

floor, the third and fourth levels of the house are more open and receive direct sunshine year round. This means, of course, that in summer, the two matching courtyards and the rooftop pavilions will be brilliantly lighted and unbearable for most of the day during the hottest months. On the other hand, it also means that they will receive very welcome light and heat during the cooler winter months. Especially noteworthy is that living spaces adjoining the two upper courtyards will receive direct sunshine for at least 4 hours of a winter day.

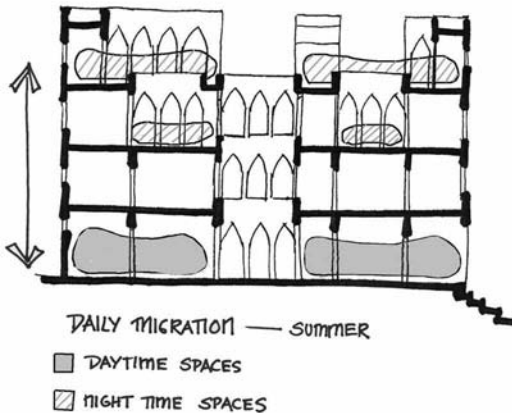
The second level is where the greatest seasonal change occurs. While the ground level is mostly dark and the upper levels mostly light year-round, the second level experiences rapid changes as the sunlight passes up and down inside the central courtyard during the fall and spring equinoxes. In a yearlong search for thermal comfort, the second level acts as what Labelle Prussin has called a “territorial passage,” a spatial counterpart to a pattern of social behavior—a ritual.<sup>13</sup>

The spatial organization of the house supports adaptive migrations. A daily vertical movement sets the tempo of summertime life. During the hot day, the family lives and works deep in the

lower spaces of the house that are significantly taller, darker, and cooler than the upper terrace levels. At night everybody moves high up to the roof terraces and open pavilions to sleep in the fresh night air under the stars. Here, the women of the house commonly sprinkle water to cool down the terraces before spreading the bedding.

As everywhere, the children join in the watering game and then enjoy skipping barefoot over the now-cool surfaces. Later in the night, the whole family gathers on the terrace to talk,

Daily Migration, Summer.  
(Diagram by Kavita Rodrigues.  
Based on a section view of a  
house in *Paradigms of Indian  
Architecture* by G. H. R.  
Tillotson 1998, 166.)

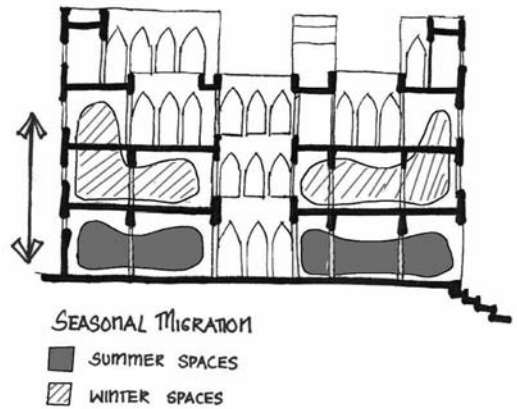


tell stories, and share experiences. Finally, they settle in their own places for the night.

In winter, the family occupies mainly the upper floors of the house where they gather to enjoy the warming sunshine. The open terraces at these higher levels are comfortable, the bordering spaces behind arched openings well lighted and warmed. Though sometimes less elaborately decorated than the lower, more public spaces, these upper ones come more alive in winter, animated by the low-passing sun.

In spring and fall, as well as winter, the family makes good use of the first level above the ground floor. It does not experience the extremes of either the spaces above or below it. Here, the family can find comfort at “in-between” times, a place that may not be too hot or too cold, too bright or too dark for comfort. At the more extreme seasons, it acts as a place of passage in the yearly cycle.

Moving around is not always the best adaptive strategy. It can be time consuming and expensive, especially when the distances are great or when two houses must be maintained. Still, nearly every climate cycles between extremes. So people have traditionally found another direct way to cope with environmental change: *transformation*. They adjust the place where they are. The result is a broad array of strategies that, like migration, evoke rituals.



Seasonal Migration.  
(Diagram by Kavita Rodrigues.  
Based on a section view of  
a house in *Paradigms of  
Indian Architecture* by  
G. H. R. Tillotson 1998, 166.)