In the introductory chapter we have stated that the foundation of most of the major cities of Third World countries is their status as the political and administrative capital of feudal rulers or because of the crucial role they played in the colonial period. In this chapter we will present a historical account of the growth of Hyderabad city, analysing how the different phases of its evolution were shaped first by the decisions of the feudal rulers, second by British Imperialist policies and finally by the post-Independence policies of both the Indian and State Governments (see map on the historical growth of Hyderabad).

The historical periods in the growth of Hyderabad city can be classified as follows:

1) The Qutub Shahi stage or the Early Twin City stage of Golconda and walled city (1591 to 1687).
2) The Early Asaf Jahi Stage (1687 to 1799).
3) The Impact of British Cantonment Settlement or the Second Twin City Stage of Hyderabad and Secunderabad (1799 to 1874).
4) The Introduction of the Railways (1874 to 1908).
5) The Emergence of the Modern City or the later Asaf Jahi Period (1908 to 1948).

Before going into the description of the Early-Twin
City stage, it would be worthwhile to sketch out briefly the origin of the fortress town of Golconda. This would facilitate understanding of the Early-Twin city stage of Golconda and the walled city.

King Ganapati Deva (1199-1262) the Kakatiya king was first to establish a mud fort on a rocky area now known as Golconda. It was then called Mankal according to Mathire Alamgiri. Later in the reign of Mahmood Shah III (1463) the thirteenth king of the Bahmani dynasty, trouble arose in Telangana, and a Baharulu Turk of Hemadan, Sultan Quli was appointed to govern the area. Under Mahmood Shah IV (1482) Sultan Quli became an amir of the Behmani empire and was given the title of Quthbul Mulk and the Jagir of Golconda. In 1512, he broke away from the feeble Bahmani kingdom and declared his independence and made Golconda his capital changing its name as Moharnmadnagar.

Sultan Quli had already replaced the old Kakatiya mud fort with a fortress built of stone. This fort underwent substantial additions and changes at the hands of his descendents and successors. Prominent among them was Ibrahim Qutub Shah (1550-1581) the fourth Qutub Shahi king. He improved the fortification of the city by building strong ramparts and palaces, caravan serias and mosques came up within the walls and in the suburbs. Trade flourished because of its strategic location on the trade route from the port of Masulipatnam and hundreds
of merchants from all over the world thronged the fortress. By 1576, the fortress town became very congested and there was no scope for further expansion within its walls. Nobles and higher officials started constructing their palaces on the banks of the river Musi. Sultan Ibrahim Qutub Shah anticipating the future growth of the city eastwards i.e., south of River Musi had a bridge constructed over the river in 1573. He even started the erection of a fort called 'Kila Kohna' which was later abandoned because of some superstitious reasons.

Sultan Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah (1581-1611) succeeded him and under him started the next phase of growth of Hyderabad city called the Qutub Shahi stage.

1. The Qutub Shahi Stage (1591-1687):

The foundation for the city of Hyderabad was laid by Mohammed Quli in the year 1591 A.D. on an extensive area south of the river Musi. The area at that time consisted of seven villages, the most well known was chichlam. This area lay along the main commercial route of the kingdom leading to the port town of Masulipatnam. There are various theories regarding the selection of the site for construction of the city ranging from the romantic episode of Mo. Quli's love for a hindu girl Bhagmati residing in the village of Chicham (hence the name of the city was Bhagyanagar) to the unsuitability of Golconda
fort for habitation because of congestion and unsanitary conditions prevalent there.

As is well known, the city of Hyderabad was planned on a grid iron pattern with two main intersecting roads, 60 ft. wide running east-west and north-south and having at their intersection the Charminar. The foundation of Charminar was laid in 999 A.H. (1590 A.D) and was completed in 1,000 A.H. (1591 A.D). At the crossing of the road to Masulipatnam and at about 250 ft. north of Charminar, the charkaman or the four arches were erected in 1592 A.D., each arch being 60 ft. high and 36 ft. wide and facing the four cardinal points. At the centre of these arches a large octogonal cistern called the char-suk-ka-hauz (the four cornered reservoir) or Gulzar Hauz was constructed. These four arches served as a gate way to the Jilau Khana (ante-chamber) of the royal palaces. The city was divided into four quarters by its intersecting main highway. The north-western quarter was reserved for the royal palaces and the north eastern for the Peshwa and the nobility.

At this point it may be useful to present a brief description of the typical medieval city. It may be recalled that cities during medieval times were based on a feudal economy and hence only the king and his retainers, his nobles, soldiers, businessmen and tradesman could live in a feudal city i.e. only those not directly dependent on land. The very structure
of a medieval city was dependent on the whims and fancies of the ruler. The focal point of activity was usually the ruler's palaces and depending upon its location, his nobles built their mansions, each one trying to be as close as possible to the royal palace, their choice again being limited to their relative status in the court. The minor officials and the retainers of the king and his nobles usually herded in settlements round these palaces sometimes getting a place inside these mansions. The bazaars and the trade centres were usually located at the intersection of the main roads and on trade routes or could be found located outside the city walls, near the gates if the concerned city happened to be a walled city as was Hyderabad during the Asaf Jahi period. Caravan serais and guest houses were built by the ruler for the travellers and tradesmen who visited the city and the city would also be studded with religious places and institutions depending on the religious affiliation of the ruler. For example, the old city of Hyderabad still has a few hundred mosques, dargahs, ashurkhanas and temples built by the ruler and his nobles. Another feature which was usually a part of a medieval city landscape was the sprawling gardens with fountains and cisterns owned by the ruler and his nobles all over the city and gave it a panoramic view. The built-up area of medieval cities generally clustered together and did not sprawl like modern cities. This is because technologically the means of transportation were not much developed and common people usually walked to their destination, while
the nobles travelled on elephants, camels, horses, bullock-carts and palanquins. As a result medieval cities tend to become congested with time and the narrow lanes and cul-de-sacs which served to maintain the privacy of residents and suited movement from mohalla to mohalla becomes a hindrance for modern means of transportation. Finally it should also be remembered that the growth of a medieval city usually took place in times of peace and prosperity, that is, when there was stability in the kingdom and trade flourished. Otherwise the money accumulated as revenue and from trade got spent in waging wars.

