchants) whose façades could be easily identified by the rich wooden carved elevations.
Fig. 8.153: Patil *Wada*, originally built: c.1700, *Taluka*: Paithan, *Zilla*: Aurangabad, Region: Marathwada, first internal court

Fig. 8.154: Patil *Wada*, originally built: c.1700, *Taluka*: Paithan, *Zilla*: Aurangabad, Region: Marathwada, sopa abutting internal court
Fig. 8.155: Patil Wada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Paithan  Zilla: Aurangabad, Region: Marathwada, sopa abutting internal court

Fig. 8.156: Silk weaving in sari border
Fig. 8.157: Patil Wada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Paithan Zilla: Aurangabad, Region: Marathwada, column ornamentation
Fig. 8.158: Patil Wada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Paithan Zilla: Aurangabad, Region: Marathwada, wooden ornamentation on column

Fig. 8.159: Patil Wada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Paithan Zilla: Aurangabad, Region: Marathwada, wooden column and beam

Fig. 8.160: Patil Wada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Paithan Zilla: Aurangabad, Region: Marathwada, ornamentation in woodwork

Fig. 8.161: Patil Wada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Paithan Zilla: Aurangabad, Region: Marathwada, deoghar
Fig. 8.162: Patil Wada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Paithan Zilla: Aurangabad, Region: Marathwada, door detail
Fig. 8.163: Patil Wada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Paithan Zilla: Aurangabad,
Region: Marathwada, pendent detail

Fig. 8.164: Patil Wada, originally built: c.1700, Taluka: Paithan Zilla: Aurangabad,
Region: Marathwada, pendent detail
8.16 Menavli *Wada*, Wai

**Regional Classification:** Table 3, Desh, *Fig. 5.79*

**Sociological Classification:** Table 4, Typology: Nobleman’s *Wada*, *Fig. 5.154*


The Menavli *Wada* at Wai has a mixed typology. It falls in the category of a Nobleman’s *Wada* but more specifically it is a complex of *ghats*, *wada* and temples, all seeming to merge along the banks of the Krishna River. This is a one of its kind *wada*, although the Krisnadaryanav Math at Paithan is another *wada* with the temple within, and is built along the banks of the Narmada River. The Krishnadaryanav Math does not reveal the characteristics that the Menavli *Wada* does. The Menavli *Wada* complex integrates the temples, *wada* and *ghats* very sensitively.

It was one of the Peshwas, Nana Phadnavis, who in 1768 AD built as his residence the Menavli *Wada* in the town of Wai. (Refer Appendix B) The *wada* is still inhabited by the Phadnavis family, after five generations. Wai means wedge and was so named because it formed a wedge between Desh and Konkan regions of Maharashtra. The town lies on the banks of the Krishna, one of the sacred rivers in India, and the Menavli *Wada* is built on these banks, not as an independent structure, but forming a complex with a group of temples all linked to the water below by a series of stepped *ghats* (embankments) (*Fig. 8.166*).

The residence is entered through a scaled-down version of the kind of doorway that had been used in the earlier fort *wadas* (*Fig. 8.165*).

Though not an especially imposing structure, the *wada* has no fewer than six courtyards (Refer Table 3, plan *Fig. 5.80*). Courtyards provide light
and ventilation, and moderate extremes of temperature. These are also the hub of family life, and the focus of rituals and celebrations, especially during weddings and festivals such as Holi¹ and Diwali². Two of the six courtyards here contain receptacles of the sacred tulsi (basil) plant used for daily worship (Figs. 8.171, 8.172). Being open to the sky the courtyards need to be drained, and the drainage system here is remarkable, having open joints in the stone paving that allow water to run into drains that discharge along the ghats. The enclosed rooms overlooking the courtyards are equally well ventilated, by means of full-height windows. These have low balustrades, so that people could look out while sitting on the floor (Figs. 8.173, 8.174). Neither the courtyards nor the rooms and spaces around them were intended for fixed functions, but were adaptable to various uses at different times of day. The building is well preserved and even contains some intact wall paintings similar in style to those found in Rajasthan (Figs. 8.180 – 8.182).

Most of the walls, including the main façades, are of bricks, with sloping, clay tile roofs. Wood is used for the floors and the roof structure. It is also used for door and window shutters. Also of wood are fluted columns with cusped arches (in this particular form known as Peshwai arches after the period in which they were popular) (Figs. 8.177 – 8.179). The rear wall, however, is in dressed stone, with alcoves where oil lamps were lit at night. It rises from the stone ghats on a tall stepped plinth (Fig. 8.168). Ranged along the banks of the Krishna are the stone temples, with their finely carved spires. Viewed from the river the whole group merges amidst lush greenery against the western sky.

¹Hindu festival of colours celebrated in March, signifying the beginning of spring
²Hindu festival of lights celebrated in the month of October and November
Fig 8.166: Menavli Wada, originally built: c.1768, Menavli, Tuluka: Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, the ghats
Fig 8.167: Menavli Wada, originally built: c.1768, Menavli, Taluka: Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, side view

Fig 8.168: Menavli Wada, originally built: c.1768, Menavli, Taluka: Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, rear entrance
Fig 8.169: Menavli Wada, originally built: c.1768, Menavli, Taluka:Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region:Desh, front courtyard

Fig 8.170: Menavli Wada, originally built: c.1768, Menavli, Taluka:Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region:Desh, courtyard
Fig 8.17: Menavli Wada, originally built: c.1768, Menavli, Taluka: Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, tulsī vrindavan in the second courtyard
Fig 8.172: Menavli Wada, originally built: c.1768, Menavli, Taluka: Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, view of internal courtyard with *tulsi vrindavan*
Fig 8.173: Menavli Wada, originally built: c.1768, Menavli, Taluka:Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region:Desh, view of the upper floor from the internal courtyard

Fig 8.174: Menavli Wada, originally built: c.1768, Menavli, Taluka:Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region:Desh, view of the upper floor from the internal courtyard
Fig 8.175: Menavli Wada, originally built: c.1768, Menavli, Taluka:Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region:Desh, cooking area in the sopa

Fig 8.176: Menavli Wada, originally built: c.1768, Menavli, Taluka:Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region:Desh, storage area
Fig 8.177: Menavli Wada, originally built: c.1768, Menavli, Taluka:Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region:Desh, view of the diwankhana

Fig 8.178: Menavli Wada, originally built: c.1768, Menavli, Taluka:Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region:Desh, detail of the wooden arch and columns
Fig 8.179: Menavli Wada, originally built: c.1768, Menavli, Taluka Wai, Zilla Satara, Region: Desh, detail of the wooden column
Fig 8.180: Menavli Wada, originally built: c.1768, Menavli, aluka: Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, wall painting in Rajputana style in the personal quarters of Nana Menavli
Fig 8.181: Menavli Wada, originally built: c.1768, Menavli, Taluka:Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region:Desh, wall painting in *Rajputana* style in the personal quarters of Nana Menavli.

