A Comparative Study of Transformations in Traditional House Form: The Case of Nagpur Region, India

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Abstract

This paper aims at understanding the challenges in the study of transformation of traditional house-forms of Nagpur region. The conventional method of longitudinal study to understand change is sometimes difficult due to lack of documentations of traditional built environments. Often, scholars cannot map the layers of change in the built-form over a period of life time or beyond.

This paper takes the smallest unit of the urban fabric; house which adapts to changes and can provide glimpses of the larger picture of built-environmental change. The traditional houses existing in urban settings depict flexibility to adapt to the changing patterns of living. Hence, the comparative study method is adapted to generate the pattern of continuity and change in the traditional house-form (Wada) in Nagpur and analyzes intangible attributes. A hierarchy of settlements is selected as the remote village lags in time and is least influenced by technological changes, while the town is moderately influenced and is in the phase of transition. The city is the most influenced by the forces of modernization and expresses maximum changes.

The paper examines the ‘house form and setting’ of three scales of settlements of Nagpur region (India), adapting parallel or the comparative method to study transformations placed within the same climatic conditions. Houses studied are placed in village (Chichkheda), in the core of historic town (Pauni) and the walled city of Nagpur. These case studies have been comparatively studied in terms of neighborhood, spatial organization, kinship-structure, patterns of cooking and sacred-profane spaces. The paper concludes with analysis of continuity and change in the house form of Nagpur by identifying the attributes that resist change and attributes that have changed due to modernization.

Key Words: Transformation, Cultural and social attributes, Comparative method, Traditional house form.
Introduction

Understanding continuity and change to speculate over the future is a significant component of vernacular studies. The process and factors governing the change has been the major concern of studies related to transformations. The facets of change are more than the physical transformation which include social, cultural, economic and political changes. Such studies need to be focused on the contribution of intangible attributes to transformation of built-form. Multi-disciplinary analysis of architectural form is a better approach to study transformations. Research demands integration of viewpoints of other disciplines to work out methods and tools anchoring upon multiple disciplines. This process and method of confluence of various fields other than architecture itself is one of the challenges of research in vernacular studies. Vernacular issues need to be addressed by fields like, anthropology, history, archeology, phenomenology, geography and architecture (Oliver, 2006). Research pertaining to understanding ‘change’ begins with the study of what has changed and the way changes have occurred. Considering ‘house’ as a typology to study transformation deals with not just the evolution of house form or the normative theory. But understand the patterns of living to which the contemporary societies could relate to. As Vellinga (2006) points out, the study of transformations need to be extended beyond un-layering the past.

Transformations of settlements whether urban rural or tribal is an inevitable phenomenon. But changes occurring in the past were natural and took place from within. It was a gradual process and occurred with due respect to climate, community and cultural needs as a process of refinement. With the forces of modernization, the societies have witnessed the change in their patterns of living, which is more intense in the developing countries. To understand the direction of growth, it is imperative to map the pattern of change seeking clues for future trends. As Dayaratne, (2008) argues, ‘The emerging hybridities need to be mapped, theorized and articulated in order to bring to focus the metamorphosis presently taking place in the contemporary settlement and its architecture’

This paper focuses on the process of change which is evident due to forces of modernization. It seeks to understand the sudden changes that are brought in the pattern of living due to modernization. To explore the facets of transformation, the authors have selected ‘house and its setting’ to reflect upon the changing life styles.

2.1 Theoretical Frame Work

Generally, the study of transformations is conducted through two broad phases; first searching for the ‘traditional core’ and then analyzing ‘continuity and change’ of the ‘traditional core’. The studies also integrate the analysis of built form with social, cultural, economic and historical aspects. ‘Traditional core’ are the elements which have remained constant within the process of transformation of the traditional environments. To study ‘continuity and change’ which has occurred over a period require mapping such change over a considerable period of time. However, time necessary to witness change may go beyond the life time of a scholar, and thus may not enable him/her to seek the layers of change that have occurred in the built-forms, particularly of a built environment that changes slowly.
‘Continuity and change’ in any built environment is broadly analyzed in two ways; **Longitudinal Method** or the **Sequential Analysis** and **Comparative Method** or **Parallel Analysis**. Longitudinal Method is a conventional method which analyzes the layers of change. Lawrence writes that “an historical perspective is crucial for understanding how both physical and socio-cultural factors change and how these kinds of transformations are embodied in design and use of buildings. This perspective ought to be incorporated in studies of vernacular architecture” (1987: 29). The chronological study provides a clear perspective of change that has occurred in the built-form, but this method demands documented evidence of the study area. It is based on the historical and archeological evidence, which may not be available for most of the cities in the developing countries.