Keeping the above features of a medieval city based on a feudal economy in mind, let us resume the description of the city of Hyderabad during Qutub Shahi times. It is stated that there were four markets in the city and the four main highways were lined with 14,000 shops selling goods of diverse varieties. Besides these, there were public baths, monasteries, Schools, mosques, free kitchens, guest houses and caravan serais (rest houses for merchants) the number of such buildings appearing to have been more than 12,000. Such a large number of buildings and shops validates the fact that the city of Hyderabad had a large built up area since its inception and was a well developed medieval city. But the city was essentially built for the nobles and the royal family and this is vindicated by the statement of Tavernier, who visited Hyderabad in 1652, who states that
"Bhagyanagar" was nearly the size of Orleans, well built and opened out.... inhabited only be persons of quality, the officers of the king's house, the ministers of justice, and military men. From 10 or 11 o'clock in the morning till 4 or 5 in the evening, the merchants and brokers come into the town to trade with foreign merchants after which they return home to sleep."

For, the house of the common people twelve zones were allocated outside the city walls and were spread over an area of ten square miles, in each zone there being provision for the construction of one thousand houses. On all these precincts (mohallas) there were schools, hospitals, mosques, inns and gardens, so that each locality could be self-sufficient and on the peripheries of these mohallas were stationed vegetable and fruit markets. Till the down fall of the Qutub Shahi dynasty, three thickly populated areas or mohallas had appeared within the Walled City of Hyderabad and these were the mohallas of Hussaini Alam, Darushifa and Sultan Shahi. On the outskirts of the city there was the thickly populated suburb of Karwan Sahu near Puranapul. Three other suburbs were emerging namely Khairatabad, Naubat Pahad (the black rocks) and the Lingampally gardens.

During Qutub Shahi period the chief source of drinking water was the Mir Jumla tank and the Jalpalli reservoir near Golconda from where water was supplied to the city through pipes.
The growing splendour and prosperity of the city of Hyderabad was brought to a grinding halt by the Moghul invasion in 1683. The Moghul army plundered the city of Hyderabad and razed most of its palaces to the ground. The Sultan and his nobles were forced to take shelter in Golconda and the Qutub Shahi dynasty came to an end in the year 1687 A.D.

2. The Early Asaf Jahi Stage (1687 to 1799):

The initial phase of this period from 1687 to 1725 A.D. has been termed by Manzoor Alam as the transitional phase because it was marked by political instability and there was no developmental activity within the city of Hyderabad except for the building of parts of the city wall from Chaderghat to Dabirpura gate, the wall in later years demarcating the boundaries of the city of Hyderabad. Testifying to this lack of development Dr. Zore states that after the downfall of the Qutub Shahi dynasty, most of the palaces constructed during this period were single storied. This is because most of them were subedars and their palaces were called 'havelis' (mansions) and not 'mahals' (palaces).

In 1724 A.D. Nizam-ul-Mulk defeated Mubariz Khan the last subedar and established his own kingdom. This started the rule of the Asaf Jahi dynasty which lasted till the Police Action of 1948. The early phase of Asaf Jahi rule from
1725-1799 has been divided by Manzoor Alam into two distinctive phases, one of inhibition from 1725-1763, and the other of acceleration 1763-1799.

The period of 'inhibition' so labelled because it was one of great economic stress and strain for Hyderabad due to the retention of Aurangabad as capital city by Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I. This forced many wealthy feudal landholders to migrate there. Other factors which later had effect on this period of 'inhibition' was the death of Asaf Jah I in 1748 which started a family feud for power and this along with the Anglo-French struggle for supremacy over the Deccan (1750-1760) renewed political uncertainty which adversely affected Hyderabad's growth. Alam states that even the construction of the ruler's palace and of his ministers' mansions in the south west quarter of the city could not check the stagnation caused by other factors. The city was only partially inhabited and only that part of the city which during the Qutub Shahi period contained royal palaces was over crowded with dwellings. There was no suburban expansion and mansions of the nobles were largely deserted and in ruins. Hyderabad's many bazaars and the grand bazaar of chowk which was the principal retail centre, were half empty. Hence all the symptoms of decadence were evident. The above description of the inhibitory stage of Hyderabad's urban growth shows that urban growth in a feudal economy depends completely on fortuitous factors such as the activities of
the ruler and his feudal lords. In a capitalist economy the institution of commodity production and its relations propel urban growth. Urbanization in the capitalist economy is autonomous, self generated and independent of individual and fortuitous factors. In a feudal economy, the surplus extracted from the peasants by the ruler and the nobles is used for constructions, state expenditures, payment of officials, and other developmental activities and the entire growth process depends on this method of extraction of surplus. Even commerce which can generate surplus depends completely on the presence of the nobility and the ruler on that territory. Therefore, in medieval cities, whenever there is a period of political instability, the wealth accumulated by feudal lords gets expanded in wars and ancillary expenditures and there is no developmental activity and certainly not those which accrue to the urban process.

