ROLE OF RITUALS IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF A CITY
AND
ITS URBAN COMPONENTS

A study of Ahmedabad, its urban core and its urban components
Maidan-i-Shahi and Manek Chowk

by

NIRUPAMA SHARMA

Diploma in Architecture, Center for Environmental Planning and Technology, 1992.

A THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree
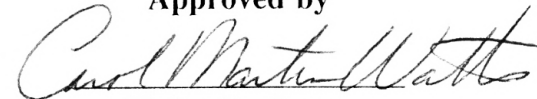
MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE

Department of Architecture
College of Architecture and Design

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas
1995

Approved by

Major Professor

ABSTRACT

The urban core of the city of Ahmedabad, founded in 1411 AD by Sultan Ahmed Shah, was the ground for various rituals of the city, such as the holding of royal darbar (royal court), victory celebrations, marches, festivals, and the weekly markets. These rituals infused life into the city's urban core comprising: the Bhadra Square (Maidan-i-Shahi), the Ceremonial Gateway (Teen Darwaja), the Raj Marg (Gandhi Road), the Jumma Masjid, the Manek Chowk (Square) and Manek Chowk's accompanying street.

The rituals and the urban spaces transformed over time. The Bhadra Square, in the Sultunate Age, the most important space of the urban core, no longer is used for political or religious rituals. It no longer brings the whole city together. New sub-centers emerged in the city supporting the various new rituals of the city. The meaning and the importance of the urban core has changed with the change in the nature of rituals. Maidan-i-Shahi (Bhadra Square) slowly transformed into a street devoid of its former meaning in the urban fabric with the increasing predominance of commercial rituals. Manek Chowk, through supporting commercial rituals, managed to have more importance than the Bhadra Square.

Taking three historical time frames for comparison, the thesis describes the changes in the city as a result of the changing rituals, decay of its center and growth of sub-centers. It traces the transformation in the urban core and the Maidan-i-Shahi. Manek Chowk, the living sub-center within the urban core, is described in terms of its daily rituals and the physical environment. This thesis illustrates the role of rituals in the transformation and the shaping of a built environment.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Cities as the manifestation of the various complex forces have been studied by social scientists, historians and architects. Cities hold special fascination for architects because they give meaning to architecture by providing it with a context. Various frameworks for the understanding of cities have been presented by different architects. According to Aldo Rossi, a contemporary Italian architect, "the city is not a creation that can be reduced to a single basic idea... the city in its totality and beauty is made up of numerous different moments of formation; the unity of these moments is the urban unity as a whole."

In his seminal work Architecture of the City, Aldo Rossi provides a framework for understanding the city as a complete entity through the study of its constituting parts which come into being through the process of manufacture and time. Time provides the necessary links between the various parts of the city. "The city comes to be seen as a 'masterpiece', something that is substantiated in form and space but understood in time, in its different moments. The unity of these parts is fundamentally supplied by history, by the city's memory of itself." Rossi does not provide direct definitions for the urban components constituting the city. The salient features of some of the elements used in the study are as follows.

1. Aldo Rossi, The Architecture of the City, The MIT Press, 1982, p.64.

2. ibid. p.64

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1 ROSSI'S FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING THE CITY

Cities as the manifestation of the various complex forces have been studied by social scientists, historians and architects. Cities hold special fascination for architects because they give meaning to architecture by providing it with a context. Various frameworks for the understanding of cities have been presented by different architects. According to Aldo Rossi, a contemporary Italian architect, **"the city is not a creation that can be reduced to a single basic idea.... the city in its totality and beauty is made up of numerous different moments of formation; the unity of these moments is the urban unity as a whole."**[1]

In his seminal work **Architecture of the City,** Aldo Rossi provides a framework for understanding the city as a complete entity through the study of its constituting parts which come into being through the process of manufacture and time. Time provides the necessary links between the various parts of the city. **"The city comes to be seen as a `masterpiece', something that is substantiated in form and space but understood in time, in its different moments. The unity of these parts is fundamentally supplied by history, by the city's memory of itself"**.[2] Rossi does not provide direct definitions for the urban components constituting the city. The salient features of some of the elements used in the study are as follows.

---

1. Aldo Rossi. The Architecture of the City. The MIT Press. 1982. p.64.

2. ibid, p.64.

1.1.1 **Primary Elements**

Primary elements are the most integral basic physical units of the city that time can convert into permanances. They embody the concept of `how something belongs to the city', thus summarizing all the questions posed by the city. The primary elements evolve and are elements that influence the process of urban dynamic. They retard and accelerate the process of urbanization in a city by being either **'pathological'** or **'propelling'**. The **propelling** primary elements are of a **"dominant nature",** they **"participate in the evolution of the city over time in a particular way, often becoming identified with the major artifacts constituting the city".**[3] When the primary element retards the process of urbanization and is like an **"embalmed body"**, it is **pathological.** Primary elements have an **"absolute clarity; they are distinguishable on the basis of their form and in a certain sense their exceptional nature within the urban fabric, they are characteristic, or better, that which characterizes the city."**[4]

1.1.2 **Urban artifact**

Urban artifacts are material constructions, but not withstanding the material, something different: although they are conditioned, but, they also condition. Urban artifacts are always tied to a specific place, event, and form in the city.

---

3. ibid p.99.

4. ibid p.99.

Imagination and collective memory are the typical characteristics of urban artifacts. They cannot be suppressed because they constitute the city. Function alone is insufficient to explain the continuity of urban artifacts. Their value often resides solely in their form, which is integral to the general form of the city, it is, so to speak an invariant of it. They, like the city, are characterized by their own history. They embody the most concrete possible position from which to address the problem of architecture of the city.

1.1.3   Role of history and time

Aldo Rossi calls the city the **'Repository of history'.** He suggests two approaches to deal with the city. The first of the two approaches, Rossi proposes to deal with the city from the viewpoint of history, is that the city is a man-made object built over time: the **'material'** artifact. History with its sense of continuity in this case provides very important information and documentation of the city. The second approach sees history as the study of the formation and structure of urban artifacts. It gives the idea of the city as a synthesis of various values, concerning the collective imagination. In favor of this approach Rossi says, **"The idea of history as the structure of urban artifacts is affirmed by the continuities that exist in the deepest layers of the urban structure, where certain fundamental characteristics that are common to the entire urban dynamic can be seen."**[5]

---

5. ibid, p.128.

The above mentioned concepts have provided a reference from which the question of the role of the rituals in the city has been approached in this thesis.

1.2   **RITUALS**

Rituals have been commonly understood as religious rites or ceremonies. But anthropologists typically define ritual as culturally standardized, repetitive activity, primarily symbolic in character allowing humans to understand better their place in the universe. Rituals are regarded as actions as opposed to beliefs, symbols and myths: the conceptual notions. Rituals by their property of celebration of an event, notion or concept and elaboration of the act differ from other activities, providing a substance of meaning and symbol to the activity. Any activity that has over time become celebrative and elaborative supporting a concept or a notion becomes ritual. Rituals associated with a single person are private and the ones associated with either a community or group of people are public rituals.

Rituals are not fixed in time and they change and are modified. Grimes observes that rituals do not merely recur...**"We can no longer assume that all forms of rituals are static. .... Unintentional, non-goal oriented actions such as playing and gambling also cannot be excluded from the definition of rituals since they are the seed beds of ritualizing."**[6] Rituals do not originate solely in, nor are they exhaustively explained by conscious actions and theological rationale.

6. Ronald Grimes. <u>Beginnings in Ritual Studies</u>. Washington DC: University of America, 1982.

Rituals do not merely mirror nor rest on the surface of more fundamental social processes that underlie or precede it, they are simply symptomatic of more primary social activity. Rituals are a part of the process of social change, given its capacity to generate new communitarian social relations.

1.2.1 Theoretical framework for the study of the ritual

Catherine Bell, in her book **Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice**[7] describes the meaning of the term **"ritual"**. Analyzing various theoretical discussions on ritual, she constructed a model based on three structural patterns. According to the first structural pattern, ritual is regarded as action different from beliefs, symbols and myths. **"Ritual is then described as particularly thoughtless action-routinized, habitual, obsessive or mimetic- and therefore the purely formal, secondary, and physical expression of logically prior ideas."**[8] The second pattern describes ritual as a functional mechanism that also **"integrates thought and action, while physical expression is given to thought"**[9]. In the third structural pattern, ritual performances integrate the thought of the observer and the action of the performer of the activities. Therefore, **"a model of ritual in which ritual is both activity and the fusion of thought and activity, ultimately forms a third pattern, one**

---

7. Catherine Bell. Ritual Theory Ritual Practice. New York: Oxford University Press,1992.

8. ibid, p.19.

9. ibid, p.20.

6

in which the dichotomy underlying a thinking theorist and an acting actor is simultaneously affirmed and resolved".[10]

This model of "ritual" has provided a theoretical framework for the purpose of this study. In this study the term "ritual" has not been confined to religious and set practices but has been extended to daily set practices of life. Ritualistic practices induce a sense of order in the sequence and arrangement of events and spaces. Thus urban formal and spatial organization has been discussed in terms of how they reinforce the rituals.

The anthropologist Mary Douglas[11] argues that the distinction between the modern societies and the primitive societies is not that ritual is more prominent in the latter. The difference is that primitive societies use ritual to create a self-contained and consistent universe, whereas modern societies use rituals to create sub-worlds that are not tightly linked because modern societies are far less homogeneous. This aspect of the change in the nature of the ritual has greatly influenced the cities in today's world leading to the decay of the urban centers and the establishment of new centers.

10. ibid, p.20.

11. Mary Douglas. Natural Symbols. Random House. New York, 1973. p.41-54.

1.3   AHMEDABAD

The city of Ahmedabad in all its aspects reflects the typical characteristics of an Indian city. In Indian cities the old historical centers of the cities have decayed and new sub-centers have emerged as observed in Delhi, Hyderabad, Lucknow etc. The rituals of the urban historical cores have also changed. Ahmedabad shows the decay of its urban center and changes in rituals is one of the various causes for this change. In Ahmedabad one observes the elimination of the political rituals from the urban core because of the moving of the capital of Gujarat from Ahmedabad to Gandhinagar (a newly established city, 1970, which presently houses only the political apparatus). This is unlike other Indian cities. This process heightens and more clearly demonstrates the effect of the change in the city center, resulting from the change in the rituals. This makes Ahmedabad a good case study.

In Ahmedabad the local political and administrative functions have moved from the urban historical core to the other areas in the city. The change in rituals and events from the ones that integrated political, religious and commercial rituals to ones which are purely commercial in character and where every day of the week is similar has contributed to the making of a pathological primary element (a phenomenon common to other old cities). Places like Manek Chowk emerged as the new propelling elements in the urban dynamic rendering them as urban artifacts with the passage of time even when they supported commercial rituals.

fig: 1.1: Problem Diagram

Change at various scales and various rituals

		Sultunate	British	Post Independence
City	chap 2	sec 2.2	sec 2.3	sec 2.4
Urban Core	chap 3	sec 3.3	sec 3.3	sec 3.3
Maidan-i-Shahi	chap 4	sec 4.1	sec 4.2	sec 4.3
Manek Chowk	chap 5	sec 5.1	sec 5.1	chap 5

Present Day rituals of Manek Chowk (making of an urban artifact)

Rituals	Physical Environment
Preparation of Market(accompanying street)	sec 5.6
Market activities (accompanying street)	sec 5.6
Market activities (Manek Chowk)	sec 5.7
Evening market (Manek Chowk)	sec 5.7

9

1.4   PROBLEM

This thesis provides a description of public rituals as the signifiers of social interaction with the environment, taking the example of rituals in an Indian city. The thesis takes Rossi's framework from **The Architecture of the City** as the basis for understanding the physical components of the city. A description of the changes that the physical components undergo illustrates the role of the rituals in the process of transformation of the city and its components. The changes in Ahmedabad clearly demonstrates that **"within the modern society the rituals no longer create a self-contained and consistent universe, but dispersed sub-worlds."**[12] A fragmentation appears to have taken place in society. Rituals have contributed to the fragmentation of Ahmedabad. The change in the nature of rituals has led to changed meaning of the urban core of the city. No longer does the urban core hold meaning as a representation of the understood reality, or God's order providing man's existential meaning. The present day urban core finds meaning only in the context of a consumer cycle.

Primary elements were integrated in the structure of the city of Ahmedabad when it was founded in 1428 AD. The Bhadra Square, the Jumma Masjid, Manek Chowk, Teen Darwaza, Raj Marg, King's Tomb and the Queen's Tombs that formed the urban core of the city were the primary elements, intended and built to act as the promoters of the urban dynamic in the city. Some of these elements

12. Mary Douglas. **Natural Symbols.** Random House. New York. 1973. p.44.

became the urban artifacts becoming the integral part of the city. The Bhadra Square (Maidan-i-Shahi) was the ground for the various religious and political rituals and commercial rituals during the Sultanate Age. During the British rule there were fewer political rituals, a complete elimination of the religious rituals and an increase in the commercial rituals. After independence Manek Chowk gained more importance than Bhadra Square even when they were both supporting commercial rituals. There was a considerable reduction in the importance of Maidan-i-Shahi and Manek Chowk was a more meaningful space.

The study of Manek Chowk becomes important because **"architectural anecdotes and highlights of famous patrons' lives are insufficient for learning the meaning of places and forms, because they concentrate on the exceptional rather than the regular social use"[13]**, and Manek Chowk provided me with the daily regular social use. Further, Manek Chowk has become an urban artifact which is so integral a part of the city that an understanding of the city is incomplete without it. As such it becomes important to study the rituals which are associated with this place which give it a special meaning. The study of the daily market rituals of Manek Chowk has allowed me to describe the importance of Manek Chowk and has thrown light on its emergence as a sub-center, as a result

---

13. Richard Joseph Ingersoll. "The Ritual Use of Public Space in Renaissance Rome." PhD Dissertation. University of California, Berkeley. 1985. p.6.

of the changing rituals, within the historical core of the city. The study of the rituals of the Manek Chowk area has demonstrated the qualities required of meaningful spaces for the present day commercial rituals. The emergence of new primary elements and their change over time leading to their becoming pathological or propelling has provided an over all structure within which a specific urban artifact, Manek Chowk, its change and transformation helped to illustrate the role of the rituals in the transformation of the city.

1.4.1   **Problem significance**

Society has changed over time and one observes changes in the city which is a conglomeration of social relationships. Accounting of the various factors shaping and changing the city is important in order to be able to deal with further change. I feel that ritual is an important force in shaping the physical environment of the city. **"The generally repetitive nature of rituals, their well documented presence, and their programmatic use of space qualifies them as worthy vehicles of meaning in the city."[14]** To understand the most basic influence of the rituals on the city a study of the changes in the city as a function of the changed rituals is helpful. In order to understand the qualities of the physical environment which still hold true in the present day the study of a dynamic present day area of the city is very helpful. This helps to give an insight to the urban designer

---

14. ibid. p.7.

12

about the change in the ritual, its effect on the city and the quality of the physical environment and its relationship to the present day rituals.

1.5   **METHOD OF STUDY**

Multiple methods like literature research, prior experiences, naturalistic observation and analysis were adopted for the purpose of the study. I chose this particular thesis because Manek Chowk had a very strong impact on me. Its activities held a very strong ritualistic connotation for me. I carried out the literature research on rituals, Manek Chowk and its activities. This was followed by literature research on Ahmedabad, its growth, changes and rituals.

After organizing this information I carried out naturalistic observation at Manek Chowk. I acted as the participant observer at Manek Chowk taking part in all its activities. I spent one full day on the site starting from 4 am in the morning to 2 am at night. After that I visited the site regularly for two weeks for different intervals of time during the various times of the day. Besides this I have had an association with this place for more than eight years. The final phase was the integration and analysis of the collected information.

The basic phases of my methodology are as follows

Phase I: Identification of various sources of information.

Phase II: Collecting and compiling the gathered information from the available sources. (addressing questions such as what were the rituals in the city in the three historical time spans, what were the accompanied changes in the city? what were

the major centers and sub-centers in the city, what were the activities in Manek Chowk? and how was the built environment of Manek Chowk?)

Phase III: Naturalistic observation at Manek Chowk and visiting of various areas of Ahmedabad.

Phase IV: Compilation of the collected information.

Phase V: Feed back on the collected information from advisors

Phase VI: Analysis, reinterpretation and drawing of conclusions.

1.6   OUTCOME AND EXPECTATIONS

Modern cities in India tend to segregate and disperse their rituals in various spaces as opposed to the historical cities. To trace the process of change in the city that is the emergence of the various sub-centers supporting particularized rituals in opposition to a common urban space supporting all kinds of rituals will throw light on the importance of rituals in the making and shaping of the cities. Commercial rituals, formal and informal, still bring together the people. They play a very important role in the daily life of the people irrespective of their class, sex and age. These have a life and a quality which can not be replaced by other activities, a quality found lacking in the modern supermarkets. The rituals of the informal markets in Manek Chowk have a special aspect that makes it an urban artifact even in the over all prevalence of commercial rituals in the whole city. What makes it special and what caused the loss of importance of Bhadra Square, are the basic issues the thesis addresses.

CHAPTER 2
RELATION OF RITUALS TO A CITY: AHMEDABAD

Rituals of the city of Ahmedabad and the changes in the city in the three historical time frames
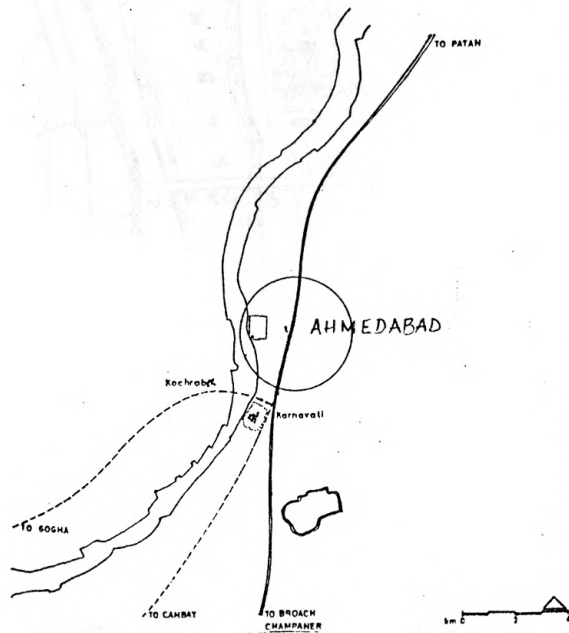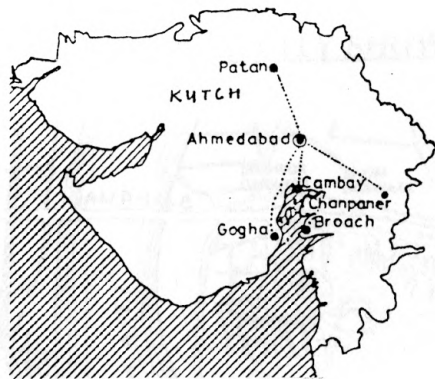
fig 2.1: Map of Gujarat and the important trade route through Ahmedabad.

The city of Ahmedabad, located in the Western part of India, originated as a trading town on an important route to the trading port of Kuteh. The people of this region are legendary businessmen and have always held the reins of power[15]. They provided a sense of stability and a strong foundation to the city shifting from ruler to ruler. Their reputation of being calm, determined and strong people is associated with the very founding of the city by Ahmed Shah.[16] The character of the place stems from the character of its inhabitants generating the locus of the city. The city gains its locus from 'events' which are directly dependent on the people of the city. The events are memorialized in the city's monuments and the rituals associated with the event.

> **...[L]ocus itself as a singular artifact determined by its space and time, by its topographical dimensions and its form, by its being the seat of a succession of ancient and recent events, by its memory. All these problems are in large measure of a collective nature; they force us to pause for a moment on the relationship between place and man.[17]**

The locus of Ahmedabad arises from its unique features and events depicted through its built environment which is strengthened through its rituals.

