DELHI
DURING PAX BRITANNICA
(1803-1857)

A MONOGRAPH

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SANGEETA MITTAL
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH,
MAHARAJA AGRASEN COLLEGE (UNIVERSITY OF DELHI)
VASUNDHARA ENCLAVE-110096

Delhi has had a long and layered history upto the period of Pax Britannica or British Peace which is under consideration in the present paper. The period of Pax Britannica extending from the turn of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century is of special importance for various reasons. It inaugurates the British innings in the city leaving an indelible mark on its political, cultural and urban history. However, this advent does not penetrate a power which was in its prime but one which settles on a considerable eroded one. The period from 1679, when Aurangzeb left the city for Deccan to fight the indomitable Marathas, to 1803 is a period of tremendous ebb and flow in the city. Aurangzeb's successors were puppet kings.Bahadur Shah I remained away from Delhi. The thirty three years of imperial vacuum were filled in only when Bahadur Shah's successor, Jahandar Shah, entered Delhi in 1712 although the empty coffers, dissipating administrative machinery and mounting internal as well as external threats made Delhi less a bed of roses and more the proverbial crown of thorns. Earlier, the succession was contested only by the sons of the emperor but now the influential nobles also entered the fray. They were the kingmakers and Jahandar Shah came to power only because he was backed by Zulfiqar Khan, the most powerful of all nobles. Jahandar Shah was given to a life of hedonism and degeneracy and it was Zulfiqar Khan who ruled the roost in the kingdom. The next infamous king makers were the Sayyid brothers who catapulted Farrukh Siyar, Jahandar Shah's nephew, to the throne in 1713. The two brothers, Abdullah Khan and Husain Ali Khan, gained control over the state affairs but Farrukh Siyar struggled against them to

retain his own supremacy. The internecine tug-of-war led to the two brothers deposing Farrukh Siyar and killing him in 1719 while they themselves were killed by their opponents in 1720. After Farrukh Siyar's death in 1719, Sayyid brothers raised Muhammad Shah to power.

Despite considerable erosion, Mughal prestige was not altogether lost and its army was also a force to reckon with. Administrative machinery, although skeletal, was operative. The Maratha menace was confined to the South while the Rajputs were not too troublesome either. Hence, Muhammad Shah had curtailed but requisite infrastructure at his disposal to heal the ailing dynasty. The emperor, however, did not seize the moment and speeded the death of the dynasty by remaining engrossed in the courtly pleasures. Known popularly as Muhammad Shah *Rangila,* he remained oblivious to the impending doom by insulating himself in the comfort zone of ease and luxury. From 1719 to 1739, the year Nadir Shah sacked Delhi, a period of relative stability ensued during Muhammad Shah's reign which ended with his death in 1748. And then Nadir Shah's scourge descended over North India in 1738. Nadir Shah's expectations from India were no different from his predecessors from that region. Muhammad Shah was taken prisoner, a mass massacre occurred and the royal treasury, the *koh-i-noor* diamond, the peacock throne- all fell into the kitty of the insatiable despoiler. He also forced Mohammad Shah to cede to him all provinces west of the River Indus. This opened the North-West frontiers to repeated assaults by the likes of Ahmad Shah Abdali, one of Nadir Shah's military generals. The Mughal Empire had diminished to the 'Kingdom of Delhi' by the time Shah Alam II came to the throne in 1759.Shah Alam II fled from Delhi to escape the fury of Imad-ul-Malik and he proclaimed himself emperor after his father's death in Ghatouli in Bihar in 1759 living under the protection of Shuja-ud-daula of Awadh. He lived like a refugee first in Bengal fighting East India Company till the defeat of Buxar, then in Allahabad as a pensioner of East India Company. He sought protectorship from the Marathas. A treaty was signed between Shah Alam and the Marathas in February, 1771 and Shah Alam entered Delhi escorted by the Marathas in January, 1772. The emperor's mainstay after his resumption of power in Delhi was Mirza Najaf Khan. After Najaf Khan's demise, however, the bickering in political circles went so much out of hand that Shah Alam had to align with Madho RaO Sindia, the Maratha Chief based in Gwalior. From 1785 onwards, Delhi became an appenage to Sindia's domain. In 1764, Delhi was raided by Suraj Mal who plundered the silver roof of the Rang Mahal and in 1787, Ghulam Qadirbroke into Delhi in search of booty and his inability to find much of it in Shah Alam's palace drove him to a fit of rage in which he blinded Shah Alam and dug up palace floors of the already much stripped Fort. The simmering tension between the Marathas and the British Company resulted eventually in the anticipated war of 1803. The Battle of Delhi (or the Battle of Patparganj) took place on September 11, 1803. The Company under Lord Lake defeated the army of Sindia on the left bank of the Yamuna, just opposite Humayun's tomb. Shah Alam II replaced the Marathas with the Company for protection and pension. The Company occupied Delhi in 1803 and from that year till 1857, when the flickering Mughal flame was finally snuffed out, the Mughal emperors merely served as a political front for the British. Shah Alam's long and turbulent reign came to an end with his death in 1806 followed by what is called the Pax Brittanica for 50 years which once again dissolved in violence and destruction in the 'mutiny' of 1857.

The transition of Delhi from Mughal Delhi to British Delhi is therefore in continuum with a political decline which had set in almost a century earlier. The period between 1803 and 1857 can

be considered a hiatus in political history of the city as the next major upheaval occurs in the shape of the uprising of 1857 but it is actually a period of intense stirring in the world of the conqueror as well as the conquered. It is during this period that the urban, intellectual and material culture of the city swells and shrinks to grow as well as deplete to enter a phase of mutual admiration as well as hostility. There is a tendency to dub the eighteenth century or the Mughal Twilight as a period of decadence, effete glory or inevitable decline but there are also voices of caution against such simplistic confabulations in the history of Delhi. Percival Spear is wary of such "facile terms"[1] and Satish Chandra also warns that it would "be wrong to dub the entire eighteenth century a period of 'unchecked decline' for Delhi".[2] As Percival Spear underlines, "the degeneracy of Hindustan during the second half of the eighteenth century was social and financial rather than individual. Individual quality was often high, but men lacked a guiding star of conduct, a motive for ambition other than naked power."[3] Satish Chandra avers by emphasizing that this period "spelt not so much an absolute decline, as a prolonged period of stagnation." [4] The upside of this period was the cultural accomplishments of the city with architecture taking a backseat and painting, music and poetry stepping into its place. Secular and broad-based, the arts found patrons in the imperial family, the nobility, and the affluent settlers who cherished the cultural ethos of the city.