Coming back to historical description of the growth of the city, it is said that Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I did construct a few palaces in Hyderabad even though he ruled from Aurangabad. While his palaces, known as Haveli Nizam-ul-Mulk and later called Daulat-Khane-Bande Jane-Ali and Khilwat Mubarak were being built in the south western quadrant of the city, he constructed a temporary residence in the village of Asafnagar outside the city. He looked after the administration of Hyderabad from there and soon a settlement grew up there. The location
of Daulat Khane Ali and Khilwat palace was chosen on the Mothigalli lane which is a bylane on the Puranapool-Charminar road just before the Chowk. During Qutub Shahi times Mothigalli was the centre for the sale of pearls.

Another important task undertaken by Nizam-ul-Mulk was the completion of the city wall. This wall gave the city a definite boundary and gave its citizens a sense of protection. The circumference of the wall was 6 miles and it enclosed an area of about 2.5 square miles. On the bastions of the wall were kept guns and the population which had fled from Hyderabad slowly returned back into the protection offered inside the walls. The localities inside the wall constituted the city Anderoon (interior) and those outside were the city Bahroon (exterior). The walled city had twelve gates called darwazas and twelve posterns called khidkis.

After Nizam-ul-Mulk came Nasir Jung and Salabat Jung, but their tenures were short and marked by political instability and hence they did not take much interest in the construction of palaces. Nor did commerce flourish in the state of Hyderabad as it did during earlier times. The succession of Nizam Ali Khan as the ruler of the Deccan in 1763 started the period of 'accelerated' growth for the city of Hyderabad. He shifted his headquarters from Aurangabad to Hyderabad and it again re-emerged as the chief city of Deccan after a lapse of about
seventy six years. The Nizam probably realised that he had more political claims at stake in the south than in the north for which purpose Hyderabad was more centrally located.

As a result of this decision the nobles of the court and their retainers also returned to Hyderabad from Aurangabad. The increasing commerce and flow of land revenue into the city greatly stimulated urban growth in the city. Within the city walls a phase of urban renewal commenced and old dilapidated buildings were razed to the ground and replaced by palatial ones. Settlements expanded rapidly beyond the walls mainly to the south. This extra mural extension in the south consisted mainly of nobles' mansions and houses of their retainers and spread to about a mile round the city walls.6

The mansions, palaces that were constructed during this period were Kotla Ali Jah, Jahan Dar palace, Kotla Akbar Jab, Suleman Jah Chawdi and bazaar Kewan Jah. The buildings which were constructed or renovated during this period in the western part of Charminar were Roshen Bangla, Roshan Mahal, Gulshan Mahal, Shadi Khana, Khilwat Mubarak. To the east of Karwan developed the extensive business locality of Begum Bazaar, named after Qudia Begum, mother of Nizam Ali Khan. The revenue from this market was given to the chief begum of Nizam I, who had given this vast land on lease to build houses and shops. The vast square of Jilu Khana, or the guard's square during
the Qutub Shahi period, now known as Charkaman area, became the Sarrafa or Taksal area in November 1770 A.D. The site between Dad Mahal and Charmahal was chosen for the residential quarters of the bankers. Noted sahokars or businessmen like Anandiram, Manji Nayak and Harlal Kanji also built their houses there.

Till 1761, the city had only four bazaars and one grand bazaar called the Chowk, but by 1798 there were twelve bazaars, three grand bazaars and a large wholesale business centre of Begum Bazaar. Thus from 1770-99, the city of Hyderabad regained its past glory and political stature. Its economic and commercial importance also considerably increased.

Although the city's major axis of growth still ran in the east-west direction, yet significantly, the main road north of Charminar the present Afzalgunj road, emerged towards the end of this period as an important business thoroughfare. New settlements also came up in the mohallas like Darushifa, Moghalpura, Hussaini Alam, Shaalibanda, etc., and small villages and hamlets appeared around Yakutpura, Uppugooda, Jahanuma, Mallepalli, Bahadurpura and Asafnag.
3. The Impact of British Cantonment Settlement of the Second Twin City Stage (1799-1874):

This is the most important phase in the history of the city's growth because it completely altered the course of the city's development pattern and ushered the development of the city towards the northern direction, towards the northern half of the city. This northern half along with the passage of time has presently developed into a dynamic throbbing metropolis, while the southern half of the city consisting of the walled city of Hyderabad has lapsed into decadence and under-development.

It is difficult to guess what shape the city's growth pattern would have taken if the British had not arrived. But the signing of the subsidiary alliance with the East India Company in 1798 and the construction of the British Residency on the northern banks of the river Musi in 1806 had two major effects on the growth of the city. First, it created Secunderabad and secondly it ushered in the second phase of twin city growth of residential areas on the northern bank of the river Musi and hence changed the axis of growth towards the northern direction.

The Subsidiary Alliance Treaty of 1798 stipulated the permanent residence of the British India Company's forces within the Nizam's state and granted them certain economic concessions. Soon after the treaty was signed, 5,000 British troops arrived
near Hyderabad and camped on a low flat ridge immediately to the north of Hussain Sagar and near the village of Hussain Shahpura. Thus was established a new twin settlement replacing the old Golconda-Hyderabad development. It is said that the growth of the cantonment area was quite rapid. Initially it started on the area of four square miles and a population composed of 5,000 troops and several thousand civilian natives. In sixty years time its area expanded to seventeen square miles and the population including the military forces was over 50,000. The cantonment was named Secunderabad in 1806 after the then Nizam, Secunder Jah. Because of its military functions and business opportunities, Secunderabad drew large number of people from the surrounding areas, leading to a compact settlement called the General Bazaar.

