

Cultural Hybridity in 19th-century Delhi: the architectural exploits of Resident Major General Sir David Ochterlony KCB Bt, Delhi's 'Loony Akhtar' (crazy star)

by

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The paper is set in the politically dynamic and culturally syncretic era of 19th-century Delhi, where camaraderie driven relationships between the Mughals and the British East India Company (henceforth EIC) officials, caused acculturation of both sides, even as EIC policy called for distancing. It examines Mughal-ized Company officials called Nabobs (a corruption of the Indian appellation Nawab used as a titular address for Muslim elites including 18th-century rulers), posted to Delhi, whose subscription to a Mughal lifestyle caused them to straddle both worlds i.e., the east and the west. This duality extended to architectural patronage, resulting in hybrid spaces. The paper specifically examines one Delhi Nabob, David Ochterlony, EIC Resident, who epitomized the era's cultural syncreticism through not only his lifestyle, but also through his architectural enterprise. The last encapsulated the hybridity that defined Nabob-ism through its expression in the domestic domain as the Kothe, a term implying an elite mansion, that originated in the 18th century and continued to be built thereafter. The paper demonstrates that Ochterlony's building enterprise was influenced by his Nabob-ism, as he repurposed an imperial Mughal Haveli (a Mughal era elite mansion) as the British Residency in Delhi and later resorted to a spirited architectural response that I call adventurism when he built a personal retreat in the city's hinterland. The paper argues that Ochterlony's architectural endeavours make a significant contribution to the architectural narrative of the colonial subcontinent thus warranting their inclusion in this discourse where they have been conspicuous by their absence.

A NOTE ON NABOB-ISM

This paper uses the term Nabob and its derivatives to describe acculturated Europeans living in the Indian subcontinent in the 18th and 19th centuries, popularly referred to by their European contemporaries as having 'gone native' or 'crossed over'. These men had become 'Mughal-ized', adopting Mughal cultural practices. The term Nabob was not used

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at the time, but has been accepted in the subcontinent in popular usage and academia, with scholars using the terminology drawing on Percival Spear's work first published in 1932. More recently, the term has also been used to describe acculturated EIC officials serving in the subcontinent in the new edition of *Sir Banister Fletcher's Global History of Architecture* (2019) thereby taking the term beyond the subcontinent's academic ambit.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is set against the backdrop of the politics and culture of the 18th and early 19th centuries in the Indian subcontinent. This period, referred to by Spear as 'Twilight', marked the transition from the rule of the Mughal dynasty to that of the British Crown, later popularly referred to as the Raj, with the intermittent rise of the EIC in the 18th century from a trading company to a ruling power.¹ As the EIC and the Mughals vied for political supremacy, European cultural practices encountered Mughal traditions to produce an entanglement of cultures. The resultant cultural bonhomie produced acculturation of both sides, with some Europeans, including EIC officials and mercenaries adopting Mughal traditions. Such Mughal-ized Europeans have been referred to as Nabobs by Spear.² The Nabob, embodying an east-west cultural dualism, was a popular figure in the subcontinent's 18th-century political, social and cultural landscape. Indeed, as Sengupta has argued 'Many eighteenth-century British East India Company officials – *nabobs* – embraced Indian culture and attire, took Indian wives or companions, and had mixed-race children'.³ Nabob-ism resulted from associations forged between European mercenaries or EIC officials, and Indian rulers, that transcended their military and administrative limits to expand into the cultural domain.⁴ By the turn of the century, the EIC's prescribed code of conduct for its officials, underpinned by maintaining social distancing from Indians, made Nabob-ism socially unacceptable. EIC's diktat notwithstanding, Mughal-ization of Europeans including EIC officials prevailed in 19th-century Indian courts where EIC officials and Indian rulers interacted not just politically, but also socially and culturally resulting in an east-west cultural entanglement that abetted Nabob-ism. Indeed, 19th-century Nabobs, like their 18th-century counterparts, exhibited cultural hybridity not only via their persona, but also through their architectural patronage.

The paper explores, through an architectural lens, the phenomenon of cultural hybridity epitomized by the 19th-century Nabob-ism of EIC officials in princely India. It asserts that the conviction and persistence of Nabobs in subscribing to Nabob-ism in the 19th century, despite EIC's censure and castigation by their European compatriots, makes them an important subject of study. The paper explores the city of Delhi in the early 19th century and focusses on its first EIC Resident and quintessential Nabob, David Ochterlony, who inhabited two culturally entangled worlds, one public by virtue of his official position as Resident and the other personal by Mughal-ization, with a blurring of the boundary between the two roles. The paper examines Ochterlony's architectural trajectory in detail and argues that his culturally hybrid building endeavours are significant considering the political and cultural scenario of the 19th century. Further, it makes a case for their inclusion, currently conspicuous by their absence, in the discourse on the subcontinent's colonial architecture for a more nuanced understanding of this vast architectural corpus.

CONTEXT

Cities in princely India like Delhi, Lucknow, Hyderabad, Mysore and Poona remained relatively unaffected by EIC's new code of conduct at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries owing to the presence of pre-colonial dynasties – Mughals in Delhi, Peshwas in Pune and the Nizams in Hyderabad. They became sites of cultural engagement between incoming European practices and prevailing Indian traditions, as EIC officials engaged with their rulers culturally instead of adhering to the EIC diktat and the metropole inspired urbanity of the Presidency towns. This kept Nabob-ism alive in princely India. As sites of east-west architectural engagement, cities of princely India are yet to receive their academic due, except Lucknow, where the architecture resulting from what Llewellyn-Jones calls a 'Fatal Friendship' between the Avadh *Nawabs* and the British, has been examined.⁵ Specifically in the case of Delhi while the city's political and cultural history in the culturally entangled era has been examined, architectural patronage, notably by Nabobs, has remained largely unstudied at best finding a mention in the historical works, except for Shorto's recent work.⁶

The 19th-century Nabob, like his 18th-century counterpart was acculturated into the Mughal tradition, exhibiting a fondness for Mughal dress, mannerisms, language and familial practices. This fondness further extended to architectural patronage, the focus of the paper, where it was most significantly represented by the Nabob's dwelling, like its patron spatially straddling the two cultures and was popularly called the *Kothi* in the northern subcontinent.⁷ Nabobs built *Kothis* across the subcontinent in the 18th and 19th centuries, with several surviving to this day. The *Kothi*, together with the *Haveli* and the Bungalow, represented the subcontinent's domestic architecture during the colonial period. While the *Haveli* and the Bungalow have been subjects of academic engagement, the *Kothi* has been largely neglected,⁸ except for scholarship on the French born Anglophile mercenary and Nabob, Claude Martin's 18th-century architectural enterprise.⁹ Further, the few and fairly recent studies on the *Kothi* have adopted a patron-centric approach to examine individual European and Indian endeavours.¹⁰ Furthermore, the *Kothi* as an architecturally hybrid specimen of domesticity in the 19th century has remained largely understudied, even though remaining a popular form of dwelling in parts of the subcontinent, despite the EIC's reformatory measures.

The paper is set in early 19th-century Delhi, a politically significant city where colonisation, characterised by emerging notions of cultural superiority, sense of duty, uprightness, religious zeal and honour, entangled with Mughal *Adab* (etiquette) and *Tehzeeb* (tradition) to see some EIC officials, such as Ochterlony, become Mughalized. This extended to their building enterprises. It critically examines Ochterlony's patronage ranging from engaging with the architectural remnants of Delhi's Mughal past by establishing his official residence, the Residency, to demonstrating what I call architectural adventurism in laying out a retreat cum tomb in the manner of the Mughal elite, and everything else in between. The paper asserts that Ochterlony's architectural ventures can be read as an affirmation of his Nabob-ism and its concomitant spatialization via the *Kothi* archetype. It further maintains that Ochterlony's building enterprise constitutes a significant part of the colonial architectural narrative of the twilight years.

In terms of scholarship, Ochterlony's military achievements form part of the

subcontinent's colonial military and political history both in coeval narratives and in academic discourses. Further, he is described in colonial travel literature and memoirs as a curiosity, i.e., a 19th-century Nabob, with his personal life recorded by his compatriots with an undercurrent of amusement and derision. However, Ochterlony's architectural exploits remain largely unexplored. His Residency and estate in Delhi, are briefly mentioned in sources, while his building ventures at Karnal and Neemuch remain ignored. Shorto's work on the houses built by five EIC officials posted to Delhi discusses Ochterlony's patronage. Her account eschews any discussion on Nabob-ism as a cultural phenomenon in the colonial subcontinent and also does not acknowledge the *Kothi* as an established residential built-form type of the era. Extending this premise to Ochterlony's architectural endeavours, Shorto insulates it from all Nabob-ian influences, but refers to them as 'hybrid', without explaining how this hybridity came about, argued in this paper to be the result of the east-west cultural syncreticism. The paper examines Ochterlony's architectural trajectory as an architectural manifestation of Nabob-ism, most cogently represented by the *Kothi* archetype, while maintaining that Ochterlony was by no means exceptional in his acculturation into the Mughal culture, as Nabob-ism was a prevalent, if contested, way of life in 19th-century Indian courts.

The paper's argument has been developed by relying on both fieldwork and archival sources. This enables Ochterlony's buildings to be set in their Mughal and colonial contexts and in the present to underscore their contribution to the subcontinent's colonial architecture. Though much altered, Ochterlony's surviving work at the Delhi Residency has been documented and critically examined in terms of its setting, spatial delineation, built form, architectural style, construction technology and usage to appreciate its historic layers. The fieldwork has been bolstered by historical textual and visual sources: maps, drawings and photographs have been especially useful in reconstructing Ochterlony's hinterland estate that no longer exists. The paper concludes by arguing that the colonial regime consigned Ochterlony's buildings to their fate by not only omitting them from its architectural narrative, but also negated their worth as a cultural asset to be safeguarded for posterity by denying them conservation interventions. By drawing attention to Ochterlony's architectural patronage and its neglect, the paper urges that his building endeavours find a place in the subcontinent's colonial architecture narrative.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY NABOBISM AND ARCHITECTURAL HYBRIDITY

The cultural fluidity that produced Nabob-ism has been variously described by scholars as 'Europeanization', 'Multiculturalism', 'Hybridity' and 'Transculturation'.¹¹ The Post-colonial theory of 'Cultural Hybridity' with its stipulation that colonialism resulted in cultural contacts between the ruler and the ruled that were negotiated in diverse ways, is applicable to Nabob-ism.¹² While familiar figures in the colonial cultural landscape of the 18th century, Nabobs and their ways continued to thrive in early 19th-century Indian courts in cities like Delhi, Lucknow, Hyderabad, Mysore and Poona, where continuous interaction with Indian rulers abetted camaraderie between the two sides (Fig. 1). In the context of this essay, it is implied that EIC officials-turned Nabobs and the Mughals exhibited the tendency to appropriate and reuse each other's cultural elements as they deemed fit, and thereby subscribed to Burke's 'Adaptation' construct of 'Cultural



Fig. 1

Arthur William Devis, 'Portrait of a Gentleman, possibly William Hickey, and an Indian Servant'.

