

APPENDIX 7: PORTFOLIO

Contents

Introduction to Analysis of Projects and Settings	1
Making Projects:	
Making Project One: Well Restoration	3
Making Project Two: Storytelling	5
Making Project: Buksh Museum of Hobbycraft	15
Topography of Commitment:	
Committees of Maintenance	23
Comparison: Shahi Masjid and Sikawar Mandir	26
Inter-basti Civic Settings: Analysis of Workshop Sites	33
Interior-basti civic Settings: Analysis of Workshop Sites	60
Heritage Transect Walks	78
Peripheral Urban Heritage	83
Celebrated Civic Settings	84

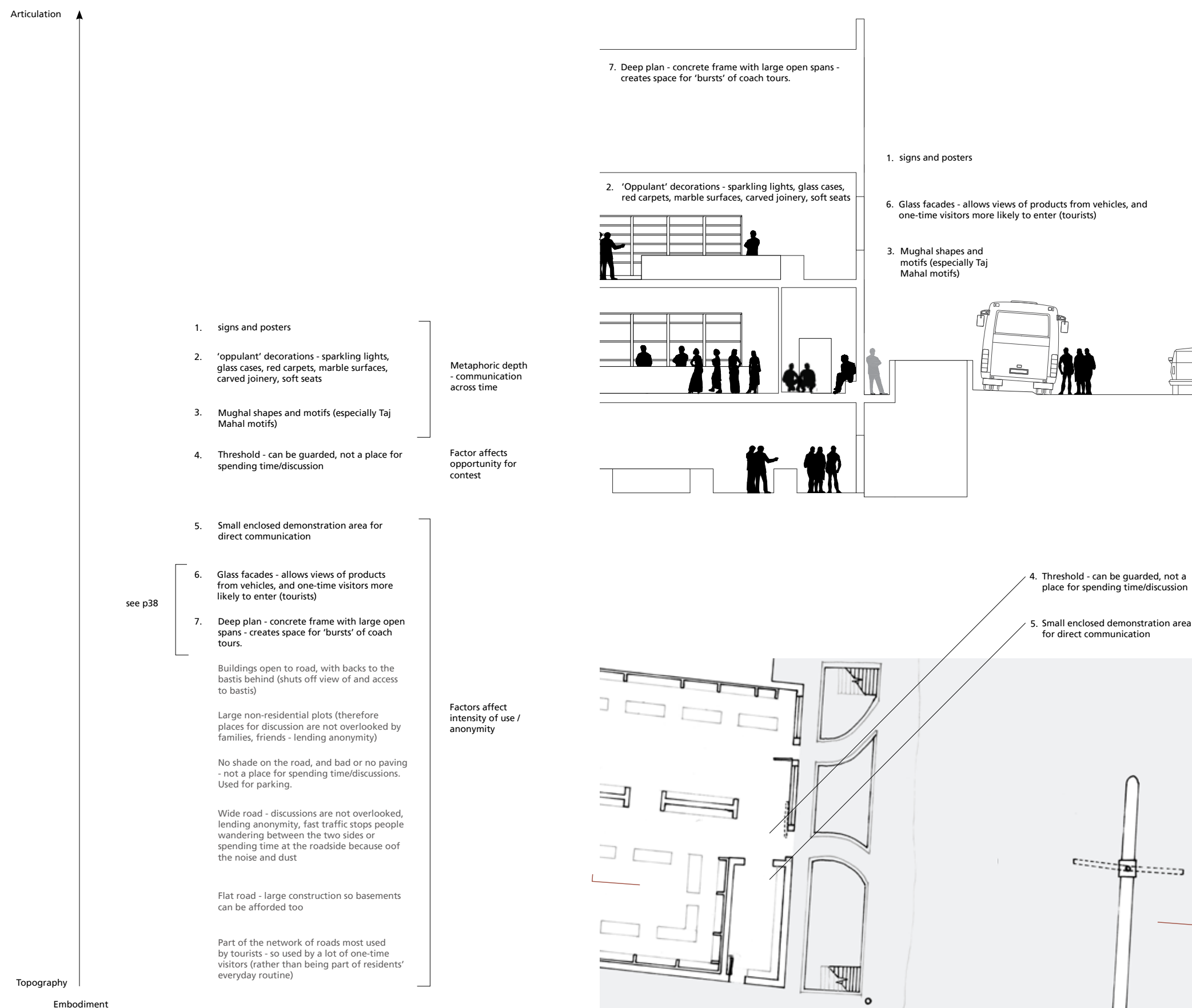


Analysing the Topography of Commitment to Place: Introduction

Communicative Order

The communicative order of each setting is described using a diagram siting the setting's architectural elements between **topography** and **articulation** after Vesely (2004).

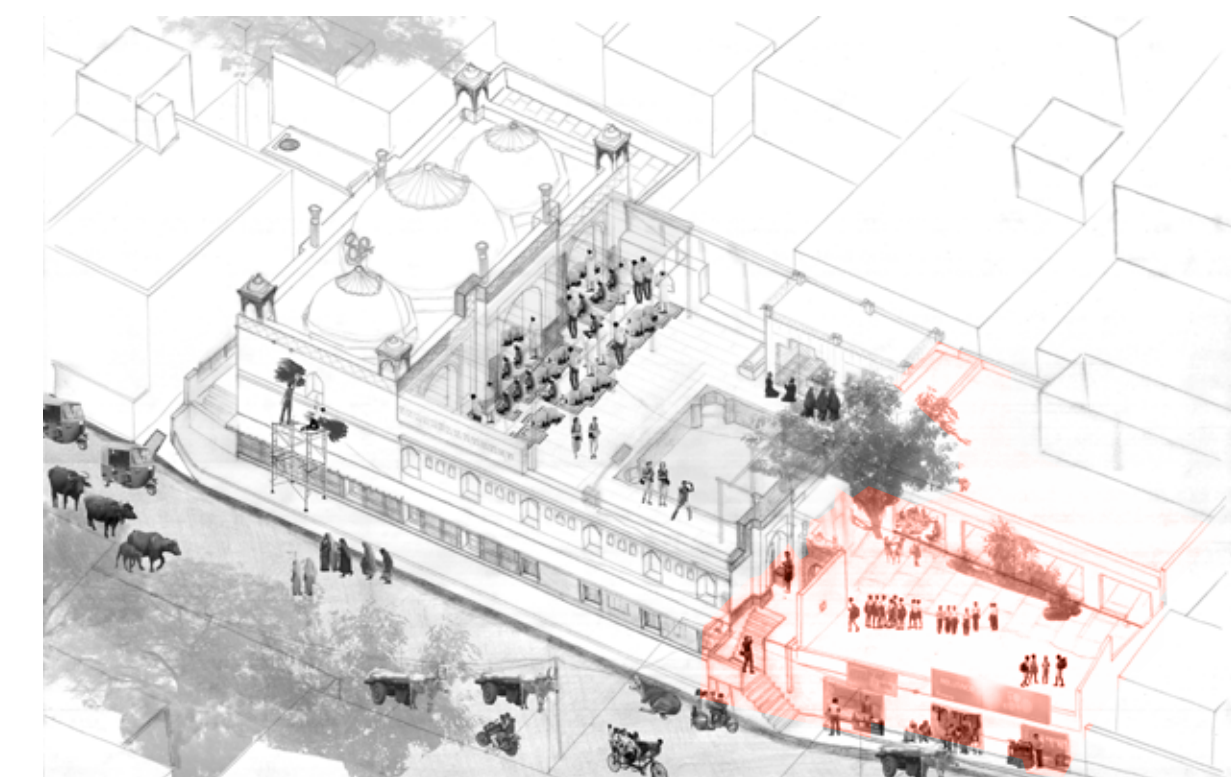
Example: Souvenir Emporium, Main Road



Civic Possibilities

The civic possibilities of each setting are looked at in terms of the **Opportunity to Encounter Difference**; the **Opportunity to Negotiate the Setting's Urban Conditions** and the **Metaphoric Depth of the Urban Negotiation** adapted from Carl (2015).

Example: Madrasa



The verandah has a view of the bazaar street but is removed from it due to its higher level and step back, unlike the temple committee. Easily accessible, the mosque committee meetings can take place in the neighbouring plot to the Lodi Temple Committee without being too visible or audible; however the presence of both on the street is clear, and they both look out over the street activity.

Conversation C. Opportunity to encounter difference: daily gathering point on busy street



The meeting point neighbours other committee meeting points along the bazaar street, such as the Lodi temple meeting point - this allows urban discussions to take place at a larger scale, if necessary.

Conversation C. Opportunity to negotiate urban conditions



The madrasa is largely simply decorated, and clean - subservient in message to the mosque next to it. The gate however, that advertises the location of the madrasa to the bazaar street, is highly decorated - not in the Mughal tradition like the mosque, but with tiles and colourful calligraphy. This does not communicate the presence of a historic 'monument', but a significant working building: the pointed arch and calligraphy indicate muslim faith.

Conversation C. Metaphoric Depth



Making Project 2:
Storytelling

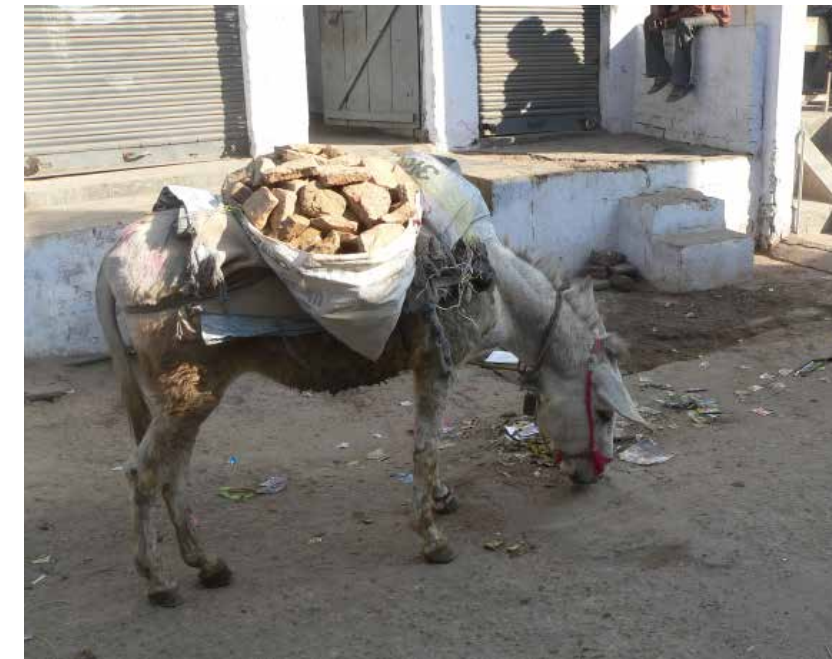


Making Project 3:
Buksh Museum of
Hobbycraft



Making Project 1:
Well Restoration





Donkeys bring bricks from derelict site nearby



Group discussion



Smaller group watches restoration



Raj Mistry



Group discussion in Shiv Temple garden

3m



Residents fill in discussion book

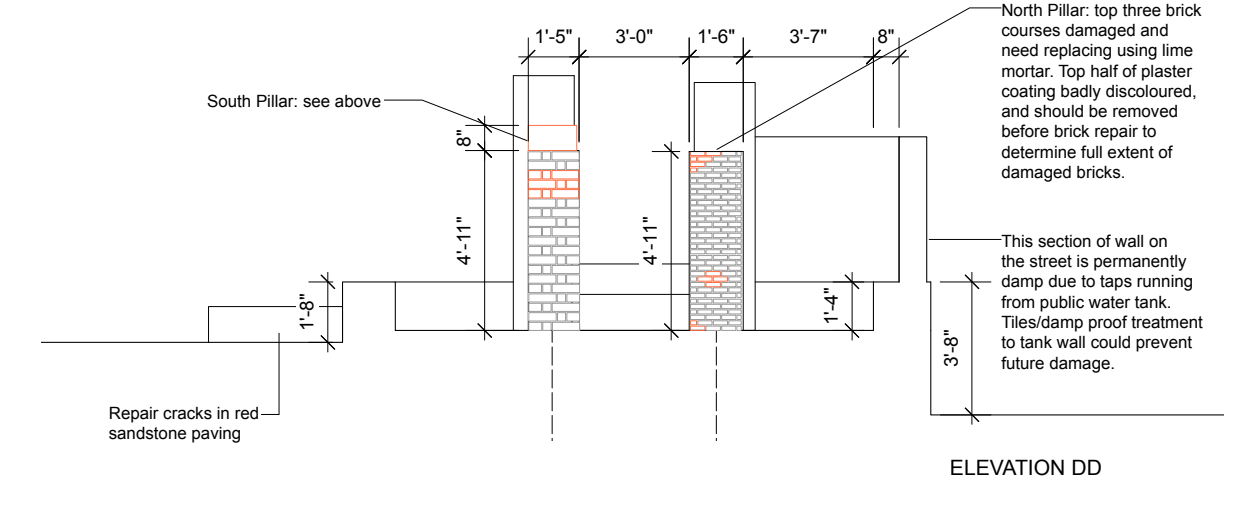
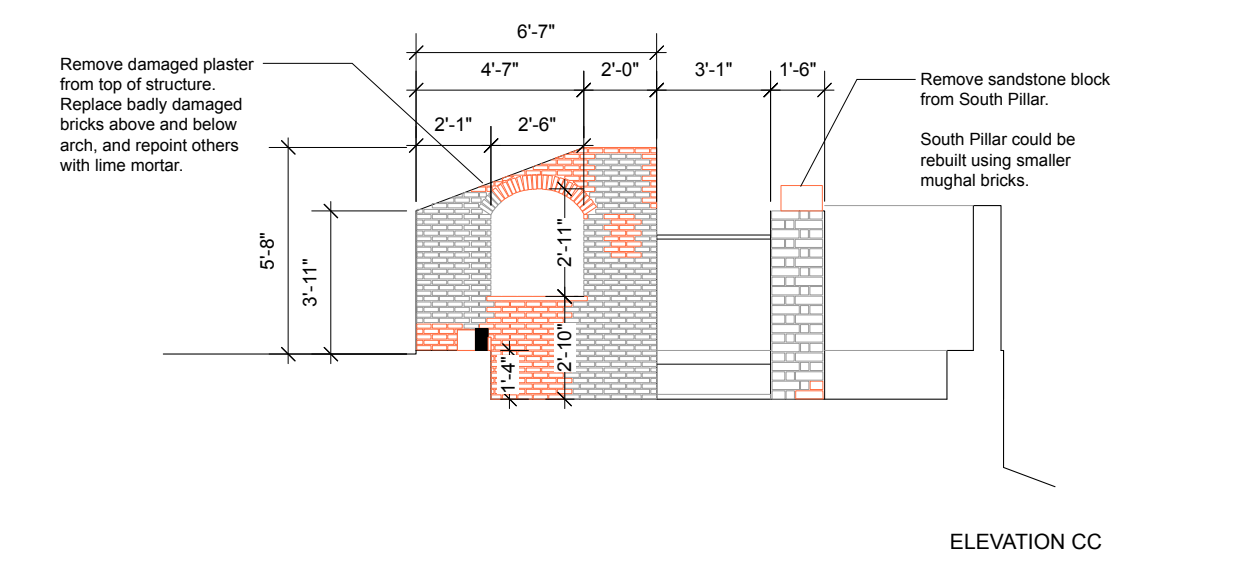
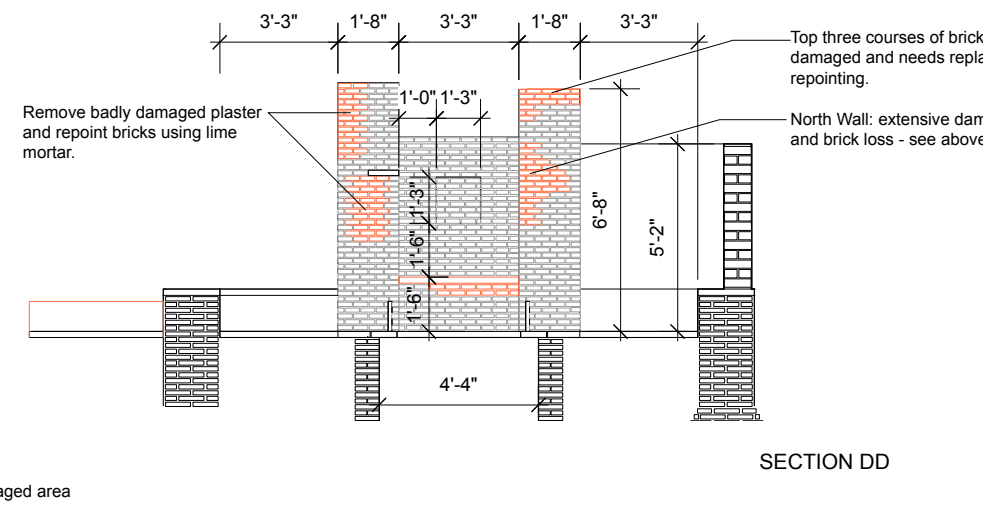
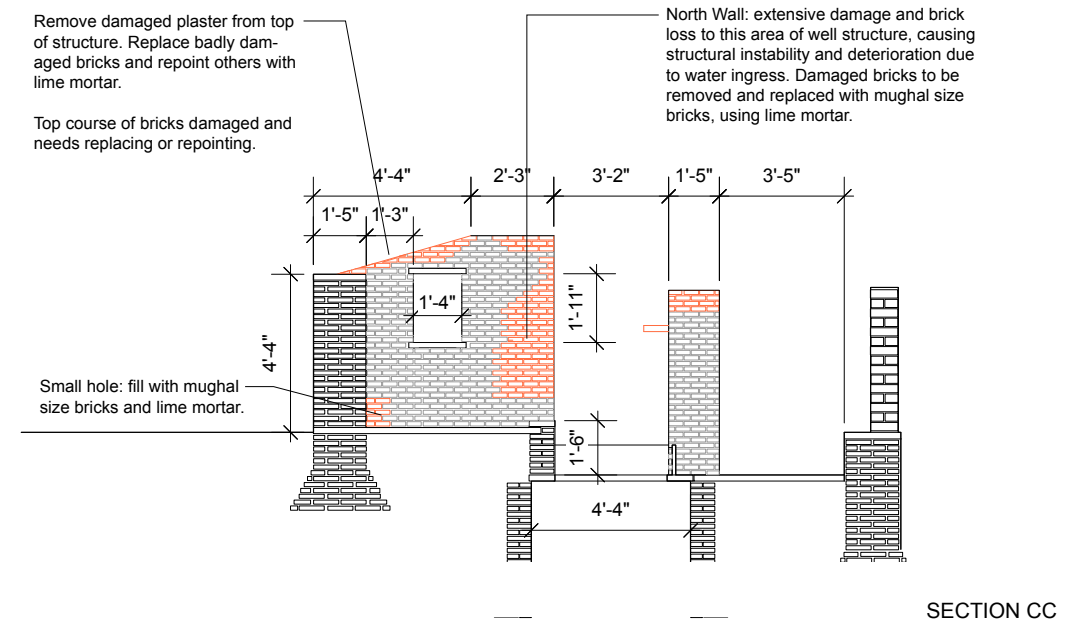
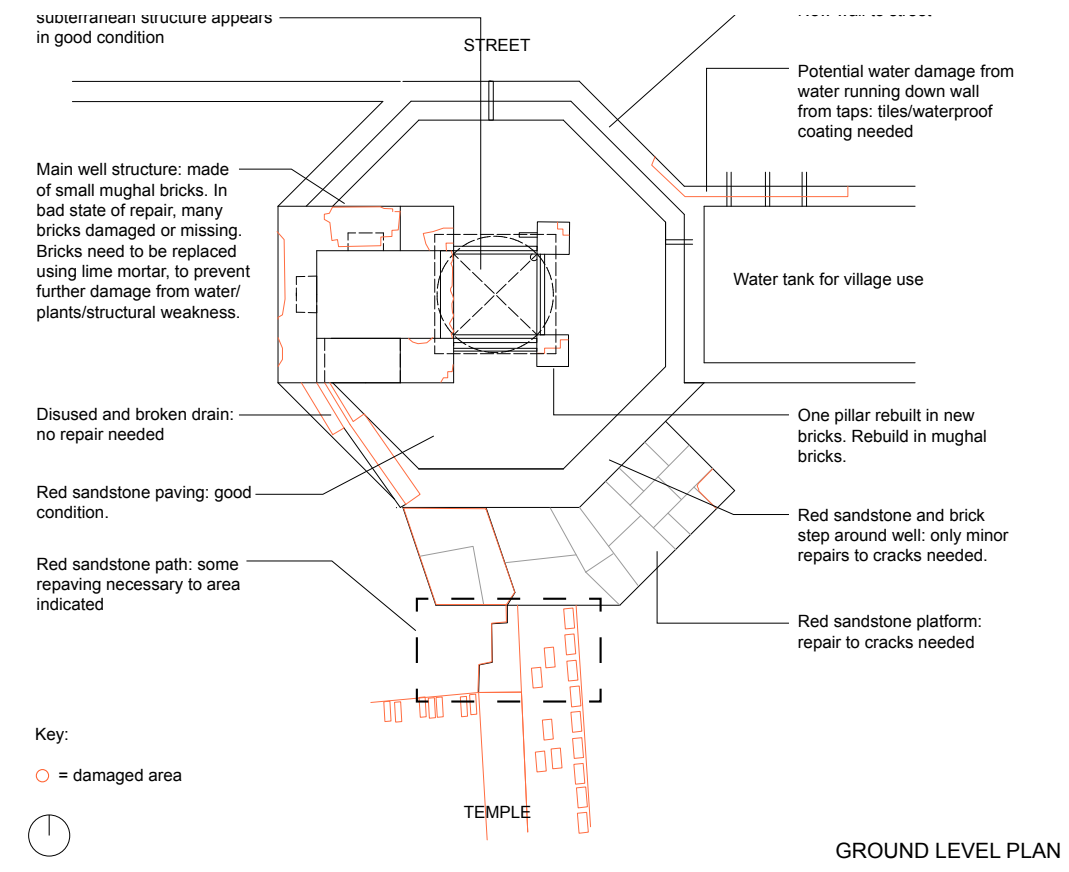


Residents show me historical structures prior to event



Making Project One *Well Restoration*: Exercise Proceedings

Design proposal prior to workshop



Structure before restoration



Structure after workshop



Structure four months after workshop

Making Project One Well Restoration: Evolving Design Process



Bilochpura: exhibition takes place in streets off the main chowk. Main chowk stays empty, preparation takes place in family courtyards and Madrasa. Surrounding families participate.



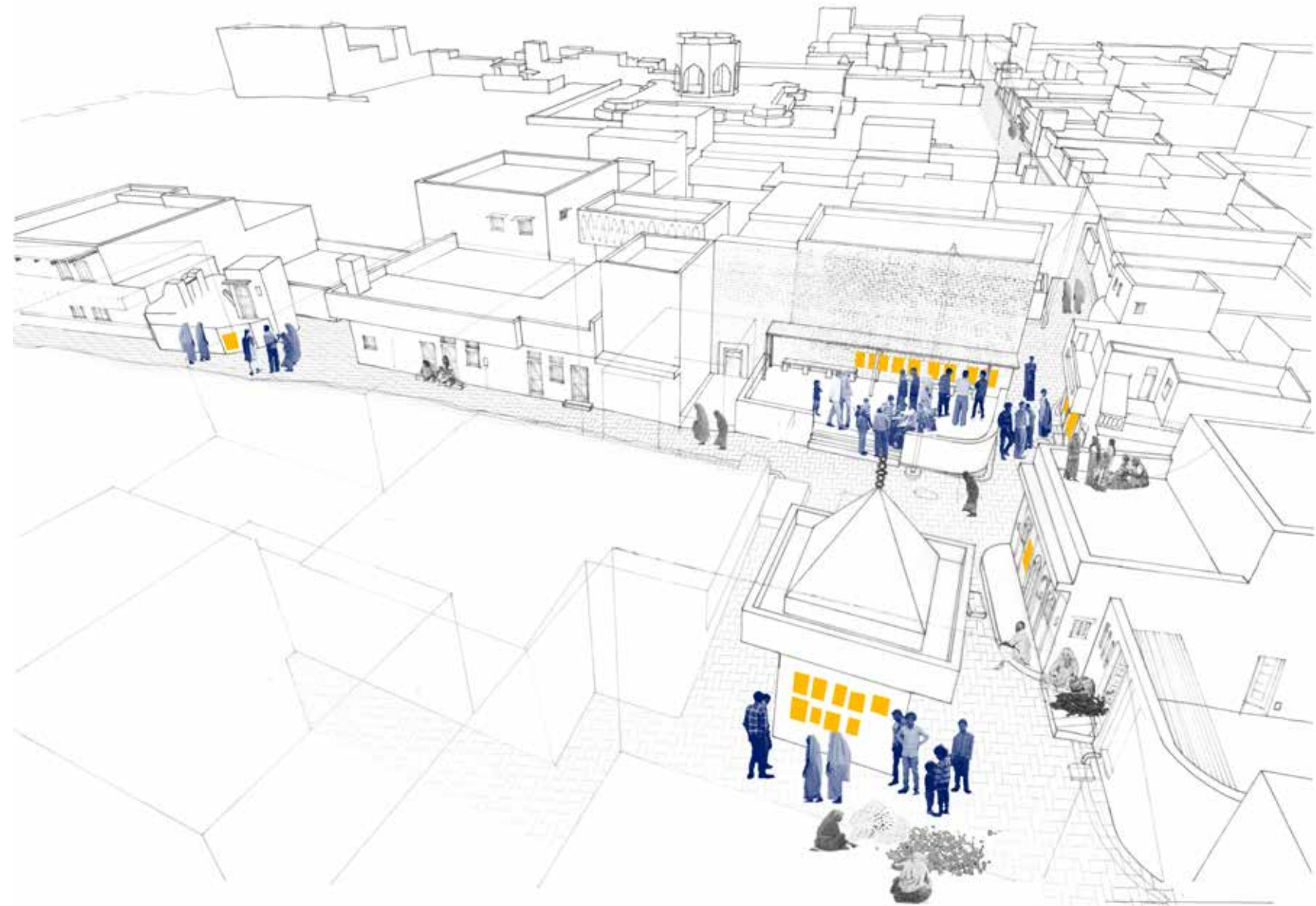
● story-writing (women)



● story-writing (men)



● exhibitions



Diwanjika Mohalla: exhibition and preparation takes place across the main chowk: surrounding families, passers-by and market traders participate.

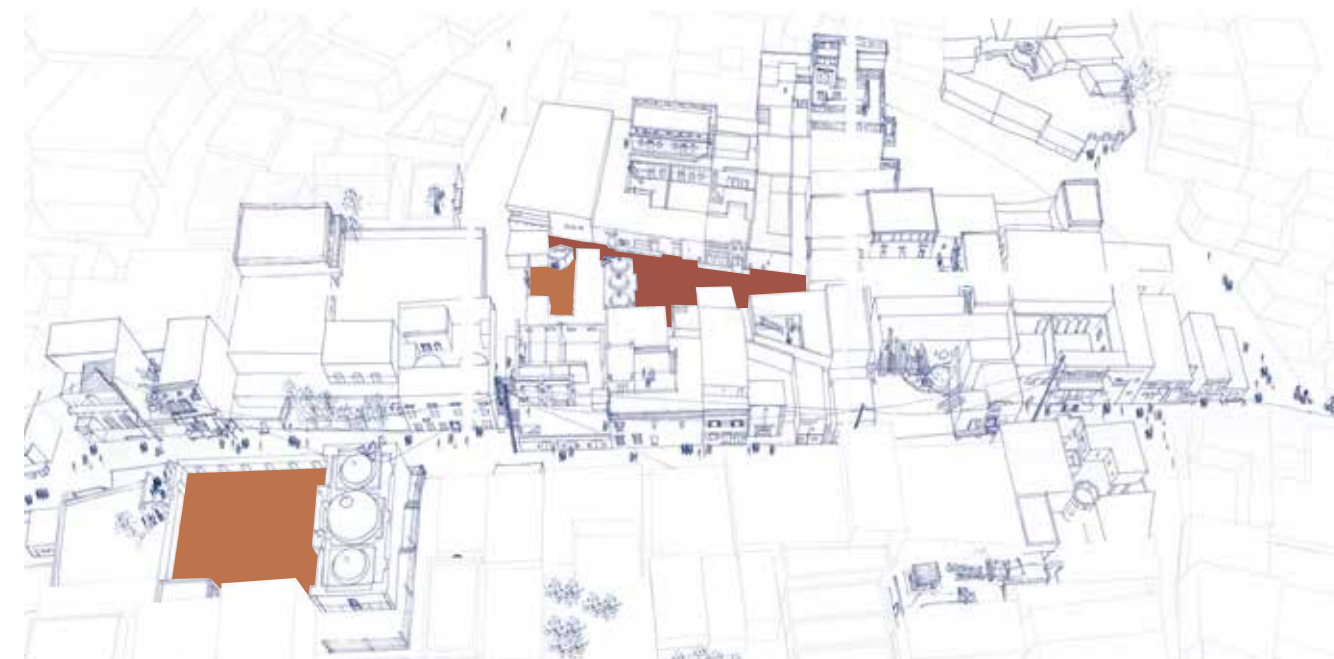


Making Project Two *Storytelling*: Opportunity to Encounter Difference During Exhibition

Bilochpura



The exercise had to be delayed until the Islamic month of Muharram was over - Muharram mourning rituals were carried out in the chowk at this time.



The Consistent Collaborators who put out the exhibitions (partially checking with the Maulvi) decided that the Mosque courtyards were completely off-limits, while in the Mosque Chowk, only decorated tiles could be exhibited, not the paper plaques (see p60).



The Consistent Collaborators who put out the exhibitions (partially checking with the Maulvi) decided that the streets directly off the main chowk were the best place to display the paper plaques - slightly more noise was tolerated here. However, by prayer time, everything had to be removed and cleaned up. They decided not to exhibit plaques on the main bazaar street, as the negotiation would require too many people / would take too long / would become too busy (out of control).



Muharram canopy



Muharram ritual in the chowk



Initial meeting to get Maulvi's permission



Consistent Collaborators curate the exhibition

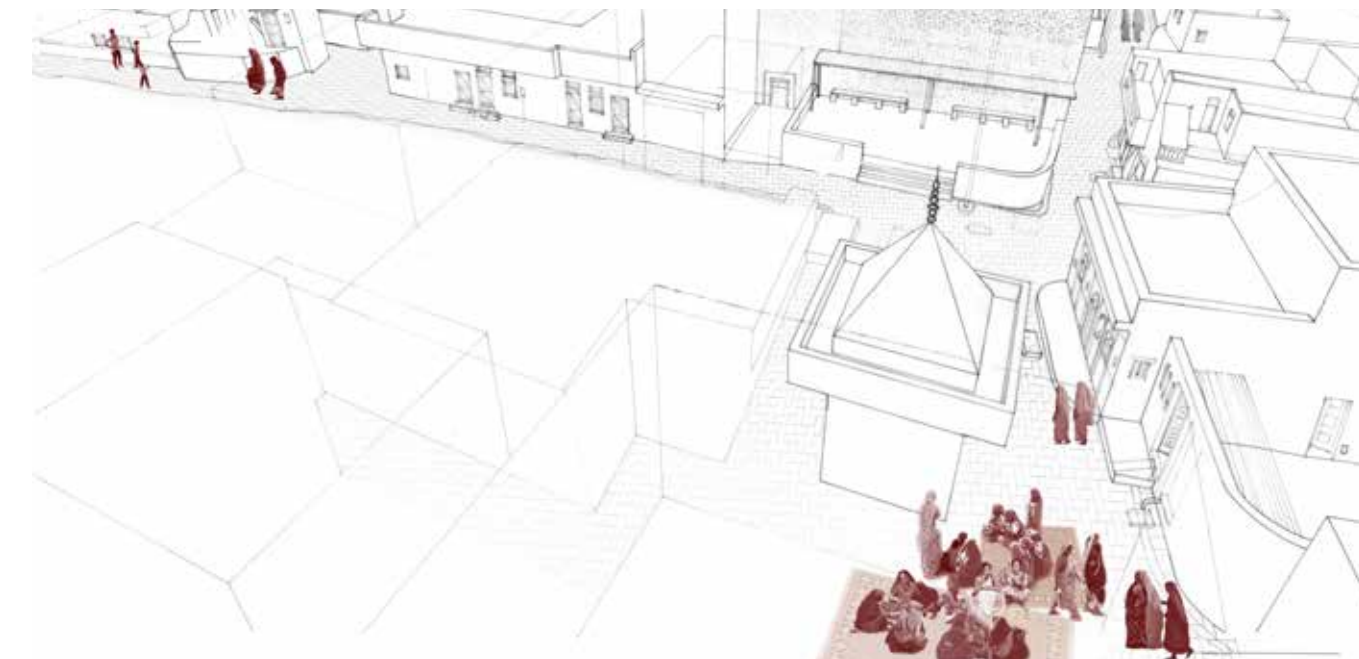


Maulvi checks on the exhibition proceedings

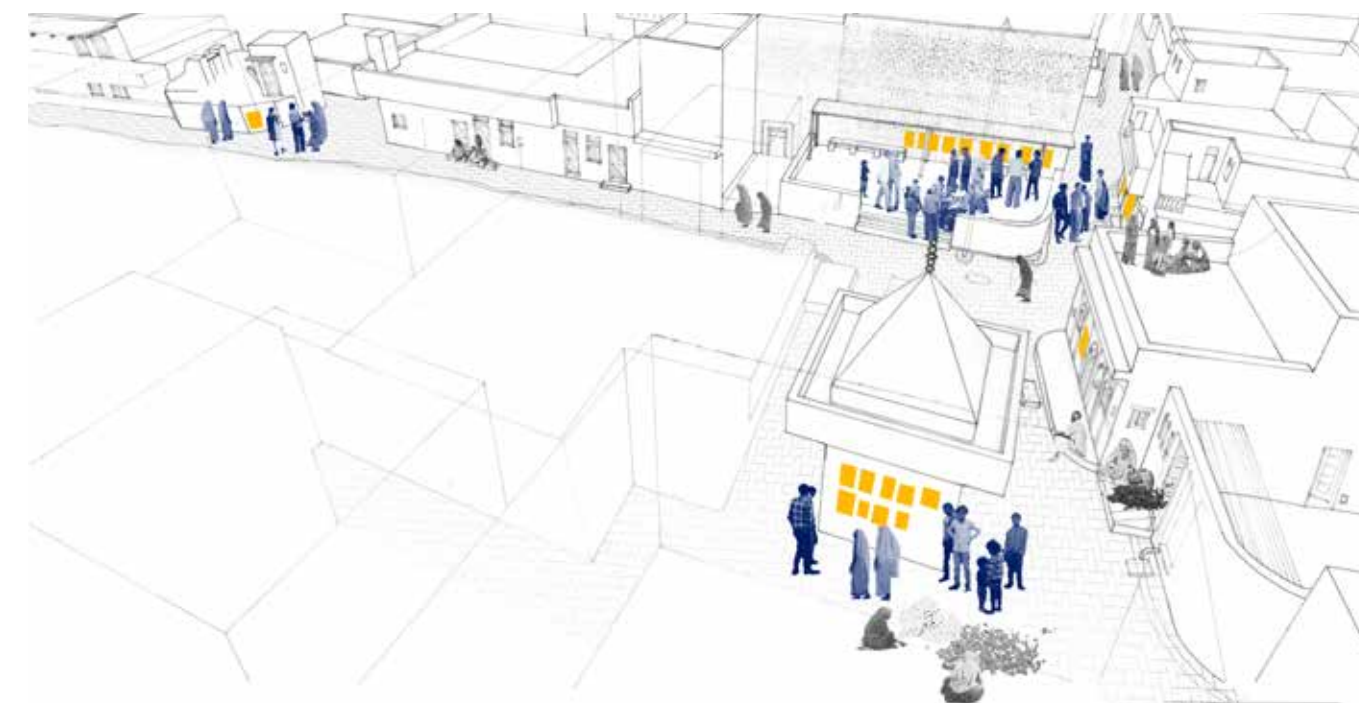


Exhibition does not take place in the bazaar street

Diwanji ka Mohalla



When women were mourning a deceased relative on the proposed day of the workshop, it had to be delayed: during this time people passing through the chowk were silent.



When women were no longer mourning, nobody opposed any aspect of the workshop: it met very little resistance.



DkM Chowk



DkM Chowk



Storytelling exercise in the chowk

There is a certain degree of expected behaviour in the DkM chowk in order for particular activities to be able to happen there at certain times, but the expectations of behaviour in Bilochpura Mosque Chowk have a greater degree of complexity, and residents commit to them every day (although there is still a cyclical element).

Making Project Two *Storytelling*: Opportunity to Negotiate Urban Conditions During Exhibitions

Stories placed in Diwanji ka Mohalla Temple Chowk

"The panchayat hall is used during weddings in the chowk. It is used sometimes for cooking and preparing food, also for storing the cooking equipment. It is not used for committee meetings any more".

"This is Diwanji ka Mohalla Shiva Temple. Kushwah people also have another temple (LAXMI NARAYAN MANDIR) Kushwah people mostly live in Deewan ji ka mohalla into taj ganj area and all of them involve in making garlands with flowers. Kushwah known for RAJA NAL during the time of Lord Rama. RAJA NAL AND NIEL supported to Lord RAMA to make bridge into sea. Letter on so many kings of Kushwah happened here like RAJA MAAN SINGH, Raja Jay Singh but originally this Kushwah caste comes from RAJA NAL. Deewan ji ka mohalla having mostly Kushwah (Hindus families). These Kushwah families having a temple at bank of the river Yamuna near crematory call as SHAMSHANGHAT which is older than

"This platform used to be the only location of the flower market but now there are several other locations where flowers are sold on Poule Mandi Street. People used to have to pay the temple some money to sell their flowers here".

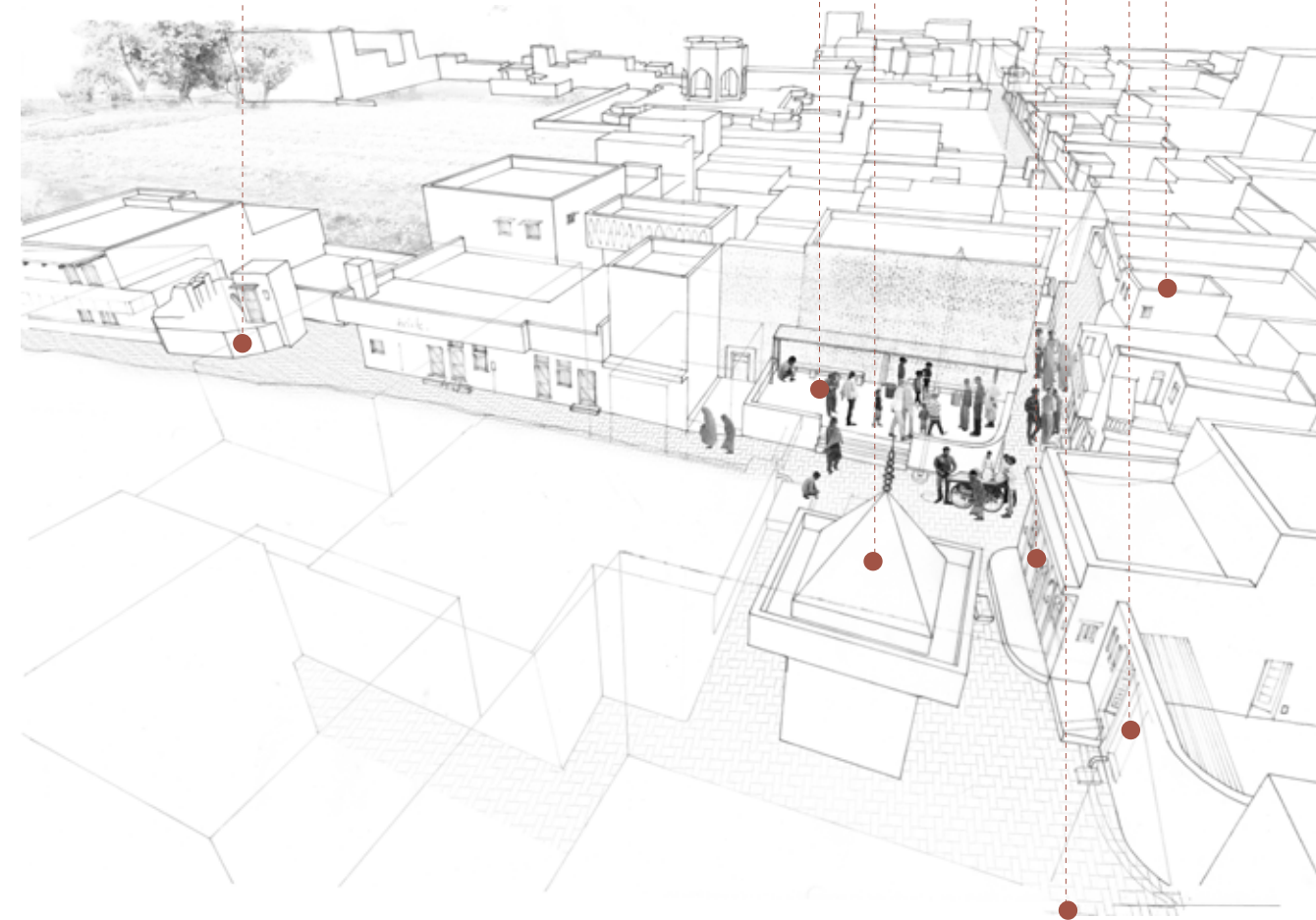
"This well is over 350 years old. It dried up 20 years back after people started building hotels in Tajganj

It is said that 20 years back there six partners was doing farming here this area was till rai family but five partners out of six sold this area and also they built their own houses here. Six partners are : Raghunath, Gorelal, Hari Singh, Narayan Singh, Tara chandra, and Bablu. Raghunath didn't sold own land still using for agriculture having an ancient well which is known as CHOWK IN TARA means there are four room channel into the well".

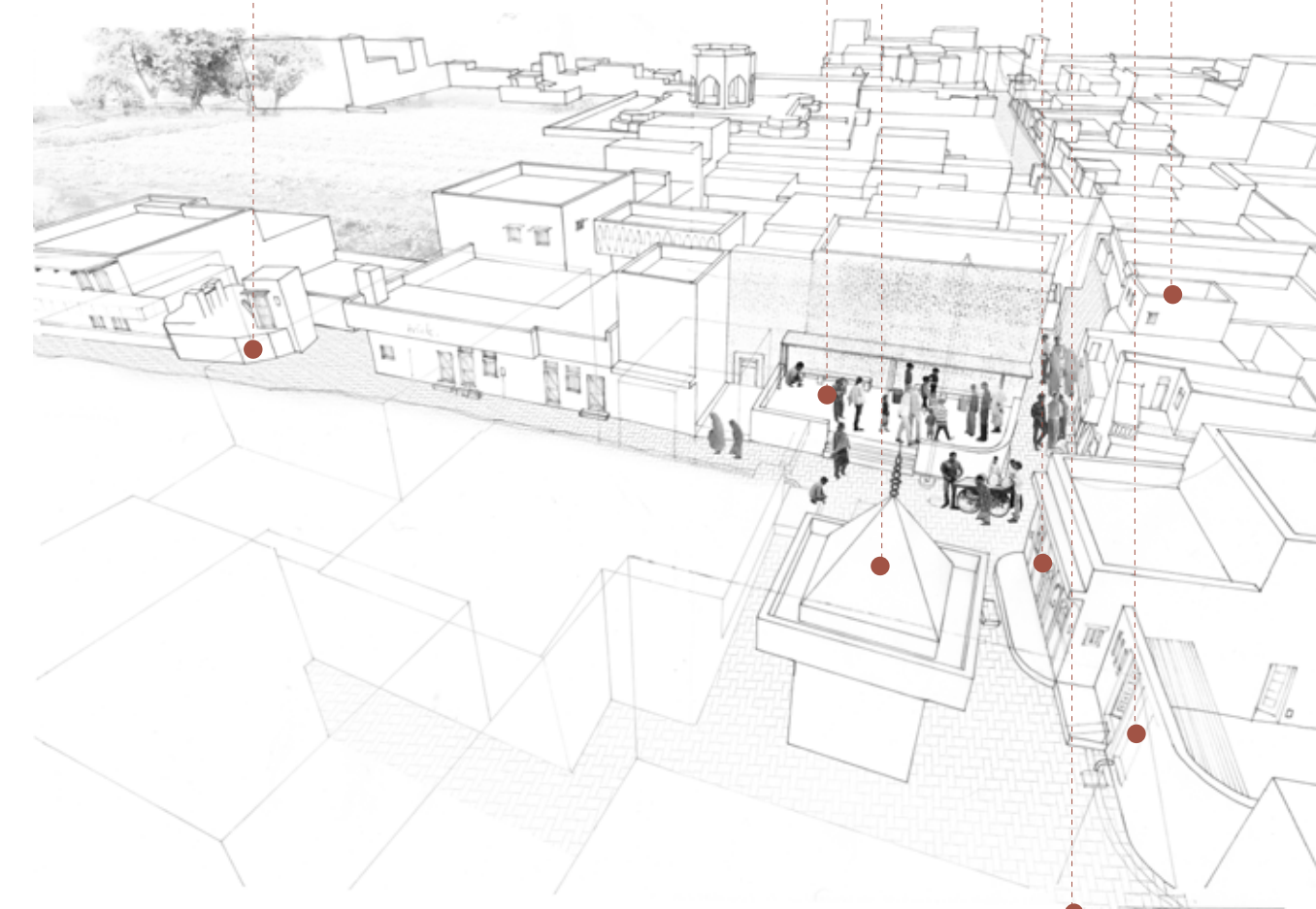
"Pathawari is a little temple of goddess Durga. People come here for worship. They celebrate festival nine days of goddess Durga and each Monday women sing devotional songs and play the drums. After marriage ladies bring DULHAN for worship. Nobody do aarti here. Kamala Devi is a laddy, she look after this temple. She does cleaning, worship everyday. She washes the clothes of goddess Durga within a week. During festival or events time she organizes a little Bhandara. Some another people also participate in these events".

"Deewan ji ka mohalla known for the head of toli (solder group) known as Deewan in shahjahan time. having some new construction in front of tomb but till 20yrs back there were six families living here. They were known for different name. Hotam Singh is a potter in Deewan ji ka mohalla who is saying that in older days about 40 years back there were few families living here. first they were having kaccha houses. they used to stay here. From so many years back six families were living here in kaccha houses which name is:- Karan's family, Gopi's family, Deepa chand's family, Bharat's family, Raghunath's family, Suresh' family and all the families have known by different name like:- Rozawai bhakhar, Leela ka haar, Rahlaiya bhakhar, Gopi ka har. Still now they are living

The author of this story asked for it not to be included in the records of the event: it was a story about gender inequality in Tajganj.



● Places referred to in the stories



Most of the urban places that these stories referred to were highly articulate, or contained articulate elements.

Stories placed in Diwanji ka Mohalla Temple Chowk

Our cat Bobby-Joe fell down this well a couple of years ago. We had to lower down a basket on a rope to rescue him! After this incident, the community filled up the well with sand and some cement.

I was born in this house. My father purchased this house from a friend and he purchased it from custodian [author note - land purchased from municipality after Independence]. My father was one of three brothers. They were shoe merchants. His brothers had no children, so I came to live with my uncle after I was married. My maternal uncle also lives here.

Bilochpura is the oldest slum which was a settlement during the Mughal period. In Bilochpura, old buildings like the Royal Mosque (Diwani Begum) built in 1677 according to the Muslim calendar. She was the mother of Mumtaz. This Royal Mosque was built here before the Taj Mahal. Some old wells still exist here. People used these wells to take out water for drinking. Bilochpura also has one graveyard - people have been buried here since Mughal times. The road was kacha. The population of this community was not enough and electricity was not here. Economic condition is not good. People do labour and make marble products mostly.

In Bilochpura, Muslims and Hindus live together and help each other. Most of the houses are pukka. We have mosques and temples here, and we have one mosque - the oldest one - where people come five times in a day to pray Namaz. During the Mughal period, the emperor came here to pray but now local Muslim people come. Women wear Salwar and Kurti.

There were not many houses in Bilochpura - it was a farming area. It was a silent area. Wild animals were living here. There were no electricity problems and in the night many wild animals came here and people were afraid of the sound of them. Animals entered their houses and ate their kids. In the morning people would start to search for their kids. Sometimes they were too afraid to go out. After passing time, people built their houses and the population increased here so the fear of animals decreased. Now there are no wild animals here.

"We were living in another house before, with our uncle, but the number of family members increased so we left uncle's house and started to rent and that's how we are living in this house. It belonged to another family. My father's name is Taslin Husain - he purchased the house 25 years ago and started to live here. We were going around Taj like Apka Mazar (the tomb of Shah Jahan's brother), kabristan, farming areas to play in. People were having camels back then. Now 11 members live here.

"Lodi temple celebrates especially nine days of goddess Durga and put here a fair for three days. In that festival some are eating stall, two jhula, entertainments stall, totally cosmetic, pottery and kitchen base things etc. for this festival everybody gives donation from temple comity and village people also. These two merchants give like 5000 or 10000 rupees as comity needs during celebration time of nine days festival time. And two are the big flower merchants are here whose is coming in summer vacation every year to sale flowers. They are from TOHRRE VILLAGE. It is said that Rayville people grown in the only in two villages which is known as ITTORA and TOHRRE VILLAGE. Peoples were coming here to sale their flowers every year only for 4 months into summer session. These villages are about 10-15 km far from this point".

People who live in the old houses around the Andarwali Mosque are the Royal Families - some of the original families left during Partition but we call ourselves the Royal Families still.

Diwani Begum was the daughter of Gyas Uddin. She was the wife of Asif Khan and the mother of Mumtaz. In the Rakbe of Mozu e Basai it is famous for the mosque and tomb in Diwanji ka Mohalla (the mosque opposite). The platform of this Sang-e-surt mosque is 14 feet and 10 inches long. The mosque is 69 x 35 feet. There are 15 doors and three domes. On the dome, it says 1088 Hizzies (Q'raan Sarif), 1677 (it was built in 1677 according to the Muslim calendar). The stone was put later, and we have a courtyard of 55 feet length with a pond (Hauz). The mosque and tomb are in local agency Ehle Islaam Agra. The tomb is in a 50 square foot yard. Both are very beautiful. Now only the tomb remains, but others have been damaged. The height of the tomb is 28 feet. The gravestones are not there.

My grandfather was one of four brothers. The house in front of the mosque belongs to these people - it was not originally divided but over time the family sizes have increased so it has been divided. All the brothers live here in Bilochpura.

I live in my mother's house. I was born here. My age is 33. There used to be an open area at the side of my house. People had camels here - they were famous camel merchants. My mother's father had two sons who were shoe merchants and they sold shoes in Calcutta around 55-60 years ago. Other merchants started not to pay him because of fighting and slowly slowly the business lessened.

This is the remaining wall of a much larger haveli. It was built on the hill so that when onlookers looked up to the top of it their cap would fall off - this was an important sign of a grand haveli.



● Places referred to in the stories

Most of the urban places that these stories referred to were highly articulate, or contained articulate elements.

Making Project Two *Storytelling*: Resident-curated Exhibition

Stories placed in Diwanji ka Mohalla Temple Chowk

Bilochpura settled here from the Mughal period - the reason for this was because during Shah Jahan's time as emperor so much of the population around Tajganj were doing the construction of the Taj Mahal - local labourers, his servants started to live here but before that also Lodi people were based here but most of the population happened during the construction of Taj. The main population of Agra grew around the Fort and in Kachhpura village on the East bank of the Yamuna. Bilochpura has four mosques: Astone wali Masjid; Kabristani wali masjid; Tila wali Masjid and the Masjid of Diwani Begum. We have some small mountains in this area. Tajganj is Mughal and has so many buildings from this time that form its identity.

My grandfather lived here in a Jhopdi (hut) but when my father was born he built a small house here. This house is about 92 years old. My father was making design in stone which is called Santrasi. Our ancestors came from Arabia. This was an open area so they started to live here. There were four brothers so two started to live here and two lived in another place. My two daughters live with me here - I don't have any boys. I was making boxes, but I got a job in the bus service. Now I don't work. My daughters do zardozi work and there are ten members of this household.

This place is called Bilochpura because Bilochi people settled here. People came from Bilochistan in Afganistan for work. Now every caste of people live here.

This is an nice area - everybody helps each other. It has a kabristan and behind this kabristan, there is the Mughal Hotel

In front of my house is a little mosque called Alam Shahid Baba. When the construction of Taj was going on, he was doing work in that construction. He died and we have an Urse every year. People come from very far to attend this anniversary and we enjoy it.

This house is a big house but as the family members have increased, this house has been divided. During my father's childhood this house became ruined and has been repaired many times. The roof has been changed three or four times. This house had three doors but now just has one single door and another part of the house was built 5 years ago.

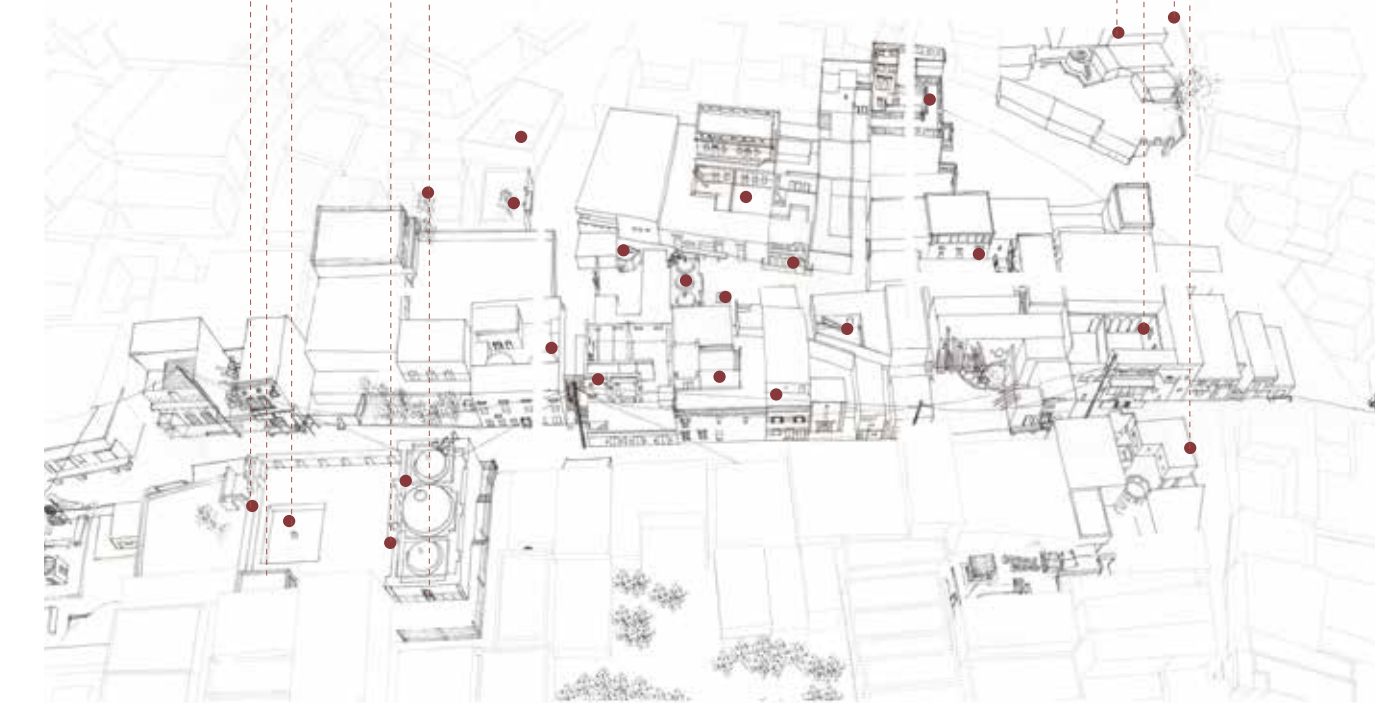
The Royal Mosque was built before the Taj Mahal. People pray here five times a day and wear Salway and Kamiz. The men wear pant, shirt and kurta. Everyone helps everybody else and the food is meat, fish, wheat, rice and sometimes eople eat chow mein and burgers.

This mosque is known as Kabristan Mosque - it is very important in itself. When somebody dies, people come here to pray Namaz of Zanaza. There was a film shoot here in 1990. Actors included Dilip Kumar, Sanjeev Kumar and others.

The tombs are of Maedum Shah Huseini and Chisti Rahmatullah and they were doctors with natural powers. Back then the people then were tall - like 7 or 8 feet.



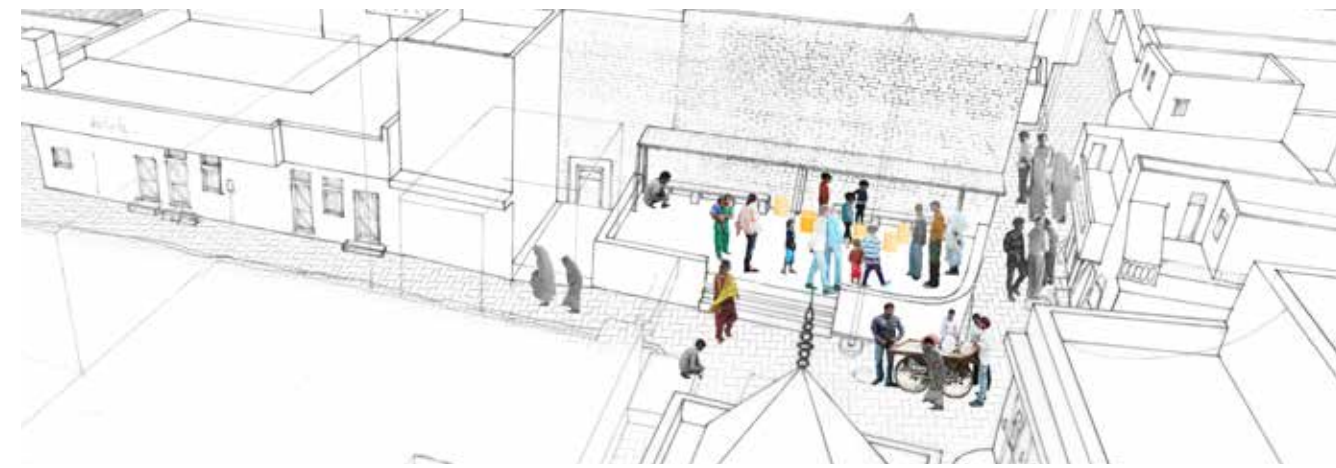
● Places referred to in the stories



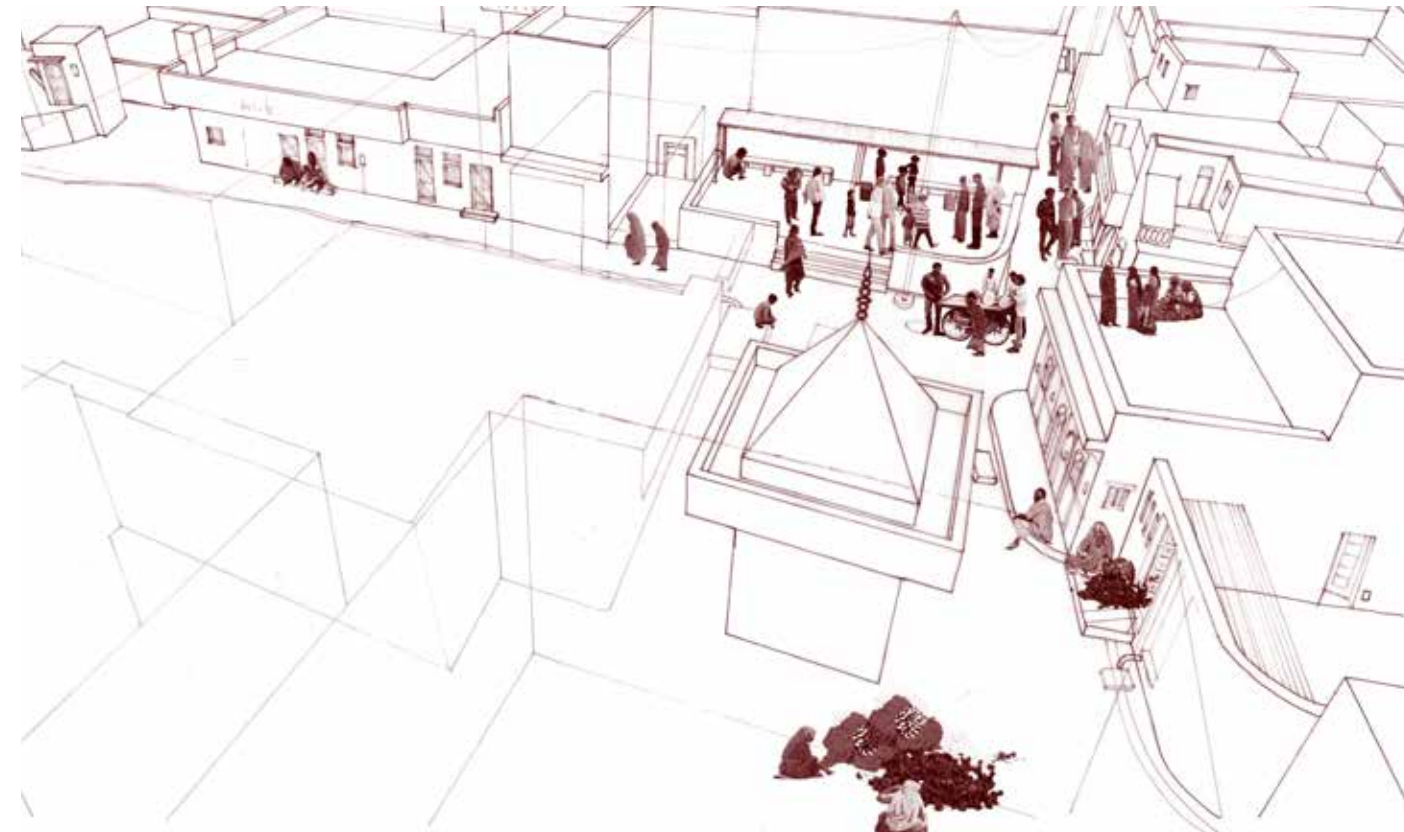
Almost all of the places that stories referred to were highly articulate, or contained articulate elements.

Making Project Two *Storytelling*: Resident-curated Exhibition

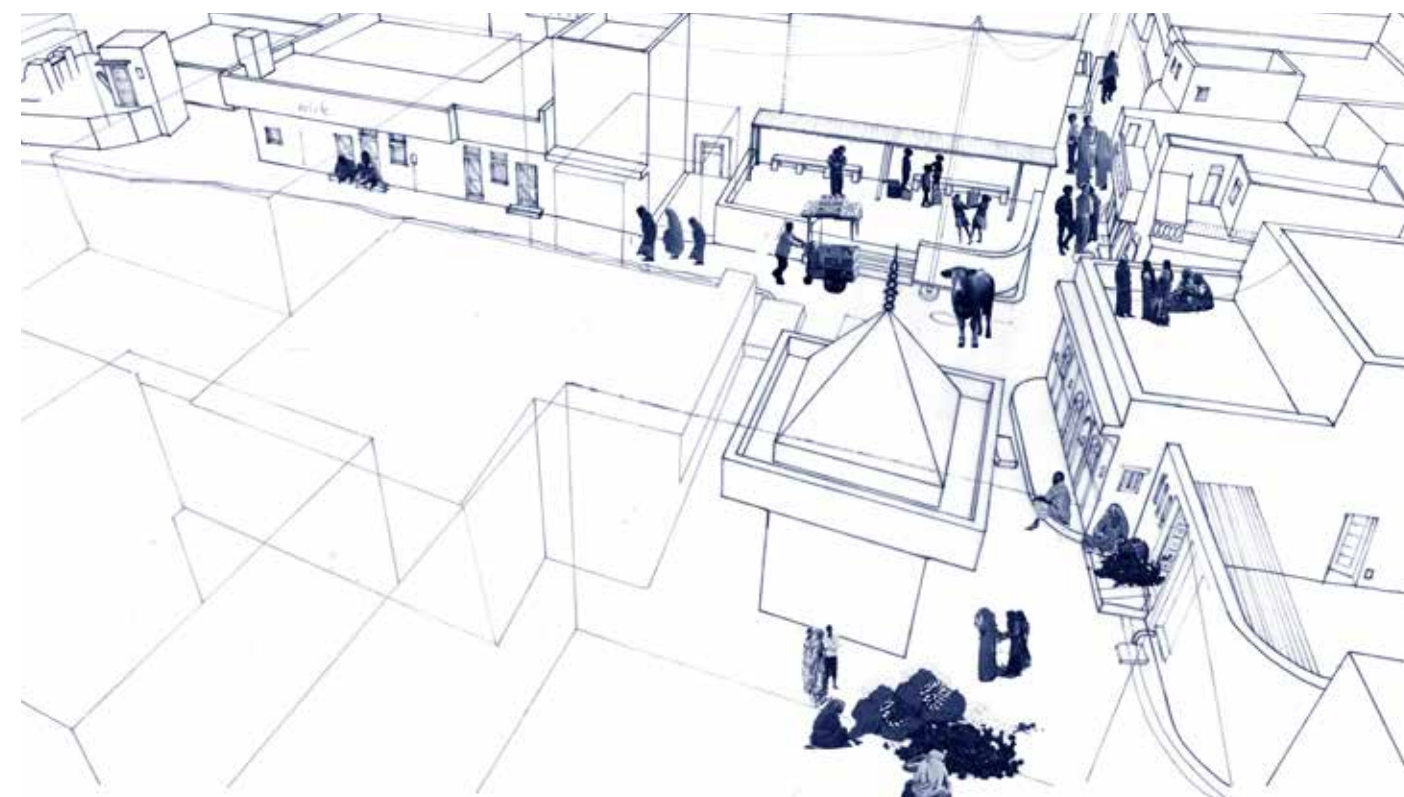
Diwanji ka Mohalla: Temple Chowk



Street furniture is placed in the temple chowk



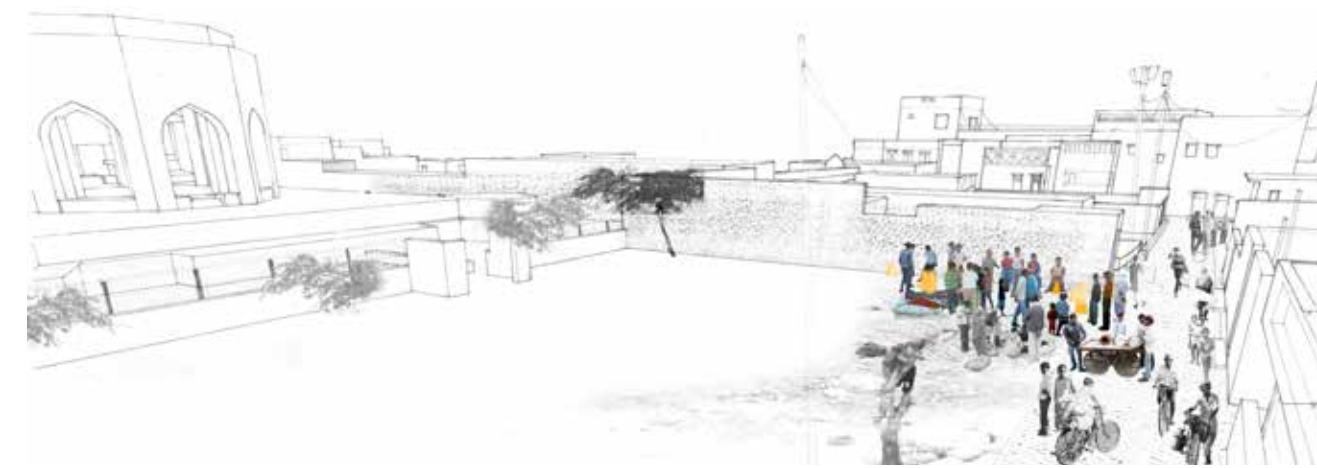
Intensity of use during the hosted event: families from surrounding houses, as well as some market traders - overlooked by women making flower garlands on thresholds and rooftops - more children allowed to participate because of this.



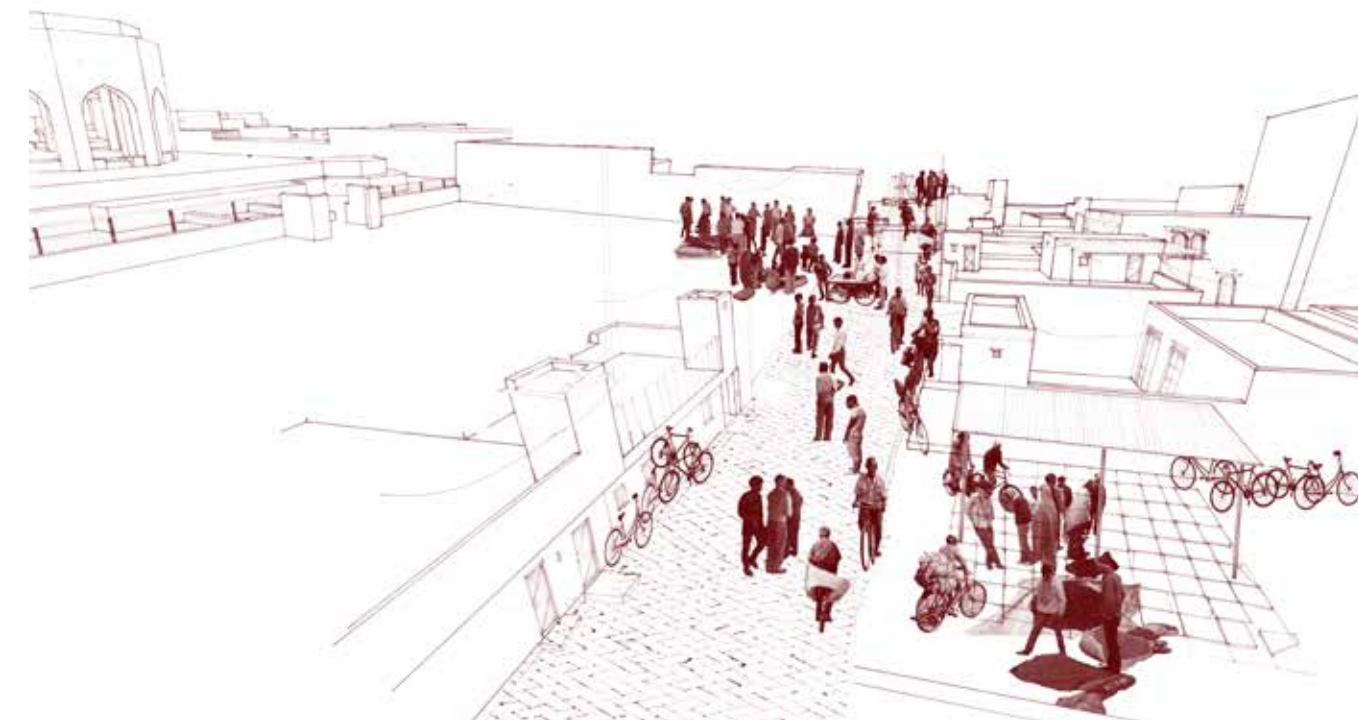
Intensity of use 6 months after the hosted event - chowk still overlooked by women flower garlanding: children use the seats as playground.



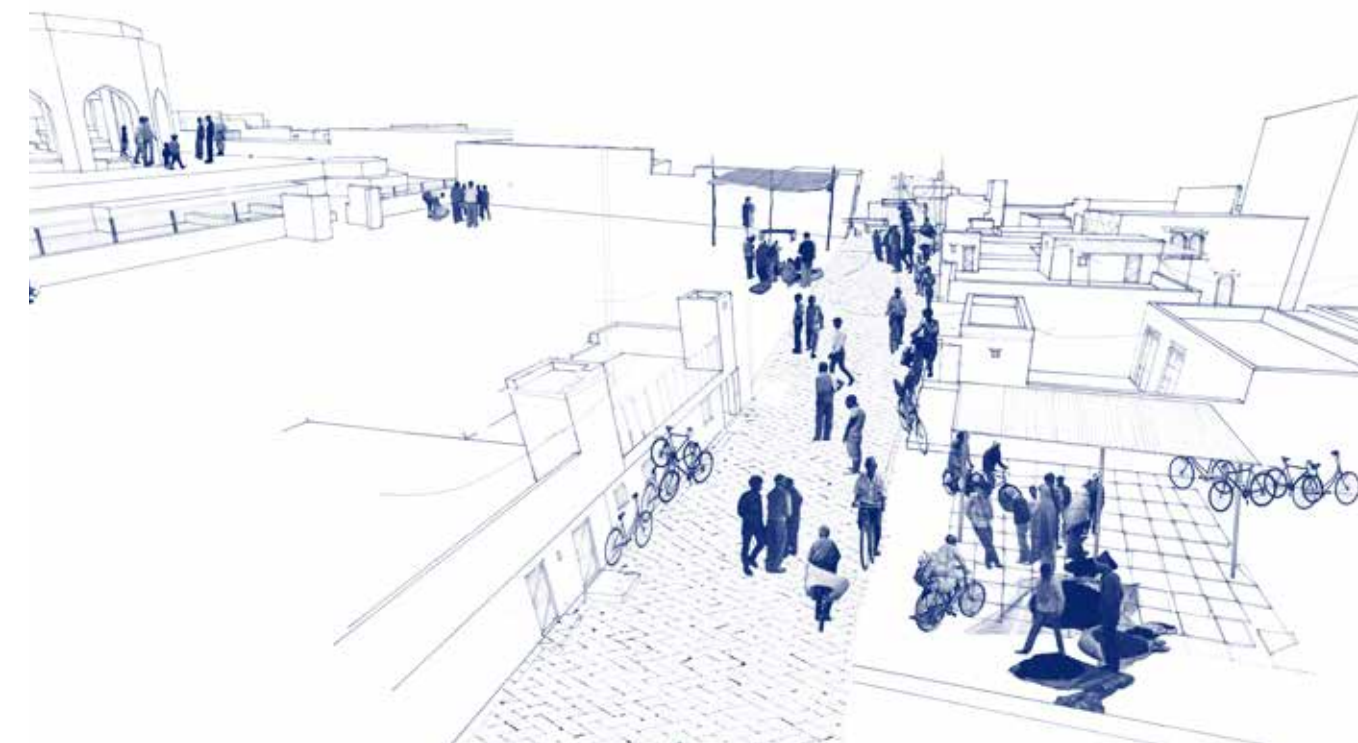
Diwanji ka Mohalla: Market Street



Street furniture is placed in the Prohibited Zone

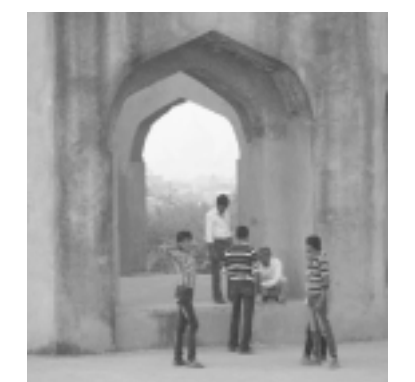


Intensity of use during the hosted event: the busy market contributes onlookers: mostly male market traders. Women cover their heads and remain fairly quiet, some children attend but only with parents, the gated monument area is free from trespassers due to the attendance of the local councillor at this event.



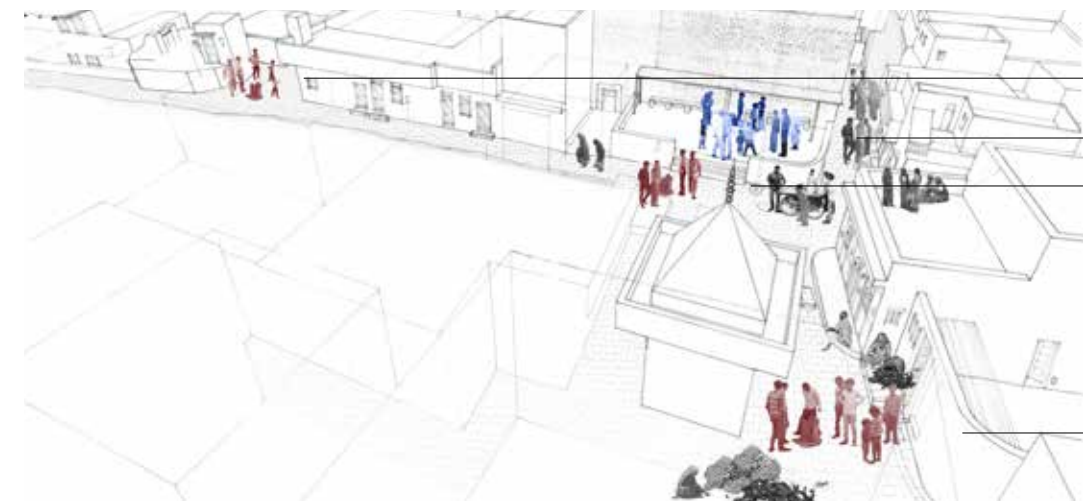
Intensity of use 6 months after the hosted event: the market continues to contribute participants, and several market traders have built a more permanent seat in place of the workshop-made seats, and trade under it. Trespassing, rubbish dumping, gambling are happening once more in the gated monument.

Conclusions: hosts, through controlling difference, change the possibilities of the setting, and determine the way that it is occupied.



Making Project Two *Storytelling*: Opportunity to Encounter Difference During Furniture Placement

Diwanji ka Mohalla: Temple Chowk



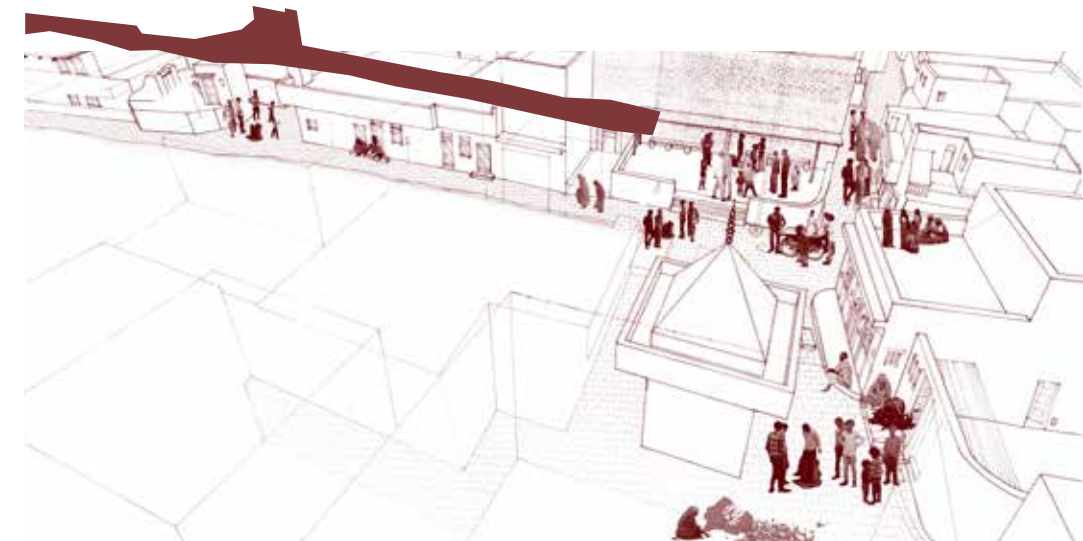
Permission to place furniture?

Well Street: NO

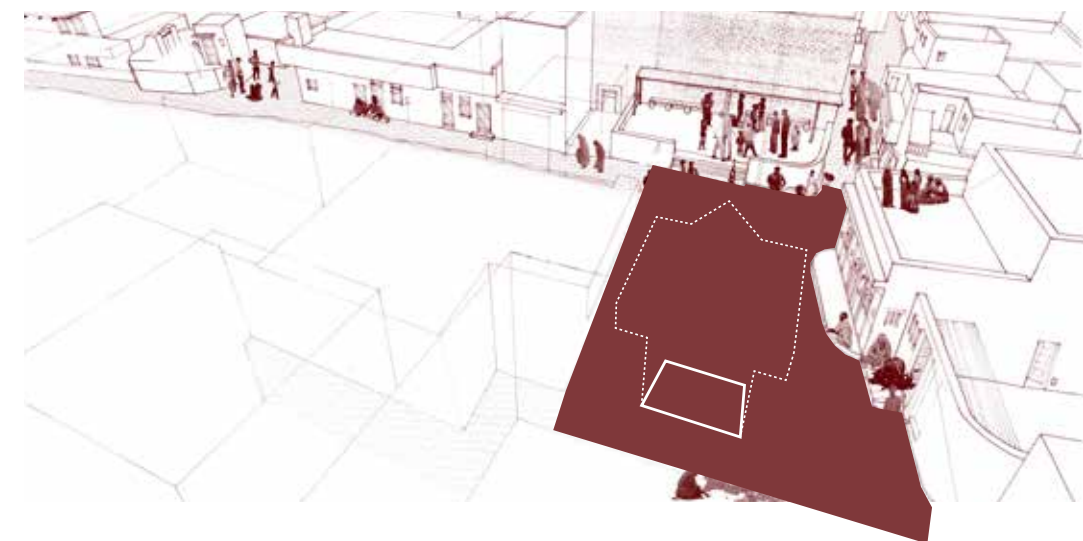
Market Platform: YES

East Chowk: NO

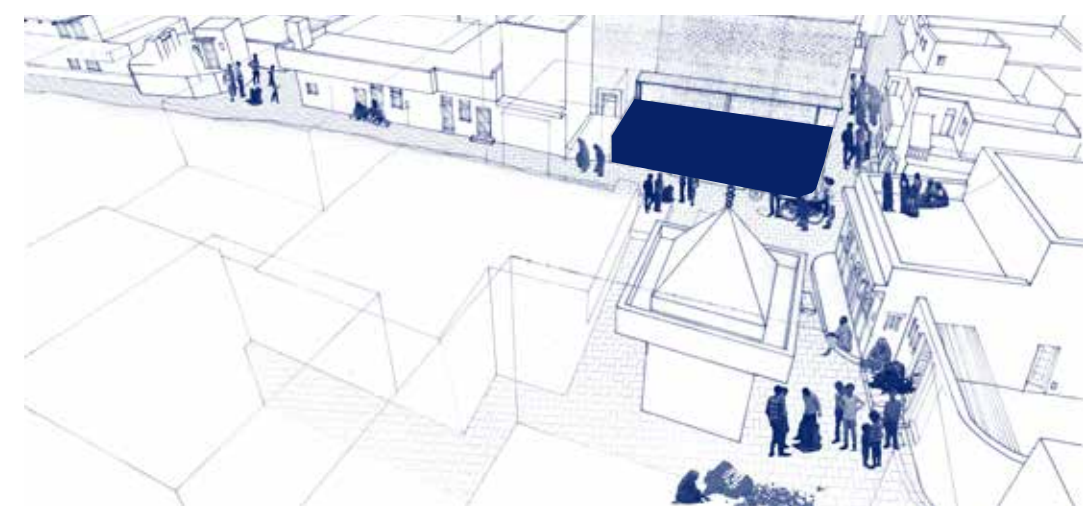
West Chowk: NO



Well Street: Resident representative does not want to take responsibility for seats



Chowk: DkM temple committee do not want furniture cluttering festival space in front of temple



Platform: DkM temple committee agree to take responsibility for seats

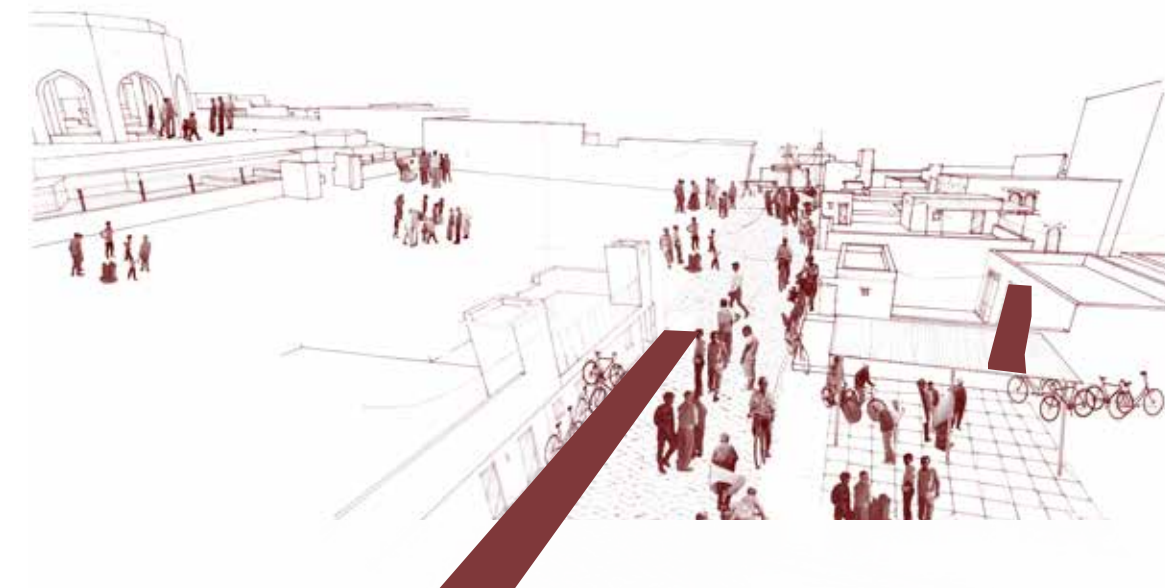
Diwanji ka Mohalla: Market Street



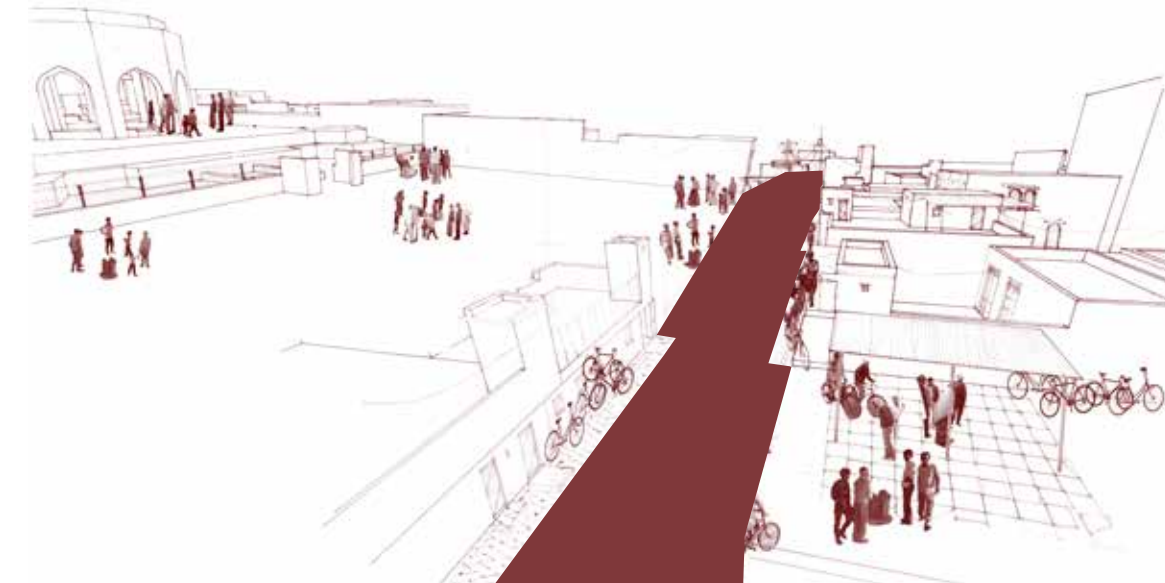
Permission to place furniture?

Street: NO

House thresholds: NO



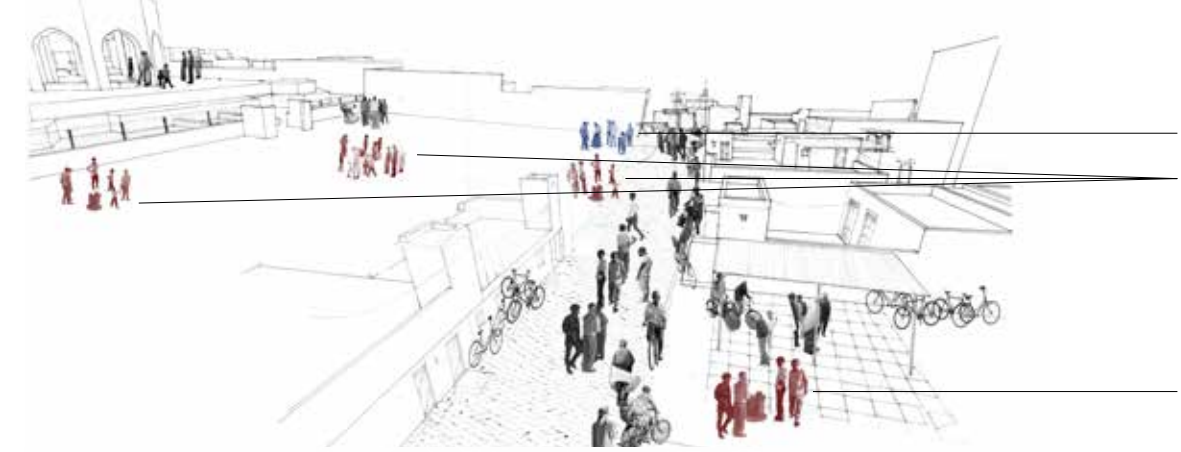
Owners do not want to take responsibility for seats



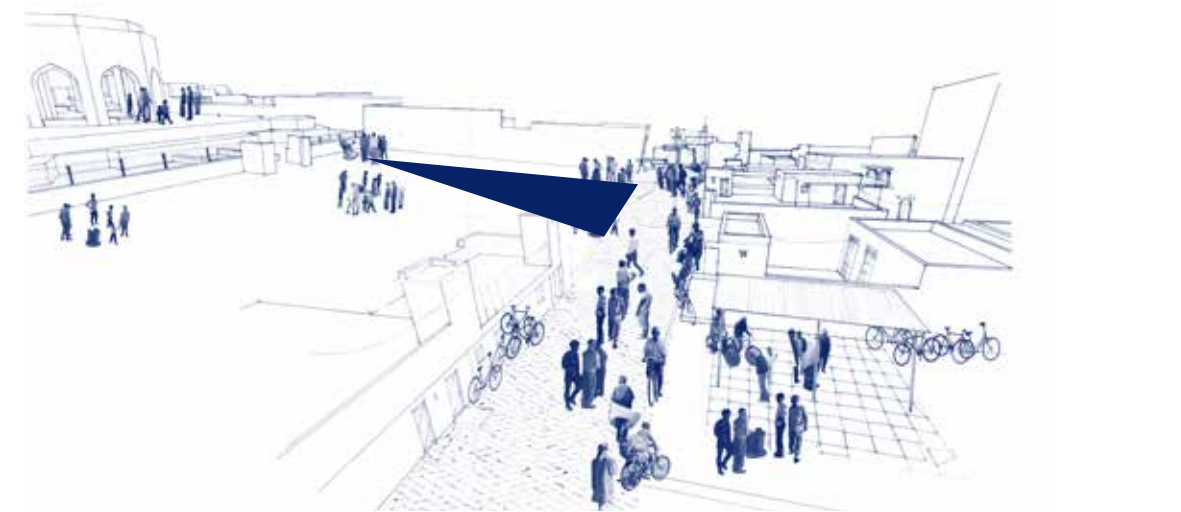
Market traders do not allow seats to be placed here (even though they do not own/maintain the street) because they all agree it would impede their trade/stop their bikes getting through

Making Project Two *Storytelling*: Opportunity to Negotiate Urban Conditions During Furniture Placement

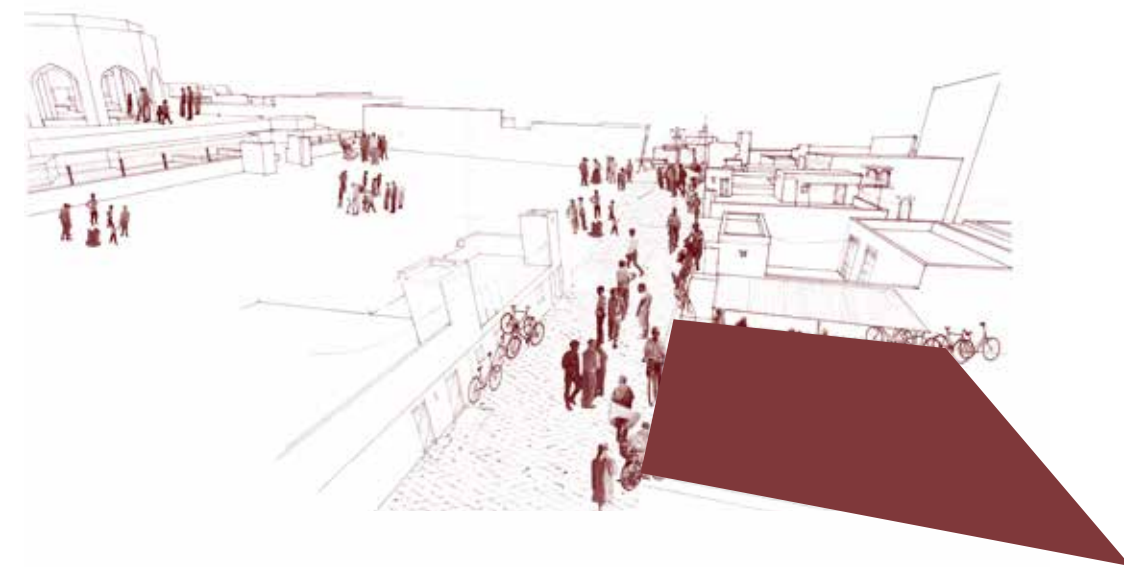
Diwanji ka Mohalla: Market Street



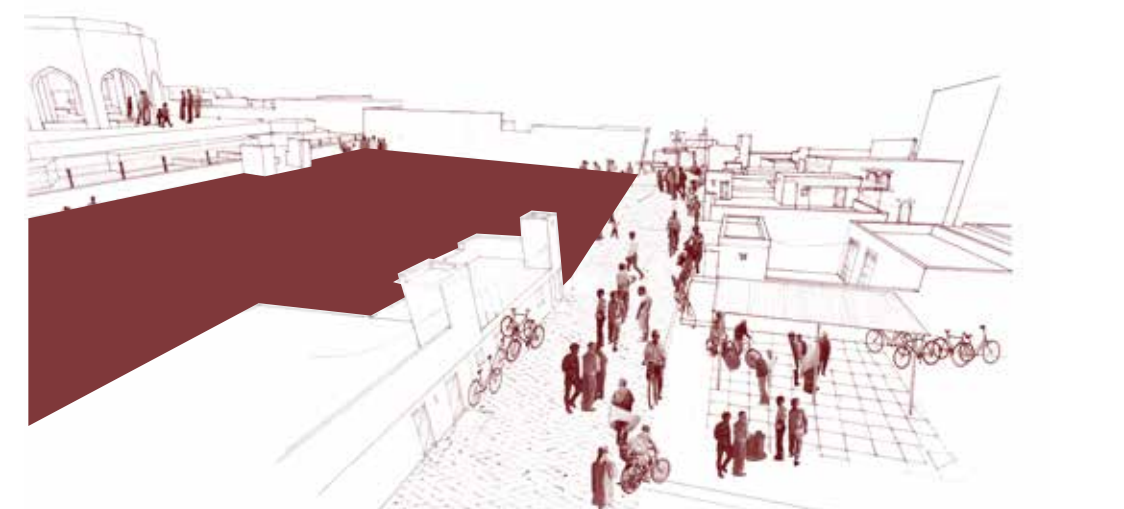
Permission to place furniture?
 ASI Prohibited Zone against east wall: YES
 ASI Prohibited Zone: NO
 Private market plot: NO



Market traders agree to take collective responsibility for seats here (feel that ASI will be lenient if placed next to wall, and the spot is adjacent to area they already occupy)
 Photo shows that by the next fieldtrip, the furniture in this spot had been replaced by residents with a shade structure and bench - the testing in this exercise had given confidence to continue hosting gathering in this particular place.