---

15. Gillion, Kenneth. Ahmedabad a Study in Urban History. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1986.

16. Refer Appendix. p.107.

17. Rossi. p.107.

16
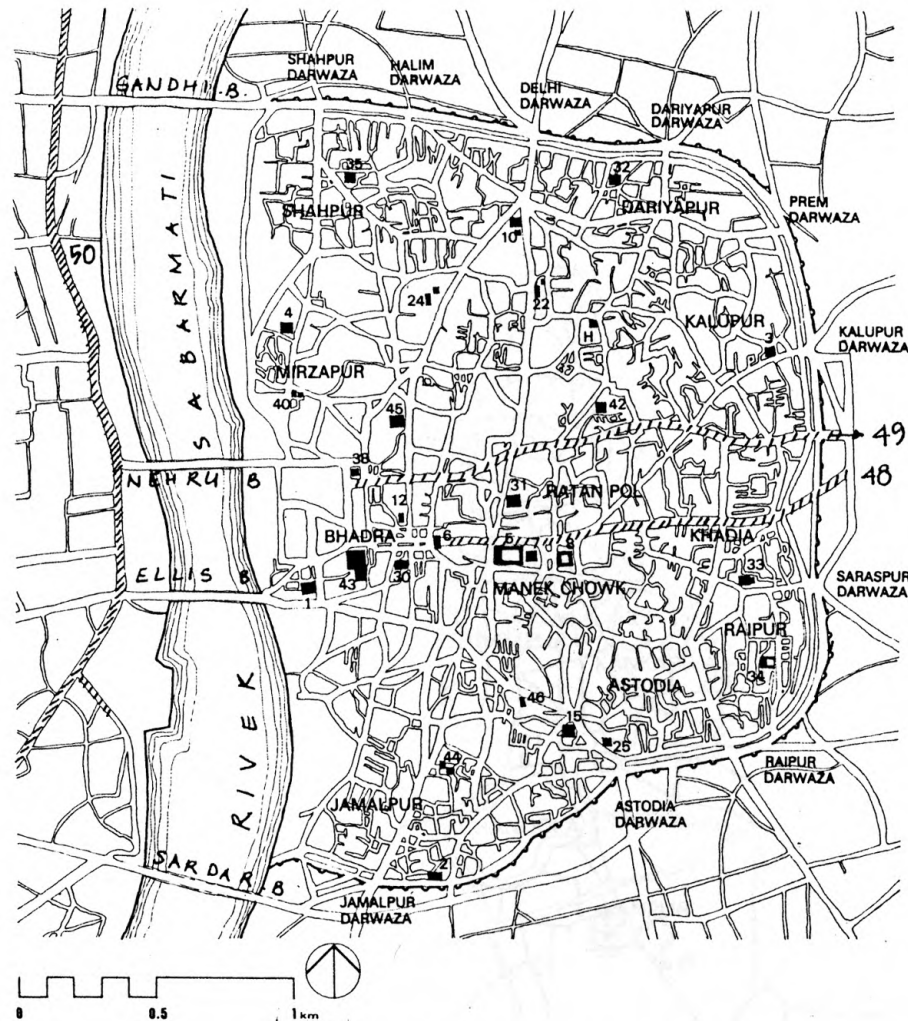
fig: 2.2: Present day map of the historical city of Ahmedabad

The plan of the city shows the location of the primary elements in the city. It shows the various settlements that emerged in the historical city. It also shows the fort wall and the important gateways. All the marked elements are either tombs or mosques.

Legend
1. Mosque of Ahmed Shah.
5. Jumma Masjid.
6. Teen Darwaza.
7. King's Tomb.
8. Tombs of the Queens.
13. Kankaria Tank.
48. Raj Marg/Gandhi Road.
49. Relief Road.
50. Ashram Road.
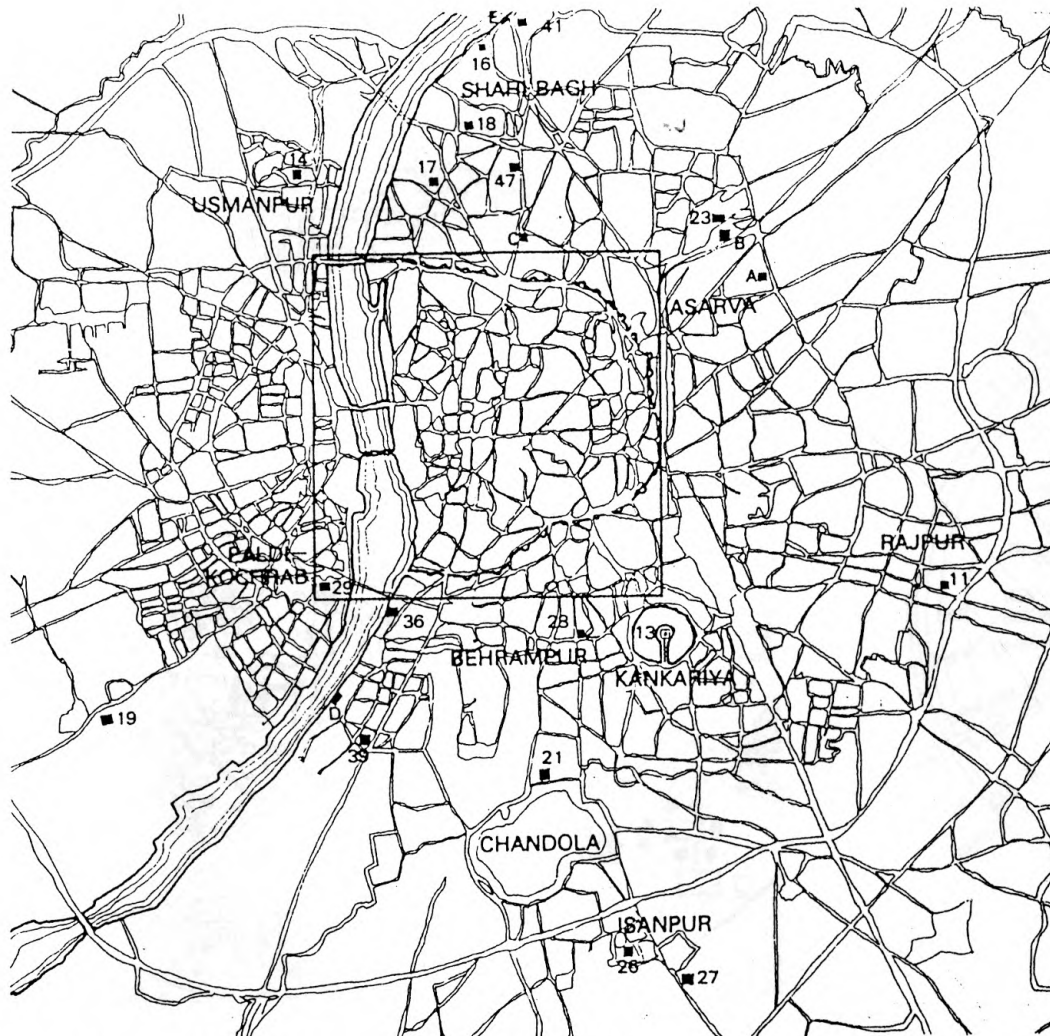
fig: 2.3:   Present day map of Ahmedabad

The form of the city changed with its growth. Earlier the river formed the controlling edge for the growth of the city. But with the building of the bridges across the river it started developing even on the western bank. The form of the city started being governed by the radius from the center. The city assumed a circular form. While earlier the core of the city was not exactly in the center now it came to be in the center. Although occupying the central space in the city the core became meaningless with the passage of time and the discontinuation of the formal political and religious rituals.

fig: 2.4: Representation of the city during the Sultunate times.
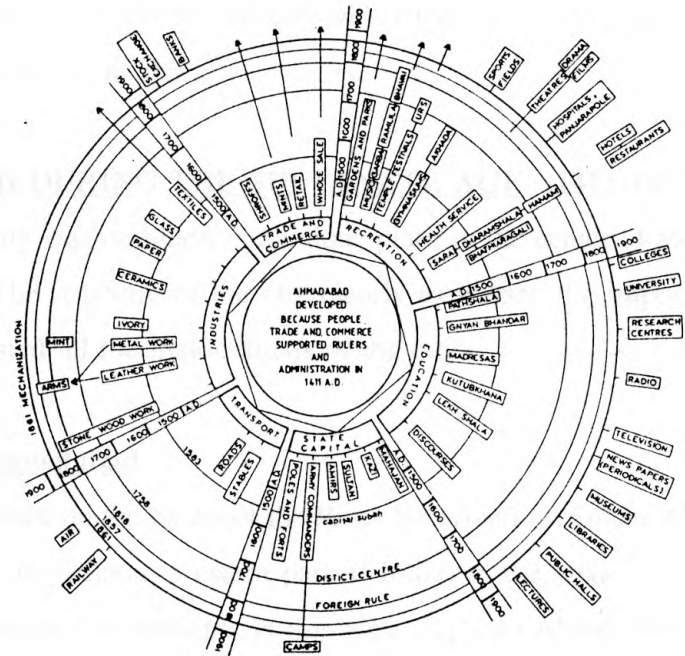
Fig 2.5: Growth chart of Ahmedabad

19

The city of Ahmedabad at its conception (1411 AD) took into account the major public rituals. As a result of this there was a need for a common urban space as a setting for the rituals. All the rituals, along with this urban space, provided a unified concept of the city. With the passage of time there were changes in the society and their rituals. The society became more and more fragmented and their rituals were shared and believed by groups of people rather than the whole urban population. This gave rise to smaller sub-centers within the city which reduced the importance of the singular urban space.

2.2   AHMEDABAD DURING THE SULTANATE AGE   (1411-1817)

The urban core of the city was designed as a unique place in the center of the city for the public rituals. The structure of the city clearly expressed the importance of this space which hosted all the major rituals of the city.

2.2.1   Structure of Ahmedabad

Ahmedabad was established on the banks of the River Sabarmati by Sultan Ahmed Shah as the capital city of Gujarat (western part of India) in the year 1412 AD. Before this there were smaller settlements in this area. (fig 2.6) Ahmedabad was envisaged as an icon of Islamic Imperialism[18] on the western provinces of the

fig 2.6: The early settlements on the banks of the river Sabarmati. Inherent character of the place leads to the growth of the city. Forces of origin of the city present on the site.

Ashapalli was founded by the Bhil (tribals) leader in 1000 on the widening point of the river sabarmati. This was conquered by Karna Solanki and named Karnavati which grew into a trade center between the seaport and the other trading cities. Ahmed shah built his capital on the eastern bank close to this main settlement at a higher plain than the older settlement. The nature of people greatly influenced by the fact that Karnavati was an important trade town. Ahmedabad was to demonstrate the strength of its trading merchant class.

18. Kenneth Gillon. Ahmedabad a Study in Urban History. University of California Press. Berkeley and Los Angeles 1986.

fig 2.7: Conceptualization of the city close to the early settelment by Sultan Ahmed Shah.

In 1411 Ahmed Shah the ruler of Gujarat (capital Patan) decided to build a new capital city Ahmedabad close to Karnavati leaving it intact. This city was to reflect in its planning the influence of Patan a Hindu city and the Islamic planning influences. The desire to show to the people a higher order by laying down the primary elements of the city. The Bhadra citadel and the Jumma Masjid established the east- west axis with the location of the citadel on the western most point of the river signifying the closeness of the

subcontinent. In the first phase of its establishment the city comprised the Bhadra Fort on the banks of the river, the Jumma Masjid (completed in 1423) and Muhurat Pol (the residential sector). In its early years the settlement was still an open one, the walls being added at a later date. In many respects it was planned along the Indo-Aryan tradition. However, in contrast to the former capital, Patan, which had a temple in the center, the Jumma Masjid (Mosque) was placed in the center at Ahmedabad. The 'primary elements' of the city are its major public buildings, Jumma Masjid (mosque), the King's tomb and the Queen's tomb. The overall fabric of the city, however, was as much Hindu as Muslim.

The Indo-Islamic approach to urbanity and civic architecture is epitomized by Ahmedabad. While the architecture of the primary elements of the Bhadra citadel, the Maidan-i-Shahi, the Teen Darwaza, the Jumma Masjid, and the monumental axis the Raj Marg- are all evocative of the Islamic sensibility, the overall disposition of major streets (with respect to the cardinal directions), the urban sectors, the pols and the hierarchical circulation patterns, demonstrate a Hindu-Jaina attitude based on the *Shilp Shastras* (the book of ancient building codes). A meeting of culture is demonstrated by the location of the Jumma Masjid and the central square, rather than a temple as prescribed by the Hindu paradigms of town planning.

21
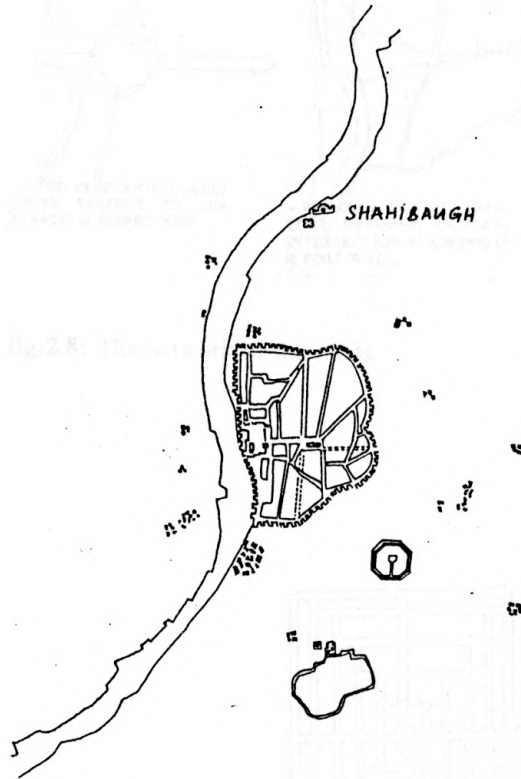
fig 2. : The laying down of the street structure and the increased settelments surrounding the city defined by its walls.

The population of the city had grown and the network of roads to the twelve main gates was completed. A palace was built in the Shahibaugh area.

Four major roads from the cardinal directions intersected at the central Chowgan (now Gandhi Road and Gheekanta Road). According to *Rajvallabh,* (the ancient texts on city planning) the city followed the traditional Hindu pattern based on the Nandyavarta Mandala. Originally there were twelve roads leading to the twelve gates; the thirteenth road being the Raj Marg. Records reveal that the city had seventeen Chaklas (where four roads met) and about 80 principal bazaar streets. The overall street pattern of the settlement was hierarchical and comprised main bazaar streets, secondary bazaar streets and tertiary streets.

2.2.2 Structure of Ahmedabad: an imposition of religious and political order

Ahmedabad was under the Muslim rule from 1411 to 1753 AD. The Muslim kings supported the Islamic ideology of conversions, either through force or by generating awe among the people[19]. The kings used the city, the built environment as a setting for political and religious rituals in generating the sense of awe among the people. The built fabric of the city was thus an imposition of the desired order. The victory marches, celebrations and the coronations of kings also were rituals of the demonstration of power.

Customs, rituals, symbols, ideologies, and forms of litigation have a public aspect that calls for patient review and

---

19. Nezar Al Sayyad. <u>Forms of Dominance. On the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise</u>. Vermont: Ashgate Publishing House. 1992.

22

—THE REFERENTIAL AXES WITH RESPECT TO THE CARDINAL DIRRECTIONS.

—PRIMARY URBAN STRUC-TURE DEFINING CENTRAL INTERSECTION AT CHOWGAN & FORT WALL.
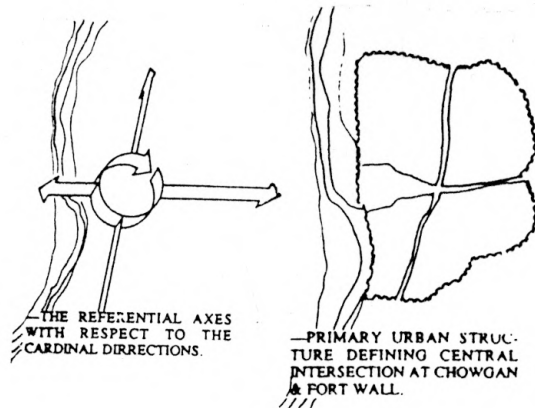
fig 2.8: The network of the roads.

NANDYAVARTA MANDALA:
DEPICTING   URBAN
ORGANISATION
AFTER RAJVALLABH AND
THE MANASARAS
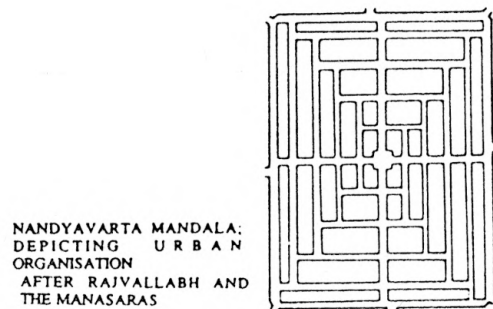
fig 2.9: The Nandyavarta Mandala which influenced the planning of the major streets and the gates of Ahmedabad.

interpretation, but behind these lurks always the matter of power. [20] and ....they justify their existence and order their actions in terms of a collection of stories, ceremonies, insignia, formalities and appurtenances that they have either inherited or, in more revolutionary situations invented. It is these - crowns and coronations....-that mark the center as the center and give what goes on there its aura of being not merely important but in some odd fashion connected with the way the world is built.[21]

The urban core of Ahmedabad gained its importance through the rituals that were associated with it. Moreover this center came to represent the ordering of their built world. The street, Raj Marg, in its built form, possessing very strong directional qualities had an apt form for the rituals of processions, which along with the markers (monuments) and important hierarchical transition points generated an ordered setting.

The other forms of important public rituals involved the gathering of people. A sense of hierarchy and importance had to be the essential components of the gathering space reflecting and marking the power of the rulers. Rituals like 'open court' were held with a lot of pomp and show. These occasions served to exhibit

---

20. Wilentz, Sean. Rites of Power. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1985. p.276.

21. ibid. p.15.

23

in chapter 3). The Raj Marg, Teen Darwaza and the Maidan-i-Shahi all in conjunction provided a center to the city; a setting for the rituals. This center along with its other functions became the means of exhibition of the powers of the king. This urban core within the city was the primary important space of the city; the center which every one associated with and held important and meaningful.

2.2.3 <u>Integration of Hindu rituals: overlaying of meaning to the structure of Ahmedabad</u>

The business class (sarafs) wielded a lot of power in Ahmedabad. As a result of this the Hindu festivals were also hosted with a lot of pomp and show. The Hindu festivals were not hosted by the kings but they had importance because they symbolized the force of the Sarafs even under the Muslim rule. These festivals brought the community together and provided them with a sense of belonging with the city. Most of the festivals were in the form of procession or gathering. The Raj Marg was the setting for the processional rituals and the Bhadra square hosted rituals involving the gathering of the people. The Hindu festivals were not directly associated with Bhadra palace (since the kings did not participate in them). But hosting them in Bhadra Square (Maidan-i-Shahi) was a symbol of power and importance. This provided a second level of interpretation wherein the ritual gained added importance because of the place.

The rituals of court coronation and victory processions were shared both by the Hindus and the Muslims. The urban core was the main setting for all these important rituals and helped provide everyone with a singular unified conception of their city, thus their sense of existence in this world. The nature of these rituals was under the control of the kings/rulers or priests and since the place of importance was the urban core all the important rituals were desired to be hosted there. In this way the environmental setting helped to bring people together and give them a sense of community. The physical form of the city reflected the notion of the center/periphery. The monuments were in the center both in terms of form and the process of urban dynamic. **"A monument stands at a center. It becomes a place of attraction....It has the collective memory of the people. It has a permanence because it stands in a dialectical position with the urban development."[22]** The two major monuments of the city, the focii, were the Jumma Masjid and the Bhadra Palace in the urban core.

The events and the places of the urban core in the city worked together to form the genius-loci of this place. The city structure and the monuments of Ahmedabad express the desire for the generation of an environment that would create the mystification for the Muslim festivals and the political rituals. There were

---

22. Rossi, p.92.

multilevel of meanings for the urban core of the city which provided a unified conception of the city.

After the Sultunate reign the city fell into the hands of the Marathas (Hindu kings 1753-1808 AD) This was a period of decline of the city. The population decreased and there was utter chaos in the city. There was no sense of unity or belonging nor any sense of identification with the city. Muslim festivals were severely restricted. In absence of the support of the displeased merchant class even the Hindu festivals lacked luster. After a short spell of the Maratha rule the city came under the rule of the British.

2.3   AHMEDABAD DURING THE BRITISH RULE (1817-1947 AD)

During the British rule there was a reduced emphasis on religious and political rituals, resulting in a certain loss of meaning of the structure of Ahmedabad. The city was no longer a manifestation of existence of man in a sense of community whose acts of ritual brought people together to share common beliefs. There is a marked change in the city, from a place of collective inhabitation as an aspect of human existence to the city as a tool for the mode of the production process, resulting from the industrial revolution. Newer forms of rituals emerged in the industrial society which created dispersed sub-worlds not in identification with a singular urban core.

fig 2.10 : No major changes in the city till British Rule.

26

2.3.1 Neutral attitude of the British, no emphasis on ritual

Ahmedabad came under the British rule in 1817 by a treaty with the Peshwa at Poona (Maratha) and the Gaikwad of Baroda. The city presented a dilapidated sight when John Andrew Dunlop took possession as its first collector (on 30th November 1817). The major concern of the British being the revival of Ahmedabad's indigenous trade for the purposes of profit, they made policy decisions which were to help the city recover from the ravages and onslaught of the Marathas. By 1840 Ahmedabad was **"in a most flourishing condition and progressing rapidly."**[23] The presence of the British was never intrusive in nature as in other cities and the population of the English was meager in the city.

The cantonment set up in 1824 about five kilometers north of the walled city, though low in density, was an orthogonally planned fabric of bungalows and gardens. The weather of Ahmedabad was not conducive to the Europeans and hence the cantonment was inhabited largely by an Indian administrative force. Politically this meant that the British did not attempt to disrupt the institutions of indigenous administration and religion of the city and due respect was endowed on the traditional offices of the city. The sarafs (financiers) retained their traditional strong hold over the administration and affairs of the city. The first

fig 2.11 : The major change in the fabric of the city was the continuation of the Raj Marg the main processional street till the railway station which was beyond the walled city. The Ellis Bridge was built across the Sabarmati and the Cantonment was set up further north of the Shahibaugh palace. Educational institutions were set up on the western side of the river.

---

23. Kenneth Gillon. <u>Ahmedabad a Study in Urban History</u>. University of California Press. Berkeley and Los Angeles 1986.

fig 2.13: Expanse of the city in 1902.

thirty years of British rule was evidently the phase of rejuvenation. The city still retained its medieval character. The traditional crafts were still the basis of Ahmedabad's prosperity and the sarafs and the mahajans dominated its trade.