Fig 8.182: Menavli Wada, originally built: c.1768, Menavli, Taluka:Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region:Desh, wall painting in *Rajputana* style in the personal quarters of Nana Menavli.
8.17 Tulsibagh Wada, Pune

Regional Classification: Table 3, Desh, Fig. 5.109

Sociological Classification: Table 5, Typology: Temple Wada, Fig. 5.203

Pune, originally built: c.1761, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh

The Tulsibagh Wada represents the temple wada complex in that it has a most interesting market within the wada, thus making it a typical case study. All other temple wadas had only the shrines and mandapa within the external wall. But the Tulsibagh Wada was the only complex with a thriving market within the external wall. This temple wada was originally built in 1761 AD by Balaji Bajirao, who was the third Peshwa. It was built on a one acre site of a garden of tulsi shrubs, from where it derives its name. The enclosure contains three main temples, Rama in the middle, Ganpati to the right of Rama and Shiva to the left (Figs. 8.184 – 8.186). The Rama temple has three shrines of Rama, Sita and Lakshmana. They are magnificently clothed and ornamented. The temples of Ganpati and Shiva are smaller. The enclosure has rows of shops selling traditional household articles (Fig. 8.189). On the floor above are the residences of the shop owners. The enclosure can be compared to the built form of the wada. This courtyard can be compared to the integrated courtyard of the large wadas (Refer Table 3, plan Fig. 5.110). The temple mandapa may be compared to the sopa of the rajwadas of Bhor and Satara (Fig. 8.188). There are two gateways on opposite sides of the enclosure. The gateways have the nagarkhanas above. The annual Rama Navami\(^1\) festival is celebrated on a grand scale. This temple wada continues to be popular with women and children and is a major attraction in Pune city.

\(^1\)Festival that celebrates the birth of Lord Rama the son of King Dasharath in the month of March or April
Fig. 8.184: Tulsibagh Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1761, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, Shiv temple
Fig. 8.185: Tulsibagh Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1761, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, Ganesh temple
Fig. 8.186: Tulsibagh Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1761. Tahuka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, view of the main shrine.
Fig. 8.187: Tulsibagh Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1761, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, paintings on courtyard wall

Fig. 8.188: Tulsibagh Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1761, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, view of the main shrine
Fig. 8.189: Tulsibagh Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1761, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, Ganesh temple, shops around courtyard

Fig. 8.190: Tulsibagh Wada, Pune, originally built: c.1761, Taluka: Pune, Zilla: Pune, Region: Desh, passage around the structure
8.18 Fangari House, Kalyan

Regional Classification: Table 3, Konkan, Fig. 5.62

Sociological Classification: Table 5, Typology: Muslim Wada, Fig. 5.212

Old Kalyan, originally built: c.1868, Taluka: Kalyan, Zilla: Thane, Region: Konkan

Fangari House in Kalyan of Konkan region was one of the large houses of the wealthy Muslim community here. These Muslim homes were situated on alternate streets where Hindu wadas were located. In plan these Muslim homes reflected similar characteristics to the Hindu wadas, of course the formal elevation suggested foreign influences because of trade with European countries.

Located in Old Kalyan on the Jama Masjid road, this private residential house was built on the same principles of wada construction. It was originally built as a pedhi (office) in 1868 AD. The entrance verandah has fluted columns with brackets supporting the beam above. The staircase adjoining the verandah gives independent access to the two upper floors (Fig. 8.191).

The house and its main entrance face north. Built in stone masonry on a high plinth, it has a sloping Mangalore tiled roof, supported by wooden trusses as seen in (Fig. 8.191).

In plan it is a rectangular three storeyed structure with two courtyards, one of which has a receptacle for the tulsi (basil plant). In Muslim wadas like this, the tulsi (basil plant) was not worshipped but was planted for its medicinal properties. The ornamental door and fluted columns with brackets in the entrance verandah are characteristic features of this house.
8.19 Tanki Palace, Kalyan

Regional Classification: Table 3, Konkan, Fig. 5.59

Sociological Classification: Table 5, Typology: Muslim Wada, Fig. 5.211

Originally built: c.1800, old Kalyan, Taluka: Kalyan, Zilla: Thane, Region: Konkan, Location: Bunder Road

The Tanki Palace is another illustrative example of the wealthy Muslim homes found in Kalyan. Similarities in plan type, but facades influenced by European styles because of trade with Europe, as well as being just off the coastline, are observed here. Tanki Palace was built in the latter half of the 19th century AD by Tanki, a famous rice and milk merchant of Kalyan who was also a local corporator.

It is a two storeyed structure with an arched entrance with a doorway in between leading to the internal courtyard (Fig. 8.192). There was a separate entrance from the rear, for the women of the house. It led to the women’s area and the second courtyard. Ornamental arches with Doric orders, stained glass windows and a decorative low compound wall marked the front façade. These were European influences. Muslim merchants of Kalyan traded with Portuguese traders and their dwellings were off the coastline, in direct contact with these foreign traders. Furniture, glassware chandeliers were imported easily and designs for building façades were copied.

The system of construction is the same as in other wadas with the structure being built on a high stone plinth. The wooden frame structure has thick brick walls and a sloping clay tiled roof supported on wooden trusses.
Fig. 8.193: Goshale Raste Wada, Wai, originally built: c.1770, Taluka: Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, front elevation
8.20 Goshale Raste *Wada*, Wai

**Regional Classification:** Table 4, Desh, *Fig. 5.117*

**Sociological Classification:** Table 5, Typology: Cow pen *Fig. 5.210*


The Goshale *Wada* is a simple two storeyed *wada* with little or almost no ornamentation (*Fig. 8.193*). This *wada* is peculiar in that it was originally built as a cow shed. *Go* meaning cow and *sala* meaning shelter. Refer text on *sala*, Chapter 6, Section 6.1. The second courtyard had a single flight staircase within the wall, the steps leading to the upper storey, were wider with ten inch risers, so that the animals could comfortably climb up (*Fig. 8.197*).

This *wada* was later converted into a residential *wada* of the Raste family. Similarities with plan type of large *wadas*, was observed here.

This is a two courtyard *wada* which is the residence of the Rastes, who are the trustees of the Kashi Vishveshwar and Mahaganpati temples which are the main temples in the temple town of Wai. (Refer Appendix B). The *mukut* or the crown that is placed on the idol of Mahaganpati and the idol that is placed over the *shivling* are kept in the *deoghar* of this *wada* (*Fig. 8.204, 8.205*). These are taken to the temples of Kashi Vishveshwar and Mahaganpati in a procession once a year for a period of ten days during the days of *Ganesh puja* and *Shiv puja*. The ceremonial procession is a big event in this temple town and the *wada* receives importance from all pilgrims visiting Wai for this special occasion. The first courtyard had a verandah offsetting the open space, which later got enclosed (*Fig. 8.193*). The inner or the second courtyard has the *tulsi vrindavan* (*Fig. 8.195*).
Fig. 8.194: Goshale Raste *Wada*, Wai, originally built: c.1770, *Taluka*: Wai, *Zilla*: Satara, Region: Desh, upper floor overlooking the courtyard

Fig. 8.195: Goshale Raste *Wada*, Wai, originally built: c.1770, *Taluka*: Wai, *Zilla*: Satara, Region: Desh, rear courtyard with *tulsi vrindavan*
Fig. 8.196: Goshale Raste Wada, Wai, originally built: c.1770, Taluka: Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, rear courtyard