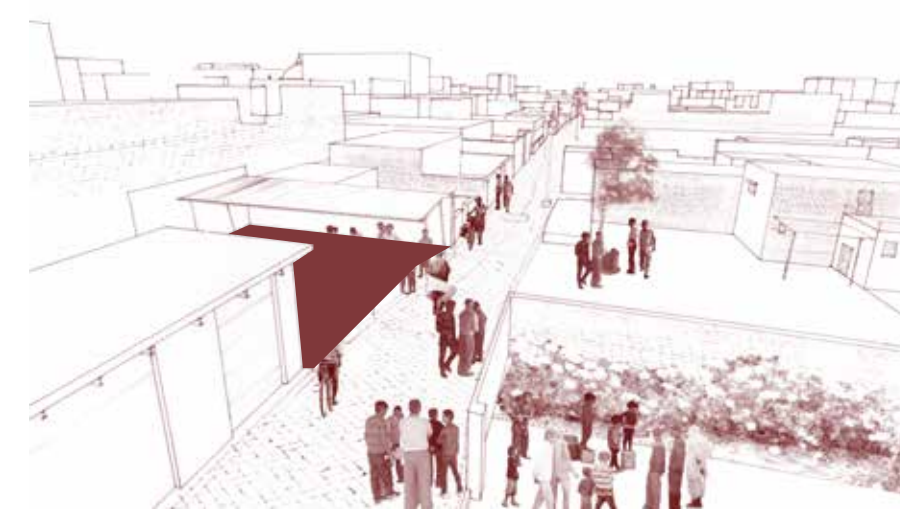
Market plot owner does not wish to take responsibility for seats



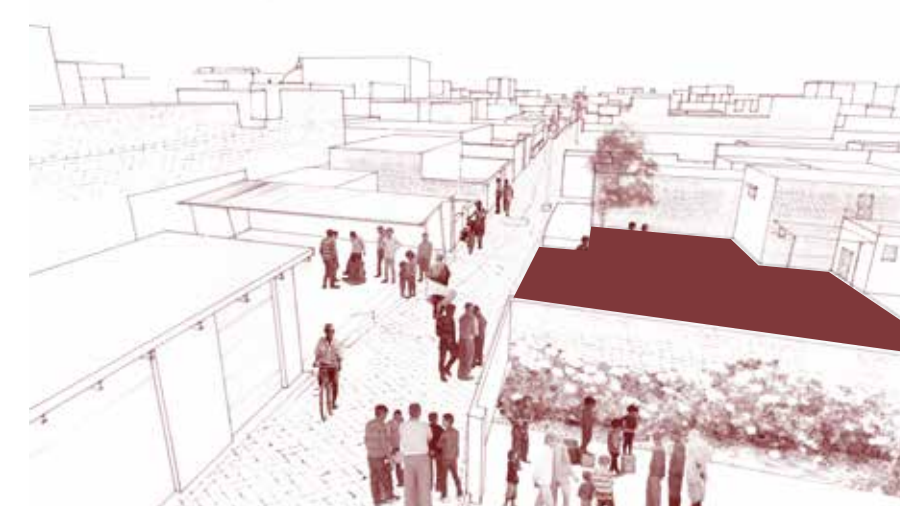
Market traders do not feel that ASI will allow the seats to remain in this area, do not feel they can take responsibility for any part of this area (except next to wall)



Permission to place furniture?
 Open plot: NO
 Private market plot: NO
 Allotment garden: NO



Market plot owner does not wish to take responsibility for seats



Plot owner does not want to take responsibility for seats



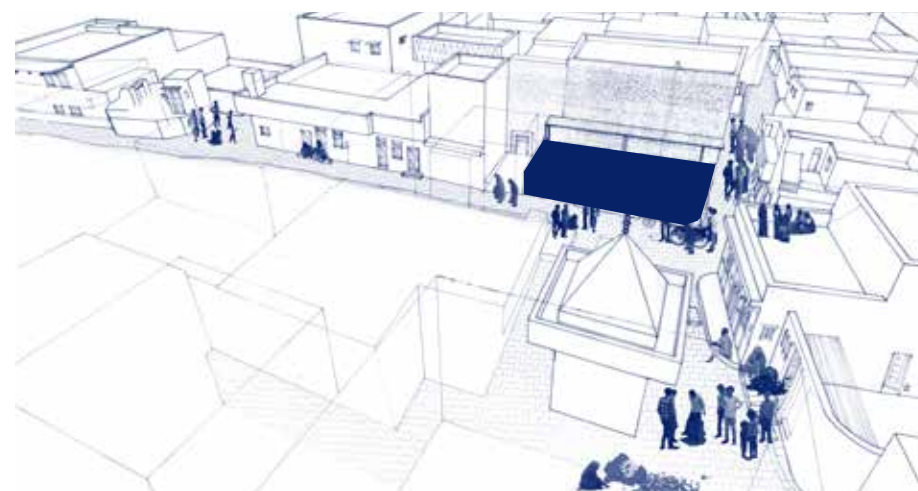
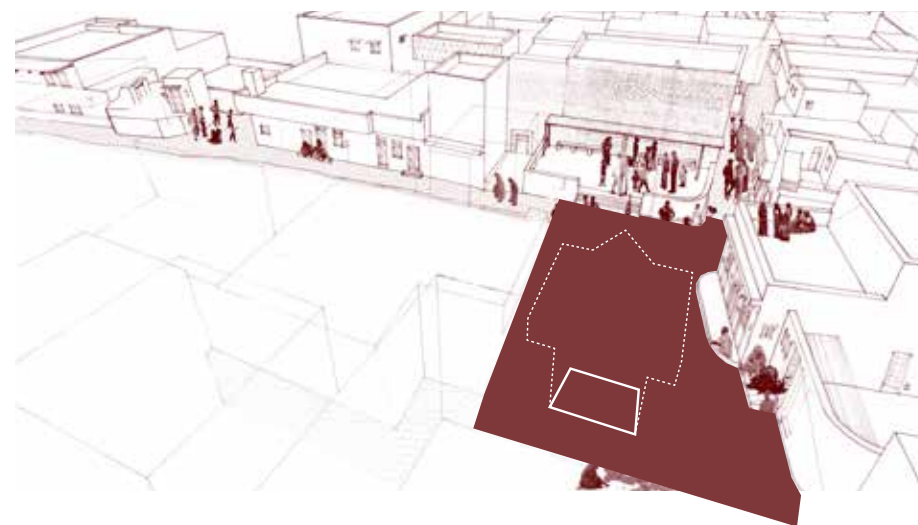
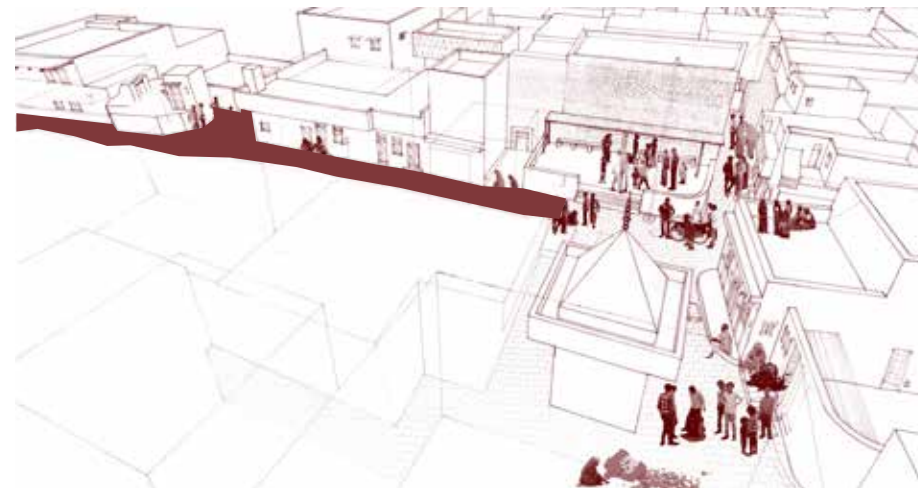
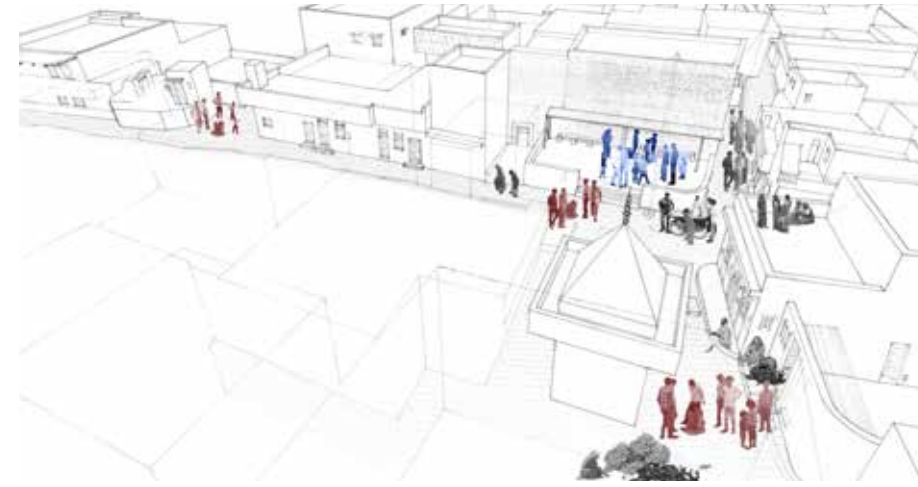
Female family members of house on the site do not want any more crowds entering their garden.

Making Project Two *Storytelling*: Opportunity to Negotiate Urban Conditions during Furniture Placement

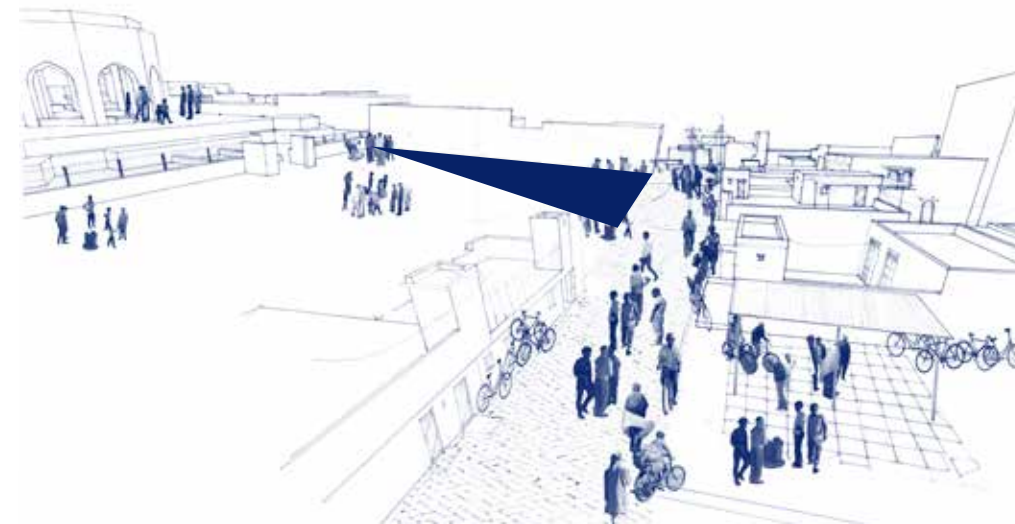
Opportunities for hosting / institutions of maintenance

There is a civic 'sweet spot' between privately owned sites, and sites where there is not even an agreed way to take responsibility for them for a period of time (hosting). At this sweet spot, people can negotiate their urban conditions.

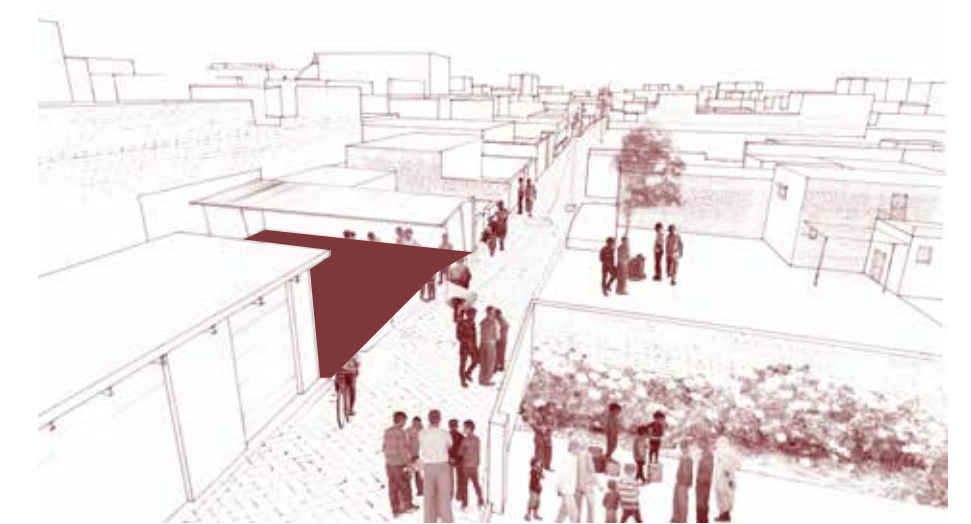
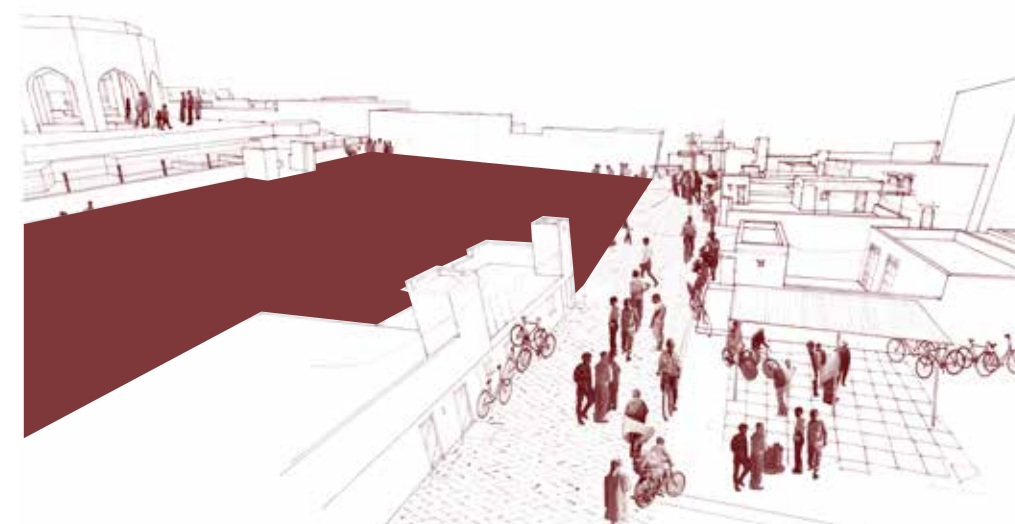
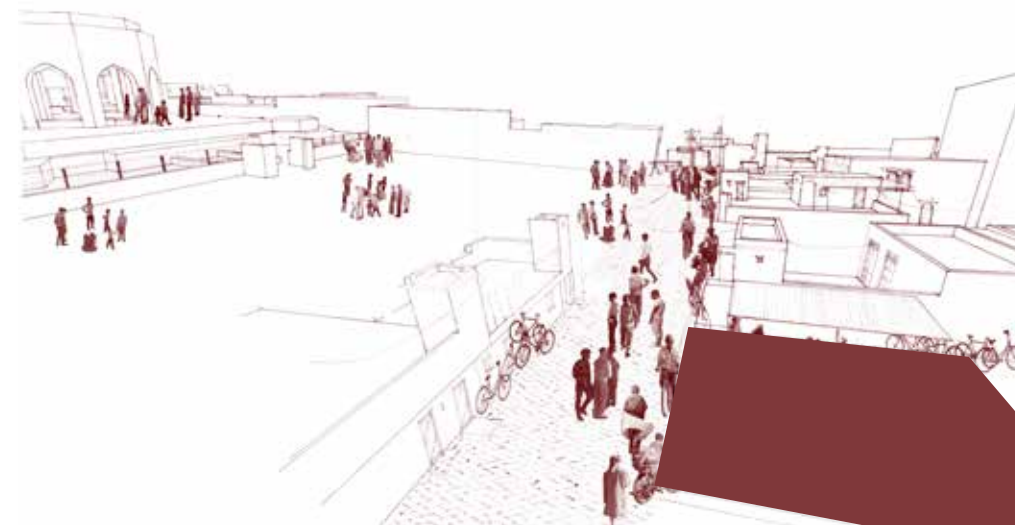
One of the two examples of such places found in this exercise is a committee-maintained setting: the committee feel able to look after the furniture. The other example is a place where a group of residents have been testing forms of temporary occupation for a period of time already, and they feel able to bring the furniture into this testing of acceptable occupation.



Platform maintained by temple committee



Site agreed to be maintained by market traders



Making Project Two *Storytelling*: Opportunity to Negotiate Urban Conditions during Furniture Placement



Women's craft groups take henna design seriously, buying magazines and practicing new designs on paper. The women's groups from different bastis found a common interest in this - the decorated seats enable even more henna enthusiasts to admire their detailed work.

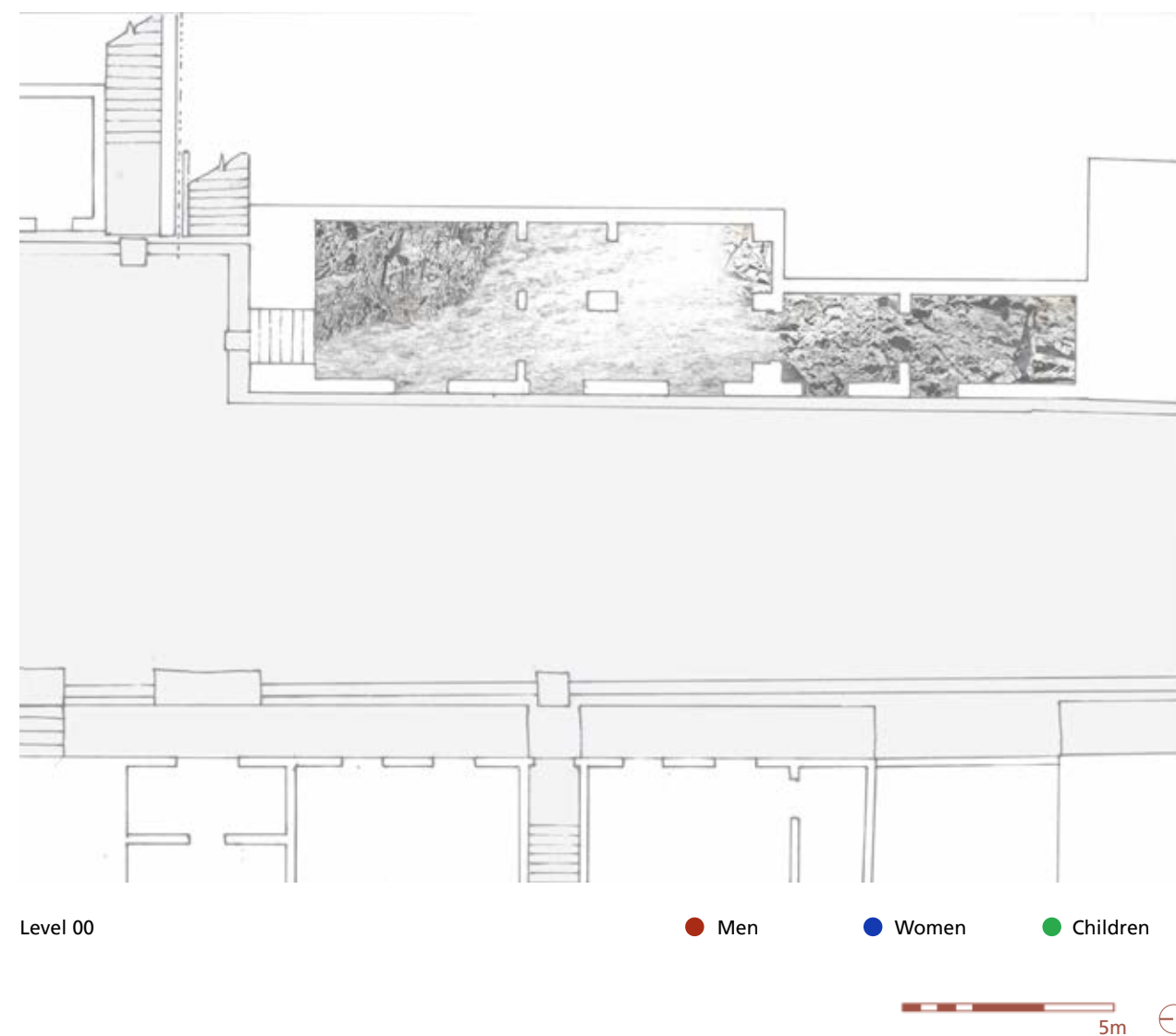


Colour is very important in Tajganj - it is part of tradition (people repaint their homes every Diwali), it is part of superstition, and a matter of pride. Like the henna, particular use of colour is of interest to others: the use of colour in the seats knits into these traditions.



There is nothing obviously 'Mughal' about this furniture - although created for a 'heritage' trail, it does not try to reflect any of the 'monuments' on this trail, as the ASI's furniture tries to do. The new furniture reflected the architecture and craft that people in Diwanji are making now: not the 'heritage crafts' that are kept stationary through repeat orders of the same from souvenir emporiums, but inherited traditions that continue to be developed to reflect the makers' interests and values.

Making Project Two *Storytelling*: Metaphoric Depth of Urban Negotiation - Communication of Common Interests



Making Project Three *Buksh Museum of Hobbycraft*: Event #1



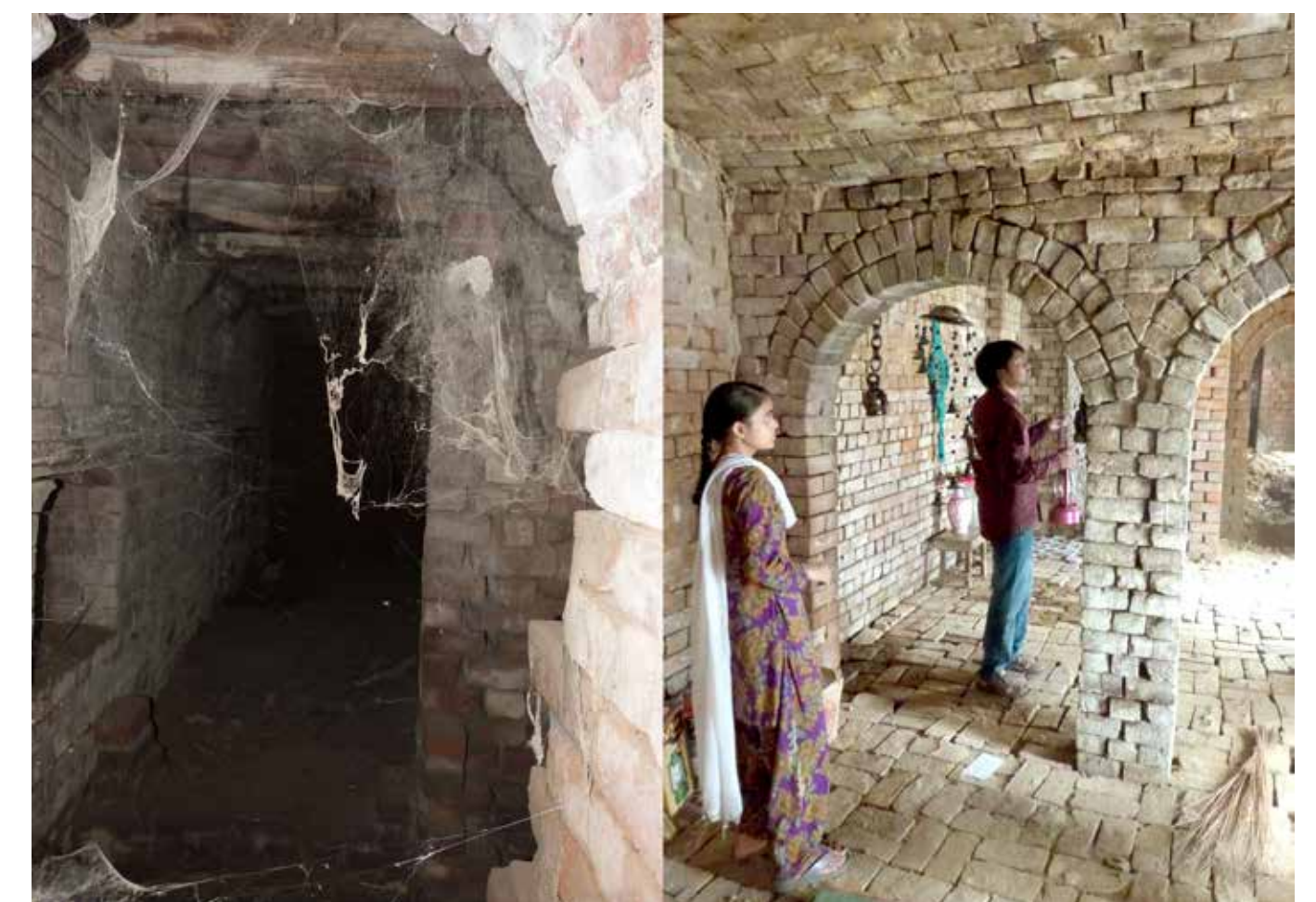
Level 01



Level 00



Clearing rubble from upper terrace



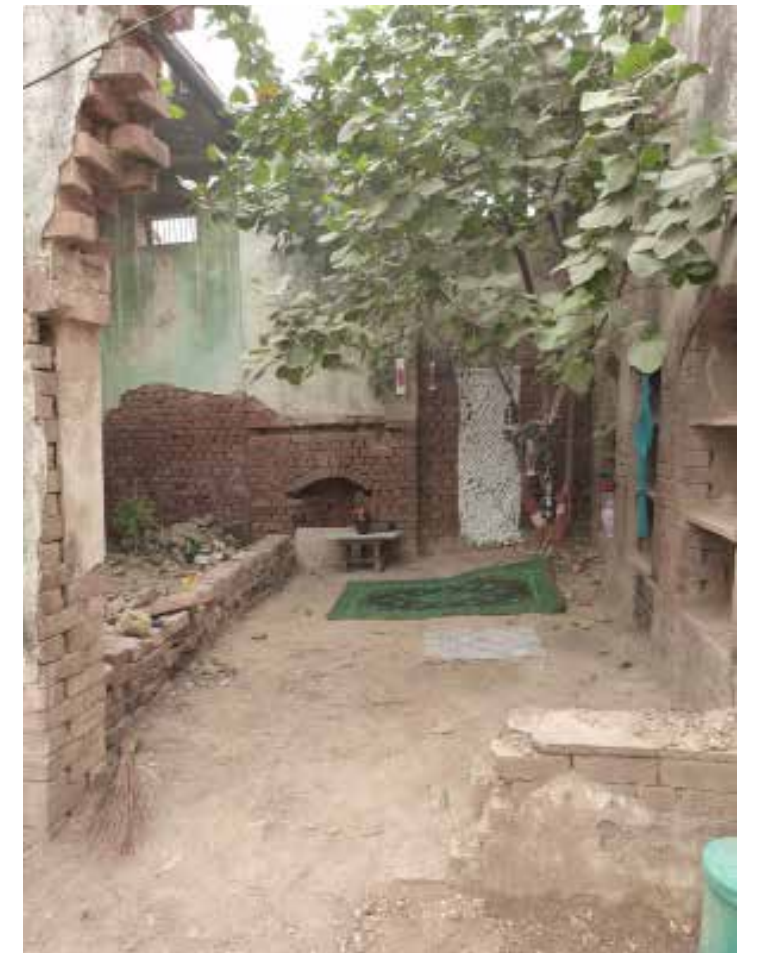
Before rubble floor is laid

After rubble floor is laid

Making Project Three *Buksh Museum of Hobbycraft*: Re-using Rubble



Level 01



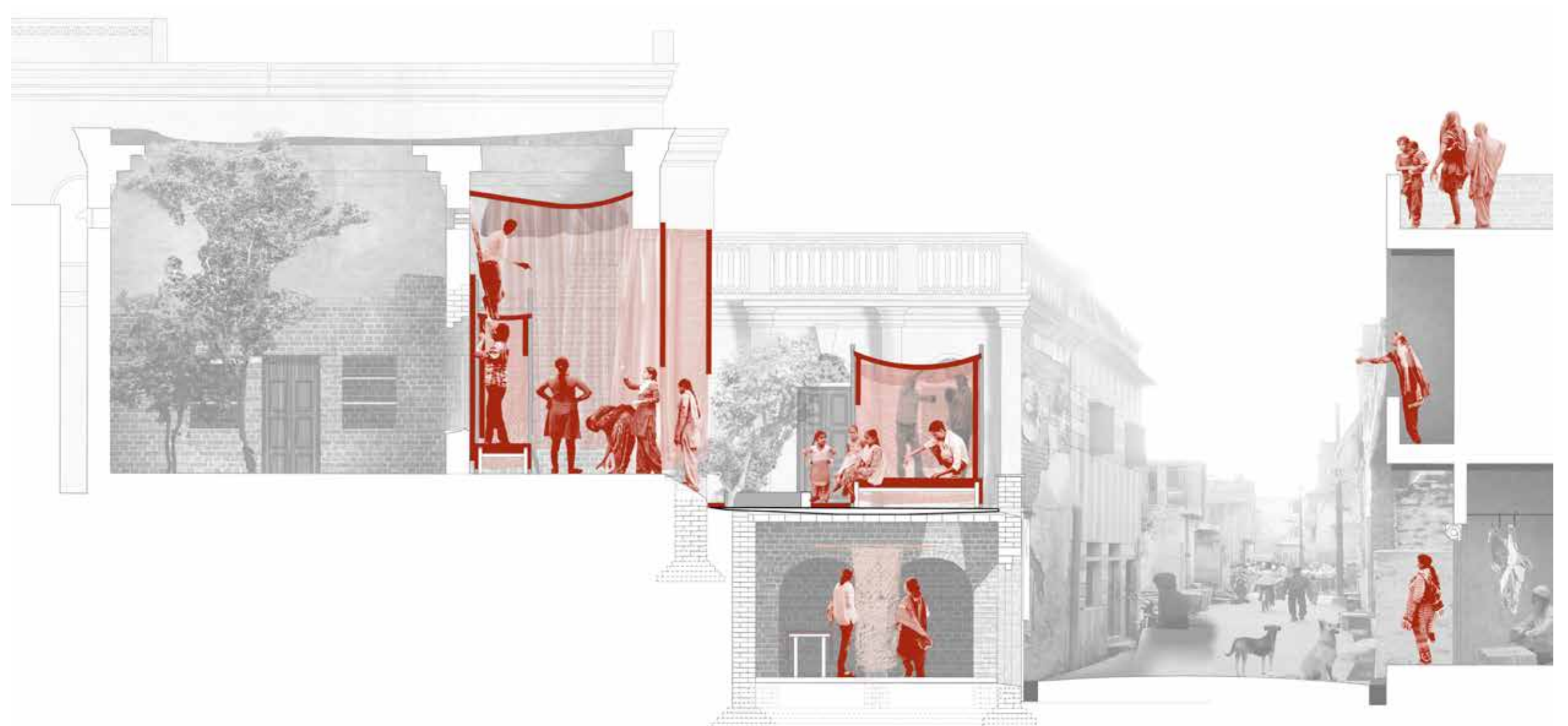
Making Project Three *Buksh Museum of Hobbycraft*: Gardening



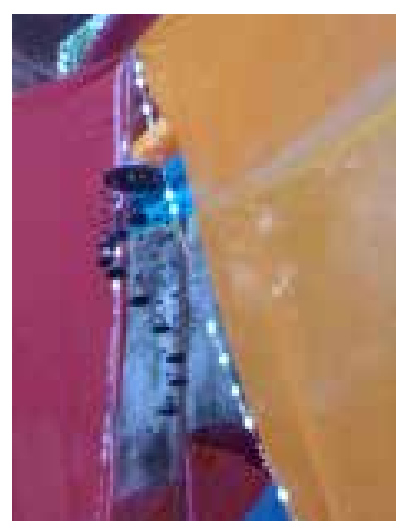
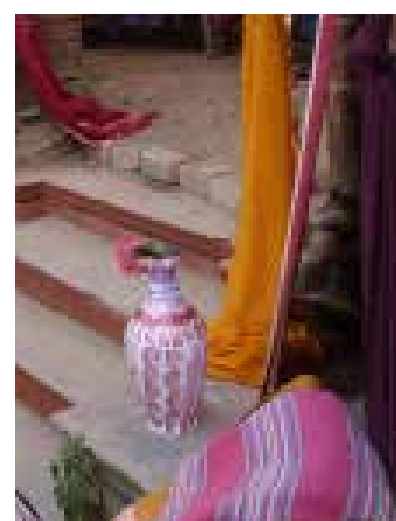
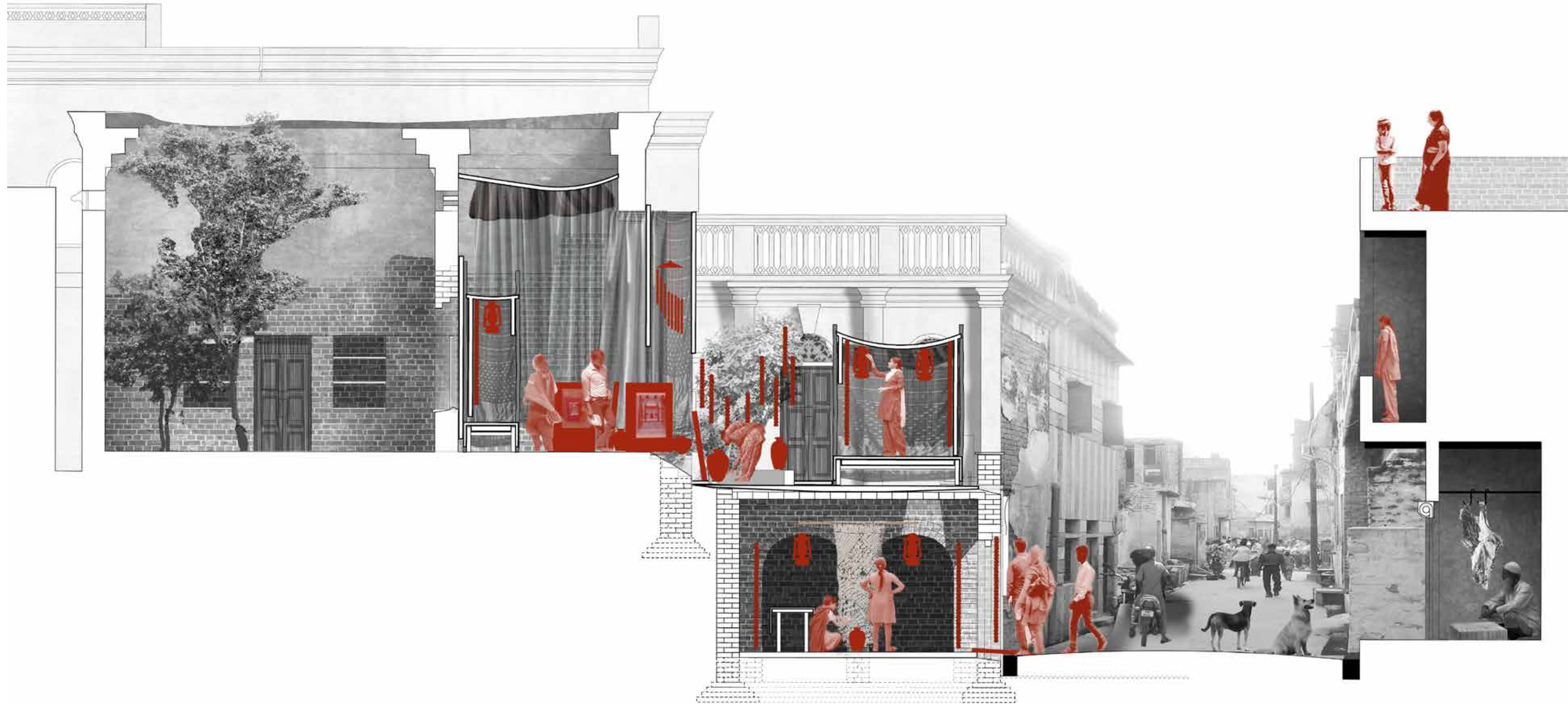
Level 01



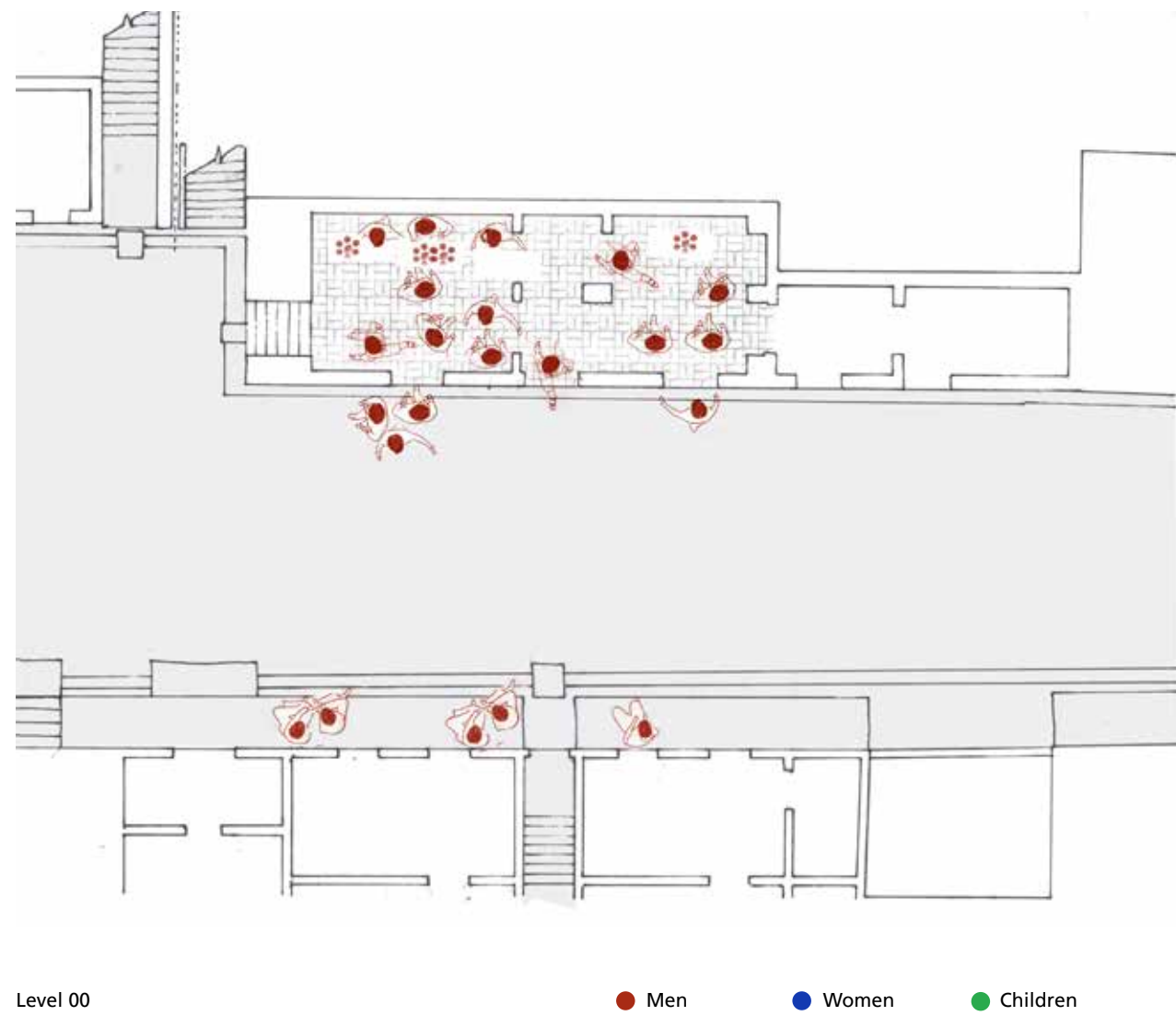
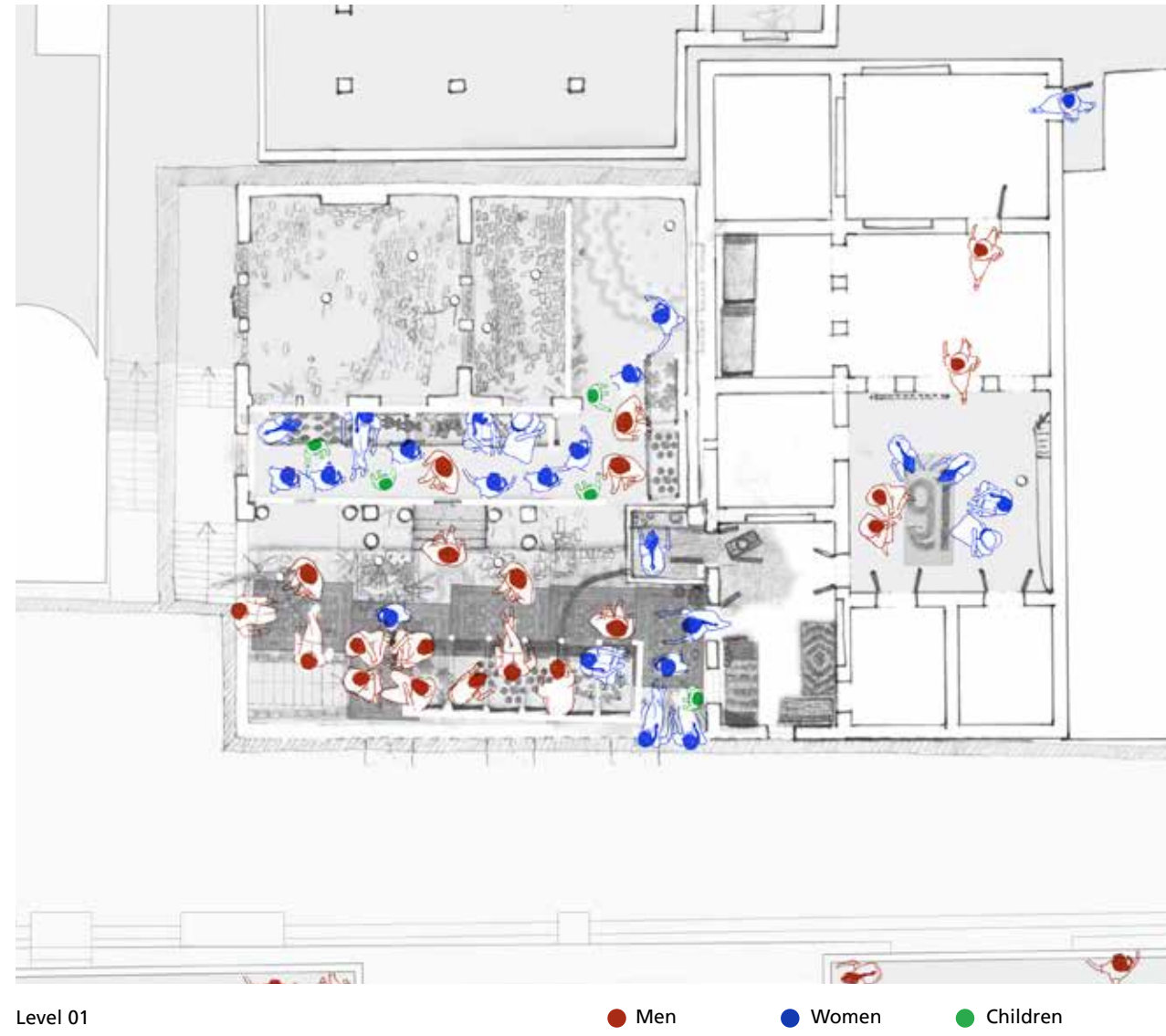
Making Project Three *Buksh Museum of Hobbycraft*: Earth Floor



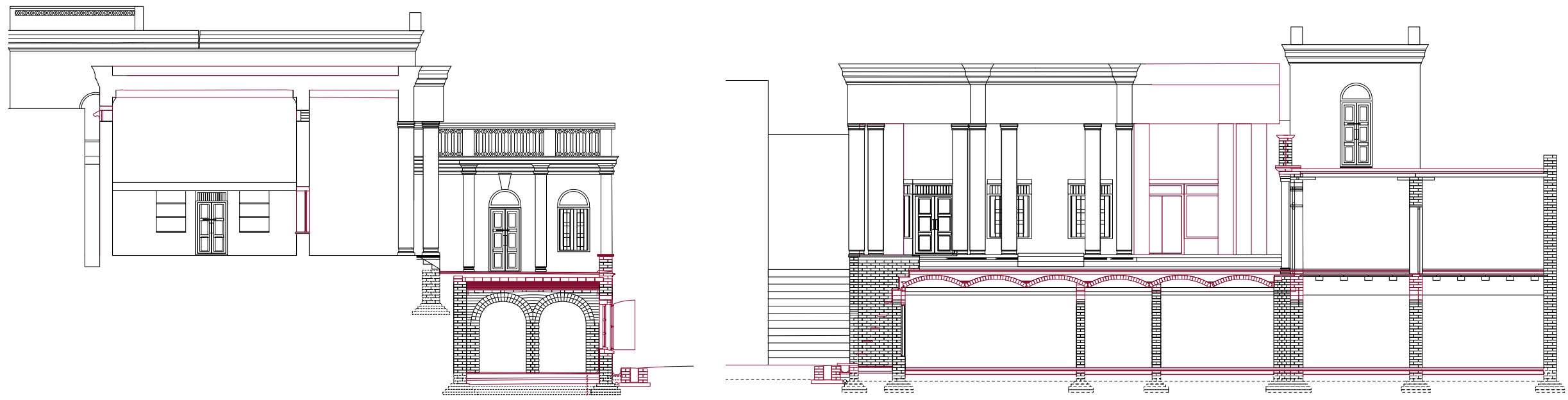
Making Project Three *Buksh Museum of Hobbycraft*: Bamboo, Borrowed Materials and Fabric Structures



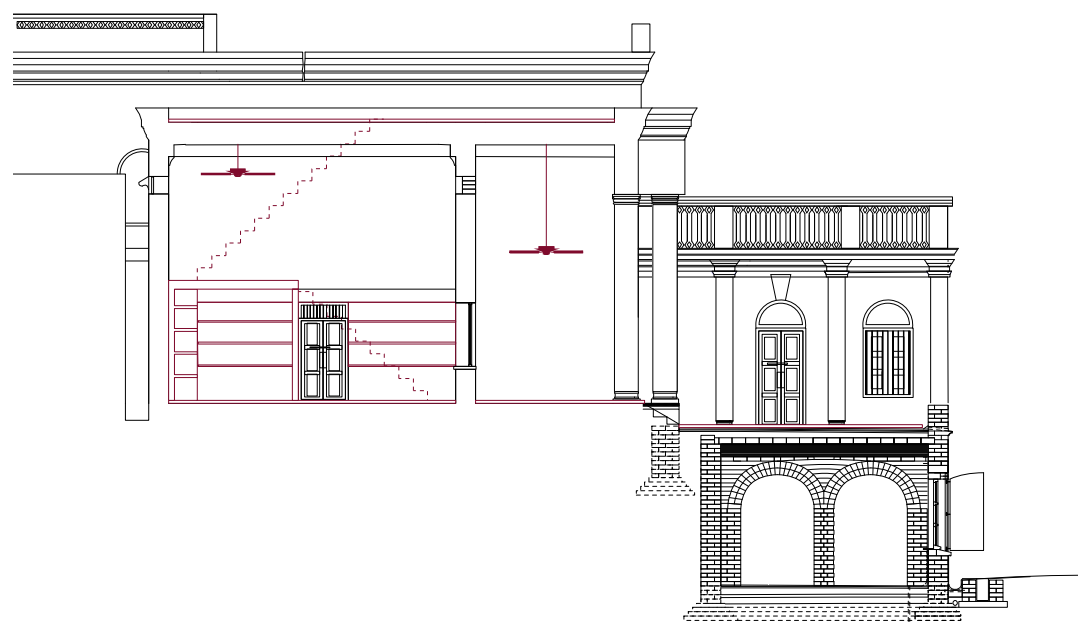
Making Project Three *Buksh Museum of Hobbycraft*: Exhibits and Ornament



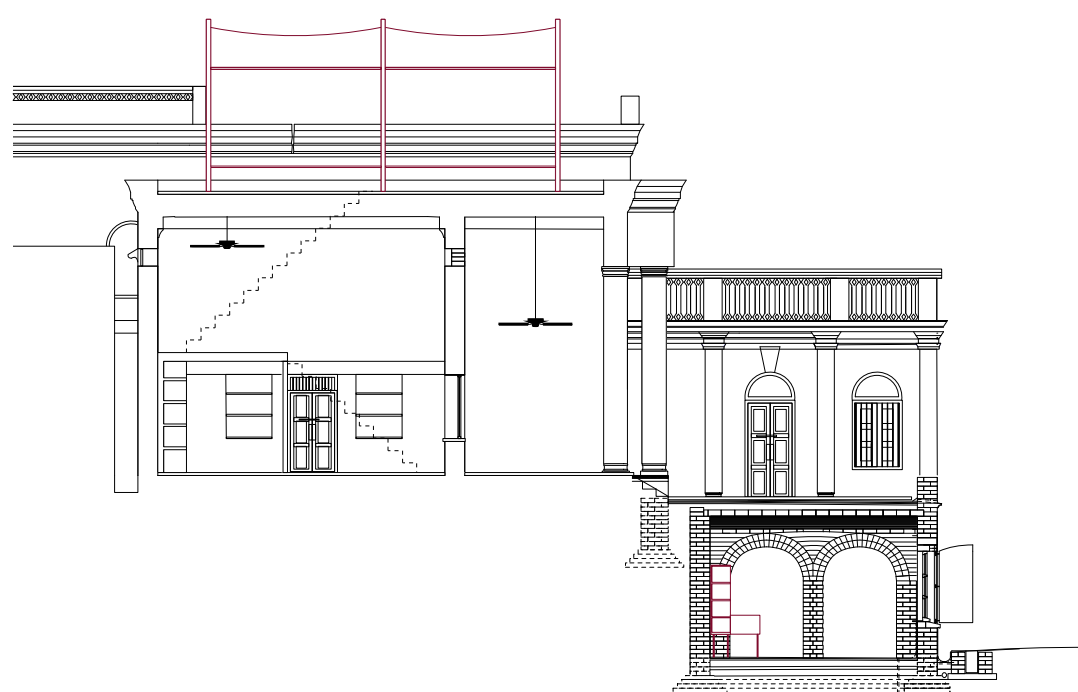
Making Project Three *Buksh Museum of Hobbycraft*: Event #2



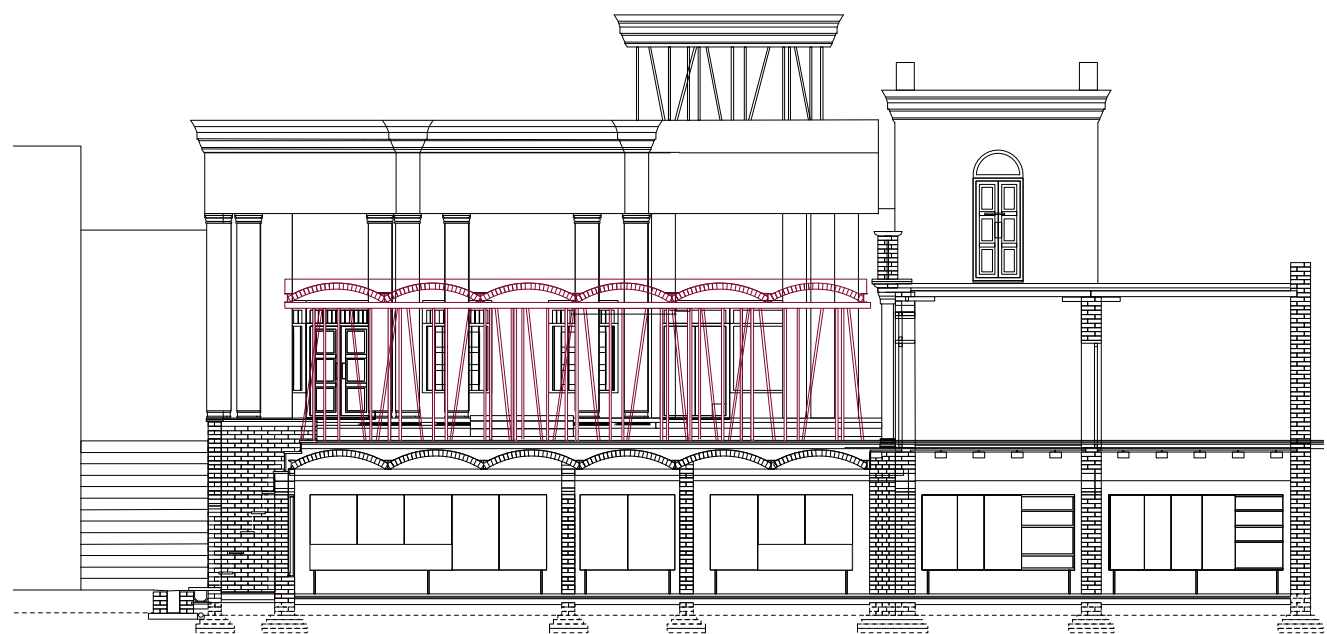
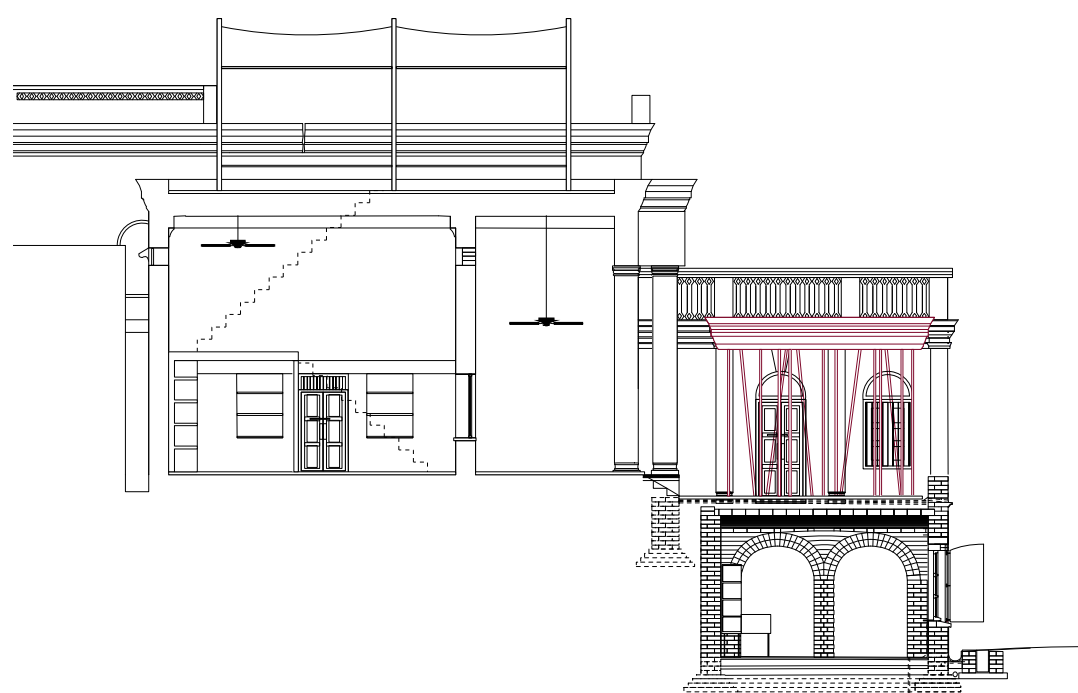
Proposed Repairs Granted by the ASI - negotiation between ASI, CURE architects, myself, Buksh family



Additions not considered 'construction' on Level 01 - negotiation between Buksh family

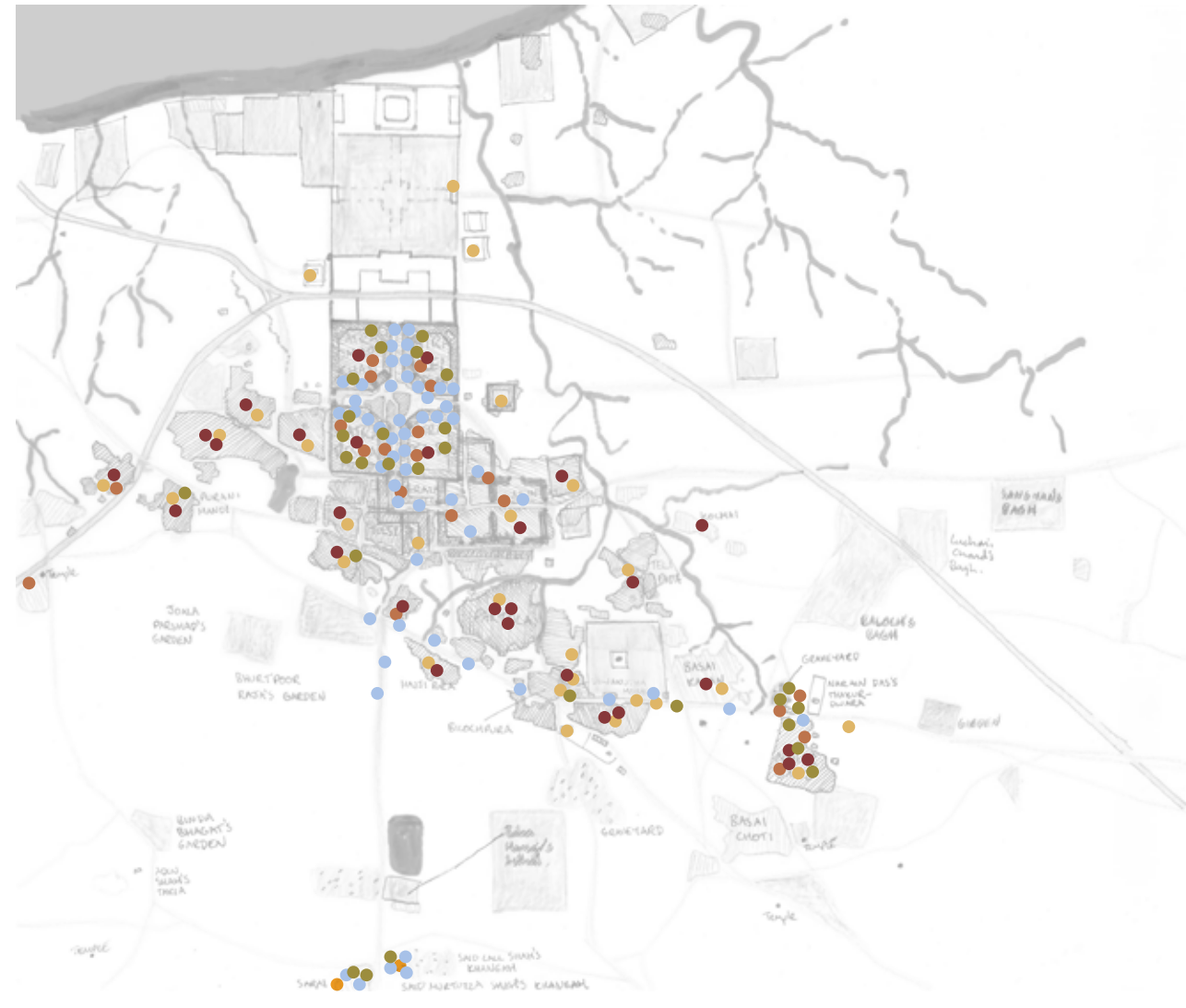


Meeting Place for women's savings groups on rooftop - negotiation between savings group, CURE, Buksh family, myself, architecture students
Museum Exhibition and Internet Cafe - negotiation between craftspeople, Buksh family, CURE, myself, architecture students

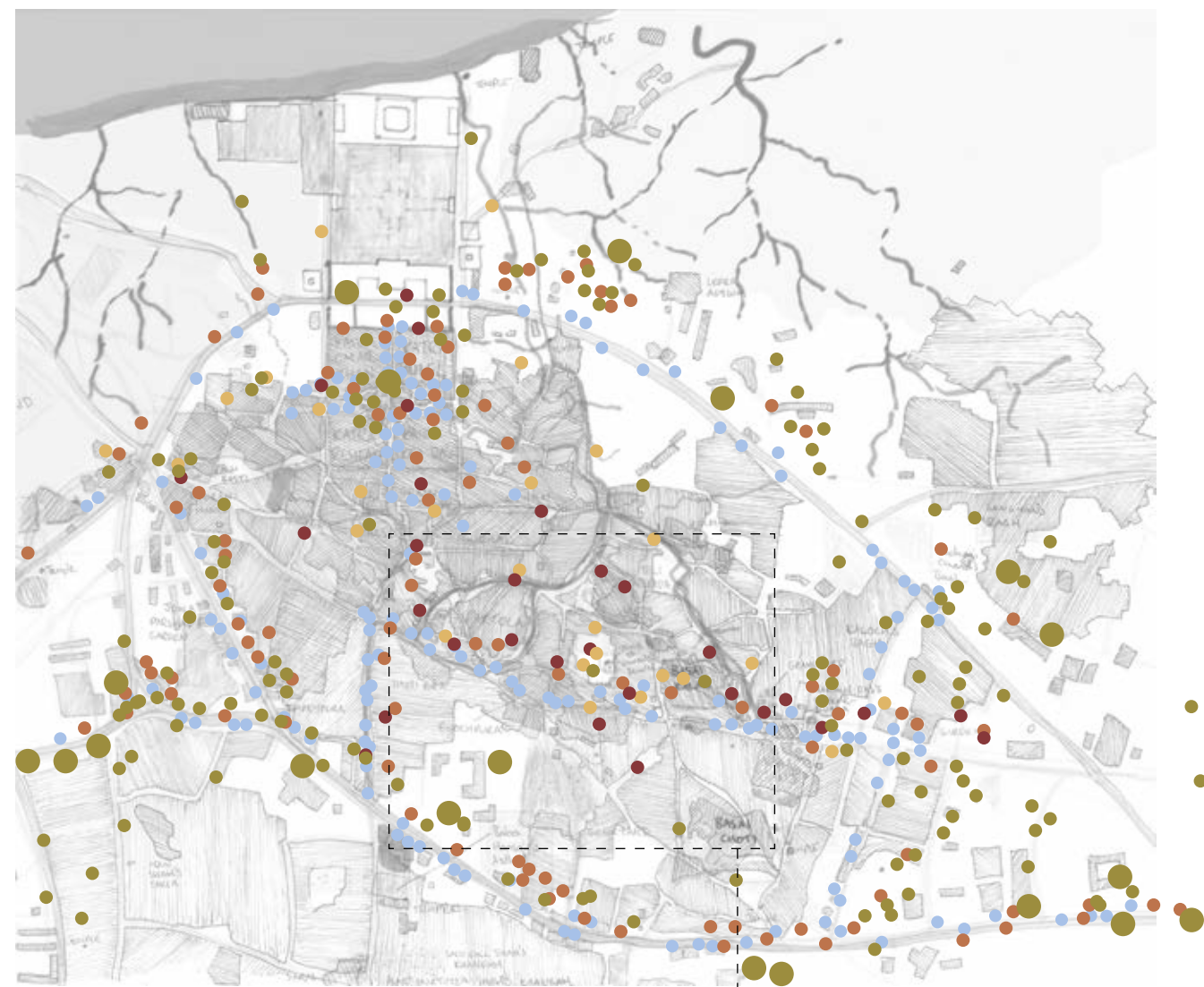


Cyclical Museum Event - negotiation between Buksh family, craftspeople, Mosque Committee, Press, Tourism Board, Myself, CURE, architecture students

Making Project Three *Buksh Museum of Hobbycraft*: Design Proposal (Post-exercise)



● 1914 committee meeting points as remembered by residents during Fieldtrip 4



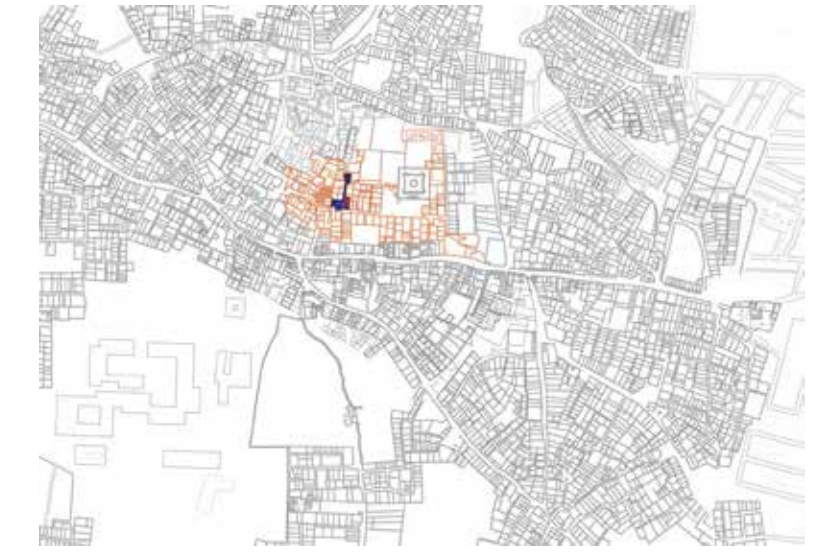
● 2013 committee meeting points identified during Fieldtrip 4 area of maps (right)



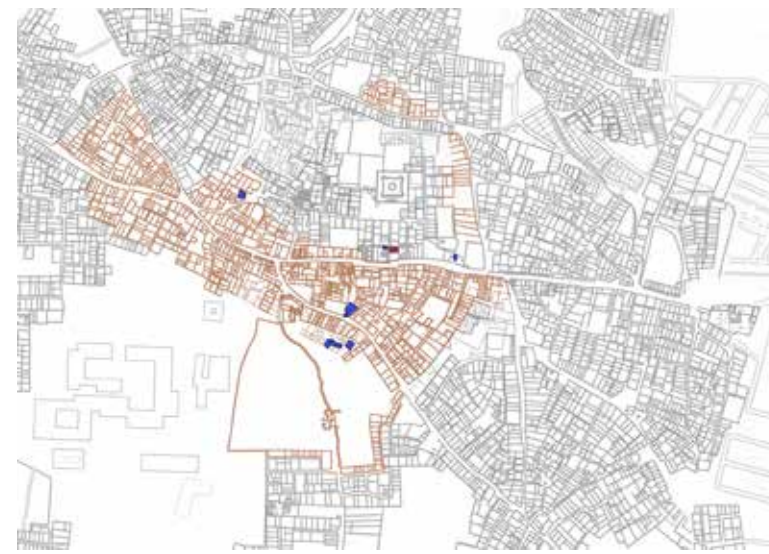
Kabristan Committee



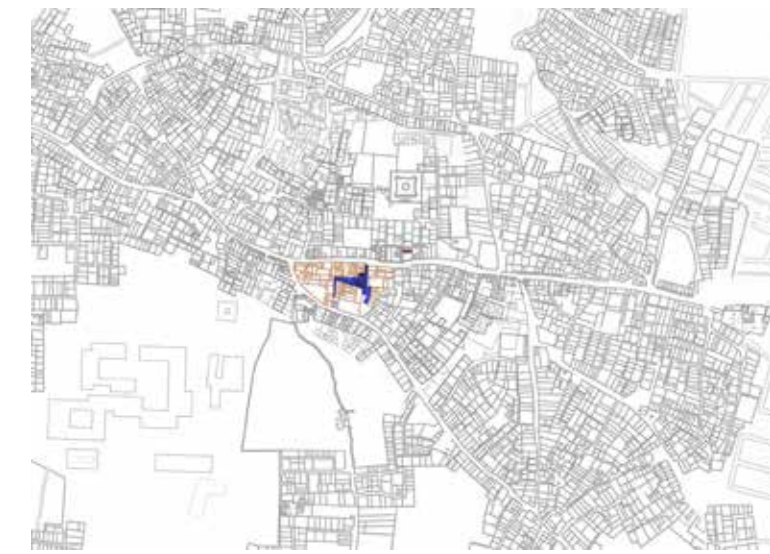
Shahi Masjid Committee



Diwanji ka Mohalla Committee



Grave Committee



Bilochpura Masjid Chowk Committee



East Diwanji ka Mohalla Temple-goers



Sikawar Committee



Lodi Temple Committee



Rai Family and Temple Committee

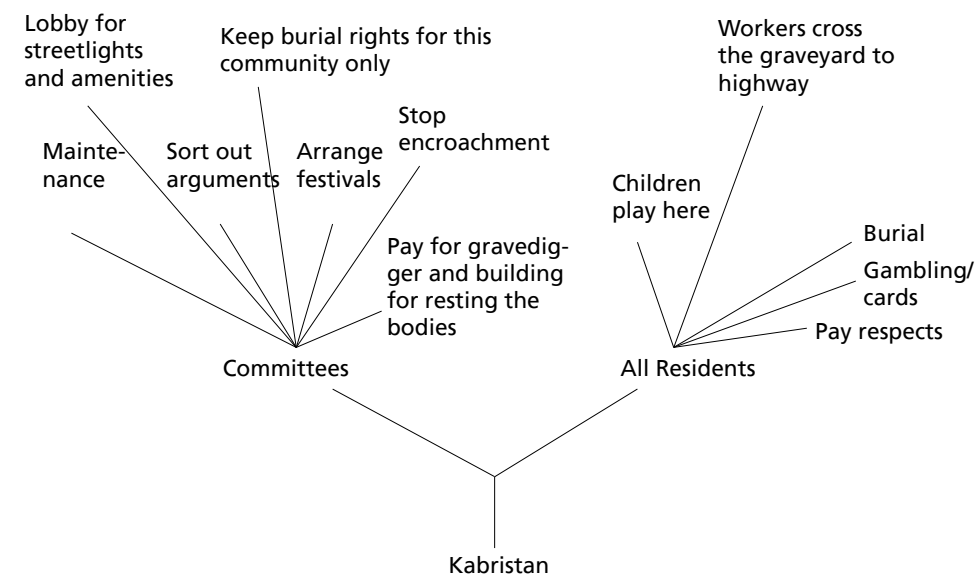
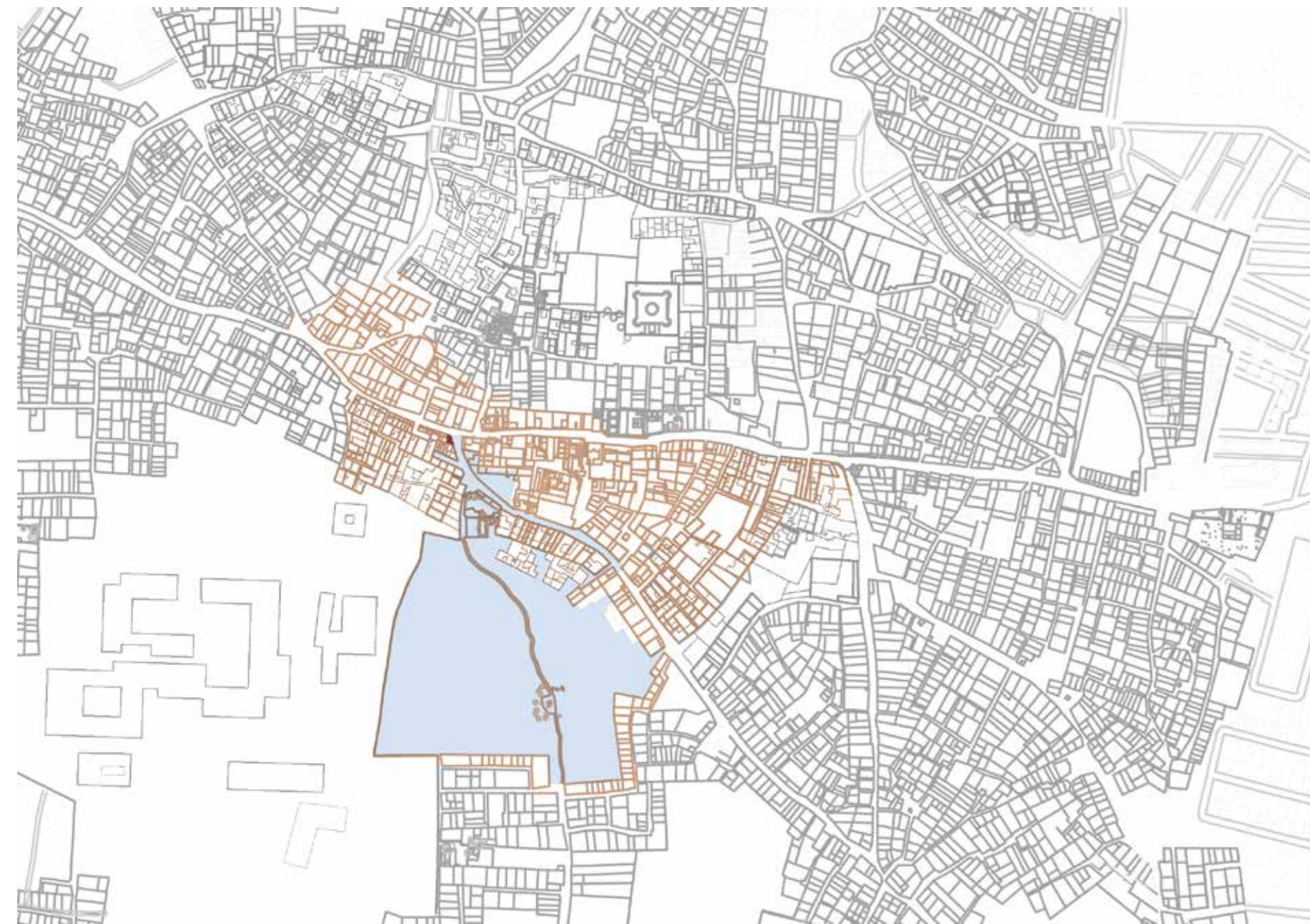
■ Area where committee constituents reside
■ Committee meeting point
■ Area maintained by committee

The web of committee 'alliances' has been shaped over time since bastis were distinct villages represented by committees, (mosque committee or panchayat depending on religion), to manage village and inter-village disputes. The committees had mainly moved to be situated along the primary bazaar street. While the resident-identified sites of interest had caused the creation and sustained the existence of this institutionalised cooperation, uncelebrated fragments such as the bazaar street itself were found to be essential to their operation too (see p43-46).

Committees of Maintenance: Relationships Between Committees and Places



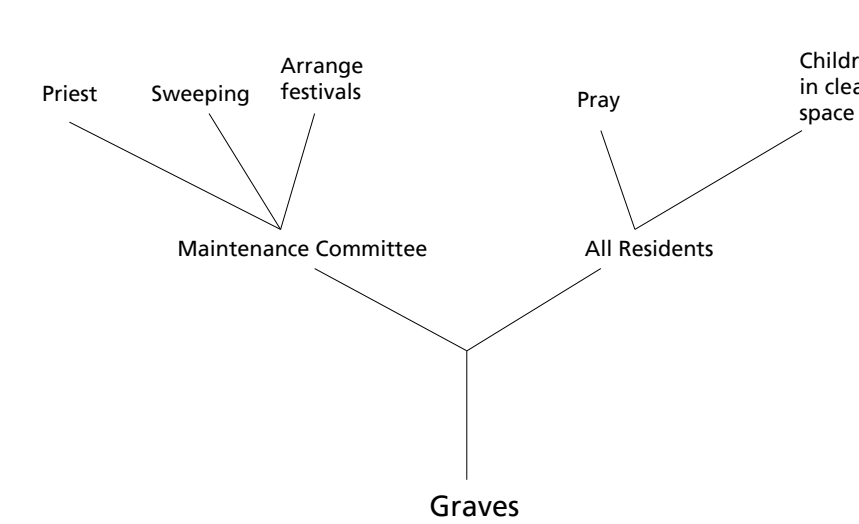
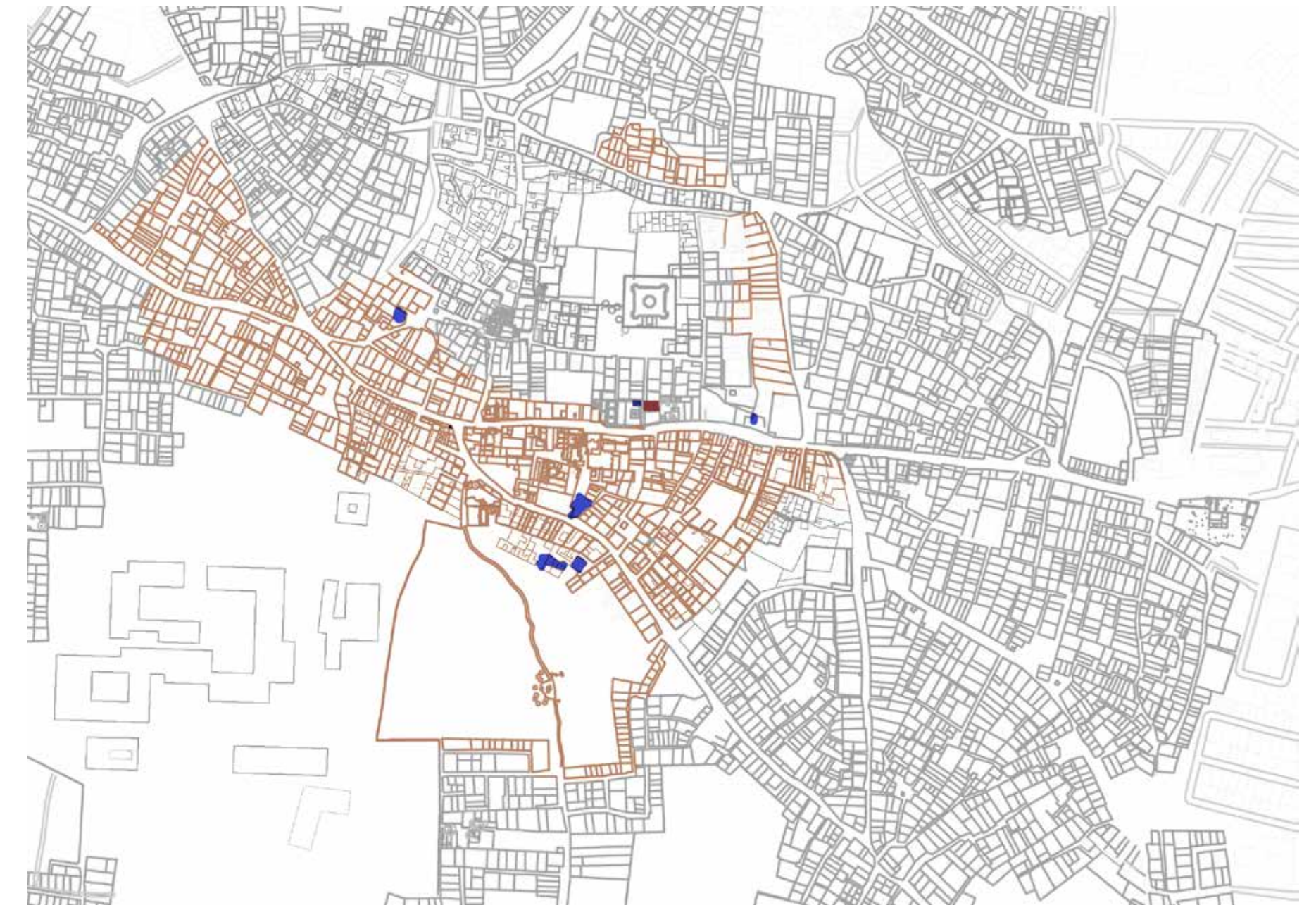
Meeting the committee: Fieldtrip 4



Kabristan Committee



Meeting the committee: Fieldtrip 3

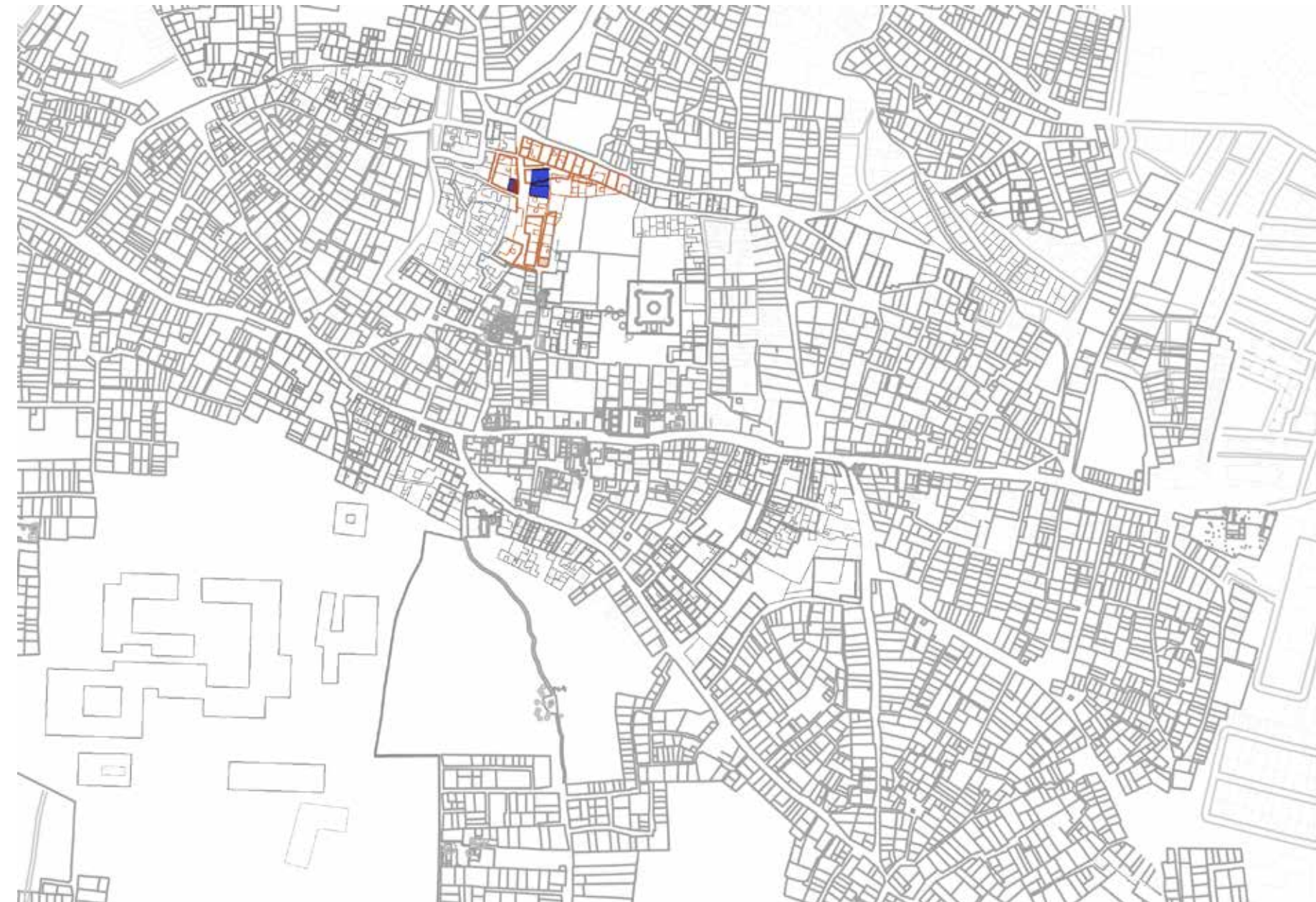


Grave Committee

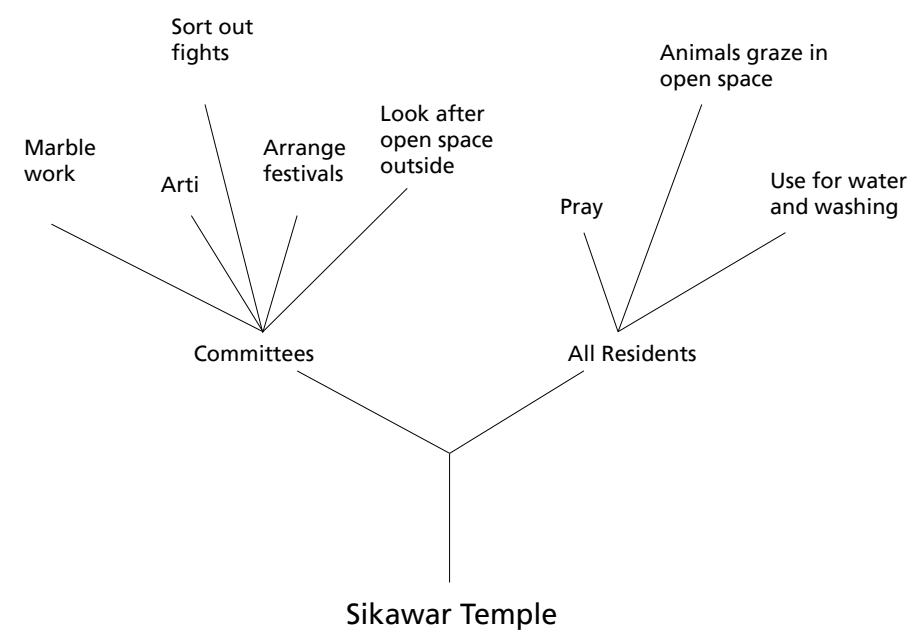
Committees of Maintenance



Meeting the committee: Fieldtrip 4



100m



Area where committee constituents

Committee meeting point

Area maintained by committee

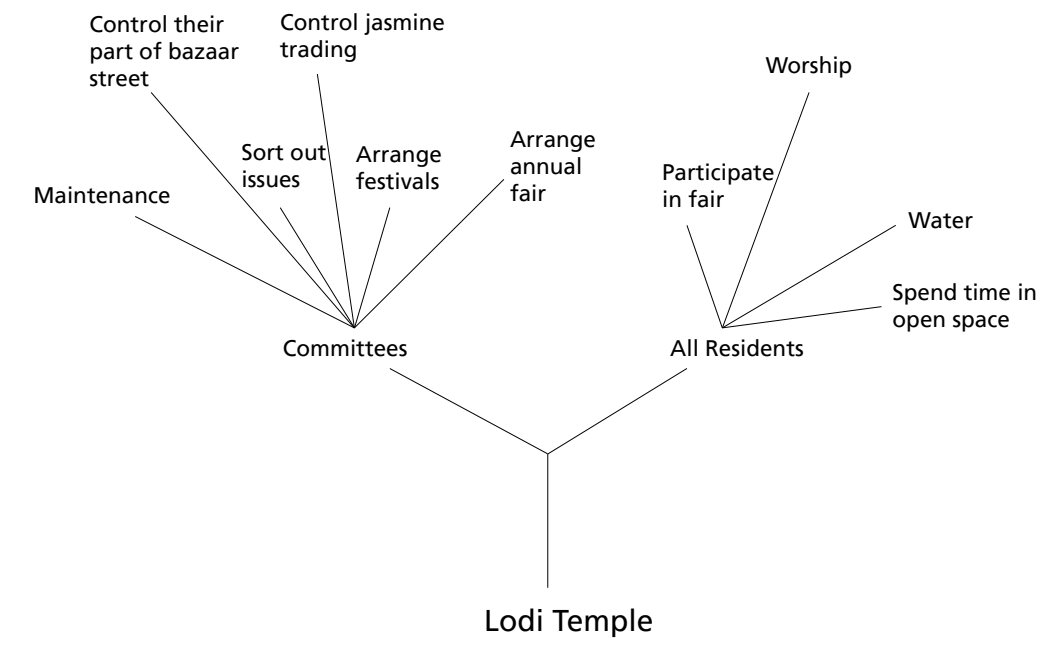
Sikawar Committee



Meeting the committee: Fieldtrip 4



100m



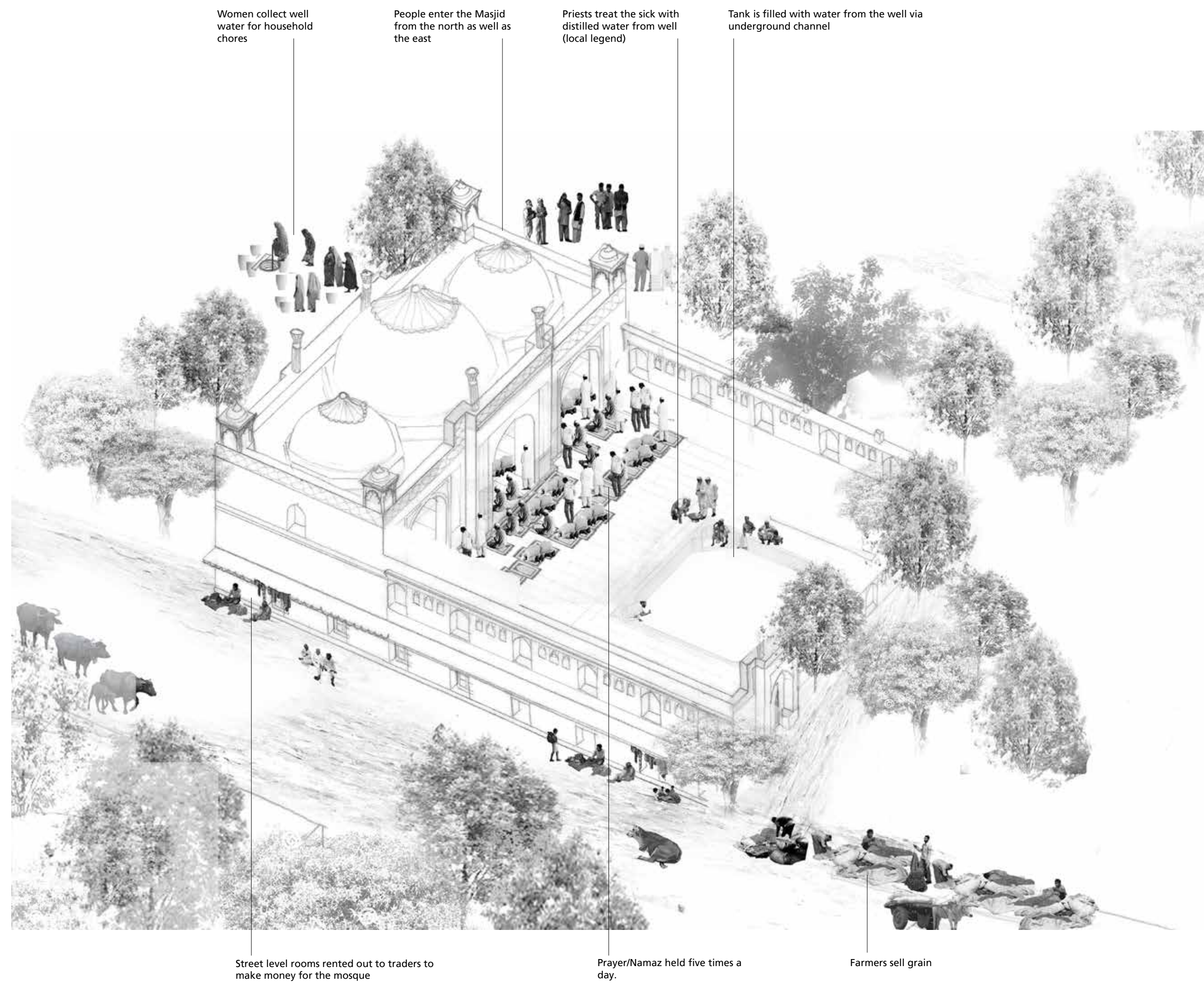
Area where committee constituents

Committee meeting point

Area maintained by committee

Lodi Temple Committee

Committees of Maintenance



Women collect well water for household chores

People enter the Masjid from the north as well as the east

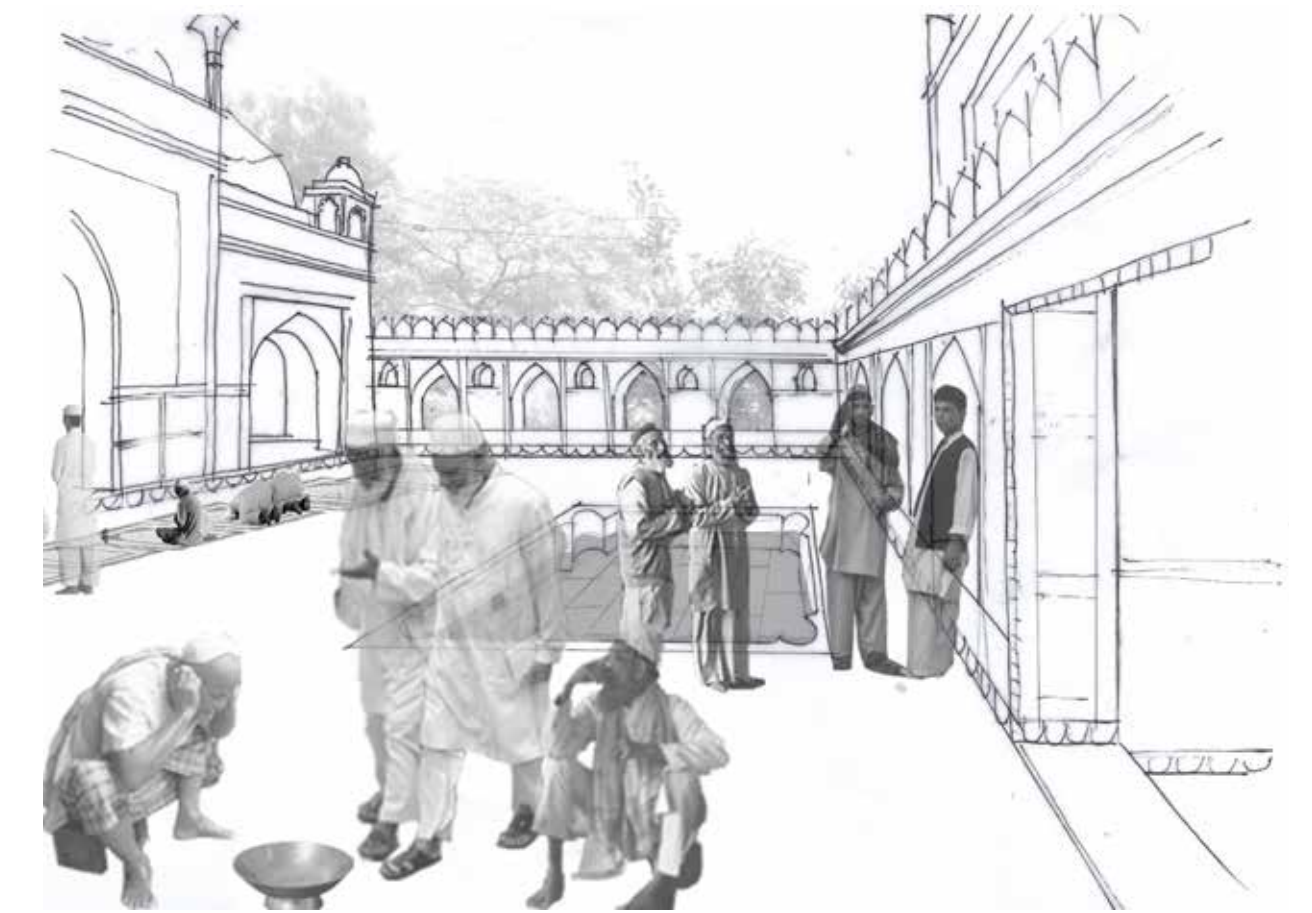
Priests treat the sick with distilled water from well (local legend)

Tank is filled with water from the well via underground channel

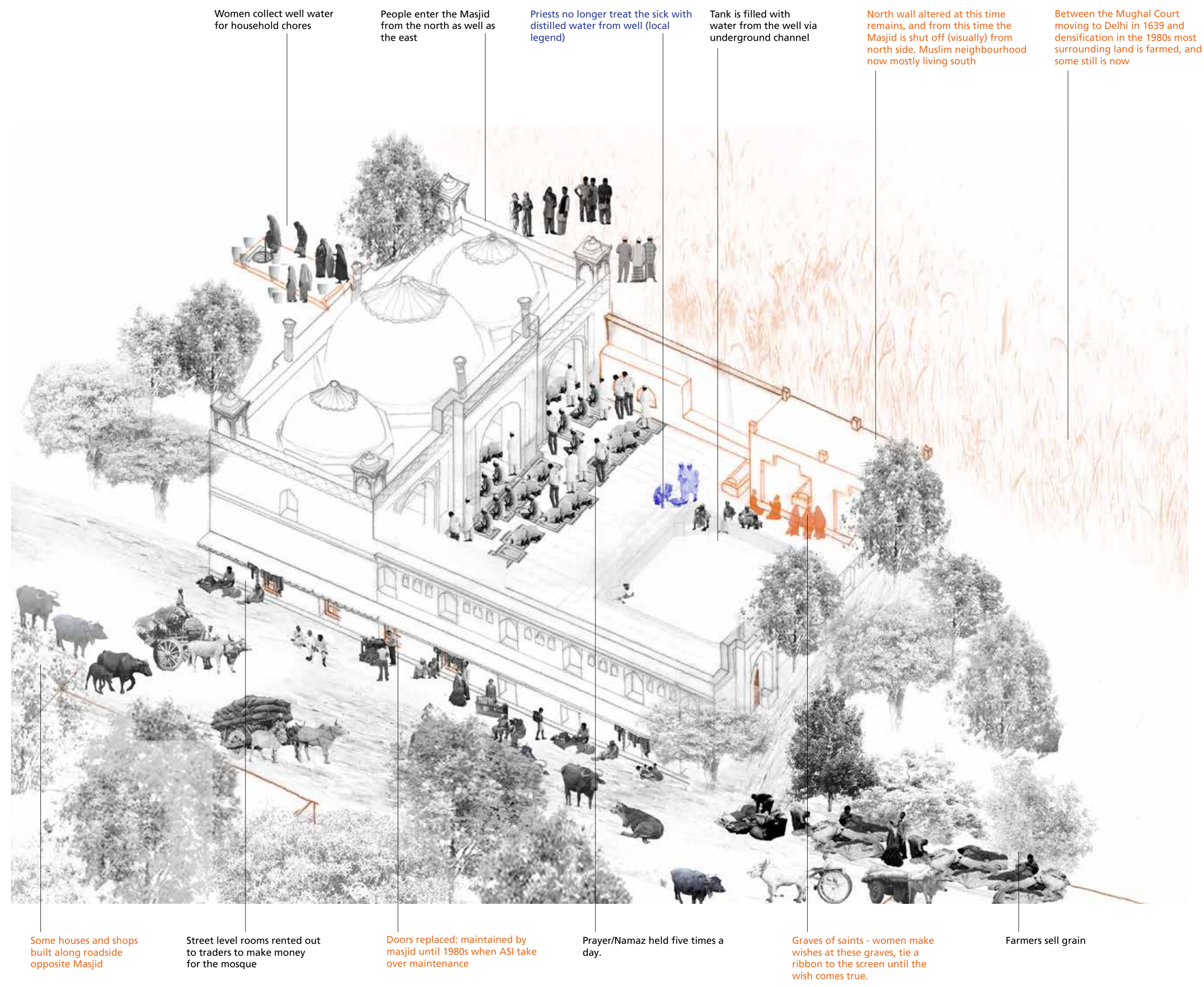
Street level rooms rented out to traders to make money for the mosque

Prayer/Namaz held five times a day.