The southern and eastern parts of the city were densely populated at the time of British annexation. The British thus preferred to settle in the vacant land in the northern and western wards. The Parsis and the Jews followed the British to the city and they too, like the British, lived in detached Bungalows in the same wards. (Khanpur in Shahpur ward). However with the densification of the city the British preferred to move nearer the cantonment to maintain their social distance.

The British had their administrative quarters in the Bhadra palace but all the activity was restricted within. The British were only interested in the trade in the city. They were not interested in the display of their power and strength in the city. As a result of this they did not meddle with the structure of the city nor did they build a new city like Delhi. Moreover the government did not allow religious processions as they could be causes of disruption of the delicate peace in the city. (The fight for Indian independence from the British had given rise to marching, processions even in Ahmedabad where the British population was meager; as a sign of protest and support for the national movement.)

28
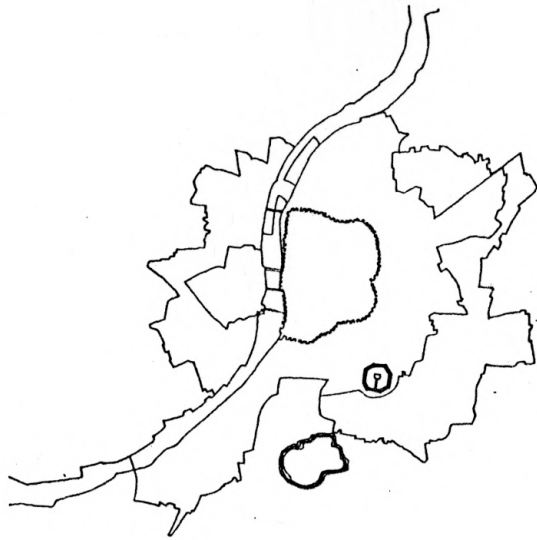
fig 2.14: Expanse of the city in 1934.

Where earlier the Bhadra square was the scene of the armies now the troops were in a new part of the city. No longer would horses and elephants march down the Raj Marg to assemble for inspection or other purposes in the Bhadra Square. The cantonment was the scene of military activity. The city was being run in absentia from Bombay/Delhi. Ahmedabad was not the capital of a kingdom or empire and hence did not have many/much political rituals. It was a regional trading center of the British Empire.

The most important factor in the transformation of Ahmedabad (like the other cities) was the industrial transformation; 1860-1914 AD. The setting up of a cotton spinning mill by Rao Bahadur Ranchodlal Chotalal in 1861 marks the beginning of the industrialization of Ahmedabad. The railway reached Ahmedabad from Bombay in 1864 and ensured its hegemony as the most important trading center in Gujarat. The proliferation of textile mills and the consequent consolidation of its industrial base came to characterize the city in the second half of the 19th cent. By 1881 the city experienced rapid development to its textile industry. By the end of 19th cent Ahmedabad came to be known as the 'Manchester of India'.

The consolidation of its industrial base had implications on the political structure of the city. Although the guilds still functioned, their power was rapidly declining and the mahajans had less control over its political affairs. It marks the disruption

29

of the traditional processes of work facilitated through the transformation of the nature of the labor force (towards production); aided through the introduction of the capitalist mode; resulting into slow transformation of the basis of societal relationship into a class oriented society. Ahmedabad was also experiencing the predicament the cities were facing as proposed by Tafuri[24]. The city was no longer a place of ideological standpoints. No longer did the city reflect the unity of the cosmos/man. The city had become merely a place of alienation, merely a tool for production process. The infrastructure was all geared towards making the manufacture process efficient. The political bodies and the people with power (industrialists) were all interested in converting the city into an efficient mechanism.

The setting up of the cantonment also had a similar effect, that of segregating the classes (income based). Earlier the head of each community stayed in the pol (the residential quarter) in the inner city. He belonged to a different traditional class but was an integral part of the community. He was party to the activities of his community as its head. His participation in the rituals of the city was important to him for the retention of his importance among the people of his pol. But with the industrial revolution there was class formation based on money and this

24. Manfredo Tafuri. Architecture and Utopia Design and Capitalist Development. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts. 1992. p.81.

merely provided segregation among the people for they had to maintain their difference in order to generate profit by their subjugation. This was not community oriented where all classes of the society were unified finally for the better functioning of the society and hence based on interaction. When he moved away from the inner city to the cantonment he became divorced from the activities in the city and was no longer interested in hosting or supporting rituals. Rather he became interested in establishing his distance from the people. Thus there was a segregation of society which led to a decline in the importance of rituals which brought all classes of society together. This had a marked effect on the transformation of the built environment.

Industrialization had been instrumental in drawing migrant population. It was during this phase (with morbid congestion) that the city witnessed major transformations in its morphology. The process of indiscriminate encroachments that was rampant was brought under control by the municipality. The policy decisions implied the construction of Ellis bridge (1892) and the setting up of Gujarat college (1897) on the western banks of Sabarmati to induce further growth in this direction. The elite, and the industrialists had followed the British from 1850 onwards settling in areas like Shahibaugh and Dariapur-Kazipur, setting up the future directions of growth of the city. They imitated the British. The rituals of tea, horse riding, parties and going to clubs were adopted by them and each one

tried to out do the other in distancing themselves from the working classes, generating their own sub-world. The Ellis Bridge Gymkhana and the Sports Club emerged as a direct result of this. At the same time the Bhadra Square started becoming less important. It retained meaning for the general class of people but these were merely associational values since the hierarchies of the spaces and the sanctity of the structure was lost (discussed in detail in chapter 3).

The changes in the social, the political and the economic structure led to changes in life style and activities of people. Not only was the work place segregated from the living place, there arose a need for places for entertainment. The migrant population had lost its contact with the home. This population did not come with the family and also was undergoing a lot of stress. The workers life was segregated into work and leisure [25] Because of this they were looking for entertainment. The old residents of the city did not want to mix with the migrant population and as a result there was a conscious decision of segregation. (Even when lower in status compared to the elite who had moved out of the older residential areas, they considered themselves better than the migrant population.) Places for their entertainment and parks etc were outside the city. The old urban core had become less meaningful to its residents. It held only some associational

25. C.Wright Mills, Power Politics and People: The collected essays of C Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press.1963.
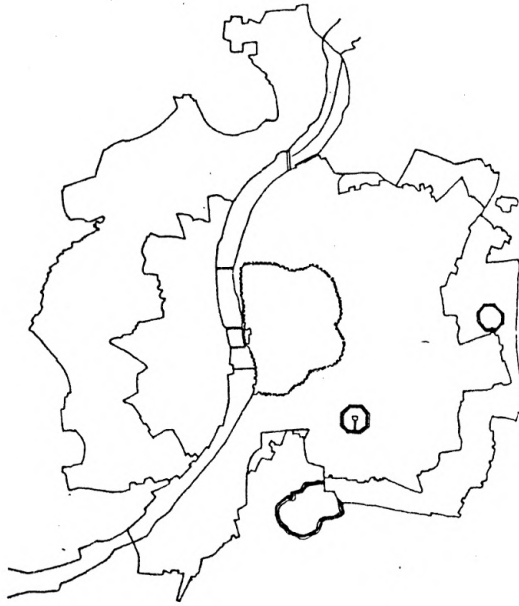
fig 2.15: Expanse of the city in 1950.

value because it did not support major rituals. There was an attempt to renovate the core. Fountains were laid down in the squares where the rich people would either ride around in their buggies or take a stroll. But these were private rituals or were limited to a group. The society was becoming more disintegrated and rituals involving the participation of everybody were discouraged to maintain the class difference. In the disintegrated society there were no common set of beliefs either related to religion, politics or entertainment. Groups had developed, and these groups had different places where they came together to perform certain activities which would tie them together in the form of a community. This segregation and disintegration was reflected in the city and its emerging new centers, divorced from each other.

2.4   AHMEDABAD AFTER INDEPENDENCE

The western side of the river is a newly developed area except for a few of the old settlements, like Shekhpur (Navrangpura), Usmanpura, Jhangirpura (villages which were developed during the Sultan Regime). The earliest development across the river was primarily institutional in nature. All the colleges and the Gujarat University were established on the western side. The residential development on the other side of the river increased after the construction of all the four bridges - Gandhi bridge, Sardar Bridge, Nehru Bridge and the Shubash Bridge. People who were tired of the old city life and those who could afford it, rushed towards
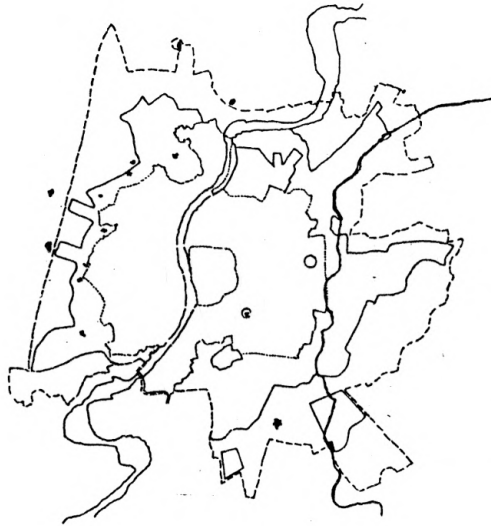
fig 2.16: Expanse of the city after independence (from 1960-1975).

this new development to have open spaces and good houses. The housing activities were encouraged by the municipality and town planning department. The western side was largely comprised of residential area and educational institutions.

With the building of bridges and the development of the western side the elite who had rushed to the Shahibaugh from the old city started clamoring to this newer part of the city getting bungalows designed by the most modern architects. With the shifting of the capital to Gandhinagar in 1970, the Ashram Road parallel to the river on the western side started to develop as a link of communication. With the increase in the use of this road and the increase in the traffic commercial establishments sprang up on this road. The western side of the city became the symbol of new activities progress, housing the prestigious educational institutes. Physical research laboratory, ATIRA textile research institute, the Space Application Center, museums and libraries came to be located on this side of the city drawing people further to this area. The people residing in these areas had moved from a very closely knit, hierarchical, social setup to an area where there were was no such social structure. People were all alienated from one another. They did not have any bonding either through place or nature of work. These people did not desire to retain links with the people in the old city and as such they were not continuance of old forms of rituals.

This segment of society, after having lost its roots, was keen on the revival of culture. This is observed from the sudden spurt of institutions like Darpana (dance schools associated with the revival of dance forms), Kala Center (arts) Kitab Center (literature), Lalit Kala Academy (art), Institute of Indology, museums. These institutions became places of rituals of different groups of people interested in those particular activities.[26] From 1960 to 1970 AD there was a tremendous development of the Ashram Road as an important entertainment artery. There were 8-10 movie theaters in a row next to each other. This was a very unusual development for India. The pressure of entertainment as the ritual forced this kind of development. These rituals have contributed to the process of creation of sub-worlds meaningful for a particular group or segment of people. In all the activities of these groups the class (based on earnings and monetary status) were very important to make them participants in the rituals.

On the other hand, in the last decade there has been a definite emergence of places where all sorts of people gather. These have been the informal outside eating establishments similar to the one in Manek Chowk discussed in chapter 5. Navrangpura itself has three such places which are very popular. The emergence and the popularity of these places makes me believe that there is a unconscious

26. Robert Bocock. Rituals in Industrial Society A Sociological Analysis of Rituals in Modern England. Edinburgh: T&A Constable Ltd, 1974.

35

desire of the society to have some urban space that all the people can associate with. These spaces would retain the anonymity of the people so as not to pose a threat to their status but still associate with a space which was of the city not merely of their group. This place would have its own set of rituals and the participation of the people in those rituals would give the people a sense of belonging to the city.

Before we discuss such places let us first look into the transformation of the urban core, the important urban element, and the changes in its meaning because of the changes in the nature of rituals it supported.

CHAPTER 3

ROLE OF RITUALS IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE URBAN CORE OF AHMEDABAD.

Changes in the rituals and the change in the meaning of the urban core.

3.1 STRUCTURING OF THE URBAN CORE AND ITS TRANSFORMATIONS
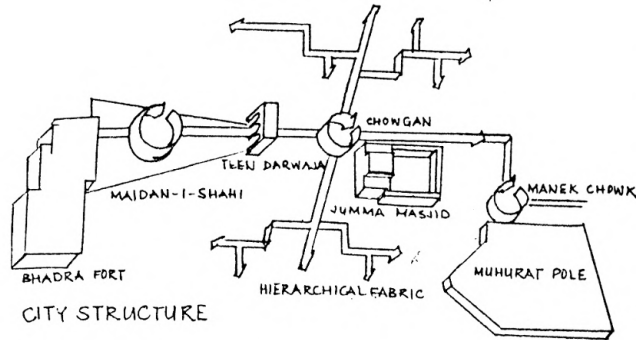
fig 3.1: The city structure

The Bhadra Fort and the Jumma Mosque were conceived as the two dominant foci of Ahmedabad during the founding of the city. The area between them was structured along a monumental axis which included the vast Royal Square (Maidan-i-Shahi), the main bazaar street (Raj Marg or the procession way), and a public square adjacent to the Mosque. The Teen Darwaza, a triple arched gateway, served as a transition between the Royal Square and the public square. The Maidan-i-Shahi was the major open space of the city, and all civic and ceremonial activities of state were held here. It was surrounded by the Royal market (Khas Bazaar) where the weekly Friday market was held. The Chowgan at the Jumma Mosque was the main commercial square for the public. The Manek Chowk and the smaller market squares near the city gates were the other commercial hubs.

With the passage of time, the primary structuring of the city's core did not change much, only hierarchies in the plan were dissolved . There was a definite change in the meaning and the values attributed to the core of the city. Only the plan of the city's core did not change with time and hence it can be identified as a primary element and a permanence in Rossi's terms. It has become an integral character of the city. Its form still embodies and provides a record of history and

38

values attributed to it by the planners. It is a record of events, people and the society.

In the Sultanate Age there was a very distinct sense of hierarchical layout between the mosque, the three gates, the Bhadra Square and the Palace. The fabric of the city became dense with the passage of time providing a higher legibility to the structure of the city. But the dissolution of the hierarchies and an unchecked and random development of areas made the structure less meaningful. The loss of the religious and the political ritual led to the loss of the importance of the urban core, leading to a deterioration of the structure. There was an unprecedented increase in the commercial rituals of this place but the lack of any special qualities of these rituals, in this particular space, also added to the decline in its importance and meaning. The parallel tracing of the plans at different times shows a pattern of growth and the loss of clarity and hierarchy of the spaces and the structure. It clearly depicts the indiscriminate growth that took place in the urban core because of the lack of sanctity of the environment because of the discontinuation of the formal religious and political rituals in the urban core. The commercial rituals provided a setting of laize faire and equal opportunism. This infused the space with new vitality but this was pretty superficial, lacking in any symbolic content.

3.2   MAPS SHOWING THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE URBAN CORE OF AHMEDABAD

3.2.1   Sultunate Age
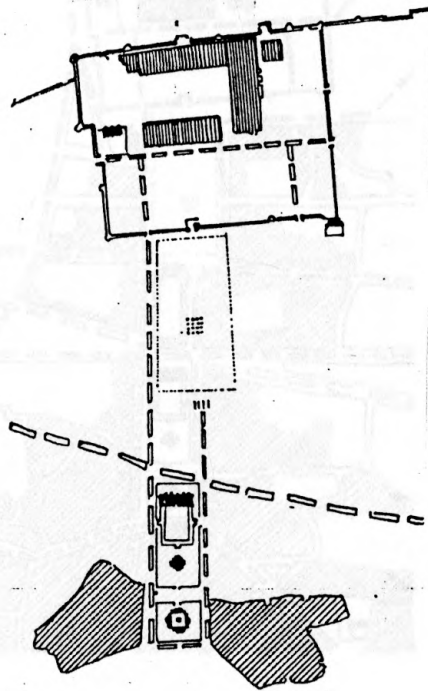
fig 3.2: Structure of the urban core at the conception of the city.
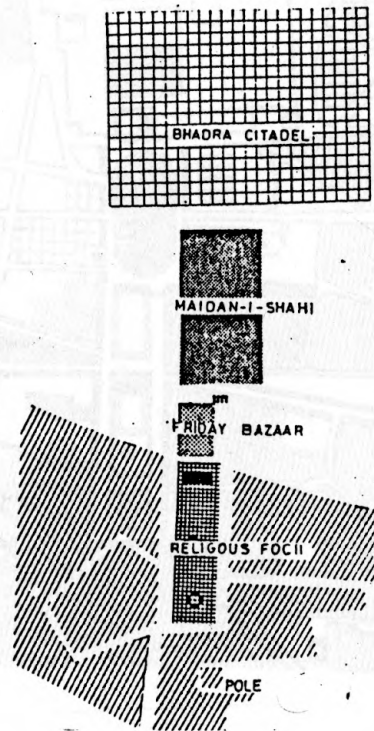
fig 3.3: Hierarchy of the spaces in the urban core. (1400's)

A clear hierarchy of spaces was established in the urban core of the city by its structuring and use of monuments; palace, open urban space, gates, procession way, three gates, mosque, open space. These acted as a setting for the various rituals, granting them importance. The location of the mosque and the palace formed a ritualistic path which helped generate and maintain the importance of the urban core and the two institutions of power, the king and God. The palace, located on the furthest west of the city represented the closeness of the king to the Allah. (Mecca, the holy place and the center of the Islamic world is due west from India.)

The housing zone began towards the east of Jumma Masjid to establish difference in the zones maintaining the sanctity of this ritualistic environment. It helped to establish the supremacy and the power of the king who was the representative of God (Allah).

The axis of the monuments Jumma Masjid, the King's tomb and the Queen's tomb all generated a zone identified as the religious foci. It was in harmony with the political foci they generated.

40
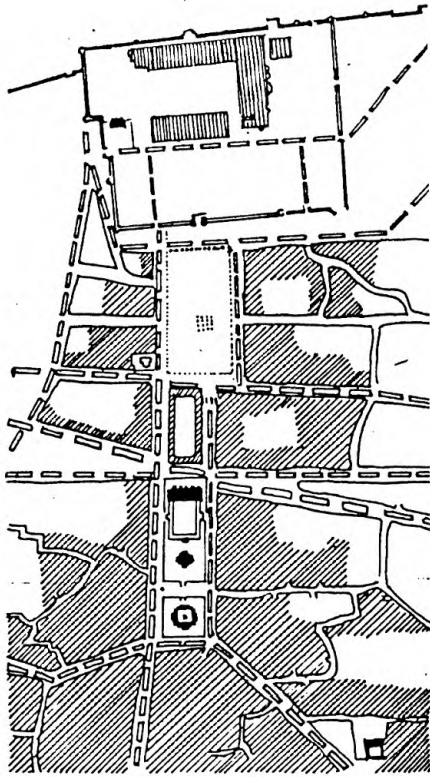
fig 3.4: Structure of the urban core in 1500's.
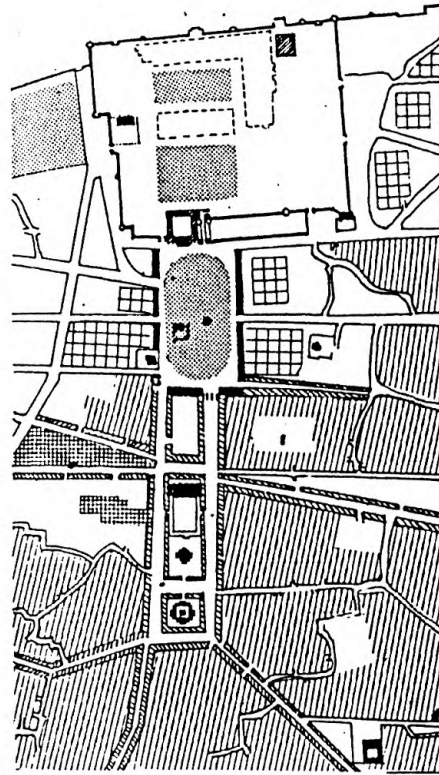
fig 3.5: Structure of the urban core in 1600's

In the 1500's, buildings all around the Maidan-i-Shahi provided a clear legibility to the square. This was earlier an open area not bounded by trees and the streets. As such the surrounding built fabric started defining its edge. The hierarchy by seclusion was eliminated (no built elements adjacent to the palace) but was achieved by the zoning (only residences of royalty and nobel men and other important institutions.) Then was the zone of the traders and other people. The Friday bazaar area being a part of people's life and rituals gained permanent features and elements for its structuring.

In the 1600's, the major changes were in the palace complex. A few structures were built in the open space (Maidan-i-Shahi). The built fabric still exhibited the hierarchy of the spaces. The values of the spaces were changing because of the transformation of the built environment.

The plan at both these stages shows the clarity of the ritualistic pathway and clearly expresses the transition point as the Teen Darwaza.

3.2.2   Maratha reign and the British rule

By the 1700's the Maidan-i-Shahi was still an open space but its nature as a square was destroyed. The triangular space which was left over diluted the sense of termination in the open space. Rather it gave more importance to the palace which became the point of termination. The power with the kings became more consolidated. The rituals involving general participation of the people were decreasing. New elements cropped up in the middle of the square that diluted the importance of the space. The sense of the space as a formal square was completely destroyed.