Hickey an 18th-century Nabob is depicted smoking the *Hookah*

Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, Accession Number B1981.25.333, 1785

Hybridity'.¹³ Further, it is maintained that neither Nabobs nor Mughals intended to abandon their own traditions to fully adopt the other's culture. Rather, the east-west engagement was highly heterogeneous in character and determined by personal choice and circumstances. It is in this environment that men like Ochterlony operated.

Typically, a 19th-century Nabob demonstrated the same affinity as his 18th-century counterpart towards his adopted culture, through a number of modes like dress; mannerisms like smoking the *Hookah* (hubble bubble), indulgence in the Mughal sport of *Shikaar* (hunting), appreciation of *Nautch* (Anglicised version of *Naatch*, a dance performance by women dancers to the accompaniment of music) and Persian literature; and above all by a redefined ideal of domesticity.¹⁴ The last was centered on his extended family, in the manner of the Mughal *Zenana* (loosely defined as Harem), comprising largely Indian Muslim women, popularly called *Bibis*, whom the Nabob often did not marry, but who bore him culturally mixed progeny.¹⁵ With the onset of the 19th century, as the new generation of

EIC officials, described by Archer as men of 'stoical duty' who under the influence of evangelical thinking, worked with 'pious dedication scorning luxury and lackadaisical frolics' arrived in the subcontinent, the social ideal had transformed from the 'desire to live like a Nawab' to one that drew sustenance from the English model of domesticity that castigated Nabobs who returned home.¹⁶ The latter were regarded as morally bankrupt men who looted the subcontinent and returned home with their wealth posing a threat to British values.¹⁷ Indeed, to be a Nabob in the 19th century, whether in the subcontinent or at home, Britain, only invited reproach from one's contemporaries. In the 19th-century subcontinent men like Ochterlony continued to practise a dual lifestyle and refused to change. Lady Maria Nugent, wife of the Commander-in-Chief, on a visit to Delhi in 1811 met the city's EIC officials-turned-Nabobs including William Fraser, assistant to the incumbent Resident Charles Metcalfe, and despaired that men like him were '(...) as much Hindoos as Christians, if not more. (...) having come to this country early, they have formed opinions and prejudices, that make them almost natives.'¹⁸

The dynamic east-west cultural engagement was limited not just to the Nabob's personal mannerisms, but also extended to architectural patronage. Nowhere was this cultural adaptation more evident than in the domestic domain, that of the *Kothi*. In the early 19th century, while the *Haveli* continued to be a popular dwelling choice of elite Indians and the Bungalow had a pan Indian presence, as a colonial residential built form for Europeans, Nabobs and members of the Indian elite aspiring to emulate Europeans built *Kothis* that survive today in Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Faizabad and Lucknow. As dwelling types, the three built-form types differed on account of their spatial delineation and form articulation. The *Haveli* was spatially characterized by introvert planning centred on a courtyard around which living spaces were arranged. It had spatial elements like the *Bagh* (garden for leisure), *Tehkhana* (subterranean rooms for respite from the summer heat), *Hammam* (baths) and *Zenana* (loosely implying seraglio) besides façade articulation elements like the *Chajja* (roof overhang), *Chhatri* (domed kiosk) and *Jaali* (pierced stone screen) (Fig. 2). In contrast, the Bungalow drew on an extrovert spatial layout with a large central hall/room and



Fig. 2

Patwon-ki *Haveli*, Jaisalmer, façade, designed to shut out the outside world, articulated with *Chajja*, *Chhatri*, *Jaali* and *Jharokha* (windows with *Jaalis* cantilevered from the façade)
Janhvi Sharma, 2009

enveloping rooms with the entire ensemble enveloped by a colonnaded verandah that acted as a transitional zone between the indoor and the outdoor space (Fig. 3). Bungalows featured small windows and rooms with high ceilings, and a *Chajja*, to ameliorate the subcontinent's heat and humidity. The *Kothi*, in keeping with its patrons' lifestyle, exhibited the duality that marked their existence thus becoming an architectural manifestation of cultural hybridity. It was the centrepiece of the Nabob's estate and was set among extensive grounds landscaped as formal gardens, vegetable gardens and orchards. It exhibited spatial hybridity by borrowing from two archetypes, the European Palladian villa and the Mughal *Haveli*.¹⁹ The degree of adaptation depended on the patron's choice and circumstances (Fig. 4). The villa-like layout had a central core of a large hall with enveloping rooms and wings, the whole wrapped with a colonnaded verandah. The façade was articulated with the pediment and classical columns, while ornamentation comprised statues, scrolls, swags and urns. Influences from the *Haveli* signified not only



Fig. 3

Bungalow, Ambala, arcaded verandah enveloping the internal spaces to facilitate the inside and outside spatial transition

Author, 2017



Fig. 4

Constantia, Lucknow, Claude Martin's *Kothi*-turned-tomb

S.K. Arora, 2014



Fig. 5

Residency, Lucknow, main house in a landscaped setting

Janhvi Sharma, 2010



Fig. 6

Map titled 'Naksha-pat Dar-ul Khilafat Shahjahanabad', city of Shahjahanabad/Delhi following British occupation with *Haveli Dara Shukoh* lying north of the Mughal *Qila*
Archaeological Survey of India, DG Office, Photo Archives, New Delhi, Delhi Vol. 12, 1931-32, Number 5802

the patron's acculturation, but also addressed comfort concerns through the incorporation of the *Bagh-Tehkhana-Hammam-Zenana* ensemble and such features as the *Chajja*, *Chhatra* and *Jaali*. *Kothis* were usually built in locally sourced brick and stone and also used cast iron industrial products: railings, columns, brackets, staircases and hardware. As with other dwelling types, *Kothis* could also be designed by EIC military engineers, *Mistris* (Indian craftsmen cum designers) or by the patron himself, dabbling in architecture, like Martin, who designed *Kothis* not just for himself, but also for his employers the Avadh *Nawabs*.²⁰ These three built-form types served as archetypes for the dwelling needs of the upper classes, both European and Indian in the 18th and 19th centuries.

A significant colonial institution in 19th-century princely India was the Residency, headed by the Resident, that was established in Indian courts like Lucknow, Hyderabad, Mysore, Poona and Delhi. The Residency was spatialized via a building complex of the same name acting as the dwelling cum workplace of the Resident (Fig. 5). The complex was built in close proximity to the Indian ruler's living quarters for practicality of governance, as well as to showcase itself as the new power centre in princely India through its architecture. Indeed, employing architecture as a tool of paramountcy was in keeping with the EIC's mandate as represented by the Government House, the official residence of the EIC Governor-General in Calcutta built in 1799. Modelled on Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, it employed classical architecture in its layout and façade articulation, while also incorporating design elements such as deep verandahs, high ceilings and louvred shutters for ease of living in the hot and humid climate.²¹ Government House, the most powerful symbol of British presence on the subcontinent, was an archetype par excellence particularly for the Residency that epitomized the EIC's supremacy. No architectural style was prescribed for Residencies, but the *Haveli*, Bungalow and *Kothi*, were available as archetypes. It was perhaps only to be expected in the cases of the Residencies in Hyderabad and Delhi, occupied by Residents with leanings towards Nabobism, that the former would demonstrate some form of cultural hybridity while the latter, more extremely, would be rebuilt as a *Kothi*.

The EIC expected Indian rulers to fund the building of the Residency, as in Lucknow and Hyderabad.²² It could be designed by EIC military engineers, amateur architects, or by dilettanti patrons themselves and built by *Mistris* using such locally available construction materials as brick finished with lime plaster and stone. Spatially, the Residency complex was a walled enclosure with buildings centred on the main dwelling house. This was set amidst enveloping grounds laid out formally as gardens inspired by English landscape ideas.²³ It conformed to the villa archetype in layout and façade with formal spaces of western origin, like a banqueting hall, ballroom and billiard room and private spaces such as dining room, sitting room, study and bedroom, all subscribing to a central core and wings arrangement. The façade had a portico, grand flight of steps, pediment, classical columns, urns and statuary. Further, the Residency building also had deep verandahs, *Chajjas*, high ceilings with small sized fenestrations close to the roof level, fanlights and louvred shutters, to mitigate the impact of the climate. Furthermore, in those cases in which the Resident was Mughalized, *Haveli* design elements were incorporated: the *Tehkhana* at Lucknow Residency offering refuge from the heat; *Bagh* and *Zenana* at Hyderabad, with apartments in a garden setting, where the Muslim wife

of the Resident-cum-Nabob, James A. Kirkpatrick lived in *Purdah* (veiled). Residencies might also include a *Durbar* (Mughal style public assembly) hall like Hyderabad's grand hall where the Resident could hold large public assemblies with state representatives in attendance.²⁴ The incorporation of these features was driven by each patron's personal liking besides political expediency and empirical realities.

Ochterlony's Residency was at variance with those of his contemporaries at Lucknow and Hyderabad, not only because of his Nabob-ism, a trait shared with Hyderabad's Kirkpatrick, but also because of the prevailing political and social circumstances in early 19th-century Delhi.

DELHI IN THE TWILIGHT ERA

For nearly a century after 1707 the Mughal *Badshahi Shahar* (imperial capital), Shahjahanabad, had been declining due to the political instability that followed the waning of Mughal power. The EIC took territorial control of the city, now called Delhi, in 1803 following the second Anglo-Maratha War. Despite being regarded as an up-country town, Delhi was significant militarily as a strategic outpost and historically as an ancient seat of power.²⁵ Further, notwithstanding his reduced status as a Company pensioner and curtailment of his authority to within Delhi's Mughal *Qila* (Palace-fort) where he resided, the incumbent Mughal ruler remained the *Badshah* (Emperor), the legitimate wellspring of all forms of Mughal authority, political and cultural in popular perception. This made Delhi a political hub with two competing powers, Mughal and British, vying for supremacy throughout the twilight era. Furthermore, the city was exempted from the colonial state's 1773 *Regulating Act*. It was to be governed by an EIC appointed envoy, the Resident, who established the Residency as the new power centre that challenged the Mughal *Qila*.²⁶ The Delhi Residency came into existence on 24 September 1803 and lasted till 1831. Its establishment propelled the transition of Mughal Shahjahanabad into British Delhi.