Farmers sell grain



Comparison of Maintenance: Shahi Masjid 1614 -1803



Comparison of Maintenance: Shahi Masjid 1803-1947 (British-colonial period)

ASI conservation work: contract signed with mosque committee - they are not to carry out further maintenance to building, ASI takes over.

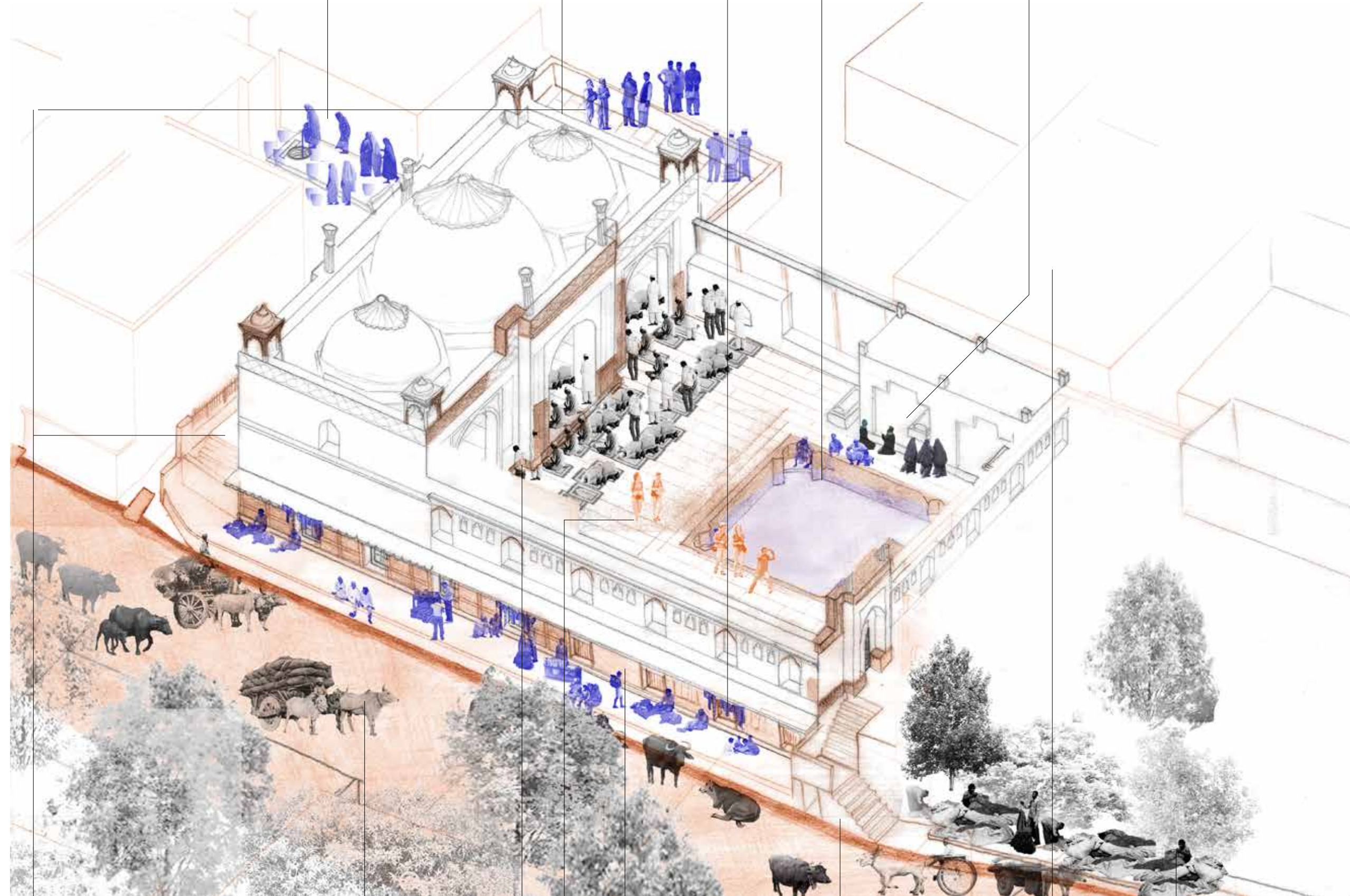
Women no longer collect well water for household chores - water has dried up / water table lowered

People no longer enter the Masjid from the north as well as the east due to restoration work* - people do not tend to gather in this chowk any more

Street level rooms no longer rented out to traders to make money for the mosque

Tank is no longer filled with water from the well via underground channel, due to restoration work*

Graves of saints - women make wishes at these graves, tie a ribbon to the screen until the wish comes true.



Masjid is listed as Monument: ASI conservation work: half the street to the west and half the chowk (square) to the north is paved and closed off with railings

Road (previously earth) tarmacked, drains put in at both sides. Road higher than previous, leading to ground floor flooding of many houses up until present day

Prayer/Namaz held five times a day.

ASI conservation work: new stone pieces added to replace damaged. New flooring to external courtyard. New plastering at street level. Tank re-lined and channel to well closed.

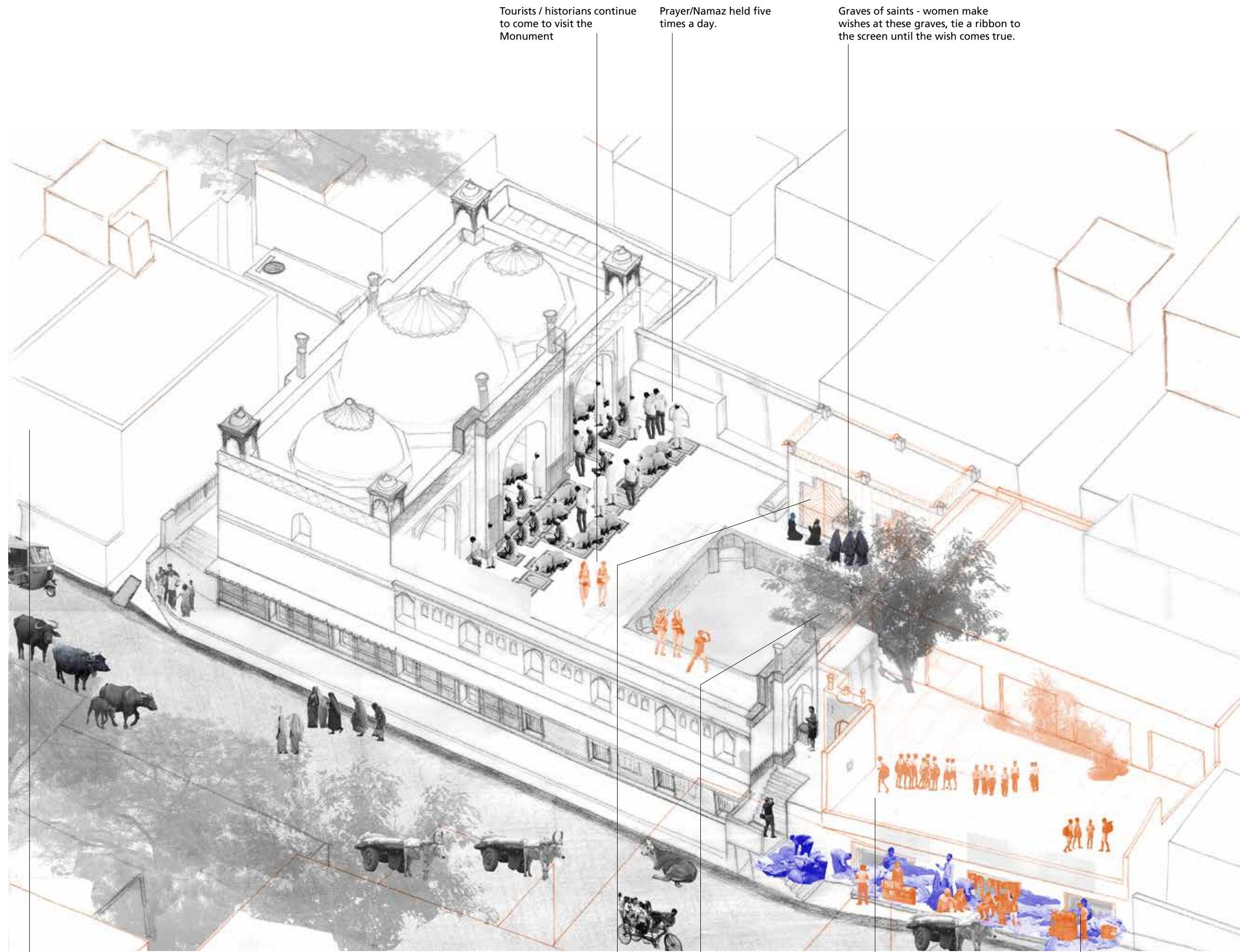
ASI conservation work: new staircase entrance from road side

Many people move into the area and build/adjust houses

Farmers sell grain

Tourists / historians come to visit the Monument

Comparison of Maintenance: Shahi Masjid 1947 - 2005



Tourists / historians continue to come to visit the Monument

Prayer/Namaz held five times a day.

Graves of saints - women make wishes at these graves, tie a ribbon to the screen until the wish comes true.

Houses continue to be added to. However, the 1992 100m rule stopped it being legal to build within 100m of the Masjid. Any unbuilt plots at this time remain unbuilt upon

Certain parts of the Masjid continue to be maintained and decorated by the mosque committee: the entrance gate to the Madrasa and the saints' graves and enclosure (they are not part of the 1614 construction)

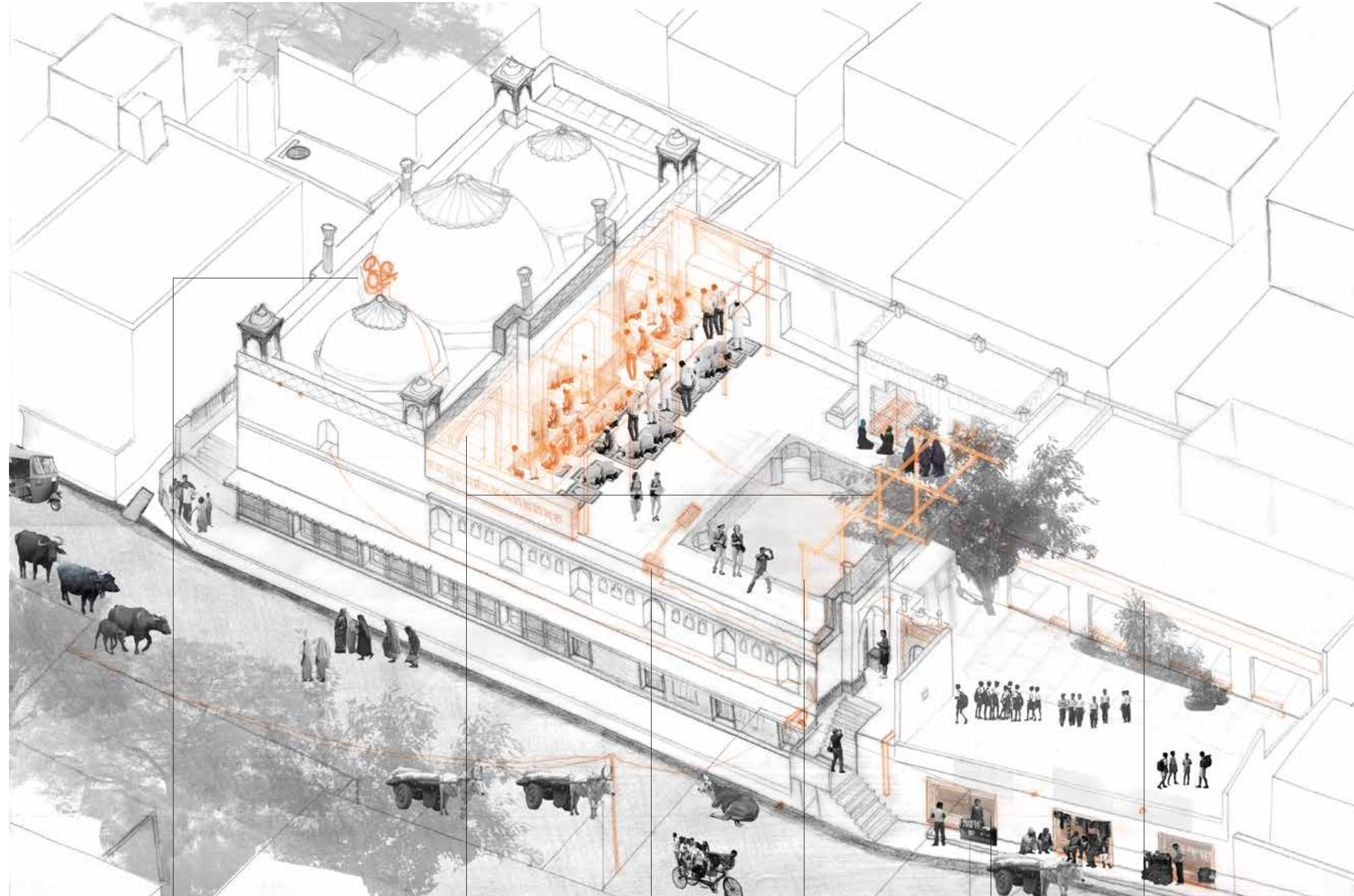
New wash facilities added (taps, WC)

Madrasa school opens

Farmers no longer sell grain however, shops under the Madrasa are rented out for Masjid needs such as festival decorations, sweeping, water bill



Comparison of Maintenance: Shahi Masjid 2005 - 2014



Speakers added for call to prayer

Steel frame and corrugated iron shade added for prayer and for washing

New electric floodlights

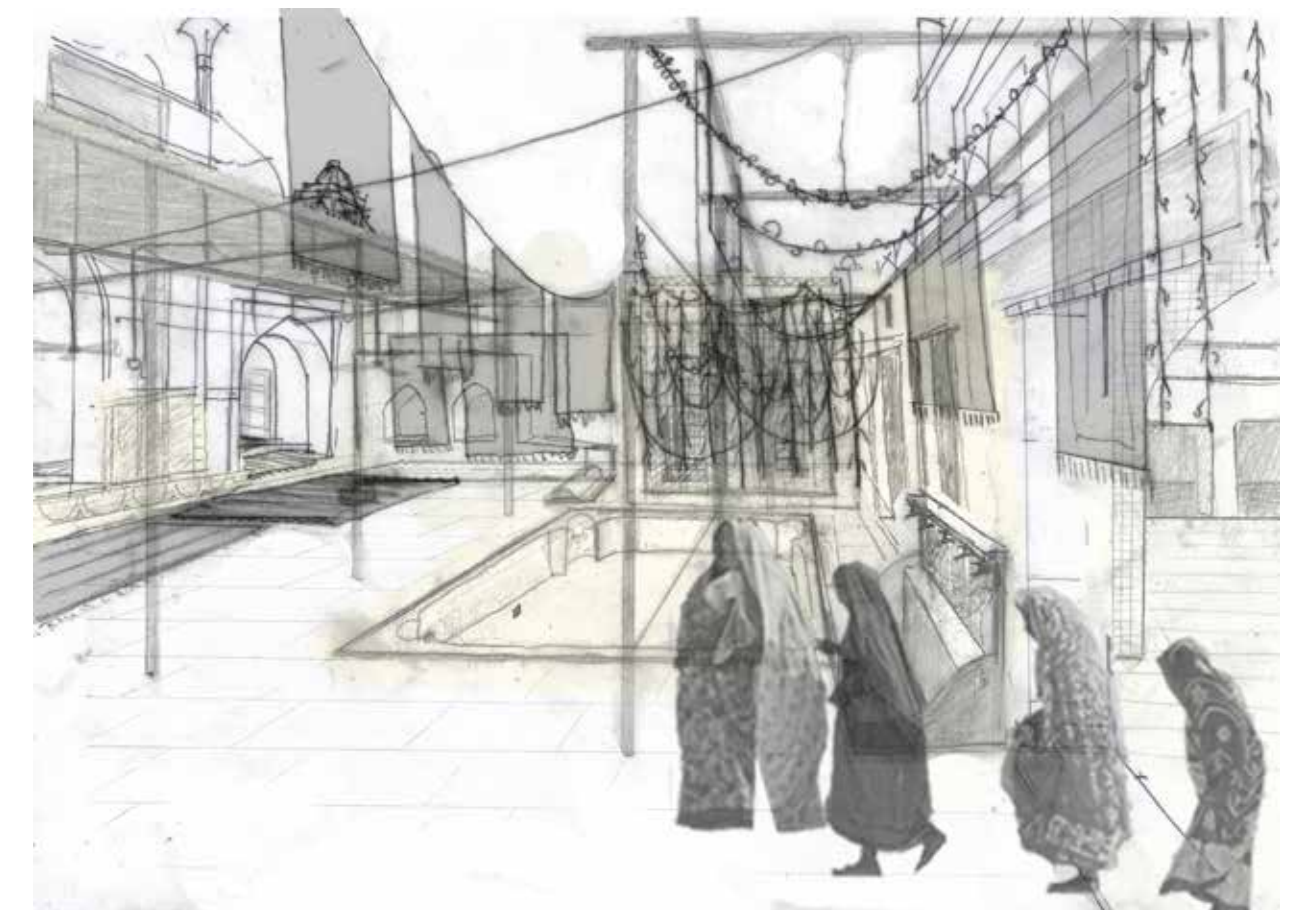
Banners, lights and flowers decorate the steel structures during festivals

Shop interiors refitted

paint



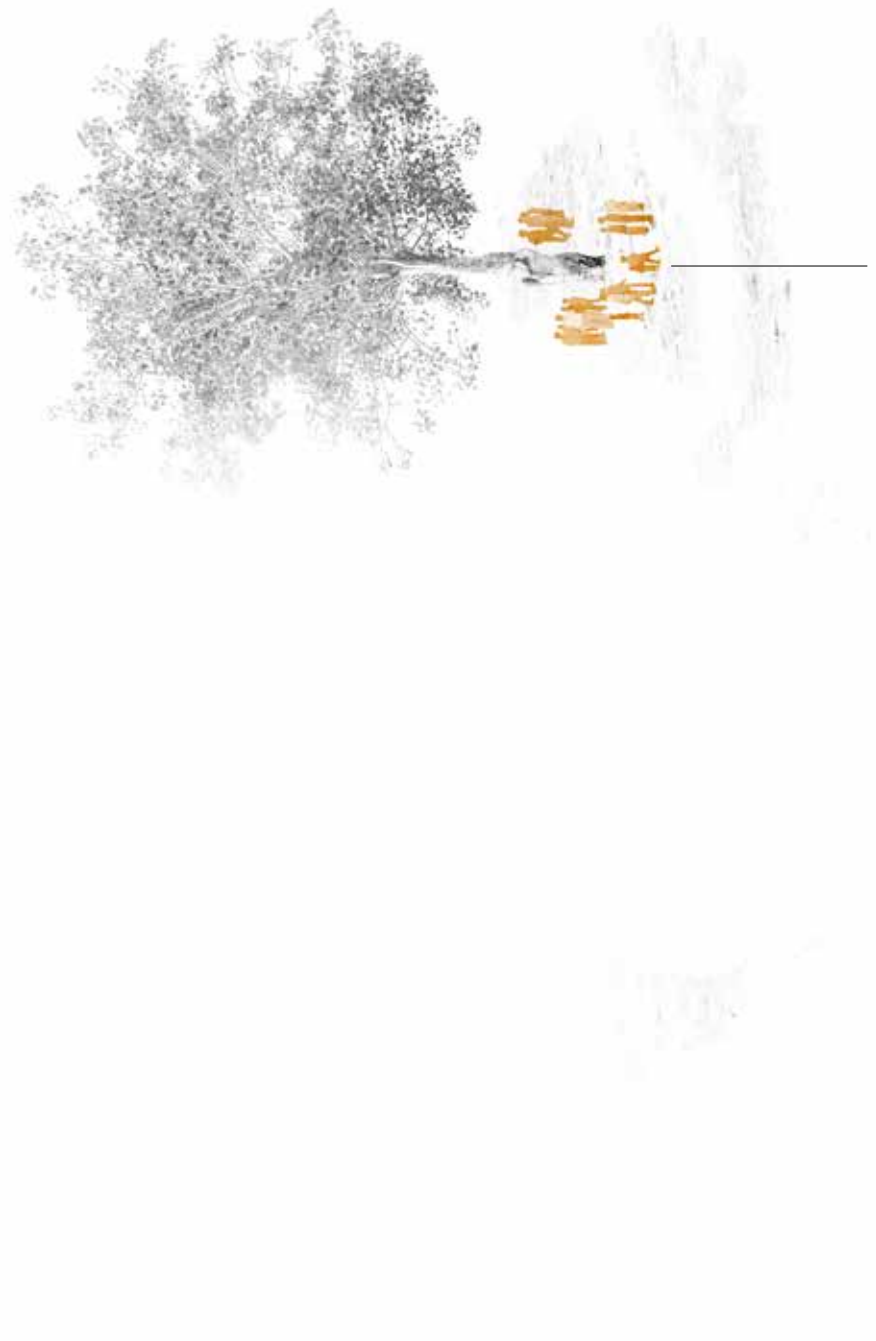
Temporary shade structures inside the mosque



Fabric and lights added to structures during annual Urs celebrations

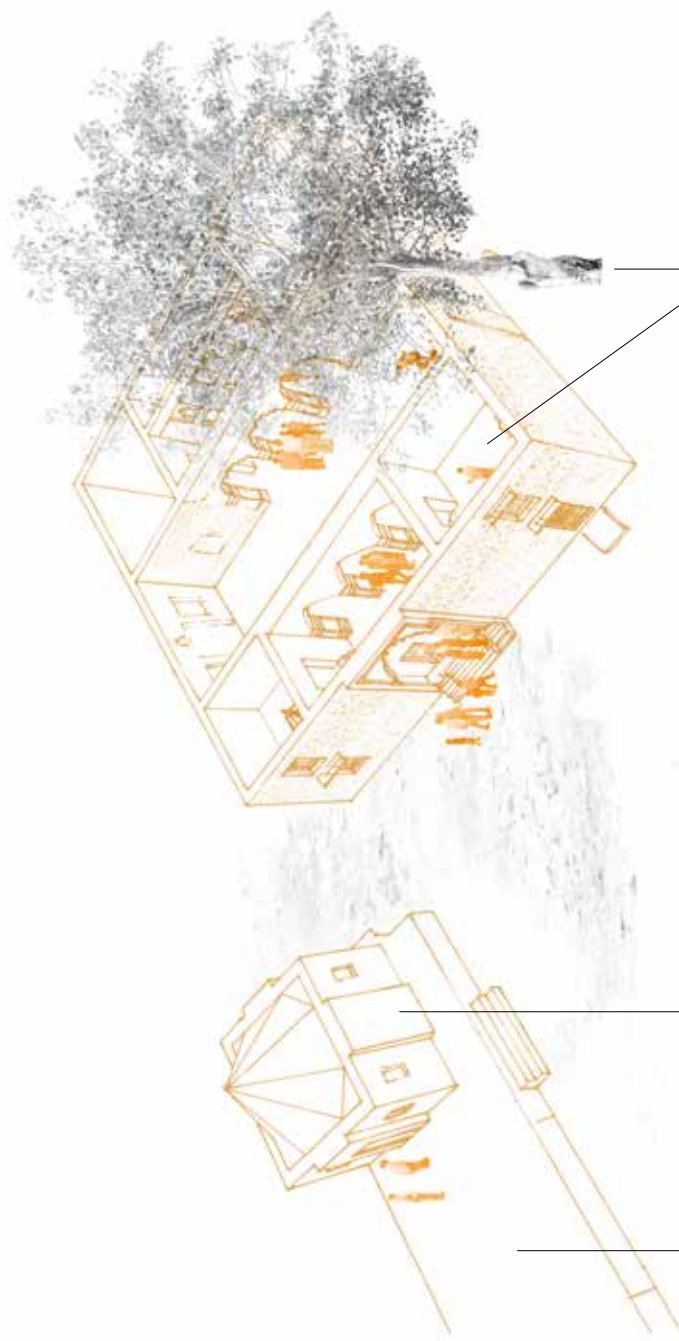
Comparison of Maintenance: New, Cyclical and Temporary Adjustments to the Shahi Masjid Since 2000

Mughal Period



Sikarwar community move to the area and start worship around existing peepal tree

British-colonial Period

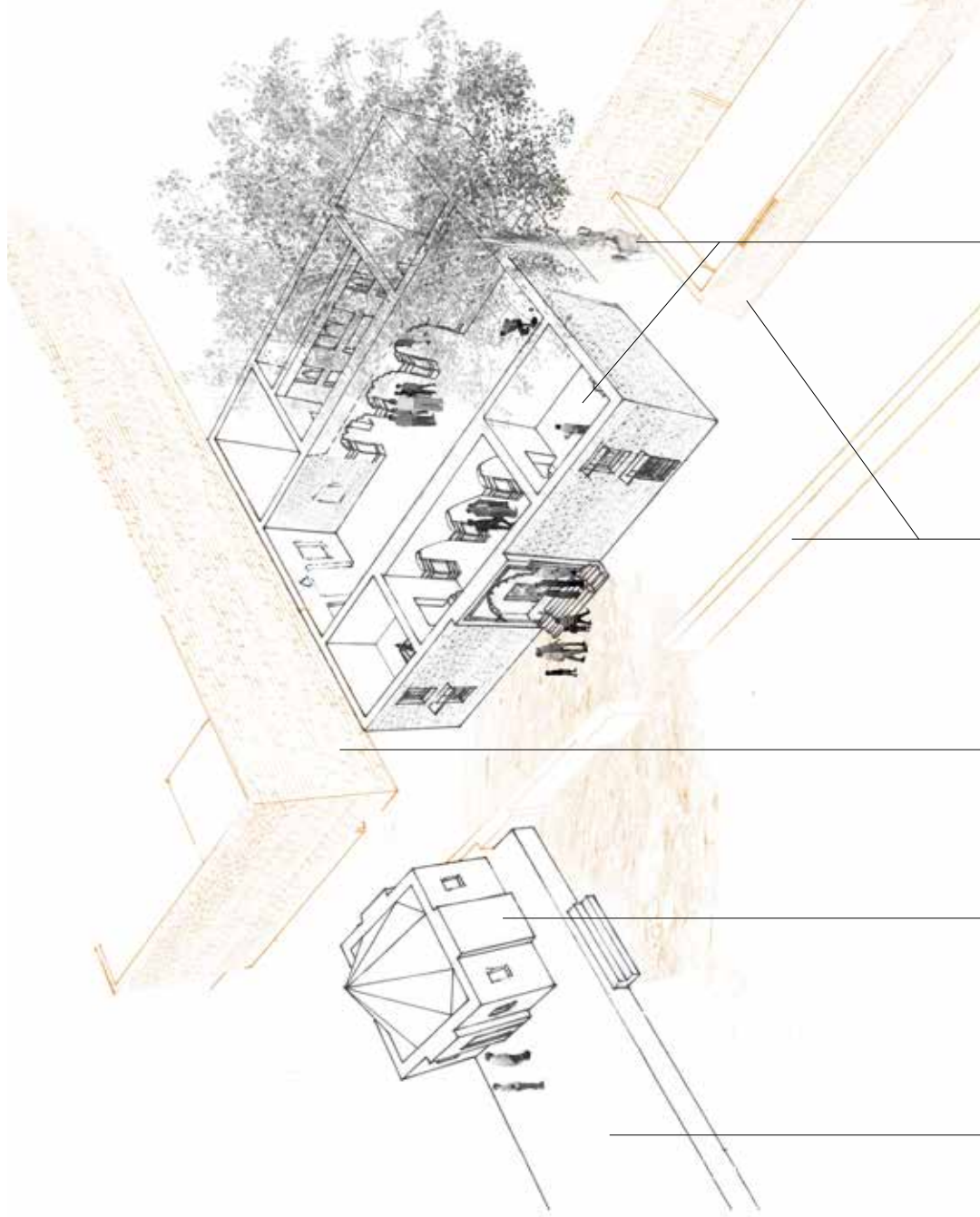


Community platform built for elders / panchayat meetings

Second temple built with shrine to goddess Durgah

Temple built next to tree - worship moves to temple interior, but Hanuman shrine sits in front of the tree so the culture moves, but is not lost

1980s - 1990s



Community platform continues, although slowly becomes secondary form of governance as municipal authority gains power from the 1970s

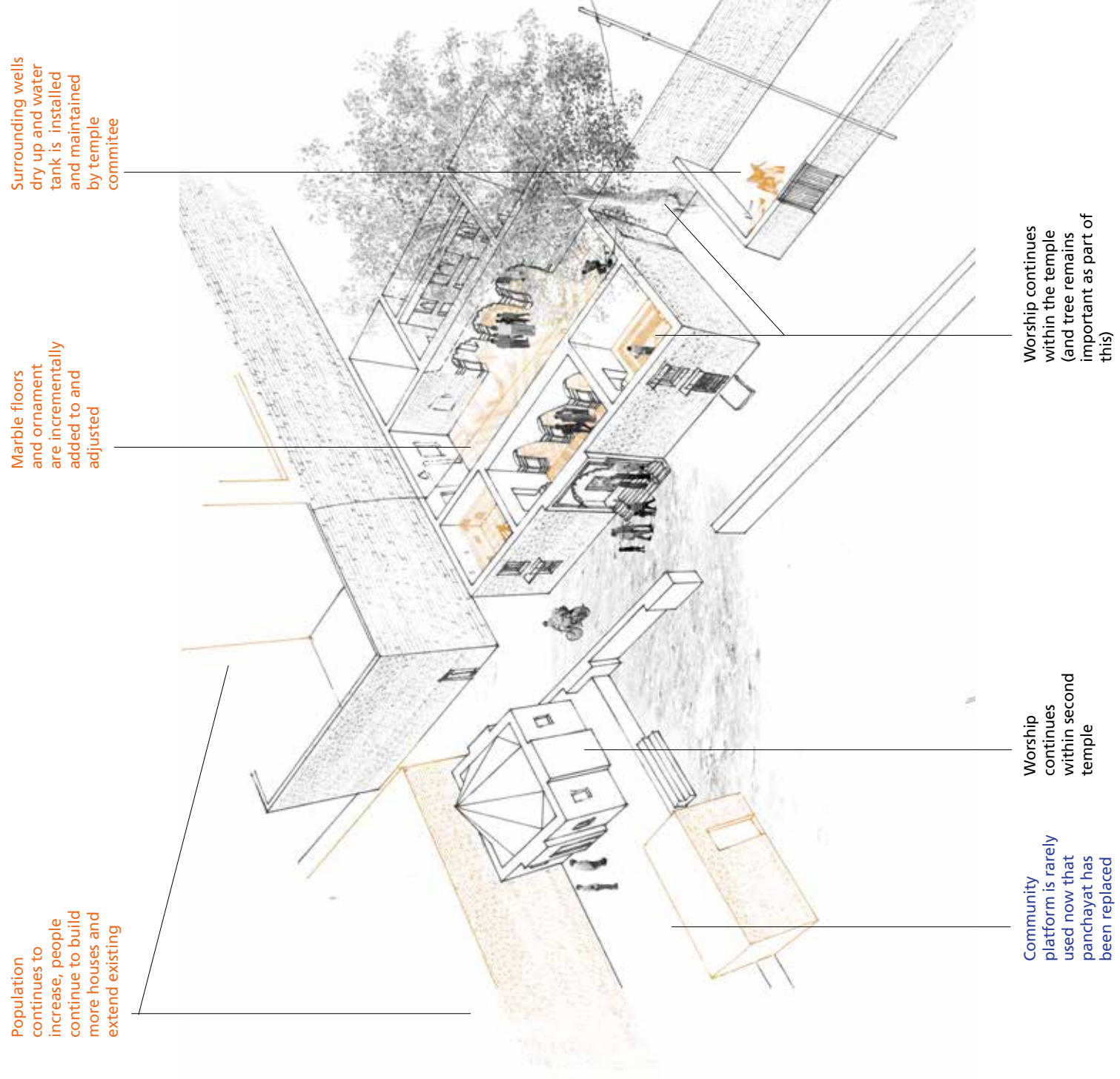
Worship continues within second temple

Population increases, people start to build more houses

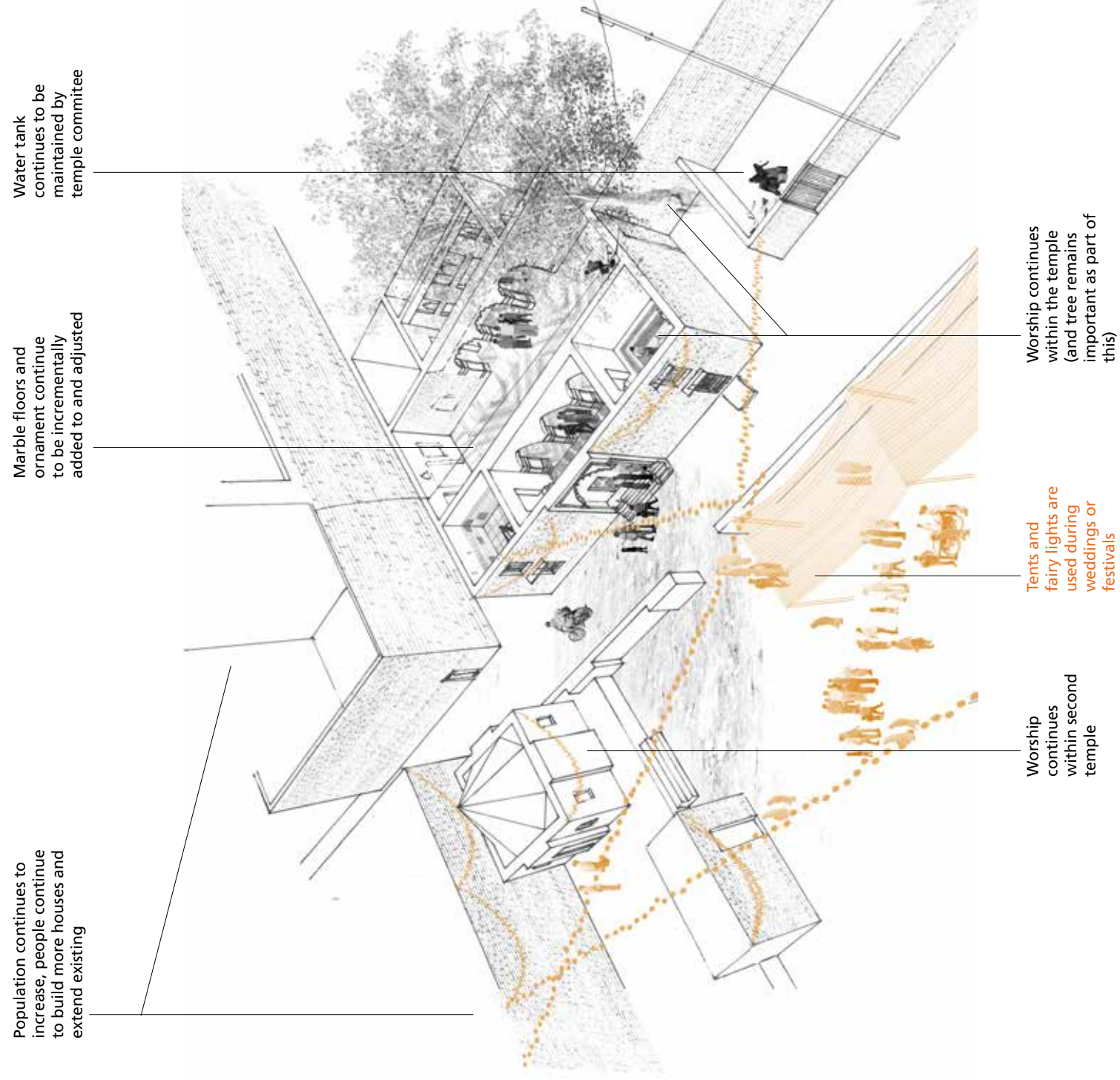
As population increases, and more people start to build houses in the area, the residents build a wall around this area to stop encroachment on the site so that it can continue to be used for collective events and festivals

Worship continues within the temple (and tree remains important as part of this)

2000 - 2014



Cyclical and temporary adjustments





1. Main Roads (Fatehabad Road and Taj Entrance Road)



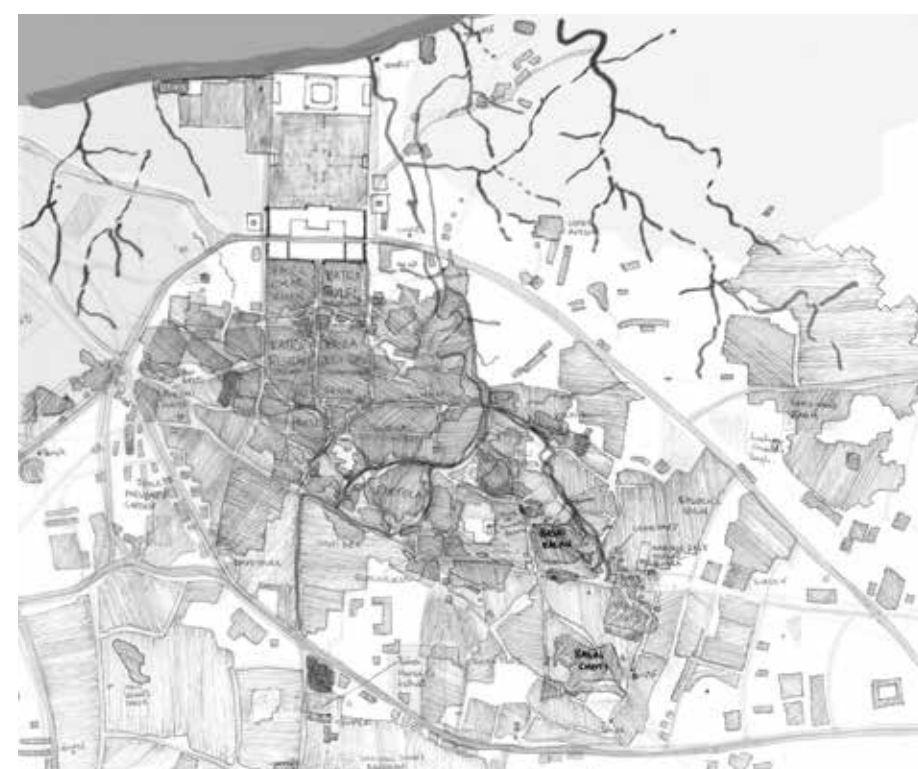
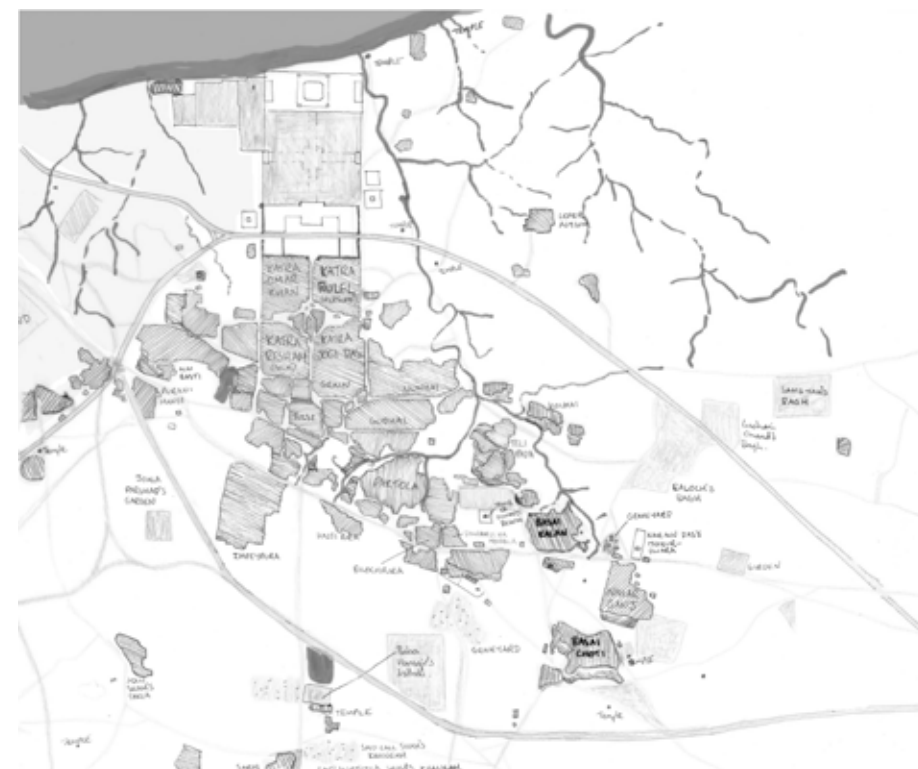
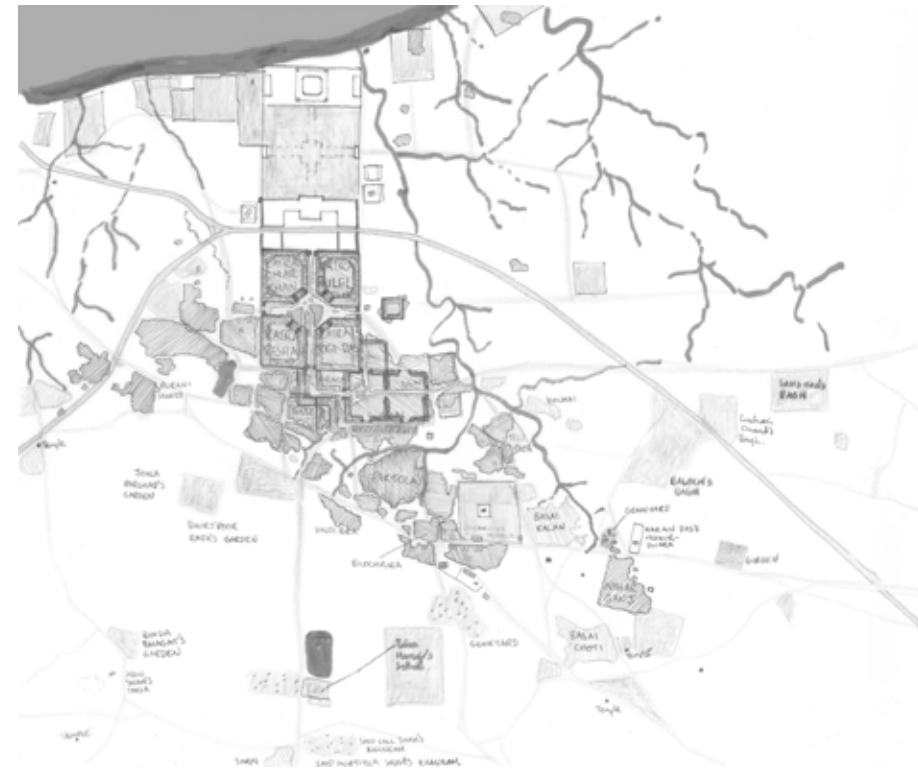
2. Primary bazaar streets



3. Secondary bazaar streets (too many to name or label: Poule Mandi Street used as example)



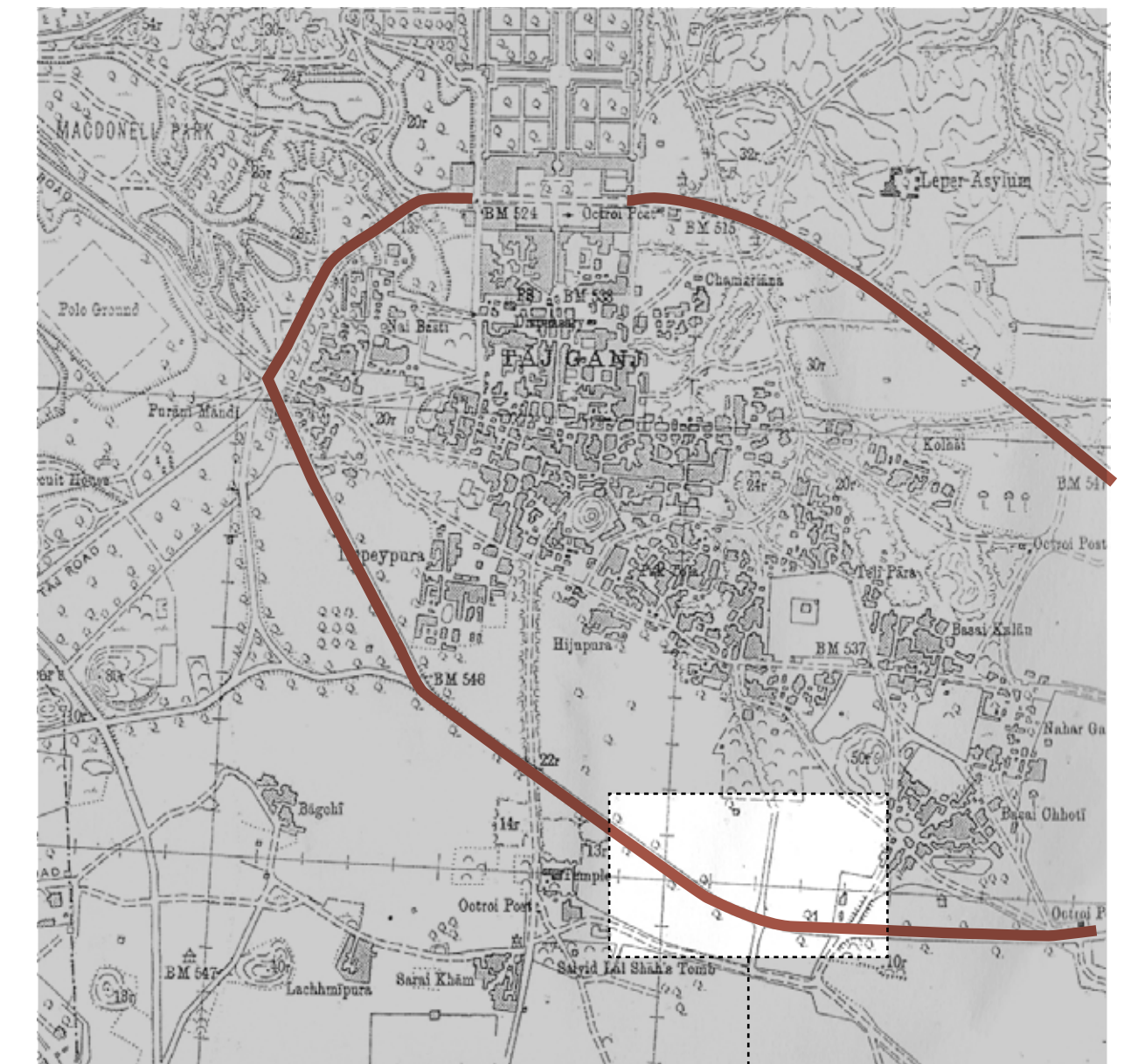
300m



The Main roads were built in the 19th century when Agra was under British government: at this time maps show the roads to be tree lined with fields either side. As part of the 1975 masterplan, the construction of hotels, malls and shops was encouraged to create a place that could serve Taj Mahal tourists.

Research exercises that took place along the Main Road:

- A. Marble Carving Demonstration, Souvenir Emporium p 36
- B. Birthday Party, Kentucky Fried Chicken Fast Food Store p 38



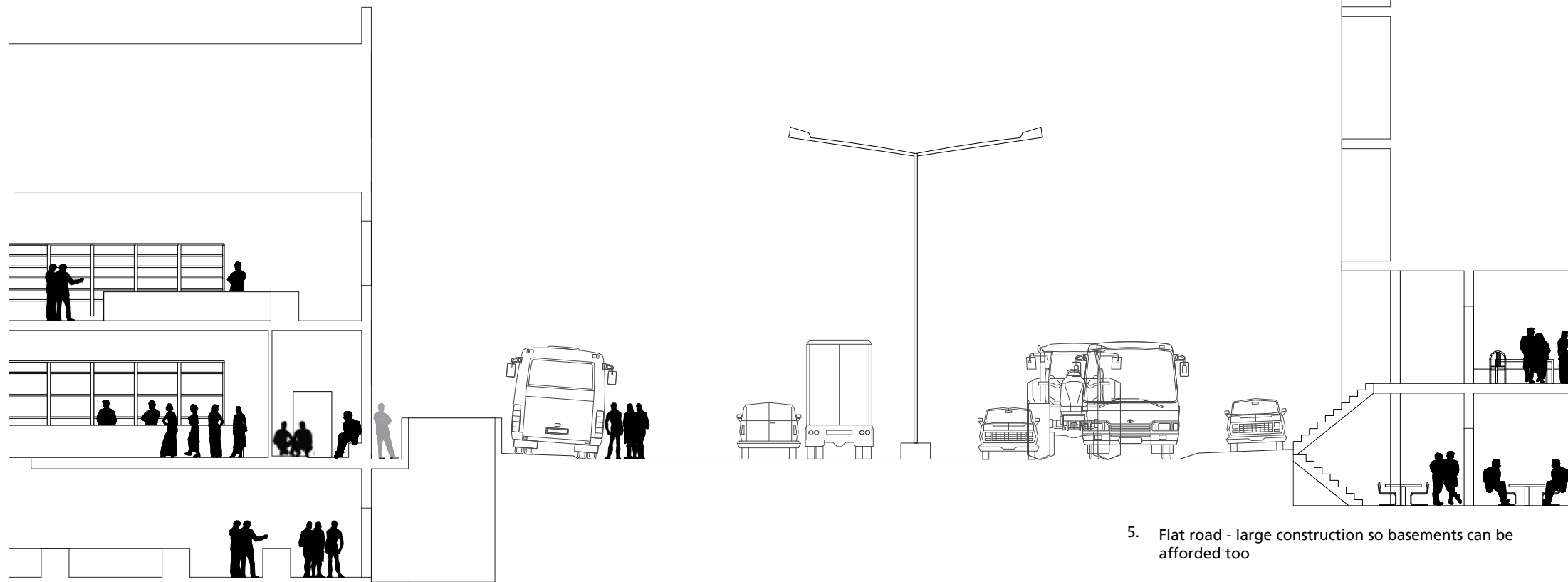
Map 1918



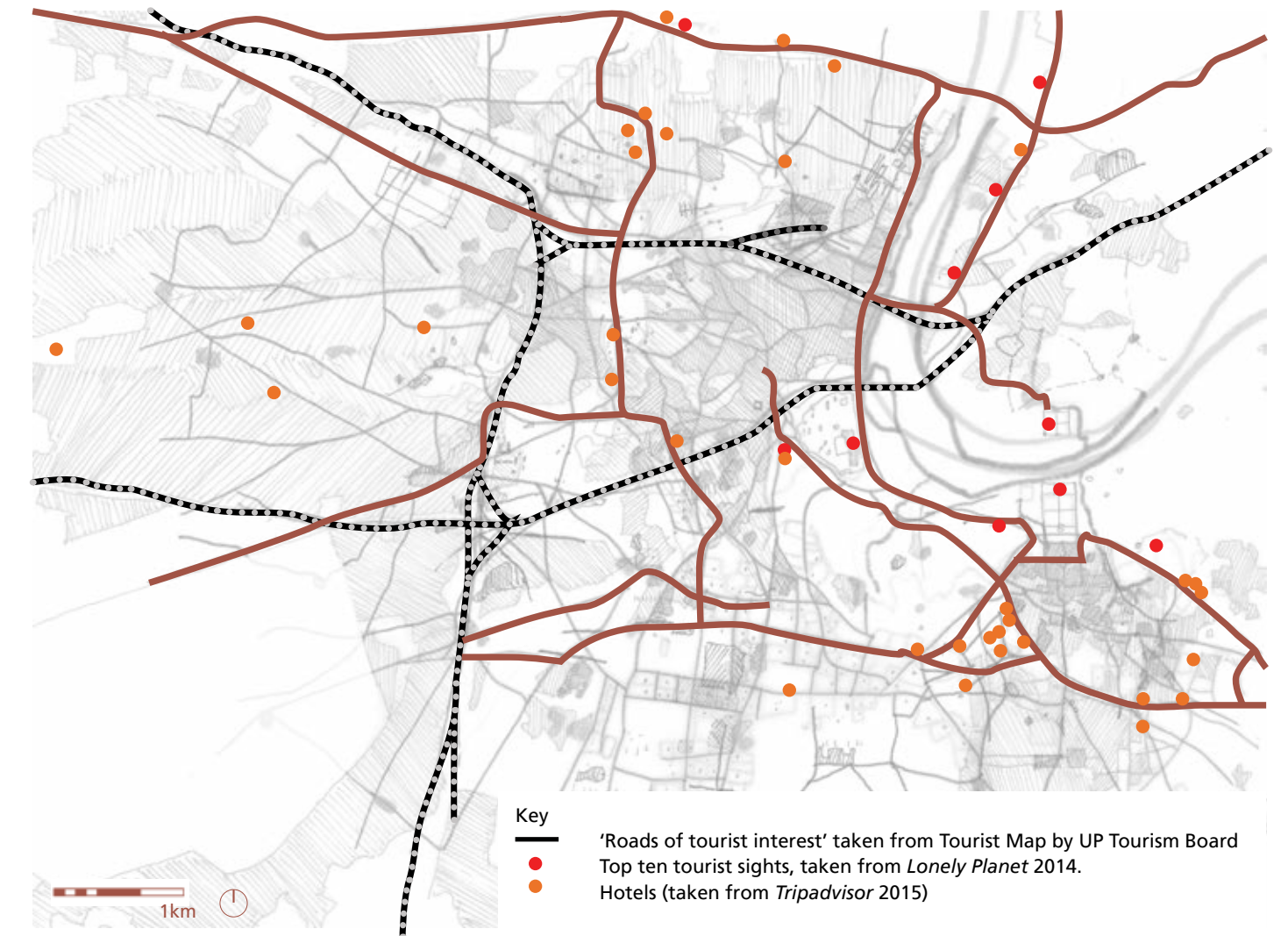
Aerial Photo 2014

Inter-Basti Civic Settings: 1. Main Road

2. Large non-residential plots (therefore places for discussion are not overlooked by families, friends - lending anonymity)



5. Flat road - large construction so basements can be afforded too



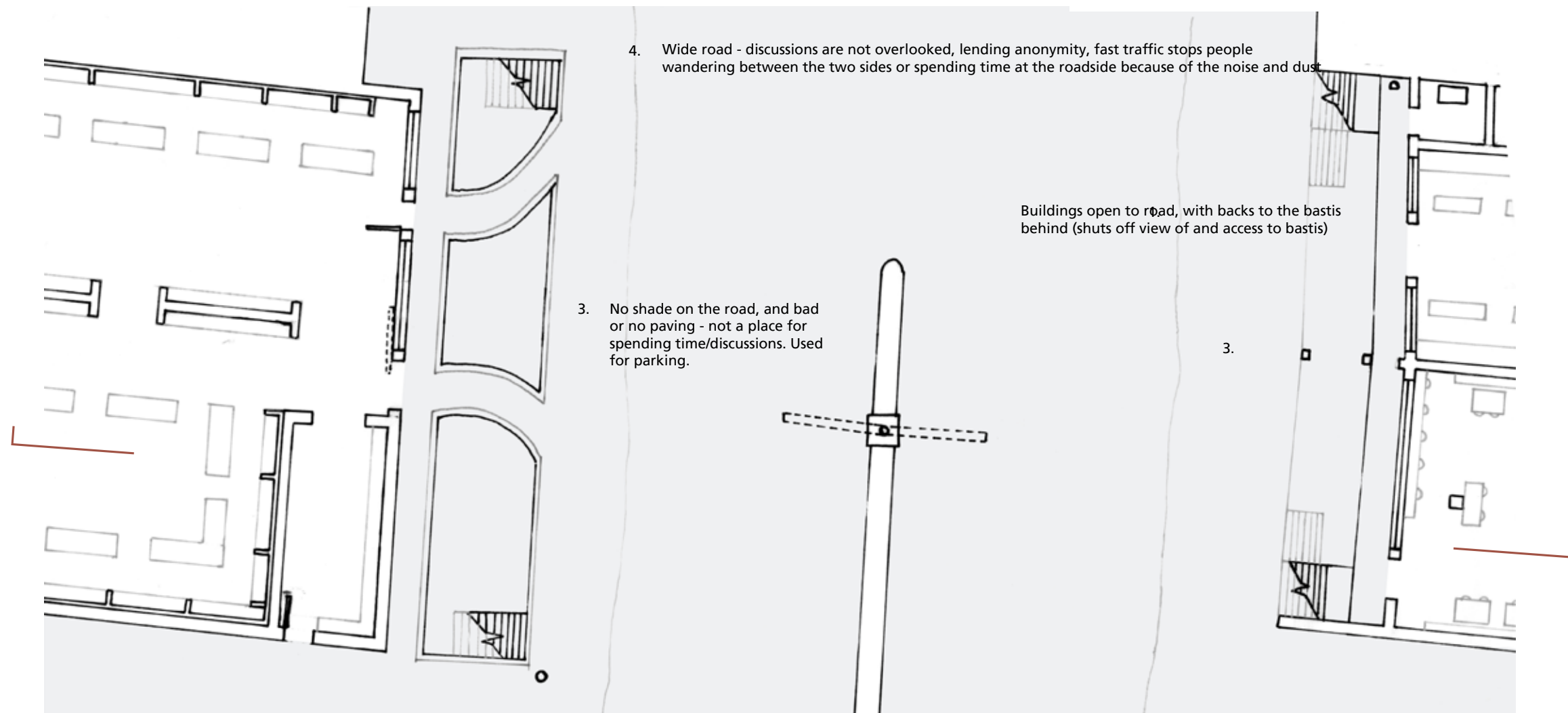
Part of the network of roads most used by tourists - so used by a lot of one-time visitors (affects opportunity to encounter difference through the creation of a space where people can be anonymous).

4. Wide road - discussions are not overlooked, lending anonymity, fast traffic stops people wandering between the two sides or spending time at the roadside because of the noise and dust

3. No shade on the road, and bad or no paving - not a place for spending time/discussions. Used for parking.

Buildings open to road, with backs to the bastis behind (shuts off view of and access to bastis)

3.



Articulation ↑

Topography

Embodiment

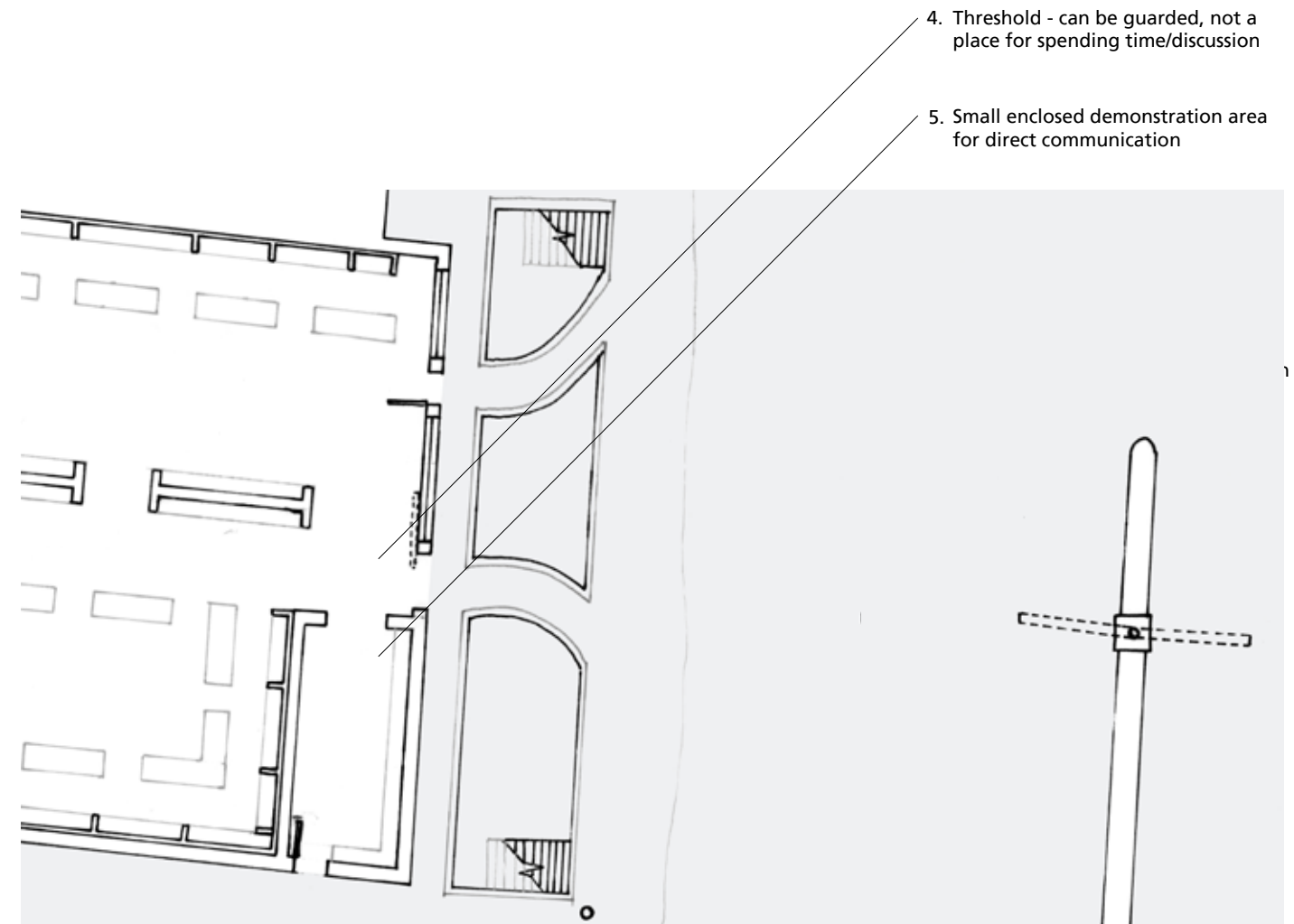
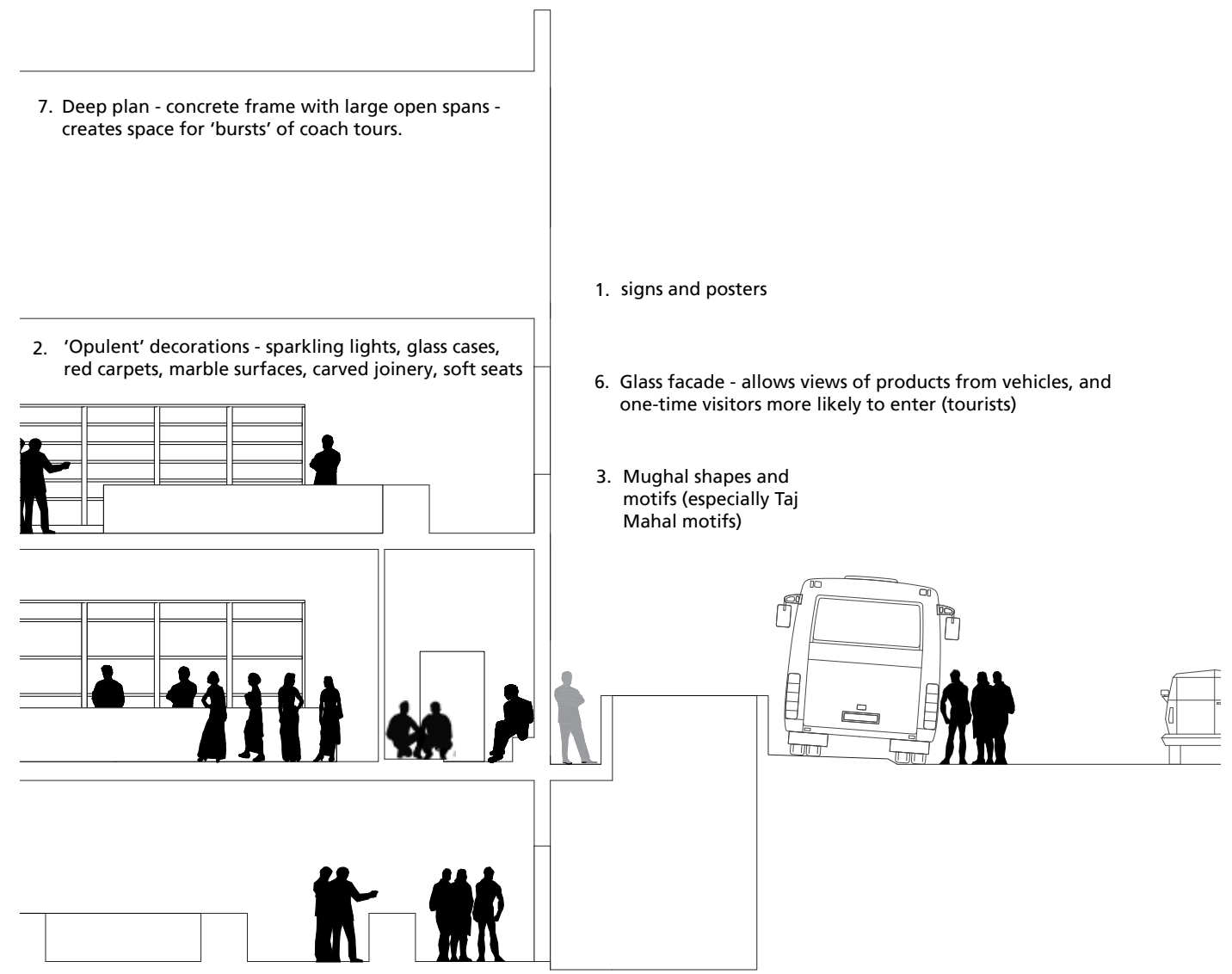
1. Buildings open to road, with backs to the bastis behind (shuts off view of and access to bastis)
2. Large non-residential plots (therefore places for discussion are not overlooked by families, friends - lending anonymity)
3. No shade on the road, and bad or no paving - not a place for spending time/discussions. Used for parking.
4. Wide road - discussions are not overlooked, lending anonymity, fast traffic stops people wandering between the two sides or spending time at the roadside because of the noise and dust
5. Flat road - large construction so basements can be afforded too
6. Part of the network of roads most used by tourists - so used by a lot of one-time visitors (rather than being part of residents' everyday routine)

Factors affect intensity of use

Inter-Basti Civic Settings *Main Road*: Communicative Order



Marble carving and inlay products, made inside the Tajganj bastis studied, (see description of basti interiors), are for the most part sold on the main roads. The products are sold in souvenir stalls, and larger 'show-room' stores, and sometimes these show-rooms have a live display workshop where many Tajganj residents work on commission. Otherwise, the showrooms and stalls make orders with Tajganj workshops through intermediaries called 'thekedars' (middlemen).



Articulation

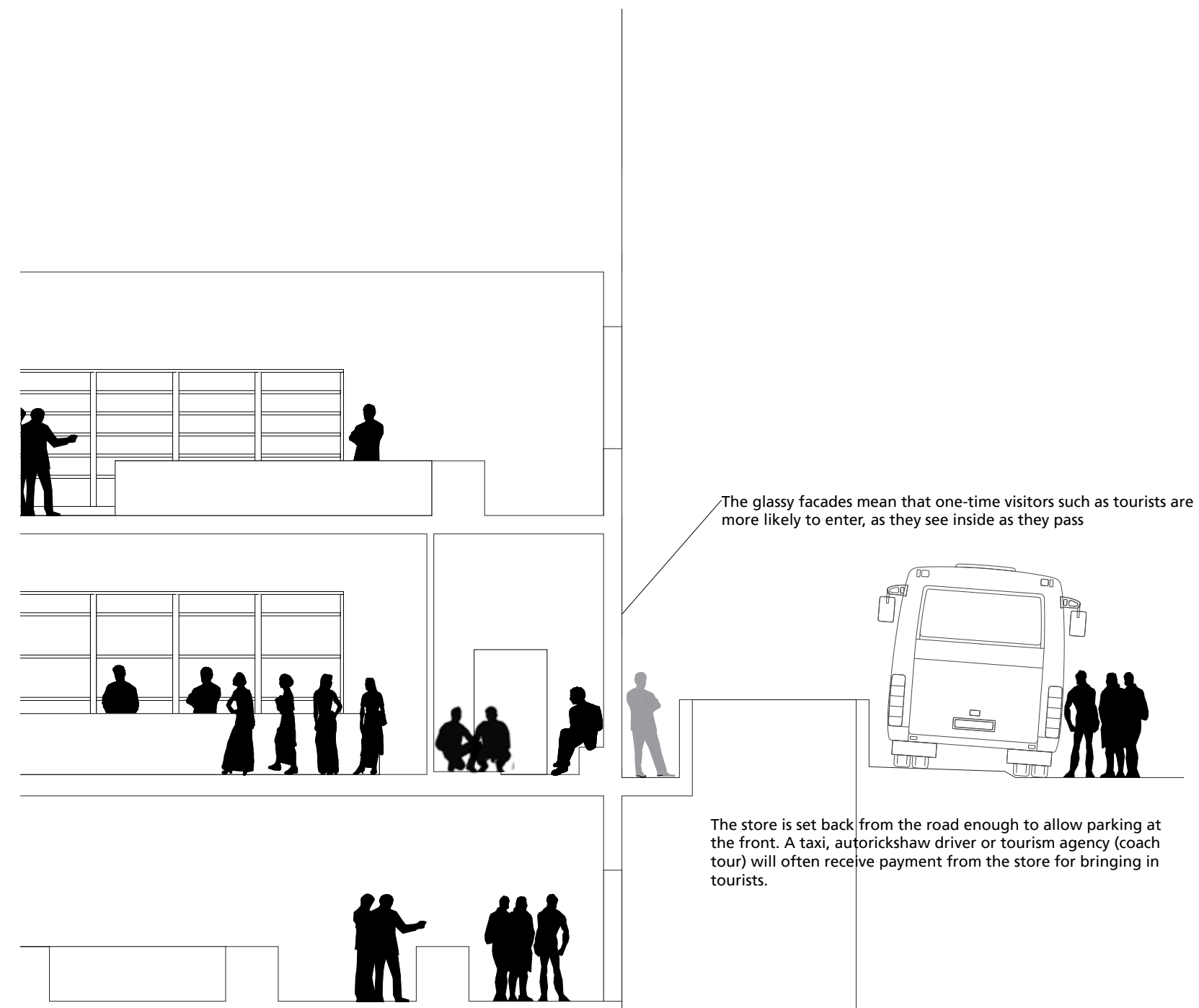
Topography

Embodiment

- 1. signs and posters
 - 2. 'opulent' decorations - sparkling lights, glass cases, red carpets, marble surfaces, carved joinery, soft seats
 - 3. Mughal shapes and motifs (especially Taj Mahal motifs)
 - 4. Threshold - can be guarded, not a place for spending time/discussion
 - 5. Small enclosed demonstration area for direct communication
 - 6. Glass facades - allows views of products from vehicles, and one-time visitors more likely to enter (tourists)
 - 7. Deep plan - concrete frame with large open spans - creates space for 'bursts' of coach tours.
- Buildings open to road, with backs to the bastis behind (shuts off view of and access to bastis)
- Large non-residential plots (therefore places for discussion are not overlooked by families, friends - lending anonymity)
- No shade on the road, and bad or no paving - not a place for spending time/discussions. Used for parking.
- Wide road - discussions are not overlooked, lending anonymity, fast traffic stops people wandering between the two sides or spending time at the roadside because of the noise and dust
- Flat road - large construction so basements can be afforded too
- Part of the network of roads most used by tourists - so used by a lot of one-time visitors (rather than being part of residents' everyday routine)
- Metaphoric depth - communication across time
- Factor affects opportunity for contest
- Factors affect intensity of use / anonymity

Main Road Conversation A: Communicative Order

In this example, the display workshop is in the ground floor entrance. Visitors are asked to sit on the surrounding benches in a carefully orchestrated performance which (in my experience), makes most people feel obliged to buy something.



The deep plan of the store is lit artificially. The floor plan is large enough to accept bursts of customers from coach tours. There is often a basement level, street level and first floor level shopping floor. Between coach-loads of customers the stores are near empty.

Opportunity to Encounter Difference



Opportunity to Negotiate Urban Conditions



Fences/walls between commercial buildings and Tajganj bastis.



The stores and hotels along the main road are separated physically and visually from the bastis behind them by fences, walls, and through a lack of entrances and openings on their basti-facing side.

Metaphoric Depth



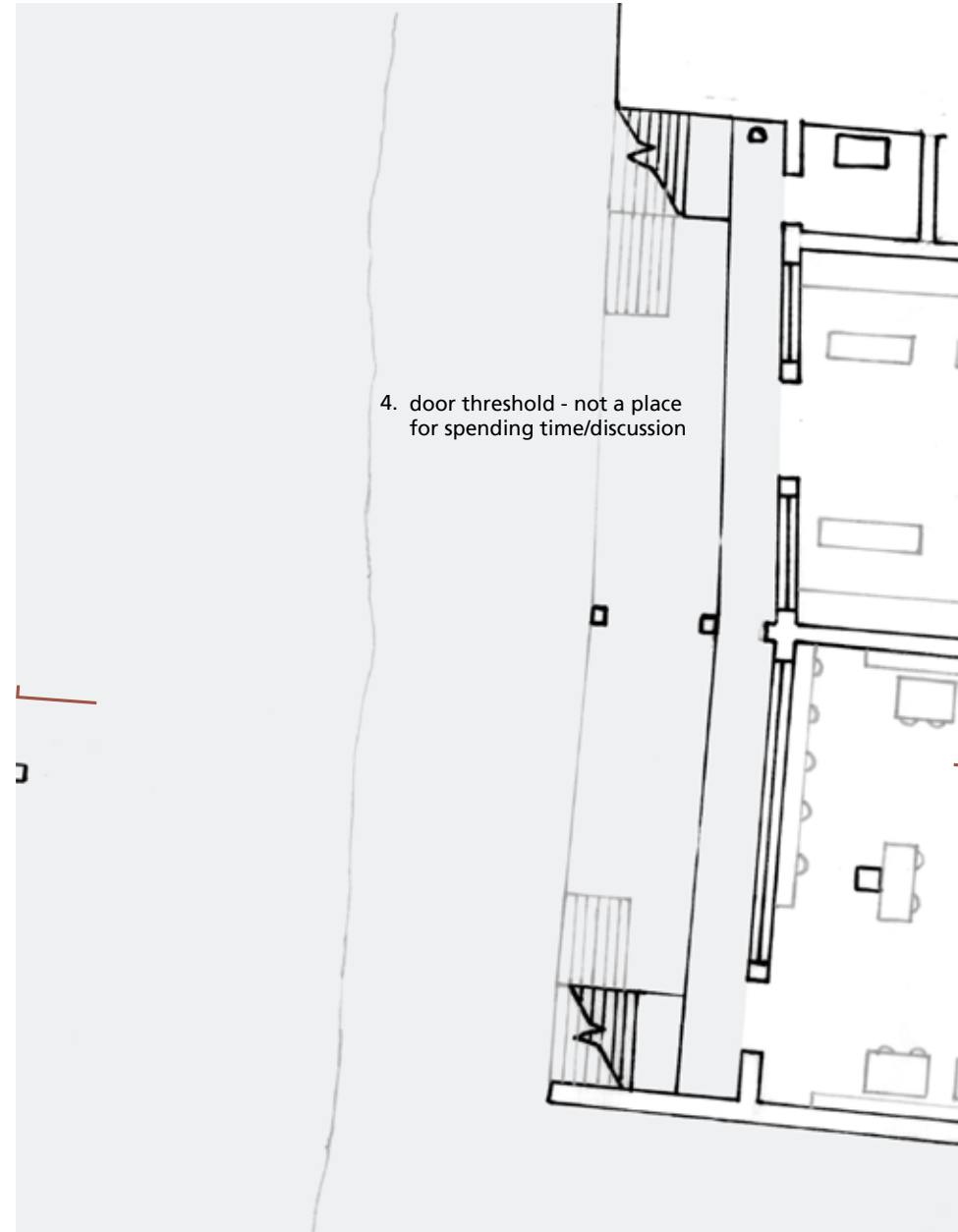
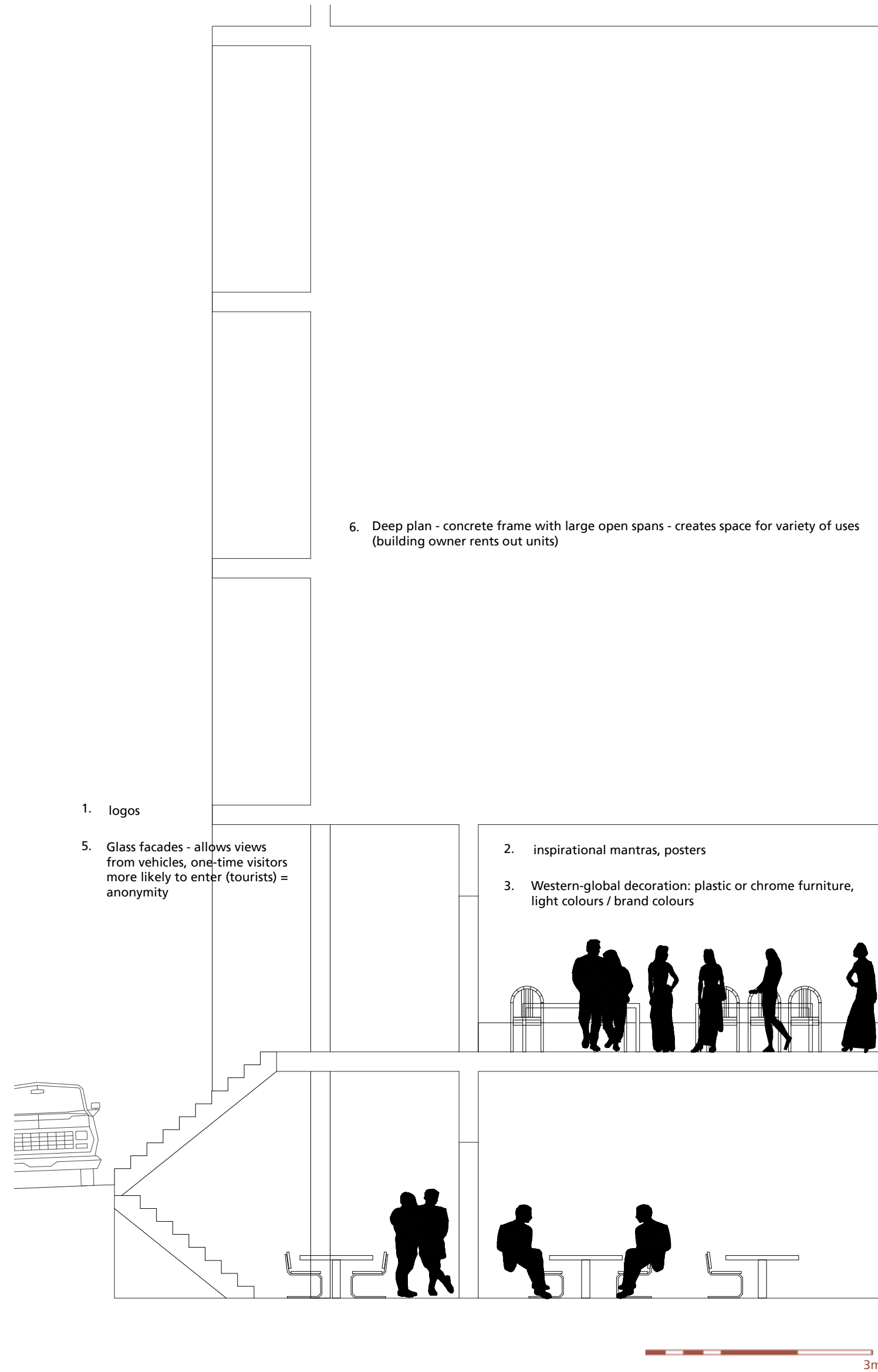
'opulent' decorations - sparkling lights, glass cases, red carpets, marble surfaces, carved joinery, soft seats

Mughal shapes and motifs (especially Taj Mahal motifs)

Signs and posters

Threshold - can be guarded, not a place for spending time/discussion

Main Road Conversation A: Civic Possibilities



Articulation ↑

Topography

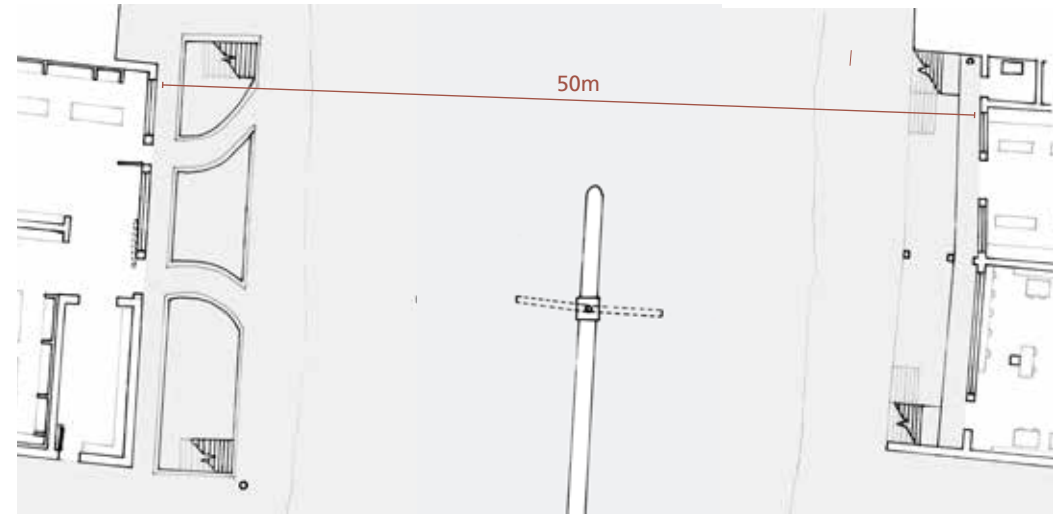
Embodiment

- 1. logos
 - 2. inspirational mantras, posters
 - 3. Western-global decoration: plastic or chrome furniture, light colours / brand colours
- Metaphoric depth - communication across time
- 4. door threshold - not a place for spending time/discussion
 - 5. Glass facades - allows views from vehicles, one-time visitors more likely to enter (tourists) = anonymity
 - 6. Deep plan - concrete frame with large open spans - creates space for variety of uses (building owner rents out units)
- Factor affects opportunity for contest
- Buildings open to road, with backs to the bastis behind (shuts off view of and access to bastis)
- Large non-residential plots (therefore places for discussion are not overlooked by families, friends - lending anonymity)
- No shade on the road, and bad or no paving - not a place for spending time/discussions. Used for parking.
- Wide road - discussions are not overlooked, lending anonymity, fast traffic stops people wandering between the two sides or spending time at the roadside because of the noise and dust
- Flat road - large construction so basements can be afforded too
- Part of the network of roads most used by tourists - so used by a lot of one-time visitors (rather than being part of residents' everyday routine)
- Factors affect intensity of use / anonymity

The Main Road stores are used by international and national tourists, people passing through the city, people staying in the hotels for business reasons, as well as Agra citizens. The malls, and especially fast food cafes are at present fashionable, especially to teenagers and young adults. This is not merely due to the kind of food, or even the advertising.

