# Negotiating Cultures

# Negotiating Cultures

*Delhi Architecture and Planning from 1912 to 1962*

Pilar Maria Guerrieri

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## FOREWORD

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Let me begin by saying, without anticipating for readers what *Negotiating Cultures: Delhi Architecture and Planning from 1912–1962* has to say, there is no doubt that this is an important book. With its innovative approaches and comprehensive referencing, it analyses events in Delhi at a particularly relevant juncture in recent Indian history. Several years of local studies, and materials in archives in India and the UK, have made it possible for Dr Guerrieri to construct a satisfying and original picture of the process which (from post-colonization, to Partition and the building of the new India) has brought to life one of the major metropolises of the new millennium. The history of India in those years of profound transformation is important for the world as a whole; and Delhi provides an example of particular relevance.

However, it is not only in this perspective that the study is interesting. *Negotiating Cultures* contributes to a very significant degree to the debate around the relationships between cultures and the consequent processes of transformation of cities. It is currently evident that the cross-fertilization no longer operates solely in one direction, from north to south but also from south to north and from south to south. New reasearch is imperative to capture this perspective.

The book has been written at a particularly complex and contradictory time in the contemporary world. It appears that

Western countries are uncertain and no longer have faith in their future. They are beset with nationalist revivals, regrets regarding the power they have lost, isolationism, and new pressures to exclude 'others'. India increasingly faces great difficulties in performing its role as a key player in the world scenario. It aspires to be a catalyst in experimentation and a reference point for the technological innovations and changes it is bringing about, but at the same time it is deeply rooted to its cultural traditions. Elites in the country are extremely dynamic and capable but also carry the burden of a deeply unequal society, marked by excessive privilege. It has large cities in a state of continuing development, while at the same time, small centres are in the process being increasingly ignored. It experiences new forms of economic and social development, which are however still characterized by economic and political systems that have their origins in other societies and cultures.

It now appears that the particularly important years of the end of colonialism and of expectations and hopes promoted by new relevant actors in the international scenario are far distant. What had been learnt from important, albeit contradictory, experiences in past years, seems to have been forgotten. That is why profound and critical reflections on some of the basic problems appear to be increasingly urgent, and this book is an extremely relevant contribution.

From the perspective of a Western reader I have chosen to mention four areas that the book considers, and which are, in the present debate, of great relevance: translation, conflict, cross-fertilization, and the creation of alternative models.


## TRANSLATION

In studies of colonial practices, exporting and imposing the culture (and government practices) of the 'metropolis' generally refers to models elaborated elsewhere and imposed without mediation. We know that this is not what actually takes place, and the Indian experience is a very clear demonstration of this.

There is indeed a tendency to view Indians as a people akin to the British and a realization of Macaulay's well-known objective. There is also of course the inevitable necessity of presenting British culture in such a way that it is understood and progressively absorbed

by the Indian population. This implies a process of self-reading and self-representation, and the necessity of highlighting some elements more than others and to present a simplified picture. The Palladian paradigm aims at illustrating that the British are different from other European colonial countries. It is however also co-opted by a new élite with a view to presenting itself differently; to highlight their objectives and role. The need to understand that one cannot proceed through imposition and that it is necessary to take into account the characteristics and expectations of someone else's culture is very visible in India. This is found in the processes of adjustment to Indian traditions of British practices, in the use of land, in the use and organization of space, and in forms of living. This effort of *translation* obviously does not exclude the necessity of the imposition, sometimes with brutality, other models and method.

The issue of *translation* is obviously fundamental to the present context, when a variety of cultures are forced into reciprocal understanding and must interact and translate with the aim of achieving this. Analyses on these issues are, however, still very limited and much more needs to be accomplished.

## CONFLICT

Conflict is inevitable and recurrent in colonial experiences. Stories of India and Delhi are exemplary in this context. Just think of the 1857 rebellion and the destruction of parts of Shahjahanabad and its physical isolation; of the extremely violent conflicts during Partition; or of the potential conflicts in slums where the population is extremely poor and increasingly expanding. However, such conflicts can also be seen in Gandhi's opposition to the territorial organization forced by the British, the quest for alternative solutions to urban development that Nehru proposed, the critical reception by Indian technicians of projects based on suggestions by foreign experts based on international examples. The Indian 'urban turn' cannot be imagined without strong contradictions and oppositions.

The diverse and complex experiences faced by Delhi within a few decades provide food for thought not only for India but much beyond. Europe is facing extremely challenging political and cultural changes posed by mass migration for which it is totally unprepared

and which generate economic and social conflict. In this context it might be extremely useful to examine what occured in Delhi during Partition.

For a long time, we imagined and hoped, that cities would grow and develop through controlled and relatively well organized processes. However, the current processes of urbanization reveal increasing data on social inequality and even exclusion from access to living conditions. These oblige us to anticipate dramatically different scenarios. Equally serious problems can be seen in relation to the environment and natural resources. The author analyses some of the choices which were made over the past century, what their consequences have been, and what they portend for the future. Obviously no one imagined that Delhi would become the megacity that it is today, but the conditions for this had already been unwittingly created. Perhaps today too we are overlooking conflicts that may be relevant in the future and so it is imperative that such issues be highlighted.

## HYBRIDIZATION OF TWO CULTURES

Another important element in Guerrieri's analysis is the hybridization of two cultures. The impact of British urban culture on the Indian (both prior to and following that of the US) is excellently dealt with.

If the process of hybridization of Indian culture by Western traditions is very evident, this is not equally the case of the impact of colonial culture on the metropolis. It should not be forgotten that the colonial experience has influenced UK's own planning and governmental organization. This is in terms of social organization, forms of hierarchization of the urban structure, patterns of space, building types, and mobility solutions in the colonial system (which relate not to India alone and were not solely created by the British). Interventions aiming at rationalizing the urban structure relate to, or are elaborated in parallel with, practices intended to control and train the British proletariat to face the needs of a developing industrial society. They are an important application of the biopolitics that in the past two centuries has characterized government systems of Western societies and economies. In all these cases the experience which comes from specific principles has also an impact on the 'departure culture'. The idea of controlling and moulding a society in

entirety is underwritten by what was achieved in India; and in many different ways it became seen to be relevant to metropolitan contexts and welfare societies.

The most visible signs of this interaction, in relation to architecture and urban planning, are to be seen in artefacts referring to Orientalism. These are not however the only examples. There are other building typologies of Indian origin the world over. Reference should also be made to the role of *cantonments* and of *poramboke* land in realizing solutions for social segregation of space. Important too is the influence of Geddes' thinking (hence, of a considerable body of British urbanism) on Indian cities and villages. Moreover, the importance for European regional planning of different perspectives espoused by Gandhi and Nehru in relation to villages and cities. The attempts by Le Corbusier to create, thanks to the Chandigarh experience, a new architectural language. The ideas that US urban planning drew in the 1960s of the past century, from the Ford Foundation experiences in Delhi and in other large Indian cities. India has been a complex, but also an extraordinary laboratory, precisely because of its diversity and cultural wealth, its dimensions, and its particular forms of local organization. It has thus proved to be a unique opportunity for the Western world to elaborate and improve patterns of political and social control subsequently used in a variety of different contexts. I consider particularly useful and stimulating in this perspective the contribution that *Negotiating Cultures* makes.

## NEW MODELS: WESTERN THEORY/SOUTHERN THEORY

Two other issues that are of great relevance in today's debate on urbanization are considered in the book. The first considers how the planning experience of Delhi highlights the limits of the theoretical models, methodologies, and tools that have been devised in the West over the past two centuries and have been proposed, or more correctly, imposed on the world as a whole. It also opens a debate on how new solutions can be found for urban problems, and new strategies devised for a positive urban future. Criticisms of Indian urban planners to the Ford Foundation approach and the debate in subsequent years are still in many ways important. Besides, in the context of the obvious process of 'aging' of many theoretical assumptions and

technical solutions in urban planning practices of the last century, Pilar Guerrieri brings to light how elements of those times and of that culture still have an important role: the reference to foreign models, the top–down approach to planning, and the inadequate attention given to some structural problems (the inclusion of the poorer social classes and social segregation). These criteria were considered adequate in the planning of the first half of the past century, but they have never been modified and appear to be completely inadequate in the context of the present and future problems of Indian cities, and evidently Delhi.

Now as before, the possible answer is to refer to models and instruments drawn from other experiences and situations. The element that stands out in the context of India, and of Europe and the US, is the risk that top–down urban planning—even when based on the most advanced technologies and rationalization, and increasingly innovative efficiency models—might contribute to increased exclusion and segregation (rather than its reduction). The risk is that almost the entire city might become the 'unintended city'; the consequences could be dramatic both in the megacities of tens of millions of inhabitants and in marginal regions, cut off from any opportunities of development. On this too we are stimulated to find new answers thanks to *Negotiating Cultures*, with an approach that is no longer a Western perspective alone.

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## PREFACE

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This book developed from my research for a PhD thesis in 'Architectural Design, Architectural Composition, Criticism and Theory' supported by Politecnico di Milano in collaboration with the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) in Delhi and Westminster University in London. It was inspired by a fundamental urge to explore, absorb the ethos of another country, another culture, another point of view. India proved an inspired choice and there I entered another world and found another home.

The background work entailed four years researching the city of Delhi amidst the confusing and creative libraries and archives of India and the extraordinarily well-organized and well-ordered counterparts in London. Among the most relevant in Delhi were the Delhi State Archive, National Archives of India, INTACH Archives, the Institute of Town and Country Planning Organization, Municipal Corporation of Delhi, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Institute of Town Planners, Delhi Development Authority, School of Planning and Architecture, Central Public Works Archive, Kanvinde Archive, Nehru Memorial Library, Lalit Kala Akademi, Alkazi Foundation for the Arts, Archaeological Survey of India Library, Indian Council for Historical Research, and the National Museum. In London, my primary loci of research were the Royal Institute of British Architects, The School of Oriental and African Studies, and The India Office

Records and Private Papers section of the British Library. In New York, I accessed the Ford Foundation Archive.

The process of researching for this book has entailed much more than mere research in archives and libraries. There have been long hours of discussion with scholars over innumerable cups of tea and, getting accustomed to the reality that in India work begins at 11 a.m. Endless hours of contemplation amidst interminable traffic jams was an experience in itself. Visiting people's homes and enquiring about the buildings in which they lived and in the end dining with entire joint families were fascinating and often heart-warming encounters; I once witnessed a man breaking down when recalling his father's employment. Touring and photographing each colony in the heat of May at the risk of heatstroke was another hazard. Surveying, with the aid of random strangers, buildings for which plans where just not available, was a novel experience. Anxiously awaiting the arrival of a single plan fundamental to an understanding of a particular problem was a strain. Travelling throughout India to see and understand the ways in which Delhi differs from other cities, and much else, was taxing and exhilarating.

This book, the culmination of this heady experience attempts to collate and bring order and insight into the vast body of scattered information on the fascinating architectural history of pre- and post-Independence Delhi, It covers the very broad swathe of time between 1912 to 1962 in the hope that it will serve as a reference and starting point for other scholars undertaking further research in the field ...

Delhi
September 2017

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# Renegotiating Delhi

*Insights on Elements of Architecture and Planning*

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The development of modern infrastructure, high-end residential complexes, and exclusive shopping malls, in line with the consumerism and middle-class ideology, has spectacularly transformed the urban landscape. This drive for global competitiveness involving image-building has had negative consequences, especially for the poor, through 'cleansing' the city of slums and other alleged undesirable elements, and has exacerbated socio-spatial polarization. Delhi's experience thus exemplifies the problematic implementation of a Western construct—the global city model—in a metropolis of the South characterized by strong socio-economic inequalities as well as the ascent of urban entrepreneurialism and its translation into a 'revanchist' city.[1]

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[1] Veronique D.N. Dupont, 'The Dream of Delhi as a Global City', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35, (3 May 2011): 533.

## IMPORTED ELEMENTS

Every city in the world, in some form or another, is exposed to cultural exchanges, be it in terms of aspirational values motivated by trade, political agendas, leisure, or religious powers. How each city deals with such exchanges, confronts, or accepts them, is unique to each. The city of Delhi, one of the largest megacities in the world, assumed its particular form through an extended process over centuries.[2] It has been influenced by diverse cultures, has been ruled by a range of rulers and dynasties, whether through conquest, subordination, or absorption, and its development is today subjected to the multitudinous forces of globalization. Delhi, thus, presents itself as a model case study of the intermingling and conflict of cultures and is, therefore, ideal for a study of the processes of hybridization of local architecture and urbanism. This volume examines these processes of hybridization, extrapolating their complexity and their non-unilateral aspects, which can be interpreted as adaptive, varied, and reciprocal adjustments.

The book analyses the negotiations and renegotiations between cultures that occurred in the capital pre- and post-Independence. This is achieved through a study of archival records, photographs, and drawings of Delhi's architecture and urban development from 1912, when the British Town Planning Committee for New Delhi was formed; to 1962 when the first master plan was implemented. This study examines how this period of transition and its hybridization processes shaped modern Delhi. The transitional period, when the size of Delhi begins increasing exponentially, sets the stage for the expansion and the foundation of the contemporary megacity, and provides us with an opportunity to explore the current phenomenon of globalization in a more detached perspective.[3]

Today Delhi can be construed as a megacity, but obviously that was not the case in the past, and perhaps this was not even the

[2] *Delhi: Biography of a City* (Delhi: Aakaar Books, 2012); V. Nath, 'Planning for Delhi', *Geojournal*, 29, no. 2, *Urban Issues and Urbanization Characteristics of Asia* (February 1993): 171–80.

[3] 'Post-Independence, Delhi's population has grown at a remarkable rate (oscillating between 4 and 5 per cent a year between 1951 and 2001) for an urban agglomeration of its size, reaching 12.8 million in 2001', Veronique

intention of urban planners and architects. Indeed, the issues that Delhi is facing today are completely different from those that existed during the 1960s. For example, 50 years ago no one was concerned about the concept of 'sustainability', the key concern then being one of 'economic affordability'. The difference of each historical period of time in terms of the political situation, social and economic conditions, and priorities should always be borne in mind by the reader. It is, after all, only too easy to fall into the trap of using inappropriate contemporary methodologies, categories, and/or points of view. Nonetheless, it remains crucial to continue to explore the past history of Delhi as a vital point of comparison to evaluate current developments and directions.

This book is an effort to complement existing literature dealing with the processes of cultural exchange and the way in which it affects architecture and planning within the city of Delhi. It is an effort at focusing on 'intercultural links' that have always existed and are today

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D.N. Dupont, 'The Dream of Delhi as a Global City', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35, no. 3 (May 2011): 537–8. 'Another aspect of Delhi's "globalization" concerns the urban landscape and its rapid change, which is following an international model of modernization that tends to lead to a certain repetition and standardization of urban forms, for example, the proliferation of high rises, shopping malls and business centres, gated housing complexes and the multiplication of freeway flyovers, as observed in other aspiring global cities.' Dupont, 'The Dream of Delhi as a Global City', p. 541. On cities and globalization, *see* Tommy Firman, 'The Restructuring of Jakarta Metropolitan Area: A "Global City" in Asia', *Cities*, 15, no. 4 (1998): 229–44; Josef Gugler, *World Cities beyond the West: Globalization, Development, and Inequality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Charlotte Lemanski, 'Global Cities in the South: Deepening Social and Spatial Polarization in Cape Town', *Cities*, 24, no. 6 (2007): 448–61; Darshini Mahadevia, *Globalization, Urban Reforms and Metropolitan Response: India* (Delhi: Manak, 2003); Peter Marcuse and Ronald van Kemper, *Globalized Cities: A New Spatial Order?* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); R.S. Sandhu and Jasmeet Sandhu, *Globalizing Cities: Inequality and Segregation in Developing Countries* (Jaipur: Rawat, 2007); Jennifer Robinson, 'Global and World Cities: A View from Off the Map', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 26, no. 3 (2002): 531–4; Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).

at the centre of architectural debate. Hybridization processes within Delhi, pre- and post-Independence, have never hitherto been studied as methodically as this book endeavours to do; frequently scholars have neglected or generalized the crucial period of transition. This notwithstanding, there are several notable studies focusing on the hybridization processes in India. G.H.R. Tillotson in his book *The Tradition of Indian Architecture*, for example, addresses the persisting influence of foreign cultures in India and the concept of 'Indian tradition', perceptively elaborating the problems of Western legacies. Where Tillotson does provide an 'account of Indian Architecture since 1947; a sketch of influential episodes and dominant preoccupations,[4] he remains fairly generic, covering cultural transformations and controversies for India as a whole. Delhi is a benefactor and, potentially, a victim of such broader repercussions and, therefore, warrants an exhaustive analysis to enable us to fully understand the profound transformations it individually underwent as a city, especially in elements of its architecture.

Jyoti Hosagrahar's book, *Indigenous Modernity* (2005), is considered a milestone in this area. Hosagrahar focuses specifically on the city of Delhi, its negotiation and renegotiation processes in architecture and planning, with particular emphasis on context and locality, regional interpretations, and forms of modernity. Where a parallel can be found in terms of methodology, analysing specific elements of architecture and urban planning in Delhi, Hosagrahar does not 'engage in an exercise of distinguishing endogenous and exogenous influences in architecture',[5] relying on relatively limited visual material and, at the same time, also covering a different period of time. Cultural influences are not intangible processes but visible ones that can be established directly from the pages of this book.

In terms of post-Independence Delhi and the significance of the 1962 master plan, the first chapter in Ravi Sundaram's book, *Pirate Modernity* (2010), provides remarkable insight and discussion on the

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[4] G.H.R. Tillotson, 'Independence and Dependence', in *The Tradition of Indian Architecture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 127.

[5] Jyoti Hosagrahar, *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 6.

technocratic design adopted by the city through the work of American planners from the Ford Foundation. 'The 1962 plan brought to an end the previous phases of the city's urban development, the 1947 to 1955 period',[6] and 'in public discourse the Masterplan was posited as a break with colonial urbanism'.[7] Where Sundaram examines the unmaking of Delhi's modernist planning design in situ with the 1962 plan, the indisputable complexity and magnitude of the period of transition as a whole can neither be fully captured nor appreciated.

There is an abundance of sources that unequivocally cover one or another, absolute or arbitrary facet or characteristic, associated with the colonial city of Delhi. The benchmark in cross-cultural studies remains Anthony D. King's *Colonial Urban Development*,[8] in which the urban development of colonial Delhi has been extensively analysed. Stephen Legg's *Spaces of Colonialism*,[9] draws upon theories and methodologies of governance and compares the attempts made by the Government of India to secure and maintain order in Delhi to the ideas advanced by Michel Focault. Legg effectively validates the merger between Old and New Delhi during the period between 1911 and 1947, concentrating on the later colonial influences exerted by the British Raj. Similarly, Andreas Volwahsen provides a very visual summation on the colonial city in his work, *Imperial Delhi*.[10]

Narayani Gupta's contribution, *Delhi Between Two Empires 1803–1931*,[11] meticulously combines the components of educational activism, cultural life, urban planning, municipal government, and nationalism during the period between the acquisition of Delhi by the British in 1803 and the inauguration of adjacent New Delhi as the Imperial capital in 1931. Where Gupta addresses the evolving

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[6]  Ravi Sundaram, 'A City of Order: The Masterplan', in *Pirate Modernity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), p. 50.

[7]  Sundaram, 'A City of Order: The Masterplan', p. 64.

[8]  Anthony D. King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976).

[9]  Stephen Legg, *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities* (Malden-Oxford-Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2007).

[10]  Andreas Volwahsen, *Imperial Delhi: The British Capital of the Indian Empire* (Munich-Berlin-London-New York: Prestel, 2002).

[11]  Narayani Gupta, *Delhi between Two Empires, 1803–1931: Society, Government, and Urban Growth* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1981).

character of Delhi as a physical place, as a symbolic environment, and as a community; she primarily focuses on the Mughal and colonial periods and not on Delhi pre- and post-Independence.

V.K.R.V. Rao and P.B. Desai, in *Greater Delhi* comprehensively[12] address the pre- and post-Independence period but do not emphasize issues concerning cultural exchanges nor directly analyse the transformation in the elements of architecture and planning. Issues of power and identity, essential to the exchanges in India, have been addressed on a far broader level only by Lawrence J. Vale in *Architecture, Power, and National Identity* and in Jon Lang, Madhavi Desai, et al., *Architecture and Independence*.[13]

All the books listed above are useful not only because they cover and analyse past history events that occurred in the city of Delhi but because, through those events, they bring to light issues that still are very relevant in the contemporary context; be it the quest for Indian tradition, the negotiation and renegotiation processes, the ongoing principles of the 1962 master plan, the impact of non-Western and Western influences or the relationships between power and architecture.

This book supplements and integrates the studies already undertaken by other scholars, providing a strong foundation for those desirous of pursuing further research and, more importantly, seeking to develop upon the multilayered and bilateral cultural exchange processes.

The body of research work on which this book is based originates from the predominantly visual primary material and unpublished documents that were collected from public and private archives, such as the Delhi State Archive, National Archives of India, Institute of Town and Country Planning Organization, Municipal Corporation

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[12] V.K.R.V. Rao and P.B. Desai, *Greater Delhi: A Study in Urbanization, 1940–1957* (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1965).

[13] For additional references, see the bibliography, sections: India: Links between Urban Settlements and Power; Dominating Powers and the Identity of a Nation; on Colonialism and Cultural Exchanges, in *Architecture, Power, and National Identity* (Yale University Press, New Haven-London, 1992) and Jon Lang, Madhavi Desai, et al., *Architecture and Independence: The Search for Identity-India 1880 to 1980* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997).

of Delhi, Central Public Works Department, Royal Institute of British Architects, The British Library in London, and the Ford Foundation Archive in New York. This extensive primary material has been comprehensively substantiated by secondary sources. The extensive use of maps, drawings, and photographs is a key strength of the book and makes it a very useful tool for further research.

This material has been used to understand the 'intercultural links' of foreign models and influences that may have been adopted in Delhi, the degree to which there was resistance to these, and also how much adaptation to local conditions was necessitated.[14] Overall, the relationship between the capital and the various 'other' cultures that influenced it are thoroughly re-examined, and also the meaning of such terms as 'Indian-ness', 'tradition', and 'identity' as applied to a particular urban environment. By virtue of the documents assembled and a conscious effort made not to succumb to generalizations, this research work considers the transformation of individual architectural elements during the period in question in an effort to study how Delhi's city plans, neighbourhoods, types of residential and public buildings, and architectural styles changed over time.

## TRANSLATIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS

The first element to be addressed is the plan developed in 1912, during the colonial period, which was compared to the post-Independence master plan approved in 1962. Both have foreign influences: in the first case British, and in the second American. The first led to the construction of what was called the 'eighth city of Delhi', which was planned by British architects; the second is tied to the so-called Ninth Delhi, and those steering the decisions were essentially the advisers of the American Ford Foundation and the Indian Town and Country Planning Organization. The city built by the British was designed as the capital of their Empire;[15] that which followed post-1947, rather than being a centre of power and administration, was progressively designed to function as a residential city, a civic

[14] Jyoti Hosagrahar, *Indigenous Modernities.*
[15] Ranjana Sengupta, 'The idea of New Delhi', in *Delhi Metropolitan: The Making of an Unlikely City* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2007).

citizen habitation.[16] New Delhi was planned as a garden city, taking inspiration from the principles of the garden city movement, which originated in the Great Britain at the end of the nineteenth century with Ebenezer Howard, and also from the American City Beautiful Movement. The public buildings on the Raisina Hill acropolis and along the King's Way (Rajpath) axis form the heart of the city, around which, subsumed in greenery, are grouped government employees' bungalows. The arrangement of the housing followed the accepted, customary rules of power: Europeans with more prestigious and exalted roles were placed in the greatest proximity to Raisina Hill, and as the social status of the inhabitants decreased, so did their proximity to it. Indians, who did not work within the government apparatus, lived in settlements set within a rigid grid of roads at a considerable distance from Raisina Hill, and even from New Delhi itself.[17] In sharp contrast, the city imagined after Independence follows the principles of zoning and functional separation. Thus residential, industrial, and commercial areas are strictly separated. Zoning principles had been defined in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century and then spread in the 1860s to France and the US. Therefore, in both cases—in the 1912 plan as well as in that of 1962—first in consonance with the ideals of the garden city and city beautiful movements, and then subsequently to those of zoning principles, a top-down concept was adopted which was influenced by politics and foreign cultures.

Although Anglo-Saxon culture substantially influenced both plans during the designing phase, both before and after 1947, there were some noteworthy attempts to make adjustments based on the physical features of the area. Amongst those who endeavoured to go beyond merely abstract utopias, there was the British architect Henry Lanchester. He suggested establishing a tie, an amelioration, between the new British imperial capital of New Delhi and the Mughal city of Shahjahanabad. This, through conceptualization of architecture based on an observation of 'traditional' typologies, for example the court-yard house, *haveli*; and the bazar, *mandi*; with the aim of going beyond

[16] Gordon Cullen, *Ninth Delhi* (New Delhi: Government of India Press, 1961).

[17] *See* Anthony D. King, *Colonial Urban Development. Culture: Social Power and Environment*, and Stephen Legg, *Spaces of Colonialism*.

the superficial application of local decorations on the façades of public buildings. In the period following Independence, during the conceptualization of the 1962 town plan, the Indian Town and Country Planning Organization (TCPO) and its opposition to the American Ford Foundation[18] must be borne in mind. The TCPO wanted the context and its necessities to be the foremost consideration. It proposed other integrated models as alternatives to the imported zoning model, insisting that there should be no separation between commercial and industrial areas and residential ones, which would have obliged the poorer classes to commute to work. The TCPO appeared to be much more committed to and concerned about the requirements of poorer Indians than was the American Ford Foundation. The latter, in fact, proposed ostensibly Western and pre-existing town planning principles for the conceptualization of the Delhi 1962 master plan. Unfortunately, the enlightened efforts and principles of the TCPO are often forgotten in the narrative of town planning in India.

It is also interesting to analyse what occurs on a smaller scale in the case of single colonies.[19] The colonies, through which the megacity expanded, especially after Independence, are part British and part American in heritage, with local reinterpretations and minor Japanese influences. There are different interpretations of how the word 'colony' is correctly used when referring to the city of Delhi. Some scholars insist that it is a word that can only be used to refer to the period after Independence, others argue that it can be applied to much earlier settlements too. The colonies established by the British in the nineteenth century were home to the wealthier British desirous of moving out of Shahjahanabad.[20] Later, towards the end of the colonial era, Indians and lower-level government employees lived in neighbourhoods such

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[18]  Douglas E. Godfriend, *The Delhi Masterplan of 1962: An Anthropological Analysis* (University of Chicago, Dept. of Anthropology, 25 March 1978).

[19]  Michael A. Slingsby, 'Development of Post War and Post Independence Housing Policies', in Michael Dewit and Hans Schenk (eds), *Shelter for the Poor in India* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1989); Girish K. Misra and Rakesh Gupta, *Resettlement Policies in Delhi* (Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, 1981); Sabir Ali, *Environment and Resettlement Colonies of Delhi* (New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 1995).

[20]  'During the first fifty years of the Residency and Commissionership (1803–53), an attitude of live and let live prevailed in Delhi. While there were

as Jangpura where, post-1914, village migrants to the New Delhi area were housed; Karol Bagh, part of the Improvement Trust's planning in 1938; and Lodi Colony, built in the 1940s for government servants. After Independence, colonies became the principal way of building and expanding the megacity. They can be divided in areas where the residential buildings were constructed by the government's Central Public Works Department (CPWD), and later, from 1955 onwards, by the Delhi Development Authority (DDA); and others built by cooperative societies and private entities.

Although colonies may resemble, if not be seen as mere legacies of London suburbs or of American suburbia, in truth they have been transformed and re-envisioned by local culture. Unlike Los Angeles and Philadelphia, for example, at the time of implementation they did not follow a car-oriented logic. The subcontinent's economic difficulties immediately after 1947 provided an opportunity to build what we would now define as 'a sustainable city', even if at an unconscious level. It must be said that even if most of the roads were not frequented by vehicles, their sheer width and length was often too great to permit harmonious proportions between the buildings and the associated street, thus not permitting the construction of an operational urban environment. Besides, the colonies were Indian in the way they were inhabited. This is particularly true in group-housing societies where people tend to form ethnic groups based on affinity, thus, those who, for example, are from Kerala tend to live with people who share the same ethnicity. Occupational factors are also relevant: Press Enclave and Gulmohar Park are largely home to journalists, Niti Bagh to lawyers, and the like. The way spaces and tropical plants are used also reinforce the connection with the specifically related context. In some instances, and to this particular effect, Japanese architects were asked to advice on garden layouts for the colonies.[21] Immediately after

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sporadic attempts to set up suburban colonies outside the city walls (notably Ochterlony Mubarak Bagh in 1819, Trevelyan's Trevelyanpur in 1830, and Diwan Kishen Lal's Kishenganj in 1837)'. In Jon Lang, et. al., *Architecture and Independence*, pp. 75–9.

[21] Insufficient importance was given to this Japanese non-Western influence, which is mentioned only once, briefly in the journal *The Indian Builder* and needs to be explored de novo.

Independence, in some refugee colonies, such as Malviya Nagar and Lajpat Nagar, industrial lots were situated within the residential area, with local convenience—walking distance to the workplace—eventually supervening over zoning principles, which instead were only to become key in the 1962 city plan.[22] Naturally, the form of the colonies changed over time, and they have been influenced by necessity, by the period of time, by context, and have became a product of both importation and compromise.

Local changes and adaptations may not only be found in the colonies but also in residential typologies. The variety of types of residential buildings is abundant. When the British arrived in the Bengal region, they immediately adopted the local residential model, the bungalow, and endorsed it. Bungalows[23] became the principal residential buildings used in the British Civil Lines. A point of interest is the typological change foreigners made in Delhi. The 'traditional' typology in precolonial cities and villages was invariably the 'courtyard' arrangement: the haveli. In villages, these were simple huts for men, women, and animals, organized around an open space. When the British began to build the Civil Lines residential area north of Shahjahanabad, they adopted the bungalow model rather than that of the haveli.[24] The bungalow spelt 'healthiness', one of the principal concerns of the British. It allowed for air circulation and left ample space for plants between one building and the next. Though most bungalows present a classicist form of decoration,[25] their plans adapt

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[22] See the plan: 'Revised Layout of Malviya Nagar, New Delhi, 1952', Central Public Works Department.

[23] Anthony D. King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture* (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[24] Sarah Tillotson, *Indian Mansions: A Social History of the Haveli* (Oleander, Cambridge-New York 1994); Sunand Prasad, *The Havelis of North India: The Urban Courtyard House* London: Royal College of Art, 1988).

[25] 'The external appearance of the bungalow is determined not merely by climatic and economic factors but also by the superimposition of architectural features transposed from Roman and Greek building forms', in Anthony D. King, 'Cultural Pluralism and Urban Form: The Colonial City as Laboratory for Cross-Cultural Research', in Man-Environment Interaction, lecture presented at the India Office Library, Mouton, The Hague, 1976, p. 58.

to local customs: the kitchen is often separated from the living area to keep at bay the strong odours of Indian cooking, and the bathrooms have outward entrances, easily accessible from outside when cleaned by 'untouchable' castes. The British adoption of this typology entails a few fundamental changes; worthy of mention is the nuclearization of the so-called extended or enlarged family customary to Indian tradition. Moreover, the typology changed as a consequence of progressive urbanization: the male gender came to the city alone, rarely accompanied by other members of the immediate family, in search of work. After Independence there is no visible return to the 'traditional' courtyard typology, and this was largely replaced by the bungalow plot model, which is often adapted and reduced in size, eventually becoming a house plot. These smaller lots can be found in most of the new neighbourhoods, that is, the colonies that flourished after Independence. The transition from the classical bungalow to the medium/small modernist, single-family house shows an adjustment to the setting and the pressure that imported elements undergo. The residential situation is multifaceted and complicated, and the transition, first from the haveli to the bungalow, and eventually to the small middle class, single-family house is only one of the many forms of cultural adjustment.

The variety of public buildings is also equally large. They gradually changed in terms of prominence and role in the periods before and after 1947. With the arrival of the British, the mosques and temples of various faiths in the capital were joined by churches and convents. The central market replaced the market-road and the bazar; there is a progressive transition from semi-public gardens to parks. Exchanges with other Indian regions and other nations increased, this attributable to the new railroad and airport systems; and some buildings intended for public entertainment and leisure, which hitherto had not existed, also steadily proliferated. After 1947, a process of assimilation and adaptation of imported models in relation to building and general construction began in a way similar to that which had transpired in relation to the residential typologies described above. One of the most significant aspects is the change in the importance given to buildings of power, repositioned as community buildings with an eye on the collective, with a subsequent change in scale. Schools, religious buildings, leisure buildings, clubs, cricket and tennis facilities, and

golf courses, police and fire stations, parks, and markets prolifer-
ated in the neighbourhoods. Among recreational buildings, cinemas
became very widespread and, in stark contrast to the colonial period,
they became important reference points or landmarks. In the capital,
the styles of public buildings moved from one extreme to the other,
from ornate buildings like Heinz's chancery building for the high
commissioner of Pakistan, to others which were quite austere, such as
Shoosmith's St Martin's church, with various gradations in between, as
in the case of Stein's India International Centre. During the colonial
period, the hybrid of Viceroy's House and the Secretariats on Raisina
Hill, the modernism of Willingdon airport, and the classicism of
Gymkhana Club coexisted. By contrast, in the postcolonial period,
the semi-modern CPWD Bhavans for offices, the Le Corbusier-
inspired Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), the refined forms of
compromise between modern and local elements of Azad Bhavan,
and a wide range of buildings distinguished by what is known as
'utilitarian modernism' coexist. The trend was to add rather than
rebuild or demolish; public buildings of different periods gradually
found themselves adjacent to and juxtaposed against one another. The
fact that the city absorbed pre-existing buildings, making them a part
of the present, is indicative of the inclusive approach of the capital in
terms of time and cultures. Nonetheless, many buildings, both from
the colonial and the postcolonial period, pose the question of what
is 'Indian', what is 'Indian-ness'? Sometimes it is just an attempt to
incorporate minor formal adjustments, for example the addition of
decorative elements to the façade; sometimes it entails more substan-
tial and skilful transformations which take into account typological,
economic, and climatic issues; at other times, 'Indian-ness' has been
expressed through the medium of modernism. In the capital, both
before and after Independence, there was a clear and intrinsic separa-
tion between public spaces and public buildings. Public squares, for
example, were characteristically European and were not adapted to
the Indian context; their absence remaining fundamental to the attri-
butes of the Indian territory.

Many styles coexist in the city of Delhi, some imported, but not
necessarily linear in their form of importation. If, for example, the
Palladian style were to be considered to have been inspired by the
Italian architect Andrea Palladio, although it has been attributed to

the British, it has undergone compromises to adjust to the culture and inclinations of the subcontinent.[26] Indeed, the variations are so many and so layered that it is difficult to consider it to be a purely 'foreign' style. In its journey from Italy to India, it gradually changed its meaning and its forms. Palladianism arrived in Britain from Italy between the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century. Pursuing political significance, it established itself around Lord Burlington's Club, with the *Four Books of Architecture* by Andrea Palladio becoming its reference point. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, colonialism brought it to India, especially to Calcutta, at the behest of governor-general Lord Wellesley. The governor-general, in an effort to move beyond the commercial activities of the East India Company, intended to develop a Palladian-style 'building programme', which was to confer to it, if not transfer, the image of Great Britain on its conquered territories. Henceforth, columns, Doric capitals, and classical pediments appeared. The most significant of these buildings would possibly be Wyatt's Government House, inspired by Kedleston Hall in the Derbyshire, England, and Palladio's villa Mocenigo, albeit with adjustments dictated by the climate of the subcontinent. Palladianism reached Delhi too, and here a good example is St James's Church, which reinterpreted Palladio's Rotonda in brighter colours and with higher, better-ventilated ceilings more suitable to the tropical climate. The Palladian style of the initial period changed during the late colonial period, influenced by local architecture. If in residential buildings, especially in the bungalows and government employees' housing, a recognizable, clean, classicist style remained, in public buildings many additional elements of local tradition were included in the decorations and elaborations. The most significant examples of such hybridization are two buildings on Raisina Hill, Viceroy's House, and the Secretariats. In both, the reference to Palladio is made explicit through the written notes, references, and drawings of the architects, and notwithstanding the use of local stone and elements, the choice of continuity is evident.

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[26] Geraldine Smith-Parr, 'Palladianism in India', Lord Wellesley's Patronage of Charles Wyatt at Calcutta: His plan for the College of Fort William in Bengal and for a New Country Residence at Barrackpre', M.A. degree, Courtauld Institute of Art, London, 1984.

Palladianism is Italian in origin, and only indirectly British, and it came to the Indian capital after progressive, multi-layered transformations. In the period following Independence, the Palladian language was deliberately abandoned, and classicist elements remained only as a sign of status for the élites. A 'modern' style has been preferred since then, its emblems and its idols being Chandigarh and Le Corbusier. Modernity means liberation, but it, too, is an imported product. In this case, again, as with classicism, adjustment processes were visible. The structures were modified in consonance with the climate, and local architects consciously change the meaning of single elements.[27]

## RESISTANCE, IDEAS, IDENTITIES

India is incredibly diverse: different cultures traversed the country, transforming each part of the land in a different and unique way. For example, Kerala was more influenced by Chinese culture than the northern regions, where Persian culture was more prevalent. Even British culture, widespread throughout the country, did not homogeneously take root everywhere, tending to be far more evident in cities than in villages. The cultures that passed through this territory were thus not integrated in the same way.[28] Persian influences, for instance, are more deeply rooted than the Anglo-Saxon, insofar as the Taj Mahal has become the symbol of the country, though it too is the result of a cultural blend. Some areas are more permeable to exchanges than others, amongst these the cities in particular, primarily for reasons of commerce, politics, and power.

Furthermore, influences not only flowed from outside to India, from West to East, but are part of a much richer, intricate, and complicated process which also implies transferring ideas from India to countries beyond it. Indian culture deeply conditioned dominant,

[27] See G.H.R. Tillotson, 'Independence and Dependence', in G.H.R. Tillotson, *The Tradition of Indian Architecture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989).

[28] Homi Bhabha, 'In Between Cultures', in *New Perspective Quarterly*, 30, n. 4 (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2013): 107; Homi Bhabha, *Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995); Robert J.C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995).

export-oriented, and prosperous countries: the Sezincote Estate in England, with its domes and *chajja*s, and the British architect Lanchester with his idea of an 'integrated' town, are prime examples, to name just two. In a different field altogether, Mahatma Gandhi and his non-violent movement has greatly inspired Western social and political movements. Jawaharlal Nehru's 'out-of-line' India has influenced 'decolonization' and development cooperation politics.

In this context, R.P. Pathak argued that 'India's problem [is] one of assimilation rather than substitution'.[29] 'Static' was how tradition was viewed by Western Orientalists,[30] a simplification of Indian culture that unavoidably undermines its intrinsic beauty. The concept of 'Indian tradition' is often an immutable ideological invention that primarily serves political purposes.[31] Both Hosagrahar and Tillotson have ingeniously attempted to examine this concept. Such a marked mixture and richness of different contributions, characteristic of the entire country, has created a situation in which 'tradition' must be viewed in a compound, stratified, and geographically diverse manner as the result of cultural exchanges and metamorphoses. Identity exists, but it varies from place to place and is somehow the consequence of opposition and resistance of local culture to external influence.

Although the 'histories of India' have invariably been characterized by flourishing urban civilizations and prosperous systems of trade, European colonization in the nineteenth century, and subsequently by the Americans after Independence, imposed several architectural and urban development models which we must take into consideration to develop a critical view of the present[32]. Consider this:

> Thus during this period [the colonial period] completely new and for-
> eign styles were planted in this country. Broadly speaking, they were the
> colonial examples, which were in turn poor copies of Greek, Gothic,

[29] Ramesh Prasad Pathak, *History, Development and Contemporary Problems of Indian Education* (New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2007), p. 7.

[30] Edward W. Said, *Orientalismo: L'immagine europea dell'Oriente*, trans. Stefano Galli (Milan: Feltrinelli, 2010).

[31] Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), *L'invenzione della tradizione* (Torino: Einaudi, 2002).

[32] Sten Nilsson, *European Architecture in India 1750–1850* (London: Faber & Faber, 1968); Thomas R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989).

Romanesque and Renaissance Styles. […] For about two hundred years India did not take part in the process of architectural evolution with the result that the art of architecture was completely lost upon Indians. It is only since the last thirty years that we have been getting opportunities of becoming fully trained architects in the modern sense.[33]

This book attempts to delve deeper into such questions as the degree to which India's colonial classical architecture can be considered to be authentic imitation? To what measure does the myth of modernity represent India's new identity and the rebirth of its architecture, and how much of it is a foreign import? More specifically, however, this study attempts to understand the role and extent of the ever-evolving urban capital in this cultural exchange. It also asks as to which exactly were the cultures that affected Delhi's architecture and planning. Also, did architectural elements absorb external inputs or retain local typologies and inspiration?

Delhi as a city is an archetypical paradigm of how India as a country does not adhere to any one single tradition and how each individual part of its territory developed its own tradition in consonance with the influences with which it came into contact. India has thus been a vast and incredibly active laboratory of experiences but Delhi has, over time, elaborated and established its own original identity within this.[34] In studying Delhi's architecture and planning, scholars usually tend to consider the period prior to 1947 as subordinated and attributable to Western-British ideas, and the period after Independence as the development of purely Indian nationalist ideas. There is, however, a fundamental flaw in this reasoning. This research establishes and demonstrates, supported by the documents published in the chapters that follow, that Delhi has played an active role in the complex process of hybridization in both the pre- and post-Independence periods, developing its own character as opposed to merely accepting what was brought from abroad. Both periods have been characterized by a resilient and continuing compromise between indigenous and foreign elements and thus the post-1947 period cannot be construed as more 'indigenous' than that which preceded it.

[33] Seminar on Architecture, March 1959, inaugurated by Jawaharlal Nehru, Lalit Kala Akademi, Jaipur House, New Delhi 1959, p. 13.

[34] Annapurna Shaw, *Indian Cities* (New Delhi: University Press, 2012).
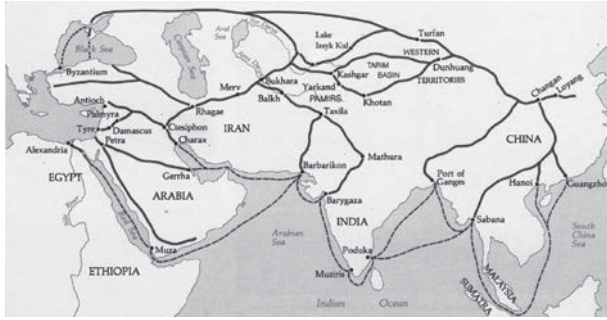
**Figure 1.1**    Silk and Maritime Routes Connecting Europe and India
*Source*: Author. Redrawn from material available at: http://www.chinatourguide.com/
silk_road/silk_road_maps.html).
*Note*: Map not to scale and does not represent authentic international boundaries.
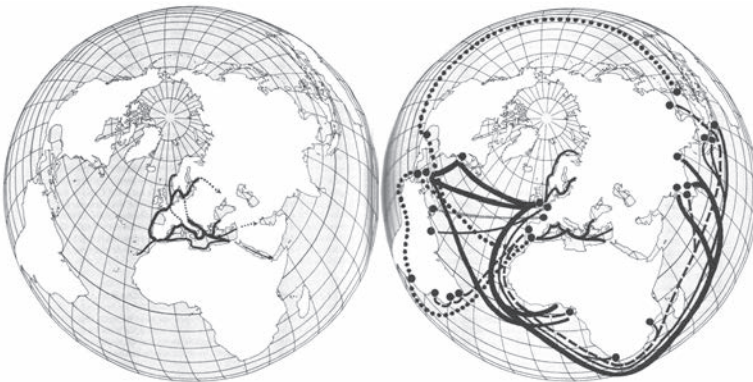


**Figure 1.2**    Colonial Routes
*Source*: Fernand Braudel (1977).
*Note*: Map not to scale and does not represent authentic international boundaries.

# Two Conceptions of the City

*Pre- and Post-Independence*

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Urban transformations under British rule became a marker of British identity.[1]

## AN IMPERIAL IDEA: THE EIGHTH CITY

In 1911, when British colonialism was at its height, the project to construct Delhi's eighth city was initiated. New Delhi was inaugurated after considerable delay in 1931. The Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, was the local commissioner under the mandate and directions of the British crown. A Town Planning Committee[2] was formed to work on

[1] Jyoti P. Sharma, *Colonial Intervention and Urban Transformation:* 'A Case Study of Shahjahanabad', PhD thesis, Faculty of Art and Design, De Monford University, Leicester, January 2005, p. 46.

[2] 'During the spring of 1912 a town planning committee consisting of Captain George Swinton, John Brodie, and Lutyens travelled throughout

the project led by Sir Edwin L. Lutyens and Sir Herbert Baker, with the cooperation of many others, who themselves deserve great credit. Among the latter, worthy of mention are Henry V. Lanchester, John A. Brodie, George S.C. Swinton, William R. Mustoe, Walter S. George, Arthur G. Shoosmith, Henry A. Medd, the Blomfield brothers, William H. Nicholls, and Robert T. Russell.[3] For the most part, British architects were engaged in the planning, conception, and implementation of Imperial Delhi, while Indians were primarily assigned the role of assistants or executors.[4]

The first important decision taken was the location of the new imperial city. The 1913 report records that several locations were immediately discarded: the area to the east of the river Yamuna, as it was subject to flooding; the area north of the Mughal city of Shahjahanabad, where the *durbar*[5] to welcome George V had been organized in 1911, as it was impractical and expensive to acquire, and in need of reclamation; an area to the west of the Ridge, as it lacked historic significance and a view of Old Delhi.[6] It was resolved

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the Delhi District examining potential building sites for the New capital. Swinton was the chair of the committee, Brodie an engineer, and Lutyens a remarkably talented architect who later was selected as one of the capital's primary designers.' David A. Johnson, 'Land Acquisition, Landlessness and the Building of New Delhi', *Radical History Review*, n. 108, autumn 2010: 100. In 1912 the Land Acquisition Act was promulgated.

[3] Robert G. Irving, *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker, and Imperial Delhi* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1981).

[4] The British architects' exclusive role is made evident by the signatures on the plans stored at the Central Public Works Department in Delhi. They indicate the different roles played by the British and Indians.

[5] 'Durbar' is a word of Persian origin, used in precolonial India to describe a royal court, or a formal meeting at court to discuss state business. In the colonial period, the term was used to describe a solemn ceremonial meeting organized by the viceroy, in which the highest functionaries of the colonial power and Indian princes participated. It was during a durbar on 11 September 1911 that George V proclaimed that Delhi would be the capital of India.

[6] Robert G. Irving, *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker, and Imperial Delhi* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 46 e 52, Great Britain: Parliamentary Papers, 'First Report of the Delhi Town Planning Committee', National Archives of India (NAI), Cd. 6885, p. 8.

that the 'best, most economic, and healthiest'[7] area was towards the south, near Raisina Hill, from which it was possible to overlook both the ancient city as well as the new one to be constructed. The plans for New Delhi were numerous, and the primary reason for modifying the initial proposals was purely economic: the First World War, which began shortly after construction, commenced, and made it necessary to drastically re-evaluate costs, inevitably resulting in alteration of the plans.[8]

Among the most significant changes was the King's Way axis, which was no longer oriented towards Jama Masjid, the great mosque built by Shah Jahan, but towards the river Yamuna.[9] Similarly, the train station shed its former grandeur as a magnificent, imposing main station and was reduced to a somewhat low-key building merely overlooking and attending to the tracks.

The preliminary project report drafted by Henry Lanchester envisaged New Delhi as an extension of the Mughal city of Shahjahanabad (Old Delhi) but the definitive and finalized plan dismissed any interaction between the two cities. Shahjahanabad was construed by the British to be overpopulated, unhealthy, hostile, and a potential breeding ground for possible armed uprisings.[10] The first sign of this apparent desire for separation[11] was demonstrated by the late nineteenth

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[7] Parliamentary Papers, 'First Report of the Delhi Town Planning Committee', Cd. 6885; and also Parliamentary Papers, 'Second Report of the Delhi Town Planning Committee', NAI, Cd. 6888.

[8] The plans for the capital included moving the population living in the chosen location and compensate them. 'The major land acquisition proceedings lasted until 1919. Though hundreds of Indians were dispossessed of their lands, few sought appeal through the court system.' David A. Johnson, 'Land Acquisition, Landlessness and the Building of New Delhi', in *Radical History Review*, issue 108 (Fall 2010): 106.

[9] To avoid the costs of demolishing the Paharganj neighbourhood.

[10] 'The indigenous city was perceived by the colonial authorities to be overcrowded, unhealthy, hostile and the place for plotting armed insurrections,' in Jon Lang, Madhavi Desai, and Miki Desai, *Architecture and Independence: The Search for Identity: India 1880 to 1980* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 80.

[11] 'Lutyens' New Delhi did nothing to relieve this problem of Old Delhi [increasing population]. On the contrary, it very pointedly turned its back

century train tracks encompassing the precolonial city and quaran-
tining its unhealthy condition.[12] Furthermore, as Sunil Khilnani pre-
sciently asserts, the only connecting factor or road between the two
cities was Minto Road, and even the ruins, tombs, and monuments—for
example Purana Quila, Humayun's Tomb, Safdarjung's Tomb—were
all relegated as foreign elements, or 'follies', scattered throughout
Lutyens' city.[13] Though some have chosen to interpret the monuments
as the elements responsible for generating New Delhi's axes, they were
in fact metamorphosed into tourist attractions in an effort to avoid
any interpretation as de facto integration. Besides, this implied isola-
tion, far from being an expression of regard, let alone respect, for the
old town; instead, the British grossly emasculated the area near Red
Fort and Chandni Chowk, with the bland excuse that they proposed
to improve the area's health. Towards the north, near Kashmere Gate,
they similarly claimed seclusion to be necessary for the construction
of one of the two train stations.[14] Delhi thus became a city with two
personalities, each with distinct characteristics: on the one hand,
the overpopulated and dense fortified old town, on the other, the
unrestrained new town with its noticeably broad streets and lavish
gardens.[15]

The plan for the new capital was an attractive geometrical com-
position: it was similar to a spider web, dominated by a central axis,

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on it—physically so, for New Delhi was not designed to integrate in any way
or at any point with Old Delhi.' See 'Why a Master Plan for Delhi: A Vision
of the City in 1981', in *Hindustan Times*, Sunday Magazine (New Delhi),
21 August 1960, p. 1.

[12] 'Between old and new Delhi there is a sort of no man's land which
has been created by the railway and a stretch of grassland – a clear line of
demarcation between Indian and English', in Sten Nilsson, *The New Capitals
of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh* (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies
Monograph series, Lund, n. 12, 1973), p. 82.

[13] Sunil Khilnani, *The Idea of India* (London: Penguin Books, 2004),
p. 123.

[14] In 1891 Old Delhi's walls are torn down.

[15] 'Delhi became a city with a split personality—the overcrowded old city
walled and chocked in one side, the new town spreading itself luxuriously
in wide roads and gardens on the other,' *in* 'Why a Master Plan for Delhi: A
Vision of the City in 1981', p. 1.

counterbalanced by circles. No longer a city of narrow alleyways, but of open boulevards to allow for automobile traffic. Those who define New Delhi as Delhi's first 'modern' city are quite correct. Some studies maintain that the plan's geometric shapes were inspired by oriental decorations,[16] possibly by the works of craftsmen or *mistri*s.[17] This is an interesting hypothesis because it distinguishes between the orthogonal layouts drawn for the ordinary Indian neighbourhoods and the '60°' ones where dwelt the upper classes associated with positions of power. Residential layouts will be discussed later but it can be assumed that the plans were generally inspired by Howard's garden cities. Although Lutyens arrived in India after having taken part in the project, directed by Raymond Unwin for the London suburb of Hampstead, it is evident that he was also inspired by the Haussmanian boulevards in Paris.[18] Essentially, the project was based on the principal axis that connected Raisina Hill to the India Gate square, following a structure and pattern similar to Haussman's plan. The axis was the element around which most of the public buildings were organized and, as in all garden cities, the monumental heart was the centre from which gardens and houses dispersed as far as visibility permitted.

The best known public buildings are Viceroy's House and the secretariats, both of which are found on Raisina Hill: the first is a Lutyens' project, the second Baker's. Both these buildings adopt what has been termed the 'Lutyens style'. This is a fairly lax yet skilful juxtaposition of classic, Hindu, Persian, and Buddhist motifs, with columns, round arches, lancets, serpents, lotuses, *chattri*s,[19] stupas,[20] and *chhajja*s.[21] The choice of 'Indianizing', essentially indigenizing architecture, did not, however, derive directly from the architects but rather from directives stemming from higher authorities. Lutyens preferred

[16]  Andreas Volwahsen, *Imperial Delhi: The British Capital of the Indian Empire* (Münich-Berlin-London-New York: Prestel, 2002), pp. 60–2.

[17]  'Mistri' is Indian term for local craftsmen.

[18]  Mervyn Miller, 'Vistas and Verdure: Lutyens Plan for Delhi', unpublished article written for INTACH, Delhi chapter, 2011.

[19]  Small, typically Mughal, pavilions.

[20]  The stupa, a Buddhist dome-shaped monument used to hold relics, symbolically represents the Buddha's body.

[21]  These are very pronounced window projections, characteristic of the buildings of the subcontinent, especially of Rajasthan.

Christopher Wren or Andrea Palladio, and although in his ideas for India he could be considered an advocate of the Arts and Crafts movement, in reality he was unhappy to have been obliged to find a compromise with local tradition: 'I do not believe there is any real Indian architecture or any great tradition.'[22] On the other hand, the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, and Baker too, believed the adoption of a hybrid style to be fundamental: both as a way of encouraging local craftsmen, and above all as a political instrument with an agenda.

In Lord Hardinge's view, 'A pure Eastern or pure Western architecture would be equally out of place … we have to find a blend.'[23] A middle ground needed to be found. A hybridized architecture would have the benefit, at least in Indian eyes, to make the foreigners appear less foreign, thereby helping to forestall potential rebellions. Particularly interesting is the controversial debate concerning public buildings that represented and were emblematic of the roles of power. If, on the one hand, they had to subtly build the identity of a nation through language, on the other, they stamped the foreigner's superiority through monumental proportions. Ernest B. Havell defined them as Lutyens's monument to bureaucratic egoism. Although these can be interpreted as harsh words, possibly even the voice of resentment, they do have an element of truth. As actual cooperation between the European architects and Indian foremen neither existed nor was fostered, this made it impossible for a valid and identifiable Anglo-Indian architectural style to ever develop. In these buildings, hybridization is limited to the 'ornaments on the façades', and merely superficial use, or reuse, of local tradition. Many mistakenly believe that Delhi was entirely built in a hybrid style, whereas in reality this conscious choice was limited only to the few buildings that represent the empire.

Buildings with modern features were realized in this period, but they are too often forgotten or ignored by critics. Robert Byron points this out when he writes that 'New Delhi is far more than just a simple concentration of beautifully domed public buildings—Lutyens' Viceroy Palace and the Secretariats—are situated in the

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[22] *Lutyens*: *The Work of the English Architect Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944)* (Catalogue of the exhibition at Hayward Gallery London SE1 18 November 1981–31 January 1982, Arts Council of Great Britain, London, 1988), p. 37.

[23] Sten Nilsson, *The New Capitals of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh*, p. 65.

focal point of its vast geometrical plan, because it has been designed to complete a city with houses, shops, churches, municipal buildings, and hospitals.'[24]

Among the capital's public buildings worthy of attention are: St Martin's Church, a bare, simple, yet eloquent block of bricks, in the new military neighbourhoods (or New Cantonments), erected between 1928 and 1930[25] by Arthur Shoosmith. St Stephen's College and St Thomas's Church by Walter George, both dating back to the 1920s and now simple brick structures. Even the Redemption Cathedral built by Henry Medd between 1925 and 1930 at the foot of Raisina Hill, characterized by pure geometries, linked and overlapped, with only sparse decorations surrounding the entrance. All these buildings, apparently naked and bare, do not hide behind formal traits, but propose and display the truth of the built form, the actual construction and, at the same time, convey a sense of modernity.