Meanwhile, the EIC initiated reforms devised by Governor-General Cornwallis in 1793.²⁷ The reforms reviewed the 18th-century camaraderie-driven relationship between the British and Indians and reset it via social and physical distancing between them. Subscription to this in its entirety was difficult in centres like Delhi where Indian rulers and EIC officials interacted daily. Spear's description of the 'cosmopolitan spirit' prevailing in 18th-century princely India 'where Orientalism and Imperialism, like two seas, met' is applicable to early 19th-century Delhi as well.²⁸ Indeed, it was a cultural cauldron, where traditions of East and West were entwined. It was hardly unusual to find Europeans living in the city who spoke Persian fluently, with some even acquiring a reputation as writers and poets.. It was the official court language of the Mughals and continued to be used by the EIC in the early 19th century. Further, some engaged in scholarly pursuits, studying Indian languages and history, while others were art collectors of repute. Even as this affable relationship was officially censured by the EIC in the 19th century, officials like Ochterlony posted to early 19th-century Delhi could not remain insulated from Mughal traditions, resulting in Mughal-ization, while some Indian elites, including Mughal princes, adopted European mores via dress and daily habits. Spear, refers to Delhi's EIC officials as 'giants' describing the 'Indianized' Ochterlony

as 'almost mythical'. He further draws on the Mughal dynastic legacy as an analogy to call Ochterlony 'Babur', Charles Metcalfe 'Akbar' and Thomas Metcalfe 'Shahjahan'.²⁹ Indeed, Delhi's prominent 19th-century Nabobs were EIC officials and included besides this trio, Robert Smith and William Fraser, each subscribing to the norms of Nabob-ism as he deemed fit.

As EIC officials, Nabobs were expected to follow Company protocol. The Resident wielded great authority and the Mughal ruler's authority was severely curtailed, but the former was expected to conduct himself like a subordinate in the Mughal ruler's presence. Ochterlony was instructed '... not to interdict or oppose any of those outward forms of sovereignty to which His Majesty has been accustomed, as the Governor-General was desirous of leaving His Majesty in the unmolested exercise of all his usual privileges and prerogatives'.³⁰ He complied, with Edwardes calling him '... more of a Mughal prince than a British administrator – at least in his social behaviour ...'.³¹ He received the title *Nasir-ud Daulah* (Defender of the State) from Shah Alam (r.1760-1806), the incumbent Mughal ruler. Spear noted that Ochterlony was the only 'Englishman whose Mughal title gave its name to an English station', the cantonment of Nasirabad in Rajputana.³²

Ochterlony's proclivity towards Nabob-ism was also encouraged by his greater operational leeway available in princely India, largely unsupervised from a distant Calcutta. However, with time this changed; Ochterlony's successor, Charles Metcalfe tolerated Mughal court rituals out of sympathy for the ruler, while his brother Thomas Metcalfe adhered to the EIC's policy and refused to be submissive. Men like Ochterlony representing an older order of acculturated officials were an oddity to young officials like Charles Trevelyan, representing the new generation of upright and dutiful EIC officials. The interaction between them caused ideological conflicts, in extreme cases resulting in the dismissal of EIC officials who refused to change with the times.³³ Even as 19th-century Nabob-ism was politically and socially problematic from the EIC's perspective, it thrived in Indian courts.

From the perspective of the built environment, Delhi was claimed equally by the Mughals and the EIC in the twilight era, as it transitioned from a 17th-century, patrimonial, Mughal *Badshahi Shahar* into 19th-century technocratic, municipalized, British Delhi of the post-uprising era (Fig. 6). Indeed, at the time of Emma Roberts' visit in the 1830s, the city's urban landscape was a hybrid mix of styles. She commented 'In no part of our Eastern possessions do the natives show so earnest a desire to imitate European fashions; the houses are of various styles of architecture, partaking occasionally of the prevailing fashions of the west; Grecian piazzas, porticos, and pediments are not unfrequently found fronting the dwellings of the Moslem or Hindoo.'.³⁴ From 1803 till about 1828, all EIC officials including the Resident lived in the walled city, as the hinterland was regarded as unsafe because of a persistent threat from marauders.³⁵ This warranted the creation of an infrastructure for British use by making interventions in an urban landscape characterized by the typical Mughal spatial ensemble of the *Qila-Masjid-Bagh-Bazaar-Haveli* (palace fort-mosque-garden-market-mansion).³⁶ Barring the *Qila*, where the incumbent Mughal ruler and his family continued to reside, other built-form types were available for use. The EIC occupied areas north and south of the *Qila* extending to the city gates, Kashmiri Gate to the north and Akbarabadi Gate (renamed

Delhi Gate) to the south along the Yamuna river. This area had been predominantly occupied by three elite *Havelis* in the 17th century belonging to *Mirza* (Prince) Dara Shukoh, Mughal heir apparent, Ali Mardan Khan, *Badshah* Shahjahan's Persian engineer and Sa'adullah Khan, the Mughal *Vazir* (Prime Minister).³⁷ For various reasons two types of spatial interventions, based on considerations like empirical need, political compulsion and personal whim, were made by the EIC in this area.³⁸ The first entailed making new buildings for military and civilian use. The second included appropriating and repurposing the *Havelis*. A reading of a near coeval cartographic source permits an understanding of the transformations in the urban landscape.³⁹ Buildings including barracks, stables, godowns, a hospital, church and a magazine were built, north and south of the *Qila*, as were bungalows for EIC's military and civilian officials, as well as for Indians accepting the western lifestyle. Furthermore, there was a concentration of *Kothis* occupied by Europeans, including EIC officials, north of the *Qila*, while those belonging to the Indian elite stood to its south.

In the context of this paper, Ochterlony's readaptation of Dara Shukoh's *Haveli* into the British Residency, identified as 'Kothi Raji Dandi' i.e., Kothi Residency, on the Delhi Map, falls in the second category of EIC's interventions of appropriation and readaptation that derived in no small measure from his Nabob-ian persona besides practical considerations and political expediency.

RESIDENT MAJOR GENERAL SIR DAVID OCHTERLONY KCB BT, DELHI'S 'LOONY AKHTAR'

David Ochterlony (1758-1825), born in Boston (Massachusetts), hailed from a family that traced its lineage to Scotland. He arrived in India in 1777 to serve as a cadet in the EIC's Bengal Army and subsequently rose in the military echelons to the rank of Major General (Fig. 7). Ochterlony worked for the EIC for forty-eight years in military and administrative capacities and was the protagonist of some significant military campaigns including two Anglo-Maratha wars and the Anglo-Gurkha war.⁴⁰ He was 'created a baronet and was appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath, being almost the first of the Company's officers to be admitted to that honourable Order.'⁴¹ He was part of Lord Lake's army that won Delhi for the British, with Lake recording that he 'found him useful, intelligent, and much to be depended on.'⁴²

Ochterlony was first appointed as the Delhi Resident in 1804, a position of great prestige as



Fig. 7
Painting titled 'Sir David Ochterlony,
Victor in the Gurkha campaign of
1814-16'

Archaeological Survey of India, Photo
Archives, Mumtaz Mahal Museum Reserve
Collection, Red Fort, Delhi, No. 550

well as responsibility. Cardew observed that it was ‘thoroughly congenial to Ochterlony. He was always sympathetic with the natives of India and readily gained their affection and confidence’ and ‘his qualities both as leader and ruler had gained for him a special place in the affections of the Indian soldiery’.⁴³ Further, Bishop Reginald Heber’s *Characters of Public Men in India* included Ochterlony and recorded him being ‘uniformly’ spoken of in Agra and Delhi as ‘a kind, honourable, and worthy man’.⁴⁴ Ochterlony’s rather brief stint as Resident ended abruptly in 1806 following a shift in the EIC’s policy that sought a more nuanced political and civilian approach towards governance that could be handled by a trained civil servant, in this case Archibald Seton. Ochterlony’s military and administrative prowess notwithstanding, the incumbent Governor-General Sir George Barlow remarked that Ochterlony could not be expected to possess ‘the qualifications and experience’ that a ‘civilian’ possessed as these qualities were ‘foreign to the habits of life and the ordinary duties of his [Ochterlony’s] profession’.⁴⁵ This official observation makes it tempting to attribute the EIC’s approach among other considerations to an anti-Nabob-ism stance. However, in 1818 he was reappointed as Resident, with additional charge of Rajputana and Cis-Satluj states, an appointment that Ochterlony viewed as a redemption of his credibility. Cardew observed that ‘As a soldier his qualities were of a high order’ and further he possessed ‘more than ordinary military skill both strategic and tactical and a very rare combination of caution and precision with a readiness to take risks when occasion demanded’.⁴⁶ He held office until he resigned in 1825 after a confrontation with the incumbent Governor-General, William Pitt Amherst. His resignation accepted, probably also abetted by his Nabob-ism, Ochterlony died in July 1825, left bitter after the confrontation that in his opinion reflected the EIC’s apathy towards him after years of exemplary service. While in service, Ochterlony was firmly entrenched in the mould of EIC official as Nabob, discharging his official duties as Resident, while immersing himself in Nabob-ism, and straddling both worlds with ease. This stance was hardly unique to Ochterlony; he can be compared to a contemporary, Kirkpatrick, another Nabobian EIC official and Hyderabad Resident who built the spatially hybrid Hyderabad Residency.⁴⁷

Ochterlony spent a substantial part of his life in princely north India as an EIC official, resulting in a prolonged exposure to Mughal culture. Accused of ‘having gone native’ or ‘crossed over’, popular expressions used disparagingly to describe 19th-century Nabobs, Ochterlony was colloquially known as ‘Loony Akhtar’ (Crazy Star), in Delhi, a play on his name that reflected his Nabob-ian persona.⁴⁸ He dressed in the Mughal fashion, rode an elephant, was fond of feasting and *Nautch* and had a *Zenana* with, it was rumoured, thirteen *Bibis*, with one Mubarak-un-Nissa Begum (popularly called Ochterlony Begum as well as Jarnaili/Generalee Begum, a colloquial derivative of Ochterlony’s military rank) being his favourite. Mrs. A. Deane, visited Delhi in 1804, and rode with ‘general O’ on an elephant lent by the Mughal ruler, to the Qutub Minar, noting Ochterlony throwing ‘handfuls of silver ... among the populace as we passed’ in the manner of Mughal royalty.⁴⁹ The most descriptive account of Ochterlony’s persona was recorded by Heber who met him during the course of his travels in the subcontinent in the late 1820s. Heber described him as ‘... a tall and pleasing-looking man, but was so wrapped up in shawls, kincob, fur, and a Mughal furred cap, that his face was all that

was visible'.⁵⁰ Critical of Ochterlony's flamboyance, Heber noted his entourage as '... a very considerable number of led horses, elephants, palanquins, and covered carriages, belonging chiefly, I apprehend (besides his own family), to the families of his native servants. and the whole procession was what might pass in Europe for that of an Eastern prince travelling. Still, neither in numbers nor in splendor did it at all equal my expectation'.⁵¹ Continuing his criticism, Heber observed that Ochterlony maintained 'an almost kingly state' with an income 'little less than 15,000 rupees monthly, and he spends it almost all'.⁵² Trying to explain Ochterlony's conduct, he further noted that the latter '... has been often advised to return to England. But he has been absent from thence fifty-four years; he has there neither friend nor relation, – he has been for many years habituated to Eastern habits and parade, and who can wonder that he clings to the only country in the world where he can feel himself at home?'.⁵³ This attitude of being at home in the subcontinent was not unique to Ochterlony. His attitude can be compared to that of the 18th-century mercenary/Nabob, Claude Martin who also made the subcontinent his home. They shared a spirited architectural adventurism and both lived and were buried in India, Ochterlony in Meerut, a bustling colonial cantonment town about forty miles from Delhi.