Main Road Conversation B: Communicative Order

Opportunity to Encounter Difference

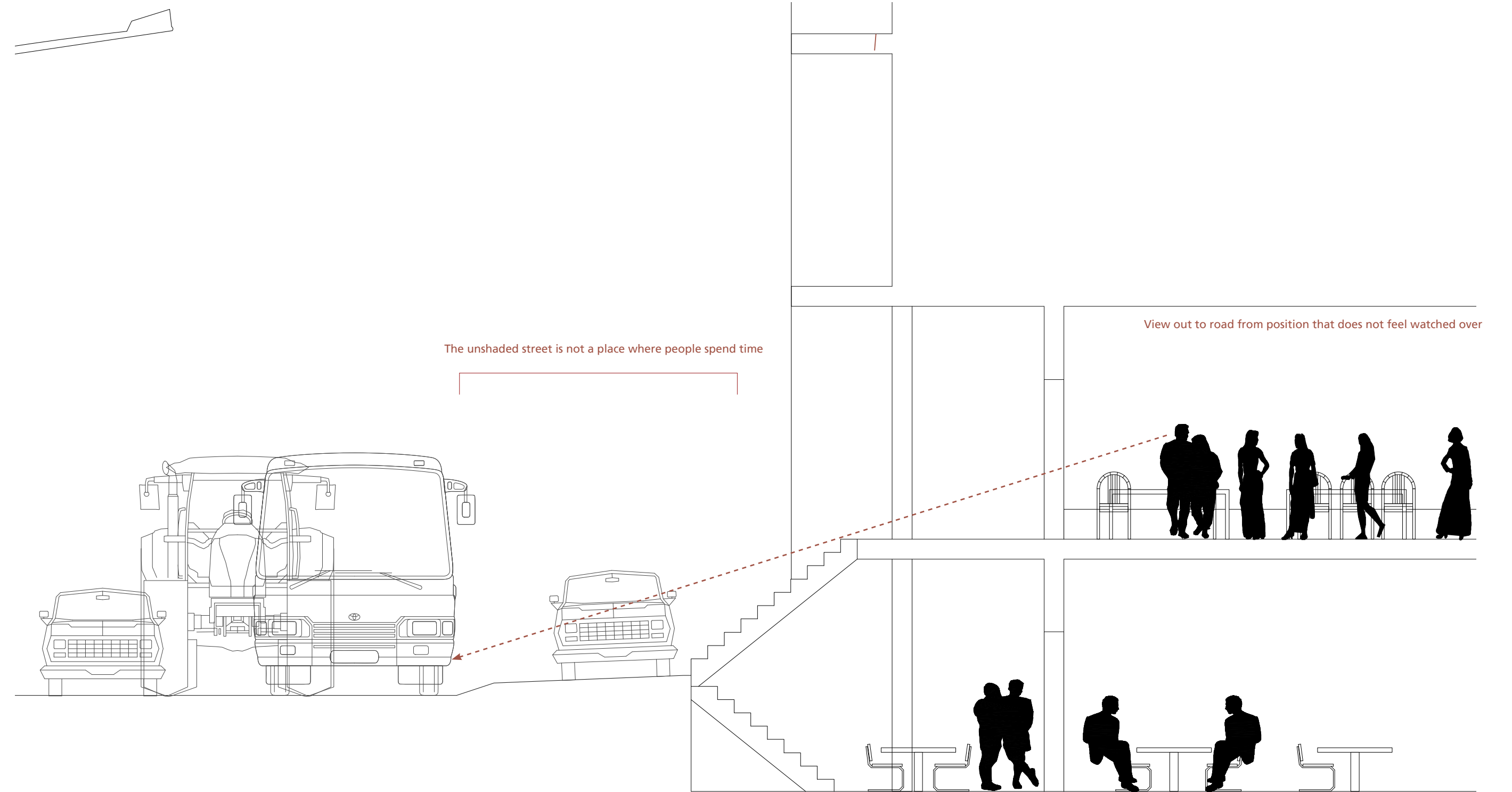


Unlike the emporiums, the entrance of the fast food stores is not guarded: anybody who can buy a soft drink is welcome - difference can be encountered, and tourists from various parts of the world share the space with people from all over the city and Tajganj residents. In certain cases, such as Sheroes Hangout, (a cafe to raise money, support and awareness for the survivors of acid attacks), this opportunity has been harnessed to gain a political platform.



CONTRAST: on the primary bazaar street, activity in the stores is watched over and known about by basti residents, and there is little chance for anonymity or dissenting behaviours

Opportunity to Negotiate Urban Conditions



With glassy facades just like the souvenir emporiums, the fast food cafes are visually connected with the internationally shared main road territory. However, the road is so wide, occupied by so many visitors, each side masked from the other by the fast traffic inbetween, that one does not feel 'watched over' when occupying these spaces, and can enjoy a great degree of anonymity.

Metaphoric Depth of Urban Negotiation



1. logos

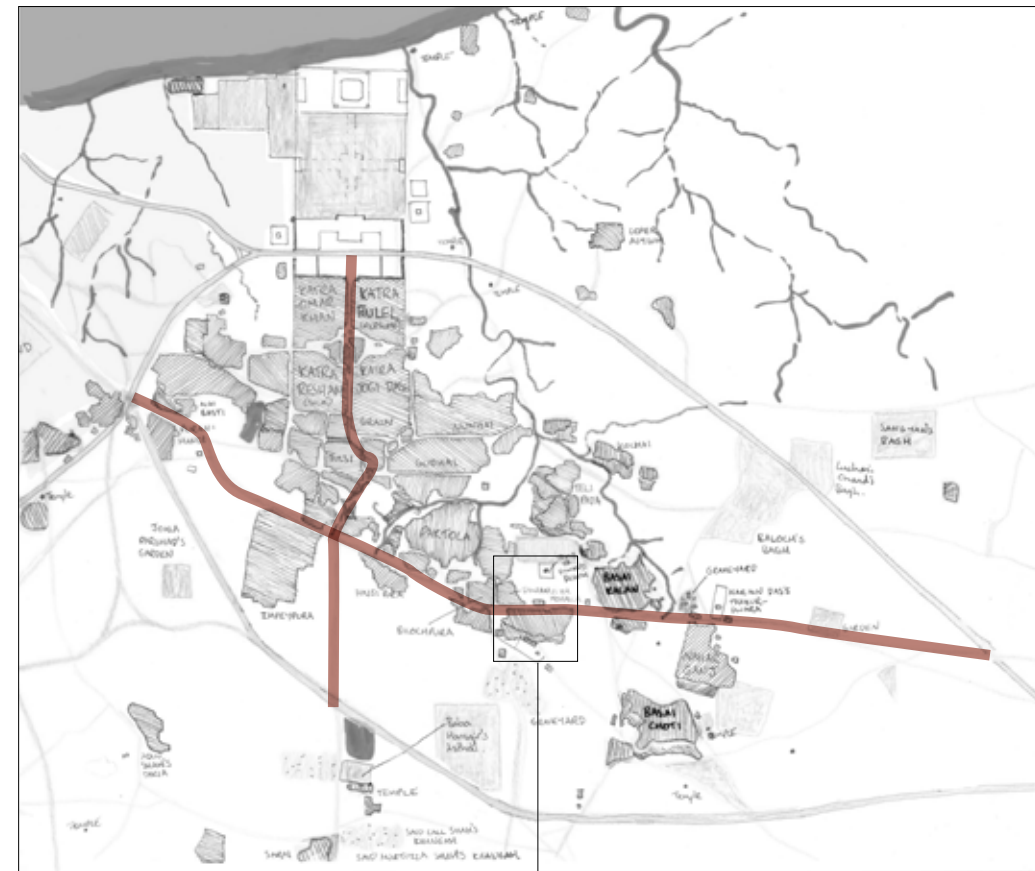


2. inspirational mantras, posters

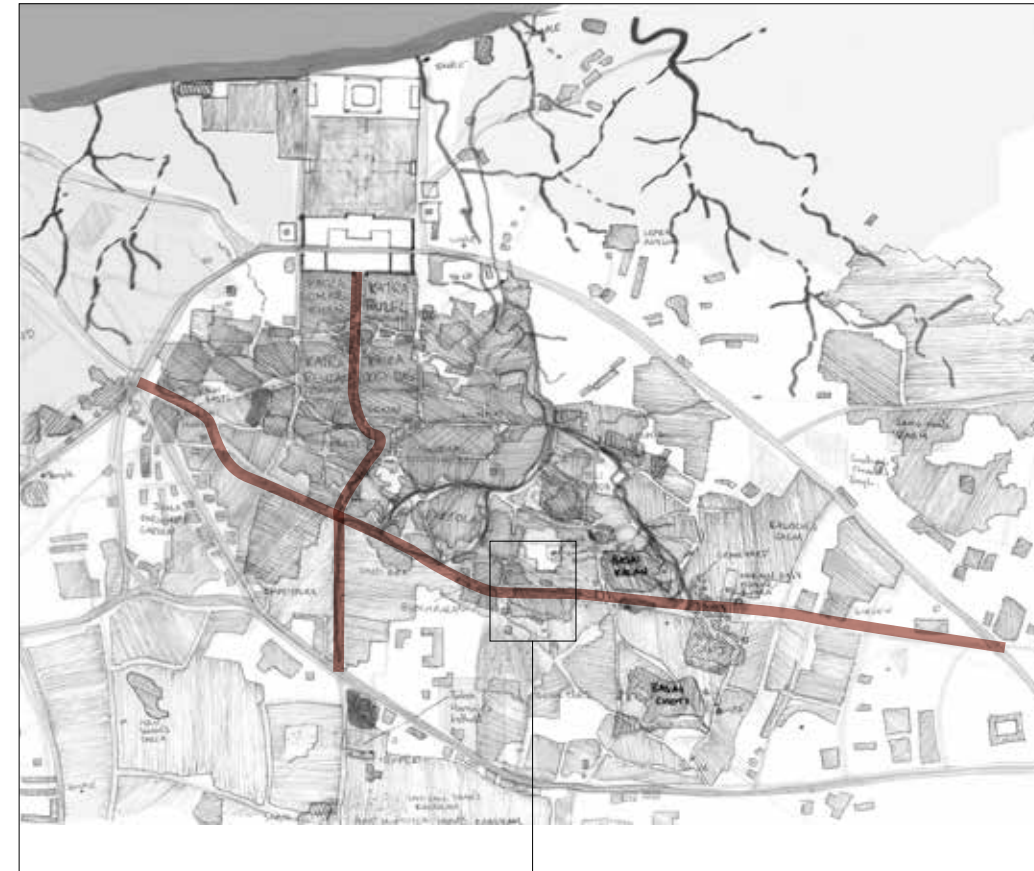


3. Western-global decoration: plastic or chrome furniture, light colours / brand colours

Main Road Conversation B: Civic Possibilities



Tajganj 1918



Tajganj 2014



Study Area 1918



Study Area 2014

Research exercises that took place along the Primary Bazaar Street:

- A. Informal Interview, Chai Store p 42
- B. Committee Meeting, Lodi Temple p 44
- C. Committee Meeting, Madrasa p 46
- D. Buying Materials, Hardware Store p 48
- E. Informal Interviews, Houses p 50



The primary bazaar street leads to the South entrance of the Taj Mahal from the east of the city: at the end nearer to the Taj, this bazaar would have been the busy heart of Mumtazabad, during the late Mughal period, with merchants trading goods from across the globe. Merchants built houses along this route as they became wealthy (Peck, 2011).

Inter-basti Civic Settings: 2. Primary Bazaar Street



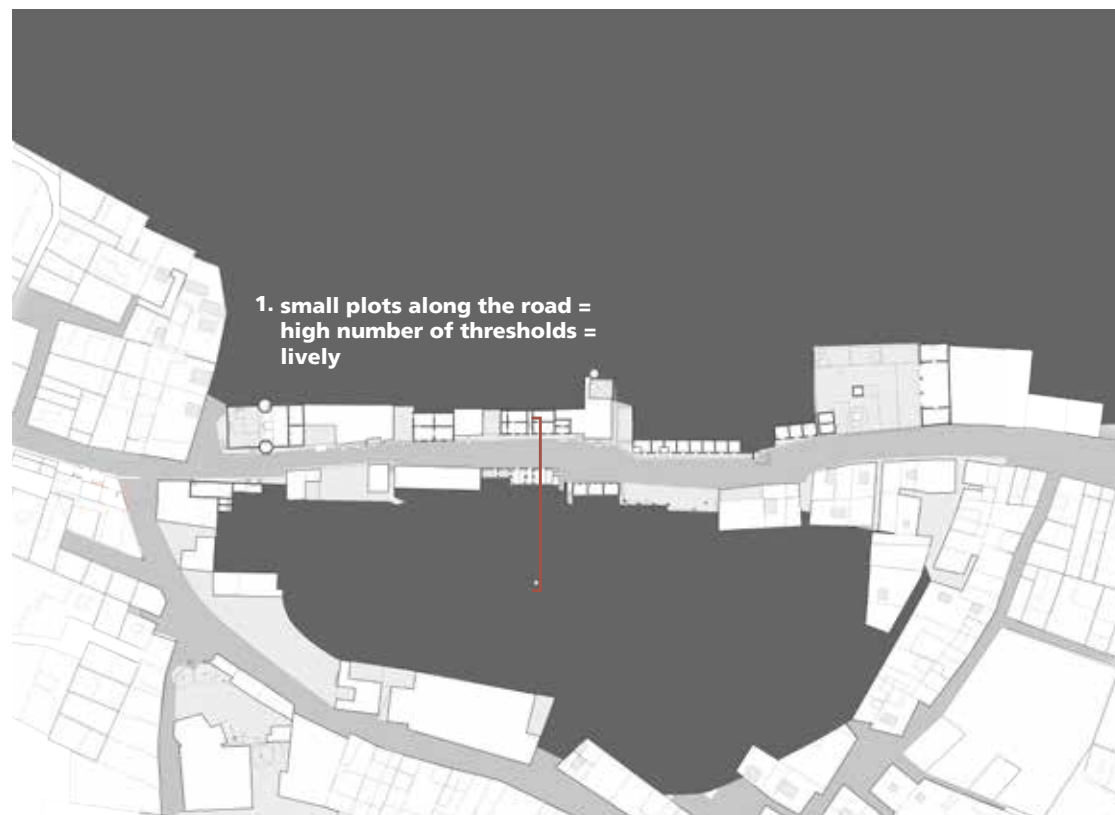
1720

2014

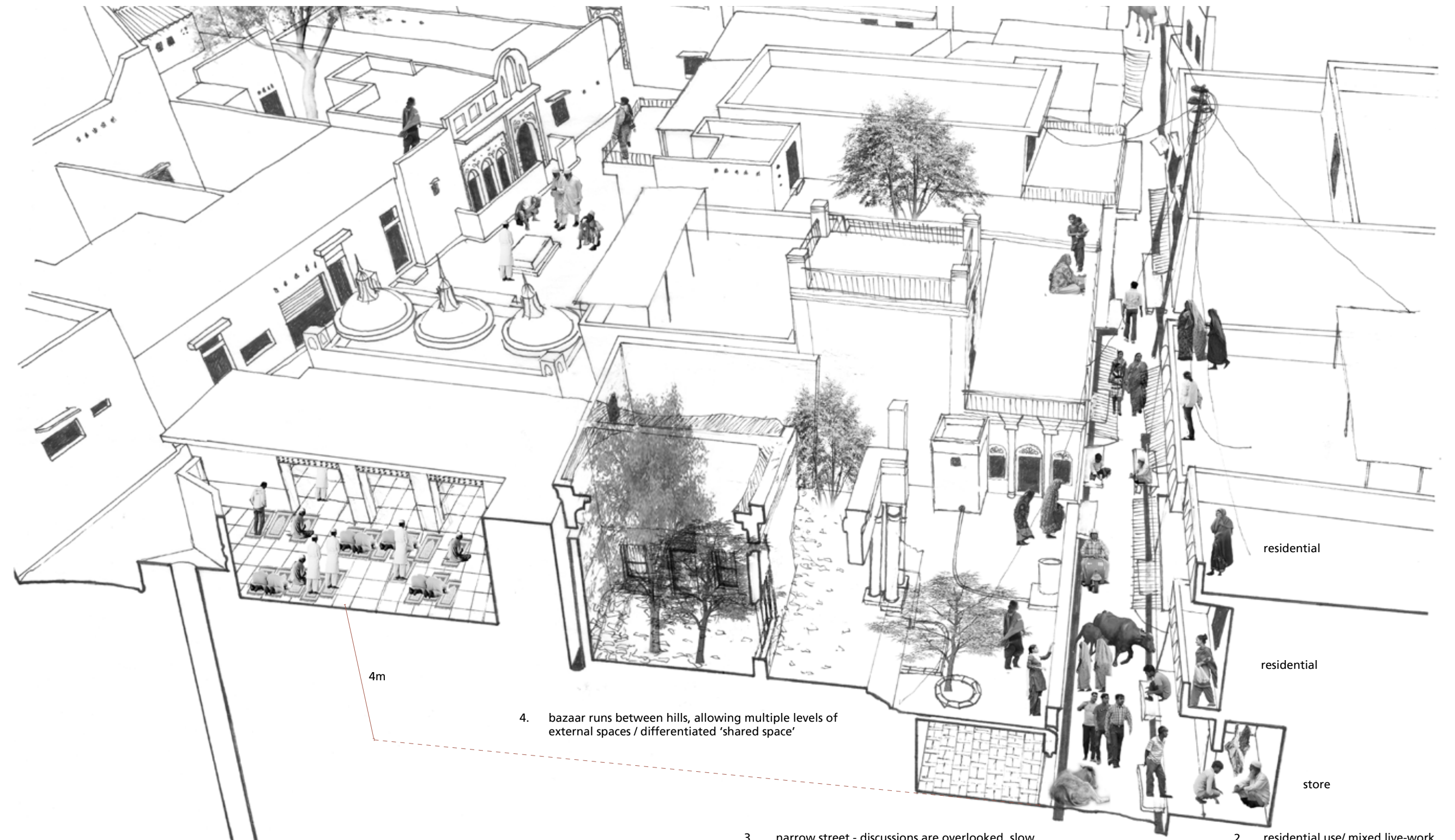
5. Locally practiced route to the Taj Mahal = used by the same people often = familiarity/lack of anonymity



Bazaar Street at level 01

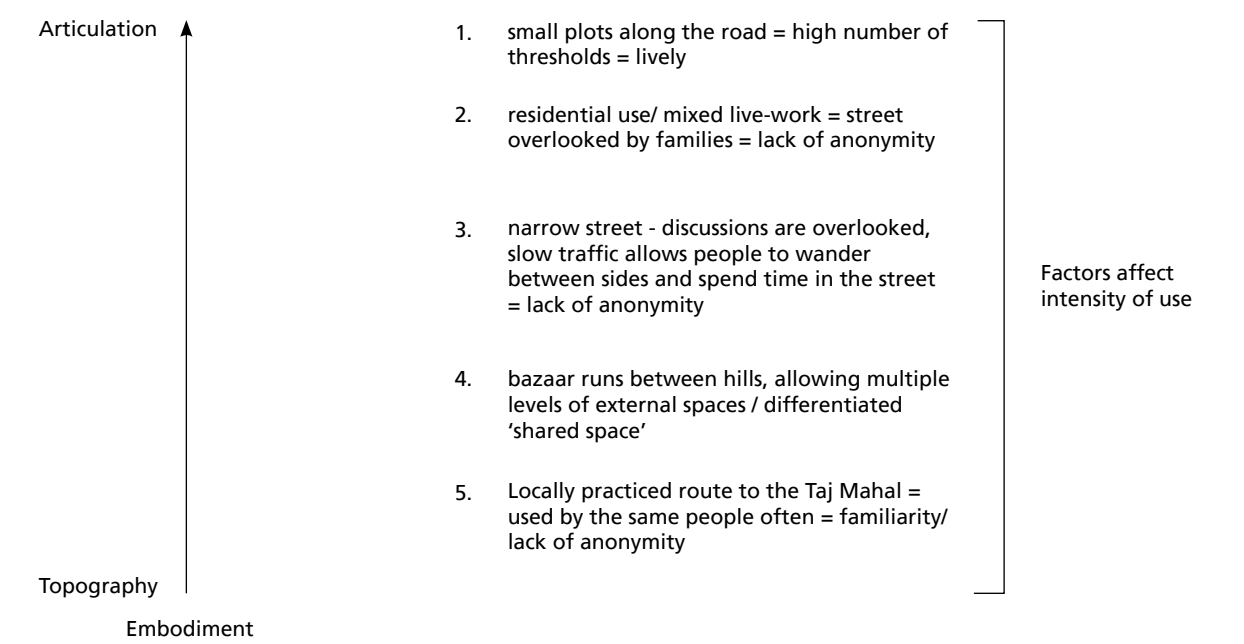


Bazaar Street at level 00

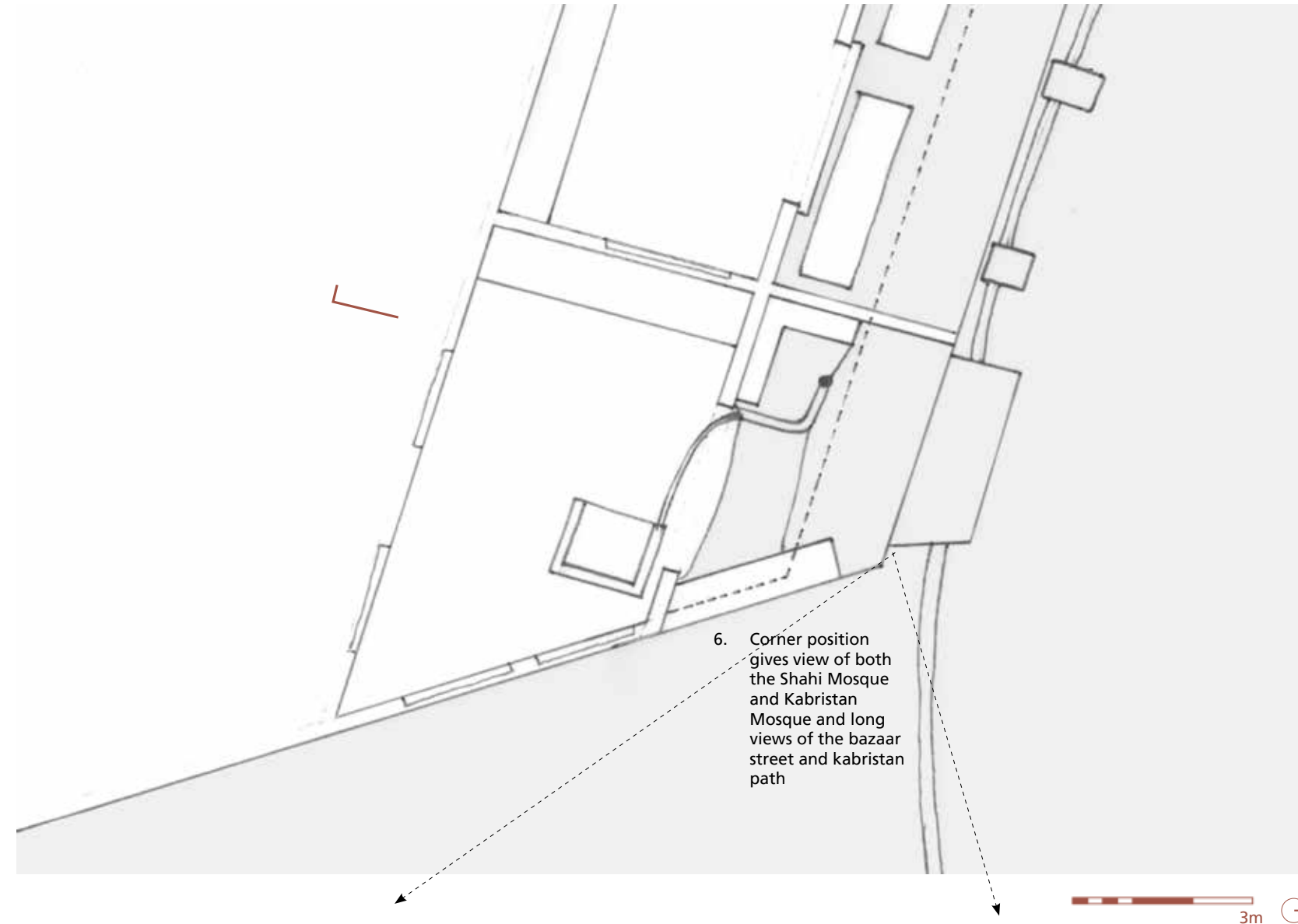


3. narrow street - discussions are overlooked, slow traffic allows people to wander between sides and spend time in the street = lack of anonymity

2. residential use/ mixed live-work = street overlooked by families = lack of anonymity

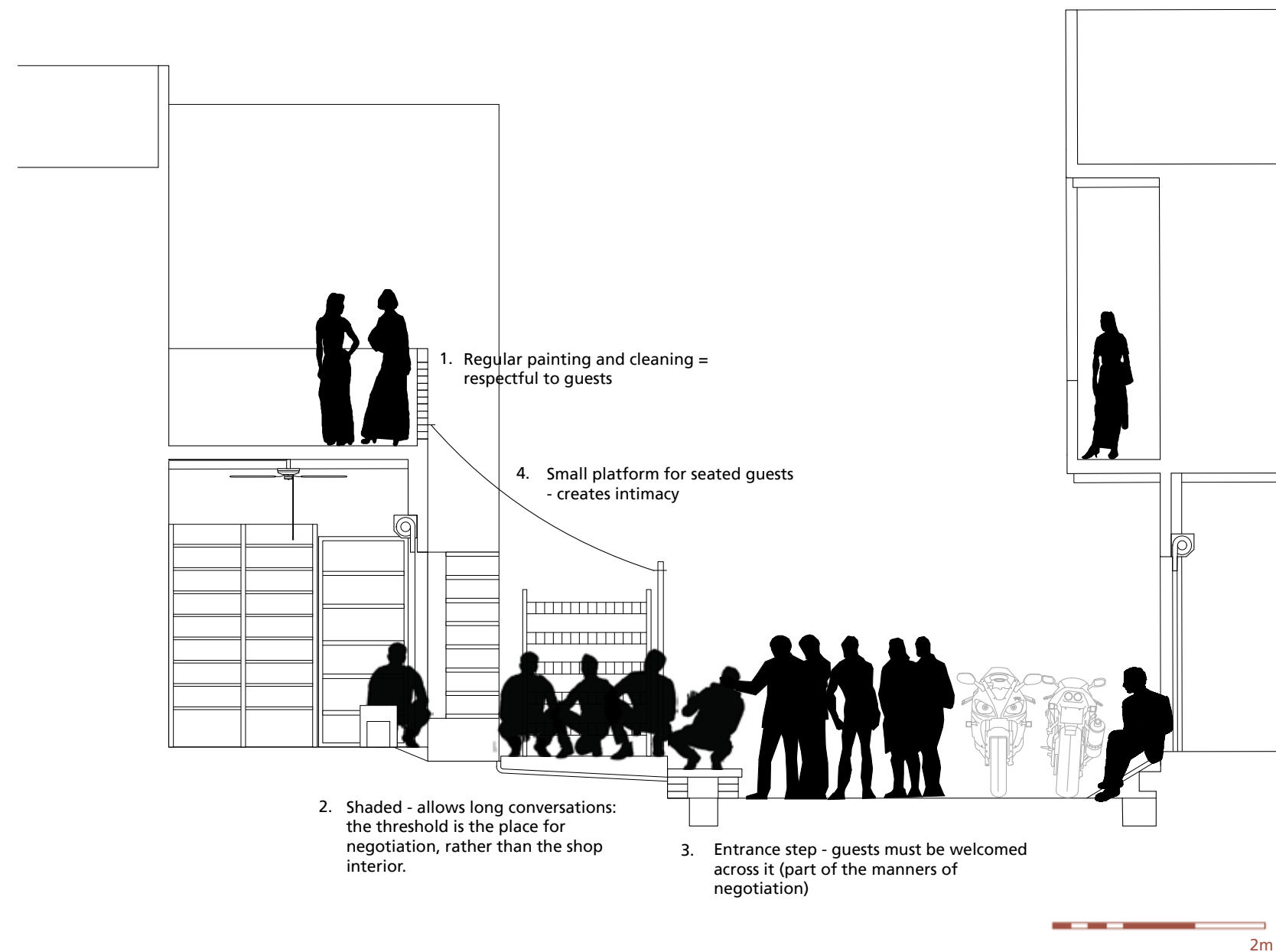


Inter-Basti Civic Settings *Primary Bazaar Street*: Communicative Order



6. Corner position gives view of both the Shahi Mosque and Kabristan Mosque and long views of the bazaar street and kabristan path

In Fieldtrip One, many owners of houses labeled 'heritage houses' by CURE were uncomfortable being interviewed within their home. Instead the first group meeting with owners of these houses took place on the bazaar street in the chai store. The chai store, often used for the committee meetings of the *kabristan* (graveyard) committee, is a small place open to the street.



1. Regular painting and cleaning = respectful to guests

4. Small platform for seated guests - creates intimacy

2. Shaded - allows long conversations: the threshold is the place for negotiation, rather than the shop interior.

3. Entrance step - guests must be welcomed across it (part of the manners of negotiation)

The chai store occupies a busy spot on the street corner, getting trade from both the bazaar street and the kabristan street. It is extremely visible from both streets. However, the store itself can only contain a small number of guests at any time, who sit on the platform at the front, so it is both a very familiar gathering, and a very public one.

Articulation ↑

Topography ↓
Embodiment

1. Regular painting and cleaning = respectful to guests
2. Shaded - allows long conversations: the threshold is the place for negotiation, rather than the shop interior.
3. Entrance step - guests must be welcomed across it (part of the manners of negotiation)
4. Small platform for seated guests - creates intimacy
5. Residential entrances at the back of the buildings, shop entrances at the front (creates two different kinds of spatial sharing)
6. Corner position gives view of both the Shahi Mosque and Kabristan Mosque and long views of the bazaar street and kabristan path

Metaphoric depth - communication across time

Factor affects opportunity for contest

Factor also affects opportunity for contest

Factors affect intensity of use

small plots along the road = high number of thresholds = lively

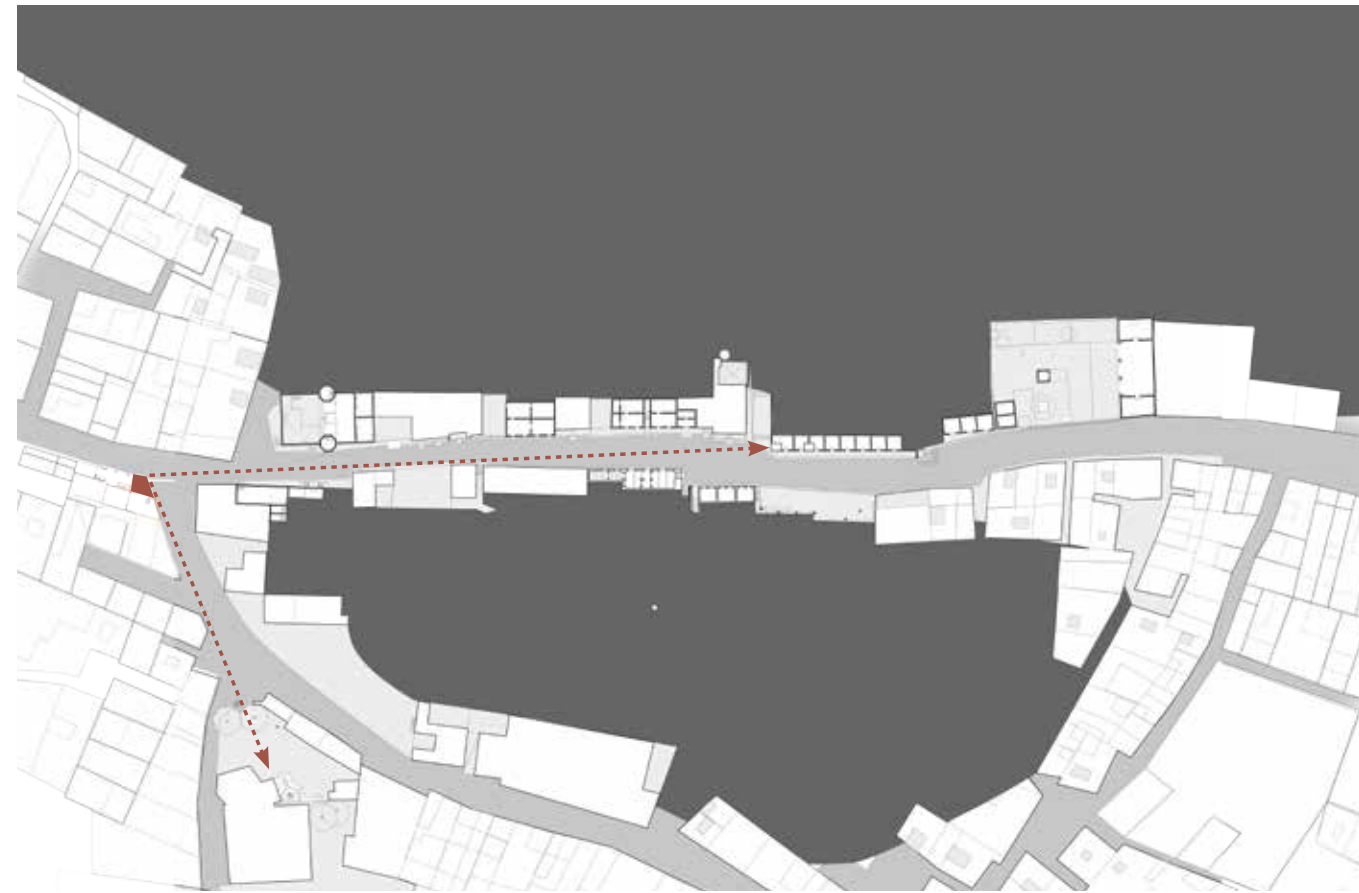
residential use/ mixed live-work = street overlooked by families = lack of anonymity

narrow street - discussions are overlooked, slow traffic allows people to wander between sides and spend time in the street = lack of anonymity

bazaar runs between hills, allowing multiple levels of external spaces / differentiated 'shared space'

Locally practiced route to the Taj Mahal = used by the same people often = familiarity/ lack of anonymity

Primary Bazaar Street Conversation A Chai Store: Communicative Order

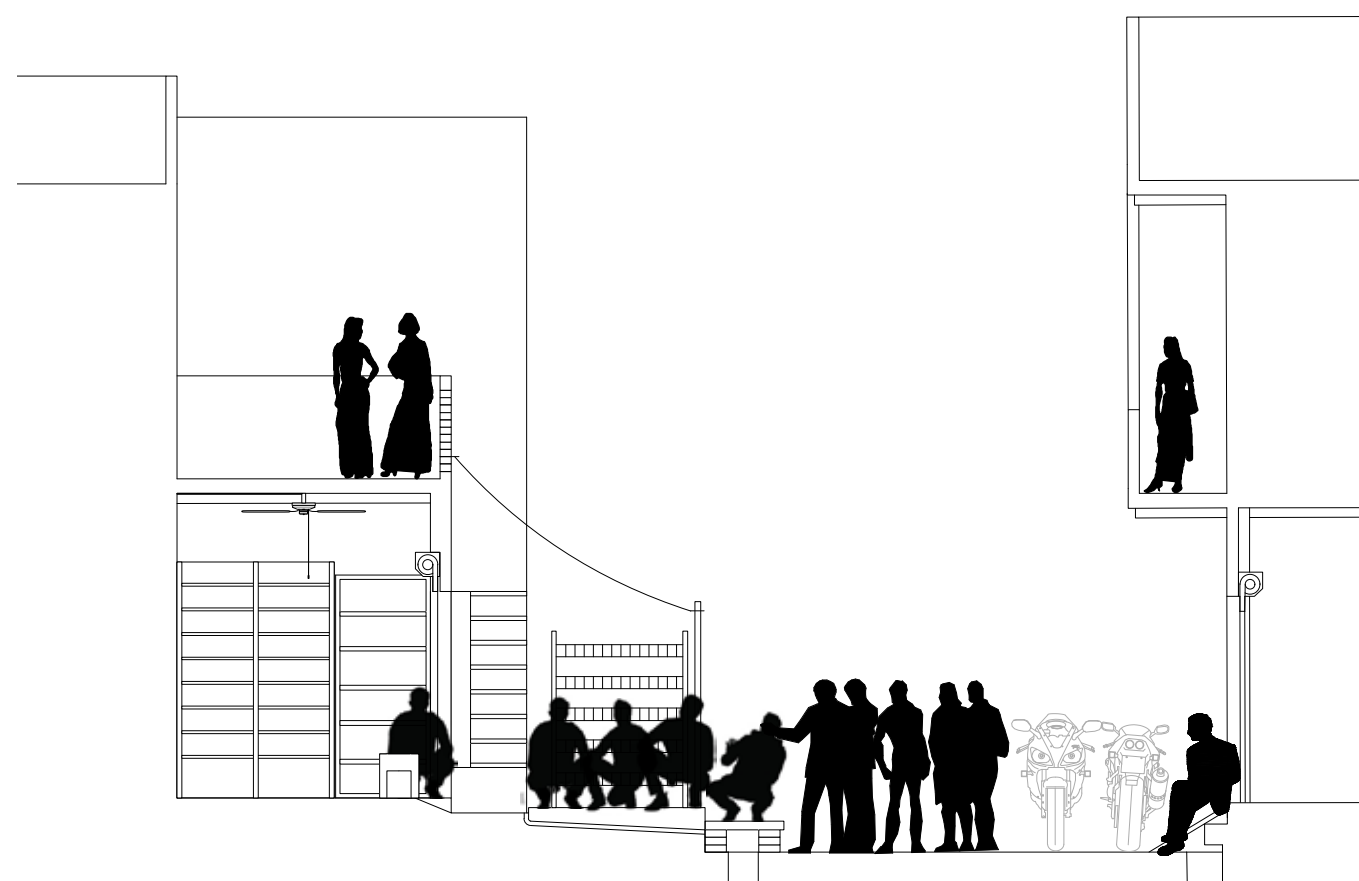


Visible position, easily found: views from Chai Store down bazaar street to the Shahi Masjid, and to the Kabristan Masjid 50m



◀ Bilochpura Residential entrance ▶ Shop entrance 3m

On the outside edge of the basti, far away from even the entrances to privately owned homes, meeting attendees are given a degree of temporary equality (nobody except the chai wallah is in charge of hospitality, nobody's personal belongings are visible) and in full view of the rest of the street, any untoward behavior would be quickly quashed.



Mediated participation

Opportunity to Encounter Difference



The conditions of the chai store are maintained so as to be able to control numbers and levels of visibility / participation

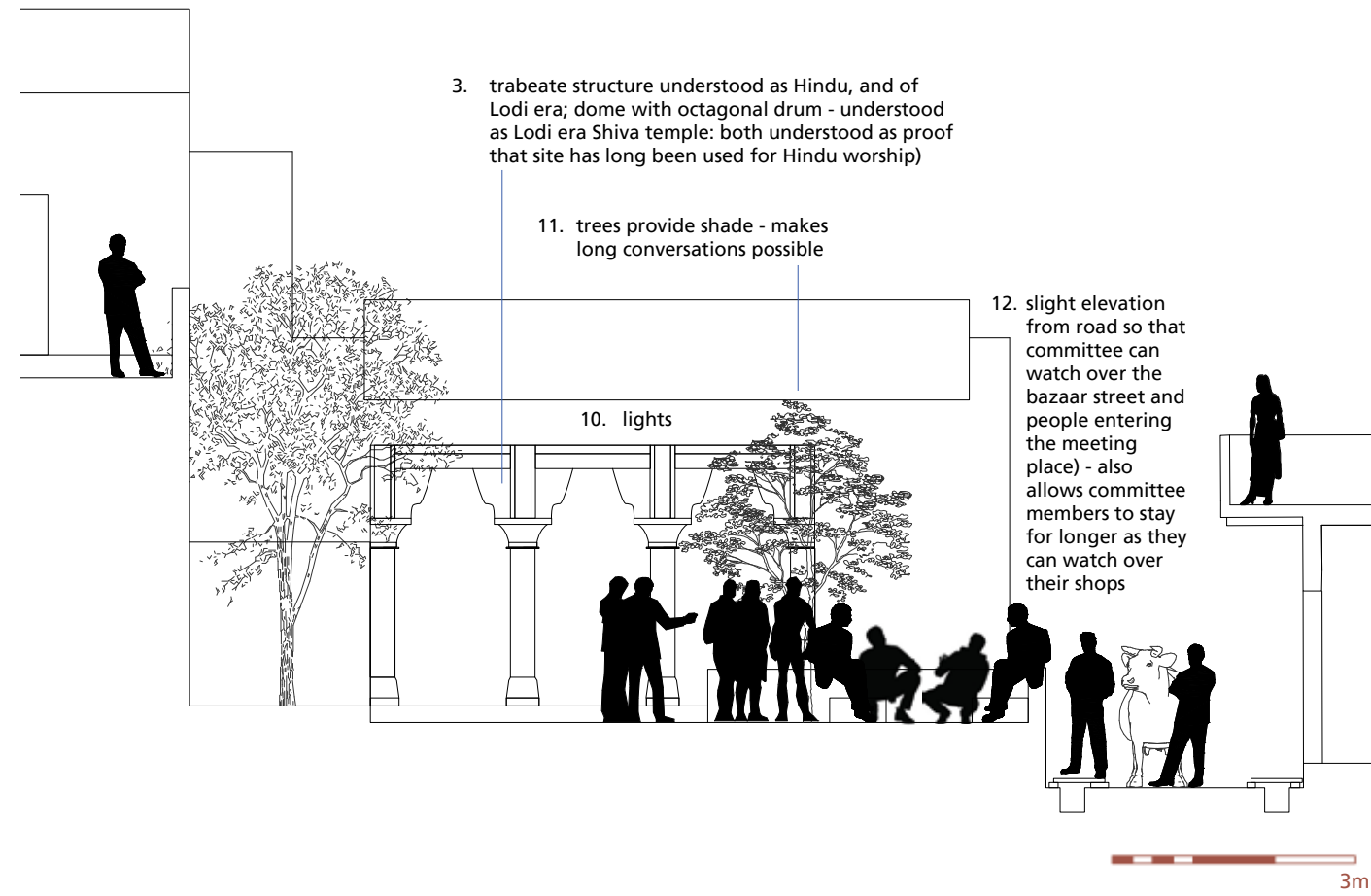
Opportunity to Negotiate Urban Conditions



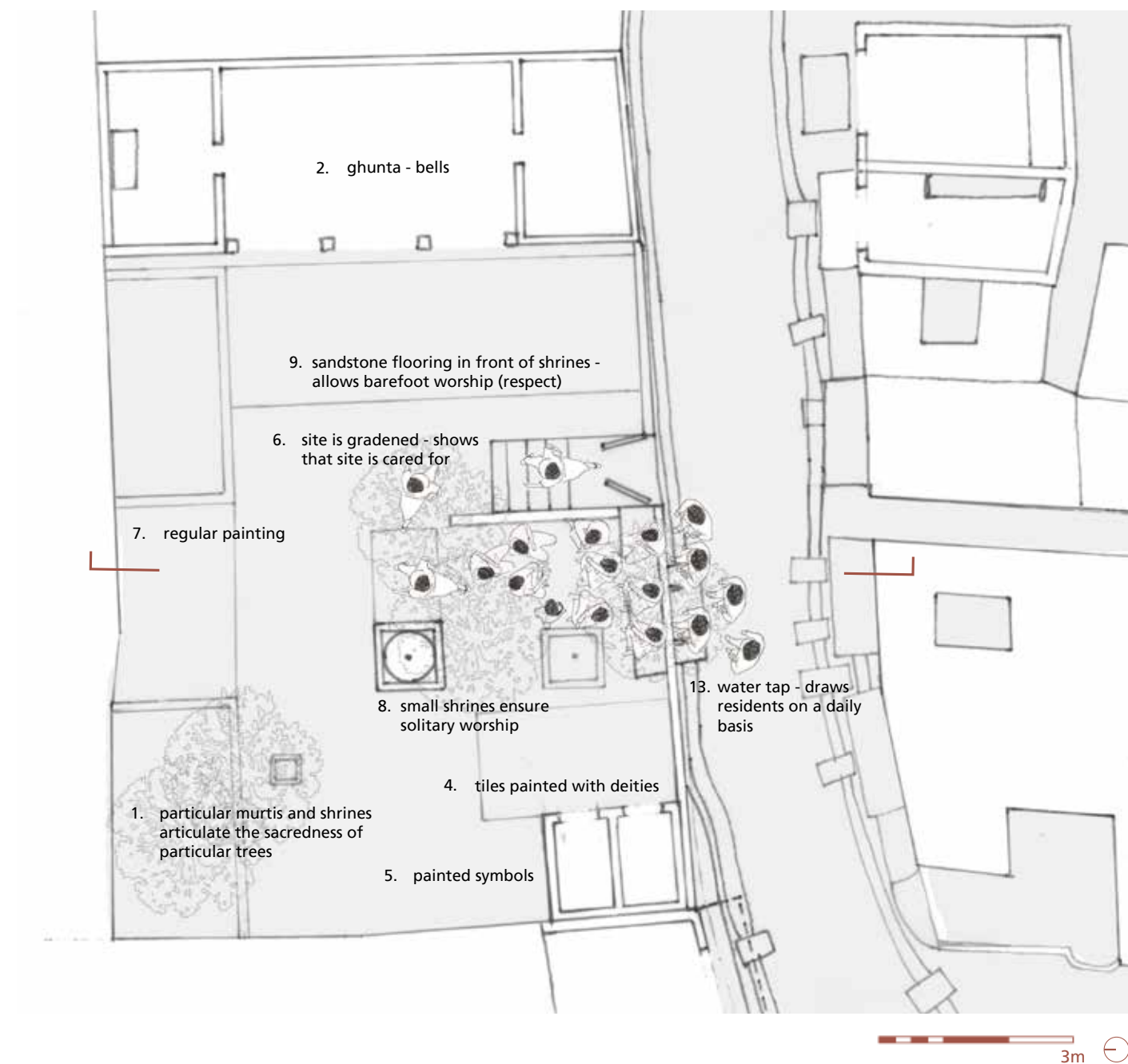
The chai store itself is simply decorated, regularly repainted a bright colour and kept clean. However, from the store the highly articulate Kabristan Masjid entrance and Shahi Masjid can both be seen, situating the store in the Islamic basti.

Metaphoric Depth of Urban Negotiation

Primary Bazaar Street *Conversation A*: Civic Possibilities



Articulation ↑



The Lodi Temple site is mainly a temple garden scattered with shrines dating from at least 500 years ago to the present. However, at the far end of the garden is the temple itself, used during the day as a place for traders to buy and sell jasmine (making money for the temple's upkeep). This activity is overseen by the Lodi Temple Committee, (see p24), and many of the committee members are neighbouring store-keepers.

1. particular murtis and shrines articulate the sacredness of particular trees
2. ghunta - bells
3. trabeate structure understood as Hindu, and of Lodi era; dome with octagonal drum - understood as Lodi era Shiva temple: both understood as proof that site has long been used for Hindu worship)
4. tiles painted with deities
5. painted symbols
6. site is gardened - shows that site is cared for

Metaphoric depth - communication across time

7. regular painting
8. small shrines ensure solitary worship
9. sandstone flooring in front of shrines - allows barefoot worship (respect)
10. lights
11. trees provide shade - makes long conversations possible
12. slight elevation from road so that committee can watch over the bazaar street and people entering the meeting place) - also allows committee members to stay for longer as they can watch over their shops
13. water tap - draws residents on a daily basis

Factor affects opportunity for contest

small plots along the road = high number of thresholds = lively
residential use/ mixed live-work = street overlooked by families = lack of anonymity

Factors affect intensity of use / anonymity

narrow street - discussions are overlooked, slow traffic allows people to wander between sides and spend time in the street = lack of anonymity

bazaar runs between hills, allowing multiple levels of external spaces / differentiated 'shared space'

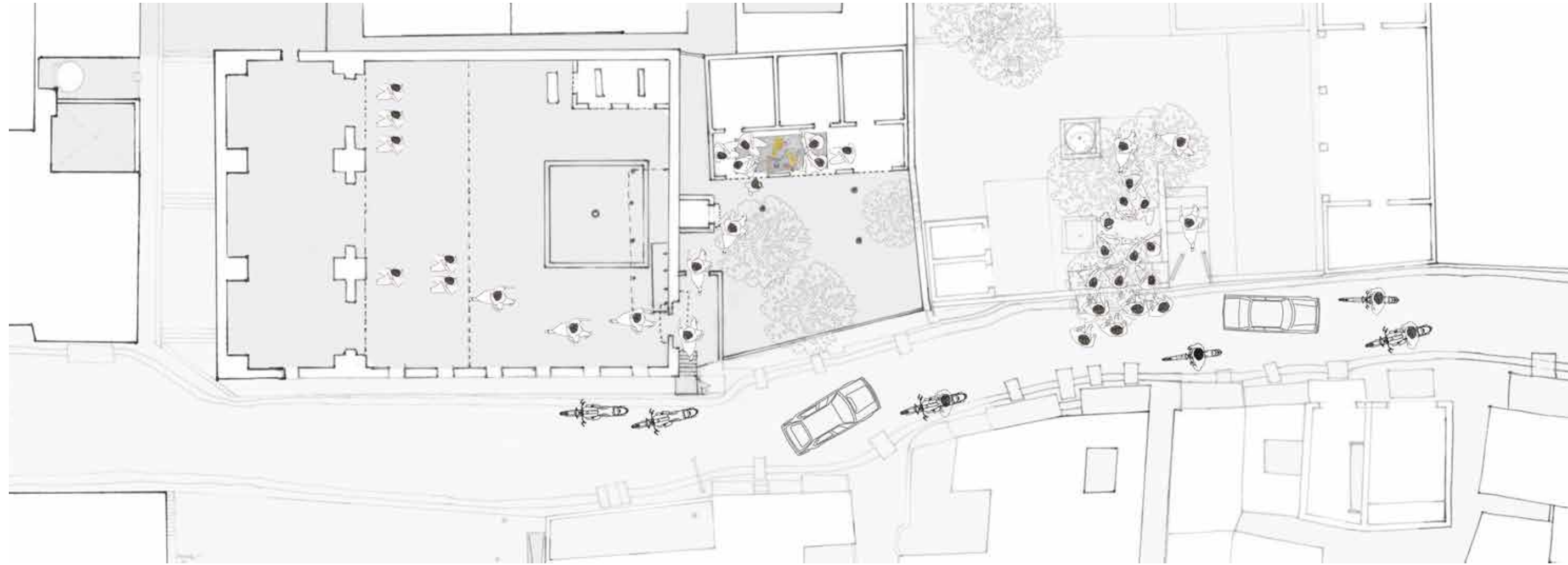
Locally practiced route to the Taj Mahal = used by the same people often = familiarity/ lack of anonymity

Topography

Embodiment

Conversation B.

Primary Bazaar Street *Conversation B Lodi Temple*: Communicative Order



Conversation B. Opportunity to encounter difference: located along Primary Bazaar Street, visible to passers-by and location known by other committees who meet along the same street

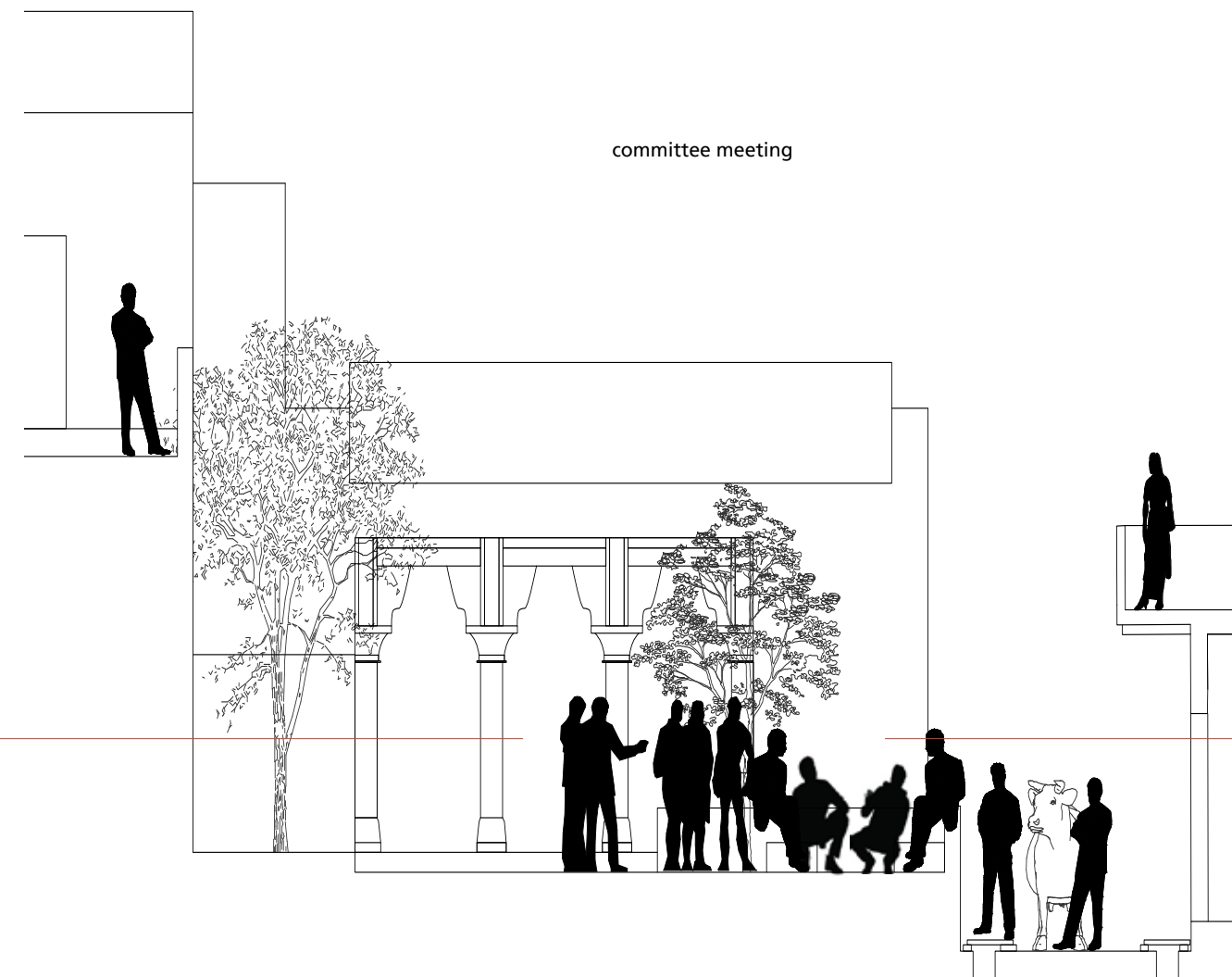
The places within the site include several shrines of varying ages, the oldest being the domed shrine to Shiva: the petal-like carving and the way that the dome is supported on an octagonal drum suggest it could date back to the Lodi period. Its 3 square meter shrine and pointed dome speak of continued Shiva worship on this site for hundreds of years



It is likely that the newer (20th century) shrines have been built to embody worship determined by the position of sacred trees. Again, the shrine to Hanuman is built at the side of a betel tree, while the shrine to Shiva and Kali is built in front of a neem tree – often associated with Durga or her manifestation as Kali.



View from meeting point to shrines



View from meeting point down bazaar street, where most committee members are employed

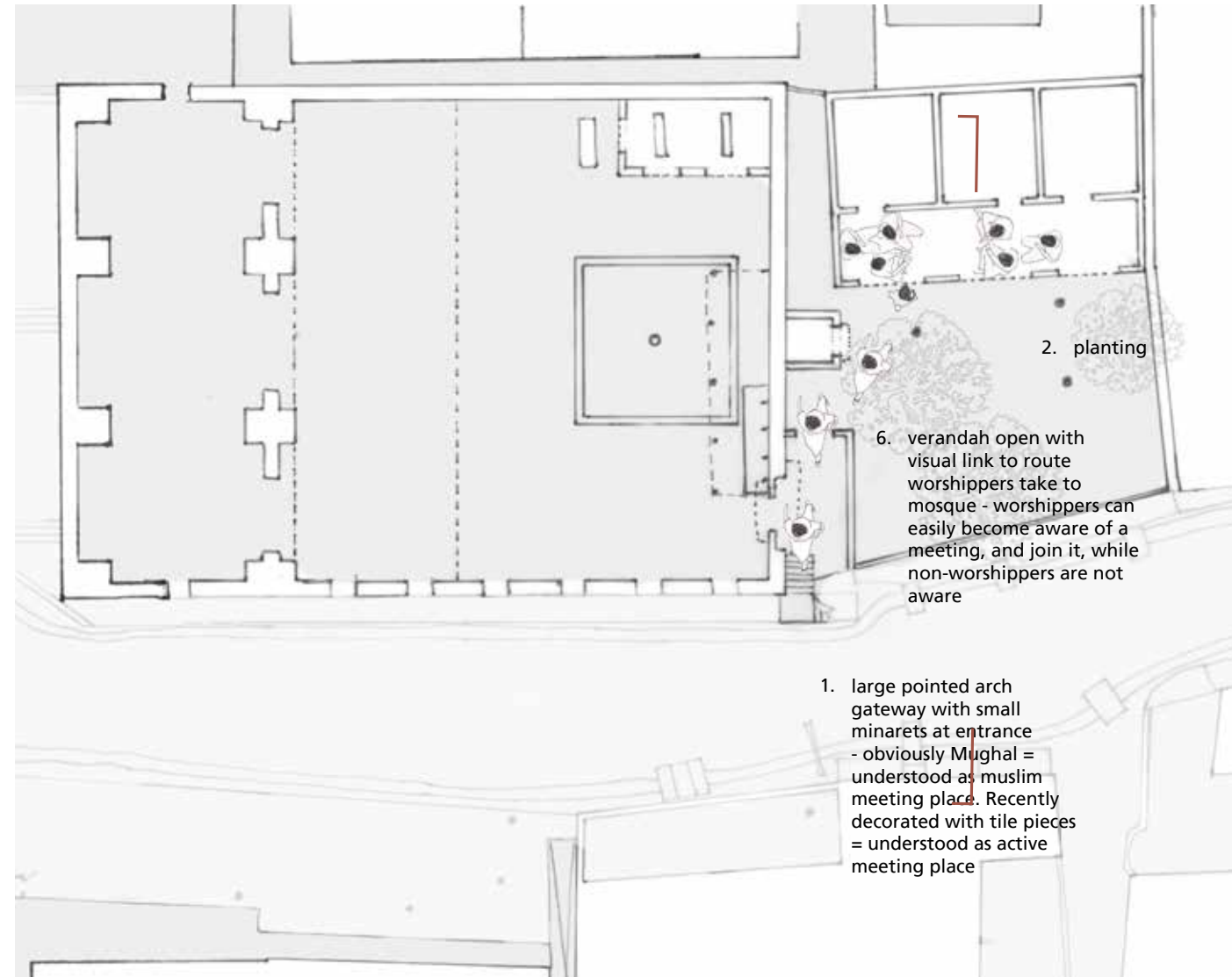
The shrines are decorated with paint, tiles and posters, which are mass produced - linking the messages articulated here with messages articulated at other temples. Regular dressing of the murtis and a daily ritual of applying spice dyes to them, along with arranging candles and offerings speak of respect and sustained devotion.



Conversation B. Metaphoric depth of urban negotiation: Connection to long tradition of worship on the site alongside new reinterpretations of faith

Conversation B. Opportunity to negotiate urban conditions: conversation sited between livelihood (market street) and ethics (shrines)

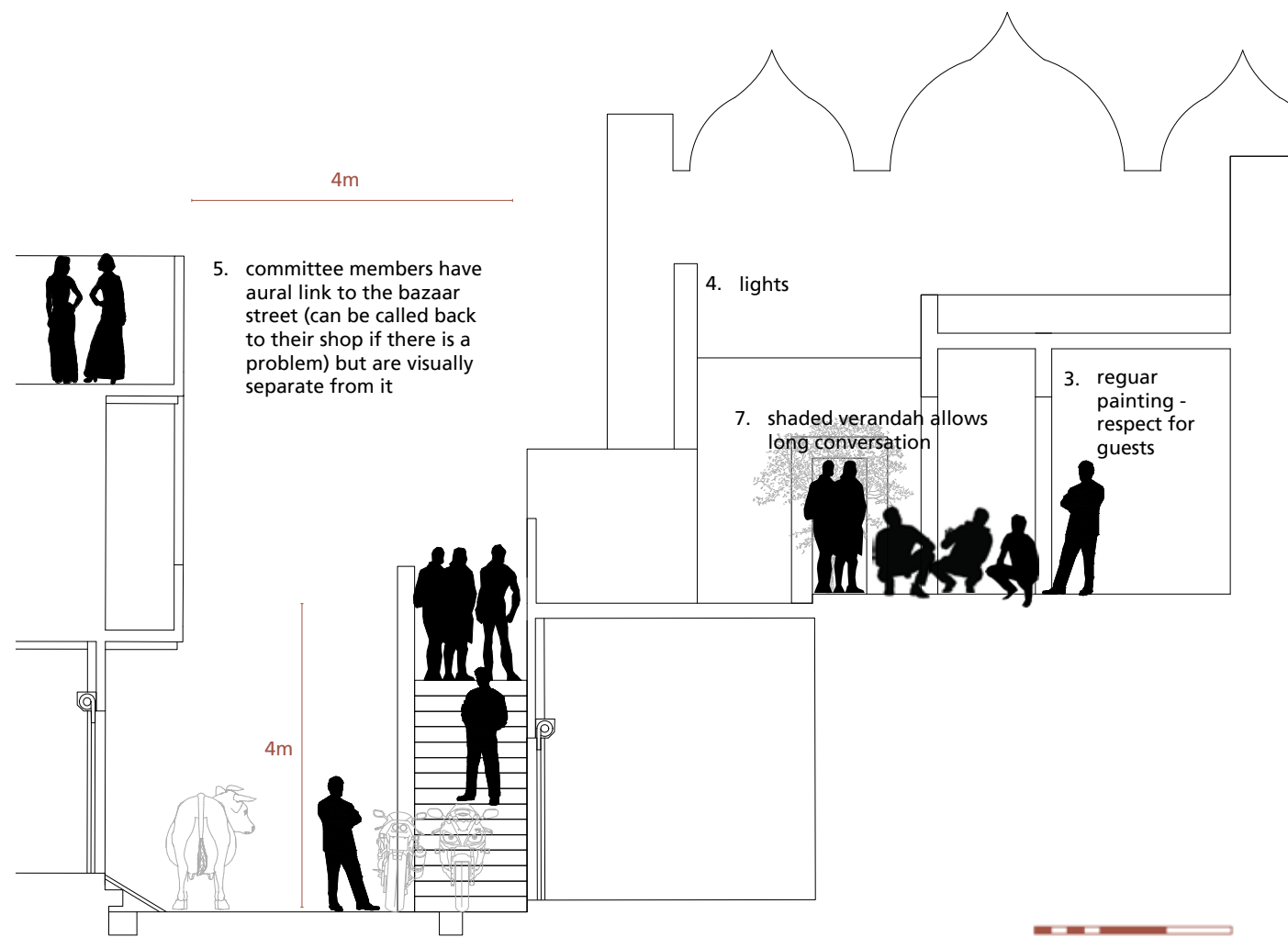
Primary Bazaar Street *Conversation B*: Civic Possibilities



5m



Articulate



2m

The mosque committee meets on Friday after namaz (prayer) in the shaded verandah of the madrasa (empty on Fridays).

1. large pointed arch gateway with small minarets at entrance - obviously Mughal = understood as muslim meeting place. Recently decorated with tile pieces = understood as active meeting place

2. planting

3. reguar painting - respect for guests

4. lights

5. committee members have aural link to the bazaar street (can be called back to their shop if there is a problem) but are visually separate from it

6. verandah open with visual link to route worshippers take to mosque - worshippers can easily become aware of a meeting, and join it, while non-worshippers are not aware

7. shaded verandah allows long conversation

small plots along the road = high number of thresholds = lively

residential use/ mixed live-work = street overlooked by families = lack of anonymity

narrow street - discussions are overlooked, slow traffic allows people to wander between sides and spend time in the street = lack of anonymity

Locally practiced route to the Taj Mahal = used by the same people often = familiarity/ lack of anonymity

Metaphoric depth - communication across time

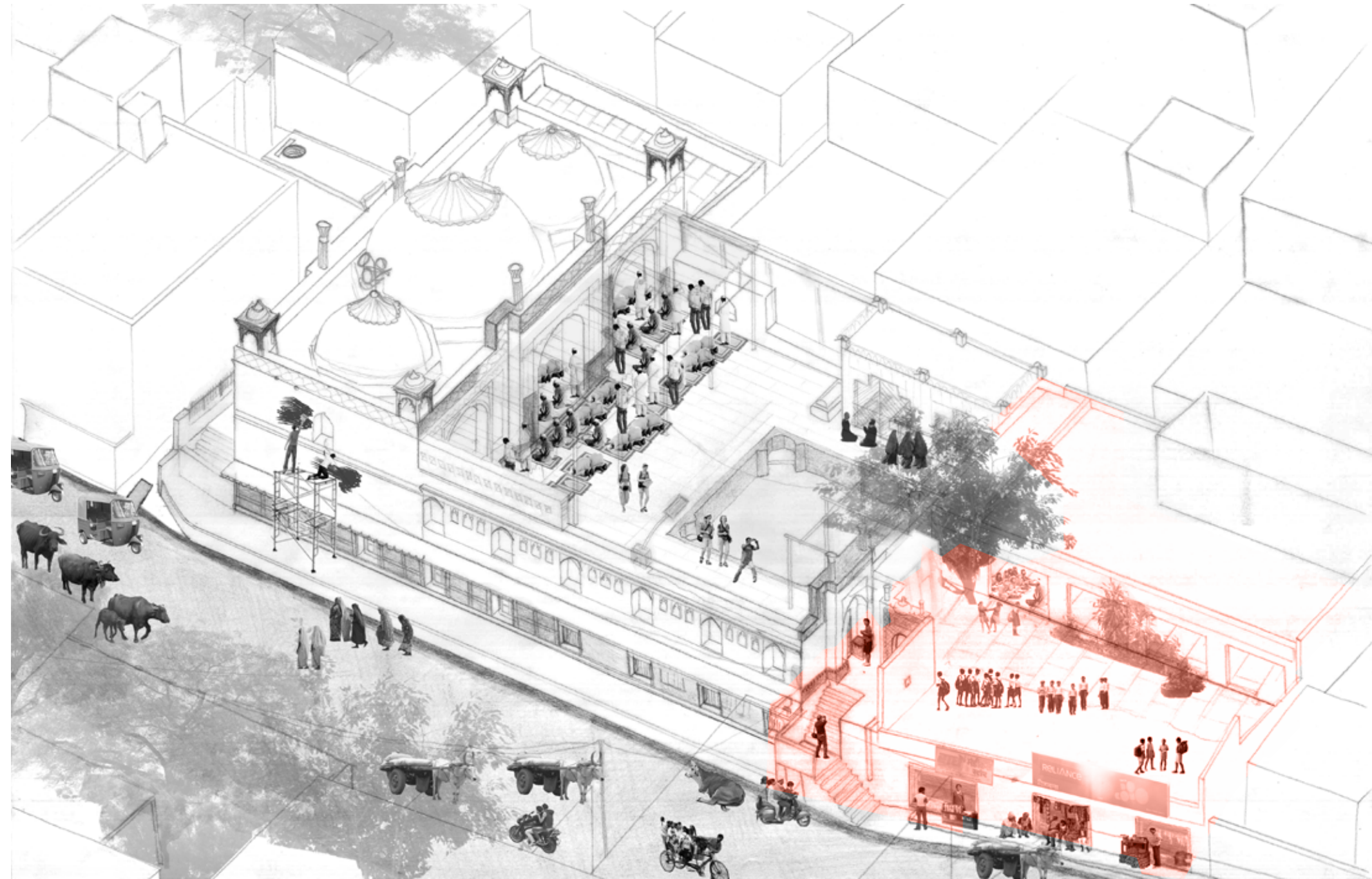
Factor affects opportunity for contest

Factors affect intensity of use / anonymity

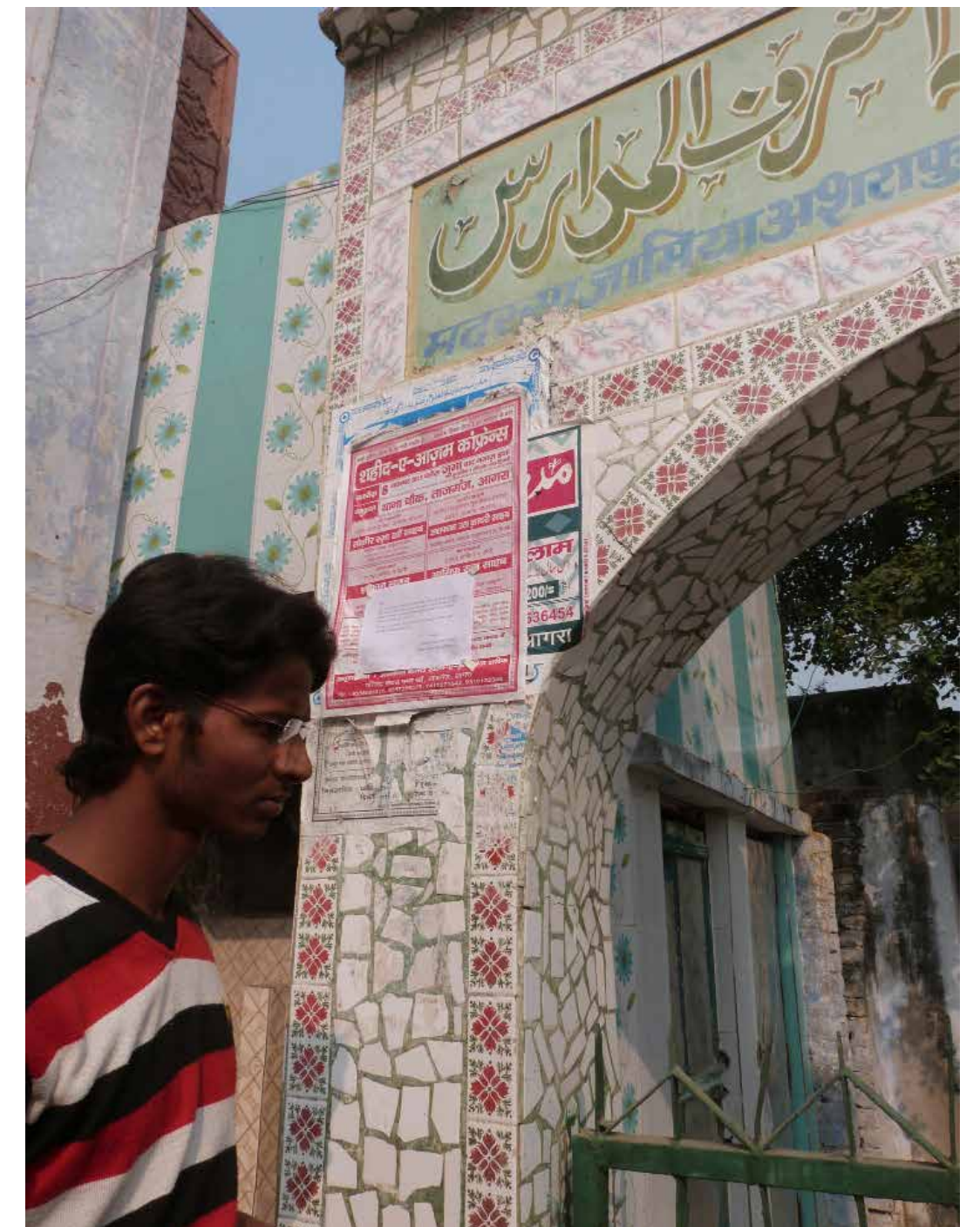
Topography

Embodiment

Primary Bazaar Street Conversation C Madrasa: Communicative Order



The verandah has a view of the bazaar street but is removed from it due to its higher level and step back, unlike the temple committee meeting point. Easily accessible, the mosque committee meetings can take place in the neighbouring plot to the Lodi Temple Committee without being too visible or audible: however the presence of both on the street is clear, and they both look out over the street activity.



Conversation C. Metaphoric Depth

The madrasa is largely simply decorated, and clean - subservient in message to the mosque next to it. The gate however that advertises the location of the madrasa to the bazaar street, is highly decorated - not in the Mughal tradition like the mosque, but with tiles and colourful calligraphy. This does not communicate the presence of a historic 'monument', but a significant working building: the pointed arch and calligraphy indicate muslim faith.

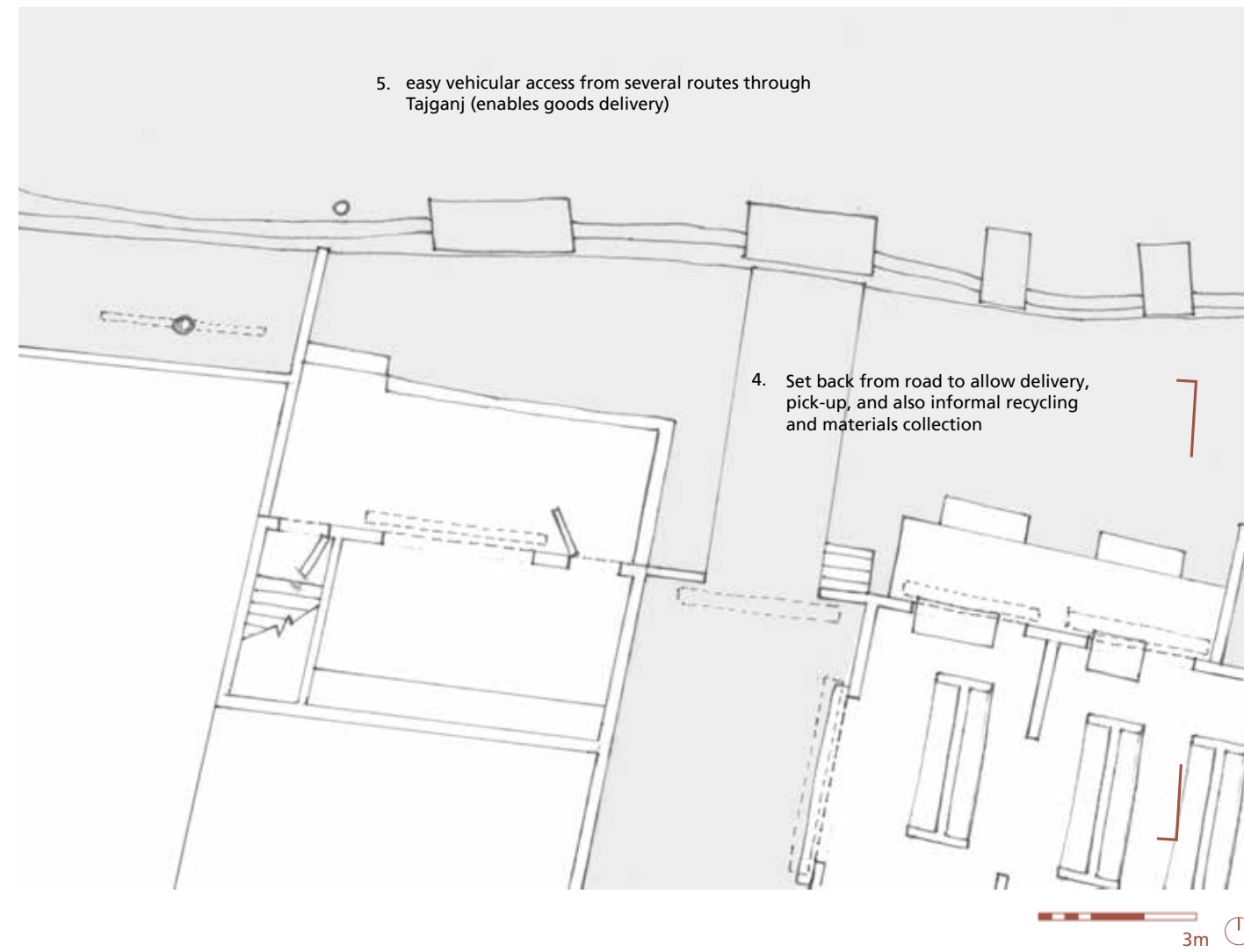
Conversation C. Opportunity to encounter difference: daily gathering point on busy street



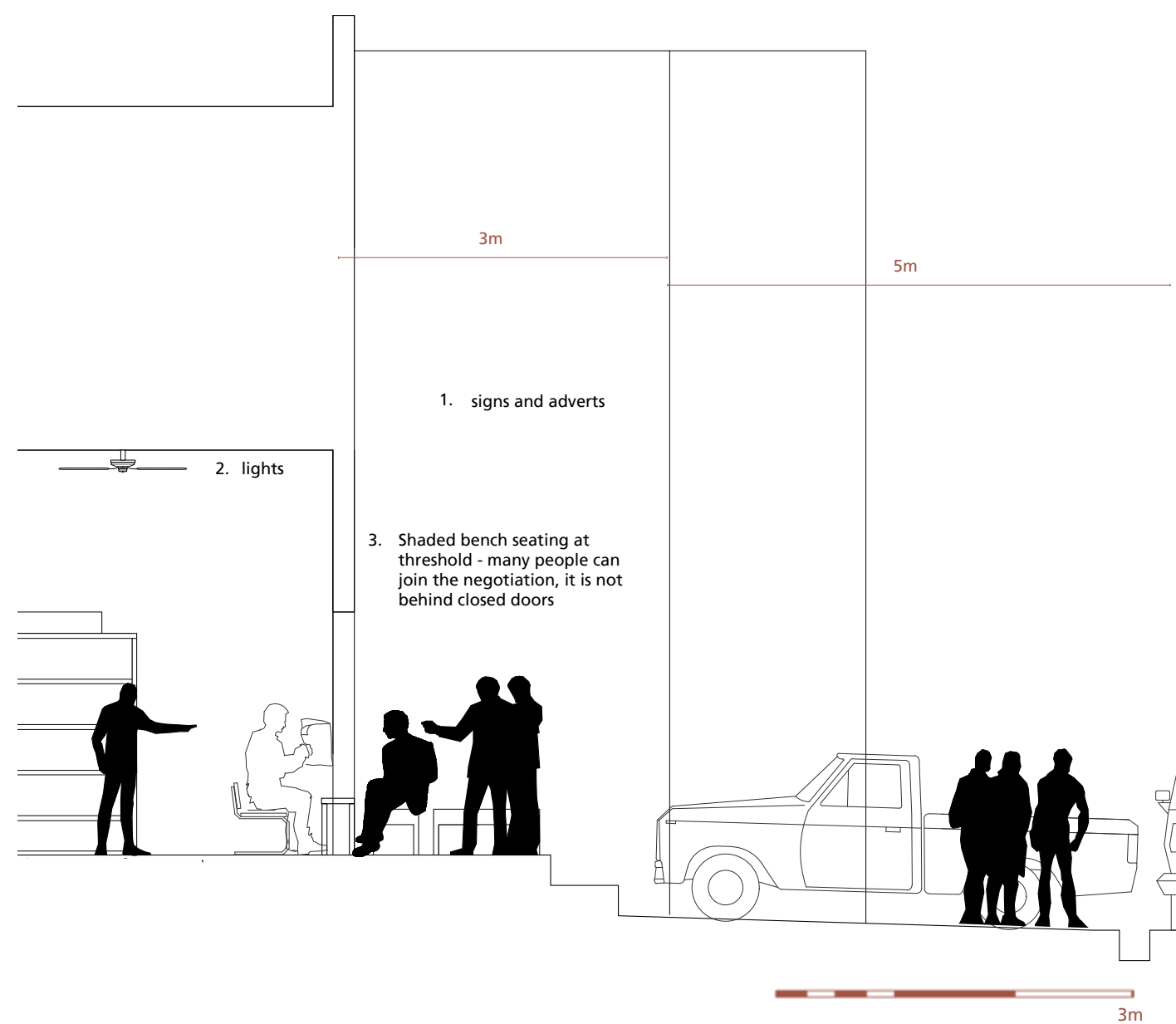
The meeting point neighbours other committee meeting points along the bazaar street, such as the Lodi temple meeting point - this allows urban discussions to take place at a larger scale, if necessary.

Conversation C. Opportunity to negotiate urban conditions (see p45)

Primary Bazaar Street Conversation C: Civic Possibilities



Articulate



The hardware store sells and rents out tools, construction materials, and bamboo scaffolding.

- 1. signs and adverts Metaphoric depth - communication across time
 - 2. lights
 - 3. Shaded bench seating at threshold - many people can join the negotiation, it is not behind closed doors Factor affects opportunity for contest
 - 4. Set back from road to allow delivery, pick-up, and also informal recycling and materials collection
 - 5. easy vehicular access from several routes through Tajganj (enables goods delivery)
- small plots along the road = high number of thresholds = lively
- residential use/ mixed live-work = street overlooked by families = lack of anonymity
- narrow street - discussions are overlooked, slow traffic allows people to wander between sides and spend time in the street = lack of anonymity
- bazaar runs between hills, allowing multiple levels of external spaces / differentiated 'shared space'
- Locally practiced route to the Taj Mahal = used by the same people often = familiarity/ lack of anonymity
- Factors affect intensity of use / anonymity

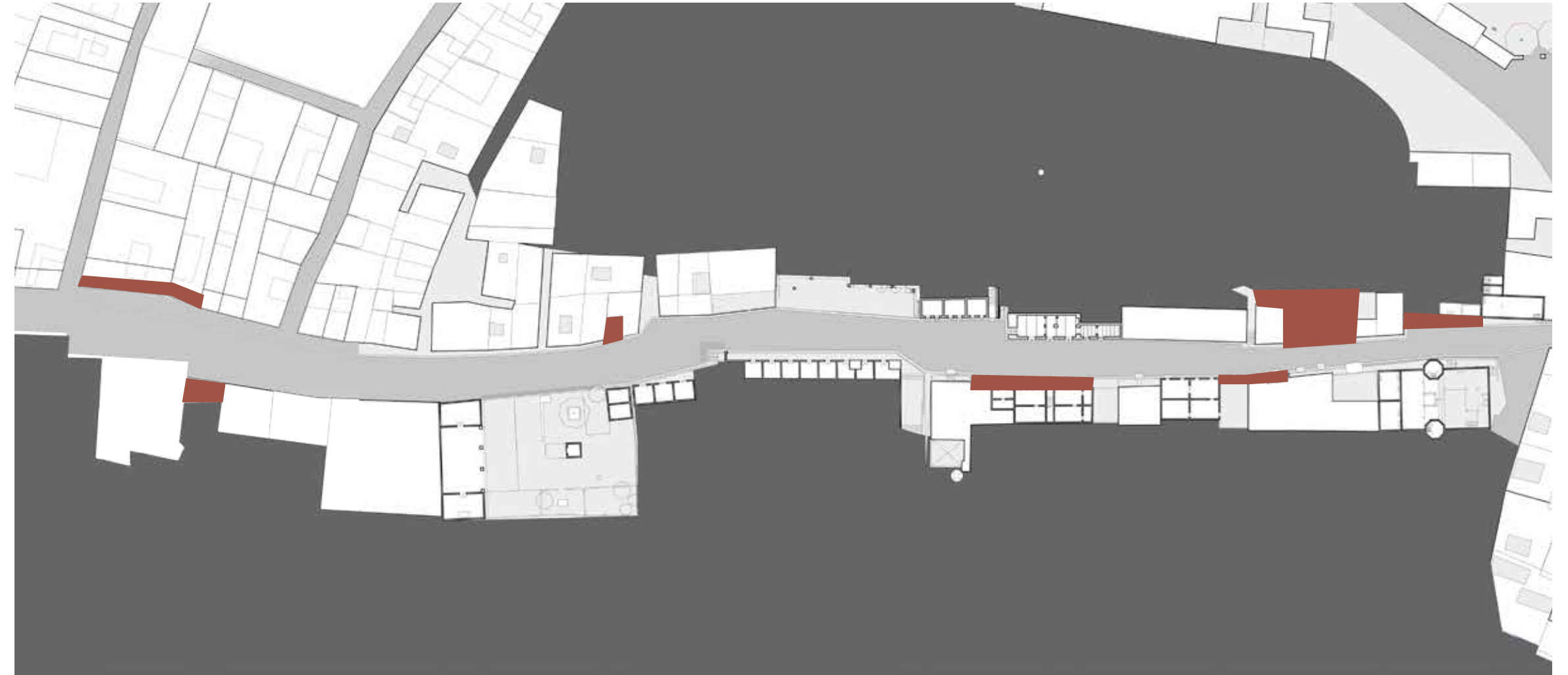
Topography

Embodiment

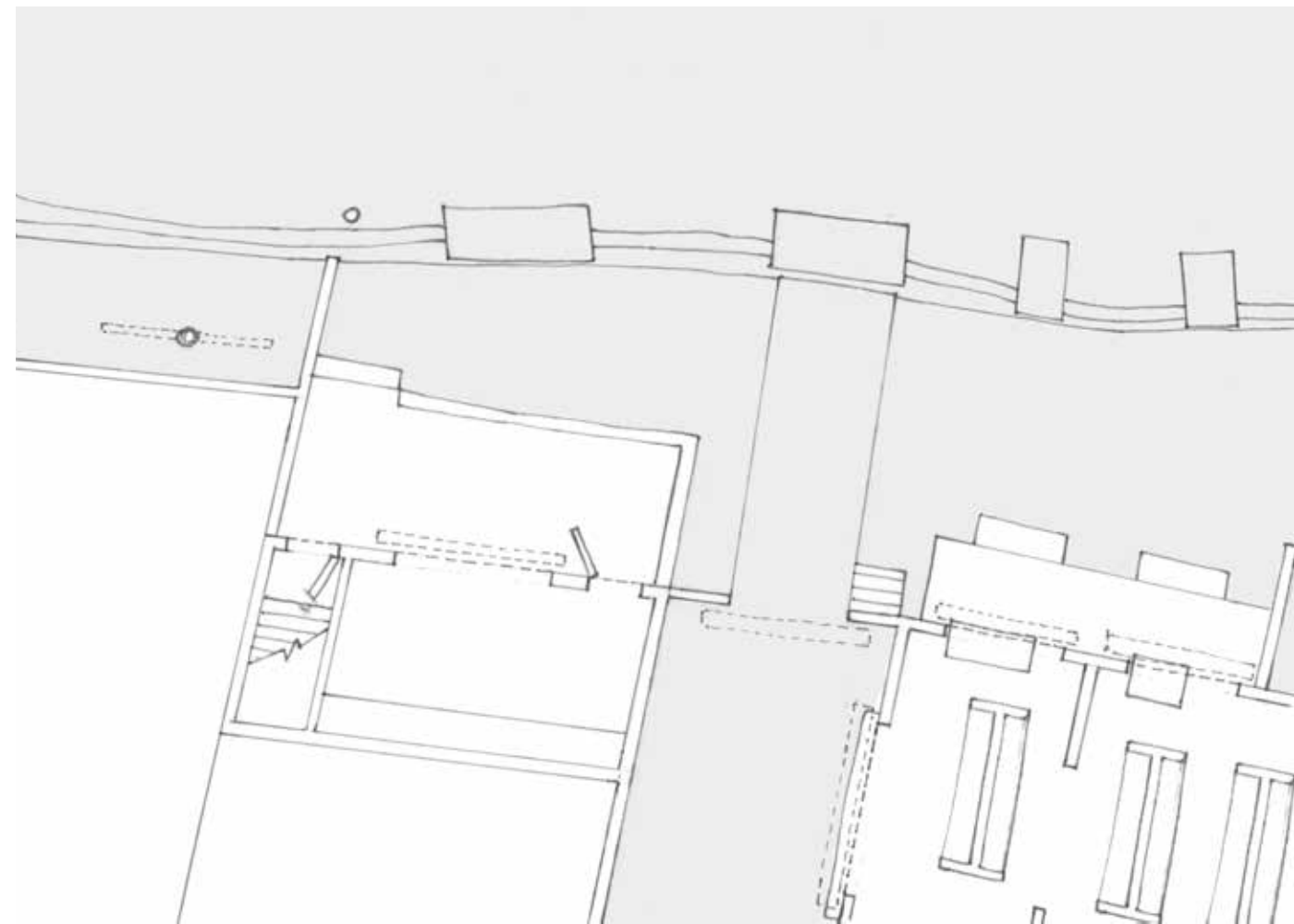
Primary Bazaar Street Conversation D Hardware Store: Communicative Order



Easy vehicular access at the crossing of several routes through Tajganj (enables goods delivery)



● Plots along bazaar street Level 00 that are used for low-income generating, but useful activities



Set back from the road slightly to allow small trucks to deliver heavy goods, creating a delivery and collection point, and because of this, a busy bargaining point

Conversation D. Opportunity to encounter difference



Next to the store, a small plot in front of a wall accommodates a man and a large set of scales, buying and selling recycled plastic. In front of the plot on the street itself is a pile of waste plastic that he is sorting through. Although this seems like an opportunistic and temporary stall, the framework of the scales is set in a concrete plinth in the plot. There are many of these seemingly vacant plots along the bazaar street that on closer inspection are used for the trading of low cost materials, essential to the smooth running of life behind the street (in an area with minimal waste collection, points for recycling materials are really important).



Plot used for storing materials as well as sorting materials for recycling

Conversation D. Opportunity to negotiate urban conditions: flexible street edge made possible through resident committee, and resident ownership of plots along street

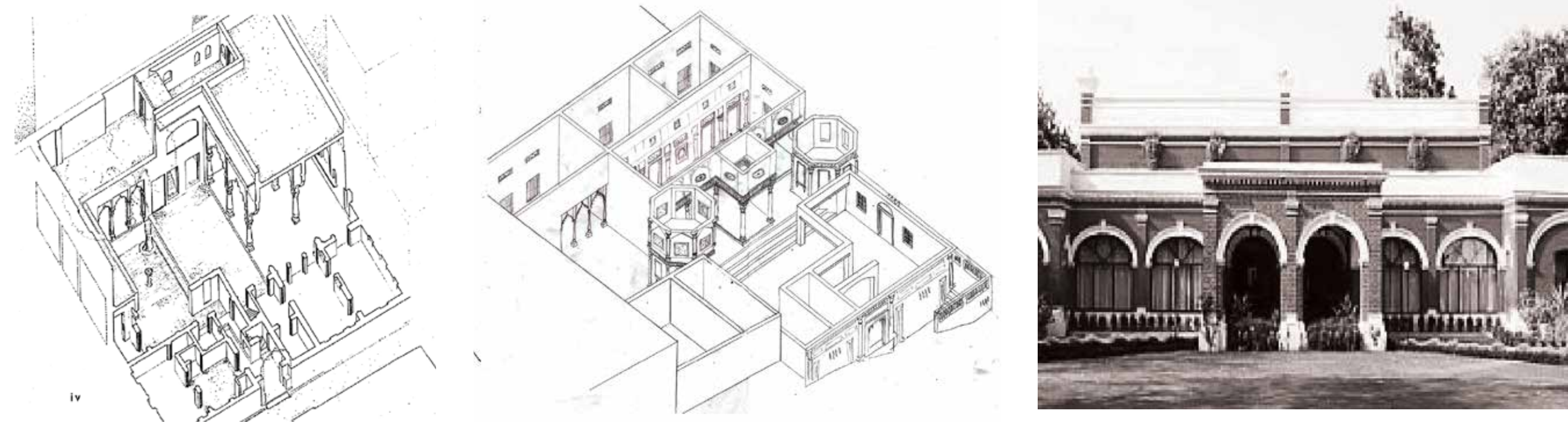
Primary Bazaar Street Conversation D: Civic Possibilities

Opportunity to encounter difference. Differentiated space



From the gate, there are a series of places that get increasingly private to the family as one gets deeper into the plan.

Differentiated space: comparison



Mughal Haveli (Prasad, 1988)

Colonial-era home in Bilochpura (with recent additional structures)

Colonial-era bungalow, Agra

The colonial homes in Bilochpura take elements from the earlier courtyard haveli houses of the Mughal era, and elements of the bungalows found in parts of the city developed by the British-colonials.