“Building(s) can be studied in different ways. One can look at them chronologically, tracing the development over time either of techniques, forms and ideas, or of the thoughts of the designer, or one can study them from a specific point of view. In our case the latter is most useful method, since, as we have seen, primitive and vernacular buildings are distinguished by lack of change, differing in this respect from the more ‘normal’ historical material. These buildings are, therefore, basically non-chronological in nature”.

(Rapoport, 1969: 15)

The principle feature of vernacular (traditional) architecture is the lack of change or slow change. Thus, instead of a chronological study to search for the original form, a more fruitful approach would be that the vernacular structure is studied in its existing context. Nevertheless, longitudinal studies can be adopted where it is feasible.

For example, Dayaratne (2006) has adopted the longitudinal method to study the transformation of Sinhalese settlements through a periodical survey of rural and urban settlements of different geographical locations. He has Integrated the longitudinal and comparative methods by studying the cases in the present context with least un-layering of the settlement fabric. In contrast, Yildiz (2006) has explored the changing trends in house-form applying comparative method to analyze the changes in the usage of domestic spaces of traditional and contemporary dwellings. Similarly, Shah (2008) has investigated through the comparative method, a cultural group who has migrated to a different location and has identified traditional core elements which continued to influence dwelling spaces.

**2.1 The Study Framework**

The ‘traditional houses’ existing in urban settings depict flexibility to adapt to the changing patterns of living.

‘Traditional as a continuous creative process through which people, as active agents, negotiate, interpret and adapt knowledge and experiences gained in the past within the context of challenges, wishes and requirements of the present. It is a process of active regeneration and transformation of knowhow and practices within a contemporary local context, that does not exist on its own or apart from people that transmit it.

(Vellinga, 2006: 89).
The approach to study ‘traditional House-form’ does not search for ‘authentic’ vernacular; but search for deeper meanings and the manner in which the impact of modernization is addressed by the built-form.

Searching the ‘traditional core’ is most successfully carried out through analysis of house and its surrounding. A household forms the basic unit of society and portrays every aspect of human life. Study of house-form is an important typology which reflects each aspect of change in the society. According to Oliver,

“The basic of all societies is the family unit; which has its significance in the larger societal contexts. Among the architectural forms, housing, which is the outcome of sheltering culture of a person, takes the lead of the forms directly reflecting the social and economic features of society”.

(Public Lecture, 2007)

House is the cultural icon and is place-specific; it is the outcome of its surrounding and changing cultural traits. ‘houses, being the direct expression of changing values, images, perceptions and ways of life, as well as of certain constancies, become a very fruitful topic of study’ (Rapoport, 1969). The study of house-form is incomplete without consideration of its surrounding i.e. the streets, the neighbourhood and open spaces. This paper analyzes houses within a rural setting, and semi-urban and urban settings to generate a pattern of continuity and change in the house-form.

3.1 METHODOLOGICAL FRAME WORK:

This paper deliberates on comprehending the use of comparative method to study change from the most remote village to the city. The study deals with analyzing the changes in the traditional house-form (Wada) of Maharashtra, particularly of Nagpur region. Comparative method of study is emphasized due to less documented evidence available of the ‘Wadas’ of this region. The study is conducted in three hierarchies of settlements (within the same geographic condition), a remote village’s house and setting, the traditional house-form in the core of a small town and traditional house existing in city core. Three houses from each settlement are studied to draw conclusions. As a study of transformation that deals with ‘place, time and technology’, the authors have considered place (region) as fixed entity, with changing ‘time’ the way ‘technology’ plays a significant role in changing the life styles. Hierarchy of settlements is selected as the remote village is lagging in time and is least influenced by technological changes, while the town is moderately influenced and is in the phase of transition and city is the most influenced and reflects maximum changes. According to Chutapruttiikorn (2008), ‘some traditional elements might disappear, some might be retained, and some are modified or adapted to meet the new needs’. Presently most of the Wadas of Nagpur city have been demolished or renovated owing to the conflict with the changing life style. These assumptions are reflected with changing elements in the traditional house-form with different levels of urbanization.
Based on a reconnaissance survey and literature study, the parameters for comparative study were formulated (Fig. 1). The neighbourhood is studied as a part of the ‘social variable’ to understand the changes that have occurred in relation to ‘social network’ and ‘privacy’. The traditional house form is studied as part of the larger setting i.e. neighbourhood or Vetal. The changes occurring at the neighbourhood level has its impact on the house as part of the social system. Second is the ‘family structure’ (kinship structure); the change from extended to nuclear families has influenced the traditional house-form. The family structure is considered for study as it has predominantly changed the urban setting and its impact on the traditional house-form needs to be analyzed. Third and fourth parameters are the ‘patterns of cooking’ and ‘sacred and profane spaces’ as part of cultural attribute (Figure 1). According to Lawrence,