OCHTERLONY'S ARCHITECTURAL ENTERPRISE

In keeping with the EIC's architectural interventions, Ochterlony built new buildings and readapted Mughal buildings for official and personal use. Further, his architectural works reflected his cultural hybridity, the extent of the cultural entanglement being determined by whim and empirical considerations, including the prevalent political situation. His architectural response was varied, ranging from the predictable to the adventurous, the *Kothi* remaining the favoured archetype rather than the Bungalow, the subcontinent's colonial dwelling type par excellence. On the one hand, Ochterlony chose to transform a Mughal *Haveli* into a *Kothi*; wrapping the former in a classical envelope, resorting to borrowing ideas from Calcutta's Government House for the Neemuch Residency and his personal estate at Karnal. However, Ochterlony surpassed all his building endeavours by demonstrating what I call an architectural adventurism, akin to Martin, by building his estate, called Mubarak Bagh after his favourite *Bibi*, in Delhi's north-western hinterland. It comprised an assortment of buildings including his tomb, in the manner of Mughal royalty, where he wished to be interred. As a 19th-century Nabob, Ochterlony's firm east-west cultural syncreticism was reflected not just in his lifestyle, but also in his architecture.

DELHI'S 'KOTHI RAJI DANDI' (KOTHI RESIDENCY): THE TRANSFORMATION OF HAVELI DARA SHUKOH INTO THE BRITISH RESIDENCY

Ochterlony's first architectural work in Delhi was the repair of the city's 17th-century wall, 'some seven miles in circumference and pierced by several gates' in the aftermath of the Maratha attack on Delhi following British victory.⁵⁴ Retaining the circuit, Ochterlony reinforced the wall, repairing Mughal *Burjs* (towers) and adding embrasures and bastions that were named after Delhi's prominent military and political personages from the Mughal *Badshah* Akbar to Lord Lake, the protagonist of British victory in 1803.⁵⁵

Ochterlony established his official residence in Delhi, the Residency, by engaging with the architectural remnants of Delhi's Mughal past. He repurposed the 17th-century imperial *Haveli* of the then heir apparent, *Mirza* Dara Shukoh as the Residency (Fig. 8). In princely India, the Residency was not only an administrative fulcrum, but also an architectural centrepiece. Ochterlony was not only driven by sentiments of political expediency, symbolism and empirical concerns, but also by his east-west cultural entanglement. Political expediency caused the EIC to not appropriate and reuse the *Qila*, even in light of proposals recommending that the royal family be shifted to the Qutub Complex in the city's southern hinterland or to Fatehpur Sikri, near Agra.⁵⁶ Interventions in the *Qila* were limited to the addition of a magazine, with some officials in residence for communication with the Mughal ruler and for monitoring activities, as the precinct was perceived as a hotbed of political machinations. Since it was desirable for the Resident to dwell in close proximity to the *Qila* for effective governance, the search for a suitable site for the Residency complex was centered on the three imperial and sub-imperial *Havelis* including *Haveli* Dara Shukoh. *Haveli* Dara Shukoh was the second most significant building following the *Qila* in the 17th century and thereafter. This made it an attractive acquisition proposition. From the EIC's perspective, acquiring and modifying a Mughal imperial landmark with symbols of colonial identity would very cogently mark British presence in Delhi, where the prevailing Indian majoritarian worldview was centered on the notion of Mughal invincibility and the citizenry continued to regard itself as subjects of the Mughal ruler. Symbolism apart, it was also practical to reuse existing infrastructure. The EIC had a rather parsimonious approach towards funding building enterprises of its officials, particularly in princely India and it usually coerced Indian rulers to pay for buildings including the Residency, as at Lucknow and Hyderabad. Ochterlony could hardly expect any such largess from the Mughal ruler, as the latter was financially dependent on the EIC. Further, given the threat of invasions, notably by the Marathas, it was imperative to mark British authority in Delhi via the Residency sooner rather than later. Another practical benefit of reusing the *Haveli* was that its proximity to the river Yamuna afforded both views and breeze to ameliorate the heat. Furthermore, given his Nabob-ism, the idea of a Mughal imperial *Haveli* serving as his official residence could hardly be anathema to Resident Ochterlony. These circumstances collectively paved the way for the appropriation and reuse of *Haveli* Dara Shukoh as Delhi Residency.

Reusing an existing building for official purposes was by no means unique to Ochterlony as the EIC had been repurposing old buildings across the subcontinent for various functions, including Residencies. Sengupta has observed 'Reflecting *nabob* lifestyles and a highly eclectic and contingent architectural culture, British Residencies were routinely in rented or adapted buildings from earlier Mughal or provincial rulers. These, too, eclectically mixed European and Indian types within the same building, or grafted new layers onto pre-colonial structures'.⁵⁷ For instance, the Residency in Cochin functioned from a house built by the Dutch in the mid-18th century, while a 17th-century Mughal era tomb was converted into the Government House in Lahore. Delhi's old buildings were no different. While the ruins in the city's hinterland largely served as sites for leisure, buildings in the walled city, notably *Havelis* caught the attention of EIC officials



Fig. 8

Haveli Dara Shukoh, repurposed as Delhi Residency

Author, 2020



Fig. 9

Major Robert Smith's Kothi, built by repurposing Haveli Ali Mardan Khan

Author, 2003

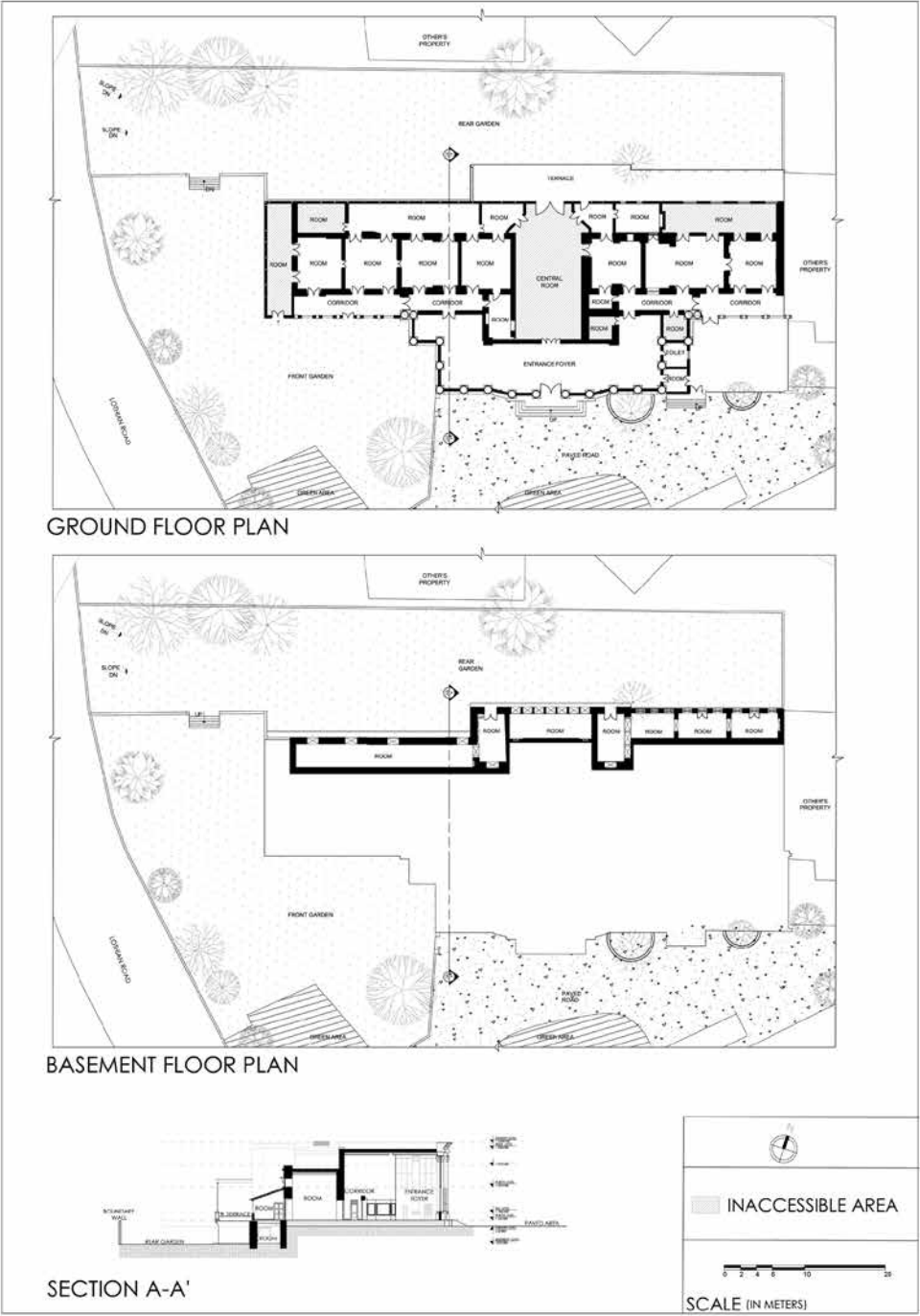


Fig. 10
Delhi Residency, ground floor plan, basement plan and section
Author, 2020

as attractive dwelling propositions due to their ability to ameliorate the heat. Ochterlony's reusing a *Haveli* was not exceptional, even if the earliest such repurposing in Delhi. In the 1820s the *Haveli* of Ali Mardan Khan, the second property of the Mughal elite trio, on the Yamuna riverfront was readapted as a residence by Major Robert Smith, Delhi's Garrison Engineer, whose additions to the *Haveli* transformed it into a *Kothi* (Fig. 9).⁵⁸ Smith's *Kothi* attracted several curious visitors, including Major Archer, who 'Went to see the Ty-Kounahs, or underground houses, forming part of Major Smith's residence ... the descent to the apartment was about thirty feet, and the surprise and pleasure were equal, to find such beautiful rooms and so elegantly arranged and furnished ... A retreat of this kind in the hot months of April, May, and June, is a luxury scarcely to be described'.⁵⁹ Likewise, Captain Leopold von Orlich, visiting Delhi in the 1840s, remarked that the house of the editor of the *Delhi Gazette*, that stood north of the Residency, had '... like many of those inhabited by Europeans, subterranean apartments, in which, during the prevalence of the hot winds, he is protected against the dry, sultry heat, and enjoys a temperature lower by 10 degree'.⁶⁰ The cool subterranean rooms visited by Archer and Orlich were *Tehkhanas* that usually formed part of a typical *Haveli*. What makes Ochterlony's endeavour significant is the choice of building for reuse. Indeed, in the pre-uprising era, reuse of old buildings was largely confined to buildings of sub-imperial origin, whether a *Haveli*, tomb or garden. Examples of imperial Mughal buildings being put to reuse were rare. *Haveli* Dara Shukoh, by virtue of its association with the erstwhile Mughal heir apparent, was a prominent imperial landmark and a prized asset, even as Mughal power waned. It had remained a coveted property throughout the 18th century, sheltering among others a Mughal prince, the incumbent Mughal *Vazir*, powerful foreign invaders and the Avadh *Nawabs*. Even as its ownership history is unclear, at the time of the British occupation of Delhi, *Haveli* Dara Shukoh was, in all probability, in the possession of the incumbent Avadh *Nawab*, Saadat Ali Khan II, during whose reign the construction of the Lucknow Residency was completed.⁶¹ It is likely that the EIC asked for the *Haveli* to be given to the Resident who transformed it into the Residency.