Opportunity to negotiate urban conditions: response to changing context



Many colonial-era houses in the area have been extended upwards to negotiate extra space in conditions where land is increasingly rare to get hold of.



The ground floor of the colonial-era house to the left is no longer inhabitable, due to damp conditions caused by the raising of the road outside it, and the drain constructed along its wall.

Metaphoric depth of urban negotiation: Combined Cultures



While the courtyard wall only has one opening: the gate, the first floor of the house often has large door-size shuttered openings and large shuttered windows for a much greater level of communication with the street. These facades are highly decorated with a mixture of European neo-classical, Mughal and Hindu motifs: a sign of the original owner embracing the British rulers' eclectic tastes (most of the original owners of these houses worked for the British civil service). Highly decorated externally, these mansions were built to impress visitors and to add to the impressiveness of the neighbourhood as a whole.



Articulation ↑

Topography

Embodiment

1. communication in the street is between passers-by and the ornament on the building: Mughal motifs speak of Bilochi heritage; European classical motifs speak of the British empire (both royal links = power, money)

Metaphoric depth - communication across time

2. interior courtyard leads to verandah leads to reception room and then rooms behind (many differentiated settings for various kinds of exchange within the home)

3. gated entrance with no openings - threshold not a place for spending time = quiet streets

Factor affects opportunity for contest

small plots along the road = high number of thresholds = lively

residential use/ mixed live-work = street overlooked by families = lack of anonymity

narrow street - discussions are overlooked, slow traffic allows people to wander between sides and spend time in the street = lack of anonymity

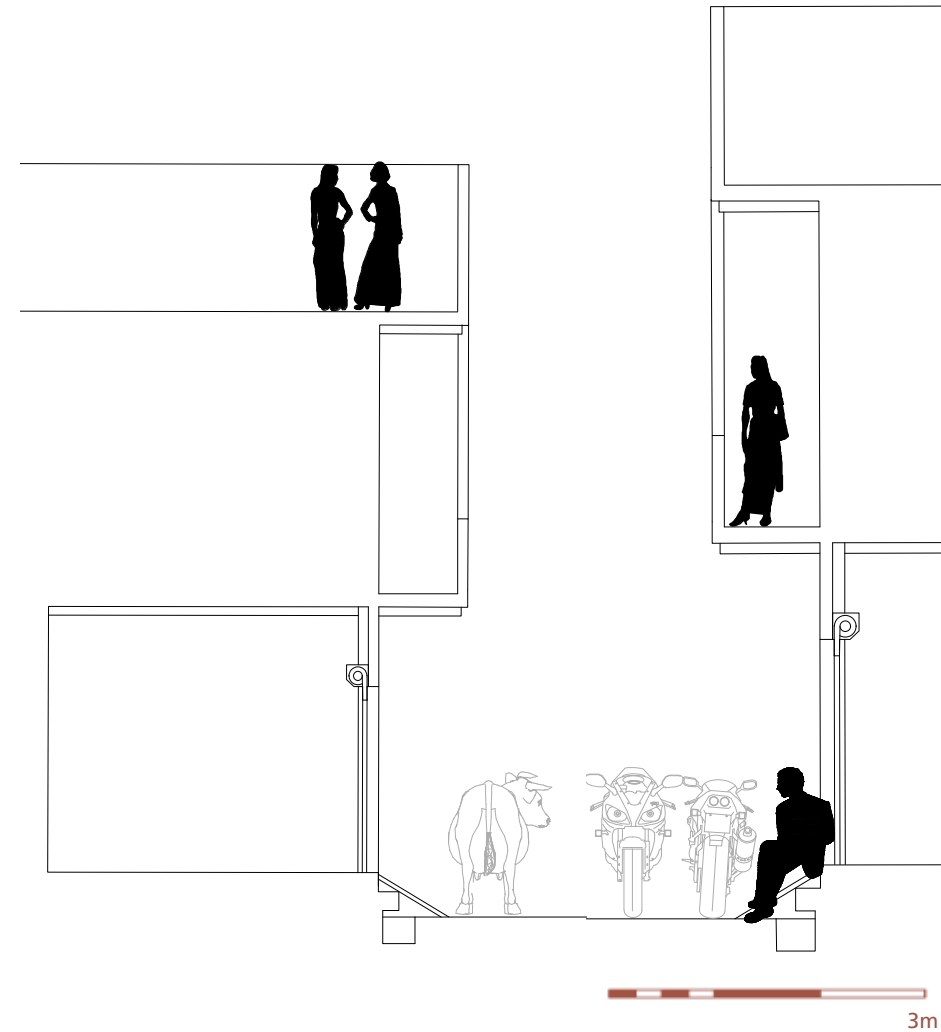
Factors affect intensity of use / anonymity

bazaar runs between hills, allowing multiple levels of external spaces / differentiated 'shared space'

Locally practiced route to the Taj Mahal = used by the same people often = familiarity/ lack of anonymity

Conversations E1. Informal Interviews, British-colonial era House

Primary Bazaar Street Conversation E1: Communicative Order and Civic Possibilities



Ground-floor mixed residential / commercial edge: steps over the street drain create setting for spending time



Ground-floor commercial edge



Shaded balconies and thresholds with a large step below allow people to spend time on the street - contributes to lively streets.

Most buildings along the street built in the last 20 years are residential at first floor level and above, and the residential floors have small openings masked by brightly coloured ballustrades, or brick screens. At street level, shops are accessed by large, roller-shuttered openings. There may also be several large advertisement boards.

Exchange can happen in several places: the threshold step (usually a stone or concrete step formed over the open street drain) for regular purchases; the inner platform to the store for purchases that take more than a few minutes to carry out; inside the store (in the case of jewellery and clothing, for women's privacy, or for particularly complex bargaining); from the balcony, where people converse with others on the road or other balconies; or the rooftop, where people converse with people on other rooftops - these are particularly important places for women to socialise, because it is where many domestic tasks are carried out.

Both the pre and post Independence buildings along the bazaar street take advantage of the valley to create several kinds of sharing environment for different kinds of exchange. While the pre-Independence buildings create several levels of exclusivity within the walls of the home (built at a time when women had their own private area of the house, and when merchants and traders might come from afar and stay in the house overnight), the post Independence houses possess several kinds of external space for communication with those outside the immediate family.



The Mosque and Lodi Temple committees have a lot of control over the stretches of bazaar street studied, so the architecture is negotiated through the committees. There are rules which are difficult to challenge for this reason, (it would be almost impossible to open a meat stall near the temple), however within these rules there is a great degree of freedom to articulate the architecture in the way that one wishes, as long as one can negotiate it with one's neighbours. Therefore, the street elevations are bright, clashing, and decorative. There are visual clues as to the negotiations that have taken place between neighbours, such as the way boundary walls are adjusted, windows blocked up, or balconies overlapping.

Articulation

Topography

Embodiment

1. religious stickers/tiles
2. decoration follows fashion - chrome, white marble, fresh paint - communicating health/wellbeing/lifestyle
3. threshold step and reception room usually the most decorated - manners of hosting
4. reception room behind threshold, but less differentiated settings within home for various kinds of exchange / different kinds of guest
5. shaded balconies and thresholds with large step allow people to spend time on the street edge = lively streets

Metaphoric depth
- communication
across time

Factor affects
opportunity for
contest

Factors affect
intensity of use /
anonymity

small plots along the road = high number of thresholds = lively

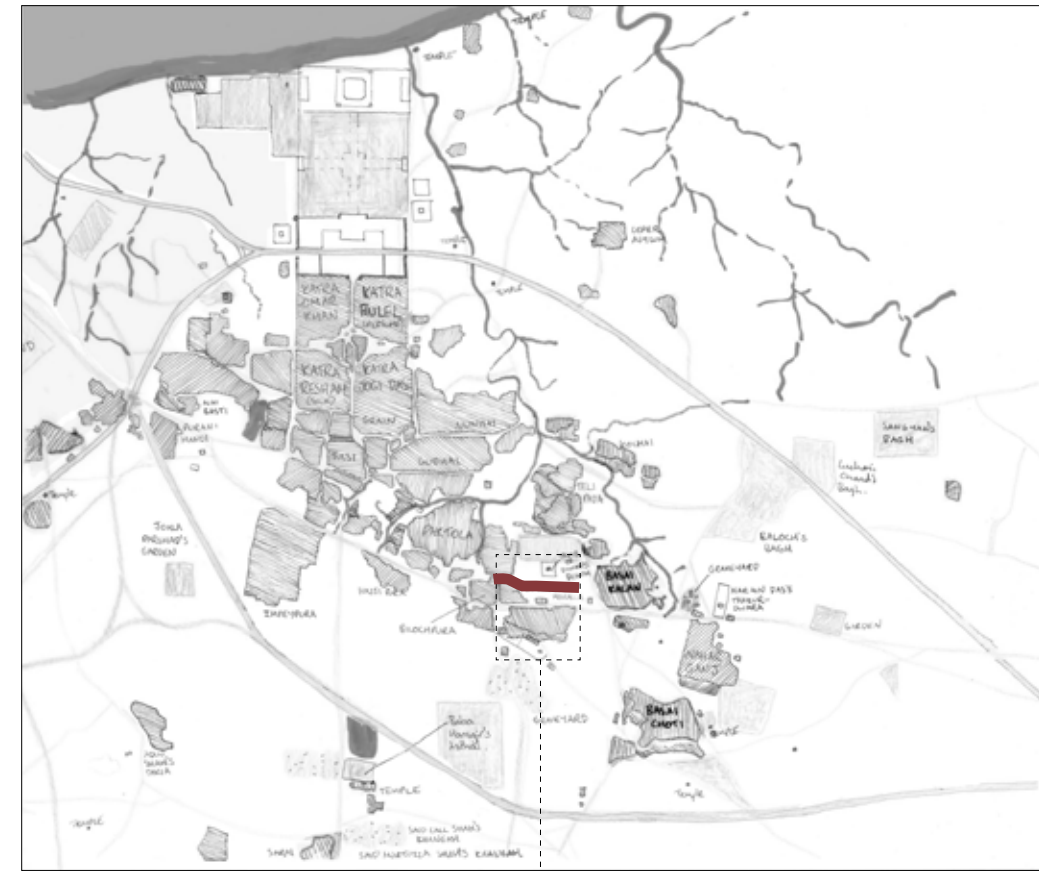
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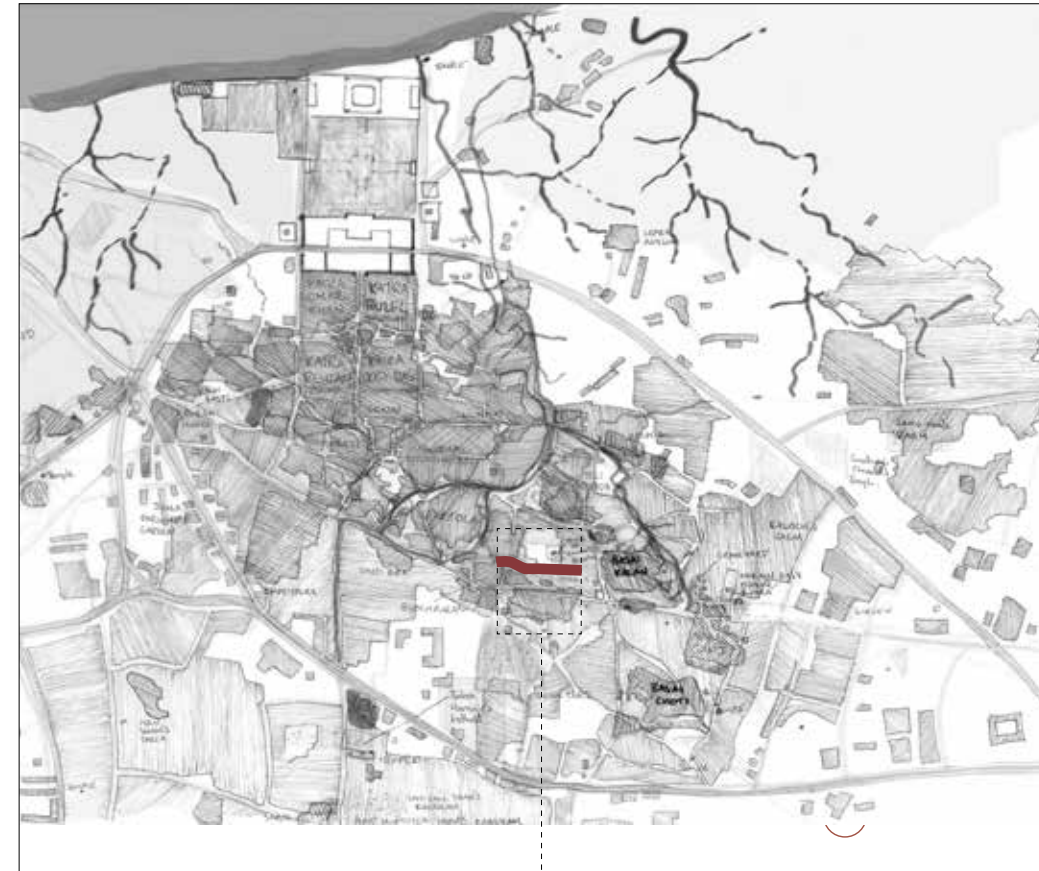
bazaar runs between hills, allowing multiple levels of external spaces / differentiated 'shared space'

Locally practiced route to the Taj Mahal = used by the same people often = familiarity/ lack of anonymity

Primary Bazaar Street Conversation E2 Post-Independence House: Communicative Order and Civic Possibilities



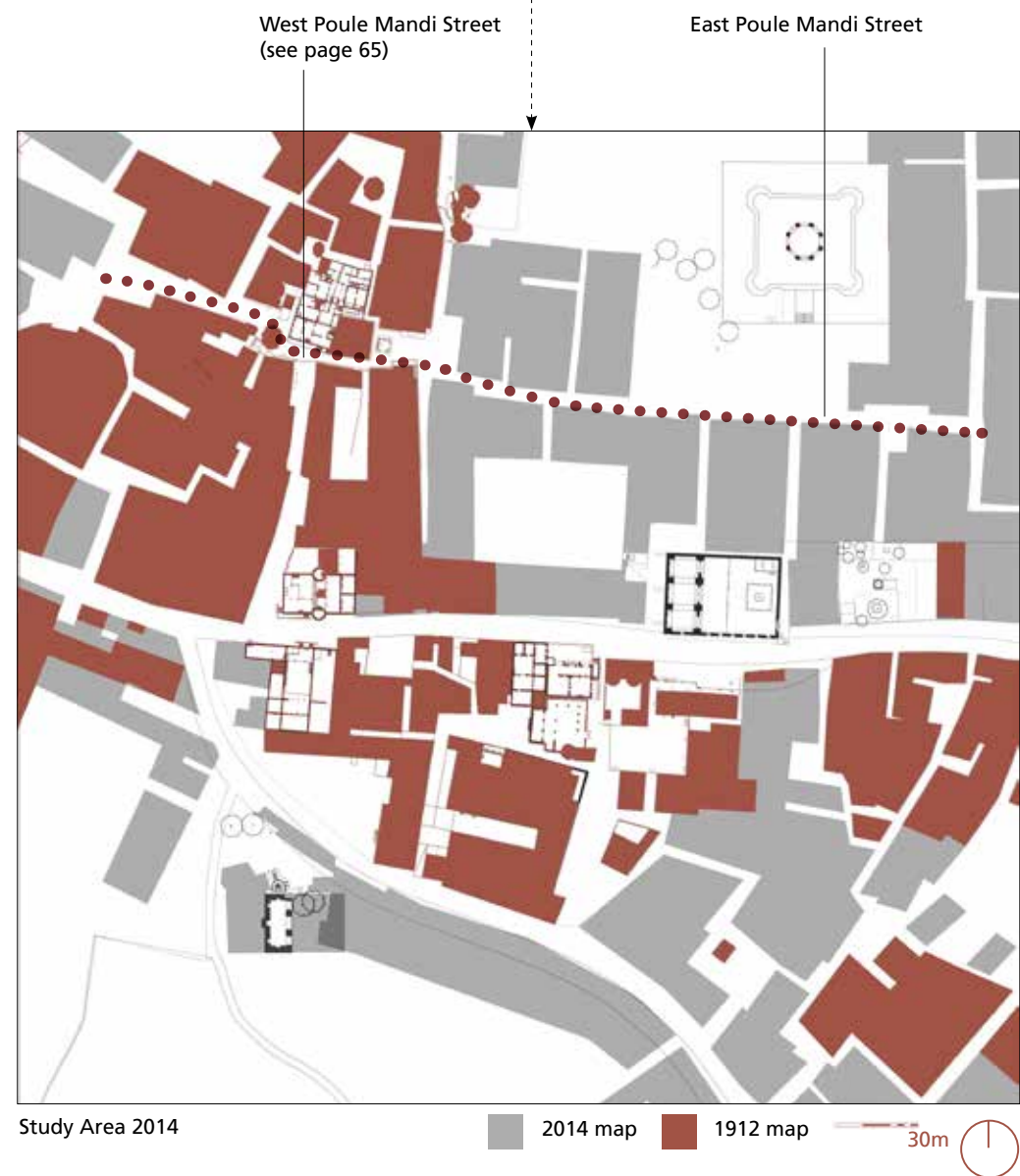
Tajganj 1918



Tajganj 2014



Study Area 1918



Study Area 2014

Maps show that the majority of Poule Mandi Street was formed as the garden around the Tomb of Diwani Begum was filled in with housing - residents' photographs show that in the 1980s a lot of these buildings were still 'kacha' (single storey mud buildings): since then, they have been replaced with brick houses occupying long, narrow plots along streets that run north to south, intersected by Poule Mandi Street.

It is in this post-colonial part of the street that the *Poule Mandi* (flower market) thrives in 2014. This is the part of the street that is shared between residents of Diwanji ka Mohalla, and residents of other bastis and parts of the city.

Research exercises that took place along the Secondary Bazaar Street:

- A. Women's Craft Workshops, East Poule Mandi Street p 53
- B. Furniture Making Workshops, East Poule Mandi Street p 55

Articulate

Topography

Embodiment

The residential use of the buildings along this street create the demand for the flower market between them (a large proportion of the residents are involved in flower trading). The houses were built before the market started taking place, as opposed to the primary bazaar street which caused houses to grow along it

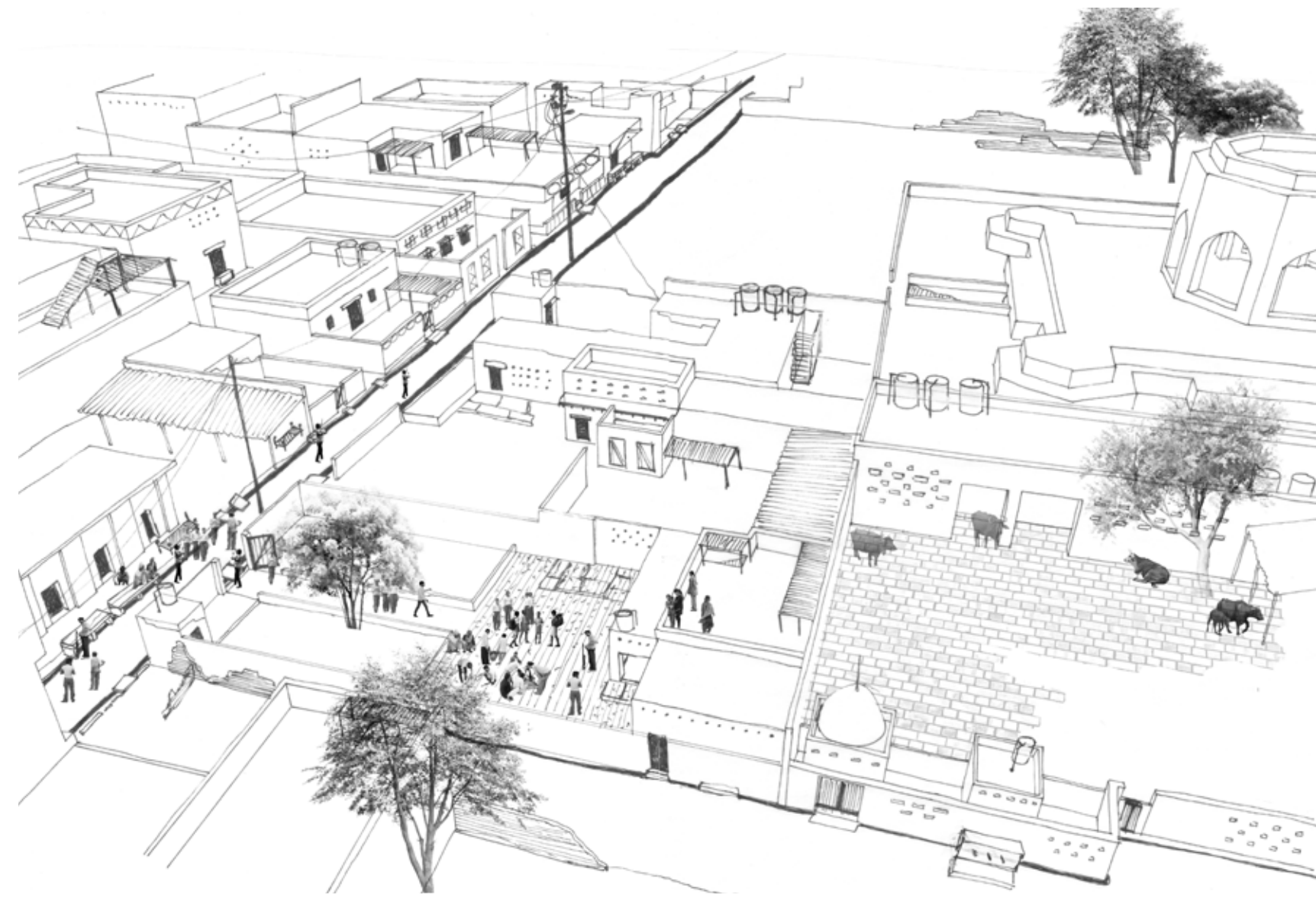
Factors affect intensity of use

and

opportunity for contest

Adjacent ASI Prohibited Zone used by many people for rubbish dumping / defecation / gambling / sports means that the Poule Mandi Street (new side) is usually busy, with many unfamiliar faces - making it difficult for anybody to control behaviour there / the occupants do not commit to particular behaviours there (including maintenance)

Inter-Basti Civic Settings: 3. Secondary Bazaar Street

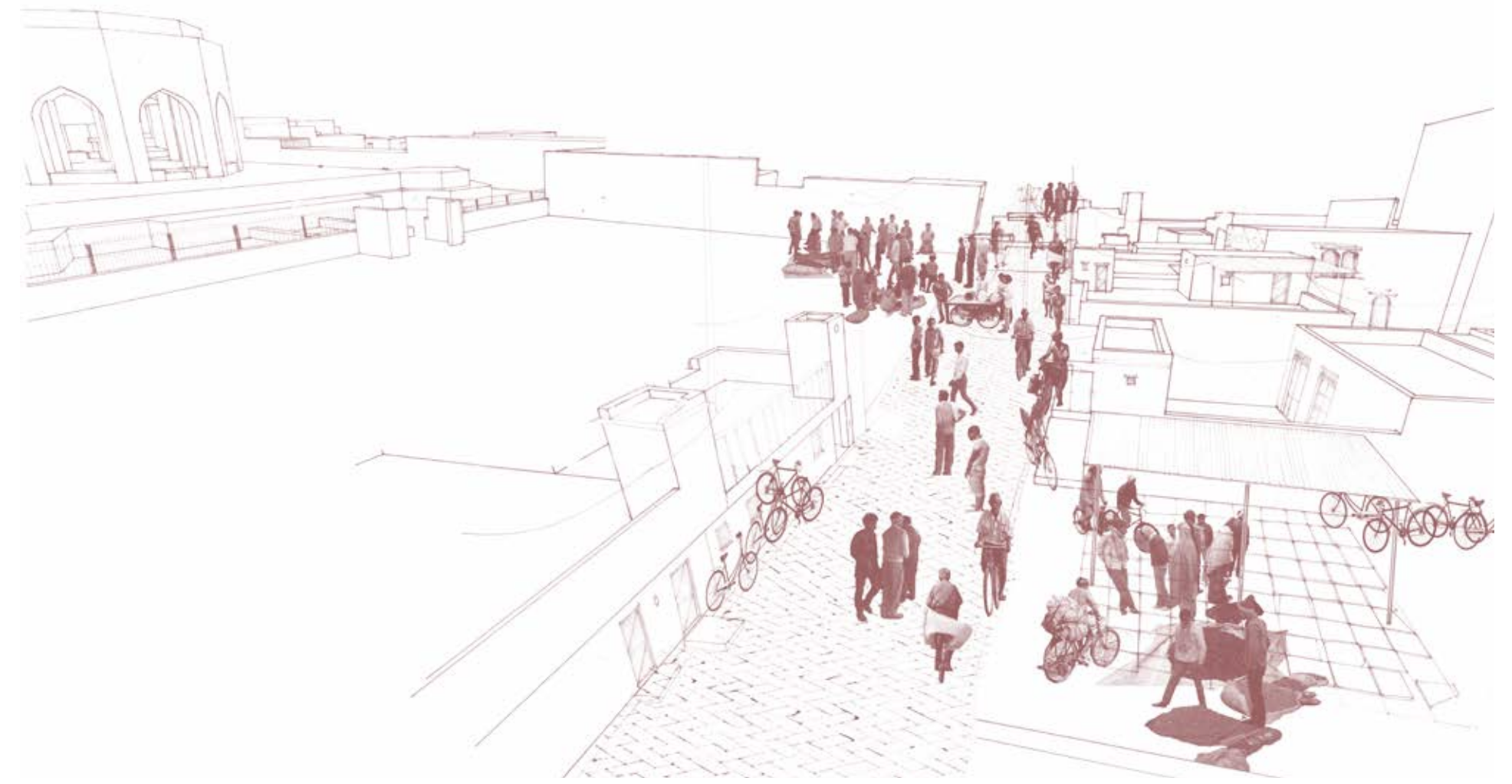


The residential use of the buildings along this street create the demand for the flower market between them (a large proportion of the residents are involved in flower trading). The houses were built before the market started taking place, as opposed to the primary bazaar street which caused houses to grow along it



There are many different kinds of sharing taking place along Poule Mandi Street. The temple itself is maintained by surrounding residents who pay a fee, managed by the temple committee, and this covers the wage of a caretaker. The raised platform opposite is decreasingly rented from the temple committee by farmers selling flowers. Increasingly, private open plots along the street are rented out by their owners to these farmers instead, the only architecture necessary being a shade structure, usually corrugated aluminum. There are usually enough farmers at the early morning flower market for all of these plots to get business. However, on slow days, a mixture of competitive pricing and built up loyalty determine the market site. This is only possible because there is enough open plot space for the farmers to park their bicycles, and the street is wide enough for them to cycle up to the market with large bundles of flowers. The ASI site, described later, is occasionally used as a market spill-over site, and otherwise used in a variety of informal ways. Some empty plots are used either individually or through a collective agreement for keeping cattle, and others have been converted into make-shift industrial space, also described later. At night, the whole area is sometimes transformed into a wedding venue, using tented canopies and fairy lights. In the afternoons, the shaded plots are also rented out to other vendors, such as a women who grinds coriander seeds.

The flower market can operate because most of the women in Diwan ji ka Mohalla earn money garlanding the flowers, and many of the families in the basti actually own flower shops and stalls. Therefore at the market, florists buy the flowers and pass them straight to the garlanders in their homes. They come back at the end of the day to collect the garlands. This has been the developing trade of the Kushwaha caste families in teh area, traditionally a caste involved in gardening. Therefore Poule Mandi Street doesn't mediate between Diwan ji ka Mohalla and the neighbouring bastis, but rather between this basti and the rest of the city. This is an important 'base' for the Kushwaha caste, and therefore the flower market, the market of their caste trade, asserts their preferred role within the city.

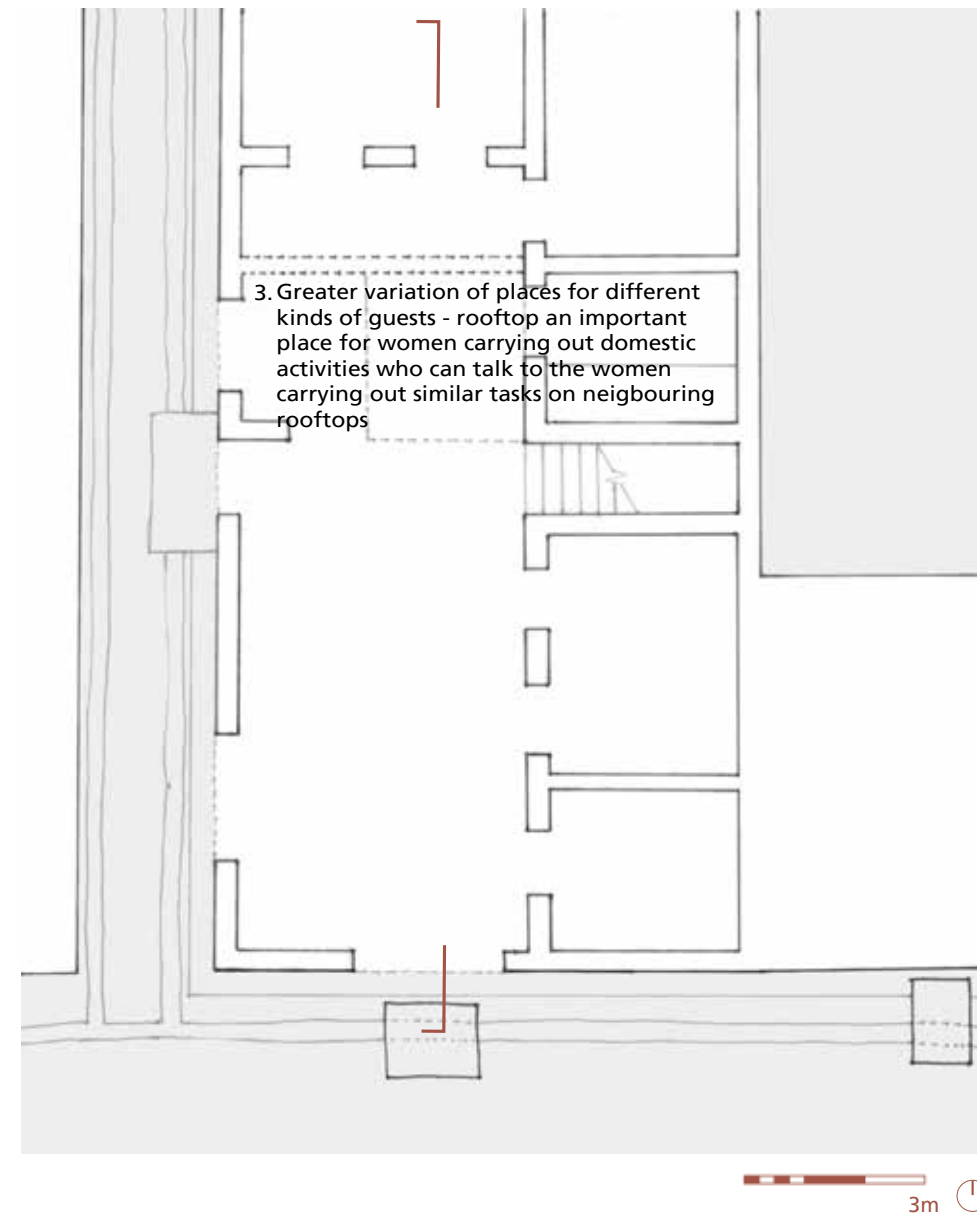


Furniture Placing Exercise: men, women and children of different ages gather in the Prohibited Zone, and some of the behaviours that normally take place in the area (smoking, gambling, drinking alcohol) do not happen at this time.

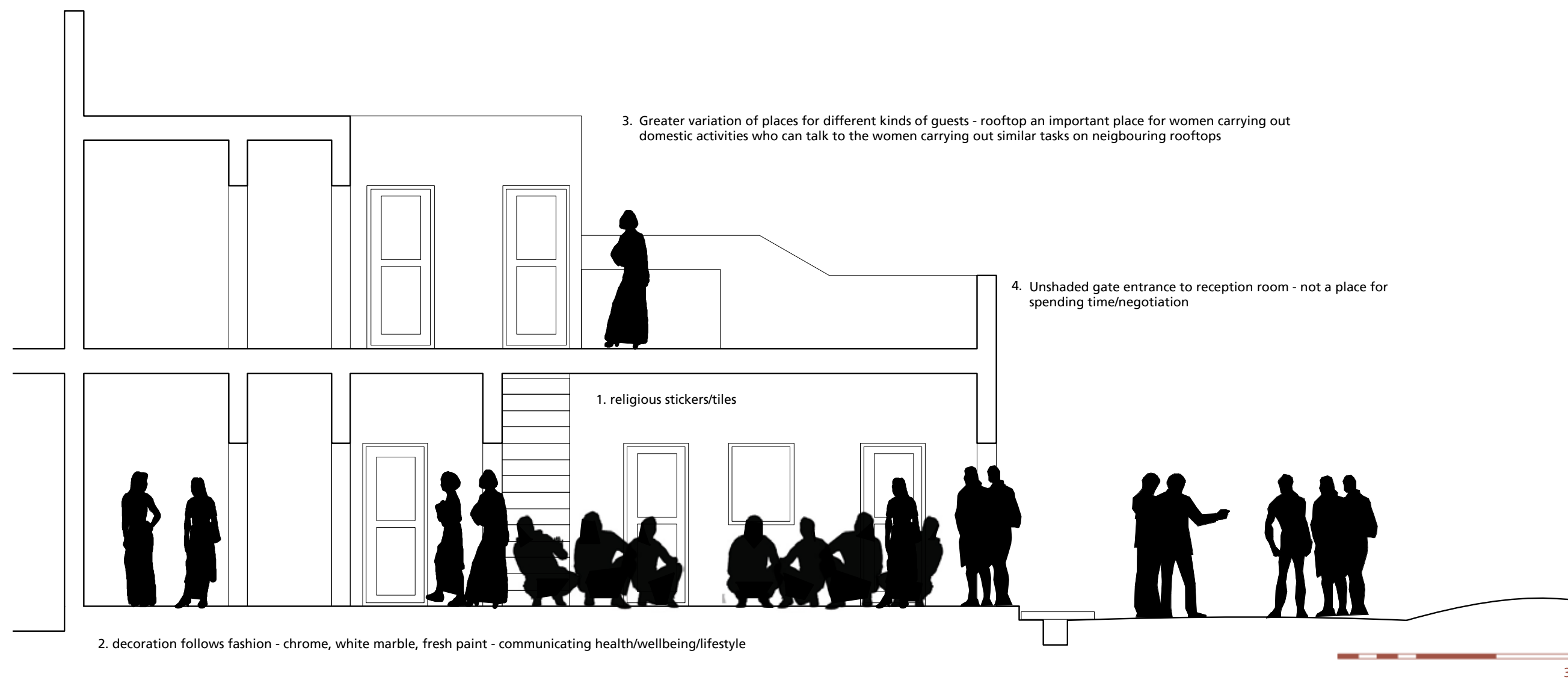


A year after the furniture placing exercise, the ASI Prohibited Zone is again used by many people for rubbish dumping / defecation / gambling / sports which means that the Poule Mandi Street (new side) is usually busy, with many unfamiliar faces - making it difficult for anybody to control behaviour there / the occupants do not commit to particular behaviours there (including maintenance).

Secondary Bazaar Street: Civic Possibilities



Articulate



Topography

Embodiment

- 1. religious stickers/tiles
 - 2. decoration follows fashion - chrome, white marble, fresh paint - communicating health/wellbeing/lifestyle
 - 3. Greater variation of places for different kinds of guests - rooftop an important place for women carrying out domestic activities who can talk to the women carrying out similar tasks on neighbouring rooftops
 - 4. Unshaded gate entrance to reception room - not a place for spending time/negotiation
 - 5. The residential use of the buildings along this street create the demand for the flower market between them (a large proportion of the residents are involved in flower trading). The houses were built before the market started taking place, as opposed to the primary bazaar street which caused houses to grow along it
 - 6. Adjacent ASI Prohibited Zone used by many people for rubbish dumping / defecation / gambling / sports means that the Poule Mandi Street (new side) is usually busy, with many unfamiliar faces - making it difficult for anybody to control behaviour there / the occupants do not commit to particular behaviours there (including maintenance)
- Metaphoric depth - communication across time
- Factor also affects opportunity for contest
- Factors affect intensity of use

Secondary Bazaar Street Conversation A Women's Craft Workshop: Communicative Order

Opportunity to Encounter Difference / Metaphoric Depth



2.



1.



4.

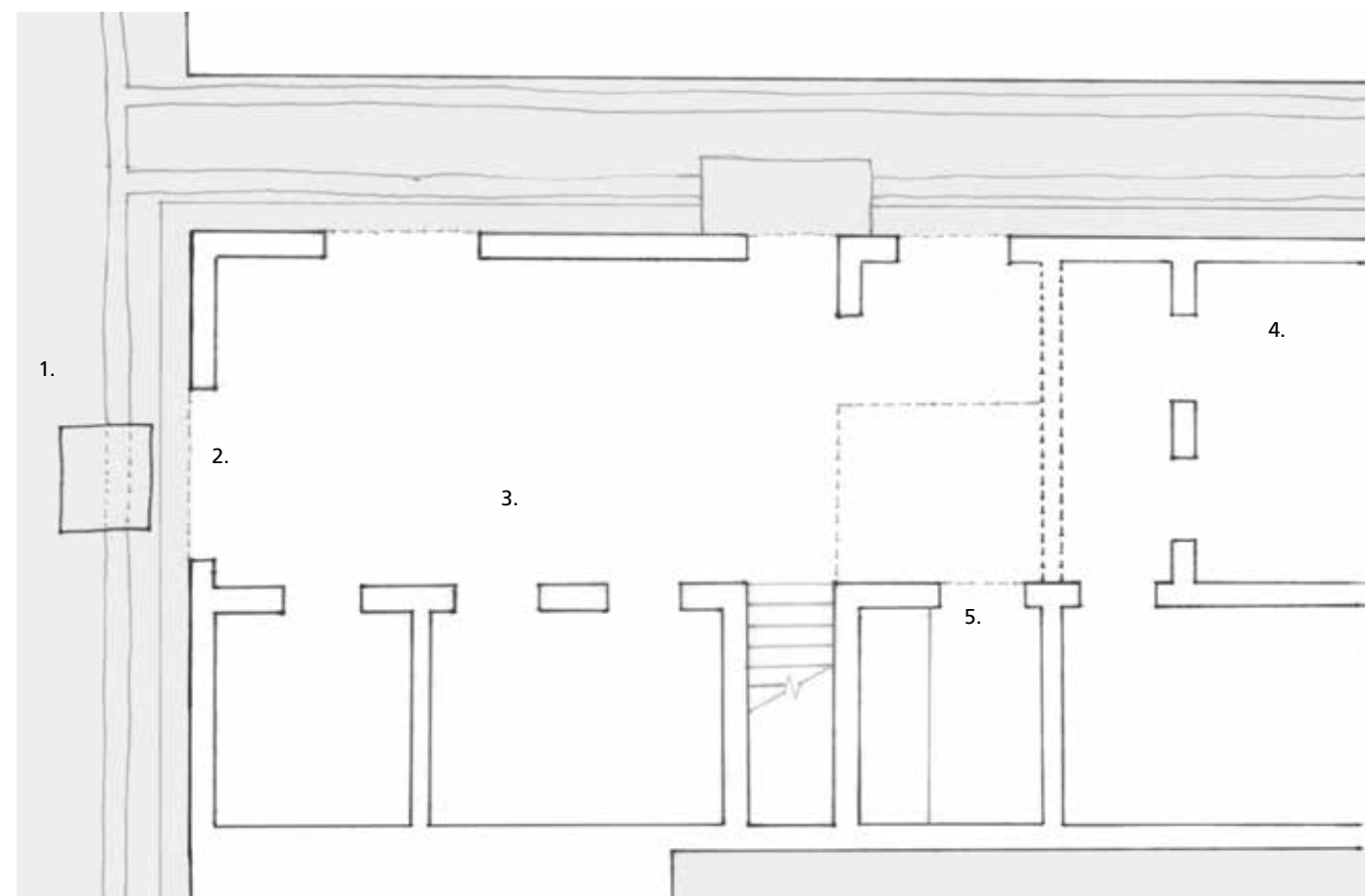


3.



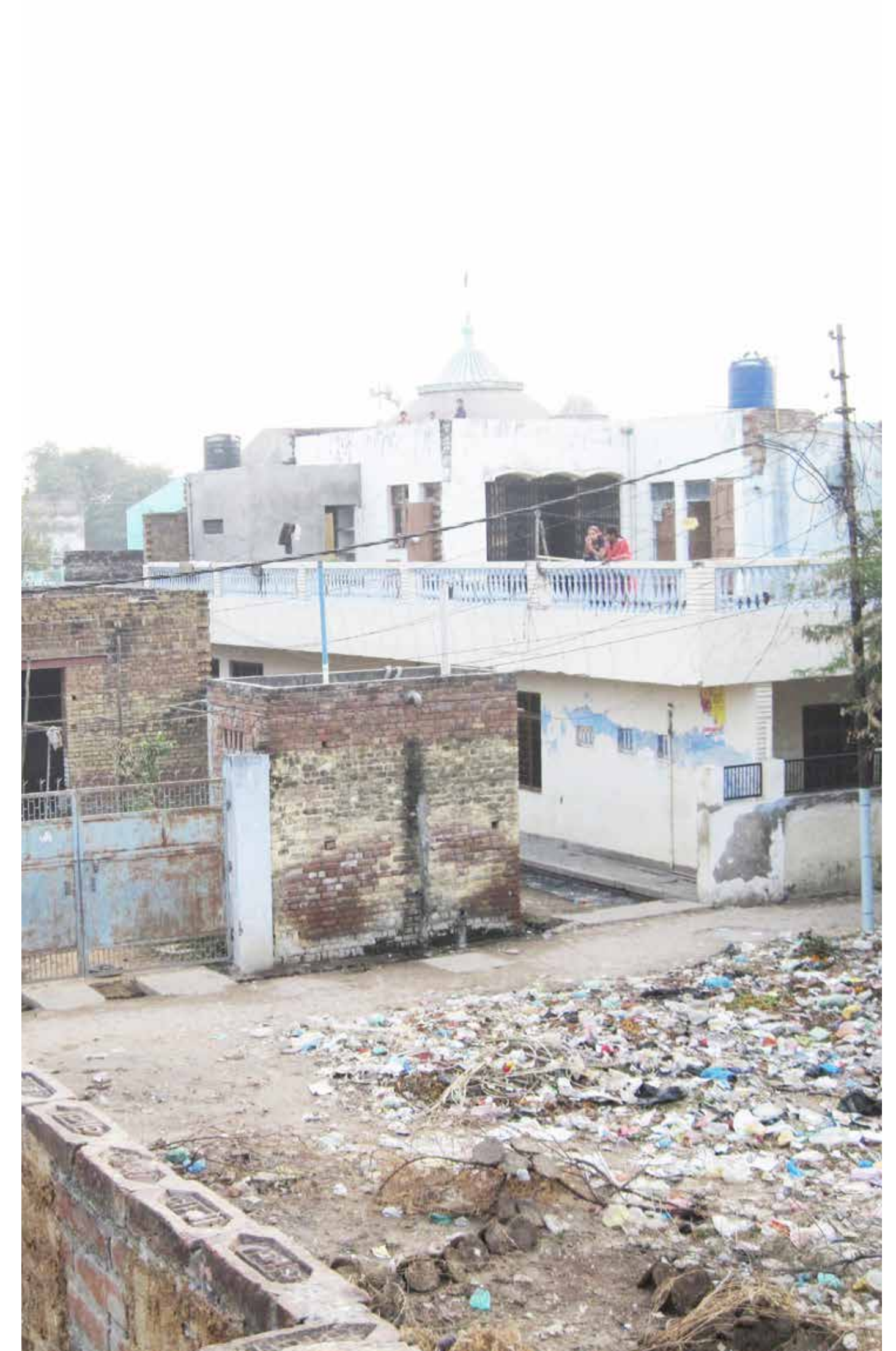
5.

Metaphoric depth of urban negotiation: a mixture of religious belief, superstitions, fashion and personal interests.



Opportunity to encounter difference: much like the colonial-era houses on the Primary Bazaar Street, from the gate there are a series of places that get increasingly private to the family as one gets deeper into the plan.

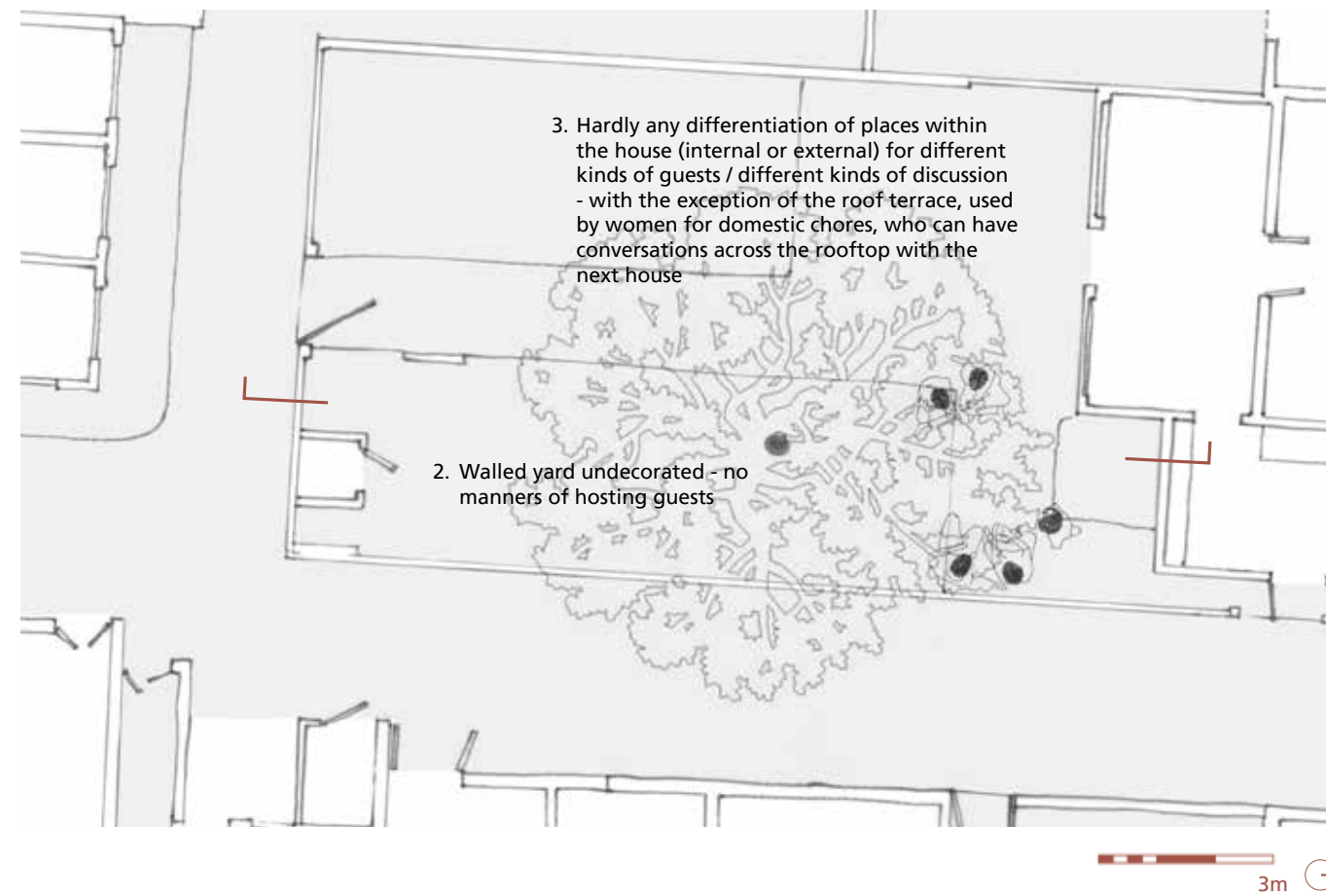
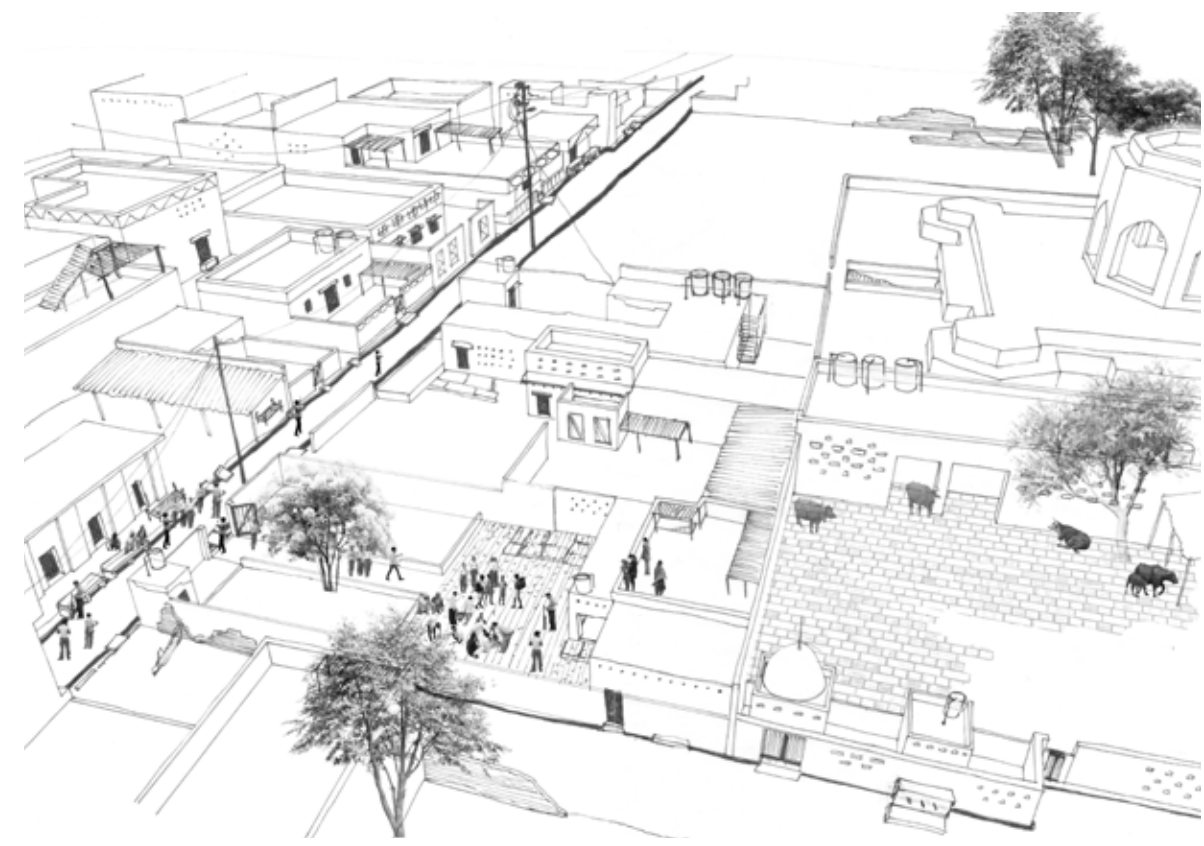
Opportunity to Negotiate Urban Conditions



Although new construction is not allowed this close to the ASI protected monument Tomb of Diwani Begum, this house has several recent additions, unlike the adjoining properties, which are not even painted. This may be due to a personal friendship between the relatively wealthy family and somebody with political influence, or it may be due to bribery. Either way, it is very difficult in this part of the street to negotiate urban conditions in order to live in the manner one wishes to without breaking the law.

Secondary Bazaar Street *Conversation A*: Civic Possibilities

Opportunity to Encounter Difference: lack of spatial mediation



Although the openness of the plot might be perceived to increase the opportunities to encounter difference in the setting, it has the opposite effect for the women who live in the house - they stay away from the edges of the site because interaction with the street is too uncontrolled - many unfamiliar people can see directly into the yard. Where the buildings are more established and less threatened by the ASI in the colonial-era part of the street, they more tightly embody the ways in which people wish to live and work. In the newer part of Poule Mandi Street, the residents' activities have to be much more responsive to the conditions which are not easily altered. This has resulted in an order without the shades of exclusivity of the houses on the bazaar street, without the same choice of exchange, especially for women.

Articulate

Topography

Embodiment

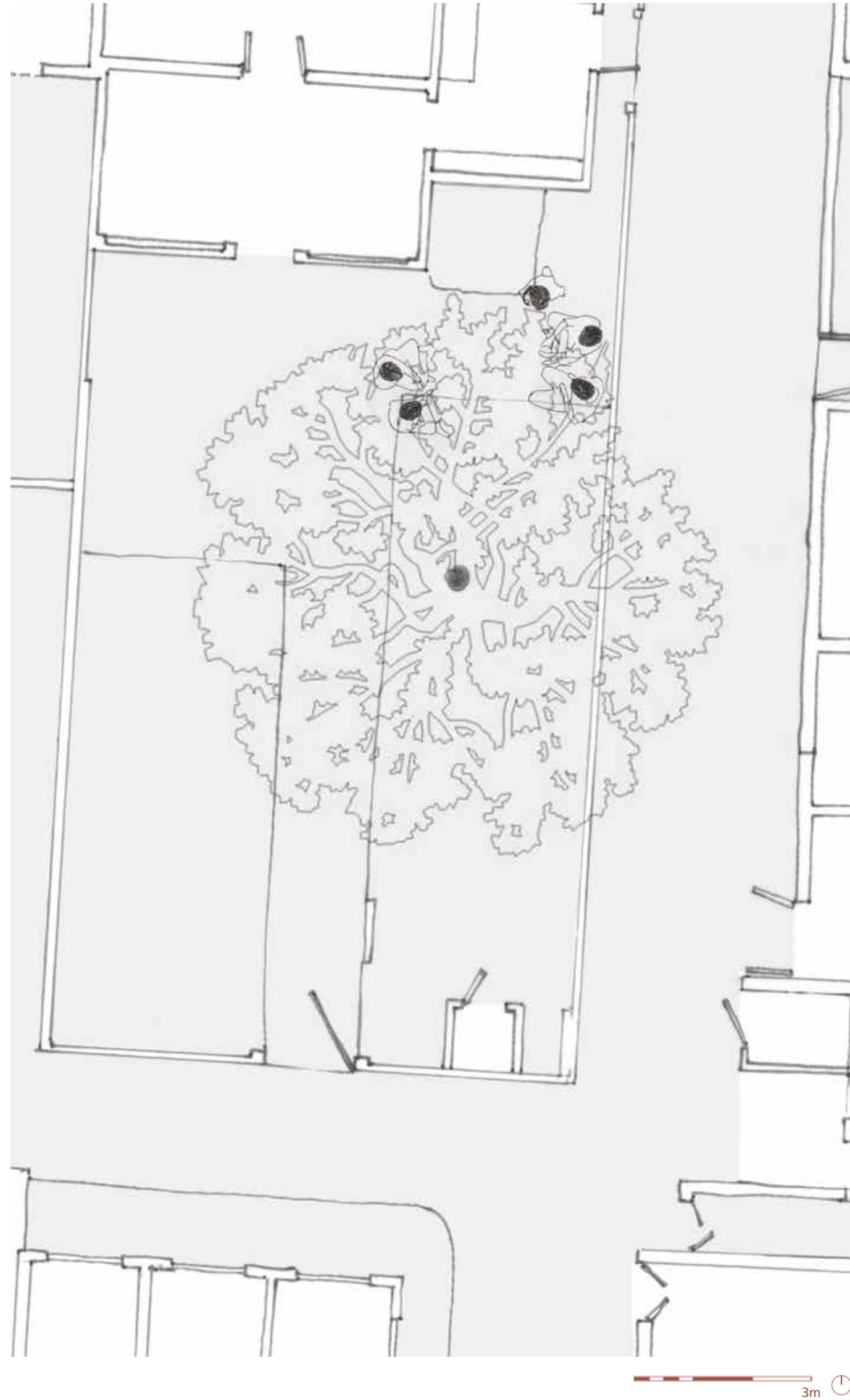
1. cheap brick construction, hardly any plaster or paint (except some paint inside the home) some decoration with tiles/stickers, fabric and furniture
2. Walled yard undecorated - no manners of hosting guests
3. Hardly any differentiation of places within the house (internal or external) for different kinds of guests / different kinds of discussion - with the exception of the roof terrace, used by women for domestic chores, who can have conversations across the rooftop with the next house
4. Entrance into walled yard through gate: wall is high, undecorated, unshaded - not a place for spending time or negotiating
5. The residential use of the buildings along this street create the demand for the flower market between them (a large proportion of the residents are involved in flower trading). The houses were built before the market started taking place, as opposed to the primary bazaar street which caused houses to grow along it
6. Adjacent ASI Prohibited Zone used by many people for rubbish dumping / defecation / gambling / sports means that the Poule Mandi Street (new side) is usually busy, with many unfamiliar faces - making it difficult for anybody to control behaviour there / the occupants do not commit to particular behaviours there (including maintenance)

Metaphoric depth - communication across time

Factor also affects opportunity for contest

Factors affect intensity of use

Secondary Bazaar Street Conversation B Furniture Making Workshop: Communicative Order



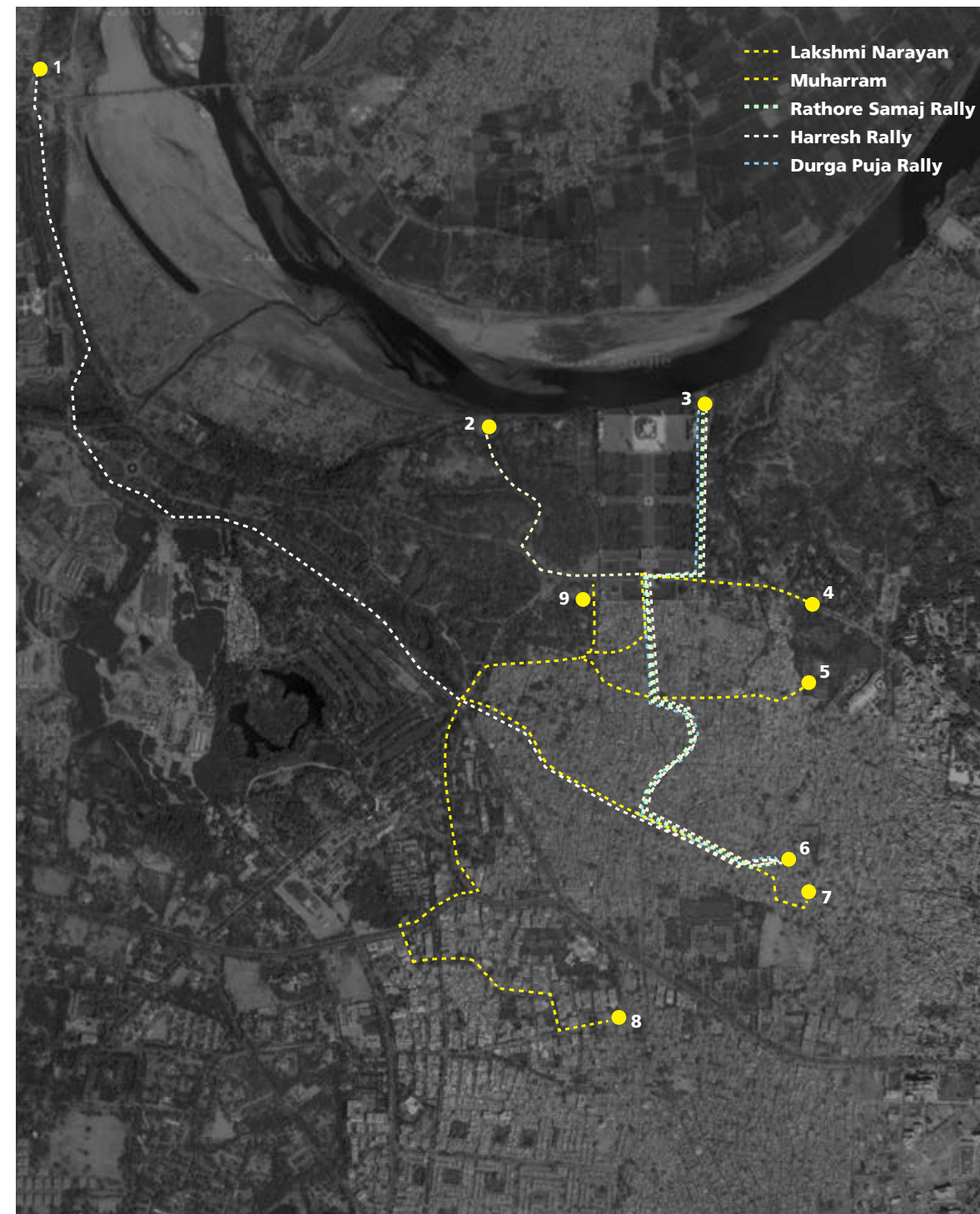
Opportunity to Negotiate Urban Conditions

Inability to commit to long-term development; lack of privacy to participate: The majority of houses in this area are not even painted. It is very difficult in this part of the street to negotiate urban conditions in order to live in the manner one wishes to without breaking the law, because construction under the ASI AMASR Act is forbidden (unless planning permission is granted, but this would be extremely rare - see A6).



Metaphoric Depth

Short-lasting commitments to communication



Rallies / Processions identified as important by residents in an informal interview (overlaid on 2014 map)

- 1. Hathi Ghat
- 2. Crematorium
- 3. Dushehra Ghat
- 4. Taj Khema
- 5. Dalhai
- 6. Diwanji ka Mohalla
- 7. Bilochpura
- 8. Kachhi Serai
- 9. Malko Gali



Rallies / Processions identified as important by residents in informal interview (overlaid on 1912 map)

- 1. Hathi Ghat
- 2. Crematorium
- 3. Dushehra Ghat
- 4. Taj Khema
- 5. Dalhai
- 6. Diwanji ka Mohalla
- 7. Bilochpura
- 8. Kachhi Serai
- 9. Malko Gali



1. Hathi Ghat



2. Crematorium



5. Dalai



6. Diwanji ka Mohalla



3. Dushehra Ghat



4. Taj Khema



7. Bilochpura



8. Kachhi Serai



9. Malko Gali

Civic Opportunity Between Bastis: Organised Rallies / Processions



Location of pigeon festival (Kabootar ka Mela) up until 2015 when the festival was banned due to its perceived animal cruelty



Taj East Drain



Pigeon training, Diwanji ka Mohalla



Kite-making in Bilochpura



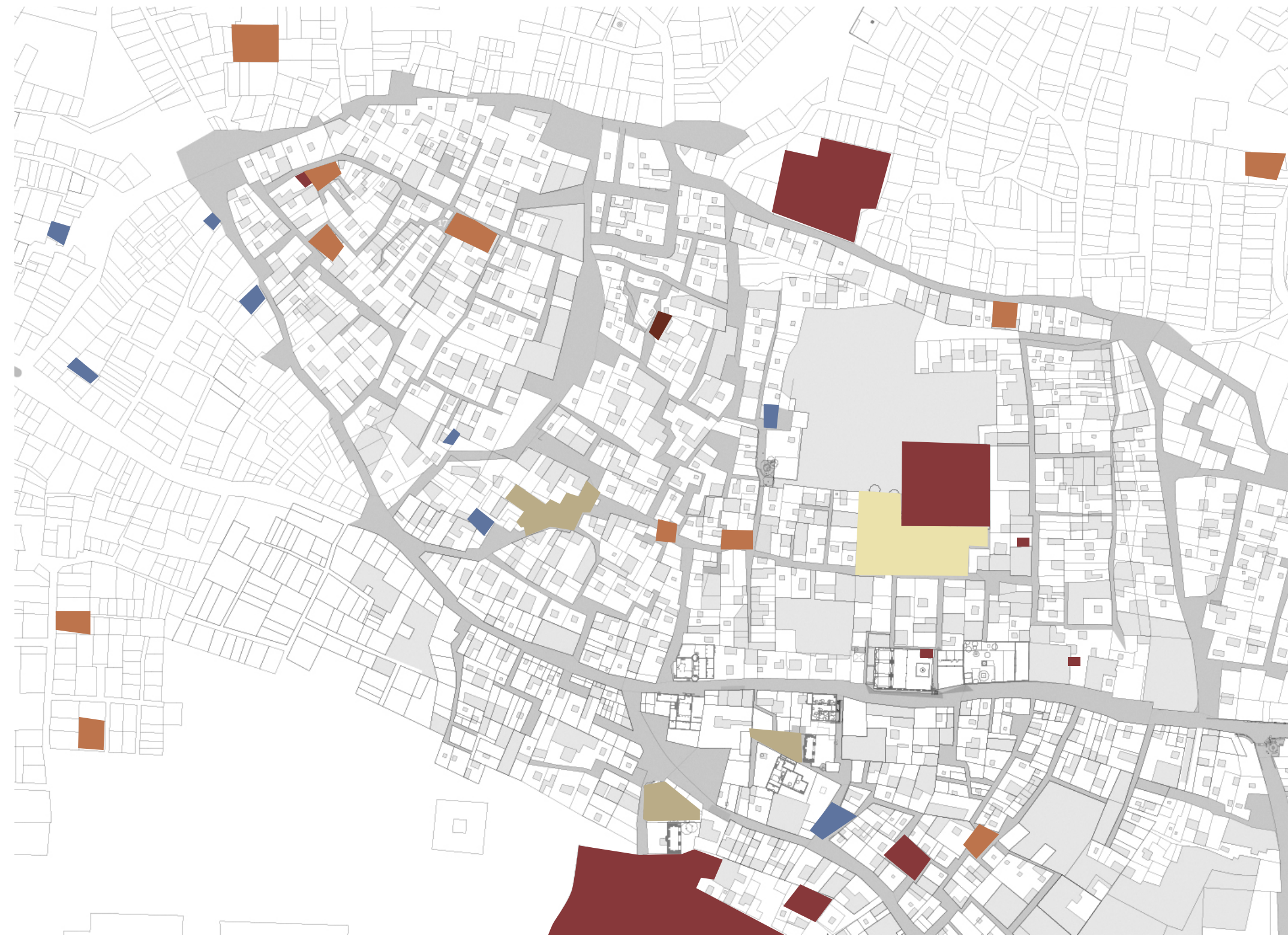
Pigeon fancying and kite flying festivals are widely participated in in Tajganj by both Hindus and Muslims. There are two ways to participate: the first is to gather at the river Yamuna, in the flood plain in front of the Red Fort: there is a large pigeon festival in this location on the 25th December. The second is to participate from the rooftop of one's own home: most Tajganj residents do this. This allows visual connection and communication between participants while avoiding strangers and potentially violence: the pigeon fancying festivals involve large amounts of betting which can, I was told, lead to fighting. For this reason, papers are filled out months in advance to request police presence in Tajganj during such events. Whole families can participate in these enormous rooftop events.



Taj East Drain

Residents are able to organise across bastis in order to practice valued rituals and festivals, but there is no such organisational structure for maintenance of Tajganj-scale infrastructures such as the Taj East Drain

Civic Opportunity Between Bastis: Organised Festivals vs. 'Infrastructure' Taken for Granted



- Temple Chowk
- Mosque Chowk
- Temple Garden
- ASI maintained zone
- Chowk (other)
- Burial Place

50m



Research exercises that took place within the bastis:

- | | |
|---|------|
| A. Storytelling Exercise, Mosque Chowk, Bilochpura | p 60 |
| B. Storytelling Exercise, Temple Chowk, Diwanji ka Mohalla | p 63 |
| C. Residential Street Comparison: Diwanji ka Mohalla (storytelling)/
Sikawar Basti (sign-making workshop)/ | p 65 |
| D. Industrial Street Comparison: Bilochpura (sign-making workshop)/
Diwanji ka Mohalla (transect walk) | p 70 |
| E. Well Restoration Workshop, Temple Garden, Nagar Ganj | p 73 |
| F. Storytelling Exercise, ASI Prohibited Zone, Diwanji ka Mohalla | p 75 |

Interior-Basti Civic Settings

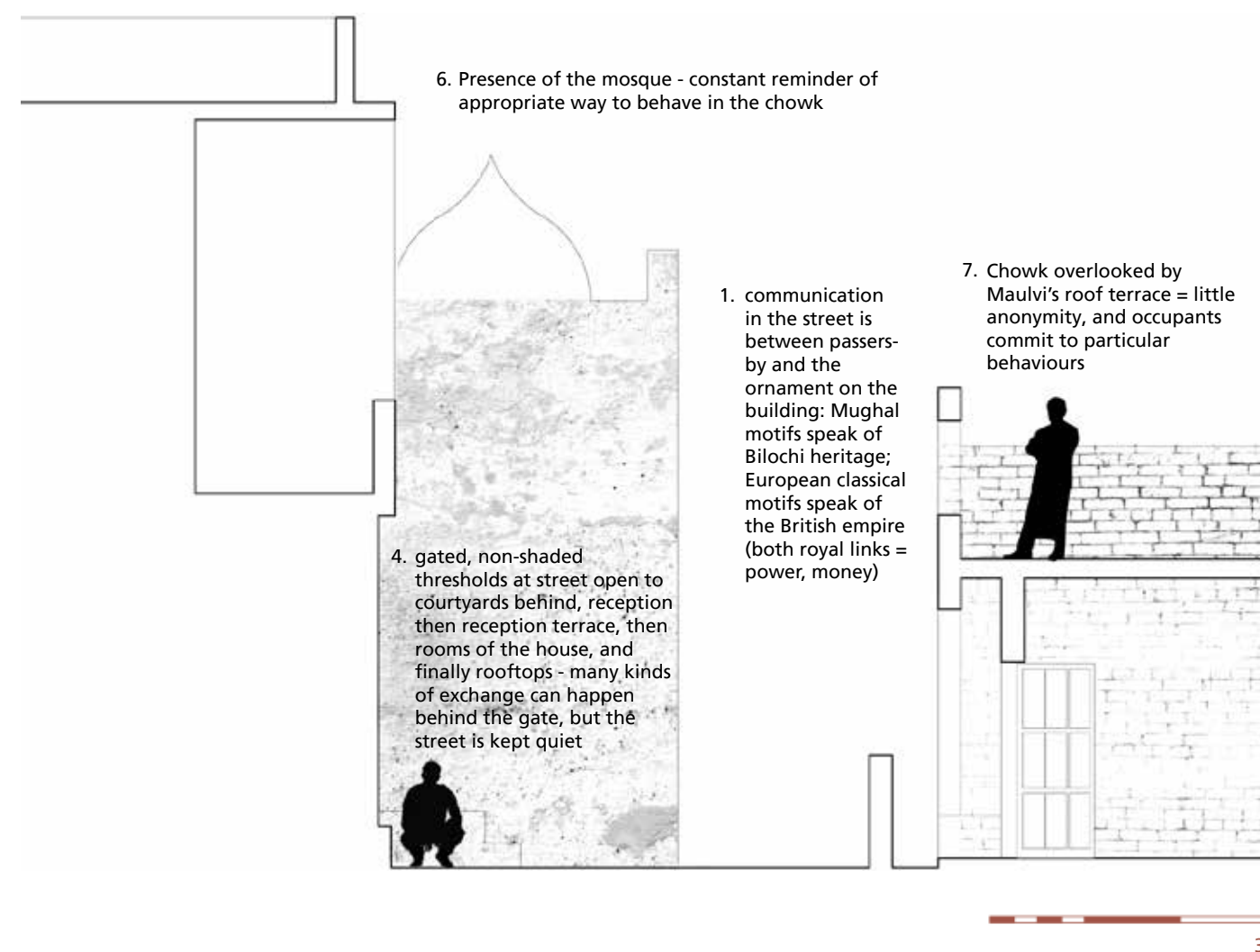
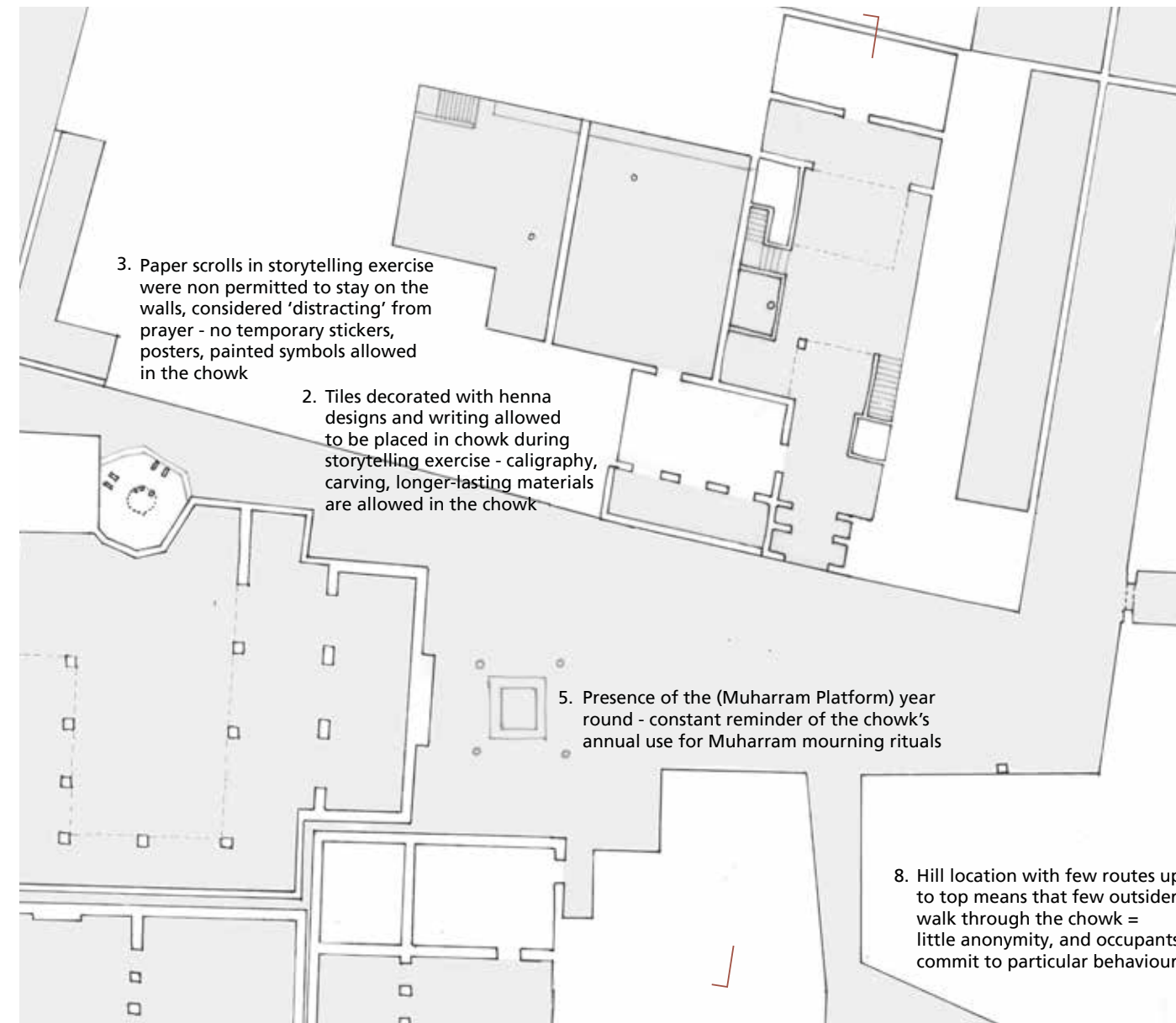
Metaphoric Depth of the Urban Negotiation



Most of the facades on the chowk have very small openings for ventilation and letting in small amounts of light rather than to create views between house and chowk. A lot of them have no openings except a gate, as they are courtyard walls. The courtyard gate is often marked by an exaggerated arched opening and turrets, decorated grandly with calligraphy carving. Unlike the colonial-era architecture of the temple chowk, which adopts the round arch favoured by the British at the time, the colonial era arches around the mosque chowk favour the pointed or cusped Mughal arches.

The colonial-era facades are highly decorative, using geometric patterns and calligraphy along with some neo-classical language. Balustrades are highly carved and levels are articulated with neo-classical plasterwork details – in comparison with the temple chowk, it is not windows and doorways that are celebrated but courtyards – the decoration is much more articulate but the facades almost entirely block the view into any part of the home. There is a lot less temporary articulation in the form of painted artwork, beads, stickers, and posters than the temple chowk: personal expression of religious belief on the external walls of individual houses is not considered appropriate.

In the storytelling exercise, it was not considered appropriate to put paper scrolls on the walls of the central chowk for any period of time that ran over into prayer time. However, when the stories were transferred onto tiles, and hand decorated by women from the basti, these plaques were allowed to be put up (although not too many). The plaques were considered a positive addition to the place, while paper was seen to be negative. This reveals a respected hierarchy of material correlating with the significance of place, and perhaps an agreement that using longer-lasting materials is a more appropriate way of expressing one's most important values.



Articulate

Topography

Embodiment

1. communication in the street is between passers-by and the ornament on the building: Mughal motifs speak of Bilochi heritage; European classical motifs speak of the British empire (both royal links = power, money)

2. tiles decorated with henna designs and writing allowed to be placed in chowk during storytelling exercise - calligraphy, carving, longer-lasting materials are allowed in the chowk

3. paper scrolls in storytelling exercise were non permitted to stay on the walls, considered 'distracting' from prayer - no temporary stickers, posters, painted symbols allowed in the chowk

4. gated, non-shaded thresholds at street open to courtyards behind, reception then reception terrace, then rooms of the house, and finally rooftops - many kinds of exchange can happen behind the gate, but the street is kept quiet

5. presence of the (Muharram Platform) year round - constant reminder of the chowk's annual use for Muharram mourning rituals

6. presence of the mosque - constant reminder of appropriate way to behave in the chowk

7. chowk overlooked by Maulvi's roof terrace = little anonymity, and occupants commit to particular behaviours

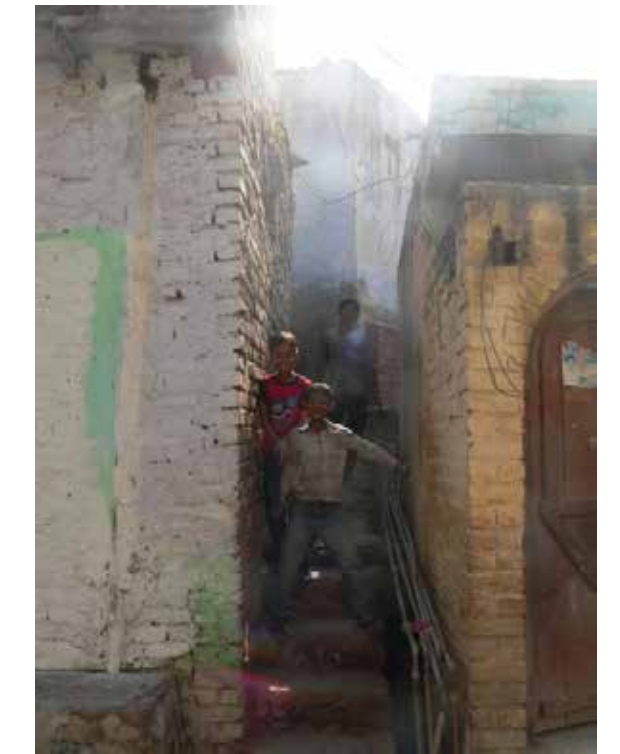
8. hill location with few routes up to top means that few outsiders walk through the chowk = little anonymity, and occupants commit to particular behaviours

Metaphoric depth - communication across time

Factors affect intensity of use and opportunity for contest

Interior-Basti Civic Settings *Mosque Chowk*: Communicative Order

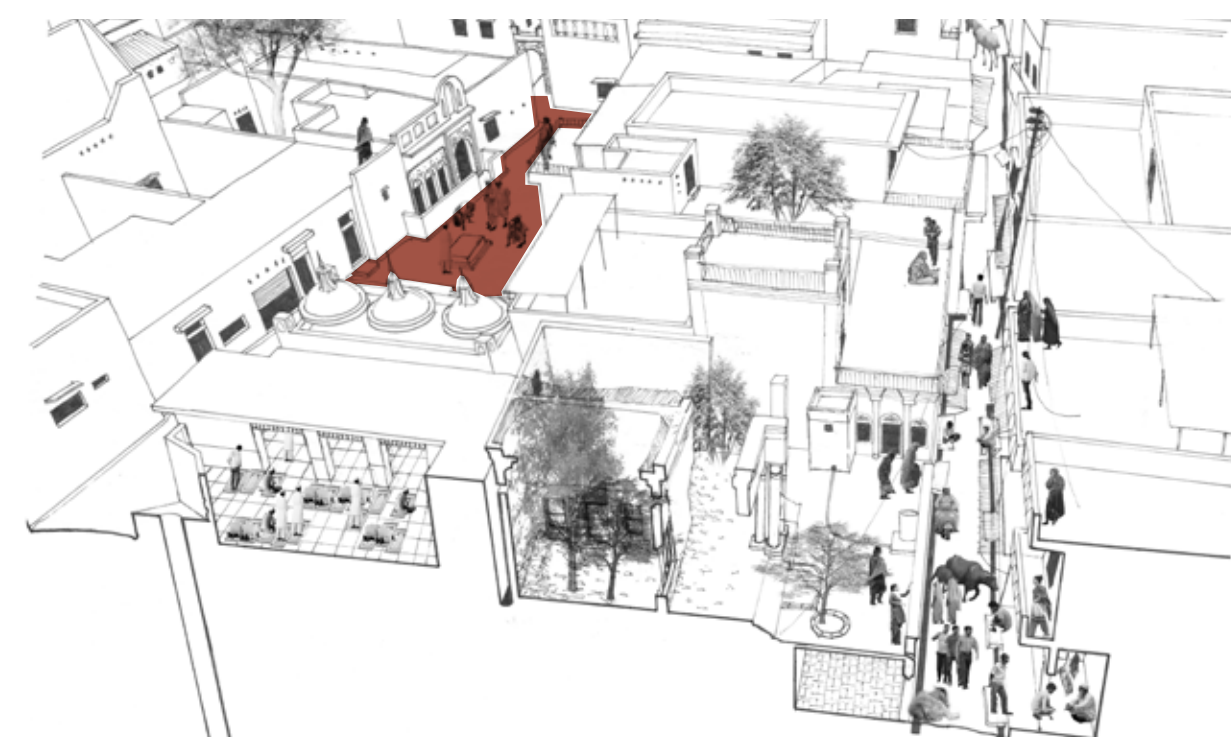
Opportunity to Encounter Difference: Mediated Occupancy



1.



2.



Unlike the temple chowk, purposefully positioned at the intersection of several inner-basti streets, there are very few entrances into the mosque chowk: only narrow steep stairs or ramps. However, like the temple chowk opposite, the elevated set back position of this chowk creates a peaceful place separate from the main bazaar through which strangers from outside the basti don't tend to pass, so behavior can be more tightly controlled.

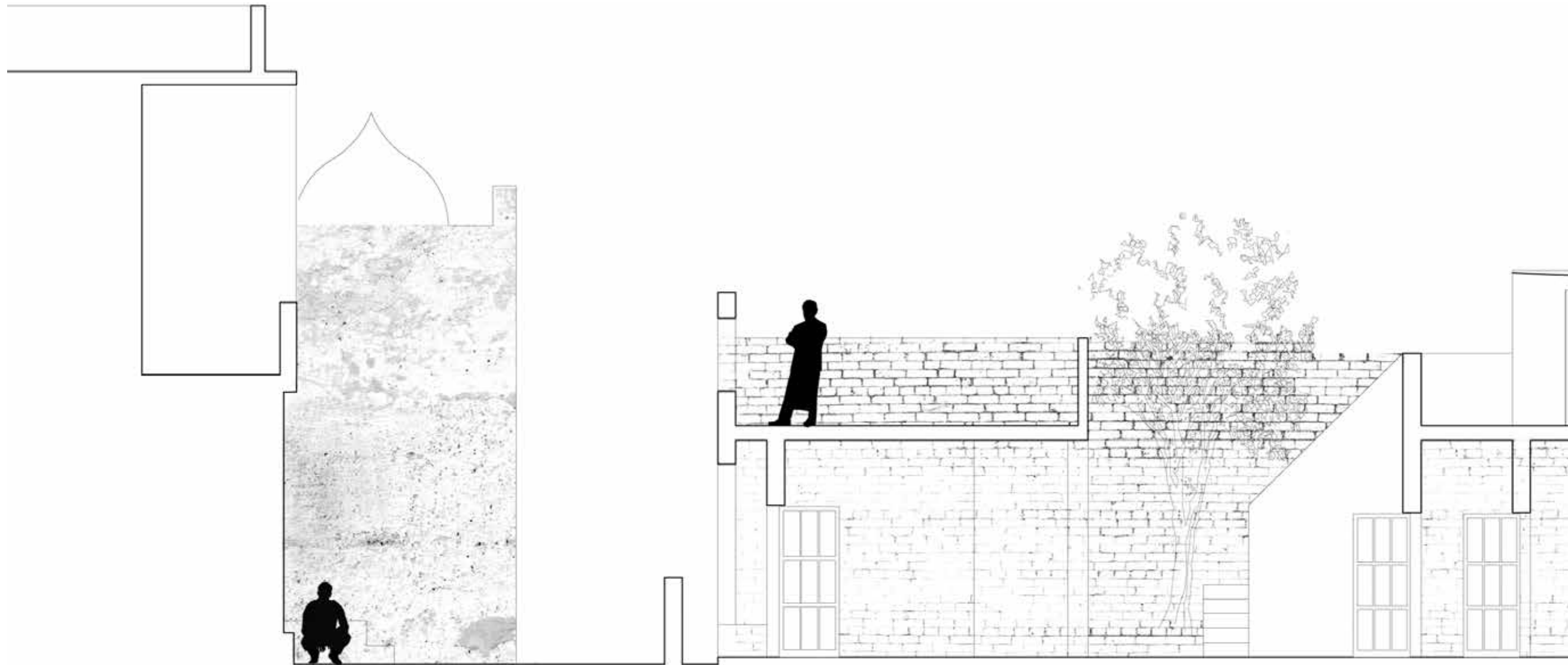


3.

Interior-Basti Civic Settings *Mosque Chowk*: Civic Possibilities



Storytelling settings



Mosque Chowk: no exhibition allowed here except placement of certain tiles



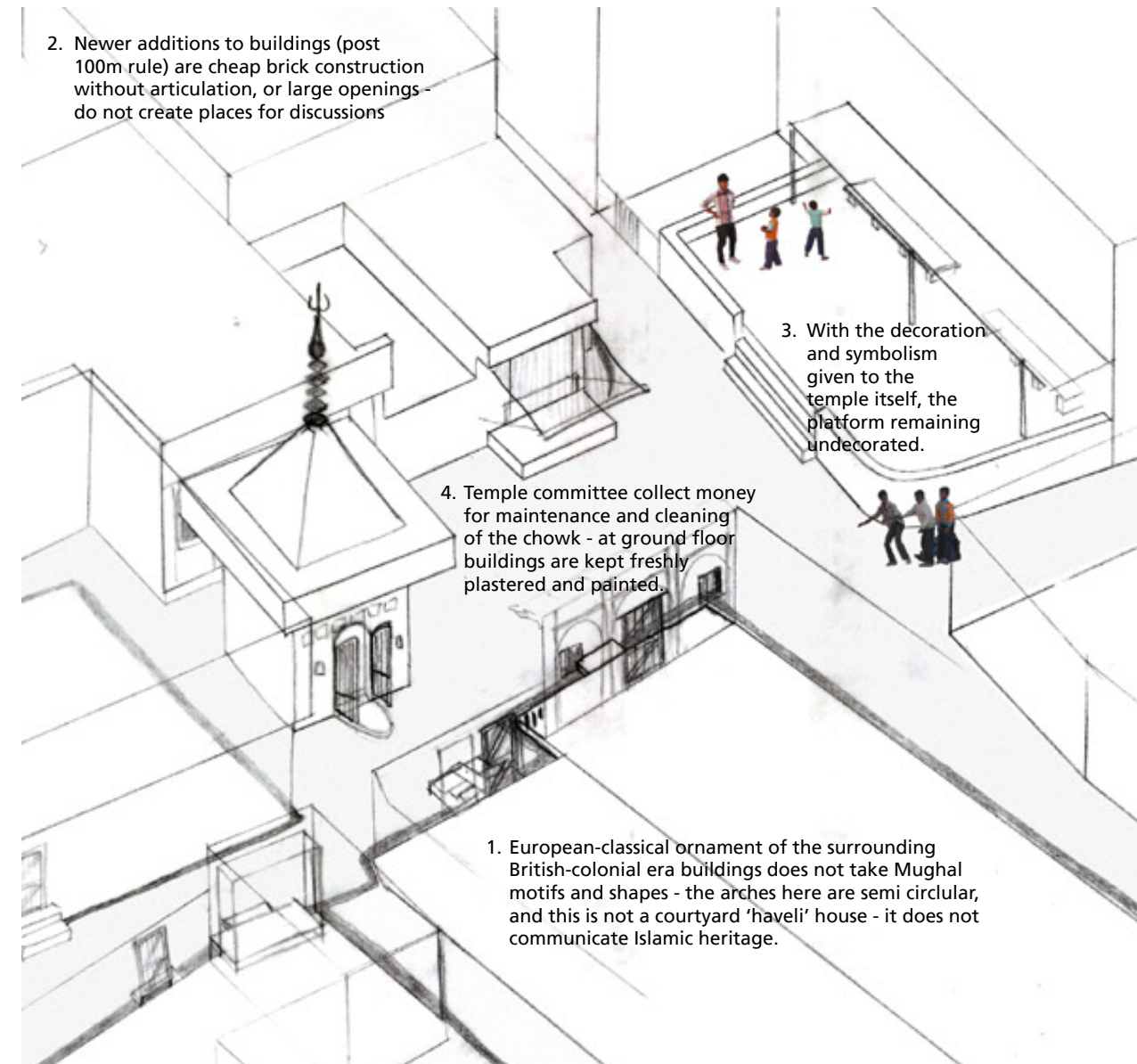
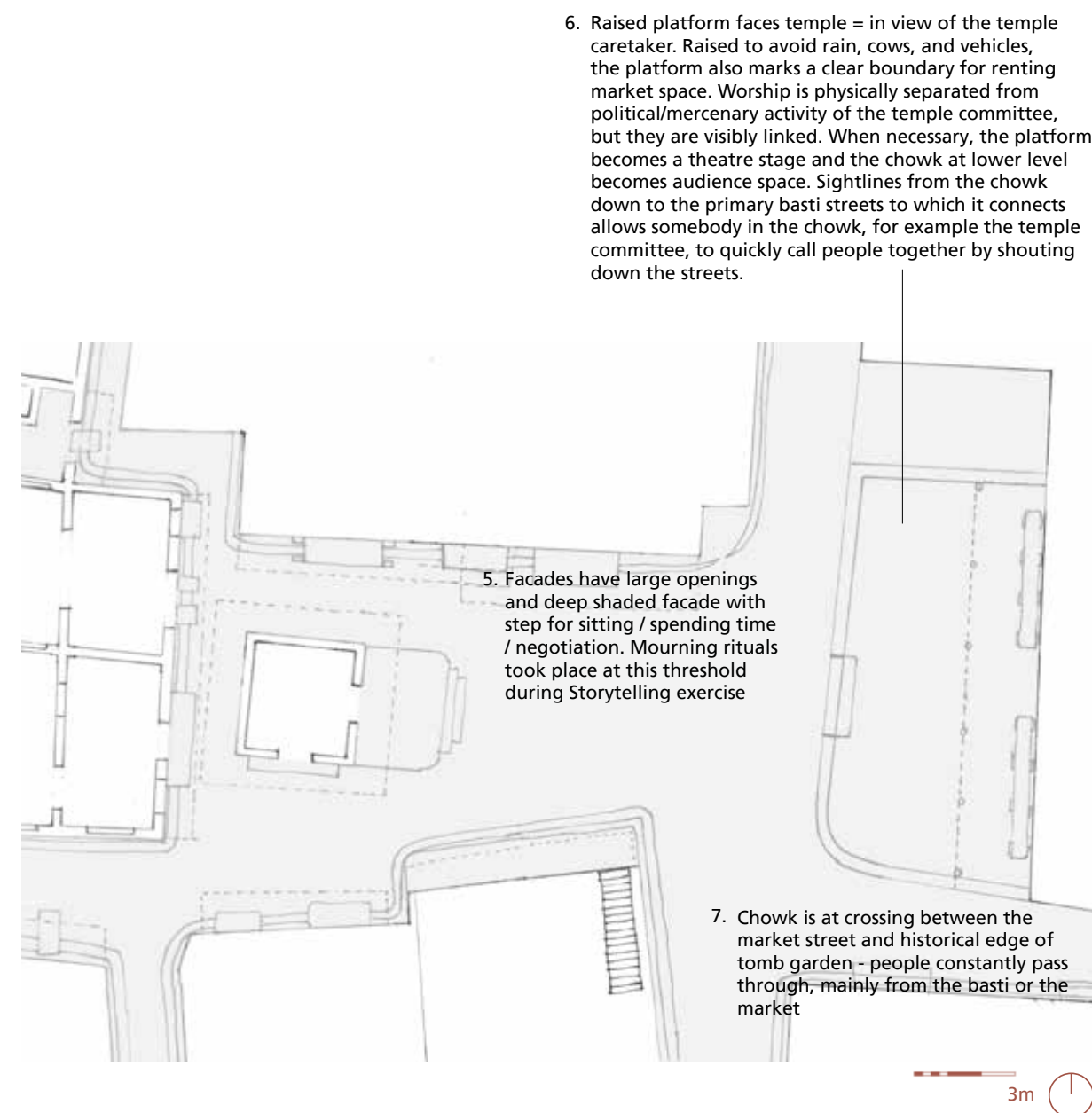
Streets directly off the chowk were found to be the appropriate settings for exhibitions

Opportunity to negotiate urban conditions: commitment to decorum specified by committee leaders

Different settings around the chowk were found to be considered appropriate for different activities during the Storytelling exercise. Preparations took place at the madrasa (for men) and in family courtyards (for women). The central chowk was not considered appropriate for exhibiting the majority of the stories at all - the exhibition could only take place in the streets to the sides of the chowk. The residents and users of this shared space commit to tightly specified appropriate ways of sharing ultimately decided by committee.