A consistent part of the city plan is tied to residential buildings, in particular to those assigned to government employees who transferred to Delhi from Calcutta and those who worked or had worked on the building of the new imperial city. The residential buildings were basically divided into two principal categories: housing for the local people and that for Europeans, the latter divided into further subgroups. They ranged from self-sufficient and self-contained neighbourhoods, known as 'colonies', providing a market and other ancillary services, rarefied, if not esoteric, green areas with carefully appointed and allotted bungalows. The colonies were built at a considerable distance from Raisina Hill and were intended to house Indians not holding governmental positions. Two significant examples dating to the end of the 1920s are Jangpura and Karol Bagh colonies. In both cases the British chose an area, provided a network of orthogonal streets, decided the size of the plots to be assigned to each Indian to build his/her house, and then left any further development to the discretion of the owner. Lodi colony and Daryaganj colony, which were assigned to those who held positions in the government but not necessarily ones of importance, were not based on a network of

[24] Robert Byron, 'New Delhi', *Architectural Review*, vol. LXIX, no. 410 (January–June 1931): 1–31.

[25] See a beautiful picture of the church in *Riba Journal* (July 2007): 102.

streets, but rather on a more accurate study of public and private areas and of architecture. The construction of these houses was entrusted to the Public Works Department[26]—simple houses, functional, and semi-modern,[27] sometimes decorated with Liberty-style elements.

The bungalows, in stark contrast, were intended to house people in powerful positions, and were built in the area below Raisina Hill, known as the Lutyens Bungalow Zone (LBZ).[28] These were fully detached houses, each constructed on an independent and fenced-in plot, usually with a garden. Some were flanked by a pied-à-terre for servants, and the kitchen too was often an independent building to keep out the strong odour of Indian cooking from the confines of the living space. Many of these buildings, all distinct from one another, stood within a network of triangulated streets. The difference was primarily in the size of the building, in the number of rooms, in the size of the garden, in the position the house in relation to the garden and the street. The stateliness or importance of the houses depended upon the respective position of the individual occupying it. The organizational social hierarchy corresponded to a carefully conceived form within the architecture and planning of the city, and according to this, for example, officials lived in the larger bungalows closer to the centre of power. A few of these were designed by Lutyens, some by Baker, others by Nicholls, and yet others by Shoosmith. All were built by the PWD under the direction of Robert Russell,[29] who held his position from 1919 to 1939. It was he who gave New Delhi the 'lutyens-calcuttian' character. Due to economic constraints, the bungalows were not built of stone, as Lutyens would have wished, but instead of bricks and plaster. Their Palladian character was evoked through and

[26] The Public Works Department is an institution founded at the end of the nineteenth century by the British to deal with architectural and planning assignments.

[27] The term 'semi-modern' refers to the fact that the houses are 'modern', clean, and essential in architectural terms but 'semi' because building techniques are not yet state of the art.

[28] Lutyens Bungalow Zone refers to the area around Raisina Hill, which includes the network of rhomboidal streets generally identified as the perimeter of New Delhi. In this area there is the highest concentration of bungalows.

[29] Robert T. Russell was William Nicholls's successor, the latter having been the first architectural head of the Indian government in Delhi.

resembled the columns and the porticos of the buildings erected by the British in Calcutta at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[30] The bungalows introduced a new 'open' housing typology in Delhi, as the precolonial houses or haveli,[31] overlooked a central courtyard and were quite internalized; at the same time they proposed a conceptual and formal standard in the heart of a radically diverse city, erasing its historical character and compactness, and bringing it closer to the idea of a suburban environment, with its low density ratios and particularly through its relationship between public and private areas.[32]

Baker had written, in a somewhat dry and cynical fashion, what the architectural style of the city should be in a letter to Lutyens; it should be neither Indian nor British nor Roman, but imperial. An 'imperialist plan' was to be achieved through the monumentality and ostentatious magnificence of certain buildings and the vast emptiness of certain spaces, as much as with the hierarchical distribution of social groups. It is a brutal, almost ferocious, distribution manifested both horizontally and vertically.[33] Horizontally, the naming of the boulevards assigns an order and a use: the generating axis of the city and its principal perpendicular: King's Way, the King's road, and Queen's Way. As mentioned earlier, the colonies assigned to Indians and to those with less prestigious roles were placed further away from Raisina Hill, while the grid of hexagons alongside the bungalows at the foot of the hill was strictly divided into areas assigned to gazetted officers, European or Indian clerks. Vertically, Lutyens was obsessed

[30] The reference here is to Lord Wellesley's 'building program'. *See* G. Smith-Parr, 'Palladianism in India', p. 9.

[31] Pavan K. Varma, *Havelis of Old Delhi* (New Delhi: Bookwise (India) Pvt. Ltd., 1992).

[32] The only parts of the city built by the British which preserve urban traits are the settlements such as Karol Bagh built for Indians.

[33] 'The natives do not improve on acquaintance. Their very low intellects spoil much and I do not think it possible for the Indians and whites to mix freely and naturally. They are very different, and even my ultra-wide sympathy with them cannot admit them on the same plane as myself,' wrote Lutyens in Shimla, discussing Delhi's disposition and the position that the Indian people would and could assume in the city.' Christopher Hussey, 'The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens', *Country Life*, London, 1953; Sten Nilsson, *The New Capitals of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh*, p. 72.

by what he called 'lines of climax' (lines separating low value from high value): the houses of the *thin black*, or junior Indians, should be physically lower and in an inferior position to those occupied by the 'thin white', the European juniors, which in turn should be lower and inferior to those occupied by senior Europeans. To safeguard this 'social decorum', a document had been drawn up, the 'Warrant of Precedence', which determined the planning of residences and their order.[34] New Delhi's grandiose network of roads is possibly still the best affirmation of the city's exogenous origins. They were based on a technology, which were the automobiles, that the local population would not have been able to afford, and destined for the privileged who rushed from one side of New Delhi to the other; while the great majority was obliged to walk long distances in what was supposed to be their city too.

As early as 1939 the Delhi Development Committee reported that there was no institution working on an overall layout for the city and that there was no actual will to head in that direction, one of the primary reasons for the multitude of players involved in planning, designing, and developing the city.[35]

## THE IDEA OF AN INDEPENDENT CAPITAL: NINTH DELHI

Partition saw millions of Hindu and Sikh refugees from Pakistan immigrate to the city of Delhi, exponentially hastening the demographic increase beginning in 1941 during the Second World War.[36] The city was devastated by division: large-scale violence was

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[34] Sunil Khilnani, *The Idea of India* (Hamish Hamilton, op. cit.), p. 122; see also the drawings of New Delhi at the CPWD Archive, Delhi.

[35] 'The Delhi Development Committee reported (1939) that no single authority had a complete picture of any general plan, and that while there was non conscious intent to work at cross purposes, this appeared to be the inevitable result of the workings of so many agencies', in Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi* (New Delhi: Ministry of Health Govt of India, 1956), p. 5.

[36] V.K.R.V. Rao, P.B. Desai, *Greater Delhi: A Study in Urbanization 1940–1957* (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1965); see also Michelguglielmo Torri, *Storia dell'India* (Laterza, Roma-Bari, 2007). In 1911 the city's population was 2,25,000 and in 1951 grew to 9,15,000, *see* Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 50, *Census of India*, 1951.

perpetrated upon Muslims, their houses razed, and their inhabitants forced to live as refugees in ghettos. This development was not only due to the vast influx of Pakistani refugees, but also the arrival of clerks who were supposed to manage and organize a government that was no longer authoritarian and based on 'law-and-order' rules. 'Delhi had to take over as the capital of a vast independent country.'[37] With the increase of governmental activity, the neighbourhoods occupied by embassies also grew, for example Diplomatic Enclave in Chanakyapuri, but also the houses of executives and employees, the new spontaneous settlements, monument, markets, and offices.[38]

Initially Delhi spread in all directions, without a plan regulating its growth. In an evaluation made by the 1962 master plan, the years immediately following Independence were described as possibly the most chaotic time in Delhi's history. The impression was that the urbanized area grew casually, and that land was steadily falling into the hands of speculators.[39] There were many 'actors' who operated in relation to the city during this transitional period. The first period which stretches from 1947 to 1955 was dominated by refugees and governmental projects of urban resettlement. The second, from 1955 to 1959, was dominated by the companies of private developers. The fact that most of the British architects had returned to England was very significant. Only Walter George was still in Delhi, and gradually Indian architects, or those of other nationalities, began work. Among the institutions that built Delhi before the master plan became effective in 1962 were the Delhi

[37] 'Why a Master Plan for Delhi: A Vision of the City in 1981', p. 1; S.K. Kulshrestha, 'Image of India: Capital of India', *Journal of the Institute of Town Planners*, n. 58, March 1969.

[38] 'The old development plans had not foreseen any such drastic and sudden immigration into Delhi, nor had they visualised the emergence of Delhi as the growing capital of an independent nation. Thus Government were not only called upon to provide shelter for the homeless refugees, but also space for their own rapidly expanding offices, foreign diplomatic missions and embassies that came into being overnight', Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan*, p. 6.

[39] 'The city grew haphazardly and land passed into the hands of speculators,' A.K. Jain, *The Making of a Metropolis: Planning and Growth of Delhi* (New Delhi: National Book Organization, 1990), p. 75.

Improvement Trust and the CPWD,[40] two institutions which carried forward the development of Delhi during the colonial period. At the same time, there were also private builders and entrepreneurs (such as the Delhi Land & Finance Co.), cooperative societies,[41] the Ministry of Rehabilitation,[42] the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, the Delhi State Administration, the Municipal Corporation of Delhi, and the New Delhi Municipal Committee. The government attempted to face the imminent state of emergency created by the refugees, yet many still ended up in slums, which had begun to exist even as early as the colonial period. Under the looming pressure it was well nigh impossible to coordinate and correlate the needs of every colony with those of the city as a whole.[43] While all manner of buildings were erected, the principal hurdle was housing—the priority was to give everyone a home or at least a roof. The post-Independence city architecture comprised for the most part residential settlements and a vast multitude of colonies. The colonies were built with considerable urgency, without the necessary time and foresight to plan them: the land was simply bought and divided into plots, and houses promptly built.[44] The houses occupied and filled the empty fields between the villages near Delhi, thereby completely altering the overall balance and relationship between agricultural and urban settlements, even to the degree that the migrating patterns of local cattle changed significantly,[45] completely transforming the way

[40]   The Chief architect of the Central Public Works Department from 1947 to 1952 was Ganesh B. Deolalikar; from 1952 to 1969, Shridhar K. Joglekar.

[41]   Cooperative societies are same-category communities which operate collectively to plan a colony.

[42]   Under the guidance of Minister Meher Chand Khanna.

[43]   'Under the stress of the moment, there was no attempt to coordinate the needs of one colony with those of the city as a whole', 'Why a Master Plan for Delhi', p. 1.

[44]   'New colonies were built, but since there was such urgency, there was no time to plan and coordinate. Land was acquired, parcelled out into plots and houses put up.' 'Why a Master Plan for Delhi', p. 1.

[45]   An inhabitant of a village near Delhi tells of cows who were used to walk to pasture in a field. For years after housing covered the fields, they still took the same route between the buildings. Interview by Pilar Maria Guerrieri, 6 May 2013.

the city looked and felt. The houses were supposed to be assigned primarily to refugees and to the new government employees, and consequently the new colonies were usually also divided. This distribution did not, however, take into account the many spontaneous colonization processes that occurred to meet the ad hoc needs of evacuees or the greed of fortune seekers, nor the many illegal, unauthorized, and unregulated squatters. Notwithstanding all the government's efforts, nearly half the refugees were left homeless and had to resort to their own devices.[46]

Government authorities could have built the colonies for refugees, as was the case with Patel Nagar and Rajinder Nagar, and by private organizations, as with Hauz Khas Enclave and Greater Kailash. In both cases, planning simply meant establishing a network of streets and assigning plots to the respective owners, to whom, eventually, the dwelling's design and construction was left. The size of the plots varied, depending upon the neighbourhood, and was correlated to the income of the inhabitants. The houses, notwithstanding their extreme diversity, had recurring elements and traits: they were usually two-storeyed, with flat roofs, ribbon windows with vast overshadowing projections, linear balconies, and pillars. Some buildings stood out because they continued to adopt classicist elements, but this was a rare exception. In most cases it appears that the architects/surveyors were chiefly inspired by the motifs that were fashionable at the time, predominantly those from Chandigarh. Sadly, by now many of these residences from the 1950s have been demolished, only a few remaining in the richer colonies nearest to the 'centre'. Golf Links, Sundar Nagar, Jor Bagh, and Nizamuddin colonies are still distinctly recognizable.

The colonies specifically designed by the government for its employees were different from those planned for refugees. Kaka Nagar, Bapa Nagar, and RK Puram are examples of this. Here the planning of each building was not left to the individual tastes of the owners, but subordinated to an overall vision and to the plan for the neighbourhood. Each neighbourhood was in fact envisioned with a specific architectural style and characterized by bright colours, possibly one of

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[46] 'In spite of all efforts, about half of the number of refugees could not be provided for and had to make their own arrangement', 'Why a Master Plan for Delhi', p. 1.

the elements that provides the urban landscapes of Delhi its notice-ably hospitable character. They are clean, simple, and semi-modern, with functional architecture. They are low-density settlements, with two-storeyed houses or groups of houses. The relationship between public and private space was very carefully studied, as was the rela-tionships between the owners and the areas set apart for servants, and continuing and particular emphasis was put on green areas. To such a degree, that here too, as in New Delhi, the sense of living in a congested city was superseded by distinctive suburban characteristics. Each house had a private park at the rear, and each cluster of buildings had a common garden in front. In this context, the example of Sarojini Nagar colony is particularly interesting. The houses were divided in relation to the income and role of inhabitants: eight types of hous-ing compositions were possible. Based on hierarchy, in line with the person's role, it ranged from a type 1, where there is only a kitchen, a bedroom, and a bathroom along a common corridor, to type 8, which is an actual bungalow, with a kitchen, living rooms, two bathrooms, and in excess of three bedrooms.

The overcrowding, the unhealthiness, and the unregulated growth of houses and colonies became so acute that Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru understood that the capital of this new country could not continue to develop in such an unplanned and haphazard fashion. The necessity of an overall, complete, and precise plan which would prevent the city from falling into utter chaos became evident.[47] Thus a sudden decision was taken to embark upon an overall master plan for Greater Delhi (or the Ninth Delhi).[48] Surveys and studies began

[47] 'It was recognized at once that some sort of overall planning was essen-tial if the whole city was not to degenerate into chaos', 'Why a Master Plan for Delhi', p. 1.

[48] First an Interim General Plan (short range plan) was conceived, and then a Comprehensive General Plan (long range plan). In 1956 'There are approximately 110 Square Miles of Land within the corporate boundaries of the eight Municipal and Notified Area Committees which form Greater Delhi. […] The eight Municipal and Notified Areas Committees hereafter referred to as "Incorporated Area" are: 1) Notified Area Committee (Civil Station), 2) Delhi Municipal Committee, 3) Fort Notified Area Committee, 4) New Delhi Municipal Committee, 5) West Delhi Municipal Committee, 6) South Delhi Municipal Committee, 7) Notified Area – Cantonment Board, 8) Shahdara Municipal Committee […] more than half of this is either used

as early as November 1955.[49] The plan was sponsored directly by the Indian government and prepared by the Town Planning Organization, with the cooperation of the American Ford Foundation.[50] The American team to which the Delhi plan had been entrusted was led by Albert Mayer,[51] but included many others, among them Gerald Breese, Edward G. Echeverrìa, Bert F. Hoselitz, Walter C. Hedden, Archie Sotson, and Marchall Clinard;[52] the British architect Gordon

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for agricultural purposes or is covered by the ridge. The remaining half is developed for residences, business and commercial uses, industry, parks and recreation, schools, hospitals and other public and semi-public uses. […] The largest single "Use" is vacant land which is 36 per cent. Of the total land within the notified area […]. Residential use comes next and covers 13,270 acres or about 19 per cent of the total incorporated area. This includes both Government and private housing with the three densities – low, medium and high.' Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 11.

[49] 'In 1955 the Delhi Development (Provisional) Authority is established with the task of preventing illegal land occupation by refugees. In December 1957 the government decides to merge this institution with the old Delhi Improvement Trust, with one single institution, the Delhi Development Authority, in order to ensure orderly development of the city and making a contribution in the preparation of a city plan.' A.K. Jain, *The Making of a Metropolis*, op. cit., pp. 76–9.

[50] Ford Foundation, *Archival Records for Ford Foundation Projects 7–205, 57–206, 57–108*, 1956–1960 (New York office, Ford Foundation).

[51] Albert Mayer had worked with Lewis Mumford in America and had been in charge of the Chandigarh plan before Le Corbusier. 'A letter from Ford Foundation representative Douglas Ensminger to Albert Mayer dated 19 January 1956 indicates that the Prime Minister himself had "expressed the hope" that Mayer "might be able to lead the team".' 'Thus, in 1956, Albert Mayer became the coordinator of the most comprehensive city planning project ever attempted in India by western planners.' In Douglas E. Godfriend, *The Delhi Masterplan of 1962: An Anthropological Analysis* (University of Chicago, Department of Anthropology, 25 March 1978), p. 2. Albert Mayer, 'The Albert Mayer Papers on India', includes memories and correspondence on the design of the 1956–60 master-plan archived in the department of special collections of Regenstein Library, University of Chicago.

[52] 'By 1957 the team was finalized and consisted of: Albert Mayer (Rural and Urban Planner, Gerald Breese (Urbanization specialist), Edward G. Echeverria (Physical Planner), Archie Dotson (Government & Administration

Cullen joined them in 1959.[53] In 1956, the first draft was completed, the Greater Delhi Interim General Plan, accompanied by an analysis of the city in two volumes, also known as Works Studies; a few years later, in 1960, a first version of the plan was published, to enable citizens to make suggestions and observations, and essentially to have a voice and 'participate'. The plan, however, did not in fact, become effective until 1 September 1962, and though it has been revised twice, it continues to be operational to this day.

The master plan, approved by Parliament for the city of Delhi, was the first in India, and became the model for India's urban development.[54] Delhi had been built in a state of emergency, and the planners whose task it was to ensure that growth took place in an orderly manner and haphazard development avoided, encountered far greater obstacles than those who had worked on Chandigarh. The challenge was to be able to balance the past with the future: being able to correct negative outcomes of past planning, while offering guidelines for future development. The intention of the master plan was to identify the most suitable locations for the residence of employees and for the provision of the requisite ancillary services, to develop an efficient network of public transportation, eliminate and renovate the slum and tented areas, and adhere to aesthetic standard while ensuring economic affordability. Besides, by overcoming some of the more fundamental problems, the intention was to propose a new image of the city and capital that corresponded not to a vision of imperialism but rather to the principles of democracy.

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specialist), George Goetschius (Urban Sociologist), Britton Harris (Regional Demarcator & Industrial Planner), Walter C. Hedden (Traffic and transportation specialist), Bert F. Hoselitz (Economist). Noted British architect Gordon Cullen joined the team in 1959', Douglas E. Godfriend, op. cit., p. 2.

[53] Ravi Sundaram, *A City of Order*: 'The Masterplan', in *Pirate Modernity* (London–New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 28–66.

[54] A.K. Jain, *The Making of a Metropolis*, p. 62. Delhi was supposed to be, as Mayer writes to Alfred C. Wolf in a letter in 1956, 'a prototype for similar situations in the large cities of all newly developing countries'; they intended to use 'India as a "laboratory" for testing western planning theory in a developing nation', Douglas E. Godfriend, op. cit., pp. 2–3. The 'Master plan for Delhi was a united regional and urban master plan', Godfriend. p. 6.

The intention of the preliminary plan, or Greater Delhi, Interim General Plan,[55] was to convert haphazard casual construction to planned and conceptualized building, to promote the health, safety, and social and moral well-being of the community, whilst also imposing limitations on the use of land. The principals of zoning were intended to 'rationalize' the distribution of functions on the territory and ensure better hygienic conditions. These had spread early in the twentieth century through France, the UK, and the US,[56] and were in the 1960s seen as the best way of bringing some order to the Delhi plan. The city was divided into functional zones, and each activity—residential, commercial, industrial, and entertainment—was governed by its own set of rules and spaces.[57] Zoning, as has been noted, was an imported element. In Shahjahanabad, however, a division in particular historic neighbourhoods or *mohallas*[58] existed and everything comingled: commercial and residential areas, places of worship and public areas. In the 1962 plan, rather than hierarchy per se, sectorization by functions became the norm.

In an effort to reduce the influx of hordes of people from the countryside to the city centre, the government decided to strengthen Delhi's metropolitan area and invest in regional planning. 'Regional planning means the development of the villages and township around Delhi in conjunction with that of the city itself.'[59] The plan envisioned a tangible integration of countryside and metropolis,[60] and provided for the absorption of villages by the urban structure, creating a new solidarity among the new 'urban villages'. A series of satellite cities

[55] Work Studies relating to the preparation of the master-plan for Delhi, Delhi Development Authority, vols. I–II (Delhi, 1957).

[56] Franco Mancuso, *Le vicende dello zoning* (Milano: il Saggiatore, 1978).

[57] 'The city has been divided into eight planning divisions which are self contained in the matter of employment, residential places, recreational areas, shopping and other requirements,' *Master Plan for Delhi prepared by Delhi Development Authority*, vol. I (New Delhi: Government of India, 1962), p. 13.

[58] 'Mohalla' is the Urdu word for neighbourhood, and into these Old Delhi is divided; *see* Shu Yamane, Shuji Funo, and Takashi Ikejiri, 'Space Formation and Transformation of the Urban Tissue of Old Delhi, India', in *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*, vol. 9, n. 2 (November 2008): 217–24.

[59] 'Why a Master Plan for Delhi', p. 2.

[60] 'Metropolitan-rural-integration', see *Master Plan for Delhi*…,

were also envisioned, the Ring Towns, on the model of the British New Towns. Among these were Faridabad, Ballabhgarh, Ghaziabad, Gurgaon, Bahadurgarh, and Loni. To further prevent the city's sprawl, it was believed necessary to cordon it off with a green strip, 1.6 km in width, between Delhi and the surrounding areas.[61] This plan visualized providing the city with a natural limit, a solution similar to that devised for London by Patrick Abercrombie. The city plan thus had opposing intentions: one centripetal, the other centrifugal. The first, a conscious effort to decentralize and extend towards the countryside, the latter aiming to define 'a new Heart of Delhi'.

Above all, the new capital aspired to be a 'Civic Citizen Habitation' and no longer an Imperial capital, and the planners seemed to be conscious that a city was much more than the sum of its inhabitants. Forecasts visualized that the population rising from 4.6 m in 1962, to 5.3 m in 1981: the growth was actually higher. The central concern was to provide a home to everyone occupying commercial, industrial, and agricultural positions, government employees, and to any new arrivals. The aim was to find an improved way of relieving the pressure in high-density areas, to delocalize people, and build new areas for resettlement. It was believed that the best unit for planning residential settlements was the neighbourhood,[62] and indeed those in charge of urban development went on to construct neighbourhood-colonies. The colonies were divided on the basis of the inhabitants' income: pay cheques from Rs 50 to Rs 100 were placed in a specific neighbourhood or sector, those earning between Rs 100 and Rs 150 in another, and the like. Such distribution of houses on the basis of income significantly simplified the planning of each colony and satisfied the planners' desire to eliminate the earlier differences between the British and Indians,[63] but it was a system that intrinsically

[61] 'Inviolable agricultural green belt', in A.K. Jain, *The Making of a Metropolis. Planning and Growth of Delhi*, p. 81.

[62] 'The most convenient planning unit is the "neighbourhood". It is to be measured on the human scale of walking distance—for all its facilities must be available within 10–20 minutes walking distance. 'Why a Master Plan for Delhi: A Vision of the City in 1981', p. 2.

[63] 'The main aim of planners has naturally been to eliminate the contrasts between Indian and English', in Sten Nilsson, *The New Capitals of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh*, p. 85.

emphasized 'class' differences and maintained a form of hierarchy. Besides, the plan, in order to offer the highest number of services possible, provided for exchanges between different colonies and occasionally envisaged or viewed them as a single community. In turn, different communities were seen to be parts of broader districts.

Many have identified the 1962 master plan as Delhi's ninth city. However, the Ninth Delhi,[64] was not supposed to be simply added on to the existing city, remaining separated from other settlements, and from the ruins of more ancient cities, as happened with New Delhi. Rather, it aimed to encompass them all, maintaining the unique characteristics and distinct traits of each.[65] This was an attitude very similar to Nehru's approach towards the subcontinent as whole, in which the new national state was to embrace all the Indian states and regions, emphasizing their diversity. At last, the intention was to integrate, connect, and reunite Shahjahanabad and New Delhi. That was why a civic centre with recreational activities needed to be established along Ram Lila ground (the land in-between the two cities that had always divided them) in order to create a meeting place;[66] Gordon Cullen's plan for a new civic centre may be found in the volume entitled *Ninth Delhi*.[67] Nehru openly declared that he had a predilection for Shahjahanabad,[68] for within it 'there is the spirit and the genius of an ancient city, where almost every stone tells you a story'.[69] Sadly, notwithstanding the Prime Minister's affinity for Old Delhi and favourable intentions towards it, as against British negativity, the bad

[64]  Gordon Cullen, *Ninth Delhi* (New Delhi: Govt of India Press, 1961).

[65]  'Thus the blending of Old and New Delhi symbolizes not only the physical integration of a city, it symbolizes the social aspirations of a nation. Keeping this in mind, it is not surprising to find some Indian planners criticizing the Master Plan's differential treatment of the two Delhis'. Douglas E. Godfriend, *The Delhi Masterplan of 1962*, p. 27.

[66]  'Where they [Shahjahanabad and New Delhi] meet and for the first time in their history melt into each other', in 'Why a Master Plan for Delhi', p. 1.

[67]  Gordon Cullen, *Ninth Delhi*.

[68]  Nehru always chose Red Fort as the location for all his speeches.

[69]  'Nehru's Views on Architecture and Planning', *Annual of Architecture, Structure & Town Planning*, vol. I (Calcutta: Publishing Corp. of India, 1960), p. A14.

habits did not end. The plan for the civic centre was never executed, and up to the 1960s the old town continued to be thinned out to make it 'healthier'.

The prime minister had a penchant for 'modernity': the Delhi plan approved by parliament in 1962 was proudly described as the first finished example of modern planning in India.[70] The entire capital was subordinated to a vaster modernization project and one around which the entire idea of the subcontinent's progress revolved and evolved, but unlike what happened in Chandigarh, the idea of modernity expressed in Delhi was riddled with contradictions. Nehru revealed that he did not possess the resolution of the Turkish republic's Prime Minister Kemal Ataturk, and the Nehruvian project fell into the shadow of compulsion of a continuity with tradition, the past, and history. To reconstruct a wounded identity it was not only necessary to somehow shed a nostalgic retrieval of traditional elements, the 'dark corridors',[71] but also of the 'inauthentic' modernity imported by the British, and turning their focus on the 'universal' modernity of the Modernist movement.[72] Notwithstanding apparently clear instructions from higher authorities, entirely different architectural styles began flourishing. Alongside the Indian Institute of Technology in Le Corbusier's style, structures such as the Supreme Court, which imitate colonial buildings, can be found alongside semi-modern buildings in the colonies. There are besides, Ashoka Hotel, Udyog Bhawan, and Krishi Bhawan which sought to replicate traditional Mughal motifs.[73] In addition, the seat of power, Rashtrapati Bhavan, remained

[70] 'The Delhi Plan with the approval of the Parliament in 1962 had been the first comprehensive exercise and a forerunner in modern Town Planning in India', in A.K. Jain, *The Making of a Metropolis*, p. 269.

[71] Nehru, in his inaugural speech to a seminar on architecture seminar in 1959, declares, 'I like the sun and air and not dark corridors', Seminar on Architecture, March 1959, Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi, 1959, p. 5.

[72] The modernist movement debuted in the US with an exhibition 'Modern Architecture: International Exhibition' at the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in 1932; see Nikolaus B.L. Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design: From William Morris to Walter Grotius* (Victoria: Penguin Books, 1960).

[73] According to town planner Bijit Ghosh, the city plan is responsible for the architectural confusion: 'Once a beautiful city, Delhi has become recently an ugly city. Why is it so? One of the main reasons is that the Master Plan

unchanged from the colonial period. Though there were proposals to convert the complex on Raisina Hill (Gandhi wanted to turn Viceroy's House into a hospital),[74] no new buildings were erected attempting to represent power.

## TERRITORY, RULING POWERS, AND THE IDENTITY OF A NATION

In the periods immediately before and after Independence, a central theme for discussion was the Indian identity, what it was and in which way it should be expressed. Both during the colonial period and in that following Independence, architecture played an extremely important role: it was believed to be capable of reinforcing the image of power and strengthening national unity. Indian identity frequently passed through cities, and if the planning was intended to 'establish order', the elevation of buildings played the role of creating an image of 'India'. In attempting to decide which style the buildings should assume, during the colonial period emphasis was laid on representing the Empire, after Independence the buildings needed to represent an independent and unified nation. Numerous questions have been posed about the significance or value of such elements as 'tradition' and, more so, the lack of it.[75] The fact that 'traditional' styles,[76] for example Mughal and Hindu, were valued more during the colonial period than after Independence, as in the case of the Indo-Saracenic hybrid, is surprising. Prior to Independence, the debate about architectural style was confined only to the number of elements deriving from Indian traditions that could or should be used by the colonialists without appearing

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has not given any specific direction for the city form or any framework for architectural expression'. In the same vein, journalist Chitrasen describes Delhi, in the magazine *Panchshilla*, as 'a city without a character'. In Douglas E. Godfriend, *The Delhi Masterplan of 1962*', p. 29.

[74] 'Gandhi actually wanted to make Viceroy's House into an hospital to mark the beginning of a democratic era', in Sten Nilsson, *The New Capitals of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh*, p. 85.

[75] For more on the subject, see *New Delhi: Eastern and Western Architecture: A Problem of Style*, Herbert Baker in *The Times*, London, 3 October 1912; also, Seminar on Architecture, Lalit Kala Akademi, Jaipur House, New Delhi, March 1959.

[76] 'Traditional' styles denotes all the styles prevalent prior to colonialism.

to be making any political concessions. After Independence, however, the question became how many elements of tradition could the newly born nation accept without appearing to be backward, weak, and influenced by the rest of the world.[77] If prior to 1947 there was an attempt on the colonialists' part to mask the Western identity, after Independence the new nation explicitly rejected all reference to 'tradition' and, possibly unsuspectingly, assumed a Western-style modernity as a model for a reformulation of its own identity. Defining the identity of a nation is an extremely complex subject. When it came to India, such a vast, complex, and diverse nation, the question had all too frequently been already decided in the fields of city planning and architecture, in terms of the choice of a *style*.

The British brought many innovations to India, beginning with the bureaucratic system and school reform, through to revolutions in the fields of architecture and town planning. After Independence, however, the city of Delhi seemed to make some actual choices concerning the imported colonial way of thought. The classical forms (Doric columns/Corinthian capitals) were set aside and lingered only occasionally as decorative elements in the private houses of the élite.[78] The alteration of certain urban typologies, especially in relation to housing, proved to be irreversible. The British introduced bungalows and colonies, and both remained post-1947. The colonies are still built in a semi-modern style: the similarities between the Lodi Colony project in the 1940s and Sarojini Nagar Colony's in the mid 1950s are graphic examples. It is important to remember that the key institution responsible for the erection of these residential buildings was the same, both before and after Independence, and only slightly changed its name

[77] 'Before Independence, to many people the question of style was the question of how much Indianization to allow without appearing to make political concessions to the subject people. But after Independence, the question changed to: how much indigenisation could newly independent nation afford without appearing backward and weak both in its own eyes and in the image it presented to the rest of the world?' In Ravi Kalia, *Bhubaneswar: From a Temple Town to a Capital City* (Carbondale-Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994), p. 180.

[78] See Gautam Bhatia, *Punjabi Baroque and Other Memories of Architecture* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1994).

from Public Works Department to Central Public Works Department. In the neighbourhoods, the dominating model was imported from the Howardian garden cities. They were planned with vast green areas, public parks, and houses invariably equipped with private gardens. Though the distribution of people in the different colonies was tied to their post-Independence income, and not to their loyalty to the crown, the hierarchical tie between a person's social position and how space is organized remained intact. A fundamental difference, before and after 1947, is that prior to that year, colonies were a 'popular' business of little importance, while after 1947 they became the actual way in which the city was built 'for the people'. The reasons for one legacy to remain rather than another are still incomprehensible: possibly the historical period, a poverty-stricken country, and economic conditioning are the factors responsible for this.

In both periods the city was envisaged by the dominant political power at the time: in one case the vision was imperialistic in style, in the other it was a 'civic citizen habitation'. Although the second idea is by far more attractive than the first, it is nonetheless still a form of imposition by the administration to which the general public is subject. The city becomes the instrument for the realization of a political dream which, as is the case with all political dreams, forgets that ideals and visions condescended from above do not match the actuality of urban reality. On the contrary, these indeed demonstrated evident signs of resistance, and were witnesses to their inertia in time. First, the form and logic of urban emergencies somehow obliged the structures of power to adapt, for example in the choice of the focal points of New Delhi and in the way the ruins of the seven cities were dealt with by the 1962 plan. There were, however, far more spontaneous and informal reactions. For example, both during the colonial period as in that following Independence, although sufficiently clear and orderly solutions were proposed for the city, there was still a growth of slums, making the limits of politics and architecture, on the one hand, and planning, on the other, unambiguously evident. The use of different styles was also quite disorderly: during the colonial period modern architecture was preferred, along with classicist styles, while in the period following Independence, architecture amalgamated and confused forms of revival and elements of 'tradition'. In this sense, the monolithic church, St Martin by Arthur Shoosmith, is emblematic,

as is the Supreme Court by Ganesh B. Deolalikar, which is virtually identical to the Viceroy's House. As the subcontinent has always welcomed a plurality of visions, styles, and cultures, and as diversity is one of its founding traits, this confusion was quite possibly a sign that 'the hereditary character of a people is not easily destroyed by any foreign influence'.[79] The elaboration and spread of an ideology is not in itself sufficient to restrain the development of a society. These forms of resistance have not been given due attention and it remains unclear whether this stems from actual 'confusion' or an underlying, deeper quest for an identity.

Another interesting aspect of the transition period is tied directly to the architects who built the city of Delhi and their educational background. During the colonial period, architects came from Great Britain, while Indians played the restricted roles of assistants or craftsmen: *mistri*s. Post-1947, when a large majority of the British returned to the UK, the figure of the Indian architect was revived and foreigners of other nationalities also began arriving, such as the Americans Albert Mayer, Joseph Allen Stein, and Edward D. Stone, the German Otto H. Koenigsberger, and the Austrian Karl M. von Heinz.[80] Nearly all the Indian architects had studied at the J.J. School in Bombay, the only school of architecture in India until the 1950s, headed by the Britisher Claude Batley. Those who could afford it spent a study period abroad, generally in the UK or the US. For instance, Achyut P. Kanvinde studied at Harvard before returning to Delhi after Independence to open his own studio; Habib Rahman studied in the US with Walther Gropius before he became Chief Architect of the Central Public Works Department (CPWD) in 1953; Piloo Modi cooperated with Mendelsohn in the US, and Mansingh M. Rana with Frank Lloyd Wright.[81] Others had been trained 'in the field', such

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[79] Ravi Kalia, *Bhubaneswar: From a Temple Town to a Capital City*, p. 186.

[80] *See* Jon Lang, Madhavi Desai, and Miki Desai, *Architecture and Independence*.

[81] Among the architects who worked in Delhi after Independence, the following are worthy of mention: Durga Bajpai, B.E. Doctor, Vanug Bhuta, Cyrus S.H. Jhabvala, Shridhar K. Joglekar, R.L. Ghelote, Kothari Associates, T.K. Manickam, Shridhar S. Pawar, Baba Bhatia, Jugal K. Chowdhury, Raj Rewal, J.M. Benjamin, William W. Wood, and Shiv N. Prasad.

as Ganesh B. Deolalikar at the New Delhi construction sites with Lutyens, Balkrishna Doshi in Chandigarh with Le Corbusier, and Mahendra Raj in Ahmedabad with Louis Khan. Their foreign educational foundation undoubtedly influenced the way in which they conceived architecture, and affected their choice of reference models in planning. Even Balkrishna Doshi, a refined intellectual, among the architects who after Independence fought to construct a dialogue on Indian architecture is, in scholar Giles Tillotson's words, 'a son of Le Corbusier'.[82] In the elaboration of the city plans, in 1911 and in 1962, and in its prevailing architectural styles, there is a persistence of Western models: they had been evident in the works of British architects, but for the Indians it was an 'autonomous' choice. It was also a product of the charged notion or lesson: Elphinstone's 'English in taste …'[83] was preached for over a century and could not but have its effect. The powers operating on the territory were diverse, and sometimes had an explicit and authoritarian impact, but the less obvious influence on educational background, with its subtler ability to condition the shape of the city, cannot be underestimated.

Some architects, Indians, but also foreigners, set aside dreams and models, and had shown a sensibility for cultures and places, with an inclination and ability to listen to the city and its territory. In Delhi, important examples are Henry Lanchester[84] and his 1912 proposal for New Delhi. Although one of the 'colonizers', Lanchester opposed the idea of an imperial city and hoped that the new settlement might be an extension of Shahjahanabad.[85] He criticized Lutyens's project for the absence of any integration between the historic monuments

[82] See Giles Tillotson, *Building Jaipur: The Making of an Indian City* (London: Raktion Books, 2002), pp. 129–60.

[83] Thomas Babington Macaulay, Minute on Education, 1935, succinctly sets out the British objectives in relation to Indian education: Indians were to remain 'Indian in colour and blood but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect'. *Selections from Educational Records, 1781–1839*, part (Calcutta: Supdt Govt Printing, 1920), pp. 107–17.

[84] Henry V. Lanchester took part in city and building planning in India as early as 1910. Among the urban projects he worked on, we remember: Madras, Jodhpur, Gwalior, Lucknow, Rangoon, and Zanzibar.

[85] Sten Nilsson, *The New Capitals of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh*, pp. 43–7.

and the new city, and proposed a project capable of bridging the gap between the British and Indians. The result was to be an 'integrated town'. He suggested moving the Great Indian Peninsula (GIP) railway, which was an element of separation, and to plan houses and markets in accordance with the local Indian tradition, with typological continuity in terms of courtyard homes, called havelis, and the linear shapes of the bazars. He also averred that 'all' buildings should be in an Indian style, because European motifs would have disturbed the harmony of the city.[86] The use of local styles would have been economically convenient, and it would have encouraged and preserved the work of local craftsmen. His idea was for the project to revolve around an axis that connected Raisina Hill directly to Jama Masjid, Delhi's grand old mosque, passing through the hamlet of Paharganj. The entire intervention was intended to address Old Delhi, and the buildings of power would have been placed at the foot of the hill rather than on the crescent. The reason for their unpretentious position lay in Raisina's rocky composition, which made building on it extremely expensive. The classification of buildings was no longer for social reasons but on those of greater or smaller practicality and convenience. The layout of the streets was regulated not on the basis of a hierarchy (as was the case with King's Way or Queen's Way), but by the actual requirements of traffic. Lanchester, probably inspired by the anti-rhetorical methods of Patrick Geddes, believed in the necessity of conducting preliminary surveys in each of the areas affected by the planned project. A 'diagnostic survey' that would highlight the rules, the problems, and the actual socio-economic needs of the area. It may well be that this was a stage when planners realized that they 'must not lay bare at one stroke their whole conception, but seek to unfold it by degrees',[87] and that from this point forward there was an intertwining and a relationship between power, territory, and its identity.

[86] 'Should be in the Indian vernacular style, as the intrusion of any in the European manner would be destructive to the harmonious effect of the city as a whole', 'Delhi Second Report of H.V. Lanchester', p. 5, NAI; see also Andreas Volwahsen, *Imperial Delhi: The British Capital of the Indian Empire* (Munich–Berlin–London–New York: Prestel, 2002), p. 199.

[87] Sten Nilsson, *The New Capitals of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh*, pp. 43–7.

Season 1912　　　　　　　　　　　**DELHI**
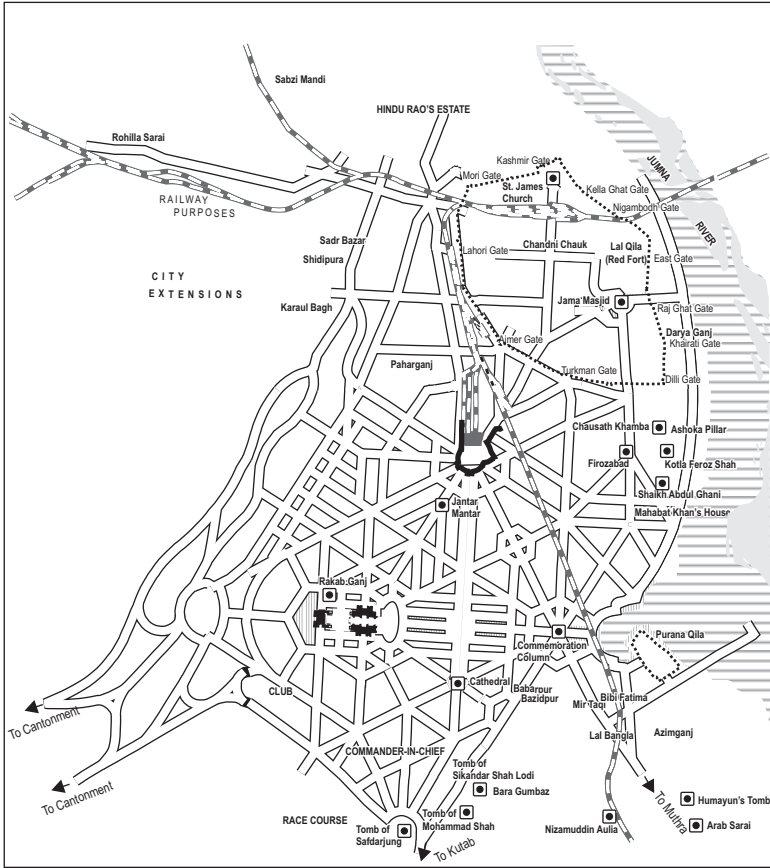


**Figure 2.1**　Project for New Delhi (Not Realized), 1912
*Source*: National Archives of India.

**Figure 2.2**    Sketch of Early Project for New Delhi by H.V. Lanchester, 1912
*Source*: Andreas Volwahsen (2002).

# Urban Areas and Colonies

*Signs of Indigenization*

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There are some towns which were built around a monument, or a palace, or a castle. The houses were clustered around the monument in the middle. But then there was another type of old city, which was composed of only small units. It was a democratic city.[1]

## URBAN AREAS

It is cumbersome to identify singular parts of a city and to understand what distinguishes one from another. They can be subjectively individually interpreted but such an interpretation is likely to be biased and carries little weight. The distinctive parts or fragments are not

[1] Steen Eiler Rasmussen, 'Architecture and Town Planning'. This article is a summary of a lecture by Prof. Rasmussen at the School of Town and Country Planning, New Delhi, in *Urban and Rural Planning Thought*, vol. II, n. 4, October 1959: 139.

easily defined, neither into pre-industrial cities nor within contemporary metropolises/megalopolises. Reducing a singular part of a city to a simple description is impossible, and even were this possible, once established ad hoc, they internally undergo changes, additions, and alterations. Cities are composite in nature, organized in sections, and as a whole a result of multiple stratifications. A division of areas is not uniformly identifiable, even less classifiable within all urban situations, and therefore it is necessary to consider them both, from the interior, as independent entities with relationships to one another, and to the city as a whole. They differ not only from a physical point of view—in the way they are built and their architecture—but also on the basis of their density and spatial organization, and by virtue of their social, economic, cultural, and religious traits.

Above all, one of the elements that determines the disposition of different types of urban areas is the terrain to which the city's origin is often tied. Mountains and hills, plains and woodlands, rivers and/or other waterways, can be the reason, obstacle, or circumstance that condition and establish the form of a city. In the case of Delhi, the Yamuna River and, to the north, the Ridge's woodland border, have substantially influenced the choice of location and the positioning of early settlements. It is certainly no coincidence that the more ancient settlements are found within the natural triangle created by the Ridge and the Yamuna River, and that the original British colonies—Civil Lines and the Cantonment—are on opposite sides of the Ridge.

Another essential element is the provision of and accessibility to transport routes and their intersections, be they roads and canals, railroads and rivers. They comprise a network that influences relationships between different urban centres and their internal structures.

In Delhi's case, the system of canals built by Mughal emperor Shah Jahan in the seventeenth century had a very significant impact, as did the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, which separated the Mughal city from the British colonial sector. 'The railway network in Delhi divides the city into several parts.'[2] The concentric road system for automobile traffic, inaugurated after Independence, has further contributed to making separations more noticeable. The network of such infrastructure modifies the urban structure, just as it determines the

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[2] Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 43.

characteristics of its parts. Shahjahanabad and New Delhi are dis-similar because the latter was planned for car traffic, necessitating a considerable difference in the distribution of space and the relation-ship between buildings.

Different parts of the city also differ in population density. In Delhi, one of the most congested areas is Shahjahanabad, far more crowded than New Delhi, which by contrast bears the characteristics of a garden city. Another major factor that influences density is the development of vertically high buildings as opposed to spatial width, yet another inherent variable that affects the population of a given area.

Some neighbourhoods have a relatively low population density, such as Sundar Nagar, while others, such as Karol Bagh, have significantly higher density. Areas are, to a considerable degree, characterized by density but also by its various categories of inhabitants. Neighbourhoods where people have lived for generations are different from those where refugees from Pakistan settled. Similarly, the neighbourhoods of those who were forced here through necessity are different from those where government officials live. There are homogeneous areas, like those where office workers live or those built by the cooperative societies, and areas that are heterogeneous in terms of income and profession.

Functions are another distinguishing element. Areas that depend upon commercial activities differ from those allocated for produc-tion, industry, and agriculture; and areas that have a mix of different functions. Historically, in pre-colonial Delhi the tendency was to mix functions. Their separation intensified after Independence and the distinction in relation to residential, industrial, and commercial areas became sharper. Notwithstanding the master plan, which provided for 'separating those that have to do with living, those that have to do with shopping, those that have to do with open or agricultural use, and those that have to do with governmental and institutional use',[3] the coalescence of functions has survived. Indeed, even though resi-dential areas, just as governmental, recreational, industrial, and office areas are rigidly regulated in theory, in practice there is a persistence of considerable autonomy.

Yet another difference between different parts of the city is the fact that some were built according to a plan, while others developed

[3] Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 59.

spontaneously in response to pressing needs. This has meant that slums, or *jhuggi-jhonpri* and unauthorized colonies, continued to flourish in the city. During the colonial period, and particularly after the declaration of Independence and the separation from Pakistan, illegally occupied areas multiplied explosively and uncontrollably. Occasionally 'informal' parts overlapped consolidated ones. In Shahjahanabad, 'the general deterioration of houses through decay has been the major cause of slums in the Old City',[4] and similarly, such spread of slums continued in various other colonies. Needless to say, the planned areas have different traits depending upon their respective architects, planners, and the period when they were constructed, and their form is influenced by their inhabitants' inclinations, cultures, and customs, ranging from the Indo-Islamic to the colonial and the even newer American influences.

From the very outset, Delhi was shaped through a network of distinct nuclei.[5] It is yet unclear, both by reading the reports of travellers or observing archaeologists' reconstructions, how many original centres there actually were: some say 7, others 12, yet others 14, often called by different names: Siri, Tughlakabad, Firozabad, Firoz Shah, Shahjahanabad, Shah Jahan City.[6] There are various reasons why these cities were founded *ex-novo*. Often it depended upon the will of a monarch, as was the case with the imperial cities of Shahjahanabad and New Delhi. The pronounced diversity of every individual part that constitutes Delhi is undeniable; there are fortified cities but also the garden city, the villages, the new towns, the colonies, and the slums: a richness or depth that makes any categorization virtually impossible.[7] The megalopolis absorbs pre-colonial cities, be it the once fortified citadels, now gigantic ruins, or the hundreds of villages of different types, from urbanized to rural. In this context, the nineteenth century hamlets, Paharganj and Subzimandi, must also be considered

   [4]  Town Planning Organization, pp. 50–1.
   [5]  See map: *Antiquities of Delhi*, c. 1800—in Delhi State Archives, Digital Images.
   [6]  Upinder Singh, *Delhi: Ancient History* (New Delhi: Social Science Press, 2006).
   [7]  Gupta, *Delhi between Two Empires 1803–1931: Society, Government and Urban Growth*.

separately. Although the main part of the city built by the British colonialists is New Delhi, in the first period of their rule the British founded Civil Lines and the Cantonment, which to this day are identifiable as autonomous entities.[8] Just as recognizable are the Ring Towns and the New Towns[9] constructed after India became independent. Significant examples of these are Faridabad[10] and Rohini. There are also hundreds of colonies constructed autonomously, and this indeed became the tendency, if not the modus operandi for Delhi as a city to expand after 1947. They connected the pre-existing sections and established an integral structural element of the megalopolis. In effect, the 1962 master plan, which was Delhi's first city plan after Independence, confirmed the capital's polycentric[11] nature.

The Indian capital grew rapidly towards the latter part of the colonial period[12] when the shift from Calcutta to Delhi occurred, for 'it is seen […] that the growth of population during the years 1891–1912 is very small'.[13] Nonetheless, the birth date of the megalopolis and the boom, both physical and in terms of population can ipso facto be established as 1947, when partition from Pakistan brought hundreds of refugees to the city. Suketu Mehta, in his book *Maximum City*, speaks of the growth of large cities as an Asian phenomenon,

[8] 'The urban Delhi of 1921 census comprised 5 towns—the Red Fort, Delhi Municipality, Civil Lines, New Delhi, and New Cantonment […] The census of 1931 added Shahdara to the above list of towns […]. The census of 1951 added another unit to the list, The West Delhi Notified Area, which was created in 1943 to cover the schemes of city expansion and industrial area sponsored by the Delhi improvement trust after its establishment in 1937.' In V.K.R.V. Rao and P.B. Desai (ed.), *Greater Delhi: A Study in Urbanization 1940–1957* (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1965), p. 29.

[9] Otto H. Koenigsberger, 'New Towns in India', *Town Planning Review*, vol. XXIII, n. 2, July 1952.

[10] L.R. Vagale, B.M. Bhuta, M.S.V. Rao, 'Faridabad. A Critical Study of the New Towns', *Urban and Rural Planning Thoughts*, vol. II, n. 3, July 1959: 84–108.

[11] Polycentric urban formation: 'the fact of having many different centres of authority or importance'; see Gordon Cullen, *Ninth Delhi*.

[12] Stephen Legg, *Spaces of Colonialism*.

[13] Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 105.

highlighting how eleven of the fifteen megalopolises in the world are in Asia.[14] Delhi is certainly one of them. After Independence, the common denominator in Delhi's planned physical growth is not its cities nor its new towns, but rather its colonies. Even if the word 'colony' was not widely used until after 1947, with the exception of the colonial Lodi Colony. In this chapter the term will be used in a broader sense, referring to planned neighbourhoods, both designed during the colonial period and after Independence.[15] They are planned, almost self-sufficient enclosed areas, and predominantly residential—equipped with schools, religious places, shops, and other auxiliary services. They can usually be traversed by foot and are often embellished by parks, gardens, and recreational areas, each with a very precisely identifiable community of inhabitants. It is important to understand the origin and the development, the characteristics, and the potentiality of these 'micro cities' within the city, but also the way in which they influenced the relationship of other very diverse areas of the capital.

## THE COLONIES BEFORE 1947

The British came to Delhi in 1803 and initially settled within the Mughal capital of Shahjahanabad. Later, as their power steadily increased, they chose to separate themselves from the local population, founding new areas of the city.[16] These varied in type, among the earliest the Cantonments; areas dedicated to military functions north of the Mughal capital[17] and the Civil Lines residential settlements. With the economic growth generated by the satellite activities undertaken by the British, new towns developed outside the city walls, such as Paharganj, along with the first slums, which of course the colonizers sought to suppress. In the nineteenth century, the first colonies also began appearing. Initially they were sections within the

[14]  Saketu Mehta, *Maximum City*.

[15]  See Pilar's interview with Prof. Narayani Gupta, 2 May 2013, unpublished document, Pilar Maria Guerrieri Archive.

[16]  For more on the history of the growth of British colonial settlements, see King, *Colonial Urban Development*.

[17]  'The cantonment, not unlike the Roman castra, was a military town but also housed civil servants—usually separately', in Jon Lang, Madhavi Desai, and Miki Desai, p. 83; see also Gupta, *Delhi between Two Empires 1803–1931*.

historic city centre, later becoming autonomous settlements outside the city walls.

> In the early years, the British and their troops settled within the walled city, around the Red Fort and Kashmere Gate. They partially reconstructed the Old City Wall, and they developed a residential colony named Mubarik Bagh. […] Subsequently, several schemes to meet the demands of the growing population were undertaken outside the walled city which included the development of Sadar Bazar, Kishanganj and Deputyganj.[18]

The growth of the city was somewhat contained until the 1911 decision to move the capital from Calcutta to Delhi. As is described by P.B. Desai and V.K.R.V Rao, in *Greater Delhi*, the population increase that determined a large urban expansion came later, about ten years before the declaration of Independence. As early as 1937, the British set up the Delhi Improvement Trust, with the idea of finding solutions to impending unplanned physical growth.[19] The map drawn by this

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[18] Patwant Singh and Ram Dhanija (eds), *Delhi: The Deepening Urban Crisis* (Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi 1989), p. 32. See also p. 27, 'During the first fifty years of the Residency and Commissionership (1803–1853), an attitude of live and let live prevailed in Delhi. While there were sporadic attempts to start suburban colonies outside the city walls (notably Ochterlony Mubarick Bagh in 1819, Trevelyan's Trevelyanpur in 1830, and Diwan Kishen Lal's Kishenganj in 1837), these were more in the nature of personal fiefdoms established by charismatic administrators than attempts to expand the walled city part of its sanitary state.'

Also see John Lang, Madhavi Desai, and Miki Desai, *Architecture and Independence*, pp. 75–9. 'The first modern "suburb" in Delhi is British. It was Trevelyanpur or Trevelyangunj, north of Paharganj, one of the four estates belonging to an Englishman in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Charles Trevelyan was an assistant commissioner in 1830 and, […] prepared a ground plan for Trevelanpur, a suburb … on a grid pattern, with streets ninety feet wide and with names such as Blake Street and Babar Street there was a public garden and a central colonnaded market called Bentinckganj.'

[19] 'A comprehensive critique of the DIT was undertaken by the post-independence G.D. Birla Committee, that had been appointed to investigate the DIT's working and social mandate in 1950, and whose report was released in

authority between 1939 and 1940[20] clearly shows the new expansions. Some of these, such as Andha Mughal Colony, Daryaganj South and Western Extension, had already been already completed. Others, like Roshanara Extension and the Northern City Extension II were under construction, and yet others, like Sarai Rohilla Town Expansion were yet to be established. Period reports provide more precise information than can be found in the maps. In the 'Triennial Programme of Works and Schemes of Delhi Improvement Trust for the years 1947–48 to 1949–50', for example, it can be seen that the colony of Andha Mughal was completed between 1937 and 1947 and covers an area of 23.4 acres, of which 12.5 acres were set aside for the construction of build-ings and 11 acres for public areas; also, that it could accommodate approximately 1400 people. The Western Extension Area Scheme, on the other hand, was completed between 1937 and 1949, and built on an area of 778 acres, of which 220.8 was designated for residential buildings and 557.2 for public areas. It was planned to house 55,500 inhabitants.[21] The reports are noteworthy documents, describing the balance between usage classifications within the neighbourhoods and provide detailed information on the standards for electricity, toilet facilities, sewers, trees, markets, commercial areas, and other infrastructure. They say little or nothing, however, about the people residing in the area, or those intending to reside there.

The term 'colonies' refers to both settlements close to Shahjahanabad, such as Mubarik Bagh Colony and New Daryaganj, and other autono-mous settlements like Karol Bagh further away from the old city.

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1951. The Birla report foregrounded the DIT's failure to provide a healthy civic environment in the city, and the unplanned growth of the city without effective zoning or a comprehensive Masterplan. Hindered by financial lim-its, speculative land transactions ("selling lands to the highest bidder without regard for its anti-social repercussions"), the Trust failed completely in hous-ing the poor.' Ravi Sundaram, 'The Slum as Archive: Revisiting the Social City of the 1950s' (lecture presented at Berkeley University, Berkeley, 2012, pp. 2–3.

[20] See map: 'Delhi Improvement Trust. 1939–1940', at Delhi State Archive, Digital Images Section.

[21] See 'Triennial Programme of Works and Schemes of Delhi Improvement Trust for the Years 1947–48 to 1949–50, Pros. Serial Nos. Correspondence, File no. 1(90) 1947, later references 1/127)/51-LSG—Delhi State Archive.

Of particular interest are the colonies built as autonomous structures and the *ex novo* neighbourhoods. In the late colonial period they did not as yet form part of the megalopolis and remained isolated, as were the ruins of the ancient cities, the cantonments, and villages. There were two principal types of neighbourhoods built by the British. The first were built 'for Indians',[22] examples of which are Karol Bagh, Dev Nagar, and Jangpura. The second were neighbourhoods 'for government employees', and the best example is Lodi Colony.