Fig. 8.197: Goshale Raste Wada, Wai, originally built: c.1770, Taluka: Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, stairs leading on to the first floor used by cattle
**Fig. 8.198:** Goshale Raste *Wada*, Wai, originally built: c.1770, *Taluka*: Wai, *Zilla*: Satara, Region: Desh, cooking area in the *sopa*

**Fig. 8.199:** Goshale Raste *Wada*, Wai, originally built: c.1770, *Taluka*: Wai, *Zilla*: Satara, Region: Desh, *sopa* overlooking the courtyard
**Fig. 8.200:** Goshale Raste *Wada*, Wai, originally built: c.1770, *Taluka:* Wai, *Zilla:* Satara, Region: Desh, room opening in *sopa*

**Fig. 8.201:** Goshale Raste *Wada*, Wai, originally built: c.1770, *Taluka:* Wai, *Zilla:* Satara, Region: Desh, modernised cooking area in the renovated portion
Fig. 8.202: Goshale Raste Wada, Wai, originally built: c.1770, Taluka: Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, dining area in the renovated portion
Fig. 8.203: Goshale Raste Wada, Wai, originally built: c.1770, Taluka:Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, wooden column with stone base in sopa
Fig. 8.204: Goshale Raste Wada, Wai, originally built: c.1770, Taluka: Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, deoghar with idol to be placed over the shivling, Kashi Visheshwar village temple

Fig. 8.205: Goshale Raste Wada, Wai, originally built: c.1770, Taluka: Wai, Zilla: Satara, Region: Desh, deoghar, mukut for mahaganpati, village temple
CHAPTER 9

Chapter 9 concludes with a summary of the analysis and observations made in this study on the *wada* house form. These conclusions are the outcome of the fieldwork, and the documentation of *wadas* in the five traditional regions of the state of Maharashtra.
Conclusions

The objectives of the research were to identify the principles underlying the *wada* house form in Maharashtra and to identify its variations across the region. This is a first attempt in classifying the *wada* of Maharashtra in a comprehensive manner, and arriving at generalities and variables. An attempt has been made to approach the research from a broad perspective of spatial, formal, social and cultural views. The research questions brought up in Chapter 1 will be referred to at appropriate places in the ensuing summary of the research findings.

During the course of fieldwork, it emerged that the *wada*, which has been described by the gazetteer as a large manor house, was also the dwelling of the poor (Chapter 1, Section 1.1, Question 7). This resulted in a social stratification in every region, forming a social typology.

The identifiable element of this house form was the timber structure of square wooden columns on stone pedestals which was supported by wooden beams and a pitched timber truss roof above. The fluted columns and cusped arches which were influences of the Islamic style were present in the large *wadas*. These cusped arches came to be known as the Peshwai arches because of the patronage under which they were built. Deep ornamentation of the Hindu style was found in the beams and brackets. The smaller *wadas* lacked ornamentation.

Unexplored territories have been documented, such as Kari in Desh region where Jedhe *Wada* exists, as well as Sap which is the stronghold
of the Kadams who belong to Gwalior. Several *wadas* had been documented for the first time, particularly Jadhav *Garhi* at Bhuins, Mahurkar *Wada* at Mahur and Purandhare *Wada* at Modva.

### 9.1 Regional and Social Classifications

*Garhis* and *rajwadas* were concentrated in Desh, in and around Pune, which was the seat of power. Nagpur in Vidharbha also showed the presence of *rajwadas* of the Bhonsles as this was also the seat of power outside of Pune and Satara. The vast stretch in between had ordinary *wadas* and occasionally *wadas* of noblemen.

The field survey began with documentation of *wadas* in and around Pune and then further on. A random documentation of *wadas* across Maharashtra was followed by classification under four headings: Regional, Sociological, ‘Further Sociological’, and ‘Outside Maharashtra’. It was observed that regional variations were few, but within every region the social structure existed. The *wadas* were broadly classified under the categories of *garhi*, *rajwada*, Nobleman’s *wada* and Ordinary *wada* depending upon societal stratification. The size, form and ornamentation depended upon type (Chapter 1, Section 1.1, Question 7).

### 9.2 Town Planning

The *garhi*, *rajwada* or temple existed as the nucleus of the town at the town planning level. The continuing relevance of this principle, stated in the *vastushastras*, was confirmed during field survey observations. Towns like Chandwad, Vafgaon, Bhor and Pune were observed to have the *garhi* or *rajwada* as the nucleus.
At town planning level, segregation of castes was observed, with Brahmin wadas and Kshatriya wadas around the nucleus and those of the lower castes located at the periphery of the town (Chapter 1, Section 1.1, Question 6). This principle, too, was observed in the towns of Chandwad and Vafgaon.

When Shaniwar Wada was built in Pune in 1736 AD by Peshwa Bajirao I, his nobles built their wadas around it. This again reinforced the principle of the important wadas existing in the closest periphery of the nucleus (Chapter 1, Section 1.1, Question 7). Nana Wada is an example of the existence of the nobleman’s wada in the immediate periphery of Shaniwar Wada (Chapter 8, Section 8.12).

In towns where the central garhi or rajwada existed, with the smaller wadas around, there was interdependence on each other. Neither could have existed without the support of the other. This was the outcome of social need (Chapter 3, Section 3.7).

Traditional principles of Hindu architecture and Vastushastra have been discussed, based mainly on the publications of Acharya and Begde, in order to understand their prescription for construction. On examining these wadas it was observed that spaces within them did get organized to a certain extent on these principles (Chapter 1, Section 1.1, Question 4). The open space of the integrated courtyard was equivalent to the brahmasthana, with the built form organised around it.

At the level of town planning, the nucleus or the core was the garhi or rajwada or the temple in case of temple towns (Chapter 1, Section 1.1, Question 7). This was the most important structure and in order of hierarchy of castes, the Brahmin and Kshatriya wadas were located in the
closest periphery of the nucleus, with the dwellings of the Vaishyas beyond and the dwellings of the Shudras at the far end. Roads radiated from the nucleus. These observations were made during field visits to the towns of Chandwad and Vafgaon.

Villages grew spontaneously and growth was organic, the central open space was surrounded by hut clusters. These village clusters were known as wadis.

At the individual level, the garhis, rajwadas and nobleman’s wadas had the courtyard as the brahmasthana and the built form around. Like the kakshya and sala mentioned in the texts, the kakshya was the courtyard and sala was the built form.

Designation of the spaces was based on social systems. Specific areas were designated for men and women, being predominantly dominated by one or the other. It was chiefly the area available and the structural grid that determined the nature of architectural spaces.

9.3 Spaces

The structural grid determined the evolution of spaces around the central courtyard. Available lengths of timber determined the grid size (Chapter 1, Section 1.1, Question 8). These spaces got organized around the central open space (Chapter 4, Fig. 4.5). Space usage was an outcome of the social systems.

Segregation of spaces within dwellings for male and female activities was observed in the dwellings of the higher castes although no segregation of male or female areas was reflected in the built form of lower castes
obviously, since there was paucity of space (Chapter 1, Section 1.1, Question 6).

