An Urban Design Study in The Walled City of Hyderabad

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to approach the Islamic city in India from a viewpoint which recognizes that the distinctions between cultural sections in a city are not only social and spatial but also physical, being manifest in the built environment. In this sense Hyderabad can be seen as a cross-cultural laboratory for investigating how two or more cultures (Muslim, Hindu, and a distinctly Western/colonial) operated in the same geographical environment but at different levels of social, economic, and physical development under conditions of monarchic rule.

The objective of this study would be to understand the changing nature of the built environment, in the walled city of Hyderabad, viewed in this above-mentioned pluralistic context.

The study will attempt to evaluate the extent to which elements from the historical and religious background of the city of Hyderabad continue to affect the fabric of society that had generated this culture and to illustrate how the architecture and urban form exerted an influence on the perception of the citizens of themselves -- both within and outside the walled city.

Although extensive documentation on the political, social, and cultural aspects of the city exists in the form of travel diaries, memoirs, bureaucratic records, socioeconomic surveys, and archeological surveys, there does not appear to exist any systematic inquiry into the physical environment with emphasis on the changing nature of its architecture and urban form.

This issue of traditionalism, continuity and change in the built environment in the Indian context would be further clarified at a more specific architectural level -- that of the house. Since building a house is a cultural phenomenon, its form and organization are greatly influenced by the cultural milieu to which it belongs. An attempt is made to acquire a clearer understanding of form determinants of dwellings in this cultural context so as to establish some sort of a conceptual framework for design.

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As a possibly tangible conclusion and to test the conceptual framework established after the architectural documentation and analysis in the walled city of Hyderabad, a (hypothetical) housing project is designed amidst traditional houses in the walled city.

In addition to the written text, drawings, photographs, and maps, this thesis also consists of a 20-minute long video documentary film (color, sound on 3/4" format) entitled **The Walled City of Hyderabad.**" It covers a wide range of public activity, while vividly depicting important aspects of urban spaces, street-life, traffic, and the architectural character of buildings along the major urban axes. The main focus is on what is perhaps the most significant social/cultural phenomenon and religious ritual in this predominantly Islamic city: the Friday afternoon prayer at Mecca Masjid. It goes on to show the city transformed during the heavy monsoon rains.

The video documentary is an integral part of this study and it must be viewed in order to clearly understand the social/cultural context in the old Walled City of Hyderabad; and to visualize its physical environment.

Thesis Supervisor: William Lyman Porter
Title: Professor of Architecture and Planning

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   have been able to produce this thesis).

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Flew in with several obscure Arabs in a jam packed 737 from Bombay. The Hyderabad air port is a small town type thing though it has a few customs counters for international flights from Dubai etc.

We got into a Riksha with all our bags (quite a feat!) & shot Rahul in the Rikksha with all the luggage.

The club (Secunderabad club) is a very pleasant typical colonial Gymkhana. We got an ordinary double room 5th at Rs265/- per day.

Took a Rick into the city to lunch & walk around. Made the guy drive us into the old city, into Char Minar area — the first impressions of a distinctly Muslim flavour — cultural / architectural etc : all the bakeries & Caravanseraiesque Never free, arched Collonades etc!

After lunch at a really seedy little de-luxe pseudo-expensive & stylish restaurant, we took the bus back to Secunderabad — it was not very late but we were tired and needed a rest. It rained a bit but the weather became cool & pleasant.

We now had acquired a map & a new very well organised guide book. We worked out how/what to do for the next few days:

We thought that we ...
... too nitty gritty! ...

THURSDAY
JULY 10

... had been out to the city by 10:3... and back by 4.30 or 5.00 to enjoy the club. We tried to act to meet Dr. Nigam at the Salar Jung Museum but he wasn't around. The museum was so disappointing and pathetic .... the objects were ok but the display & the building did ... everything ... at all.

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that was on July 7 — we went to the Andhra Pradesh urban Development Corporation to meet Mr Shorey (of the conservation study project with Ford Foundation when he was with HUDA). He was very cordial & helpful and arranged for us to meet people at HUDA and got a copy of the report.

We went to the HUDA office which is located in an old palace (very dilapidated) and quite surrealistic with all the bureaucrats and their typical govt. desks piled high with bulging files & paper — most of them apparently not doing any work and staring into their cups of tea or at the double height dilapidated ceilings with the jack arch beams peeling off rust. We met a Mr. Ziauddin who gave us a copy of the 2 volume Report on Conservation and promised to take us to some old monuments etc.

We went back, went through the report a bit sketchily, drank rum & had dinner. Rahul was giving me a lot of advice on all sorts of things and caught me dozing off at what he called his own monsoonous droning of what I afterwards ! We also had a swim at the club before dinner.
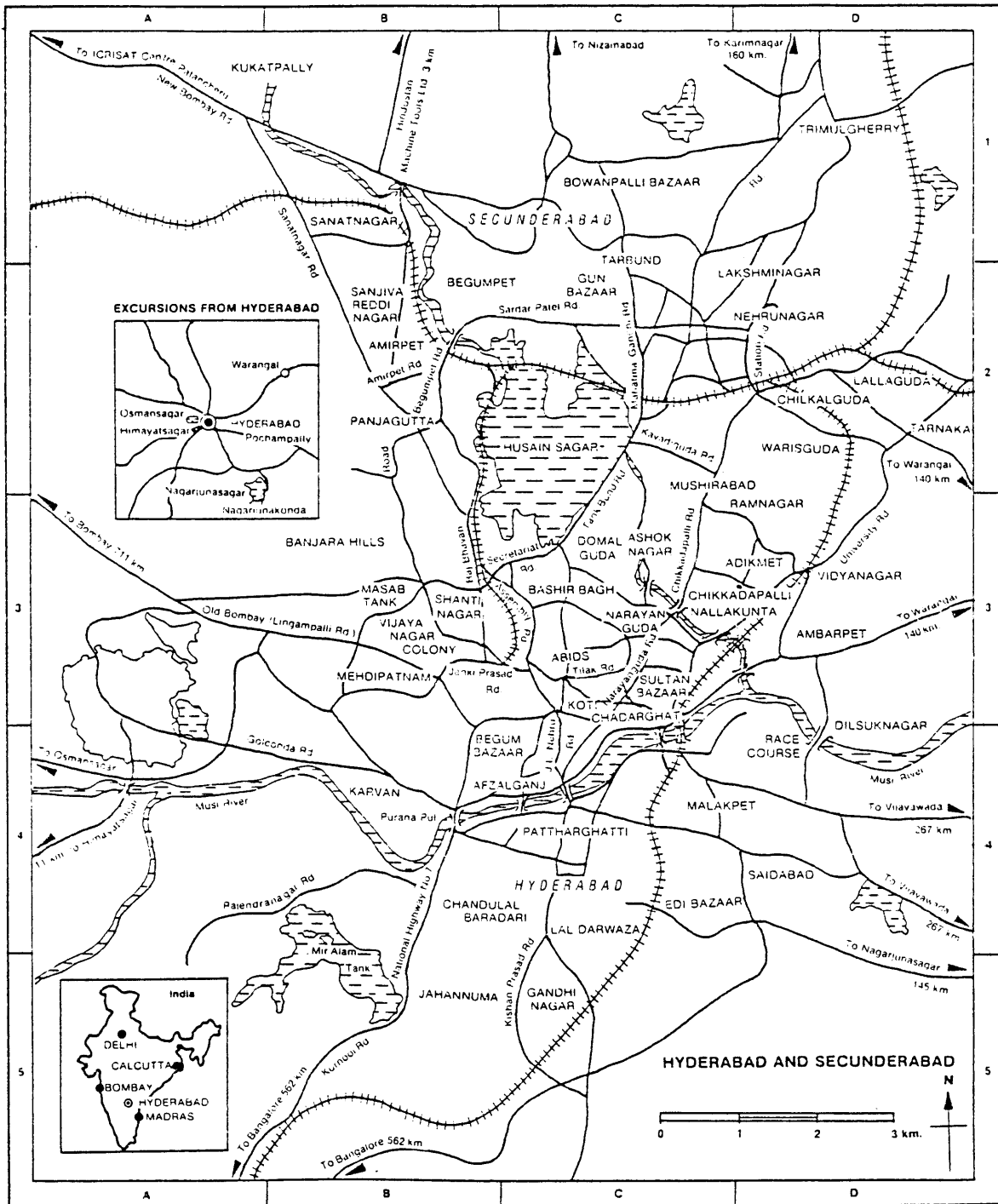
July 10
After iced Tea at 8.00 am & breakfast at 9.00, we went through the report again. Rahul got annoyed at my apparent disinterest and "non-professional" approach — but ironically his whole holier-than-thou attitude was equally if not more "un-professional" and so I shut up & got up instead of arguing or cutting either of which would have been quite churlish besides being unprofessional.

We took a Riksha to the Char Minar area up the inner chowk past the market and all that. Quite fascinating. We also went up the other Minar to the Mosque atop this lovely monument. Good view of the city. Then back to "HUDA" where we waited for Ziauddin who never showed up and finally met Sudhir Mahoun who had

Notes from Hyderabad, July 1986.

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Location map for Hyderabad and Secunderabad.

INTRODUCTION

The North and South, the East and West are sections of India with their
own distinguishing characteristics. Hyderabad is at the crossroad of
them all. The sixth largest city in India, it is one of the two major
ones (Lucknow being the other) in which Muslim and Hindu culture have
profoundly influenced one another. It is a city in which many cultural
strains are intermingled: Persian and northern Islamic; with the Hindu
culture of the South, itself a blend of Maratha, Telugu, and Tamil
influences; and last of all a little of the Western world. Through all
the changes of wars and social upheaval, Hyderabad continuously has
remained solid and is, if anything, more disturbed now by modern
industrialization and the political shuffling following independence
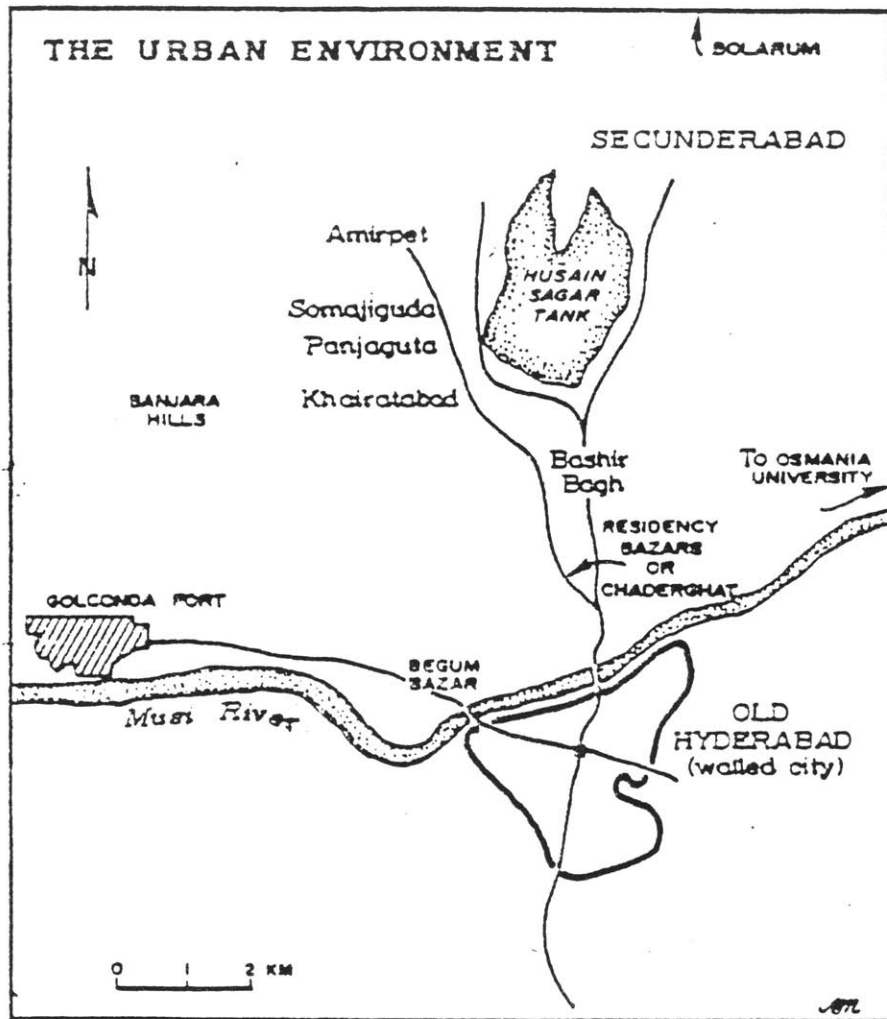than it was by events of the intervening centuries.