The first are neighbourhoods with regular perpendicular streets and two-storied buildings, with shops on the ground floor and living apartments above. In the second category, the division of space is not only organized around an apparently networked logic with plots of low-rise buildings, but also apartment blocks. If, in the first case, open spaces are limited to a few public areas, in the second there is greater elaboration in the planning of gardens, both private and public. The density within the neighbourhoods for Indians is certainly higher than in that of those intended as government housing.

Both, the perpendicular chessboard-like plan of the colonies for Indians, and the gardens and parks designated for government functionaries, show a similar level of attention to issues of 'health'. 'With the establishment of Lutyens New Delhi during 1912–1931, the city

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[22] 'Settlements exclusively for Indians started a hundred years later, 1930, in Karol Bagh, Western Extension Area (WEA) and Paharganj. These areas where originally orchards (hence the "bagh" in Karol Bagh which was, along with Jorbagh, possibly planted during the reign of Ferozeshah Tughlaq in the mid-fourteenth century). Karol Bagh, the colony, was set up in 1937 as a Delhi Improvement Trust scheme to accommodate the spill over from what was regarded by British administrators as the increasingly congested city. Dev Nagar, too, had come up a little earlier, home to junior-ranking Indian officials who had not found space in New Delhi. These new areas also accommodated professionals from other parts of India, who were coming with their families to settle in New Delhi. Daryaganj had been occupied by the army as part of the brutal reorganization of the old city after 1857 when swathes of Shahjahanabad were razed to the ground. The army moved into the Red Fort and nearby areas to ensure its unhampered access to any nascent rebellious tendencies in the old city. In the '20s the army moved out to Jhandewalan, and the Daryaganj area was made available for middle class dwellers.' In Jon Lang, Madhavi Desai, and Miki Desai, *Architecture and Independence*.

acquired a totally different and fresh image, in great contrast to that of typical Indian cities. The strong sense of order and geometry of New Delhi had a profound influence on town planning thoughts. The resultant housing estates till recently tended to reflect similar patterns.'[23] A recurrent consideration that emerged and became more pronounced in New Delhi's bungalows was for the isolated houses to be surrounded by plants and gardens to prevent diseases and epidemics. Another keyword that recurs in colonial plans is 'playground', leisure areas assuming great significance. It is an imported idea, just as is the concept of 'healthiness', which has since, especially after Independence, become an important element in the city of Delhi.[24]

Initially, as mentioned, the colonialists tended to live alongside the local population and shared their spaces. As their power gradually increased, and particularly after 1857 when the British crown dominated the entire subcontinent, they began occupying separate areas. The aim was to segregate the population on the basis of 'race',[25] Indians on the one side and Europeans on the other, and equally to segregate the Europeans on the basis of social status and ranking. Karol Bagh Colony and Lodi Colony are good examples of this phenomenon: the first was exclusively for Indians and people occupying less prestigious

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[23]  Shovan K. Saha and P.S.N. Rao, 'Trends of Planning and Design of Urban Housing Estates: The Case of Delhi, India', *Space*, vol. VI, ns. 3–4, July–October 1991, p. 107.

[24]  Margaret I. Balfour and Ruth Young, *The Work of Medical Women in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929); Roger Jeffrey, *The Politics of Health in India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); David Arnold, *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989); David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Mark Harrison, *Public Health in British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Mridula Raman, *Western Medicine and Public Health in Colonial Bombay, 1845–1895* (Orient Longman Ltd., 2002); Awadhendra Sharan, 'In the City, Out of Place: Environment and Modernity, Delhi 1860s to 1960s', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 41, n. 47 (25 November–1 December 2006), pp. 4905–4911; Vijay Prashad, The Technology of Sanitation in Colonial Delhi', *Modern Asian Stu*dies, 35, pt 1, Cambridge, 2001, 123–4.

[25]  Stephen Legg, *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities*; Robert G. Irving, *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker, and Imperial Delhi* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1981).

positions; the second was planned for Western government employees and divided into sections corresponding to position and income.

> When New Delhi was built, Lutyens & Baker–British Architects, purposely segregated the orthodox and unorthodox clerks whereas [the] Gole Dak-khana (New Delhi Post Office) area was developed for unorthodox clerks. This policy continued to be followed during the last war and additional housing colonies were built on the same principles.[26]

In the residential neighbourhoods of India's capital, a hierarchical system was put in place, following the pyramidal logic of assigned power and privileges.

The Public Works Department and the Delhi Improvement Trust were the two principal authorities responsible for the layout and construction of colonies during the British period. Areas of intervention were decided by the government, but not all the houses were necessarily planned by architects, let alone by the government. Planned, well-finished, and clean semi-modern houses were found only in employees' neighbourhoods where often the owners, with their surveyors and engineers, as opposed to architects, were responsible for the construction. In the neighbourhoods 'for Indians', by virtue of stylistic leeway, this was permitted and the concept of private property gradually took on meaning along with a personalized image of a home or house that corresponded to it.[27]

> The city's Indian bourgeoisie had built themselves large mansions in New Delhi before Independence. Barakhamba Road, Sikandra Road, Bhagwandas Road and, later, Prithviraj Road, Ferozeshah Road, Curzon Road, and part of Aurangzeb Road had houses belonging to affluent Indian industrialists and contractors who were on genial social terms with the British and who could, moreover afford the prices.[28]

[26] Shovan K. Saha and P.S.N. Rao, *Trends of Planning and Design of Urban Housing Estates*, p. 107.

[27] 'The city life has begun really to appeal to the ordinary middle class or lower middle class Indians', Government of India, *Census of India*, vol. I, 1941, p. 26.

[28] Jon Lang, Madhavi Desai, and Miki Desai, *Architecture and Independence*, p. 58.

Nonetheless, 'luxury' neighbourhoods and buildings were still largely government-owned and tied to positions of power, such as the bungalow-shaped building called Chief Commissioner's Residence.

## NEIGHBOURHOOD EXPANSION AFTER 1947

Refugees from Pakistan began flooding into the capital city. In a matter of decades they became the driving dynamic behind the enormous transformation of Delhi from its stolid imperial identity of 1947 to the brimming, prosperous, ferocious city of multiple universes it is today. This Delhi was literally invaded by refugees. Delhi accommodated some 496,000 of the 4.75 milion refugees who had left their homes in West Punjab, Sind, and the North-West Frontier Province. In the two-month period leading to Independence, Delhi's population doubled. Refugees began arriving before August 1947 and the flood continued until well into late 1948.[29]

To combat the refugee emergency, the new Ministry of Rehabilitation, led by K.C. Neogy, began on 6 September 1947 to set aside areas for the construction of camps and colonies for the refugees. 'These were located in Kingsway Camp, in the Tibbia College area in Karol Bagh and in Shahdara.'[30]

Delhi's transformation into a megalopolis is traceable to Partition, and the arrival of thousands of refugees from Pakistan and the reverse exodus of many Muslims whose properties were exchanged with those of Hindus. Along with them, others came to the capital through necessity or because they were employees of the new democratic government. 1947 was a crucial year. It saw an unprecedented growth of the population. 'Because of this influx of refugees, Delhi faced a situation for which there was no parallel nor precedent.'[31] The government reacted to this emergency with great urgency, but in doing so did not

[29]  A.K. Jain, *The Making of a Metropolis*, p. 75.

[30]  *Annual Report* (Delhi: Government of India, August 1947–8), p. 44.

[31]  'Because of this influx of refugees, Delhi faced a situation for which there was no parallel nor precedent. V.N. Datta, 'Punjabi Refugees and the Urban Development of Greater Delhi', in Robert E. Frykenberg (ed.), *Delhi Through the Ages: Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 444.

break from the colonial system or method of building and construction. Both the refugee camps and the new settlements followed the logic of colonies. Colonies were no longer isolated cases, and as they spread they became determining elements in the urban structure and, besides changing the form of the city, they altered its social and economic structure beyond recognition.

A new relationship was established between new settlements and the rural or agricultural landscape—fields became increasingly obsolete and were occupied by new developments adjoining and integrated with rural villages. 'Around the modern colony of Ramakrishnapuram are the villages of Munirka, Muhammadpur, Basantnagar, and Kusumpur.'[32] Succumbing to the inherent pressure, an exchange was established: a colony began offering other opportunities besides agricultural work and modified the habits and professions of some of the oldest areas.[33] People from the villages, for example, sought employment and offered auxiliary services to the nearby colony dwellers rather than, as hitherto, ploughing the fields. Less direct and incisive but just as significant, was the relationship the new neighbourhoods began sharing with the imperial cities of Shahjahanabad and New Delhi, and with the ruins of the ancient founding cities. As they filled in the crevices and empty urban spaces, they played a connecting role, a catalyst, and Ninth Delhi was born.[34]

During this first phase following Independence, the colonies grew autonomously from one another, informaly and chaotically. 'In the post-independence period, Delhi grew haphazardly.'[35] At the end of the 1950s, as they multiplied, it becomes even more difficult to describe them unitarily or to classify them. Historical maps indicate that notwithstanding their random character, each neighbourhood followed a rigorous internal logic, with the new settlements developing in three primary directions. A map drawn by the Survey of India

[32] Y.D. Sharma, *Delhi and Its Neighborhood*, Organizing Committee XXVI International Congress of Orientalist (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1964), pp. 74–5.

[33] Work Studies relating to the preparation of the Master Plan for Delhi prepared by Delhi Development Authority, vols. I–II, Delhi, 1957; M.S.A, Rao, *Urbanization and Social Change* (Delhi: Orient Longman, 1970).

[34] Gordon Cullen, *Ninth Delhi*.

[35] Patwant Singh and Ram Dhanija (eds), *Delhi: The Deepening Urban Crisis*, p. 82.

in 1955–6[36] shows that to the north they established themselves on both sides of the Ridge; to the west, along the railroad; and to the south, just below New Delhi. The southward direction remains privileged, just as it had been during the colonial period. Some settlements appeared beyond the Yamuna River, but were varied in relevance and remained isolated because of the river.[37]

Emergency and haste caused the central government to lose its ability to direct construction work and gave rise to a great confusion of roles between institutions. Among these, were the Central Public Works Department, the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, the Ministry of Rehabilitation, the Delhi State Administration, the Municipal Corporation of Delhi, the New Delhi Municipal Committee, and the Delhi Improvement Trust.[38] Information regarding this is still lacking and contradictory. Private enterprises began building in the colonies and the principal developer, at least until 1962, was Delhi Land and Finance (DLF).[39] Besides, many housing areas were built by cooperative societies.[40] The variety of organizations engaged in the construction of housing was reflected in the wide range of architectural styles and urban structures, and a debate ensued as to whether house and settlement development should remain under exclusive public control or be left to private enterprise.

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru believed that 'the need of a Master Plan was urgent'[41] and that the growth of the capital and

[36] See map: 'Delhi Guide Map: Surveyed 1955–56', Delhi State Archive, Digital Images.

[37] 'A large number of labourers and industrial workers found shelter in the trans-Yamuna areas. The Gandhi Nagar, Krishna Nagar and other similar low income neighbourhoods sprang up along the river bank. […]. On the western bank rose colonies like Maharani Bagh and Friends Colony.' 'Delhi Guide Map: Surveyed 1955–56', Delhi State Archive, Digital Images.

[38] Draft Master Plan for Delhi, vol. I, Town and Country Planning Organization, 1957, p. 100.

[39] 'It is obvious, therefore, that the private building activity must have operated in a substantial measure', in V.K.R.V. Rao and P.B. Desai, *Greater Delhi*, p. 150.

[40] In 1956, throughout India there were 637 Rural Cooperative Housing Societies.

[41] Jain, *The Making of a Metropolis,* p. 75.

the new democratic nation could not be left to chance. Institutions were established for the preparation of a master plan. The British Delhi Improvement Trust was substituted in 1955 by the DDA[42] and became 'The biggest builder of houses for different income groups in the country's capital.'[43] At the end of the 1950s, to help the survey work on the city and produce a first draft of the master plan was prepared.[44] The preliminary plan, the Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi, was followed by a 1960 draft, along with two volumes of *Works Studies*. This formed the official proposal on the basis of which any

[42] 'The government of India in November 1955, set up "Delhi Development (Provisional) Authority" by promulgating the Delhi (Control of Building Operations) Ordinance 1955, which was replaced by the Delhi (Control of Buildings Operations) Act, 1955. This Act charged the Delhi Development (Provisional) Authority with the responsibility of preventing "bad" laying out of land, haphazard erection of building or growth of sub-standard colonies and "ensuring development and expansion of Delhi according to proper planning". With the help of the Town Planning Organization, an Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi was issued in September 1956. In December, 1957, the Government replaced the Delhi Development (Provisional) Authority and the Delhi Improvement Trust by passing the Delhi Development Act, 1957, which came into force on 30th December 1957. The Delhi Development Authority had been set up with broad objectives and functions for the planned development of Delhi, the basic objective being 'to promote and secure the development of Delhi according to Plan.' A.K. Jain, *The Making of a Metropolis*, pp. 76–7. Moreover, the 'School of Planning and Architecture (SPA) in New Delhi, submitted during 1960s, either documented a new town based on the neighborhood unit, such as the city of Bhubaneswar.' Sanjeev Vidyarthi, 'Inappropriately Appropriated or Innovatively Indigenized?: Neighborhood Unit in Post-independence India', in *Journal of Planning History*, 9, 4 (2010): 270.

[43] See V.K.R.V. Rao, P.B. Desai, *Greater Delhi*.

[44] The Town Planning Organization (TPO) was established and the US Ford Foundation was also engaged as a consultant. 'Ford's largest office was in Delhi. From 1945 to 1949 the Foundation transformed itself from a small company-centred foundation into a large international body. India emerged as an important focus of Ford's activities, becoming the largest single recipient of Ford grants in the post World War II era. It was understood that the team members of the Ford Foundation work closely with the newly established Town Planning Organization (TPO).' Draft Master Plan for Delhi, vol. I, Town and Country Planning Organization 1957.

objections by the people and local authorities were collected, and only on 1 September 1962 did the master plan come into force, part of a long term, 20 year project.

'The basic concept of the Masterplan had been the development of the neighbourhoods.'[45] In Delhi, the 'neighbourhoods'[46] were no longer a British legacy, nor were they merely inspired by American culture. Sometimes, planners adapted the concept of neighbourhoods to produce variations that were perceived to be contextually sensitive and it became extremely complex and difficult to define urban element. Echeverrìa, one of the Western architects, who worked on the Delhi master plan attempted to define 'planning areas' and the dominant functions and usage of individual pieces of land. He however encountered an entirely different conception and understanding from his Indian counterparts in relation to multifunctional 'areas'. The truth is that 'the cultural constitution of an urban neighbourhood and the utilization of the concept by the indigenous population has yet to be established'. [47] The indefinite and undefined character of the term 'neighbourhood' can be construed as a limit, and at the same time the lack of a static definition also provides room for interpretation of what the identity and relationship of such neighbourhoods should be, thus presenting new prospects for future planning and for the introduction of possible changes. The neighbourhood colonies can both be singularly considered and as groups.

Occasionally, as in Patel Nagar South, East, and West, and in Nizamuddin East and West, close relationships have been forged between each part (East, West or South etc.) of the colony and they form a very substantial part of the city. On the one hand, they preserve their individuality and their size, but on the other, they engage in exchanges with other neighbourhoods, for example, by sharing schools, hospitals, and religious buildings.

[45] Patwant Singh and Ram Dhanija (eds), *Delhi: The Deepening Urban Crisis*, p. 35.

[46] 'Scholars now recognize the period between 1940s and 1950s—during which the neighborhood unit concept was adopted in Indian planning literature and practice—as the beginning of the "development era"'. See Sanjeev Vidyarthi, 'Inappropriately Appropriated or Innovatively Indigenized?', pp. 260–76.

[47] Godfriend, *The Delhi Masterplan of 1962*, p. 15.

The master plan just goes to re-confirm one of Delhi's most ancient traits: that of it being a polycentric urban formation. The idea was for the different neighbourhoods and minor parts of the city to be contained within a green belt,[48] bearing a strong resemblance to Abercrombie's project for Greater London in the mid 1940s.[49] Beyond this green boundary, satellite cities were supposed to grow, foreseen as new towns and ring towns. 'The Delhi Master Plan envisaged the development of Ring Towns, namely Ghaziabad, Faridabad, Ballabhgarh, Guragaon, Bahadurgarh, Loni and Narela.'[50] The idea had its roots in 1947, when the *Hindustan Times* said that the Delhi Administration and the Delhi Improvement Trust were considering building a series of Townships to house West Pakistani refugees in Tehar, Mehrauli, Kalkaji, and Sheikh Sarai. It should be noted and seen as a possible parallel, that during the same period 16 new townships were set up in the UK.[51] As the master plan was discussed, there was a passionate debate around centralization versus decentralization. In this, both Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the project manager

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[48]  In a letter dated 5 May 1949, K.K. Sharma wrote: 'it is eminently desirable to reserve a "Green Belt" around the urban area of Delhi. If so, it is necessary to control the building operations in this area and to preserve its agricultural and rural character.' See File No. 1(67) 1947. LSG. Chief Commissioner's Office, Delhi. DIT. Subject: Green Belt Scheme of the Delhi Improvement Trust, Letter dated the 5 May 1949—Delhi State Archives. Sharma also wrote: 'in the *Statesman* of 20th February 1948 there was an article regarding the development of four townships which are to be built in South and West of New Delhi. It was stated therein that these townships would eventually be connected with New Delhi and Delhi by a suburban railway service like the local Bombay train services.' File No. |(126) |47, 1947, Chief Commissioner Office, Delhi Improvement Trust, Note, Subject: Establishment of townships in Delhi Province for refugees, Delhi State Archives.

[49] Greater London Plan, Memorandum by the Ministry of Town and Country Planning on the report of the Advisory Committee for London Regional Planning, Great Britain, Ministry of Housing and Local Government, London, 1947.

[50]  An article in *Design Magazine*, July–September 1981, pp. 34–5, in Patwant Singh and Ram Dhanija (eds), *Delhi: The Deepening Urban Crisis*, p. 82.

[51]  'New Delhi's New Colonies', in *Indian Architect*, vol. XXI, n. 10 (October 1979): 135.

of the master-plan, Albert Mayer, were in favour of decentralization. Their idea was to aim for a 'polycentric urban pattern'[52] that would make it possible to redistribute the population with a conscious effort to relieve pressure on the centre of the city.

The colonies built prior to the master plan were qualitatively different to those that were subsequently constructed. In 1961, 'nearly 60,000 acres of land was acquired and used to develop various types of housing estates. These ranged from houses on plots to walk up apartments. Community facilities, as stipulated in the Masterplan were built in these housing estate'.[53] The neighbourhoods were not only intended to house refugees, as in the Refugees' colonies, but many others with different characteristics and objectives. These included the Real Estate Developer Colonies, the Plotted Housing Estates promoted by the DDA, the DDA colonies, the Resettlement colonies, the Unauthorized colonies,[54] the apartment-type housing estates, the DDA built apartments, the DDA promoted Cooperative Apartments, and the Slum Re-housing and Squatter Settlements built to accommodate the unprecedented population increase. 'The four major types of housing estates are: traditional, plotted, apartment and squatter.'[55] The neighbourhoods also varied according to the type of inhabitants they housed. For example, 'Lajpat Nagar [is] an answer to refugee rehabilitation, Defence Colony an answer to rehabilitation of displaced soldiers from the North, South Extension areas, [the] result of enterprising speculators who acquired large tracts of land and developed them for profit'.[56] In these different colonies, the size of the buildings vary, as do the dimensions and shapes of the plots, the extent of green areas, and the type of roads, whether curved or

[52] See Draft Master Plan for Delhi, vol. I, Town and Country Planning Organization, 1957, p. 53.

[53] Shovan K. Saha, and P.S.N. Rao, 'Trends of Planning and Design of Urban Housing Estates', p. 88.

[54] 'Land and Housing: A Case Study of Urban Delhi', in Anish Bose, *Studies on India's Urbanization 1901–1971* (Bombay-New Delhi: Tata-MacGraw-Hill Pub. Co. Ltd, 1973), pp. 165–93.

[55] 'Land and Housing' , p. 89.

[56] 'Town Planning: New Delhi South Extension Scheme and its Failure along Ring Road', in *Indian Architect* (October 1969): 188–9.

perpendicular, the number and characteristics of its inhabitants, the height of the buildings, and the type of public buildings.

Colonies can be categorized and described in various different ways.[57] They can be analysed on the basis of their date of construction: during the colonial period, after the declaration of Independence, or after the master plan became operational. According to who built them: private organizations, public organizations, cooperative societies, or others. According to the way they are constructed, that is their architecture and the planning criteria. They can be studied on the basis of the occupants: refugees, government employees, and the general private citizens; and according to their location within a given area of the city: to the south, to the west, to the north, across the Yamuna River. They can even be studied on the basis of the type of land they are built on and the type of ownership. Each of these aspects could justify a case study. This work attempts to convey the complexity of this subject and dwells on just a few of the issues that a detailed examination of the documents on Delhi colonies has revealed.

The most relevant documents through which the growth and distribution of neighbourhoods can be understood are maps. Some simply indicate the areas in which the colonies were built, others provide details of their layout. From the map, Development Plan of Greater Delhi,[58] it can be understood how different areas and colonies, whether already built, under construction, or still in the planning stage, are divided or structured. In terms of representation and technique, the map resembles the Delhi Improvement Trust's 1939–40 map, previously analysed. The areas relating to the various municipalities are in blue: the Shahdara Municipal Committee, the Civil Lines Notified Area Committee, the New Delhi Municipality, and the South Delhi Municipal Committee. The areas under the Trust's

[57] In some reports from 1953–4, the areas of the city where the colonies are built are divided on the basis of the institution they depend upon: Government Account, Nazul Account, Trust Account, Rehousing Account. See: File 1(31)| 55, 1955 LSG Part, I, II Subject: Delhi Improvement Trust. Annual Account for 1953–4, Delhi State Archives.

[58] *Development plan of Greater Delhi*, Digital Image Section, Delhi State Archive. The map does not have a date, but it is very likely to be from the period between 1947 and 1962.

jurisdiction are in red: the Tehar Town Expansion Scheme and the Civil Lines Town Ext. Scheme. Those under the Trust Town Expansion Schemes are in brown, among these the Pitampura Salimpur Town Exp. Scheme, the Baraula Shipur Town Exp. Scheme, and the Shakurpur Basti Town Exp. Scheme. The government schemes are in yellow, including Krishna Nagar (Diplomatic Enclave), the Jorbagh Nursery Area, Vinay Nagar, Sewa Nagar, Shan Nagar, and Man Nagar. The Rehabilitation schemes are in green, including Malviya Nagar, Kalkaji South, Lajpat Nagar, Jangpura, Nizamuddin Extension, Tilak Nagar, Patel Nagar (East/West), Rajindar Nagar, Malka Ganj Scheme, Vinay Nagar, and Kingway Camp. Lastly, the Trust Executed schemes are in pink, among which are the Delhi Ajmeri Gate Scheme, Qadam Sharif, Motia Khan, Jhandewalan, and the Western Extension Scheme or NDNE.[59]

A map drawn by the Survey of India in 1955–6[60] depicts the colonies, their layout, and indicates those that had already been built and those still under construction before the master plan came into effect. To the south, the Malviya Nagar, Lajpat Nagar, Kastuba Nagar, Kidwai Nagar, Lakshmi Bai Nagar, Sarojini Nagar, Jor Bagh, Nizamuddin West/East, Moti Bagh, Sundar Nagar, Kaka Nagar, Golf Links, and the Defence Colony settlements had essentially been completed. Hauz Khaz Enclave, Green Park, and Kailash were still under construction. Jangpura and Lodi Colony had, however, already been constructed during the colonial period. To the west, together with the colonial neighbourhoods, Karol Bagh and Sarai Rohilla, there are many colonies for Pakistani refugees such as Rajendra Nagar, East/South/West Patel Nagar, Krishna Nagar, Ramesh Nagar, Moti Nagar, New Tehar Colony n. 1/2, Tilak Nagar, Kirti Nagar; the Rajouri Garden neighbourhood is yet to be completed. To the north are Shakti Nagar, Kamla Nagar, Pratap Nagar, Roop Nagar, Vijay Nagar, Harijan Colony,

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[59]  You can find all information in the *Development plan of Greater Delhi* mentioned above. The lists of individual localities are important because they give a precise idea of which particular colonies of the city of Delhi were developed by who and by when, providing a comparison between different patterns and also presenting the exact expansion of the megacity.

[60]  Delhi Guide Map surveyed 1955–6, with corrections up to 1959, scale: 1: 20,000, Survey of India–Delhi State Archive, Digital Image Section.

Timarpur, Model Town, Radio Colony, Roshanara gardens areas, and many others remain to be completed.[61]

The government planned 'resettlement colonies', a term used for refugees and for the poor alike, who were moved out of the crowded urban areas as soon as was possible,[62] and accommodated in the numerous new colonies built over an area of 3,000 acres of land.[63]

The government allocated land for a total of 36 permanent rehabilitation colonies. In west Delhi, the colonies included Moti Nagar, Rajinder Nagar, Ramesh Nagar, Tilak Nagar, Tihar, Azadpur, and Patel Nagar. In the north, some of the colonies established were Malkaganj, Kingsway, Shakti Nagar, and Vijay Nagar. In the east (across the river), Krishna Nagar and Gandhi Nagar near Shahadra came up, while in the south, the enclaves included Nizamuddin, Jangpura, Lajpat Nagar, Kalkaji, and Malviya Nagar.[64]

A clearer picture of the accommodative capacity of the colonies can be gained by reading Sabir Ali's *Environment and Resettlement*

[61]  Delhi Guide Map surveyed 1955–6, with corrections up to 1959, scale: 1: 20,000, Survey of India–Delhi State Archive, Digital Image Section.

[62]  'The Government formulated a scheme to open up colonies in many parts of the city and build houses', A. Bopegamage, *Housing*, in *Delhi: A Study in Urban Sociology* (University of Bombay, Bombay 1957), p. 82. See also Girish K. Misra and Rakesh Gupta, *Resettlement Policies in Delhi* (New Delhi: Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1981). 'Government have also developed large tracts of vacant land for housing, built dwellings and sold them to displaced persons from West Pakistan', Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 18.

[63]  'As regards refugee families, a total of 69,367 dwelling units had been constructed by the Ministry of Rehabilitation during its tenure up to 1958. Including the residential construction undertaken by other public authorities like the Delhi Administration, Improvement Trust, Municipalities, etc. one may estimate the total number of dwelling units built by governmental agencies as about 1 lakh during the post-partition years of the reference period. Private construction excluding unauthorized structures during the period can be estimated to be 20,000.' V.K.R.V. Rao and P.B. Desai, *Greater Delhi*, p. XXII).

[64]  V.N. Datta, 'Punjabi Refugees and the Urban Development of Greater Delhi', in *Delhi Through the Ages: Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society*, (ed.) Robert E. Frykenberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 444.

*Colonies of Delhi.*[65] The layouts are varied and distinct. Some plans have an abundance of curving lines, as with Nizamuddin East and Lajpat Nagar III & IV, and the enlargement of Jangpura, while others tend to organize residential areas around courtyards, such as in Nizamuddin West and Jorbagh. Other colonies have a regular, almost monotonous, plan with perpendicular roads, as is the case of Rajinder Nagar Old and Patel Nagar. Yet others attempt to integrate straight and curved lines, as in Malviya Nagar Colony, where essentially the planning follows the boundaries and contours of a pre-existing village. Sometimes the settlements are organized around a centre, as in Rajinder Nagar New and Ramesh Nagar; they may have several centres, such as Patel Nagar; yet others do not have any, as is the case with Kirti Nagar. In most colonies, the houses are built on different-sized plots, from the small $15´ \times 60´$ house plots in Ramesh Nagar, to the more common $30´ \times 60´$ plots and bungalow plots that range from $75´ \times 90´$ to $100´ \times 200´$. The relationship between the residential area and the greenery is of particular interest, in comparison to gardens shared by a group of plots, if not parks for the entire colony. Exceptions, such as Moti Bagh, where apartment building units prevail, are rarely found. All colonies are provided with public facilities and, in all, although to a variable degree and distribution, are to be found schools, movie theatres, playgrounds, market spaces, hospitals, large and small parks, and religious buildings of different denominations.

Most of the colonies intended for refugees were built by the government, but there are others constructed by private developers who viewed these as a lucrative investment opportunity.

These colonies established a template for the future when Delhi's private colonies established by developers like DLF, and also cooperative group housing societies like, for instance, Vasant Vihar and Gulmohar Park, came up from the late 1950s onwards. The largest plots were on the main roads.[66] The main colonies developed by private entrepreneurs in the years immediately following Independence are Krishan Nagar (1949), Ashoka Park Main (1950–1), Rajouri

[65]  Sabir Ali, *Environment and Resettlement Colonies of Delhi* (New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 1995).

[66]  Ranjana Sengupta, *Delhi Metropolitan: Making of an Unlikely City* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2007).

Garden Main (1951), Rana Pratap Bagh (1950–3), Shivaji Park (1950–3), Model Town (1952–4), Rajouri Garden Extension (1951–4), Navin Shahadara (1952–4), Hauz Khas Enclave (1952–4), Kailash Colony (1953–5), Hauz Khas Extension (1954), South Extension Part I (1954–7), South Extension Part II (1954–7), Ashoka Park Extension, Greater Kailash I (1956–8), Greater Kailash II (1959–63),[67] and Green Park (1962).[68]

They are neighbourhoods often based on regular, somewhat linear layouts, as with Green Park, but also on curving lines, as with Kailash Colony. Model Town and Rajouri Garden are similar to each other as their structure is built around a centre and an open elliptical area, while Hauz Khas has a fragmented, polycentric structure. Often the colonies include large parks and playgrounds, but in the case of those developed by private businesses, far less attention is given to green and public areas.

The living space is organized in small-sized units on plots usually confined to an area of $30' \times 60'$. Collective leisure areas and various public buildings, such as markets, schools, and religious buildings, are provided in all neighbourhoods, sometimes alongside libraries, banks, and offices, as in Rana Pratap Bagh, or with movie theatres and a lake, as is the case in Model Town.

The neighbourhoods set aside for government employees do not adhere to the pattern of separation into plots and small building units, but are characterized by condominiums and apartments. The

[67] 'Middle-class colonies proliferated over the decades: government colonies, refugee colonies, group housing society colonies and colonies built by private developers. The last category included Krishan Nagar (1949), Ashoka Park Main (1950–1), Rajouri Garden Main (1951), Rana Pratap Bagh (1950–53), Shivaji Park (1950–53), Model Town (1952–4), Rajouri Garden Extension (1951–4), Navin Shahadara (1952–4), Hauz Khas Enclave (1952–4), Kailash Colony (1953–5), Hauz Khas Extension (1954), South Extension Part–I (1954–7), South Extension Part–II (1954–7), Ashoka Park Extension, Greater Kailash–I (1956–8), Greater Kailash–II (1959–63), developed by the DLF group.' V.N. Datta, 'Punjabi Refugees and the Urban Development of Greater Delhi', in *Delhi Through the Ages. Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society*, p. 450.

[68] For Green Park Colony, *see* map Green Park & Extension, dated 2/4/62 –MCD.

apartments are of different kinds, known as Type I, II, III, IV, V, VI, and VII, in accordance with the employee's role, salary, and position. These neighbourhoods follow the style and tradition of the colonial ones such as Lodi Colony, based on semi-modern layouts and architectural styles. This is not surprising as it is the same institution, the PWD, that is in charge of the plans and their realization. Significant examples of these are Sarojini Nagar, Laxmi Bai Nagar, RK Puram, Kaka Nagar, Pandara Park, Kidwai Nagar, and Man Nagar.

Extraordinary attention is given to trees and green areas, especially in those of a semi-public nature, as Sarojini Nagar (old Vinay Nagar), which is based on the revival of the traditional courtyard typology. These tend to be regular, almost repetitive, layouts. Some neighbourhoods are small, like Bapa Nagar or Kaka Nagar, and others became quite vast as new sectors were added, as is the case of RK Puram. Especially in the neighbourhoods built before the master plan came into effect, the buildings are generally limited to two stories in height and the relationship between streets, housing, and open spaces is relatively generous. It is a choice that compromises neighbourly relations by virtue of physical distance and lower density. It however guarantees 'healthiness' and 'good living' for its inhabitants, ideally bringing the neighbourhoods closer in style to those in New Delhi and distinguishing them from those in the old city of Shahjahanabad. Even more radical are the Rajouri Garden, Kaka Nagar, and Wellesley Road flats, which were erected around a large park. There are many public buildings, as in Sarojini Nagar, where three places of worship can be found, a temple devoted to Shiva, one of the Jain faith, and a Sikh Gurudwara, in addition to a market, a primary school, a secondary school, general offices, a post office, a library, and playgrounds.

In these colonies, houses are primarily single-family dwellings, built on owned plots. In the neighbourhoods intended for government employees, the buildings are organized into residential condominiums. The plots are regulated by by-laws that determine the relationship between constructed and open areas, and the number of floors. Depending upon the size of available and allocated green areas in front of or behind the buildings, the density changes. The plots are sometimes small or miniscule, even $15' \times 60'$, as in the case of those allotted in the high-density buildings intended for refugees.

Sometimes they are larger and imitate the colonial neighbourhoods' rarefaction.[69] Plots from the period after Independence lie about midway between those of the New Delhi bungalows and the smaller ones of the neighbourhoods 'for Indians', as in Karol Bagh. It can be said that a 'conversion of bungalow plots into house plots'[70] occurred, and that at a social level 'the process of nuclearization of erstwhile joint families'.[71] The bungalow plots are almost invariably along the perimeter of the colony, house plots almost always central. The choice between straight or curving roads was much debated by town planners, especially during the drafting of the master plan. Indians prefer curving streets, a possible opposition to or apprehension of the British chessboard-like structure or even to evoke the fabric and character of the historical city, overcoming monotony and creating a unique variety of vistas.

The character and size of the plots provides a fairly good indication of the kind of people who lived in the colonies and their economic status. It can thus be seen that in most settlements 'the majority of the occupants belong to the middle income group'.[72] The neighbourhoods, originally built for poor refugees, also saw an improvement in the quality of the buildings in which they lived as their economic conditions improved, until they became 'places for the rich'. Nonetheless, alongside affluent colonies, unauthorized colonies and slums continued to proliferate. It is astonishing that 'housing is the most pressing problem for Delhi's urban growth, […] [and] one fails to understand why the houses built by the CPWD in spite of such acute shortage of housing, remain vacant for years and are allowed to decay'.[73] These are signs or indicators of an unresolved problem. One of the harshest critiques of the master plan was attributed to the fact that houses

[69] 'An average plot in Defence Colony is 45´ × 60´ from "Interim Plan, Town Planning. Defence Colony, New Delhi and its Lessons–II"', *The Indian Architect*, vol. IV, n. 10 (October 1962): 26–31.

[70] Rao and Desai, *Greater Delhi*.

[71] Shovan K. Saha and P.S.N. Rao, 'Trends of Planning and Design of Urban Housing Estates, p. 89.

[72] Shovan K. Saha and P.S.N. Rao, 'Trends of Planning and Design of Urban Housing Estates, p. 89.

[73] Godfriend, *The Delhi Masterplan of 1962*, p. 43.

remained the subject of economic logic, without having resolved the problem of the extremely poor who continued to live in mud huts.

The master plan is essentially based on standards which govern the living conditions of privileged people alone, providing only for sophisticated living. Can a mud house exist in the city together with bungalows and high apartments? This question remains un-answered, the master plan ignoring the need for optimum utilization of land by introducing a rational land density pattern.[74]

Most of the colonies were intended for the upper-middle class but this did not result in their being homogenous. Refugees, immigrants, and newcomers tended to form groups based on their origin, their profession, and income. Mayer, on 7 August 1957, indicates how different the ways of organizing society are:

> … there are in Delhi other forms of housing segregation of different social and economic groups, as well as housing types.[75] […] Post-independence development has not only followed this undesirable practice [housing just the middle-class] but also created further segregation on the basis of profession and department. Viney Nagar has been built as another large town of clerks alone. Sewa Nagar is a colony of peons. Shen Nagar and Man Nagar are built for senior executive officers only. No effort has been made to integrate people of different income groups so as to help develop heterogeneous neighbourhoods making better social environments for community living. Though the Masterplan aimed to create neighbourhoods with 'integrated social units'.[76]

The plan assumed that the homeless would be integrated in the neighbourhoods too, and notwithstanding the 1955 ban in the Constitution, of the centuries old caste system,[77] the choice of integration remained on paper alone and never became a reality, remaining a concept noble in theory yet unrealistic in practice.

[74]  Godfriend, *The Delhi Masterplan of 1962*, p. 23.

[75]  Godfriend, *The Delhi Masterplan of 1962*, p. 15.

[76]  *Town Planning Organization, Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 18.

[77]  Castes were once a way of organizing society, but under colonial rule they became more rigid and a pretext for discrimination.

Some of the data in the reports illustrates how the population density of different colonies varied from 371.82/55.8 (persons per acre) in Vijay Nagar to 93.3/62 in Golf Links.[78] There were different points of view regarding the ideal density. If, according to the Americans, it should have remained around 150/100 persons per acre, according to the Indians, considering the high population, it should have been at least 500 persons per acre.[79] There was therefore a contradiction between the 'healthiness' and beauty of the neighbourhoods, and the choice of a density congruent to demographic pressure. If some areas of the city were far more attractive given conscious urban planning, with great harmony in the design of parks and gardens, and in the disposition of tree-lines, attributable to the cultural legacy of British colonialists, it is also true that this was based on very low density calculations. New solutions introduced since the 1970s, based on multi-storeyed buildings, have sacrificed ancient proportions and neighbourly relationships in view of the stark reality of the city's current population problems.

In analysing the colonies, the relationship between the home and workplace must also be considered. While the capital grew exponentially and the Americans introduced the zoning model with a rigid division of areas according to functions, Indians objected that workplaces and industry must remain in close proximity to residential areas even though such a solution might be less 'healthy'. The per capita income of Indians is substantially below that of Americans and certainly not one where one car per person is affordable, sometimes not even public transport. People move on foot, bicycle, or rickshaw, and this necessitates a close proximity between houses and commercial and industrial areas. Although a coexistence of functions has always

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[78] *The Town Planning Organization Report, Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, op. cit., indicates on p. 101, for the different neighbourhoods the following densities, 'Kailash (72.1/ 55) Golf Links (93.3/62), Hauz Khas (133.1/80), Wellesly Road Flats (73.25/31), West Patel Nagar (143.71/150), Ramesh Nagar (306.34/175), Vinay Nagar (117.57/325.6), Vijay Nagar (371.82/55.8), Pandara Road Flats (68.37/21.54), Tihar (East & West), Shanti Nagar (198.14/38), Diplomatic Enclave (south) (137/160), Diplomatic enclave (Private) (74.48/118), Diplomatic Enclave (Embassy), Kakanagar (40.72/40), Medical Enclave (166/195).'

[79] Godfriend, *The Delhi Masterplan of 1962.*

existed in the historical city, only a few of the colonies were planned
with this in mind. Amongst them, the most interesting case is that of
Malviya Nagar, which included industrial plots. The fact that to this
day in most cases slums continue to sprout and proliferate alonside
construction sites, is an important indicator that imported models
were not very appropriate in the context of local needs. 'Unfortunately,
the important link between people and their activities is disrupted by
a superficial, rather a mechanical separation of land uses implied in
zoning superimposed on a city form evolved through centuries.'[80]

Finally, another interesting aspect is the relationship that colonies
and new constructions established with the historical parts of the city
was of respect and integration. This was not only because the colo-
nies became an inherently connective element between pre-existing
urban areas, but also because historical monuments were preserved
and became an integral part of the urban layout. For example, Green
Park Colony is still home to the tombs of Bagh-Alam-ka-Gumbad and
Dadi-Poti. Besides, 'There are several other tombs of different sizes
within Green Park and its neighbourhood, with popular names like
Biran-ka-Gumbad (Brother's tomb), Chhoti Gumti (small dome),
Sakri Gumti (narrow dome).'[81] The same applies to Hauz-Khas
Enclave, where Nili-Masjid mosque, the archaeological ruins of Idgah
il chor-minar, and Darya Khan's tomb are located. In New Delhi's
South Extension I, 'there are four noteworthy tombs in this colony
[…] probably built during the Lodi period […]. At the north end of
the colony there are three tombs, collectively known as Tin-Burj.'[82]
The propensity therefore seems to be for the new and the ancient,
in this case monuments, to coexist, with the curious result that the
former draws strength from and enriches the latter. Unlike the more
famous and imposing monuments or memorials preserved using the
technique of isolation, that is separation from the surrounding build-
ings with green-belts, following the recommendations of the colonial
institution, the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), in the colonies
monuments are left as an integrated part of city life.

[80]   Godfriend, *The Delhi Masterplan of 1962*, p. 39.
[81]   Sharma, *Delhi and Its Neighborhood*, p. 70.
[82]   'Towards a New Truthful Heritage', in *The Indian Architect*, vol. IX,
n. 12 (December 1967): 73.

## FROM THE SPRAWL TO THE CITY AND FROM THE AUTOMOBILE TO THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

The first neighbourhoods built in the period following Independence in 1947 were still largely based on foreign models, pursuing the myth of Chandigarh and the ideal of 'modernity' that Prime Minister Nehru had espoused with conviction and enthusiasm.

These choices were harshly criticized. It is said that several architects 'force "architecture on their facades", imposing monotony, which limits architectural possibilities. This class of town planning was fashionable in the early twenties in Europe and America.'[83] They also claim that terraced houses, frequently found in the colonies, are not suitable for the local climate. 'The principal damage to these colonies comes from what is called terraced housing […] terrace housing has arrived in this country from the temperate climate of Europe.'[84] The admiration for Western architecture and the influence it has exerted on the residential neighbourhoods built after 1947 has often generated indignation; to such a degree that some historians considered it a form of neo-colonialism. These critiques, found in the above-referred to article in *The Indian Architect* or of authors such as Giles Tillotson, are comprehensible with underlying reasoning. Each however needs to be considered and contextualized within a wider architectural framework: the complexity of relations between different cultures and different points of view.

The first points of reference in the construction and conception of colonies come from countries like the UK and the US. The predominant influences come from American suburbia and the British settlements which also created 'suburbs' or cantonments.

The earliest post-Independence colonies had streets with rows of equal-sized plots and, typically, several parks, possibly a school, a small market selling basic provisions, and usually a religious and/or civic institution: a *mandir, gurdwara*, and/or post office. The inspiration behind such residential neighbourhoods included American

[83] 'Towards a New Truthful Heritage', in *The Indian Architect*, vol. IX, n. 12 (December 1967): 73.

[84] 'New Delhi's New Colonies', in *The Indian Architect*, vol. XXI, n. 10 (October 1979): 136–40.

suburbia.[85] 'Equally significant to the evolution of the colonies in Delhi are the ideas—imported from Britain—of the nineteenth century town planner Ebenezer Howard.'[86]

On the other hand, in some articles in the Indian *Design Magazine*, edited by the refined intellectual Patwant Singh, some indications can be found of the exercise of caution in relation to influences other than the Anglo-American. It recollects for example, that Japanese architects and planners were called upon and involved in the planning of certain colonies.[87] Though sparsely cited, with no more than a sentence, devoted to them, given the prevalent tendency of even Indians, to adopt 'Western' terms of comparison, 'minor' influences must be borne in mind and given their relative importance.

If we consider the term 'colony' from a broader perspective, essentially as a planned neighbourhood, colonies were born in the early colonial period, were transformed in the late colonial period, and transformed after Independence. They are hybrid urban entities subject to change and metamorphosis. If initially they were built only for the affluent British, seeking to escape the crowded 'unhealthy' Shahjahanabad, later they were assigned to 'Indians' at the lowest tier of the British social pyramid. They eventually evolved, after the declaration of Independence, as the principal means of building a city 'for the people'. Even if they were not able to satisfy the needs of all of the poor, they did provide housing to a large part of the population. As time passed, not only did their physical and social traits changed, but also their urban connotation. It was a process that involved many different experiences and episodes, from the Mughal *bagh* to the garden city, from suburbia to Zen culture. The recent transition from low-rise houses to multiple-storey buildings is part also of this process of adaptation and transformation, and concerns more than mere architecture.

The remarkable aspect of the history of colonies as such, is that they originated from foreign models and were influenced by other cultures but nonetheless became rooted and integrated into the city and its local culture. They are the result of colonial 'importation',

[85]   Ranjana Sengupta, *Delhi Metropolitan*, p. 111.

[86]   Ranjana Sengupta, *Delhi Metropolitan*, p. 111.

[87]   Patwant Singh and Ram Dhanija (eds), *Delhi: The Deepening Urban Crisis*, p. 51.

per se, from the UK and, in part, from the US, but are irrefutably different from what is known as British or American suburbia. They were criticized severely as being inadequate in the task of solving the problem of high population density, yet the colonies of Anand Niketan and Vasant Vihar were more populous, alive, and less deserted than neighbourhoods and suburban areas such as Hampstead in London. Another important difference is that Indian colonies, in comparison to British suburbs or American neighbourhoods from the same period in Los Angeles and Philadelphia, have streets sufficiently wide for cars to pass freely but do not necessarily follow the 'car-logic'. Post-Independence, cars were not widely owned in such a poverty-stricken country as India, and the lower classes, that is the majority of the population, could not afford them. The country's dire economic situation prevented the risk of urban sprawl. Most communities were closed, and movement was by foot or rickshaw, and residential areas included a bazar or market, public parks and gardens, schools and places for the collective. In this period of transition, paucity was not just a problem and a limit, but intriguingly also a strong point: an opportunity to alter the urban model; a bulwark against waste.

Another characteristic of these neighbourhoods, which contradicts the *mixité* of the inhabitants suggested by the Americanized master plan, is an enduring, rigid division into distinct and recognizable 'communities', following the ancient and controversial caste hierarchy and the predisposition to live with one's peers.[88] This natural division, the lack or inefficiency of public transportation, and the difficulty of establishing connections has contributed towards making the colonies 'cities within the city'. The influences on the city were not only foreign but from the internal migration of groups from other parts of India too, creating an exchange system that has vastly transformed the different areas of the city. The neighbourhoods of former refugees from Pakistan have little in common with those inhabited by Punjabis, or those housing the people from the south. Architecture, public buildings, the use of space in the neighbourhoods, all differ and change in accordance with the origins of their inhabitants. Over and beyond the diversity of the many Indian communities in themselves, the

[88] Andrea M. Singh, *Neighborhood and Social Network in Urban India* (New Delhi: Marwah, 1976).

subtropical vegetation that gave the green areas a distinct character determined by the climate and fauna has uniquely transformed the colonies. Adaptation certainly assumed many complex forms.

Colonies are an exceptionally interesting case study of the result of complex interconnections of cultures, and because they offer unprecedented and unique answers to the problem of open public spaces. They are, however, part of a policy that was, despite every theoretical and political agenda, unable to resolve the problem of providing everyone with a house. Although Delhi is one of the cities that has been exemplary in investing and contributing financial resources to all its housing problems, slums continue to proliferate. Neither the city planners nor the architects are directly responsible for this, but it is the indirect result of the overall direction the government took.[89]

An important aspect ignored by the master plan and by the projects for the colonies is how differently people from diverse cultures interpret and experience the same intervention. An Indian's perception of bad smell may differ from that of an Englishman. Many Indians polemically affirmed that, particularly with regard to the Shahjahanabad settlement, Indians and Westerners have a fundamentally dissimilar idea of what a slum is, and also of its hazards, its stenches, and its hygienic conditions.

Even the relationship between density and the breeze that is available is a culturally-determined phenomena;[90] also, 'perpetuating the Imperial attitudes, the Delhi Master plan has been harsh. It describes the Walled City as "slum, congested, filthy, obsolete, functionally lacking in exclusive land use zones, without any green spaces and socially and culturally stagnant".[91]

An American, Albert Mayer, with particular intuition and perspicacity writes: 'I keep wondering whether we are worried too much about wind in Delhi. If the wind were valued, why would they have built the old city with such narrow and winding streets and gaps between houses—where wind can scarcely be expected to

[89] Any potential solutions for the transformation of the slums based on private intervention and money driven have had limited success and more often have failed.

[90] Godfriend, *The Delhi Masterplan of 1962*.

[91] Godfriend, *The Delhi Masterplan of 1962*.

penetrate?' [92] It is not clear why both Indian and foreign architects declare their awareness of these differences, but then devote themselves to alleviation of population pressure in particularly dense areas. Similarly, it remains unclear why moving productive activities away from the living areas, in line with the zoning principles of the West, continues to be a priority and why it is paramount to integrate communities that have always been sharply divided.

If it is difficult to define the criteria for intervention, even less credible are the premises on which the American-inspired master plan is based. In the manifesto, *The Delhi Masterplan of 1962*, these criteria for intervention were radically criticized by both Indian architects and the local population. Their accusation was that the plan, in proposing a certain type of city, did not respect local criteria and standards: 'a "prototype" not only for all of India and all of Asia, but indeed for all newly developing countries'.[93] The idea of a 'prototype' emerges only from rigid planning, rules coming from above, and an incapacity to understand the differences between different places and provide for adaption to such difference.

In retrospect, it appears that the somewhat modest outcome of the master plan resulted because insufficient attention was devoted to the criticism initially raised. Faced with imported ideologies imposed from above, the alternative coming from below was not only valid but should have been welcomed. It was proposed and operationalized by Patrick Geddes, who believed that the plans should have been studied and conceived with the utmost importance given to detail, beginning with an analysis of contexts, in the conviction that 'planning to be effective must transcend political borders'.[94] Above all, Geddes's lessons can be applied to the planning of neighbourhoods and demonstrates how to skilfully evaluate the particularities of each area. Conceived at the beginning of the megalopolis's boom, colonies have represented, notwithstanding all contradictions and failures, an attempt to adapt imported elements to local cultures, and also to

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[92] 1/21 Letter N. 10, 6 September 1957, p. 5, in Douglas E. Godfriend, *The Delhi Masterplan of 1962*.

[93] *The Delhi Masterplan of* 1962, p. 65.

[94] Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, *Patrick Geddes in India* (London: Lund Humphries & Co., 1947).

provide a feasible alternative to zoning, a model of integration for residential and work areas, and a safeguard against urban sprawl. Colonies have drawn attention to open spaces and to sustainability criteria. They have preserved and enhanced the differences between local cultures and respected historical monuments.

In the course of elaborating the master plan, Indians have proved that they are not passive participants but are capable of establishing dialectics and establishing a fruitful dialogue between different points of view.

Delhi and its planners have been able to preserve its ancient past, assimilate and transform the British heritage, and question American culture, while at the same time offering an alternative pattern to urban development. Even with exceptions for deeply rooted political and cultural traits, it is difficult to explain why local critiques and suggestions have exerted so little influence on the architecture and planning of Delhi.

## Layout Plan of Jangpura, MCD



**Figure 3.4** Grid Layout Plan of Jangpura Colony Built during the Colonial Period, c. 1920
*Source*: Redrawn with material from Municipal Corporation of Delhi.
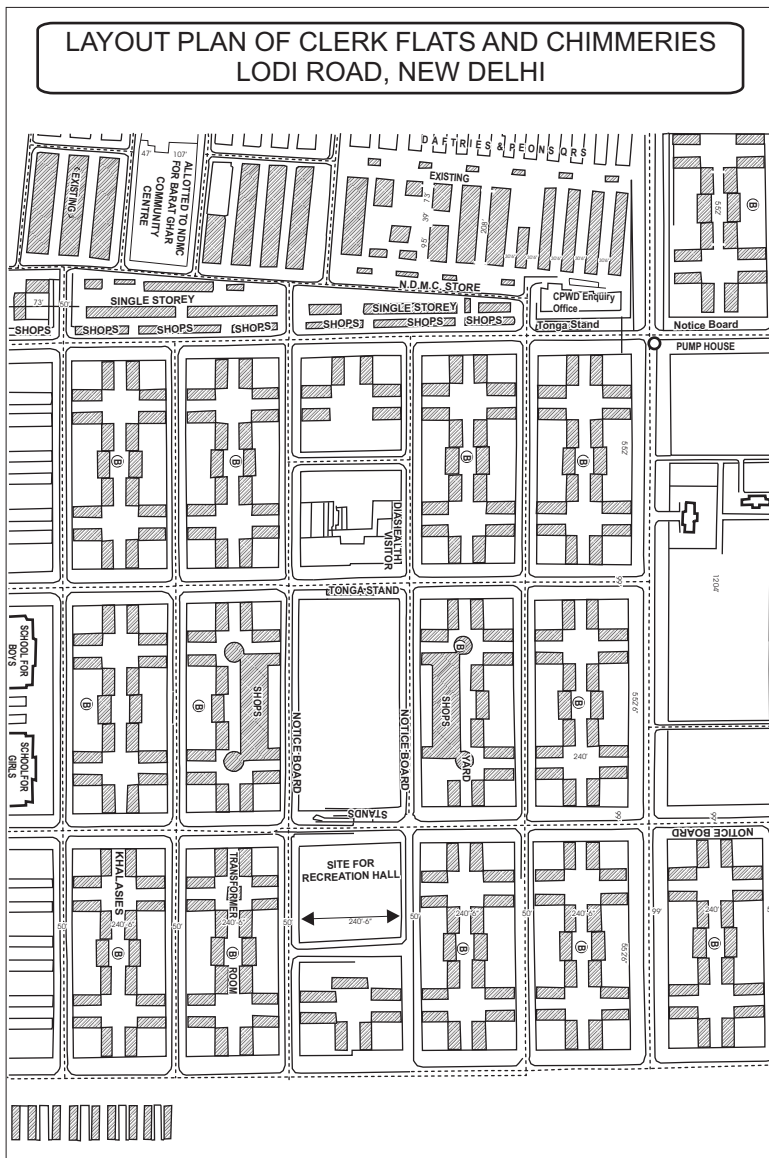
**Figure 3.5** Layout Plan of Lodi Colony, c. 1940
*Source*: Redrawn with material from Central Public Works Department, New Delhi.

**Figure 3.6**    Photograph of One of the Modern Houses of Lodi Colony Built during the Late Colonial Period, 2014
*Source*: Author.



**Figure 3.7**    Photograph of One of the Houses in Daryaganj, c. 1925
*Source*: Central Public Works Department, Delhi.

**Figure 3.8**    Photograph of One of the Modern Houses of Daryaganj Colony
Built during the Colonial Period, 2014
*Source*: Author.

**Figure 3.9**   Photograph of One of Karol Bagh's Straight Line Lanes Built during the 1920s, 2014
*Source*: Author.
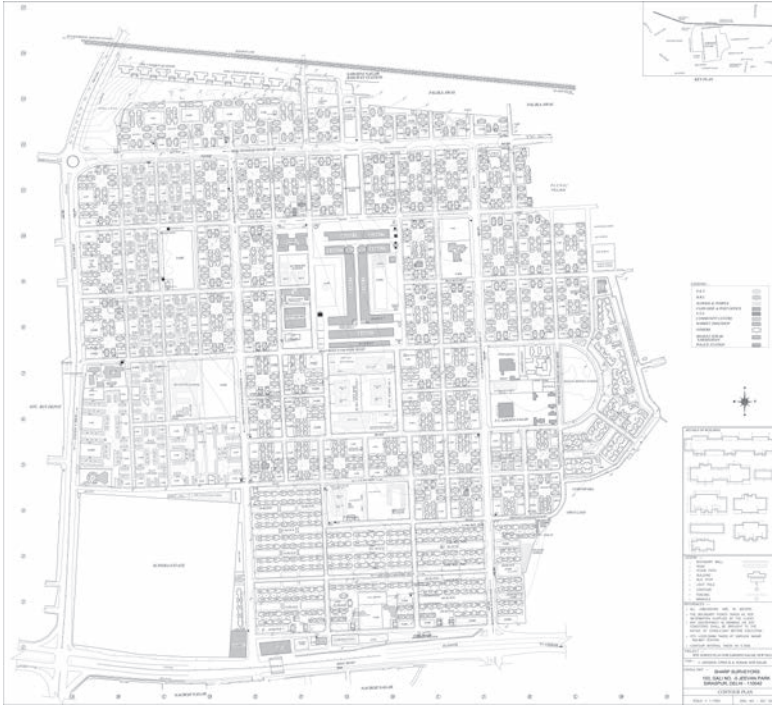
**Figure 3.10**   Layout Plan of Sarojini Nagar Colony (Previously, Vinay Nagar)
Built Immediately after Independence, c. 1950
*Source*: Central Public Works Department.