The General Bazaar where the native population including bankers and merchant lived expanded its commerce, taking advantage of the economic concession contained in the Article 4 of the Subsidiary Alliance. The native merchants imported commodities duty free, and supplied goods not only to the cantonment area but also catered to the capital's large number of wealthy noble clientele, who had a fancy for imported goods. This extended sphere of Secunderabad's business further stimulated its commerce and led to a further rise in population and expansion of native settlement area more towards the south, in the direction of Hyderabad.
As Manzoor Alam has pointed out, Secunderabad being a British Cantonment developed a cultural pattern quite distinct from that of the capital. St. John's Church and St. Mary's Cathedral dominated its urban profile and not Charminar or Mecca Masjid. The centre of native settlement was the Hindu Mahakali temple, and not a mosque. English and not Persian was the official language and "telugu not Urdu, was the language of the natives. Missionary schools teaching through the medium of English governed its educational system and not Madarsas and Maktobs (oriental types of schools) as in Hyderabad. Commerce formed the core of Secunderabad's economy while in Hyderabad the feudal system prevailed.

But it must be said that the city of Hyderabad did not remain unaffected from the different cultural and social impulses of its twin town, specially after the Residency was set up near Chadarghat. The British imperialist policies demanded that they take an active role in the affairs of the Hyderabad State. The British administration interfered in the selection of the Prime Ministers of the Nizam State seeing to it that their own man was always selected. The British showered honours on them like the KCIE (Knight Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire) and they usually remained obliged to the British Resident for their position. But this contact had a modernizing impact on the administration of the Nizam State, especially under Salar Jung I who introduced the Zilla Bandi system of
administration whereby Hyderabad State was divided into five divisions and seventeen districts. This later gave place to the revenue administration pattern which in a modified shape is now in vogue in Andhra Pradesh. Salar Jung I also started the Madarsa-e-Aliya which later became Nizam College and recruited scholars and able administrators from the north to run the administration here. This created bad blood within the nobility which later evolved into the Mulki-non-Mulki issue.

The growth of residential settlement on the northern half of the city was initiated with the completion of the British Residency in Chaderghat in the year 1806. According to Alam, following the construction of the Residency there came into existence around it a cluster of shops and dwelling over which the Nizam's government accorded to the Resident unreserved power and jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters. This settlement being efficiently administered enjoyed peace and security. In contrast the civil administration in Hyderabad was chaotic, especially in its suburbs where free-booters harassed the merchants and bankers who therefore migrated from Karwan to the Residency. Not only bankers, but the native civil servants of the Nizam's government also moved to Chaderghat preferring the sanitary and police arrangements there. Besides this native infiltration, a strong foreign element was also introduced, mainly European and Eurasians, who held important positions in the service of the Nizam and his nobles, but pre-
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ferred to stay near the Residency. Alam states that this European-Eurasian colony adjacent to the Walled city was a valuable addition to Hyderabad's cultural development. Houses of European styles, Christian churches and Missionary schools dominated Chaderghat. The first native Christian colony was established by the French around a gunfoundry located here and this served as nucleus for the growth of Christian settlements. The influx of bankers and civil servants into the Residency area stimulated its banking and commercial activities. Though the area was not large, it was covered with populous bazaars, some of whose merchants possessed great wealth and had transactions all over India. As early as 1810 a British banking firm, Falmers & Company opened a banking business in Hyderabad and there was already the Bank of Bengal established before 1894. The development of banking business may be directly linked to the feudal system prevalent in the State. Right from the Nizam to his petty Jagirdars, they were all in need of ready cash to transact their business, and since the revenue collection machinery was never very efficient they could never get all the amount that they required from their estates. In these circumstances the bankers played a crucial role. They advanced the amounts charging exhorbitant interest and then secured full powers to collect the money advanced from the estates of the Jagirdars with the assistance of their own men. In this way the bankers exploited the poor peasants and enriched their coffers. All these unscrupulous methods of the bankers were
exposed when the Nizam himself was in trouble and had to take help of the then resident Charles Metcalfe.⁸

As in the Chaderghat and the Residency Bazaars, settlement also rapidly extended in the city's northern and southern suburbs. The emergence of the British India Company as the paramount power in the Deccan lent political stability to the State and encouraged commerce and immigration. The built-up area within the walled city increased immensely and created problems like scarcity of water, unhygienic conditions, etc. To ease the water problem, Mir Alam who was then Prime Minister to Sikander Jah constructed the Mir Alam tank at the cost of 8 lakh rupees. This was planned by a French engineer and the distribution of piped water supply to walled city began from this project. But the water was not clean and people fell sick. In 1888 a filter bed was established near Chandulal's Baradari to supply filtered water to the city. To meet the increasing demands of the population Mir Alam also opened a big vegetable market and this is located near Pathergatti behind Mokramdowla Deodi.