‘Preparation and eating of food in spaces associated with the dwelling is common to all cultures. Preparing and eating food reveal the socially and culturally defined demarcations between male and female and between parent and child which are not evident in the use of other spaces and facilities inside the house. Preparation and eating of food is largely related to history of ideas and values upheld by people in specific contexts at specific points in time.’

(1987: 83)

Pattern of cooking thus provides clues about the role of women in the family and has an impact on the spatial organization. The fourth attribute is ‘sanctity and profanity’, the daily and annual rituals carried out within the household depicts the religious beliefs and customs of the family and the continuity and change occurring as a cultural attribute.

Figure 1: Attributes to Analyze Wadas (traditional house-form) of Nagpur Region
[Based on Rapoport (1998), and Lawrence (1987) interpreted by Asquith (2006) and method of comparative of continuity and change in traditional house-from]
3.1.1 Typical Features of ‘Wada’

The Wadas (traditional houses of Nagpur region) were developed during the Bhosale period (1746-1853) and followed a typical pattern of house building with courtyards (Girhe, 2004). The Wada and ‘Chawk’ is a module of traditional house-form where the number of chawks in the Wada, depicted the status of the family. Surrounding the Chawks are the open verandahs (osari) which allow multiple activities to take place. The typical Wada is two storied and overlooks the chowk. The chowk acts as a visual connector and ventilates the interior spaces of the Wada. The Chawk also functions as a transition space between the public and private areas of the house. Within the larger plot, the structure is placed abutting the approach road with an imposing entrance door termed as Dindi along with rooms for watchmen called devadi. The house is protected with a high compound wall termed as Tatabandi. The entrance verandah is used to receive the strangers. The houses have relatively small front yards and huge backyards. The spaces in the Wada are flexible and are used for multiple activities during day and night-times. As Desai (2007) notes, ‘all societies have function-specific as well as multipurpose areas. Traditional houses world over use predominantly undifferentiated and non-static spaces for multiple activities’. However, Kotharkar (2009) notes that the Wadas in the Nagpur region do not reflect the modern concept of differentiated spaces for various activities wherein each room is connected to another and different activities exist on a collective plane. The sacred spaces are the most important in the house and at times so elaborate that there are Wadas encompassing a temple that is accessible by any outsider or stranger. The spaces for cattle shed, the servant rooms and toilets are located in the backyard. Every Wada is provided with areas for plantation and space for holy Basil (tulas) as an essential feature of every house. According to the caste, occupation and status of the family, the size and location of Wada is designed, but basic planning principle remains similar. With increase in status and wealth of the family, the architectural elements and furnishing become more distinct. (Fig. 2)

4.1 STUDY AREAS

Three settlements, namely the village (Chichkheda) with 250 persons, Town (Pauni) with a population size of about 23,000 and a city (Nagpur) with population about 24,0000 (Census, 2011) are selected for the comparative study (Fig. 3). Nagpur, the second capital of the State of Maharashtra, has a history of more than 300 years and has continuously transformed since its founding. The major milestones of transformations correspond with different rulers in the past.

Urbanization of Nagpur took place in the first half of the 18th century surrounding the fort of Gond Raja. It was during the Bhosale period (1746-1853) that the place acquired an urban character. This period is considered the Golden Age in the history of Nagpur. Bhosale were Maratha rulers of Pune and were deputed to keep an eye on Nizam’s movement in the eastern region of the country.
As the Bhosale were on temporary deputation, its architectural character could not achieve the glory of the Maratha architecture as in places of western Maharashtra. Nagpur being the geographic center of India, its architecture is influenced by Bengal and Rajasthan state and in a later period, by the Colonial style.
**Pauni** is a town 50kms from Nagpur and is located on the river bank and is known as the historic and religious town of the region. **Pauni** is dependent on Nagpur for commercial, educational and medical needs. It is a fortified town and has defined the historic core around which the town has sprawled. Within the core, the **Wadas** exist and are constructed during the same period of **Wadas** in Nagpur. **Chichkheda** is a remote village located 9 kms from **Pauni**. The population of the village is about 250 persons and every household is engaged in agricultural activities which take place surrounding the village. **Chichkheda** is dependent on **Pauni** for all its commercial, religious, educational and medical needs (Figure 3). The house forms in Chichkheda are simple and not of the scale of **Wadas** of the town and city, but have elements common to the **Wada**.