**Figure 3.11**   Photograph of a Modern House in Sarojini Nagar Colony Built
Immediately after Independence, 2014
*Source*: Author.
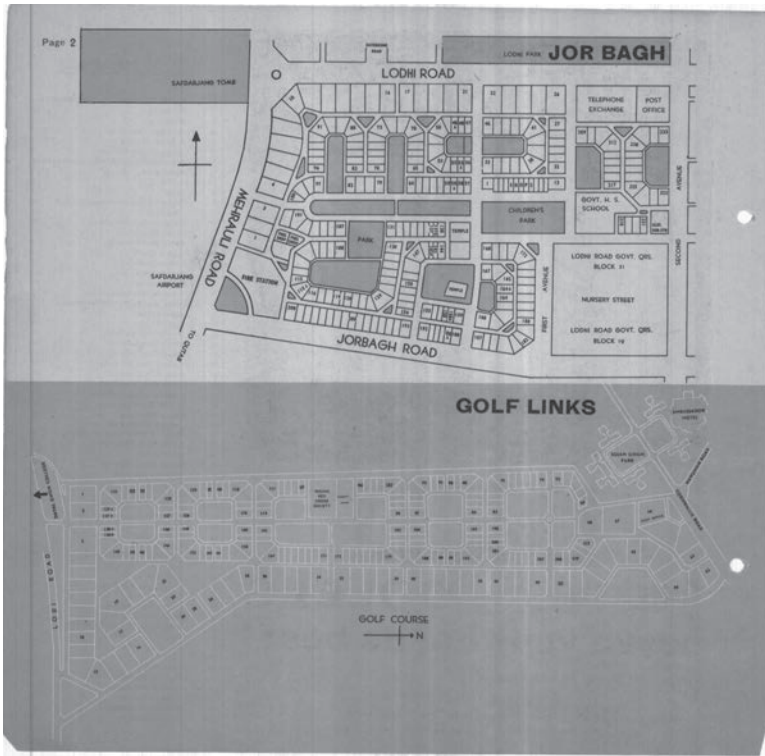
**Figure 3.12**    Plans of Jor Bagh and Golf Links Colonies Built Immediately after Independence, 1955
*Source*: Delhi State Archive.

**Figure 3.13** Photograph of One of the Modern Houses of Golf Links Built Immediately after Independence in a Modern Style, c. 2014

*Source:* Author.
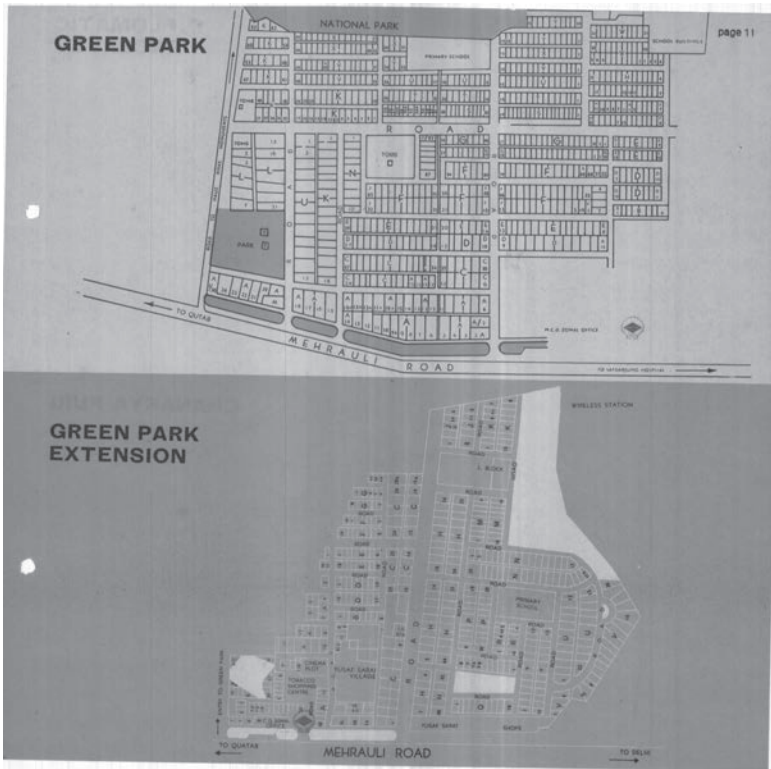
**Figure 3.14**    Plans of Green Park Colony and Green Park Extension Built Immediately after Independence, c. 1955
*Source*: Delhi State Archive.

**Figure 3.15**    Photograph of One of the Modern Houses of Laxmi Bai Nagar
Colony Built Immediately after Independence, 2014
*Source*: Author.



**Figure 3.16**    Photograph of a Mosque in Kaka Nagar Colony Built
Immediately after Independence, 2014
*Source*: Author.

**Figure 3.17** Photograph of the Market in Kaka Nagar Colony, 2014
*Source*: Author.



**Figure 3.18** Photograph of Pandara Park, 2014
*Source*: Author.

**Figure 3.19**    Photograph of a Modern House in Sundar Nagar Colony Built
Immediately after Independence, 2014
*Source*: Author.
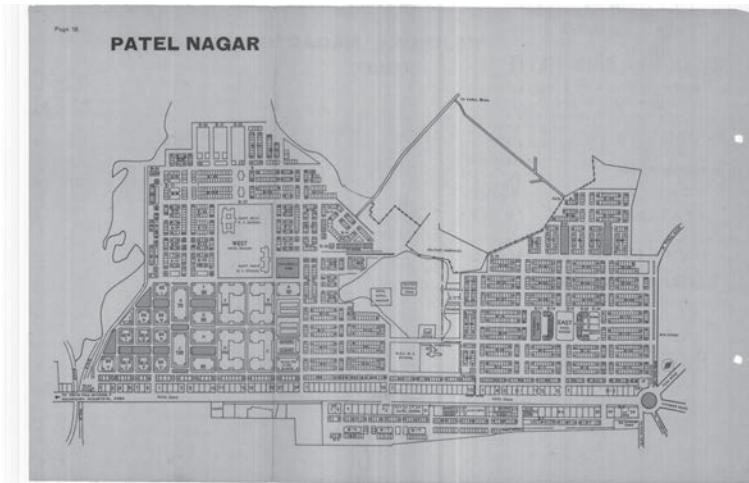


**Figure 3.20**    Layout Plan of Patel Nagar Refugee Colony Built Immediately
after Independence
*Source*: Delhi State Archive.
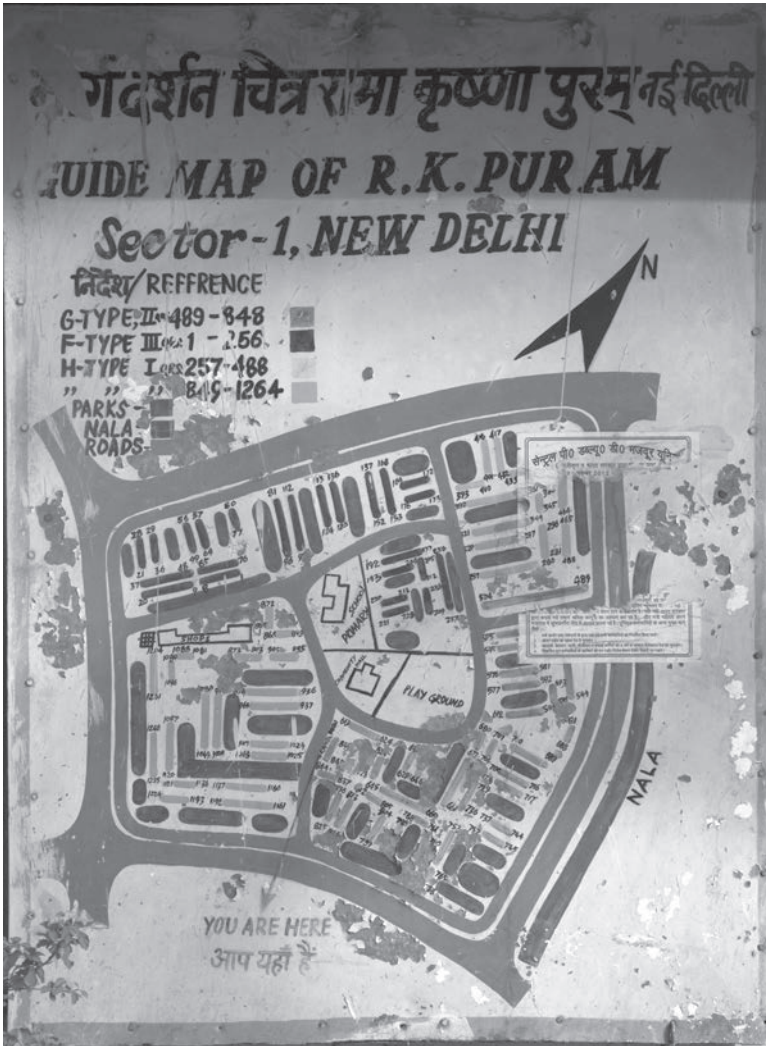
**Figure 3.21**　　Layout Plan of RK Puram Colony Built after Independence, 2014
*Source*: Author.

**Figure 3.22**    Photograph of One of the Houses in RK Puram Colony, 2014
*Source*: Author.



**Figure 3.23**    Photographs of a Group of Houses in RK Puram Colony, 2014
*Source*: Author.

**Revised Layout of Malviya Nagar**
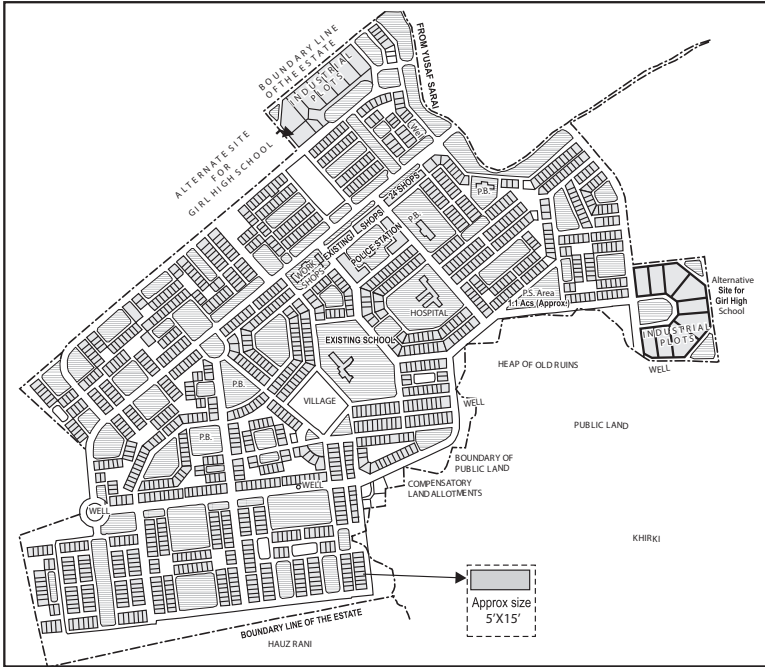


**Figure 3.24** Layout Plan of Malviya Nagar Colony Built Immediately after Independence, c. 1952
*Source*: Central Public Works Department.
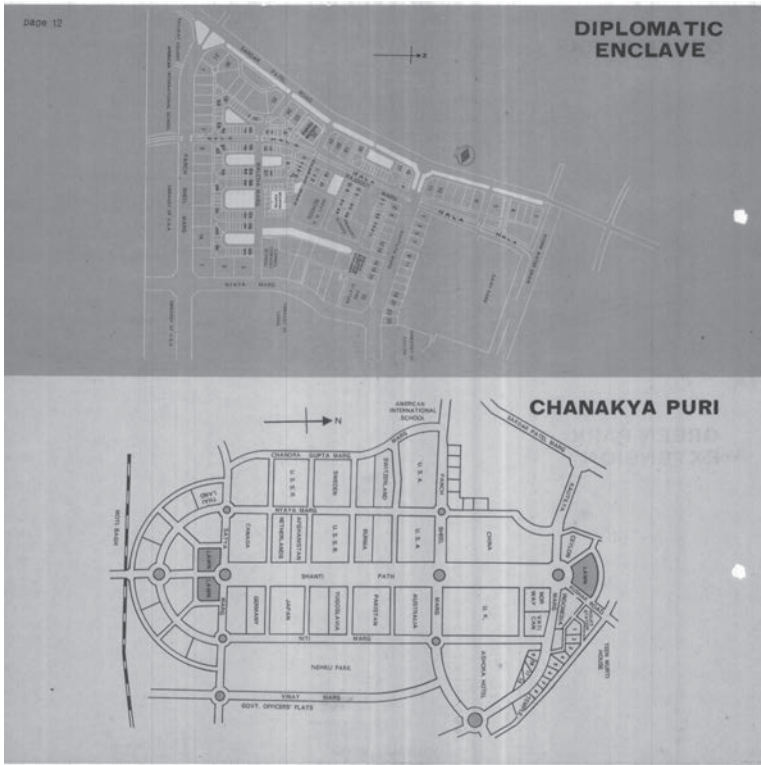
**Figure 3.25**    Layout Plan of the Diplomatic Enclave and Chanakyapuri
Colony, c. 1954
*Source*: Delhi State Archive.

# Residential Typologies and Their Transformation

*Havelis, Bungalows, and Single-Family Houses*

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

The problem of housing is common to all countries, and human beings all over the world need houses to live in. House is an elementary need for man.[1]

## PRECOLONIAL RESIDENTIAL TYPOLOGIES

The borders of Delhi are naturally demarcated in the east by the river Yamuna and the so-called Ridge to the west. Before the British arrived, and prior to the establishment of the eighth city of New Delhi in

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[1] *International Exhibition on Low-Cost Housing New Delhi, from January until March 1954* (New Delhi: Ministry of Works, Housing, and Supply, Government of India, 1954), pp. 15–16.

1911, Shahjahanabad was effectively its pivotal centre, and a plethora of villages spread along its outskirts.[2] The settlements preceding the colonial period were based on typologies that are still occasionally visible in the contemporary city, their legacy having been preserved over time.

Both in the villages and in Shahjahanabad, various building typologies exist alongside one another, creating diverse and irregular urban areas, but exuding richness character. They range from small, single-room houses, to courtyard houses or havelis of variable size, to forts and palaces with an abundance of rooms.[3] As such, the variety of residential typologies is vast and mirrors the richness of a multifaceted society, a characteristic for which India is renowned. Pre-colonial typologies will not here be analysed in depth. An attempt will however be made to describe a select few which had a pronounced influence and are particularly symbolic.

## VILLAGES

The villages in Delhi's environs[4] are very similar to other Indian villages, whilst having certain unique characteristics[5] influenced by the

[2] 'The area called Delhi has been the site of many villages and many towns over the centuries', in Eckart Ehlers and Thomas Krafft, *Shahjahanabad/Old Delhi: Tradition and Colonial Change* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2003), p. 29.

[3] Pavan K. Varma, *Mansions at Dusk: The Havelis of Old Delhi* (New Delhi: Spancher Publisher Pvt. Ltd, 1992).

[4] I. Karve, 'The Indian Village', in *Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute*, vol. 18 (January 1957): 73–106.

[5] Knowledge about the houses in the villages of Delhi is very patchy. Historically, the person who held all such information, documentation, and details was the *patwari*, often the village elder who for generations kept and handed down documents relating to the territory and the ownership of properties. He was also an intermediary between the village and the structures of power. Frequently villages arose, as we have seen, around a monument, which is why another important source of information are the reports on the conservation of those monuments, compiled by the Survey of India, the institution in charge of the cultural heritage. Other documents and information may be found in the *Gazeetter of Rural Delhi* or in the *Census of India*. Few published volumes deal with the villages around Delhi from an architectural

terrain, culture, and the social status of their inhabitants. For the most part, they are settlements built by communities occupying the land and gradually transforming what must have been a camp into an actual village.[6] Prior to the demographic boom and the transformations following Independence, villages were customarily nuclear, with groups of houses organized around narrow streets, surrounded by fields, criss-crossed by a network of canals, and sometimes protected by a wall.

They often arose around a monument, as was the case in Begumpur, in Khirki, and in Masjid Moth; others were established adjacent to a green area or a source of water, as in Hauz Khas. The village predominantly consisted of houses where the monument, the basin for the collection of rain water (*johar*), the well, and the burial area (*chehanrin*), are the focal points. Traditionally, villages, surrounded by fields and not subject to being enclosed by the urban sprawl, were subject to a feudal system in which the landowner, called zamindar, equivalent to European lords and barons, collected taxes from the farmers (*ryots*) on the emperor's behalf.[7]

Comparing various descriptions of low-density rural villages in the environs of Delhi, it becomes evident that housing for poorer people were usually divided into three typologies: a one-room house only for men (*baithak*); a one-room house where only women live (*ghar*); and a one-room barn for animals (*gher*). Each element either existed on its own, paired up, or even appeared in unison, much like a cluster: *baithak/gher*, *ghar/gher*, and *baithak/gher/ghar*.[8] When the respective spaces for men, women, and animals were decided and provided, they

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and planning point of view. Among these, the 1958 study conducted by Oscar Lewis on the village of Rampure, and Charles Lewis and Karoki Lewis's 1997 work on the villages of Begumpur, Khirki, Chiragh Dilli, Shahpur Jat, Masjid Moth, and Hauz Khas, Mehrauli, and Nizamuddin.

[6] Kiran Kumar Thaplyal, *Village and Village Life in Ancient India: A Study of Village and Village Life in Northern India from 6th Century to 1st Century AD* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2004), p. 14.

[7] Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals: Studies in late Mughal Delhi* (Karachi, Oxford–New York–Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 130.

[8] S.K. Chandhoke, *Nature and Structure of Rural Habitations* (New Delhi: Concept Pub. Co., 1990).

were usually arranged around an open space similar to a courtyard, as was the case with the typical house in the village of Budhpur. The houses for the exceptionally poor, which were in the majority, were made of mud, raw bricks, straw, and dung, and were described as kuccha. Houses belonging to wealthier citizens were more solid, and either built entirely of baked bricks and described as pukka, or with a mixed technique, known as kuccha-pukka. Needless to say, the houses constructed with baked bricks were far superior, capable of resisting the monsoon rains.[9] They were generally one-storeyed, while those with two storeys, in which it was possible to keep a healthy distance from the animals, were considered luxury dwellings.[10] The village of Begumpur, which is a characteristic example of the settlements surrounding Delhi, is, in Oscar Lewis's words, an:

> Assembly of villagers' mud-and-brick thatched huts, structures of local stone, cattle, wooden cartwheels and other farmyard paraphernalia described by officialdom as "a crowd of squalid houses in the courtyard dalans" […] mud and thatch constructions nestling against the ruins of the nearby Vijay Mandal […] absence of any significant pukka housing.[11]

The wealthier inhabitants of the village resided in havelis, or courtyard houses, with a far more complex structure than those previously mentioned. In Hauz Khas, Charles and Karoki Lewis explain:

> As in other villages, the larger houses were of the haveli type, the entrance being through an ornately arched doorway leading to a passage through the cattle shed and fodder store, linking the internal courtyards with the streets outside. The central court was the main activity area and was surrounded by multi-purpose rooms. The dwellings were usually two floors high, and the street averaged five metres in width, both of these factors, coupled with the internal courts of the houses, proving ideal for local climate conditions.[12]

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[9] Oscar Lewis, *Housing*: 'The Setting', in *Village Life in Northern India: Studies in a Delhi Village* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958), pp. 19–20.

[10] Lewis, 1958, pp. 12–13.

[11] Lewis, 1958, p. 34.

[12] Charles Lewis and Karoki Lewis, *Delhi's Historic Villages: A Photographic Evocation* (London: Penguin Studio, 2012), pp. 109–11.

In the houses in the village of Mehrauli, direct references to the few havelis left from the nineteenth or the beginning of the twentieth century can be found, such as Hemmed-in Mor Wali Kothi or Peacock Haveli. This is paralleled too in Chiragh, where most of the remaining ancient houses are of the courtyard variety. It is fairly evident that as and when the size of a dwelling exceeded and grew beyond just a single room, buildings in the villages surrounding Delhi tended to be structured around an open space, defining the relationships between the interior and the exterior, and separating the private from the public sphere.

Each village was conditioned by the people who inhabited it. These settlements were based on a hierarchical organization and were divided into neighbourhoods or social nuclei,[13] each corresponding to social position, caste, class, type of job, and the education of the inhabitants. There was a distinct difference between the suburban and the central areas of the village. The poorer families and the less prestigious castes lived at the margins of the village, while the more affluent were concentrated towards the centre, which often coincided with the location of the monument, the water source, and the open public area. William H. Wiser, in his volume *The Hindu Jajmani System* (1936), explains that a system of hierarchical exchanges existed not only at a spatial level but also among individuals. Thus each group from an inferior caste was obliged to offer its services to the higher castes without remuneration. As a result, a carpenter or a barber by birth found himself in moral debt to a Brahmin. The majority of the families in the villages were extended joint families, with members of all ages obliged to coexist within very cramped spaces.

## HAVELI

Delhi's seventh city, Shahjahanabad, the last to be built prior to the arrival of the British, was endowed with all of the characteristics and traits of a pre-industrial settlement.[14] It was a fortified city overlooking

[13] David Goodman Mandelbaum, *Settlement Pattern and Solidary Relations* in *Society in India* (Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), pp. 337–41.

[14] Documentation on the subject is less flawed than that concerning villages, and there are several volumes that analyse the theme in depth. See Ehlers and Krafft (eds), *Shahjahanabad/Old Delhi*.

the river, dominated by a fort and by the great Jama Masjid mosque. The entire complex was organized along an axis, Chandni Chowk, which led from the Lahori gate of Red Fort to Fathepuri mosque. The city was divided into what can be considered to be the imperial area (fort/palace), and an area between the fort and the walls where the 'people' lived and where a multitude of houses stood. The residences were organized hierarchically, as in the villages, by social class, caste, job, and the respective history of each family. They were divided into twelve *thana*s, or districts, each under the control of a thanadar. Each thana was in turn divided into mohallahs or neighbourhoods. The mohallahs often derived their names from the type of craftsmen who worked there (for example 'the Lane of the Carpenters', 'the Leather-workers', 'the Candle-makers'), or from the given family, who owned the largest haveli. These houses both served as residences and workshops.

Residential typologies varied according to social class. Though the houses of the poor were very similar to the kaccha/khacca/kutcha and the pucca/pukka/pakka previously described in relation to the villages, an 1843 census established that in the city there were also 'many large courtyard residences (havelis)'[15] (more or less 23,000). These were single-storeyed buildings in front of which, as was the case with mosques, small squares opened amidst the old city's narrow, stifling streets. Historical cartography also confirms the diffusion of this typology, and often havelis and poor mud and straw dwellings coexisted, with the haveli dominating the surrounding huts. The havelis were thus not found in pre-arranged areas, but spread in many *kucha*s, *katra*s, mohallas, and *gali*s.[16] Although the principle of the courtyard still existed, also known as *aangan*, *chowk*, or *sehan*, various possible variations and combinations existed. More recent or relatively recent houses, for example owned by merchants, were built quickly, but often changed gradually over the centuries.[17] Havelis varied in size, in relation to the wealth of the owners. Nevertheless, space was scarce, and some havelis were built within very narrow plots or spaces. The members of the royal family, however, then the rajas, nawabs, officials,

[15]  Ehlers and Kraft, *Shahjahanabad/Old Delhi*., p. 19.

[16]  These are terms that indicate parts and elements typical of the ancient city of blind streets, commercial courtyards, closed neighbourhoods, ghettos.

[17]  Rama Mehta, *Inside the Haveli* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1996).

and bankers built very large havelis inspired by Red Fort: the haveli forts.[18] When James Forbes visited Delhi, he described its houses as being larger than any palace in Europe.[19]

As in the villages, most havelis were inhabited by extended families. It was also the case that houses of families who were related to one another were built adjacent to one another and connected by passageways, in practice actually creating a single, large haveli. By virtue of the complexity of their internal structure, it has been written that '*havelis* were often minitowns'.[20] The 'mini-towns' not only housed by their owners, but often also craftsmen and servants, and in the more affluent and prominent ones, even dancers and musicians. Modest families engaged one or two servants, while in the case of the wealthier families, the number of servants must often have surpassed the number of family members. The caste system regulated relationships, roles, and subordination between the family and servants, and especially prior to the advent of colonialism, a form of paternalistic relationship was established which played an important role in family life. Only the untouchables, whose task it was to clean the toilets accessed them from the street and functioned beyond the boundaries of the house.

Within the havelis, the respective spaces were not necessarily used by its inhabitants alone: the men, women, and/or their animals; they also had a public, semi-public, and private connotation. Often nobles and merchants worked in their homes, converting them into offices or areas from which to interact with the outside world. This was why they were divided in two areas: the semi-public area, or *mahalsarai*, where clients were greeted, and the private areas, strictly reserved for the daily activities of the family. The interior was further divided into an area specifically reserved for women, or the *zenana*,[21] and another

[18] 'The members of the imperial household who lived outside the fort/palace built large mansions (havelis) on the model of the imperial design of the Red Fort', in Ehlers and Krafft, *Shahjahanabad/Old Delhi*, p. 21.

[19] James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, vol. 4 (London, 1813), p. 62.

[20] See Ehlers and Krafft, *Shahjahanabad/Old Delhi*.

[21] 'The zenanas remained the most traditional part of the house, and gave to certain Western writers an impression of meanness and neglect', Sarah Tillotson, *Indian Mansions: A Social History of the Haveli* (Cambridge–New York: Oleander, 1994), p. 85.

for men, or *mardana*,[22] usually organized around two separate court-yards.[23] The segregation of women influenced the house's layout and reflects the way in which relations between men and women were conceived. It was closely associated with the purdah system and the idea that a man must keep his woman hidden behind a veil. Women had separate entrances and screened corridors, from which they were able to observe the proceedings in their husband's rooms without being seen. Animals too dwelt within the house, in areas allocated to them and/or in the stables, which usually faced the courtyard on the ground floor.

The houses usually had a single entrance and were sequestered from the city. At the level of neighbourhoods, the mohallas also tended to be self-contained with their doorways acting as passage points dividing one from the other. On the ground floor, towards the street, were shops, and on the higher floors were characteristic closed, decorated balconies or *jharokas* with perforations known as *jali*s. The havelis were usually lavishly decorated, both on the interior and exterior, as were their walls, balconies, and verandas, and were sometimes painted or inlayed. Only since the eighteenth century were Western-style decorations adopted. The entrance was frequently elevated, and had an area reserved for *chowkidars* and *darwa*s, the guardians entrusted with the security of the home. A ramp allowed for access to horses. Within the courtyard, on the ground floor, craftsmen worked alongside the animals. The most prestigious room of the house, used to entertain guests, was the drawing room or *diwan khana*, and here official meetings too were held and a library might be accommodated. The kitchen was by and large extremely small, without large windows, and so full of smoke that often the women preferred to work on the verandas. The veranda, which was one of the most used spaces in the house and opened on to the court-yard, could have been of two kinds: the *daalan*, more external, or the *dar daalan*, more private. The toilets were in proximity to and always accessible from the outside so they could be cleaned by untouchables without them having to enter the house proper. Religious activities

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[22]  Ehlers and Krafft, *Shahjahanabad/Old Delhi*, p. 33.
[23]  Less rich houses with only one courtyard housed women on the first floor and men on the ground floor.

were a prominent feature and lent life to the havelis. Regardless of whether it was a Muslim or Hindu home, there was invariably a prayer room.[24] Apart from the kitchen, the toilets, the bathrooms, and areas for prayer, the general rooms of the haveli did not have predetermined functions, serving rather the needs and requirements of their users as the occasion demanded.[25]

In Delhi, as described by Bernier, a good house 'has its courtyards, gardens, trees, basins of water, small *jets d'eau* in the hall or at the entrance, and handsome subterranean apartments.'[26] The courtyard house was widespread in Shahjahanabad, and indeed was a recurring typology throughout northern India.[27] A study of it provides a thorough understanding of its strengths, which included respect and desire for intimacy of family relations, protection of the woman, the inclusion of animals in the daily routine, the most efficient use of the available spaces, and the fact that it incorporated an open space at the centre.[28] The courtyard was a much frequented area of the house, used by all its members for all important rituals and 'rites of passage', such as weddings and christenings.[29] The large havelis usually had a garden, or at least a tree, at the centre of the courtyard, and that is why they were also called 'introverted gardens'. Areas of shade were fundamental for protection from the summer sun, and if in the public areas of the old town, this was guaranteed by high walls and narrow streets; within

[24]  Varma, *Havelis of Old Delhi*, p. 26.

[25]  'Apart from prayer rooms, kitchens, bathrooms and lavatories, few of the other rooms in the havelis had specific functions, each is being used instead as season, need and mood dictated', in Sarah Tillotson, *Indian Mansions*, p. 16.

[26]  Tillotson, p. 247.

[27]  'Basically the traditional house-type is a courtyard type in north India', William A. Noble, 'Houses with Centered Courtyards in Kerala and Elsewhere in India', in *Dimensions of Social Life: Essays in Honour of David G. Mandelbaum*, ed. Paul Hockings (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1987), p. 224.

[28]  'The courtyard house uses a small plot efficiently because it leaves no unused strips of land on the edges of the site, and provides a useful space in the centre', in Sarah Tillotson, *Indian Mansions*, p. 10.

[29]  'The use of the courtyard (angan) for rituals related to the rites of passage, and particularly for marriage', in William A. Noble, 'Houses with Centered Courtyards in Kerala and Elsewhere in India', pp. 233–4.

the havelis this was achieved through walls, porticos, and foliage.[30] Among the principal havelis within the walls of Shahjahanabad are Chunna Mal ki Haveli, Haveli Begum Samru, and Zeenat Mahal.[31]

'From the map compiled after a survey of houses by the Anthropological Survey of India, we can see that centred courtyard houses occur over the majority of India.'[32] It has been ascertained that the precolonial Indian house, both in the ancient cities and in villages, and both among the rich and the poor, tends, though in different ways, to develop around the perimeter, leaving an empty space at the centre, which is in fact the dominating element in the courtyard typology.[33] Here not only the haveli, but also the more modest houses of the villages, or the *katra*, within of Old Delhi are worthy of consideration. The haveli is an introverted but curious type of building, because it creates complex and contradictory relationships between servants and owners, men and women, animals and humans, public and private areas. Indeed, the courtyard typology has existed in India since 2500 BCE in the cities of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro and, according to Sarah Tillotson, it is the study of the haveli that even makes it possible to understand the traditional way of life in Indian cities.[34]

## FROM THE SHAHJAHANABAD HAVELIS TO NEW DELHI'S BUNGALOWS

As mentioned earlier, the British came to Delhi in 1803, and until the great rebellion of 1857, the East India Company governed the area.

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[30] 'In the indigenous city, shade and protection from the heat was achieved by the close grouping of thick-walled houses in tall, tightly packed clusters, in narrow, perpetually shaded streets and inward-looking courtyards, sometimes planted with trees or shrubs. Rooms were small and relatively dark, protected from the heat of the sun both by further storeys above and by other buildings close by.' In King, *Colonial Urban Development. Culture, Social Power and Environment*, p. 135.

[31] Varma, *Havelis of Old Delhi*.

[32] Noble, 'Houses with Centered Courtyards in Kerala and Elsewhere in India', p. 224.

[33] 'The generating element in the perception of space was the courtyard typology', Noble, p. 51.

[34] Tillotson, *Indian Mansions*, p. xvii; see also Sunand Prasad, *The Havelis of North India: The Urban Courtyard House* (London: Royal College of Art, 1988).

Initially the colonialists lived in Shahjahanabad and appeared to adopt the haveli as a valid residential typology, an example of which is *Metcalfe Saheb ki Haveli*. The initial British residences were often add-ons or refurbished versions of existing havelis. One of the most significant specimens is the British Residency, a result of alteration of the Dara Shikoh and Ali Mardan Khan Havelis.[35] Besides, during this period, within Shahjahanabad, 'European architectural details, colonnades and tympana and grills, in freestanding houses, began to appear in the Indian areas too. Shahjahanabad was becoming an Indo-Anglian town.'[36]

After 1857, and before the final move of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi, by virtue of the inauguration of the new railway and the exponential increase in trade and commerce, many moved to the city and the need for additional living space became pressing. The British tended to move outside of the walls of Shahjahanabad to the north, to an area known as Civil Lines. The choice was conscious: to separate themselves from the local population and the Indian historic city. It is in this context that a new, imported residential typology established itself: the bungalow type.[37] It began taking shape at the beginning of the twentieth century, with the founding of New Delhi and the move of the new settlements from the area north of Shahjahanabad to a more southern area adjoining Raisina Hill. In 1911 the British, during the period when colonial power began weakening, made Delhi the new capital of the Empire. Unlike Calcutta, Delhi was placed at the centre of the Indian subcontinent and had a strong symbolic significance. The intention was to create an imperial city with administrative—bureaucratic functions and a monumental image exuding power,

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[35]  Varma, *Havelis of Old Delhi*, p. 105.

[36]  Ehlers and Krafft, *Shahjahanabad/Old Delhi*, p. 41.

[37]  King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture*. In 1873, in a document of the Proc. Home Dept. Punjab, it is possible to read that the desire to have a house with a garden free on every side was already there: 'Now I think it is a fundamental principle in town building that every house should have access to air in front and rear, and a small piece of ground at the back entirely unoccupied by buildings. I believe that this principle cannot be neglected in towns without most serious injury to the health and physique of the population'. See Patwant Singh and Ram Dhanija (eds), *Delhi: The Deepening Urban Crisis*, p. 28.

in which the various residences of government employees played a fundamental role.

The new residential settlements were quite different from those in Shahjahanabad. Thus 'Delhi shows the typical dual character of many oriental cities with the juxtaposition of a traditional medina (Old Delhi) and a modern "westernized" city centre'.[38] The contrast in the different way in which the town was inhabited is clear:

> … the European station is laid out in large rectangles formed by wide roads. The native city is an aggregate of houses perforated by tortuous paths […] The Europeans live in detached houses, each surrounded by walls enclosing large gardens, lawns, out-offices. The native live packed in squeezed-up tenements, kept from falling to pieces by mutual pressure. The handful of Europeans occupy four times the space of the city which contains tens of thousands of Hindus and Mussulmen.[39]

Besides the houses, there were other similarities between the plans of Shahjahanabad and New Delhi. The new city was organized around the core of governmental buildings on Raisina Hill, whereas the old one had developed around Red Fort. The new town also developed along a main axis, King's Way, which leads from Raisina Hill to India Gate.[40] Here, too, the houses were distributed to the north and the south of this axis.

Another characteristic trait of the dwellings of government employees of the new capital was that they depended quite strictly upon a hierarchy of office. The document known as the 'Warrant of precedence', which officially and hierarchically classified 175 roles and 61 positions within the state machine, also defined the placement of housing within areas of the city as well as their proximity to Raisina Hill.[41] Precedence was given to executives and official employees, and indirect indications were given for 'non-official' ones. Any

[38] Ehlers and Krafft, *Shahjahanabad/Old Delhi*, p. 105.

[39] William H. Russell, *My Diary in the Years 1858–9*, 2 vols. (London: Warne & Routledge, 1860), p. 140.

[40] For the foundation of New Delhi, existing villages where uprooted and the residents moved elsewhere.

[41] King, '*Residential Space*', pp. 123–55; see also pp. 34–40.

government employee, even of inferior level and income, had a supe-
rior status to any other professional. In this 'government-dominated
context', the prestige that derived from any individual's role within
the governmental apparatus was so significant that it was displayed
prominently on signs meticulously displayed outside each house. In
other Indian cities too, such as Calcutta and Mumbai, hierarchies of
colonial society were formalized, but the differences and disparity was
less pronounced. In New Delhi, bungalows varied significantly in their
dimensions based on the social status and rank of its inhabitants. They
ranged from miniscule houses inhabited by 'gazetted officers class D',
to the majestic mansion 'Commander-in-chief's Residence'.[42]

A stringent criteria of division by race and ethnicity was adopted
for the distribution of the entire population. The principal distinc-
tions were: Europeans, Anglo-Indians, and Indians. Indians were not
barred from prestigious careers, partially because they alone were
able to communicate fluently in the native tongue, but only provided
they were suitably Westernized in speech, custom, and attire. Besides,
regardless of such Westernization in manners and approach, the caste
system remained a key method of organizing and categorizing the
population. Before the arrival of the British, the caste system became
even more rigid and dogmatic; for example it did not permit servants
to live in the house with the same familiarity as in the havelis. Caste
was not the only criterion for discrimination, there were others too.
In the lower social classes, people were labelled in accordance with
their school background, their social standing, their properties, their
income, their moral qualities, just as much as the omnipresent differ-
ences between religions: Christian, Muslim, Sikh, and Hindu.

The Westerners thus, who held prestigious governmental positions,
were privileged by living closer to Viceroy's House on Raisina Hill and
those holding less powerful positions were further away from Raisina
Hill and the centre of power. Within the network of streets designed in
hexagons, the houses were divided into six primary areas on the basis
of social and economic standing and race. At the foot of the hill was
a vast area set aside for officials, or 'gazetted officers', and another for
the quarters of European employees, the 'European clerks' quarters'.

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[42] See archive documents and related maps at Central Public Works
Department, Delhi.

Along the King's Way boulevard dwelt members of the Council. Further on, near the India Gate, lived the nobles, the Indian princes, while to the north-west, near Connaught Place, were the neighbourhoods for Indian employees, the 'Indian clerks quarters', and others of lower rank, or 'peons'. Indians, not employed by the government were housed far away from Government House and lived largely in the old town or in the villages of Sadr Bazar and Paharganj, or in the colonies. Here, as the British Central Public Works Department was not directly in charge of the construction of residential buildings, it simply divided the area into lots.

An analysis of the colonies and how these spread after Independence are not considered in detail in this chapter, as they were not the principal typology during the colonial period.

## BUNGALOWS

The houses built by the British in New Delhi were not courtyard buildings, as in Shahjahanabad and the villages. The hybrid courtyard-bungalow, assigned to gazetted officers class D on Kushak road was an exception.[43] The 'villa-with-garden' model was introduced in the bungalow type version and was the most widespread typology. It can be assumed to be the sole form of bungalow, of which an excess of 3,000 were built in New Delhi. They varied in size, but were so combined that they created homogeneous blocks. The word 'bungalow' is derived from the Hindi term '*bangla*', which means 'from Bengal', used to describe rural Bengali houses, and was only subsequently used to describe the houses of the colonizers. The bungalow, after having developed in the subcontinent, spread to Africa and other areas of the Far East, becoming the standard of European dwellings in colonized countries. The historian Anthony D. King says: 'the colonial bungalow, more accurately described as the colonial bungalow-compound complex, is the basic residential unit of the colonial urban settlement'.[44]

[43]   A particular type of bungalow built around an inner courtyard. 'Gazetted officers class D in Kushak road' at Central Public Works Department, Delhi.

[44]   King, *'Residential Space*: The Bungalow–Compound Complex, pp. 123–55; see also pp. 34–40.

The fundamental traits of colonial dwellings were the compound, or plot, and the bungalow, that is the actual building. In the plan for New Delhi there is a correlation between the social position of the inhabitants and the size of the compound itself. In the preliminary 1912 plan the compounds were large: originally the members of the Council were allotted six acres (4,000 square metre), first class officers 5 acres, second class officers 4 acres, third class officers 3 acres, fourth class officers 3 acres, and everyone else 1.5 acres.[45] These sizes noticeably decreased in time because of the war and the general weakening of the empire. Although the compounds became smaller, Delhi was still a low-density city. The relationship between social position and size of the bungalow-compound was further testified to by the costs: bungalows for Honorary Members of the Council cost Rs 89,000, those for Gazetted Officers between Rs 40,000 and 44,000, those for Class I Married European Clerks Rs 8,600, while those for the Orthodox Indian Bachelors cost Rs 3,200, and finally Rs 500 were allocated for the plots assigned to peons.[46] Each compound was enclosed by a low wall, a fence, or a hedge, which defined a separation between the actual space of the compound and the outside.

In New Delhi, those responsible for the planning of bungalows were members of the group of architects in charge of planning the entire capital, amongst whom were Edwin Lutyens, Herbert Baker, Arthur Shoosmith, C.G. Bloomfield, and G.P.W. Davies. The governmental organization, called the Public Works Department, first under the charge of William H. Nicholls, then of Robert T. Russell, controlled and designed the residential areas. The construction of single buildings depended wholly upon the discretion of the government.[47] Mixed-use areas were not considered; only residential areas were part of the planning process, which inevitably led to the first stages of a zoning process in the city.[48] The bungalow was usually a

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[45]  M.P. Thakore, 'Aspects of the Urban Geography of New Delhi', dissertation for the degree of PhD, University of London, UK, 1962, p. 146.

[46]  *Annual Progress Report* (Delhi: Goverment India, 1924–5), pp. 15–41.

[47]  'Residences', in Andreas Volwashsen, *Imperial Delhi* (Munich–Berlin–London–New York: Prestel, 2002), pp. 239–44; see also Legg, *Spaces of Colonialism*, pp. 99–101; 148–209.

[48]  Franco Mancuso, *Le Vicende dello Zoning* (Milano: il Saggiatore, 1978).

one-storeyed building (sometimes two-storeyed), open on all sides, standing amidst a compound, that is a garden-plot, varying in position in relation to the street and other bungalows. Although different types existed, and some were connected two-by-two, it was a building that followed precise rules, these justified by hygienic and sanitary reasoning. Building laws, or by-laws, and manuals testify the extent to which the building type was 'codified', as is evidenced and elaborated upon in the 1931 volume by S. Douglas Meadows, *Modern Eastern Bungalows and How to Build Them*.[49]

The fundamental rules governing the construction of a bungalow were two: 'healthiness' and 'good looks'. The bungalow, in comparison to precolonial houses, was considered a model of 'healthiness', the garden preventing any form of external contamination. The mere existence of sewers heralded a tremendous advance in comparison to previous Indian houses and now disposed of waste water. The situation of the bungalow took into consideration the direction of the wind and the movement of the sun. Sufficient ventilation helped to cool the house, kept out foul smells, and held diseases at bay. It was mandatory for every house to have an adequate number of windows, not only for the circulation of air, but also to allow for a view of the landscape, which can be seen as an inadvertent adoption of the criteria of European-type aesthetics. The gardens surrounding the houses were designed with vast areas of grass, hedges, and trees. Each plot, or compound, usually provided for a lawn, both in front and behind the house, with areas of shade provided by high enclosing walls, as in the havelis, as well as by planting leafy trees. For hygienic reasons, however, the vegetation was not permitted to encroach upon the building, and the role of trees was primarily aimed at the creation of 'a beautiful town'.[50] Bungalows were open, airy buildings bearing no resemblance to havelis with their courtyards, and introduced a manner of living similar to that of British garden cities such as Hampstead and Welwyn.

[49] See also 'New Delhi Municipal Committee, Bye-laws to regulate the erection & re-erection of buildings in New Delhi', booklet, 1937, Delhi State Archives.

[50] William J. Moore, *Health in the Tropics or Sanitary Art Applied to Europeans in India* (London: Churchill, 1862), pp. 120–1.

The bungalows often had a symmetrical layout, with rooms arranged to mirror one another, as in many Palladian villas. Bungalows assigned to gazetted officers class B,[51] designed by Russell, unequivocally resemble the Rotonda Villa in Vicenza. The doors and windows tended to be aligned to enhance ventilation and the ceilings were never less than three metres (10 feet) high, with air vents at the top to allow warmer air to escape. Bungalows, unlike the havelis, were usually divided into rooms with assigned functions. In the heart of the house were the living and dining rooms, and in close proximity the bedrooms and many bathrooms, almost always looking outwards, on to the garden. The kitchen needed to be easily accessible to servants and to be open to the outdoors to enable unpleasant odours to escape. They were therefore placed either at the corner of the bungalow or in a separate stand-alone building. Servants always lived in isolated quarters. In the larger bungalows, even the storeroom, the garage, and the office were often separated from the main building. The most important part of house, where its inhabitants spent a majority of their time, was the veranda, which embodies a strong element of continuity with the tradition of Indian housing: whether as an integral part of the building or situated outside the perimeter wall.

The different approach or manner in which the houses were inhabited reflects the gradual changes taking place in society and the family structure, and the transition from extended families to nuclear ones. 'The specialised areas of the new house types came into use. The city provided an opportunity to break from traditional patterns, its dwellings encouraged new nuclear family structures and the specialization of internal space permitted new forms of socialisation to occur.'[52] Privacy in the bungalow was safeguarded within the enclosed area of the plot or the compound, while in the haveli, the walled-in areas safeguarded privacy. The establishment of boundaries through compounds significantly increased the separation into individual family units. Women certainly did not seem to be separated from their husbands in a segregated part of the house. The role of the chowkidar, who controlled the only entrance to the

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[51] See the illustration: 'Bungalow for Gazetted Officers, class B, A 2286/2', at Central Public Works Department, Delhi.

[52] King, *Colonial Urban Development*, p. 266.

compound, still existed. Servants were still many, but were no longer considered to form a part of the family, and kept at a distance, possibly straining relations and establishing other barriers between people.[53]

Although Lutyens wanted them to be built of stone, most bungalows were made of bricks, mortar, and plaster.[54] The colour of choice was white, and the most widespread style was the neo-classical Palladian, with classical elements such as round arches and Doric columns, which closely resemble the British colonial architecture in Calcutta at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This similarity is visible in the porticos of the bungalows assigned to gazetted officers class A.[55] Frequently, elements of local tradition were incorporated, such as chajjas.[56] Occasionally the architectural style embraced the purity of modernity, or resorted to liberty and art deco elements, as in the façades of the European Married Clerks' Quarters.[57] In practice, 'their [the British's] mansions were landmarks and their families formed a new official aristocracy'.[58] These words show that the living quarters were not merely a domestic abode, but through their shapes and styles, became a status symbol and an indication of a social position.

[53] 'Indian dwellings and servants' houses should be at safe distance. Indian servants often have their families with them, their ways of living are not ours, and for hygienic reasons, especially in malarious and unhealthy districts, close proximity is not desirable', in Kate Platt, *The Home and Health in India and in the Tropical Colonies* (London: Baillière, Tindall & Cox, 1923), p. 21.

[54] 'The most common building materials used in house construction are bricks and mortar', in S. Douglas Meadows, *Modern Eastern Bungalows and How to Build Them* (Calcutta: Thacker's Press and Directories, 1931), 88.

[55] See drawing: Bungalow, A1678, dated 23–8–1937, in Central Public Works Department Archive, Delhi.

[56] Central Public Works Department Archive, New Delhi, A286, A766, and also A279.

[57] Central Public Works Department Archive, New Delhi, A785/1.

[58] Percival Spear, 'The British in Delhi', in *Twilight of the Mughals: Studies in late Mughal Delhi* (Karachi–Oxford–New York–Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1980), 137.

## POPULATION INCREASE, RESETTLEMENT AREAS, AND SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSES

The construction of buildings in Delhi, which had already been a problem during the colonial period,[59] reached a climax after Independence as a consequence of the separation of Pakistan from India.[60] The entire nation witnessed hundreds of thousands of refugees emigrating to Pakistan, and just as many making the opposite journey, immigrating to India. The number of refugees was very high, and to this were added large numbers economic immigrants from small towns and the countryside in search of a better life.[61] The migratory processes thus played a decisive role in the development not only of the capital, but of many Indian cities. 'The partition of India in 1947, however, led to large number of Moslems leaving and an even larger number of Hindu refugees arriving, so that a population of 700,000 in 1941 rose drastically to 1.44 million by 1951.'[62] A study of the population increase, carried out in 1956 by the Greater Delhi Survey of the Delhi School of Economics, shows how in those years Shahjahanabad was the greatest sufferer: its population had risen from 522,000 in 1941, to 915,000 in 1951, leading to dramatic overpopulation.[63]

The issue of housing was very critical in this transitional period. Not only in India, but in many parts of the world, questions began surfacing about living conditions and the role of a residence or home, both because of the pressure of the industrialization processes, as well as the devastation wreaked by the Second World War.[64] The centrality of

[59] 'Following the partition of the country, over half a million refugees moved into Delhi intensifying an already acute housing problem', in Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 6.

[60] The Partition of India and Pakistan occurred on 15 August 1947; see V.K.R.V. Rao and P.B. Desai, *Greater Delhi*, p. 110.

[61] 'We have here [in Delhi] 32% residents, 31% in-migrants and 37% refugees', *Greater Delhi*, p. 168.

[62] Geoffrey K. Payne, *Urban Housing in the Third World* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), p. 86.

[63] Town and Country Planning Organization, *Migration to Delhi*, mimeo, November 1969.

[64] 'Nearly all the countries of the world today are faced with the problem of constructing more and more houses so as to improve the supply to cope

the subject is highlighted by a series of debates and studies. One such was the conference on 19 March 1950 sponsored by the Ministry of Works, Mines, and Power, which examined the situation in the capital. Another was the international conference on low cost housing in 1954, inaugurated in Delhi by Prime Minister Nehru. Nehru opened the event with the words: 'we must change all our ideas about housing. We take for granted not only the mud huts of our villages but the fact that large numbers of people have not even those mud huts'.[65] Nehru strove to urgently overcome the problem of housing within the city of Delhi,[66] and sought to ensure a minimum standard of housing for all its citizens, 'both official as well as non-official'.[67] He maintained that the issue should not be examined strictly from an engineering point of view, reducing it to a simple choice of materials and deliberation on matters relating to construction, but should also be evaluated through the eyes of an architect. Planning and typology were decisive tools in resolving the problem, which extended beyond superficial matters like façades and decorations: they imply an analysis of the issue, understanding how people live, how their space can be organized. Notwithstanding a clear desire to alter set ways of thinking, the response remained partial, and the city lapsed into being built in a fragmentary, confused fashion.

Many were responsible for the construction of houses in the capital, and their often acrimonious complacency worsened the state of confusion.[68] In 1950 it was written that 'the most depressing fact about

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with the increasing demand', Housing Exhibition (Delhi: Book Souvenir, 1954), 14.

[65] International Exhibition on Low Cost Housing, January to March 1954, Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, Government of India, New Delhi, 1954, p. 5.

[66] 'I think that housing must be given a high priority', in 'Jawaharlal Nehru on building a New India', National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi, November 1991, Intention & Meaning, p. 31.

[67] In File No. 23(19)| 50, 1950, Chief Commissioner Office, Dep. Land, Subject: Papers regarding the meeting convened by the Government of India, Ministry of Works Mine and Power regarding the present housing situation in Delhi State Archives.

[68] 'Housing and land development questions were at present being dealt with by different Ministries and by different authorities, and there was a lack of coordination', in File No. 23(19)| 50, 1950, Chief Commissioner Office,

the housing crisis in India is not the lack of houses but the lack of a national housing policy'.[69] Houses were planned and built by government institutions, by private organizations, companies, associations, and also by single individuals.[70] Among the principal government institutions were the Central Public Works Department, the successor of the Public Works Department founded in the colonial period; the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, the Ministry of Rehabilitation, the Delhi State Administration, the Municipal Corporation of Delhi, the New Delhi Municipal Committee, the Delhi Improvement Trust, which in the 1950s became the Delhi Development Authority.[71] Among the private developers, Delhi Land and Finance (DLF) was the best known.[72] The question regarding whether or not it was right for the government to own most of the land, or whether it should relinquish it to private enterprises was controversial and an issue of vehement debate. The cooperative societies also constructed numerous buildings. Frequently, the government only planned the streets and divided a given area into plots, leaving the houses to be built by their prospective owners. The sheer number of subjects involved, and the

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Dept. Land. Subject: Papers regarding the meeting convened by the Government of India, Ministry of Works Mine and Power regarding the present housing situation in Delhi–Delhi State Archives; *and also* 'The Birla Committee reported in 1951 that there was 'neither co-ordination, nor overall supervision and planning of the activities of these agencies', in Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 6.

[69] File No. 23(19)| 50, 1950, Chief Commissioner Office, Dep. Land, Subject: Papers regarding the meeting convened by the Government of India.

[70] 'Until World War II, the Department of Public Works in the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply was the major agency responsible for preparing plans and building houses for all Ministries of the Central Government. After Independence the demand of the Government Departments rose sharply and in spite of its hard efforts C.P.W.D. is not able to meet even a fraction of the demand. Hence several ministries have started developing housing colonies for their respective staff'. In Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, op. cit., p. 18.

[71] *Draft Master Plan for Delhi*, vol. I (Town and Country Planning Organization, 1957), 100.

[72] 'It is obvious, therefore, that the private building activity must have operated in a substantial measure', in Rao and Desai, *Greater Delhi*, p. 150.

lack of rules or guidelines, contributed to the multitude and general disorder of the results. This is such a complex subject that it requires a separate in-depth study as it is not feasible to discuss it here in detail.

The countryside, formerly agricultural land, which separated the villages from one another, was slowly but steadily diminishing as the city began expanding. The urbanized areas grew without permission or authorization, and the number of illegally occupied areas was growing. 'Temporary camps and shelters were erected by the govern-ment to house this vast multitude, but these camps were unable to provide adequate shelter during the fierce dust storms, monsoon rains and floods of Delhi.'[73] To overcome these difficulties, new colonies were planned, similar to those introduced by the British Public Works Department in the 1920s for Indians who were not government employees. In contrast to the colonial period, however, these now assumed an important role[74] and were literally built by the dozen.

The perimeter of each neighbourhood was clearly defined, and the buildings followed strict rules. A close relationship was established between the home, the building, and the neighbourhood, and the city was divided into homogeneous parts. The government's first attempts to control urban development dated back to 1955, with the enactment of the *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*,[75] and then in 1962, when Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru commissioned the Town and Country Planning Committee and the American Ford Foundation to prepare a master plan. The plan attempted to promote organized expansion of the city, did not abandon the 'colony' system, and reinforced the zoning principles and the division of the city into

[73]  Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 6.

[74]  In the late colonial period, the British had introduced, for the Indian lower-middle classes, the model of the colony neighbourhood. Each followed precise architectural and planning rules, as is the case with Daryaganj and Karol Bagh in the 1920s and 1930s, and Lodi Colony in the 1940s.

[75]  'Land under residential use covers only 18:9 per cent of the total incorporated area but forms 42 per cent. of the total development area and is the largest single intensively development use. Of these 13,270 acres, Government-owned housing covers 5,540 acres (42 per cent) and private housing covers the remaining 58 per cent', in Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 17.

functional areas. The zoning principle did not derive from the tradi-
tional Indian city, and was introduced in British New Delhi, becoming
the prime modality for the organization of residential areas.

## STATE-SUBSIDIZED HOUSES

As the number of governmental functionaries grew, new colo-
nies were built to house them.[76] In 1956, 'about 40 per cent of the
population of Delhi depends upon Government jobs',[77] and each of
them required and was given a house. These were neighbourhoods
with buildings that had a recognizable, simple, semi-modern form.
Examples of these are Sarojini Nagar Colony, RK Puram Colony,
Vinay Nagar Colony, and others. The houses were grouped together
in accordance with the position their inhabitants held at their place of
work, and their differences corresponded to the typologies: from type 1,
for simple clerks, to type 8 for positions of higher standing. In the
residences themselves, the type and use of the rooms was repeated—
bedrooms and bathrooms, dining room and kitchen, veranda, and
garden—but their size and position varied from neighbourhood to
neighbourhood. Lower category houses, type 1, were small, compris-
ing simply an entrance-kitchen and a bedroom. The houses had com-
mon balconies and the toilets and bathrooms were located outside of
the living premises. An example of this is house type 1, sector V,
n. 1210, in RK Puram Colony. In the same neighbourhood, house n. 80,
type 2, has residences of an altogether different size, with a kitchen, a
veranda, two bedrooms, and a bathroom. In house n. 201, type 4, in
Laxmi Bai Nagar Colony, the size is even larger, and each house has an
entrance, a living room, a dining room, a kitchen, two bedrooms, and
a bathroom.[78] The plans were sometimes signed by famous architects,
such as Joglekar and Rahman for the houses in RK Puram Colony,

[76] 'Thus between 1947–48 and 1956–57, residential accommodation for
Central Government employees was built to the tune of 16,432 dwelling units
and 3,540 staff quarters for railway employees during the same period', in
V.K.R.V. Rao and P.B. Desai, *Greater Delhi. A Study in Urbanization*, p. xxii.

[77] Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*,
p. 14.

[78] Surveyed by Pilar Maria Guerrieri: no documentation available.

type 2; on other occasions the names were not as well known but we nonetheless know that the buildings were erected under the control and supervision of the Central Public Works Department. After Independence, the physical height of buildings was restricted to two storeys, and the houses had gardens towards the front or all around, reinforcing the image of a green, low-density city.