J S Grewal's summation of characteristics of urban settlements can serve a valuable starting point in underscoring the oft noted resilience of the city of Delhi. He writes that:

The town has emerged in history with two characteristics: first, a high density population concentrated within a limited space and secondly, a predominantly non-agricultural, particularly non-cultivating nature of its population. This men-space ratio and occupational heterogeneity, with their consequential relationships, have formed the primary basis for differentiation between the city and the villge.[5]

Other urbanhistorians also emphasize the point that urban economy is an offshoot of an agrarian surplus born out of advancement in technology of production. As Lewis Mumfurd elaborates in his *Culture of Cities,*

The city is the form and symbol of an integrated social relationship; it is the seat of the temple, the market, the hall of justice, the academy of learning. Here in the city, the goods of civilization are multipled and manifolded; here is where the human experience is transformed into visible signs, symbols, patterns of conduct, systems of order.[6] Thus, while Delhi owes its origin and importance to political factors, it gathered an economic and cultural momentum which carried it through periods of political dormancy and decline. Founded by the Rajput Tomars in 10 AD, it was a refuge from contending Rajputana rivals and the itinerant raiders like Mahmud of Ghazni. The Turkish Sultans also capitalised on its natural geographical and strategic advantages. Delhi was passed over for Agra by Lodis, Babur and Akbar but Humayun, Sher Shah and Shah Jahan returned to it for its age old associations with power and prestige. Aurangzeb departed from Delhi in 1679 and once again Delhi was without imperial presence till 1712. Economic historians point out that in the periods of imperial absentia and other ordeals like external invasions, internecine warfare and mercenary raiders, Delhi continued to grow as a centre of trade and manufacture.[7] It continued to be regarded as a *Shahr* (metropolis), *Dar-ul-mulk* (seat of the empire) and Dar-ul-Khilafat (seat of the King). As Satish Chandra remarks, "many of the towns which had originally been chosen as capitals on account of their strategic importance, became in course of time centres of trade and manufacture,

and played a definite role in the economy of the country or the region. Towns of this type showed a considerable capacity to survive or even grow in adverse political circumstances. Delhi, Agra and Lahore may be considered typical cases of this type."[8]

Delhi, which the British inherited in 1803, was in its 7th avatar as Shahjahanabad. It had an urban idiom of its own which was very different from the post-industrialisation European city. Urbanism was perceived less in terms of amenities, privacy and liberal pursuits but more in terms of interactions and exhilarations possible from refined and rich sensibilities, which permeated down from the Court to lower ranks, creating links of shared pride and heritage. The imprint of Shahjahan's sophisticated personal taste as well as the display of opulence by an empire at the height of its power constituted the allied objectives which determined the scope and scape of Shahjahanabad which was completed in 1658. As Samual V Noe surmises, the desire and design of Shah Jahan's capital was most likely inspired by reports of Shah Abbas's excellent capital at Isfahan. "With the Persian orientation of the Mughal court in general and Shah Jahan in particular, Isfahan must have provided a provocative challenge".[9] As expounded in some detail by Thomas Krafft, the plan of the Islamic city with a centrally located Friday mosque, the bazaar around it, distinct socio-economic differentiations from centre to periphery, irregular street pattern, a city wall and citadel, intra urban quarters, blind alleys was inscribed integrally in the morphology of Shahjahanabad.[10] This urban Islamic stereotype was dependant on very specific city-hinterland relationships of a rent-capitalist nature. Shedding light on another quintessential feature of the city, Jamal Malik writes that, "The builders of Shahjahanabad created the architectonic expression of what has often been called the "patrimonial system" in its climax".[11] Narayani Gupta qualifies the Islamic urban paradigm of Shahjahanabad by drawing attention to the fact that though Shahjahanabad can be seen pre-eminently as a Mughal city in form, "but its lifestyle was delineated largely by its inhabitants"*The immigration, by individuals and communities, over many centuries gave it its unique feel and flavour."[12]

Shahjahanabad-the walled city- was enclosed within a stone wall 27 feet high, 12 feet thick and 3.8 miles long. Built between 1651-8, it had 27 towers and numerous gates. Major entryways in the city comprised of the Kashmiri Gate, Mori Gate, Kabuli Gate, Lahori Gate, Ajmeri Gate, Turkomani Gate and Akbarabadi Gate. The River front side presented access to the river through Raj Ghat, Qila Ghat and Nigambodh Ghat. The most important public thoroughfare, road or boulevard of the city, the Chandni Chowk, extended from Lahori Gate to Fatehpuri Masjid with a central canal *(Nahar-i-bihisht),* tree lined roads and similarly built shops in Urdu bazaar, Ashrafi bazaar and Fatehpuri bazaar. Coffee houses, gardens, hammams and serais also dotted this street. Another bazaar sprawled out from the Akbarabadi gate which over time became famous as Faiz Bazar while Khas Bazar was located on the street connecting the Palace Fort to the Jama Masjid. Along long secondary roads, special bazaars in association with *karkhanas* located in the vicinity developed. The *mohallas* had local bazaars. The Palace Fort and the Jama Masjid, in fact, formed the twin foci of the city. The Fort, built in red sand stone was octagonal in shape with a perimeter of nearly two miles with dimensions of 3,100 feet X 1,650 feet. A moat, 75 feet wide and 30 feet deep, protected the Fort on the landward side. The Fort was divided into two rectangles- the river facing one was the hub of much of the domestic and official activity. The southern half of this rectangle housed the *harim* (women's mansions). The *Imtiaz* or *Mumtaz Mahal,* later called the *Rang Mahal*, was the largest

building which was the venue for routine and recreational activity of residents of the Fort and to which Shah Jahan retired after his daily schedule in the *Diwan-i-aam.* Adjoining this space were the *Aramgah* or *Khwabgah* (place for sleeping) and the emperor's *jharokha* (balcony) in the *Mussaman Burj* (Octagonal Tower) facing the riverside underneath which petitioners and subjects would gather for the daily darshan. The northern half contained the more public buildings of the court. The *Diwan-i-aam* (Hall of Public Audience) was a large open pavilion of forty pillars divided into two parts, one for princes, distinguished *amirs,* ambassadors and dignitaries and the other for lesser *amirs,* nobles and officers. The emperor himself sat in a balcony in the eastern wall six feet above the ground. The officers involved in the day's business stood below on a marble platform. The emporer transacted routine financial, military and administrative affairs in the *Diwan-i-aam*. The three sides of *Diwan-i-aam* were surrounded by a courtyard with rooms appointed for seating the *amirs* of the standing guard. Beyond was a *naqqarkhana* (Place of Drums) which had musicians for playing martial music. The river front side of the *Diwan-i-aam* held the most elegant and extravagant building of the Fort- the *Diwan-i-khaas* (Hall of Private Audience) or the *Shah Mahal* (Emperor's Palace). The bejeweled marble décor with generous use of bullion and glass made it a glittering chamber which also boasted of the most expensive throne in the world- the Peacock throne. The Royal *Hamam* or *Ghusal Khana* (Bath) was adjacent to it and was as lavishly furnished with three storey, one for dressing, hot water and cold water each. The *Shah Burj* (King's Tower) brought up the end of the river facing landmarks in the north-east corner of the Fort. To the west of imperial quarters was another densely populated area in contiguity with the *Naqqarkhana* called the *Jilau Khana* where members of the royal family, *amirs,* officers, petitioners etc. wishing to gain entry assembled and waited. A covered bazaar called *Bazaar-i-mussaqaf,* not found in India till then but common in West Asia, was another peculiarity of the Fort. A lot of palace space was dedicated to gardens, prominent among which were the Hayat Bakhsh and Mahtab Gardens. Outside the Fort, beyond the moat, separating the Fort from the rest of the city, extended beautiful gardens- the Buland, Gulabi and Anguri gardens. As Shah Jahan attended the Jama Masjid built by him, till his time, there was no mosque inside the Fort. The Moti Masjid in the Fort was built by his son, Aurangzeb. The road linking Akbarabadi Gate to Salimgarh Gate in the Fort was lined with offices, residences, workshops, stables etc. to serve the needs of the royal household. The quarters of young and fledgeling princes were located inside the fort but the more established ones lived outside the Fort in mansions allotted to them.