Hyderabad moved from a feudal to an industrialized society within the
span of one generation, many of whom are alive today. From a personal
administration to the impersonal rule of law, from a monarchy to a
republic, from an agricultural to an industrial economy -- such moves are
generally considered signs of progress. Whether liking the changes or
not, people are having to accommodate themselves to a quite altered way
of life.

The City

Now that Hyderabad has completely filled out its common border with
Secunderabad, the two million and a half inhabitants of the twin cities
have begun to refer to the original walled area as "The City."

The walled city of Hyderabad was the capital of India's largest and most
prosperous feudal princely state. The Muslim ruler of this "Oriental
Potentate" was known as the Nizam of Hyderabad.

Hyderabad was never directly colonized even during the British
intervention in India and thus survived as a last fragment from the
Mughal Empire with a distinct and particularly well-preserved cultural

THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

↑ SOLARUM

SECUNDERABAD

Amirpet

Somajiguda

Panjaguta

Khairatabad

BANJARA
HILLS

HUSAIN
SAGAR
TANK

Bashir
Bagh

TO OSMANIA
UNIVERSITY

RESIDENCY
BAZARS
OR
CHADERGHAT

GOLCONDA FORT

BEGUM
BAZAR

Musi River

OLD
HYDERABAD
(walled city)

0   1   2 KM

The walled city and its major axes.

identity -- right up to 1956, when it became a part of independent India. The growth of the city was a continuous process which started from the high Mughal period into the 20th century, and represented above all the emergence of the Nizams -- a powerful ruling family with a definite stake and interest in local status and identity.

The city was founded by Mohammed Quli Qutb Shah in 1591 A.D., as a capital city to share the functions of Golconda and the seat of power in the Deccan.

The city layout is a simple grid consisting of two main roads running East-West and North-South. The intersection of the roads was celebrated with the construction of a monument with four minarets -- the Char Minar.

The four quarters thus formed by the intersection were supposedly divided into 12,000 Mahollas (or neighborhoods, with the main thoroughfares containing the public functions, like the madrasas, mosques, etc. Of the four quarters, the North-Eastern was set apart for royal palaces and state offices, and the South-Western for the residences of the ruler. City building was stimulated by the king, resulting in a phenomenal growth over a short period of time.

With the annexation of the Deccan Kingdom to the Mughal Empire in 1687, a few decades saw no independent group taking control or influencing the growth of the city. But towards the end of 1725, with political instability in the Mughal Empire, Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah, the then Mughal Viceroy in the Deccan, emerged as an independent ruler, founding the Asaf Jahi Dynasty in Hyderabad -- a ruling family (to be called the Nizams), which took control of the Deccan and Hyderabad City until 1956. To give expression to this center of control, the ruler built a wall around the city in 1740, thus establishing its precise limits.

Subsequently, two significant decisions in 1798 altered the course of the city's development: the subsidiary alliance of the Nizam with the East India Company and the creation of Secunderabad -- a twin city established adjacent to Hyderabad.

The church and missionary school in Secunderabad.

Hyderabad, however, was never annexed. The Nizams, unlike the other Mughal Viceroys in Bengal and Ondh, maintained the independence of their vast kingdom by entering into a treatise of friendship with the western power. The British Resident was thus in Hyderabad, not as the agent of a conquering power, but as the Ambassador of an ally.

This unique relationship had tangible effects on how the Dual City pattern in this context emerged. Unlike the classical model of the dual cities as seen in New Dehli, in Hyderabad the physical/spatial characteristics of the colonial culture, although distinct, were never seen as exclusive and thus also supported a large native population.

Secunderabad evolved as an Indianized version of a colonial settlement. Thus, besides having barracks, an officers quarters, etc.,[1] there also existed the native settlement, with its bazaar, temple, mosque, and residences complete.

The British Cantonment really became the seed for this indigenous settlement, giving it a distinct flavor and urban pattern. The landscape and urban profile contain churches and bungalows in addition to the temple and mosque. English, not Persian, was the official language, and Telugu, not Urdu, was the tongue of the natives. Whereas, in Hyderabad the Madrasas and Maktabas comprised the educational system, in Secunderabad the English missionary schools prevailed. Commerce formed

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[1]The "Civil Lines" of British India are the precursors to the new towns built in this century. These civil lines and cantonments -- such as those at Barrackpore, Agra, Secunderabad, and Khadakvasla -- were planned and built by the Military Engineering Service following the guidelines of a handbook. (These guidelines were also applied to the planning of hill resorts such as Simla, Kasauli, Mussouri, and Ranikhet, and to transport towns such as Khadagpur, Tundia, Bilaspur, and Vijaywada.) So strictly regimented was the adherence to this handbook that the new towns thus built were alike in layout all over the country. (Bijit Ghosh in an article, New Towns in India, Lotus International, #34, p. 19.)

the base of Secunderabad's economy,[2] while in Hyderabad the feudal system prevailed, thriving on land revenue.

Despite the differences, both these settlements coexisted in the same geographic region, contributing greatly to each other's existence -- a phenomenon of a symbiotic functional relationship which existed in a state of precarious balance right up to 1956 -- when Hyderabad State was integrated with the Republic of India, resulting in a loss of balance and a great economic and socio-political crisis. The partition of India resulted in a mass migration of Muslims from the districts to the city, and on the other hand it led to the emigration of wealthy Muslims to Pakistan and other countries.

The feudal system was replaced by a democratic, socialistic system and the economy shifted to a productive industrial one. The balance shifted towards Secunderabad, rendering the once glorious Walled City into a state of physical decay.

In spite of its setting in a rapidly transforming context, the walled city has even today maintained and retained a distinctive flavor and cultural identity. If the built environment is a tangible component that defines cultural identity for a community, group of people, or ruling elite, then the buildings of Hyderabad stand as evidence of a predominantly Muslim urban culture and the rule of the Nizams.

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[2]Nancy and James Duncan comment on the present-day new elite in Secunderabad: "Their outlook and life style are regarded as modern and tend to be Western-oriented, distinguishing the new elite from the old, despite their similarity in education and economic standing. They hold, for the most part, high positions in industry, the professions, and political life. This new elite may be considered a subgroup of an older, Westernized elite, which is almost entirely confined to Secunderabad, and includes the Parsi community there. Secunderabad society has long had ties with British and, later, with Indian army officers, the cantonment there having been one of the largest in India. Members of this older, Westernized elite and those of the new subgroup belong to many of the same clubs."
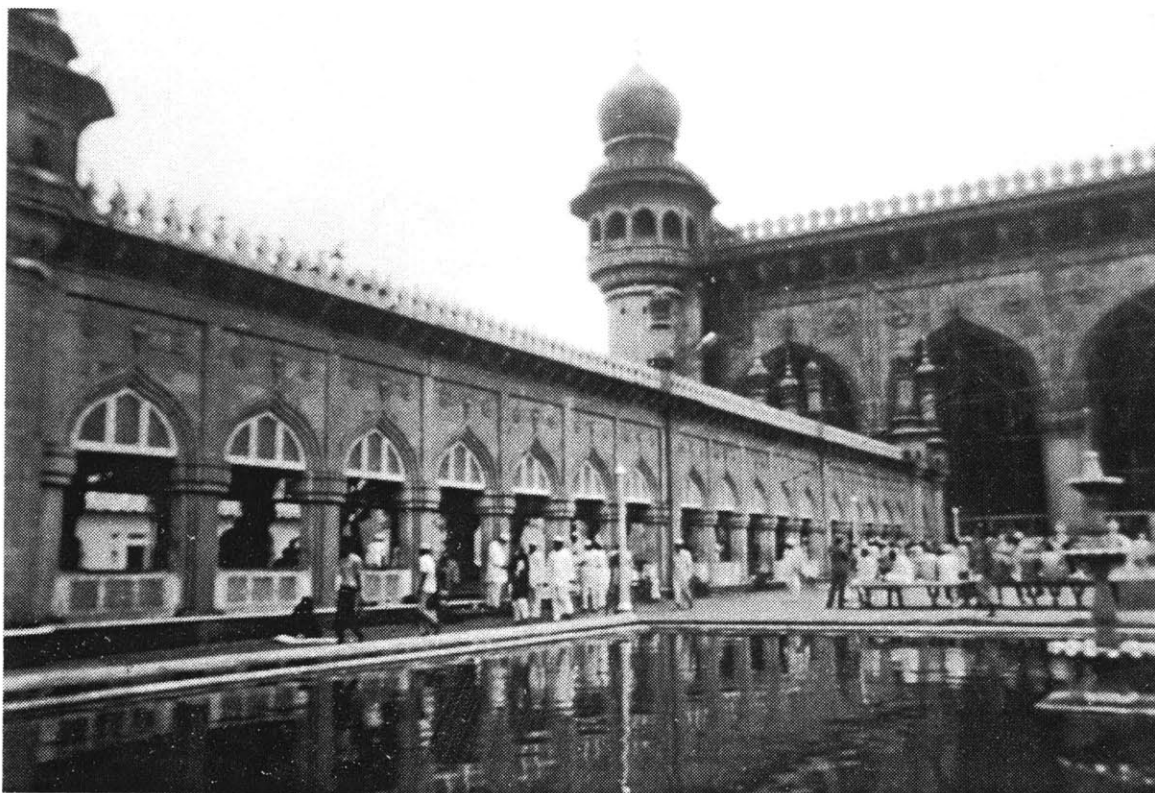
Mecca Masjid.