Two levels of spaces existed for community interaction:

a. Individual wada courts (Figs. 6.54, 6.55, 8.77, 8.130).

b. Cluster level chowks (Figs. 3.27, 3.28).

There were no caste based variations observed in the spatial organization of the wada but variations due to topography and climate were observed (Chapter 1, Section 1.1, Question 6). Although in general spaces evolved around the courtyard, in Nasik there was a change in section, as wadas were constructed on slopes, and in Konkan the courtyard in the centre became a covered central hall because of heavy rainfall. Other than in Konkan, and also in Marathwada, where variables occurred because of climatic differences, plan forms appropriate to a particular social group remain the same throughout the different regions.

9.4 Façade Composition

Ramparts and bastions in garhis were made of stone with the upper courses quite often in brick. Simple aedicules were observed on the garhi façades (Chapter 8, Section 8.2, Fig. 8.10, Chapter 8, Section 8.3, Fig. 8.41). Rajwadas too presented façades defined by structural bays within which were openings framed with plain lintels, plain, cusped or pointed arches (Chapter 8, Section 8.9, Fig. 8.110).

Ordinary wadas at Paithan in Marathwada reflected the garhi form. Although no typical large garhi existed here, the ordinary wadas had the same form. Plots were squarish and like the central garhis, these too were
impervious because of the thick external wall – unlike the *wadas* in other regions.

The elevation was an expression of plan and structure, as was particularly evident in the *rajwadas*. Thus the structural grid was very obvious in the elevation, as well as in the plan. The *garhis*, however, had solid façades, with thick stone walls.

It made sense to make the internal court façades more elaborate since lifestyle was introverted, and the viewer was transformed into the interior world of the *wada* (Chapter 8, Section 8.2, *Fig. 8.17*). The lower floors had more ornamentation, again, since these were in the immediate line of vision.

### 9.5 Architectural Style

Initially there two separate styles of architecture were followed (Chapter 1, Section 1.1, Question 5). The Delhi, Rajasthani or Islamic style coexisted along with the trabeated Gujarati or Hindu style. This was observed at its classical best in the first courtyard of the Holkar *Wada* at Chandwad where the heavily carved beams and brackets are seen along with the curvilinear roof form, typical of Rajasthan, defining the edge against the skyline (Chapter 8, Section 8.2, *Fig. 8.16*). This coexistence of styles was called the Maratha style (Chapter 6, Section 6.18).

Vishrambagh *Wada*, too, exhibited this coexistence of styles in an exuberant form. The brackets in the *makara* form, typical of the Gujarat style, support the *meghdambari* overhead. This domical or curvilinear roof form is an adaptation of the Rajasthani or Delhi style (Chapter 8, Section 8.10, *Figs. 8.120, 8.122, 8.123*). In the Mahadji Shinde *Wada* at
Srigonda, the internal courtyards have cusped arches supported on plain columns (Chapter 8, Section 8.7, Fig. 8.89).

In Marathwada, Paithan wadas were observed to have a total absence of fluted columns and cusped arches. In Nandurbar and Pimpalner in Khandesh region too there was an absence of fluted columns and cusped arches, because of its close proximity to the bordering state of Gujarat where the Gujarati or trabeated style prevailed.

Exploring Khandesh it was observed that the Gujarati style existed in its purest form while all other regions had the presence of the Delhi and Rajasthani styles along with the Gujarati style. Woodwork in Pimpalner had deep rich carving, not seen to this extent in any other region.

9.6 Present Condition of the Wadas

Change is inevitable in any society, and that of Maharashtra has been no exception. It has seen changes in the social structure, economic changes and changes due to urbanization and western influences. After the onset of the British Raj, the spread of education and global awareness caused major socio cultural and economic changes in the existing society. Towards the end of the Peshwa Empire itself, for reasons more than just economic, people could no longer adjust to the joint family system. In an attempt to migrate to the cities to seek a better living, families broke up. Many people settled in large towns.

These town dwellers could no longer afford the luxury of living in the big wadas. There was a decrease in the inter-dependence within the families and also within society at large. Back in villages, only a few remaining members of the family lived in the same house, which had once accommodated many more. It thereby proved expensive and difficult to
maintain these large wadas. The materials of construction being wood, repairs and replacements were expensive. Towns like Pune and Nasik faced similar situations. Thus landlords were left with few choices.

Some subdivided the wadas into smaller parts and rented them out to willing tenants. Some of the once palatial wadas were reduced to a chawl like appearance. The owners themselves would occupy a large area and rent out the rest. This is the most common kind of solution that the wadas in Pune have been subjected to. The Dixit Wada, in Nasik now houses about fifty nuclear families (Table 3, Fig. 5.97). In spite of the deteriorating joint family relations, newer kind of inter-dependencies developed within the different families cohabiting in the same wada. Thus the Indian tradition of living within a community as a part of the whole still survives. The number of kitchens in the wadas may be many, but everyone seems to live together in relative harmony.

Many large wadas have not survived the greed of developers in recent decades. Some have been taken apart piece by piece and building materials sold. Wood carved columns and beams have fetched high prices. Large scale destruction of these increasingly difficult to maintain wadas, has given way to culturally insensitive but technologically advanced concrete structures. There has been a lack of awareness of the need to conserve cultural heritage. Owners, who no longer could afford to maintain their wadas, were offered lucrative deals by builders, leading to the insensitive destruction of the once culturally rich character of the old city fabric.

Wadas, once symbolic of Maharashtra, have now all too often become deteriorating structures. During the period of this research itself, the Subedar Wada, Kalyan which was being used as a government school,
was pulled down so that the area could be used for the construction of single family units. Such practice has proved to be lucrative business for builders because of escalating property prices. It also suits the owners who find it difficult to maintain these large estates with limited funds.

With the disintegration of the joint family system and division of property, many wadas have been divided into single family units, each divided portion reflecting the owner's aspirations and capacity to spend. From a single kitchen and deoghar in the original wada, a number of kitchens and deoghars have emerged. The courtyards still remain to be common spaces for social functions. Additions and alterations have been made to the original structure. Kitchens are modernised and toilets and bathing areas which were once in the rear yard of the wada have now got integrated within these units. The unit is referred to as a sub division of the wada.

The picture is not entirely a gloomy one. Some of the wadas of the Peshwas and affluent sardars have been very well retained. Others which are abandoned as royal residences are now taken up by local governments to run schools, corporation offices and are rented out as venues for weddings. The Satara Palace, the Bhor Palace and the Vishrambagh Wada in Pune are examples of wadas that have been conserved as a part of the national heritage. Such examples are used to house government functions like post offices, city survey offices, dispensaries, libraries and government schools, but parts of them have been retained as museums and are open to public. Some of the wadas of the middle class have been maintained by their owners who still reside in them, so that the essence of the house form has survived. This is observed to a large extent in smaller
towns like Nasik, which as yet have not been subjected to as much commercialization as Pune.

Also on the positive side, the need to conserve has been strongly felt by local bodies involved in the conservation of heritage monuments. The Vishrambagh Wada is currently undergoing conservation of its façade which is being undertaken by local government bodies. One observes a slow increase in the awareness of the need to conserve. The government however needs to take steps to reinforce this awareness, or these symbols and cultural epitomes of the Maratha heritage will become just a part of history.