The 1800's saw the rule of the British and no longer was the urban core the setting for the rituals of court, coronation and festivals. The built fabric reached the river's edge and a link across the river became very important and decreased the importance of the urban core.

There was continued transformation of the built fabric. Fountains were laid down in the middle of the Bhadra Square to generate a more pleasing environment.

fig 3.6: The urban core in 1700's   fig 3.7: The urban core in 1800's
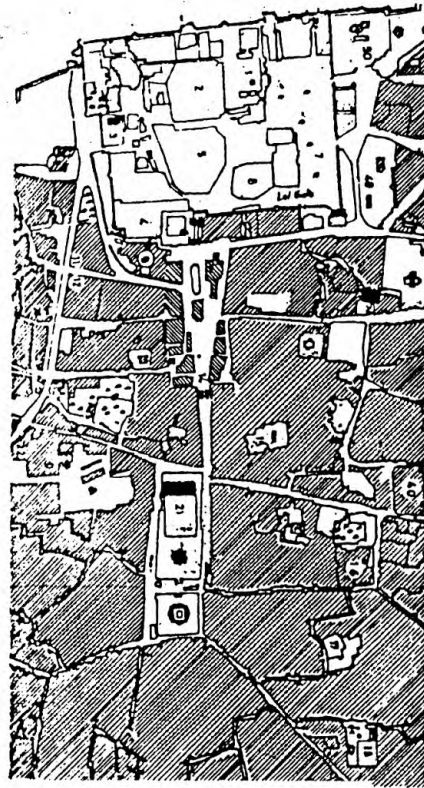
3.3.3 __Modern Period__

By the 1900's the whole urban core had densified considerably. The unchecked growth of the shops diluted the importance of the core. The connections to the railway station and the mills had become important. Jumma Masjid, the king's and the Queen's tombs had been surrounded by built fabric rendering the axis established by these monuments invisible. Islands had cropped up in the middle of wide roads later to be taken over by buildings.

There was a singular predominance of commercial rituals and a complete elimination of formal political and religious rituals. The commercial rituals called for a space which provided equal opportunity for all. The elimination of hierarchies and the lack of a higher symbolic ideology of these activities made them devoid of a strength to bring people together as a community and this was reflected in the city and the urban core.

The present day linkages map clearly shows the loss of the Square and the decreased importance of the Raj Marg also.

fig 3.8 Urban core in 1900's

fig 3.9 linkages

3.3 RITUALS ASSOCIATED WITH THE URBAN CORE

3.3.1 Rituals during the Sultunate Reign:

The rituals associated with the urban core were religious and political. The Raj Marg (Procession way) and the elements alongside provided the setting for the religious festival processions and the king's victory and coronation processions. For the purpose of description let us take the example of the ritual of the coronation of the king and we will see the role of the physical structure of the urban core. The most auspicious day was selected, in tune with the cosmological forces after comparing astrological charts and observing favorable signs. Special prayer ceremonies were held at the Jumma Masjid, the main mosque, and were attended by a large number of people. After the prayer ceremonies the king, escorted by priests and noblemen, came out to meet the subjects. Standing on the huge flight of stairs of the Jumma Masjid he was cheered by his subjects.

The steps were lined on both the sides by the poor and the needy to whom the king proceeded to give alms. The stairs was a very appropriate setting which established the difference in the zones for the kings and the subjects. The establishment of the transition from the sacred to the profane space; where king as the representative of God was on an elevated plane compared to the other men. It also celebrated the power of the king. The area adjacent to the steps was also packed with people who were served food.

All this was done to have the blessing of the subjects, win over their cooperation and to demonstrate the king's power and wealth. This became a part of the weekly cycle; where every Friday, even noblemen would also give away alms and food. After the prayers and the charity the king would sit on an elephant and ride down the processional way, the Raj Marg. The Raj Marg would be lined with people showering flowers and shouting for the long life of the king and his prosperous reign. The king was preceded by groups of people singing, dancing, playing trumpets and drums and performing acrobatics. He was followed by his army displaying its utmost splendor. The procession would reach the (Teen Darwaza) three gates where the priests of the palace and the family members would carry out some more prayer ceremonies and lead the procession to the palace. Beyond the Teen Darwaza only the noblemen and the important people would be present. Teen Darwaza was the element of transition in the hierarchical structure of the core marking and clarifying the difference between the public and the private realm. On the towers of the Bhadra palace would be musicians playing music. The actual coronation would take place in the court of the palace after which the king would come out on the balcony and address the noblemen and the army. This was a hierarchical setting within the private area. The other processions were similar in character.

Describing a procession of a nobleman from a pura (small independent settlements

outside the city wall) every Friday, Mandelslo, the German traveller wrote,

"he proceeded to the great state, seated in a howdah upon an elephant which was caparisoned with the richest tapestry. On these occasions he was attended by a bodyguard of 200 soldiers and several standards and banners were carried before him, many fine Persian horses accompanied him".[27]

On Friday (the religious day of the Muslims) the royal khas bazaar was set up in the Royal square. The nobles and the people from the royal palace would attend this bazaar (market) to buy things and meet people. The Friday Market for the commoners would be set up in the area beyond the Teen Darwaza. All the ritual in conjunction with the urban setting helped to generate a sense of belonging to the city; a sense of identification with the community, establishing, **"Men, not Man, live on this earth and inhabit this world".**[28] In the religious celebrations people were more active participants. The victory and the army marches retained a difference between the spectator and the participants but the religious processions provided unification between them. With the progression of time, decreasing power of the king and the lessening hold of religion the subtle hierarchies of the core were lost which were concretized and granted meaning through the enactment of the rituals.

---

27. Mendelslo. p.32.

28. Arendt, Hannah. p.7.

46

3.3.2 The influence of rituals on the structuring of the Urban Core

The structuring of the urban core of Ahmedabad demonstrates the importance of rituals in the planning of the city. The placement of the Jumma Masjid at the center of the city is the clear expression of the importance of the religion and religious rituals in the life of the people. Furthermore it was the imposition of the beliefs of the rulers on the people. The mosque was not placed adjacent to the palace as seen in other cities based on Islamic planning in India (for example Delhi and Fatehpur Sikri). It was placed on the eastern side of the Raj Marg (present day Gandhi Road) creating an axis and a procession way. The transition for the purposes of control and to maintain a level of differentiation and importance was provided by the Teen Darwaza, the three gates. At the point where the procession way terminated there were elephant stables, 'Gazshala'. The march of the elephants declared the importance of the occasion among the people.

The structure of the core was conceptualized as a setting for the rituals. With the fall of the Sultanate this fabric was no longer meaningful for the Hindu rulers. No longer was it a means of demonstration of power of the Marathas, neither did it have religious importance because of absence of a temple in the center. The Marathas were not interested in ruling the city or maintaining a political functioning apparatus and there were no formal rules for justice. As a result of all these factors the structure started losing its meaning as a setting for the rituals.

3.3.3 Rituals during the British Reign

The British had a very neutral attitude towards the city. They were not interested in demonstrating their power in this city (unlike Delhi and other Indian cities). They were content with the establishment of proper trade therefore even when the Bhadra Square had the Union Jack, the axis just became important as a link to the railway line for the purposes of trade. And the destruction of the hierarchy and the clarity in the structuring ensued from all these attitudes. No longer were there rituals to make this environment meaningful.

3.3.4 Modern age rituals of the urban core

In the modern age the rituals of politics have been moved from the core of the city. Religious rituals do not have the stronghold they had during the earlier times and they are not hosted in the core of the city. Only commercial rituals are enacted in the urban core. These rituals dissolve all kinds of hierarchy in spaces leading to a less meaningful environment.

A study of the transformation of the Maidan-i-Shahi square demonstrates clearly the changes resulting from the discontinuity of rituals. The form was no longer gaining meaning through rituals therefore becoming meaningless and more susceptible to transformations and the acquisition of new meaning.

CHAPTER 4

ROLE OF RITUALS IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF AN URBAN PRIMARY ELEMENT : MAIDAN-I-SHAHI

The changes in the physical structure and the rituals of Maidan-i-Shahi
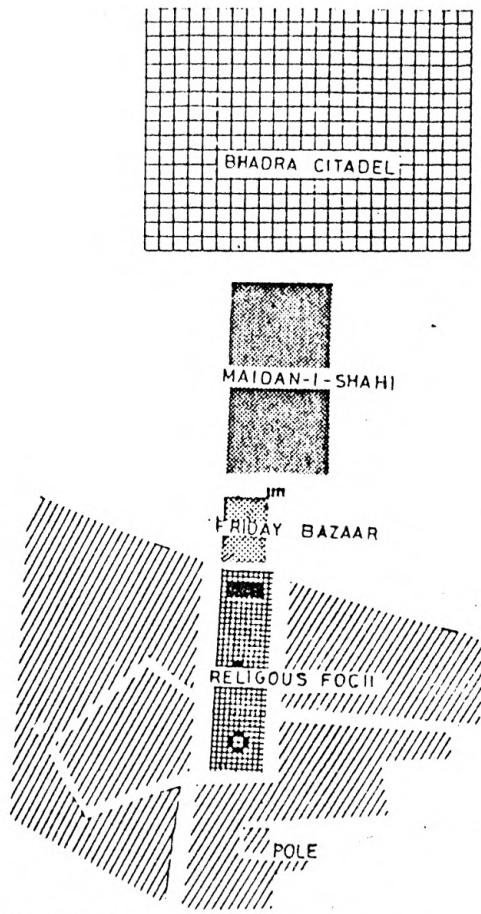
fig 4.1: The location of Maidan-i-Shahi.

The Maidan-i-Shahi/Bhadra Square was an important urban element of Ahmedabad during the early stages of the growth of the city. It provided a place for the interaction of the rulers and the subjects, maintaining the hierarchies and the difference between them. It also promoted growth in the city. It was an indispensable part of the city and Ahmedabad was identified with this urban space. Beginning with the rule of the British on, having lost its function, the hierarchy of the fabric of the urban core and the Maidan-i-Shahi were lost. As a result any building came up in the square destroying its sanctity as an important space. After independence this place became merely a commercial area. The square was transformed into two streets for vehicular traffic with a traffic island in the middle. The change in the nature of rituals, that is from the predominance of religious and political rituals with integrated commercial rituals to purely commercial rituals made the space devoid of its former symbolic meaning. The commercial rituals of this space were ordinary and could not help in the retention of meaning of this space.

The physical changes of the Maidan-i-Shahi can be described through the comparison of the accounts in the diaries of the various foreign travellers who visited Ahmedabad.

fig 4.2: The representation of the city during the Sultanate times.

Bhadra Citadel

trees and plantation

Pathways
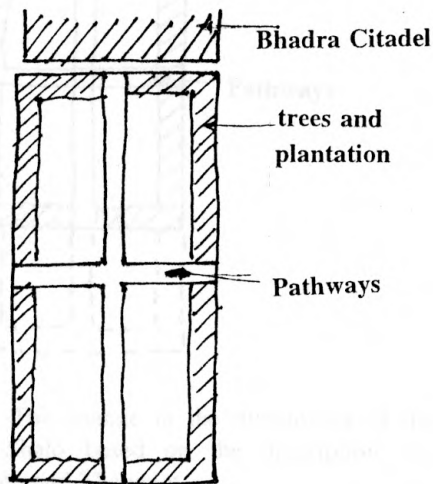
fig 4.3: The structure of Maidan-i-Shahi based on the description by Mandelslo. The proportions of the Maidan-i-Shahi.

4.1 THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF MAIDAN-I-SHAHI DURING THE SULTUNATE AGE

The physical structure of Maidan-i-Shahi can be seen to some extent from an existing ancient plan (from Sultanate Age)of the city. Maidan-i-Shahi was an open space in front of the Bhadra Citadel with boundary walls on all sides and few gates. The plan shows the presence of trees and the conceptual planning based on the on the Islamic planning of the garden. A rectangular open space was divided into four equal quadrants where trees were grown. The center was marked by a fountain or a waterbody. Mandelslo, the German traveller who visited the city in 1638, provides the earliest written description of the Maidan-i-Shahi;

" **The Maidan Shah, or the king's market, is at least 1,600 feet long and half as many broad and beset all about with rows of Palm-trees and Date-trees, intermixed with Citron-trees and Orange-trees, whereof there are many in the several streets: which is not only very pleasant to the sight, by the delightful prospects it affords, but also makes the walking among them more convenient by reason of the coolness. Besides this Maidan, there are in the city four Bazaars, or public places, where are sold all kinds of merchandise."[29]**

The Bhadra Citadel which forms one of the edges of the Maidan-i-Shahi was also visited by him and describing it as one of the most considerable in the whole of the Gujarat kingdom he wrote,

---

29. Mandelslo. Mandelslo's Travels in Western India. p.22.

51

"inside the enclosure was the royal palace of brick. Above its gate was a stage or curtain in which sat the musicians with their violins, oboes and bagpipes, which played four times a day, in the morning, at noon, in the evening and at midnight, as was the custom in Persia and all other countries under Moslem rule."[30]

This description matches the conceptual planning of the Islamic gardens visible in the ancient plan of the city. Thevenot, the French traveller who visited the city in 1666, after a very short span of 32 years describes the immense change that took place in this square. He wrote,

"going from the (Dutch) Lodgings, one enters by the high Arches (Three gates) into the Maidan-i-Shahi, which signifies the king's square. It is a long square having four hundred paces in breadth, and seven hundred in length, with trees planted on all sides. The Gate of the castle is on the west side, opposite to the three arches and the Gate of the Quervasaray on the South. On the same side are six and seven pieces of cannon mounted and on the other side more gates which are at the head of pretty fair streets. In this Maidan there are several little square buildings about three fathoms high, which are Tribunals for the Kotwal who is the criminal judge. In the middle of the place there is a very high Tree, purposely planted for the exercise of those who learn to shoot with the bow and who with their arrows strive to hit a ball which for that end is placed on the top of the Tree."[31]
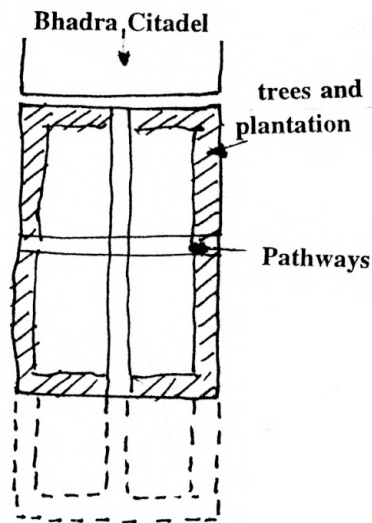
fig 4.4: The change in the dimensions of the Maidan-i-Shahi based on the descriptions by Mendelsolo and Thevenot.

30. Mandelslo. p.23.

31. Thevenot, M.de. Travels into the Indies. Translated by Lovell, London 1687. p.9.

52

He also described the Azam Khan's palace located next to the citadel built by Azam Khan in 1637 in the south east corner of the Maidan-i-Shahi. The spacious serai came to be used as an arsenal at a later period of the Mughal rule, about the middle of the 18th century.

In the Maidan-i-Shahi the great armies and foreign embassies assembled before approaching the presence of the king, and the sovereign enthroned on the terrace mustered the troops for martial enterprises and gala day reviews, or held splendid court in the cool of the evening besides the splashing fountain. The holding of court open to people for administering justice was one of the important rituals of Maidan-i-Shahi.

> **"From the date on which Jehangir entered Ahmedabad he was not unmindful of his duty towards his people, and, in spite of the great heat, and calling the city the city of dust 'gourdabad', he sat for two or three hours every day, after the midday prayer at the jharokha, or audience window, of the Royal palace in the Bhadra, to administer to justice. The access was free to all and there was no bar in the way of guards. Even when he was weak from his illness, he continued the custom."[32]**

These were the political rituals associated with the square lending importance to the space. The Maratha reign after the Sultanate reign was a period of decline.

---

32. Commissariate, M.S. VOl 2. p....

The governors (Peshwas) were indulgent, lazy, incompetent and were not interested in ruling the city. One important thing happened concerning the Bhadra Square which has made it legendary. A small shrine of the Bhadra Kali Mata (goddess), (1800-1817) was located in a corner room of Azam Khan's serai, adjoining the east gate of the citadel. Col Briggs made an important observation concerning this shrine; he wrote

> **"with her necklace of human skulls, being horribly dedaubed with red pigment as her whole person, she was placed here by the Marathas and has become the fashionable deity of the Hindus of Ahmedabad, from the very simple circumstance that she occupies her present conspicuous site leading into the vicinity of the kutcheri (the collector's office) and the Adalat (the District judge's court); every suitor on his way to these offices makes his vow there, hence the popularity of this Bellona."[33]**

The popularity of this shrine led to a huge number of people visiting this place. The square came to be identified as the Bhadra square and the citadel, Bhadra citadel. It illustrates a very important point about the place lending importance to a shrine and this becoming transformed into a ritual. The shrine enjoys its importance until today and has become a legend of Ahmedabad granting a little importance to the Maidan-i-Shahi.

---

33. Commissariat, M.S. Vol 2. p...
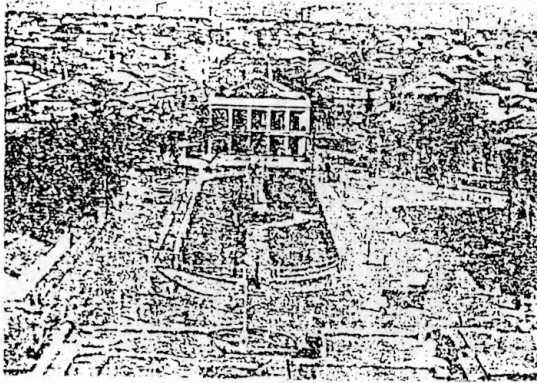
fig 4.5: The photograph of Maidan-i-Shahi during the British times with its central fountain.

1. BHADRA (OLD ROYAL COMPLEX)
2. AZAM KHAN SARAI
3. BHADRA SQUARE
4. TELEPHONE EXCHANGE
5. PREMABHAI HALL
6. CIVIL COURT
7. KARANJ POLICE STATION
8. MOSQUE
9. BANK

0 10 20 40M
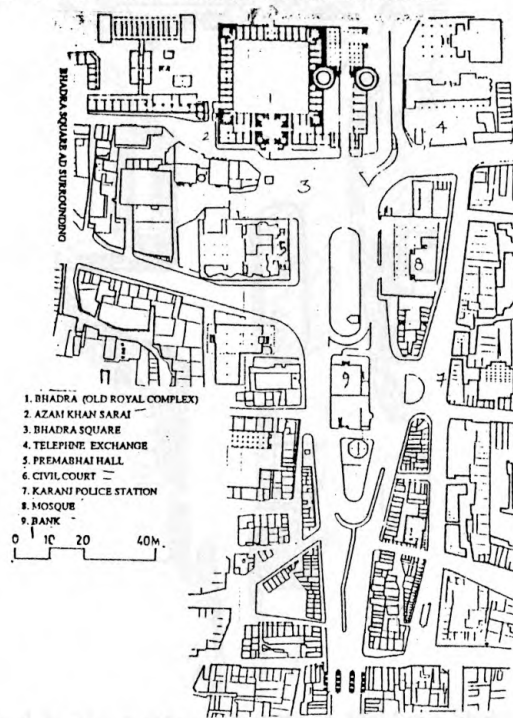
fig 4.6: Present day plan of Maidan-i-Shahi.

4.2   PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF THE MAIDAN-I-SHAHI DURING THE BRITISH RULE (1817-1947)

During the British rule the Bhadra Citadel became the administrative headquarter of the British. The army was present outside the city. As mentioned earlier the only interest the British had was of generating profit and hence they took steps to improve the infra structure for trade. The administrative rituals of the British of the display of strength were also not present in Ahmedabad. The Maidan-i-Shahi was cleared of all the trees and the remains of the once prosperous Islamic garden. The connection of the Bhadra palace to the railway station by a road to ease the movement of vehicles to and fro was done to establish better communication links for the city being governed from Bombay.

The Azam Khan's Serai, "the house of virtue and beneficence" (as described in Mirat-i-Ahmedi), the residence of one of the military chiefs during the Maratha rule was converted into a central prison in 1817. The rooms around the courtyard were converted into prisoner's cells. This lasted for nearly a century when in 1905, the front portion of the building was utilized as the head post office of the city. Since 1931, it ceased to house this public utility service for which it was so little adapted. This clearly exhibits the lack of desire for symbolic content and the use of spaces for more functional aspects. To grant some beauty to the functional spaces fountains were laid down in the center of Maidan-i-Shahi by the British.

55
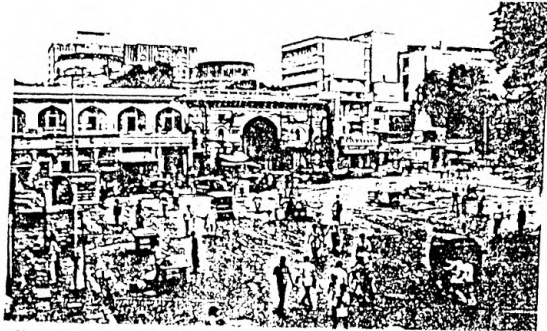
fig 4.7: Present day photograph of Maidan-i-Shahi.
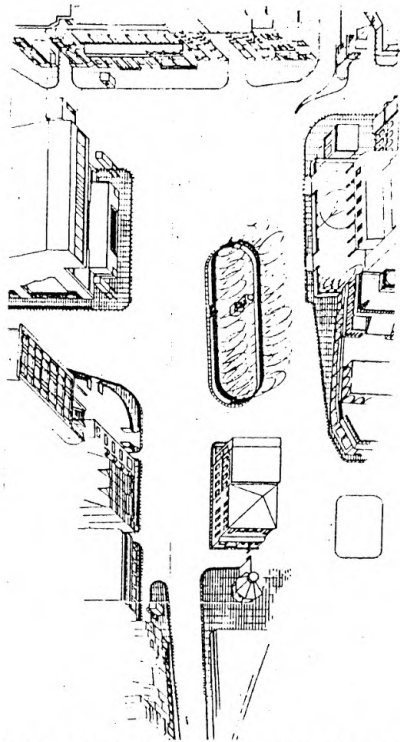
fig 4.8: The present day view of Maidan-i-Shahi.