The Char Kaman piazza.

MONUMENTS, LANDMARKS AND IMPORTANT BUILDINGS

An overview of architectural events significant to the urban content of the walled city of Hyderabad.

The Charminar

This is the stately building with four minarets standing on four arches at the intersection of the main cross axes in the walled city. This legendary masterpiece of the Qutb Shahi style was built in 1591 by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah.

The minarets are 186 ft high and the square plan is 100 ft wide on each side. There is a small beautiful mosque on the roof of the monument.

Char Kaman

These four majestic arches were built in 1594. They are 50 ft high across the streets, one to each quarter of the compass. These arches define a small piazza, on the main axis north of the Char Minar, with a fountain at its center.

Mecca Masjid

This is the principal mosque in the city. Its construction, which was begun by Muhammad Quth Shah in 1614, was completed 77 years later by the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb in 1692. It has four minars and five arches in front, occupying one side of the paved quadrangle 360 ft square. In the quadrangle there is a large square pool for abulations and next to it to the south is a building that houses graves of all the Nizams from the time of Nizam Ali.

The British Residency

In Hyderabad, the British built the most monumental of their Residences in the territories of the native princes. It was begun in 1803 by J.A.
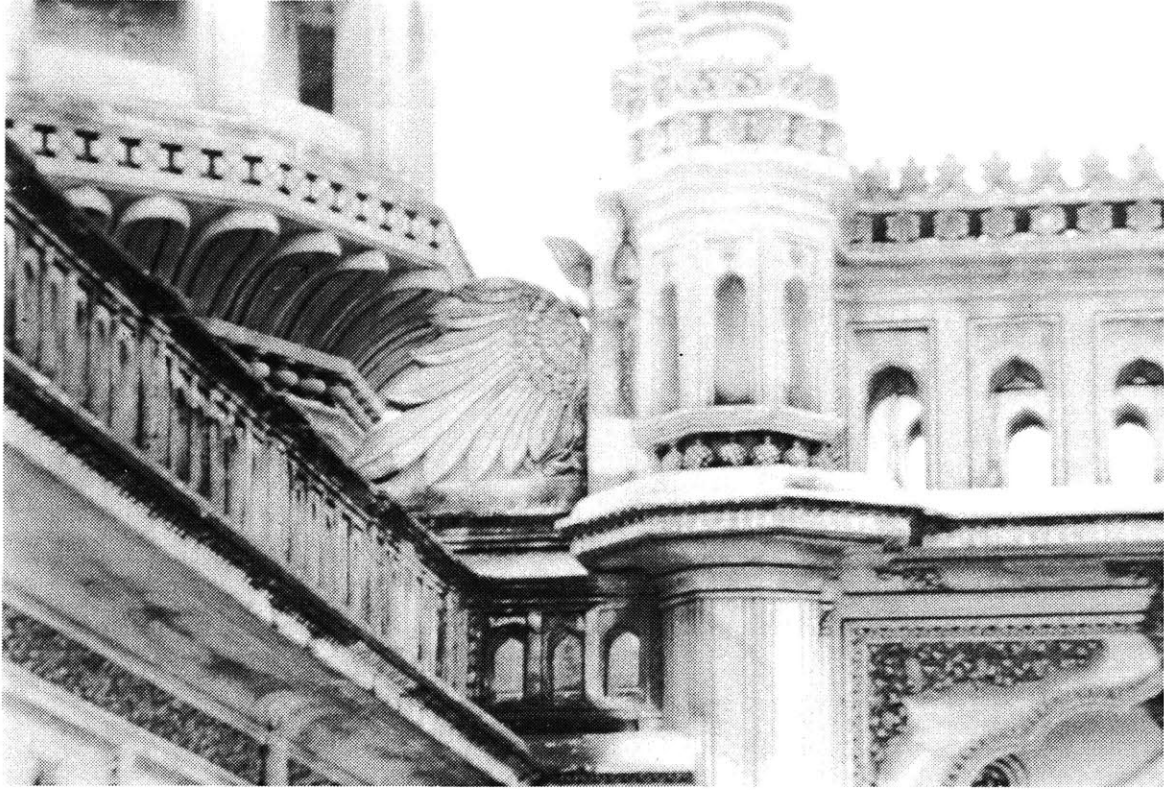
Detail from the mosque atop the Char Minar.
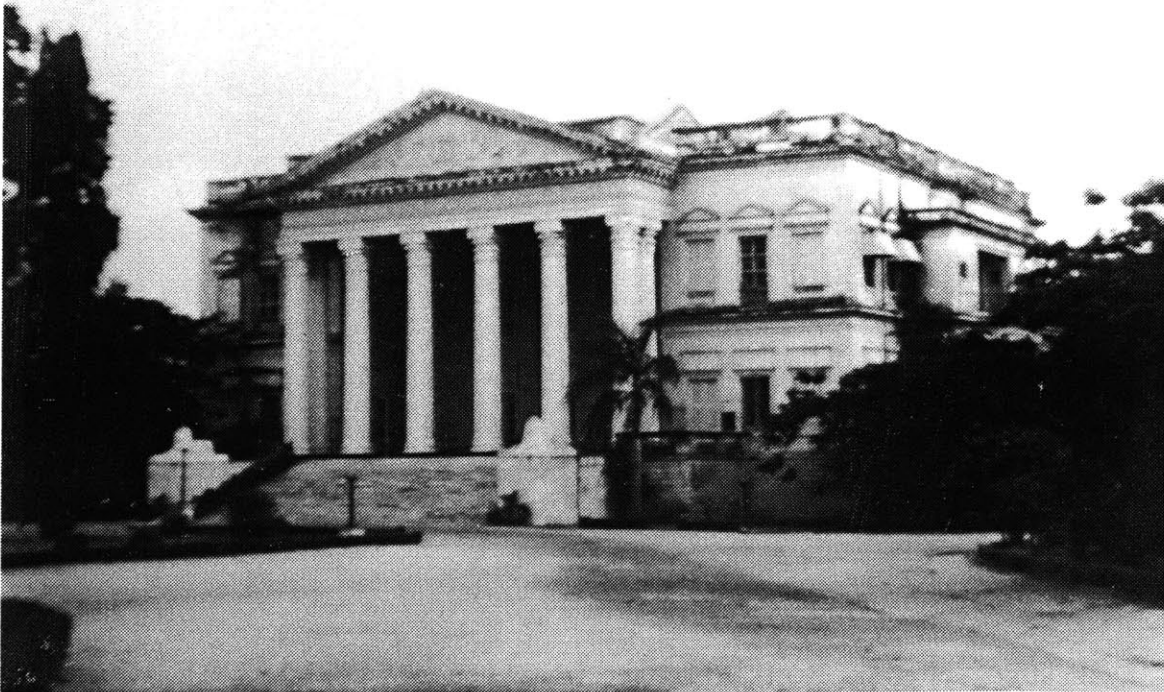
The British Residency.

The Osmania University.

The Char Minar and Nizamia Hospital.

View of the River Musi.

Kirkpatrick, the Resident of the day, who commissioned Lt. Samuel Russel of the Madras Engineers to design the house. The building is more impressive than the palace in Calcutta -- and was paid for, as it happens, by the compliant Nizam.

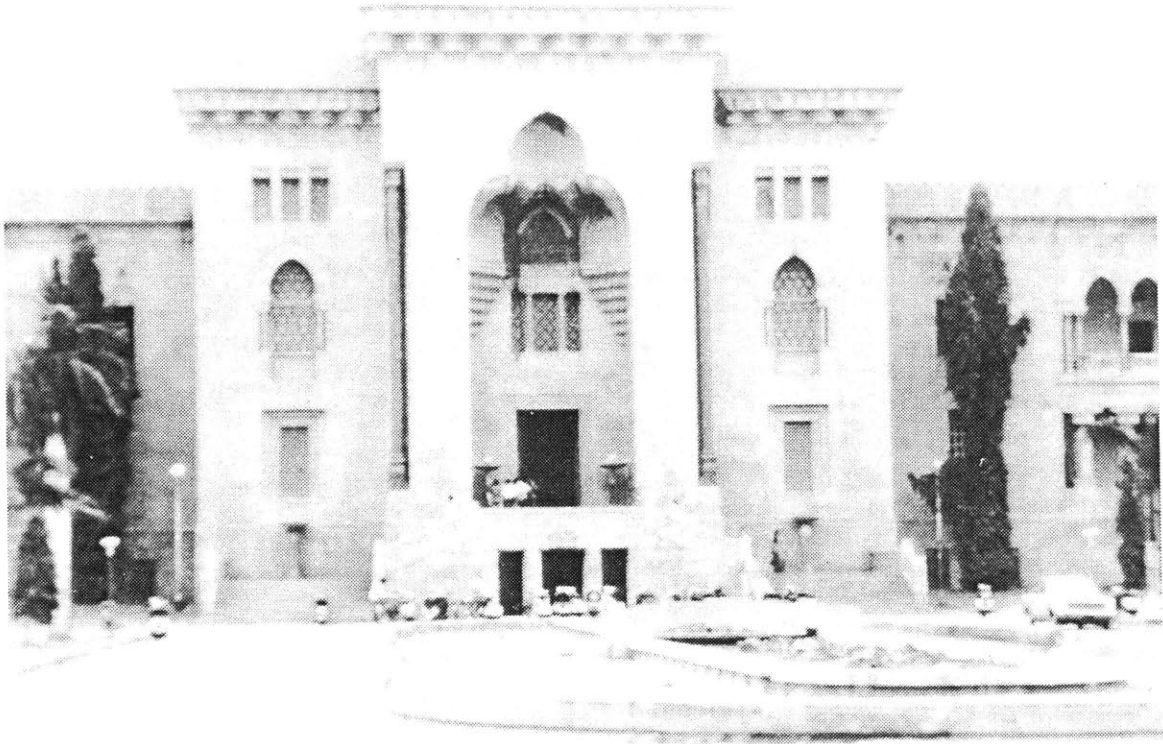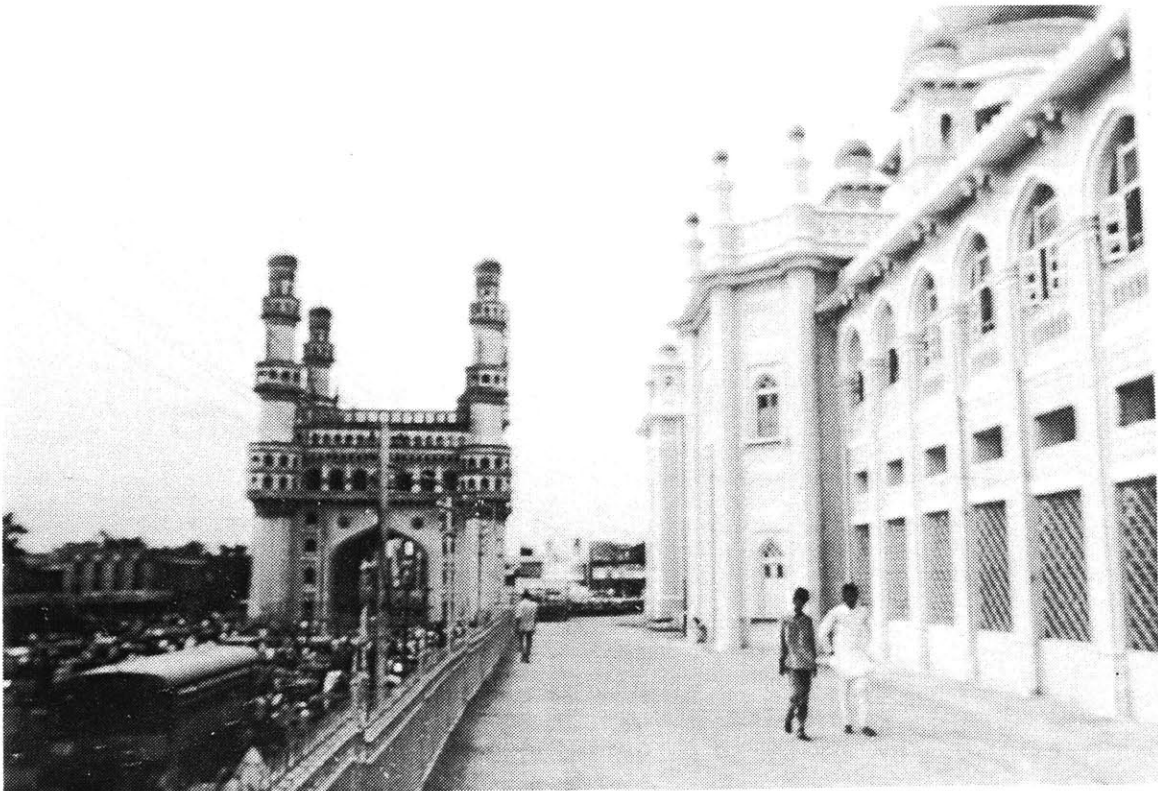It is entered through a Greek Corinthian portico forty feet high, guarded by two lions, approached by a flight of twenty-one steps, and capped by an entablature with the royal crest. A stately garden lay in front of the house; behind, a formal drive ran through an avenue of outbuildings towards the old city, and the compound was closed by three arched gates. Today it houses a women's college run by the state government.