The research undertaken for this thesis can become a reference point for documenting unexplored wadas in Maharashtra, and there is scope for much further detailed work, as suggested below. The study of traditional dwellings has become important for architects and designers seeking to find indigenous design solutions. Such an aim finds special relevance in the current context, where solutions for energy conservation have become essential.

9.7 Travelogue

Journeying through Desh, Khandesh, Vidharbha, Konkan and Marathwada gave a first hand feel of Maharashtra. I drove through highways, internal roads and dirt tracts. All around was green and some areas like Aundh, were vast stretches of rocky, barren land. The motorable tracts were interspersed with little community clusters called wadis. The essence of a community can only be gauged by the groups of these little wadis which indicated a socio cultural strata and a rural lifestyle. These wadis were dotted through the length and width of the
region. At times of harvesting one could see temporary huts made of dry harvested material and men and womenfolk along with the children, harvesting fields. Their cattle and sheep were tied close by. These temporary huts too, invariably were clustered around open spaces. The concept of the courtyard can really be understood through these open spaces in temporary hutments to the wadis where these open spaces within clusters became a spill over of activities.

The towns which were landmarks to be visited had wadas steeped in history. Every town had a large wada of the ruler, either garhi or rajwada. Each of these garhis and rajwadas had a story to tell. Myths and stories were handed down generations. Most of these larger wadas are now being used as government buildings where municipal or corporation schools are running. Moving through these wadas which have now changed use, one can fathom the lifestyle of those who lived here in a bygone era. The rich ornamentation in woodwork, columns, capitals and brackets, ceilings with patterned mouldings and in some wadas like the Menavli wada, paintings on the walls conveyed a lifestyle of the rich and powerful. Here too the courtyard was a dominant part of the built form, where these open spaces were used for entertainment and leisure. With a change in use of these structures which have withstood the test of time, these wadas were rented out for marriages and social functions and now the courtyards were used for a spill over of the social activities for which they were being used.

The courtyard as is understood is not just the internal integrated open space, it also implies to the front and rear yards as in the case of the wada at Sopa, wadas at Shimpi alee and Pimpalner. Here the open spaces of the village clusters may be compared with the integrated courtyards of garhis and larger wadas.
It is not only that these royal or magnificent wadas have been taken as representative examples of the region but the wadas of the ordinary like the Jedhe wada have been explored to understand how such structures too have withstood the vagaries of time.

Most of these wadas have been explored after reaching the landmark destination. It was the local villager who directed us to a wada which to his understanding was the kind of structure I was looking for as a study sample.

Having the advantage of knowing Marathi and traveling with Gajanan, a driver who knew the terrain well, and Sagar, my locally-hired help who knew the dialects in the regions, it never was a problem to access families living inside the wadas. In fact the question and answer session during the survey never once posed a problem. This first hand exploration proved to be the most exciting aspect of the study.

9.8 Future Work

Beyond the present documentation and analysis of the wada house form in this dissertation, conservation measures of the existing structures need to be explored. Very little work is being done in terms of conservation of existing structures. An awareness of heritage and need to conserve has to be instilled in the owners, of whom not many are educated or have funds available for conserving these old dilapidated structures.

Conjectural restorations of structures which are dilapidated need to be made in order to bring alive the kind of structure that must have existed. One such conjectural restoration has been made by Kiran Kalamdani, a local conservation architect, for the Shaniwar Wada in Pune.
Most of the large wadas belonged to people who were wealthy and owned landed estates. These landed properties were maintained by joint families. New laws in land holdings deprived most of them of their landed estates. Maintaining large wadas became difficult. The disintegration of the joint family system made it unnecessary to continue maintaining the large wadas which became an economic burden and socially redundant. Owners sold their wadas to developers and builders who demolished them and built in their place multi storeyed apartments, housing a number of nuclear families. This economic and sociological change has been responsible for the disappearance of a large number of wadas in cities like Pune, Nasik and Wai. The government and municipal corporations have under their respective town planning laws, declared some structures as heritage buildings. However they neither have the will or resources to maintain them.

Conservation of few structures like Shaniwar Wada and Vishrambagh Wada in Pune has been carried out.