Area just outside the Fort was earmarked for the residence of members of royalty and nobility. Area around Chandni Chowk was also subsequently used for the purpose. This concentrated the rich and powerful within this territory. Though the Fort was visualized and laid out with planning and precision to ward off the urban jumble of Agra and Lahore, yet the town planning went on becoming amorphous and arbitrary as one traversed away from the Fort. This was primarily because most of the effort was expended in developing the axis mundi of the emperor's glory. Rest of the settlement followed the social and economic dynamics of the relationships in the city. The most important one among them was the location of the mansions of royalty and nobility which served as microcosms of the Fort. Their size and population entitled them to be called *qasrs* (fortresses) and these duplicated, not only in design but also political and economic impact, the patterns of the Fort. *Hawelis* or *Nashimans* (large mansions) contained all the architectural graces of the Fort like

massive walls, *jilau khana, naqqarkhana, karkhana* (workshops), *tehkhana* (underground chamber), *sardkhana* (cool chamber for summer retreat), *diwankhana* (hall for audience), *mehalsarai* (family area), hamam, idgah and *khanahbagh* (garden). The dependents and the workforce of these mansions started living outside them in thatched hutments giving rise to the *mohalla* system of population distribution. As Stephen P Blake points out that later other principles of organization like caste, origin, trade etc. also came to govern the *mohalla* formations.[13] According to Sharia values, city was to be divided into public (thoroughfares, secondary roads, bazaars), semi-private (alleys in mohallas which were sealed, homogenous units entry to which was through city gates) and private *(hawelis)* spaces.[14] This accounts for the hierarchical urban organization in which heterogenous population lived together. The internal hierarchy was part of the concept of the city, a fact evident from allocation of land to the *Shurafa* and construction of mosques from east to west following the royal perspective. In the 18th century, the spatial order existing in Shahjahanabad led to its segregation in three rough categories:

1. North of Chandni Chawkwas inhabited by the gentry with its mansions, gardens and palaces. Further in the direction of Chandni Chawk, traders in fabrics, fish, meats, luxury goods,huqqa makers were found in proximity with imperial house. Along Chandni Chawk, luxury shops selling the best of readymade goods were lined. *Mohallas* around Khari Baoli, one could find specialists in products like tobacco, flowers, perfumes, butter oil, pomegranates. This was the economically well- to-do region. North of this was the Punjabi Katrah of ambitious traders and workers. From the outskirts of the city towards the centre, a specialisation pointing to the hierarchical character is noticeable in accordance with the pattern of consumption and availability of raw materials and labour.
2. Christian missionaries and Europeans settled in Daryaganj (in the southeast)
3. The majority of the population lived and worked south of Chandni Chawk e.g., in *Gali Rodgaran* (gut-workers), while the poor strata, such as the *Kumhar, qasai, dhobi, chamar* and *teli,* predominantly lived close to the city gates with the exception of the Lahori Gate, the Kabuli Gate and the Kashmiri Gate as well as the eastern entrances of the city, or even outside the city walls. Dancing girls lived in this neighbourhood *(Gali Kanchneki)*. Professions like tanners and barbers did not have *mohallas* of their own as they were located at the outskirts of various *mohallas.*

Also, the city could also be roughly subdivided along religions lines. While the Hindus predominantly lived in Chhipiwara (cloth printers) (west of Jami Masjid) and in North Ballimaram (south west of Fatehpuri Masjid), the majority of the Muslims were settled in South Ballimaran, Lal Quan, Haweli Haider Quli Khan and close to the large Mosques. Shahajahanabad had one Kotwali in Chandni Chowk, 12 *thanas* under *thanadars* who collected taxes and duties, maintained population registers, policed, and controlled markets. The Thanas were further subdivided into *mohallas*. The *mohallas* got named either after affluent, dominating residents or the vocation of the people living there. *Mohallas* followed a pattern of differentiated quarters. "The quarters are embedded in a complex texture with their norms relating not only to economic necessities but also to manifold social interweaving." [15] They were socially cohesive with "no separation of the spheres of production and reproduction"[16]. The *mohallas* mostly bore the stamp of the chief service sector

settled there, i.e. artisans, traders, ethnic groups, other representatives of economic or social life as is evident from names like *mohallah-e Dhobiyan* (washermen), *Sawdagar* (traders), *Muftiyan* (religious scholars), *Teliyan* (oil extractors), *Rikkab* (stirrup holders/cupbearers) , *Suiwalan* (needle makers), *Gadariyan* (shepherds), *Punjabi, Katrah-e Marwari, Jatwara* etc. The different social and ethnic groups shared a symbiotic relationship aligning their buildings and adjoining streets in a profitable manner. Inside *mohallas* were *katrahs* (emporia also offering lodging) at the centre and small alleys *(galis or kuchahs)* radiating outside which could be categorised as primary, secondary or tertiary streets depending on their distance from the *katrah*. The *katrahs* and the *kuchahs* were once again known by the names of corresponding professions or ethnic groups. The greater the distance from the *katrah,* diversity increased but so did social anonymity. Narayanigupta, in her essay 'The Indomitable City' forwards a tenable thesis as to why a large number of people could live together in this compact area and still accommodate more without social tension being generated. "The reason was that this urban society was a highly regulated one ... it was a hierarchy of Chinese boxes, ranging from the city wall to the curtained private quarters of the house".[17]