The character of Maidan-i-Shahi as a square was dissolved converting it into street with an island in between. With the laying down of roads and the fountain and the trees in the middle new rituals emerged. The rich men would ride around the island and sit on the benches around the fountain to express their difference from the rest of the people. But these rituals did not hold meaning for the common people sharing no involvement with them and very soon were lost.

4.3   PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF THE MAIDAN-I-SHAHI AFTER INDEPENDENCE

After the rule of the British, the Maidan-i-Shahi was to proceed merely in one direction, the conversion of the square to a street. After independence there were no major changes merely the densification of the built form surrounding the square/street. The Bhadra citadel was no longer an administrative headquarter, converting into a residence for some influential Muslim families. The Azam Khan's Seri was no longer a post office but was a multi-family residential building. A police station was built on the eastern side of the square to maintain law and order. Islands of buildings housing banks and offices came up in the middle of the square/street. With the building of the Nehru Bridge the processional way/Raj Marg became an important link between the Western part of the city and the railway station. This increased the volume of traffic flowing through the square/street considerably. With the densification of the built fabric and the

56
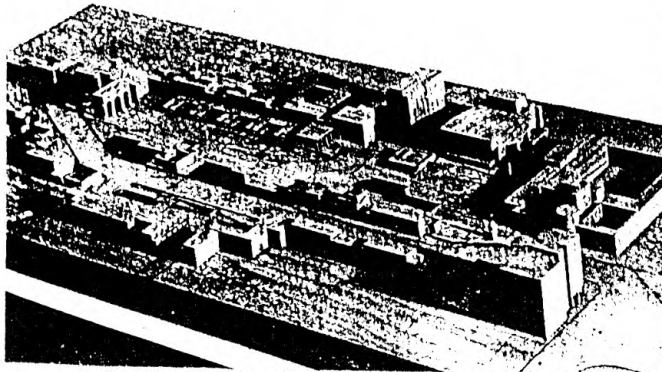
fig 4.9 Redevelopment proposal for Maidan-i-Shahi. (1968)
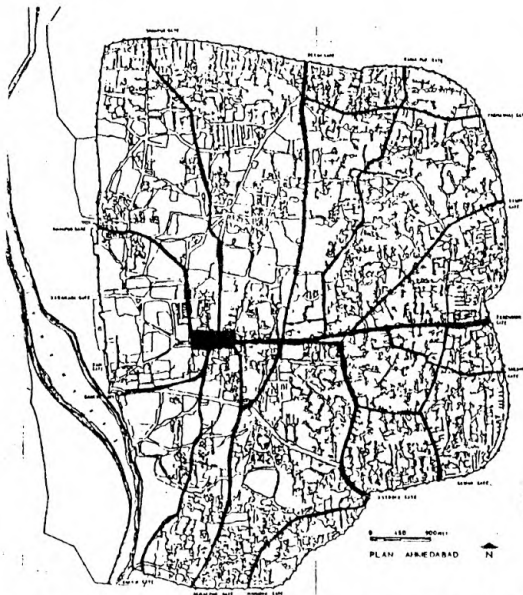
fig 4.10: Plan of Ahmedabad before the building of the Relief Road parallel to the Raj Marg

increase in traffic, the central fountain area became a traffic island with the fountains ceasing to play a meaningful role any more. The building of Relief Road parallel to the Raj Marg decreased the importance of the Raj Marg even further.

In 1968 there was a proposal for the redevelopment of the Maidan-i-Shahi area, with large halls (theaters) and multistory shopping complexes. The proposal tried to bring back the form of the square but with a new modern architectural language and vocabulary totally foreign and alien to the core of the city. The proposal was not carried forth. Only one theater (for plays), Premabhai Hall, was built. This was a modern building unresponsive to the old urban context.

It can be seen that with the change in the power and the change in the nature of rituals the space of Maidan-i-Shahi has undergone tremendous transformation. It changes from a very meaningful environment to an ordinary street with no symbolic value. An urban artifact which was the most integral component of Ahmedabad was reduced in meaning to that of surrounding streets.

4.4 CHANGES IN THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF THE RAJ MARG

The Raj Marg has not changed much, just densifying and losing its symbolic importance over time. It no longer matches the description provided by the Mughal emperor, Jehangir, who visited Ahmedabad in 1618 AD and greatly
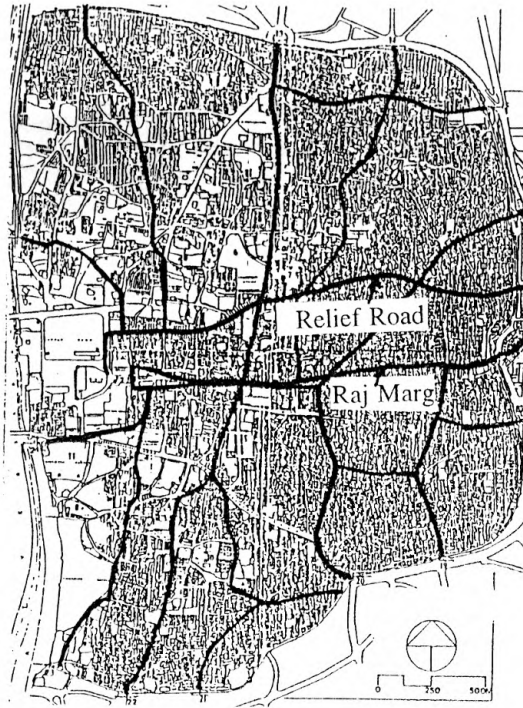
fig 4.11: Plan of Ahmedabad after the building of the Relief Road.

disappointed by the city said

> **"The main road of the Bazaar (market) is wide and spacious, but the shops on either side are not suited to the breadth. There is dust all the way from Kankaria to the Bhadra citadel".[34]**

No longer is the Raj Marg perceived as a disproportionately wide street which could take **"ten carriages abreast"**. It is seen and experienced as a narrow immensely crowded traffic road. The handcarts set up smaller shops on the pavement and enclose and divorce the space of the road from that of the pavement and the shops. The width of the Raj Marg was in response to the agenda of the rituals. The Islamic planning gave a lot of importance to rituals in its planning.[35]

4.5 CHANGES IN THE TEEN DARWAZA

The Teen Darwaza (triple arched gateway) stands today as the reminder of the past glory of the city of Ahmedabad. A handsome structure, it has changed over time. The description of the Darwaza obtained from T.C. Hope[36], (1650-80) is

---

34.Commissariat, M.S. Vol 2. p63.

35. Nader, Ardalan and Bhaktiar. The Sense of unity. The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture. Chicago:The University of Chicago Press, 1958.

36. T.C.Hope and J Fergusson. Architecture at Ahmedabad The Capital of Goozerat. London:1866. p.37.

fig 4.12: The Teen Darwaza in the early 1900's.
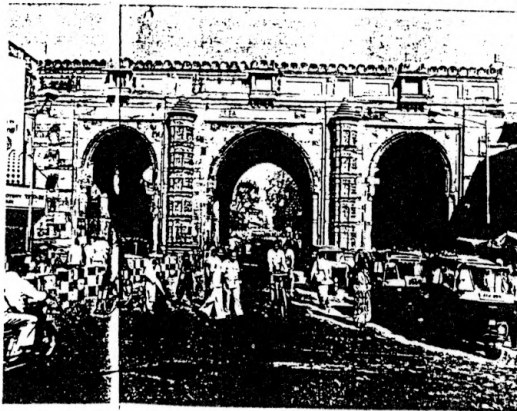
fig 4.13: The Teen Darwaza in 1980.

entirely different from its present condition, where the author says;

> **"the ancient enclosure was the Bhudder and contained the royal palace and its appendages. The egress from it to the eastward was through a magnificent gateway of three arches two at right angle to the third, which has been much modernized. The gateway led into a large enclosure, forming the outer courtyard of the palace, with a fountain and a raised terrace in the center."[37]**

Teen Darwaza was the point of transition. It was through this gateway sallied Mahmood Begara at the age of fourteen to quell by his looks the rebellious nobles who disputed his succession to the throne (1500's) and in the later days, the newly appointed Maratha governors (1817) used to aim five arrows at one of its beam and augur good or ill to their administration in accordance with their success in striking it. The Teen Darwaza has been a witness of history and time retaining its primary form.

The later photograph (1900's) of the gate reveals the living quarters or the guard house on tops of the gateway. At present the upper structure has also disappeared and gone is the tiled roof. Today this structure stands in isolation in the middle of a busy street not marking any transition but being a hinderance to the traffic. The two side spaces of the side gates have been taken over completely by carts.

_____

37. ibid p.37.

59

Only the center one is open to traffic, generating a bottle neck for the traffic. The absence of processional rituals and the dissolution of the hierarchical fabric has rendered this monument devoid of its most important meaning. Today it stands as a witness and record of the past ages, its rituals and their meanings. The historical and the architectural society stand in the way of the removal of this structure. They fight the civic authorities (municipal corporation) for the retention of this 'pathological' urban monument which does not contribute actively in the urban dynamic; as a symbol of Ahmedabad, featuring even in its local folk songs.

The urban core of Ahmedabad lost meaning with the change in the nature of rituals. The city grew and new places of new rituals emerged. These in no way supported or complimented the central urban core of the old city. In order to understand how the physical environment is effected by rituals I shall discuss Manek Chowk which remains a living urban artifact with its own rituals and meaning. This urban artifact is full of life and vitality holding meaning for a large number of people and persists to be full of life even in the highly segregated and divergent society and supporting commercial rituals.

fig. 5.1: Plan of the Manek Chowk area and its accompanying street.

LEGEND
1. JUMMA MASJID
2. KING'S TOMB
3. QUEEN'S TOMB
4. MANEK CHOWK SQUARE
5. MANEK CHOWK STREET
6. STOCK EXCHANGE
7. CLOTH MARKET
8. VEGETABLE MARKET
9. SCHOOL
10. RAJ MARGGANDHI ROAD
11. BHALGARWAD SQUARE

CHAPTER 5
ROLE OF RITUALS IN THE MAKING OF AN URBAN ARTIFACT
MANEK CHOWK AND ITS ACCOMPANYING STREET

The present day rituals and the physical environment of
Manek Chowk and its accompanying street

5.1 CHANGES IN THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF MANEK CHOWK
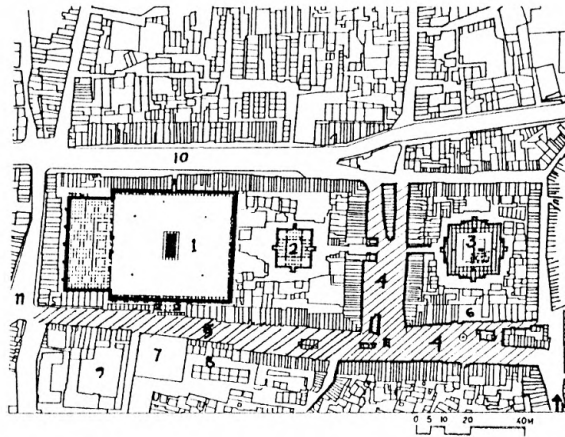
The spatial and the physical character of Manek Chowk has undergone much transformation. The early map of the city, from the Sultunate times, expresses its character as a square and clearly demonstrates its importance in the overall fabric of the city. It was an important space as a transition point between the urban scale and the residential scale. The Jumma Masjid, the King's tomb and the Queen's tomb formed the religious zone with a very strong axis. The Jumma Masjid, the Kings tomb and the Queen's tomb all had been built as independent objects in space rather than in other traditional Islamic cities (more in line with the architectural language of Champaner; an Islamic city in western Gujarat) The shops that were intended to be built were only the ones on the northern side of the mosque. With the passage of time the shops surrounded all these three structures. There is no particular time that this development can be ascribed to. It was a very gradual process, though most of this activity was after the 1700's.

In the early Sultunate Age Manek Chowk was an open ground with the Jumma Masjid, the King's tomb and the Queen's tomb sitting in its middle forming an axis. Slowly the northern side of the Jumma Masjid started getting lined up with shops(Raj Marg). This development was highly accelerated with the construction of the railway line (1864) and the road gaining its importance as a communication

fig 5.1: Plan of the Manek Chowk area and its accompanying street.

LEGEND
1. JUMMA MASJID
2. KING'S TOMB
3. QUEENS' TOMB
4. MANEK CHOWK SQUARE
5. MANEK CHOWK STREET
6. STOCK EXCHANGE
7. FRUIT MARKET
8. VEGETABLE MARKET
9. SCHOOL
10. RAJ MARG/GANDHI ROAD
11. DHALGARWAD SQUARE

fig 5.2: Manek Chowk Square 1940-1970.

fig 5.3: Manek Chowk Square after 1970.

link. The walls of the mosque were no longer visible. The only clue to the presence of the mosque are the wide flight of steps leading to the mosque. The southern side of the mosque (on the accompanying street) also got covered with shops by the mid 1900's. On this side even the entrance pavilion was to be covered up with shops (by 1970's). The shops on this side were single story and the mosque wall can be seen in the background. While on the northern side the shops are two to three stories high completely covering up the mosque wall.

The space surrounding the King's tomb and the Queen's tomb underwent spatial inversion. The progression of time led to the surrounding of the King's tomb and the Queen's tomb but they are still experienced as buildings in a square. This is because the developments have left a space all around the structures leaving them as independent buildings. A pedestrian subway crossing bridge was built at the junction of Manek Chowk and the Raj Marg. Islands of shops cropped up in the middle of the streets and the Manek Chowk square. These decreased the quality of Manek Chowk as a square. The Manek Chowk had retained importance even with the passage of time. It had a fountain in the center in 1940-70 and was a social space where important people used to meet and socialize. (fig 5.2) With the loss of its importance as a gathering space the fountain was replaced by a water tank in 1970. (fig 5.3)

5.2. <u>MANEK CHOWK: THE URBAN ARTIFACT</u>

Physical and visual aspects are without doubt essential to the quality of theatricality. Yet as with theater, ...I am constantly reminded that the quality of a space depends on the social component. Space acquires identity through behavior that is in turn informed by traditions or transformed by ritual and imagination. Without this ingredient of being, space would be an empty stage.[38]

Manek Chowk and its accompanying street do not have the best built physical and visual quality, but the passage of time has lent a richness and vitality from the layers of association and activities that take place there. Manek Chowk and the street contribute to the growth and the dynamism of Ahmedabad. They also **"serve to bring the past into the present, providing a past that can still be experienced."**[39] They are not defined merely by past function and context. Rather, their form had the capacity to accommodate different functions over time, making them the **'propelling'** elements in the urban fabric of Ahmedabad. In order to understand the relationship of the activities (the rituals of this place) to the generation and the transformation of the built form let us study the area in detail. The richness of quality, time, collective memory and the generation of locus all make this urban artifact a work of art.

---

38. Richard Ingersoll, p.12.

39. Rossi, p.55.
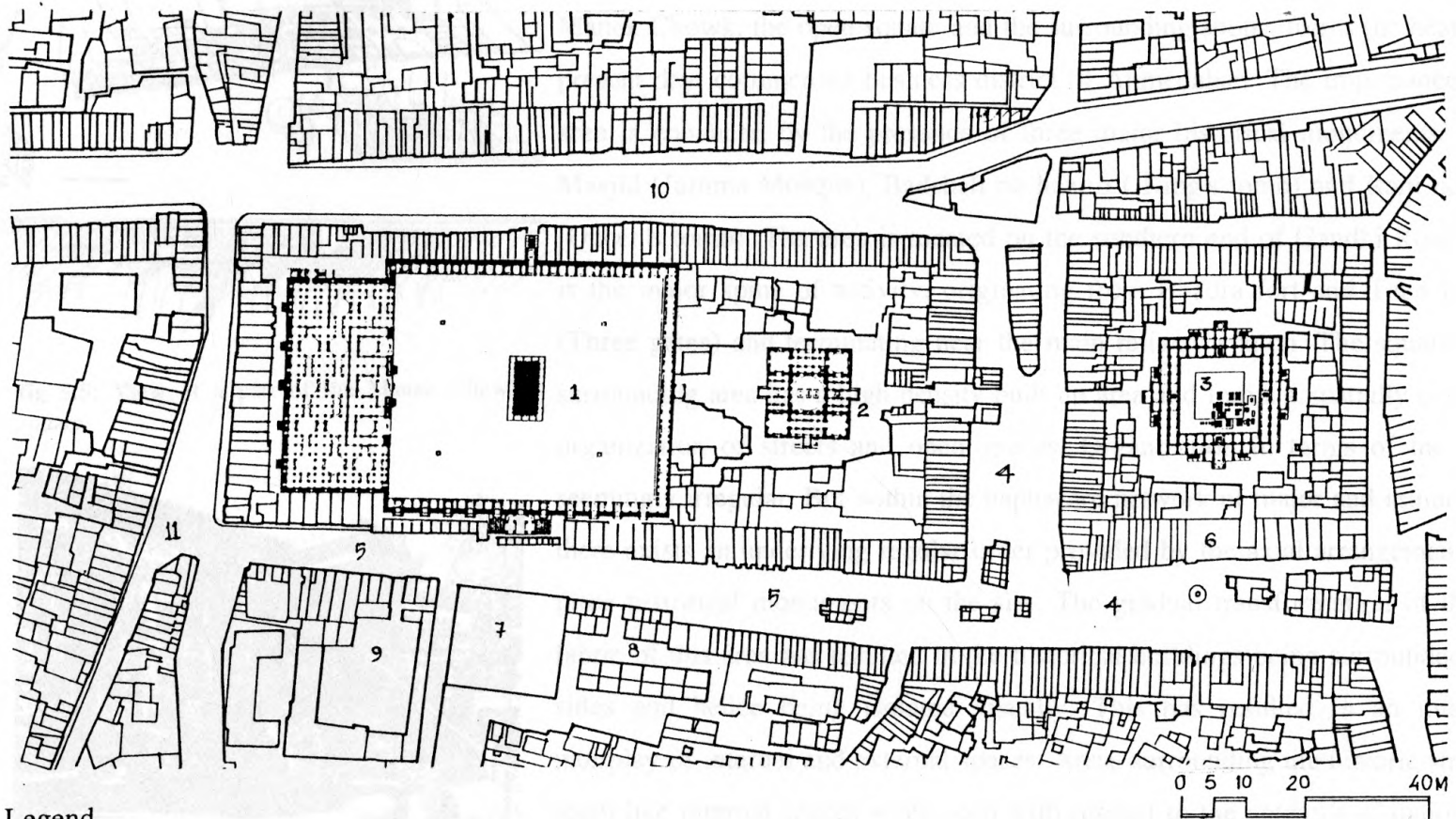
Legend

1. Jumma Masjid
2. King's Tomb
3. Queens' Tomb
4. Manek Chowk Square
5. Manek Chowk Street
6. Stock Exchange
7. Fruit Market
8. Vegetable Market
9. School
10. Raj Marg/Gandhi Road
11. Dhalgarwad Square

fig 5.4: Plan of Manek Chowk and its accompanying street.
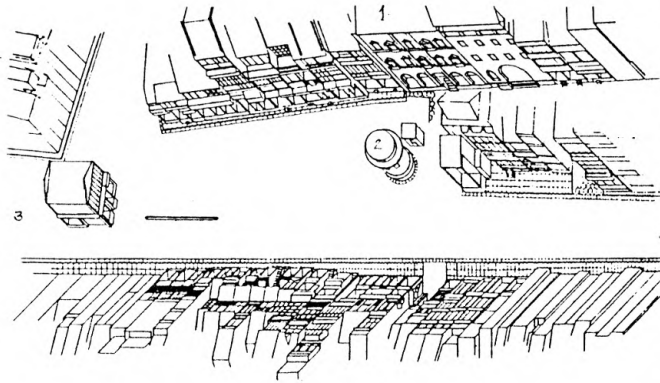
fig 5.5: View of a part of the Manek Chowk square.
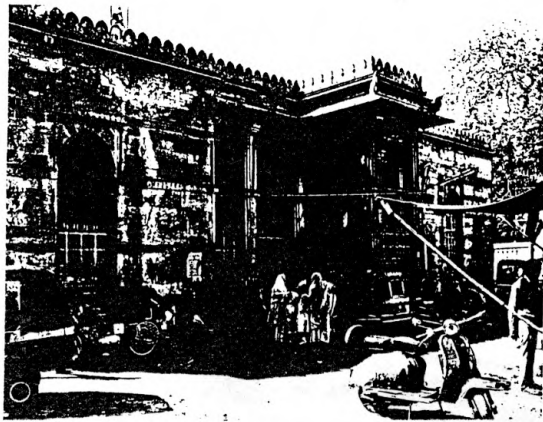
fig 5.6: The King's tomb.