## REFUGEE HOUSING

Finding space for refugees was possibly the most important and pressing problem. Several Hindu and Sikh immigrants occupied houses abandoned by Muslims who had left for Pakistan; similarly, the houses of those Hindus who left Pakistan were occupied by the arriving Muslims. Cultures blended and the social distribution in cities changed dramatically. A proposal was made to divide the large bungalows assigned to government officials in order to accommodate several families within one. The government attempted to provide all the new arrivals with a home, planning the so-called resettlement colonies with the requisite urgency, resulting in a profusion of colonies for refugees.[79] Thus, in 1948, just after the exodus, when 150,000 people had found shelter in evacuated houses, Delhi welcomed over 300,000 more refugees.[80] In one year, 20 colonies were planned, occupying a

[79] 'The Government formulated a scheme to open up colonies in many parts of the city and build houses', in A. Bopegamage, *Housing*, in *Delhi: A Study in Urban Sociology*, p. 82; see also Sabir Ali, *Environment and Resettlement Colonies of Delhi*; Girish K. Misra and Rakesh Gupta, *Resettlement Policies in Delhi* (New Delhi: Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1981). 'Government have also developed large tracts of vacant land for housing, built dwellings and sold them to displaced persons from West Pakistan', in Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 18.

[80] 'As regards to refugee families, a total of 69,367 dwelling units had been constructed by the Ministry of Rehabilitation during its tenure upto 1958. Including the residential construction undertaken by other public authorities like the Delhi Administration, Improvement Trust, Municipalities etc., one may estimate the total number of dwelling units built by governmental agencies as about 1 lakh during the post-partition years of the reference period. Private construction excluding unauthorized structures during the period can be estimated to be 20,000'. In Rao and Desai, *Greater Delhi*, p. xxii.

total of 3,000 acres of land. Among the refugee neighbourhoods built immediately after the war were: Rajendra Nagar, Patel Nagar (East and West), Malkaganj, Kingsway Camp, Vijaya Nagar, Nizamuddin, Nizamuddin Ext., Jangpura, Jangpura neighbourhood, Lajpat Nagar (East and West), Kalkaji, Malviya Nagar, Bharat Nagar, Tilak Nagar, Purana Kila, Kotla Firozshah, Azadpur, Regharpura, Anguri Bagh, and Purdah Garden.[81] In order to pinpoint the neighbourhoods erected during the years directly following Partition, it is useful to consult the Delhi map drawn by the Survey of India in 1955–6. The typology of the houses in these neighbourhoods was repetitive, aus-terely simple, and recognizable. Bopegamage also says that in an effort to bring order to the information available on this subject:

> … we find that there are two types of houses in the colonies. One type consist of small one-floor tenement houses and the other of one or two storey tenement houses. There are two sub groups in the small one-floor tenement houses. Under one, a tenement house consists of a single room of size $14^13^{II} \times 10^1$ with a veranda of size $14^13^{II} \times 7^13^{II}$. In the other group the house has two rooms measuring $12^1 \times 10^1$ each, with a small front yard and also a back yard. For the sake of convenience we shall be describing the two sub-groups as single-room one-floor tenement house, and the double-room one-floor tenement house. The size and pattern of each type of these houses are more or less uniform in every colony. In one and

[81] 'Rajendra Nagar with 255 acres/22,000 persons, Patel Nagar (East & West) with 400 acres and 24,000 persons, Malkaganj with 28 acres and 2,500 persons, Kingsway with 151,3 acres and 18,000 persons, Vijay Nagar with 40 acres and 3,000 persons, Nizamuddin with 33 acres and 2,500 persons, Nizamuddin extension with 64 acres and 4,000 persons, Jangpura with 130 acres and 7,000 persons, Jangpura neighbourhood with 26 acres and 1,500 persons, Lajpat Nagar (East & West) with 750 acres and 45,000 persons, Kalkaji with 355 acres and 17,000 persons, Malviya Nagar with 400 acres and 24,000 persons, Bharat Nagar with 14 acres and 1,500 persons, Tilak Nagar with 266 acres and 15,000 persons, Purana Kila with 20 acrres and 6,000 per-sons, Kotla Firozshah with 7 acres and 1,500 persons, Azadpur with 9.2 acres 1,500 persons, Regharpura with 7.5 acres and 2,500 persons, Anguri Bagh with 1 acre and 450 persons, Purdah Garden with 1.6 acres and 300 persons'. In Sabir Ali, *Environment and Resettlement Colonies of Delhi*, pp. 82–3.

two storey tenement house types there are three rooms in each floor of a building with a separate bath and also a lavatory.[82]

In Rajinder Nagar Colony:

… [a] majority of the houses are double-room one-floor tenement houses. A long row of houses runs generally on either side of lanes. The occupants of each have turned the front courtyard to lawns and small flower-gardens. A leafy hedge runs right along the fence skirting the house. These double-room tenement houses were built to accommodate one family only. But in some there dwell one or two more families, mostly those of relatives together. The occupants of these houses are members of the middle income group.[83]

In Patel Nagar (East and West):

The majority of tenement houses are either one-storeyed or two storeyed structures. But there are also one floor single rooms types as well as three-roomed bungalow types. Most of these houses are owned by the occupants. […] Many of these occupants are well-to-do upper middle income group.[84]

Lajpat Nagar, which housed about 45,000 people and was geographically the largest colony built in Delhi after 1947:

… has different types of houses. There are single-floor one-room tenement houses, single-floor two roomed tenement houses and also big one-storey dormitory houses, which accommodate about 150 to 250 families in each. […] Besides these types there is also a bungalow type consisting of three rooms. A majority of the occupants belong to the middle-income group. There are some belonging to lower income group too.[85]

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[82] A. Bopegamage, *Housing*, in *Delhi: A Study in Urban Sociology* (Bombay: University of Bombay, 1957), p. 83.

[83]  Bopegamage, 1957, pp. 84–5.

[84]  Bopegamage, 1957, pp. 84–5.

[85]  A. Bopegamage, *Housing,* in *Delhi*.

In Purana Qila Colony:

> … the majority of the houses in this colony are one floor single-room tenements […]. Many of these single-room tenements are overcrowded […]. The occupants of these houses belong to the middle and low income groups'.[86]

As the descriptions confirm, the population of these colonies and of others cater largely to the middle class, and often the poorer classes were neglected. As late as 1963 it was stated that the 'prices in building costs [over] the last 3 years have gone up by 15 to 20 per cent—another deterrent for housing, particularly for the poor'.[87] Bijit Ghose harshly criticizes the master plan when he writes, 'The Master Plan is based essentially on standards which govern the living of only privileged people; the standards are for sophisticated living';[88] so much so that notwithstanding the enormous shortage of housing, many houses built by the CPWD remained empty, and sometimes became dilapidated without anyone ever having lived in them.

## SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSES

There are other colonies in which the government or private enterprises simply facilitated the network of streets and defined the perimeter of the plots, leaving the construction of the houses to their inhabitants, who had complete freedom in terms of structure and style. For example, in 1956, 'to the government housing, both the State and the Union Government have given away large sums of money as loans and grants to encourage private house-building activity'.[89] Greater Kailash Colony, Jor Bagh Colony, Golf Links Colony, Defence Colony, Rana Pratap Bagh Colony, and Friends Colony were prime examples. With India's Independence a revival or return to the traditional courtyard house did not occur; there was rather a transition from the large

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[86]  Bopegamage, *Housing,* in *Delhi.*
[87]  'Housing: A Review', in *The Indian Architect*, June 1963, p. 25.
[88]  Godfriend, *The Delhi Masterplan of 1962*, p. 43.
[89]  Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 18.

'bungalow plot' to the more modest 'house plot'.[90] The general tendency, testified by magazines, was to build single-family, one or two-storeyed houses.[91] 'The nuclear family held a double attraction for the new generation of independent India. Fashionably modern and Western, it also brought a freedom which came increasingly valued in a climate of change and opportunity.'[92] However, buildings that were originally single-family houses often ended up being used by a larger number of families for economic and, possibly, even cultural reasons. In 1956, 'There are too few houses and too many people still to be housed. This has resulted in doubling and tripling of families in small dwellings units.'[93] People inhabited houses and adapted them to their needs.

Today, living in a haveli is not fashionable: the smart places to live are modern suburban 'colonies'. Some of the largest Mughal houses had also been detached and surrounded by gardens, but the regular row of detached villas found today are the descendants of cantonment bungalows'.[94]

Plots occupied by bungalows did not disappear, but were inhabited by the wealthy and were located on the perimeter or within particular blocks. Their legacy, however, remained, reinvented to a certain degree, in the single-family houses that were so often erected on much smaller plots. Significant examples of these are the houses of Kamla Rani Krishan Mohan and Sardarni Inderjit Kaur in Defence

[90] 'Conversion of bungalow plots into house plots' in b) 1(31)/55_2: SG Part I–II, 1955: Delhi State Archives. Regarding reduction of plot sizes, 'The minimum ¾ acre and one acre prescribed [...] does not fit in with the changed conditions. It is therefore, proposed that a directive be issued to the Notified Area Committee, Civil Station to reduce the minimum area in both the above cases to ½ acre', File No. 23(19)| 50, 1950, Chief Commissioner Office, Dep. Land. Subject: Papers regarding the meeting convened by the Government of India, Ministry of Works Mine and Power regarding the present housing situation in Delhi: Delhi State Archives.

[91] 'According to an estimate offered by Delhi Development Authority, a total of about 13,370 private dwellings units had been built between 1951 and 1958', in V.K.R.V. Rao and P.B. Desai, *Greater Delhi*, pp. xxi–xxii.

[92] Sarah Tillotson, *Indian Mansions*, p. 144.

[93] Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 19.

[94] Sarah Tillotson, *Indian Mansions*, p. 145.

Colony, designed by the Architects Associated Studio in 1960 and Mrs Malti Singh's bungalow in Friends Colony, designed by Karl Malte Von Heinz in 1961. In both these cases, in contrast to the havelis, all the rooms have a specific function: there is a kitchen and rooms for servants which are detached from the main building; on the ground floor, there is a living room, dining room, office, a guest-room, and a garage for the car; on the first floor, are family bedrooms. They differ in the size of the garden: smaller in the first, larger in the second.

Though the plots tended to become smaller after Independence, particular attention continued to be given to green areas and gardens, both private and public. Considering that each plot which had planning permission for a house to be built could not, by law, occupy over a third in terms of built-up area,[95] and it left each house with a fairly large open area. Open areas or spaces for the overall neighbourhood were equally important. Frequently, plots were organized around an internal lawn with trees and, as if it were a rule, all colonies had one or more large parks. This exemplary consideration for both private and public green areas demonstrates a certain continuity with the idea of a 'garden city', that is a city that does not simply consist of buildings, and is wedded to a more complex conception of landscape.

Technical and technological innovations imported by the British, which applied not only to construction per se but also to the city as a whole, began to appear in houses during the colonial period, and spread, until they became standard after 1947. The idea spread that 'in domestic architecture, utility dictates the form. This is true of its new vocabulary as is evident from these design trends.'[96] The aim was that all houses must be equipped with sewerage, air-conditioning, running water, gutters to drain rainwater, bathrooms, fans, electrical systems, and gas for cooking. This process of mechanization and steps towards hygiene that gradually established itself, caused living conditions to

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[95]  'The rule that no more the one-third of a plot should be built up', in File No. 23(19)| 50, 1950, Chief Commissioner Office, Dep. Land. Subject: Papers regarding the meeting convened by the Govt. of India, Ministry of Works Mine and Power regarding the present housing situation in Delhi: Delhi State Archives.

[96]  'Is Contemporary Indian Domestic Architecture Forging Out a Vocabulary of Its Own?', in *The Indian Architec*t (November 1967): 198.

also change: in summer the heat was no longer stifling, yet the new arrangements meant a loss in the extensive network of exchanges between social classes.

In the new houses, women no longer had an area set apart for them, because 'women in India certainly do not have the same freedom as women in the West, but the impenetrable veil has almost vanished'.[97] Gandhi strongly endorsed the revolution of customs and gave an important stimulus for change in traditional Indian families: 'radio and the spread of education have carried modern ideas into once impenetrable depths of the house, and among the upper and middle classes, purdah is now generally equated with backwardness'.[98] The earlier dominance of the caste system also seemed to have dissipated to a considerable degree:

> … caste discrimination is outlawed in the Indian Constitution, and these changes have been encouraged by a general secularization of society, and by pressure of urbanization and industrialization which make caste barriers difficult to maintain. One consequence is that many people no longer feel the need to live surrounded by their caste group in their tra-ditional *mohalla* or neighbourhood system.[99]

Although the size of plots progressively became smaller, in the actual layouts of the houses there was adherence and continuity with the colo-nial period. This was primarily in terms of exterior elements and the facades, which were similar in various regions of India,[100] adopting, with the exception of some eclecticisms, a modern style rather than the neo-Palladian or the neoclassical. It was a style that, unlike that in the colonial period, appeared to refuse to lean towards tradition.[101]

[97]  Tillotson, *Indian Mansions*.

[98]  Tillotson, *Indian Mansions*.

[99]  Tillotson, *Indian Mansions*, p. 145.

[100]  'The exteriors of newly built houses in India have a uniform ring', in 'Housing: Some Examples of Domestic Architecture from Various Cities', *The Indian Architect* (June 1964): 21.

[101]  'There is unanimous opinion in the country and sufficient evidence from abroad that it has made impressive strides in forging out a vocabulary of its own and has successfully refused to be enslaved by traditions', in 'Is Contemporary Indian Domestic Architecture Forging Out a Vocabulary

Sometimes there was continuity too with the semi-modern style of colonies, especially the new settlements assigned to government officials, in which the considerable, direct or indirect influence of the far-reaching developments in Chandigarh and Ahmedabad cannot be ignored. 'This class of architecture has opened a new chapter for Indian architecture.'[102]

## SLUM HOUSING

Slums are unplanned settlements, the spontaneous and informal reactions to planned urban development. They, therefore, represent unauthorized occupation of land, and of this there is inadequate official information and documentation.[103] Slums developed both during the colonial period and after Independence. These illegal settlements of the poor were usually named *Jhuggi-jhonpri* clusters in the case of Delhi. Even if the issue of housing for the poor has not been solved, it must be noted that in Delhi, as India's capital, the political leadership has always tried to respond to the needs of the urban poor.[104]

Before the move of the capital in 1912 'the unprivileged were pushed towards the fringes of Shahjahanabad […] but there was no social cleavages […], no lonely crowds, no lack of warmth'.[105] The situation however, worsened after the shift of the capital. Between 1916 and 1926 the population of Old Delhi increased by 28 per cent and as a consequence the old havelis, *katha*s, and mohallas became even more congested. With increasing rural to urban migration, squatter settlements, the *jhuggi-jhonpri basti*s, started cropping

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of Its Own?', *The Indian Architect*, November 1967: 198. See Gita Dewan Verma, *Slumming in India: A Chronicle of Slums and Their Saviours* (Delhi: Penguin Books, 2002); Amita Baviskar, 'The Politics of the City', *Seminar* 516, August 2002.

[102] *The Indian Architect*, Nov. 1967:168.

[103] A. Shaw, 'Urban Policy in Post Independent India: An Appraisal', *Economical and Political Weekly*, vol. 31, n. 4(1996): 224–8.

[104] Ritu Priya, 'Town Planning, Public Health and Urban Poor. Some exploration from Delhi', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 28, n. 17 (24 April 1993): 824–34.

[105] Jag Mohan, *Rebuilding Shahjahanabad* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1975).

up in and around the new extension areas and in the periphery of New Delhi.[106]

At that time, A.P. Hume, an officer on special duty with the colonial government, was asked to suggest measures for relieving congestion in Delhi. In his *Report on Relief of Congestion in Delhi* (1936) Hume shows that the city contains numerous well-defined slums, insanitary lanes, and dwellings of constituting a menace to public health.[107] Development of extension areas and slum clearance were the major responses of the colonial government to this situation, and a 'saniti-zation' of Old Delhi. During the colonial period, slums should have been sanitized in the interest of all, including these poor citizens, but apparently the 'interest of the city' did not really include housing of the poor citizens.[108]

Post-partition the city of Delhi was overwhelmed by the refugees, and the issue of slum became an absolute priority. Between 1941 and 1951 there was a phenomenal increase in what was described in the First Five Year Plan as sub-standard housing and slums 'containing insanitary mud-huts of flimsy construction, poorly ventilated, over congested and often lacking in essential amenities such as water and light'[109] in urban areas.

The idea evolved of tackling the issue of slums 'pragmatically and scientifically'. In 1950 the government set up an enquiry committee under the chairmanship of G.D. Birla to review the working of DIT and 'advise on housing policy for Delhi especially poor housing'.[110] Unlike the colonial period, the Ministry of Rehabilitation undertook the ambitious task of providing housing for all.

[106] Lalit Batra, *A Review of Urbanization and Urban Policy in Post Independece India*, Working paper series, (New Delhi: CSLG, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 2009); *see also* Legg, *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities*.

[107] The Delhi Improvement Trust (DIT) should have solved the problems of slum clearance after 1937.

[108] Ritu Priya, 'Town Planning, Public Health and Urban Poor. Some exploration from Delhi', 826.

[109] R.M. Dwivedi, *Urban Development and Housing in India* (New Delhi: New Century, 2007), p. 34.

[110] Ritu Priya, 'Town Planning, Public Health and Urban Poor: Some exploration from Delhi', op. cit., 826.

The First Five Year Plan (1951–6) in fact was primarily concerned with housing and rehabilitation of refugees,[111] industrial and employee housing, and slum-dwellers. Even if housing the poor was one of the principal concerns of the Nehruvian government, the plan was still was very categorical—as the colonial government had been—about the need for slum clearance. Terming slums a 'national problem' and a 'disgrace to the country', it stated that 'it is better to pay for the cost of clearing than to … suffer their destructive effects upon human lives and property indefinitely'.[112]

The Second Five Year Plan (1956–61) identified 'rise in land values, speculative buying of lands in the proximity of growing towns, high rentals and the development of slum areas'[113] as features common to most large towns and cities. It also predicted an escalation in these problems given the trends of industrialization. The plan introduced the theme of regional planning and emphasized the importance of preparing master plans for managing urban growth. While recognizing growing housing deficits in urban areas, it placed the problem of housing in the wider perspective and suggested the construction of housing for low-income groups.

In 1956, the Slums Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act was passed. The Act defined slums as: 'any area [where] buildings … (*a*) are in any respect unfit for human habitation, or (*b*) are by reason of dilapidation, over-crowding, faulty arrangement and design of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangement of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation, or any combination of these factors, are detrimental, to safety, health or morals'.[114] However consistent with the socialist rhetoric of the early years of national planning, it clearly stated that the resettlement of slum residents is to be based on the

[111]  In the same plan period the National Buildings Organization and the School of Planning and Architecture were set up to improve the quality and efficiency of the built environment, research and develop housing technologies, and create a cadre of trained town planners.

[112]  Ibid., p. 51. The use of the term 'slum' in the First Plan refers exclusively to the dilapidated and over-congested areas of the Walled City; see Bharat Sevak Samaj, *Slums of Old Delhi* (Delhi: Delhi Pradesh, 1958).

[113]  GoI, Housing and Urban Policy in India [Online] Available at *https://india.gov.in/housing-and-urban-policy-india*.

[114]  The Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act, 1956.

principles of 'minimum dislocation' and provision of only 'minimum standards of environmental hygiene and essential civic amenities'.

It was in the Third Plan (1961–6) that urban policy and development planning began to acquire a clarity of form. The 1962 master plan for Delhi was promulgated and the principles of land use zoning were suggested. These principles were completely incongruent with the existing morphology of Indian cities where mixed land use was the norm. The master plan spoke about creating slum free cities through massive housing construction which, as it transpired, misinterpreted the needs of local culture.

The plans sought to achieve this goal by construction of low income housing on a large scale. In Delhi, the development authorities were given almost unfettered power to acquire land, plan cities, and build housing for different segments of society, particularly for economically weaker sections. It, however, soon became clear that the housing agencies and development authorities were 'busy in enhancing their profit by constructing luxury housing units and selling them to higher income groups'.[115]

While there was still provision for housing for the poor, Delhi nonetheless continued to attract migrants due to high employment opportunities. The result was again a greater proliferation of slums. During the years immediately following Independence the rhetoric remained of 'removal' and 'clearance' but this slowly changed to 'improvement' and 'upgradation' of slums,[116] but this unfortunately did not make the situation any better for the slum-dwellers. The 'extensive rather than intensive habitation and building model'[117] used to solve the issue

[115]  B. Das, 'Urban Planning in India', *Social Scientist*, vol. 9, n. 12 (1981): 59. 'Between 1961–62 to 1970–71 the allotment of land acquired by Delhi Development Authority, mainly for low-income groups, went heavily in favour of the high income groups.'

[116]  'What the "masters", the expert-bureaucrats, considered urban development did not include the basics of public health—sanitation, water supply, etc. They did not envisage any means of maintaining the natural environment of the city's residential areas. Their model of development has only contributed to its degradation'. In Ritu Priya, 'Town Planning, Public Health and Urban Poor: Some Exploration from Delhi', op. cit., 834.

[117]  Ritu Priya, 'Town Planning, Public Health and Urban Poor. Some Exploration from Delhi', p. 829.

relate much more to European town planning and is quite contrary to the Indian, Shahjahanabad kind of city. Jag Mohan's *Island of Truth*,[118] was clearly suggesting the possibility of 'learning from Shahjanabad' as an alternative to the application of modern planning models but no one seems to have really concured with this recommendation.[119]

We read from Ritu Priya that:

> … It is clear that these attitudes of planners and administrators of Delhi's development—their anti poor bias, their uncritical belief in the modern western models and the ideal and their arrogance as 'experts'—contributed to the massive increase in numbers of squatter settlements and to the formation of 'planned slums' in Delhi. Arguments of 'financial constrains' and 'efficient implementation' were used to push through the substandard schemes for the poor without questioning whether the models adopted were suitable.[120]

The fact that slums were and remain continually increasing is a sign of lack of effective planning, or the incapacity of the planners to appropriately respond to the city's needs. Slums and unauthorized settlements have been greatly influenced, and even been caused, within the cultural exchange process through the mis-application of models and a misunderstanding of local conditions. As we have seen, slums were actually non-existent before the shift of the capital and since then the planning authority has sought to clear or improve them by resorting to solutions, which are unsuitable for the local context. Besides an exploration of the local context, even an application of the theory of 'New Humanism' of the sensitive and 'context-framed' foreigner Patrick Geddes, could perhaps have provided a more appropriate solution to the poor housing issue.

[118] Jagmohan, *Island of Truth* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd, 1978).

[119] 'Indian slum were more than the "aggregate of physical surroundings". They were a "way of life"', Sharan, Awadhendra, 'In the City, Out of Place: Environment and Modernity, Delhi 1860s to 1960s': 4909.

[120] Ritu Priya, 'Town Planning, Public Health and Urban Poor: Some Exploration from Delhi', p. 830.
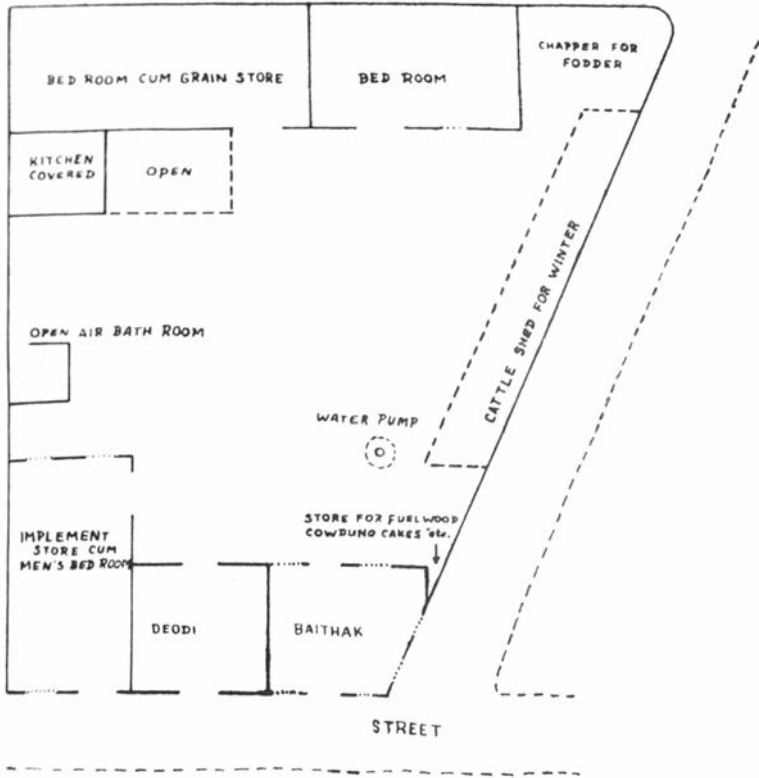
GROUND PLAN OF A TYPICAL HOUSE AT BUDHPUR

**Figure 4.1** Ground Plan of a Typical House at Budhpur Village around Delhi, 1961
*Source*: New Delhi, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1961.
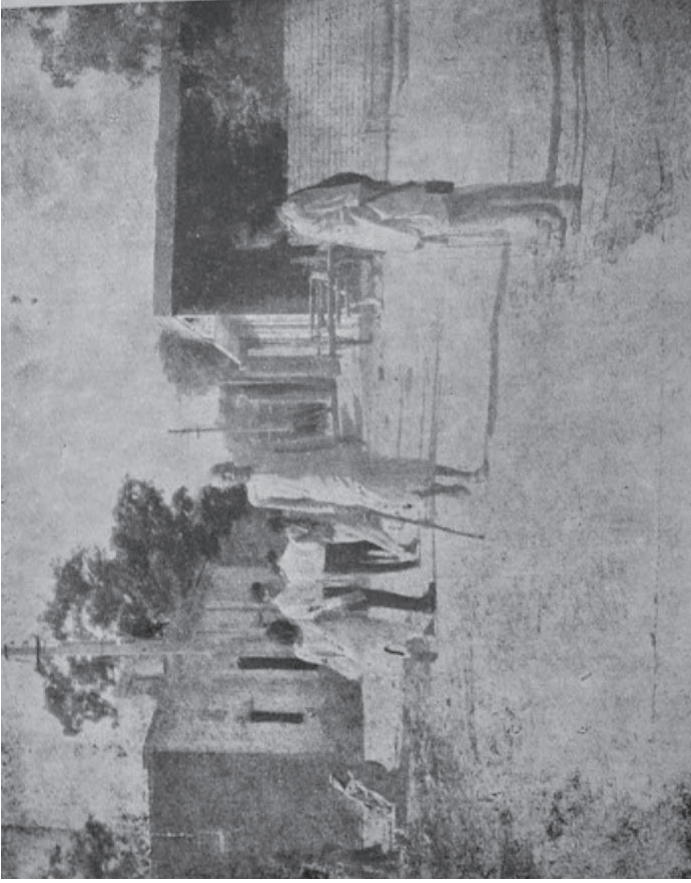
**Figure 4.2**  View of a Street in Budhpur Village around Delhi, 1961
*Source*: New Delhi, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1961.
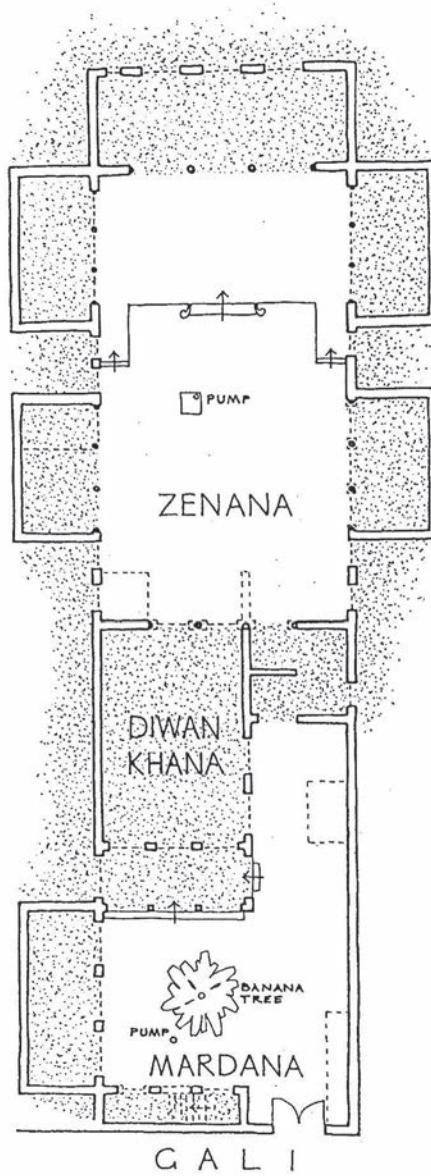
**Figure 4.3** Plan of Ali Manzil Haveli in Delhi, c. 1950

*Source*: The Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH).
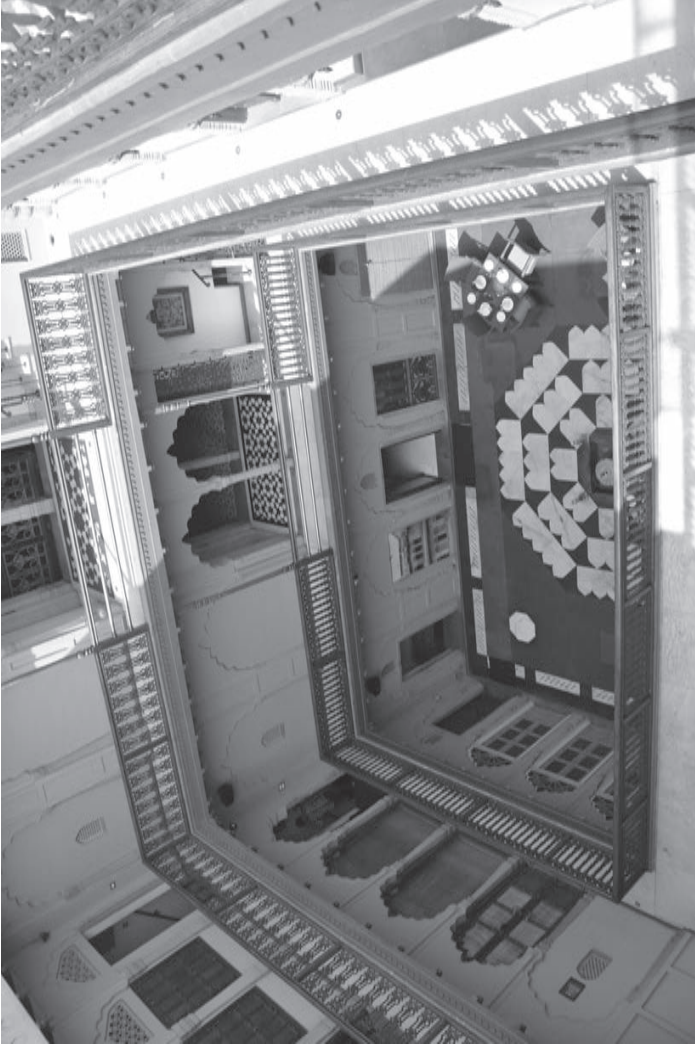
**Figure 4.4** Photograph of the Interior of a *Haveli* in Old Delhi
*Source:* Author.
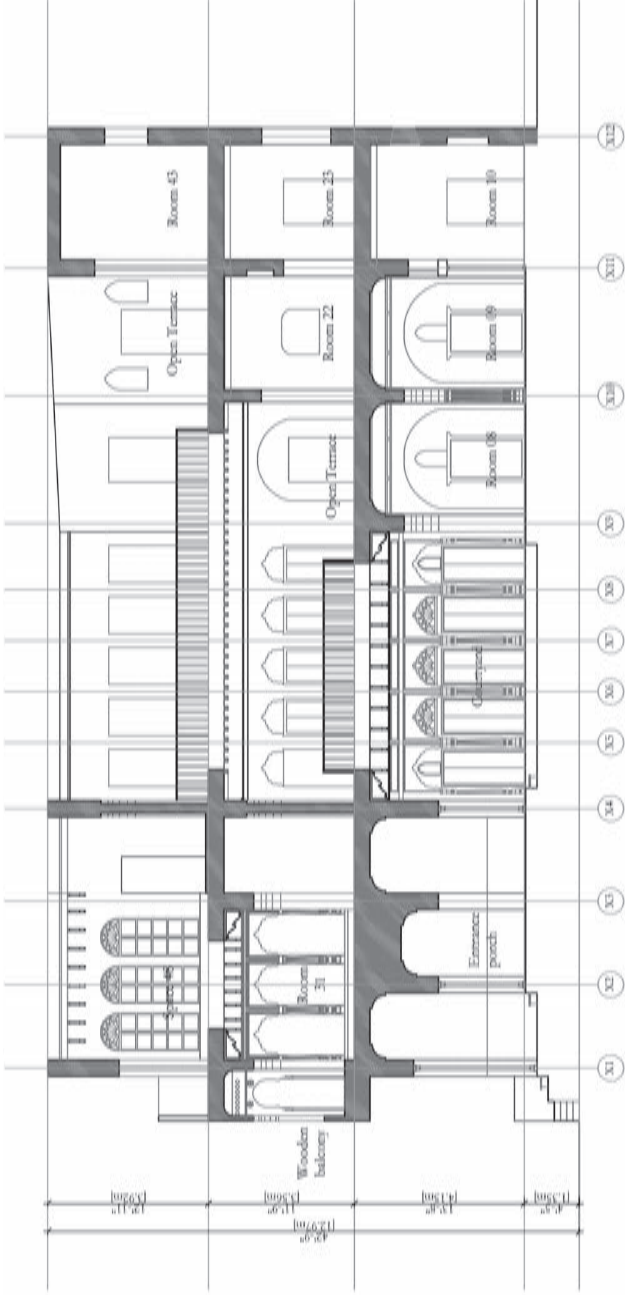
**Figure 4.5**   Section of Dharanpura Haveli in Old Delhi, c. 1950
*Source:* INTACH.
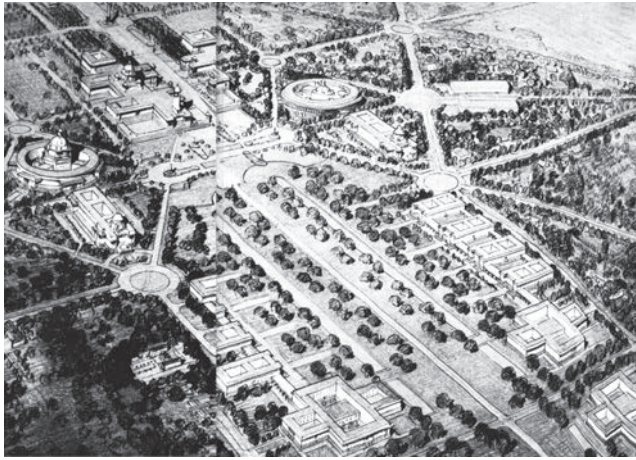
**Figure 4.6**    Sketch of New Delhi Garden City, c. 1920
*Source*: Author.



**Figure 4.7**    Plan that Shows the Distribution of the Bungalows in
New Delhi Plan, c. 1920
*Source*: National Archives of India.
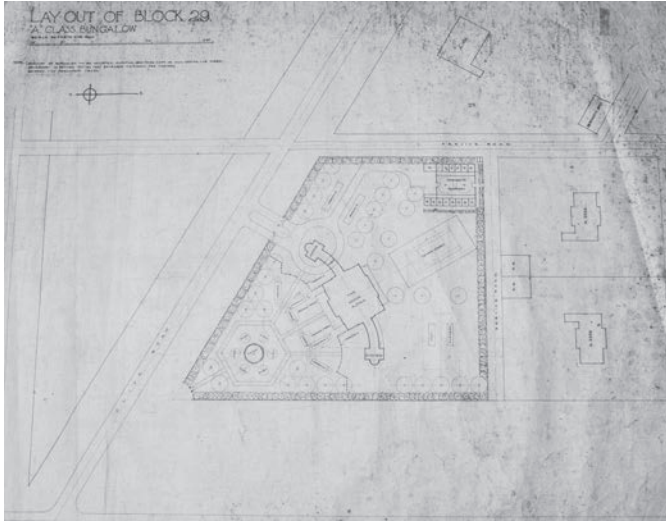
**Figure 4.8**    Layout of a Bungalow Class A in Block 29 in New Delhi, c. 1925
*Source*: Central Public Works Department.
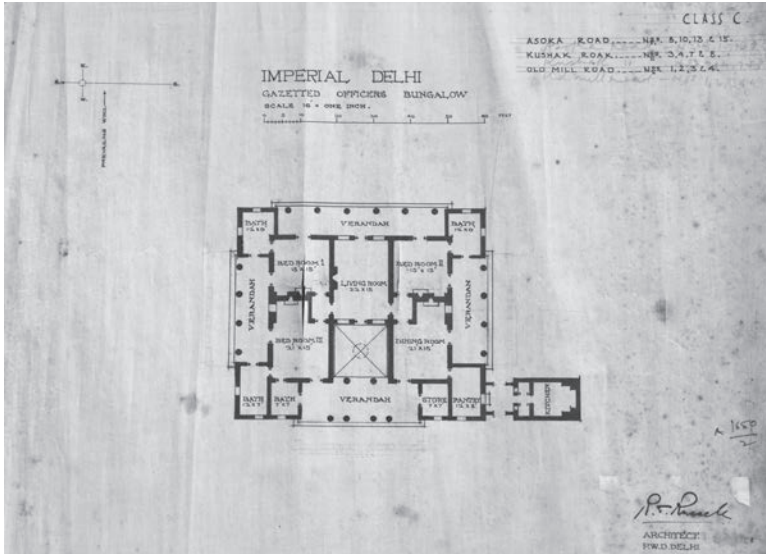


**Figure 4.9**    Layout of a Gazetted Officers Bungalow Class C in New Delhi,
c. 1925
*Source*: Central Public Works Department.
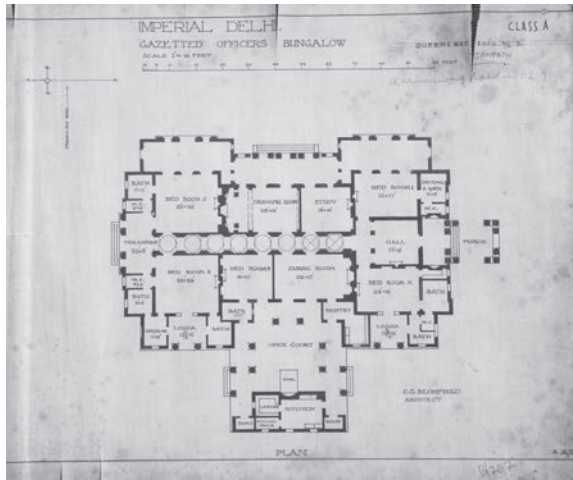
**Figure 4.10** Layout of a Gazetted Officers Bungalow Class A in Queens
Way Road in New Delhi, c. 1925
*Source*: Central Public Works Department.
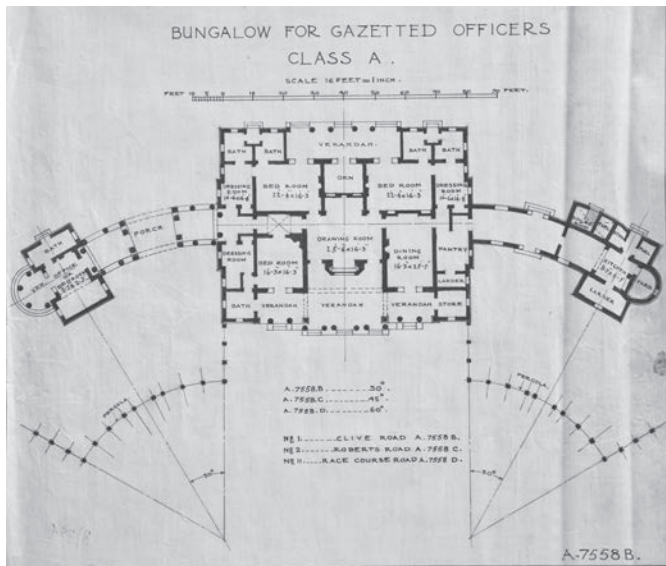


**Figure 4.11** Layout of a Gazetted Officers Bungalow Class A in New Delhi,
c. 1925
*Source*: Central Public Works Department.
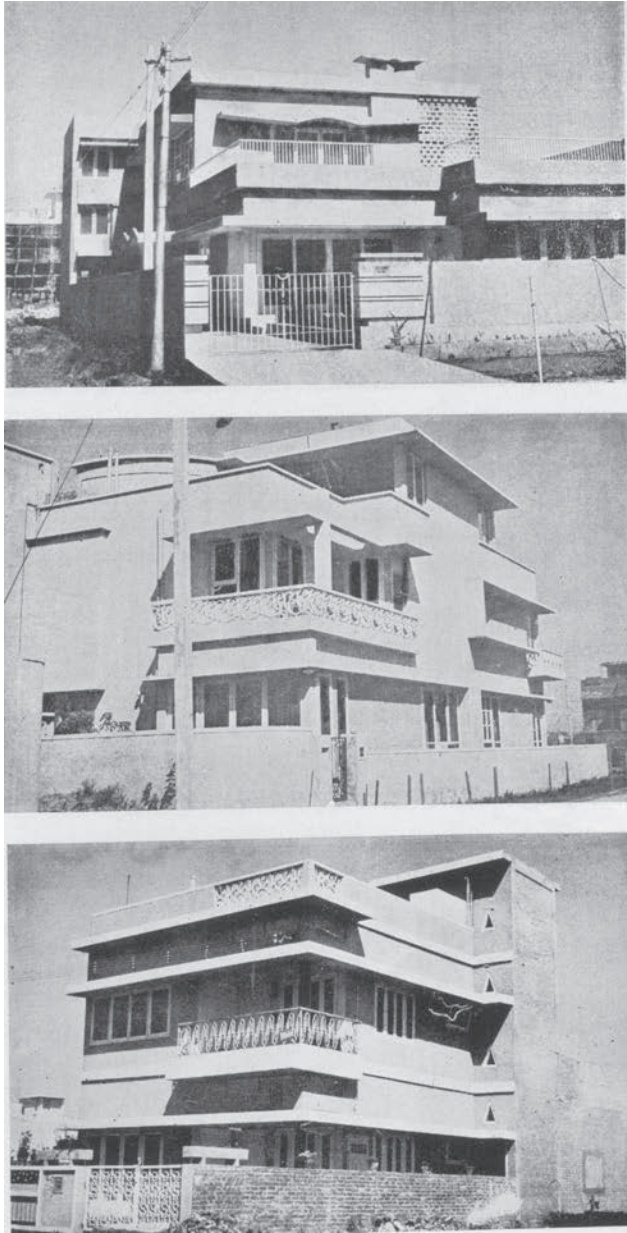
**Figure 4.12**  Modern Houses in South Delhi, c. 1963
*Source*: *The Indian Architect* (1965: 139).

**Figure 4.13**    Modern Houses in South Delhi, c. 1963
*Source*: *The Indian Architect* (1965: 140).
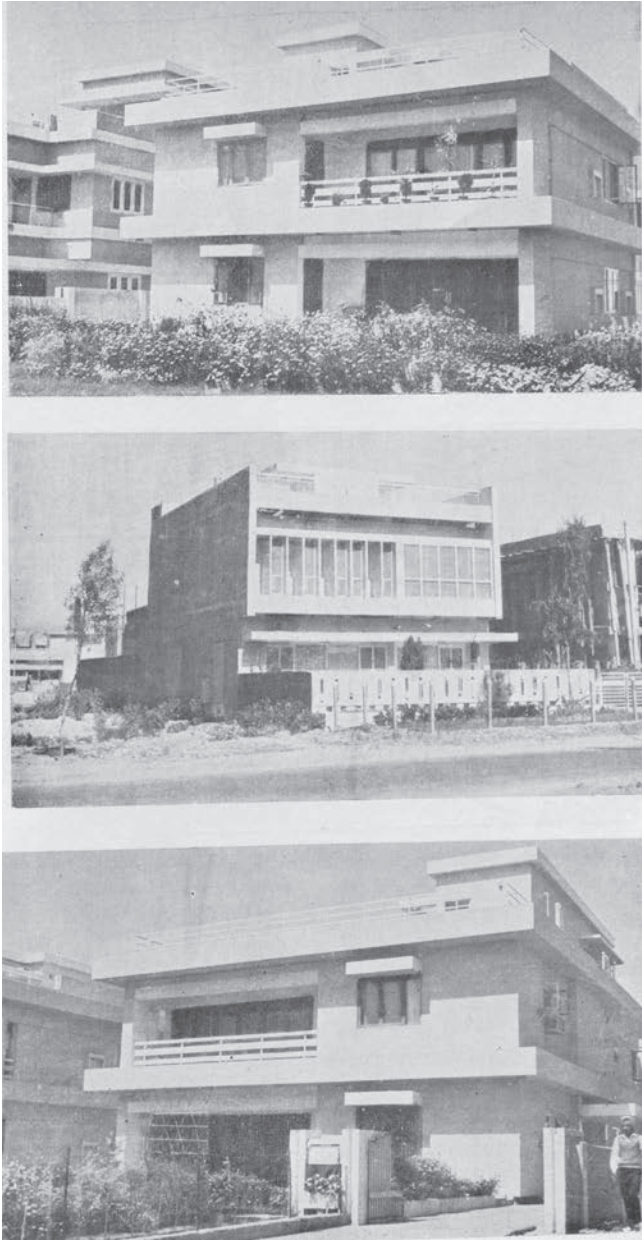
**Figure 4.14**    Modern Houses in South Delhi, c. 1963
*Source*: *The Indian Architect* (1965: 141).

**Figure 4.15**     Photograph of Defence Colony after Independence, c. 1960
*Source*: *The Indian Architect* (1962: 22).
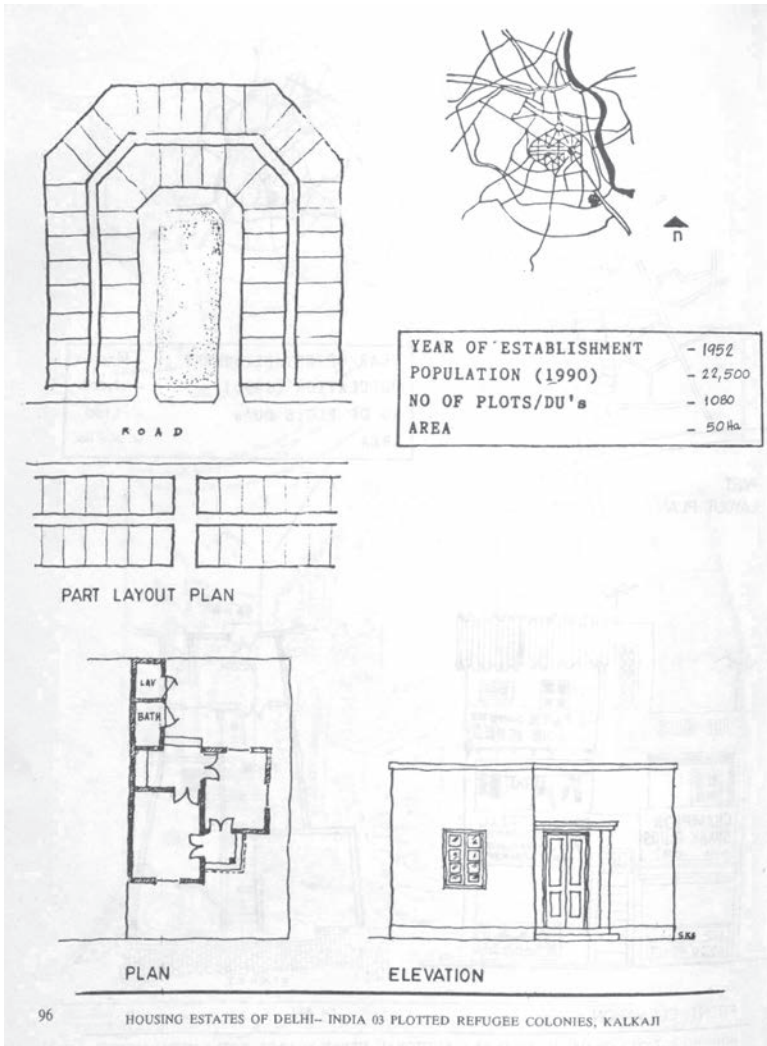
**Figure 4.16**    Plan of a Refugee Single House Plot in Kalkaji Colony after Independence, c. 1960
*Source*: *Space* (1991: 96).

**Figure 4.17**    Sketch of the Plan of a Government House Type IV in
Lakshmi Bai Nagar Colony Built after Independence, 2014
*Source*: Author.
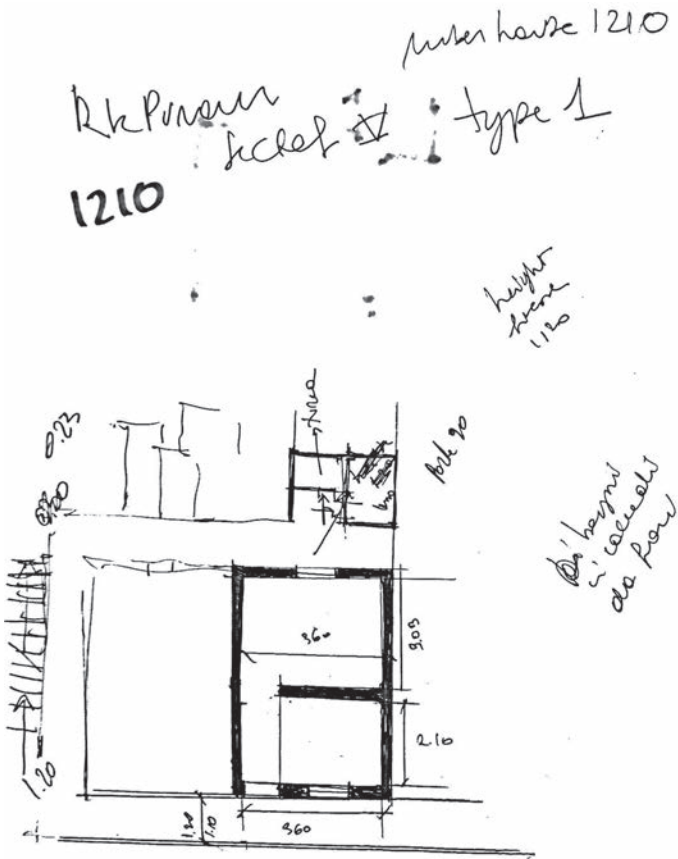
**Figure 4.18**  Sketch of the Plan of a Government House Type I Sector V of RK Puram Colony Built after Independence, 2014
*Source*: Author.

# Community Spaces and Public Buildings

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The monuments of Delhi are veritable museums of architectural splendours.[1]

## BRIEF NOTES ON THE PRECOLONIAL PERIOD

In many of the villages situated in the area between the Ridge and the Yamuna River, it was common to have at the core of the settlement a public area or a major building.[2] For example, the village Arakpur arose around a vast green area, Hauz Khas, near a lake, while Sheikh Sarai, Khirki, and Begumpur had at their centre a religious building.

[1] Promodini Varma, *Delhi & Its Monuments*, photographs by D.N. Dube (New Delhi: Spantech Publishers, 1987), p. 7.

[2] Usually there is either one or the other, but not a combination of the two.

Khirki village[3] gravitated around the beautiful Khirki Mosque. Also known as The Mosque of Windows, it was designed and built in the fourteenth century by Khan-i-Jahan Junan Shah, during the reign of Feroz Shah Tughlaq (1309–88) of the Tughlaq dynasty. It is 52 × 52 square metre in area, with four open courtyards inside, held up by 60 pillars, and has windows perforated by the traditional jali. It was the only sheltered mosque in northern India, and is a fine example of a fusion of Islamic and Hindu culture.[4] Exemplifying Indo-Islamic architecture,[5] with the enclosed and concealed mosque with rooms and colonnades typifying Hindu bravura, and its decorations repre-sentative of Islamic heritage. The village of Begumpur was organized around Begumpur Mosque, a building that was not only a mosque but also served as a school. It dates back to the fourteenth century and is universally considered to be a masterpiece, comprising a square 90 × 90 m. enclosure with three entrances:

[3] Lucy Peck, *Delhi: A Thousand Years of Building* (New Delhi: Lotus Collection, Roli Books, 2005), pp. 70–1.

[4] Finbarr B. Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval 'Hindu–Muslim' Encounter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

[5] The Indo-Islamic style of architecture becomes established in India, especially during the Delhi Sultanate (1191–1526 CE). 'The Indo-Islamic style of architecture is a distinctive blend of Islamic as well as traditional Hindu Style of architecture. This amalgamation of exotic and indigenous architectural styles was possible due to a variety of factors. The Muslims rulers had to use, in most cases, Indian artisans and sculptors who were schooled in their own art traditions. Another factor that inadvertently con-tributed to this fusion of style was that during the early Muslim invasions, mosques were often built out of materials from Hindu and Jain temples and, sometimes, temples themselves were modified into mosques. Though both the Indian and Islamic styles have their own distinctive features, there are some common characteristics, which made fusion and adaptation easier. […] Khirki Masjid, like all other mosques was used by devout Muslims to offer prayers. However, its roof is a unique thing, which is unheard of in Islamic mosque architecture. The presence of a number of domes on the roof covering the mosque and the latticework (jali) on the windows are suggestive of the Islamic style of architecture. The pillars and the backers within the structure show local Hindu influence': *http://www.indiavisitinformation.com/indian-culture/indian-monument/Khirki-Masjid-in-india.shtml.*

It is said to be patterned on an Iranian design planned by the Iranian architect Zahir al-Din al-Jayush. A majestic building in the heart of the city, with a pride of place, played a pivotal role of serving as a madrasa, an administrative centre with the treasury, and a mosque of large proportions serving as a social community hub surrounded by a market area.[6]

In villages, religious buildings are viewed as being among the most important public buildings given the pivotal role they play in community life.

Precolonial cities were of course much more complex than villages. A list of some of the most important public buildings and monuments constructed before the arrival of the British in 1803 may be found in H. Sharp's *Delhi: Its Story and Building.*[7] In the period between 1000 and 1192 CE, when the Rajput Chauhan dynasty reigned, Qila Rai Pithora and Lal Kot were built. From 1193 to 1290, when the Slave dynasty rose to power, the Qutub Minar, the Sultan Ghari tombs, Altamash Nalban, Jamaat Khana, and Quwwat-ul-Islam mosques were erected. During the Khilji dynasty, from 1290 to 1320, with the foundation of the city of Siri, Alai Minar, Alai Darwaza, and Ala-ud-din's Khliji's tomb were built. From 1312 to 1414, under the Tughlaq dynasty,[8] in conjunction with the founding of Tughlaqabad, Jahanpannah, and Firozabad, the Ghiyas-ud-din and Kabir-ud-din Aulia tombs were built, along with Kalan Masjid, Kali or Sanjar Masjid, and the Khirki mosques, the Chauburji mausoleum, and Firoz Shah's tomb. During the Sayyid dynasty, which governed from 1414 to 1450, Tin Burj and the Mubarik Shah Sayyid and Muhammad Shah Sayyid tombs were constructed, while during the Lodi dynasty, between 1450 and 1526, the tomb of Sikandar Lodi, the mosques of Kahirpur and Moth-ki-Masjid

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[6]  Lucy Peck, *Delhi*, p. 69; see also *http://wikimapia.org/749625/Begumpur-Masjid.*

[7]  Henry Sharp, *Delhi: Its Story and Buildings* (London-Bombay–Calcutta-Madras: Oxford University Press, 1921). The book organizes the public buildings according to the historical periods to which they relate.

[8]  Rulers forming part of the Tughlaq dynasty were: Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq from 1321 to 1325, Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq from 1325 to 1351, Firoz Shah Tughlaq from 1351 to1388; in 1398 there was the Timur invasion.

were constructed. The Mughal dynasty, which reigned from 1526 to 1540,[9] was responsible for the construction of Purana Qila and Jamali Masjid. Between 1540 and 1555, however, when the Mughal dynasty was interrupted and superseded by the Afghan Sur dynasty with Sher Shah on the throne, Sher Mandal was built, along with Sher Shah mosque, Isa Khan mosque and tomb, and Salimgarh fort. Thereafter, the Mughal dynasty once more regained power between 1555 and 1857,[10] establishing not only the city of Shahjahanabad, but also building the tombs of Humayun, Adham Khan, Atgah Khan, Fahim Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, Safdar Jang[11] (1753), the tomb, mosque, and school of Ghazi-ud-din Khan, Jama Masjid, Moti Masjid, and the Zinat-ul-Masjid mosques, the Golden Mosque of Roshan-ud-daulah, Arab Sarai, Red Palace, and Jantar Mantar (1724). Most of these pre-colonial monuments, once the focal points of the most ancient cities of Delhi, are today isolated objects, extravagances, sometimes tourist attractions, at others totally forgotten, which sometimes makes it difficult to establish the precise relationship that really existed between the city, its houses, and its monuments.