Though the productive hinterland of Delhi fell into disuse for lack of proper irrigation, war, famine etc. and the orderly and extensive economy regressed to a nomadic, pastoral economy by 1803, but the entrepot trade of Delhi was less affected as trade to the North-West stretching as far into Central Asia as Astrakhan in low bulk goods like dry fruits, shawls and drugs was carried out by Muslim and Khattri traders. During politically stable periods, populations resided outside the walled city to enjoy the cool and verdant environs but towards the end of the eighteenth century, population was concentrated within the walled city. While earlier, Paharganj and Mughalpura sprawled outside the walled city, by the end of eighteenth century, most of the dwellers had squeezed into the walled city. Within the city, apart from grains and horticultural produce, dairy, meat, ice were also produced. The craftsmen of Shahjahanabad were famous for their cotton fabrics as well as rich fabrics like brocade, chintz, and tie-dye. Copper utensils, weapons, paper, leather goods, sugar and indigo were also available in abundance. Masons, stonecutters, engineers and architects were equally reputed for their superior craftsmanship.[18] Service classes comprised of brokers, writers, transporters, unskilled labourers, retailers, money changers and bankers. Jain jewellers and merchants from Punjab and Rajasthan and bankers from Bengal and Maratha regions established base in Delhi living in *mohallas* around the Jama Masjid as did the Khattris from east Punjab who largely dealt in salt and cloth. Apart from *Jauhariyan* (jewellers), *Baniyas* (traders), there were also foreign merchants from Armenia, Persia, Central Asia and Kashmir. In 1785 A.D., Ghulam Muhammad Khan noted 46 bazaars, among which were *khas* or *Mina* (general) markets as well as specialized ones like *sabzi* (greengrocery) *mandi, nil* (indigo) katra and *khanam* (weapons) *bazaar*.[19] *Nakhas* was a daily haat for the buying and selling of slaves, animals and fowl. Maliwara, Chhipiwara and Teliwara originated dyring the Maratha period. Narayani Gupta writes that, "In the decades between Bernier's visit (around 1638) and the British conquest in 1803, Shahjahanabad withstood the ravages of civil war and invasion. The basic map of the city remained unchanged, though there was some building activity as well as cases of some areas becoming gradually or suddenly deserted".[20] The Mughal aristocracy and the service classes survived the anarchy of the late eighteenth century by shifting to Lucknow or Hyderabad or seeking employment with the Marathas or the British. As has been noted by Christopher Bayly, the displacement of the traders was not as evident because Delhi retained remnants of the Mughal

aristocratic class and those who stepped in their shoes like the Jats and the Marathas, even the British, assumed Mughal lifestyles.[21] Post 1806, with the end of hostilities and emergence of 'British Delhi', survivors returned and were able to partly recover their possessions. By 1847, there had developed thirteen clusters of population outside the walled city with a majority of non-cultivating population. These included Mughalpura, Sabzi Mandi, Jaisinghpura, Kishenganj, Trevelyanganj, Teliwara, Shidipura, Pahari Dhiraj, SaraiIdgah, Kadam Sharif, Banskauli, Paharganj and Rakabganj. Apart from the River and wells, the main source of water was the Yamuna Canal which existed from Firoze Shah Tughlaq's time branching from Karnal towards Delhi. It was repaired during Akbar's reign and modernized by Ali Mardan Khan for Shahjahanabad. It fell into disuse after 1770 A.D. only to be revived by the British almost half a century later. The River itself was navigable round the year up to Delhi, hence it supported human and cargo transportation in and out of Delhi. There were also important highways connecting Delhi to other city centers like Agra, Lahore, Ajmer and Patna. Delhi's hinterland produced corn, millet, pulses rice and indigo. "Located below the closing arms of the Yamuna-Sutlej and just next to the north-west turning of the Ganga-Yamuna doab, the city lay within easy reach of major sources of agricultural production." [22] Narayani Gupta states the Delhi was fed from the Doab and the grain emporia east of the river in Shahadara, Ghaziabad and Patparganj. "These were linked to the intramural market near the Fatehpuri mosque; vegetable and fruit came from the north-west and were sold in the wholesale market of Sabzi Mandi in Mughalpura, outside the city wall, on the Grand Trunk Road to Lahore".[23] Wheat and Tobacco thrived in the Khandarat. Khoa for sweets, leaves for disposable plates, tamarisk for baskets, firewood and cowdung for fuel were also supplied by the countryside. All this was consumed by the city leaving hardly any surplus. The neighbouring qasbahs transmitting their produce to Delhi were Ballabgarh, Faridabad, Mehrauli, Najafgarh, Narela and Sonepat. Maps of 1760s and 1790s indicate dense cultivation eight to twelve kilometers around Delhi.

Delhi also figured prominently in the Islamic context and was regarded as *Markaz-i-daira-Islam* (circle of Islam) and *Hazrat Dilli* because of the presence of much revered and frequented pilgrimage mosques and Sufi shrines. The cultural scene in Delhi was as vibrant as ever. Art, music, poetry, painting- all thrived under the patronage of the court, the nobility and other rising affluent groups. Delhi of Mohammad Shah Rangila to the Delhi of Bahadur Shah Zafar was home to noted scholars, teachers, theologians, mystics and poets. The Capital which was once the centre of Persian learning was now nurturing a new literary medium, Urdu, or Hindawi. The popularity of Urdu poetry symbolized the fruition of the liberal culture budding since the reign of Akbar which cut across class and religion barriers. Poets like Shah Hatim, Mirza Rafi Sauda, Mir Taqi Mir, Mir Dard and Nazir Akbarabadi not only sang of the graces of the city but also the pain it experienced at being constantly ravaged.[24] They dwelt on the liberalism and humanism of the age but also its unpredictability and ingratitude. Mirza FarhatullaH Baig's *DehlI ki AaKhiri Shama* (The Last Mushai'rah of Delhi) recounts the last great *mushaira* of Zafar's Delhi in the haveli of Mubarak Begum, the widow of Ochterlony.[25] Apart from many poet-princes of the royal house, forty other Delhi poets recited their compositions at this *mushaira.* They included Azurda, Momin, Zauq-the poet laureate, Azad, Dagh, Sahbai, Shefta, Mir and Ghalib- the biggest rival of Zauq who was appointed the poet laureate only after Zauq's death in ……. Bahadur Shah was not only a devoted patron of the arts with accomplished artists like the ghazal singer Tanras Khan and the

sitarist Himmat Khan but he himself also wrote prolific poetry under the non de plume 'Zafar'. He was also an accomplished calligraphist, linguist, rider, swordsman, archer and shooter. He was "a good example of a rounded Renaissance man" known for his mysticism, tolerance and ascetic ways.[26] The court life itself was a cultural ideal which was observed, celebrated and emulated not only in Delhi but also in other cultural centres like Awadh and Hyderabad. The forms of address, conventions of behavior, ceremonial dress, display of affluence, merrymaking, wine drinking, participation in festivals and fairs, marriage and social rituals were all derived from courtly cues by the nobility as well as the noveaux riche, by Hindus as well as Muslims. Despite revivalist and puritanical voices, the overall tenor in Delhi society was one of eclecticism and synthesis.