Till 1839, the only connection between the southern and the northern half of the city was the Puranapool bridge. With the setting up of the Residency, the northern and the southern banks of river Musi became thickly populated and there was increasing need for a bridge to be built across Musi to
unite the two halves since crossing the Puranapul bridge meant taking a long detour along the banks. On the eastern part of the city suburbs like Malakpet, Dabirpura and Yakutpura were getting thickly settled and the consequent pressure of the traffic forced the authorities to build a bridge across the river near Chaderghat. This bridge was built in 1839 during Nasirud Dowlah's reign under the supervision of the famous engineer Oliphant; and this came to be known as the Chaderghat bridge or the Oliphant bridge.

But this did not solve the problem of increasing pressure of traffic across the river. On the other side of Musi, near the north-western part of the walled city the newly developed locality of Begum Bazaar was sufficiently extended and new thickly populated localities of Totagodum and Afzalgunj had come up. Hence the pressure of traffic was keenly felt and the river was again bridged at a third point in 1857 at the place where the road from Charminar meets the Musi and this bridge was called the Afzalgunj bridge after the ruler Afzal-ud-Dowla Asaf Jahl V. This bridge was built under the supervision of Sir Salarjung I. Between the period 1857-69 A.D. the built up area within the walled city had increased so much that most of the grain merchants coming from the adjoining rural areas faced difficulty in finding a proper place for their business transactions. Hence according to Bustane Asafia, a group of grain merchants requested the ruler to construct a market on
the north of the river and the market which was consequently constructed is known as Afzal gunj. However till 1869 with the exception of Begum bazaar and Afzalgunj and their principal streets, there was scarcely a building between these places and Nampally and the area was full of paddy fields. The introduction of railway in 1874 led to the increase in the built up area with settlements extending towards Nampally.

The increasing built up area within the walled city of Hyderabad and the urban sprawl in the northern half of the city because of the Residency and the Secunderabad cantonment forced the ruler to think in terms of a planning body for the city. For the first time in the history of the city and under the guidance of Sir Salar Jung, a department of 'Municipal and Road Maintenance' was created in the miscellaneous Ministry of the Government. The area of the Hyderabad Municipality was demarcated as about 22 sq. miles and a Municipal Commissioner appointed to look after the maintenance of the City. Previously this job was undertaken by the City Police Commissioner or the Kotwal.

Before concluding the discussion on this phase of the city's growth i.e., the second twin city stage (1687-1874) it would be worthwhile to have an analytical image of the growth during this period. Before this period started, that is, before the British came to the Hyderabad State, the city had been
confined mostly to the area within the walled city, except for a few suburbs on the outskirts. The growth also had been based purely on feudal economic relations, Hyderabad being the political and administrative capital where the king and his nobles lived with their paraphernalia. Commerce was present but its role was negligible for city's growth. But the coming of the British ushered in a new phase of growth in the northern half of the city. The change in the axis of growth towards the northern direction was possible only because of the establishment of the British Cantonment in Secunderabad. This can be called a major intervention on the part of the British Imperialist State undertaken to keep a check on the Nizam Government, which not only changed the direction of growth but also ushered in a new process of growth based on commercial capitalism. The economic concessions granted to the British attracted merchants and bankers here, and the type of economy which developed here was based mainly on commerce. This can be seen from the settlements which spread near the Residency bazaars, the General bazaar of the Secunderabad Cantonment and the later settlements around Begum Bazaar and Afzulgunj. This growth of commercial capitalism in the northern half of the city received a big boost with the coining of the Railways in Hyderabad which expanded its commercial network with other cities. But the railway stage also marked the genesis of industries in Hyderabad, which with the passage of time would usher in another mode of urban growth in Hyderabad, that of industrial capitalism.
4. The Introduction of the Railways (1874-1904):

The phase in the growth process of the city from the coining of the Railways in 1874 till the catastrophic floods in the river Musi in 1908 has been termed as the Railway stage (1874-1908) by Manzoor Alam. The coming of the railway made a big difference in the growth pattern of the city because it cemented still further the rapidly uniting cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad and halted the growth of the city south of the river. The axis of growth was in the northern direction.

The imperialist policies of the British demanded that the sea-port of Masulipatnam be connected to the metropolitan cities of Bombay and Madras. Hence the railway line spanning Hyderabad and Secunderabad (constructed in 1874) was extended to Madras via Warangal in 1898. In 1900 the twin cities were connected with the rich cotton tracts of Hyderabad State, situated in the northwest. Regionally, the railways made a tremendous difference by transferring the trade of Hyderabad from Musulipatnam to Bombay and Madras. Locally their effect was no less powerful because they accelerated the northward expansion of Hyderabad, assisted the industrial development of the two cities, and reinforced the commercial and compact development of Secunderabad.9

There were no modern industries in either city before
1874. But with the coming of the railways, a mechanical workshop for the Public Works Department was started, followed by two railway repair workshops (loco and signal) in Secunderabad. The mint, a cotton ginning, spinning and weaving factory and a tile factory was also established in Hyderabad. These industrial units can be called the harbingers of the future industrial growth that took place in the northern half of the city and in Secunderabad.

It was from this period that incipient stagnation in urban growth started in the walled city of Hyderabad, which at that time represented the core of the built up area. This is because the process of industrial growth has inherent logic and dynamics of its own and this lead to a process of urban growth which has its own momentum. Such a process was missing in the walled city of Hyderabad.

With the advent of railways, the urban growth was oriented to the railway stations, goods yards, associated warehouse areas and industrial regions. Rapid extension of settlement north of the river occurred around Begum Bazaar, Chaderghat and the Residency bazaar.