The City Improvement Board Projects

The City Improvement Board was set up by the government of Hyderabad in 1912 following the severely damaging floods of the Musi in 1908. Their objectives were:

1. General improvement of the city.
2. Opening out congested areas.
3. Improving civic amenities in the city.
4. Buildings for Municipal Administration

The board undertook slum clearance schemes, major road widening, laying new roads, housing schemes, and construction of public buildings. There was a conscious attention to evolve a new architectural style of expression integrating the Qutb Shahi and Hindu architectural elements. The materials favored for construction were granite as well as brick and lime-mortar. Some of the buildings built during this period are:

1. High Court.
2. Unani Hospital.
3. Osmania University.
4. Osmania Hospital.
5. Moazzam Jahi Market.
6. Osmania Arts College.

Pattherghatti.

The East-West axis east of the Char Minar.

In my opinion, the most significant work done by the board at the larger scale of city is the formal treatment of the main urban axis, north of the Char Minar, along Pattherghatti. The buildings form a continuous arcaded retail/commercial development at ground level with residential use above. The formal treatment of the axial symmetry is very effective in strengthening its monumental character. The deliberate changes in scale along the spatial sequence as one approaches the city center from the Afzal Gunj bridge, going past the older vernacular buildings, then through the more formalized market area that widens out to meet a subordinate cross axis at the Char Kaman, and then the triumphant arrival on the main intersection, exhilaratingly celebrated at the Char Minar, is very, very impressive.
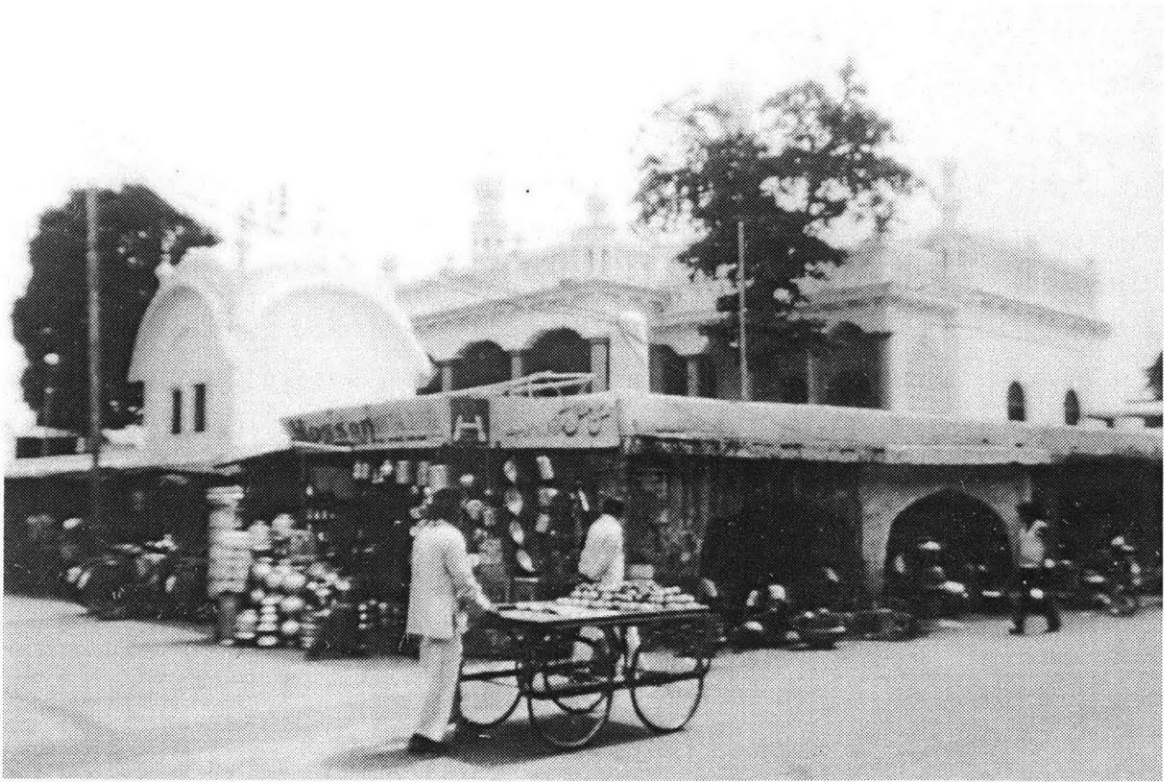
Mehboob Chowk near Lud Bazaar.

ISSUES

This brief historical survey reveals the ardent concern of the Nizams and
the ruling elite for maintaining a distinct religious/cultural identity
-- expressed in the operation of the new city and maintaining of the
older order within the walled city. This assertion of identity was
possible in a state of monarchic rule where the disciplining of the built
environment was largely affected by the dominant culture of the Muslim
elite and the Nizams.

However, with the partition of the country in 1947 and the collapse of
the monarchic rule and departure of the Muslims to Pakistan, Hyderabad
lost its cultural patrons; most of the Muslims that remained belonged to
the lower economic classes and were now pushed to minority status in the
larger context of independent India.

In India, today, much of the emerging urban symbolism is very much
influenced by models such as Le Corbuseirs work in Chandigarh or draws
directly from the contemporary west, thus endangering the identity and
distinct quality of highly cohesive urban environments of historic
cities.

This issue of coexistence of a traditional order within a community
with the predominant modernized/educated Hindu population around
generates a great amount of concern. Also, the issue of rapid
urbanization in the area poses a great challenge to the maintenance of
some kind of identity. In this respect, to formulate and implement
strategies for conservation and adaptive re-use is of great importance,
the basis for which could come only from an understanding of the changing
nature of the urban pattern and its effect on the continuities within the
vernacular matrix.

Once the identity and character of the traditionalm culture in the walled
city have been grasped, and some insight gained into its values, its
choices among possible responses to both physical and cultural variables
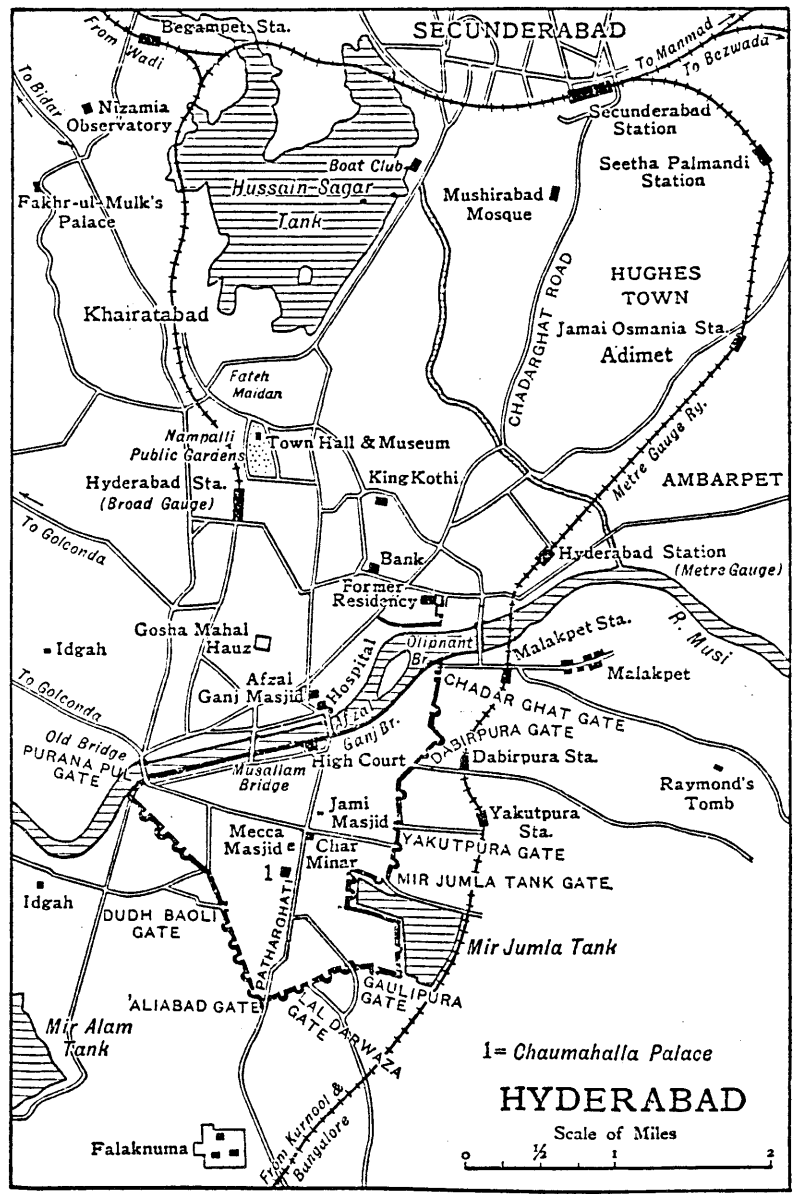should become much clearer. The specific characteristics of this culture

-- their accepted way of doing things, the socially inacceptable ways and the implicit ideals -- and the ways in which these affect house form and settlement patterns are of particular interest.