5.3 PHYSICAL FORM OF MANEK CHOWK

Manek Chowk, the open square and the surrounding shops, forms the heart of the present day, commercial business district of Ahmedabad. The importance of this area is enhanced by the presence of three major historical monuments: Jumma Masjid (Jumma Mosque), Badshah no haziro (King's tomb) and Rani no haziro (Queen's tomb). The area is located on the southern end of Gandhi Road, which is the major spine of activity, originating from Bhadra fort and Teen Darwaza (Three gates) and terminating near the main railway station. The square and its surrounding area has a high density built-up area and forms a spatially continuous organization of streets and open spaces. Organization in terms of the plan is seemingly irregular. But within the haphazard network of major and minor streets, there exists an underlying regular order provided by the axial arrangement of the three historical monuments on the site. The gradual transformation of the built fabric of this area has resulted in the historical buildings being surrounded on all sides and hence being isolated visually. This has resulted in an interesting interplay of internal and external spaces. Areas surrounding the historic structures seem like internal spaces when seen with respect to the network of major roads.

fig 5.7: View of the Accompanying street. fruit market, the street, Jumma Masjid and the Raj Marg from left to right.

fig 5.8: Overall view of the area. Queen's tomb, King's tomb and the accompanying street.

67
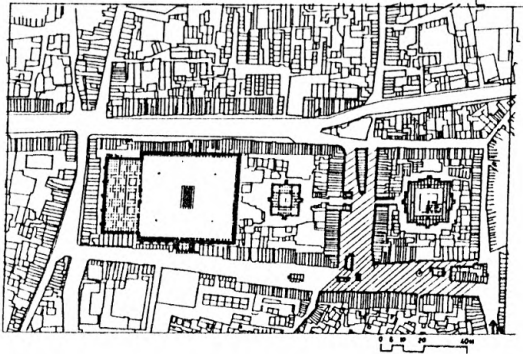
fig 5.9: Plan of Manek Chowk area.

fig 5.10: Stock Exchange building.

The Manek Chowk, the open space, is L shaped (the shaded area in fig 5.9). One arm of the L is bounded by the buildings surrounding the King's tomb and the Queen's tomb(fig 5.4 :4A). The other arm is bounded by the buildings surrounding the Queen's tomb and the Muhurat Pol, the oldest residential district in the city (fig 5.4 : 4B). The Stock Exchange building is one of the important buildings on the second arm of the L of Manek Chowk (fig 5.10). It turns its back to the Queen's tomb. The accompanying street meets Manek Chowk at the junction of the arms of the L of the Manek Chowk (fig 5.4: 5).

The side of Manek Chowk bounded by the King's tomb and the Queen's tomb, forming the first part of the L of Manek Chowk, on the west side, primarily comprises of jewelers shops on the ground floor and stock offices on the first and second floors. The buildings are primarily narrow and deep, timber constructions with two or three floors. The bays of buildings set up a rhythm within which the matching floor lines help generate a uniformity making it read as a continuous facade. This provides a framework within which various elements combine to give a dynamic quality to the environment. The breakdown of the facade into small elements provides room for temporary elements without making them seem tack on's (fig 5.14 &5.20). This is a very important quality of the physical environment of the whole area of Manek Chowk making the buildings adaptable for varied uses. They provide modifiable and variable character to the place. These are

fig 5.11: The Queen's tomb.

fig 5.12: The shops adjoining the Muhurat Pol in the Manek Chowk.

particularly suited to the evening market activities of the Manek Chowk.

On the east side, that is on the side of the Queen's tomb, there are many temporary shops. These are primarily shops selling various kinds of betel nuts and mouth fresheners. A lot of carts selling music cassettes are also found here. These play loud music raising the sound level of the place considerably. The Queen's tomb is surrounded by cloth shops. The transition from the outer shops to the inner ones surrounding both King's tomb and Queen's tomb is phenomenal. They are absolutely calm and serene on the inside. Outside is dynamic, active and loud.

The second arm of the L of Manek Chowk bounded by shops surrounding the Queen's tomb (1480) and the Muhurat pol (1412) are primarily typical in character. (fig 5.5) The stock exchange building is like any residential building. (It was the residence of an important person: a case of form adapting a different function). (fig 5.10) The side of the Muhurat Pol area is comprised of the typical timber constructed residences which have shop fronts for jewelers. The plots of these shops are long or deep with a narrow front. These jewelers shops have a small platform like area on the first floor. These are about 1.7 to 1.9 m from the ground. The lower shops are thus small and low while on top the space of the square extends into these platform kind of spaces and, being about the height of the eye level generate a porosity to the built environment (fig 5.12 & fig 5.13).

69

fig 5.13: The accompanying street.

fig 5.14: The structural framework of similar width and the matching heights within which variations take place in the street facade.

The tin roofed shops in Manek Chowk are made of bricks and timber, possessing a very temporary visual quality. Elements like plinths tie the shops to the open space. The character of the place transforms during the day from the very temporary look of the structure to a rich and complex dynamic, visual quality in the evening.

5.4 PHYSICAL FORM OF MANEK CHOWK'S ACCOMPANYING STREET

The accompanying street of Manek Chowk is primarily a linear space with a small island of building in the beginning. Moreover, a huge tree in the center of the street at this point lends a very rich quality to the space. The quality of sun and light and the generation of a closed intimate small scale space sets up the tone of the experience through the whole street. The main buildings on this street are the fruit market, the vegetable market and the school. On the opposite side are the bank building and the Jumma Masjid which can not be seen completely.

The buildings on the south side of the fruit market are the typical timber construction houses three floors high and with a long and deep structure. The fruit market in no way picks up the characteristics of the street. It is a brick structure painted red, square in plan, built during the time of the British and was intended as a pavilion structure. (fig 5.15) It has huge arched openings on all its four sides.

fig 5.15: The fruit market.

fig 5.16: The Manek Chowk accompanying street.

The back court of the fruit market is formed by the blank walls of the residential fabric and acts as the spill over and activity space for the fruit market. (fig 5.21). A feeder street comes and meets the court space at the back of the fruit market.

Next to the fruit market is the grain market building and the vegetable market in its court. These are also whole-sale markets. This building is not a complete unit of space, rather it picks up the character of the rest of the fabric in the fact that it has the narrow and deep shops on the ground floor. (fig 5.16) It is not read as one continuous structure at the ground level like the fruit market. The school building again on the ground floor at the level of the street retains the character of houses. The building is not sensed as an individual entity sitting in the midst of things rather it participates equally in the generation of the dynamic character of the environment. The small elements of the facade with an overall structure of narrow linear character all provide the frame work within which any number of additions on the facade take place. (fig 5.14)

The fruit market relates more in scale to the Jumma Masjid which has with the progression of time been surrounded by small shops. (fig 5.16) These shops are single storied brick structures with tin roofs. They sprang up as temporary structures and still retain that character. The shops have covered the entrance pavilion of the Jumma Masjid so that the entrance steps for the pavilions can not

71
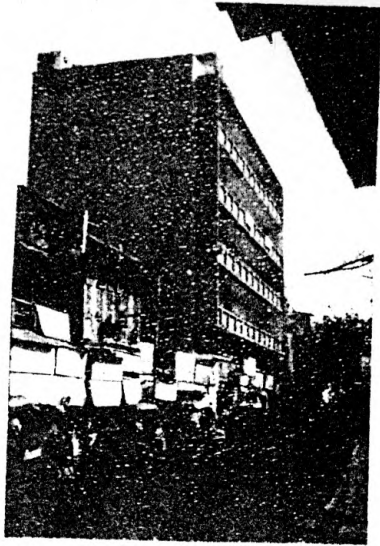
fig 5.17: The bank building out of scale with the rest of the built fabric.
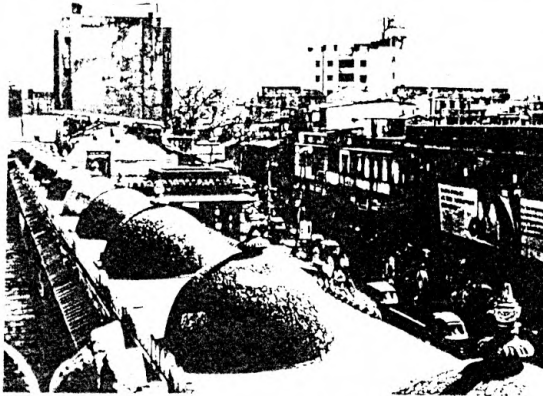
fig 5.18: The relationship of the Jumma Masjid to the fruit market and the accompanying street. The bank building is visible in the corner on the left side.

be seen, or perceived by any passer by. The small shops and their signboards on the top establish the rhythm which emphasizes the linear movement through the street. The horizontal movement which had been established by the domes, the windows and the ornament on the top of the Jumma Masjid wall is now covered up, but equally well established through the shops. At the Manek Chowk end at the side of the Jumma Masjid there is a huge and ugly bank building. It is totally alien and out of scale to this space (fig 5.17). Even this building on the street level adapts to the environment of the rest of the street. The street ends at the Dhalgarwad square with the square flowing into the street. But at the beginning of the street the islands of buildings which have cropped up over time, terminate and act as a transition point to the Manek Chowk square. The setting up of the market in this street emphasizes and builds up a strong directional movement through the space. One tends to move from one end of the street to the other approaching it from the Manek Chowk square or the Dhalgarwad square.

The physical elements of the street are, the institutions, which set up a frame work and the shops that fall into this defined space. The shops are small units while the institutions provide a bigger scale to this space. The facade of the fruit market is not sympathetic to the generation of the atmosphere of the street, while the shops in front of the market touching the mosque help to generate a more human scale and a harmonious environment. (fig 5.18)

fig 5.19: Shading devices set up between the shops.

fig 5.20: The variable dynamic facade with the underlying fixed dimensions of width, scale and floor heights.

The shops on the west facade have temporary shading devices which give them protection against the direct afternoon sun. (fig 5.19) Apart from the built shops, there are also a few temporary shops which have spread out on the open square. Such shops are covered by an umbrella like structure. This umbrella is supported on a bamboo pole or on a steel rod and is tied to a heavy stone on the ground or fixed on the corners of the small wooden platform. This platform is used to display their products.

5.5 ACTIVITIES OF THE MANEK CHOWK AREA

Presently, the Manek Chowk and its accompanying street constitute a multiuse commercial area. The unusual presence of the institutions of Stock Exchange, the wholesale fruit market and the wholesale vegetable market in one area lends this typically Indian market certain unique qualities. The juxtaposition of these institutions and the small scale shops and vendors grants multiple layers of value and meaning to this place. The passage of time has led to the elaboration and celebration of its activities; making them a unique feature and a ritual of this place. These rituals can be divided into their component activities for the purpose of their description and explanation of their relationship to the built form.

The activities of Manek Chowk's accompanying street are a) pre-market activities b) setting up of the market c) sale during the day and d) the closing of

the market. While the activities of the Manek Chowk itself are a) the market activities of the day b) Setting up of the evening market c) the activities of the evening market and its closing. Although I will describe these activities as separate entities they are interrelated and interdependent. The cycle of these activities is full of overlaps and juxtapositions. Only the complete account and understanding of all the activities simultaneously can explain the relationship of these activities to the generation of the unique character of this place.

5.6 ACTIVITIES OF MANEK CHOWK'S ACCOMPANYING STREET

5.6.1 Pre Market Activities

Regardless of the season, winter, summer or monsoon, the break of the dawn is the harbinger of the day's activity. Trucks carrying fresh food, vegetables and fruits arrive at the wholesale market through the sleepy feeder streets. By four a.m. the people are filled with vigor and enthusiasm for the long day's bargains. Time, a critical factor, throws a degree of urgency into the activities. The ones who buy and set up the shop first will be the ones to sell first. The backyard of the market is full of laborers unloading the trucks while the merchants exchange greetings and discuss market trends and strike the bargains for the arrived goods. The rates of the goods are decided based on the amount and the quality of goods arriving in the market.
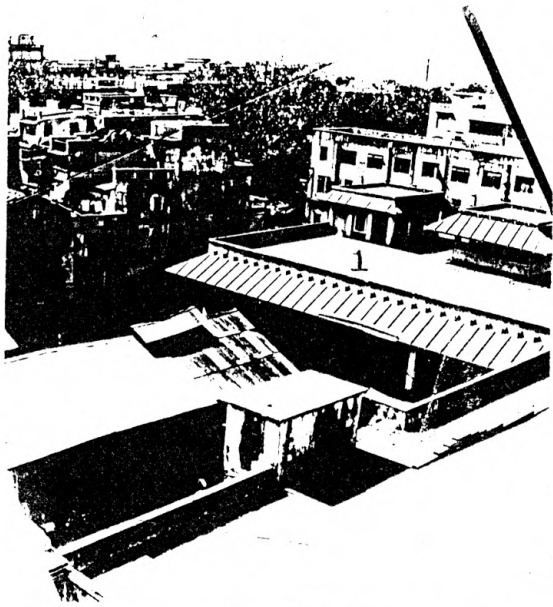
fig 5.21: The fruit market with its rear court and the residential fabric.
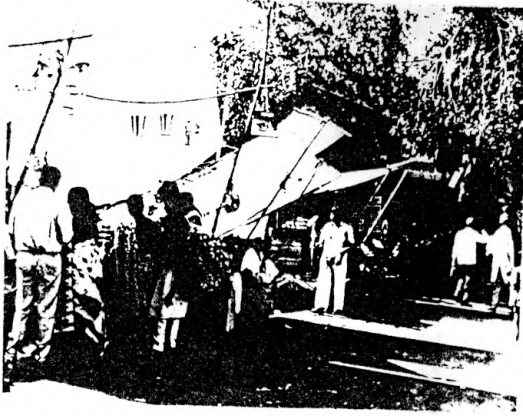
fig 5.22: The shading devices for the temporary roadside fruit and vegetable market.

fig 5.23: A typical tea stall.

During certain seasons when certain vegetables are abundant and of good quality, the abundance of these will lower its prices. So this is a fluctuating market which calls for a certain amount of awareness of information and preparation on the part of the merchants. After the deals have been decided the laborers carry these goods to the shop. There are no formal contracts for these laborers and they are hired on the daily basis either by the truckers or the merchants. They can make as many rounds as possible but the sense of comradeship and the dread of unfavorable times ties them together in a bond. Time and speed are a critical factor in their earnings but there is a sense of accommodation and compassion among the laborers and the merchants. If a certain person is sick and can not work fast he will be allotted say 10 rounds so that he can earn enough for the day. It is not uncommon for another person to do the sick person's work if the merchants need the work to be finished fast. In this case the money will go to the sick person. Rules like these are not formally described but have emerged over time and foster the feeling of comradeship, togetherness and a sense of community.

While this is going on the truckers take a break, sharing their stories and experience over cups of tea. This keeps the morning kettles boiling, stoves blazing and the helpers busy fetching tea for people and collecting cups and money. There is competition in the air but this is within the framework of informally commonly understood and accepted rules. The activities follow a very specific pattern of

75

fig 5.24: A typical roadside fruit display.

fig 5.25: The temporary roadside fruit and vegetable display: The temporary displays being ordered and articulated with the surrounding elements the road, the pavement and the plinths.

trucks arriving, merchants bargaining, transfer of goods and their setting up. This pattern of activity doesn't change, it only gets more and more elaborated each day. This whole activity ties together the merchants, the truckers and the laborers. They are all working towards the common goal of setting up the market.

5.6.2 Setting up of the Market

After the bargains with the truckers, the merchants retain the goods that they expect to sell through the day and sell the rest to merchants, shopkeepers and vendors from other areas of the city. The retained goods are moved to the shops. The shops are washed and wiped clean. The display racks and baskets are lined with moistened gunny bags (jute material). The vegetables and fruits are displayed in attractive patterns on these after being washed and polished. All through out the day these are sprinkled with water and polished to keep them fresh.[40]

At the same time the vendors set up shop outside the Fruit market (building), on the road and the pavement. Their place is not marked physically and it is merely an empty road but the vendors can choose their respective spots even blindfold. The exact area of the road that each one can take up is fixed and decided. Their

40. Compare this notion to the displaying of vegetables in a supermarket where the seller gets divorced from the quality of the vegetable/fruit. While for the people in these markets the sale of the day depends on the quality and as such makes their task of polishing and displaying the goods more meaningful.
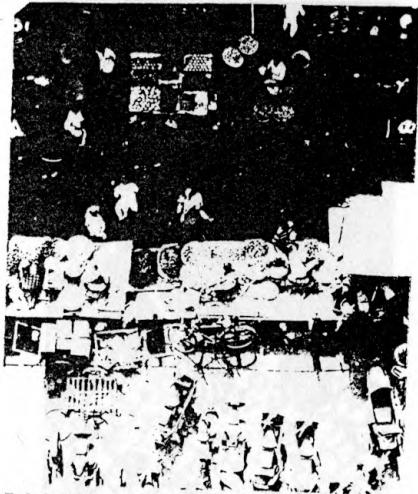
fig 5.26: The vendor display setting up in the shade the rest of the area being used for parking.
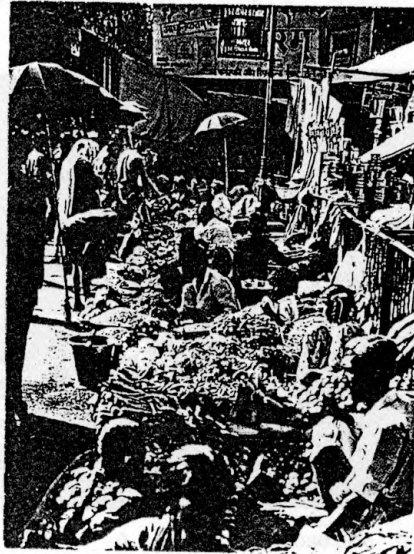
fig 5.27: The roadside fruit and vegetable market.

sense of alignment comes form the various plinths, steps and road side elements. It also adds a layer of depth to the street. The area for display is based on either basket size or cloth size. No new person can set up display/shop in this area. The new person has to go through an informal committee which reviews their case and makes a decision. So one finds the same person in the same place day after day. This is a predicated process and the subsequent processes of cleaning and setting up the display are elaborated to the same extent as that of the shops within the wholesale market. Some of the displays are on a wooden cart with iron or steel rods from which the shades are hung. After the vendor market display is set up the whole place is full of color.

Next on the agenda are prayers for a good day's sale. The shopkeepers and the vendors burn incense sticks while praying to the photographs of the Gods and Goddesses. They take the incense stick to every corner of the shop and then rotate it around the lemons and the green chilies hanging in front of the shop to ward away the evil spirits. This is the religious time and the best time for the beggars and saints who move from shop to shop and threaten to curse the shopkeepers if denied money. Shopkeepers also believe in giving them money for their charity will bring them luck. By around seven a.m. the first customers start trickling in with their cloth bags and baskets. These are the people who want to get the best fruits and vegetables before they rush to their offices. This is the most important

fig 5.28: A woman setting up a display.

fig 5.29: A temporary roadside fruit and vegetable display.

time of the day for bargaining. The art of bargaining is very highly developed among these daily shoppers and shopkeepers. They undergo the whole procedure of quoting very high prices and gradually reducing them based on the arguments.[41]

During the whole day the sale is carried out with bargaining but the heat of bargaining cools down slightly. The process of the sale involves an active participation in the act of buying and selling by the customer and the shopkeeper in the act of bargaining. The pleasure of a good bargain can not be compared to any purchase at the supermarket. Based on the amount of price reduction a story is told among the friends. This is not merely an act of buying or selling it is a ritual involving the various acts of bargain. This happens every day and it doesn't change although at times it is modified. This act has become an integral part of buying or selling the absence of which would remove an important part of the act.

At nine am another layer gets added to the space. People make their way on two wheelers, scooters, motorcycles and auto-rickshaws to the stock exchange market. This causes congestion and a traffic jam. Traffic is forced to stop or crawl through the temporary market set on the road. The atmosphere is tense, crowded, hot and oppressive with a clash of animals, traffic and the customers but this doesn't effect

41. Refer appendix p.107.

78
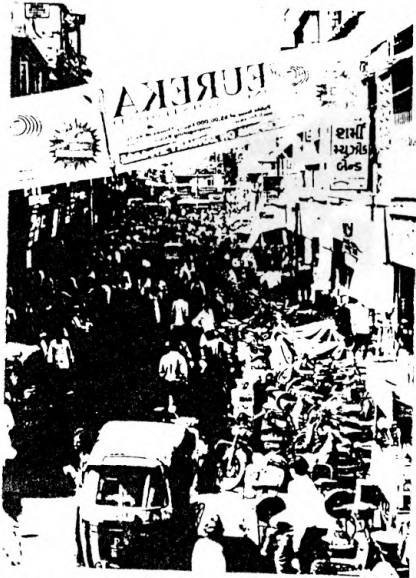
fig 5.30: The accompanying street filled with traffic and people.

fig 5.31: The accompanying street filled with traffic and people.

the vendors or the customers in the least bit. (fig 5.30-32) Everyone just seems to accept the situation. In the center of the street a coconut water vendor has a brisk business. It is not just the coconut water, any sort of refreshment at this point will make a brisk business due to the heat and the intense activity. At the end of the street there are lemon juice vendors also having a roaring business. The Mosque, whose walls have been used as one of the enclosure elements for the shops, is completely hidden by shops and their advertisements. The overpowering signboards of this environment completely conceal the presence of the mosque which has very few visitors. A small group of local people go to the mosque making their way through the market, though its presence can be sensed by all by the calls for the prayers. While they are gone their neighboring shopkeepers take care of their shop. They do not close the shop during the whole day.