The built-up area from Begum Bazaar extended towards the Nampally railway station and in course of time densely populated localities of Nampally and Bazarghat came into existence,
The location of another railway station at Kachiguda led to the establishment of localities of Kachiguda, Nimboli Adda, Barkatpura and Chappal Bazaar. Then new colonies came up at Amberpet, Adigmet and Malakpet. Hence it can be said that internally the walled city was getting compactly built up and externally it was developing residential suburbs. It is because of this growth of built up area around Begum Bazaar and Afzalgunj and the increasing flow of goods and people between the settlements on the northern banks and the walled city that the river was bridged at a fourth point in 1897. This was built by Nawab Chalib-ul-Mulk Muslam Jung from his own expenses and hence this bridge was called Muslam Jung bridge.

Beyond the walled city in the south western direction new settlements appeared around the palaces of Jahanuma and Falaknuma, the latter being built during his period by Sir Vicar-ul-Umra in 1889. Another factor which caused the built-up area to expand on the south western side, the construction of the Falaknuma Railway station in 1901. Hence areas like Jangammet which was once a small hamlet and Maikal Kanda near Aliabad Darwaza got included in the city limits.

But the area which was most affected by the introduction of Railways was the city of Secunderabad. This was because its wholesale and retail business expanded considerably during this period. Being located on the junction of broad gauge and
meter guage railway systems which connected it to big cities like Madras and Bombay and to the port town of Masulipatnam, it had the supply of goods which helped it to have wholesale business transactions with other towns in the State. Locally, its retail trade, especially in luxury goods was stimulated by the further overcrowding of Europeans and Eurasians, most of them employees of the Nizam. The settlement of the civilian population especially of the natives, extended towards the south along the two principal roads to Hyderabad and this would soon lead to the fusion of the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad into a metropolitan twin city.

The expanding urban growth also forced the ruler to take a number of steps. A department of Municipal and Road maintenance had already been formed in 1869 with a Municipal Commissioner as its head. In the year 1896, the Chaderghat Municipality was separately constituted because of its large built up area and the city assumed two distinct entitles of 'Andrun' and Bairun, that is, inside and outside the city wall. Before that the first official census was taken of the walled city of Hyderabad in the year 1881 and the city was divided into four Municipal divisions or wards. These wards were known by the names of the major localities like Mir Chowk, Sultan Shahi, Aliabad Androon and Hussaini Alam with the city wall as their outer limits.
From the 1891 census reports on can have an idea about the growth in population which took place within the walled city, Chaderghat and in Secunderabad respectively. The figures are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mir Chowk</td>
<td>29,916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultan Shahi</td>
<td>31,418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aliabad (inside)</td>
<td>28,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hussaini Alam</td>
<td>33,818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yakutpura</td>
<td>31,287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aliabad (out)</td>
<td>25,613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total city Municipality</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,80,957</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afzal Gunj</td>
<td>61,653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Begum Bazaar</td>
<td>31,348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karwan</td>
<td>33,623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Chaderghat Municipality</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,26,624</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residency bazaars</td>
<td>14,709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secunderabad</td>
<td>80,626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolaram</td>
<td>12,123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Residency</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,07,458</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above figures bring to light the fact that urban growth had spread considerably from the times it was limited to the walled city. Now the Residency area and the Chaderghat areas had a population which was comparable to the one within the walled city.
In order to meet the demands for such a large population, in 1888 a city water works' scheme for filtered water from Mir Alam tank was prepared. In the year 1889 a Hyderabad Water Works Department was also formed.

Such was the state of affairs in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad when in 1908, a disastrous flood in the river Musi swept the city of Hyderabad, severely affected the parts of the city near the river banks. The flood made the ruler realize the pitfalls of unplanned growth and a planning body was constituted. Then the ruler shifted his residence after the floods and this hastened the stagnation of the walled city.

5. The Emergence of the Modern City of The later Asaf Jahi Rule (1908-1948):

There is a general belief among scholars that the catastrophic floods of 1908 had changed the fate of the city, because after this event, the ruler changed his residence and along with him the nobles moved out of the walled city. It looks as if the hands of fate had changed the course of development of the city. But this does not seem true. The floods of 1908 only hastened the process which was inevitable. The unplanned growth within the walled city with its densely packed settlements, narrow crooked lanes, insanitary conditions and growth in terms of accretion around palaces of nobles, had resulted in a land
use pattern which was unsuitable for modern industrial development. On the other hand, the vast sprawling vacant lands north of the river, the economic system based on commerce set up by the British, the presence of railway offered scope for industries to develop. The modernization trend had shifted the axis of growth in the northern direction and stagnation had already crept up in the southern part of the city.

The devastations caused by the floods made the ruler realise the pitfalls of unplanned growth. A planning body called the City Improvement Board was set up in 1912 to look after the problem of city development. This planning body worked under the able guidance of Sir M. Vishveshwaraya the eminent engineer from Mysore. The City Improvement Board took up schemes like improvement of the embankments of the river, damming of the river upstream to prevent floods from reoccurring, opening up of congested areas by undertaking slum clearance schemes, acquiring open lands, building houses for the poor, road widening programmes, laying of sewerage and storm water drainage lines, etc.

The first such project taken up was the improvement of the area lying on both sides of the river. The wall on the southern side from Puranapool to Chaderghat bridge was raised to a height of 30 ft. and a road was constructed along it. The residential areas along the banks were converted into parks
and play grounds. Prominent public buildings like the High Court, the City College were built on the backgrounds of these gardens on the southern side. The Osmania Hospital, the State Library were built along the northern banks. A set of building bye-laws were also enforced. The Board controlled the grant of building permits on main roads and in areas where improvement schemes were to be undertaken. As a post-flood measure, rebuilding was prohibited within a certain distance of the river. This project achieved the twin purpose of not only beautifying the river front but also removing chances of such a disaster from occurring ever again.