### 5.1 FACTORS FOR COMPARATIVE STUDY

#### 5.1.1 Neighbourhood (Vetal) of Village:

The concept of neighbourhood is well defined in terms of its physical territory due to homogenous character in all the selected case studies as they belong to the traditional setting. These neighbourhoods have evolved over a period of time having homogeneity based on same occupation, caste and class and are termed as ‘vetal’.

![Figure 4: Layout of the Village (Left), Open spaces and neighbourhood (Right)](source: VII Sem. Studio project, SMMCA, Nagpur)

In the case of the village (**Chichkheda**) the neighbourhood extends up to the village level as components forming the neighbourhood such as open spaces, community center and well is shared at village level. The ‘well’ serves beyond its mere function of providing water, and is the hub of social activity and a place for women to interact, who are otherwise confined within the house. This phenomenon has been historic and the well was associated with symbolic and religious meaning since sharing water by certain castes was restricted. This trend still continues to exist in **Chichkheda**. The layout of the settlement has evolved with all community amenities like well, open space, shops, a religious structure and community hall that is placed at the entrance to the village. The community space at the entrance of the village restricts the movement of the outsiders. The concept of privacy and security of the village from the strangers is predominant as every person in the village knows each other and also the location of houses. (Fig. 4)
5.1.2 Neighbourhood (Vetal) of Small Town

The concept of neighbourhood in Pauni has a different meaning. Based on the primary survey conducted of the household, the level of security and safety has been reduced in the past few years as most of the houses have been vacated and families have shifted to cities for jobs or education. These families visit Pauni once or twice annually for certain religious rituals. The prevalent sense of security and territoriality has been hampered and the religious and social activities carried out at neighbourhood level have decreased. The cohesive residential areas have been disintegrated leading to loss of neighbourhood concept (Vetal). (Fig. 5)

Figure 5: (Left) Neighbourhood Fabric of Pauni (Right) Residential neighbourhood of town

5.1.3 Neighbourhood of City

Walled traditional core (Mahal) of Nagpur historically has clusters of neighbourhoods sharing similar castes and occupations. After the First World War, the upper middle class families felt the necessity of having convenient self-contained blocks or self-owned houses (Gazetteer). During this period, city formed housing societies and purchased huge open lands in the vicinity of the old city at low prices and constructed bungalows with modern amenities. They migrated to these areas to avail better infrastructure and openness. This phenomenon re-occurred after the Second World War (Pathak 2006). Migration had a certain pattern, the families shifted in groups to new localities and a community character was achieved to newly developed areas. But the reverse happened within the core. The old houses or Wadas were sold by the families. The migration of families from the core to the outskirts created a change in land-use from residential to commercial. Historically integrated residential areas with distinct identities transformed to fragment neighbourhoods (Mawale, 2000). The neighbourhoods which were based on social and cultural commonalities started diminishing due to change in occupation and economy. The old structures were either pulled down or renovated (Fig. 6). This trend still continues to prevail and have largely hampered the homogeneity of neighbourhood and the concept of ‘Vetal’. Change in occupation of the residents and land-use has adversely affected the social fabric leading to issues related to safety and security within the traditional neighbourhoods of Nagpur.
5.2 COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL HOUSE FORMS OF HIERARCHY OF SETTLEMENTS:

5.2.1 Analysis of Village House-form

The house in the village is considered as a representative of traditional inter-relationship between spatial organization and activity pattern. The traditional system of extended family and gender distinction exist in the village. House-form of the village is the most untouched by waves of modernization and continues to fulfill the long-established activities. Least changes are made in the rural houses which retain its cohesive fabric at neighbourhood and village level.

Figure 7: Typical house form of the village
Source: VII Sem. Studio project, SMMCA, Nagpur

Spatial Organization and Activity pattern:

Houses in the village are in form of three-four compartments with spaces used for multiple activities. Provision of semi-open spaces in front and rear provides functional flexibility. The semi-open spaces termed as osari forms the most important element of the house. Traditionally, the osari is used for multiple activities throughout the day by both men and women of the family. The space is used for social interaction as it is visually and
physically connected with the entrance. The open space (angan) surrounding the osari is used for cleaning and drying of grains for annual storage, sorting and storing of firewood for cooking and fodder for the livestock. The osari is connected with the cattle shed to keep an eye on the family livestock.