In the case of Shaniwar Wada at Pune, Kiran Kalamdani has prepared a conjectural restoration of the wada and is responsible for the conservation measures for the wada. A film recreating the wada of what it must have been is also made. This has helped to educate people in understanding the grandeur, scale and patronage which were associated with this wada. More such conjectural restorations of wadas and garhis should be made to understand the form and space of such glorious structures.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Glossary</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acharya</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agnisala</td>
<td>Room reserved for ritual fire constantly burning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alinda</td>
<td>Verandah, gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashwin</td>
<td>Month of Hindu calendar falling between September and October</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aushadh bhandar</td>
<td>Medical supply room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balantinichi kholi</td>
<td>Labour room for the delivery of a child and the period after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barse</td>
<td>Naming ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batu</td>
<td>Boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bel fruit</td>
<td>Aegle marmelos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharat itihas</td>
<td>Association of researchers, researching into Indian history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanshodhak mandal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samadhi</td>
<td>Memorial, tomb or mausoleum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhoi alee</td>
<td>Fishermen’s lane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilwar</td>
<td>Bindi, worn on the forehead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bindu</td>
<td>Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahma</td>
<td>The creator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmasthan</td>
<td>Centre of vastu purush mandala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burji</td>
<td>Bastion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chatusala</td>
<td>Built form on four sides of the court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chawls</td>
<td>Tenements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chipavans,Kokanasths</td>
<td>Brahmins from Konkan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitra mandir</td>
<td>Hall of paintings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chowk</td>
<td>Courtyard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daivika</td>
<td>Sphere of Gods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daphtar</td>
<td>Ledger of correspondence and account book, Record room adjoining the office space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dasasala</td>
<td>Comprising of two chatusalas and two dvisalas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dayi</td>
<td>Mid-wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deoghar</td>
<td>Shrine of the family deity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deshasthas</td>
<td>Brahmans who lived in Desh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devdis</td>
<td>Small rooms like vestibules, which incorporated the space for lamps, weapons etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhobhis</td>
<td>Washer men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dindi darwaza</td>
<td>Small door for daily use within a larger massive doorway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diwali</td>
<td>Hindu festival of lights celebrated in the month of October and November</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diwankhana</td>
<td>Male sitting area, living room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durbar</td>
<td>Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dusshera</td>
<td>Hindu festival of vanquishing Ravan or evil celebrated in the month of October</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutt deol</td>
<td>Temple of Dutt Treya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dvibhumi</td>
<td>Double storeyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dvisala</td>
<td>Court with built form on two edges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eksala</td>
<td>Court with built form along one edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fanoos</td>
<td>Chandelier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fawwara</td>
<td>Fountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gajala</td>
<td>Elephant shelter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganeshpatti</td>
<td>Lintel with image of lord Ganesh, god of auspiciousness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganeshotsav</td>
<td>An annual Hindu festival. It is generally celebrated from Ganesh Chathurthi to Anant Chaturdashi during the months of August or September</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ganpati</strong></td>
<td>Elephant headed god symbolising auspiciousness</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Garbhgriha</strong></td>
<td>Sanctum sanctorum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Garhi</strong></td>
<td>Fortified wada, mansion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ghaee</strong></td>
<td>Unit of measure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ghats</strong></td>
<td>Flight of steps leading to edge of water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goshala</strong></td>
<td>Cowshed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goth</strong></td>
<td>Amulet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Haldi kumkum</strong></td>
<td>Turmeric vermillion powders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hasta</strong></td>
<td>Hand measure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Haveli</strong></td>
<td>Mansion of a courtier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Holi</strong></td>
<td>Hindu festival of colours celebrated in March, signifying the beginning of spring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Houd</strong></td>
<td>Bathing area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jala mandir</strong></td>
<td>A large cistern with a room in the middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jalis</strong></td>
<td>Screens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jawahar khana</strong></td>
<td>Treasury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jawaiyachi khidki</strong></td>
<td>Literally a window for the son in law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jyestha poornima</strong></td>
<td>Full moon night in the month of May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kacheri</strong></td>
<td>Office of <em>Sardars or Sahukars</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kakshya</strong></td>
<td>Courtyard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kalbathkhana</strong></td>
<td>Negotiation room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Karha</strong></td>
<td>Copper pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Khann</strong></td>
<td>Unit of measure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Khangar</strong></td>
<td>Light weightclinker for filling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Khapari kawelu</strong></td>
<td>Flat or tube tiles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kheer</td>
<td>Rice pudding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirtans</td>
<td>Devotional songs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kojagiri</td>
<td>Festival during full moon in the month of Ashwi, celebrated in the month of October or November</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kokanasth brahmins</td>
<td>Brahmins or priestly class from Konkan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kothar</td>
<td>Granary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kothar</td>
<td>Storehouse for grain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koul</td>
<td>A written proclamation to an official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kshatriya</td>
<td>Warrior class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuchha</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulkarni</td>
<td>Accounts officer of village/town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumbhar</td>
<td>Potter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavanis</td>
<td>Amorous poem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahakala</td>
<td>Broad Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majghar</td>
<td>Built up structure between the inner and outer courtyards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makara</td>
<td>Crocodile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandala</td>
<td>Hindu diagrams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandap</td>
<td>Temporary platform, covered with canopy used for ceremonies, functions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangalviti</td>
<td>Path of auspiciousness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangalwar</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manusha</td>
<td>Human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghdambhari</td>
<td>Domical arched canopy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mihrab</td>
<td>Window</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murrum</td>
<td>Red soil for compaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagar</td>
<td>Drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagarkhana</td>
<td>Drum house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nath</td>
<td>Nose ring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oti</td>
<td>Platform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otla</td>
<td>Platform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paar</td>
<td>Community open spaces, Square platform around a banyan tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pada</td>
<td>Straight vertical wall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paisacha</td>
<td>Sphere of demons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchal</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pant Pratinidhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pant Sachiv</td>
<td>Secretary-in-charge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pangatacha sopa</td>
<td>Dining area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papad</td>
<td>Dried flour pancakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pardesi</td>
<td>Outsider</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patshala</td>
<td>Lobby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patil</td>
<td>Village headman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patlya</td>
<td>Bangle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patshala</td>
<td>Lobby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peshwai</td>
<td>Belonging to the Peshwa period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peshwas</td>
<td>Prime ministers of Maratha rulers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peth</td>
<td>Ward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phani alee</td>
<td>Comb seller’s lane</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pipal</td>
<td>Sacred fig, ficus religiosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pooja</td>
<td>Worship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pothichi kholi</td>
<td>The manuscript room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pothi</td>
<td>Manuscript</td>
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<tr>
<td>Powada</td>
<td>Ballad</td>
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<td>Pravachan</td>
<td>Religious discourse</td>
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<td>Pujari</td>
<td>Priest</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pune nagar sanshodhan vrutta</td>
<td>Catalogue of researches of Pune town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puranas</td>
<td>Mythologies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajpath</td>
<td>Road leading to the palace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ram</td>
<td>King of Ayodhya, worshipped as incarnation of Lord Vishnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangmahal</td>
<td>Dancing hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangoli</td>
<td>Auspicious patterns made with rice flour paste on flooring made with cow dung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadar</td>
<td>Reception hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahukar</td>
<td>Money lenders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakha</td>
<td>Branch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sala</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandpani</td>
<td>Toilet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangde</td>
<td>Salted balls made of flour deep fried in oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sapppadi</td>
<td>Seven steps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sardar</td>
<td>Feudal noble of Maharashtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sardarecha sopa</td>
<td>Semi-open vestibule which served as the overflow space outside the main meeting hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarvatobhadra</td>
<td>Planning principle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamadan</td>
<td>Floor lamp</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shastraghar</td>
<td>Weapons room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shete</td>
<td>Wealthy businessman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shete mahajan</td>
<td>Moneylenders</td>
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<td>Shilpa shastras</td>
<td>Texts on construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shimpi alee</td>
<td>Tailor's lane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shiv</td>
<td>God of Hindu Trinity, Mahadev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somwar</td>
<td>Monday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sopa</td>
<td>Pillared hall, which leads to the Kacheris and Daphtars. unprogrammed semi-open space around the court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sthapati</td>
<td>Chief architect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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Note: The table above provides a breakdown of the place details, current use, original use, social systems, features, zilla, taluka, location, year, and date related to a specific location named 'Wada'. The table is structured with each column heading clearly defined, allowing for easy identification of the data presented.
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- **Pannekakonam:**
  - Case: Bharani, Balchoti, Agriculture: Sugarcane, Grain, Tomatoes, and Maize.
  - Women's Organisation, Agro-Processing, Co-operative, Women's Group, and Farm Hands.

- **Kudneri:**
  - Case: Muddedi, Kudneri, Agriculture: Sugarcane, Grain, Tomatoes, and Maize.
  - Women's Organisation, Agro-Processing, Co-operative, Women's Group, and Farm Hands.
  - Head of the Muddedi Village: Kuppa Devi.

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  - Head of the Muddedi Village: Kuppa Devi.
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**Region:** Konkan

**Map:**

- Current Life
- Dhufar
- School
- Telephone
- Features
- Remarks
- Year

**Location:** Tulka

**Zilla:** Dhufar

**Wada:** e:1710 s:1700
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<td>Mushroom Wada</td>
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<th>Election in some, hill, road, reclamation of water</th>
<th>Agroclimatic, Wheat, Cereal, Fruit Trees, Rice, Sugarcane,</th>
<th>Rice, Sugarcane, *G*</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Taluka</th>
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<td>Residence of King Residence of King</td>
<td>Residence of King Residence of King</td>
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<tr>
<td>Family Residence</td>
<td>Family Residence</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhojpur Mahal</td>
<td>Bhojpur Mahal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kapur</td>
<td>Kapur</td>
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<tr>
<td>Built by Rao Bhojpur</td>
<td>Built by Rao Bhojpur</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 courtyard walls.</td>
<td>3 courtyard walls.</td>
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<td>Shiv temple inPatal</td>
<td>Shiv temple inPatal</td>
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<td>Temple in 4.9 acres of</td>
<td>Temple in 4.9 acres of</td>
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<td>1868</td>
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<td>1840</td>
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**Features**
- Deep pool
- Deep pool
- Deep pool
- Shop owners' small gardens
- Shop owners' small gardens
- Shop owners' small gardens
- Royal courtyard with well, extended pond
- Royal courtyard with well, extended pond
- Royal courtyard with well, extended pond