Bahadur Shah I, Jahandar Shah, and Farrukh siyar- all encouraged painters who dabbled in their own unique palette adopting an ornate and expert technique of miniature style figural representation.[27] Some examples of this style can be found in the iconographic portrayal of Bahadur Shah and his descendants where the emperor is depicted presenting an exquisite emerald and ruby turban ornament *(sarpech)* with a tear-drop pearl to his grandson, the masterly Pahari painter Nainsukh's visualisation of the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah enjoying an elephant fight, and Aurangzeb riding on horseback. Eighteenth-century portraits such as these carry significant documentary value. Portraiture, garden settings, courtly settings, pleasures and pastimes of royalty form the dominant content of these paintings. The longest surviving monarch of the age, Muhammad Shah Rangila, remained immersed in material pleasures as the decline of the Mughal political power became a material reality but he proved to be a discerning connoisseur of art. Muhammad Shah not only revived the imperial painting atelier, he, in fact, was the leading figure of a cultural and intellectual renaissance. He employed virtuosos like Nidha Mal (active 1735-75) and Chitarman, whose works mirrored bacchanalian scenes of court life, such as festival celebrations, royal nuptials, hunting and hawking etc. The artists of the period derived inspiration from the idylls of the Mughal pleasure garden, palace and fort- the microcosm of the sedentary kings- with a hint of escapism, for the actual atmosphere within and without was of intrigue and instability.Muhammad Shah's arched eyebrow and stylized persona characterize the culture of *nazaqat* (decadent refinement) which he stood for. In the eighteenth century, the royal window portrait with the ubiquitous huqqa became extremely popular across north India. Delhi painters like Kalyan Das created romanticised portraits of women possessing features chiselled to perfection and wearing heavy ornaments and sheer clothing, often underlined with a verse in praise of beauty. The last renowned atelier of Mughal painting can be traced to the clan of Ghulam Ali Khan. Apart from Ghulam Ali Khan, several other members of the family like GhulaM Murtaza Khan, Faiz Ali Khan, and Mazhar Khan produced spectacular work during this period.

As is evident from the above account, what the British came upon in 1803 was a place where ruin and revival was writ large in every nook and corner, crafts and trade were thriving, a literary and cultural efflorescence was in full bloom and traditions and institutions had not died out. In a nutshell, a true blue 'oriental' way of life stared at the British upon their interface with Delhi. The original response was cautious and tentative. The earliest Indian officials like Hastings, Munro, Malcolm, Elphinstone and Metcalfe found it sensible and reasonable to preserve the Indian society on 'as is where is' basis. The trickiest puzzle comprised of the status of the "emperor". Shah Alam II died in 1806 to be succeeded by Akbar Shah II who was succeeded by Bahadur Shah II in 1837.

After British occupation of Delhi, the king was the sovereign only inside the *qilla-mualla* while outside the British enforced their own administration. However, the Mughal king was the traditional font of power and polity in India and obeisance to that namesake fealty was performed by the Marathas, the British and the 1857 rebels for their own advantage. Accordingly, there were partial attempts by the British towards accommodating the nominal monarch within the erstwhile domain at a footing acceptable to him as well as the new power holders. Though Shah Alam II pushed for his own right to deference and decorum, the British never let him forget his 'pensionary' status, even though they conceded courtesy towards him as a 'complimentary' favour.[28] Wellesley nurtured his name and place with typical caution and calculation of the early Company days.Wellesley's successors as Governor General, Lord Minto and Lord Hastings, also continued the legacy. The first Resident, Sir David Ochterlony (Resident from1803-06 and1818-22), followed by Archibald Seton (Resident from 1806-10) and Charles Metcalf (Resident from1810-18 and 1825-27), studiously observed Wellesley's policy of regard inside the Fort and disregard without.

Ochterlony was a Scotsman who had "gone native" and "whose love and respect for India was reflected by (his) adoption of Indian modes of dress and Indian ways of living".[29] Seton was a more mundane version but Metcalfes once again were enthralled by the Indian culture and systems. Thomas Metcalfe's assistant, William Fraser, was intimately familiar with the lives of Indians and he dressed, married and ate like an Indian. Not only did the Indian languages, art and history enchant him, but he also revelled in an activity of quite different a nature- of forming brigands of natives and fighting in Delhi's hinterland with robbers and rioters. This was a tribe of English gentlemen who blended effortlessly with the Delhi society marrying Hindu and Muslim women and producing Ango-Indian children. Though they invited wonder and censure from evangelists and the unaccustomed, they were one among the many hybrid forms which were being produced by the interaction of the British and Mughal culture. The Skinners of Hansi, the Gardeners of Khasgunge and Begam Samru of Sardhana formed the "Anglo-Mughal Islamo-Christian" variety who were the off springs of European mercenaries settled in India and the Mughal elites.[30] The Muslim populace of Delhi formed marital and convivial alliances with the British and hence, sensitivity towards each others' faith was easily developed in the early years. While the courtly gentlemen adopted British dress and habits, there were European Indophiles who soaked in the Indian ethos.

Cultural forms like the late Mughal painting also witnessed a similar hybridization. Continuing the story of painting in Delhi, Mildred Archer writes:

Between 1803 ....and 1858....a distinctive type of painting by Indian artists flourished in the old Mughal capital. Generous patronage from the 'Emperor' had dwindled away, but the British Resident and various officers who now controlled the administration provided a new market for Indian painters.[31]

In the early days, the British were quite enamoured of the Mughal charisma and the regal aura of their courts. Delhi of blinded emperor Shah Alam II was the stuff eastern fantasy was made of. Mildred Archer quotes many exclamations of wonder and wisdom of European travelers inspired by "stupendous ruins of power and wealth passed and passing away"[32] and "centuries of checkered prosperity and desolation"[33]. With his long reign and personal cultural refinements, he had the makings of a tragic fallen hero. Delhi figured as the symbol of the rise and fall of empires and vagaries and vicissitudes of power in the European imagination. The first batch of British Residents and officers

succumbed to the mystique and the humble artists of Delhi seized the much needed employment and outlet by producing paintings for the European clientele. The monuments of Delhi like the *Diwan-i-aam* and *Diwan-i-khaas* of the Red Fort, Jami Masjid, Qutb Minar, Safdar Jung, Azam Khan and Humayun tombs, Qadam Rasool (the Court of the Print of the Prophet's Foot), Qudasiya Bagh, Zinat-ul-Masjid, Firoz Shah Kotla were the common subjects. Large architectural drawing style works, resembling engineers' blue prints, became the norm. Done in pen and ink with cream or grey backgrounds, these were enlivened with hints of gold, red and green. Though the artists attempted to employ the European 'perspective', yet it was their native talent for detail which shone through in the paintings. Smaller studies in water colour with monuments placed in landscape settings were also in demand.