Family Structure:

The Kinship-structure within the village is mostly intact with the extended families. The gender-based roles are prominent in the families. The spaces within the house are assigned by gender usage. The semi-open space at the entrance is mostly used by men of the house for social activity. The side open space (angan) is used by women of the house, and this space allows neighbouring women to gather during afternoons for collectively preparing certain food-items which are stored and used throughout the year. The large storage (Bakhari) within the house is an essential space connected with the kitchen and used by the women. The central portion of the house is used as kitchen and space for worshiping, which is the only enclosed space of the house acting as private zones, mostly used by the women of the family. (Fig. 7)

Pattern of Cooking:

In the village, the pattern of cooking takes place in the most traditional form (Chula) with no elevated cooking platform or the use of any modern appliances. The high ceiling of kitchen, vent-out the smoke created due to firewood. The storage spaces are in the form of niches in the thick mud walls. The space for cooking is sacred and the entry to the kitchen takes place after washing of hands and feet. The women during their menstruation cycle are restricted to enter this place. The floor is thoroughly washed every morning before cooking. The consumption of food is in the traditional pattern, with men and children of the family being served the food in the kitchen. The cooking, serving of food and cleaning of the kitchen are the domain of women. (Fig. 8)
Sacred Spaces:

The houses in the village, although small have well defined sacred space. These spaces are mostly located inside the kitchen; the deities are placed on elevated platform. Apart from worshipping space, the basil plant, and kitchen are sacred space within the house and restricted by entry of the outsider. (Fig. 9)

5.2.2 Analysis of House-form of Town

Spatial Organization and Activity pattern:

Due to disintegrated residential neighbourhood of the town and the city, the families prefer introvert and enclosed spaces. This has created an inclination for the use of enclosed and private spaces as against the traditional pattern of open and semi-open spaces. The multi-functional built and un-built spaces have now been assigned with certain functions. The traditional activities performed in the osari and angan have diminished; the drying of grains have reduced as cleaned monthly-packed grains are preferred than the annual storage. As a result, the large storage spaces of the Wadas are reused for other activities. (Fig. 8)

Family Structure:

The Kinship- structure within the Wadas of the town is mostly extended families. But the younger generations of the families have shifted to urban areas for education or occupation. Due to this reason most of the spaces of the Wadas remain unused. The spaces accessible from the entrance gate (Dindi) are rented out for security and financial gain. During the religious and family functions, the family members visit the Wada.

Figure 9: Sacred Space of Village house
Source: Authors

Figure 10: Pattern of storage, Kitchen with platform cooking and old kitchen converted into storage in Wadas of the town. Source: Authors
Pattern of Cooking:

In most of the Wadas in the Pauni (town), the room initially used as the kitchen (shwepak-ghar) is large and elongated with provision for traditional pattern of cooking. This is now used for storage. This kitchen is used only during family or religious functions. Well-equipped modern-style kitchens are been constructed in the adjoining room with provision of a cooking platform, water connection and a sink. The Wadas in Pauni use the dual kitchens as renovation of the old kitchen is not preferred. The kitchen is a sacred space as daily cooking for the deity takes place before family consumed the meals. However, the traditional pattern of storage in the wall niches still continues. The eating activity is carried out on the floor of drawing room which is well lighted and ventilated. (Fig. 10)

Sacred Spaces:

The Wadas of the town have defined ‘sacred’ spaces with restricted entry to outsiders. The sacred spaces form a hierarchy which coincides with the level of private spaces; the entrance courtyard with holy basil is a public space, the plinth or the semi-open verandah (osari) forms the next in the hierarchy which requires removal of footwear for entry while the enclosed spaces are semi-public with access to relatives or close friends being available. The kitchen and the space of worship (devghar) are the most sacred and private spaces of the house. (Fig. 11)

Figure 11: Space for worshiping the center of the house. Source: Authors

Figure 12: Courtyard with sacred plants, elevated space for worshiping, Renovated Kitchen with modern gadgets in Wadas of the city
Source: Authors
5.2.3 Analysis of House-form of City:

Spatial Organization and Activity pattern:

The activities related to open spaces are reduced as they are replaced by parking of vehicles. The enclosed places have more usage than the traditionally focus open and semi-open spaces. Within the enclosed spaces, the sub-division in terms of bed rooms and personal spaces has been created through renovation. The spaces within the Wadas have been renovated to accommodate modern furniture. Due to addition of furniture, the flexibility of space has reduced and is often used for a single activity.