   A greater understanding of the role of public buildings in precolonial cities may only be gained by analysing Shahjahanabad,[12] also known as Delhi's seventh city, in greater detail because it was the only precolonial urban unit that even today is still identifiable and about which reliable and insightful documents exist. Shahjahanabad stemmed from the visionary idea of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan, who governed India from 1628 to 1658, and who left to Delhi in particular, but also to the entire region, an opulent architectural legacy.

> He was a ruler of great ability and a man with a highly refined artistic sense combined with a love for magnificence. He created buildings of great architectural splendour: the Taj Mahal at Agra, the Forts at Delhi and Lahore, the great Jama Masjid at Shahjahanabad and a gem of a Pearl Mosque (Moti Masjid) at Agra.[13]

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[9]  During this period Babar and Humayun ruled.

[10]  During this period Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan, and Aurangzeb ruled.

[11]  Jantar Mantar was built in 1724, the tomb of Safdar Jang in 1773.

[12]  Ehlers and Krafft, *Shahjahanabad/Old Delhi*.

[13]  Varma, *Delhi & its Monuments*, photographs by D.N. Dube, p. 80.

Delhi's seventh city was 'spacious and well-planned, highly refined in concept and executed with a scrupulous attention to detail but a complete disdain for expense, […] the finest of all the medieval cities of Delhi'.[14] It encapsulated mosques, Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain temples, gurudwaras, tombs, madrasas, bazars, gardens, canals, hammams and the fort. Rory Fonseca however argues that 'the city assumed its final shape around six important architectural and planning elements':[15] Fatehpuri Masjid, Jama Masjid, the great garden north of Chandni Chowk, Chandni Chowk Bazar, Faiz Bazar, and the main water reservoir in Hauz Qazi.[16]

Even at a glance, the ancient paintings of the city makes it abundantly clear that Jama Masjid dominated all the other public buildings. It was situated on a hill, thus sitting above the city, becoming both its symbol and reference point. 'The best and biggest mosque of India is the Jami Masjid of Delhi (1650–56). There are very few mosques in the world that are bigger.'[17] 'The mosque is similar in its structure to many others in Delhi, but it is much bigger in size and conception.'[18]

> The mosque that Shah Jahan built in Shahjahanabad, the Jama Masjid, was designed to be as grand as the palace. Situated on a hillock, it was meant to be one of the two cardinal points in the city, the other being the fort.[19]
>
> Qila representing the state and the Jami Masjid representing the institution of religion were not necessarily formally related in the city layout. […] Particularly, the Jami Masjid that epitomised the mosque *par excellence*. […] At the urban level the relationship between the Qila and the Jami Masjid seemed rather informal due to the absence of a tangible geometry between the two built-form types.[20]

[14]  Varma, p. 81.

[15]  Rory Fonseca, 'The Walled City of Old Delhi', in *Ekistics*, 31, n. 182 (January 1971): 72–80.

[16]  The *revoir* is the middle point between the four main bazars.

[17]  T.G. Percival Spear, *Delhi: Its Monuments and History* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994).

[18]  Lucy Peck, *Delhi: A Thousand Years of Building*, pp. 206–7.

[19]  Peck, p. 104.

[20]  Sharma, 'Colonial Intervention and Urban Transformation', pp. 35–6.

Within Shahjahanabad there were of course numerous other mosques too, far more modest than Jama Masjid, 'according to a decree of Shah Jahan, '"in every lane, bazar, square, and street" a mosque was to be founded','[21] and all were arranged in precise hierarchical order, 'This official city planning necessarily had to manifest itself in a hierarchy of mosques itself.'[22] The pyramidal system placed the Jama Masjid mosque at the very apex, followed by those built by the élite, and they were finally augmented by the 'mohallah-mosques' corresponding to their respective neighbourhoods:

> … the royal Jami Masjid was succeeded by eight elite (begumi-amiri) mosques constructed by notables. These were the Masjid Fatahpuri, Masjid Akbarabadi, Masjid Sirhindi, Masjid Aurangabadi, Zinat al-Masajid, Sunhari Masjid, Masjid Sharif as-Sawlah and Fakhr al-Masjid. They were all built between 1650 and 1728. They were located next to the two main lines of communication, which subdivided the city. […] At the other hand of this hierarchy stood the so-called *mohalla*-mosques, numbering about 200 in Shahjahanabad. A large number of them was also constructed by high-ranking Mughal officers, influential traders and religious scholars and sometimes located within the *haveli* (mansion) of a member of the *shurafa*. […] These mosques often bear the name of their founders and they are mostly located in 'secondary streets'.[23]

[21]  Ehlers and Krafft, *Shahjahanabad/Old Delhi*, op. cit., p. 75; 'Mosques of different sizes are laid out according to the hierarchical structure of the city, which is rationally and functionally outlined with "high ranking" trades close to the core and less esteemed trades and professions in greater distance to it. Almost each professional group displays its own mosque.' Ibid., p. 88.

[22]  Ibid., p. 78.

[23]  Ibid., p. 50. 'At the other end of this hierarchy stood the so called mahallah-mosques, numbering about 200 in Shahjahanabad, A large part of them was also constructed by high-ranking Mughal officers, influential traders and religious scholars and sometimes located within the haveli (man-sion) of a member of the shurafa. One may assume that the founders of these mosques were associated with one or another professional group which worked and lived there. These mosques often bear the name of their founders and they are mostly located on 'secondary streets'. […] Another part of the so called *mohallas*-mosques were those built and financed by immigrants

The profusion of religious buildings thus became an intrinsic guide to the complexity of the old town of Shahjahanabad.

Following the Mughal's rise to power, the number of mosques in Delhi considerably increased. However, as freedom of religion was still afforded, these more recent mosques coexisted alongside other religious buildings: Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain temples, gurdwaras, tombs,[24] and mausoleums.[25] 'By far the most conspicuous buildings in many Indian cities and villages are the temples. The Hindu, Jain, Buddhist, and Sikh religions were all founded in India and have a common "ancestry". Members of all these faiths have built numerous temples and there are examples of all of them in Delhi.'[26] According to some scholars, an element that contributed significantly to the organization of the city was the separation between Muslims and Hindus. After a series of surveys, Asher maintains that the presence of a mosque or a temple is necessary to define the identity of the community, be it Hindu or Muslim.[27]

> Religious facilities in the research area include mosques and dargahs (tomb of Muslim saints), and Hindu temples and small shrines. […] The distribution of religious facilities in the research area shows clear separation among religions. Mosques and dargahs are located in the

groups. […] Artisans, laborers and vendors living along the city walls in the south and in the west agglomerated in the so called 'tertiary streets' with their respective mosques', ibid., p. 79; 'Mosques of different sizes are laid out according to the hierarchical structure of the city, which is rationally and functionally outlined with "high ranking" trades close to the core and less esteemed trades and professions in greater distance to it' In Eckart Ehlers, 'The City of the Islamic Middle East', in *Colloquium Geographicum*, vol. 22 (1991): 89.

[24] Among the most important tombs: Sabz Burj, Adham Khan's tomb, emperor Humayun's mausoleum, Atgah Khan's tomb, Afsarwala tomb, Babur's tomb, Bara Batashewala Mahal, Sheikh Farid's Tomb, Nila Gumbad (Tomb of Fahim Khan), Chaunsath Khamba (Tomb of Mirza Aziz Koka), Abdu'r Rahim Khan-i-khanan's tomb.

[25] Mausoleums differ from tombs because the corpse is placed in a different hall of the monument.

[26] Lucy Peck,' Delhi: A Thousand Years of Building', p. 20.

[27] Catherine Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India* (New Cambridge History of India, 1992), 192.

east and northeast side of the area, while Hindu temples and shrines are located in the west and south west side of the area. The separation indicates the separation of the Muslim and Hindu communities. The northeast corner of the research area is adjacent to Jama Masjid, which is the worship centre to Muslims in Old Delhi. Its surrounding area is thought to be occupied by the Muslim community.[28]

It is noteworthy that Shahjahanabad accommodated different religions and their distinctive buildings and enabled them to pacifically coexist.[29]

An idiosyncrasy of the capital was that religious buildings were not only used for rituals, but also as houses, schools, and places of assembly. The general population was allowed to live within these buildings, a common practise, and considered normal without the sanctity of the monuments being compromised in any way. In this context, 'the records of the Archaeological Department contain many instances of the removal of villagers from monuments of historical interest. Close to Delhi itself, the Purana Qila, Humayun's Tomb and the Great Jama Masjid at Mubarakpur were all occupied in this way.'[30] Besides, schools were almost never autonomous entities, and were never to be found within a haveli, but were accommodated alongside religious buildings. They were called *madrasahs*, religious schools which developed alongside mosques, reinforcing their primary role or function.[31] A well-known example is Ghaziuddin Madrasa, also known as the Anglo Arabic School,[32] as is the Madrasa-t-ul-Qyran, and Fatehhpuri Masjid Madrasa.

Traditional Indian schools were small, usually centred on the temple or mosque, and [were] founded by the rich families of the neighbourhood.

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[28]  Yamane, Funo, and Ikejiri, 'Space Formation and Transformation of the Urban Tissue of Old Delhi, India', in *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*, vol. 9, n. 2 (November 2008): 220.

[29]  'The distribution of religious facilities shown in the 19th century maps of Shahjahanabad indicates that these communities were previously mixed to a greater extent than they are today.' Yamane, Funo, and Ikejiri, 'Space Formation and Transformation of the Urban Tissue of Old Delhi, India', p. 217.

[30]  Percival Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals*, p. 125.

[31]  Pavan K. Varma, *Mansions at Dusk*, p. 23.

[32]  'The Anglo-Arabic College. This is the only Mughal madrasa which is still a place of education', T.G. Percival Spear, *Delhi: Its Monuments and History*, p. 11.

[…] the education received at these schools remained generally fairly basic. Reading, writing and religious classes might be supplemented by accounting, for the sons of merchants, and Persian, for the Muslim aristocracy and those who wished to serve the Mughal court. […] Further education could be found only at the feet of Hindu and Jain pandits, or at the Muslim madrasas (religious colleges) of the imperial and provincial capitals.[33]

Another building, in terms of importance, second behind Jama Masjid, which remains an important orientation point for citizens, is the Red Fort.[34] The latter was a reference point both because of its monumental proportions, and from a more emblematic point of view, 'Red Fort played an enormous symbolic role for the Indian people throughout the country.'[35] The fortress is the building from which the construction of Shahjahanabad began, 'Mughal Qila (palace-fort) is the most important built-form type that formed the core of the city and ordered urban space that was delimited by the city wall. The *qila*, whose planning embodied Mughal concepts of formality and grandeur, was a symbol of power.'[36] Due to its size and complexity, it was considered a city within a city, and Shahjahanabad as a whole revolved around the court and those who inhabited the fortress. It is important to stress, however, that in stark contrast to mosques, Red Fort was not an actual public building but rather a private residence functioning for the citizens.

In Old Delhi, the intricate network of streets determined and predisposed the connections between houses, public buildings, and areas.[37] There were main streets, and streets leading to the residential blocks, *kacha*s, *gali*s, and *katra*s.[38] The first two were often associated

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[33]  Tillotson, *Indian Mansions*, p. 81.

[34]  Gordon Sanderson and Maulvi Shuaib, *The Red Fort, Delhi: A Guide to the Buildings and Garden* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2000).

[35]  Anisha Shekhar Mukherji, *The Red Fort of Shahjahanabad* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003).

[36]  Sharma, 'Colonial Intervention and Urban Transformation', p. 22.

[37]  Yamane, Funo, and Ikejiri, *Space Formation and Transformation of the Urban Tissue of Old Delhi, India*, pp. 217–24.

[38]  Kachas are unpaved roads, galis are paved roads, and katras are blind streets.

with feverish commercial activities.[39] In Shahjahanabad, each bazar had its own metier, and its own unique niche: clothing, spices, objects for domestic use, but 'the bazaar was not a mono-cultural place, but also accommodated non-commercial built-form types for example a serai, hammam, masjid and temple along with public utilities like water pools and fountains, besides serving as a place of social interaction.'[40] Even the bazars were of different types and variety. The most significant in terms of size and importance were Chandni Chowk and Chauri Bazaar; secondary ones, for example, Lal Kuan, Belliwara, Maliwara, and Dariba—which connected Chauri Bazar and Chandni Chowk—and Sita Ram, Chitli Qabar, and Churiwalan—which connected Chauri Bazar to southern Shahjahanabad. Chandni Chowk was not only a commercial area of primary importance, but also the backbone for the city of Shahjahanabad. 'Chandni Chowk is well known for all types of business and commerce. […] The offices of commercial banks, insurance companies and of other agencies are situated here. Dealers in wholesale as well as in retail goods like textile, woollen and other millinery goods, paints, jewellery are found in plenty.'[41]

In the city of Shahjahanabad there were many private gardens, *khanah*[42] *bagh*, but also a few semi-public gardens such as *chahar bagh*. They were 'large walled garden[s], like most of the other buildings constructed by emperors, princes, and great amirs, was open to the public at various time[s]'.[43] The old town's most important garden was Sahiba Abad Bagh, also know as the Garden of the Mistress, or

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[39] Some commercial activities took place not on the street, but in what were known as 'business *katra*', 'Ishwar Bhavan is a typical business katra in Shahjahanabad', a building with more or less a hundred shops on the ground floor. 'Bazaars came up along the edges of streets thus tending to be linear, although they were also organized around a central courtyard to form a *katra*. […]'. in Sharma, *Colonial Intervention and Urban Transformation*, p. 46.

[40] Jyoti P. Sharma, *Colonial Intervention.*, p. 46.

[41] A. Bopegamage, *Delhi*, p. 124.

[42] Gardens of individual houses, *khanah bagh* and *serai bustan for instance*, were not open to the public; *see* Stephen Blake, 'The Khanah Bagh in Mughal India: House Gardens in the Palaces and Mansions of the Great Men of Shahjahanabad', in James L. Wescoat and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, *Places, Representations and Prospects: A Perspective of Mughal Gardens* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1992), pp. 171–87.

[43] Blake, 'The Khanah Bagh in Mughal India'., p. 187.

Begum-ka Bagh, built, in approximate terms, towards the centre of Chandni Chowk in 1650 by Jahanara Begum.[44] Some of these areas even offered recreational activities.

> … several garden-laying commissions were undertaken by Shah Jahan' […] round these palaces or cities are many royal gardens for recreation, where are grown many kinds of fruits and flowers, chiefly roses, from which are distilled the essence of the royal household. […] Within the city, three gardens enveloped on its north, south and west namely Anguri Bagh, Buland Bagh, and Gulabi Bagh respectively.[45]

Another sizable communal open-air area enabling a large number of citizens to gather was Ramlila Maidan. It is important to point out that open spaces in Delhi, although varied in character, generally do not imply a reciprocal relationship with public buildings, as is customary for example in Europe. A peculiarity of precolonial cities was the fact that they maintained public spaces independent from public buildings.[46]

So far only a selection of elements that characterize the precolonial cities have been elaborated upon. It is known that qualified architects were called upon to plan Shahjahanabad, such as Ustad Hamid and Ustad Ahmad,[47] but nonetheless it is exceptionally difficult to identify the designers of any given single building because there were very few architects, and therefore the buildings were constructed on the spur

[44] Sahiba Abad Bagh was part of a much larger complex and there was a caravanserai at its entrance; the latter, was in Bernier's view 'the most impos-ing structure in the city after the Jami Masjid'. The serais were buildings built to accommodate traders and others temporarily visiting the city. There were several, a prime example, located along the Grand Trunk Road. Blake, 'The Khanah Bagh in Mughal India', p. 185.

[45] Jyoti P. Sharma, 'Colonial Intervention and Urban Transformation', pp. 36–7; see also Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, trans. William Irvin (London: John Murray, 1906).

[46] Other locations for socializing and recreation in the capital are some hammams: 'Jahanara Begum built one of the largest public bath[s] in the city. It was 180 ft. long and 60 ft. wide, with many rooms and porticoes', in Stephen Blake, p. 186.

[47] 'Shah Jahan's Muslim architects, Ustad Hamid and Ustad Ahmad, were more influenced by Islamic (especially Persian) models, having similar orien-tations', in Singh and Dhanija, *Delhi*, p. 21.

of the moment, without the preliminary drawings that would have been expected for at least important buildings in Western cultures. It appears that, for the most part, master builders and craftsmen (or mistris), employed by wealthy noblemen in each 'mohalla community'[48] were responsible for the design of most public buildings. The profession of the architect was thus handed down from father to son, from master to apprentice, and certainly not taught in schools. As craftsmanship was passed from generation to generation, it preserved a strong continuity with the past. With colonialism, and after Independence, however, it had lost much of its significance with the coming of age of the profession of architecture.

## ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHITECTS IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

When the British arrived in Delhi they built many new public buildings both in Shahjahanabad, in the Cantonments and Civil Lines, as well as in New Delhi. 'As the British went about carving out their domain, they made interventions in the urban form of the city.'[49] For example, the cantonments included infrastructure specifically created for the benefit of European residents, that is churches, cemeteries, racetracks, clubs, hospitals, and bazars. There were also exercise and camping areas, firing ranges, newsvendors, mechanics, and stables.[50] Civil Lines too adapted to the functional requirements of the European population, with churches, clubs, tennis courts, public gardens, hospitals, cemeteries, and bazars.[51] Similarly, in New Delhi too, cemeteries,

[48] Catherine B. Asher, 'Architecture of Mughal India', op. cit.; see also *Shahjahanabad* in Milo Cleveland Beach and Ebba Koch, *King of the World: the Padshahnama—An Imperial Mughal Manuscript from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle*, trans. Wheeler Thackston (New Delhi: National Museum of India, 1997–8).

[49] Jyoti P. Sharma, 'Colonial Intervention and Urban Transformation', p. 69.

[50] 'Included infrastructure for the use of its European occupants, namely, the church, cemetery, racecourse, club, hospital and bazaar. In addition there were exercise and camping ground, parade ground, shooting range, magazine, workshops and stables.' Sharma. 'Colonial Intervention and Urban Transformation'., p. 80.

[51] 'Catered to the functional requirements of the European civilian population […] included the church, club, racket court, public gardens, hospital, cemetery, and bazaars.' Sharma. 'Colonial Intervention and Urban Transformation'., p. 84.

churches, clubs, theatres, gyms, hospitals, hostels, libraries, parks, schools, markets, governmental buildings, racetracks, polo-grounds, tennis courts, golf courses, train stations, airports, factories, farms, post offices, telegraphic offices, press offices, fire and police departments, monuments, and fountains were built.

Unlike Shahjahanabad, where Jama Masjid was the building that dominated the city, in New Delhi the monumental buildings were those that represented the British colonial government. The seats of political power were the cornerstone of the entire imperial city and, as was the case with the acropolis in Athens, they were located on a hill in order to dominate the city. Of these, the two most significant and well-known buildings are Viceroy's House, designed by Edwin Lutyens, and the secretariats, designed by Herbert Baker. Both buildings are inspired by the principles of European classicism, but at the same time, especially as far as the façades and the decorations are concerned, employ elements of local tradition, such as elephants, snakes, lotus flowers, and chajjas. Lutyens's incorporation of tradition in his architecture was different from, and far more creative, than the hybrid Indo- Saracenic style. Among other monumental buildings for governmental functions are the Government Court, the Legislative Building (now Parliament House) designed by Herbert Baker, Western Court and Eastern Court designed by Robert T. Russell, and the Imperial Record Office by Edwin Lutyens. In New Delhi, it is still exceptionally difficult to trace a distinct division between private residential buildings and public ones, as the entire city, including the houses, were not only commissioned by the government but also served a particular function for it.

With the arrival of the British, Christian churches supplemented the innumerable Buddhist, Hindu, and Sikh temples, mosques, and gurudwaras. First in line was St James's church, which dates back to the first half of the nineteenth century.[52] 'This church St. [James's] was erected perhaps about 1824. It is just inside the Kashmir gate. The design is Palladian, with a good dome.'[53] The classicist style of

[52] The church is dated to 1836 in an article by Yamane, Funo, and Ikejiri, 'Space Formation and Transformation of the Urban Tissue of Old Delhi, India', p. 220.

[53] Henry Sharp, *Delhi: Its Story and Buildings* (London-Bombay-Calcutta-Madras: Oxford University Press, 1921), p. 115.

the church is a reflection and product of the British colonial archi-
tectural style at its early stage. To these, others were gradually added,
very distinct in style from one another; among the most important
are the Romanesque St Stephen's church[54] built in the second half of
the nineteenth century, the classicist and colourful Roman Catholic
cathedral, or Sacred Heart Cathedral, from 1934,[55] designed by Hann
Medd, and the austerer and more modern Cathedral of Redemption
built in 1925, again designed by Medd, St Martin's Garrison Church,
1929 by Arthur G. Shoosmith, and St Thomas's Church, designed by
Walter S. George in 1929.[56] While the British imported their own
religious buildings into Delhi, the colossal Hindu temple, Birla
Mandir, dated 1938–9, demonstrates that ample space and tolerance
was afforded to buildings that satisfied the needs and beliefs of the
local population.

The proliferation of parks and green areas during the colonial
period was remarkable, and was probably the result of growing health
concerns,[57] and also a new-found sensibility relating to leisure activi-
ties. 'The development of public parks in the Subcontinent's cities

[54]  Built by Anglican missionaries.

[55]  Ajay Khanna, 'Colonial Church Architecture in Delhi', in *Church
Buildings*, November-December 1996, pp. 4–6; see also Gavin Stamp, 'Church
Architecture', in Charles Allen, *Architecture of the British Empire* (London:
Wiedenfeld & Nicolson, 1998), pp. 148–85.

[56]  Europeans built some cemeteries, few of which were dedicated to
Christian Europeans and others to Indo-Europeans.

[57]  'Healthcare concerns were propelled by the British confrontation with
disease and death during the siege and further by the Victorian obsession
with cleanliness. The Victorian belief that absence of fresh air, water and light
was the fundamental cause of ill health was transmitted to the subcontinent.'
'In the mid 19th century, the working class in Britain also had no access to
drainage and clean water and lived amidst the threat of endemic disease.
Victorian Britain adopted the 18th century medical theory of Dr. Pringle,
that attributing ill health to humidity, lack of fresh air, water and light. This
theory was also brought to the Empire'. In Sharma, 'Colonial Intervention
and Urban Transformation', p. 236; we thus see the construction of several
hospitals, among which St Stephen's Hospital (1908), Lady Hardinge Hospital
and College, Irwin Hospital, Veterinary Hospital, British Military Hospital,
Willingdon Hospital, and Lok Nayak Hospital (1930).

was influenced by the 19th century British public park movement […] considered necessary for the right development of our being.' [58] Some of the new developments were Lady Wellington Park, Talkatora Garden, Nehru Park, the Jantar Mantar garden, Queen Victoria Garden, Safdar Jang garden, King Edward's Park, Roshanara Garden, Ajmal Khan Park, Nicholson Park, the 'Reserve Forest' on the Ridge, Lodi Golf Links, the refurbishment of the Qudsia Garden, and Hayet Baksh Bagh within Red Fort.[59] Indian historical monuments were progressively isolated within parks and by virtue of laws promulgated by the Archaeological Survey of India,[60] it was now forbidden to habitate or squat in such monuments as had been customary in the past.[61] Among the most substantial examples of isolation are the Muhammas Shah Lodi and the Sikandar Shah Lodi tombs in Lodi park. During the colonial period, the idea of remodelling Mughal gardens and turning them into public parks was common practice. Thus, the Mughal gardens's changed name: for example Begum-ka Bagh was renamed Queen Victoria's Garden. It became increasingly popular to equip parks and green areas for sports, and 'most included a cricket ground, shooting range, bowling green, lawn tennis court and croquet grounds'.[62] Thus football fields, hockey fields, polo fields, golf courses, Willingdon Pavillion, also known as 'the home of cricket in India', the

[58] 'Throughout the 19th century, public parks were linked to the issue of public health that, with time came to constitute both physical and moral and intellectual health. For a detailed discussion on 19th century British public park movement', *see* Hazel Conway, *People's Parks: The Design and Development of Victorian Parks in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) and *see* Sharma, 'Colonial Intervention and Urban Transformation', op. cit.: 216.

[59] Fountains are a British introduction that distinguishes open spaces and public parks in New Delhi. There is a fountain near the Memorial to King George V, another two along New Delhi's main axis, two more to the right and the left of the All India War Memorial Arch, and six at Prince Edward Place and Great Place.

[60] The Archaeological Survey of India is the colonial institution in charge of preserving the subcontinent's monuments.

[61] Lawns are not very common elements in Indian cultures, trees much more so.

[62] Sharma, 'Colonial Intervention and Urban Transformation', 218.

amphitheatre, Irwin stadium,[63] and the Delhi Race Course were built. Many of the imported, open-air, leisure activities included the use of horses, such as at the Annual Imperial Horse Show and the Annual All India Polo Tournament.[64]

> With the increase in the size of Delhi's European community, a range of leisure pursuits was introduced patterned on trends prevalent in Britain. In Britain places of leisure, ranging from those that appealed to the intellect to those purely for fun and pleasure, were seen as essential ingredients of the Victorian civic landscape. […] This urban landscape was being shaped by built-form types like museum, clubs, public parks.[65]

For indoor leisure activities, museums were built, such as the Asian Antiquities Museum,[66] libraries, such as Hardinge Library, and a series of clubs. Among Europeans, the most popular clubs were the Imperial Delhi Gymkhana Club and Chelmsford Club. The most prestigious was the former, which opened in 1928, and housed 24 apartments with generous leisure areas, tennis courts, swimming pools, gardens, cafes, billiard rooms, libraries, reading halls, dance halls, restaurants, race tracks, and three polo fields. Initially the clubs were reserved for the British but gradually became popular among Indians too. Later,

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[63]   King, *Colonial Urban Development*, p. 273.

[64]   R.C. Arora, *Delhi: Imperial City* (Aligarh: Unique Literature Publishing House, 1935).

[65]   'This was a response to an upsurge of interest in expanding knowledge, particularly, scientific and practical, for the moral wellbeing of the public at large', in Sharma, 'Colonial Intervention and Urban Transformation', op. cit., p. 215; see also Alan Rauch, 'Useful Knowledge: The Victorians, Morality, and the March of Intellect', in *Technology and Culture*, 43, 2, October 2002.

[66]   'The museum, an institution arising from the historicist values of the metropolitan society, had been started by the European elite of Delhi earlier in the century. At first lodged in the College, the artefacts had later been transferred to the "Audience Hall" of the Fort. Typical of the metropolitan middle class value, the museum consisted of "objects of science, art and commerce" and was perceived as being of interest "alike to the Antiquarian, Archaeologist, student of botany, Geology and History". Anthony D. King, *Colonial Urban Development*, op. cit., p. 219.

the Indian Clerical Enclave and the New Delhi Club were founded for the Indigenous Clerical Officers, Talkatora Club, and for south Indians, the Madras Club, a list, which continued to see additions. Among other clubs built in New Delhi worth mentioning were the Bench Bar Club, Chartered Bank Club, Municipal Club, and the Northern Railway Club, the common denominator among all being the prevalence and endorsement of British-imported activities.

Among the structures that dynamically changed the form and character of the city were undoubtedly the train tracks and train stations built after the great rebellion of 1857. The railway not only conditioned, limited, and constrained new expansions, but also modified the internal structure of Shahjahanabad: 'railways were seen as a symbol of Britain's industrial revolution and technological advancement, and formed integral part of the 19th century urban landscape in British towns and cities. Railways were introduced in the Subcontinent as a technologically superior and effective mode of communication.'[67] As early as 1883–4, Delhi was well networked with three railways, which in 1912 grew to six. The Old Delhi Railway Station, the first built in 1900, is an interesting example of hybrid architecture, in the design of its colonnades, in the type of elements adopted, and in the layout of its façades. Continuing the expansion of transportation, in 1929 Willingdon Airport was inaugurated near Safdarjang's tomb,[68] which by contrast was a quite a modern building and a validation of the great variety of styles that lent character to public architecture in the city.[69]

[67] Sharma, 'Colonial Intervention and Urban Transformation', 185; see also Jan Morris and Simon Winchester, *Stones of the Empire: The Building of the Raj* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 124.

[68] Renamed Safdarjang Airport after Independence.

[69] Railways, airports, but also the opening of the Suez canal in 1867, are all elements that increase the flow of foreigners to the city. We thus see a series of hotels appear, among which one of the most famous is the Imperial Hotel, designed by D.J. Bloomfield in 1931. It presents an interesting blend of classicist, deco, and somewhat modern design. 'In Delhi most hotels came up in the area around the Kashmiri, Mori and Kabul Gates and in civil lines. Often older sites were converted into a hotel such as the office of Delhi Gazette Press sited behind St James Church', in Sharma, 'Colonial Intervention and Urban Transformation', op. cit., p. 222.

In New Delhi, the tendency to construct markets rather than the more traditional bazars succeeded.[70] To this effect, a shift can be seen from the relatively minute Gole Market, designed by Edwin Lutyens in 1920–1, to the imposing Connaught Place (now Rajiv Gandhi Marg) designed in 1933 by Robert T. Russell. The latter is a circular building within which the space of a square exists, reconciling public buildings and public areas, classicist in its façade, with extensive use of Doric columns.

One of the most important projects undertaken by Russell was designing a central plaza not far from Raisina which would serve as the commercial centre of the new city. 'It would have shops, hotels, commercial establishments, municipal and local administrative offices, as well as a major railway terminus and a general post office. […] Named as the Connaught Place after the Duke of Connaught, uncle of King George V, who had visited India in 1921, a circular plaza 335 meters in diameter, with seven colonnaded sections and intercut by seven radial roads was designed by Russell, based on a plan originally suggested by W.H. Nicholls'.[71]

To increase commercial activity, especially among foreigners, a series of banks were built, among which Imperial Bank incorporated exceedingly classicist building elements.

During the colonial period, some schools remained concomitant with religious associations or fractions. Besides the Convent Schools and Mission Schools, however,[72] even those with a more secular vision, known as English Public Schools or Modern Schools must be taken into account. 'The British period brought a new education system, and new type of schools.'[73] After New Delhi came into being, the population began growing and the number of children and youths

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[70] In the areas inhabited by the local people, and in the first neighbourhood where Indians were supposed to settle, we still find the concept of the 'market street', which will gradually disappear in colonies after Independence.

[71] Varma, *Delhi and Its Monuments*, photographs of D.N. Dube, p. 150.

[72] 'Many of the largest schools and colleges were Christian foundations but their buildings were largely secular in use', in Lucy Peck, *Delhi: A Thousand Years of Building*, p. 23.

[73] Tillotson, *Indian Mansions*, p. 82.

in need of schooling also increased exponentially.[74] Schools increased in cities after 1912, to such a degree that in 1920 there were 200 new primary schools subsidized by the government. Among some of the noteworthy institutions were Butler Memorial Girl's School, and St Xavier's School, founded around 1900, Queen Mary's School in 1908, Indraprastha College for Women in 1917, Lady Hardinge Medical College dated to 1920, Tibbia College[75] to 1921, the expansion of Delhi College[76] in 1906, buildings such as Harcourt Butler Senior Secondary School, Lady Irwin College, the Modern Schools, and St Columba's School, built c. 1930, and the completion of St Stephen's College[77] and Chapel in 1939. The last-named was a refined brick structure by Walter S. George. The notion of establishing a university south-east of Connaught Place is also attributable to the colonial period. In 1922[78] it was provisionally located near the temporary Government House

[74] 'The missions also opened several schools that catered to the needs of a wide cross section of residents ranging from native Christians to potential converts like chamars. The Baptist Mission's work was largely overshadowed by that of the amalgamated S.P.G. and Cambridge Mission, the two together running institutions, namely St Stephen's Mission High School and St Stephen's Mission College. The latter was set up in 1865 on the premises of former Delhi College. Indigenous educational institutions like madrasas catered to higher education, with Madarsa-t-ul-Qyran and Fathehpuri Masjid Madarsa being prominent. In 1867 following a directive from the Inspector of education that languages like Arabic and Sanskrit also be taught in addition to English, educational institution run through native enterprise were set up such as Anglo-Arabic High School and Hindu College. Thus slowly large sections of the society were being inducted into European ways through education', in Sharma, 'Colonial Intervention and Urban Transformation', pp. 211–12.

[75] See *Delhi Reports*, 1924–5; 1927, 1928, 1928–9, 1931–2.

[76] The actual building of the college was constructed in 1692 and was well-known as the Madrasa Ghaziuddin Khan, which was expanded by Swinton Jacob around 1906.

[77] Francis F. Monk, *A History of St. Stephen's College* (Calcutta: Delhi YMCA Publishing House, 1935).

[78] 'The University of Delhi was founded in 1922 to cater to the needs of the community for college education and post-graduate studies both in the arts and sciences. […] The intention was to develop this University as a residential institution comparable to University campuses in the United States. But with the influx of displaced persons from West Pakistan and the

and the Old Civil Station Cantonment, and because much of New Delhi was occupied by bungalows for government clerks, it remains there to this day.[79]

At the beginning of the colonial period, those responsible for construction in India were primarily military engineers and civil engineers,[80] and often the educational background of architects, and thus the respective output of their architectural endeavours, were affected by a distinctive engineering orientation. 'The origins of the profession cast it as an engineering discipline […]. This bias towards technical education mirrors the hierarchy in the Public Works Department of the Government, the largest employer of architects.'[81] 'Most of the major buildings in India thus began to be designed by PWD engineers as well as military engineers working as architects.'[82] Even though several actual architects were summoned from England during the construction of New Delhi, engineers began dominating the construction of public buildings.[83] Most of those who contributed

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resultant abnormal increase in the college age group, the University could not carry out that plan. In addition to the large number of students desiring admission there were other reasons also why the original plan could not be implemented. There was no further space available on the University Campus and because Delhi had mushroomed out to the south and south-west of the city, some colleges had to be located closer to the new residential areas.' In Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 22.

[79]  Buildings for secondary education, both for Indians and those related to missions were first located in Old Delhi, and then were moved to the Civil Lines area.

[80]  In India initially these were mostly military engineers, and they were gradually replaced by civil engineers in the construction of most buildings.

[81]  A.G. Krishna Menon, 'Transcultural Dialogue in Architectural Education', Plenary Panel on Alternative Modes of Architectural Education in the Era of Globalization' International Conference of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, Hong Kong, 10–14 June 2000, p. 2. Paper from Menon's office.

[82]  Mildred Archer, 'Company Architects and Their Influence on India', *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, n. 70 (8 August 1963): 317–21.

[83]  'British architects tended to dominate the field when it came to the design of public building', 'Company Architects and Their Influence on India', *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*.

to the construction of the capital were originally British by birth and unquestionably British in their educational repertoire.[84] Apart from the famous Edwin Lutyens and Herbert Baker,[85] in relation to public works, buildings, and projects, there were many other notable architects involved. These included Robert Tor Russell,[86] Francis Berrington Bloomfield, Charles Geoffrey Bloomfield, William Henry Nicholls, Swinton Jacob, Walter Sky George, Henry Alexander Nesbitt Medd, Arthur Gordon Shoosmith, Henry Vaughan Lanchester, Thomas E. Montague.[87] William R. Mustoe was in charge of public areas, parks, and gardens.[88] 'They [the architects] were all British but the draftsmen were increasingly Indians who had been trained at such schools as the Bengal School of Engineering or at Thomason College in Roorkee, and later at the Sir J.J. College in Bombay.'[89] The Indians were subordinated to the British architects, functioned as assistants, or continued their work as craftsmen or mistris, specializing in stonework. Such a scientific or engineering orientation or limitation continued from the colonial period onwards,[90] and the admiration this bred for everything 'foreign' continues to this day.

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[84]  Architects began playing a role within the Public Works Department, in the New Delhi Town Planning Committee, and in the Delhi Improvement Trust.

[85]  Herbert Baker constructed seven bungalows and the north and south secretariats.

[86]  Robert T. Russell built Connaught Place, Eastern and Western Courts, Teen Murti House, Safdarjung Airport, the National Stadium, and 4,000 other government houses.

[87]  Thomas E. Montague built the first Secretariat building in New Delhi, which determined and influenced the style of the bungalows.

[88]  W.R. Mustoe were responsible for the horticultural sector, using P.H. Clutterbucks list of trees. Mustoe and Walter Sky George designed and planted the Mughal gardens. Swinton Jacob was a consultant for the materials and decorations they used. *See* Patrick Bowe, 'The Genius of an Artist: William R. Mustoe and the Planning of the City of Delhi and Its Gardens', in *Garden History*, vol. 37, n. 1 (Summer 2009): 68–79.

[89]  See Archer, *Company Architects and their Influence on India*, pp. 317–21.

[90]  The history of architecture not being taught as a subject in India architectural schools is a major cause of concern and is a clear indicator of the prevailing orientation towards engineering.

## MYTHS AND ARCHITECTURE POST-1947

The city expanded in a very disorderly and haphazard manner between 1947 and 1962, until the master plan attempted to establish order and determine which and how many public areas and buildings were essential or necessary. The phenomenon of internal migration was overwhelming and irreversibly changed the city's balance: 'migration towards the city' was one of the principal phenomena conditioning the growth of many Indian cities.[91] This resulted in an urgent need to supply not only a new stock of houses, but also all the ancillary services indispensible to its inhabitants. After 1947, priorities, typologies, styles, and relationships between public buildings changed once again, both in relation to the precolonial and colonial period. As far as hierarchical and spatial organization of the urban pattern are concerned, from the precolonial to the colonial period there was a shift in focus, from religious buildings to buildings of power. In the period following Independence, priority was given to a multitude of public, community buildings. This shift contributed to the form of the city, to its proportions, and its architecture. During the construction and growth of the city's cinemas, museums, schools, bhawans, banks, clubs, religious buildings, green areas, markets, and new public administration buildings were constructed in the neighbourhoods.

After the declaration of Independence there was a proposal from Mahatma Gandhi to convert the buildings on Raisina Hill—both Viceroy's House and the secretariats—into hospitals, and construct buildings more appropriately embodying the new, independent, democratic nation. This did not happen, and to this day they remain the central seat of political power. Delhi has remained the capital of India since 1947, and this implies that 'there must be ample land for government offices because government is the prime factor for the existence of this Metropolis'.[92] Because of the growth of central

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[91] 'Migration to the city has been one of the major phenomena which has determined the growth of many Indian cities in the past', ibid.

[92] Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 12. 'The needs for office accommodation in Delhi has been increasing consistently through the years', ibid., p. 13. 'After independence, new responsibilities were called for to meet the demands of the new offices. This created considerable congestion and overcrowding in the existing accommodation

government departments, and the fact that 40 per cent of the population depended upon government employment in 1956, many offices expanded to welcome these new employees.[93] Most government buildings were still built near Raisina Hill;[94] among these, the Supreme Court, designed by Ganesh B. Deolalikar,[95] is a manifest reference to the colonial period and Edwin Lutyens' Viceroy's House. The 'recently built CPWD Bhawans have become important landmarks in New Delhi's street scene'.[96] Some bhawans, built in the early 1960s are representative specimens of buildings housing offices: Nirman Bhavan, Akashvani Bhavan, Shram Bhavan, Patel Bhavan, Krishi Bhawan, Udyog Bhawan, Vayu Bhawan, Rail Bhavan, Dak Tar Bhavan, Transport Bhavan, and Yojana Bhavan.[97] These buildings are

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available, and not until very recently did the Government make efforts to built additional permanent buildings to cope with the growing demand.' Ibid., p. 14.

[93] 'Government Offices occupy approximately 1,370 acres (1.9 per cent.) of the total incorporated area and 4.40 per cent. of the actual developed area.' Ibid., p. 13.

[94] 'An integrated development for these offices should take place on both sides of our Central Vista in continuation of the two new Secretariat Blocks. Such a planned development could also include other public buildings like museums art galleries, national library etc.' Ibid., p. 14.

[95] G.B. Deolalikar was the first architect of the new Central Public Works Department after Independence. 'He is "chief architect" of the Government of India from 1947 to 1956. His formation took place in the construction sites of New Delhi in the colonial period, in the newly established Delhi Improvement Trust, where he mainly takes part in projects for low-cost housing. His most important projects are the Supreme Court of India and the National Museum. He dies in 1978 in Baroda.' 'G.B. Deolalikar', *Riba Journal*, vol. 85, n. 6 (June 1978): 265.

[96] 'CPWD's Bhawans in New Delhi', in *The Indian Architect* (October 1966): 165.

[97] Yojana Bhavan, in Parliament street in New Delhi, designed by Jehangir P.J. Billimoria, maintains a certain austerity, 'having resisted the temptation of putting too many types of windows. One windows is repeated throughout: that has given it an architectural character.' It is an office building, with a square layout and two courtyards, a structure that uses cement, simple geometrical shapes, and is repetitive in its façades, and permits virtually no indulgence in terms of decoration. See 'CPWD's Bhawans in New Delhi', in *The Indian Architect* (October 1966): 170.

all similar to one another, the majority semi-modern in style. Though in some, an effort has been made to impart movement or character to the façade using local elements—'horizontal *chajjhas* moving in waves, various types of stone masonry, plaster, jazzy blue coloured perforated jollies'[98]—the most common criticism of these buildings is their lack of originality.[99]

After Independence, many foreign architects began working in Delhi, especially in Chanakyapuri, the embassy-proliferated neighbourhood. For an overview of the subject, Gladys Abankwa-Meier-Klodt's volume, *Delhi's Diplomatic Domains* is fundamental. The most written about and well known of the buildings there is the US embassy[100] designed by Edward D. Stone. The American architect unites the teachings of the Berlin museum designed by Mies Van Der Rohe, with the decorations characteristic of local tradition. 'When they look carefully, the Indian people will recognize in this foreign headquarters building a number of the same wise and graceful practices present in their own ancient building culture.'[101] Though these are purely decorative and not typological adaptations, the perceived result is that 'architect Stone was one of the first Americans to comprehend and practice in the modern movement of architecture; in this design he demonstrates that he has poise to appreciate the past of another culture too.'[102] Another building serving the function of representing a 'foreign' nation, which attempts to deal with local traditions, is the Chancery building for the Pakistan High Commission,

[98]  *CPWD's Bhawans in New Delhi*, p. 170.

[99]  Among the other government buildings, we find the Office of the Deputy Accountant General, Posts & Telegraphs on Alipur Road in Delhi, designed by the Indian architect S.P. Satsangi, which in its monumentality recalls Soviet architecture, or the 'building for United Periodicals' designed by Master Sathe & Kothari, which is by contrast very attached to the myth of modernity. 'Office of the Deputy Accountant General Posts & Telegraphs', in *The Indian Architect*, March 1962, pp. 12–19; 'Building for United Periodicals, New Delhi', June 1962: 12–18.

[100]  'US Embassy for New Delhi', in *Architectural Forum* (June 1955): 115–19.

[101]  'A richness of texture, with emphasis on masonry, perforated screens and tiles', 'US Embassy for New Delhi' in *Architectural Forum*, p. 115.

[102]  'US Embassy for New Delhi' in *Architectural Forum*, p. 116.

designed by K.M.V. Heinz, where there is picturesque usage of mina-
rets, domes, and jalis.[103]

Hotels too continued to proliferate after Independence. *Design
Magazine* notes that 'the Master Plan provides for approximately 130
areas for hotels in Delhi. […] Planned hotel sites are generally owned
by the state.'[104] Many hotels were built by re-zoning the plots originally
allocated for bungalows in New Delhi, from residential to commer-
cial plots. The hotels were very distinct from one another, some more
modern, such as Claridges Hotel,[105] Hotel Janapath,[106] Akbar Hotel,[107]
and the International Hotel, now the Oberoi Hotel,[108] while others
were more rooted in tradition, in particular the famous Ashoka Hotel,
mooted by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and designed by
E.B. Doctor, an Indian architect who studied in England.[109] 'It is the largest
in this category and the only one situated outside Connaught Place,'[110]

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[103] 'Chancery Building for Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi', in
*The Indian Architect*, May 1963, pp. 14–17.

[104] Singh and Dhanija (eds), *Delhi*, p. 53.

[105] Hotel on Aurangzeb Road built in 1950 by the architects Kothari &
Associates.

[106] The only information on this hotel may be found in period newspa-
pers, and we know that the architect is R.I. Gehlote, who also, during the
same years built the UNESCO New Conference Hall.

[107] 'The Akbar Hotel in New Delhi (1965–9), designed by Shiv Nath
Prasad, draws heavily on the layout principles of Le Corbusier's *Unité
d'habitation* (1947–52) in Marseilles. Prasad's design for the Shri Ram
Centre (1966–9) is, in contrast, a more dramatic and innovative deriva-
tion from Le Corbusier's work.' Jon Lang, *A Concise History of Modern
Architecture in India* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2002), p. 78. The building
was constructed soon after 1962 by Shiv Nath Prasad, and follows
Le Corbusier's style.

[108] 'Another contemporary work, the International (now Oberoi)
Hotel (1958) in New Delhi by Durga Bajpai and Piloo Mody is clearly in
the International style promulgated by Gropius', ibid., p. 51. Piloo Mody
studied with Erich Mendelsohn (1887–1953) at the University of Southern
California.

[109] 'Ashoka Hotel', in *Marg*, vol. XVII, n. 1 (December 1963): 43.

[110] L.R. Vagale, '*Delhi*: A Study of Entertainment and Amusement
Facilities', in *Urban and Rural Planning Thought*, vol. III, n. 1 (July 1960): 40.

with lavish and luxurious decorations, which 'interpret the richness of the ancient Indian tradition of art and crafts'.[111]

> About 15,000 small and medium, and some big industrial units regis-
> tered in the capital, apart from the unregistered ones, throw up smoke
> and toxic elements in the air. […] Many of them are located in thickly
> populated residential areas within the walled city. Some of the major
> industrial units manufacture highly toxic chemicals and lubricants and
> they are located in new residential complexes which should never have
> been allowed to operate from there.[112]

After Independence, the general consensus was to move factories such as Delhi Cloth Mills, Birla Mills, and Ayodhya Textile Mills away from the residential areas, so that only some residential neighbour-hoods such as Malviya Nagar accommodated industrial areas within their boundaries. All the new colonies were planned to encompass a market area, such as Khan Market and Kamala Market. The general idea was to equip residential areas with 'Shopping facilities, […] small in scale, serving only day to day needs of adjacent residential area. Walking distance of area served. Harmonious design in keeping with its location directly adjacent to residential use.[113] In 1956, six new community shopping centres were planned, one north of the old Secretariat, one at the junction with Shankar Road, another between Ring Road and Najafgarh, another south-west of Vinay Nagar on Outer Ring Road, one north of Kalkaji, and one east of the river Yamuna in Shahdara.[114]

There were, however, within the boundaries of the colonies, many religious monuments depending upon the communities living in each, whether Christian churches, gurdwaras, mosques, or Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain temples. Notable in this context are Green Park Colony and the chapel in Materdei convent, designed by the architects

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[111]  'Ashoka Hotel, New Delhi', in *The Indian Architect* (April 1971): 83.

[112]  Singh and Dhanija (eds), 'Delhi: The Deepening Urban Crisis', p. 96.

[113]  Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 61.

[114]  Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 65.

Power & Power,[115] and the mosque in the midst of Kaka Nagar colony. Tombs and various other precolonial artefacts were retained within the neighbourhoods, but were isolated and did not re-establish the informal and direct relationship they once had with the populace and the city.

The Delhi master plan had suggested sensitive integration of the monuments and tombs in future development. Unfortunately, many of the new residential colonies, recently developed by the CPWD and the DDA, paid very little attention to properly integrating these monuments in their layouts. The monuments have lost their charm through unimaginative development. Buildings of bizarre architectural form were allowed to be built just adjacent to these monuments. One of the most painful acts of vandalism committed in the recent past was the construction of a huge defence factory undertaking adjoining Tughlak's Tomb.[116]

Besides, 'the proposed master plan envisions seeing the historic monuments of Shahjahanabad as the anchoring points of a larger comprehensive plan of redevelopment'.[117]

Following the declaration of Independence, hospitals also multiplied and prospered.

> With the abnormal growth of Delhi's population immediately after Independence, the demand for medical facilities also grew considerably. The existing hospitals, health centres, dispensaries—both ayurvedic and allopathic, child welfare and maternity centres, proved to be inadequate to serve this large population.'[118] […] The total number of hospitals at the beginning of 1949 was only 14, it rose progressively to 20 in 1951, to 23 in 1954, to 25 in 1955 and 27 in 1956. The corresponding rise in the number of dispensaries was from 24 to 37, 43 and 69. In addition, a new unit, called the health centre, emerged during the period; its number

[115] 'Chapel in Materdei Convent, New Delhi', in *The Indian Architect* (December 1964): 17–20.

[116] Singh and Dhanija (eds), 'Delhi', pp. 115–16.

[117] Ajit Singh, 'Confrontation, Compromise and Reconstruction of the Walled City of Shahjahanabad', M.A. Thesis, School of Planning and Architecture, Delhi, June 2002, p. 79.

[118] Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 25.

rose from 15 in 1953 to 10 in 1957. The total number of medical service institutions increased from 38 in 1948 to 107 in 1957.[119]

It was deemed necessary to supply vital services within the residential neighbourhoods, and this was why, 'wherever a room was available within reasonable proximity of a residential area, a dispensary was opened'.[120] In the mid-1950s, the Department of Health launched the 'Contributory Health Scheme' and other new dispensaries were built in consonance with this plan. In this context, Walter Sky George[121] was instructed in 1950–2 to design the Tuberculosis Association Building. Here the overly British architect abandoned the style used for St Stephen's College and came closer to a far more modern one.[122]

To make it possible for Delhi's population to engage in open-air activities, after 1947 public and semi-public parks flourished, along with well-appointed gardens on the riverbanks, sailing clubs, fields and courts for sports such as football, hockey, and cricket, picnic areas, and even pathways for walks. Ample locations were envisaged to cater to collective use, but only few of these were actually realized. The master plan envisioned a restructuring of the riverbanks, suggesting and promoting the development of both banks into important recreational areas for the city. Among the proposals were playgrounds south of Rajghat, swimming areas, tree-lined avenues, and

[119] Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 165.

[120] Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 25.

[121] In Delhi, Walter Sky George held important positions after Independence. In 1950–2 he was president of the Indian Institute of Architects, the first architect not from Bombay to hold this position. He was re-elected president from 1957 to 1958, and he was also president of the Indian Institute of Planning and Management.

[122] 'The building's adjustable lightweight horizontal louvers places it in a contemporaneous Modernist context. George's use of materials in the building does, however, show a continuity with much Anglo-Indian architecture of the 1930s'. See Richard Butler, 'The Anglo-Indian Architect Walter Sky George (1881–1962): A Modernist Follower of Lutyens', in *Architectural History*, vol. 55 (2012): 237–68.

parks.[123] Similarly, the master plan also proposed the conversion of the Ridge into a public park. 'The Master Plan for Delhi, which came into effect on 1 September 1962, recognized the importance of the Ridge and the need to preserve and protect its natural forest. The plan saw the possibilities of developing the Ridge along the lines of New York's Central Park, to enable it to cater to the capital's recreational needs.'[124] There was an inherent desire to enlarge existing parks, among the most important: Queen's Gardens, Jama Masjid, Nicholson Gardens, Ajmal Khan Park. Besides, other parks were conceptualized and constructed: near Coronation Memorial, north of the Community Shopping Centre in Karol Bagh: Patel Nagar, north of the Najafgarh Community Shopping Centre, south of Vinay Nagar Community Shopping Centre, in West Kailash Colony, and north of the T.B. Hospital in Shahdara. Mehrauli, Qutab Minar, and Hauz Khas were all considered to be potential locations for leisure activities. On the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha, the Indian architect Mansingh Rana designed Buddha Jayanti Park, which comprised an English-style garden that revolved around a statue of the Buddha.[125] There was a strong desire and vision to connect locations such as Red Fort, Jama Masjid, Kotla Ferozshah, India Gate, Humayun's Tomb, and Okhla through a networked system of parks and promenades.[126]

[123] 'The Master Plan for Delhi proposed the development of both the banks of the entire river front of Yamuna. It could be an important recreational area for the city. Among the proposals are national playgrounds south of Rajghat, bathing ghats, swimming areas, tree-lined boulevards and parks.' In Singh and Dhanija (eds), *Delhi*, p. 82.

[124] Neither plan was realized. See Singh and Dhanija (eds), *Delhi*., p. 89.

[125] 'Mansingh Rana, who worked for Wright at Taliesin from 1947 to 1951, has described his own work as "organic, always evolving, never copying from the past, yet drawing from it". There are few better descriptions of the Empiricist attitude to design. The Jawaharlal Memorial Library is a two-storey structure designed with readers in mind. They have been provided with both good settings for reading and good views to the exterior. The entrance uses bold concrete forms with an interpenetration of horizontal and vertical forms while the remainder of the brick building is a more subdued backdrop – a ground for the figure of the entrance.' Lang, *A Concise History of Modern Architecture in India*, p. 50.

[126] Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 69.

Propagation of the need for more public buildings offering indoor leisure activities, such as clubs, museums, cinemas, theatres, community clubs, areas for table games, areas for gambling, dancing, for children, the circus, or simply to eat or drink tea, became increasingly popular.

There are several clubs in Delhi with a variety of entertainment and amusement facilities such as dance halls, dining rooms, liquor establishments, lounges, playgrounds, and lawns for sports tournaments, auditoriums for cultural programmes, etc. The major clubs with regular membership and organized activities are about 20 in number.[127]

A remarkable example is the Defence Services Officers' club, built in Delhi Cantonment, based on a design by M.L. Maini and L.S. Kumawat.[128] 'Prior to 1950 there were practically no major public auditoriums in Delhi. However, at present [1960] there are 14 major public and semi public auditoriums.'[129] Alongside the entertainment offered by cinemas, auditoriums, clubs, hotels, and restaurants, were recurring events or proceedings, be it political gatherings, cultural festivals, flower shows, and sports tournaments.[130]After Independence, there was a growing realization of a serious lack of leisure areas,[131] but this was overshadowed by the necessity to deal

[127] L.R. Vagale, 'Delhi: A Study of Entertainment and Amusement Facilities', in *Though Urban and Rural Planning*, vol. III, n. 1 (July 1960): 36.

[128] 'Defence Services Officers Club', in *The Indian Architect*, vol. VIII, n. 5 (May 1966): 93.

[129] Vagale, 'Delhi', p. 38.

[130] 'A part from the entertainment and amusement facilities provided by cinemas, auditoriums, clubs, hotels and restaurants, there are certain periodic and special entertainments available to inhabitants of Delhi, on such occasions: as political events, cultural festivals, flower shows and sports tournaments.' Vagale, 'Delhi', p. 41.

[131] Notwithstanding the unrestrained growth of areas for public leisure, the impression is that they are never sufficient. 'In the Delhi of today, there are but a few parks and playgrounds. There is no active recreation programme. The few picnic spots that exist are inadequate and far from meeting the growing need of metropolitan recreation. Children parks are few and there are no tot lots. Even the very few open spaces, particularly in the older parts of the city are becoming scarce everyday.' Vagale, 'Delhi'.

with the looming housing issues and a series of other more urgent matters.[132]

Cinemas were possibly the most widespread venues for public indoor leisure activities, firstly because admission to them was extremely inexpensive, and also because they were able to attract a majority of the population. 'Cinemas are the most popular means of entertainment for people of all income groups.'[133] 'Cinemas attract the largest number of people in the city. This is essentially due to the fact that the cinemas are cheaper than any other kind of entertainment; they are convenient and offer a far wider selection of subjects than the general repertory performances.'[134] Notwithstanding the vast number of cinemas that were built, not all neighbourhoods necessarily had a cinema. For example, the Western Extension Area, which has a population of 80,000 people at the time, did not have a single one. Among the most interesting and modern structures built in those years, was Cinema House[135] and Odeon Cinema by Master Sathe & Kothari,[136] and Curzon Cinema by Shivnath Prasad.[137] Museums were built after Independence in order to generate awareness amongst citizens. Sometimes museums were established within existing buildings, as was the case with Red Fort, and in other cases buildings were specifically designed for the purpose.[138] Possibly, the

[132] 'It is further suggested that as a matter of policy, no intensive land use like cinemas, theatres, big shopping centres be permitted before the comprehensive plan for the national capital region is developed.' in Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 7.

[133] Vagale, 'Delhi', p. 31.

[134] Bopegamage, *Delhi*, p. 143.

[135] 'Cinema House, New Delhi', in *The Indian Architect*, vol. III, n. 5 (May 1961): 7.

[136] 'Additions and alterations to Odeon Cinema, New Delhi', in *The Indian Architect* (September 1963): 15–20.

[137] 'Cinema at Curzon Road, New Delhi', in *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects* (October-December 1964): 2–5.