In the evening the fruit and the vegetable market are hectic once again. Everyone is interested in selling out his/her stuff completely for tomorrow will be another day. Bargains get heated up. Customers take advantage of the situation and fights are not uncommon at this time when everyone is tired and strained. Those who have sold all their goods pick up their baskets, etc express their sympathies with the rest and leave for the day. The shopkeepers who have set up goods outside the shops; hung objects: fruits, vegetables, utensils and sign boards start collecting them and lowering their shutters. By eight p.m. the street starts getting deserted.

79

fig 5.32: The clash of the traffic, people and the animals.

fig 5.33: A temporary shop displays mouth fresheners and betel nuts.

5.7 ACTIVITIES OF MANEK CHOWK

5.7.1 Activities of the market during the day

The activities of the square begin at about eight a.m. when the businesses related to the stock exchange start opening up. Their work starts on a very busy note and the people are found pouring over their papers in their offices located above the shops. The square starts filling up with vehicles. By nine am the whole square is full of vehicles and the vendors start trickling in and set up their shop surrounding this big sea of vehicles. The offices in this area are regulated by the timings of the Stock Exchange, opening and closing an hour earlier or later respectively than the stock exchange, while the shops open at their own timings at around ten am. The jewelers open up their shops and after the morning prayers set up their display. (fig 5.35) The square is a special area for marriage items, traditional print cloth and utensils (fig 5.36) and jewellery. And with the opening of the shops every one is busy setting up their shops. They hang clothes outside the shop in colorful and attractive patterns. The entrance of each shop displays beautiful cloth hanging from the ceilings, leaving the minimum required area for the entrance. They also set up props and make a framework of bamboo cantilevering over the pavements to hang the cloth.

The area around the Queen's tomb has the traditional authentic hand craft and print cloth. People from all over the city come here to buy this cloth. The shops
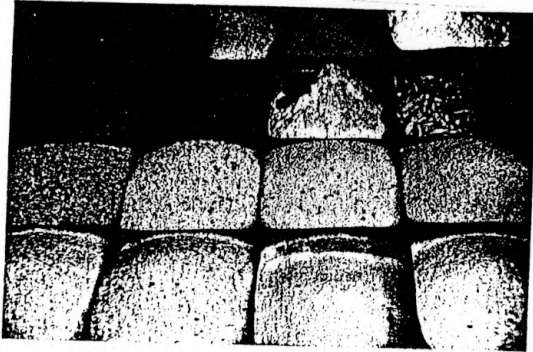
fig 5.34: Various mouth fresheners on display.

fig 5.35: A typical jewellers shop.
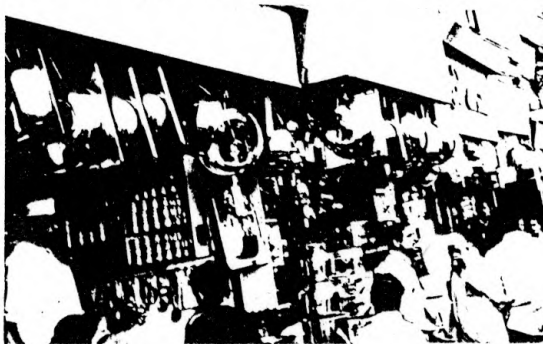
fig 5.36: A typical utensils shop.

are so crowded that one has to wait for almost half an hour to one hour to be shown the cloth. The steps of the Queen's tomb are taken up by the block print workers who sit and make prints on the cloth. Also are found in this area costume jewellery shop carts. Just outside the entrance of the Queen's Tomb are found the carts full of exotic flavors of betelnut and mouth fresheners (not like mint but for the same function) carts. They give these to the passerby's to taste and to lure them to buy. Opposite the Queen's tomb the area surrounding the King's tomb is taken up by steel utensils and vessels shops. Utensils are considered to be very important among the people of this region and at every occasion birthday, anniversary or festival they exchange utensils as gifts. People are seen buying these and getting names etched on these vessels. These are all a normal days sale activities which go on all throughout the day until five p.m. when the Stock Exchange closes and the shops follow suit.

5.7.2 Setting up of the evening market and its activities

After the stock exchange has closed and the shops have started closing a new life begins in the square. Within an hour there is a phenomenal transformation in the character of the space. An hour after the closing of the stock exchange all the vehicles parked in the square have left the square empty for the evening market. Slowly the food vendors start moving in with their carts. They come and fix up their carts and stands based on their allocated spaces. They fill up water containers

from the taps on the pavements. These taps have a lock and usually the vendors get water by paying a fixed amount of money to the shopkeepers. They take electric connections from the shops also and use them in combination with the gas lamps to get the whole place lit up. The best lit spaces will be the ones making the most business. Then they set up tables and chairs to make outdoor restaurant spaces. Every thing is cleaned and the preparation of things for the food starts with the cutting and the elaborate arrangement of the onions, garlic, chilies. Very soon the place is full of aroma of the cooking food which lures passerby's and people who have been late closing up, to these restaurants. At around eight the market picks up pace with people coming from all places to these restaurants. People are found walking around and from one stall to another. Each vendor has a hired hand who tries to get as many customers as possible. They are very persuasive, so much so that it is difficult to not go with them. Many fights ensue when a customer has as much as stepped near one's area and is called by another. While the person is on the road any one can lure him but not after he has agreed to go to one restaurant. This is a demonstration of territoriality and defensibility of space. It is important to note though that the functions of everyone are pretty much defined and they are all participating in an overall act.

At around midnight the number of people in the area has started reducing and the vendors start wrapping up. They leave the place absolutely deserted with no traces

of the outdoor restaurants except the lingering aroma. The place will begin its activities once again at the break of the dawn.

Manek Chowk evening market is not merely a place for eating but has become slowly a social place for meeting and hanging out. The local people around this area come here daily just to meet and hang out with their friends, while for people from the other parts of the city this is a lively place where they take all their guests. With the passage of time people have started associating very closely with this place and have come to identify it with the life and the character of this city. The act of buying selling and eating are all elaborated to such an extent to form a ritual. Not only are these individual rituals but also the whole cycle of defined and set activities is a ritual. None of these activities have changed. They may have some minor seasonal modifications in terms of times when they start and end and the space setup for protection against sun etc. but they primarily remain the same.

5.8   CHANGES AND VARIATIONS IN THE PHYSICAL FORM OF MANEK CHOWK

5.8.1 Physical characteristics of Manek Chowk during the day

In the early morning the space in the Chowk can be perceived clearly when all the shutters are closed and down it creates a sense of enclosure in the street. With the

opening of the shops the area gets a more porous and temporary kind of character. The space also gains layers. The hanging items create a sense of objects in space making it a kind of screen. The space also gets an interesting gradation of sun and shade. Out in the center of the square is the area exposed to the extreme sun then the area of the hanging cloths next to the shops is slightly shady. Near the shops the projecting shades all create a cool and shady space. The area inside the shops is dark and cool. The shops are read as dark voids with the items on sale glistening, reflecting the sunlight. The elements of plinths are the tying elements of the open space to the shop.

5.8.2 <u>Physical characteristics of Manek Chowk in the evening</u>

In the evening the closed shop shutters provide a backdrop to the activities of the Chowk. The spatial and the physical quality of Manek Chowk change incredibly from that of the day and the night. The open space with elements for articulation and the regulation of the space are important in this well managed transformation of the space. The buildings which come out in front of the King's tomb help in defining the space with the help of the island in the middle. This place then is very well organized for the outdoor restaurant spaces. The carts become the source of focus and the benches and the tables the dispersal and the definition of the territory of all these shops. The most important elements for the set up of this market become its permanent feature while the other elements are removed. Thus

a bigger space is broken up into chunks which are still visually continuous but at the same time break the space in parts which can be articulated.

In the past, Manek Chowk supported important formal ritual activities. The festivals processions all originated from this place. Along with the important religious activities it always supported day to day market activities which became so much a part of this place that the Chowk and the street would be meaningless without them. In the past times also Manek Chowk was an important place for the traders, merchants and money lenders and the presence of the stock exchange and the jewelers shops retain this important aspect of this space even today. Manek Chowk has retained its importance and transformed because it supported important and small activities simultaneously. The decrease in the religious rituals did not render this space meaningless because it is supporting the day to day rituals. It give them a special flavor because of the historical associations of the place. At Manek Chowk the presence of the historical monuments retaining collective memory, a memory which is made more meaningful with the contradiction in the activities and hierarchies present today.

Let us discuss the special qualities that the space achieved through the support of the day to day activities that retained it as a propelling urban artifact.

CHAPTER 6
RELATION OF BUILT ENVIRONMENT TO RITUALS
MANEK CHOWK AND AHMEDABAD

6.1 RELATION OF RITUALS TO MANEK CHOWK

The dynamic space of Manek Chowk has multiple functions and is full of life and vitality. It holds historical significance and at the same time its built form had the potential to adapt over time and still hold meaning. It truly is a propelling urban artifact in Rossian terms. Let us try to understand what are the aspects of the built form and how they are related to the rituals of the space in turn forming a dynamic propelling urban artifact. **"The urban artifact and its architecture are one and the same, together constituting a work of art."** [42] Let us examine the various qualities that make Manek Chowk an urban artifact and a work of art before we can understand the role of rituals in the making of the urban artifact.

6.1.1 Manek Chowk arose from the unconscious:

When Rossi poses the question **"How are collective urban artifacts related to works of art?"**[43] he echoes the notion that all great manifestations of social life and works of art are born in unconscious life. In the urban artifact life is collective and in the work of art it is for the public even when produced individually. The public provides the common denominator.

42.Rossi : p.87.

43. ibid p.33.

When the city was conceived and planned, Manek Chowk was a planned space with a specific agenda and manifested in its built form. It has undergone modifications and transformations; none of which had the rational clarity of approach to planning similar to the one at the time of the conception. The forces of history, time and the collective will of the people have molded the space to its present form, rich with character and value. These transformations are the unconscious expression of the people, how they want the space to be and what they expect of it. At every point in time the spaces have been modified by the people. The individual shops and interventions all add up to a collective whole which is an expression of the collective values of the people.

6.1.2 Juxtaposition of orders

Manek Chowk today shows the overlaying of multiple orders to provide layers of meaning. The geometric order of the monuments is encapsulated by the organic order of the shops. The axis of the monuments and the scale of the monuments all may be hidden but provide an underlying structure to the space. This notion is expressed in the small scale irregular shops also, through the use of the materials temporary in nature and light in their visual quality reflecting temporariness and transitoriness of meaning and value of the environment within the structured framework of the plot sizes all similar in dimensions. Moreover the similar vertical height and the matching floor lines all provide the regularity

within which all the other elements can combine in an organic and random manner. The monuments in their geometric form and stronger more permanent materials represent the permanent institutions of man. Thus the total space is the superimposition of all these orders.

The Manek Chowk square changed over time to come closer to the dimensions of a street still it retained its functioning as a square. The form of the square which was neither purely geometric or complete was one of the reasons for this. Nothing that changed was really out of place in this space representing multiple orders. It gives the square dynamic quality, with new changes taking place in short periods of time. Even the breaking up of the square into smaller units by the cropping up of the islands articulated the space. The islands help to give order and underlying structure to the evening market and the outside fruit and vegetable vendor market. Such an environment has a very high potential for adaptability.

There can be no intervention and redesigning of the square at an overall scale because of the severe limitation of the shop sizes and a different ownership of each shop. Very few design approaches are possible with the severe limitation of the plot size (approximate dimension of majority of the shops 2.7-3m wide and 9-15 m deep and at times even smaller) and the necessity of a direct relationship between the shop and the street in a highly commercially competitive

environment. This also provides an underlying order within which the transformations take place.

6.1.3 Juxtaposition of activities

The dynamism of Manek Chowk arises from the daily drama of life that unfolds in this rich urban setting. Manek Chowk clearly reveals that the meaning of public space lies somewhere between its form and its use. Architecture is static while the actions are dynamic and they start influencing the architecture making it a dynamic component in the meaning of space. **"Actions can contradict programmatic functions and give mobility to the meaning of forms."**[44] Manek Chowk (square) gets transformed from a square for parking and a vehicular access road, during the day, to a place where the drama of life unfolds every evening. The rituals of the evening market give the space a special meaning. The morning rituals of setting of the daily market and the rituals of the market during the day in the Manek Chowk's accompanying street give it a very active component of daily life. The juxtaposition of these activities with the regular activities of the school, the stock exchange, its associated offices and the activities of the mosque and the visits of the tourists all grant the space multi levels of interpretation and meaning.

---

44. Ingersoll, Richard Joseph: p.13.

The drama becomes a record of history and events in the built form and the changes that take place in the built form. Environmental meaning is negotiable between form and action.

A special quality of the shops is that they retain the individual interaction with the customers as they are not exclusive closed in units. The frontage of the shop is open where the owner sits and deals with the customers. His helpers show the wares to the customer on the street. Thus there is a direct interaction of the shops and the street in built form and even in terms of activities. At one particular time the customer is on the street and also in the shop. Sitting on the plinth or the step he is a serving as a link in the generation of the participation of the environment. Thus through the human component his activities bring together and provide meaning of the built environment.

The looseness and ambiguity of form along with the retention of the qualities of territoriality and a sense of ownership can not emerge if a shop space is defined in fixed terms. Only when the shops can come out to the street (by putting up display hanging or sign boards etc) can they make the streets a part of their environment making them a richer more vibrant environment. These also help to provide transition points and thus hierarchies.

6.1.4 **Multiple meanings and multiple values**

The Manek Chowk has the cross-section of history represented through the built forms. The oldest and the most important monument, the Jumma Masjid, has been its generating force. Jumma Masjid gave Manek Chowk tremendous meaning in the early (founding) society. It was the manifestation of God, the generating force of world and man's understanding of the forces of the world. The second layer of meaning were from the tombs of Sultan Ahmed Shah and his Queens. People had strong associational values to these monuments. It was the representation of the power of the king and his proximity to God. The religious and political rituals of this place generated meaning and associational values for these monuments. The Muslim festival processions would all begin from the Jumma Masjid. Moreover all other festivals would start their activities from this square to go on to the Maidan-i-Shahi where the king and the noble men would take part. The surrounding of the King's Tomb and the Queen's tomb by the private residences generates an encapsulment in space and time. It retains the sanctity of the environment, building up transition and hierarchies from inside to outside.

The Muhurat pol was the oldest residential area of the city. Manek Chowk thus was the important urban space for the residents both because of its proximity to the residential sector and the importance lent to it by the monuments. Manek Chowk became the important transition space from the monuments of the urban
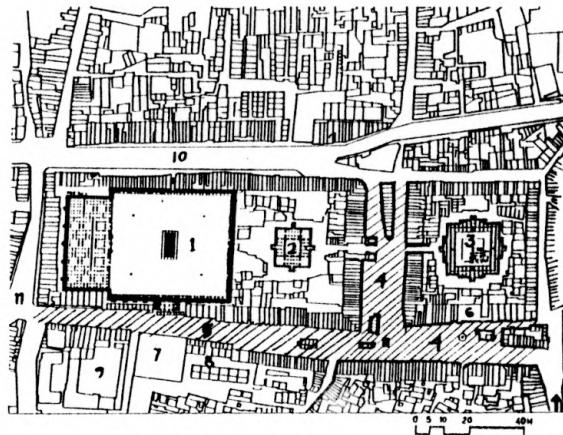
fig 6.1: Plan of the Manek Chowk area and its accompanying street.

LEGEND
1. JUMMA MASJID
2. KING'S TOMB
3. QUEENS' TOMB
4. MANEK CHOWK SQUARE
5. MANEK CHOWK STREET
6. STOCK EXCHANGE
7. FRUIT MARKET
8. VEGETABLE MARKET
9. SCHOOL
10. RAJ MARG/GANDHI ROAD
11. DHALGARWAD SQUARE
12. MUHURAT POL

area to the residential area. Muhurat pol was the residential area of the Hindu merchants and thus all their activities would also begin from here to proceed to the Maidan-i-Shahi which was a more important urban space. But Manek Chowk never lost its meaning unlike the Maidan-i-Shahi/Bhadra square. Its meaning and importance kept increasing by the layers (activities and built form) being added to the space.

The presence of the Stock exchange represents the institution of money and speculation and its importance in the society. It is a respected and celebrated institution today. The evening market, the fruit and the vegetable market all transform the space and express the value of the (mundane) institutions. This space is the manifestation of the power of the human activity in the transformation of the environment.[45]

The clue for dynamic spaces in newer built environments lies in the multiple juxtaposition of activity in an environment which is adaptable. The specific qualities that make the environment adaptable are the smallness of units (either

---

45. In 1976 the municipal corporation of Ahmedabad after a long legal battle won the case of the removal of the vendors and the illegal shops on the street but the whole of Ahmedabad shops went on strike and the city came to a stand still. Such was the power of the people. The space belonged to them and not to the authorities and until today they control the place. The traffic moves at a snails speed and the power of people over vehicles is tremendous.

93

through ownership, or regulation), overall structuring within which the smaller units could vary, the use of small elements which are ambiguous and can be used as transition points or in multiple ways and the looseness in the definition of the form. For as Rossi proposes,

"every function can be articulated through a form, and form in turn contains the potential to exist as urban artifact, one can say that forms tend to allow themselves to be articulated as urban elements, thus if a form is articulated at all, one can assume that a specific urban artifact persists together with it, and that it is precisely a form that persists through a set of transformation which constitutes an urban artifact par excellence."[46]

All these qualities of the space of **Manek Chowk make it an urban artifact par excellence.** Rituals play a very large part in the lending of the rich qualities to the space. In regards to the work of art Walter Benjamin proposes that **"earliest art work originated in the service of a ritual-first the magical, then the religious kind."[47]** So is the case with Manek Chowk with the location and the building of the Jumma Masjid with the presence of the religious rituals. He goes on to say that the aura of a work of art is never entirely separated from its ritual function. The ritual functions of the monuments gave Manek Chowk its aura. **"The unique**

---

46. Rossi, p.55.

47. Walter Benjamin. Illuminations. .....p217.

value of the 'authentic' work of art has its basis, however remote, is still recognizable as secularized ritual even in the most profane forms of cult of beauty."[48] Similarly, Manek Chowk gains its authenticity and uniqueness from its rituals and its built form embodies the beauty of the work of art because of its rituals. Manek Chowk and its accompanying street are not merely shopping streets like other parts of the old city eg, Ratan pol and Dhalgarwad. They have importance because they support such a multiple level of activities in a unique juxtaposition in a highly adaptable environment. Everything in combination; the offices, the stock exchange, the whole sale markets, the tourists functions, the festivals, the evening market and the shops generate the unique rituals of Manek Chowk. All this makes it an important urban artifact and 'a work of art'.

RELATION OF RITUALS TO AHMEDABAD

The study of Ahmedabad revealed that, changes in the societal structure led to parallel changes in the nature of rituals, in turn, leading to transformation of the built environment. The urban core of Ahmedabad exhibits the importance the rituals played in the generation and the granting of meaning to a built environment. The primary quality of the spaces and the structure of the city which was a setting for former rituals was the designation of specific hierarchies. These

---

48. ibid p223-224.

95

hierarchies, along with the points of transition, helped to define spaces as setting for various acts embodying notions of display of power or establishment of social order. By means of rituals man identifying himself as a part of it found his place and specific role in the community. When participating in the processions of coronation he was a spectator lower in strata compared to the king and the noble men. But he was a part of the subjects. The rituals along with the environment defined his place in the community and the city. Similarly other rituals helped specify further hierarchies and relationships in the community. Religious rituals helped establish his position and understanding of relation to God.

The form of the spaces and their dimensions were governed by the rituals. The width of the Raj Marg was not considered appropriate for the normal day to day functions. Its dimensions were governed by the processions that moved through it. Maidan-i-Shahi and the area surrounding it was governed by the rituals of assembly: for example, open court and the Friday market. As soon as these rituals became less frequent the street and the square started getting built over. The hierarchies were not retained and today there are no hierarchies in these spaces.

Moreover the urban core was the only important space in the city where people would gather and take part in the activities of the city. In the present circumstances we see that various institutions supporting various rituals have their

own spaces for gathering which may be the exclusive areas for certain class of people with restricted memberships. There is nothing the city celebrates or puts up as a unified activity or ritual. There is complete segregation of society and there are numerous sub-centers which have emerged. There is a loss of hierarchy in the city. There is a loss of center in the city and loss of importance of old monuments. The hierarchy within the city has also been destroyed. The most important urban public space need no longer be in the center of the city. The rest of the fabric of the city also does not follow any hierarchical pattern. The important spaces are all scattered all over the city with no relationship to each other. A fragmented society of Ahmedabad has led to the fragmented built environment.