Amplifying the feeling that one should behave appropriately in the chowk is the fact that the Maulvi's house looks directly onto the chowk so that people feel under surveillance, and that there will be immediate consequences if they behave inappropriately. Most of the facades on the chowk have very small openings for ventilation and letting in small amounts of light rather than to create views between house and chowk. A lot of them have no openings except a gate, as they are courtyard walls.

Interior-Basti Civic Settings *Mosque Chowk*: Civic Possibilities



Articulate

Topography

Embodiment

1. European-classical ornament of the surrounding British-colonial era buildings does not take Mughal motifs and shapes - the arches here are semi circular, and this is not a courtyard 'haveli' house - it does not communicate Islamic heritage.
2. Newer additions to buildings (post 100m rule) are cheap brick construction without articulation, or large openings - do not create places for discussions
3. With the decoration and symbolism given to the temple itself, the platform remaining undecorated.
4. Temple committee collect money for maintenance and cleaning of the chowk - at ground floor buildings are kept freshly plastered and painted.
5. Facades have large openings and deep shaded facade with step for sitting / spending time / negotiation. Mourning rituals took place at this threshold during Storytelling exercise
6. Raised platform faces temple = in view of the temple caretaker. Raised to avoid rain, cows, and vehicles, the platform also marks a clear boundary for renting market space. Worship is physically separated from political/mercenary activity of the temple committee, but they are visibly linked. When necessary, the platform becomes a theatre stage and the chowk at lower level becomes audience space. Sightlines from the chowk down to the primary basti streets to which it connects allows somebody in the chowk, for example the temple committee, to quickly call people together by shouting down the streets.
7. Chowk is at crossing between the market street and historical edge of tomb garden - people constantly pass through, mainly from the basti or the market

Metaphoric depth - communication across time

Factor also affects opportunity for contest

Factors affect intensity of use

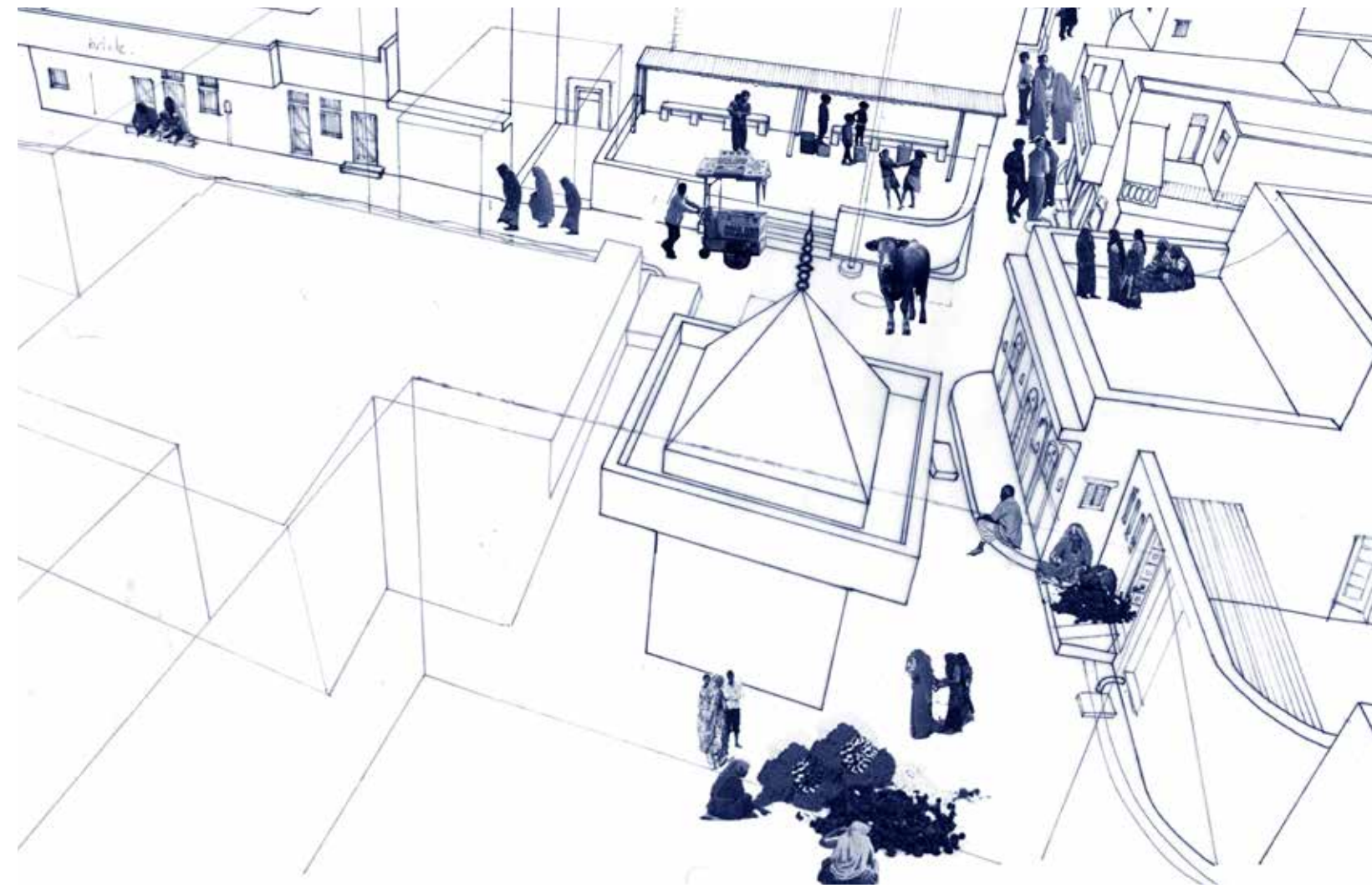


Metaphoric Depth of the Urban Negotiation

Around the chowk is a mixture of colonial-era and more recent buildings, in their first stage built as single story small dwellings. This part of the façade has large openings, grilles, a step designed to look out and feel like part of the street. The colonial facades are highly decorative with a pattern of semi-circular arch recesses inside rectangular recesses around each window and door. These houses have shed Mughal style in favour of a much more European colonial design, because this is a Hindu area. The new houses are decorated with colour, and decorative metalwork in the window grates and balustrades. Many of the buildings then have several additional bare brick storeys without overhangs, large openings or plaster. This cheap construction is added to slowly in case it is ordered to come down, as it is done without planning permission from the ASI.

Interior-Basti Civic Settings *Temple Chowk*: Communicative Order

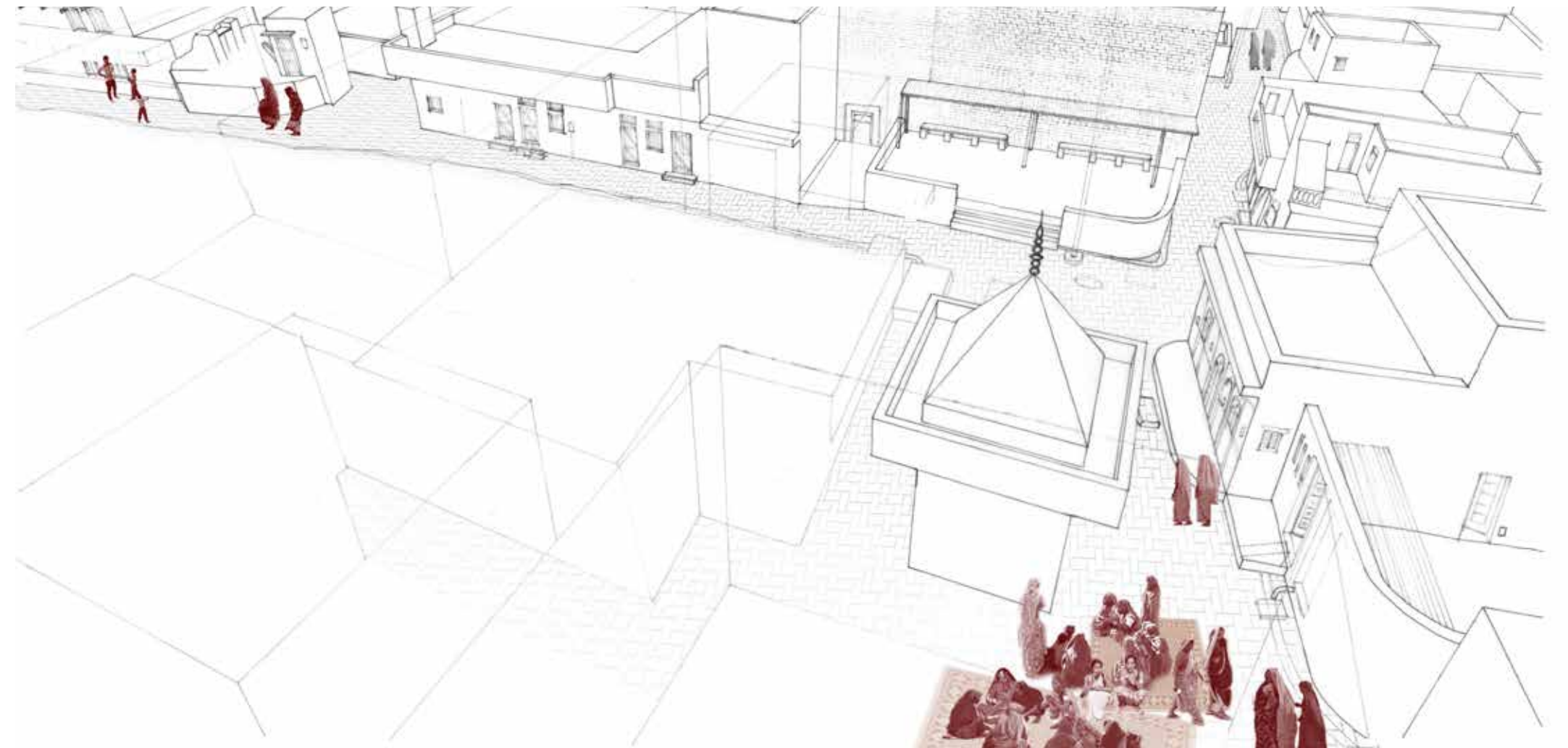
Opportunity to Encounter Difference



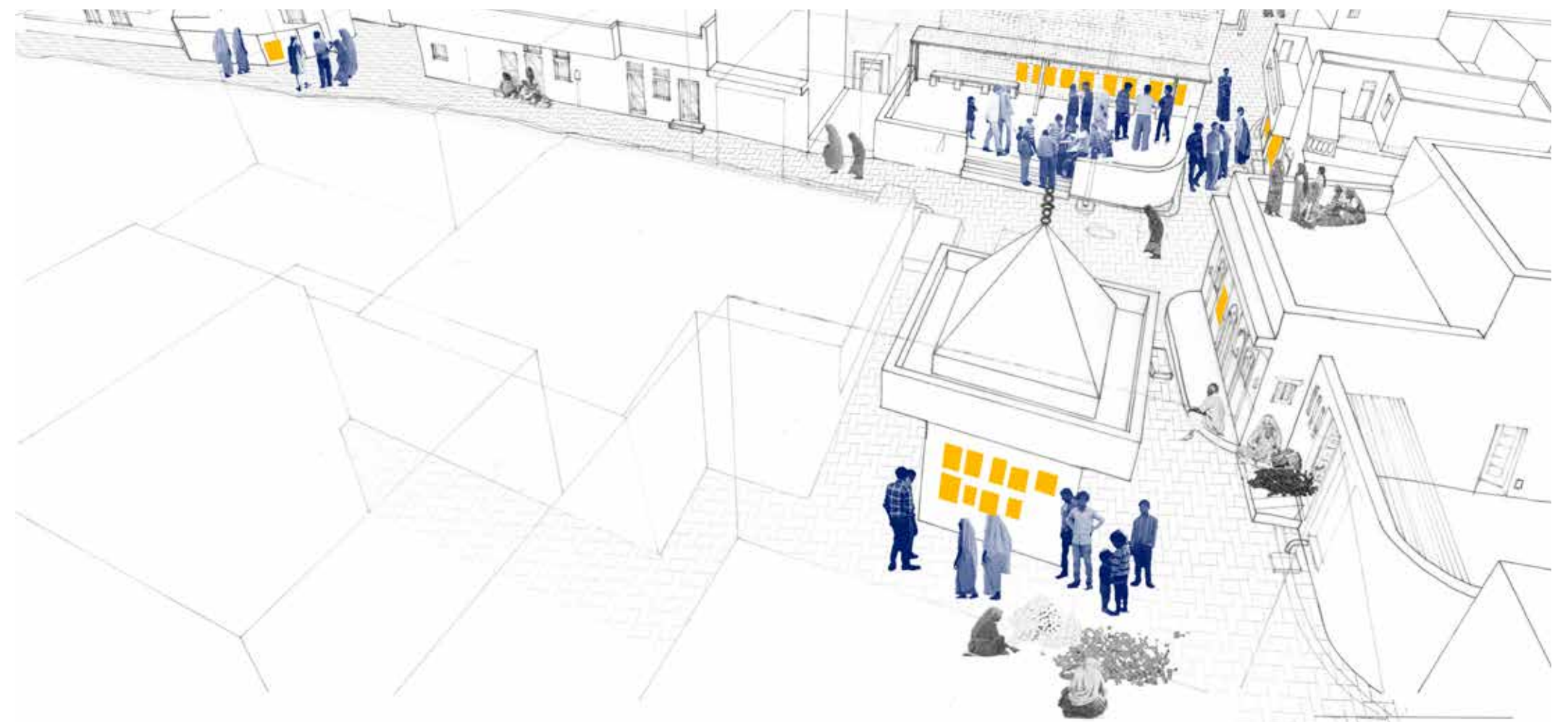
Intensity of use 6 months after the hosted event - chowk still overlooked by women flower garlanders: children use the seats as playground. It was found during the exercise that families living around the chowk can gather there quickly if there is an event going on - their constant occupation of thresholds allows a constant monitoring of activity there.



Opportunity to Negotiate Urban Conditions

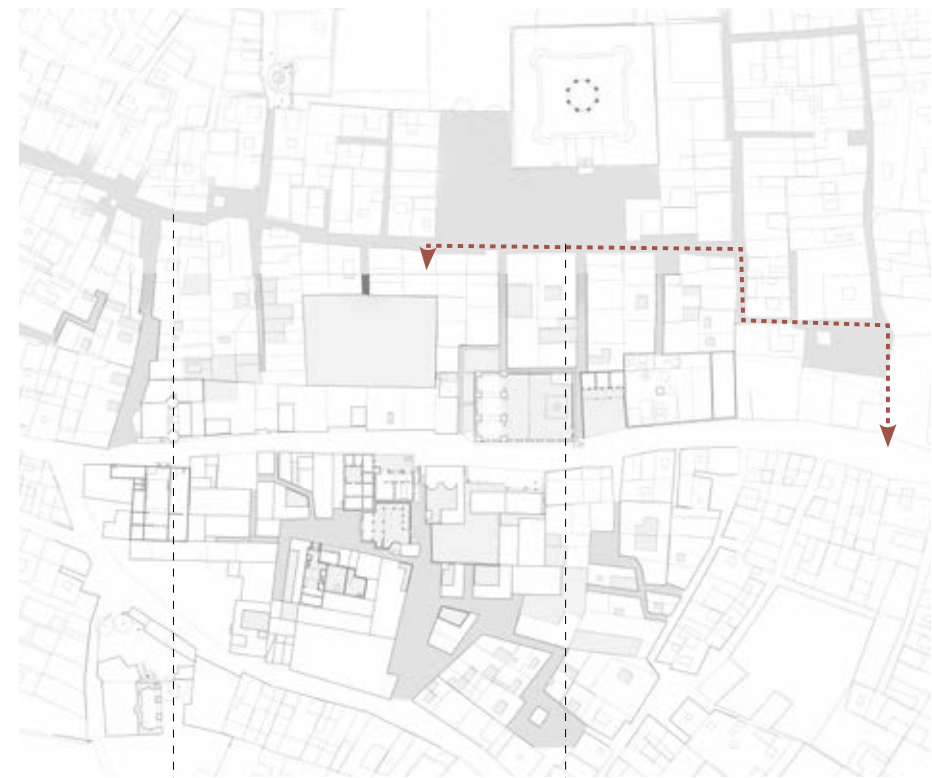


When women were mourning a deceased relative on the proposed day of the workshop, it had to be delayed: during this time people passing through the chowk were silent



When women were no longer mourning, nobody opposed any aspect of the workshop: it met very little resistance. There is a certain degree of expected behaviour in the chowk in order for particular activities to be able to happen there at certain times, but the expectations of behaviour in Bilochpura Mosque Chowk (next) have a greater degree of complexity, and are committed to every day (although still have a cyclical element).

Interior-Basti Civic Settings *Temple Chowk*: Civic Possibilities



8. This part of the street is not part of the primary route to and from the ASI zone, or the flower market, so there are not many strangers - very little anonymity - space in middle can be shared by women for worship of Durga (Hindu deity)

Primary route to and from flower markets



3. Painted symbols, tiles and stickers

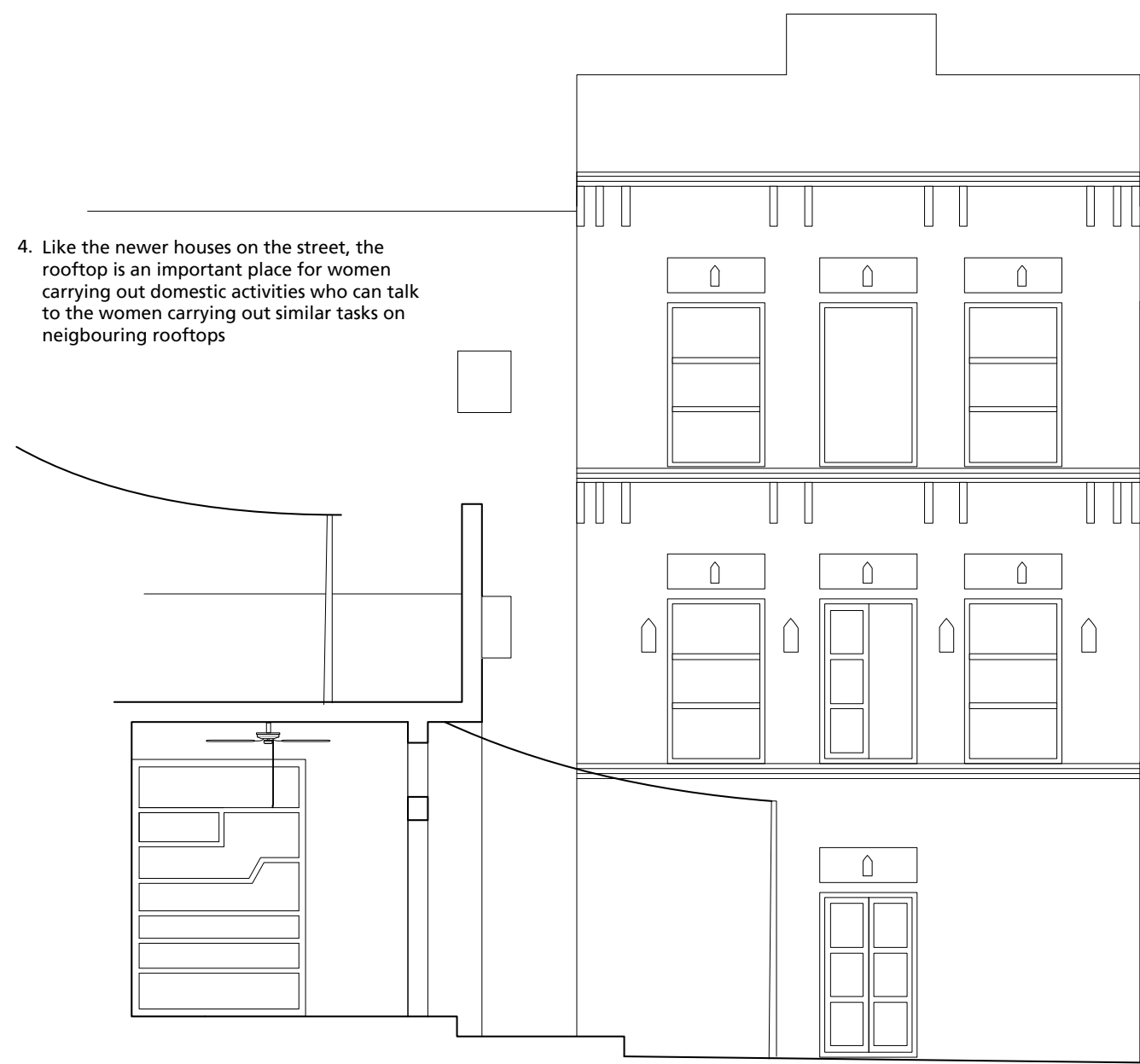
1. permanent commitments from residents of these houses to worship at the Durga shrine in the chowk between them - daily redressing, painting and acting out the rituals as well as maintaining the small platform and shrine structure



Articulate

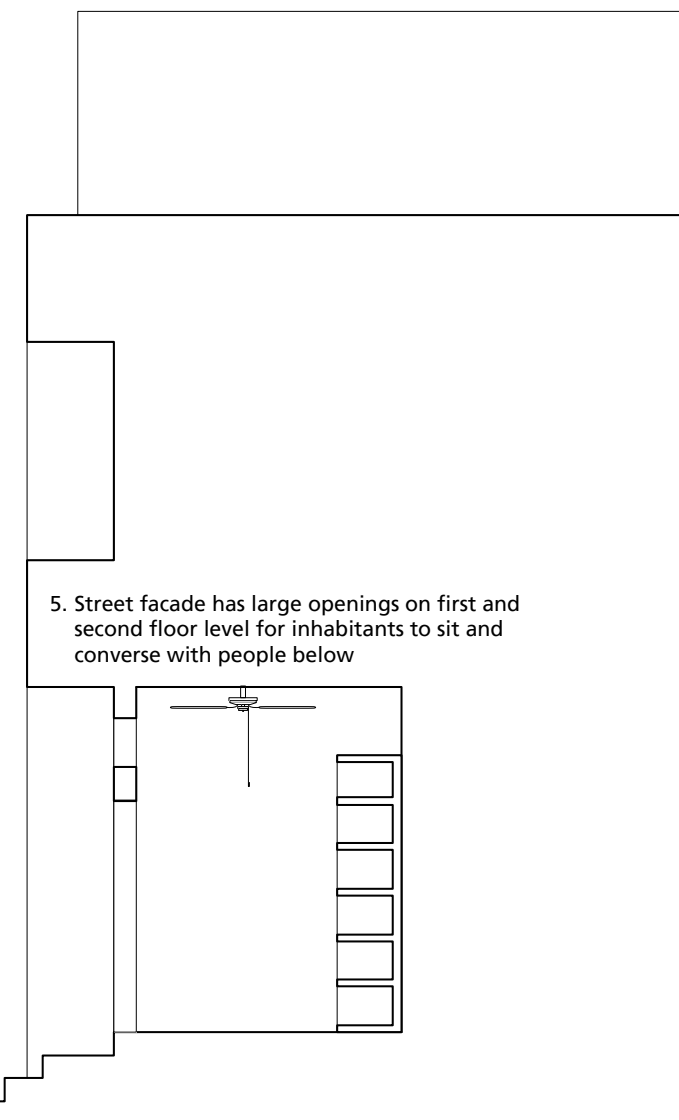


2014 map 1912 map



4. Like the newer houses on the street, the rooftop is an important place for women carrying out domestic activities who can talk to the women carrying out similar tasks on neighbouring rooftops

2. European-classical ornament does not take Mughal motifs and shapes - the arches here are semi circular, and this is not a courtyard 'haveli' house - it does not communicate Islamic heritage.



5. Street facade has large openings on first and second floor level for inhabitants to sit and converse with people below

6. Deep, shaded threshold with step for sitting and spending time - negotiations in the street, not behind closed doors.

7. Narrow street - discussions are overlooked, slow traffic allows people to wander between sides and spend time in the street = lack of anonymity,



Topography

Embodiment

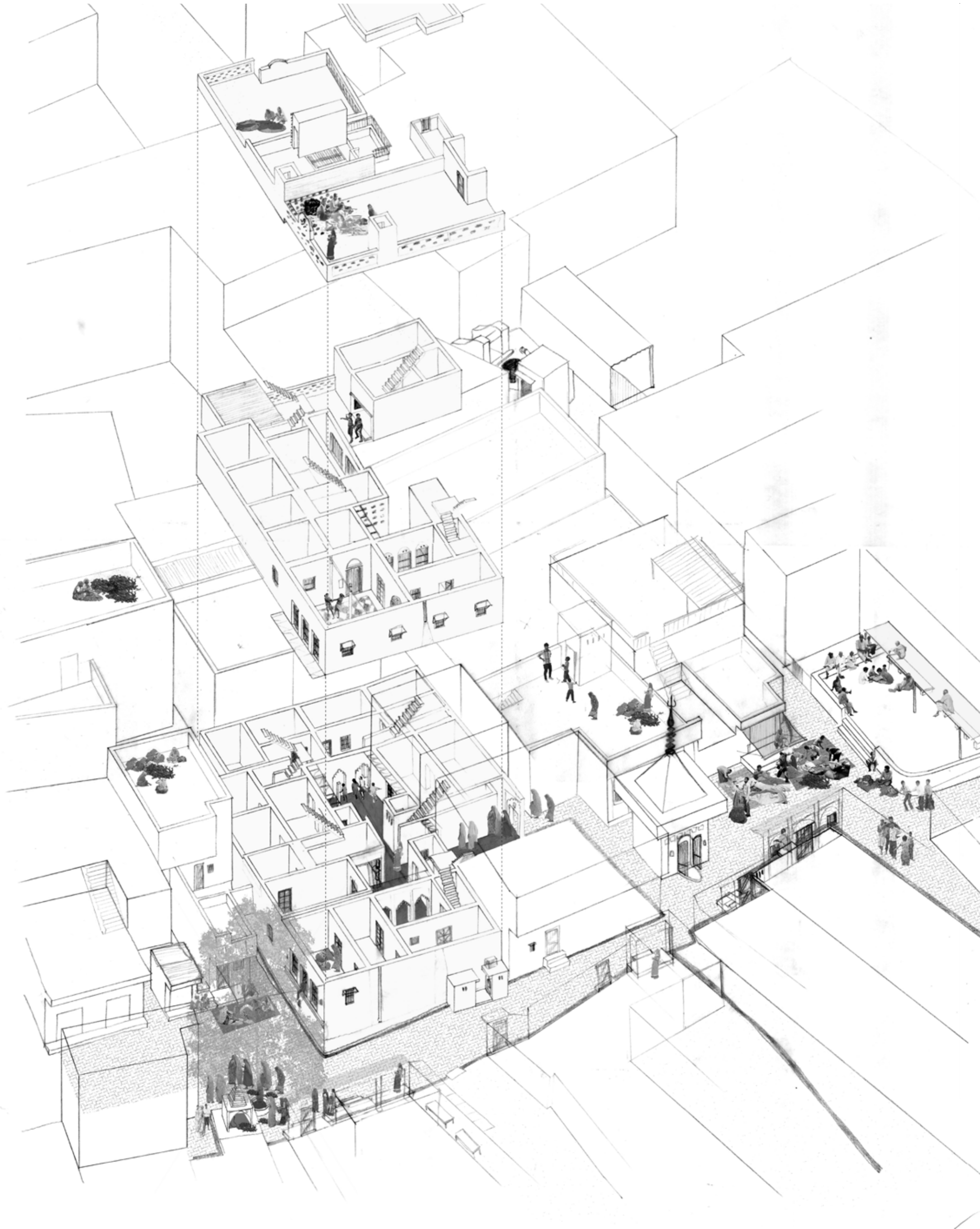
1. permanent commitments from residents of these houses to worship at the Durga shrine in the chowk between them - daily redressing, painting and acting out the rituals as well as maintaining the small platform and shrine structure
2. European-classical ornament does not take Mughal motifs and shapes - the arches here are semi circular, and this is not a courtyard 'haveli' house - it does not communicate Islamic heritage.
3. Painted symbols, tiles and stickers
4. Like the newer houses on the street, the rooftop is an important place for women carrying out domestic activities who can talk to the women carrying out similar tasks on neighbouring rooftops
5. Street facade has large openings on first and second floor level for inhabitants to sit and converse with people below
6. Deep, shaded threshold with step for sitting and spending time - negotiations in the street, not behind closed doors.
7. narrow street - discussions are overlooked, slow traffic allows people to wander between sides and spend time in the street = lack of anonymity,
8. This part of the street is not part of the primary route to and from the ASI zone, or the flower market, so there are not many strangers - very little anonymity - space in middle can be shared by women for worship of Durga

Metaphoric depth - communication across time

Factor also affects opportunity for contest

Factors affect intensity of use

Interior-Basti Civic Settings Residential Street A: Communicative Order



Opportunity to encounter difference - spatial differentiation



Interior-Basti Civic Settings *Residential Street A*: Civic Possibilities



Opportunity to negotiate urban conditions: privacy to participate

Because this part of the street is not used as a route to the flower market for traders, it is primarily only used by residents. Because of this degree of familiarity, accentuated by the way the constant occupation of house thresholds and balconies set up a constant surveillance of the chowk, women have committed to building a shrine to goddess Durgah, and perform daily worship around it.

Metaphoric Depth: long-term commitment to articulate faith

At the east side of Poule Mandi Street, where new construction is prohibited, short term methods such as stickers and paint are used to articulate particular beliefs upon architecture that is otherwise cheap and unexpressive. In contrast, here at the west side of Poule Mandi Street, carved stone, marble, ornate structural elements and metalwork have all been invested in to express faith, superstition as well as political leanings, for example through the classism of British-colonial elements.



Interior-Basti Civic Settings Residential Street A: Civic Possibilities



A



B

Opportunity to encounter difference

There are not many balconies, there is no shade over thresholds, or large ground floor openings, which reflects the insular nature of the way homes are used – there is less trust: people have guard dogs and keep their front doors locked. This means that the streets are dirty and broken – socializing takes place around the entrance to the temple and the empty plot claimed by the temple opposite, while the streets remain quiet.



Sikawar Temple

3m

Articulate

Topography

Embodiment

- 1. Marble-work: terazzo and carving inside some of the homes articulate particular Hindu beliefs
- 2. The few older buildings (colonial era) display sandstone carvings of deities - communicates long running practice of particular worship on the site
- 3. Some houses have decoration on top of the brick construction: paint, tiles, decorative metal grates, largely following fashion, communicating wellbeing/health/lifestyle
- 4. Cheap brick construction

Metaphoric depth - communication across time

- 5. Varied commitment to shared services - lights, water siphoning, electricity supply, drainage
- 6. Unshaded gate entrance to reception room - not a place for spending time/negotiation. Rooms inside the house are private for family - street not overlooked
- 7. narrow street - discussions are overlooked, slow traffic allows people to wander between sides and spend time in the street = lack of anonymity,
- 8. Houses built within narrow plots along street - post 1970s plotted planning - 'shared' space confined to streets between plots, empty plots, or non-residential buildings within the plot structure eg temple

Factor also affects opportunity for contest

Factors affect intensity of use

Interior-Basti Civic Settings Residential Street B: Communicative Order

Opportunity to negotiate urban conditions



Like the second storeys and 'sheds' of the Diwanji area, the Sikawar houses are largely houses built as cheaply and quickly as possible. Then, after a certain confidence has been built (through negotiation, bribery, or just standing the test of time: usually all three) additions are made. Firstly, a 1.5 storey brick structure without overhangs, with cement floors, small openings is constructed in bare brick or painted brick. The first floor is built at least 500mm off street level to avoid floods, so there is a large threshold step. However, this is not shaded – it isn't for sitting and spending time. Many of the houses are not connected to water or a toilet. Instead, a toilet might be shared between families. The temple is used by many for showering – and the inner courtyard is faced with intricate marble work: the interior in many ways looks like the 5* hotel bathrooms that the men work on in the day as much as it draws upon a tradition of temple (or palace) architecture.

Metaphoric Depth of the Urban Negotiation



1. Marble-work: terazzo and carving inside some of the homes articulate particular Hindu beliefs



3. Some houses have decoration on top of the brick construction: paint, tiles, decorative metal grates, largely following fashion, communicating wellbeing/health/lifestyle



4. Cheap brick construction



2. The few older buildings (colonial era) display sandstone carvings of deities - communicates long running practice of particular worship on the site

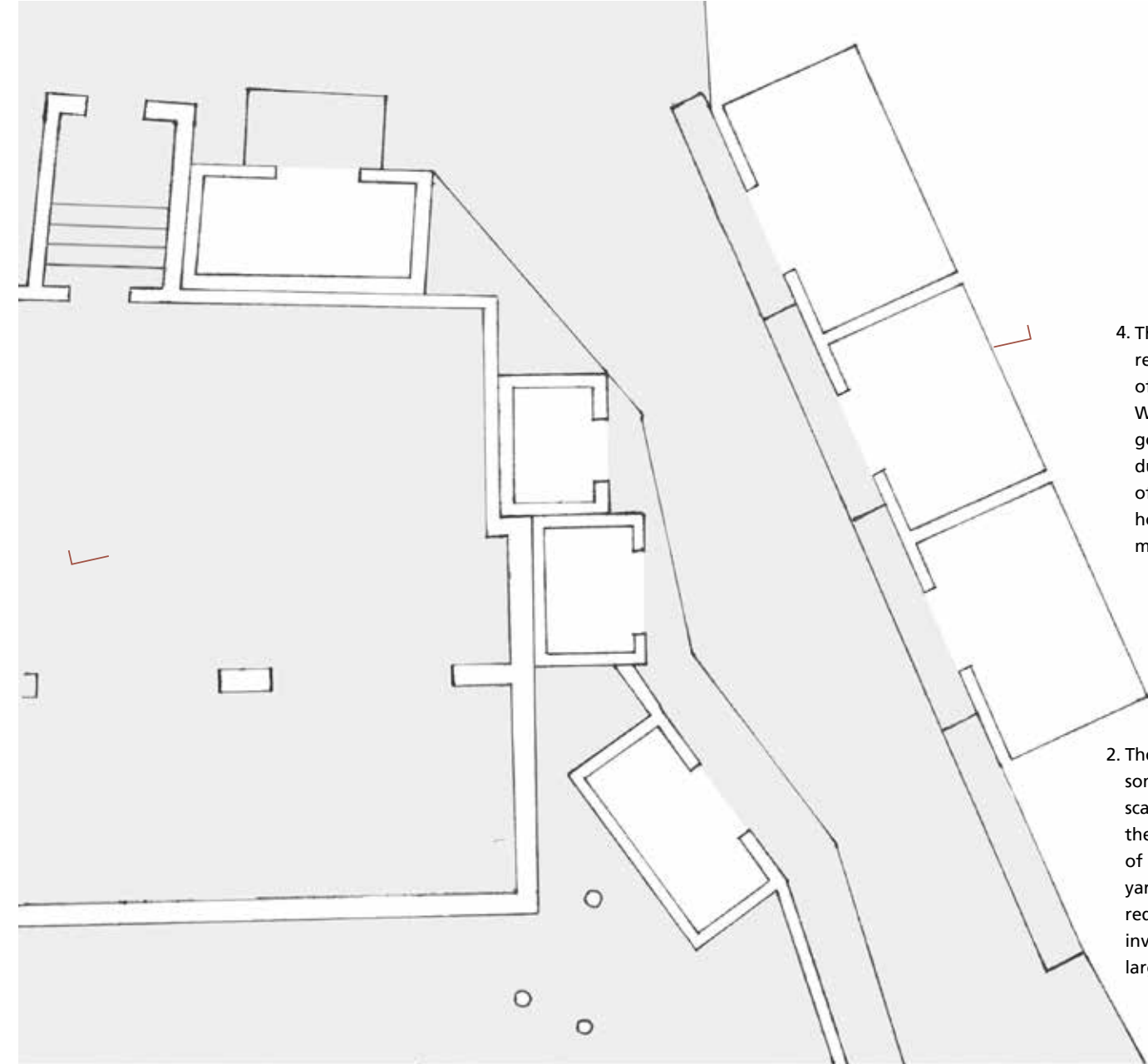


Throughout my research, there were many indicators that the surrounding bastis looked at Sikawar basti as a poorer, more dangerous area. Unsurprisingly then, the temple and a house next to it, which quite obviously predate Indian Independence due to their stone carving, are very important to the Sikawar residents. The stone carving is essential to their claim to the land they have built upon, being not just 'old' but also 'theirs' – most of the men in Sikawar work in the construction industry, mainly with marble tiling and stone facing. They are low paid general labourers in their day job, but the work they put into the upkeep of their temple (p31) roots them in a tradition of skilled Sikawar craftsmen. The particular deities represented in the temple indicate particular Hindu practices that the Sikawar still uphold as the 'descendants' (if not exactly in blood then in caste) of the people who constructed this temple.

Some of the families have now started making additions to their houses: one of the most developed forms of articulate upgrading are the individually designed marble and terrazzo floors of which the Sikawar craftsmen have become so practiced at making. The designs are a mixture of motifs learnt at work (often Mughal patterns because so many of the hotels have taken a Mughal interior theme), Hindu symbols, and experimentation.

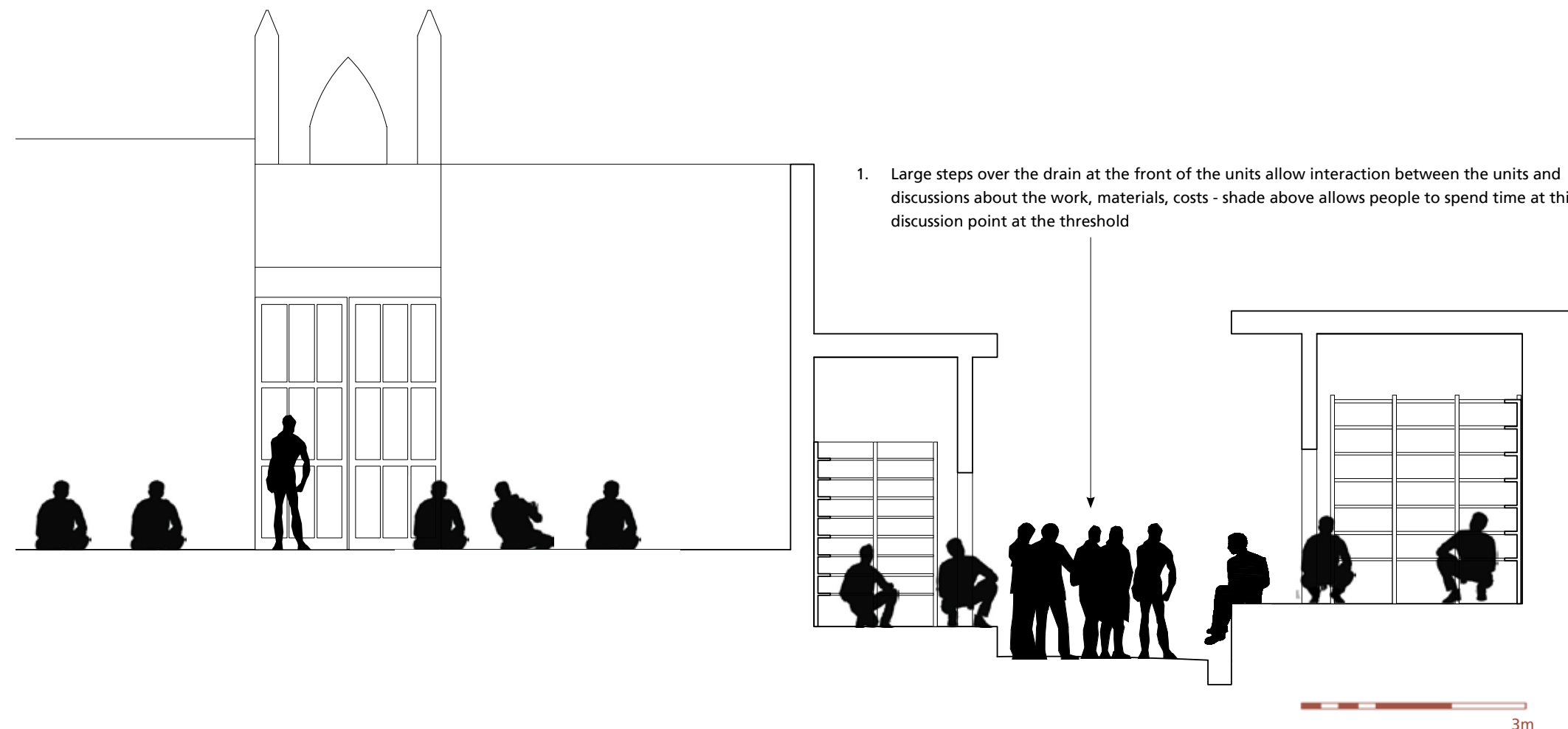
Interior-Basti Civic Settings *Residential Street B*: Civic Possibilities

3. Streets wide enough for vehicles, but narrow enough to be overlooked - stops anonymity, allows groups to be involved in discussions, but larger deliveries and pick-ups are also possible, allowing small businesses to share larger wholesale orders



4. The industrial units fit into the order of the residential streets, as industrial use is not officially part of the Agra masterplan here. Working within the basti allows the workers to go to the mosque/template easily, get home easily during lunch breaks, watch over their unit out of working hours, and control the days and hours that they work (eg in Bilochpura people mainly do not work on Friday)

2. The units are small (one or sometimes two rooms of domestic scale - max 5 metres) because they are always family-run businesses - at times of large orders, other spaces (neighbouring yards or rooms) are borrowed from friends, reducing financial risks. This also means that investment in the unit is kept minimal - no large spans



1. Large steps over the drain at the front of the units allow interaction between the units and discussions about the work, materials, costs - shade above allows people to spend time at this discussion point at the threshold

Articulate

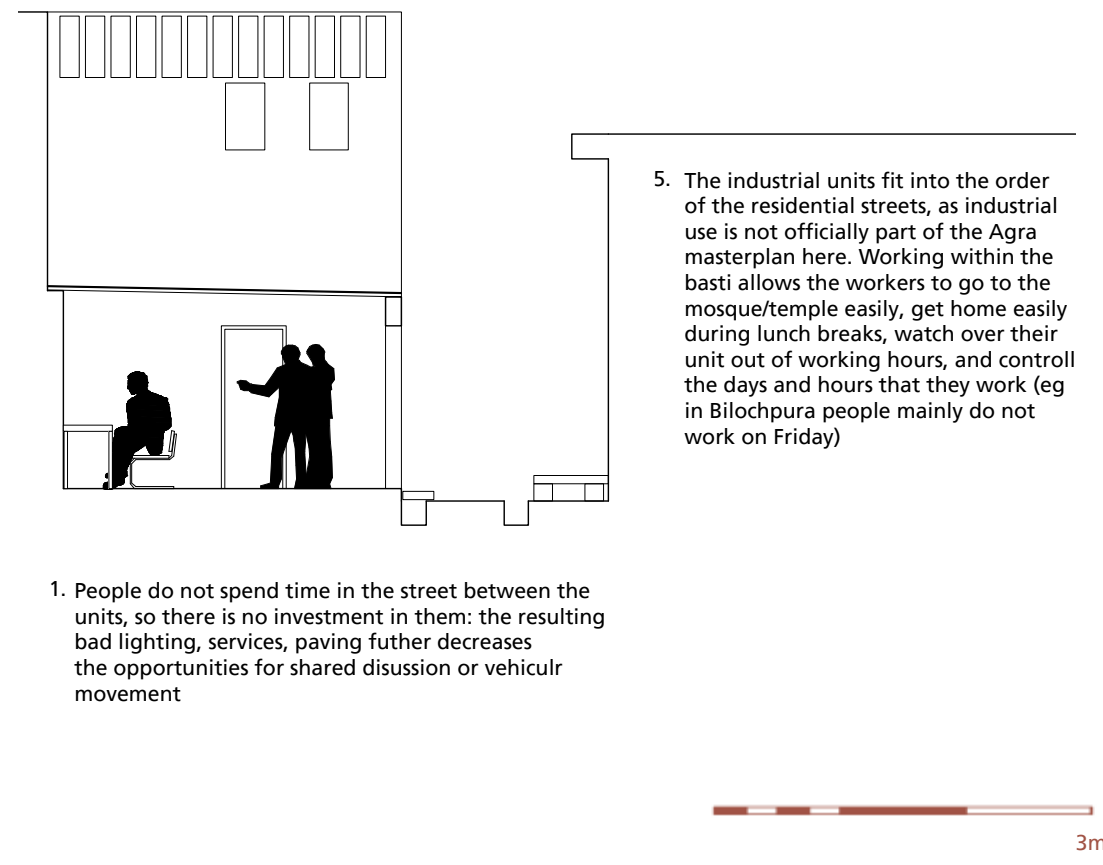
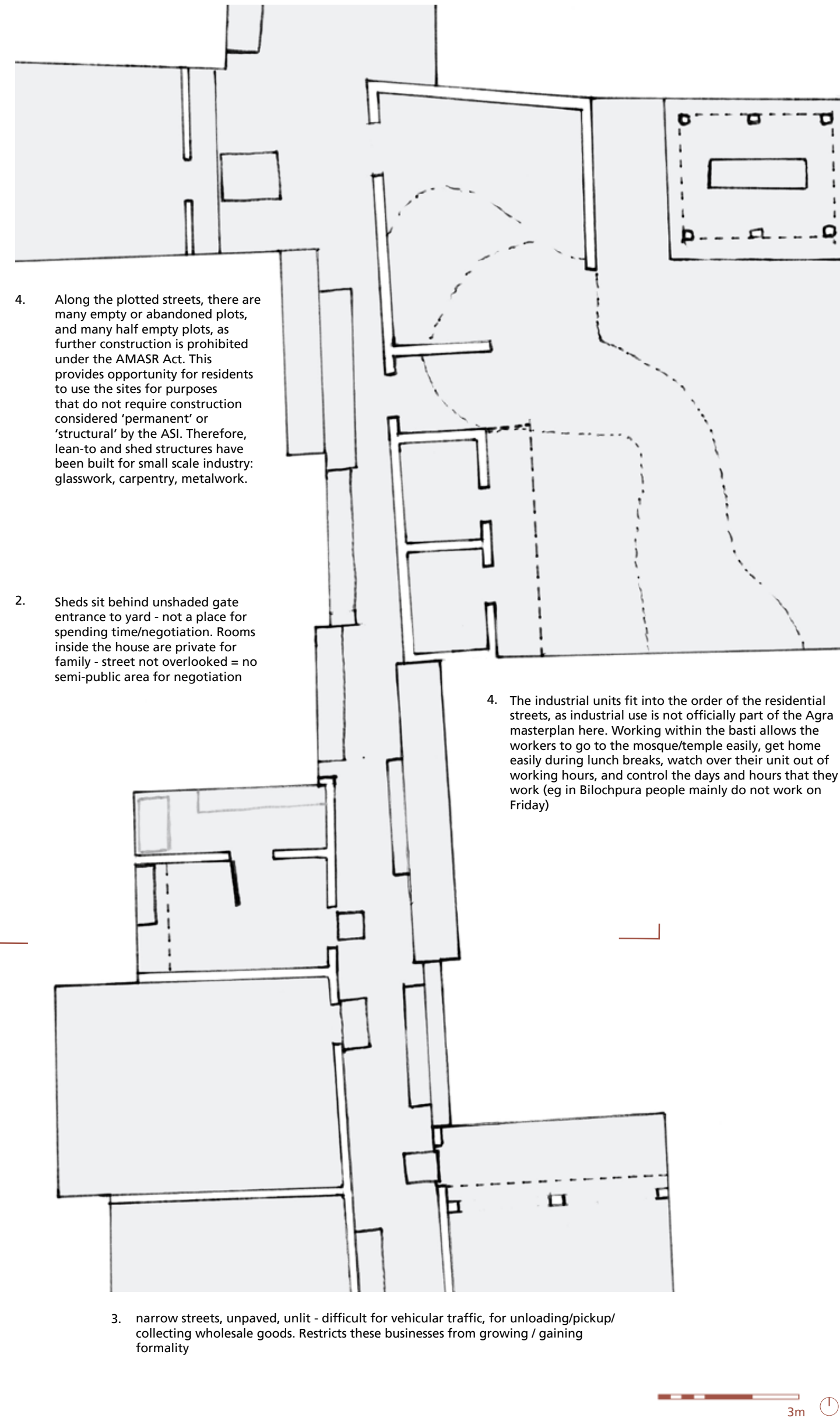
Topography

Embodiment

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Factors affect intensity of use and opportunity for contest

Interior-Basti Civic Settings *Industrial Street A (Bilochpura)*: Communicative Order



Articulate

Topography

Embodiment

1. People do not spend time in the street between the units, so there is no investment in them: the resulting bad lighting, services, paving further decreases the opportunities for shared discussion or vehicular movement
2. Sheds sit behind unshaded gate entrance to yard - not a place for spending time/negotiation. Rooms inside the house are private for family - street not overlooked = no semi-public area for negotiation
3. Narrow streets, unpaved, unlit - difficult for vehicular traffic, for unloading/pickup/collecting wholesale goods. Restricts these businesses from growing / gaining formality
4. Along the plotted streets, there are many empty or abandoned plots, and many half empty plots, as further construction is prohibited under the AMASR Act. This provides opportunity for residents to use the sites for purposes that do not require construction considered 'permanent' or 'structural' by the ASI. Therefore, lean-to and shed structures have been built for small scale industry: glasswork, carpentry, metalwork.
5. The industrial units fit into the order of the residential streets, as industrial use is not officially part of the Agra masterplan here. Working within the basti allows the workers to go to the mosque/temple easily, get home easily during lunch breaks, watch over their unit out of working hours, and control the days and hours that they work (eg in Bilochpura people mainly do not work on Friday)

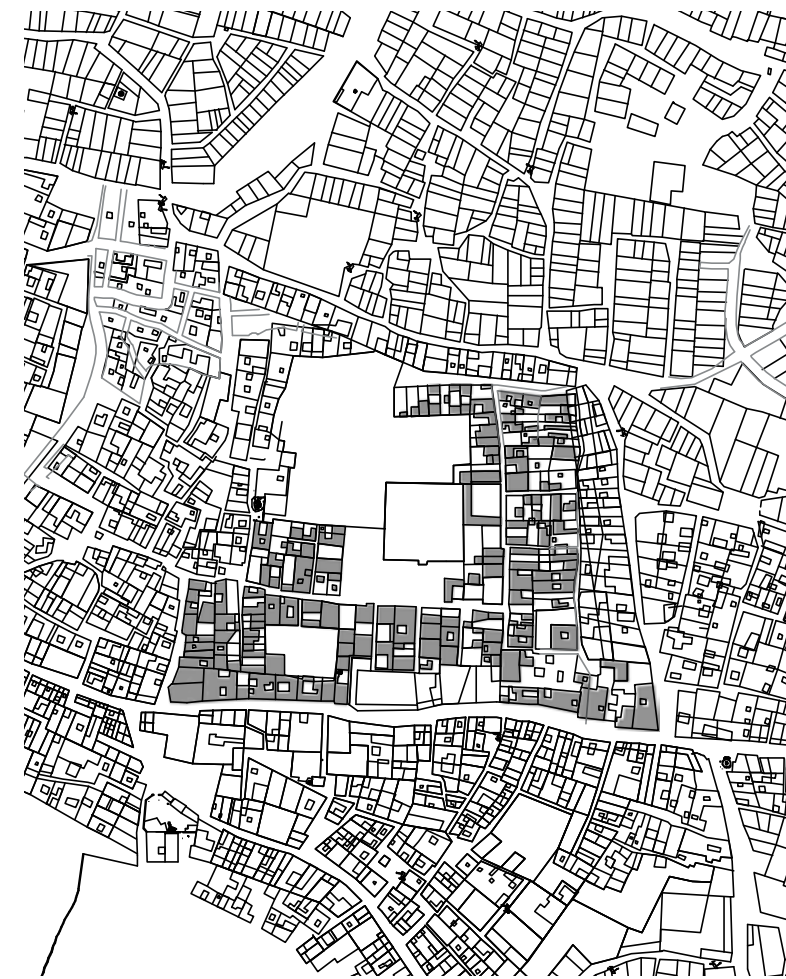
Factors affect intensity of use and opportunity for contest

Interior-Basti Civic Settings *Industrial Street B (Diwanji ka Mohalla)*: Communicative Order

Opportunity to encounter difference



Conversation: industrial street, Diwanji ka Mohalla

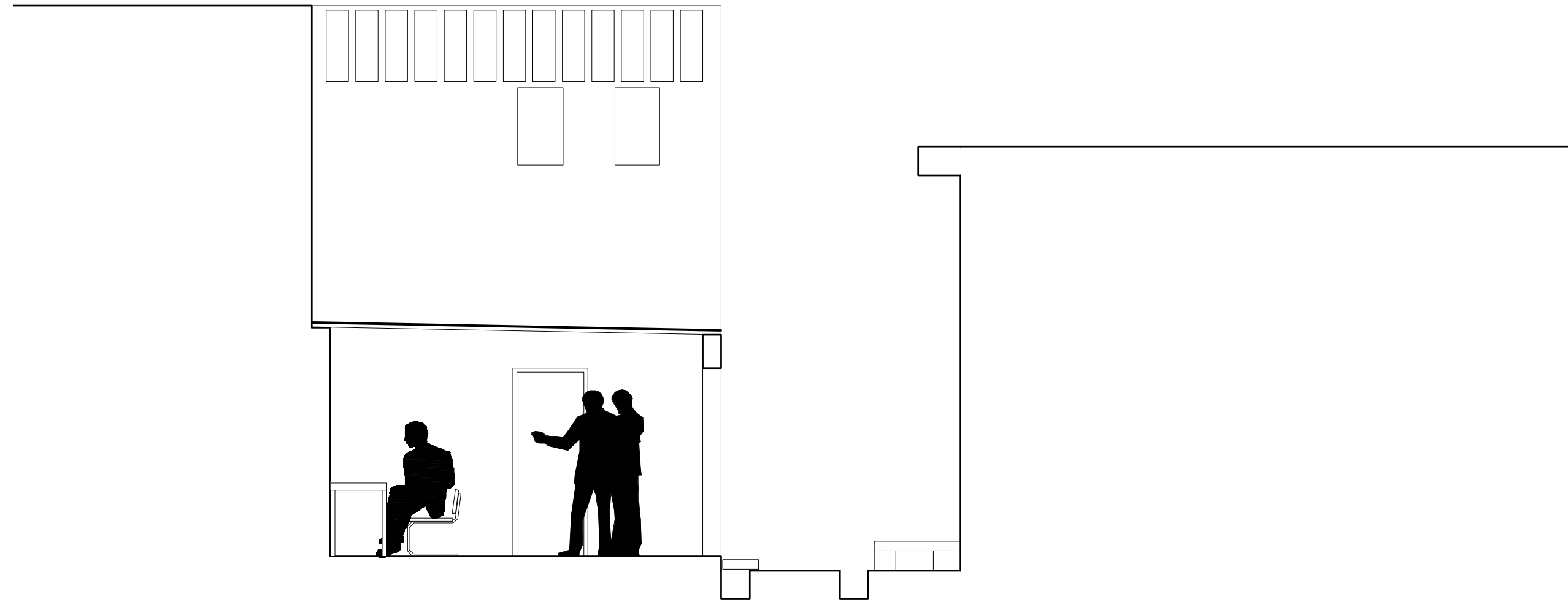


Conversation: industrial street, Bilochpura

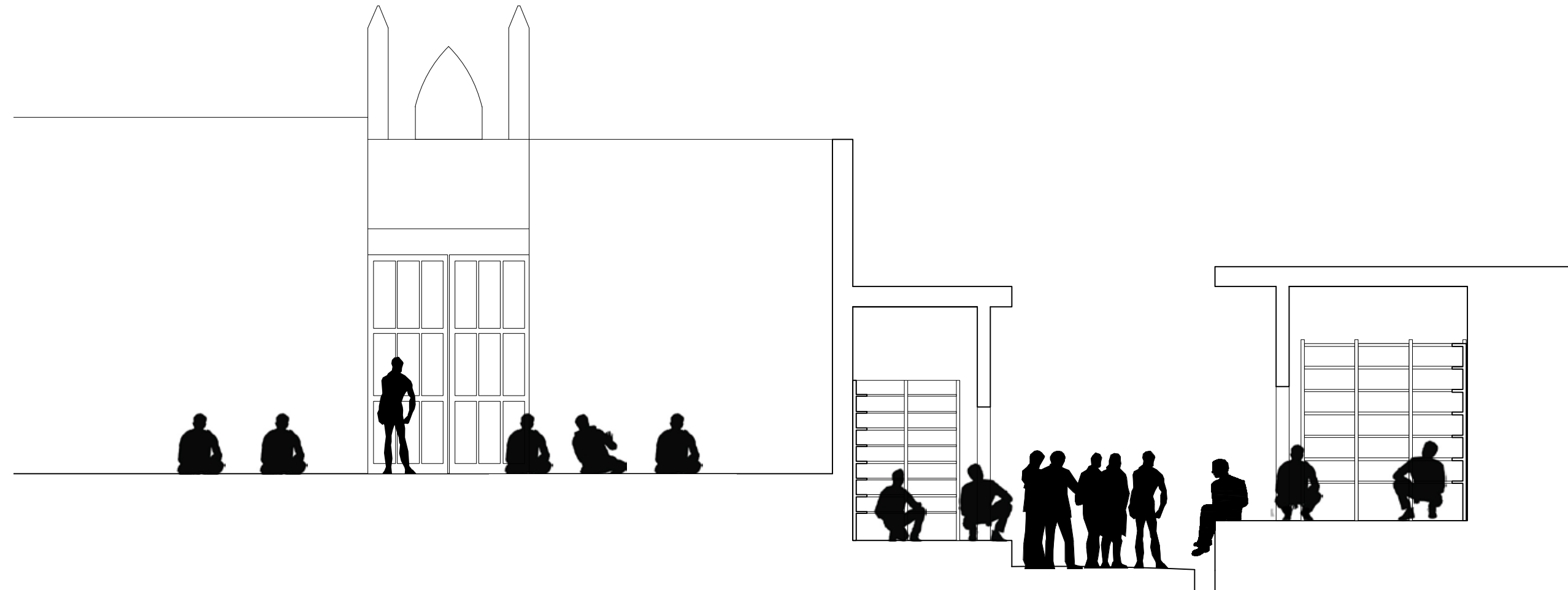
In the village basti, small industrial units cluster together on larger, wider streets creating a space between them for discussion: encountering each other, as well as creating a place where they can collectively arrange pick-up and deliveries - tying them as a cluster into wider networks.

In the plot basti, because units are built often on dead-ended or very quiet residential streets, and often within closed off yard space, there is very little opportunity to converse with other tradesmen.

Opportunity to negotiate urban conditions



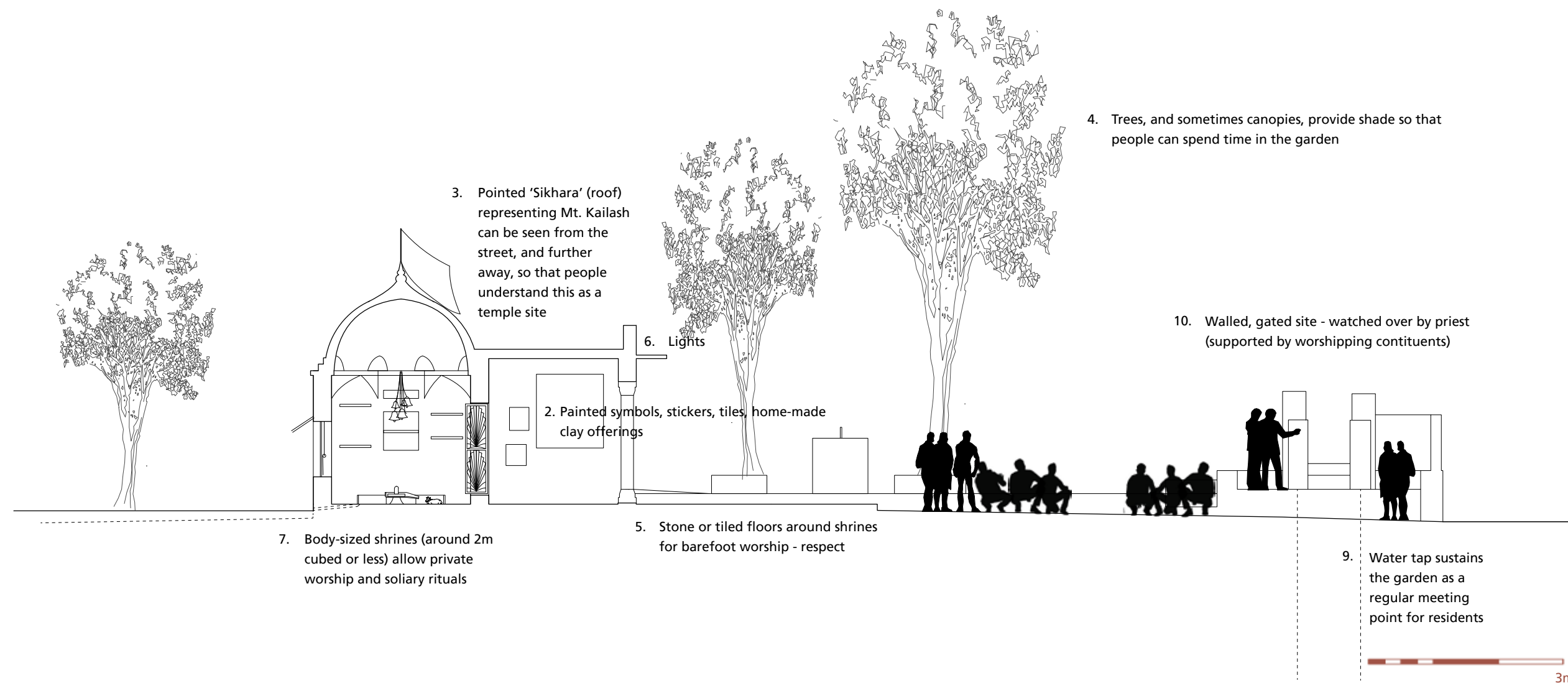
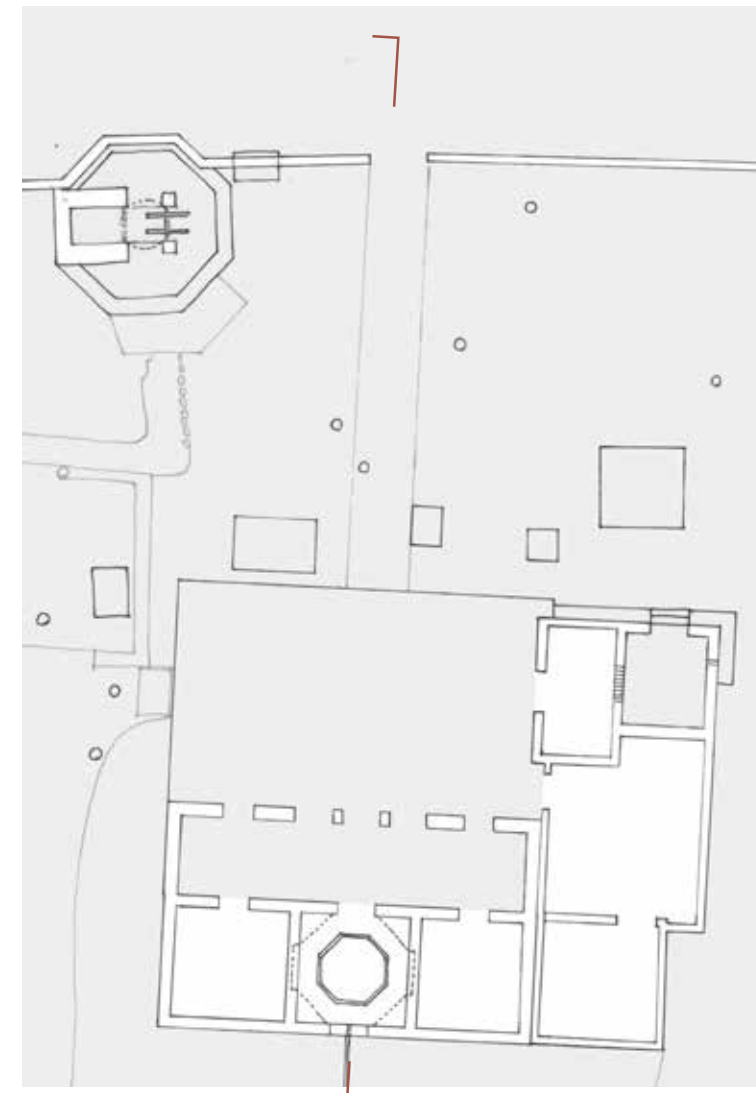
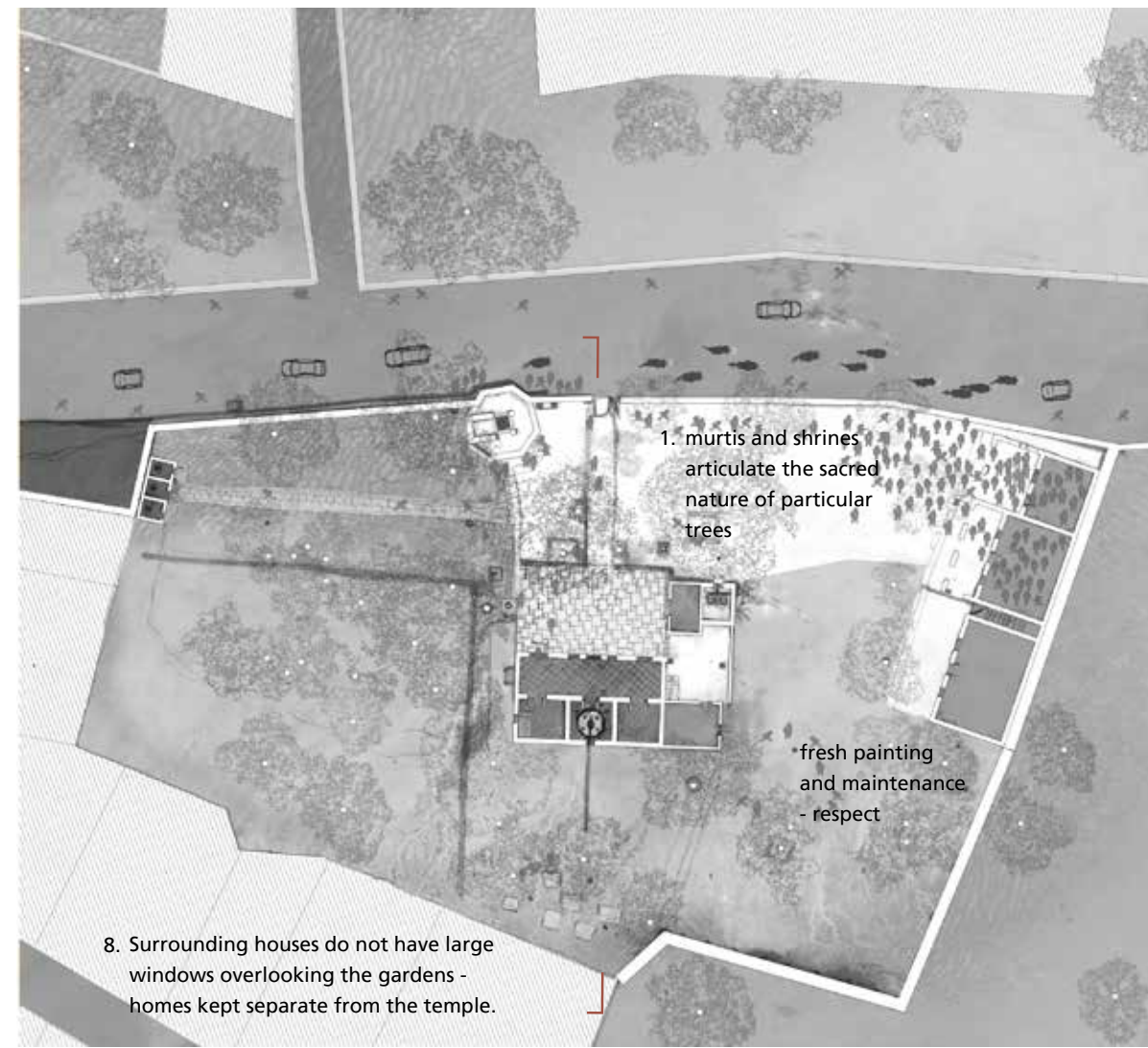
Conversation: industrial street, Diwanji ka Mohalla



Conversation: industrial street, Bilochpura

Due to their ability to cluster, and therefore bargain collectively, the industrial units in the village basti are better able to negotiate the conditions that they wish for. The industrial units in the plot basti are further hindered in this regard because they are forbidden, under the AMASR Act to construct adequate workspace. Clustering in the village basti also allows units to shrink or expand temporarily, renting space to and from neighbouring units.

Interior-Basti Civic Settings *Industrial Street A + B*: Civic Possibilities



Articulate

Topography

Embodiment

Metaphoric Depth

Factors affect intensity of use and opportunity for contest

Interior-Basti Civic Settings *Temple Garden*: Communicative Order

Opportunity to encounter difference



The temple garden mediates between the busy bazaar street and the body-sized intimate worship space of the shrine: walled and gated, only those wishing to visit the temple enter the site. However, this exclusivity creates the conditions required by the priest and committee to hold meetings and make decisions.

Opportunity to negotiate urban conditions

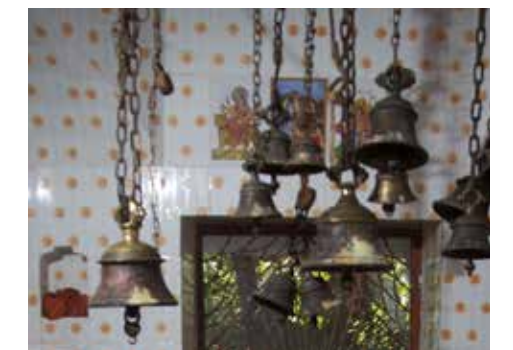


Temple gardens bear the signs of constantly renegotiated conditions, added to consistently, maintained and gardened daily.

Metaphoric depth of urban negotiation

Within the boundary, the garden is carefully planted, and particularly significant plants and trees such as the Betil and Neem trees are marked out with a circle of bricks, a clay or even a concrete platform. On top of this, signs of worship - flowers, coloured powder, fruits - can usually be seen. Similar offerings, along with home-made clay statues are usually found at the well. There is usually a well because the temple garden predates other water supply systems. Memorial stone blocks, small shrines, lingums are placed around the garden, usually at the discretion of the priest. There may also be a fire pit and preparation area for offerings. In the area where people gather to go forward for puja a carefully put together stone or tile platform will be found.

Most of the profound articulation has very short temporal horizons: paint in the appropriate colour for the gods worshipped, offerings (flowers and food), clay lamps and figures, coloured powders, paper decorations. The more durable elements are there to make this ritualistic layering of meaning possible. It is the combination of these signs of ongoing cyclical ceremonial life and the more carefully put together (if aesthetically ad-hoc) platforms that tell people to behave in a certain way - or to leave the site alone. When there are historic pieces of architecture, they are regularly repainted, significant in so far as they are a further claim to a site unofficially owned, and also sometimes as a support to local legends.

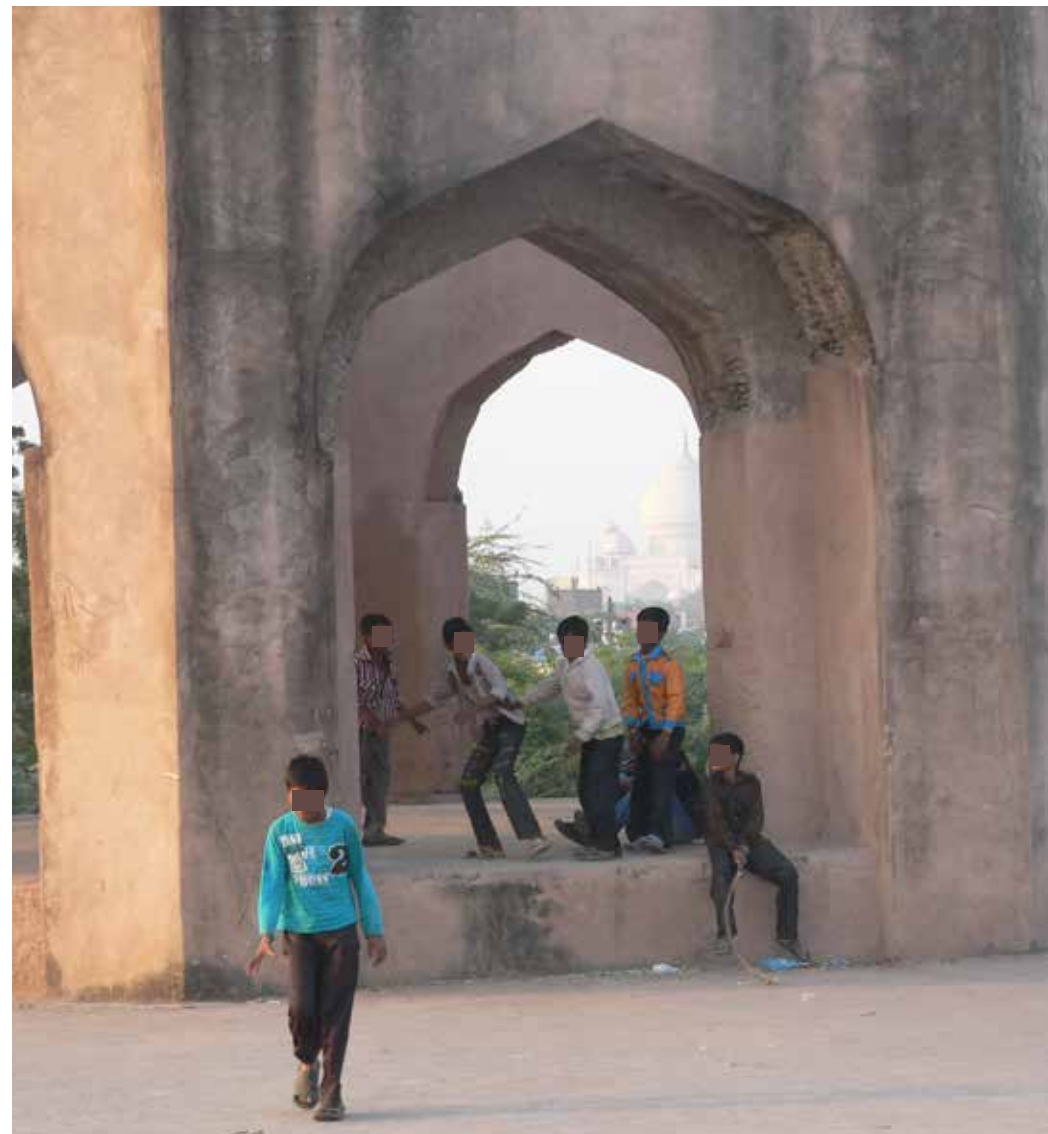


Interior-Basti Civic Settings Temple Garden: Civic Possibilities

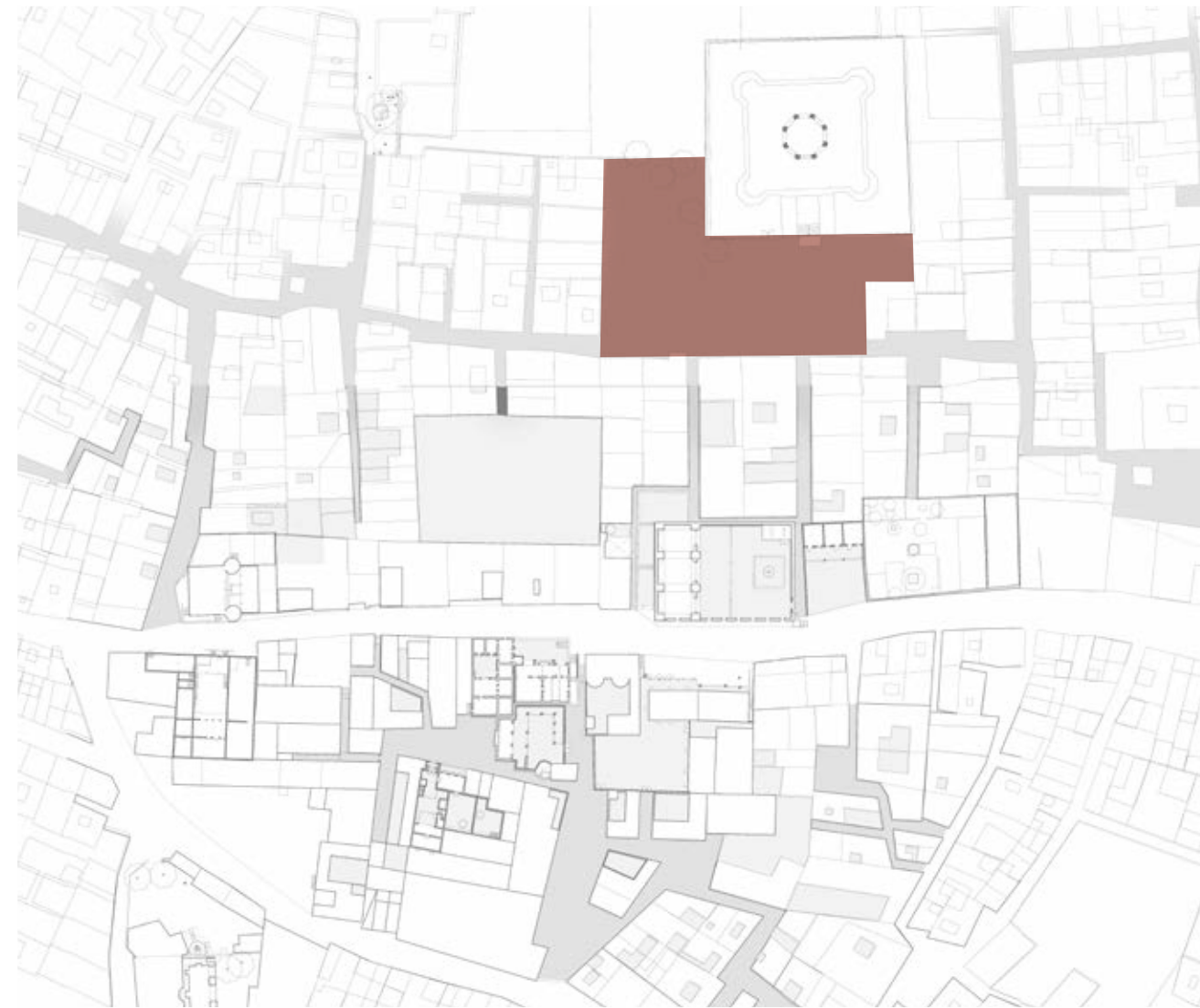
Metaphoric Depth of Urban Negotiation



Facades around the boundary do not have this space in mind – on two sides there are 'back' walls, without entrances or many openings, let alone a threshold or shade.



Like the Shahi Masjid, decoration of the monument itself has been completely removed for basic ASI maintenance and to strip it down to its oldest materials. The fact that there is a historic Muslim figure buried in the tomb, and that the shape of it signifies in itself that this is a grand tomb means that there is a certain orientation to the Islamic moral direction towards death. However, while every other grave in the area is regularly covered in cloth, swept and decorated, this one remains bare.



5. The site is large and next to the flower market - many people use it and it is not tightly overlooked = enables anonymous use, defecation, rubbish dumping, gambling

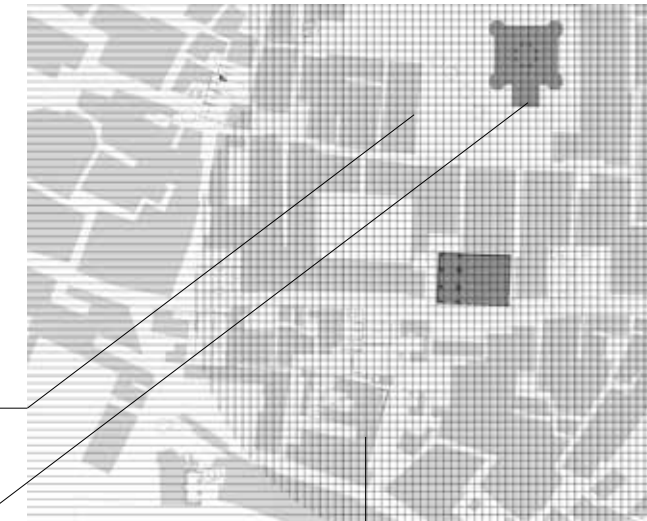
6. This unbuilt area next to the assumed tomb of Diwani Begum is under the '100m rule' of the AMASR Act. No construction is permitted, stopping long term-use of the site developing, or therefore resident-led maintenance

3. Surrounding houses do not open onto the area with large windows, entrance thresholds etc. They 'turn their backs' to the area, with a few small openings, no decoration

4. Gated area directly around the tomb is usually locked, creating an unsupervised area, reducing the way that the site can be overlooked by residents - allowing even more anonymity in the site, especially in the gated area (for trespassers)

1. Shape of tomb - pointed arches, octagonal, (originally domed) understood as Mughal tomb structure. However, all ornament has been stripped away

2. Cheap construction built without permission - no decorations except stickers/some paint in case structures are ordered to be removed



Prohibited construction under the AMASR Act



Prohibited construction under the AMASR Act

Articulate ↑

Topography

Embodiment

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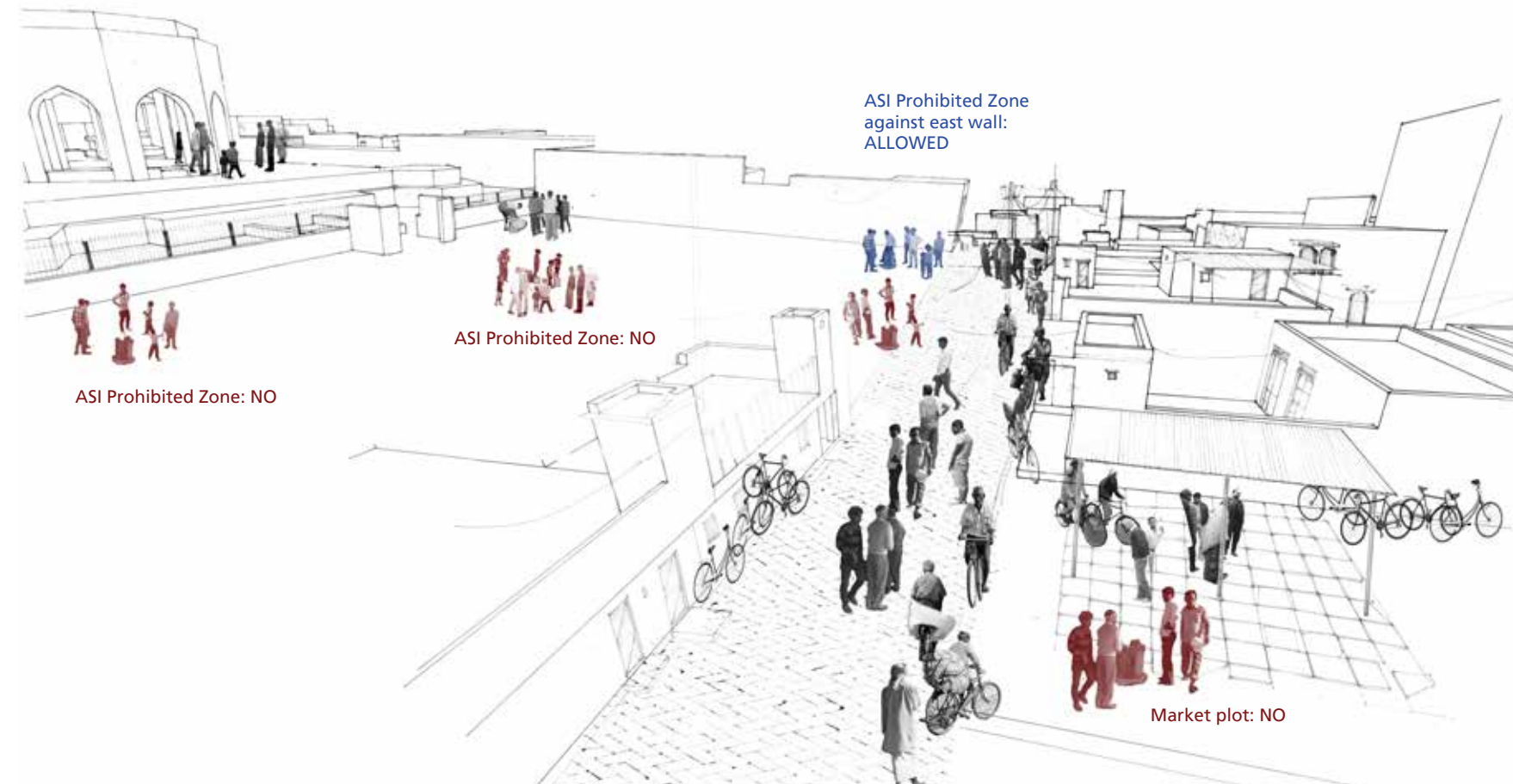
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Metaphoric Depth

Factors affect intensity of use and opportunity for contest

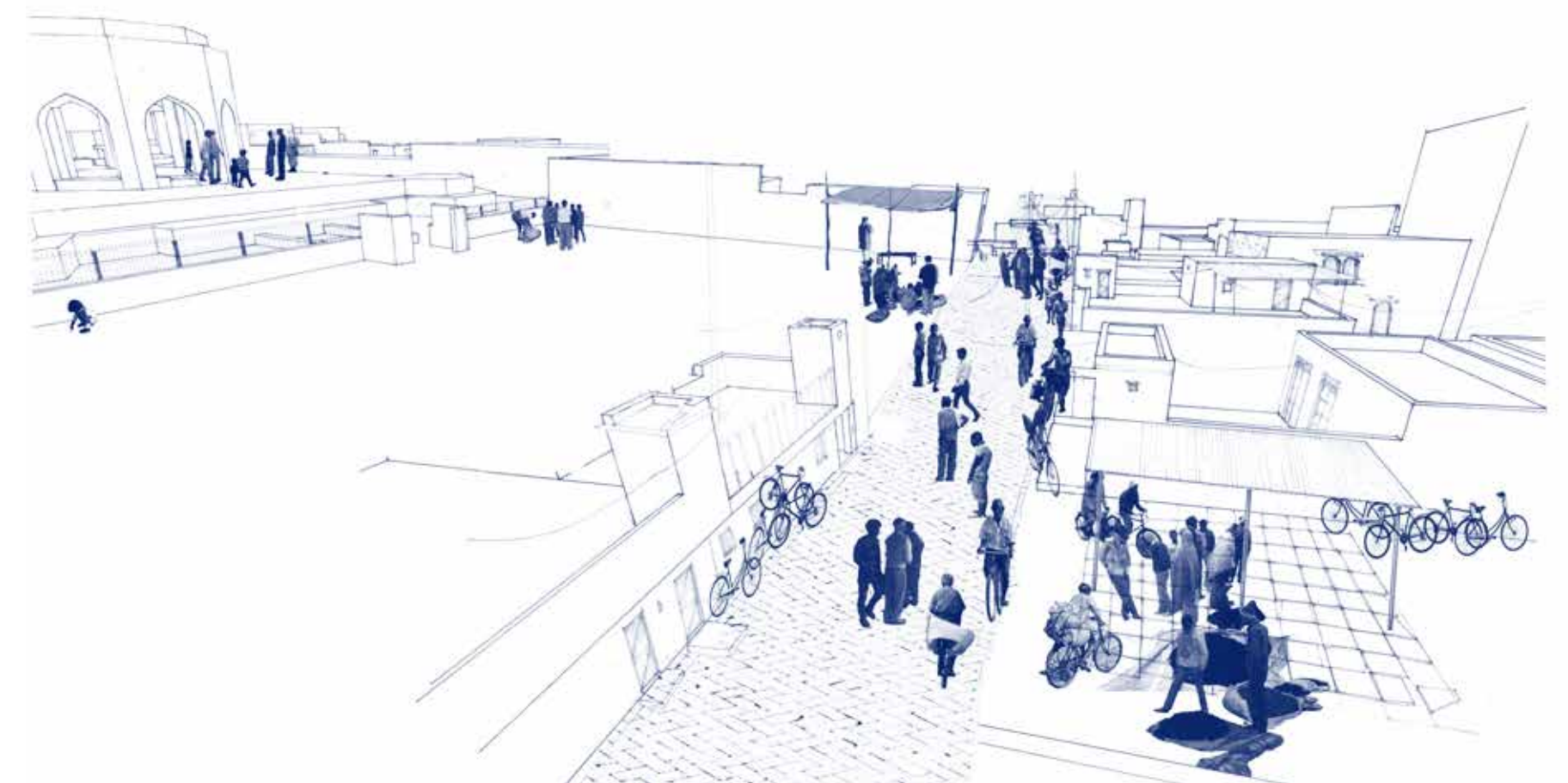
Interior-Basti Civic Settings ASI Prohibited Zone: Communicative Order

Opportunity to negotiate urban conditions: negotiated boundary

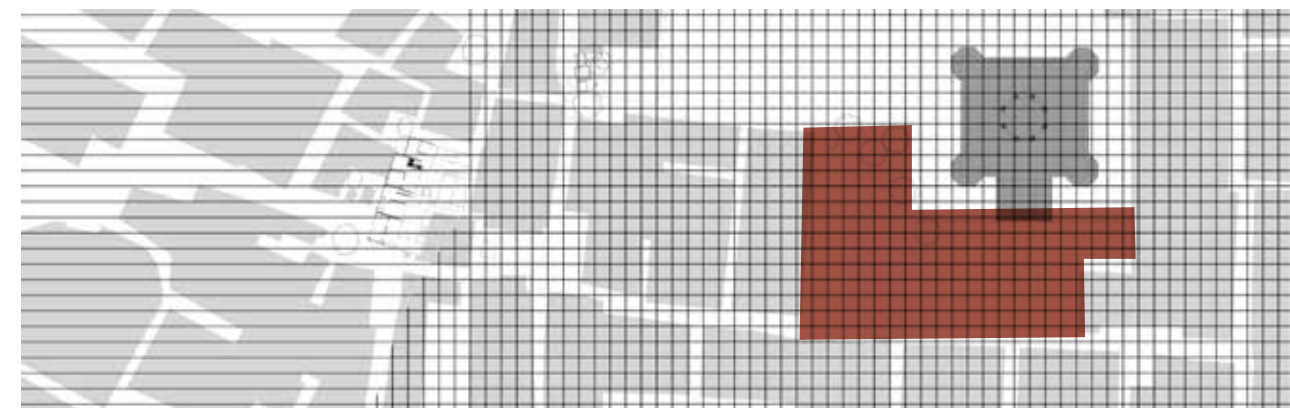


The edge of the boundary of the Prohibited Zone is felt to be a negotiable area for placing furniture during the storytelling exercise.