[138] Alongside the construction of permanent museums, there was the establishment of a series of temporary exhibitions. 'Exhibitions held in Delhi may broadly be classified into three categories: exhibitions of arts and crafts, social and cultural exhibitions and national and international exhibitions of agriculture, industry, housing, transport and other aspects. […] Exhibition of

most important museum built during this period was the National Museum, designed by Baba Deolalikar. It stemmed from the idea that 'museums are no more luxuries of individuals or the state. They are necessities for all cultured people.'[139] The decorations of buildings resemble precolonial traditions, and thus to a degree, 'it shows India is still carving stones, making domes, as people who have not turned the corner culturally; still look to architectural style imposed by its one-time conquerors.'[140]

Listing all the leisure buildings in Delhi would be impossible given the huge number and also because many have not been properly documented, Nonetheless, one of the best known and interesting entertainment locations built in those years is certainly the India International Centre[141] designed by American architect Joseph Allen

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arts and crafts mostly concern the display of paintings, photography, sculpture, furniture etc. Annually about 35 to 40 programmes are held mostly in the All India Fine Arts and Crafts Society Galleries, Old Mill Road, New Delhi and the Delhi Shilpi Chakra, Shankar Market, New Delhi. Nearly 15 social and cultural exhibitions were held in Delhi during the year 1959. These exhibitions were held mostly in the Constitution Club Hall, Curzon Road, The Community Hall, Panchkuin Road and the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society Hall, Old Mill Road, New Delhi. […] National and international exhibitions have become almost annual events' 'The Low Cost Housing Exhibition held in the year 1954, the International and Industrial Fair held in the year 1955–1956. The Buddhist Art Exhibition in 1956, the 'India–1958' Exhibition, and the World Agricultural Fair held during the winter of 1959–60 attracted millions of people from all over India as well as from abroad—An exhibition of Buildings in the Tropics is scheduled to be held on the same premises in the near future. The World Agricultural Fair held during 1959–60 extended over an area of 340 acres and drew a patronage of more than two millions.' Vagale, 'Delhi', pp. 44–5.

[139] 'National Museum, New Delhi', *The Indian Architect*, vol. III, n. 3 (March 1961): 11.

[140] 'Supreme Court, New Delhi', *The Indian Architect* (March 1970): 1963.

[141] 'New Work: two works by Joseph Allen Stein & Associates, 1: India International Centre at New Delhi', in *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects* (January–March 1964): 10–14.

Stein.[142] The materials used and the typologies of the plan exemplify how a foreign architect somehow tried to connect with and understand local culture.[143] The entire structure of the building is reinforced with concrete, and the decorations have been crafted in local stone, Delhi quartzite, together with elaborate screen-walls, jalis.[144] Stein was very critical of European architects who failed to adapt to the context in which they worked. 'Some Western architects import their own aesthetic intact from Europe: vigorous, angular, harsh.'[145] His maxim was that, 'in India the eyes are more used to softer forms, domes, minarets, the curved outlines of oriental cities. This doesn't imply any need to fake, or to be inhibited against exercising the vocabulary of modern architecture. It just means architectural good manners.'[146] In the years following Independence, other buildings faced the problem of adjusting to their context, an indirect inheritance from Indian architects who had originally studied abroad.

[142] 'Stein in 1955 established a firm in New Delhi, first in partnership with fellow American Benjamin Polk and engineer Benoy Chatterjee, then on his own. Stein's early work in India includes design for the Gandhi Bhavan at Delhi College, the Residence of the Australian High Commissioner and low cost housing developments and prototypes for the new steel manufacturing cities.' Lang, Desai, and Desai, *Architecture and Independence: The Search for Identity. India 1880 to 1980*, p. 192.

[143] 'IIC on its external façade has many types of masonries where fortress effects of solid stone masonry mingle with delicate fenestration. […] An environment has been provided. Dependence on the texture of natural materials free from any colours, except the colour God gave to the material used.' Joseph Allen Stein & Associates, 'Indian International Centre', in *The Indian Architect*, vol. IV, n. 11 (November 1962): 14.

[144] 'Delhi quartzite, a crystalline grey stone, is used as infill walls […] concrete cladding panel is used, articulated by overlapping ribs and faced with quartzite aggregate applied by hand.' 'India International Centre', in *Interbuild*, (December 1962): 18. 'In India, the jali-screen is a traditional element in Moghul building and has been adopted in conventional building with more or less success', 'The entire south façade of both main blocks is shielded by specially made fired earthen tiles […]. The colour of the tiles is a kind of biscuit-and-rust, and the light they allow to penetrate indoors is soft and pleasant'. *Interbuild*, p. 19.

[145] Lang, Desai, and Desai, *Architecture and Independence*.

[146] Lang, Desai, and Desai, *Architecture and Independence*, p. 19.

Exemplary were Habib Rahman's Rabindra Bhavan[147] and Achyut Kanvinde[148] & Rai's Azad Bhavan.

> Rahman introduced the traditional Indian elements of *chajja*s and *jali*s, and overhanging roofs into his architecture for the first time in Rabindra Bhavan. He avoided the use of *chattri*s because they have no Modernist quality to them. The resulting building shows a break from the pure International Style. […] This intervention shows the direct influence that Nehru had on architectural design and a break from

[147] 'A Bengali engineer. He was the first of a number of Indians to study overseas under the supervision of internationally renowned Modernist architects. He attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) at both an undergraduate and postgraduate level completing his master's degree in 1944.' Lang, *A Concise History of Modern Architecture in India*, pp. 43–4, Rahman studied at the MIT and then worked with Walter Gropius from 1944 to 1946. He became Senior Architect (1953–70) and then Chief Architect (1970–4) of the CPWD in New Delhi. Bauhaus influenced his work till the end of the 1950s; then his plans, though still modernist, reflect his identity more clearly. Two times president of the Indian National Congress, Rahman occasionally works with the theme of Islam. In Delhi, after Independence, he designed: the Auditor General Building (1954), the University Grants Commission (1954), Dak Tar Bhavan (1955), Delhi Zoo (1956–74), the Mazaar of Maulana Azad (1959), Type 3 'Rahman flats', RK Puram (1959), Rabindra Bhavan (1959–61), Nirman Bhavan (1957), the WHO headquaters (1962).

[148] Achyut Kanvinde studied in Harvard with Walter Gropius and completed his studies in 1947. Some of the most important buildings built by him in Delhi after Independence are: Azad Bhavan (1958–61), designed for the Indian Centre for Cultural Relations; Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) (1950); Airlines House (1950); Small-scale industries institute, Faridabad and Okhla (1950); National Council of Applied and Economic Research (NCAER) (1959); Sir Gangaram Hospital (1954); Gandhi Memorial Hall, ITO (Pyare Lal Bhavan), 1960; Catholic Bishop Conference of India Centre (1960); Carmel Convent School and Carmel Nuns Residence, 1961; St Xavier's School (1961); CBCI, Goldakkhana, New Delhi (1960–2); All India Institute of National Science (1961–72); Tata Oil Mills Company, Ghaziabad; Airlines House, Mahadev Road, New Delhi; Venkateshwara College, South Campus, Dhaula Kuan; Delhi University. Some volumes for reference: Kazi Khaleed Ashraf and James Belluardo (eds), *An Architecture of Independence:*

his support for the pure Le Corbusian architecture he supported in Chandigarh.[149]

Azad Bhavan, housing the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, was completed in 1961 and was also an attempt to find a language capable of locally reinterpreting modernity. 'Kanvinde's work of the era has certainly held up, intellectually and physically, remarkably well over time. His effort, following his client's wishes, to symbolically Indianize his work of the period is exemplified by his design for Azad Bhavan (1958–61) in New Delhi.'[150]

After Independence the number of schools[151] throughout the colonies also increased significantly. 'Between 1941 and 1948 there was

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*The Making of Modern South Asia; Charles Correa, Balkrishna Doshi, Muzharul Islam, Achyut Kanvinde*, Introduction by Kenneth Frampton, (New York: Architectural League of New York, 1998); Achyut P. Kanvinde, 'In Search of Immeasurable Values', in *Architecture + Design*, vol. XIV, n. 1 (January–February 1997): 58–63; Sharvey Dhongde and Chetan Sahasrabudhe, *Achyut Kanvinde*, Kanvinde Commemoration Volume (Pune: BNCA Publication Cell, 2009); Arun Ogale, 'Achyut P. Kanvinde: Doyen of Indian Architecture (and other contributions)', in *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects*, vol. 66, n. 03 (April 2001): 3–43.

[149] Jon Lang, et al., *Architecture and Independence*, p. 211.

[150] 'Proposed building for the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi', in *Annual of Architecture, Structure & Town-Planning*, vol. 1 (Publishing Corporation of India, 1960), A44–8.

[151] The educational institutions declared to be existent in the period immediately after Independence are: St Stephen's College, Hindu College, Ramjas College, Delhi College, College of Commerce, Indra- prastha College, Miranda House, College of Nursing, Central Institute of Education, Hans Raj College, Central College of Agriculture, Kirori Mal College, S.G.T.B. Khalsa College, Desh Bandhu College, School of Social Works, School of Economics, Lady Irwin College, Law College, Delhi Polytechnic, Science Faculty, and Patel Chest Institute. In Delhi there are also the following research Institutions: Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, Indian Agricultural Research Institute, Central College of Agriculture, Sri Ram Institute, Indian Standards Institution, National Physical Laboratory, Central Road Research Institute, All India Institute of Medical Sciences. All these institutions conduct research in science and technology. A proposal has been made to enlarge the North Campus of Delhi University and include an area dedicated to the Defence Department.

only a small increase in the total number of schools. […] During the nine years from 1948 to 1957, a total of 424 schools were added, of which 164 were for girls and 260 were for boys.'[152] 'The number of institutions at the University level increased from 9 in 1941–8 to 25 in 1951 and further to 31 in 1957.'[153]

Delhi's total school enrolment had been increasing steadily up to 1948, and since then the increase has been more marked. In 1948, there were about 76,000 children enrolled in the recognized schools in Delhi State and in 1954 there were as many as 2,27,000.[154] This represents an increase of over 200 per cent. This abnormal increase is greatly due to the influx of displaced persons into the capital from West Pakistan.[155]

The idea was that children should enrol in a neighbourhood school, and that such areas not adequately served be pinpointed and arrangements made.[156] Among the schools built after 1947 that are interesting from an architectural point of view are Raghubir Singh Junior Modern School on Humayun road in New Delhi, designed by Master Sathe & Kothari,[157] the Delhi School of Economics,[158] designed by the Austrian

[152] Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 163.

[153] Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 170.

[154] Directorate of Education, Delhi State.

[155] Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 20.

[156] 'The child should be made to go to school in his own neighbourhood. The un-served pockets of residential areas could thus be determined and steps taken to provide new schools in those areas.' Town Planning Organization, *Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi*, p. 21. 'Nursery schools should be provided wherever possible, in the residential neighbourhood for children of 3 to 5 years with a minimum area of half to one acre. […] Primary school children should not be required to travel more than ½ mile to their school. […] The school site should not be less than 1.5 acres in addition to 3 acres for play-grounds and other school activities. Middle and High schools should be easily accessible from the residential areas, wherever possible within one mile of every home.' Ibid., p. 67.

[157] 'Raghubir Singh Junior Modern School', in *The Indian Architect* (October, 1961): 11–13.

[158] 'Building for the Delhi School of Economics: Architect: K. Malte von Heinz', in *Indian Builder* (1956): 34–9.

architect Karl Malte von Heinz, Kirorimal College designed by Cyrus S.H. Jhabvala in the mid 1950s,[159] and the American International School designed by Joseph Allen Stein in 1952.[160] The Indian Institute of Technology[161] designed by Chowdhury[162] & Gulzar Singh in 1959–61 is particularly remarkable, the main building unmistakably inspired by the Unité d'habitation, and the use of materials and the aquatic landscaping are a clear allusion to Le Corbusier's techniques in Chandigarh.

The number of public buildings increased exponentially after Independence, and this may be said too of the number of architects. 'The presence of architects began to be felt in India. With the increase in the number of architects, questions of architecture, per se, were also becoming part of the public debate.'[163] Architectural departments were still relatively few after Independence.[164] Though many architects

[159] Cyrus S.H. Jhabvala studied in London. 'Cyrus S. H. Jhabvala is another architect whose work has had a profound impact on India, as an early Modernist, an educator and an illustrator. The Kirorimal College (1954–56) that he designed at Delhi University has a linear organization with an entrance lobby opening onto a canopied spine. Classrooms are linked to this spine through courtyards on one side and to administrative offices and a library on the other. In spirit it is a subdued Modernist building. The search for a suitable architecture expressive of India's diverse aspirations can be seen, not only in the work of people who have become internationally renowned, but also in that of less famous architects.' Lang, et al., *Architecture and Independence*, p. 212.

[160] The school was founded to meet needs of the new American families who had begun to live in Delhi after Independence. Both buildings 'are an interpretation in the Delhi area of an architectural approach conditioned by acceptance of both regional and functional requirements and values'. *New Work*, pp. 15–19, for the quote, see in particular, p. 16.

[161] The school comprises a main building, an area for the staff, on one side the girls' residences, and on the opposite side the boys' housing. All this is enriched by swimming pools, amphitheatres, and other leisure buildings. See 'Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi; Architects: Chowdhury & Gulzar Singh', in *Design* (New Delhi) (August 1969): 131–9.

[162] Architect trained on the Chandigarh construction site.

[163] 'Anglo-Indian Architecture', *The Builder*, 55, n. 2387 (3 November 1888): 313–15.

[164] If in 1947 there were only two schools of architecture in the entire country, by 1991 there were 45, and in 1996 as many as 96.

continued to be educated in engineering schools and at the JJ School
of Art in Bombay, beginning in 1955 it became possible for them to
attend the newly established School of Planning and Architecture[165]
in Delhi. The plan for the school's building was T.J. Manickam's, and
was perfectly attuned to the Nehruvian vision of modernity. It com-
prised pure structures, with no particular indulgence or importance
given to traditional elements.[166] After Independence, most British
architects returned to the UK,[167] with Walter S. George being one
of the very few English architects who decided to stay on in Delhi.
As Indian architects now finally built the buildings of the capital, it
can be said that after 1947 there was a revival, if not the very partu-
rition of the profession of architecture. Among the principal Indian
architects engaged in the construction of Delhi were: Master Sathe
& Kothari, Achyut Kanvinde & Rai, Durga Bajpai & Piloo Modi,
Habib Rahman, Walter George, Vanu Bhuta,[168] Cyrus S.H. Jhabvala,
Mansingh Rana, Chowdhury & Gulzar Singh, T.J. Manickam, Joseph
Allen Stein, Edward Stone, Ganesh B. Deolalikar, S.P. Satsangi,
R.I. Gehlote, Jehangir P.J. Billimoria, and others.[169] 'Since Independence,
a handful of Indian architects have been called upon to design an
enormous number of public buildings—a building boom which our
country had never seen before.'[170] Indians began opening their own

[165]   It seems that in 1947 there were only two schools of architecture.

[166]   'On elevation, the building gives a playful and pleasing appearance.
This has been imparted by the use of colour on external facades. Other fea-
tures on elevation are straightforward. Very little has ben done to impose
what goes on in the name of modern architecture. This gives it a simplicity
of its own.' 'School of Town & Country Planning: New Delhi', in *The Indian
Architect* (January 1960): 29–33.

[167]   'Very few British architects remained in India after 1947', ibid.

[168]   Mahatma Gandhi Smarak (1956), Rajghat, Delhi, is a plan by Vanu
Bhuta, an architect trained at the Institute of Design in Chicago, who stud-
ied with Eliel Saarinen in Cranbrook. Lang, *A Concise History of Modern
Architecture in India*, p. 55.

[169]   There are interesting lists of architects living in Delhi in the *Journal of
the Indian Institute of Architects*, but it isn't clear whether the architects listed
by the journal were the only ones working in the city.

[170]   'Seminar on Architecture', March 1959, Inaugurated by Jawaharlal
Nehru, Lalit Kala Akademi, Jaipur House, New Delhi 1959, p. 13.

studios, as did for example Kanvinde & Rai and Sathe & Kothari, and some occupied positions of considerable influence in the new Central Public Works Department;[171] see, for example, Ganesh B. Deolalikar. Architects from all over the world flocked to the capital: Japanese, Austrian, German, as well as Americans.

Some Indians still aspired to British or American schooling, others went to work on the Chandigarh construction sites with Le Corbusier, [172] and to Dacca and Ahmedabad with Louis Khan. Notwithstanding this, many buildings continued to be planned by engineers. 'Despite the increasing public recognition of architecture as an undertaking separate from engineering, much building design remained in the hands of engineers.'[173]

[171] 'Government Architects in India', in *The Indian Architect* (March 1969): 35; for information on who the chief architects were after Independence, we can refer to a document that today may be found at the Central Public Works Department: Ganesh B. Deolalikar from 1947 to 1952, S.K. Joglekar from 1952 to 1969, S.P. Satsangi from June 1969 to September 1969, H.R. Yadi from 1969 to 1970, Habib Rehman from 1970 to 1974, J.M. Benjamin from 1974 to 1978, H.M. Rana from 1978 to 1979, H.R. Leroia and K.M. Saxena from May 1987 to September 1987, M.K. Rishi from 1990 to 1993.

[172] 'In individual building design, many of north India's leading architects were very much influenced by Le Corbusier. A number of late 1960s and early 1970s buildings can be added to the list. They were also designed using the formal vocabulary of Le Corbusier. Akbar Hotel (1965–9) and the highly creative Shri Ram Centre (1966–9) in New Delhi designed by Shiv Nath Prasad, the Inter-State Bus Terminus (1969–71) designed by Rajinder Kumar. Akbar Hotel, designed for the Delhi Municipal Committee, owes a formal debt to the Unité d'habitation by Le Corbusier. It is a thirteen-storey concrete slab building which forms part of a larger commercial complex. A service floor echoes the shopping floor of the Unité and separates the bedrooms above from the common areas on the lower floors. Like the Unité, the roof has communal facilities—in this case, a restaurant, garden and small open air theatre. A two-storey curvilinear block just out at the base, echoing the form of the Millowners Building in Ahmedabad. Prasad's other work which clearly picks up on Le Corbusier's thought processes is the Shri Ram Centre of a private trust promoting dance, drama, and music. Like much of Prasad's work of the period, it is built of reinforced concrete and expresses, through architectural form, the variety of functions the building is to house'. Lang, et al., *Architecture and Independence*, p. 226.

[173] Lang et al. *Architecture and Independence*., pp. 75–7.

## THE SHAPING OF ARCHITECTURE

This research on public buildings in the capital, prior to and after Independence, concentrates primarily on the typology of the structures and on the relationship they gradually established between one another, rather than focusing on the relatively superficial decorative aspects, thereby highlighting the change that occurred with the arrival of the British and the founding of New Delhi, which was yet again followed by another change after 1947. The foremost concern was religious buildings, buildings of power, and transportation, but above all commercial areas, green areas, leisure buildings or those built for educational purposes. The study makes it evident that with the arrival of the British the buildings of power in the city assumed a far more central role than had been earlier played by buildings relating to religion. Besides, churches and convents were supplementary, added on to the existing mosques and temples, and markets replaced the street-markets and the bazaars. There was also a progression from semi-public gardens to parks, intra-regional exchanges between various Indian regions and other nations grew by virtue of the new railway and airport systems, and a series of buildings for entertainment and leisure that had not hitherto existed, flourished.

After 1947, a process of assimilation and adaptation began in relation to imported building styles, similar to what had happened with the passage from the bungalow plot to the house plot when considering residential typologies. The most significant change was the increase in buildings for the community, with a natural yet consequent change in proportions. The buildings of power remained those built during the colonial period, merely undergoing a change in usage. In the neighbourhoods per se, notwithstanding many complaints of a shortage of public buildings, schools, religious buildings, buildings for entertainment, police stations, fire stations, parks, and markets throve. In particular, as can be seen among the variety of leisure buildings, cinemas became the most widespread. In contrast to the colonial period, they became an actual reference point for the city. It would appear that the perception of an apparent lack of community buildings was possibly only in relation to Western standards without adequately taking into account local economic factors.

In the historical city of Shahjahanabad, and probably also in the other precolonial cities, a separation existed between public spaces and

public buildings. They were perceived and designed as two separate elements with a certain degree of autonomy. In Europe, particularly in Italy, there is a reciprocal relationship between religious buildings and the square situated in front of it, or significant public buildings and the squares associated with them. In India however there appears to be no such mutual correlation. The only case in which it may be possible to find a virtually symmetrical relationship between public areas and public buildings in the city of Delhi is the bazar and the street, and even here it serves much more as a passageway rather than as a location for leisure that squares represent. The most significant aspect is that both in New Delhi in 1912, and in Delhi's ninth city in 1962, public buildings and public areas were still disconnected and performed a very different function from those in Europe. The fact that such detachment persists despite colonial rule, and thereafter endures after Independence, leads to the natural conclusion that this trait must have its origin or roots in deeper cultural issues, and that it is again a sign of the city's resistance to foreign influence.

Studies in specialized journals and archival research indicate that public buildings in Delhi, during the period of transition, were varied and ranged from religious buildings to embassies, commercial structures, buildings for entertainment, open spaces, and industrial buildings. This, regardless of their proportion, whether isolated or integrated into parts of the city and whether or not elements of local tradition were embraced or strictly followed the ideal of 'modernity'. Public buildings were at the core of the ongoing debate on styles of architecture, which entailed, albeit in distinct ways, architects from both before and after 1947. In the capital, styles ranged from one extreme to the other, from eccentric buildings such as the High Commission of Pakistan designed by Heinz, to the more austere St Martin's church, designed by Shoosmith, with all its intermediate shades, and the Indian International Centre, designed by Stein. In the colonial period, stylistically hybrid buildings, such as Viceroy's House and the secretariats on Raisina Hill were built, as were those embodying the modernism of Willingdon's airport and the classicism of Gymkhana Club. The postcolonial period witnessed offices like the semi-modern CPWD Bhavan along with the refined compromise between the modern and traditional, such as Azad Bhavan, and also the very common structures distinguished by what is called 'utilitarian modernism'.

It has not been possible, in this context, to review all the public buildings built prior to and after 1947, but by analysing just a selection, it becomes evident that it is impossible to rely on categorizations and judgments based purely on an observation of the shape and exterior façade of a structure. Variety and styles are so manifold that it is virtually impossible to identify a trend or draw conclusions, as some have indeed attempted to do. It must thus be maintained that many buildings, both during the colonial period and during that following Independence, do not answer the question of what it is that defines 'Indianness'. Sometimes it encompasses purely formal attempts, such as the insertion of decorative elements on the façades, while elsewhere there are more skilful adaptations that attempt to deal with typological, economic, and climatic issues. The most fascinating aspect may possibly be the abundance of variety and layers, which the various cultures and experiences wrought upon the architecture of public buildings in the capital. The many cities of Delhi and their monuments, those built by the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan, for example, were the result of a complex exchange and interaction of foreign cultures. The Mughals, the British, and the Americans certainly had an enduring influence on the image and the principal points of reference in the city of Delhi.

The city's tendency has always been to embrace rather than rebuild or demolish. That is how public buildings from various periods have gradually been added. The fact that the city absorbed pre-existing buildings and made them a part of the present configuration is an important indicator of the interesting relationship the capital has established with time. As regards historical monuments, what actually changed in the colonial period due to a series of conservation laws promulgated by the Archaeological Survey of India, was the relationship the population had with them. The spontaneous interaction between people and monuments was lost forever in favour of isolation and 'musealization'. The most ancient historical monuments gradually lost their 'original context', and it may be useful to recall the original use for which they were intended: as spaces at the disposal to the people. Doing so may possibly, on the one hand, respond to the need for more collective spaces for the overwhelming and ever-increasing population, and on the other, respect for the idea that public buildings could once again be used more freely by all.

After Independence, the colonial legacy was omnipresent and its overbearing influence was not exclusive to the preservation of monuments. Many architects who were educated and elevated as assistants on the construction sites of New Delhi, continued to propose, each in their own fashion, a certain British heirloom within their building endeavours: the most striking example of this is the Supreme Court designed by Deolalikar. Notwithstanding the admiration for the US or for 'modernity', which belonged to the period following Independence, it may very possibly have resulted from an intrinsic British conditioning, requiring consultation of a foreign expert when planning Indian works. This does not mean, however, that a generalized assumption can be made in relation to the overall foreign influences, or a vacuum in re-elaboration, which is demonstrated by the continuing search for compromise with local culture, both on part of British architects in earlier times, and on the part of Indian architects and those of other nationalities subsequently.

Here it should be added that the unprompted and somewhat indirect adaptations to the Indian environment, be it climate, density of population, different ways of exploiting spaces, et al., played a fundamental role in the process of negotiating cultures and indigenization. Moreover, all too often, there has been an inclination to consider the West and 'Western influences' as a single whole, insufficiently distinguishing between different cultures, tendencies, and countries, be they Italian, British, or the US. Besides, another approximation is to view the idea of 'modernity' as a product of the Western world: 'modernity' initially imported by the British, to be followed by the myth of the 'new American democratic modernity', and, as presciently suggested by Narayani Gupta, discounting, if not entirely overlooking, the modernity, albeit less evident and pronounced, that already existed in Shahjahanabad much prior to the precolonial period.

A thought-provoking and significant aspect that extends beyond those associated with the acquisition, adaptation, and refusal of certain colonial or American legacies, is the notion that to a certain degree, when a greater timeframe is taken into consideration, which in fact ranges from Mughal times to the colonial, the postcolonial, and even to the present day, the buildings of the capital have invariably exemplified a hybrid of cultures. Various building structures, irrespective of the provenance of the architects, even given the transitory ideology

of politics during the historical period, invariably resulted, albeit with variable traits, in some form of compromise. The Khirki mosque is a mix of Hindu, Persian, and Muslim cultures; the architectural style of Viceroy's House incorporates elements of Mughal culture; Azad Bhavan, a prime example of a post-1947 structure, inherits Mughal and Anglo-Saxon legacies, and so forth. Even the refined intellectual elaborations of architects such as Raj Rewal and Charles Correa bear the imprint of diverse traditions. In this context, it is certainly possible to say with confidence that Delhi's architecture is a result of stratified processes, renegotiations, and a multiplicity of hybridizations. It is the product of continuing and progressive additions. Particularly in the case of the precolonial buildings, a conscious search for or awareness of identity was not necessarily the driving factor or at the forefront, which, in contrast, was certainly the case with the numerous attempts to artificially insert 'elements of Indianness', which was witnessed during and after the colonial period.

Finally, there are three disciplines that were central to the building of Delhi at different moments: engineering, architecture, and planning. Each had its own peculiarities and strengths. All three have been influenced by foreign models but, at the same time acquired their own characteristics in relation to the Indian context. What stands out is that the discipline of architecture—especially after Independence, as we can read in the Seminar on Architecture, March 1959—seems to have emerged much more as a profession with an autonomous point of view that has most certainly and radically evolved over time in many different ways. Radical changes in terms of aesthetic and lively debates on architectural expression characterized the field of architecture at that time. As far the engineering profession is concerned, the lack of acces to advanced technologies and materials and the strong need to be 'economical' restricted its development until perhaps the opening up of the Indian economy post the 1990s. Urban Planning remains a captive to the legal interpretations of the master plan and the town planning acts and was therefore unable to respond to the social imperatives of a transforming society.

Especially in relation to the colonial period, but also after Independence, the persona of the architect became fundamental in the construction of public buildings, which to a large extent also became a mirror or direct reflection of the architects' debates. It cannot

be forgotten that the expansive spread of public buildings across the capital, with inordinate splendour, depended heavily on the fact that their designers were many in number and extraordinarily diverse, not only in their origins but particularly in their educational backgrounds. Thus, the correlation between the cultural stratification of each building, and how such strata influenced the eventual results in the field of architecture is also of particular consequence.[174] Of enormous relevance is the weight and impact British education had, which itself tended to be somewhat scientifically based or engineering oriented, and this was further emphasized by the fact that Indian architects, for the most part, studied abroad or formed part of foreign construction teams in India. In the field of education, there was a form of veneration or aspiration for the Western world which still remains, both in terms of the models chosen, and also in the preference for architectural texts written and produced by foreigners. Notwithstanding this, the diversity of an internationally acquired educational background or foundation must not be underestimated. Embracing widely divergent cultures made it possible for Indian architects to acquire a greater awareness of, and empathy for, all that was the 'other'. Much earlier than others cities, Delhi confronted fundamental issues in relation to internationalism and intercultural exchanges which remain central to many contemporary debates. Notwithstanding the overall impression that an apparent 'state of subordination' persists in relation to Anglo-Saxon culture, as is frequently asserted by sundry scholars, a de facto judgement quite possibly requires further in-depth study of the complexity and richness that the city of Delhi offers in terms of alternatives as opposed to a bland attribution of these to the supremacy of Western ideologies and thought.[175]

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[174] Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik, *History of Education in India During the British Period* (Bombay: Macmillan & Co, 1951); J.C. Aggrawal, *Development of Education System in India* (Delhi: Shipra Publications, 2008); Menon, 'Reforming Architectural Education'.

[175] Menon, 'Transcultural Dialogue in Architectural Education', p. 2.

**COLONIAL BUILDINGS**



**Figure 5a.1**  Photograph of Baroda House in New Delhi, c. 1936
*Source*: The Central Public Works Department.



**Figure 5a.2**  Photograph of Hyderabad House in New Delhi, c. 1926
*Source*: The Central Public Works Department.

**Figure 5a.3**    Photograph of All India Old Broadcasting House in
New Delhi, c. 1930
*Source*: The Central Public Works Department.



**Figure 5a.4**    Photograph of Willingdon Old Delhi Airport (Today
Safdarjung Airport), c. 1929
*Source*: The Central Public Works Department.

**Figure 5a.5** Photograph of the Sacred Church Cathedral in New Delhi, c. 1930
*Source*: The Central Public Works Department.



**Figure 5a.6** Photograph of the Cathedral Church of the Redemption in New Delhi, 2014
*Source*: Author.

**Figure 5a.7**    Photograph of the Rashtrapati Bhavan in New Delhi, c. 1931
*Source*: The Central Public Works Department.



**Figure 5a.8**    Photograph of the Viceroy's House in New Delhi, c. 1931
*Source*: The Central Public Works Department.

**Figure 5a.9**    Photograph of the  India Gate in New Delhi, 1930
*Source*: The Central Public Works Department.



**Figure 5a.10**    Photograph of Connaught Place in New Delhi, 1933
*Source*: The Central Public Works Department.

**Figure 5a.11**    Photograph of the Parliament of India in New Delhi, 1927
*Source*: The Central Public Works Department.



**Figure 5a.12**    Photograph of St. Martin's Church in Delhi Cantonment, 2014
*Source*: Author.

**Figure 5a.13**    Photograph of the City Hall in Old Delhi, 1930
*Source*: Delhi State Archive.



**Figure 5a.14**    Photograph of St Stephen's College in Northern Delhi, 2014
*Source*: Author.

## POST INDEPENDENCE BUILDINGS



**Figure 5b.1** Photograph of the Supreme Court in New Delhi, 2014
*Source*: Author.



**Figure 5b.2** Photograph of the Supreme Court in New Delhi, 2014
*Source*: Author.

**Figure 5b.3**   Photograph of Akbar Hotel in Delhi, c. 1965
*Source*: *Architecture + Design* (1986: 17).



**Figure 5b.4**   Photograph of the Indian Institute of Technology, c. 1959
*Source*: *Design* (1969: 13).
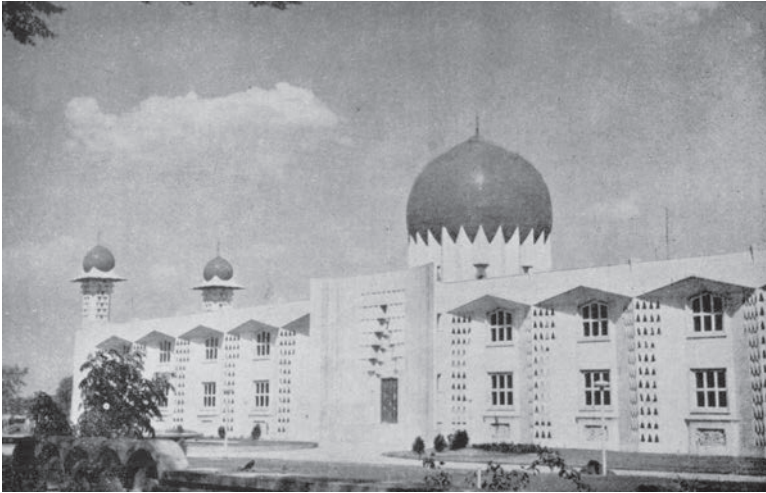
**Figure 5b.5** Photograph of the Chancery Building for Pakistan High Commission, c. 1960
*Source*: *The Indian Architect* (1963: 16).
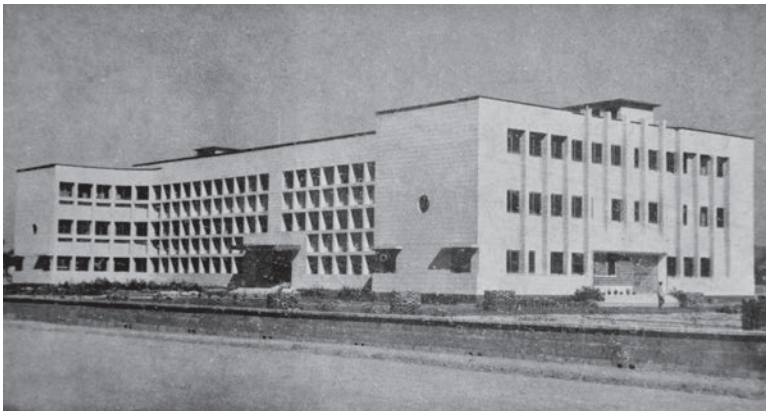


**Figure 5b.6** Photograph of the Delhi school of Economics, c. 1950
*Source*: *The Indian Builder* (July 1956).

**Figure 5b.7**    Photograph of the Claridges Hotel in New Delhi, c. 1955
*Source*: *The Indian Builder* (1956).



**Figure 5b.8**    Photograph of Azad Bhavan in Delhi, c. 1959
*Source*: *The Indian Builder* (1961: 28).

**Figure 5b.9**  Photograph of St Xavier's School in Delhi, 2014
*Source*: Author.
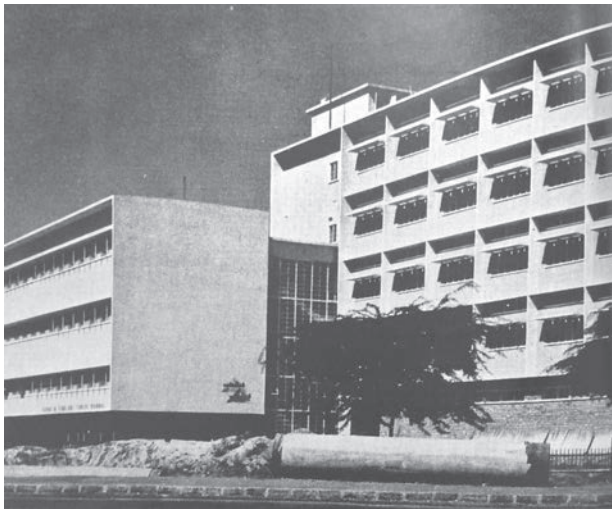


**Figure 5b.10**  School of Planning and Architecture, 1955
*Source*: *Urban and Rural Planning Thought* (1959)

**Figure 5b.11**　Plan of Rabindra Bhavan in Delhi, c. 1960
*Source*: *Journal A+D* (1996).
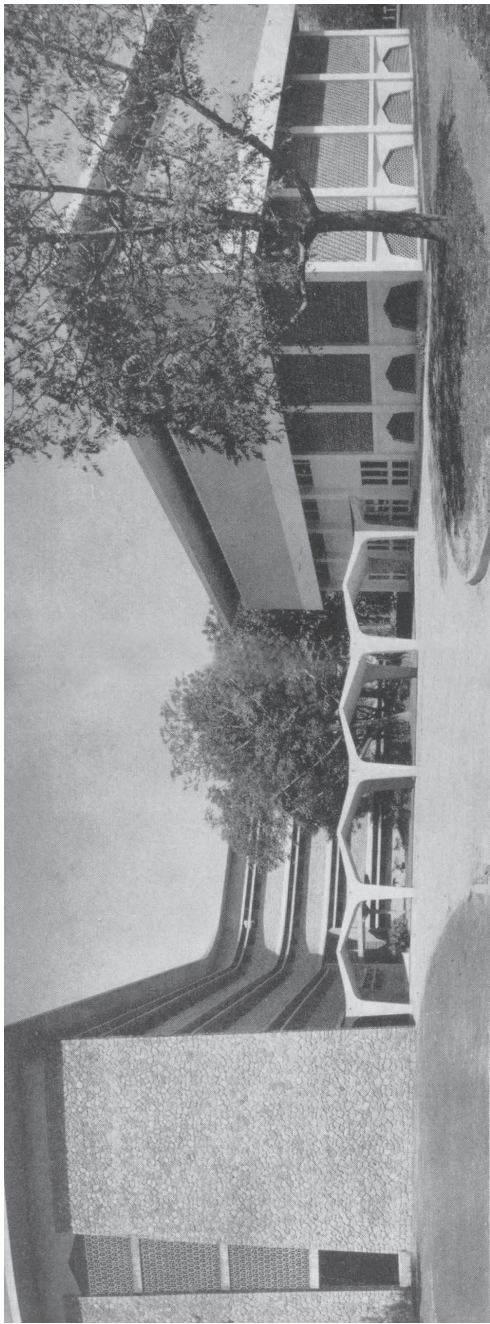
**Figure 5b.12** Photograph of Rabindra Bhavan in Delhi, c. 1960

*Source: Marg* (1963: 65).
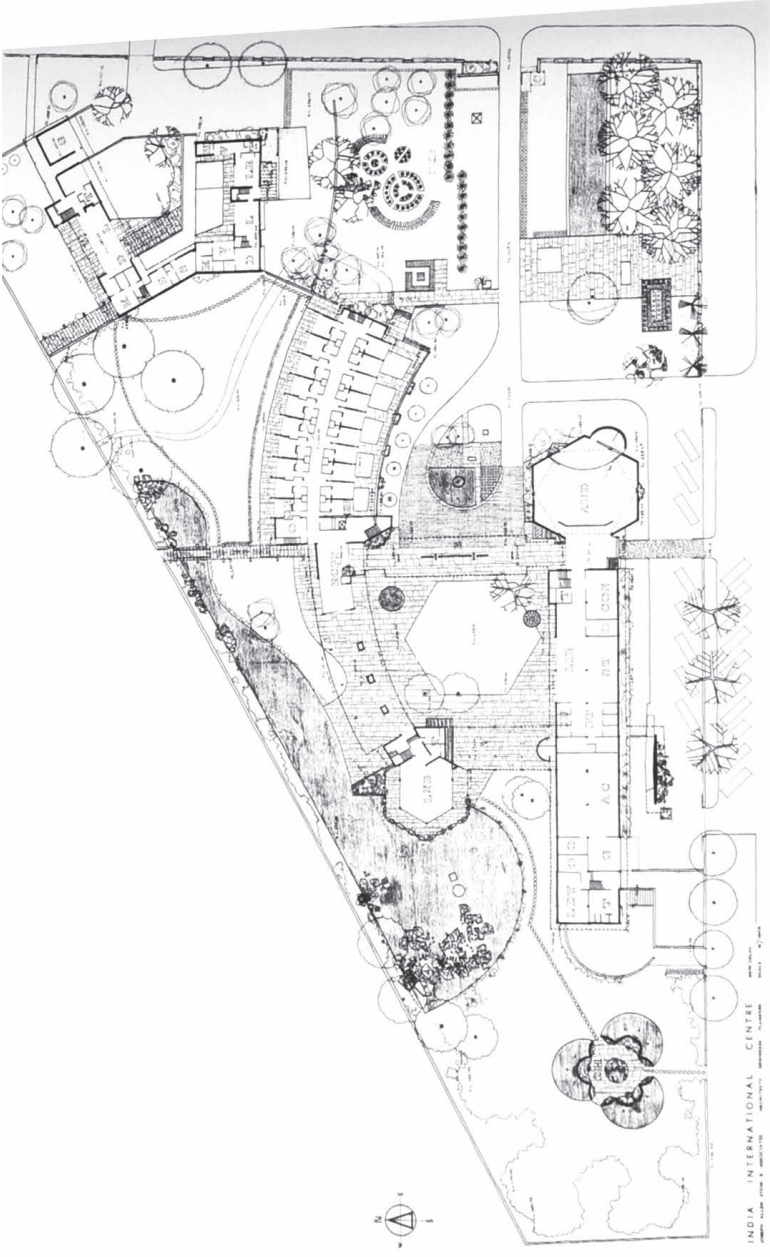
**Figure 5b.13** Plan of the Indian International Centre in Delhi, c. 1961
*Source: Marg* (1963: 67).
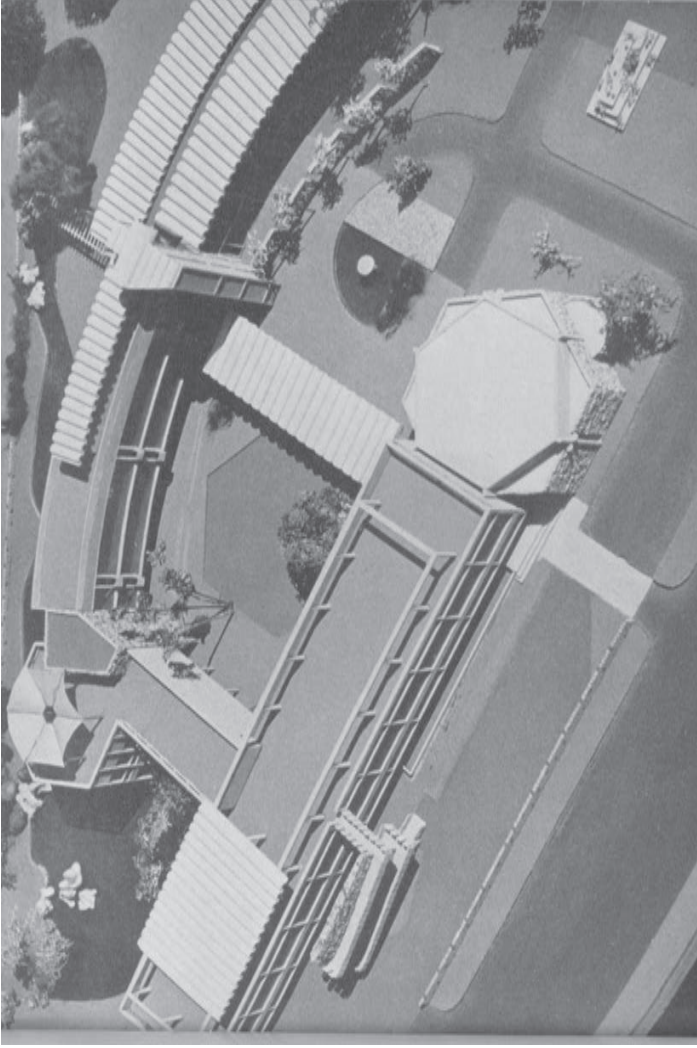
**Figure 5b.14** Aerial View of the Indian International Centre in Delhi, c. 1961
*Source: Marg* (1963: 67).

**Figure 5b.15**   Photograph of the Kothari Building in Delhi, 1960
*Source*: *The Indian Architect* (1962: 14).
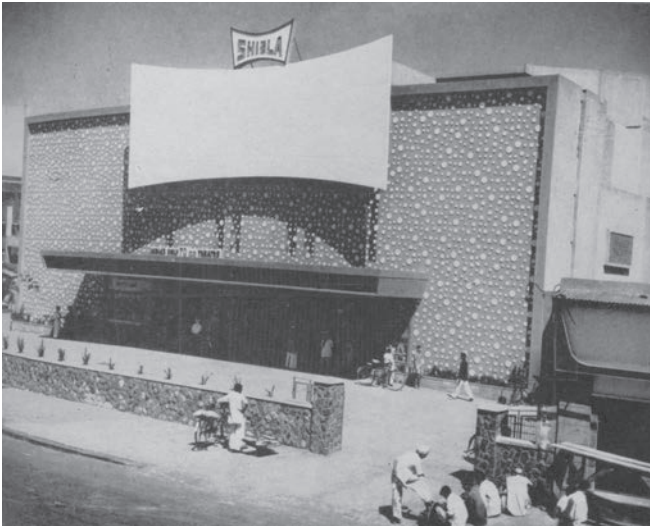


**Figure 5b.16**   Photograph of a Cinema House in Delhi, c. 1959
*Source*: *The Indian Architect* (1962: 14).
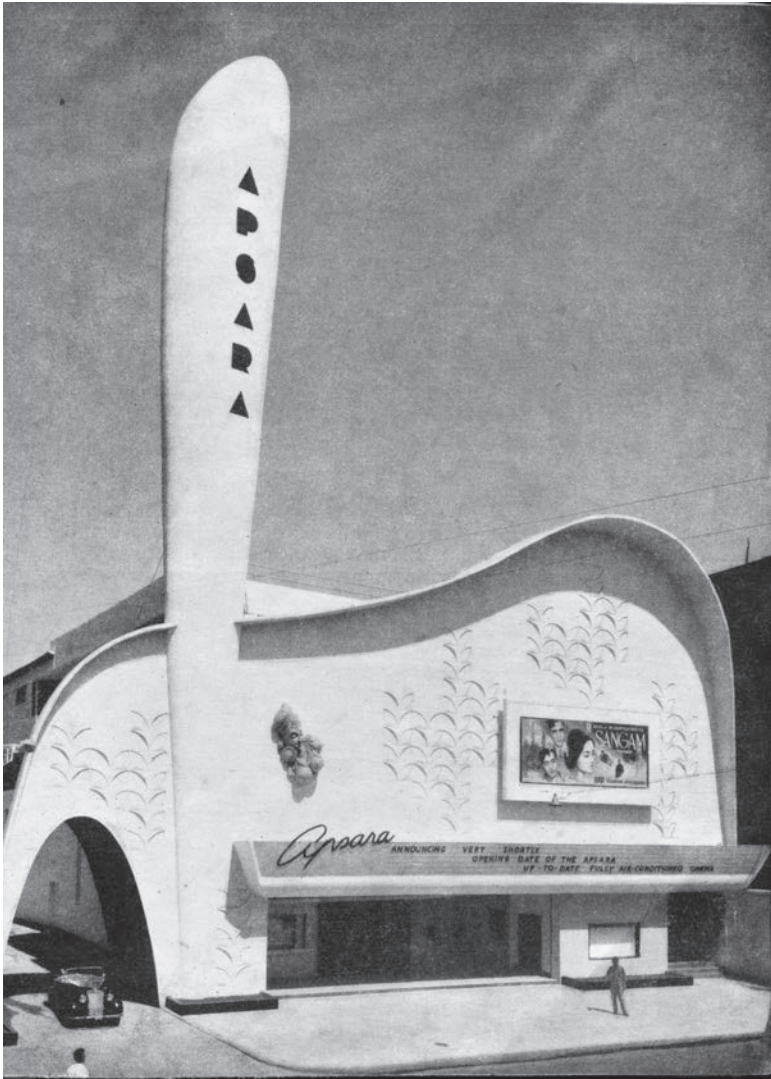
**Figure 5b.17**    Photograph of Apsara Cinema in Delhi, 1962
*Source*: *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects* (1965: 6).
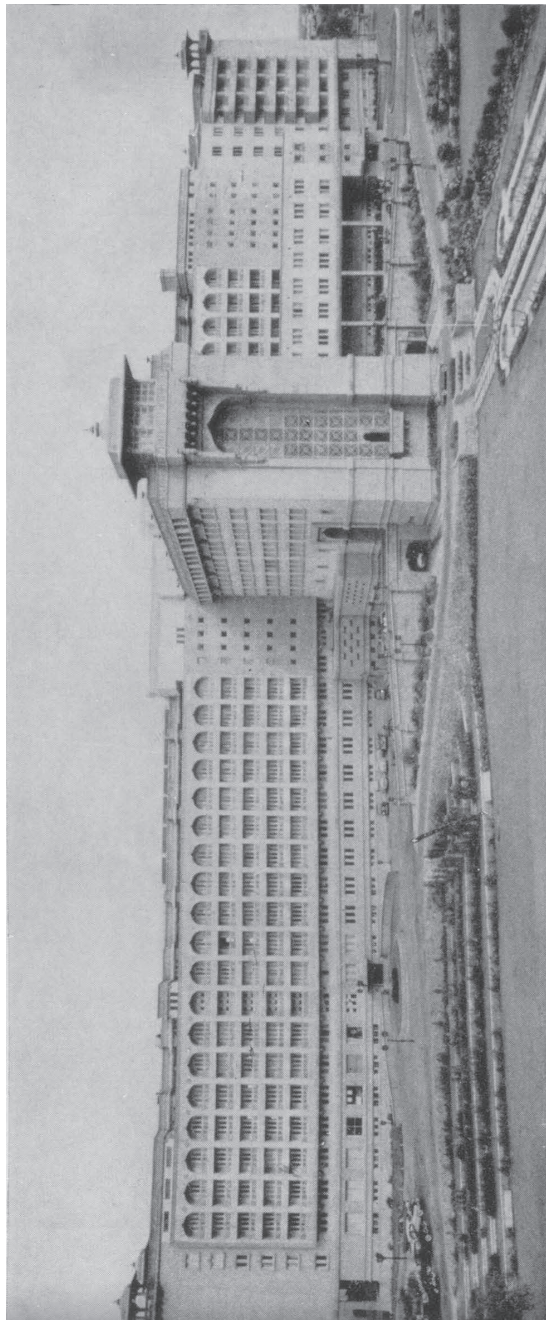
**Figure 5b.18** Photograph of the Ashoka Hotel in Delhi, c. 1959
*Source: Marg* (1963: 43).

**Figure 5b.19**    Photograph of the Punjab National Bank Building in Delhi, c. 1958
*Source*: *The Indian Architect* (1960: 15).



**Figure 5b.20**    Photograph of the US Embassy, c. 1953
*Source*: *Marg* (1956: 68).
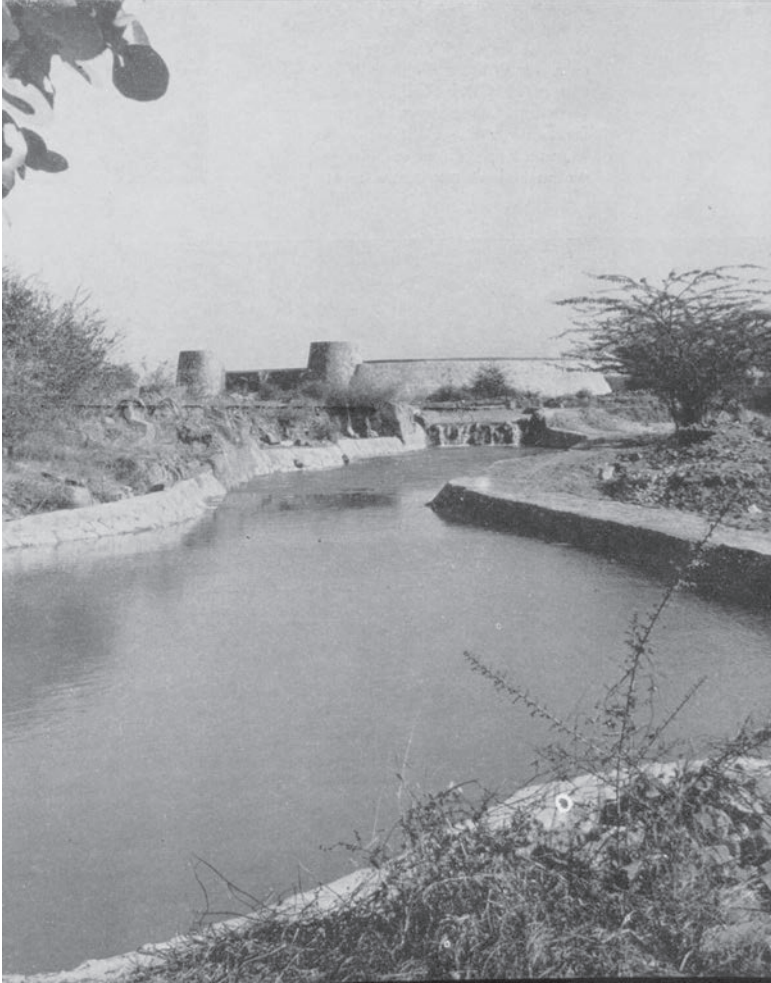
**Figure 5b.21**    Photograph of the Buddha  Jayanti Park, c. 1961
*Source*: *Marg* (1963: 61).
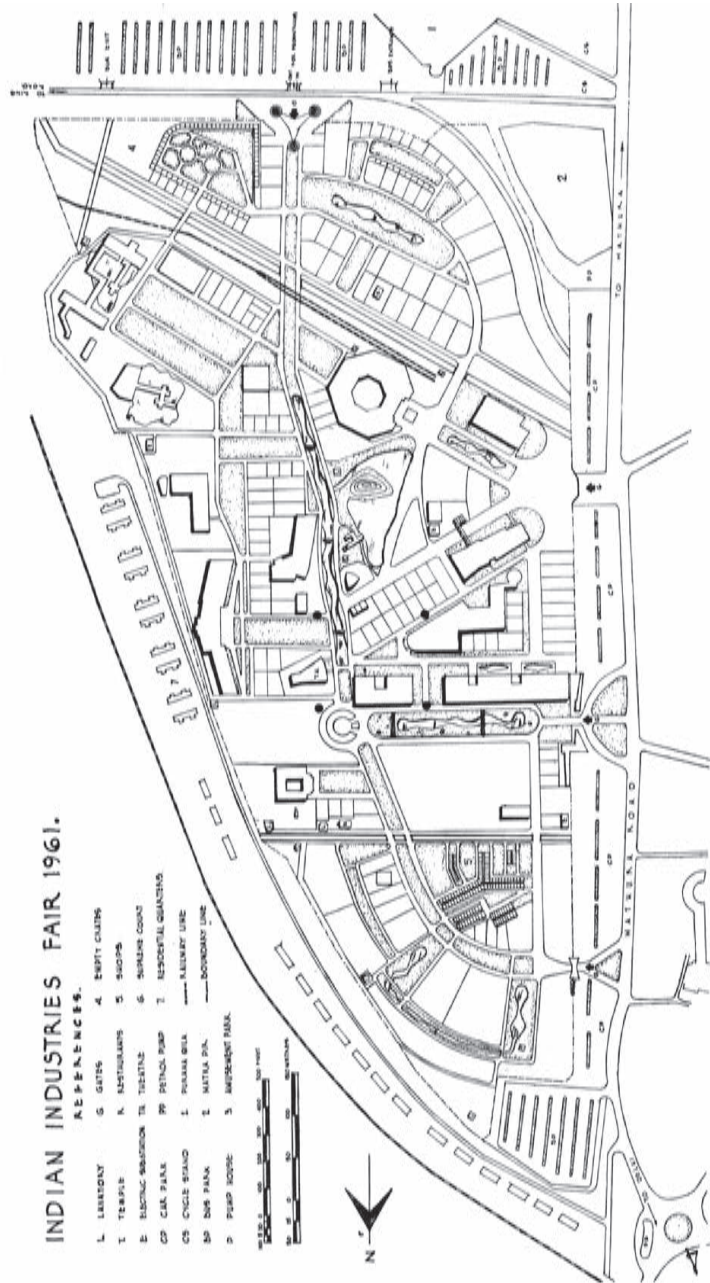
**Figure 5b.22** Plan of the Indian Industry Fair held in Delhi in, 1961
Source: *The Indian Architect* (1961: 10).