In this context, it seems important to see the traditional houses not only in relation to the basic dichotomy of the two settlement types as settings for life (and their variants along the total space-use scale), but also as part of the specific system to which they belong -- in relation to the city, its monumental parts, non-domestic areas, social meeting places, the way they and the urban spaces are used, and the movement from the house, through the various transitions to the streets, and then to the other parts of the city.

The built environment reflects many socio-cultural forces, including religious beliefs, family and "clan" structure, social organization, way of gaining livelihood, and social relations between individuals -- the domain of "identity."

The Old City and the New City

Present-day Hyderabad, with a population of close to 3 million in its metropolitan region, comprises two distinct parts -- the old, walled city to the south of the river Musi and the new city to the north. Both the old and the new city have their own commercial, educational, and medical facilities, although many of these institutions draw their clientele from both parts of the city and from Secunderabad as well. The old city has an area of 19 square miles, about a third of the area of Hyderabad, and this proportion can be expected to decrease as more and more suburban land is developed in and around the new city. For almost a decade after the establishment in 1956 of the present state of Andhra Pradesh, and of Hyderabad as its capital, there was an average influx of about 100,000 persons a year, most of whom were Hindus from other parts of the new state, especially the coastal districts. The influx has continued, and most of the immigrants have settled in the new city.

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The walled city map of Hyderabad, with labels:

Begampet Sta. — SECUNDERABAD — To Manmad — To Bezwada

From Wadi

To Bidar — Nizamia Observatory

Boat Club — Hussain-Sagar Tank — Mushirabad Mosque

Secunderabad Station — Seetha Palmandi Station

Fakhr-ul-Mulk's Palace

HUGHES TOWN

CHADARGHAT ROAD

Jamai Osmania Sta.

Khairatabad — Adimet

Fateh Maidan

Metre Gauge Ry.

Nampalli Public Gardens — Town Hall & Museum

Hyderabad Sta. (Broad Gauge) — King Kothi — AMBARPET

To Golconda

Bank

Former Residency — Hyderabad Station (Metre Gauge)

Gosha Mahal Hauz — Olipnant Br. — Malakpet Sta. — R. Musi

Idgah

To Golconda — Afzal Ganj Masjid — Hospital — CHADAR GHAT GATE — Malakpet

Ganj Br. — DABIRPURA GATE

Old Bridge — PURANA PUL GATE — Musallam Bridge — High Court — Dabirpura Sta. — Raymond's Tomb

Jami Masjid — Yakutpura Sta.

Mecca Masjid — Char Minar — YAKUTPURA GATE

1 — MIR JUMLA TANK GATE

Idgah — DUDH BAOLI GATE — PATHARGHATI — Mir Jumla Tank

'ALIABAD GATE — LAL DARWAZA GATE — GAULIPURA GATE

Mir Alam Tank

1 = Chaumahalla Palace

HYDERABAD

Scale of Miles
0 — ½ — 1 — 2

Falaknuma — From Kurnool & Bangalore

Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

The walled city.

The differences between the societies of the old and new parts of the city are indicated by their different religious composition (see Table). The old city is largely Muslim, the people of this community having been former ruling class, whereas the new city has a Hindu majority. As a state capital, Hyderabad continues the function it had before 1947 as an administrative center of the princely state of the same name; perhaps because of this tradition, 51 percent of the labor force is employed in services and administration, a larger percentage than in any other large Indian city, including New Delhi.

Table: Religion in Hyderabad, by City Zones

	Percentage of Households		
Religion	Hyderabad	Hyderabad, North	Hyderabad, South
Hindu	50.0	59.4	27.8
Muslim	45.6	38.4	70.8
Other	4.4	2.2	1.4

Source: Hyderabad Metropolitan Research Project, Technical Bulletin Nos. 1 and 2 (Hyderabad: Osmania University Press, n.d.).

Many other Indian cities consist of contrasting old and new sections. In such cases, Indian planners and geographers tend to characterize the old city as archaic, slumlike and inhabited by the poor, and the new city as modern and occupied by the middle and upper classes. These observations are accurate in that houses in the old city are generally in worse condition than in the new city and there are large concentrations of poor people there, but they may be biased. The Western model of the city, with its straight streets and segregated residential and commercial areas, is clearly regarded as better than the indigenous Indian model, characterized by narrow, tortuous streets and residential and commercial integration. It is risky to assume that the areas are homogeneous in

terms of the class characteristics of the inhabitants, particularly in the traditional Indian city, where the poor live cheek by jowl with the rich, homogeneous income areas do not exist, and the condition of house exteriors does not provide a reliable indication of their occupants' social class.

The Elite and Relationship to Place

The old elite looks to Hyderabad as its home. Many families have resided there for more than two hundred years, and perhaps more important, the source of their prestige is fixed in Hyderabad. Since most of the great bulk of their prestige derives from past rather than present association with power, they tend not to be spatially mobile. Prestige based on associations with the past is not transferrable to other places. Although members of the old elite are wealthy enough to acquire prestige elsewhere in India, to do so they would have to alter their whole lifestyle -- adopting the despised ways of the new elite. Furthermore, their preferred friendship networks consist of relatives and fellow caste members, spatially fixed social networks that could no more be transferred to another place than could their prestige.

For this group it is the old city that is Hyderabad. Their social world is almost completely contained within it. They live there, shop there, have their relatives and friends there, and many of them work there. The new city, and especially the suburbs where many of the parvenu new elite have their homes, is where "outsiders" live.

The implications of this attitude for members of the old elite who move to the new city are profound, since doing so makes them outsiders in the eyes of their own group. They also put themselves outside the control of the traditional familial sources of authority, and, indeed, it can be observed that people who move to the new city tend to lose contact with relatives who remain in the old. The social distance created by the move is very great, although the physical distance between the old and new home is only a few miles. It can be almost as if they had left Hyderabad altogether!
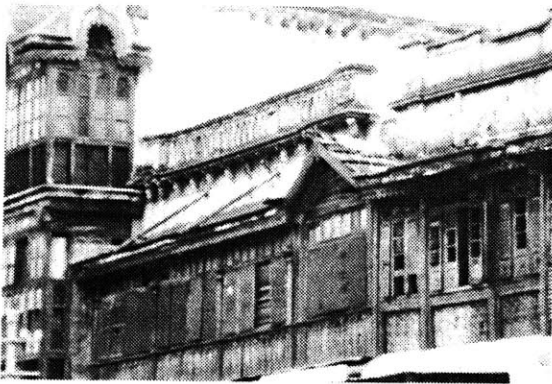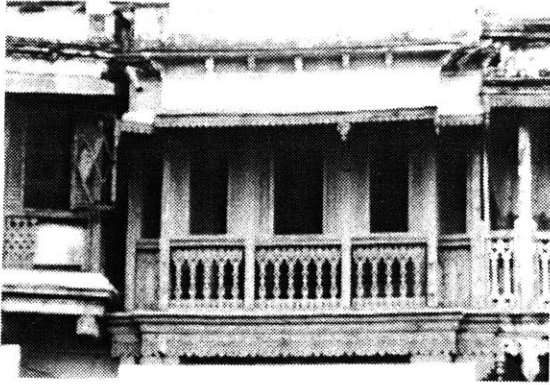
Facade treatment in old buildings.

The new elite as a whole shows less attachment to Hyderabad as a place. Many of them have moved to Hyderabad within the past twenty years and have neither established family ties within the city nor a sentimental attachment to it as their native home. Many look to the large cosmopolitan cities of Bombay, Calcutta, and Delhi as the source of the lifestyle that they value, and accordingly find Hyderabad provincial.

The new elite consists of two groups: those who arrived in the new city very recently, either from another part of India or from the old city, and have not yet established themselves in the various social networks, which often center around clubs, and those who have been in the new city for a longer period of time and have well established networks.

The new city is differentiated into commercial, industrial, and residential zones, the new elite living in open, purely residential areas, with large lots and houses.

The only poor people to be found in such neighborhoods are servants of the new elite and even they are not very numerous. The houses are of modern design and nearly all are less than twenty years old. They are surrounded by low walls and have well tended gardens. There is virtually no street life; all the residents use cars and one sees few pedestrians.

Although the landscape has an air of uniformity, most of the houses being within a certain price range, there is greater stylistic diversity than in the old elite's landscape. Whereas houses in the old city look much the same, no two appear alike in the areas occupied by the new elite. Houses here are painted in a variety of bright colors, in sharp contrast to the faced whitewash that covers houses in the old city. In the new city, people spend a good deal of money on the appearance of their houses, reflecting a "modern" outlook modeled on the contemporary West. The pattern of housing estates separated by several miles from the commercial sections of the town resembles that of American suburban development.

In the traditional caste system, in which one's position in society is fixed by birth, the status of one's neighbor is unimportant. In the new city, however, another system of social stratification takes precedence, and it appears that a degree of security is to be gained by living in residential developments with those of similar social status.

Residential Landscape

The old city is densely populated. Streets are narrow and winding, crowded with old buildings, some of which are crumbling or have collapsed. Many are of disputed ownership and as a consequence remain uninhabited and uncared for until clear title is established. Poor people have taken over some of the ruined buildings and have set up temporary shelters in them. The population is heterogeneous; on any given street one can find houses of the rich next to those of the poor. The streets in the old city are full of people passing through or stopping to chat with acquaintances. Houses tend to be connected, so that the view down a street is of a continuous wall with doors and windows. One cannot easily tell where one house and another begins, or the economic status of a house's occupant from the condition of the exterior wall. The houses are oriented inward, doors are kept shut, and windows are shuttered so that passersby can tell nothing about the interiors.

The spatial layout of the old city reflects the older urban pattern in Indian of gross residential integration of classes, the rich living in large mansions or palaces surrounded by their servants, who occupied huts on the property. Poor merchants and those who performed various services for the rich lived in rented shops in the walls of the palaces. Middle-class people lived nearby in smaller houses. The different classes lived together in economic and functional interdependence: the poor served the rich and the rich protected the poor. Today, most of the rich are not as well off as they once were and the poor look to the government for protection, but the spatial integration still exists.

The living/dining room.

The central courtyard.

Wealthy residents of the old city do not seem to be concerned about the appearance of building exteriors; for the old elite, the upkeep and decoration of their houses has a rather low priority. To display signs of wealth in public is considered immodest. High walls surround the compounds of some of the largest houses, since a view of the street, the poor man's landscape, is not considered desirable. The old elite's view of the city is an extreme example of selective perception. The old city seems to signify a traditional way of life to them, and a network of friends and relatives living in close proximity. Houses and shops visited frequently are the only aspects of the landscape to which they attach any sentiment. They appear indifferent to the landscape as a whole.