The river was also dammed twice upstreams to tame the river, once in 1917, and then in 1927. This lead to the formation of the Osmansagar and Humayatsagar lakes respectively. These lakes have helped not only in taming the river but were the sole source for supply of drinking water to the twin cities till recent times till the Manjira scheme started. The reservoirs have also been largely responsible for encouraging development in Hyderabad.

The other important developmental activities carried out by the City Improvement Board on a piece-meal basis, and stretching over a period of thirty years are:

1) Dismantling of the city walls along with its gates over
a period of time. This became necessary because of the increasing congestion and need for roads for the free flow of traffic.

2) Widening of the Pathergatti road and construction of shops on both sides to relieve the traffic congestion caused by the heavy traffic flow between the two halves of the city.

3) Laying of underground sewerage and drainage lines in both halves of the city.

4) Slum clearance schemes to open out congested areas. Such schemes were implemented within the walled city in areas like Darushifa, Noorulomra Bazaar, Sultan Shahi, Moghalpura, river front areas, etc., and outside the walled city in areas like Begum Bazaar, Nampally, Gunfoundry, Babha-Shafa, Chappal Bazaar, Lingampally, Aghapur, Khairatabad, Pathanwadi, etc. Such schemes removed unhealthy dwelling and narrow lanes and constructed broad roads and 'C' and 'D' type housing quarters. Such quarters can be still seen in these areas.

5) Roads connecting important places and localities within the city were laid or broadened along with the provision of street lights and traffic signals.

6) Construction of the Mojamjahi market on the road leading from Nampally to Begum Bazaar.
7) Acquiring of new areas like Azampura, Amberpet, Erammagutta, Mallepalli and Aghapura and construction of housing colonies there.

Other than the above mentioned developmental activities, Sir M. Vishveswarayya submitted a report in 1930 on the City Improvement Scheme required for Hyderabad city. The report emphasised the need for a comprehensive city plan and recommended schemes like a civic centre, inner circular road, radial and trunk roads, roads along river banks, roads round Hussainsagar and the need for circular railway. He also called for an overhauling of the existing municipal structure and suggested changes that were to be made to improve the working of the City Improvement Board,

It was also in this period that the ruler Osman Ali Khan shifted his residence from the Chow Mahalla palaces of the walled city to another palace called the King Kothi located in the Chaderghat area. This shift symbolised the shift in the state's capital from the southern half of the city to the northern half and marked the growing importance of the northern half. However offices of the municipalities, the Police Commissioner's and the Civil and Criminal Courts remained within the walled city, still being the core around which the population was organised, and the civic area delimited.
The nobility wanting to be near the ruler also moved out from the walled city (though retaining their mansions there) and settled around the areas of Himayatsagar, Hyderguda, and Banjara Hills. These areas thus became high income group residential areas.

This phase of the city's growth has been termed by Alam as the phase of internal reorganisation of the city. This is because, the planning interventions and the shift of the ruler's residence had important consequences in terms of land use in growth of the city. This is apparent from the above given description.

One might suggest that Osman Ali Khan Asaf Jah VII's change of residence to the Chaderghat area was no whimsical decision but a shrewdly calculated move to counter the growing British influence on the dynamic urban growth taking place in the northern half of the city.

The next phase in the growth of Hyderabad-Secunderabad during the late Asaf Jahi period has been termed by Alam as the phase of development of rail and road transport system especially the introduction of the suburban services. This phase expedited the metropolitan growth of Hyderabad by making it feasible to develop industrial, educational, military, recreational, market and residential centres away from the heart of the city.
The introduction of suburban train services in 1928 and of the suburban bus services in 1932 helped to unite the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad into one great conurbation and also saved the southern half of the city from disintegration and depopulation because people commuted from here to their place of work. But it should be kept in mind that although the intra city bus and train services saved the southern half from depopulation it did not result in any industrial growth or any economic function being centered there. Nor was it enveloped in the growth of the twin cities into a metropolis. It remained essentially a residential area for all classes of people.

Later some important political events took place, which strongly influenced the growth of the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. In this study we shall consider two such events, namely the Rendition Acts of 1936 and 1945 and the Police Action of 1948. The Rendition Act of 1936 released the area of the Residency Bazaars from the administrative control of the Resident. This became a necessity because after the shift of the rulers residence to the Chaderghat area, the presence of a British controlled area in the neighbourhood was a source of embarrassment for the Nizam. Then to facilitate urban planning, there was immediate need to bring the entire city of Hyderabad under the single administrative jurisdiction of the Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad.
The second Act of Rendition in 1945 released the civil area of Secunderabad from the jurisdiction of the cantonment and brought it under Nizam's rule. This freedom helped it to share the fortunes of the capital city and soon its boundaries expanded to cover an area of eight square miles from its initial 3.6 sq. miles area.