In the absence of coeval data, it is difficult to establish the *Haveli*'s layout with certainty, but it would not be erroneous to assume that it subscribed to the typical *Bagh-Zenana-Tehkhana-Hammam* combine, with apartments and pavilions in courtyard and garden settings and supported by ancillary buildings.⁶² Further, given Dara Shukoh's erudition and proclivity towards spirituality, it is plausible that the *Haveli* was also an intellectual hub and had a *Kutubkhana* (library).⁶³ The presence of a library in the *Haveli* is supported by an entry in the inventory of 'Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments' prepared for the Delhi district in the early 20th century by the Archaeological Survey of India that listed the Residency building as 'Library of Dara Shikoh'.⁶⁴ Even as the *Haveli* must surely have been spatially altered by its many occupants, at the time Ochterlony took possession of it, among the surviving structures was the 'Library of Dara Shikoh' that was transformed into the main house, where Ochterlony and his successors resided as Residents from 1803 till the official move to the hinterland in the third decade of the 19th century.

The *Haveli*'s transformation into the Residency can be reconstructed from historical and cartographic records and through fieldwork. A scrutiny of the Delhi Map reveals the interventions made in the *Haveli* precinct. In the precinct's southern end, a large

walled area that was separated from the Residency complex by a road was allocated to a magazine, quarters of the garrison officer and service structures. The Residency, also walled, comprised the Library/main house (hereinafter the main house), the centrepiece of the complex, ancillary spaces containing servant quarters, stores and stables and a large garden (see Fig. 6). Access to the complex was provided through two main gates, with some smaller gates for services, one to the south opened onto what Heber described as a 'tolerably wide street', that led to the *Qila*, the other to the north led to the British enclave.⁶⁵ The main house was a linear building with a north-east to south-west orientation. It had a large foreground towards the south-west, that formed its formal entrance, with a carriageway and lawns for appreciating the city's new power centre. Towards its rear (north-east), it opened into a large garden whose layout was similar to that of the Mughal *Charbagh* (garden based on the four-fold division of the plot) marked as 'Bagh Raji Dandi' (literally Residency garden) on the Delhi Map. While the eastern side of the garden overlooked the river Yamuna, on its west lay the British enclave.

The earliest description of the main house was provided by Mrs. A Deane who recorded that she and her party were 'seated at an elegant breakfast at the resident's palace'.⁶⁶ It is tempting to attribute her observation of the Residency as a 'palace' to the building's Mughal origins, perhaps not completely obliterated by the intervention. Further, Lady Nugent, who stayed in the Residency in 1811, during Charles Metcalfe's first term as Resident (1811-1818), noted that the 'site of this house, (Mr. Metcalfe's), was formerly that of Sultan Darah-Shekoah'.⁶⁷ As she strolled through the Residency garden, described as being 'in the Hindoostanee style', Lady Nugent reported that 'Our tents are pitched in a lawn, at the back of the house, almost in the centre of the garden, and look very pretty'.⁶⁸ Clearly, Ochterlony's additions to the *Haveli* were not very extensive with guests being accommodated in tents pitched in the *Charbagh*. The earliest detailed description of the main house can be attributed to an anonymous author who described it in 1823 as 'very extensive, partly ancient and partly modern; the modern part consists of a grand and lofty hall ... with two rooms leading from the centre, one on each side, the left wing consists of a suite of three rooms ... with a verandah on both sides ... The right wing consists of a suite of several rooms being the original house; the portico in front is supported by eight lofty and magnificent pillars'. Further, the author described the garden as 'stocked with a profusion of choice fruit trees, and a variety of valuable and rare plants, and also ornamented with a large reservoir of stone, and a noble terrace facing the river'.⁶⁹ Heber who visited in 1824-25, described the main house as a 'large straggling building, consisting of two or three entertaining rooms added by Sir David Ochterlony, when Resident, to an old Mussulman Palace.' He also described his travel companion, a Mr. Lushington's, living quarters as 'a singular and interesting little room, with a vaulted roof, richly ornamented with mosaic painting'.⁷⁰ While Lushington's living quarters cannot be traced with accuracy today, clearly he inhabited a richly ornamented Mughal era room, raising the possibility that the entire *Haveli* precinct was not altered. Further, Heber described the garden as 'large ..., laid out in the usual formal Eastern manner, but with some good trees and straight walks, and the whole has more the appearance of a college than anything else'.⁷¹ He also remarked that the garden was bare, with no greenery; the 17th-century Shahjahani canal that had irrigated the city since



Fig. 11
Delhi
Residency,
façade of
Ochterlony's
'ball room' with
the Mughal era
layer revealed
Author, 2004



Fig. 12
Delhi Residency, ongoing conservation work on the façade of Ochterlony's 'ball room' with the
Mughal era layer conserved
Author, 2020

its founding worked intermittently owing to lack of maintenance, even though restored by EIC engineers in 1820.⁷²

Both Ochterlony's interventions and remnants of the 'old Mussulman Palace' still survive and were examined during the fieldwork. Ochterlony's 'entertaining rooms' added to the *Haveli's* Library included a centrally positioned ballroom flanked by banqueting rooms, besides some more rooms on either side (Fig. 10). These additions were probably made by either wholly or partly infilling an existing arcade of Mughal origin, visible as an underlayer on site. Indeed, the British era walls have been peeled away from the ballroom's principal façade, to reveal a typical Shahjahani stone arcade with baluster columns holding cusped arches (Figs 11 and 12). It is plausible to suggest that the Mughal arcade marked the edge of the Library's *Sahn* (courtyard) roofed by Ochterlony to make his 'entertaining rooms'. These spatial additions befitted a Resident's official residence, as he was expected to host dinners and other entertainment soirées officially. The ballroom was built higher than the flanking rooms and had arched openings at the upper level for light and ventilation. The whole spatial ensemble was enveloped with a front and rear verandah. The south-west façade was articulated with a colonnade of twenty lofty, classical columns, forming a deep verandah whose height was equivalent to that of the ballroom (Figs 13 and 14). The columns rested on high pedestals and met the cornice at roof level. The space between the columns was filled with a wooden lattice at the upper level to keep out the intense summer glare and thereafter was filled with glazed window panes to the lintel level.

Conventionally, it would have sufficed if the Residency had spaces catering to the needs of its European occupants. However, with Ochterlony as Resident, the main house spatialized the Nabob-ian duality, illustrated by a miniature painting entitled, 'Sir David Ochterlony in Indian dress and smoking a hookah and watching a nautch in his house in Delhi'.⁷³ The painting depicts an elderly Ochterlony, probably in his second term as Resident, dressed in Mughal finery, seated on the floor, smoking a *Hookah* while watching a *Nautch*. For Nabobs to indulge in such Mughal-ized entertainment soirées was hardly unusual. However, what makes Ochterlony's case peculiar is that, instead of holding the event privately, he chose to use the official space, one of the Residency's 'entertaining rooms', possibly the central hall, to organize the *Nautch*. This can be inferred from the depiction of the room that is indicated as a large space with a centrally placed fanlight door, flanked by two windows, in the rear wall that opens possibly into a garden. Further, portraits of men dressed in European fashion are hung on the walls. Additionally, the main house also had provision for spaces that were specifically amenable for Nabob-ian living.

The main house's north aspect was articulated along Nabob-ian lines in contrast to its more European-ized southern façade (Fig. 15). The 'entertaining rooms' opened onto the north verandah that led to a raised terrace before descending into the garden, the *Charbagh* that was among the principal Mughal spatial elements. The Delhi Map reveals that 'Bagh Raji Dandi' was laid out in the *Charbagh* style, with two intersecting walkways leading to the four-fold division with the centre marked by a pool and each quadrant filled with planting. The garden permits one to draw three plausible inferences. First, Ochterlony retained the original 17th-century *Bagh* of *Haveli* Dara Shukoh largely unaltered; second, the *Bagh*, as laid out by one of the *Haveli's* several 18th-century



Fig. 13
Delhi Residency, south façade
Author, 2020



Fig. 14
Delhi Residency, interior view of the glazed verandah on the south
Author, 2020