Interiors

In the houses of the old elite, the largest room opens on the central courtyard. The room is usually divided in two parts, one of which is likely to be furnished with a few wicker chairs, usually in need of paint. Upholstered chairs are less common, the material being faded and frayed as a rule. The remaining furniture in this half of the room will consist of little formica-topped end tables and often a charpoy (a bedframe strung with heavy twine and used as a couch on which people customarily sit cross-legged). In the other half of the room, the floor is covered with a white "bedsheet"; upon entering, one removes one's shoes and sits on the floor. This area is often used for dining when large family functions are held. In some very traditional houses, the entire floor of the room will be covered by bedsheets or Persian carpets. Western-style furniture appeared in most houses less than 25 years ago.

Walls have a dingy appearance and the only original adornments in these houses are the carvings on the wooden pillars that separate the living room from the courtyard. The pillars are often in poor condition, chipped and in need of paint. Decorations hung on the walls are either photographs or inexpensive prints. The photographs are very large portraits of the household head, often as a young man, and of deceased family members of his or his parents' generation. There is usually in

addition a photograph of the head of the family dating from the time when photographs came into vogue, around the turn of the century. Every home has several large, colorful religious calendars, which are distributed free by local merchants; at least one calender is displayed in the living room.

The general impression of a Westernized observer is that the room is sparsely furnished and rather shabby, suggesting a slum dwelling, yet there is also a grandeur and dignity lent by the palatial proportions of the building. Visiting and being entertained by families who are millionaires in shabby houses with inexpensive furnishings and ornamentations, one recognizes at once that decoration of the house simply does not have a high priority.

Other rooms are smaller: bedrooms, a kitchen, storerooms, and in Hindu/Kayasth houses, a room for worship. In some of the larger houses one may find a small, Western-style salon, its cupboards full of Victorian knickknacks placed there by a departed generation and left untouched by the present one. In other parts of the house, similar combinations of living room, courtyard, bedrooms, and kitchen will be found for the use of other families that comprise the joint household.

The bedrooms are small and dark, the only adornment being a few pictures and china figurines. Other than books, few individual possessions are in view. Their absence is in part explained by the fact that many of the bedrooms are shared by two or more people. Furniture usually consists of a bed, perhaps a small book case, and often a sewing machine.

Around the central courtyard one usually sees corrugated iron roofs that have replaced older roofs; when the old roofs remain, the tiles are often broken. Stairways and halls tend to be dark and narrow, with cracked and uneven cement floors. One often sees servants sitting and chatting in the corridors.

The caste communities that make up the old elite consist of closed, inwardly-oriented social networks. Friends are almost exclusively

drawn from within the caste community, and only close relatives, and occasionally caste friends, are entertained at home. According to my information, at least 90 percent of the guests entertained in the home are relatives. One's social position in relation to others in the group will vary only by age and by one's contribution to and participation in group functions. The host does not need to use the interior of the house as a cue to his status because that status is established. The low priority given to the maintenance and decoration of the house thus becomes understandable.
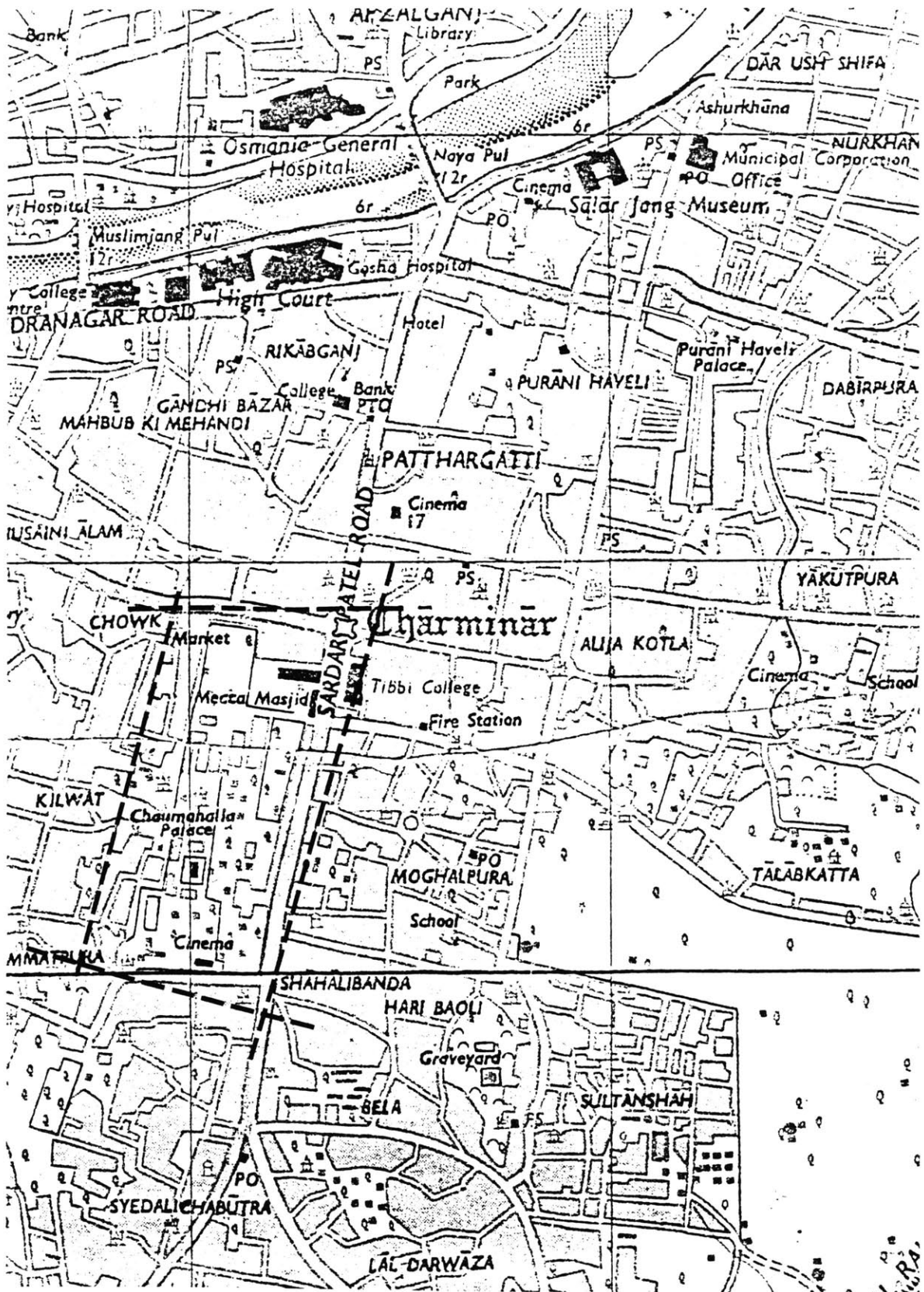
Another explanation for the rundown condition of the old city interiors may be that the community no longer retains the prestigious position in society that it once had. The antiques and old houses are perhaps remembrances of the good old days.
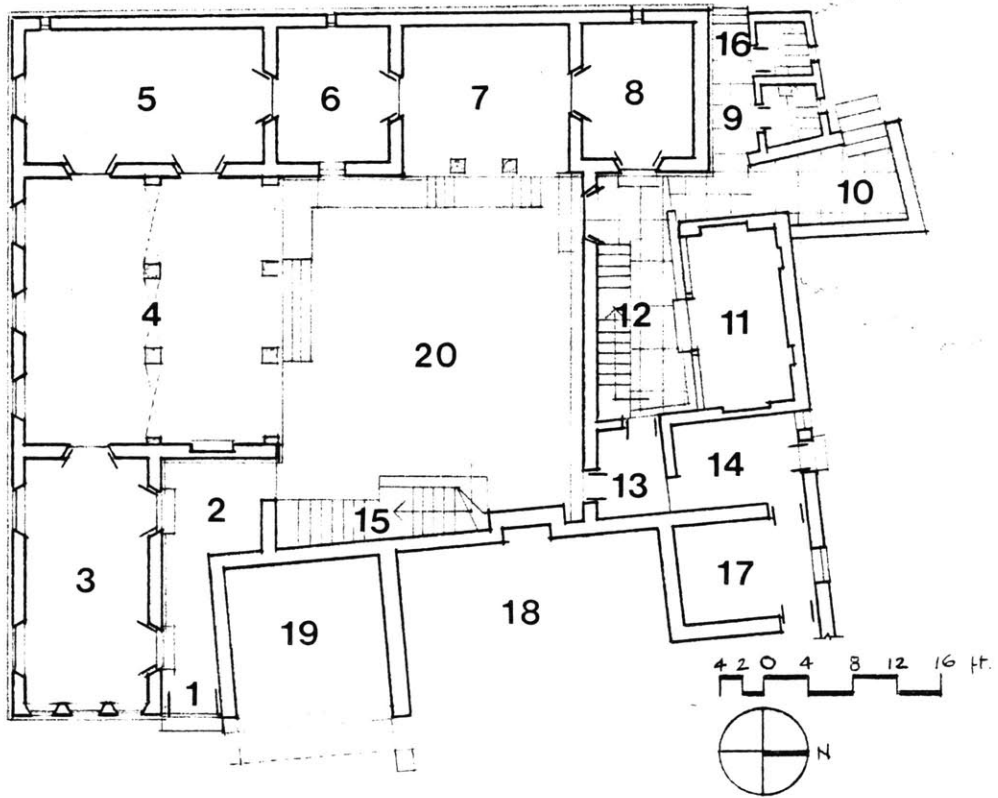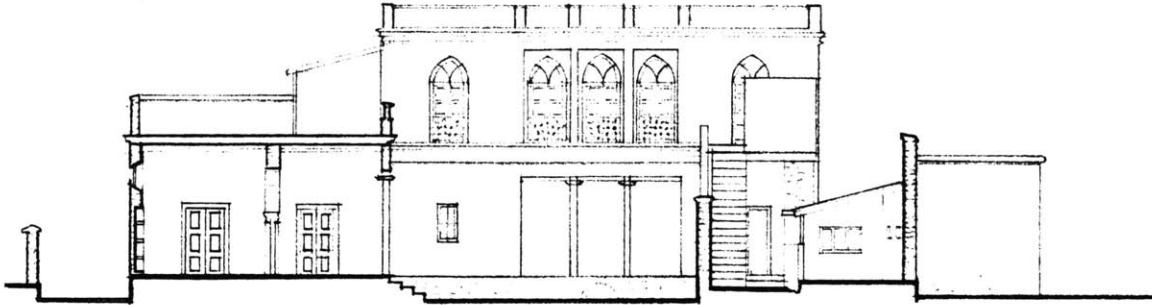
Traditional Muslim house in Hyderabad.