**Social Systems**
- Durbar
- Durbar
- Durbar
- Bhojpur
- Bhojpur
- Bhojpur

**Year of Residence**
- 1870
- 1868
- 1840
<table>
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<th>Region: The Wada Boundary of Maharashtra</th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House</th>
<th>House</th>
<th>Residence of Family</th>
<th>Government Office</th>
<th>Original Use</th>
<th>Social Systems</th>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Zilla</th>
<th>Taluka</th>
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<td>1.600</td>
<td>1.600</td>
<td>1.936</td>
<td>1.750</td>
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<td>1.300</td>
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The table above lists various properties and their associated features, along with their respective Zilla, Taluka, and Location codes.
Appendix B: Town Plan

Nasik, Desh, Refer plan Fig. 3.8

The City has been associated with the Ramayana, as the place where lord Rama, Sita and Laxmana were believed to have stayed during their exile. The city has gained importance as a major pilgrimage center and is strongly dominated by religious systems. The city derives its name ‘Nasika’ from being the place where according to the legend Laxmana cut off the nose of the she demon, ‘Suparnkha’. The ghats along the Godavari, are called the Ganga ghats and they award to the city the status of a tirthankhan or place of holy pilgrimage. The people of Maharashtra desire their last rites to be performed along this river which is considered as holy as the Ganga. The Ramakund near the left bank of the river where it takes its first Southward bend is the most holy pious bathing place. There are a number of other kunds or tanks where people often take a dip to spiritually cleanse themselves.

The Saraf Kapad Bazaar street which leads down from the Sarkar Wada, the Peshwa Wada of Nasik to the Ganga ghats is one of the busiest streets, frequented by people shopping for copperware, cloth, and jewellery, as well as people who want to access the ghats. On the opposite side of the ghats is Panchvati, the area which was actually depicted in the epic.

Geographical Location: the city lies between 19.35’ and 20.25’ north latitudes and also on the 74.56’ East longitude. It is situated in the North Western part of the land now known as Maharashtra state. The city itself lies in the Godavari valley and is bound by the Sahyadri mountain ranges in the west.

Climate: the climate here is dry in nature, with the humidity ranging between 20 to 25% during the major part of the year. Maximum temperatures in the month of May go up to 45°C and the minimum is in the months of Dec and Jan, and is as low as 6°C.
**Bhor, Desh, Refer plan Fig. 3.8**

The town located about 55 kilometers to the south of Pune; the town of Bhor is relatively smaller in size when compared to Pune or Nasik. It lies on the Southern bank of the river Neera, which has made the surrounding land extremely fertile. It was the capital, when the region was a separate state altogether.

The original secretary of the state was Shankarji Narayanrao, who was made the sachiv or the secretary in charge, by Rajaram, after he accomplished the brave feat of capturing the Torana fort in 1704 AD. He was offered to join Tarabai of Kolhapur and also Shahu of Satara. Unable to make up his mind he renounced the world and went into penance. During the rule of the Peshwas, Bhor became a Sansthan and was recognized as a district. The original capital of the state was Nere located to the south of Bhor, it was smaller and located at a higher altitude. Situated en-route to the Mahad Ganpati temple, and also being a place where the river bank was the widest the town was selected as the capital by Chimnaji Narayanrao in 1740 AD. An arch to the town was built by Raghunathrao Shankerrao to mark the entrance to the town square and the Bhor Wada located within it.

The Bhor Wada; the third generation of the original sachiv, Chimnaji Narayanrao built the Bhor palace for the family in 1740 AD after the capital was shifted. Exquisitely carved in wood, the wada has an ornate and strong bracket and beam type of construction. Defining one edge of the main town square, the wada is one of the few examples of the house form, which have retained its original glory. It thereby forms the focal point of the town, which otherwise is not politically or religiously significant as the other two cities. The other edges of the town square are also defined by parts of the wada complex. These were the administrative blocks for the state affairs.

The wada with its grand front façade of foliated arches and impressive columns easily dominates the square. Through the dindi darwaza or the smaller opening in the large entrance door, one can only get a glimpse within. The outer court hosts the museum and the public library and thus is the public court. As one crosses over the threshold of the first domain, one comes in the temple court, which hosts the Rama temple. The quality of light and the woodwork immediately evoke a sense of sanctity. A large
canopy supported on columns was added to cover the court as it is used for religious functions like the ceremonial procession for the temple. About 4000 to 5000 villagers and guests are invited for the puja or prayer and the festivities afterwards.

The innermost court is the private court for the family, where the residential areas are located. The treasury and the sleeping areas are located on the upper floor.

Location and climate: Situated quite close to Pune, Bhor shares the same longitude, 74°E and the climate here is also hot and dry.

**Wai, Desh, Refer plan Fig. 3.8**

The town of Wai stands on the left bank of the river Krishna. The country around Wai was once thickly wooded. It is situated in the midst of the Pandavagad and Pasarani hills of the Sahyadri ranges which rise boldly against a clear blue sky.

Wai is principally a town of temples and ghats. A good number of them have been built by the Raste family who enjoyed the title sardar under Chatrpati Shahu.

Sardar Anandrao Bhikaji Raste of Wai built a beautiful palace called Motibag, in 1787 AD, about a mile and half from Wai. The palace today stands in the midst of a ruined garden with fountains. The palace was constructed with due consideration for the setting. The front part of Motibag resembles the Asar Mahal of Bijapur, with this difference that its arches are highly decorative and curved, whereas those of the Asar Mahal are simple like the Roman arches.

Motibag is a two-storeyed building with beautiful wooden arches and cypress pillars. The space between the ceiling and the pillars has fine paintings done on the Rajput style. The walls too had painting in brilliant colours depicting court scenes, domestic life, armies on the march and stories form the epics. Most of the paintings on the walls in the main hall on the first storey have faded away. Their fast fading condition has been noted in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XIX, 1885 A.D.

In the main hall on the first storey of the Motibag mansion, below the border of the ceiling and above the pillars there are in all 108 painting on all the four sides of the hall. In the four corners of the hall are paintings of Majnun. The matted hair of Majnun is beautifully arrayed. The four paintings of Majnun one in each corner
creates some symmetry which is otherwise totally absent in the arrangement of the paintings.

**Menavli, Desh, Refer plan Fig. 3.8**

*Menavli* is about a kilometer and half from Wai as the crow flies. It stands on the left bank of the river Krishna. Descending from the steep hills of Mahabaleshwar, the river flows by Menavli taking a southward turn. The range of Panchagani ghats to the west of the hamlet and the fort of Pandavagad to its north, lend an enchanting view to the eye. Nana Phadnis who founded this village on the river-bank, has displayed his aesthetic sense in selecting the site for his countryside residence.