Family Structure:

Most of the Wadas in Nagpur have been partitioned amongst the children, which has formed multiple kitchens. The house is converted into multi-family units, sharing common amenities. Renovations of different parts owned different families have taken place depending on the financial conditions and needs of each sub-family. The bedrooms for couples and children are defined during the process of renovation. The courtyards (Chawks) and osaries however are used for family gathering and entertaining common guests.

Pattern of Cooking:

The kitchens in the Wadas are completely renovated and equipped with modern appliances depicting the changing lifestyles. Every sub-family has its own kitchen and a provision of a dining table reveals the importance of eating together. The traditional pattern of cooking using ‘chula’ has diminished. During the religious functions, a temporary ‘chula’ is made in the open space for cooking for the family and guests.

Sacred Spaces:

The daily religious rituals are strictly followed by the families. The place for worshipping the deity is elevated and forms the heart of the house with elaborate rituals been conducted. The festivals celebrated by the family for generations are considered central and are performed in a similar manner. Family and social gathering are carried out during the festivals and traditional patterns of cooking and eating are adapted. Similar to the Wadas of the town, the Wadas in the city have defined hierarchy of spaces related to sacredness and privacy. The place for holy basil (tulas) in the angan is considered sacred and is lighted with traditional lamps after sunset. (Fig. 12)

6.0 INFERENCES OF CASE STUDIES:

![Figure 13: Schematic representation of comparative study of transformation of attributes of city, town, village house-form and neighbourhood](source: Authors)
The concepts of neighbourhood have changed from the village to the city. The *Wada* of the city portrays an independent entity and not linked with its surrounding. The focus of the house-form in the city has shifted from open spaces to enclosed spaces, thus disconnecting it from the neighbourhood. Preference for the introvert patterns of living has increased in both the town and the city. The function of the open and semi-open spaces of *Wada* of town (*Pauni*) and the city (*Nagpur*) has undergone transformations with changes in the lifestyles. The spaces within the traditional houses have been transformed from flexible to rigid with defined functions. The transformations at the neighbourhood level have influenced the social activities. The changing land-use and family structure are important factors for non-cohesive neighbourhoods of the city. The change of extended families to nuclear families depicts the importance of individuality and personal spaces. The gender-based privacy zones in the house are replaced couple-based privacy.

The kitchens have transformed the most, reflecting social change and change in the status of women within the family. The analysis of cooking and eating activity in the three cases depict pattern of change from the traditional pattern in the village to the phase of transition in the town to the adaptation of the contemporary style of kitchen in the city. Acceptance of modern appliances and accordingly the renovation within the built-form has been carried out in the kitchens of town and city houses. The traces of change in the pattern of cooking are evident with the change in fuel type and is also due to considerable reduction of time taken for cooking.

The study of sanctity and profanity of spaces within the house-form in the rural, semi-urban and urban setup depict that these spaces are least modified. Amongst the attributes, the religious rituals have largely remained unaltered and follow similar patterns of sacred spaces for many generations. Worshiping the deity and daily routine related to religion display continuation of religious activity are similar in the village, the town and the city. Cooking of traditional cuisine and gathering of family members and relatives during religious festivals still prevail. Although demarcation of sacred and profane spaces of the *Wada* of the city has merged, it is still defined through the activities and movement patterns. (Fig. 13)

7.0 CONCLUSION:

![Figure 14: House-form and neighbourhood of Villages and Towns subjected to lesser forces of change. They lag behind time in terms of external forces of change. Source: Authors](image)
In this research, a comparative study method was adapted as a tool to understand transformations within the ‘House-form’ as a manifestation of the changing activity patterns of rural, semi-urban and urban fabric. The method explored the possibility of placing the three sets of examples of different time periods at a level for analysis. The three settlements were used to depict the influence of modernization and pace of change (Figure 14). Amongst all the attributes identified in (Figure 1), the attributes most influential are selected for the study. The study demonstrates the usefulness of the ‘comparative study’ of hierarchy of settlements to understand continuity and change in the traditional built-form as a tool which provides a broader picture and displays the traits of change. Through the comparative study of attributes and architectural spaces of house form of a village, a town and a city of same climatic region, inferences related to transformations could be drawn. It is suggested that there is a need to study similar cases of ‘house and setting’ of villages, towns and cities to obtain the patterns of change within the traditional house-form.

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