<u>LEGEND</u>

1. Entrance for males.
2. Passage leading to courtyard and Divan Khana.
3. Reception room for guests, religious gatherings and for male guests who are not closely related to the family.
4. Living area for male members, entertaining relatives, formal social and religious activities and household dining etc.
5. Retiring room/ladies formal sitting place during Urs celebrations.
6. Room for keeping valuables and storing household articles.
7. Living area for female members, receiving close family friends.
8. Room for storing grains.
9. Conventional latrine (dry).
10. Entrance for women.
11. Kitchen space.
12. Stair to second floor.
13. Bathroom.
14. Store for miscellaneous articles.
15. Stair to terrace.
16. Entrance for latrine cleaner.
17. Store for articles used in the mosque.
18. Mosque.
19. Room for ceremonies.
20. Courtyard.

AFZALGANJ
Library
Bank
PS
DĀR USH SHIFA
Park
Ashurkhāna
Osmania General
Hospital
Naya Pul
/2r
6r
PS
NURKHAN
Municipal Corporation
PO
Office
Cinema
Salar Jang Museum
y Hospital
6r
PO
Muslimjang Pul
/2r
Gosha Hospital
y College
High Court
PURANI HAVELI
Purani Haveli
Palace
DRANAGAR ROAD
Hotel
DABĪRPURA
RIKĀBGANJ
PS
College
Bank
PTO
GANDHI BAZAR
MAHBUB KI MEHANDI
PATTHARGATTI
Cinema
17
HUSAINI ALAM
PS
YAKUTPURA
PS
CHOWK
Charminar
ALIJA KOTLA
Market
Cinema
School
Mecca Masjid
Tibbi College
Fire Station
KILWAT
Chaumahalla
Palace
PO
MOGHALPURA
TALABKATTA
School
MMATRUKA
Cinema
SHAHALIBANDA
HARI BAOLI
Graveyard
BELA
SULTANSHAH
PS
PO
SYEDALICHABUTRA
LĀL-DARWĀZA

The main palace compound has vast open grounds in the middle of the densely built-up walled city.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

I will attempt to address this issue at an abstract level through a diagrammatic design exploration in the walled city. The selected site is located just off the main East-West axis close to the Char Minar and Mecca Masjid and is currently occupied by hutments and squatter dwellings. Only very sketchy site related data is available.

It is a rectangularish piece of land oriented North-South on the longer side. The shorter (North) edge is lined with a row of shops opening onto the main Purana Pul road in the Lud Bazaar area west of the Char Minar. The Mecca Masjid is located on a property adjoining the site on the southern edge. Surrounding streets and buildings reflect the typical characteristics of the traditional fabric of the old walled city.

THE PROGRAM

The site will be developed in phases to provide housing for 45 to 50 families. The idea is to allocate housing for the people who live in the hutments in the first phase and make provision for integrating retail/commercial at ground level and residential use above. This would be continued into the second phase of buildings to be sold as apartment or row houses. This way the cost for the first phase of construction may be recovered and the retail/commercial stuff on ground level would bring in money for upkeep and maintenance of common facilities.

The proposal will be developed in the form of a set of diagrams and guidelines for this development, keeping in mind the issue of continuity and change in the context of the walled city.

Through this exercise I would like to understand and explore architectural issues relating to morphology, dimensions, rhythm, territoriality and transitions, structure and access, and phasing and control -- at an abstract level within the context of the walled city as established earlier.

Old city street facades across Afzal Gunj bridge.

Shops in Lud Bazaar on Purana Pul road.

Since most of my data is in the form of visual documentation and personal observations, many of the assumptions and resulting design decisions are based on a "gut feeling" -- this approach seems to be an appropriate one at this level of abstraction, considering the fact that I was born and brought up in a similar Indian city (Ahmedabad).

The walled city is divided into four quadrants by the two main axes that celebrate their intersection at the Char Minar. The North-South axis is formed by the Patherghati road (Sardar Patel Road) and the West-East axis by the Purana Pul road.

The Old Bridge (Purana Pul) was built on the River Musi in 1578 enabling the establishment of the main West-East axis from the old fortified city at Golconda to the center of the walled city of Hyderabad at Char Minar. The Afzal Gunj bridge was built in 1860 or so and this allowed the city to grow along the northern bank of the Musi which made the North-South axis more prominent. The subsequent establishment, during British rule, of Secunderabad, north of Hussain Sagar gave it further prominence over the West-East axis.

During the reign of the VII'th Nizam, the City Improvement Board (1930's and 40's) implemented a scheme at Pattherghatti which enhanced the formal axis north of the Char Minar. and, through the Char Kaman and recent growth in that direction, is indicative of the fact that this is indeed now perceived as the main axis.

I believe that this process of formal urbanization will continue south of the Char Minar beyond the Mecca Masjid, and the Nizamia Hospital as pieces of the vast palace properties located off the west on this axis became available for future developments that will bring back some of the prestige and prominence to the modern day Old Hyderabad that this walled city lost to growth beyond the northern bank of the Musi.

This will probably mean that most of the old Hyderabad elite that moved out of the walled city in the earlier part of this century to reside in the prestigious Banjara Hills area to the north will want to come back to

View of new city looking towards Banjara Hills.

live in these new developments in the walled city, particularly since Banjara Hills has begun to lose its old prestige owing to the recent land ceiling legislation that forces the inhabitants to sell the "excess" land on their vast estates. (The land that thus becomes available attracts new flashy housing and suburban-type developments for the upper/middle income groups for the non-Hyderabadi new elite that are moving into Hyderabad -- for whom Banjara Hills is desirable as a new prestigious address.)

The guidelines set forth in this thesis are for a development in the walled city where the issue of continuity and change bears a special significance as demonstrated above and in light of the cultural context. I anticipate that the old city will be revived with a dynamic new city center -- a sort of a new "heart" as it were. This process will generate enough incentive and income for the renovation of monuments, improvement of civic amenities, preservation of the historic character, and overall strengthening of its modern cultural identity.

I would like to point out here that none of the official planning bodies seem to share my point of view -- the walled city is considered "saturated," and most of the new areas, zoned under their various schemes for residential development, are around the rapidly industrializing peripheral suburban regions. There is no documented evidence available with any indication of a systematic planned development of all the vast open land attached to the scores of palace complexes within the walled city. Almost all the recent cases of development of such properties show speculative office and commercial buildings put up by private/semi-private agencies, without any apparent concern for the overall picture in the walled city.

Fortunately, most of these types of buildings are not very popular, neither have they proved to be very profitable in the long run and there seems to be a general tendency to consider mixed use, retail, and residential developments, improving on existing traditional models, more seriously as similar ones in other cities have proved very successful even economically. The walled city is unique in that there were so many

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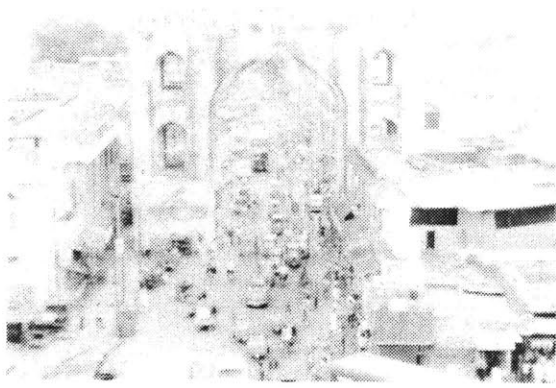
Gateways mark a sequence of realms

The main mahollas are marked by distinctive gateways.

palaces built within the walled area with vast grounds which are now impossible to maintain. The incredible amount of open land, as it slowly becomes available for development, should not be underestimated in its tremendous potential for residential development and restructuring of the urban tissue.

OBSERVATIONS

The new development in the walled city must be consistent with the existing fabric and improve on it, enhancing its character in terms of the modern way of life without ignoring important traditional influences. The following basic observations will prove useful when one sets out to design an effective environment:
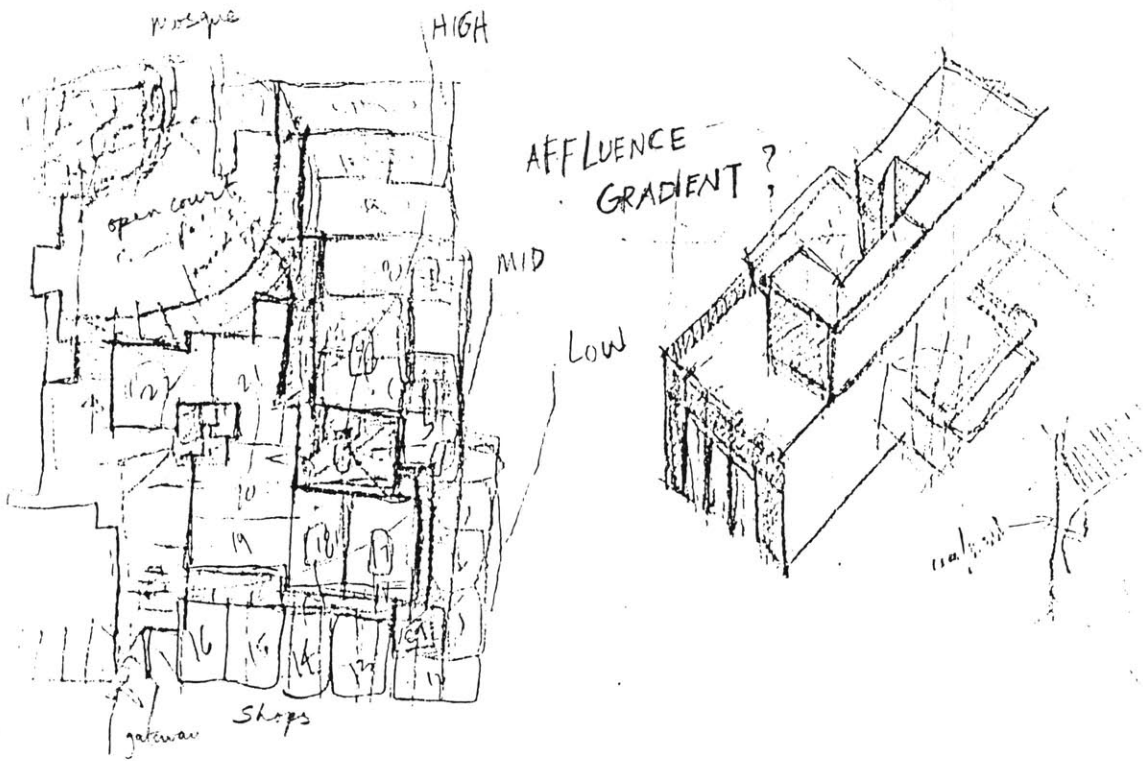
-- In the walled city, large monumental buildings, and collections of smaller buildings like houses and shops, are laid out so that one reaches a given point inside by passing through a sequence of realms ("Puras," etc.), each marked by a gateway and becoming smaller and smaller as one passes from each one, through a gateway, to the next. Though interconnected in complicated ways, each one is well enough defined physically so that each one has a distinct name with a suffix, such as -Pura, -bad, -wadi, -chowk, -galli, etc., that gives some indication of its size in the sequential hierarchy.