Opportunity to encounter difference: relatively uncontrolled group



Intensity of use 6 months after the storytelling event: the market continues to contribute participants, and several market traders have built a more permanent seat in place of the workshop-made seats, and trade under it. Trespassing, rubbish dumping, gambling are happening once more in the gated monument.

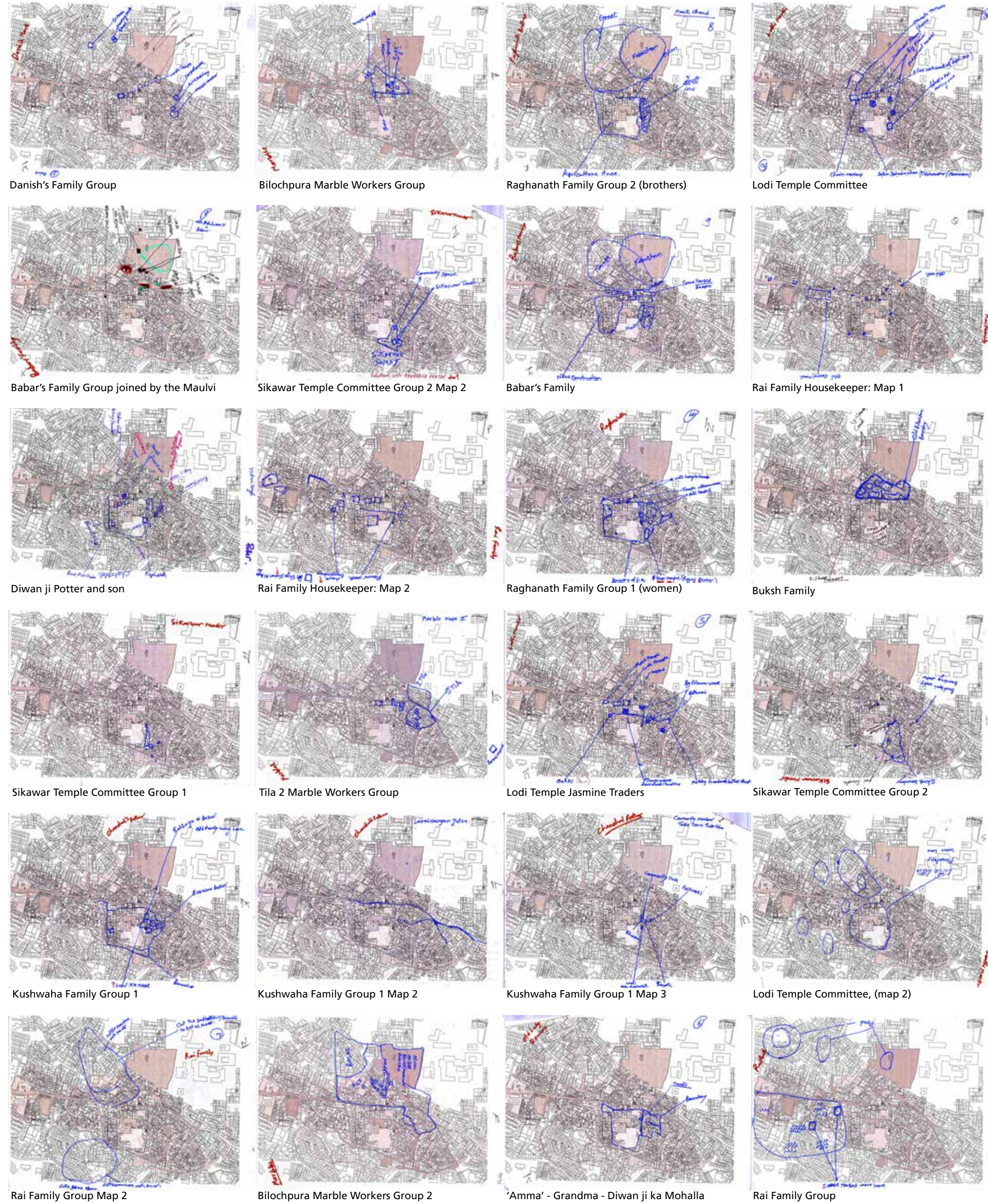


The fact that the prohibited zone in effect is only a small portion of the actual prohibited zone (area within 100m of the tomb in all direction) shows how negotiable this boundary is.



This site does provide a place for dissenting behaviours, but this quality has not been negotiated and is rather a side effect of blight. Without the opportunity for negotiation with neighbouring residents, the gamblers, rubbish dumpers, alcoholics are perceived as an unavoidable nuisance – there is no formal arena within which the situation can be addressed. A small incident can be inflammatory for this reason, and houses along the street concentrate on the exclusive space within them, and keeping it safe, rather than forms of sharing – as addressed earlier when examining the secondary bazaar street.

Interior-Basti Civic Settings ASI Prohibited Zone: Civic Possibilities

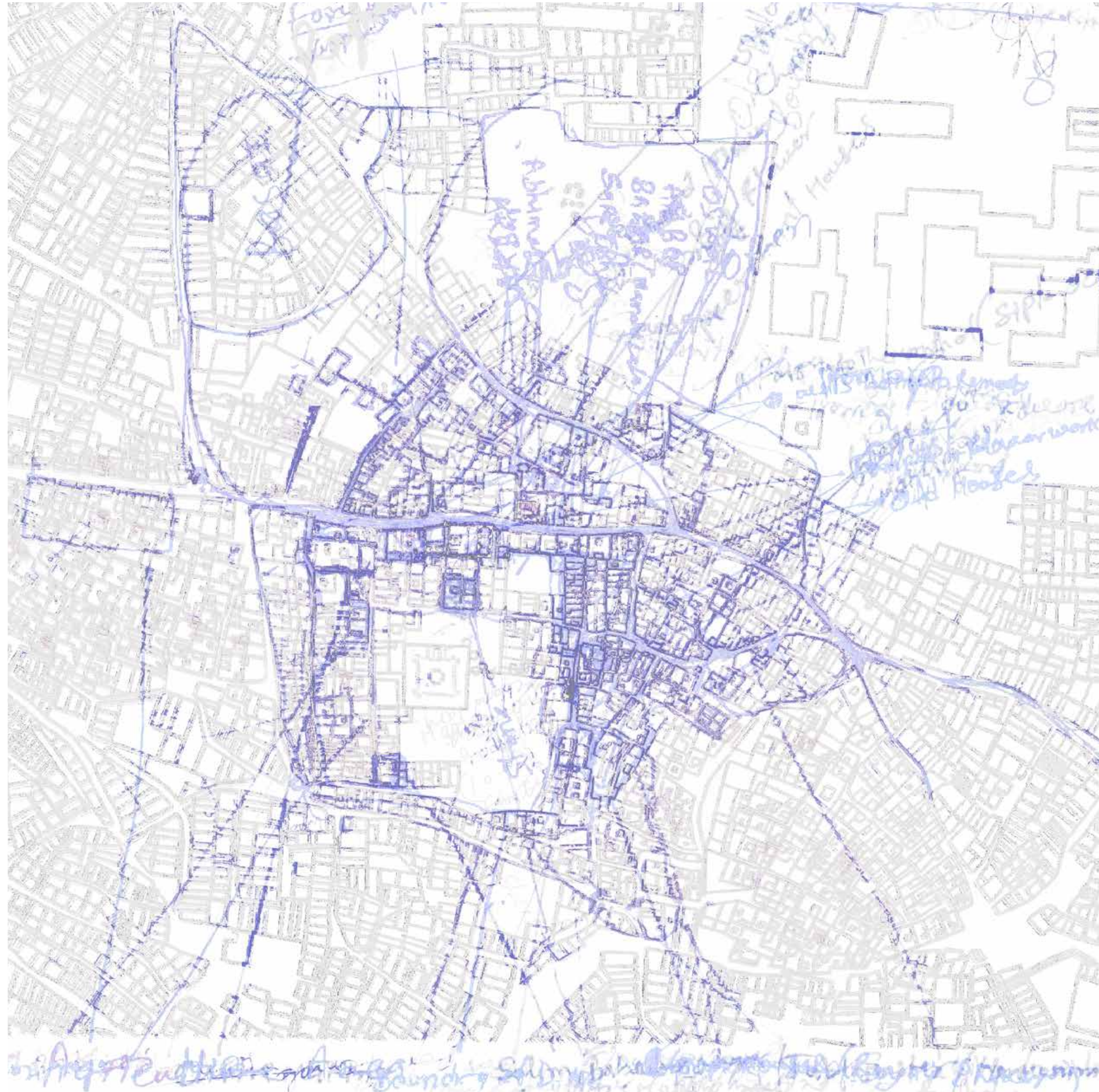


Left: maps made in informal interviews, Fieldtrip 4, when residents were asked to identify "purani dharohar" (old legacy/heritage) after several workshops to redefine these words.

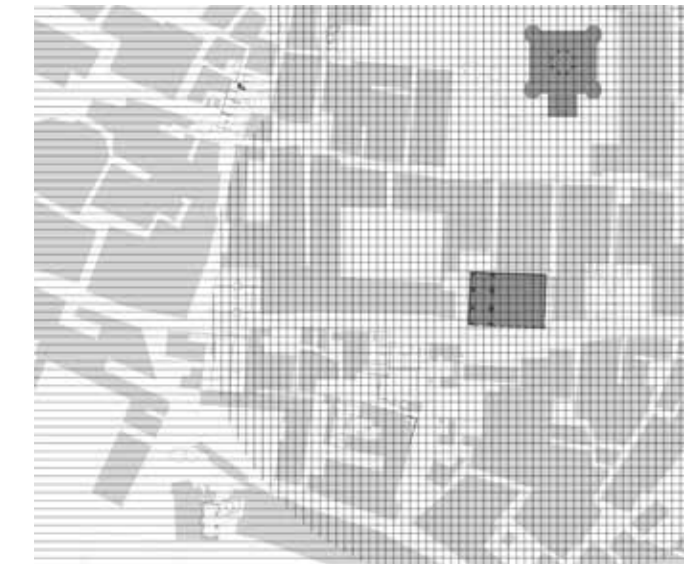
Right: further conversations took place when collaborators carried out walks to visit the identified heritage.



Heritage Transect Walks



Purani Dharohar (heritage) drawn by 26 resident groups during Field-trip four



AMASR protected monuments, and surrounding Prohibited Zones



Architectural heritage as noted by Peck, 2011

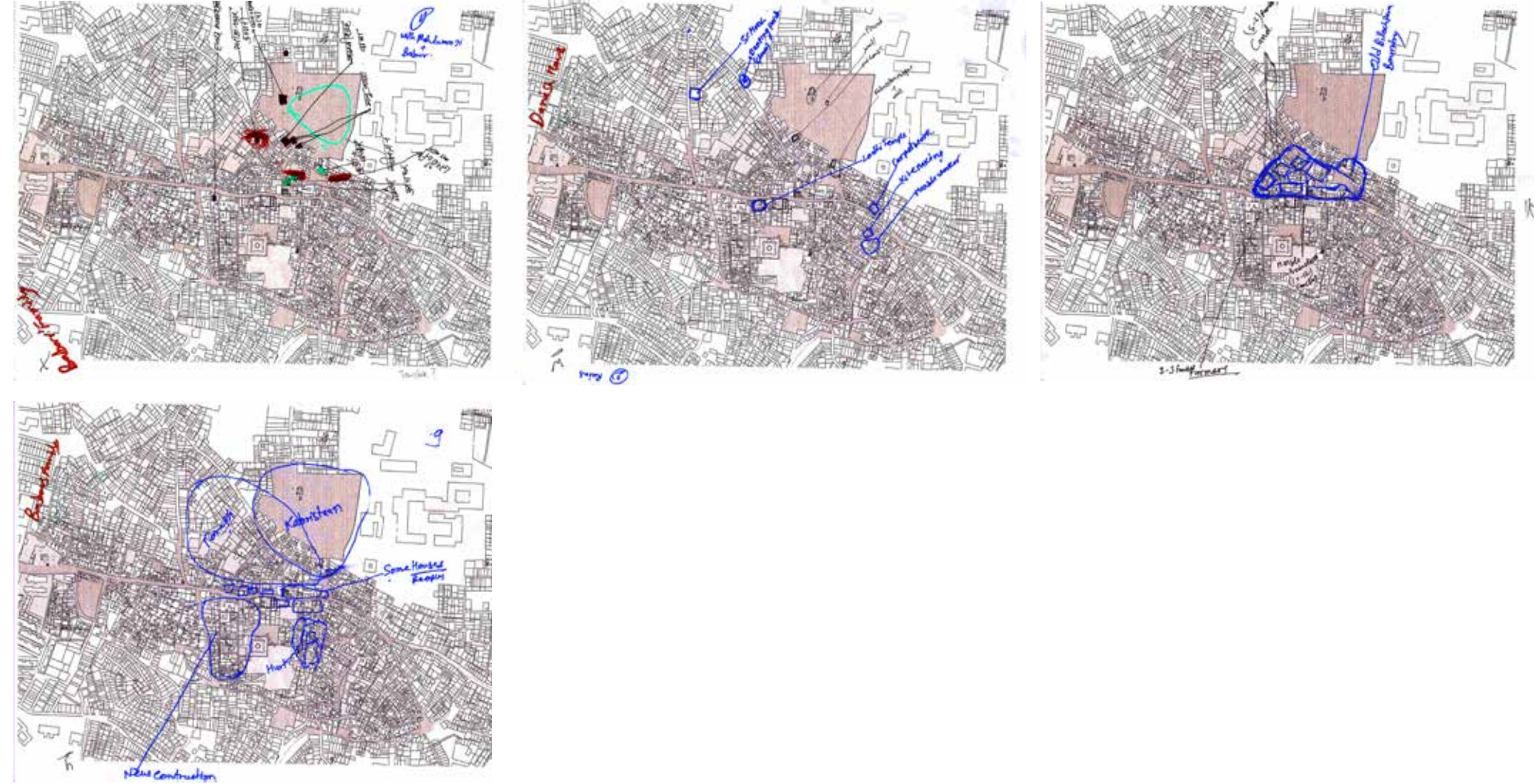
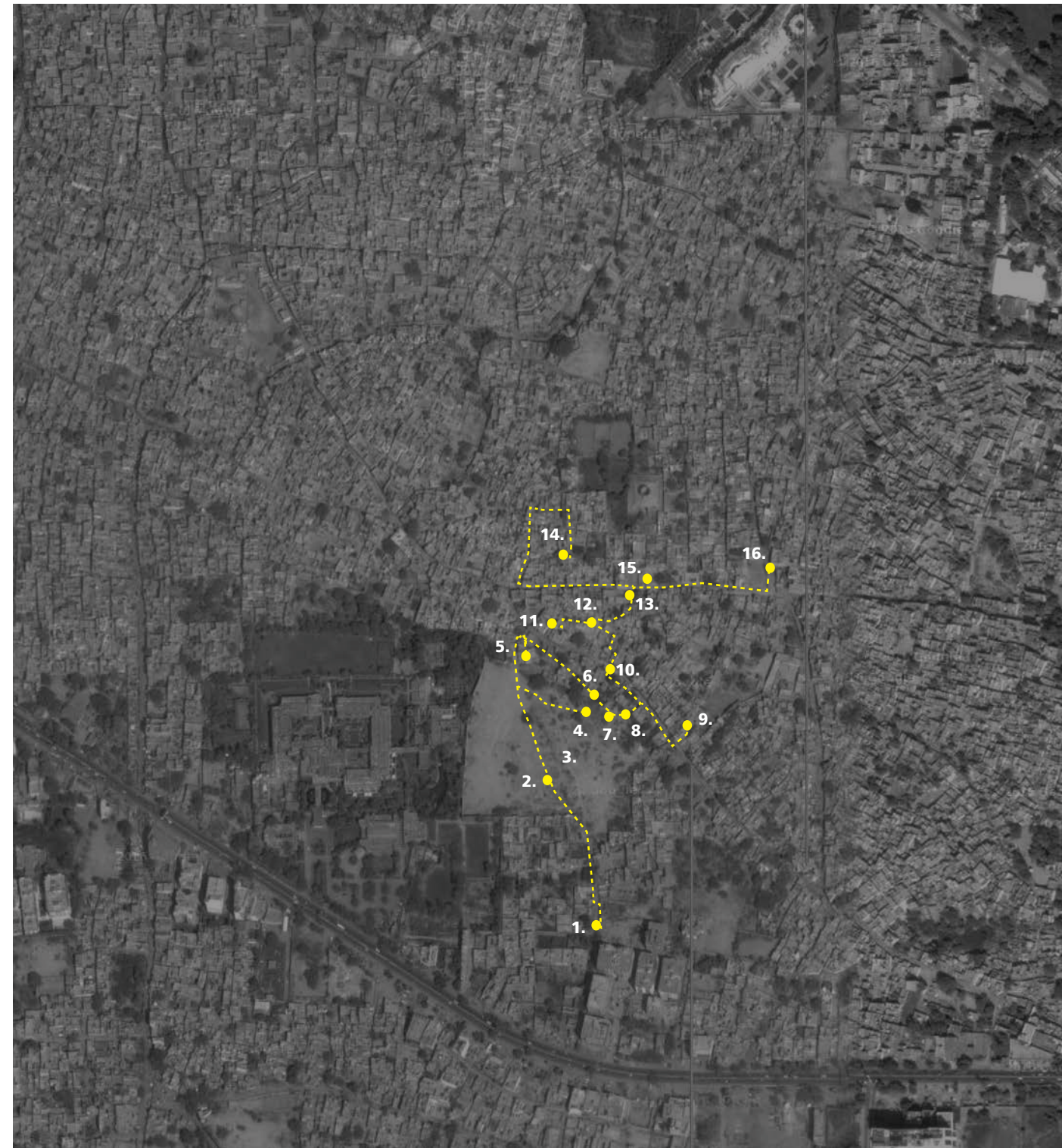


Architectural heritage featured in the Taj Heritage Walk



Buildings observed to be constructed in colonial period or before

Heritage Transect Walks: Comparison to alternative definitions of heritage value in Tajganj



Maps used to create Transect Walk 1



1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



6.



7.

- 1. Temple well
- 2. Kabristan well
- 3. Kabristan
- 4. Grave
- 5. Kabristan Masjid well
- 6. Grave
- 7. Grave
- 8. Grave
- 9. Maulvi's house
- 10. Gate, Bilochpura
- 11. Bilochpura Masjid
- 12. Steps, Bilochpura
- 13. Shahi masjid
- 14. Grave



8.



9.



10.



11.



12.

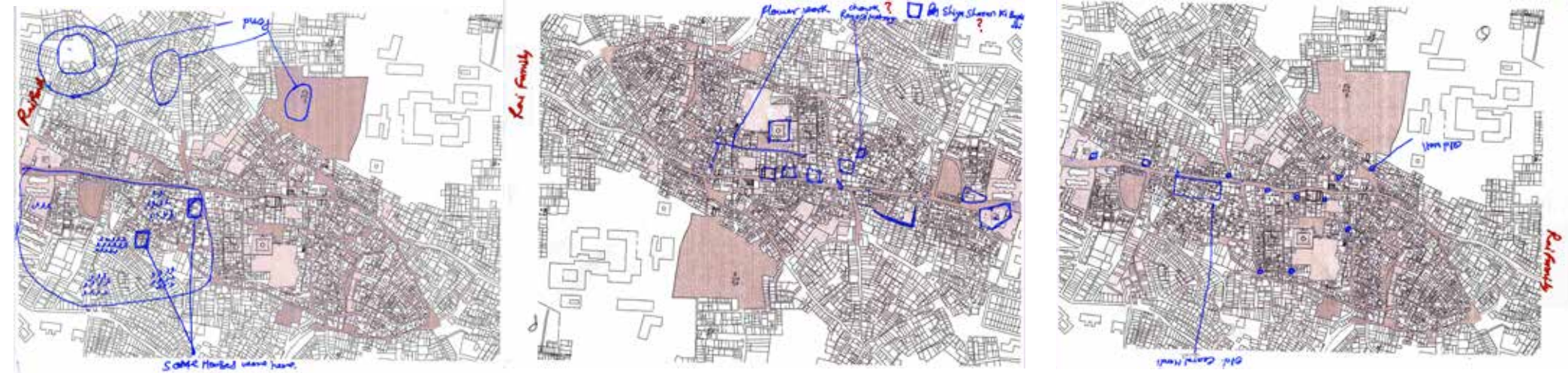
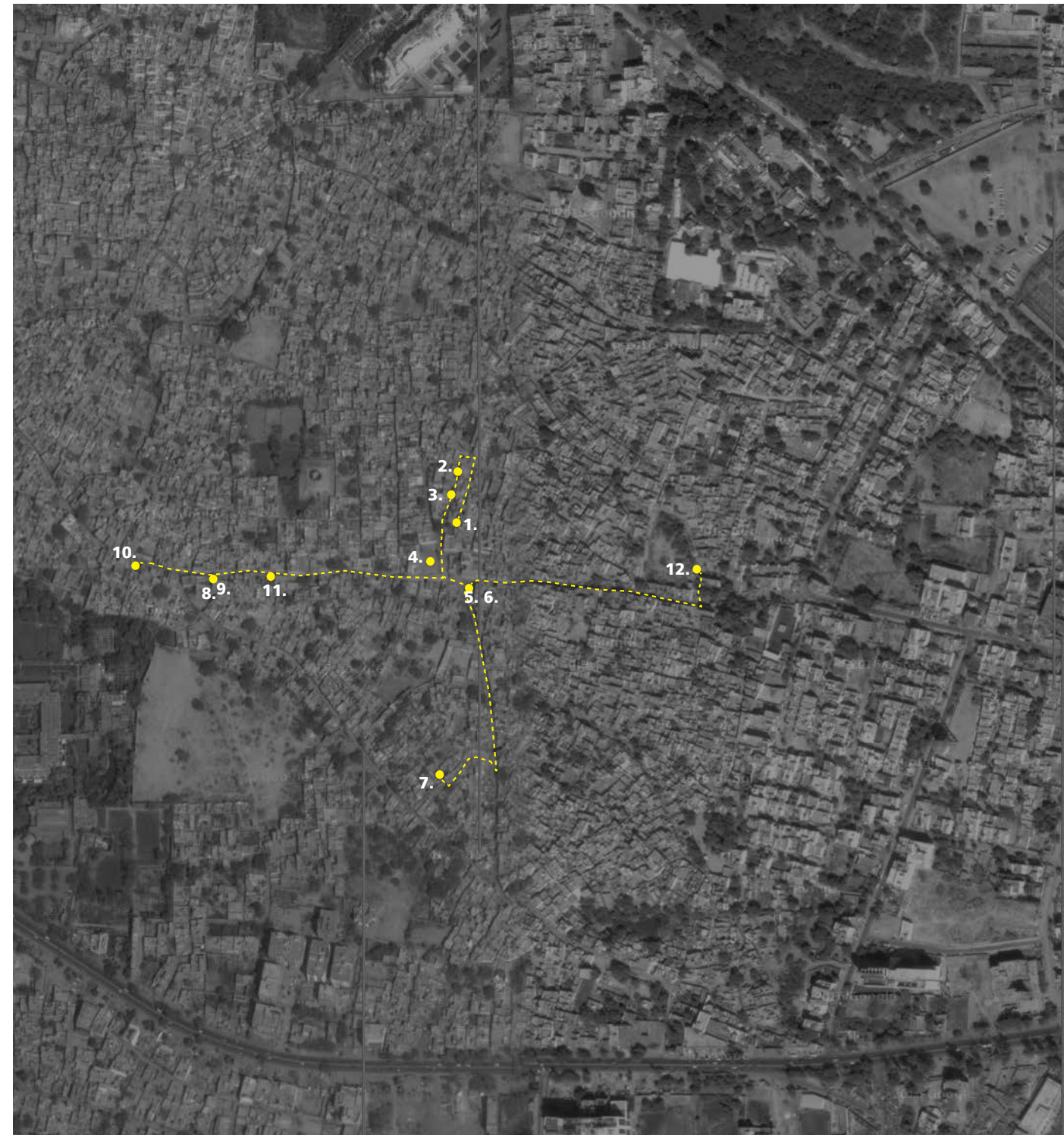


13.



14.

Transect Walk One

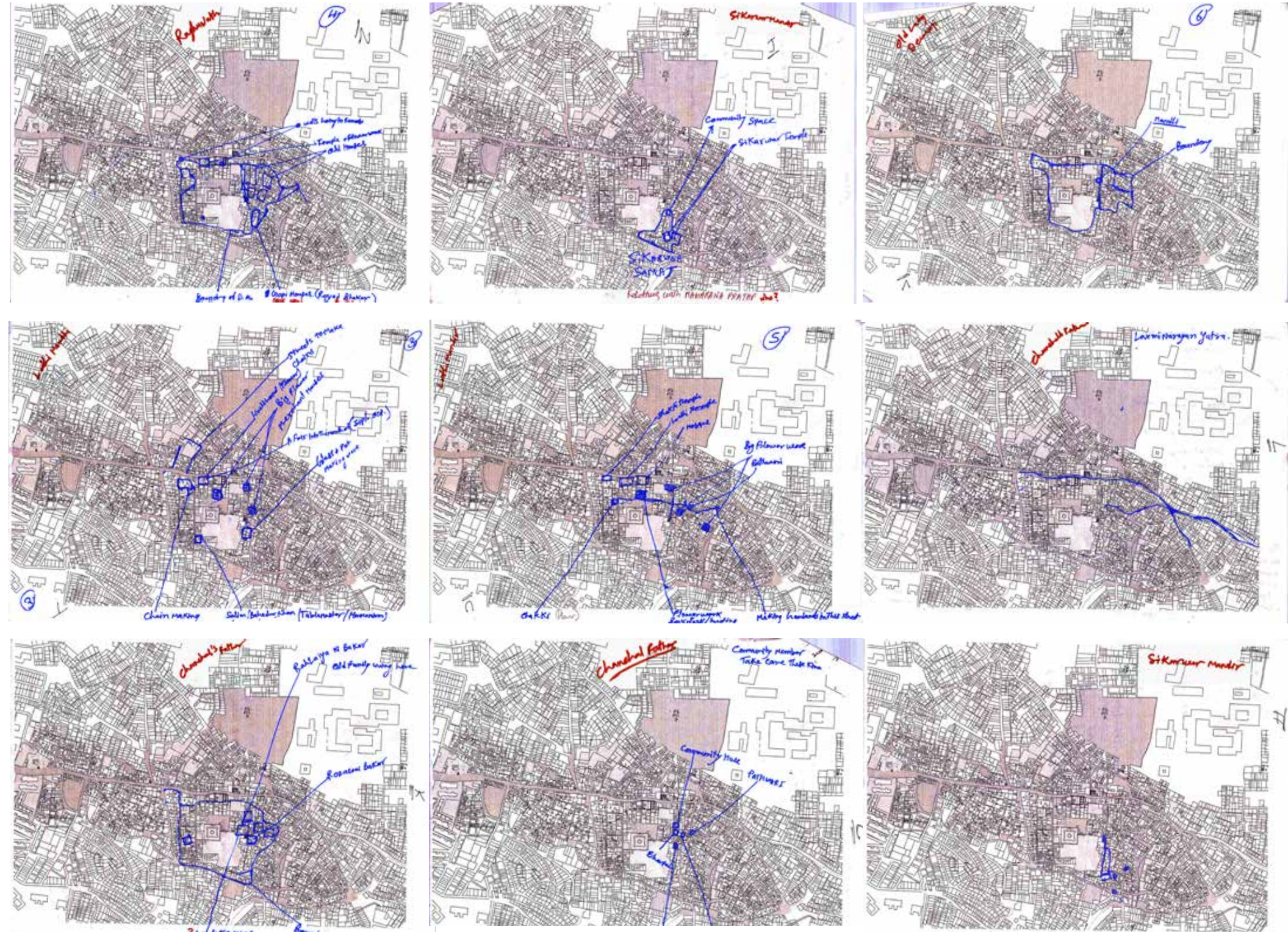
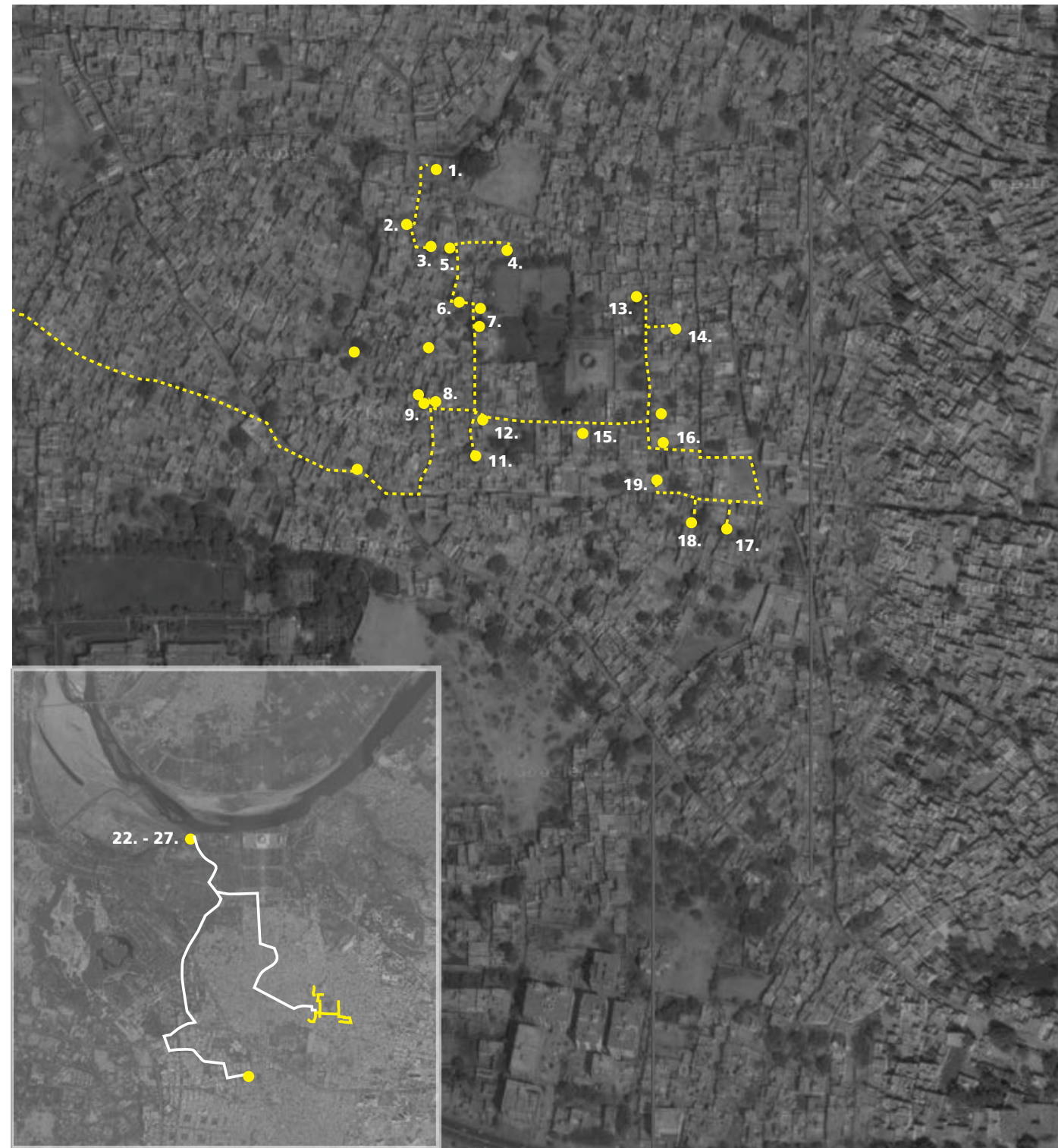


Maps used to create Transect Walk 2



1. Rai family neighbourhood
2. Old tax collecting area
3. Rai family haveli
4. Rai family garden
5. Bazaar Street well
6. Bazaar street well
7. Brickmaker's hill
8. House, Bilochpura
9. House, Bilochpura
10. House, Bilochpura
11. Bilochpura Masjid
12. Kabristan, Nagar Ganj

Transect Walk Two



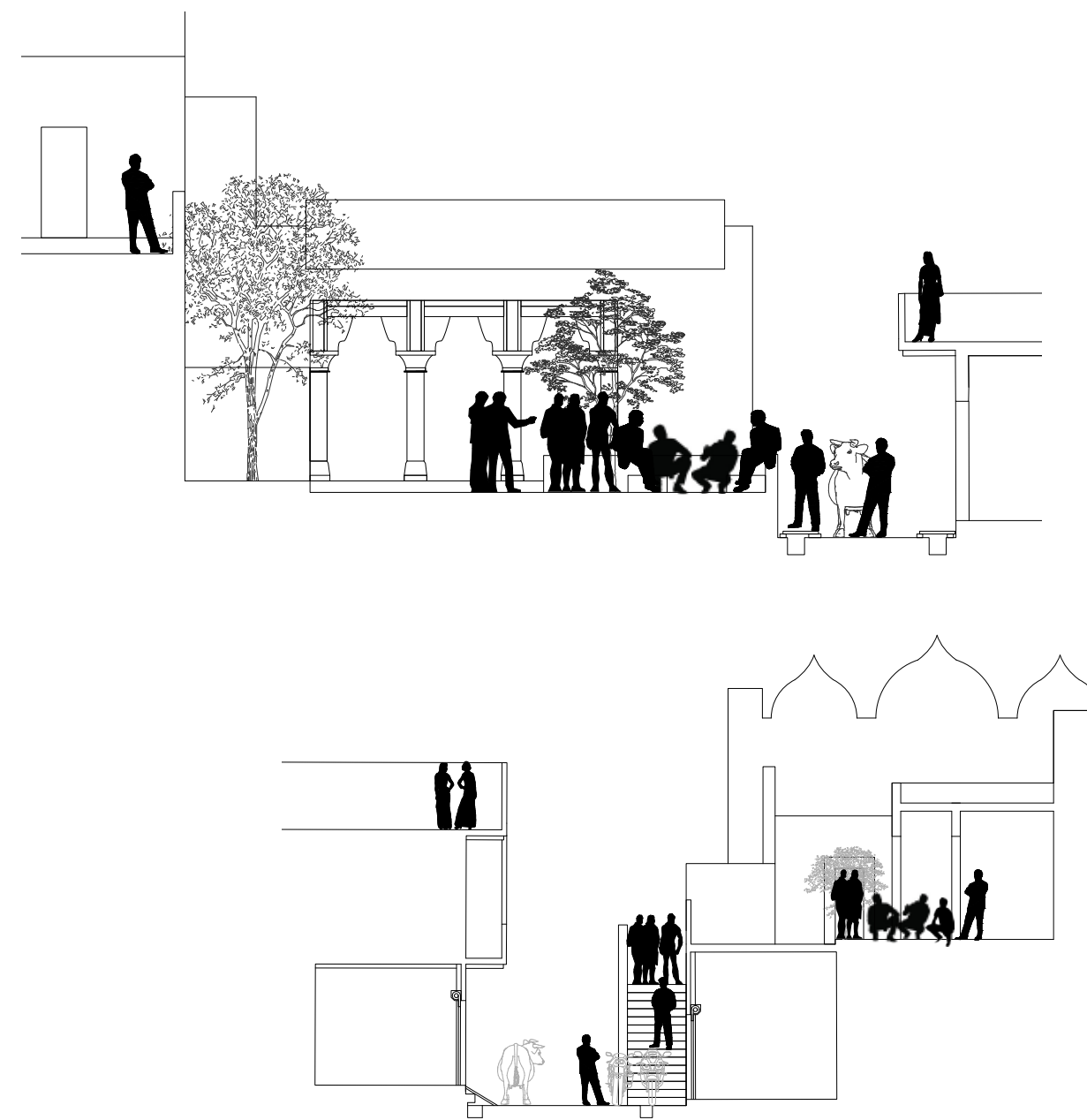
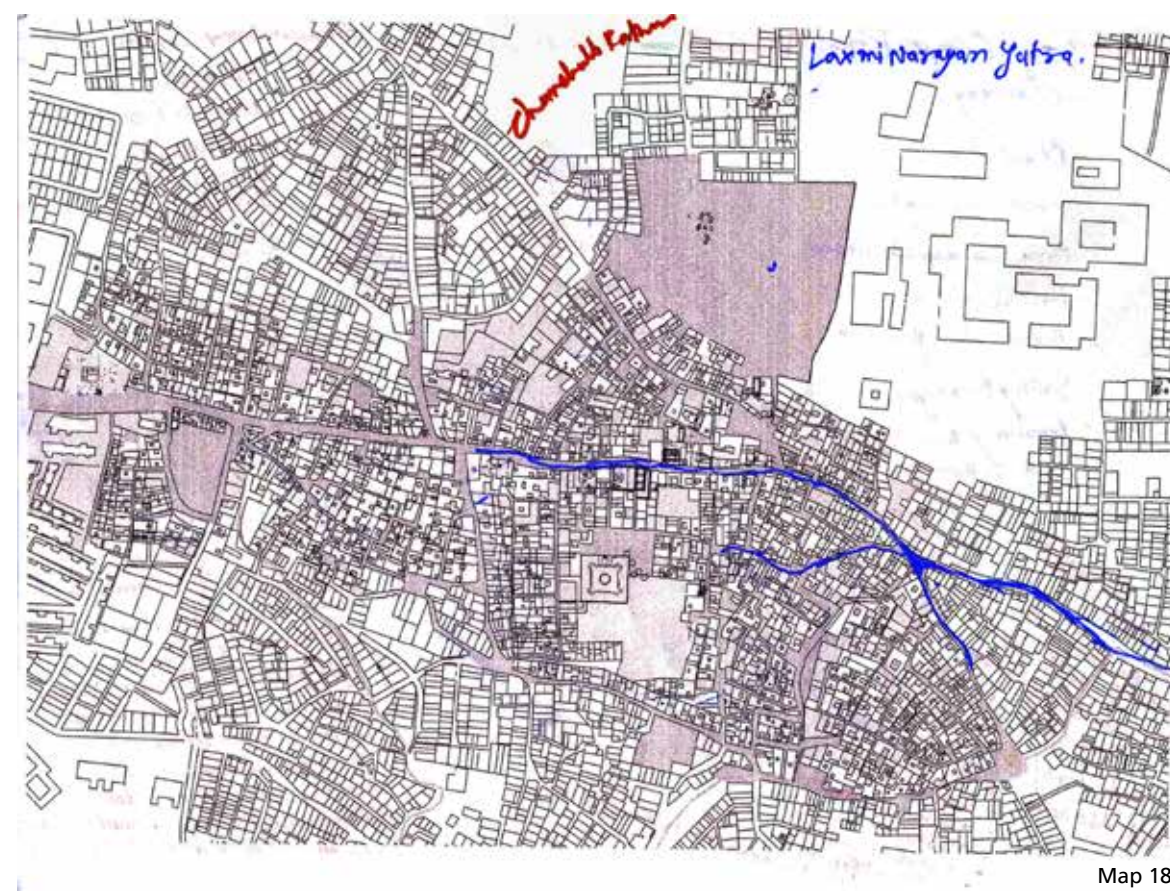
Maps used to create
Transect Walk 3



1. Sikwar house
2. Carving, Sikwar
3. Sikwar temple
4. Sikwar House
5. Temple yard
6. Empty plot, Sikwar
7. Well, Diwanji ka M.
8. Platform
9. Temple
10. Durgah shrine
11. House
12. House
13. Flower garlanding
14. Glasswork
15. metalwork
16. Temple
17. Pottery
18. Chainmaking
19. Lodi temple
- 20-27. Kushwaha temple

Transect Walk Three

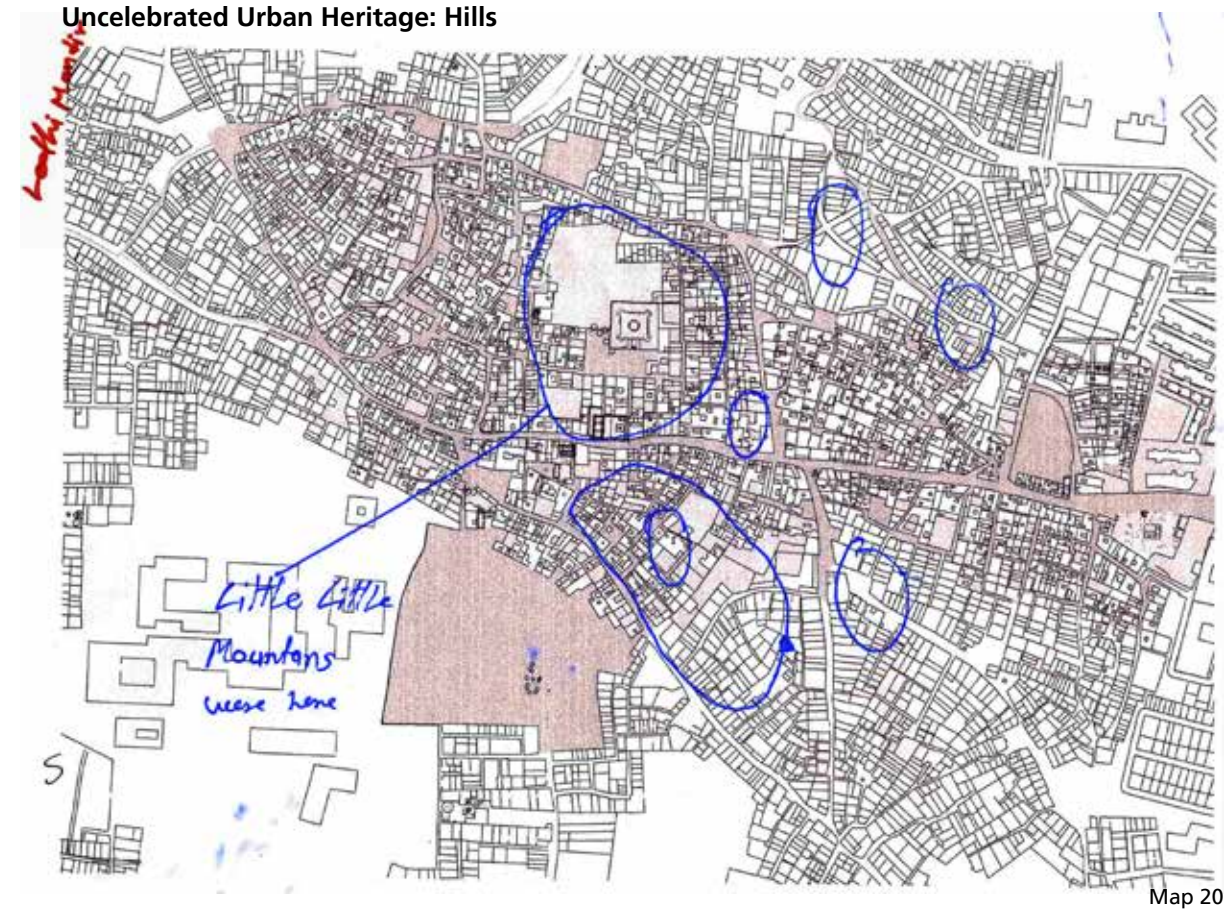
Uncelebrated Urban Heritage: Street Pattern



Bazaar streets were often mentioned in residents' memories of the past.

Rather than separating neighbourhoods, these streets provide places for interaction and sharing between bastis: buying, selling, education, worship and ration collection are all activities that people from multiple bastis come together to participate in.

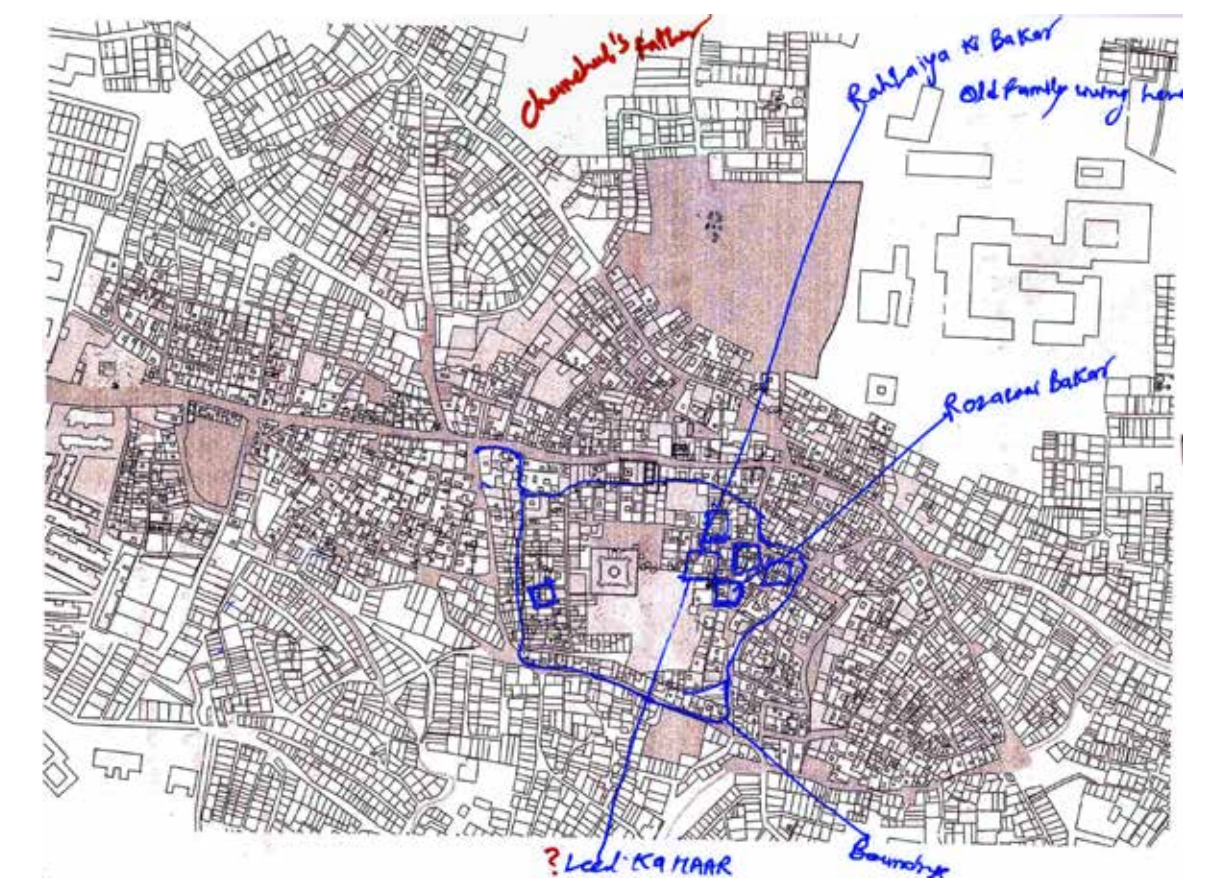
Uncelebrated Urban Heritage: Hills



The hilly terrain of the area featured heavily in residents' stories about the past, in the way that certain activities would be separated from daily life by situating them on higher ground (such as slaughtering animals for meat).

Now, the buildings extend and amplify the restraints created by the terrain, such as the way that sound travels, what can and cannot be seen from the high and low ground levels, how easy it is to travel between high and low ground.

Uncelebrated Urban Heritage: Back-to-back Boundaries

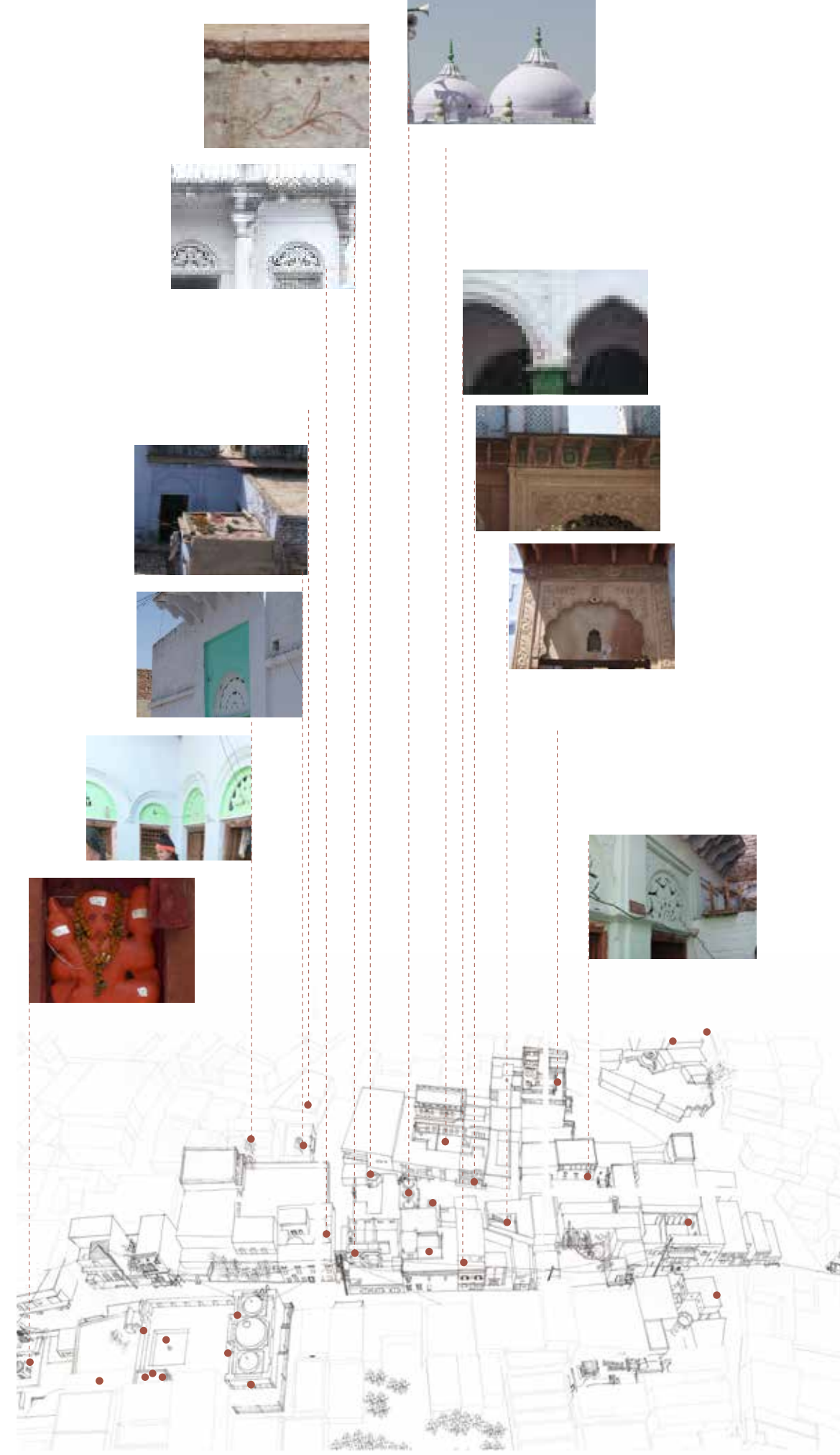
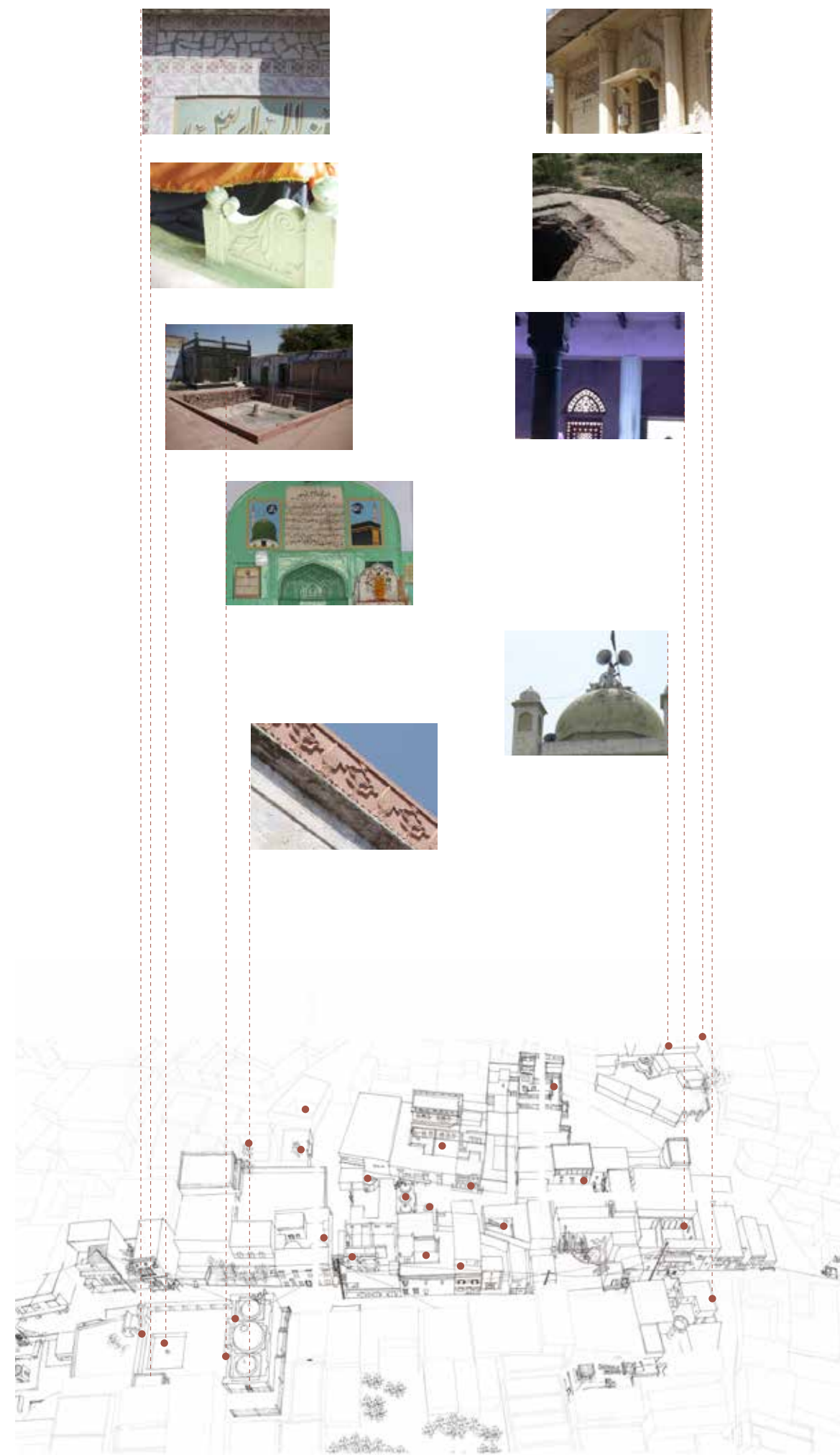


Some residents drew boundaries around their basti while they were talking about the area's history. While the ADA slum boundaries usually run along physical features such as streets and canals, the resident-drawn boundaries were often drawn one row of houses back from these features.

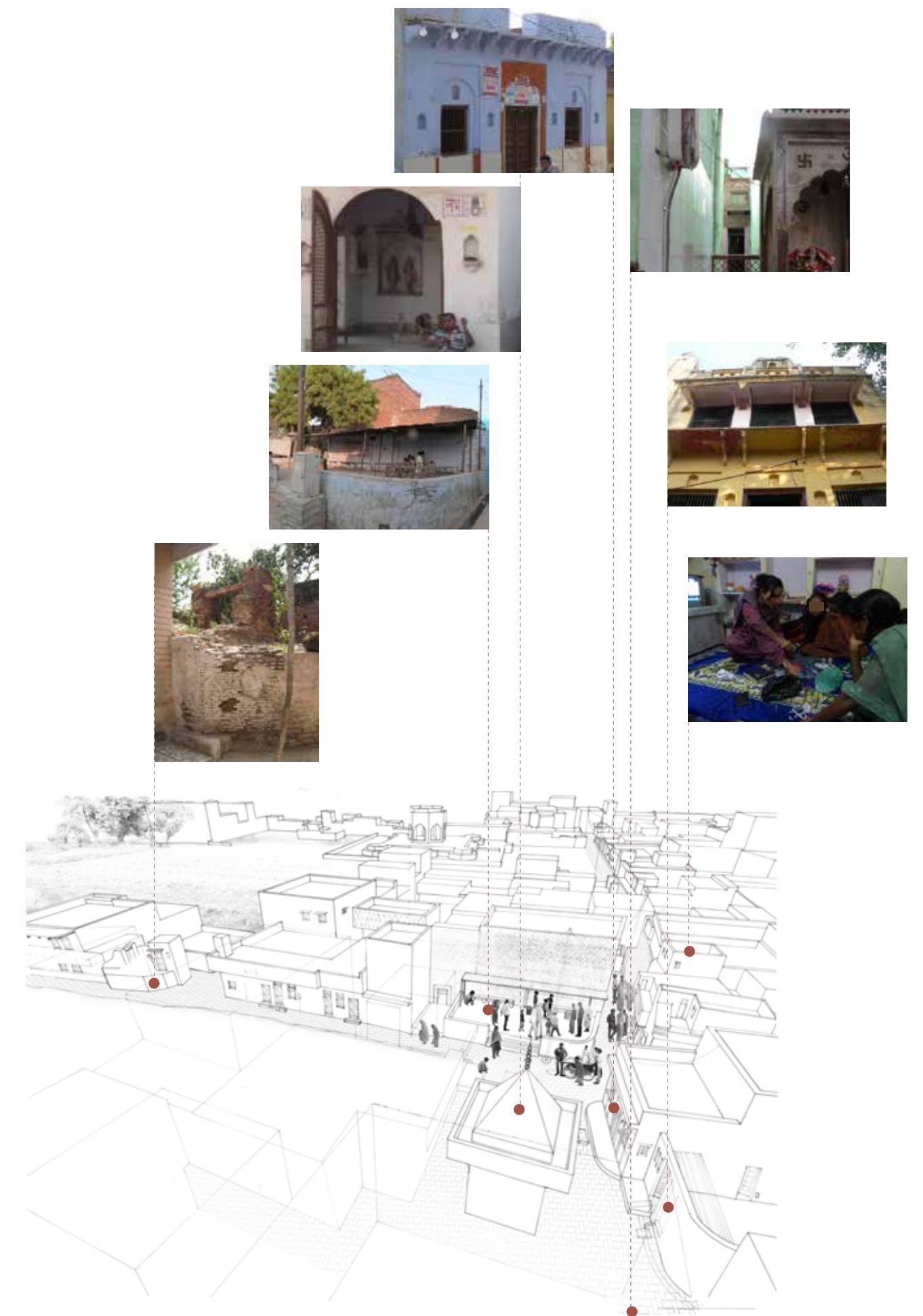
On visiting the sites of resident-drawn boundary lines, it could be seen that the boundary is often a 'seam' where the houses run back to back, while houses that faced each other across streets generally consider themselves part of the same basti.

This means that the places directly outside residents' homes are generally shared with members of the same basti, mediating the journey between home and places further away, where greater difference is encountered.

Peripheral Urban Heritage



It was found during the Storytelling exercise that the majority of settings with which residents associated collectively important memories were highly articulate

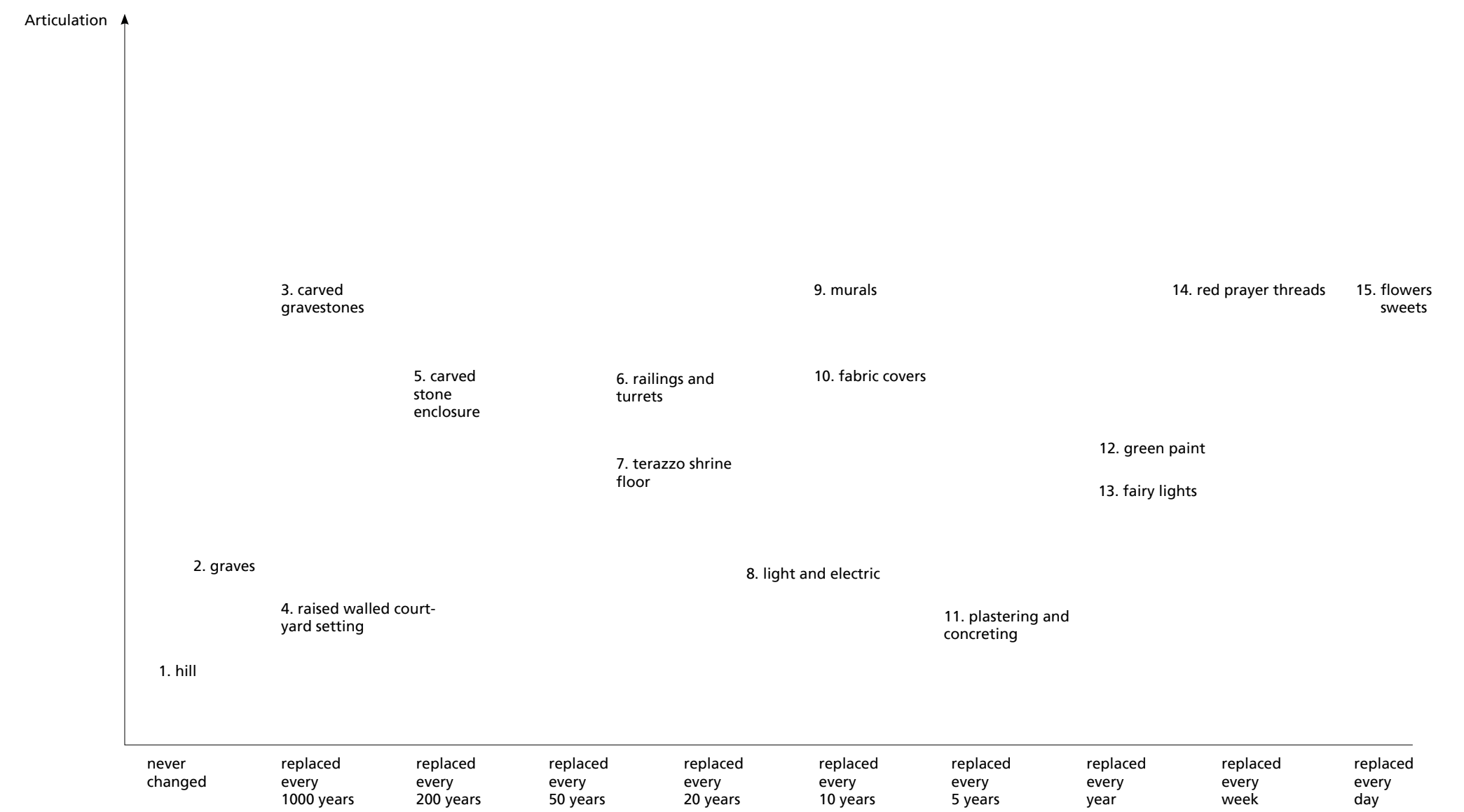
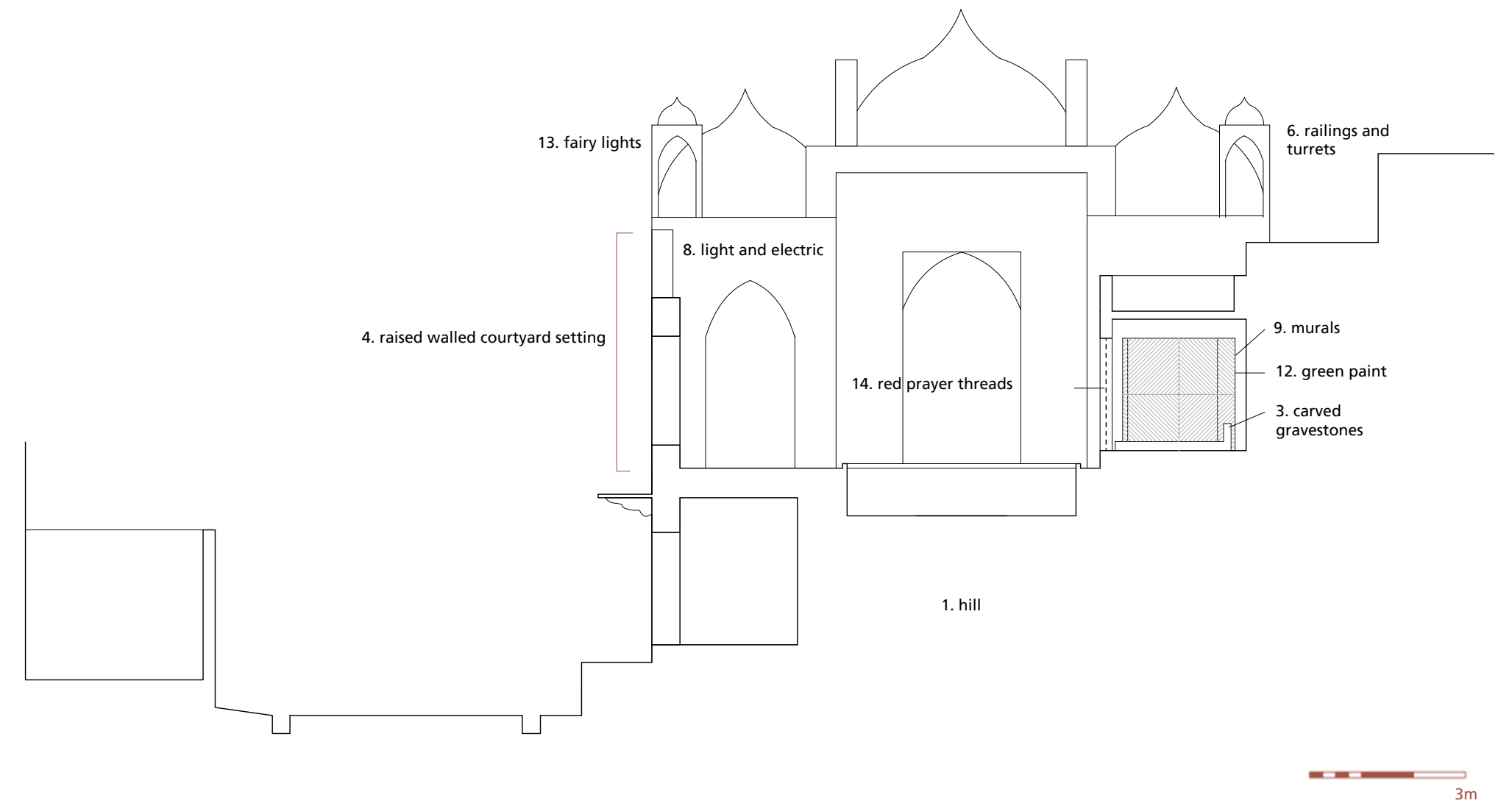
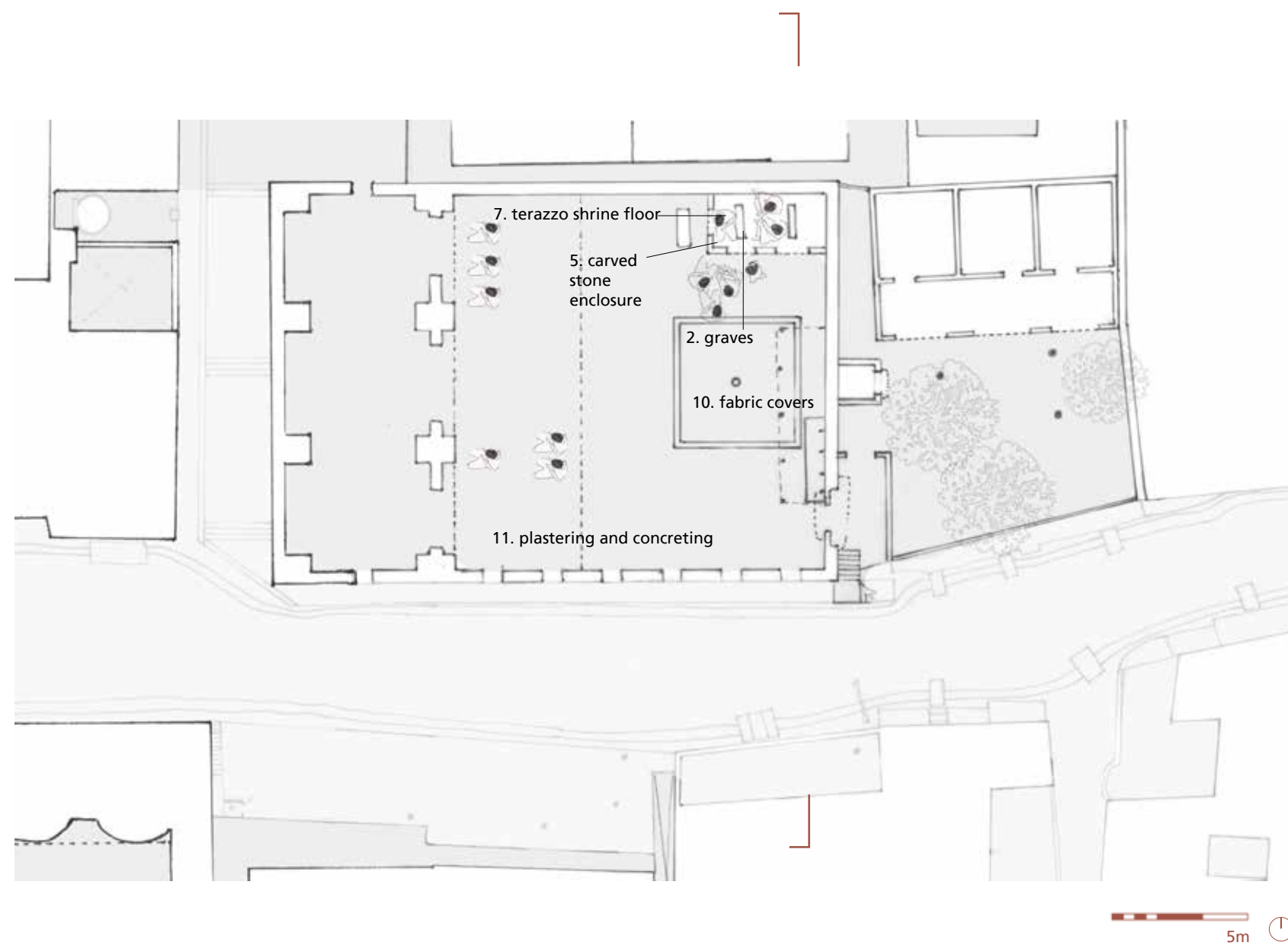


Research exercises that took place within the bastis:

- A. Transect Walk, Shrine of Baba Maedum Shah Husein and Chishti Rahmatullah inside the Shahi Masjid p85
- B. Craft Workshop, Sikawar Temple p87
- C. Informal Interview, Maulvi's House, Bilochpura p89

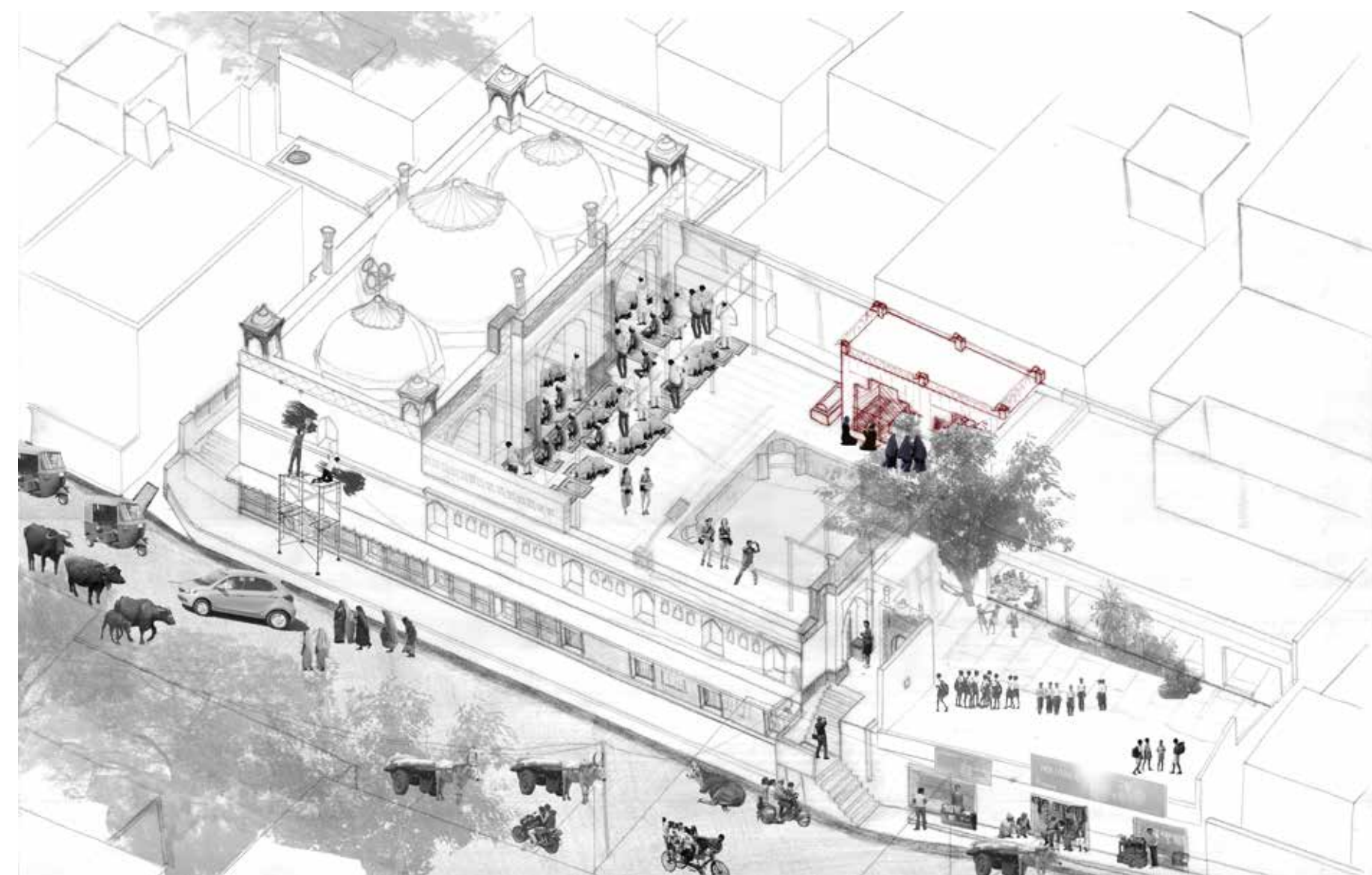
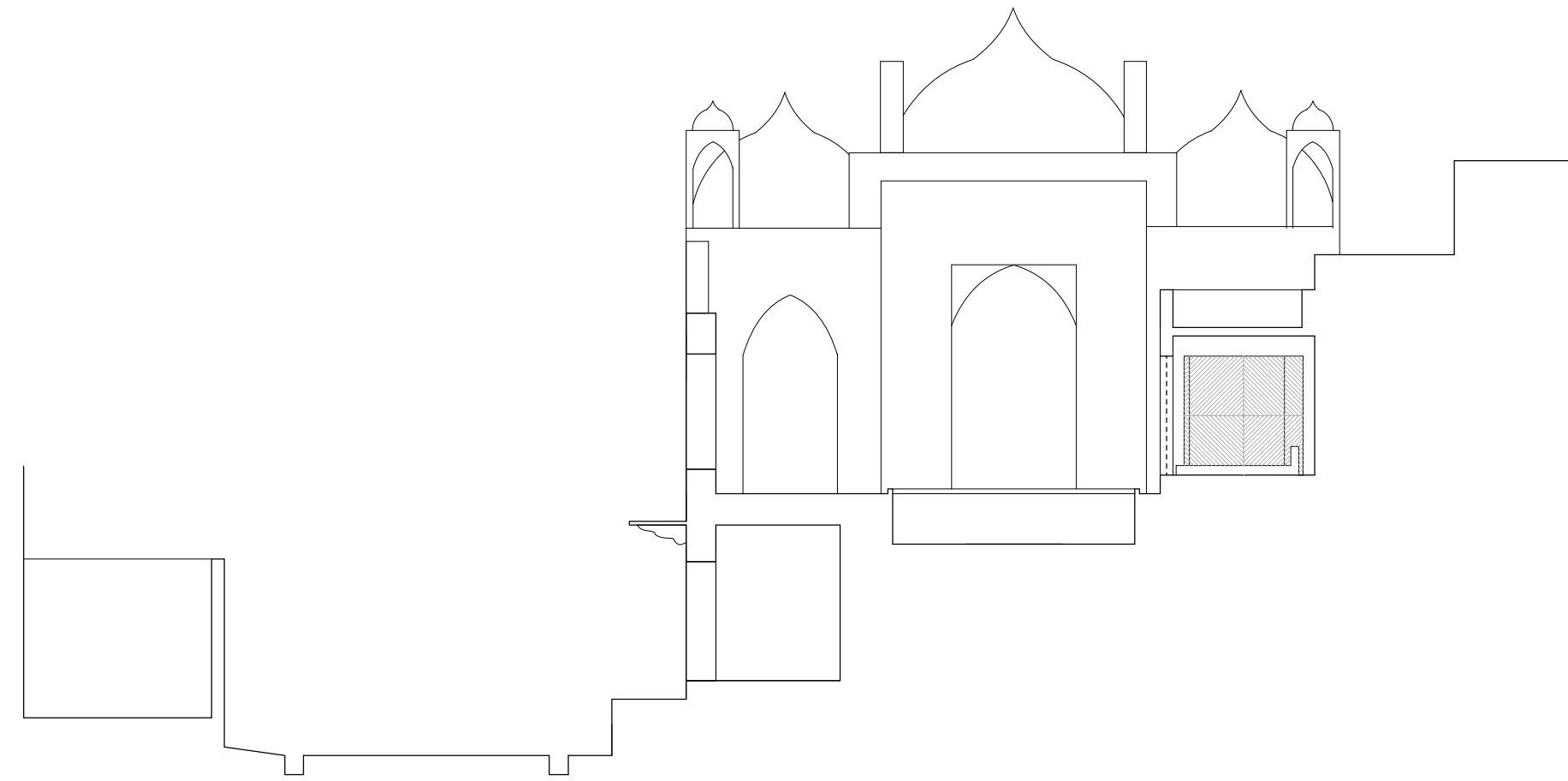
- D. Storytelling Exercise, Temple Chowk, Diwanji ka Mohalla p91
- E. Committee Meeting, Lodi Temple, Bazaar Street p92
- F. Buksh Museum of Hobby craft, Buksh House, Bilochpura p93

Celebrated Civic Settings



Celebrated Civic Setting *Conversation A*: Temporal Communicative Order

Opportunity to encounter difference: daily use by specific group; removed from busy thoroughfares



Opportunity to negotiate urban conditions: negotiated maintenance; commitment to conditions that set up respectful gathering



Metaphoric Depth of Urban Negotiation

Replaced every 300 years

The oldest kind of ornament is carved stone. The gravestone is carved with calligraphy, while the structure's openings are framed with carved columns of the 'bulbous, cypress-like' (Peck, 2011) style generally associated with the late Mughal (late 18th century to be more specific) period.



Replaced every 150 years

The stone is painted with gloss emulsion (believed to protect it, although it is actually quite damaging) – in other words these are the materials that the committee commit to preserving for as long as possible.



Replaced every 20 years

The outside of the structure is tiled with locally bought tiles in a geometric pattern, which corresponds to 'appropriate' mosque design for the committee, but is something they can easily source and afford.



Replaced every 15 years

The chrome grills take the idea of the Mughal jali screen carved out of stone but instead use a fashionable product within Tajganj that is less labour intensive, and skills that can be found locally (a large number of houses use this material for balustrades). For the same reasons, the turrets (an ornamental nod to minarets) take a traditional form of mosque articulation but make it out of metal.



Replaced every 3 years

On the inner walls are small murals, painted in the last decade, of the Kaaba and the Masjid al Haram in Saudi Arabia reminding worshippers of their orientation to the prophet Muhammad, and below the paintings the graves themselves and cenotaphs above are laid with the head to the north – this is so that the body will face Mecca when it wakes on the day of judgement and turns on its side (Peck, 2011).

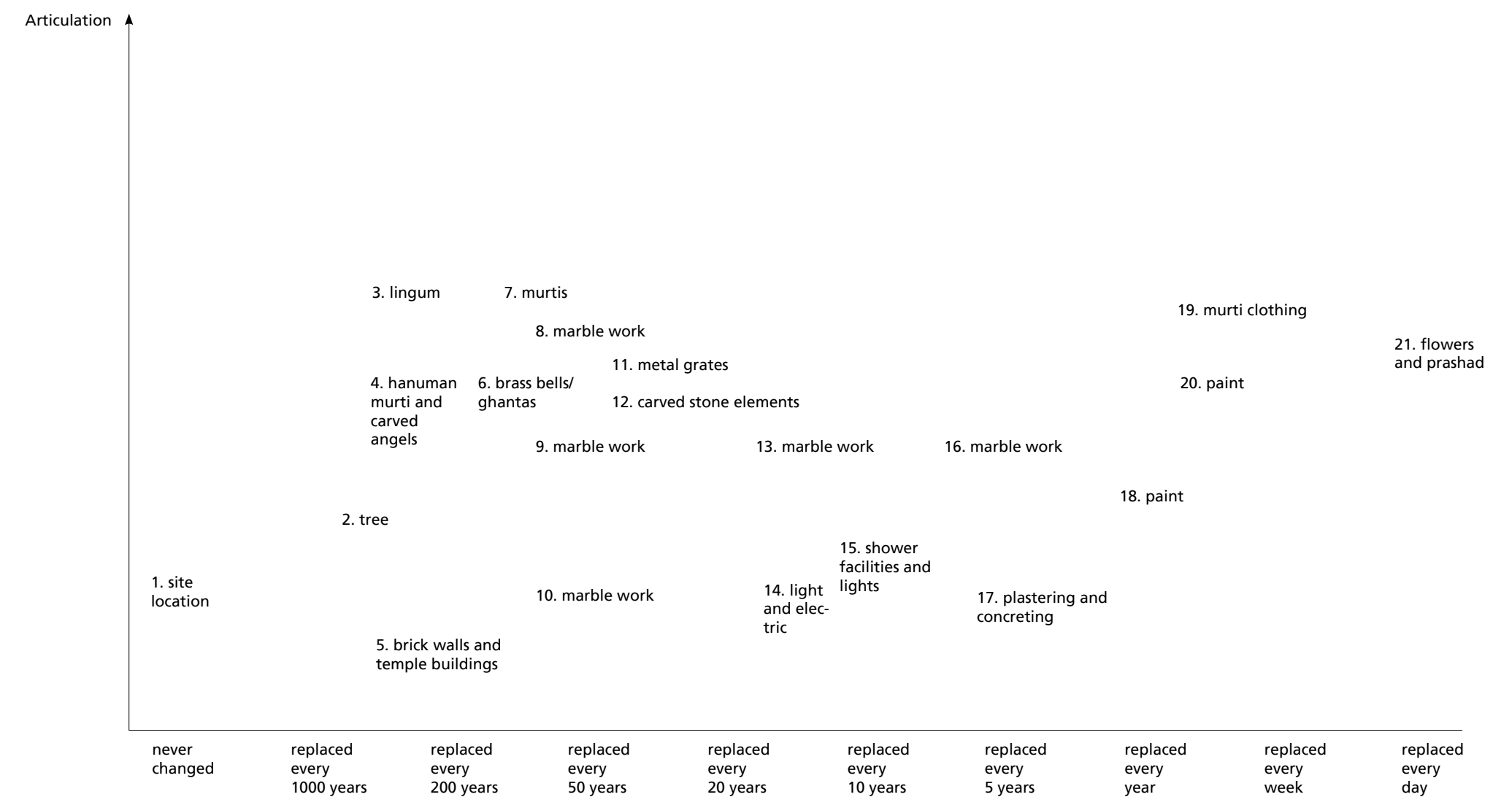
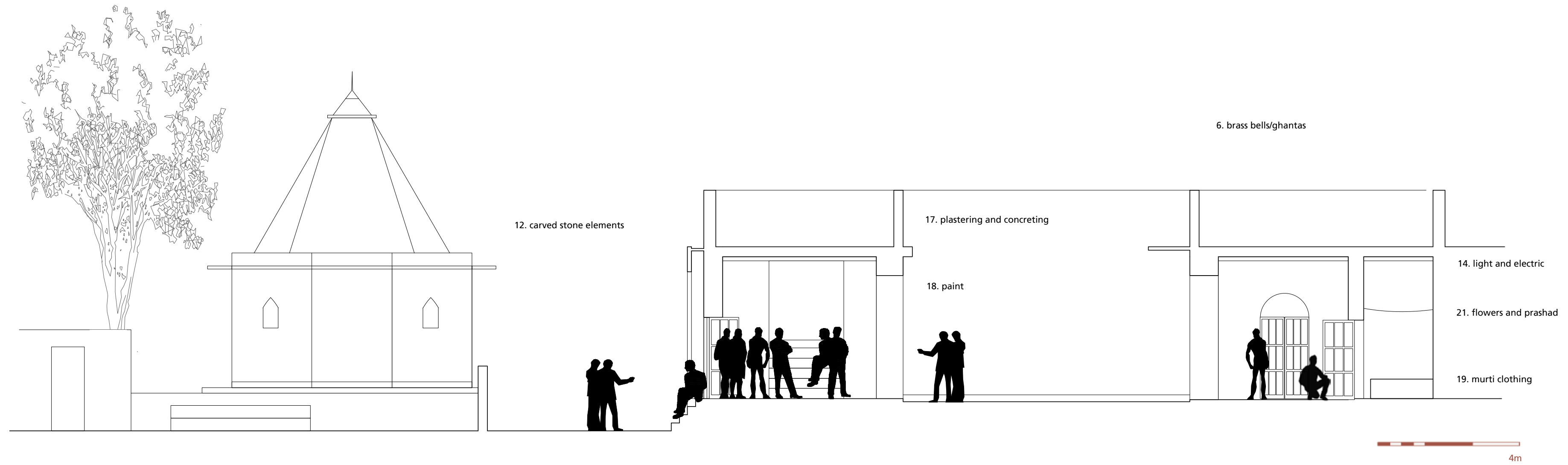


Weekly/daily

Bright green paint (colour associated with Islam) is applied regularly to the inner walls, and fabric covers and beads which are washed and replaced dress the gravestone. Marigolds, roses, sweets and grains decorate the graves during the Urs festivities – a ritual honouring (if not offering) actually shared with the Hindus in Tajganj who use the same things for puja – not surprising given the two religions have shared a city for over 500 years.

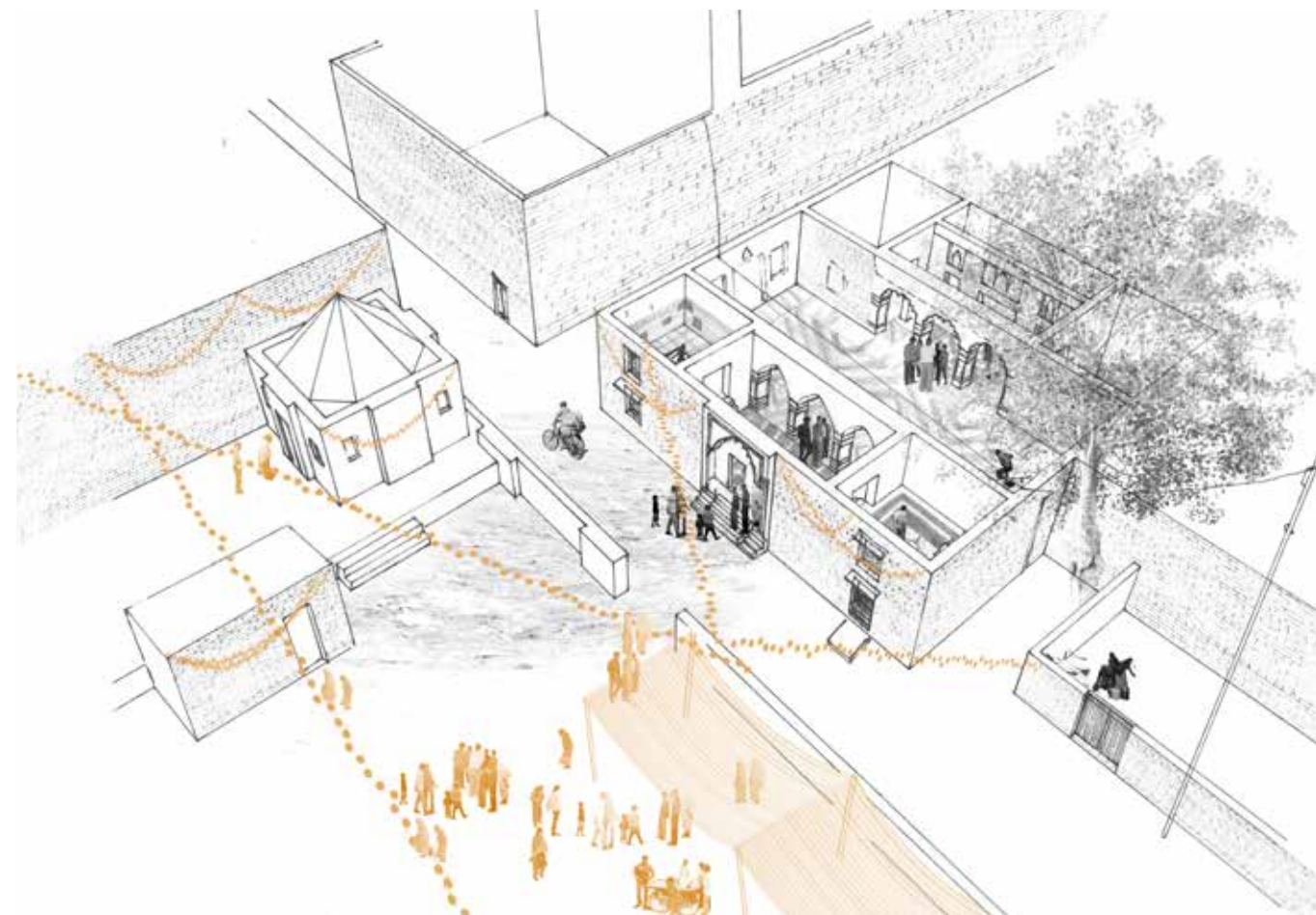


Celebrated Civic Setting Conversation A: Civic Possibilities

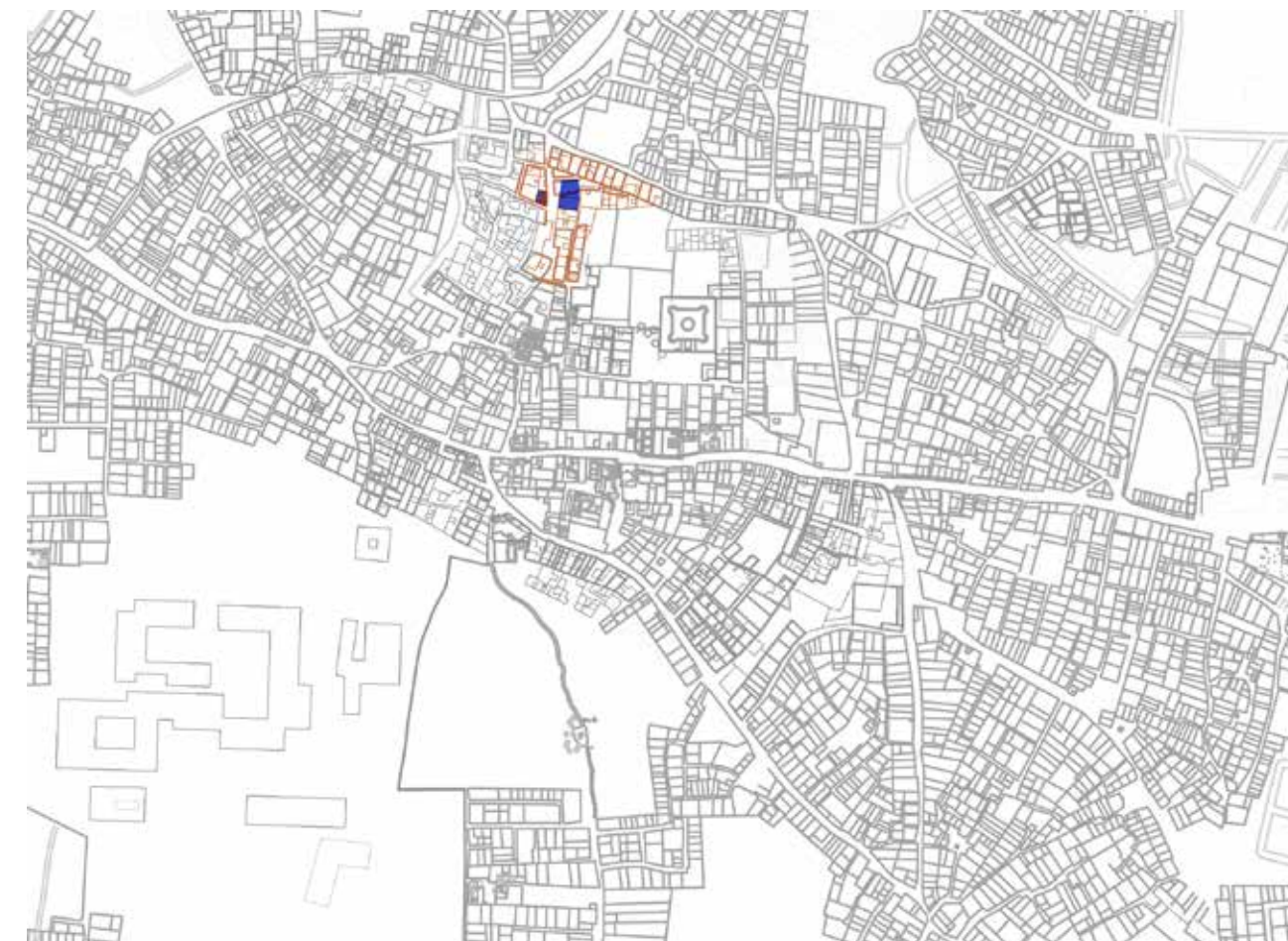


Celebrated Civic Setting *Conversation B*: Temporal Communicative Order

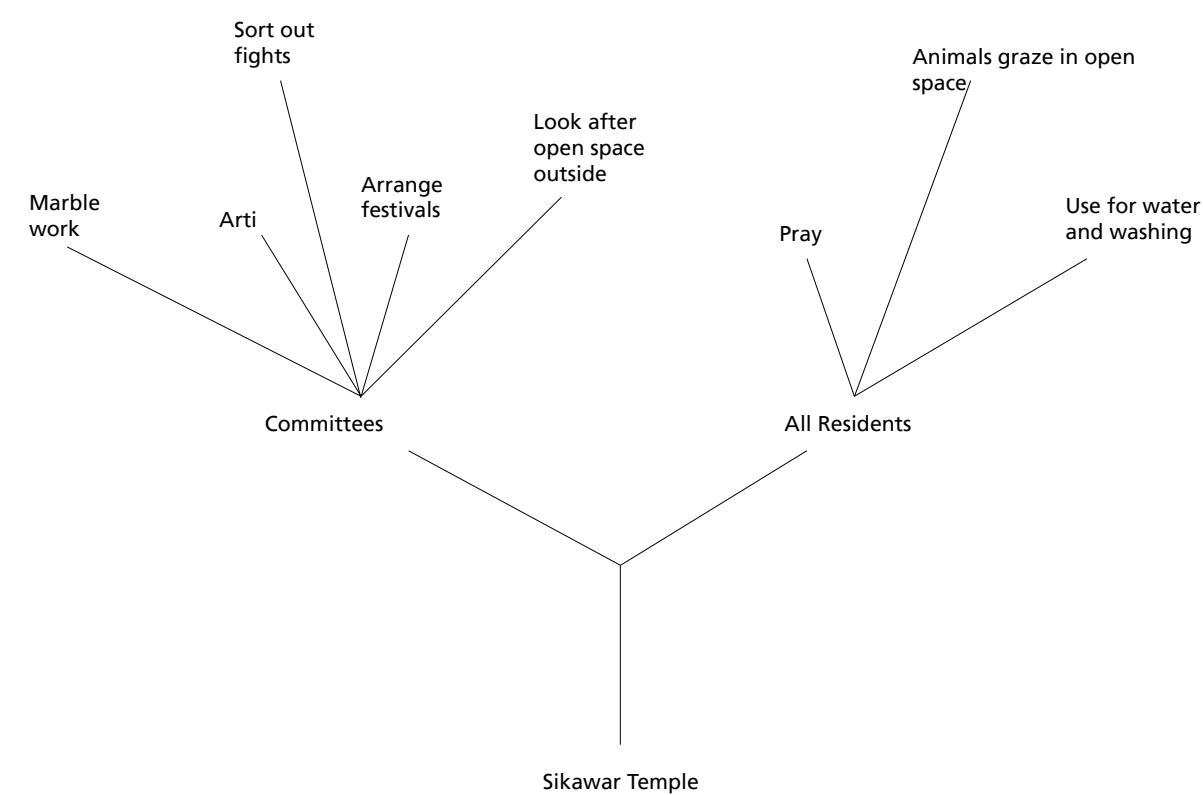
Opportunity to encounter difference: daily use for resident showering, and puja



Opportunity to negotiate urban conditions: resident-committee maintained



Area where committee constituents reside
 Committee meeting point
 Area maintained by committee



Metaphoric depth of urban negotiation: siting current beliefs particular to the temple's occupants within wider Hindu culture



There are various attitudes towards sacred trees in Hindu India, including the belief that planting a tree will be rewarded in the next life. There are many claims that a lot of Hindu practices started with worship of the tree itself, and temples were built much later to provide a place to worship on the holy site (Ramanayya, 1930). This is a story that I heard in Tajganj about the choice of location for temple building, due to the fact that many of the Mughal Tajganj settlements did not know whether they would stay in the area for very long, and so made their temporary place of worship an existing tree, around which a 'tola' (settlement) would develop. The tree in the Sikawar grounds is a betel tree, associated with the deity Hanuman in the Mahabharata. Given that the tree is located directly behind the shrine to Hanuman in the Sikawar temple, which forms the north-east corner of the temple and contains one of the oldest murtis (Hanuman) the temple might have actually been built there to provide the best embodied conditions within which to carry out worship based upon the belief that the site has a sacred link to the divine.