**Figure 5b.23**    Photograph of the Institute of Nuclear Medicine in Delhi, c. 1962
*Source*: *The Indian Architect* (1964: 15).
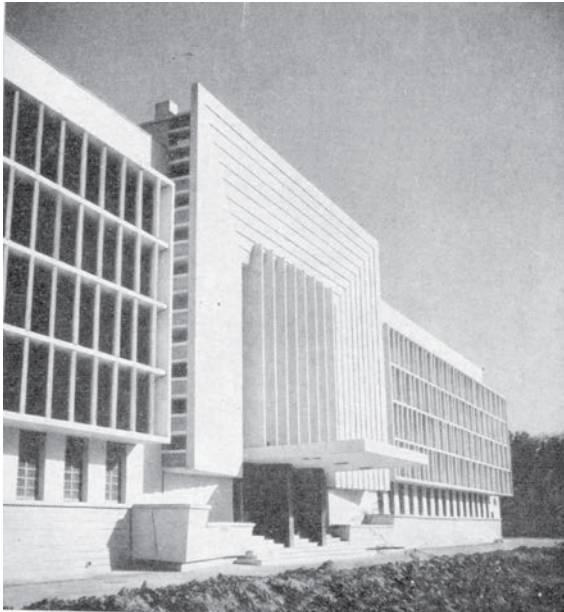


**Figure 5b.24**    Photograph of the Office of the Deputy Accountant General, Post and Telegraph in Delhi, c. 1960
*Source*: *The Indian Architect* (1962: 18).
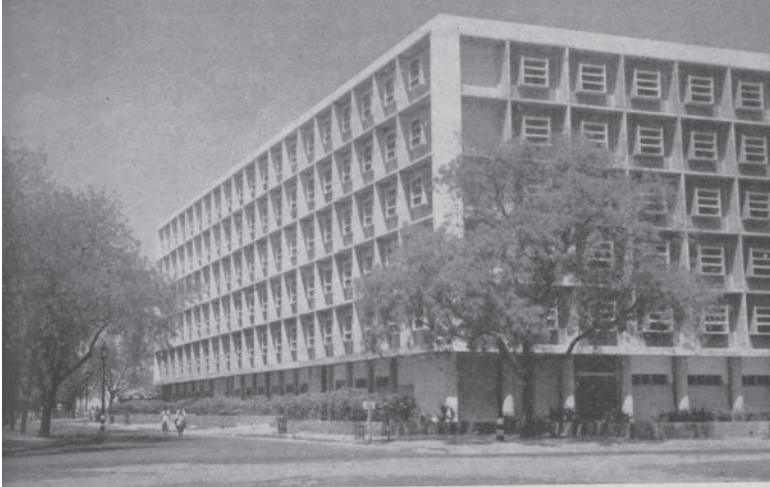
**Figure 5b.25**   Photograph of Yojana Bhavan in Delhi, c. 1960
*Source*: *The Indian Architect* (1962).



**Figure 5b.26**   Photograph of Krishi Bhavan in Delhi, c. 1955
*Source*: Deolalikar Archive.

**Figure 5b.27**    Photograph of the Entrance of Teen Murti Conference Hall
in Delhi, 2014
*Source*: Author.



**Figure 5b.28**    Photograph of the Tubercolosis Association of India Building
in Delhi, 2014
*Source*: Author.

**Figure 5b.29**   Photograph of Khan Market in New Delhi, 1955
*Source*: Deolalikar Archive.



**Figure 5b.30**   Photograph of Kamala Market in New Delhi, 1950
*Source*: Deolalikar Archive.

**Figure 5b.31**     Photograph of Lodi Colony Market in Delhi, 2014
*Source*: Author.

# Insights into the Cities of India, Cultural Exchanges, and Identities

Towns are related to routes.[1]

It is difficult to define or measure 'culture' which is a complex system: a set of human values, beliefs, and a particular attitude to a certain lifestyle.[2]

## A PERSPECTIVE ON ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS

City planning, neighbourhoods, residential typologies, public buildings and styles, analysed in some detail in the previous chapters, are interesting and thought-provoking starting points for an understanding of

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[1] P. Vidal de La Blanche (French geographer), *Principles of Human Geography*, (ed.) Emmanuel De Martone, trans. from the French by Millicent Todd (London, 1921), p. 370.

[2] Anjana P. Desai, *Indian Cities: A Conglomeration of Culture: A Study in Behavioural Geography* (Jaipur: Illustrated Book Publishers, 1997), p. 14.

urban and architectural developments, not just for Delhi but also for extrapolation to a wider canvas. The character, history, and multitude of transformations that individual architectural elements have undergone reveal a range of aspects of city planning and architecture. The even wider range of documents relating to them provide ample scope for speculation. The variegated studies available on the city of Delhi and the transformation of its elements of architecture and planning can serve as a stimulus and catalyst for broader and indirect reflections, and serve as an inspiration for a new approach to urban studies. In this way a new pathway opens for an analysis of the development of Indian urban settlements from a wholly fresh perspective.

By placing Delhi's elements of architecture and planning at the centre of speculation, there is an opportunity to focus on one of the most relevant and pressing issues of today: the impact of cultural exchanges and the effects that the interaction between cultures have on the transformation and trends of the elements of architecture and planning. Each element analysed has indeed been transformed by both inner and external cultural exchanges.

The underlying research established that exchanges within Delhi had a very profound impact, never being mono-directional but undergoing a complex and stratified process, clearly demonstrating that the period after Independence cannot be construed as being more 'indigenous' than the periods preceding it. Decolonization did not mean that the architecture became more authentically Indian. While there were no clear elements of breaks with the past, very interesting transitions could nonetheless be identified, such as the continuation of the 'cities of cities' in the urban structure, the local transformations within colonies, the shift in housing typology, and the changes in architectural styles.

Analysing the singularity of the various architectural and urban elements, while keeping the socio-economic and political forces at the forefront, is fundamental in endeavouring to understand the intercultural processes and the complexity of the urban structures. All these distinctive elements provide a collective overview on what actually transpired during the various interactions between several cultures, and these processes of interaction provide additional insight which not only allows us to specifically answer certain questions relating

to Indian culture but also inspires us to apply the same method to speculate on other similar issues elsewhere.

These interactions and the effects they had on elements of architecture and planning have proved to be a very effective tool, serving as a variable, if not a denominator, that may be used to evaluate and understand the evolution of cities that are rapidly growing in India and within the wider global context.[3]

## FROM THE ELEMENTS OF DELHI TO A BROADER UNDERSTANDING OF MEGACITIES

Delhi is an example of an incredibly complex metropolis. A case study of it is therefore a very significant and relevant endeavour which may be seen to be unique given its incredibly diverse mix of cultures. Delhi can be viewed as being the direct result of varied historical processes of change, development, and stratifications that may be viewed as a reference point in the examination of other contemporary metropolises when seeking to understand intercultural relationships and exchanges.

The period of transition, pre- and post-Independence, is particularly crucial because it highlights issues such as the impact of foreign models, the complex interrelationship between Indian cultures, and the quest for a new identity, thus providing us with an opportunity to understand certain dynamics of the 'coexistence of diversity' or of 'unity through diversity' which are structural in a country such as India. This critical point in the timeline of Delhi's history, more sharply than others, highlights issues that are today central to architectural debate relating to the development of cities per se wherever in the world they may be located.

This study has not only shed light on the transformation of a given city but more generally provided a broader perspective of the effects of cultural interaction. Cultural exchanges have historically been of relevance and have had a very significant impact on the evolution of

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[3] In order to understand the differences and imagine parallels it would be interesting to study not only megacities but also small and medium towns and rural settlements.

cities rather than being the mere product of the growing processes of globalization.[4] Even if the city of Delhi is viewed as a unique example, the fact that it has been a junction between cultures is not exclusive to it alone and is also true of other Indian cities.

The multitude and diversity of the cultures that criss-crossed India have been extremely important in defining the Indian urbanscapes.[5] Forces of various kinds variously changed the form of each city. The cultural interactions were sometimes peaceful, as with the commercial exchanges along the Silk Road, in other instances violent, as with the numerous armed colonial conquests. Some cultures arrived from afar, from Europe and America, others were domestic, for instance through migration within the subcontinent itself. Cultural exchanges have been direct, as was the case when one population conquered another, or indirect, when conquests were of a subtler nature, tied to admiration of and aspiration for stronger, economically powerful, and successful models. In all such instances, the cross-overs have invariably been two-way exchanges, each inevitably influenced by the other.

'Urban order in Indian cities is very much complex due to their diverse cultural characteristics of different ethnic communities.'[6] All cities have very ancient and stratified traditions, several have been affected by the Mughals, most of them colonized, some transformed by other different foreign influences and, in particular, from 1991, the liberalization and privatization of markets exposed many of them to hitherto unforeseen globalization processes. 'The recent decades of neo-liberalization of world economies through the "global regime"

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[4] Justin Jennings, *Globalizations and the Ancient World* (New York: Cambridge Universtity Press, 2011); Oystein S. La Bianca and Sandra Arnold Scham (eds), *Connectivity in Antiquity: Globalization as a Long-Term Historical Process* (Sheffield: Equinox Publishing, 2006); Fernand Braudel, *Civiltà materiale, economia e capitalismo: secoli 15–18*, vols. I, II, III (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1982), pp. 327–34; Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System I* (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

[5] 'It is difficult to define or measure "culture" which is a complex system of set of human values, belief and distinct attitude towards life style.' Ibid., p. 14.

[6] Anjana P. Desai, *Indian Cities: A Conglomeration of Culture—A Study in Behavioural Geography* (Jaipur: Illustrated Book Publishers, 1997), p. 20.

[7] Om Prakash Mathur, H.W. Richardson, and C.H.C. Bae, 'Impact of Globalization on Cities and City-Related Policies in India', in *Globalization and Urban Developments*, Bellagio, August 2002, p. 48.

have brought "city under special focus." ' 'India has a large network of cities and towns. In 1991, the network consisted of twenty-three cities with a population of over one million, 300 towns.'[7]

Cities, of various sizes, which have always been protagonists in these processes of exchanges, continue to be central. 'Small towns are seeing new businesses emerge and a rapid globalization of their economies.'[8] Similarly, at the more modest level of architecture, the architectural elements have invariably undergone issues of transformation and renegotiation.[9] 'A considerable body of literature addressing the urban and city-level impacts of globalization has been published in recent years, suggesting that globalization has indeed a profound impact on cities. Many cities are sites of international transactions.'[10] The topic of global cities[11] and global communication networks is becoming increasingly relevant and popular. The '[w]orldwide flow of capital and of ideas, globalization involves the movement of people, temporarily as tourists and students, and more permanently as immigrants'.[12] Improved communications too provided new possibilities for architectural styles and urban elements to spread more fluidly across the world.

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[8] R.N. Sharma and R.S. Sandhu, *Small Cities and Towns in Global Era: Emerging Changes and Perspectives* (Jaipur-New Delhi–Bangalore–Hyderabad –Guwahati: Rawat Publications, 2013), p. 71.

[9] See Pilar Maria Guerrieri, 'Colonial History through European Colonial Architecture', in *World History Connected Journal*, 2014. Studying cities and the impact of cultural exchange on architecture and planning, it is clear that the colonial experience, more than any other prior to the actual globalization processes, demonstrated how cultures, with their products, languages, and forms of architecture migrate, move, and settle.

[10] Mathur, H.W. and Bae, '*Impact of Globalization on Cities and City-Related Policies in India*', p. 48.

[11] 'Global cities are rather a new phenomena, there are already hundreds or even thousands of studies on the topic by geographers, sociologists, economists, historians and other academics', in Barbara Hahn and Meike Zwingenberger (eds), *Global Cities, Metropolitan Culture: A Transatlantic Perspective*, vol. 11 (Heidelberg: Universitatsverlag Winter, 2011), p. 1; Neil Brenner and Roger Keil, *The Global Cities Reader* (London-New York: Routledge, 2006).

[12] Mark Abrahamson, *Global Cities* (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 48.

## OPEN ISSUES IN THE FIELD OF DESIGN AND URBAN STUDIES

The interaction of different cultures profoundly modifies cities and their architecture, raises questions about the impact of globalization as a whole,[13] and defines the very identity of different urbanscapes. It alters the so-called tradition, the perception of historical events, and the way history is written. It raises questions about the architect's background, whether domestically or internationally educated, and the models and reference points that are to be adopted in any given design. To what degree are foreign imported models valid? And how important is it to find them directly *in loco*? To what degree is education actually affected by the geographic location and the local culture? Is the colonial legacy part of the 'Indian' tradition? (which it quite possibly is). What then about the American legacy? (it possibly is). How should an architect confront or at least approach the different layers of cultural legacies?

By asking such questions, seeking answers to them, and appreciating their complexity an awareness can be achieved that overcomes and goes beyond static design and historiographical models. Therefore, reflecting upon cultural exchanges raises the fundamental issue of how urban studies should be developed. The way history is remembered and perceived varies from one culture to another. If for some countries written history was widely prevalent and significant, as for example in Europe, for others it was less so, as, for example, in India where oral transmission of memory was the norm.[14] That is why there are ample texts about India during the colonial period, the British being very assiduous in their documentation, while there is an acute scarcity of those addressing the preceding periods.

Each historical period, as much as each element or style of architecture, is viewed in a different perspective in accordance with the

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[13]  Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Globalization and Culture* (Malden: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004).

[14]  There are books like *Rural Migrants in an Urban Setting* by Prasanta S. Majumdar and Ila Majumdar (1978), which relates the story of two slums in Delhi through the voices of the people who live there. The people concerned valorize the oral tradition, which in India has traditionally been the means of passing down historical events from one generation to another.

culture that perceives it. If, for example, it was important for the British to glorify the Imperial period and the classical elements of architecture, for Indians it has always been more relevant to exalt their long sought after Independence and modernization.

The history of India written by an Indian, who always lived in the subcontinent, or by one who studied in China or in England, in comparison to one written by any other foreigner, whether European, Japanese, or Brazilian, would invariably be vastly different. The English culture tended to simplify and generalize the opulence of Indian culture in order to be able to understand it: for instance *The History of British India* by James Mill and the *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* by James Fergusson. Similarly, the choice of one particular style as opposed to another varies in accordance with background, education, and context.

When discussing the question of interactions, we are faced with the question of whether or not it is fundamental to study the underlying layered histories and the correct way of doing so. Some scholars complain that the importance placed on studying the history of Indian cities and their architecture is itself a cultural distortion. Some view history as a simple detached analysis of past events, others as a discipline that provides a deeper understanding of the different layers underlying the real built environment. The former, which simply chronologically links and recounts events that have occurred in the past, is particularly suited to historians, and the latter, which seeks to provide a holistic understanding of historical stratifications falls particularly within the realm of architects and planners.

To write about history, selecting the relevant facts from the past, is invariably difficult, and in this context it is wise to heed the words of Walter Benjamin when he says that 'history is never a unitary fact but always an interpretation of fragments'.[15] There is invariably the risk

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[15]  Paul Ricoeur, *History and Truth*, (trans.) Charles A. Kelbley (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965); Pierre Vilar, *Le parole della storia. Introduzione al vocabolario dell'analisi storica* (Editori Riuniti, Roma, 1992);[2] Marc Bloch, *Apologia della storia o Mestiere di storico* (Torino: Einaudi, 1993,[1] 1998, 2009); Fernand Braudel, *Scritti sulla storia* (Milano: Mondadori, 1973); Lucien Febvre, *Problemi di metodo storico*, (trans.) Corrado Vivanti (Torino: Einaudi, 1966, 1972, 1976, 1982); Edward Hallet Carr, *Sei lezioni*

of adopting a single point of view, ignoring the views of others.[16] In this work a conscious effort has been made to take into account all the different kinds of cultural forces modifying and transforming Delhi's urban environment.

An understanding of cultural exchanges essentially becomes a tool for design, and it is this perspective that this book attempts to engage with when undertaking historical and urban studies. An awareness of cultural interactions informs architects of the consequences of the demolitions in Old Delhi during British times, and provides a critical perspective of the newer glass and steel 'developments', as for example in the built-up areas in Gurgaon. The book generates a new respect for the living heritage of the ancient parts of the town, radically alters the imported idea of untouchable monuments, allows us to view local heritage as a resource for contemporary design, and put people's needs at the centre of urban and architectural planning. An awareness of this could be a valuable bulwark against uncritical use of forms, shapes, models, and references, providing sustainable context-framed solutions for the growth of urban settlements.

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*sulla storia*, (ed.) Robert W. Davies, (trans.) Carlo Ginzburg (Einaudi, Torino, 1961, 1996, and 2000); Carlo Ginzburg, *Miti, emblemi, spie* (Einaudi, Torino, 1986); Giuseppe Galasso, *Prima lezione di storia moderna* (Editori Laterza, Roma-Bari, 2008); Scipione Guarracino, *Le età della storia: I concetti di Antico, Medievale, Moderno e Contemporaneo* (Milano: Bruno Mondadori, 2001); Adam Schaff, *Storia e verità* (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1971),[1] 1977; Paolo Corsini, *Storiografia: Saggio critico, testimonianze, documenti* (Milano: Edizioni Accademia, 1978); Fulvio De Giorgi, *La storiografia di tendenza marxista e la storia locale in Italia nel dopoguerra. Cronache, Vita e pensiero* (Milano: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 1989); Benedetto Croce, *Teoria e storia della storiografia*, (ed.) Giuseppe Galasso (Milano: Adelphi, 1989).

[16] In India, for example, A.G.K. Menon is of the view that 'The sheer volume of literature on architecture and architectural education produced in Europe and North America dominates any dialogue on those subjects. This saturation pre-empts the possibility of developing other terms of reference in other locales'. See Menon, 'Reforming Architectural Education', p. 4.

## APPENDIX

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This appendix differs somewhat from the earlier chapters, concentrating on Delhi and its architecture in a much more indirect way. It briefly focuses on Palladianism, a particular style of architecture that came from abroad and made its way to the capital in the period analysed. The purpose of this detailed analysis of a single element of architecture is to allow us to delve deeper into the process of translation, negotiation, and renegotiation, and to open our eyes to the vastness, potential, and implications of transferred layered legacies.

### LAYERED STYLES: PALLADIO FROM ITALY TO GREAT BRITAIN

Palladio's work, due to 'its simplicity, its rationale, its universal comprehensibility',[1] inspired innumerable architects and artists, and left a durable impression on the European and international architecture of subsequent centuries. Indeed, different forms of Palladianism and neo-Palladianism[2] took root in places very distant from northern Italy

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[1] Rudolf Wittkover, *Palladio e il palladianesimo*, (trans.) Margherita Azzi Visentini (Torino: Einaudi, 1995), p. 112.

[2] *Palladianism or neo-Palladianism* are controversial terms, and as 'isms', present a major risk of generalization and are therefore used with caution by scholars. *See* Werner Oechslin, *Palladianesimo. Teoria e prassi*, trans. Elena Filippi (Venezia: Arsenale editrice, 2006), passim.

where Andrea Palladio pioneered the original architectural style, in countries such as the UK, the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, the US, and Russia.[3] In India, during British rule, an oriental form of Andrea Palladio's style was born. In certain architecture of the subcontinent there are explicit references to the Vicenzian master's work. It is evident that each country has reinterpreted and applied the Vicenzian architect's teaching and style in relatively dissimilar and adaptive ways.

The UK, unlike other European countries, was a catalyst for the 'Palladian manner' both in Europe and around the world. This is confirmed by the scholar Margherita Azzi Visentini, when she writes: 'nearly all of the architectural production generally referred to as Palladian by critics, is in fact a form of the British Neo-Palladianism of the 18th century.'[4] Great Britain repeatedly interpreted and reinterpreted the Palladian principles in accordance with its own needs and style.

The surge of Palladianism in Great Britain officially dates back to the seventeenth century, and is connected with the work of the architect Inigo Jones. This phenomenon became known as Neo-Palladianism. Beginning in 1714, patrons such as Richard Boyle, third count of Burlington, and Henry Herbert, ninth count of Pembroke, and numerous other intellectuals and architects associated with them, took the lead in this.

Palladian principles unanimously acclaimed as the British national style, was in vogue in Great Britain for a period of 30 years, from 1715 to 1745.[5] The primary reason why a national style was deemed to be necessary was political: the new ruling class, the Whigs, wanted to set themselves apart from the former Stuart dynasty by adopting a new architectural style. This particular period is deserving of attention not only because of the new identity that Britain embraced, effectively a relationship between a nation and its architecture, but also because Neo-Palladianism was exported to the colonies and became the most pervasive style in Great Britain during the first half of the eighteenth century.

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[3] See *Palladio e la sua eredità nel mondo* (Milano: Electa, 1980).

[4] Margherita Azzi Visentini, *Intorno al neopalladianesimo: aggiunte e precisazioni*, in *Studi in onore di Renato Cavese* (Padova: Marsilio, 2000), p. 14.

[5] Margherita Azzi Visentini, *Intorno al neopalladianesimo: aggiunte e precisazioni*, in *Studi in onore di Renato Cavese* (Marsilio), p. 13.

'With the publication of the *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and the booklet *I Quattro Libri* by Leoni, both devoted to the new sovereign George I of Hanover and considered Whig works, the Neo-Palladian movement soon acquired great prestige.'[6] At the same time, alternative translations of *I Quattro Libri*,[7] and other works[8] bearing the names of Palladio and Jones circulated and were extremely successful. The various typologies[9] set out in the *Libri*, essentially take the form of a detailed chronological account of Palladio's life experiences, which were immediately relevant to anyone seeking to engage with the architectural profession.

The fact that such publications were no longer only available as lavish, sophisticated, and expensive folio editions, but had been made widely available as relatively affordable pocket manuals, made it possible for emerging amateur architects, such as Lord Burlington himself, to use them as instructive guides on how to build houses for the *new gentlemen*.[10] The ease of use and practicality of these is, in all probability, why certain types of architecture, defined as 'façadism' by Oechslin, and the new architecture of the Whig party spread so widely across Great Britain.

## Neo-Palladianism from England to India: Calcutta's Government House

British Neo-Palladianism was imported into India, thereby extending the style far beyond European borders.

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[6] Margherita Azzi Visentini, *Intorno al neopalladianesimo: aggiunte e precisazioni*, in *Studi in onore di Renato Cavese* (Marsilio), p. 12.

[7] It appears that among the Four Books, Burlington preferred Isaac Ware's edition rather than Leoni's, as being more authentic of the Palladian treatises.

[8] Rudolf Wittkover attributes great importance to texts by *amateurs* who wrote with warm appreciation of the Vitruvian–Italian architectural conception. *See* Rudolf Wittkover, *Palladio* …, p. 142.

[9] Giulio Carlo Argan explains how the *Quattro Libri* does not present unchangeable models, or rules, and this is why its use was favoured. Wittkover, *Palladio* …, p. 142.

[10] Oechslin refers to the rise of upstarts outside the court who had the 'new habit' of using the outline of an ancient temple as a façade because it suggested an elevated style: Werner Oechslin, *Palladianesimo: Teoria e prassi*, trans. by Elena Filippi (Venezia: Arsenale editrice, 2006), p. 221.

Richard Thames claims that Palladio's legacy did not only naturally or indirectly pass from Great Britain to India, but that its passage was intentional. He says that India's Governor General, Richard Wellesley, towards the end of the eighteenth century, was captivated by the majestic Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire,[11] built during the initial thrust of the much celebrated Neo-Palladian style, if not a tribute to it, and was determined to use this particular building as a model for Government House in Calcutta.[12]

Lord Wellesley, appointed Governor General of the Indian colonies, arrived in the subcontinent in 1798,[13] and Government House in Calcutta was to become just one of the many projects that formed part of his celebrated 'building programme' which, through the use of a particular form of architecture, was intended to establish a manifesto of British colonial power.

The attitude of the East India Company's Board of Control was still that of a trading company and expenditure of any magnitude on buildings was actively discouraged.[14] Lord Wellesley, in profound disagreement with the Company's policy, was nonetheless determined to realize the project of building Government House in Calcutta, possibly the most prestigious and influential building in his plans.[15]

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[11] Kedleston Hall is a building in Derbyshire, and the property of the Curzon family. Lord Curzon was Viceroy when Wellesley was Governor General in Calcutta. See *Kedleston Hall: The Historic Home of the Curzon Family* (Official Guide, Derbyshire Country Ltd, s.l., s.d); Leslie Harris and Gervase Jackson-Stops, *Robert Adam and Kedleston: The Making of a Neoclassical Masterpiece* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1987).

[12] 'Kedleston found an admirer, however, in Richard Wellesley, Governor-General of India, who commanded that it should be the model on which Government House, Calcutta, was to be based', in Richard Thames, *Robert Adam: An Illustrated Life of Robert Adam 1728–92* (Risborough, Buckinghamshire: A Shire book, 2004), p. 22.

[13] Sten Nilsson, *European Architecture in India 1750–1850* (London: Faber & Faber, 1968), p. 101.

[14] Marquis Curzon of Kedleston, *British Government in India: The Story of the Viceroys and Government Houses*, vol. I (London, 1925), p. 73.

[15] This act of insubordination and defiance cost him his position and he was promptly recalled to his homeland. Lord Wellesley came to India in 1978 and was recalled in 1805.

Wellesley had understood that a 'building programme' would be fundamental to demonstrate to both the other European powers, foremost among them France, and to the Indian rulers, that in India, Great Britain was now the supreme power. The idea of constructing a colossal classicist building was intended as a demonstration of this.

The precise reason for the choice of Neo-Palladianism above all other possible forms of classicism is a matter that still remains to be explored. Surely it was also because, Neo-Palladianism had been widely accepted as Great Britain's national architectural style. Moreover, possibly Lord Wellesley realized that the architectural style employed by the French, both in Chandernagore and in Pondicherry, was inspired by the baroque and the rococo.[16] He could not afford to permit the identity of the British colony to be confused with that of the enemy. Similarly, the use of Gothic architecture in India, though increasingly popular and feted in Great Britain, had been eliminated as a choice because it could easily have been confused with local Hindu and Mughal styles. As Fergusson writes: 'As far as the system of ornamentation is concerned, the Saracenic style is identical with the gothic: both use pointed arches, clustered piers, vaulted roofs and they claim other features in common.'[17]

Government House is an exemplary example of a conscious effort being made to further the political agenda through architecture, with grandeur and monumentality being employed to symbolize political power. British colonial architecture at the end of the eighteenth century, unlike the more assertive style adopted by the East India Company, broke entirely with Indian tradition. A revival of such architectural form was witnessed in the new capital of New Delhi in the twentieth century.

## Palladio's Legacy in New Delhi: Viceroy's House and Other Significant Residential Buildings

'The successors to Wellesley's Government House, […] has for years been taking shape at Delhi, [in the Lutyens Viceroy complex (later

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[16] Geraldine Smith-Parr, 'Palladianism in India', p. 9.

[17] James Fergusson, *History of Modern Architecture*, vol. VIII (London, 1862), bk VIII, ch. I, passim.

Rashtrapati Bhavan)],'[18] said Lord Curzon, giving us an important indication of the correlation between the two governmental buildings, one in the first capital, Calcutta, and the other in Delhi, the new capital of India post-1911.

The two buildings are not only associated by their institutional role, albeit in different periods, but also through their association with the persona of Andrea Palladio. The manner of adoption of the legacy of the Vicenzian master by the two architects, Charles Wyatt for the first and Edwin Lutyens for the latter, is entirely different, as a consequence not only of the obvious political changes within their respective periods, but also by virtue of intrinsically different interpretations of Palladio's philosophy.

The approach was now to incorporate within the buildings an ingenious use of stylistic elements drawn from Mughal, Hindu, Buddhist, and Persian cultures, which had their roots in the Indian architecture centuries prior to the arrival of the Europeans. This conscious architectural choice led to the adoption of multiple Indo-Saracenic styles, referred to as the Lutyens' style. This became characteristic of the institutional buildings in the capital which represented a political agenda, and were explicitly commissioned by Lord Hardinge, the Governor General.[19]

The Indian elements or features were represented at multiple levels and most particularly in decoration. Similarly, significant emphasis seems to also have been placed on aspects of Western classicism in terms of the layout and proportions of New Delhi's architecture. It is therefore necessary to attempt to understand the principles of the 'Renaissance Manner' adopted in the design and planning of Delhi, and the degree to which Palladio's style was incorporated in Delhi's buildings nearly four centuries after his pioneering work in Vicenza and beyond.

As far as the buildings in New Delhi are concerned, although an explicit written reference to the Palladian movement has never been

[18]  The Marquis Curzon of Kedleston, p. 86.
[19]  Since 1883 the Indian National Congress vehemently opposed Britain rule and its choices for India. The Congress's power had gradually increased during a span of 50 years and the widespread discontent of Indians in 1911 had become an acute dilemma for the British. The choice of a new capital and its novel architecture essentially arose from an urgent need to find a solution to this. See Michelguglielmo Torri, *Storia dell'India*, p. 472.

found, 'Indian Palladianism' mentioned by Geraldine Smith-Parr, can be viewed as an explicit expression of Lutyens admiration for the Vicenzian master. Lutyens indeed writes to his friend Herbert Baker in 1903: 'in architecture Palladio is the game! It is so big—few appreciate it now, as it requires training to value and realize it'.[20]

In the planning of Viceroy's House, Lutyens overtly cites the Vicenzian master in his preliminary outline of the project for Viceroy's House, and in this it is possible to find a direct sketch/reference to the renowned Rotonda in Vicenza as an inspiration. Notwithstanding this, the architecture that emerges is not, as may be assumed, particularly Palladian in style. Unlike specimens like St James's church,[21] dating to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and Robert T. Russell's innumerable bungalows, the classicist elements are influenced by many elements of local tradition.

Edwin Lutyens had been entrusted with the planning of the entire city of New Delhi, but obviously not all its buildings may be ascribed to him. Among the many architects who worked alongside him, Russell was in charge of the construction of houses for the Central Public Works Department. He, as we have seen, favoured Doric colonnades and layout symmetries, which clearly express an indirect adherence to Palladio's teachings.

Russel's bungalows in New Delhi and Lutyens' Viceroy's House are expressions of the so-called 'Renaissance tradition', as articulated by Andreas Volwahsen, an expression providing a clear articulation of Palladio's legacy to New Delhi. Gavin Stamp also interestingly remarks in this context: 'Lutyens made a real synthesis of East and West in architecture which never lost its own inherent logic and discipline'.[22] His last two words, 'logic and discipline', aptly summarize the very essence of Palladianism.

The classical style of architecture with its 'European connotation' and Palladian principles were used in both the Indian capitals.

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[20] *Lutyens. The Work of the English Architect Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944)*, p. 33.

[21] 'This church [St James] was erected perhaps about 1824. It is just inside the Kashmir gate. The design is Palladian, with a good dome', in Henry Sharp, *Delhi: Its Story and Buildings* (London–Bombay–Calcutta–Madras: Oxford University Press, 1921), p. 115.

[22] *Lutyens*, *The Work of the English Architect Sir Edwin Lutyens*, p. 38.

One of its first, and amongst its grandest manifestations in India was Government House in Calcutta and the last, the even grander, Viceroy's House in New Delhi. New Delhi as a city and Viceroy's House are striking examples of the use of Vicenzian lessons. They go beyond mere climatic adaptation and variations in materials as in Calcutta, and indeed engage in an essential encounter with Eastern culture. Even though Calcutta was defined as being 'entirely European in character, a "City of Palaces" of brick and stucco',[23] New Delhi certainly does not face any threat of being construed as just a Western city transplanted on the Indian landscape. The buildings of New Delhi, although not necessarily universally appreciated, undeniably have the merit of being a recognizable attempt at architectural concession and compromise.

## FROM PURITY OF STYLE TO HYBRIDIZATION

Palladio's fundamental teachings and stylistic features were imported to India and modified and adapted to variable degrees during the passage from Calcutta to Delhi. Throughout the subcontinent, the importance given to this imported element must be considered to be somewhat 'weak' partly because it was hybridized, but also through its total disappearance after Independence, surfacing only occasionally as a superficial element of décor in the houses of the aristocratic élite.

The completely different climatic conditions in Great Britain, or for that matter Italy, and India have determined and significantly influenced the construction of buildings in the Palladian style. The parallels or dissimilarities vary in subtlety: the visibly larger proportions of windows or openings in Great Britain,[24] allowing in as much of the northern sun as possible into the buildings, and the greater distance between columns in the buildings in Calcutta to permit sufficient air circulation. The varied and limited resources available in the respective countries was also a fundamental factor in determining the eventual result: the generous utilization of Portland stone in British construction versus the use of brick in northern Italy and southern India. As

[23]  *Lutyens*, *The Work of the English Architect Sir Edwin Lutyens*, p. 36.
[24]  Dean Hawkes, 'Palladianism and the Climate of England', in *Architecture and Climate: An Environmental History of British Architecture 1600–2000* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012).

regards New Delhi, Viceroy's House was entirely built of yellow and red sandstone native to the local geography. The climate and availability of materials are, bar a few other causes, certainly the most apparent reasons that determined a differing outcome in the construction and application of Palladio's architectural style.

Another reason for the intrinsic variety is less obvious but certainly no less significant, namely, the role politics played in the establishment of Palladian architecture both in Great Britain and in India. In both countries, the choices made by those in power undoubtedly favoured the adoption of this specific architectural language. If in Great Britain it was the political change that occurred when George I of Hanover and the Whigs achieved power, in India it was an assertion of colonial and imperialist supremacy. The British colonialists chose to employ the classical language of architecture,[25] with Palladio as a reference point, not only to confront other European powers occupying parts of the subcontinent, who had adopted other forms of classical architecture,[26] but also, at a later stage, to accommodate local culture and traditions.

Forssman also suggests in his studies[27] that Palladianism had assumed various characteristics in relation to the country or the historical period with which it was associated. This research goes to confirm the diversity characteristic of Palladio-inspired architecture, both in Great Britain and in India, emphasizing the peculiar relationship this architecture progressively established with its context and local requirements.

An analysis of the Palladian style itself, particularly its migration from one locality to another, makes it possible to demonstrate the invaluable compromises, negotiations, and adaptations it underwent within and through specific architectural elements. Such wide and detailed analyses could be developed for every style of architecture in Delhi and thereby provide a better understanding of the complexity underlying such terms as 'legacy', 'heritage', and 'tradition'.

[25] John Summerson, *The Classic Language of Architecture* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1963).

[26] Other colonial powers in the subcontinent—the French, Portuguese, and Dutch—also adopted a classical architectural language but did not adopt Palladio as their master.

[27] Oechlin, too, in his book *Palladianesimo. Teoria e prassi* published in 2006, recognizes that the volume *Palladio. La sua eredità nel mondo*, though dating back to 1980, remains the most detailed account of the subject.
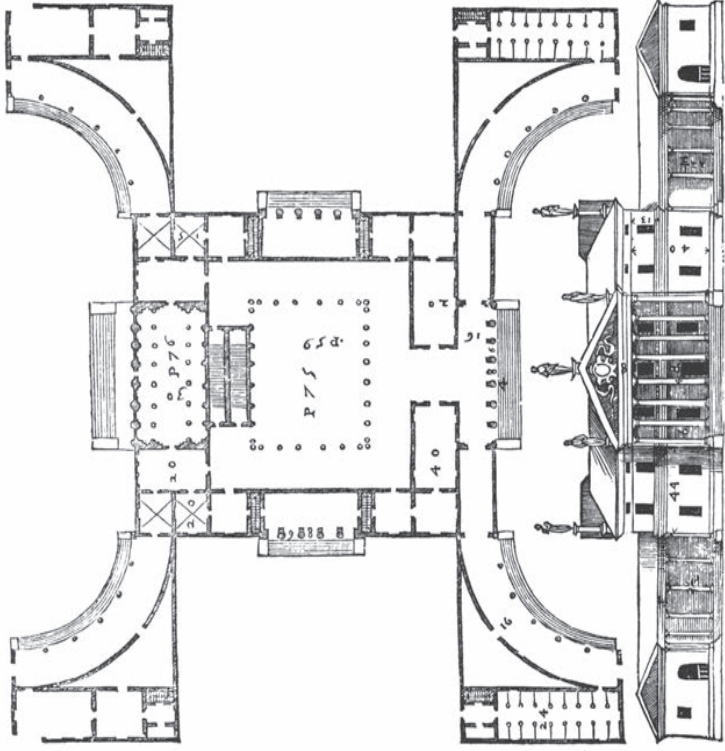
**Figure A.1** Plan of Mocenigo Villa by Palladio in Northern Italy, 1570

*Source*: Andrea Palladio, *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*, Venice 1570.
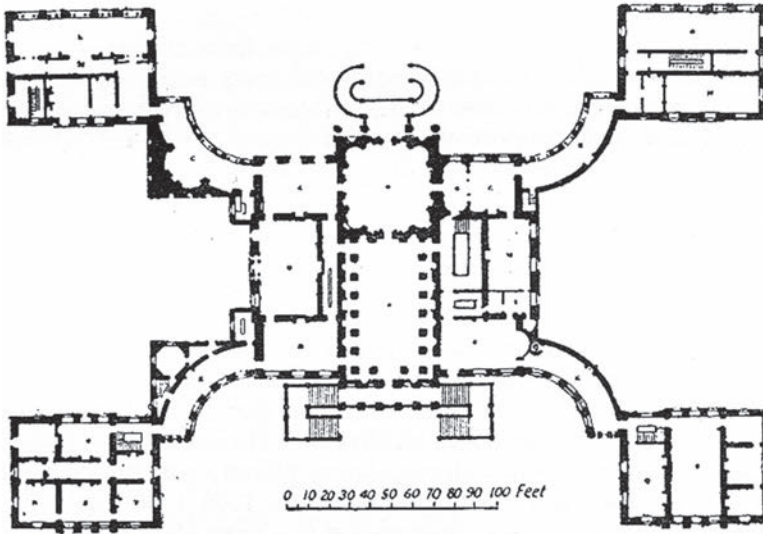
**Figure A.2**    Redrawn of the Plan of Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire in England, 2016
*Source*: http://www.british-towns.net/england/midland/derbyshire/amber-valley/kedleston/album/plan-of-kedleston-hall.



**Figure A.3**    Photograph of the British Colonial Government House in Calcutta, 2013
*Source*: Author.
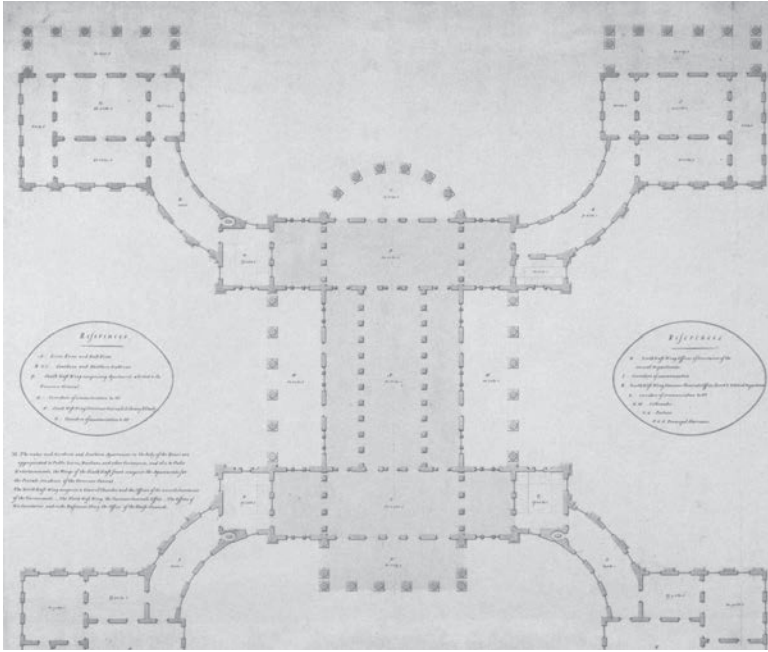
**Figure A.4**    Redrawn of the Plan of the Government House of Calcutta, 2016
*Source*: https://www.studyblue.com/notes/note/n/slide-quiz-3/deck/10928644.



**Figure A.5**    Photograph of St. James Church in Delhi, 2014
*Source*: Author.
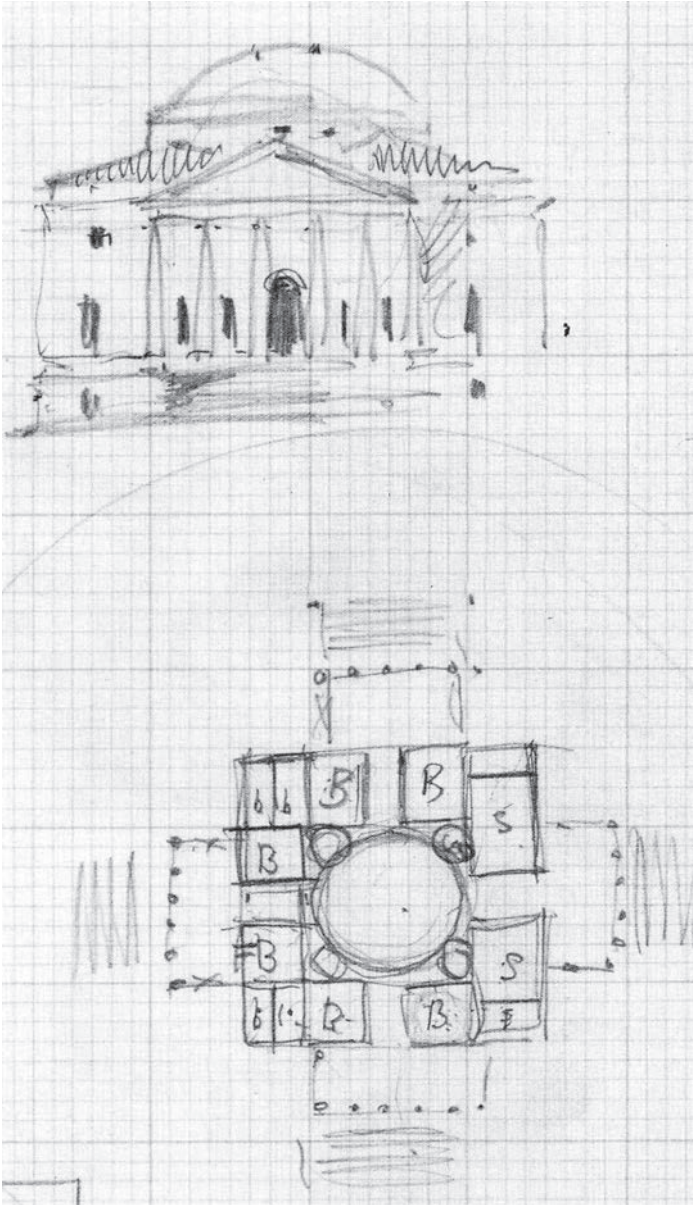
**Figure A.6**   Sketch of Lutyens Inspired by Andrea Palladio for the Viceroy
House in New Delhi, 1911–12
*Source*: Volwahsen, Andreas (2002).
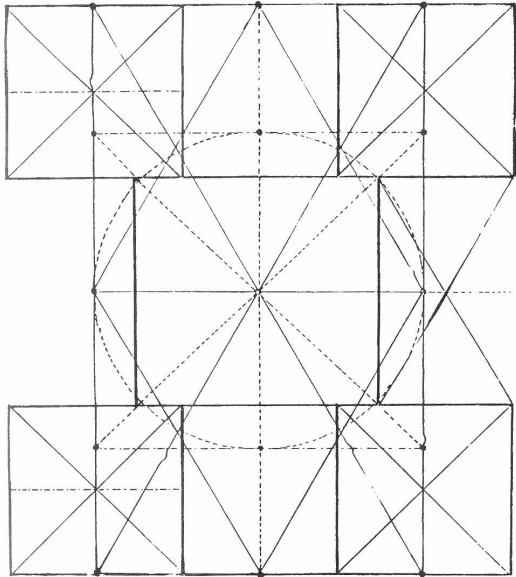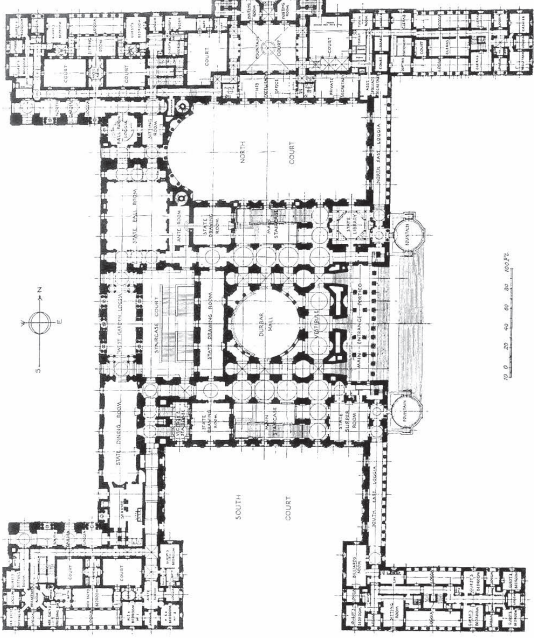
**Figure A.7** Plan of the Viceroy House in New Delhi, 1912
*Source:* Volwahsen, Andreas (2002).
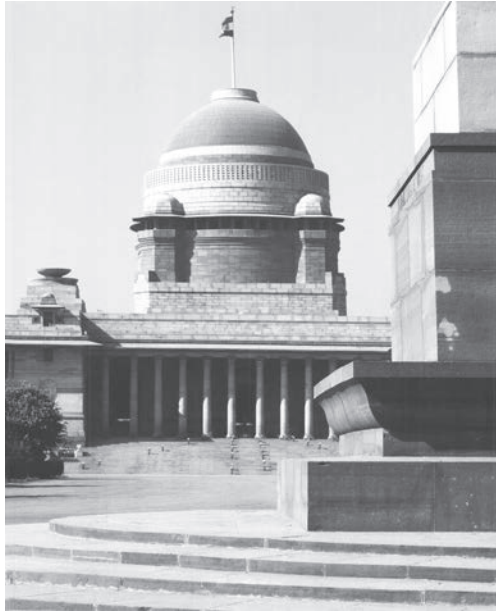
**Figure A.8**    Photograph of the Viceroy House in New Delhi, c. 2000
*Source*: Volwahsen, Andreas (2002).



**Figure A.9**    Photograph of the Secretariats in New Delhi, c. 2000
*Source*: Volwahsen, Andreas (2002).
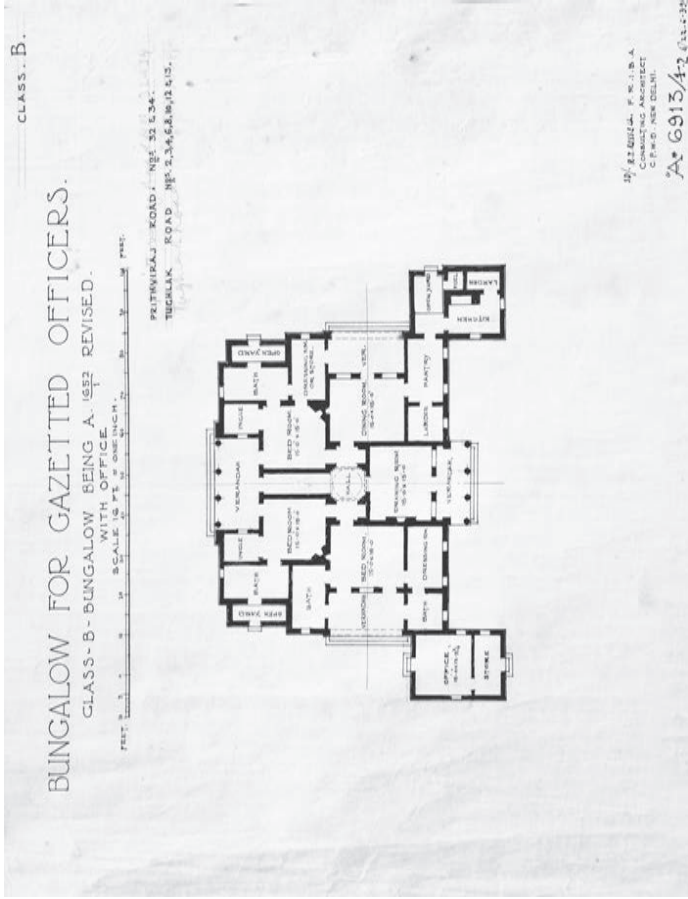
**Figure A.10** Layout Plan of the Gazetted Officers Bungalow Class B in New Delhi, c. 1924
*Source*: Central Public Works Department.
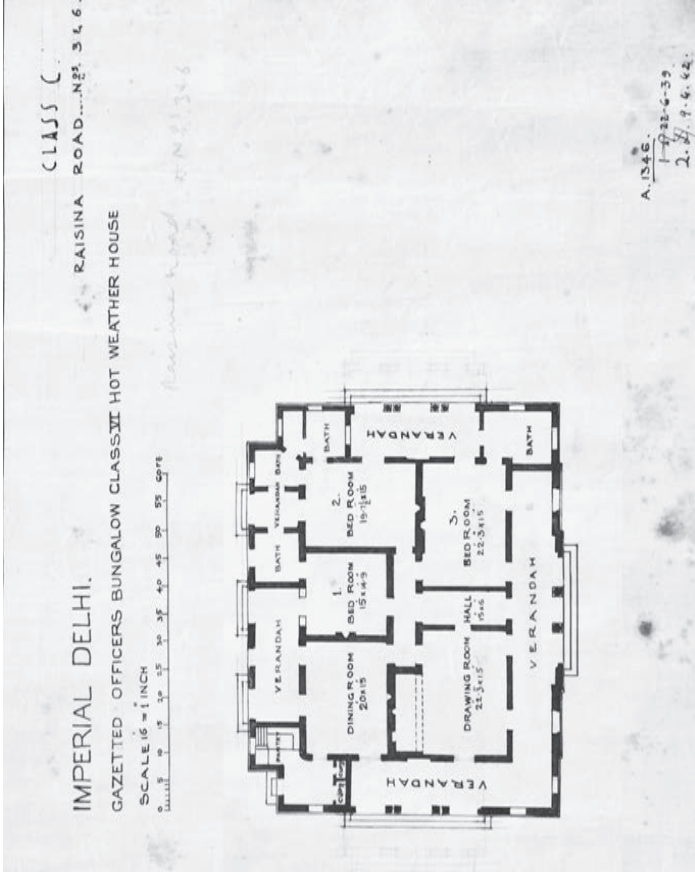
**Figure A.11** Layout Plan of the Gazetted Officers Bungalow Class C in New Delhi, c. 1925
*Source*: Central Public Works Department.
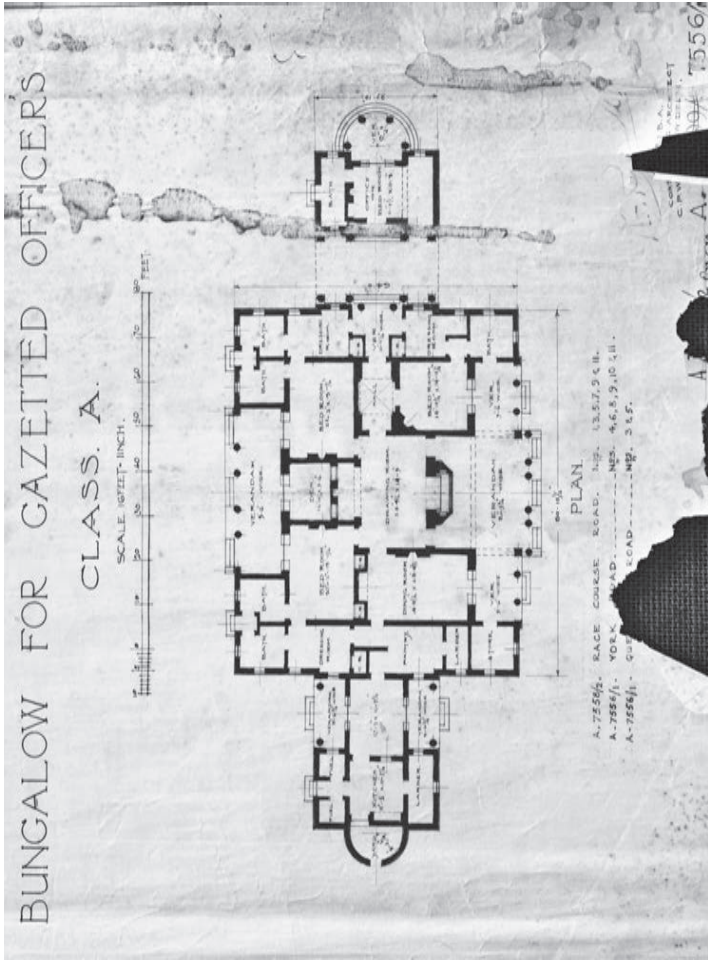
**Figure A.12** Layout Plan of the Gazetted Officers Bungalow Class A, c. 1924
*Source*: Central Public Works Department.
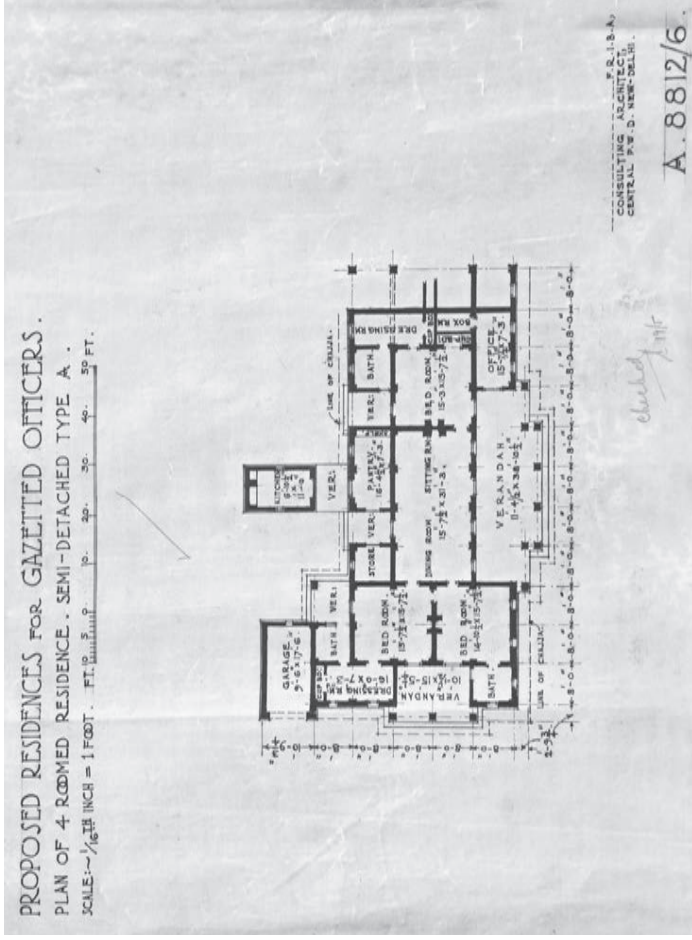
**Figure A.13** Layout Plan of the Proposed Residences for the Gazetted Officers Bungalow Semi-Detached Type A, c. 1924
*Source:* Central Public Works Department.
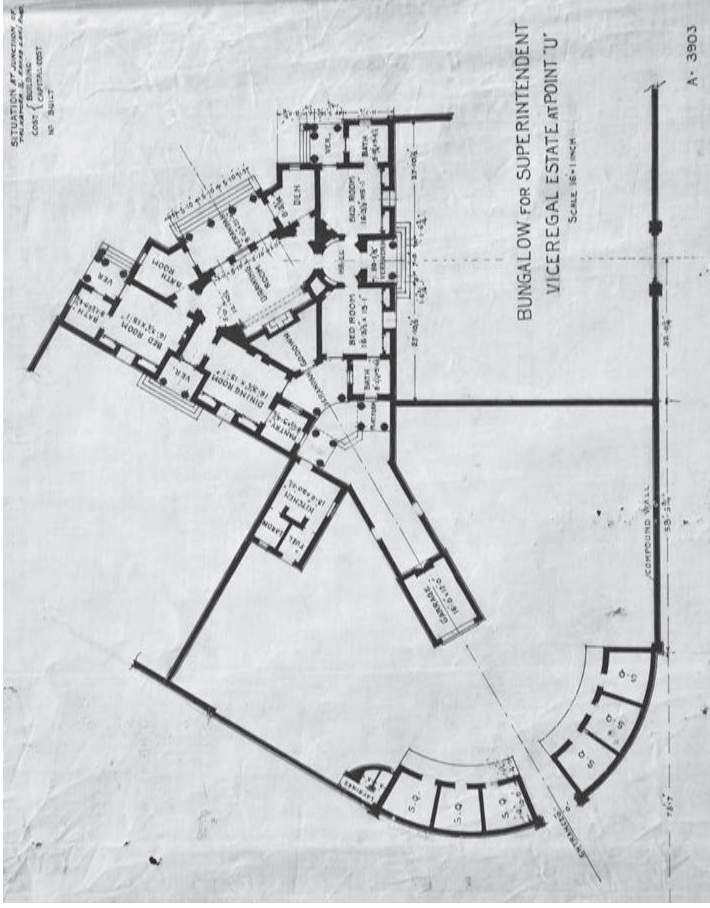
**Figure A.14** Layout Plan of the Bungalow for the Superintendent Viceregal Estate at Point U, c. 1924
*Source*: Central Public Works Department.

**Figure A.15**   Photograph of one of the Many Bungalows with 'Classical' Features in New Delhi, c. 1928
*Source*: Central Public Works Department.



**Figure A.16**   Photograph of one of the Many Bungalows with 'Classical' Features in New Delhi, c. 1928
*Source*: Central Public Works Department.

**Figure A.17**    Photograph of the Prime Minister's Residence, 1931
*Source*: Central Public Works Department.



**Figure A.18**    Photograph of One of the Many Bungalows with 'Classical'
Features in New Delhi, c. 1928
*Source*: Central Public Works Department.

**Figure A.19** Photograph of One of the Many Bungalows with 'Classical'
Features in New Delhi, c. 1928
*Source*: Central Public Works Department.

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Note: For further information regarding Indian architects and their background, see 'List of Fellows and Associates of the Indian Institute of Architects' periodically published in the *Journal of the Indian Institute of Architects*.

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