-- There are no large monolithic buildings -- all building complexes are made up of parts that manifest the actual social facts of the situation. At lower densities, a building complex may take the form of a collection of small buildings connected by arcades, paths, bridges, shared gardens, and walls.

-- For a housing complex at high density, it seems that the basic way of making its human parts identifiable is to build is up from narrow fronted houses, each with its own internal stair.

-- Buildings are arranged so that they form "pedestrian streets" or "gallies" with many entrances and stairs opening directly from the
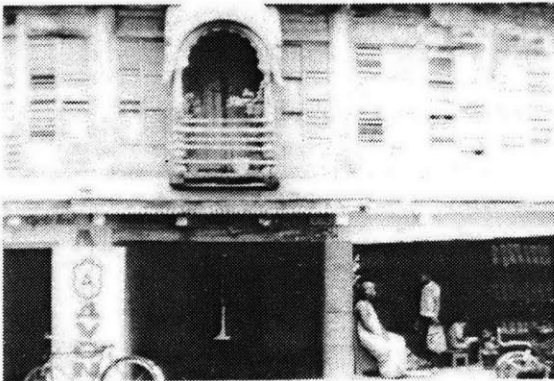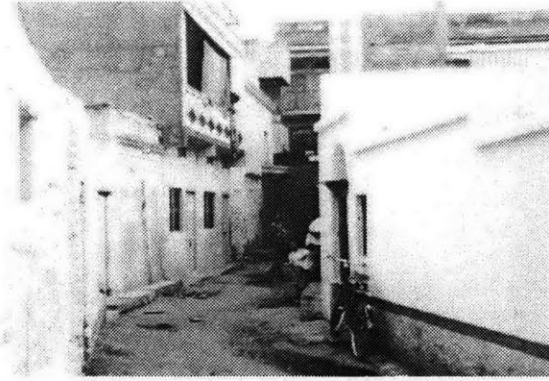
The character of the walled city.

upper stories to the street. Street life and social intercourse created when people "rub shoulders" in public are essential to the character of the walled city.

-- There are long linked and half-linked arcades and covered walks passing by and through the public parts of the walled city (e.g., Patherghati). This covered space becomes the setting for much of the informal business of the city.

Plan and elevation study for small house with shop below. Columns used instead of bearing walls will allow flexibility.

A first pass: each phase of integrated development attracts a more affluent client.
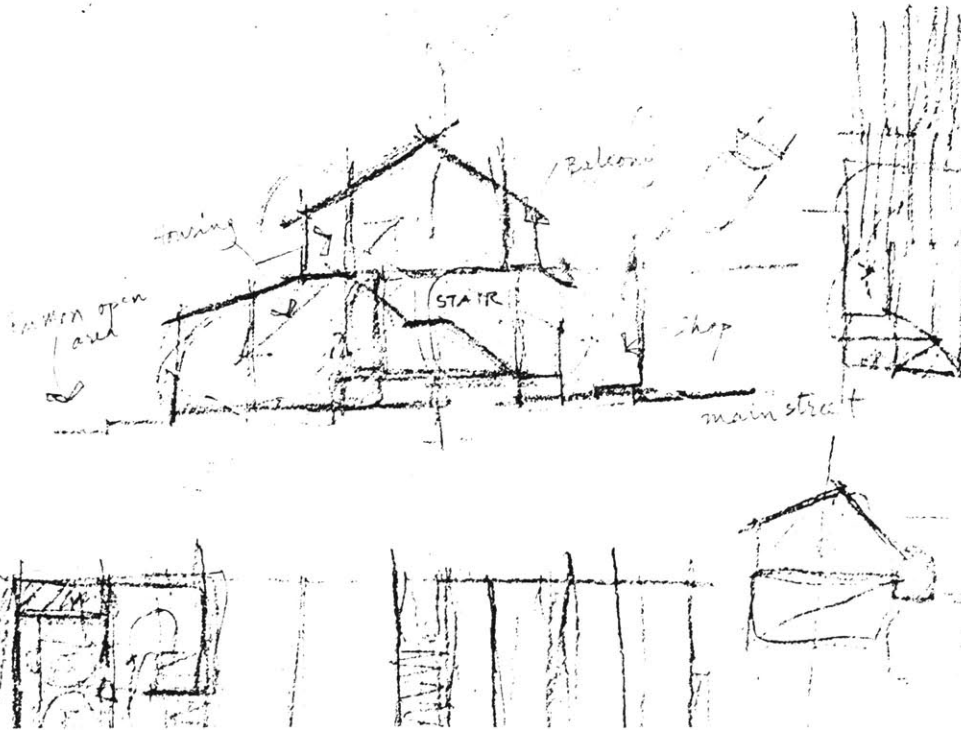
Section study: street-front shop with house above and behind.
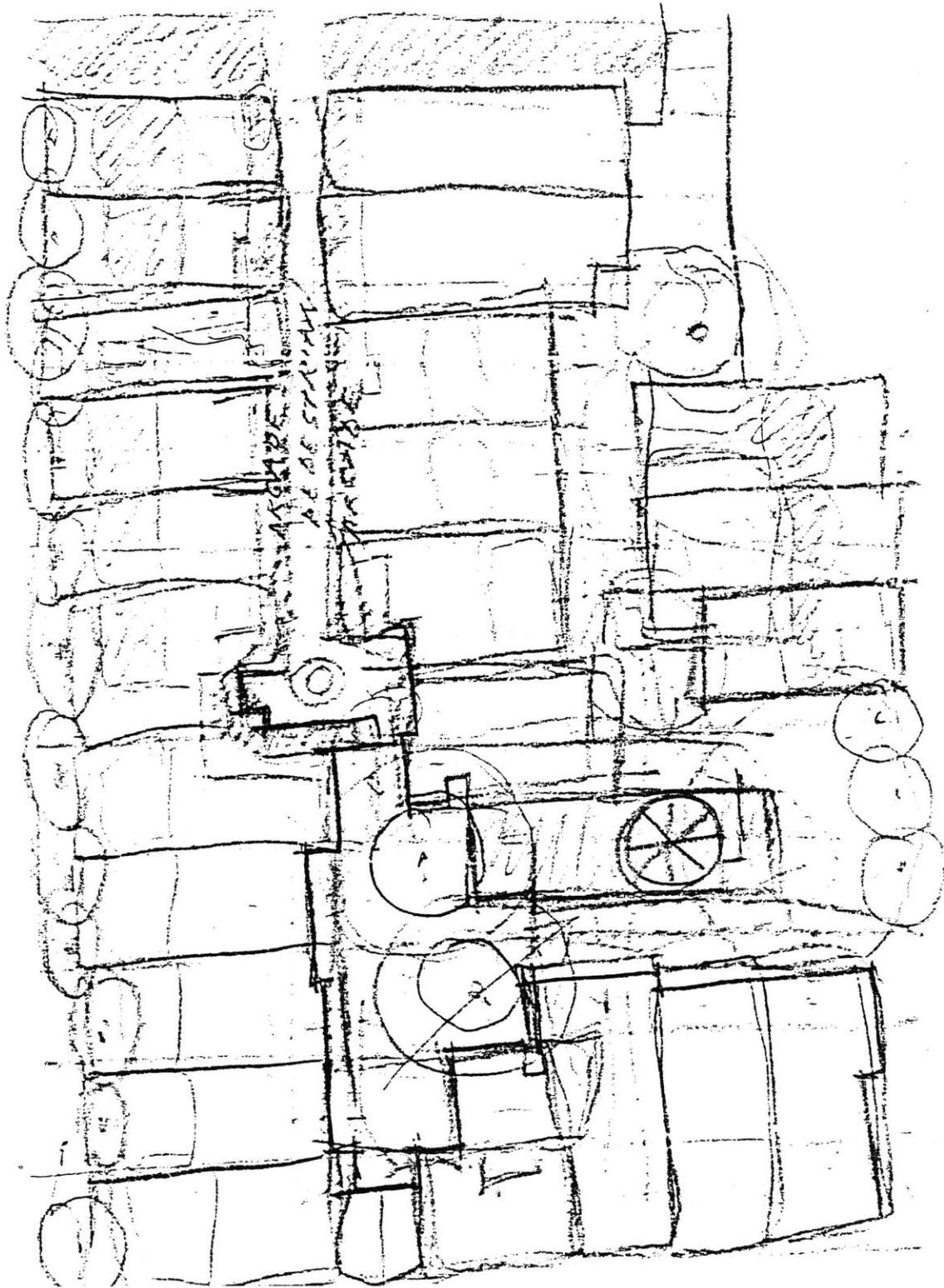
A second pass: Two-phased development. The first brings pedestrians and arcaded shopping into the housing complex at ground level and allows a greater continuity in the overall tissue.

A proposal for two phases of development. The first is organized around arcade and shops at ground level with housing for the hutment dwellers up to three storeys. Second phase organized around courtyards -- larger, lower houses for middle and higher income groups.

DESIGN EXPLORATION AND GUIDELINES

1. Quantitative aspects of the Urban Tissue as infill theme.

   Agree on a grid for reference:

   Modular increments

   Rules as to how elements may be placed in the grid

   Define zones to position elements

2. Urban Spaces

   Residential and pedestrian streets and courtyards

   Backyard spaces, alleys and service roads

   Gateways to mark transitions

   Clear affluence gradient

3. Buildings

   Internal structure and division of residential buildings

   Support principles:

   Open plan with columns and stairs rather than bearing walls

   Structure allows flexibility and adaptability

   Access and public circulation within buildings

   Clear privacy gradients

4. Facades

   Define appropriate elements and relations

   Gradual transition between outside and inside

   Balconies, Verandas and Galleries

5. Environment

   Positive well defined urban spaces

   Where buildings help shape urban space rather than occupy it

   Continuity of form containing a variety of uses

   Not an autonomy of functions displaying separate forms

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THE VIDEO DOCUMENTARY
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Title: The Walled City of Hyderabad.

Length: Nineteen minutes.

Format: 3/4" video tape with color and sound.

Description:
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The first five minutes (0 to 5 min.):

The character of the walled city -- street life and social intercourse; shops, traffic, people and street facades along the two major axes.

The next ten minutes (5 to 15 min.):

The Friday afternoon Namaaz (prayers) at Mecca Masjid -- the ablutions at the hauz, attar and surma for the eyes; the sermon begins inside the mosque building; more men arrive, leave their shoes with the shoe-keepers, wash up, and assemble in the great court in front of the mosque for the Namaaz. After the prayers, the men get their shoes back and leave. A crowd of beggar-children and women follows a rich Arab who is handing out generous amounts. Other beggars get alms from the men leaving the mosque.

The next three minutes (15 to 18 min.):

The High Court and Osmania Hospital. The walled city on a rainy monsoon day in July. Views of Pattherghatti moving towards Char Minar. One of the gates marking a maholla in the walled city.

Note: Two copies of this video documentary are submitted to the Department of Architecture at M.I.T. as a part of the thesis for the M.Arch. degree along with this text.