Out of the few dynamic spaces in the city, the outdoor markets spaces, especially the restaurants, have gained a lot of popularity. These are the only spaces which bring all sections of the people together to a certain extent to make the participants of a particular environment and activity. All sections of people identify with such spaces in the city. (For example, the municipal market, law garden, Panchvati, Panjra pol, Manek Chowk) These spaces at a smaller scale establish hierarchies in a participatory environment. They retain the ambiguity of the participants and help them take part in an overall act without having to ascribe to any particular ideology, faith or class. Earlier, in order to be the participants

97

of rituals and belong to the society you had to be party to religious /political setup and beliefs. These rituals asked for specific background (religious sect, etc) and were specific and precise to give meaning to its participants. Now with the immense number of sects, faiths and beliefs of individuals what can provide meaning needs to be least specific so that all the people can take part in it . These still have to generate their own hierarchies but need a more amorphous form.

The clues for the unity of the city lies in smaller activities shared by all the people. The lack of importance of major rituals and the lack of unity of concept of the society all have given rise to the problematic of the city, where the notion of the very city is questioned.

6.3   **FUTURE DIRECTIONS**

The study of Ahmedabad led me to one conclusion that the study of a city using the framework of rituals is important but not the primary means of understanding the city. Rituals, we saw, were meaningful in the generation of urban fabric and granting of importance to urban elements in the past. The old rituals no longer hold an equal importance for the present city and society. The new emerging rituals of particular spaces are not a common phenomenon. The search of present day rituals loses importance because of the lack of common ideology of people and a lack of singularity of conception needing manifestation through rituals. The

common public rituals are the commercial rituals. In the past the urban fabric was the setting for the rituals in Rossi's words **"a vessel for the enactment of the myth through the rituals.........possibly".**[49] The present day city is the setting for the commercial consumer cycle. This cycle is in no way an understanding or representation of reality. Rather it feeds on the generation of false simulation.

Unless the rituals of the consumer cycles and their activities work in congruence with some other aspects they become meaningless, generating meaningless spaces like the Maidan-i-Shahi. Spaces which hold meaning in the consumer cycle environment have managed to transform their activities into unique rituals of the space full of newer values and meanings. Such spaces are not common. They are definitely not the complete representation of the city. They are an important component of the city but can the city be understood merely on the basis of these components? Rossi's proposal of the study and the understanding of the complete city through the study of some of its important fragments does not hold complete validity.

Ahmedabad like other cities was the representation of the cosmological forces. The city had something, a character/quality which defied time making it a

49.Rossi, p.24.

permanent reality, a locus. The true reality was the true foundation of religion. **"The relationships which man found with the Gods in the ancient city, the cults that consecrated to them, the names under which he invoked them, the gifts and the sacrifices made to them were all tied to inviolable laws. The individual man has no power over them."** [50] According to Rossi rituals in their collective nature and their essential character as an element of preserving myth constitutes a key to understanding the meaning of monuments. Monuments are primary elements which provide the means for understanding the city. This is not true with respect to Ahmedabad.

In the industrial age production was the dominant scheme. The city was geared towards generating the infra structure for speeding the process of production. The urban elements of the city **"conceptually embody the prime structures of a production line that excludes the old concept of "place" and "space".** The phenomenon that was taking place was that **"objectively structured like a machine for the extraction of surplus value in its own conditioning mechanisms the city reproduces the reality of the ways of industrial production."**[51] But this could not erase the meaning of the past times adding a

---

50. Rossi, p.24.

51. Tafuri. p.81.

100

layer of richness. In the present society it becomes imperative to try and retain this richness of meaning and grant more symbolic meaning to spaces other than that of mass consumerism cycle. In the post Industrial society where the production far exceeds the demands there are attempts to generate false needs supporting mass consumption. In absence of any sense of value the city functions as a mechanism of advertisement. We know that the city is a system of society and in the society of mass consumption architecture and city are reduced to mere means of advertisement devoid of its symbolic content.

As such, a city of such contexts can not be understood completely from the aspects of rituals. Spaces like Manek Chowk might have defied that process, but for how long will they remain like that and not be transformed into ones similar to the Maidan-I-Shahi? One really does not know. In such circumstances studies of the city based on the underlying ideologies which shape the environment becomes critical. A study of the shaping forces of the environment will provide a background for study of spaces like Manek Chowk highlighting the importance and the qualities of such urban artifacts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
On Ritual

Bell, Catherine. Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bocock, Robert. Ritual in Industrial Society. Ltd, 1974.

Cooper-Hewitt Museum: The Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Design. New York: Rizzoli, 1982.

Skorupski, John. Symbol and Theory A Philosophical Study of Theories of Religion in Social Anthropology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1976.

Werbner, Richard P. Ritual Passage Sacred Journey. Manchester.

Eliade, Mircea. The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, San Diego, New York, London 1959.

Levi-Strauss, Claude. Myth and Meaning. University of Toronto Press, New York, 1978.

Levi-Strauss, Claude. The Savage Mind. The.

Barthes, Roland. Mythologies. Hill and Wang, New York 1981.

Rykwert, Joseph. The Idea of a Town The anthropology of urban form Rome, Italy and the Ancient World. Faber and Faber, Queen Square, London, 1976.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

On Ritual

Bell, Catherine. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Bocock, Robert. *Ritual in Industrial Society A Sociological Analysis of Rituals in Modern England,* Edinburgh: T&A Constable Ltd, 1974.

Cooper-Hewitt Museum, The Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Design, *Cities The forces that shape them,* New York: Rizzoli, 1982.

Skokupski, John. *Symbol and Theory A Philosophical Study of Theories of Religion in Social Anthropology,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1976.

Werbner, Richard P. *Ritual Passage Sacred Journey, Manchester:* Manchester University Press, 1989.

Eliade, Mircea. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion,* Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, San Diego, New York, London 1959.

Levi-Strauss, Claude. *Myth and Meaning,* University of Toronto Press, New York 1978.

Levi-Strauss, Claude. *The Savage Mind,* The Nature of Human Society, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1966.

Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies,* Hill and Wang, New York 1981.

Rykwert, Joseph. *The Idea of Town The anthropology of urban form Rome, Italy and the Ancient World,* Faber and Faber, 3Queen Square, London 1976.

On Ahmedabad

Amritray, Shankerlal . *Amdavadno Jivan Vikas (Expansion of Ahmedabad City) Gujarat.* Gaiekwad House. Baroda, 1972..

Burgess, J. *The Muhammadan Architecture of Gujarat Parts I and II*

Chaube, J. *History of the Gujarat Kingdom,* Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd, New Delhi 1975.

Firishtah, Mahomed Kasim . *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India untill the year A.D. 1612 Vol IV*

Gillion, Kenneth. *Ahmedabad a Study in Urban History,* University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1968.

Hope, T.C. and J. Fergusson. *Architecture at Ahmedabad, The Capital of Goozerat,* London,1866.

Jhote, Ratmanirao Bhimrao. *Gujartnu Patnagar - Amdavad (Ahmedabad, the Capital of Gujarat) Gujarati.* Saraswati Pub. House, Ahmedabad, 1962.

Jote, Ratnam Mani Rao Bhim Rao. *Ahmedabad Nu Stapathya: Itihas Ane Samanya Ruprekha, (Establishment of Ahmedabad: Its Outline and History)(in Gujarati)*

Misra, S.C. *The Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat,* Asia Publishing House, New York 1963.

Majumdar, M.R. *"Social life and Manners in Pre-British Gujarat"* Unpublished thesis University of Bombay, 1929. *Cultural History of Gujarat*; from the earliest times to pre-British periods

Sankalia, Hasmukh Dhirajlal. *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat,* Deccan College, Poona 1949.

Amdavadno Parichay (Introducing Ahmedabad) in Gujarati. Milan Publications, Ahmedabad, 1957.

Unpublished Ph.D thesis, M.S. University of Baroda, *Gujarati Society in the Nineteenth Century, An analysis of Social Change.*

Vakhatchand, Maganlal . *Amdavadni Itihas (History of Ahmedabad) in Gujarati.* Geeta press, Ahmedabad, 1969.

General

Al-Sayyed, Nezar (Ed). *Forms of Dominance. On the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise.* Vermont:Ashgate Publishing House, 1992.

Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958.

Lynch, Kevin. *Good City Form,* Cambridge, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Printing Press, 1981.

Michell, George. *Architecture of the Islamic World.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1991.

Mills, C. Wright. *Power, Politics and People; The Collected Essays of C Wright Mills.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1963.

Nader, Ardalan and Bhaktiar, *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958.

Sandra, Pyke W. Agnew, Neil McK. *The Science Game: An Introduction to Research in the Social Sciences,* New Jersey: Englewood Cliffs, 1991.

Tafuri, Manfredo. *Architecture and Utopia. Design and Capitalist Development.* Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1992.

Katzer, Jeffery. Cook,Kenneth and Crouch,Wayne W, *Evaluating Information: A Guide for users of Social Science Research,* New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1991.

Zeisel, John. *Inquiry by Design: Tools for Environment-Behavior Research,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1981.

Parry, Eric. *"Ritual of the city",* Architectural Review, July 1987.

Nanda, Vivek. "Urbanism, Tradition and Continuity in Ahmedabad", *Mimar,* March 1992

APPENDIX

1. MYTH ABOUT THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY

During his hunting expedition, Ahmed Shah, while resting on the banks of river Sabarmati, saw a rabbit chasing a dog. He was amazed by this and attributed this to strength and determination of the rabbit and to the river which lent them such powers, (he thought if the rabbit had such power the people would definitely be similarly blessed) and decided to build his capital there. This myth gains importance as the background of the people who shaped the city during its the growth and development.

2. An important aspect of growth of the city related to the rituals was the construction of new mosques by kings. This was associated with the desire for immortality. Each ruler got a new mosque built which would participate in the generation of newer myths in tune with the desire for immortality on this mortal earth which echoes the notion presented by Hannah Arendt.

"The task and the potential greatness of mortals lie in their ability to produce things-works and deeds and words- which would deserve to be at least to a degree, are at home in the everlastingness, so that through them mortals could find their place in a cosmos where everything is immortal except themselves."[52]

The rituals in conjunction with these monuments participated in the generation of myths. Each king would have elaborate prayer services along with processions in conjunction with the monuments he got built to ensure his immortality through the generated memory.

3. A TYPICAL BARGAINING CONVERSATION

Shopkeeper:" Behanji Boni karva do" (Sister please buy the first purchase of the day) (Boni, shopkeepers believe, is an important ritual of the day which gives an indication of the trend of the days sale.)

Customer: "How much"

Shopkeeper: Rs. 10 a Kg.

Customer: That is too much. Do you think I don't know the prices I come here everyday.

Shopkeeper: Okay take it for Rs. 8 and that is the final price. It is Boni time and you are being so stingy.

---

22. Arendt, Hannah. The Human Condition. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958. p 18-19.

Customer: So what if it is Boni you should give it for the correct price.

Then the purchaser will pick up one eggplant, for example examine it thoroughly and say "it doesn't look good. It looks like you have put up yesterday's stuff".

Shopkeeper: If you want to buy, buy or forget it. The truck is hardly gone and you are saying that it is old.........

And he will go on grumbling while the customer is deeply involved in examining and choosing the best pieces and putting them i the basket.

Customer: Okay I will pay Rs. 5 for a Kg. weigh it" and hands over the basket to the shopkeeper.

The shopkeeper is furious, takes the basket and throws all of them back in the pile and says forget it. Then the purchaser picks up her bag and leaves but the shop keeper summons him "Behanji Boni hai" (It is the time of first purchase) and you are leaving okay come back I will give it to you for Rs.6. And the customer comes back grumbling:" why didn't you agree earlier now I have to pick them up again".

The shopkeeper weighs it with his hand balance, which has two pans tied with chains to the iron rod with a balance needle in the middle, and puts them in the customers bag. The customer might still not give up the opportunity to bargain further, handing over Rs. 5.5 saying this is okay. Depending on the shop keeper and the amount of purchase and the amount of profit margin he may or may not accept that amount.

4: HISTORY OF THE CITY

Inherent character of the place leads to the growth of the city. (forces of origin of a city present on site).

1000	Ashapalli was founded by Ashabhil, the king of the Bhils (A small settlement).
1069	Karna Solanki captured it and named it Karnawati.
1100	Karnavati, Great trade center between the sea port and other trading cities.
1150	Seat of Jain Scholars (religious head).
1410	Ahmed Shah, Mozaffar Shah's grandson ascended the throne of Patan (Capital of Guajrat)..
1411	Ahmed Shah visits Karnavati and he has auspicious signs decides to build his new capital.

Conceptualization of the city. Laying down of the mosques tombs wells and lakes

1411	Ahmed Shah begun work on his capital city; laid the foundation of Manek Burj, Ganesh Bari, Bhadra Fort Nol Pole and Jumma Masjid.
1423	Construction of Jumma Masjid completed.

1441	Construction of Sarkhej Roza begum (tomb, mosque, water tank and garden).
1451	Houj-e-kutub or Kankaria lake constructed.
1453	Daria Khan tomb and Dome constructed.
1475	Death of Shah Alam Saheb and Shah Alam Roja begun (mosque and tomb).
1485	Dada Hari-ni-vav constructed.(step well and a mosque).
1486	Mauhmad Begra started the construction of the city walls.(external periphery of city defined)
1495	Adalaj-ni-vav constructed (step well).
1514	Rani Sipri masjid constructed; arrival of Barbosa, a spanish traveller.
1535	Humayun captured and ruled the city for nine months; Bhadurshah recaptured.
1555	Arrival of oUdadbir, Arab historian.
1560	Sidi Shahid masjid constructed. (symbol of Ahmedabad).

Trade consolidated in the city, Mogul influence: Palaces and gardens laid down.

1572	Akbar captured the city. End of Sultanate reign.
1617	Arrival of English Ambassador Sir Thomas Roe.
1618	Arrival of Jehangir, political relations with British established with letters written to King Shah Jahan appointed suba of Gujarat.
1619	First Dutch factory started.
1621	Construction of Shahi baugh palace and the garden.
1636	Serai in Bhadra citadel was constructed by Suba Azamkhan.
1638	Arrival of Mandelsso.
1664	Revenue concessions to Europeans. Arrival of Tavernier, traveller.
1681	Imposition of Jajiavero (tax) on non-muslims.
1686-1747	Period of many droughts, scarcity inflation and invasions and decline.

Maratha rule no major activities except the establishment of a religious sect

1753	Ahmedabad under Maratha rule (Period of decline).
1781	Arrival of James Forbes.
1804	Arrival of Swami Sahajananji Swami Narayan sect.(a new religious community established).
1808	Arrival of Gaekwad, enforcement of property Inheritance law stone laid at Teen Darwaja.

Ahmedabad came under the British rule and reconstruction work began. The first bridge using modern technology built - improved the communication leading to development of western Ahmedabad.

1811	Union Jack hoisted on the Bhadra Fort.
1824	First city survey by the Britishers.
1934	Beginning of the city committee for Municipal work.
1846	Construction of Hutheesing Temple. Gujarat Vernacular society founded 1849 Clock set in Bhadra fort.
1850	Construction of the Swaminarayan temple.
1858	First library Himbahi institute started.
1861	First textile mill started.
1864	Starting of Ahmedabad-Bombay railway.
1870	Opening of Ellis bridge.
1880	Gujarat club established Calico Mills started.
1897	Opening ceremony of Gujarat college.

Opening of Schools and colleges. The atmosphere in the city political people were involved in getting independence from the British all the activities carried out in secrecy. There were formal demonstration but the venue for all the activity had shifted over to the western side of the river especially with Mahatma Gandhi having established the Satyagrah Ashram, which became the center for all the political activity. The other center of activity was the cantonment area.

1902	Indian National Congress session was held.
1905	First Gujarati Literary Conference.
1913	First Baronetch conferred to Chinubhai Madhavlal.
1915	Arrival of Mahatma Gandhi First flash of electric lights.
1916	Satyagrah Ashram established..
1917	RC Technical Institute established.
1920	Annual Literary conference established.
1921	Gujarat Vidyapeth founded. Non-Cooperation movement.
1929	Opening of L A Shah College.
1930	Dandi March and the Salt Satyagrah movement.

The Predominant activity the establishment of schools colleges. The communication links and connections were made stronger. Radio Station and bridges were built. The urban core had lost its importance. The split between the Hindus

and the Muslims led to immense riots

1934	Jyoti Sangh established.
1935	Gujarat Kala Sangh and Gandharva Sangeet MahaVidyalaya started.
1937	H L College of Commerce started.
1939	Opening of Sardar Bridge.
1940	Opening of Gandhi Bridge.
1942	Quit India Movement.
1946	Muslim families migrated to Pakistan.
1947	L M College of Pharmacy established.
1948	Immersion of Gandhiji's ashes in Sabarmati.
1949	All India Radio Ahmedabad station established. Gujarat Chamber of Commerce established.

College and research institutions were established. Connection between the old and the new parts of the city established. Mills become an important factor in the growth and economy of Ahmedabad.

1950	Municipality raised to the status of Corporation. Gujarat University started functioning. Physical Research Laboratory established.
1951	L D Engineering College started.
1952	First General and Corporation Elections.
1954	ATIRA (Ahmedabad Textile and Industry Research Association) started.
1955	New Civil Hospital Opened. Milk Scheme in Ahmedabad. Drainage in Ellis bridge area.
1956	First Women's college started. Arrival of Le Corbusier and Opening of the Museum Sanskar Kendra: Initiation of Maha Gujarat movement..
1957	Second General Elections and Corporation elections. Sardar Park laid down.
1958	Riots and agitation.
1960	Maha Gujarat Bandh Nehru Bridge opened.

Institutions for education and the revival of culture were established. At the same time technological establishments gained importance. New recreation/ entertainment places started emerging very rapidly and the society grew more and more disintegrated.

| 1961 | Ahmedabad capital of New State of Gujarat. Lalit Kala Academy established. |
| 1962 | NID, IIM, School of Architecture, Indology and Darpan Academy established. |

1963	Arrival of Louis Kahn.
1968	Space application center established.
1970	Capital shifted to Gandhinagar.
1972	School of Planning started. Drive-in cinema established.
1972	AUDA established Subash Bridge opened.
1975	Subash Bridge opened.
1978	Arrival of Buckminster Fuller.
1979	Arrival of Prof. J Salk.

Figure A1: Manek Chowk Accompanying Street.

Figure A2: Manek Chowk Accompanying Street.

Figure A5: Jumma Masjid
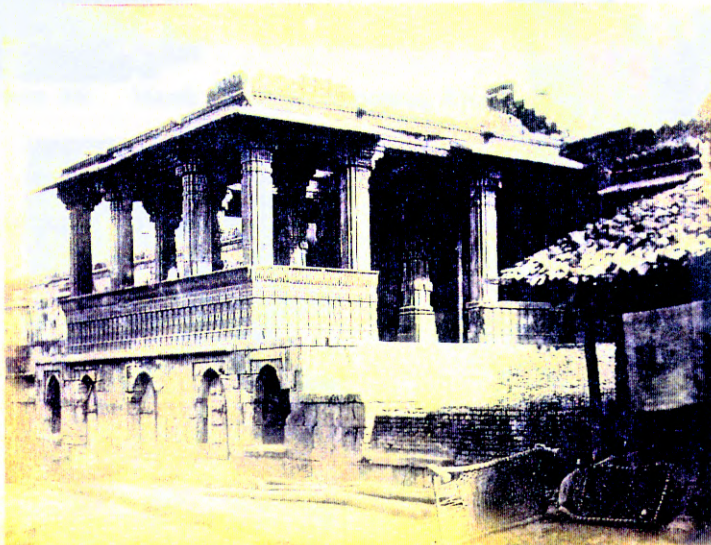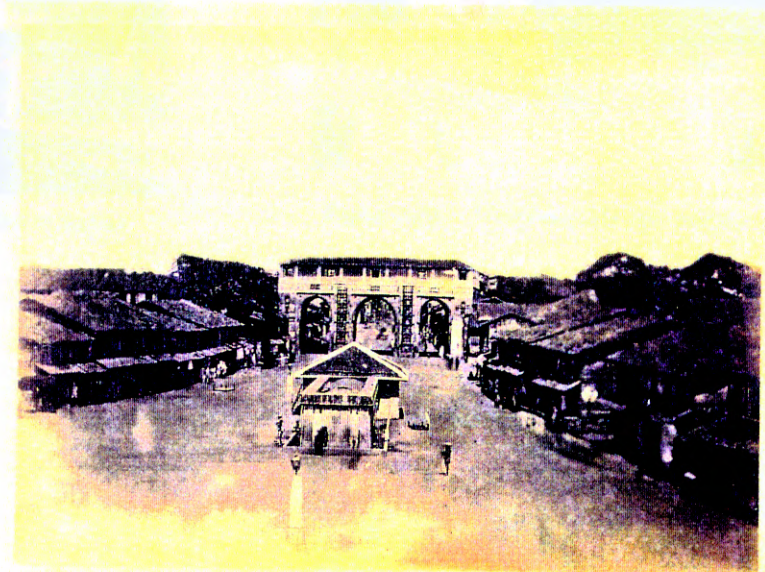

Figure A3: Jumma Masjid Pavilion.

Figure A4: Raj Marg and the Teen Darwaza (Three Gates)

112

Figure A7:   Stock Exchange building

Figure A8:   Temporary Market display

Figure A6:   Manek Chowk Accompanying Street

Figure A9:   Temporary Market display

Figure A10:   Temporary Marrket display

Figure A11:   Temporary Market display

113

Figure A12: View of the Accompanying street.
fruit market, the street, Jumma Masjid and the Raj Marg from left to right.

Figure A13: Overall view of the area.
Queen's tomb, King's tomb and the accompanying street.

114