Fig. 15
Delhi Residency, rear (north) façade
Author, 2020

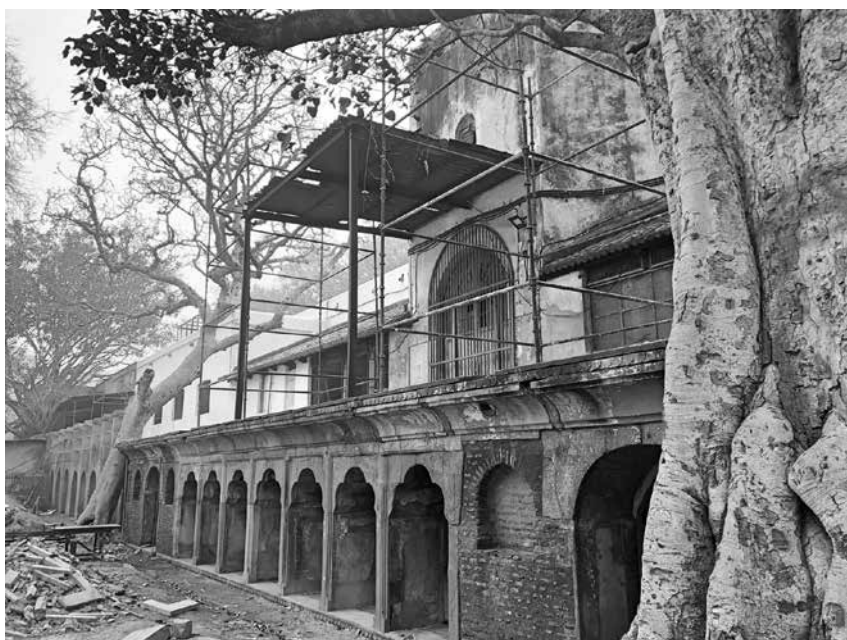


Fig. 16
Delhi Residency, *Tehkhana* arcade in the north façade
Author, 2020

occupants was retained; and lastly, Ochterlony with his love for the Mughal lifestyle laid out a Mughal style inspired *Bagh*. Today, the garden has been reduced to a small ill-maintained strip of land with institutional buildings built over it post-independence curtailing its extent. The main house also had a *Tehkhana*, still extant and accessible, comprising a series of rooms fronted by an arcade. It ran below the northern terrace and opened into the *Bagh*. This arrangement probably reminded Heber of a British college quadrangle thus prompting his 'college' appearance remark in respect of the garden. Like the *Bagh*, it can only be speculated whether the subterranean arcade and chambers survive from the 17th or 18th century, with additions made by Ochterlony. The additions are suggested by the extension of the arcade along the entire length of the rear terrace with semi-circular arches in brick and tri-cusped arches in red sandstone, both stylistically of European provenance (Fig. 16). In contrast, the inner chambers, probably used as retiring rooms in summer, have Shahjahani baluster columns supporting cusped arched openings (Fig. 17). Regardless of its origin, whether Mughal or by Ochterlony, the *Tehkhana* provided respite from the hot summer and was probably used by him and his family. Further, given Ochterlony's large Indian family, the Residency complex also ought to have had a *Zenana*, where his *Bibis* and progeny lived in *Purdah*. With the main house not being very commodious and being used for official gatherings, Ochterlony's family probably lived in a *Zenana* on the Residency premises. but it cannot be identified today. Perhaps the imperial *Haveli*'s 17th or 18th-century *Zenana* was put to use as the family's living quarters and Ochterlony's successors were not desirous of retaining a built-form strongly associated with Nabob-ism.

The fieldwork also reveals that the main house had an extension of a number of linearly arranged rooms with an arcade on its south-east side. It is difficult to establish with certainty whether these rooms were also added by Ochterlony, because the building served as a school for a very long time in the post-uprising era till Independence and could very well be later additions.

The above analysis indicates that the Residency, like its patron, straddled two culturally different worlds, justifying its name 'Kothi Raji Dandi'. Indeed, Ochterlony modelled the Residency on the *Kothi* whose spatial hybridity permitted him to live both as Resident and a Nabob.

MUBARAK BAGH

Ochterlony's second building venture in Delhi was a personal estate called Mubarak Bagh (literally exalted garden), referred to as Ochterlony's Castle by his British compatriots, built in Delhi's north-western hinterland. No longer extant, Mubarak Bagh was built close to the end of his second term as Resident between 1821 and his death in 1825. Living in the city's hinterland was not unusual for Ochterlony, who probably resided in the imperial Mughal garden, Shalamar Bagh, during his first term as Resident, following a grant of permission by Shah Alam.⁷⁴ Further, Ochterlony had bought Charles Metcalfe's Shalamar Bagh property, built in 1811-12, after the latter's departure from Delhi in 1818 and later proposed to share it with Metcalfe on the latter's return to Delhi as Resident.⁷⁵ Even as he owned property in the hinterland, Ochterlony's vision for Mubarak Bagh was very different. Since official protocol demanded that the Resident live in the

Residency, Mubarak Bagh was probably used as a weekend retreat. Ochterlony bought land in Malikpur village four miles north-west of the city, close to the Mughal *Shahi Rasta* (imperial highway) to Lahore and Kashmir, in an area with many imperial and sub-imperial gardens that EIC officials used for leisure.⁷⁶ He also redirected a branch of the revived 17th-century Shahjahani *Nahr* (canal) to irrigate the land. He confided to William Fraser, Assistant Resident, of his intent to lay out 'a very fine and extensive park or garden or a union of both as *bibi*'s taste there will surely hereafter decide when I have gained the proprietary rights'.⁷⁷ Indeed, with Mubarak-un-Nissa Begum clearly at the helm of affairs, his architectural vision for the project departed from his previous work.

Lack of physical evidence makes it difficult to reconstruct Mubarak Bagh, but a limited reconstruction is possible based on two 19th-century paintings. The first, entitled 'The Mobaruck Bagh', translated as 'Happy Garden', formed part of an album called 'Reminiscences of Imperial Dehlie' commissioned by Thomas Metcalfe, Company Agent and Commissioner at Delhi.⁷⁸ It focusses on the building rumoured to be Ochterlony's tomb.⁷⁹ The Palladian villa inspired building with colonnaded wings is set in a garden. It has a central ribbed dome with a lantern and cross, while two smaller stone ribs in domical formations, similar to those over Martin's *Kothi*-turned-tomb, Constantia's central core, are raised over the ends of the wings. The ribs terminate in finials that are a curious mix of the classical urn and Mughal finial design.⁸⁰ Other elements include a crenellated parapet and *Guldasta* turrets (literally bouquet of flowers and implying a cluster of turrets in the manner of a bouquet). The second entitled 'Auspicious Plan of General David Ochterlony's Garden outside Shah Jehanabad',⁸¹ offers a view from outside the enclosure wall. The entrance gate has a central Mughal inspired multi-cusp



Fig. 17

Delhi Residency, *Tehkhana* rooms with Mughal era details

Author, 2020

arched doorway within a Gothic inspired triangular frame, with the roof carrying slender Mughal turrets. An assortment of buildings and planting is visible beyond the wall; to the left is the so-called tomb's dome and ribbed formations; to the right is a partially depicted building with circular, crenellated corner towers and a crenellated parapet.⁸² In the middle are visible two triangular roof tops with hybrid finials, one apparently of a gateway and the other of a building whose function cannot be ascertained.⁸³ While Mubarak Bagh could not commemorate its patron after his death, Ochterlony was memorialized through the Ochterlony Monument in Calcutta built in 1828. This was a freestanding column combining classical and Mughal design elements, much like the person it commemorated.⁸⁴

OCHTERLONY'S 'ARCHITECTURAL ADVENTURISM'

Mubarak Bagh transcended Ochterlony's 'Cultural Hybridity' of the Residency by demonstrating what I call an architectural adventurism. This stance exhibited by a patron in the colonial subcontinent entailed a building approach that responded to the east-west cultural entanglement by relying on elements from both cultures with a feisty spirit to make a strong personal statement. Such a sentiment produced buildings that were highly unconventional in terms of design in comparison to their contemporary counterparts. Ochterlony had demonstrated this adventurism, steadfastly adhering to 18th-century Nabob-ism, despite his compatriots' strong censure. This spirit was abundantly displayed in the design of Mubarak Bagh. However, he was by no means the only one with this attitude. There were two other near contemporary patrons besides Ochterlony, who displayed such architectural adventurism. This included Martin who had earlier exhibited this trait in his *Kothi*-turned-tomb, Constantia, built in Lucknow in the late 18th century and Begum Samru of Sardhana, a *Bibi* later ruler who turned Catholic, whom Ochterlony knew both occupationally and socially. She did the same by building a Catholic Church in Sardhana, around the time Mubarak Bagh was being built, where she chose to be interred.⁸⁵ The three buildings Constantia, Sardhana's Catholic Church and Mubarak Bagh defied convention and each encapsulated their respective patron's personal whim. While Samru desired to be regarded as the unequivocal champion of Catholicism in the Indian subcontinent, Martin, the Nabob, resorted to an architectural grandstanding that not only exhibited his wealth but also memorialized him for posterity as his tomb. In Ochterlony's case, it is tempting to aver that his adventurism was inspired by Constantia on the following grounds. Martin willed that his body be laid to rest in Constantia's *Tehkhana* and the main house be converted into a school for boys, a clever strategy that prevented his property from being confiscated by his employer, the Avadh *Nawab*.⁸⁶ Even as Ochterlony's will did not specifically mention Mubarak Bagh as his place of interment, one of the buildings in the estate was popularly called his tomb. Further, his will unambiguously stipulated that Mubarak Bagh be used to establish a school for Muslim boys.⁸⁷ Further, like Constantia, it employed architectural hybridity with a defiant abandon as seen through usage of the ribbed dome, stone ribs in arched or domical formations, crenellations, octagonal towers and louvered shutters besides an eclectic mix of classical (urns and statues) and Mughal elements: *Chattris* (literally umbrellas/small sized domed pavilions) and *Guldasta* turrets. While Martin was the

architect of Constantia, Ochterlony may have employed EIC military engineers and a team of *Mistris* to execute his vision.⁸⁸

The above analysis bolsters the assertion that Mubarak Bagh was Ochterlony's most ambitious building venture. It was an expression of his dual identity, but also sheds light on the stylistic influence exerted by late 18th-century buildings of Lucknow on later building ventures elsewhere. Ochterlony's Martin-esque adventurism derived from his desire to make a strong personal statement via Mubarak Bagh both as a tomb-cum-institution and a spirited, hybrid architectural enterprise that showcased his culturally entangled persona.

CONCLUSION: THE AFTERLIFE OF OCHTERLONY'S BUILDINGS

Ochterlony also built an estate in Karnal, about seventy miles north of Delhi, in 1806. Called, 'Ochterlony House', its fulcrum was his *Kothi*, popularly referred to as Jarnaili *Kothi*, after Mubarak Begum. He also built the British Residency in Neemuch in 1822, a grand imposing structure, like the Hyderabad Residency, with Government House as its archetype.

Ochterlony's architectural exploits were not accorded any significance by the colonial regime. This can perhaps be attributed to his Nabob-ism making him a misfit and his hybrid architecture an aberration unworthy of mention. All his buildings were extant, even if altered and repurposed. For instance, the famous Delhi College was moved to the Delhi Residency after the abolition of the office of the Resident in 1831. Further, even though the main house was a battle site and was extensively damaged during the uprising against British rule in 1857, the victorious colonial state did not deem it worthy of inclusion in the Mutiny pilgrimage circuit, though the surviving gate of the magazine on the premises was preserved and protected as a Mutiny relic. Post-uprising, the premises functioned as a government school. Mubarak Bagh, inherited by Ochterlony's *Bibi*, was used for leisure by the British living in the cantonment and civil lines. In the early 20th century it was owned by a member of the family of the erstwhile 'Oudh Nawab' and was partly being used as a botanical garden and nursery to supply planting material for the upcoming new capital of British India, New Delhi.⁸⁹ Ochterlony House in Karnal also fell into disrepair, but continued to draw attention with the incumbent Deputy Commissioner in 1914 describing it as a 'fine old mansion' and 'the most interesting building in the station'.⁹⁰ The Neemuch Residency also witnessed fighting during the uprising, but survived.

The Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) was established in 1861 for the care of the subcontinent's historic and British era monuments, but none of Ochterlony's buildings or interventions were acknowledged. Nor were any protected under *The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904 (VII of 1904)*.⁹¹ Furthermore, the ASI's listing the Residency as the 'Library of Dara Shikoh' and exposing the underlying Mughal layer in what were once Ochterlony's 'entertaining rooms', arguably shows the colonial regime's intent to underscore the building's Mughal legacy and disregard Ochterlony's interventions as having no historic worth (Figs 18 and 19). Indeed, the ASI inventory classified the Residency as a 'Class-II (a)' structure making it eligible to receive only minor maintenance measures and no conservation intervention. It further stated that the building was in



Fig. 18

Delhi Residency, identified as 'Dara Shikoh's Library' in colonial era records
Archaeological Survey of India, Agra Circle, Photo Archives, Agra, Album: Office of the Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, Agra, Photographs for 1913-14, No. 80



Fig. 19

Delhi Residency, underlying Mughal layer revealed and the building identified as 'Delhi Government High School' in colonial era records
Archaeological Survey of India, DG Office, Photo Archives, New Delhi, Delhi Vol. 2, 1916-17, Number 3660

‘Fair’ condition and did not require any statutory protection, thus leaving it to its fate.⁹²

Today no physical remains of Mubarak Bagh and Ochterlony’s Karnal estate survive.⁹³ The Neemuch Residency, called Ochterlony House, survives as the mess of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) Training Academy. While the building’s heritage is valued, the absence of statutory protection makes it vulnerable to incompatible repair and maintenance practices. As for the *Haveli*-turned-Residency at Delhi, following decades of apathy, misuse and insensitive interventions after Indian independence, the building has been protected under the *Delhi Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act 2004* by the Delhi Government. In 2011 a proposal to convert it into a city museum showcasing Delhi’s rich history was approved and currently conservation work on the building is underway for its repurposing yet again (Figs 20 and 21).

In academic terms, a perusal of the subcontinent’s colonial architecture scholarship reveals the absence of Nabob-ian buildings, barring Martin’s patronage. Ochterlony’s buildings are notable for their complete omission from the discourse. This neglect extends to the public domain as well, since Ochterlony’s surviving buildings, the Residency buildings at Delhi and Neemuch, are hardly acknowledged as heritage sites that can attract general visitors. This neglect undermines the understanding of their role in shaping the subcontinent’s past.

Nabobs like Ochterlony who stood on the cusp of time in the early 19th century demonstrated that it was possible to inhabit two worlds. Acknowledgement of their military contribution alone will not suffice, as their contribution to the cultural landscape of the era was equally significant. Further, given its east-west syncreticism, epitomized by the *Kothi*, the inclusion of Nabob-ian architectural patronage in the discourse on the subcontinent’s colonial architecture is important. Ochterlony’s architectural contribution in this regard should on no account be omitted from this architectural narrative.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Part of the research for this paper was carried out at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, Himachal Pradesh, India, where the author spent one month as an Associate at the University Grants Commission’s Inter University Centre for Humanities and Social Sciences in June 2012. The research outcome, titled ‘Mughal Delhi and the British in the pre-Raj era: A Delhi Nabob’s Architectural Endeavours’, was presented orally before peers and Fellows of the Institute in June 2012. The author is grateful to S. K. Arora, photographer with ASI and to Janhwij Sharma, Joint-Director General (Conservation and World Heritage), ASI for generously sharing their photographs for this publication. The drawings of the Delhi Residency were prepared by eighth-semester undergraduate students of Department of Architecture, Deenbandhu Chhotu Ram University of Science and Technology: Ananya Tripathi, Ashita Kalraiya, Ayushi Gupta, Harshit Mehta, Heena Saini, Preet Kumar, Rahul Lamba, Sahil Arora and Sanidhi Garg. The drawings were prepared as part of the fieldwork in the elective course Conservation of Built Heritage-VIII, taught by the author in February 2020. The author is grateful to the Department of Archaeology, Government of NCT of Delhi for permission to document the site and to the University for permission to reproduce the drawings and for logistical support for the fieldwork.



Fig. 20

Delhi Residency, Delhi Government's Department of Archaeology functioning from the Residency
Author, 2004



Fig. 21

Delhi Residency, ongoing conservation work in the Residency
Author, 2020

NOTES

- 1 P.Spear, *The Twilight of the Mughals: Studies in Late Mughal Delhi*, (Cambridge, 1951).
- 2 P.Spear, *The Nabobs: A Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth Century India*, (London, 1932).
- 3 T.Sengupta, 'Indian Subcontinent, 1750-1947', in *Sir Banister Fletcher's Global History of Architecture*, ed. M.Fraser (London, 2019), 676.
- 4 R.Llewellyn-Jones, *A Fatal Friendship: The Nawabs, the British and the City of Lucknow*, (New Delhi, 1999), Second Reprint and J.Pandey Sharma, 'The Villa in Colonial India: Major General Claude Martin's Villa Estates in eighteenth century Avadhian Lucknow', in *The Early Modern Villa: The Senses and Perceptions versus Materiality*, ed. B.Arciszewska (Warsaw, 2017), 233-46.
- 5 Llewellyn-Jones, *Fatal Friendship*.
- 6 See Spear, *Twilight*; N.Gupta, *Delhi between two Empires: 1803-1931 Society, Govt. & Urban Growth*, (Delhi, 1981); R.E.Frykenberg, (ed.), *Delhi through the Ages, Selected Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society*, (Delhi, 1986); E.Ehlers and T.Krafft, (ed.), *Shahjahanabad/Old Delhi Tradition and Colonial Change*, (Stuttgart, 1993); and J.M. Lafont and R.Lafont, *The French and Delhi, Agra, Aligarh and Sardhana*, (New Delhi, 2010). For architectural patronage of EIC officials in 19th-century Delhi, see, S.Shorto, *British Houses in Late Mughal Delhi*, (Woodbridge, 2018).
- 7 Etymologically, the term *Kothi* was used in the subcontinent in the pre-colonial era to imply a structure built for storage of grain and was built by those engaged in agrarian activities. By the 17th century, the *Kothi* came to be identified with a trader's residence cum warehouse and was used to designate the 'factory' built by EIC officials for trade. By the 19th century, the term evolved to include a residential built-form type catering to the dwelling needs of the subcontinent's elite, both Europeans and Indians.
- 8 See A.D.King, *The Bungalow: Production of a Global Culture*, (London, 1984); M.Desai, M.Desai and J.Lang, *The Bungalow in Twentieth-Century India*, (Farnham, 2012); S.Tillotson, *Indian Mansions: A Social History of the Haveli* (Cambridge, 1994); S.Prasad, 'A Tale of Two Cities: house and town in India today', in *Paradigms of Indian Architecture: Space and Time in Representation and Design*, ed. G.H.R.Tillotson (London, 1998), 176-199; J.Hosagrahar, 'Mansions to Margins: Modernity and the Domestic Landscapes of Historic Delhi 1847-1910', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 60:1, (2001), 26-45.
- 9 See R.Llewellyn-Jones' works: *A Very Ingenious Man: Claude Martin in Early Colonial India*, (Delhi, 1992); *Fatal Friendship*; and *A Man of the Enlightenment in Eighteenth Century India: The Letters of Claude Martin 1766-1800*, (New Delhi, 2003) and J.Pandey Sharma, 'Villa'.
- 10 See N.Das, 'The Country Houses of Lucknow', in *Lucknow: City of Illusion*, ed. R. Llewellyn-Jones (New York, 2006), 167-192; J.Pandey Sharma, 'Kothi Begum Samru: A Tale of Transformation in 19th and 20th century Delhi', *Marg*, 61:4, (2010), 24-33; Pandey Sharma, 'Villa'; A.Eimen, 'Reading Place through Patronage: Begum Samru's Building Campaign in Early Nineteenth-century India', in *Woman's Eye, Woman's Hand: Making Art and Architecture in Modern India*, ed. D.Fairchild-Ruggles, (Delhi, 2014), 13-40; and M.Rajagopalan, 'Cosmopolitan Crossings: The Architecture of Begum Samrū', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 77:2, (2018), 168-85, DOI: 10.1525/jsah.2018.77.2.168.
- 11 See A.Carton, *Mixed-race and Modernity in Colonial India: Changing concepts of Hybridity across Empires*, (New York, 2012); S.Alavi, *Muslim Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Empire*, (Cambridge, 2015); J.Klaassens, 'European Mercenaries in the Armies of Post-Mughal Successor States, 1775-1849: The Case of Acculturation', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Leiden University, 2018). <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/58192> (Accessed 02.04.2018); W.Dalrymple, *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth Century India* (New Delhi, 2002); W.Dalrymple, 'Assimilation and Transculturation in Eighteenth-Century India: A Response to Pankaj Mishra', *Common Knowledge*, 11:3, (2005), 445-485.
- 12 See H.Bhaba, *The Location of Culture*, (New York, 1994) and P.Burke, *Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge, 2009). For Nabob-ism, see, J.Pandey Sharma, 'Sociability in Eighteenth-Century Colonial India: The Nabob, the Nabobian Kothi, and the Pursuit of Leisure', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 31:1, (2019), 8-24.
- 13 Burke, *Hybridity*, 79-94. For manifestation in the Nabob-ian context, see, J.Pandey Sharma, 'Sociability in Eighteenth-Century Colonial India: The Nabob, the Nabobian Kothi, and the Pursuit of Leisure', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 31:1, (2019), 8-24.
- 14 Spear, *Nabobs*.