The second most sought after subject was the 'emperor' himself. Durbar scenes became the staple in paintings. The Emperor in durbar with the Resident included in the attendees, the Emperor riding on elephant, the Emperor surrounded by his family or the Emperor in a portrait study were routinely painted. Thepoignant rendering of the heir apparent and favourite son of Akbar II, Mirza Salim is among the celebrated portrait studies by the seasoned court artist Khairullah, who was active during the times of three generations of the Mughal imperial family.Mirza Salim is often shown seated closest to Akbar II as a young boy of twelve with innocent features and long tresses. The court scene, attributed to Ghulam Murtaza Khan, affords the earliest glimpse of the British Resident Charles Metcalfe in the court of Akbar II. The seated emperor is surrounded by his four sons: Mirza Abu Zafar Siraj al Din Muhammad (later the emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar II), Mirza Salim, Mirza Jahangir and an unidentified fourth. Metcalfe's grim black monochrome dress stands out against the colourful jamas of other courtiers.In another painting, Akbar Shah is shown riding on a palanquin, with his son Mirza Jahangir following him on horseback. Akbar Shah is met by a European officer on the premises of the Delhi palace, who in all likelihood is Archibald Seton communicating the news of Company's refusal to accept Mirza Jahangir as the heir to the throne. Genre scenes like dancing girls or portraits of erstwhile emperors were also painted in the regular miniature style with abundant colour and detailing. An eloquent Coronation Portrait of Zafar by Ghulam Ali Khan is the last imperial portrait of the Mughal tradition. It marks Zafar's accession to the throne in 1837. Shah Jahan's scales of justice can be seen in the background and although there is an overload of gems on his body, Zafar's expressions are that of a Sufi soul. Ghulam Ali Khan has studiedly created the dichotomy of the king and the saint. Indeed, Zafar was commonly acknowledged to be a Sufi master as well the supreme monarch.

Ochterlony commissioned the artist Jivan Ram for portraits of himself. A large collection of paintings was commissioned by William Fraser engaging Faiz Ali Khan.Fraser soon became the leading figure on Delhi's artistic horizon. The Fraser Album he commissioned was the outstanding masterpiece of the period and "its portraits of soldiers, noblemen, holy men, dancing girls, and villagers, as well as his staff and his bodyguards, are unparalleled in Indian art".[34] The Fraser Album also evokes vivid images of the village of Rania, home to Fraser's mistress, Amiban, and his Indian progeny. All the lifelike realism of fireplaces, chimneys, cattle, and people in these village scenes comes from admiration, compassion, proximity and knowledge Fraser had about these people. William Fraser's brother, James Baillie Fraser, visited Delhi in 1820 and commissioned many paintings which captured the subtle nuances of life in Delhi. Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe succeeded Fraser as Governor General's agent in Delhi in 1835 but had actually started living in

Delhi from the time of the Residency of his brother, Charles Metcalfe, 1813 onwards. Charles Metcalfe and his younger brother Sir Thomas Metcalfe (1795- 1853) occupied the Delhi Residency witnessing the final flicker of the Mughal flame. Administratively, they prepared for the casting off of the Mughal yoke. Yet Thomas Metcalfe possessed a close affinity to Delhi and its Mughal traditions. He founded the Delhi Archaeological Society and commissioned an album titled The Dehlie Book of the monuments and shrines of the city engaging Mazhar Ali Khan between 1842 and 1844. This, along with the breathtaking panorama of the city of Delhi which he commissioned around the same time, is one of the two most enduring pictorial records of the city during Pax Brittanica. This colossal painted urban landscape of Delhi, dated November 25, 1846, was the first of its kind with nearly 360-degree orientation panorama of the city. The Lahore Gate is the panorama's view point and as the vision shifts clockwise from left to right, through Mazhar Ali Khan's felicitous use of orthogonal frames, various buildings labelled in both Urdu and English march in front of the viewer's gaze. Metcalfe's imposing mansion,north of the city walls, is labeled, "Cothy [residence] of Thomas Metcalfe". As the eye peeps into the Red Fort, European alterations in the *Qila* and the *salatin* quarters become visible. The labelled buildings and their neighbourhood constitutes an unsurpassed visual documentation of nineteenth century Delhi which is all the more valuable for the elite urban core of the city between the Lahore Gate and the Jama Masjid, razed down by the British in 1858, can be seen standing in full glory in this picture.

Colonel Skinner employed Ghulam Murtaza Khan and Ghulam Ali Khan to imprint his extravagant lifestyle on canvas. Dancing girls, part of his well attended entertainment soirees, his friends and relatives, his estate in Hansi, his "Yellow Boys", his staff of household and regimental workers and Jat cultivators of Hansi- all are brought alive by the relaxed but resonant style of these artists. Skinner first commissioned a book of images of the noblemen of the region around Delhi, the *Tazkirat al-umara* (historical notices of some princely families of Rajasthan and the Panjab), and then another epic album, *Tashrih al-aqvam* (an account of origins and occupations of some of the sects, castes, and tribes of India), which is a book of images of ordinary people. The illustrated *Tashrih al-aqvamwas* completed in 1825. The text culled from the Vedas and Shastras, translated into Persian by Skinner himself, is a catalogue of Hindu and Muslim occupational guilds and religious mendicants in the Delhi region. The *Tashrih al-aqvam,* along with the *Tazkirat al-umara,* inaugurated a new kind of non-literary Persian text of the late Mughal period, written by, or under the patronage of the British, which amalgamated topography, biography, and ethnography. Skinner commissioned Delhi artists to illustrate the album, the chief of them being Ghulam Ali Khan. He accompanied Colonel Skinner on his travels and the images in Skinner albums stand out for their naturalist style. The image of Colonel James Skinner is the frontispiece of *Tazkirat al-umara.* Skinner earned the title 'Nasir ud-Daulah Colonel James Skinner Bahadur Ghalib Jang' which the people of Delhi abbreviated to 'Sikandar Sahib' for the services he rendered to the Mughal emperors. The image captures the chivalric charisma of his personality. A visual record of Skinner's regiment was the next mammoth commission accomplished by Ghulam Ali Khan. He painted individual portraits of recruits and then merged them into an integrated setting. With the Mutiny, the governance passing into the hands of the Crown, and a general assumption of an attitude of superiority which comes with the assurance of power, the generous patronage provided by these aficionados came to an end leading to the extinction of the late Mughal painting.

The period from 1803 and 1830s is known to be a period of easy camaraderie between Indians and Europeans. The early British administrators realized the importance of carefully preserving the balance between communities in the Delhi society. The Europeans did not spatially segregate themselves by choosing to live in "Civil Lines" unlike the Presidency towns. They spread all over the walled and outer city. This perhaps is responsible for the early British attitude of improving the city by earmarking revenue for the purpose. The roads, water, sanitation were all of concern to them as these equally affected their own lives. Ali Mardan's Canal was revived in 1821 but the demand for water was so high in the hinterland that enough water never reached the city. The canal dried up again in 20 years. In 1852, the problems of health, hygiene and sanitation became grave enough to merit a drainage survey report of the city. Administration also tried to raise money for building dispensaries and conserving heritage of the city. Percival Spear thus describes the Delhi scenario:

The life of the city had now continued in a well worn groove for over forty years. The former insecurity had vanished and the fact was attested, not only in the growth of the suburbs without the walls, but by the British bunglows in the Civil Lines to the northward…. Mughal courtier, Hindu and Muslim merchant and British official lived side by side in a peaceful plural economy. The Court was the Cultural centre, the Hindus dominated the commercial life and the British conducted the administration. There was much interchange of civilities and much give and take in daily life. Official garden parties at Metcalfe House were attended by Mughal princes and Hindu bankers equally with British officials and their wives. The Court celebrated the Hindu festivals of Diwali and Holi as well as the Muslim ids; the Hindus regarded the Muharram ceremonies and procession as almost as much their own as the Muslims'.[35]

Due to practical difficulties in the application of this dual policy and also tilting scales of power and persuasions, the Company began to review and harden its stance 1930 onwards. In Delhi, the arrival of Resident Hawkins (1827-30) ushered in an era of dispassionate approach wherein true to the utilitarian spirit, all that was functional and profitable to British interests was to be retained and the rest discarded. Not only did the Company jettison the namesake fealty in protocol and politics but also in general, the European attitude of romantic adulation towards the Orient changed to commonsensical and imperialistic condescension. By the 1830s, the "White Mughals" were a thing of the past as the evangelists and high brow, power drunk, new breed of British officers (and their wives) entered the fray. By the time of Lord Canning, the policy change was crystal clear as according to the British, in the 1840s, "not only an extension, but a remarkable, consolidation of the British power in India" had taken place which made the titular king "anomalous" and also because "the presence of the Royal House in Delhi (had) become a matter of indifference, even to the Mohammedans".[36] Delhi was witnessing the advent of the Europeans in increasingly growing numbers because of Delhi's strategic position as the frontier capital of the British Empire, its distance from the Central power in Calcutta encouraging senior as well as junior officers to seek fame and promotions through administrative innovations. The weather was inviting and it offered literary, cultural as well as sporting diversions. The population of Europeans arriving in Delhi consisted of higher officials like Residents and his assistants, military officers, upper designations of working classes like bankers and trade managers, lower clerical classes, doctors, professors of Delhi College, chaplains, missionaries, journalists, Anglo Indians and Indian Christians. These immigrants to Delhi started finding and improvising spaces for habitation in various directions in

Delhi. In 1833, a detailed census indicated that that there were 119,860 people in the city, excluding the palace. "The census of 1843, 1845 and 1853 show the population rising from 131,000 to 137,000 and then to 151,000; in 1854, half the population of Delhi district (306,550) was said to be concentrated in the city".[37]

With the increase in their numbers, their power and aggression was also increasing in the 1830s. Cultural differences became more pronounced as the initial euphoria of spontaneous comingling began to subside. Dalrymple in his The Last Mughal has very engagingly captured how "During the early 1850s, it sometimes seemed as if the British and the Mughals lived not only in different mental worlds, but almost in different time zones" imaginatively reconstructing the very different itineraries of the British who were early risers and sleepers and the Mughals who spent their nights at *mushairas* or the Courtesans' and hence began their day only after noon.[38] The parallel lives, however, could not remain apart for long and the native populace had to surrender its temporality to the alien temporality of the colonizer as "the new *sarkari* time (began) to overlap native time as a matter of course" in sadar stations and mofussil towns.[39] One British fetish in India which has been noted with distaste by their European counterparts was their gluttony which began with the *chhotahaziri* (or small breakfast) at the crack of dawn to the rest of the four meals over the course of the day. The dearth of entertainment in Delhi as compared to the cantonment towns like neighbouring Meerut was a constant complaint though the British kept themselves engaged in societies like Philharmonic Society, Dramatics Society or Archeological Society. Reverend Midgeley John Jennings arrived in Delhi in 1832 and was the most vocal of all about the proselytizing agenda of the missionaries. His two high profile converts were Master Ramachandra of Delhi College and Dr Chamanlal, the physician to Bahadur Shah. Along with the raised pitch of the missionaries, land settlements which claimed places of worship, increased intervention in social and religious matters, the British determination to discontinue the Mughal lineage by not recognizing any of the heirs of Bahadur Shah II- all lead to widespread unrest and insecurity. One of the earliest Islamic counterattack came in the form of a treatise in defence of Islam, *Izalat al-awham,* penned by Maulana Rahmat Allah Khairnawi. The *Dihli Urdu Akhbar* with Maulvi Muhammad Baqar as editor denounced the British policies and the White Mughals and British loyalists like the poet Azurda all despaired of future possibilities of peaceful co-existence. Shah Waliullah and his son Abd-al-Aziz infused the Wahhabi ideals in this volatile atmosphere to polarize the two communities further.

The troops remained stationed outside the city beyond the Ridge, but civilians resided inside. The present day Delhi University site was what formed the cantonment then. The military bazaar extended from the ridge up till the Khyber Pass. The Officers Bungalows were located where the North Campus Colleges stand today. North Campus still has a lane called the Cavalry Lane. While the soldiers were all outside the walled city, the magazine was located inside, the havoc wreaked by which in the 1857 uprising is a much recorded fact. The city walls were strengthened by Ochterlony during Holkar's siege and redesigned by Napier later. Inside the city walls, mansions facing the River, were promptly put to use by the newcomers and Ali Mardan's palace, also called Dara Shukoh's palace, became the Residency. The typical classical colonnade was built for embellishment and the interiors were also suitably altered. As numbers swelled further, construction was carried out in the area between Kashmiri Gate and the Ridge giving rise to the 'Civil Lines'. The first building of eminence here was Metcalfe house. Built by Thomas Metcalfe in 1830, the house exuded the opulence and poise of a pre-

mutiny White nabob, exquisitely furnished with Indian artifacts as well as Scottish heirlooms. Next came Hindu Rao's house on the Ridge. It was built by either Sir Edward Colebrooke or William Fraser, the latter lived in it till his murder in 1835. A little below were situated the Assembly Rooms which served as a community centre for the Europeans. A racquet court and bunglows of civilians like Dr. Ludlow were also in the neighbourhood which later got converted to the Delhi Club after the Mutiny. The Gothic style of the Victorian age had not begun to manifest itself till this time in Delhi buildings. It finds expression later in post-mutiny structures. Another landmark development in this area was St. James Church consecrated in 1836 by Bishop Daniel Wilson. It was a thanksgiving offering by Colonel James Skinner. Opposite the Church was Skinner's town house where he lived when not in his principality of Hansi extending bounteous hospitality to the Delhi gentry. This has now become the Hindu College. The house of Begum Samru was also located nearby (present day Bhagirath Place) which after her death in 1842, became the headquarters of the Delhi Bank. Beyond the Church was the square of the Mainguard leading into Kashmiri Gate and adjoining it were the Courts and the office of the very popular British mouthpiece "The Delhi Gazzette". A Telegraph office and a Custom House were behind the church. The landscape was verdant with the Roshanara Garden, Qudesia Garden and Tis Hazari Garden. Shalimar Garden lay a little away on the Grand Trunk Road used as a summer retreat by Ochterlony, Charles Metcalfe and Trevelyan. Charles Metcalfe also built a house nearby, *Metcalfe Sahib ki Kothi,* for his Indian family and he used Aurangzeb's pavilions for throwing parties. Thomas Metcalfe styled his country retreat, *Dilkoosha,* in the other corner of the city-Mehrauli- by adapting a Muslim tomb to the purpose.