Menavli was once a wooded country. Even today the road from Wai to Menavli has rows of mango trees on either side. According to a current legend they were planted by a local nobleman to make his daughter’s journey pleasant when she passed along this road to her in-law’s house. The country around Menavli abounded in monkeys, cuckoos, cranes, peacocks, parrots and a variety of birds and small game like the fox, boar and cheetah. The cheetah has been almost exterminated by poachers. Only the fox and wild boar survive in the vastness of forest. The flora and fauna of the locality have found a place in the wall-paintings of Menavli.

Menavli was granted to Nana Phadnis by *mantri* and *pratinidhi*. Here Nana constructed a villa, a *ghat* on the Krishna river and the temples of Amruteshwar and Laxmi-Vasudeva. A huge Church-bell seized by the Marathas from the Portuguese as a war trophy in the Bassein campaign of 1739 AD, is hung in front of Amruteshwar temple. It bears the year 1706 AD, with the figures of Mary and Jesus. Nana never got enough time for leisure from his busy political schedule at Pune to live in retirement in this quiet country-house. He paid a few short visits to Menavli.

Wall paintings in the *wada* and in the temple of Laxmi-Vasudeva which were made sometime between 1770 AD and 1800 AD have been comparatively well preserved to this day. But they are not likely to last long unless special measures are taken for the preservation of the buildings which are giving way to time, rains and a need for maintenance.
Satara, Desh

The historic city of Satara was selected as the seat of the Maratha Government by Rajaram during the troubled years of the Maratha War of Independence, (1689 AD - 1707 AD). He took this decision on the recommendation of Ramachandrapant Amatya. Later, the city came into prominence under Chhatrapati Shahu I, when he chose it for his residence after formally crowning himself as king. It enjoyed uninterrupted peace during his reign. At the foot of the hill-fort, Azam Tara, Shahu constructed a palace for himself called Rang Mahal. The name suggests that is was an attempt to revive the memory of Lal Mahal constructed by Shahaji at Poona for his wife Jijabai and son Shivaji. Once Satara gained the status of a royal city, building activity grew rapidly, both for private and state purposes. The Maratha courtiers, who were required to stay there or visit the city very often for political reasons, built wadas or mansions for their residence. Among the well-known wadas may be mentioned the Adalat Wada, sachiv’s mansion, Pant Pratinidhi’s mansion, Daphale’s mansion and Matu’s mansion. The Peshwas too had their mansion at Satara. The Rang Manal was very near the Adalat Wada where the descendants of the Chhatrapati’s family reside at present. The Rang Mahal was burnt in 1874 AD.

Tasgaon and Mahuli, Desh

Tasgaon is a taluka in the Sangli district. Under Peshva Madhavrao I, it became the principal place or Jagir of the Patwardhan family. In the surrounding area the temple of Ganapati constructed by the Patwardhan family and their own mansion are well-known historical buildings. The temple was begun by Parashurambhau Patwardhan in 1799 AD and completed by his son, Appasaheb. The seven-storeyed gopura at the entrance of the entrance of the temple is based on the style of the gopuras in South India.

The walls of the temple and the mansion were once profusely painted. The temple walls have religious paintings, stylised tress and palms forming the background done in red. Golden colour is freely used in all these paintings and some religious stories done against a red background appear to the right. Red and golden colours are prominent in the temple. Almost all the paintings have faded away.
Nagpur, Refer plan Fig. 3.8

Nagpur formed part of Gondvana which was ruled by Gond rajas until it was conquered by Raghujli Bhonsle I. The Bhonsle family draws its origins from the royal clan of the Marathas and the house of the Bhonsles to which Chhatrapati Shivaji belonged. The Bhonsles of Nagpur are also known as Hanganikars.

The founder of the Bhonsle family was Madhoji - the patel of Deor in the Satara district.

Pune, Refer plan Fig. 3.8

The city in the early Hindu period; c.90 BC the settlement in Pune functioned as a well fortified and organized settlement. It was under the rule of the powerful Hindu dynasties like the Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas and Yadavas. This went on till the thirteenth century when it came under the rule of the Muslims. The conditions deteriorated under the invading Islamic rulers. The Peshwas took over the city after Shivaji had recaptured it torn the rulers. They made it their imperial seat, in the early eighteenth century when the Maratha rule passed over from the descendents of Shivaji to the Peshwa administrators. The original settlement of kasba was bound by the river Mutha on the North West and the Nagzari nala on the East. It thus was well fortified by natural means. The increase in the power of the empire led to the increase in size and density of its capital. Pune grew from the small kasba or market town to a full-scale administrative and military capital.

The Ganesha temple, a reminiscent of the time prior to the Peshwas, still stands in the Kasba peth. This is located to the right of the Shaniwar Wada which was constructed later as the Peshwa palace. In addition to the Shaniwar Wada, there were six Government Wadas used to house foreign dignitaries and host government functions. Rulers of allied states, like the Gaekwads of Baroda. the Shindes of Gwalior and the Holkars of Indore also constructed their wadas in Pune. While all the wadas were adorned with carved wood fenestrations and brackets, they ranged widely from unimposing row houses to palatial structures. About 350 remain today in various states of despair.

Geographical Location: the city lies on the 74° East longitude and between 18°4' and 18°5' North latitudes. All the main routes across the state pass through Pune, as it is
centrally located. The rivers Mula and Mutha now flow through the town, which originally developed only on one side of these rivers. Bound by the Sahyadri ranges on the East, the topography of Pune is relatively flat as it lies in the Deccan plateau.

Climate: Like most parts of non-coastal Maharashtra, the climate of Pune is very dry and extreme in nature. Temperature could go up to 40°C in the summer and down to an average minimum of 7°C in the cold months of December and January.
Appendix C : Regional interview format in Marathi

11 श्रं 11

ही का र यो आंकवण कार्यक विविधता संखे म्याच विद्युतीक नपले. कोणती म्हणून सुद्धा आंकवण उपाय विशेषतः आंकवण असंगतीतलेले म्हटले आहेत. उदाहरणार्थ 2007 वर्षात, 2008 वर्षात आंकवणाचे आपले वर्तमान असंगतीत आली आहे. त्याच्या नावाच्या आंकवणाच्या उपलब्धता आणि आंकवणाच्या उपलब्धता म्हणजेच आंकवण असंगतीत आली आहे.
-3-

यदि व्यक्ति का जीवन विनाश हो जाए,
हमें गंभीरता के साथ रोज काम करना होता,
क्योंकि वे अपने जीवन में सिद्धियाँ मिलती हैं,
जिससे हम भविष्य में काम कर सकते हैं। इसे देखते हुए,
कहा जा सकता है कि वे अपने जीवन में सकारात्मक
दृष्टि रखते हैं, जिससे उन्हें खुशी और शांति होती है।

यदि हमें लगने लगे कि हमारे जीवन में कुछ भी बदलता है,
तभी हम अपना जीवन नए मात्रों के साथ आगे बढ़ाते हैं। इसी
लिए हम अपने जीवन में सकारात्मक दृष्टिकोण को बढ़ाते हैं,
जिससे हम अपने जीवन में खुशी और शांति अर्जित कर सकते हैं।