- 15 See D.Ghosh, *Colonial Companions: Bibis, Begums, and Concubines of the British in North India, 1760-1830*, (Berkeley, 2000) and I.Sen, 'Devoted Wife/Sensuous Bibi: Colonial Constructions of the Indian Woman, 1860-1900', *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, 8:1, (2001), 1-22.
- 16 Spear, *Nabobs*, 142, and M.Archer, *India and British Portraiture, 1770-1825*, (London, 1979), 357.
- 17 Nabobs who returned to Britain were famously denounced in Samuel Foote's play *The Nabob*, published and performed in England in the 1770s. See, P.Lawson and J.Phillips, 'Our Execrable Banditti: Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain', *Albion*, 16:3, (1984), 225-241 and T.W.Nechtman, *Nabobs: Empire and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, (Cambridge, 2010).
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- 19 Pandey Sharma, 'Villa' and 'Nabob'.
- 20 Ibid. Avadh is referred to as Oudh in contemporary and later British sources.
- 21 P.Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, (London, 1985), 63-69.
- 22 See M.Bence-Jones, *Palaces of the Raj: Magnificence and Misery of the Lord Sahibs*, (London, 1973).
- 23 See J.Roberts, 'English Gardens in India', *Garden History*, 26:2, (1998), 115-135, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1587199> (Accessed 28.08.2010).
- 24 For a discussion on the colonial appropriation of the Mughal institution of the *Durbar*, see, B.S.Cohn, 'Representing Authority in Victorian Britain', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. E.Hobsbawm and T.Ranger, (Cambridge, 1983), 165-210.
- 25 Spear, *Twilight*.
- 26 The Regulating Act, enforced in all British held territories in the subcontinent, granted exemption to some Indian courts of pre-colonial existence, such as Delhi, Lucknow, Hyderabad, Mysore and Poona to cater to the EIC's interests. See, C.A.Bayly, *The New Cambridge History of India: Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*, (Cambridge, 1988).
- 27 Cornwallis' reforms aimed to check the so-called malpractices abetted by interaction with Indians. See, Bayly, *History of India*.
- 28 Spear, *Nabobs*, 82-83.
- 29 Spear, *Twilight*, 50, 155, 157.
- 30 Edmonstone in a communication to Ochterlony dated 17 November 1804, cited in K.N.Panikkar, *British Diplomacy in North India: A Study of the Delhi Residency 1803-1857* (New Delhi, 1968), 15.
- 31 M.Edwardes, *Glorious Sahibs: The romantic as empire builder 1799-1838* (London, 1968), 219.
- 32 Spear, *Twilight*, 155.
- 33 See Spear, *Twilight*, K.Prior, et al, 'Bad Language: The Role of English, Persian and Other Esoteric Tongues in the Dismissal of Sir Edward Colebrooke as Resident of Delhi in 1829', *Modern Asian Studies*, 35:1, (2001), 75-112.
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- 35 Gupta, *Empires*.
- 36 J.Pandey Sharma, 'Revisiting the Darya (River) Urbanism in the Delhi Triangle: The Urbanization of the Yamuna in the Mughal Badshahi Shahar (Imperial City), Shahjahanabad', in *River Cities, City Rivers*, ed. Thaisa Way, (Washington DC, 2018), 99-126.
- 37 Ibid. Also see, S.B.Blake, *Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639 - 1739*, (Cambridge, 1990) and S.Mitra Chenoy, *Shahjahanabad: A City of Delhi, 1638 - 1857*, (Delhi, 1998).
- 38 J.P.Sharma, 'Colonial Intervention and Urban Transformation: A Case Study of Shahjahanabad/Old Delhi', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, De Montfort University, 2005).
- 39 The EIC's interventions in the city's urban landscape including those by Ochterlony are based on the examination of a map titled, 'Map of Shahjahanabad' made by a Delhi cartographer dated around 1846-47, archived as IOR: X/1659 in the British Library's Oriental and India Office Collection (henceforth referred to in the paper as Delhi Map). The map has been redrawn and translated from the original in Persian/Urdu to English by E.Ehlers, T.Krafft and J.Malik as 'Shahjahanabad: Delhi Around 1850' and forms an accompaniment to Ehlers and Krafft, *Shahjahanabad/Old Delhi*.
- 40 Ochterlony's military accounts have been described in detail in several sources. This paper draws on Cardew's account that states that Ochterlony 'is almost forgotten even in the country of his triumphs'

- and hopes to 'rescue his name from unmerited neglect'. F.G.Cardew, 'Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, Bart., G.C.B. 1758-1825', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 10:39, (January 1931), 40-63. <http://www.jstor.com/stable/44219483> (Accessed: 26.06.2020).
- 41 Ibid, 56.
- 42 Ibid, 45.
- 43 Ibid, 48, 40.
- 44 R.Heber, 'Character of Public Men in India', *Asiatic Journal*, XXV, (May 1828), 624.
- 45 Cardew, 'Ochterlony', 50.
- 46 Ibid, 63.
- 47 Kirkpatrick is the protagonist of Dalrymple's *White Mughals*.
- 48 Cardew, 'Ochterlony' 40; Pannikar, Diplomacy, 8.
- 49 A.Deane, *A Tour through the Upper Provinces of Hindostan: comprising a period between the Years 1804 and 1814*, (London, 1823), 161.
- 50 R.Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824-1825, (With Notes Upon Ceylon)* (London, 1844), Vol.II. 29-30.
- 51 Ibid, 29.
- 52 Ibid, 18.
- 53 Ibid, 30.
- 54 Cardew, 'Ochterlony', 47.
- 55 Data drawn from a map titled: 'Delhi 1857' archived as IOR: X/1663 in the British Library's Oriental and India Office Collection. The bastions, beginning at the south-east corner of the city wall and following the wall circuit were named Wellesley Bastion; Lake Bastion; Ochterlony's Bastion; Akbar Bastion; College Bastion; Garstin Bastion; Burn Bastion and Shah Bastion on the landward side and Moira Bastion; Nascerganj Bastion and Nawab Bastion along the riverfront.
- 56 Gupta, *Empires*.
- 57 Sengupta, 'Indian Subcontinent', 686-687.
- 58 See Shorto. The *Haveli* that was repurposed by Robert Smith as his residence has been erroneously referred to as 'Kothi Resident Sahib' on the Delhi Map and has been referred to in the literature as the Deputy Resident, i.e. William Fraser's living cum workplace. Currently, it is the office of the Chief Engineer Construction Works, Northern Railways and is not accessible to the public.
- 59 Major Archer, *Tours in Upper India and in parts of the Himalaya Mountains: With Accounts of the Courts of the Native Princes* (London, 1833), Vol.I, 107-109.
- 60 Captain Leopold von Orlich, *Travels in India including Sinde and the Punjab*, tr. H.Evans Lloyd, (London, 1845), Vol.II, 16.
- 61 Lafont and Lafont, *French and Delhi*.
- 62 It may be suggested that the *Haveli's* layout was similar to the Prince's *Haveli* in Agra whose drawing was commissioned by the French adventurer, Jean-Baptiste Gentil, in the 18th century. See, C.Dadlani, 'The "Palais Indiens" Collection of 1774: Representing Mughal Architecture in Late Eighteenth Century India', *Ars Orientalis*, 39, (2010). 175-197. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23075927> (Accessed: 19.12. 2019).
- 63 See B.J.Hasrat, *Dara Shikuh: Life and Works*, (New Delhi, 1979); and R.Kinra, 'Infantilizing Baba Dara: The Cultural Memory of Dara Shekuh and the Mughal Public Sphere', *Journal of Persianate Studies*, 2, (2009), 165-193.
- 64 Archaeological Survey of India, *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments in Delhi Zail* (Delhi, 1997), Reprint, Vol.I, No.409, 186.
- 65 Bishop Reginald Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824-1825, (With Notes Upon Ceylon)* (London, 1828), Vol.II, 2nd Edition, 286.
- 66 Deane, *Tour*, 148
- 67 Nugent, *Voyage*, Vol.II, 2.
- 68 Nugent, *Voyage*, Vol.I, 413.
- 69 Anon, 'Description of Delhi and its environs', *Asiatic Journal*, XV, (1823), 533.
- 70 Heber, *Narrative*, 1828, 286.
- 71 Ibid.

- 72 See Major Colvin, 'On the restoration of the ancient canals in the Delhi territory', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, II:15, (1833), 105-127.
- 73 The account is based on an examination of the painting as reproduced in <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/addorimss/s/019addor0000002u00000000.html> Accessed (02.03.2020). The painting, dated 1820, is part of the India Office Collection, British Library, London (Reference: BL, Add.Or.2).
- 74 Roberts, *Scene and Characteristics*.
- 75 Ochterlony in a letter to Charles Metcalfe dated June 28 1825, cited in J.W.Kaye, *The Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, (London, 1854), Vol.II, 132.
- 76 J.P.Sharma, 'Mughal gardens of the Indian Subcontinent and the Colonial Legacy: The Treatment of Delhi's Shalamar Bagh', *Journal of Landscape Architecture*, 4:2, (2009), 32-47.
- 77 Ochterlony in a letter to William Fraser dated 28 January 1821, cited in Shorto, *British Houses*, fn.67, 46.
- 78 The album forms part of Lady Emily Bayley's Journal that has been reproduced in M.M.Kaye, ed. *The Golden Calm: An English Lady's Life in Moghul Delhi*, (Exeter, 1980).
- 79 The account is based on an examination of the painting, reproduced in Kaye, *Golden Calm*, 181-182.
- 80 Shorto, *British Houses*, 48.
- 81 The account is based on an examination of the painting, available at <https://art.famsf.org/anonymous/auspicious-plan-general-david-ochterlonys-garden-outside-shah-jehanabad-ie-delhi-page> (Accessed 22.02.2020). The painting, dated 1830, is a Museum purchase by Art Museums of San Francisco, USA (Reference: 1979.2.25).
- 82 Use of crenellations was common in the politically turbulent 18th century as seen in the buildings in Lucknow. The element was thereafter used in Delhi in the 19th century with Robert Smith using it when he repurposed the *Haveli* of Ali Mardan Khan as his residence.
- 83 Shorto has identified the structure as a mosque. It is possible for the estate to have a mosque given Mubarak-un-Nissa Begum's religious affiliation (born Hindu she later embraced Islam) and further she also built a mosque in the walled city.
- 84 Today the monument is called Shaheed Minar (Martyrs' Column).
- 85 J.Pandey Sharma, 'Architectural Adventurism in Nineteenth-Century Colonial India: Begum Samru and Her Sardhana Church', *International Journal of Islamic Architecture*, 9:1, (2020), 61-89.
- 86 Pandey Sharma, 'Villa'.
- 87 Shorto, *British Houses*, fn.84, 52.
- 88 Shorto has suggested two EIC officials, George Hutchinson and Robert Smith as the possible architects of Mubarak Bagh based on its stylistic characteristics. See, Shorto, *British Houses*, 51.
- 89 C.M.Villiers-Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals* (Delhi, 1983), 2nd Edition, 108.
- 90 C.H.Buck, *The Annals of Karnal*, (Lahore, 1914), 15
- 91 ASI, *The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904 (VII of 1904)*, http://asi.nic.in/pdf_data/5.pdf (Accessed 30.06.2018).
- 92 ASI, *List*, 186.
- 93 While the *Kothi* was demolished in the 1990s and a hospital and a school built in its place, the area is referred to as Jarnaili Colony. Information based on personal interview conducted with some residents of Jarnaili Colony on behalf of the author by Hardika, student of M.Arch. DCR University of Science & Technology, in December 2019 for which the author is grateful.