The European houses of this period were in the Classical mould appearing sturdy and spacious from the outside. These borrowed their internal features partly from Indian structures. It had a large central chamber with a circular high ceiling called a rotunda. The inner chamber was flanked on all sides by courtyards and rooms of lower ceiling height. The classical piazzas, upper storey courtyards, outer rooms and central halls had grace as well as comfort but their only defect was absence of windows which were rather inadequately substituted by skylights. Apart from high ceiling of the central chamber, the houses also adopted the *tehkhana* of the Indian home as a regular feature to ward off heat. The Mughal style marble baths were similarly retained for their luxurious and soothing feel. A peculiarly European technological wonder, a contraption called the thermantidote, was deployed in houses to artificially create a breeze on still days to blow through the *khaskhas* tatties. And finally there was the ice making process on cold, frosty nights in ice-beds dug in the ground, harvested next morning by coolies and stored in ice pits which were thrown open for use with the onset of summer.

Anthony D. King's very interesting study of 'The Colonial Bungalow-Compound Complex in India' demonstrates how this residential unit in the Civil Lines is a juxtaposition of the residential urban forms of the host society (India) and the imperial society (Britain) giving rise to the forms of the colonial society (the British in India). As King describes:

Most typically, it consists of a low one-storey spacious building, internally divided into separate living, dining and bed rooms, each with an attached room for bathing. A verandah, forming an integral part of the structure or alternatively, attached to the outside walls, surrounds part or all of the building. The bungalow is invariably situated in a large walled or otherwise demarcated 'Compound' with generally one main exit to the road on which it is situated. …the kitchen,

servants' quarters, stables, and room for carriage or car, are separate from and placed at the rear of the bungalow.[40]

Despite the juxtaposition, King emphasizes that the Colonial Bungalow Compound Complex resembled neither the host indigenous structure nor the immigrant metropolitan concept. It was a matter of economic, political, cultural, and civic adaptation and utilization of available space. Spatial economy was not required as space was abundantly available and bungalows spread over 1 to 25 acres were one of the chief incentives of a life otherwise in exile. In a planned post-industrial European city where all infrastructure was in place, even a small dwelling could be a fully serviced one as it received the inputs through externally placed outfits. In the nineteenth century colonial India, however, while the expectations were the same as those in a European metropolitan environment, the availability was radically different. Thus, the lavish paraphernalia had to be erected from scratch which required space, money and manpower. All three were readily available, especially manpower, which shifted from the Fort and nobility households to colonial households for survival. Politically, the Bungalow and the Civil Lines expressed the main tenet of imperialist ideology, that of territorialism. Seizing space and demonstrating distance were simultaneously symbolized by the Bungalow. An impregnably enclosed space with vast stretch of intervening hiatus pronounced the disdain for the indigenous way of life. Culturally, it provided opportunity to simulate the home setting. The much needed bulwark of 'community' was also crafted in the ample confines of the bungalow through formal and informal entertainment held here. The civic sense was an important determinant in the location, design and décor of the bungalow. The British did not share the parameters of sanitation, health, privacy, child bearing and rearing with the natives. Thus, for them a cordon *sanitaire* from the potentially harmful atmosphere was mandatory. The bungalow was sited at a high ground, in the leeward direction and nestling in a cleansing groove of green. As in the nineteenth century, the theory of pathology stressed the air-borne nature of disease, hence, this necessitated that the political, cultural and spatial divide was suitably reinforced by an aerial divide as well. The 10-20 strong domestic helps living inside the Compound were pushed sufficiently to the rear to avoid auditory, olfactory and physical contact. The garden was not only a venue for social dos but also offered the European staples of vegetables and fruits along with respite from heat and infections. It provided the requisite visual equivalent of the lush home flora which did not exist naturally in the tropical climate.It is through this validation of European sensibility that the lifestyle choices of the native landed gentry and other affluent sections were also impacted. Thus, the Civil lines and the Bungalow became the spatial counterparts to the temporal displacement effected in the native sensibilities as a consequence of the alien paradigms imposed by the British. It is in this "uneasy equilibrium"[41] (Dalrymple, pp 113) the Indians and the British were suspended on the eve of the 1857 uprising.

Gail Minault, speaking in her essay, Sayyid Ahmad Dehlavi and The Delhi Renaissance, asserts that:

Pax Britannica had replaced the turbulence of the previous century, and the British administrators and missionaries imported new learning from the west. Under the impact of these influences a 'Delhi Renaissance' developed……[42]

She locates the Delhi Renaissance in the establishment of the English section of the Delhi College in 1827 at the behest of Charles Trevelyan, the brother-in-law of Macaulay, as with this the western

sciences, mathematics, English language and literature became available to the students in Delhi. However, she struggles to find the reason as to why the English section was a resounding failure and the students in Delhi continued to favour the Oriental section. She includes Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), Zakaullah (1832-1910), Nazir Ahmad (1830-1912), Altaf Hussain 'Hali' (1837-1914) and Sayyid Ahmad Dehlavi (1846-1918) as the products of this Renaissance. Of these, Hali spells out the reason why the Oriental section was chosen over the English one by stating that English gave a job but Urdu gave education. All of them shared a progressive concern for the spread of education, religious reform and dignity of women but despite that and despite serving the British government, they also shared the belief that the vernacular medium was the most effective medium for "preservation and revitalization". To conclude the present paper, it would be pertinent to demonstrate that Minault's assumption about the "turbulence" of the eighteenth century disregards the economic and cultural continuity of Delhi life and that the Renaissance was not born of Pax Britannica but was already there. It would be a mistake to assume in terms of Delhi that renaissance meant adoption or acceptance of western thought and ideals. Western science did create ripples of curiosity but still native learning and language was where conviction and passion lay. The western influence was not lapped up by the Delhi *ashraf* like the Bengali *Bhadralok* because as Dalrymple says:

Partly as a result of this lack of regular contact with Europeans, Delhi remained a profoundly self confident place, quite at ease with its own brilliance and the superiority of its *tahzib,* its cultured and polished urbanity. It was a city which had yet to suffer the collapse of self belief that inevitably comes with the onset of open and unbridled colonialism.[43]

Pax Britannica was pre hegemonic and hence the 'displacement' was with both the colonizer and the colonized. The 'uneventful' years did not produce a Renaissance as if a people had arisen from a long slumber but if at all, then it was a Renaissance in the sense of each race raising itself to face the other like a mirror where the two identities were formed, reflected, coalesced and segregated. Delhi, throbbing with its characteristic vitality, held its own ground in its first brush with western race, religion, ideas, education and urbanity. It was only the brutal aftermath of the 1857 uprising, the political and cultural suppression thereafter and the disappearance of much that was familiar to its denizens that Delhi embarked on the trail of destitution, the end of which one has not seen centuries after.

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