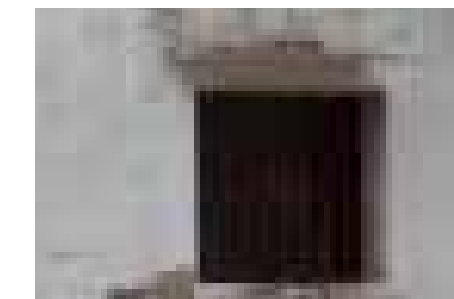


Replaced every 30 years



Replaced every 15 years

The smooth durable floor is a necessity for puja. It is also a necessity for the temple's other primary use – showering. The floor is highly decorative. The committee have worked hard to show off their creative flare and talent in marble work, and have committed to this by sourcing unusual and expensive pieces of marble (negotiating with the companies that supply marble to the contractors that employ them as labourers). There is a hierarchy to the designs: in the courtyard and porch the designs are decorative without religious symbolism – designs learnt and practiced at work. However, in the shrine to Hanuman a compass-like sun symbol has been created in the floor decoration. Related to the swastika, the left part of each 'leg' or point is coloured black, associated with the goddess Kali, destruction, and the sun in Autumn and Winter, while the right part of each 'leg' is orange, associated with the sun in spring and summer and thus new life (Chatterjee, 2001). In the shrine to Shiva pure white marble is used so that the focus is on the lingam (fertility symbol associated with Shiva) carved in auspicious black marble.



Replaced every 20 years



Replaced weekly/daily

the ghantas (brass bells) hung in the garbagriha, (inner sanctum) and rung during puja, which have a design of the deity's avatar cast onto them. Then in the temporal order come window grates with further swastikas, and pale blue paint which is regularly reapplied.

On a weekly basis the murtis are cleaned and dressed. On a daily basis candles, flowers and sweets are used to decorate the garbagriha for puja.



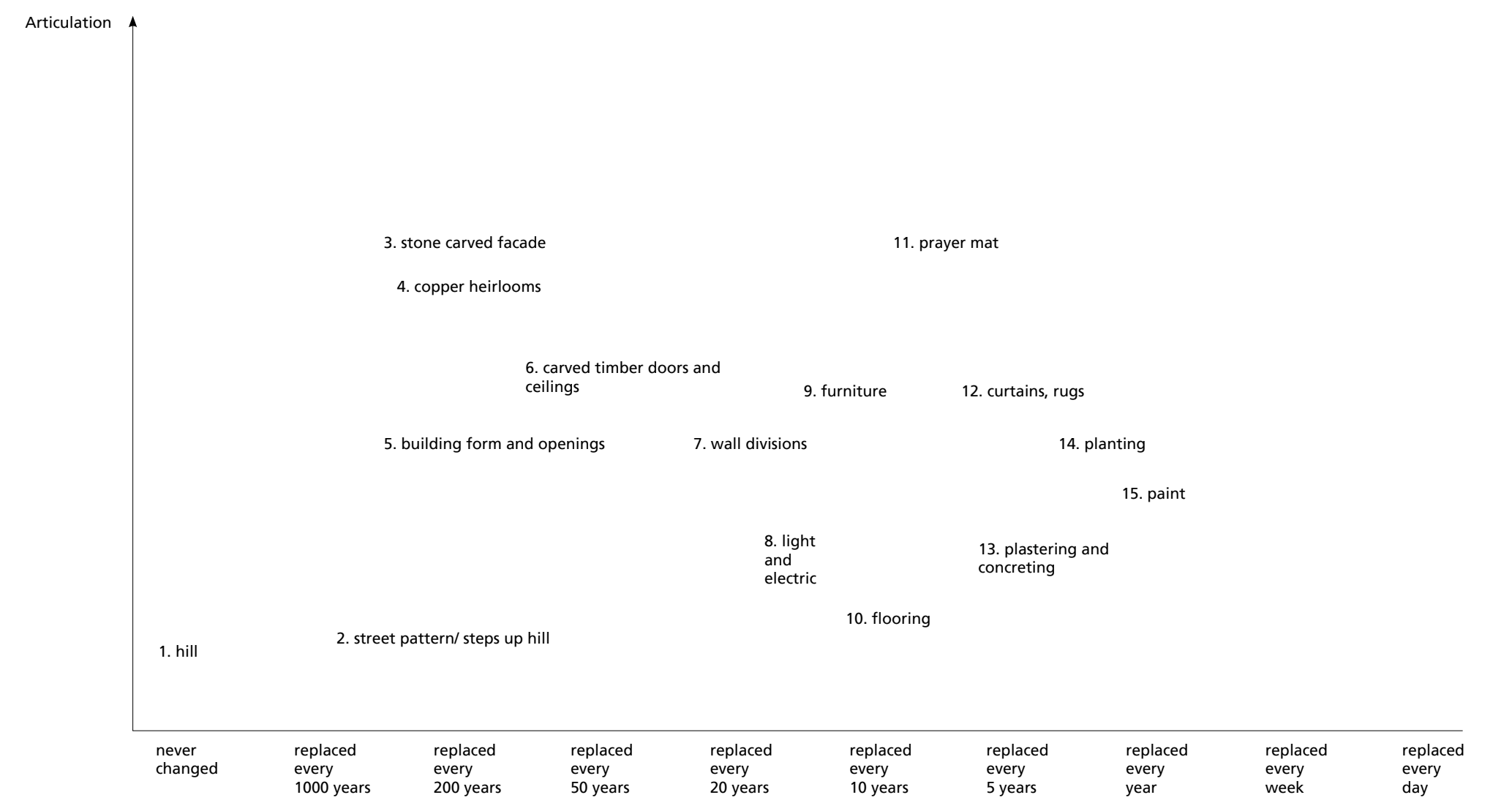
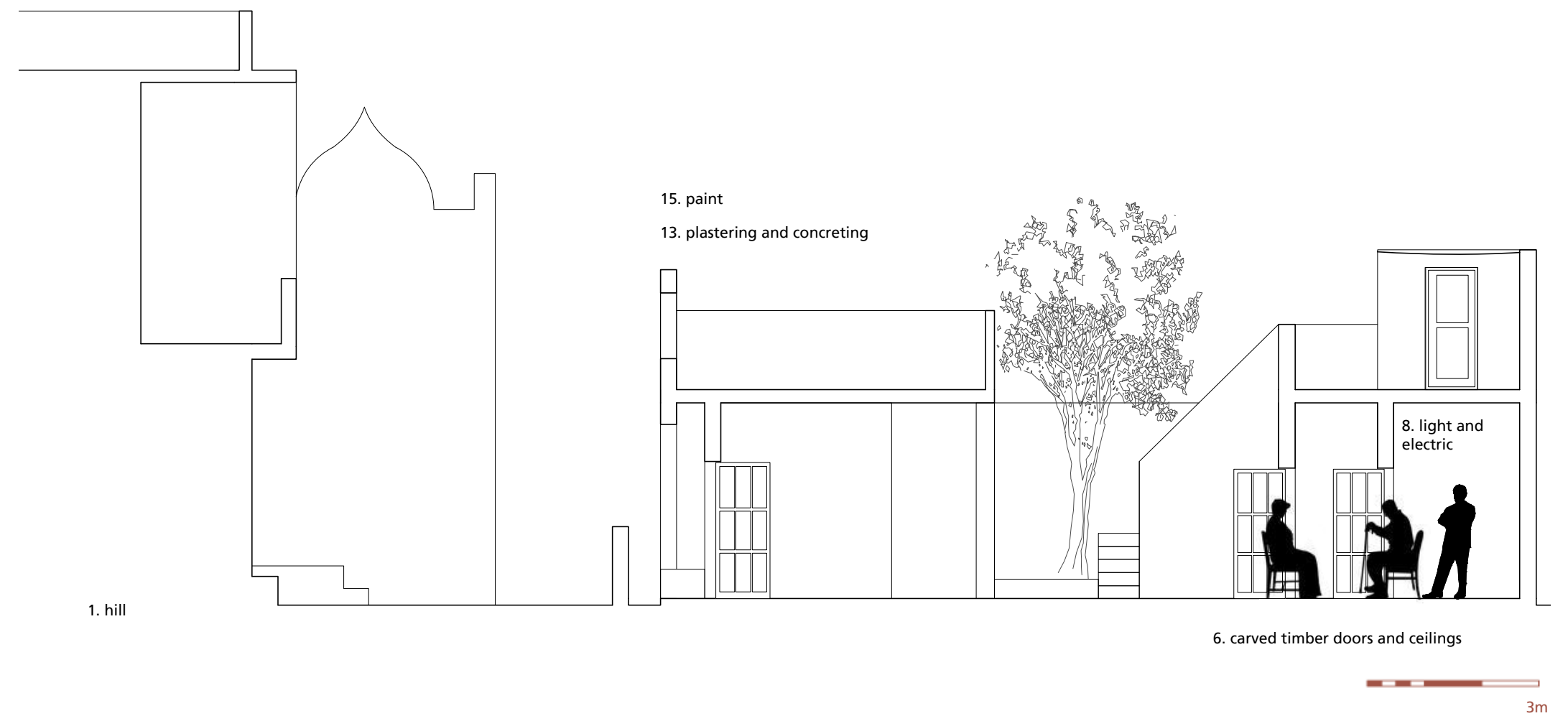
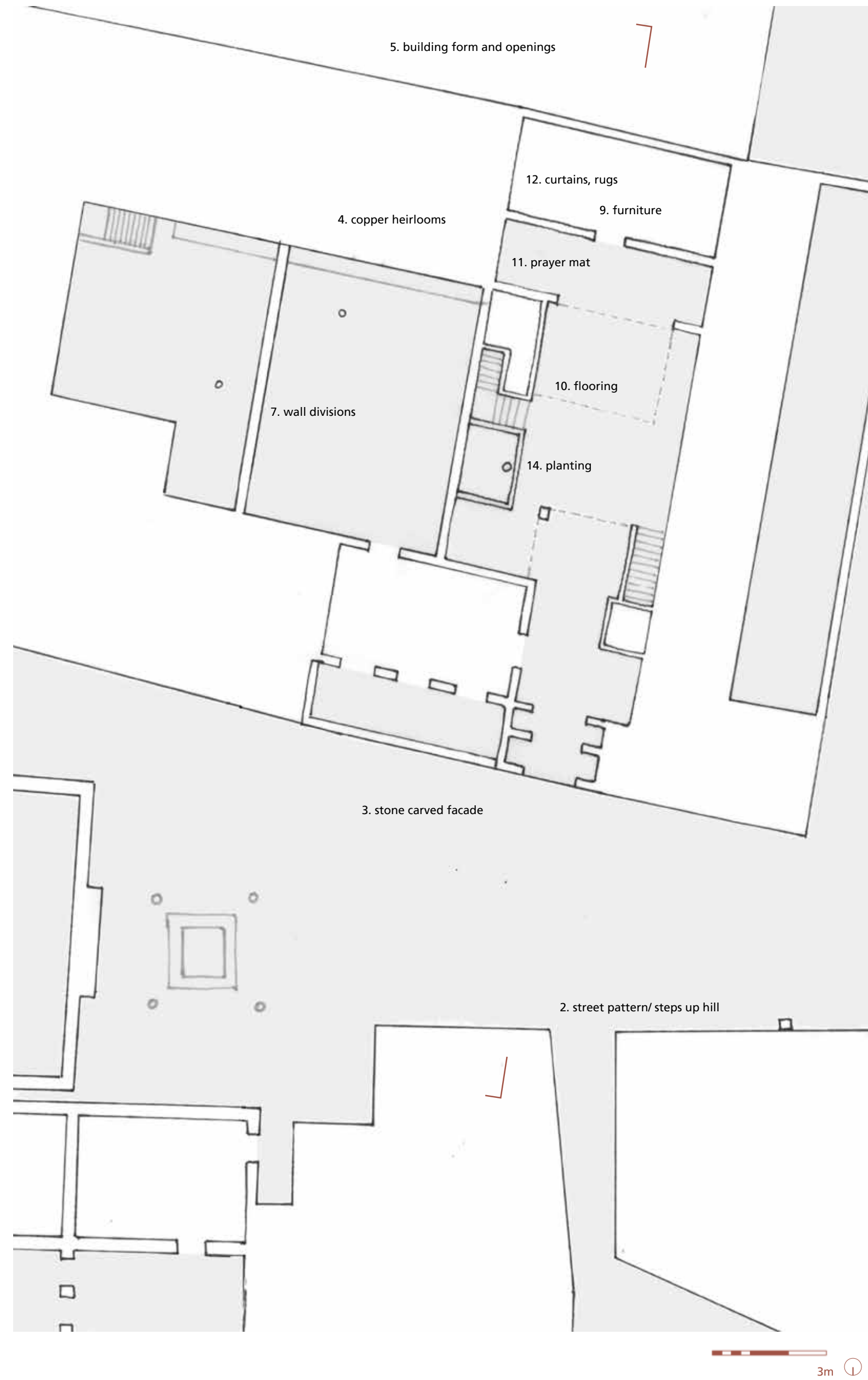
Replaced every 200 years



Replaced every 200 years

There are some remaining stone carvings – the murti of Hanuman and the angels above the cusped entrance archway are particularly unusual because of their human likeness. There are also neo-classical column details in the entrance arch and inner cloisters. All of these carvings are of great importance to the committee and they have tried to prolong their lifespan with gloss paint. The old brick walls, on the other hand, are not so carefully maintained – they are not so significant, even though they are as old.

Celebrated Civic Setting *Conversation B*: Civic Possibilities



Celebrated Civic Setting *Conversation C*: Temporal Communicative Order



Opportunity to encounter difference: Mediation of sharing from street, to chowk, to interior courtyard, to rooms.



Opportunity to negotiate urban conditions: adaptation for new use

Metaphoric Depth of urban negotiation



Replaced every 250 years

The openings are highly decorative with both round and cusped arches embellished with carved geometric designs made up of natural forms – designs brought into Agra by the Mughal emperors, and, by the colonial period, commonly used on grand haveli gateways (Peck, 2011). Geometric jali work in stone gives traditional Islamic decoration to the terrace balustrade, and once again, a large open arch in the balustrade allows a person on the terrace to be highly visible to people in the chowk – in stark contrast to the jali screened first floor galleries for women seen in colonial architecture in the Old City.



Replaced weekly/daily

A child looks after the shop that sets up outside the Maulvi's porch early each morning; the shop is completely packed away by 10am.



Replaced every 2 years

In the Maulvi's house, the furniture is scarce and in bad condition: when asked, the Maulvi told me that any money he had had to be spent on the Bilochpura mosque that he was responsible for, not his own house – similar opinions were expressed by other families living on this chowk. However, the stone decoration on the façade is more carefully maintained, as it is part of the 'proof' that the chowk and mosque are part of the story of the saints buried in Bilochpura.



Replaced every 50 years

After the ceilings come copper heirlooms and carved hardwood doors. These are very special to the Bilochpura residents that own them, because they are 'proof' that the family was wealthy in the colonial period and also that the family probably haven't travelled far since that time, making it unlikely that they are recent migrants. This, plus the fact that the family occupies a house obviously built by a wealthy owner in the colonial era are important pieces of evidence to support the family's claim to a higher social and religious standing than their current income would reveal.



Replaced every year

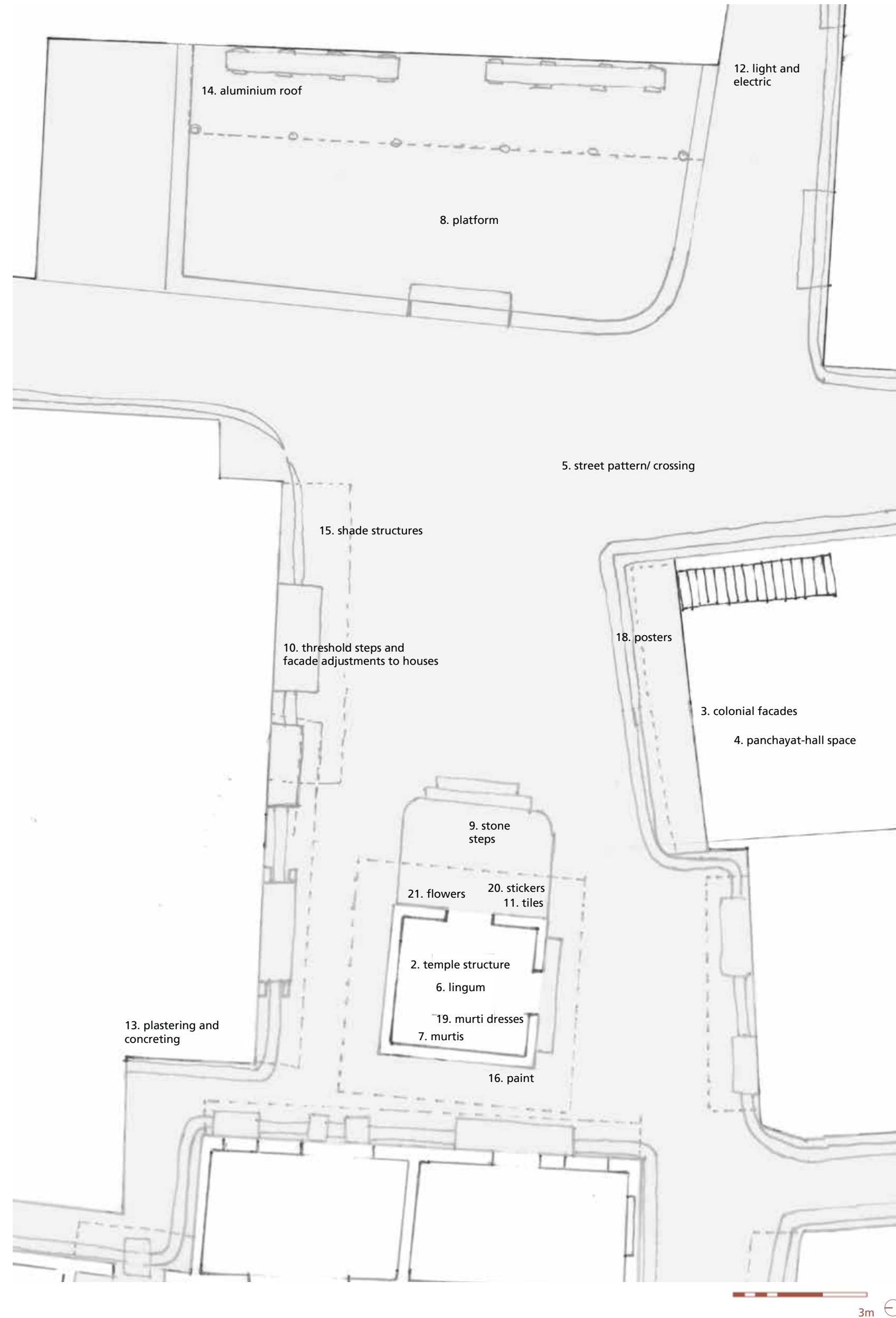
Next in the temporal order are the ceilings: either older timber construction, or new ceilings made of steel I sections, sandstone tiles and concrete. The ceilings are not articulate or celebrated, but they are built to last as long as possible, shelter being very important in a monsoon climate.



Replaced every 20 years

Within the entrance, the house has been divided into several residences due to the building being repeatedly left to more than one son. Each of these divisions contains a courtyard behind the entrance before one arrives at rooms that look out only to the inner courtyard. This therefore creates a range of levels of privacy – most people do not enter beyond the porch.

Celebrated Civic Setting Conversation C: Civic Possibilities



Replaced every 5 years

The market platform is regularly painted, and as it is increasingly used for meetings regarding non-religious matters such as health visits, the signage reflects this.



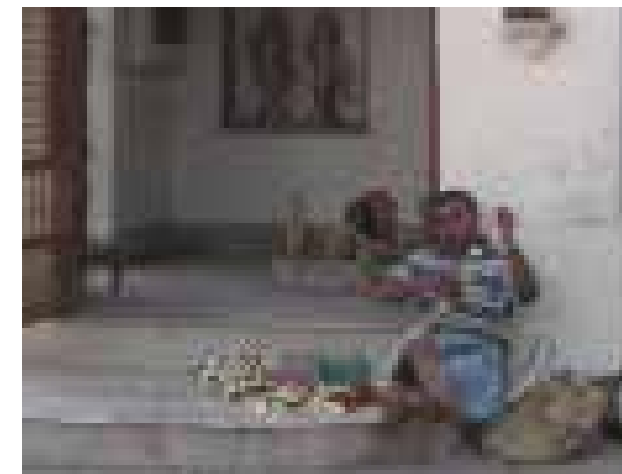
Replaced every 200 years

The panchayat building has a colonial façade that has been described – the round neo-classical arches imply an orientation to the secular, rather than the religious. This is still reflected in the way that political posters are stuck onto the front of this building, while religious posters are stuck onto the temple.



Replaced every 20 years

For the most part the worshipper is oriented to particular deities through tiles, posters and stickers – there are also some painted Om symbols. Like most temples, the murtis are dressed weekly and offerings and flowers are replaced every day.



Replaced every day

Temple caretaker creating flower garlands, replaced daily.



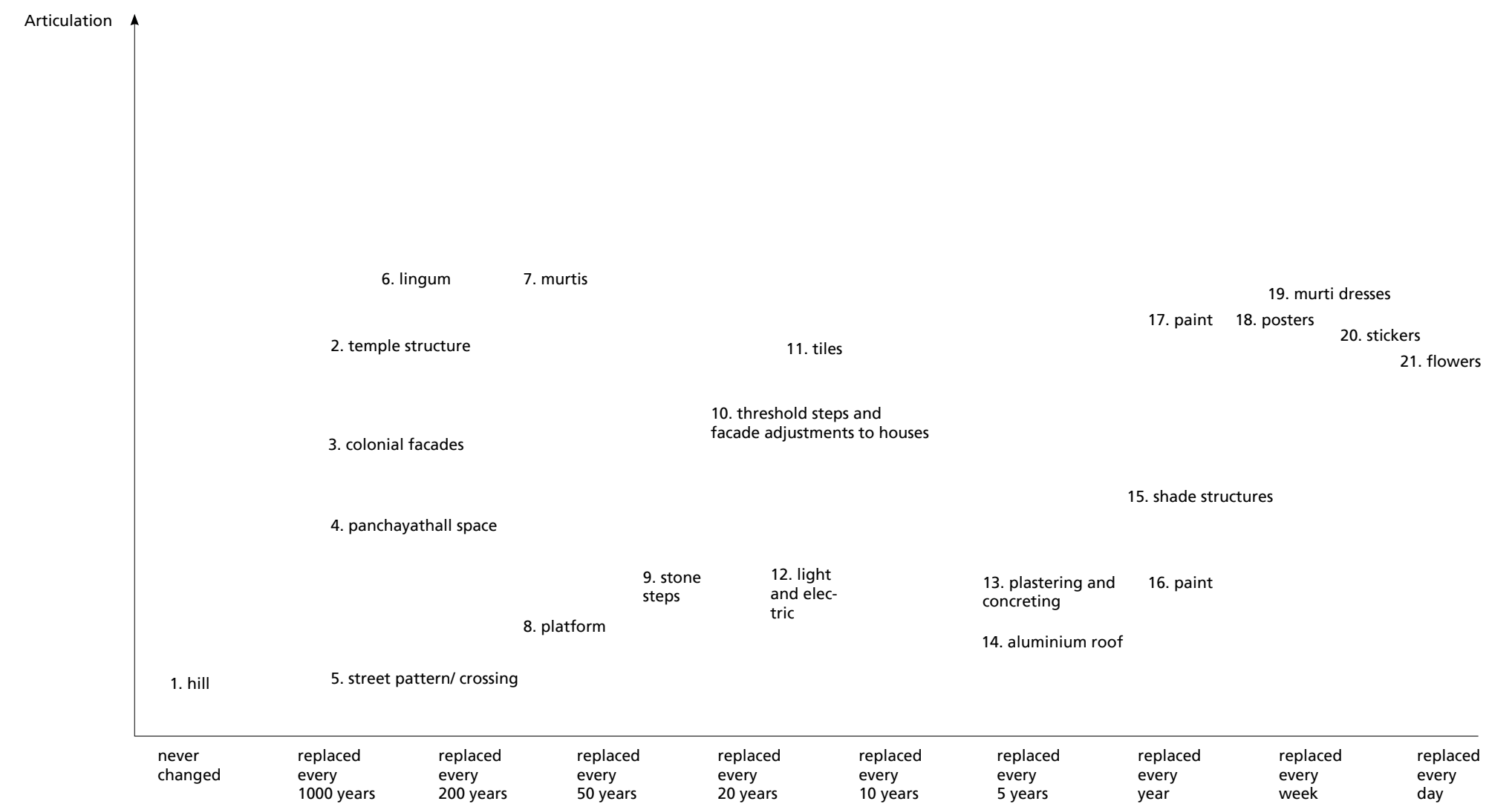
Replaced every year

The temple is repainted every year.

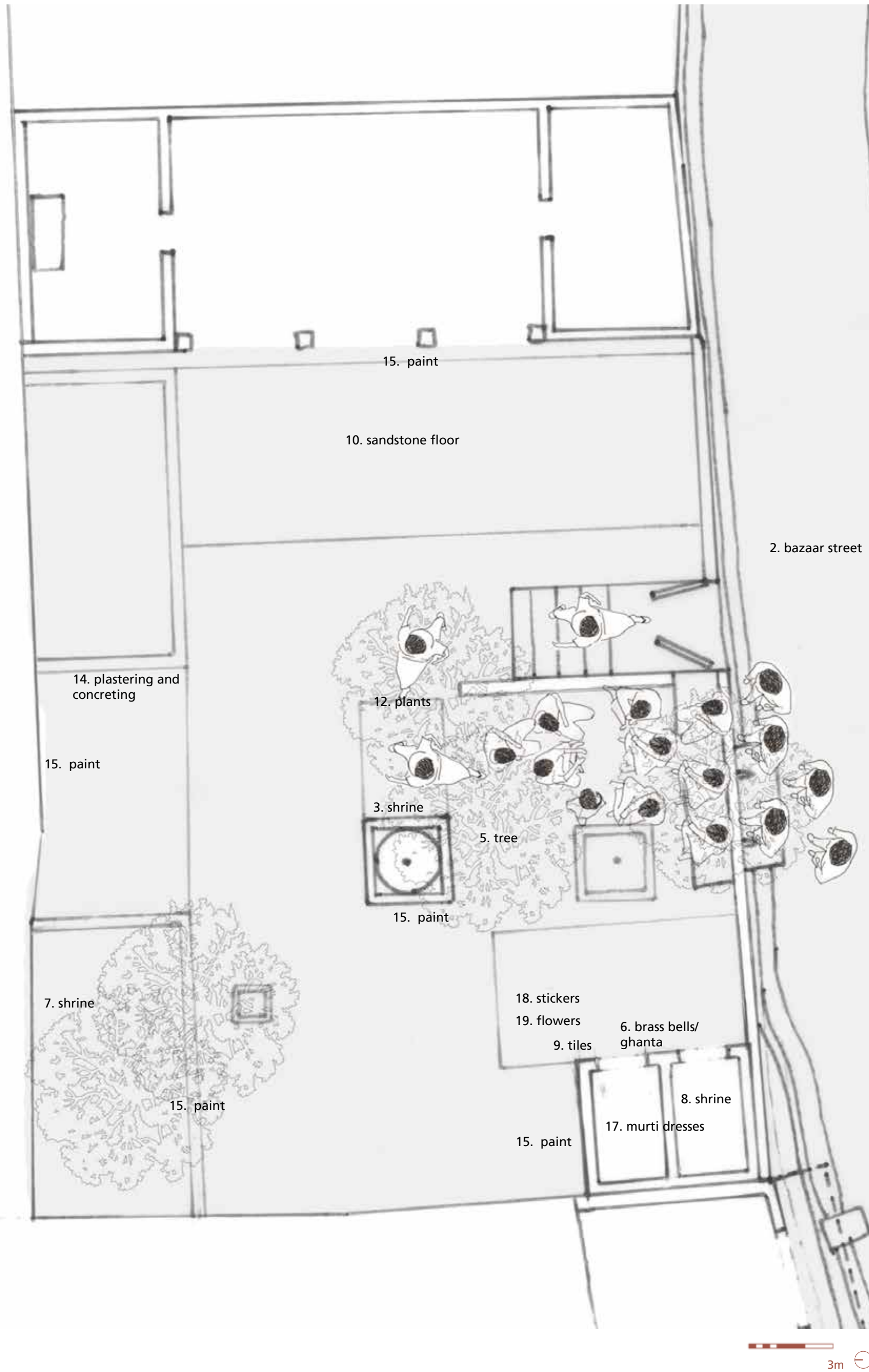


Replaced every 300 years

The temple's most durable articulation starts with the shape of the shikhara, (which symbolizes Mount Meru but also Mount Kailash, believed to be home of Shiva – and therefore people can guess from far away that the building is for worshipping Shiva) and the Shiva lingam inside.



Celebrated Civic Setting *Conversation D*: Temporal Communicative Order / Civic Possibilities



Replaced every 20 years

The murtis are the only other articulate elements with long temporal horizons, made of concrete and purchased from a wholesaler in the Old City. This, along with the fact that there is no shrine within the Lodi arched mandapa strongly suggests that the site was not used as a temple for a large part of the time between the Lodi sultanate and the present day, and that it was reclaimed in the later part of the 20th century - a particularly interesting example of how an articulate architectural setting can contribute to sustaining culture.



Replaced every 300 years

The places within the site include several shrines of varying ages, the oldest being the domed 2 square meter enclosed shrine to Shiva: this dome is supposedly at least 490 years old due to the petal-like carving and the way that the dome is supported on an octagonal drum (Peck, 2011). This shrine faces the mandapa (covered area for worship), with pillars in a decorative trabeate style also likely to be from the Lodi (pre-Mughal and therefore pre arcuate) sultanate. So the site is really a collection of small shrines of a size restricting the number of people that can access them to one or two, creating the possibility for more intimate puja. The 3m by 3m cube structure roofed with the Lodi pointed dome, on the other hand, was obviously the setting for worshipping Shiva (the dome representing Mount Kailash, the plan the recognised size for lingam rituals). So perhaps with 300 years between abandonment and re-use, very similar cultural activity was restored.



Replaced every 400 years



Replaced every 5 years

The rest of the articulation of this setting is made up of paint and tiles.



Replaced every 10 years



Replaced every 15 years



Replaced every week

As with the other temples, most of the articulation is a weekly dressing of the murtis and a daily ritual of applying spice dyes to them, along with arranging candles and offerings. The one exception to this is the way that platforms or at the very least rings of bricks or stones are put around important trees - a sign to anybody that the tree is important to somebody, or a group of people - in this case specifically the temple committee, but also more generally to all Hindus. Across Tajganj, I was often alerted to the fact that I was entering a temple garden on seeing such tree platforms.

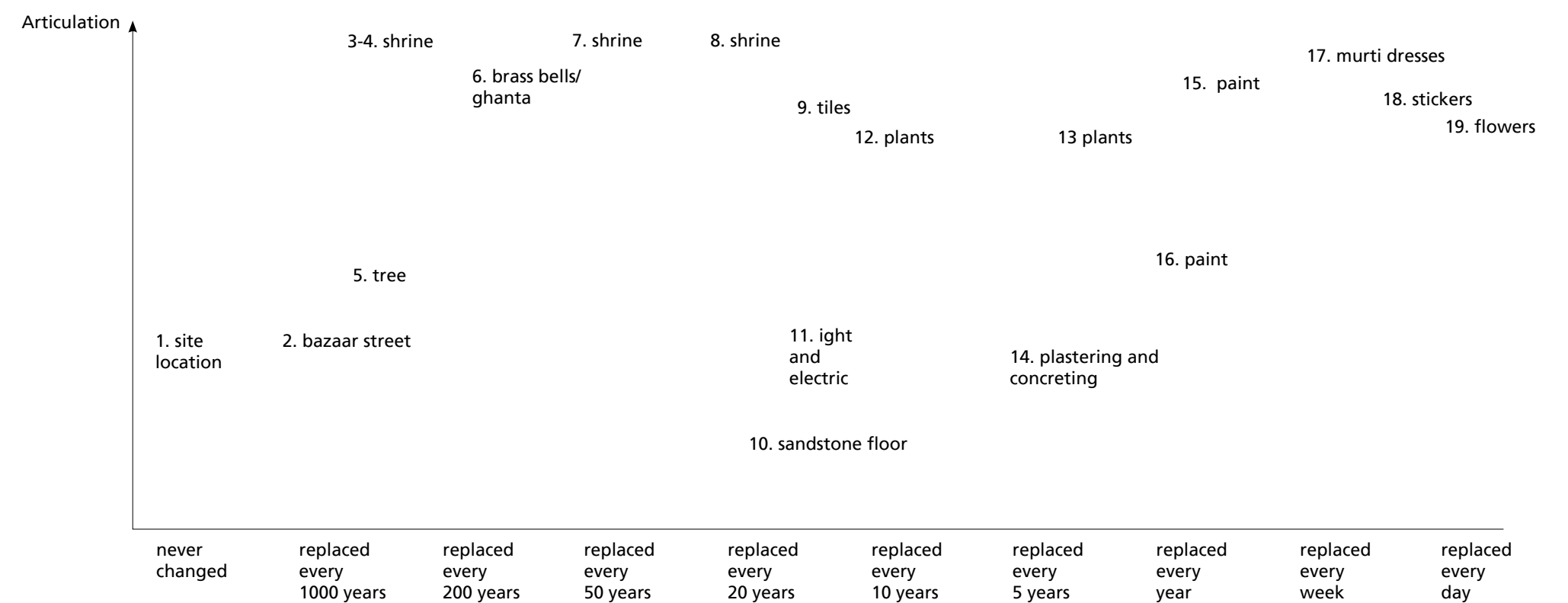


Replaced every day

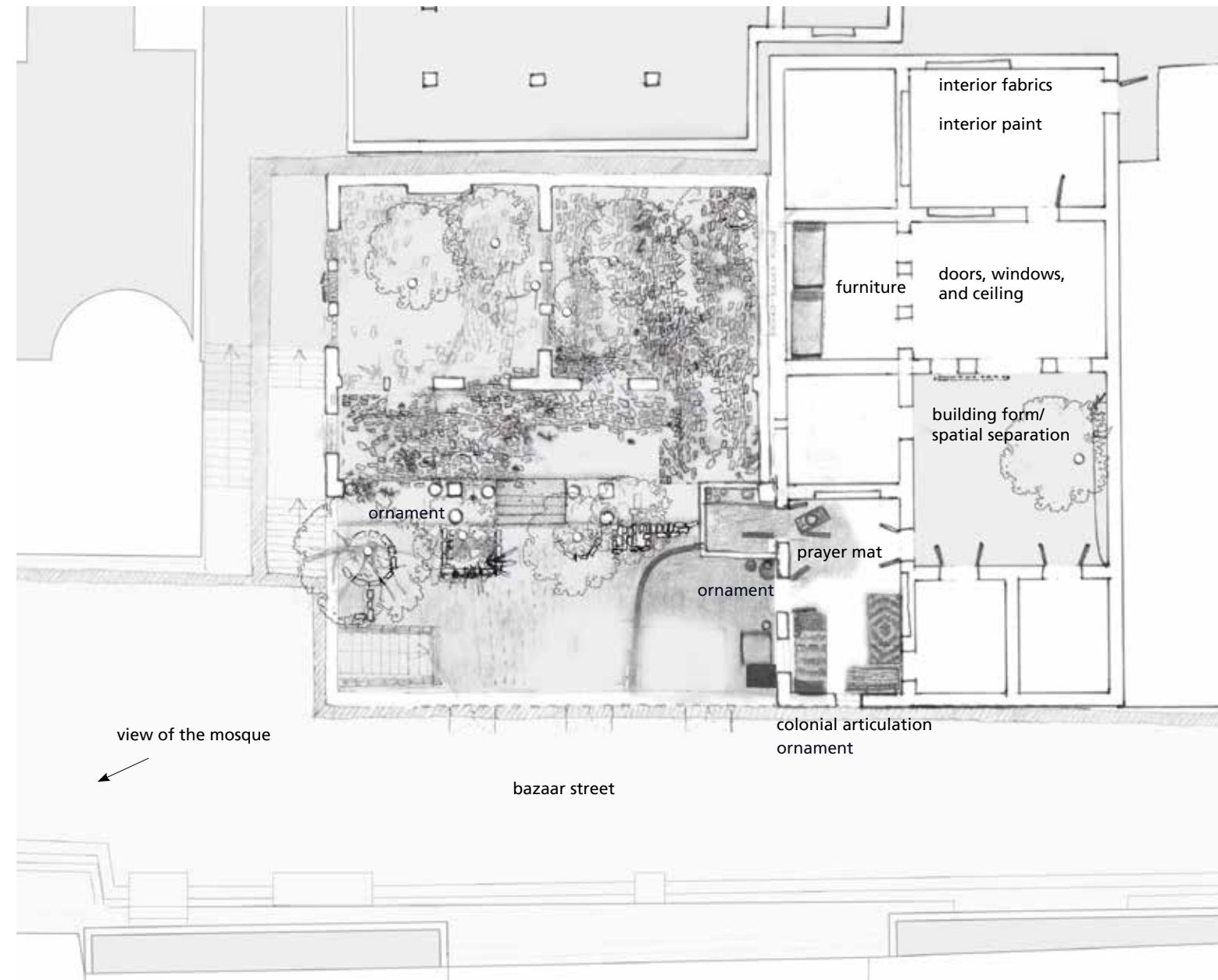


Never replaced

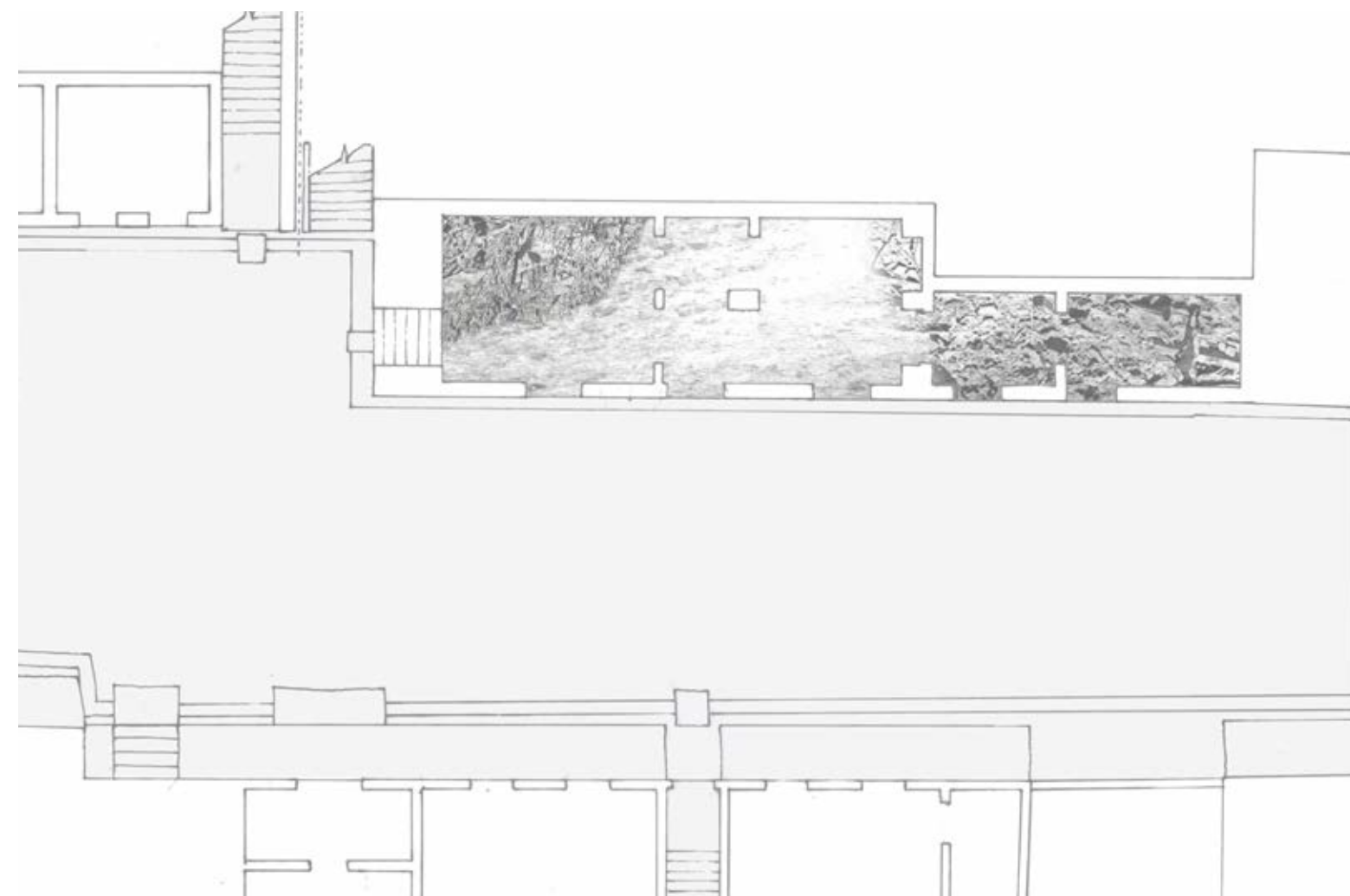
It is likely that the newer (20th century) shrines have been built to embody worship determined by the position of sacred trees. Again, the shrine to Hanuman is built at the side of a betel tree, while the shrine to Shiva and Kali is built in front of a neem tree - often associated with Durga or her manifestation as Kali.



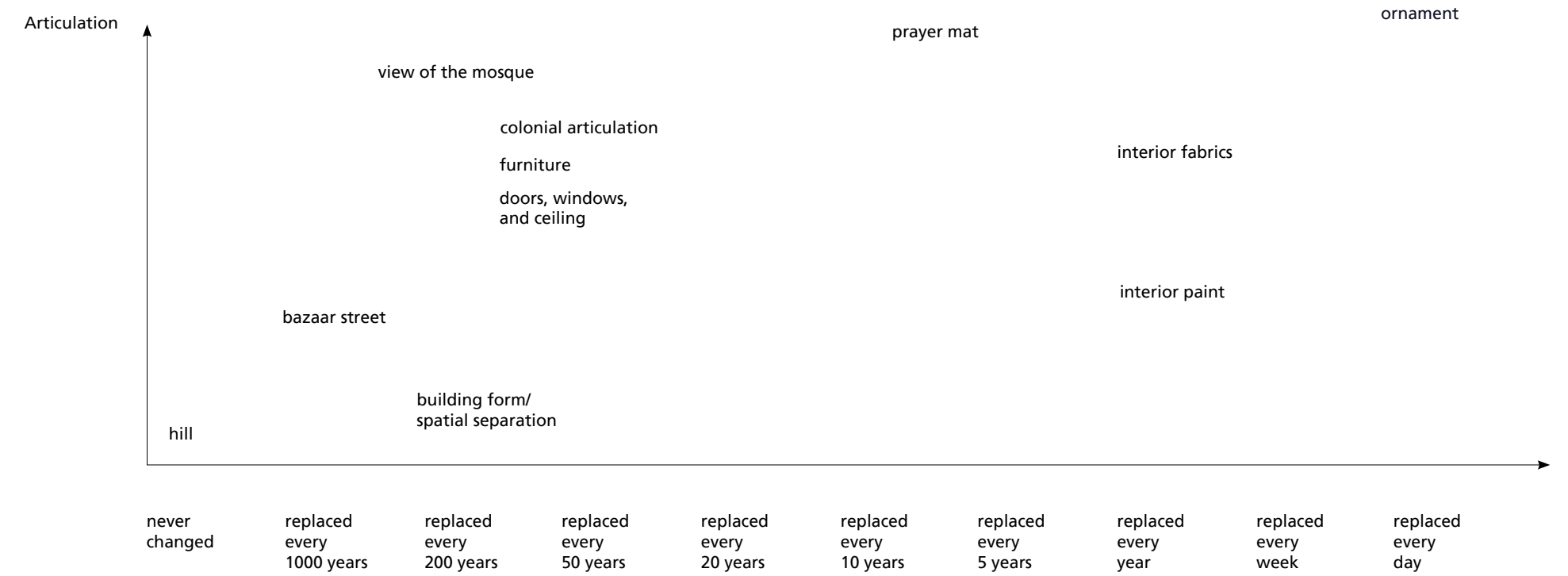
Celebrated Civic Setting *Conversation E*: Temporal Communicative Order / Civic Possibilities



Level 01

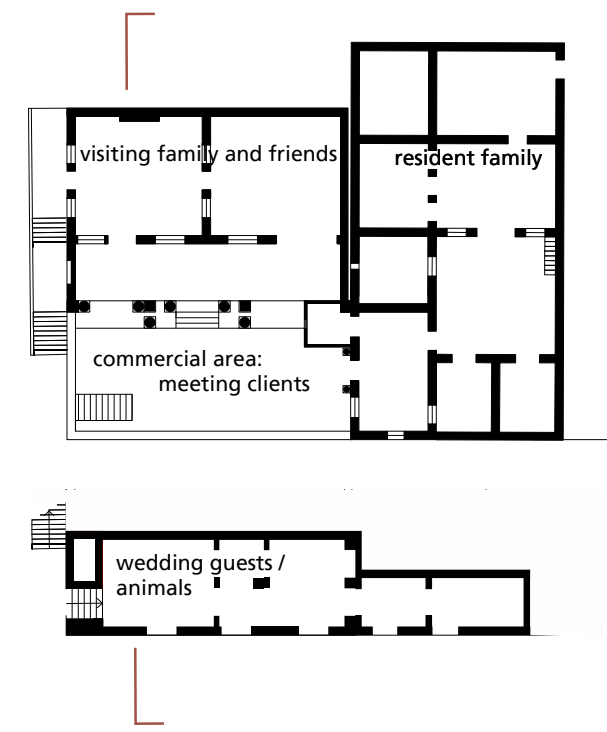


Level 00

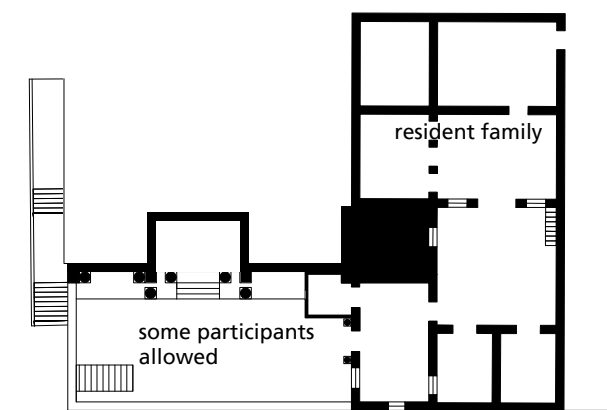
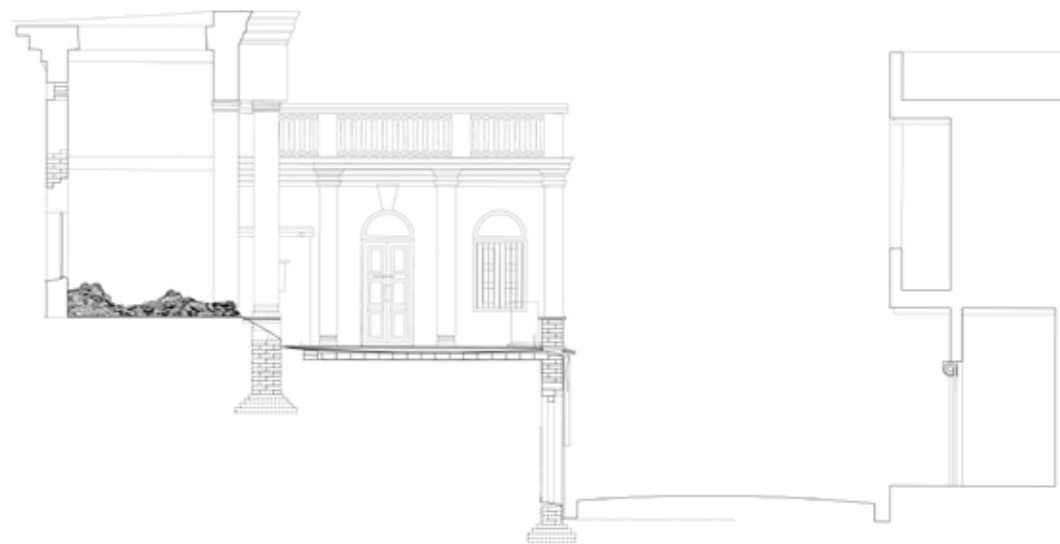


House Location 100m 3. Study Area

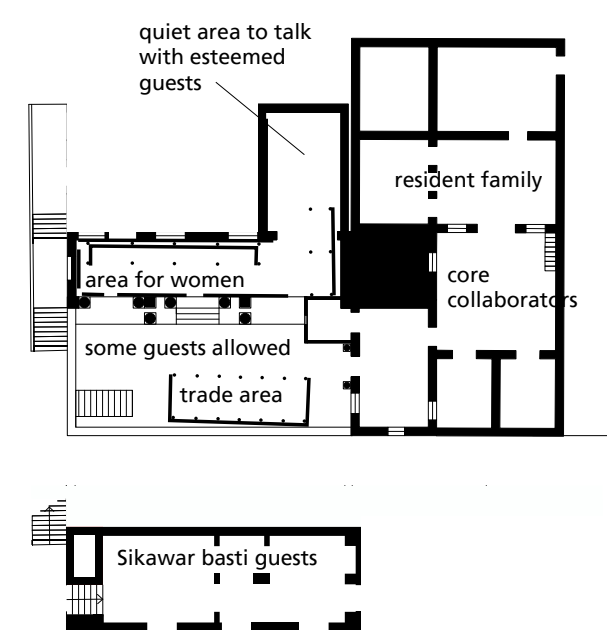
Celebrated Civic Setting Conversation F Buksh Museum: Temporality of Communicative Order



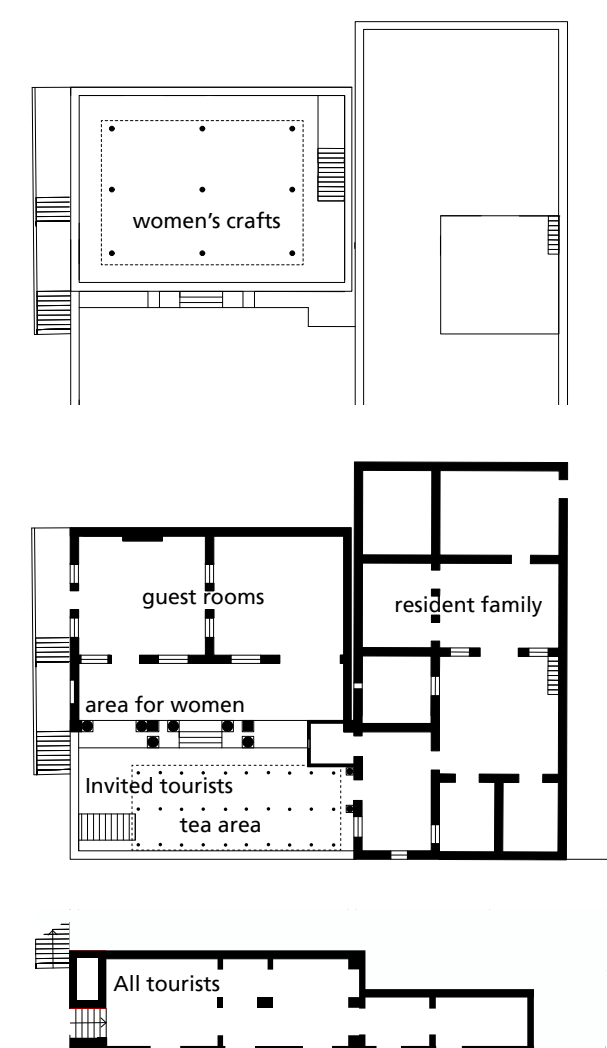
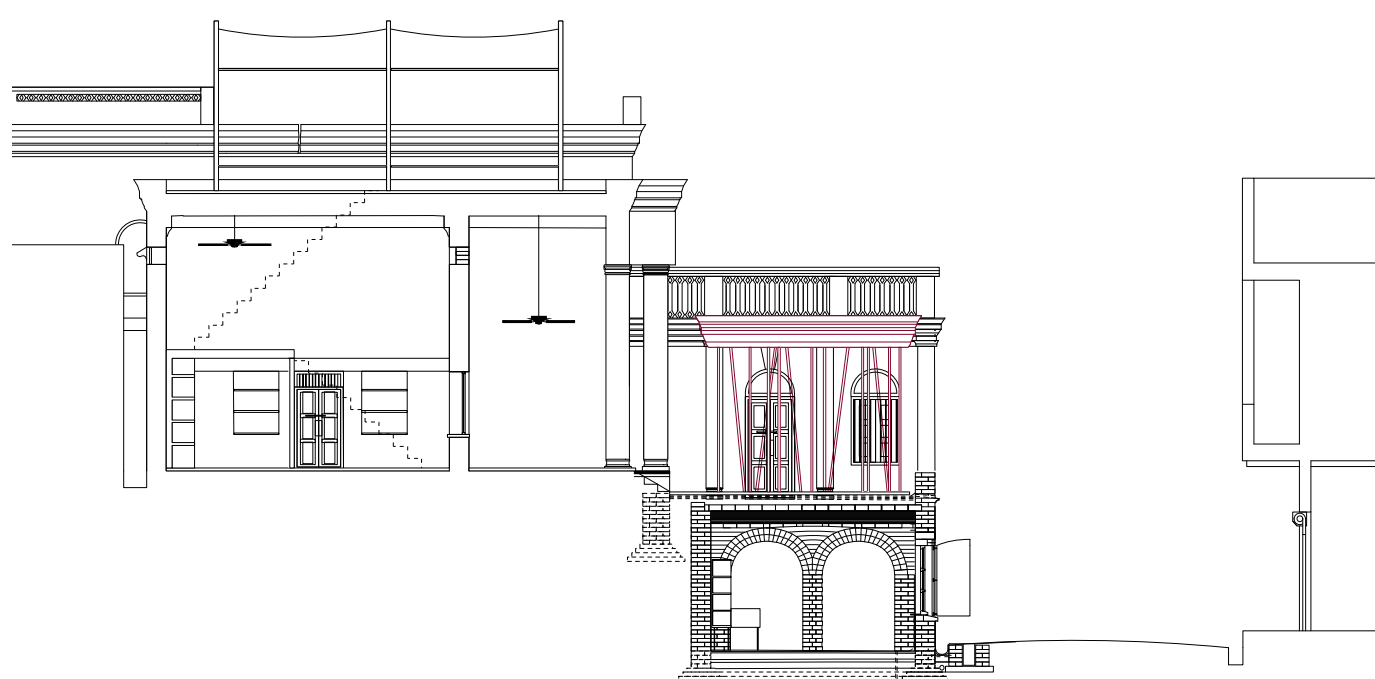
Spatial Differentiation, 1914: variety of rooms to mediate between meetings between home-owner and merchants, between the resident family and other visiting friends and family, and rooms purely for the resident family.



Spatial Differentiation, Event One: so much of the house is ruined that it is either unsafe for guests or the resident-family do not want guests to see these spaces: not enough mediation between private family space and event space for the family to be comfortable allowing an open invite to event.

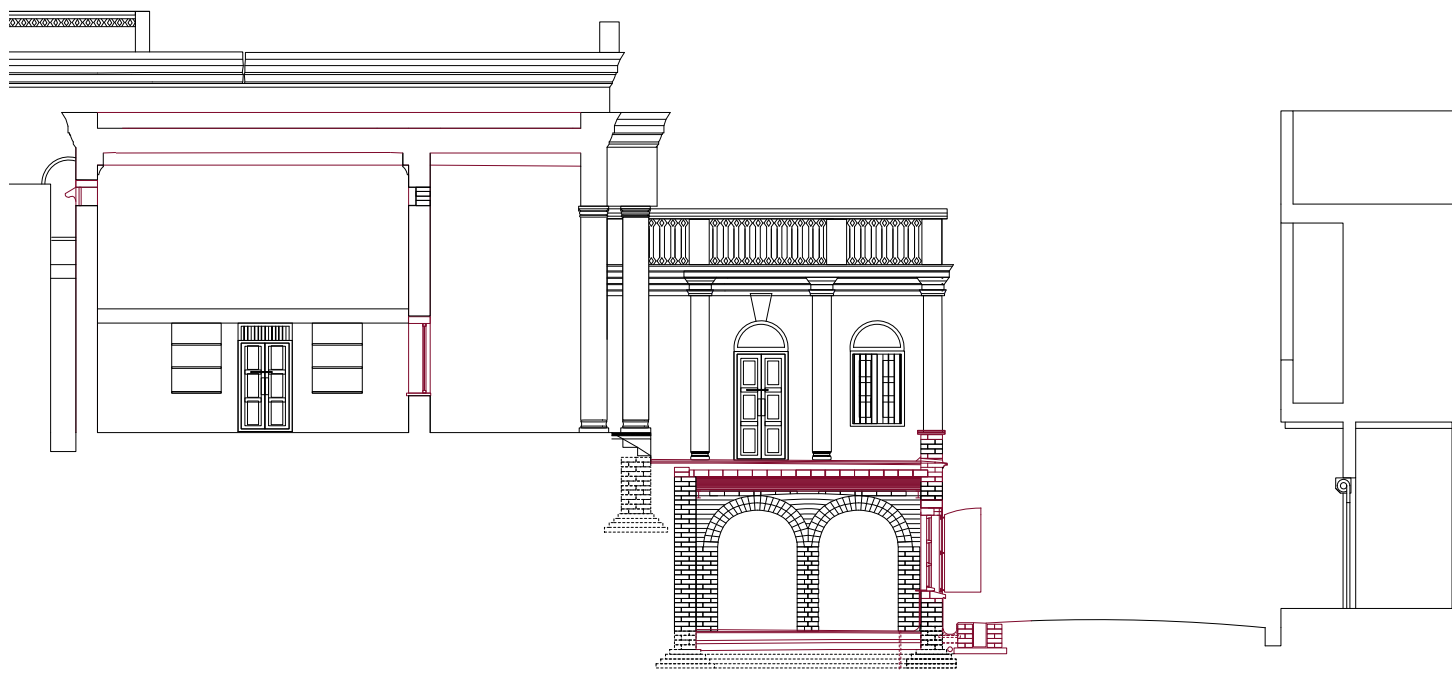


Spatial Differentiation, Event Two - opportunity for a wider variety of people to feel welcome (women's area and area for Sikawar residents becomes apparent).



Spatial Differentiation, Proposed Conservation Plan: drawing upon new vision of resident-family, and the proceedings of Event 2.

Buskh Museum Civic Possibilities: Opportunity to Encounter Difference



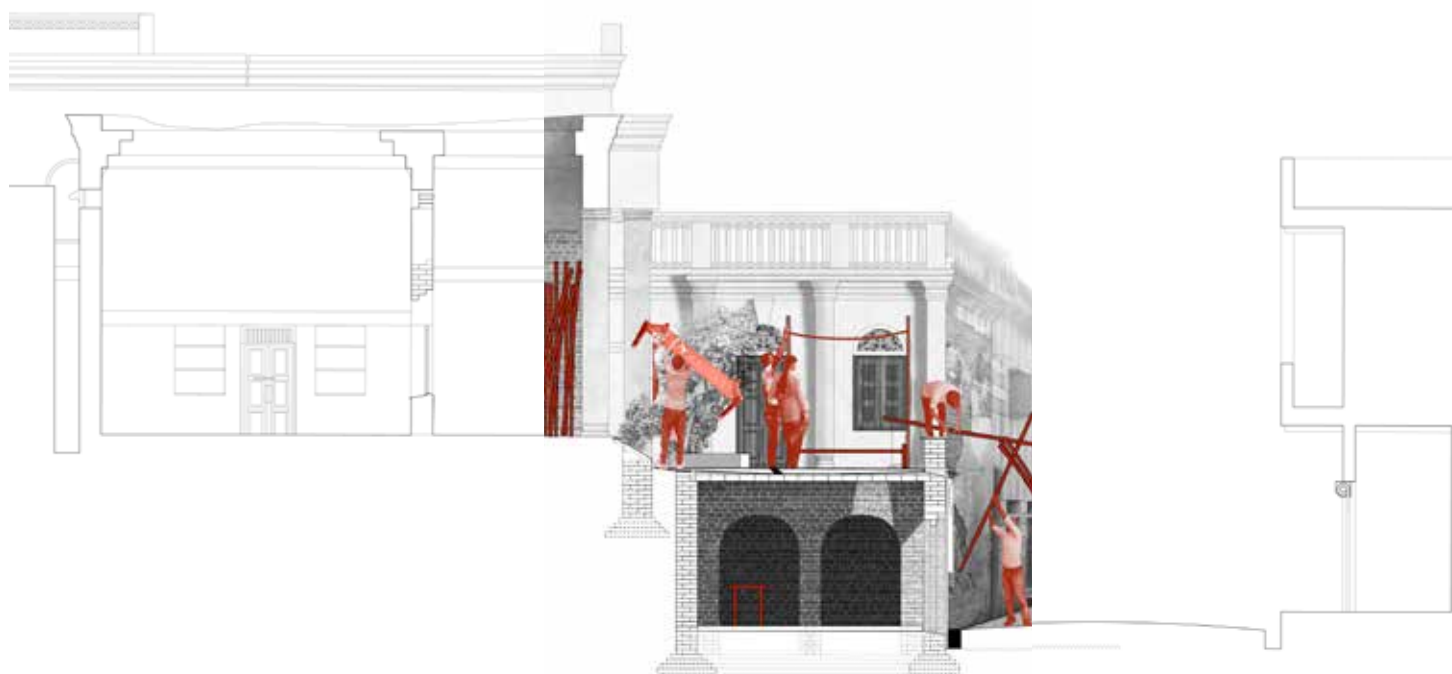
Proposed Repairs Prohibited by ASI - inability for CURE, myself, Buksh family to negotiate conditions



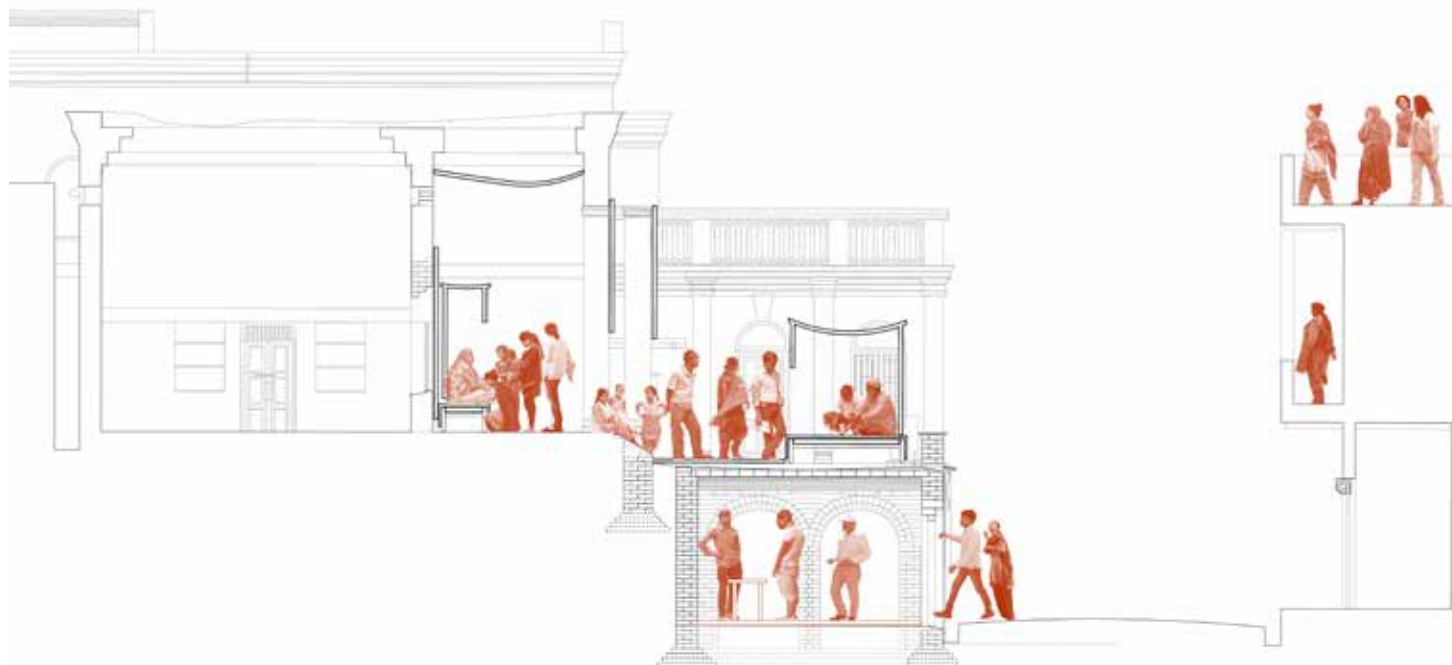
Sikawar residents negotiate exhibition at Level 00 with Buksh family, myself, consistent collaborators



Women adjust terrace conditions to mediate visibility to create appropriate conditions for gathering - negotiation between the female members of Buksh family, female friends, other members of Buksh family, myself, male consistent collaborators



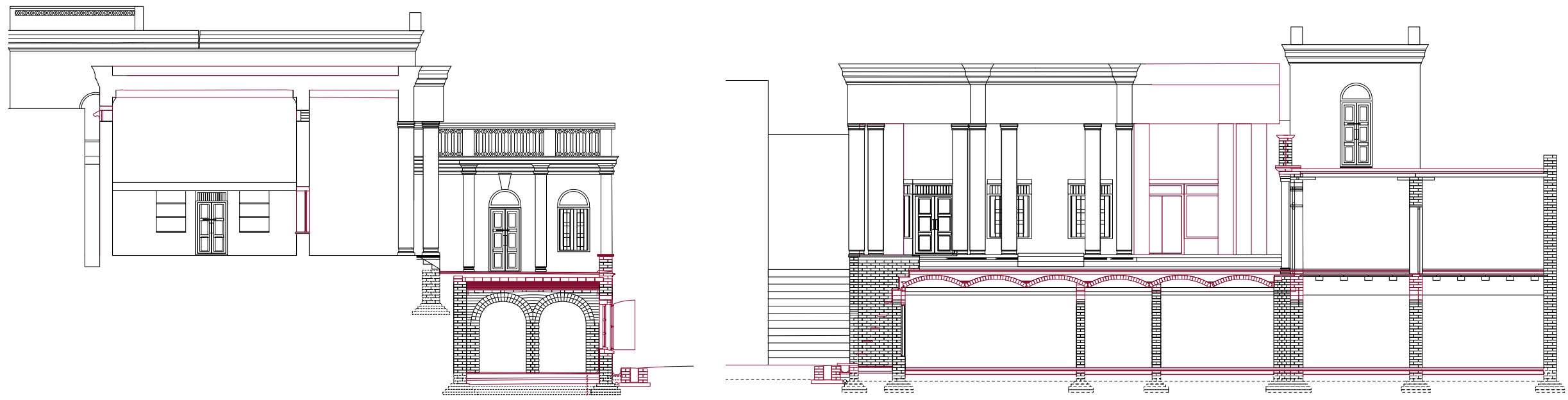
Consistent Collaborators adjust surfaces and shade to create appropriate conditions for gathering - negotiation between Consistent Collaborators, Buksh family, myself, CURE



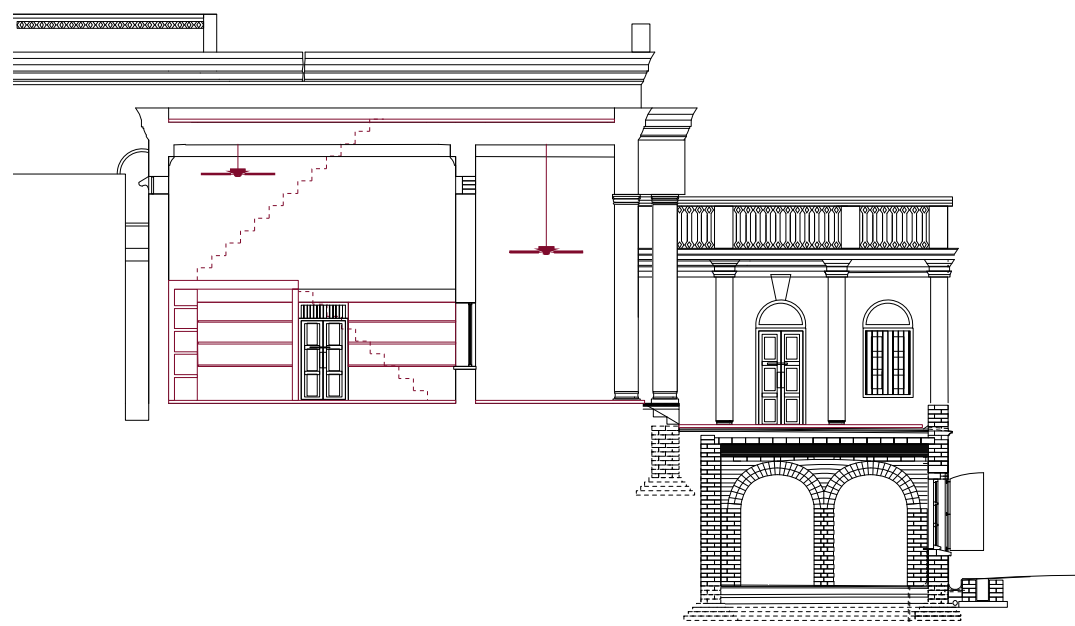
Behaviour of collaborators and guests is watched over by Maulvi - negotiation between all participants and Maulvi



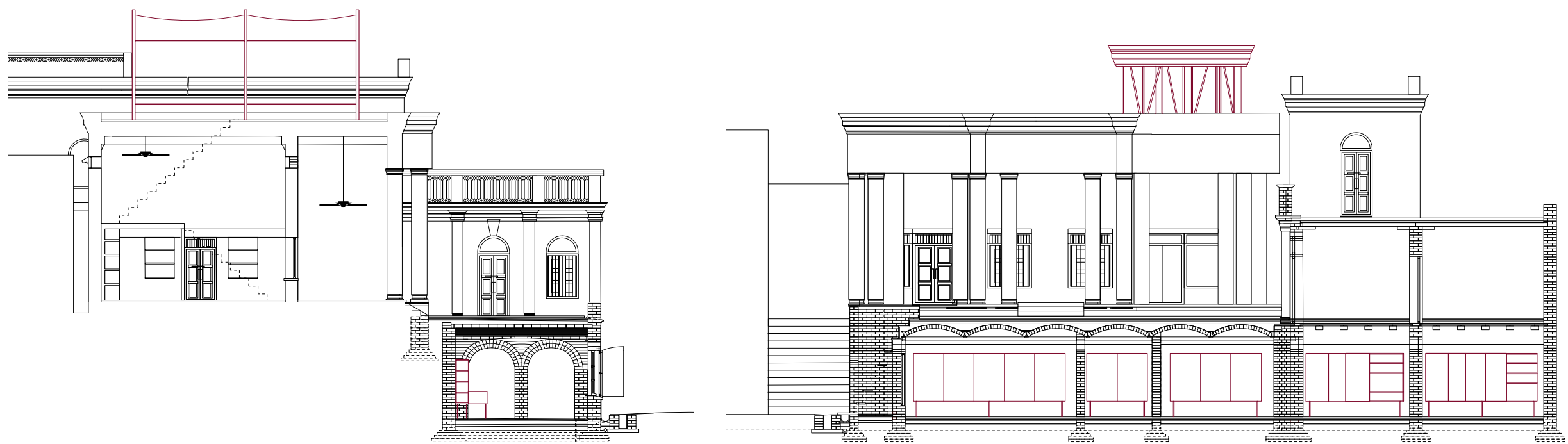
Buskh Museum Civic Possibilities: Opportunity to Negotiate Urban Conditions - Hosted Places



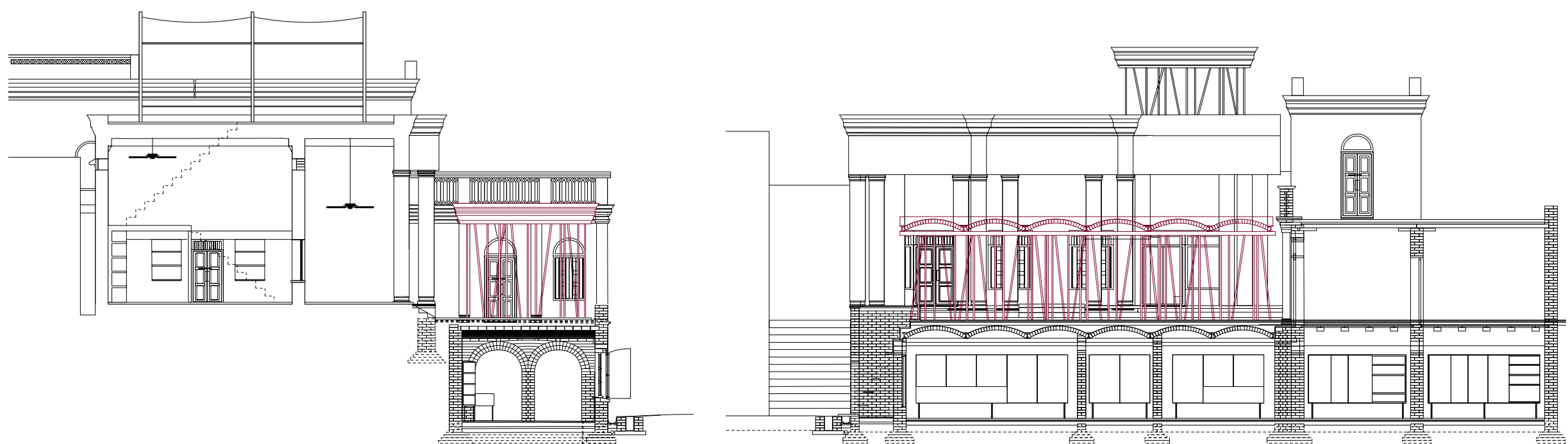
Proposed Repairs Granted by the ASI - negotiation between ASI, CURE architects, myself, Buksh family



Additions not considered 'construction' on Level 01 - negotiation between Buksh family



Meeting Place for women's savings groups on rooftop - negotiation between savings group, CURE, Buksh family, myself, architecture students
Museum Exhibition and Internet Cafe - negotiation between craftspeople, Buksh family, CURE, myself, architecture students

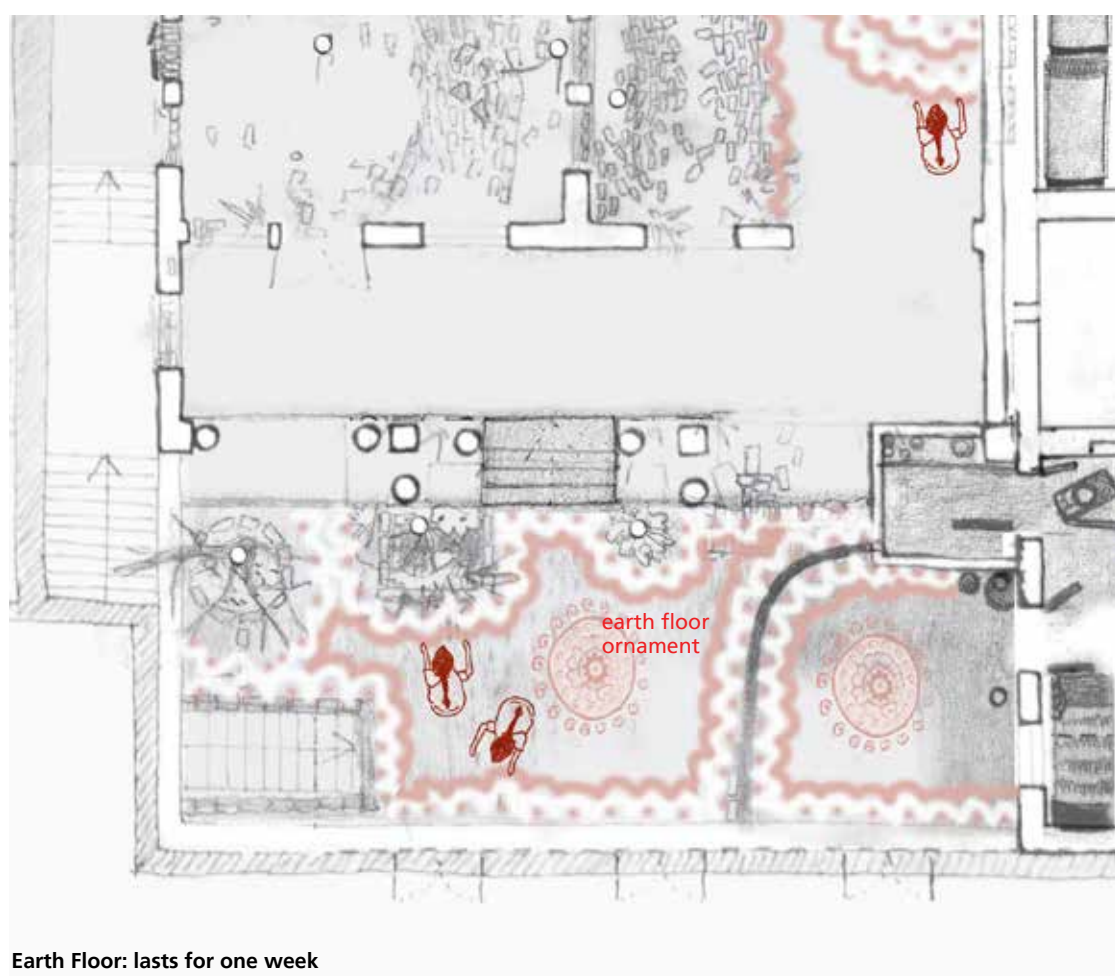


Cyclical Museum Event - negotiation between Buksh family, craftspeople, Mosque Committee, Press, Tourism Board, Myself, CURE, architecture students

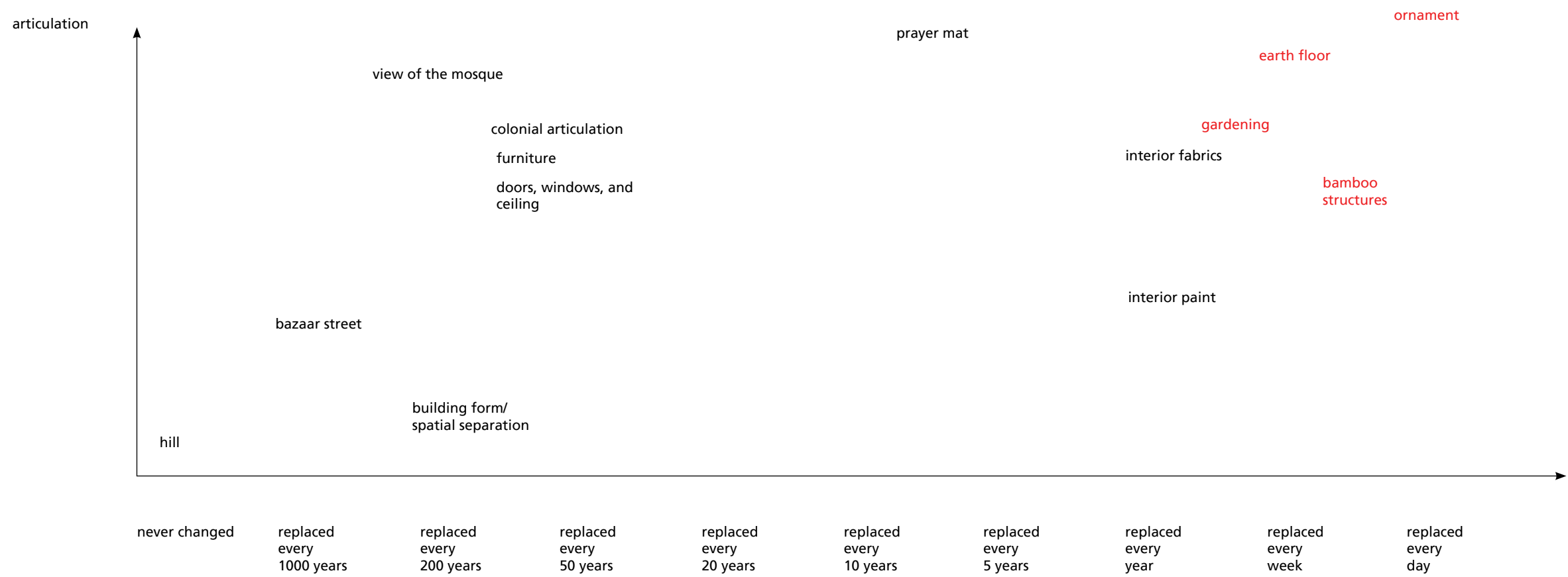
Buskh Museum Civic Possibilities: Opportunity to Negotiate Urban Conditions - Proposed Conservation Plan



Fabric and bamboo structures: last for two days



Exhibition and ornament: in place for one day



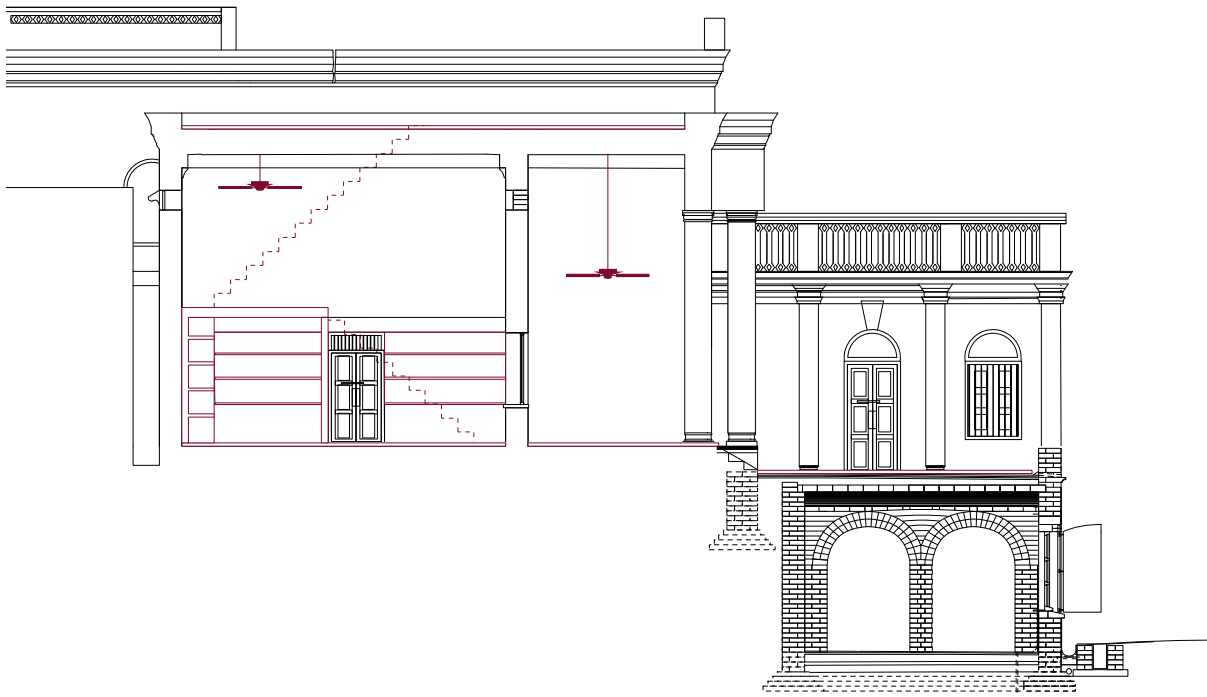
Buskh Museum Temporality of Communicative Order: "Short-term" Adjustments Made During Event



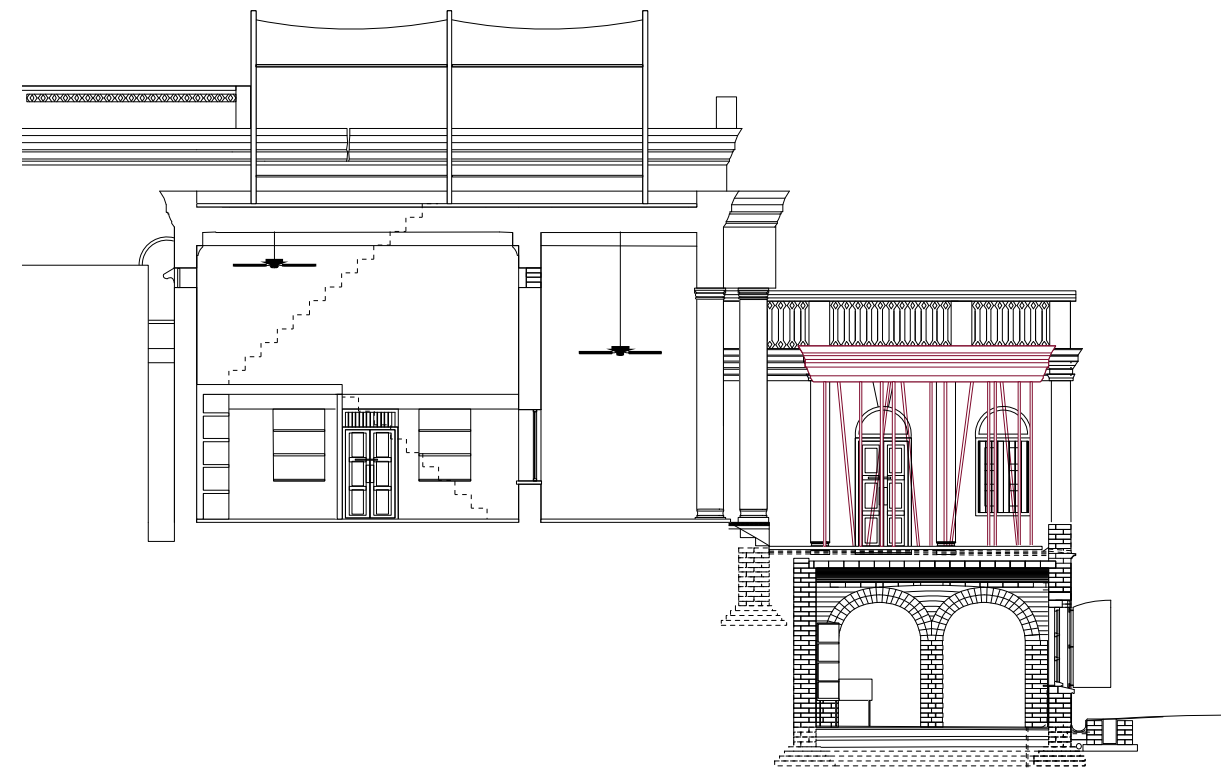
Repairs to structure: replaced every fifty years (maintained yearly)



Meeting structures: replaced every five years



Non-structural adjustments: replaced every ten years



Cyclical Event: replaced every year



Buskh Museum Temporality of Communicative Order: Proposed "Long-term" Adjustments