But the most important political event that had a tremendous effect on the growth of the city, especially the southern half of the city was the Police Action. This was launched by the Government of India in September, 1949, to liberate the state of Hyderabad form the Nizam's control and integrate it with the Indian Union. This event was preceded by other related events which played a role in the instability and economic depression which marked this period. The partition of 1947 and the communal riots in northern India saw the mass exodus of Muslim population into Hyderabad State, specially its capital. Special refugee camps were set up to give shelter to these people. Then the Telangana portion of the Hyderabad state had always been the stronghold of communities who taking advantage of the unstable conditions resorted to terrorist activities against the local Zamindars who then fled to the city and settled down there. These landlords came with a lot of wealth and this gave a partial boost to the sagging economy of the state because they invested in buildings, commerce and industry. Vidyanagar and Dilsukhnagar in Hyderabad and Jeera and New Bhoiguda in Secunderabad owe their development to the influx of these landlords.
But the Police Action of 1948, removed at one stroke the feudal reign of the Nizams and led to the abolition of the Jagirdari system. This had a number of results. First, large numbers of the ruling elite either migrated to Pakistan or fled to other countries. This resulted in a certain amount of economic dislocation in the city. Secondly the abolition of the Jagirdari system resulted in the sudden disappearance of the feudal economic base, which was the main prop and source of sustenance for the inhabitants of the walled city. The growth of the city of Hyderabad had been such that the southern half of the city had always depended on the feudal economy for its growth, it being the administrative capital of a feudal ruler. The growth of industries and an economy based on commerce had taken place in the northern half, first under the British, and later under the state government and also the self propelling mechanism of commodity production. The southern half was denied such a growth process. Further more, the abolition of the Jagirdari system, the fleeing of the Muslim elite and the influx into the city of low income group migrants resulted in a situation in which the southern part was left with no inherent inner dynamics to sustain itself and lapsed into decadence. The intra-urban transportation system saved it from depopulation but did not generate any economic growth. The role of the southern half of the city, especially the walled city has been reduced to a residential area of the low and middle income groups.
6. The Period of takeoff to Metropolitan Status after 1956:

The take-off to Metropolitan status after the formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh in 1956 and the massive role played by state intervention in the form of establishment of large public sector industries, formation of urban development authorities, master plan for city development, housing schemes especially for the lower and middle classes, constructing commercial complexes, provision of infrastructural facilities like roads, electricity, transport, water, drainage and sewerage, etc., has been discussed extensively in the following chapters. Here, we will just give an outline of the reasons for the growth of the northern half of Hyderabad along with Secunderabad into a metropolitan city while the southern half specially the old city areas have lapsed into decadence.

In the previous section, we have already discussed the consequences of the Police Action of 1948. This sudden removal of the feudal economic base threw the entire state into a deep economic crises and the entire administrative system went through a period of confusion. The city of Hyderabad also went through a state of economic depression during this period. The industrial growth which was occurring in the northern half of the city was at a low ebb because of the sudden fall in demand after the end of the second world war. Further the dismissal of the Nizam's government and the integration of the
State of Hyderabad into the Indian Union forced the local industries to compete with national ones. Hence many units including the Allwyn Metal Works and Praga Tools unable to face the competition closed down and there was a mass retrenchment of workers. This crisis was further compounded, first by the mass exodus of Muslim elites to Pakistan and other countries and second by the large influx of the low and middle class Muslims from the districts into the city, especially the walled city of Hyderabad.

This sagging economy of the city of Hyderabad was revived when the State of Andhra Pradesh was carved out on a linguistic basis in 1956 and Hyderabad was made its capital. This event coincided with the start of the Second Five Year Plan which emphasised on the country's industrial development for long term productive needs. The Planning Commission had appointed many agencies to finance large, medium or small industries and the Government of Andhra Pradesh utilised these provisions to develop its industrial sector.

The industrial estate of Sanathnagar which had come up in 1940 but was almost deserted by 1955 was rejuvenated and together with Mushirabad, became one of the two main industrial nuclei of large and medium industries of the twin cities. This industrial sector has grown enormously and at present there are four distinct clusters of large and medium scale industrial units in Hyderabad. They are (1) The Azamabad Industrial
Area which is the oldest in the city (2) The Balanagar-Sanathnagar-Kukatpally industrial cluster which has a variety of industrial and consumer units like refrigerators, pharmaceutical products, machine tools, air craft components, soft drinks, etc., the important ones being Allwyn, H.M.T., I.D.P.L., H.A.L. and others. (3) The Moula-Ali-Nacharam-Uppal industrial area which has important industrial units like the E.C.I.L., Warner Hindustan Limited, N.F.C. and others. (4) The Ramachandrapuram, Patancheru Industrial cluster which has B.H.E.L. (which is one of the biggest public sector units), I.C.R.I.S.A.T. and others. But this industrial development has taken place only in the northern half of the city and in Secunderabad and the southern half of the city especially the walled city, lacks such an industrial growth. The Chandulal Baradari industrial estate did come in 1963 in the southern half outside Fateh Darwaza. But this industrial estate consisted mostly of small scale industries and had only a few medium scale industries manufacturing steel and metal sheets, chemicals and pigments, utility articles, etc., and can only employ a few hundred people.

This lack of industrial growth explains why the old city of Hyderabad (of which the walled city is the core) is in a state of stagnation and urban decay while the other parts of the city are rapidly growing into a throbbing metropolis.

The logic of the capitalist mode of production is such that in order for the manufacturing units to thrive, it becomes
an imperative on the part of the state to provide infrastructural facilities like good roads, efficient transportation system, electricity, housing, etc. The state provides these facilities through Urban Planning agencies, the ones in Hyderabad being the Hyderabad Urban Development Authority (HUDA), Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad (MCH), the Housing Board and others. This laying down of infrastructural facilities attracts further settlements which in turn need further planning intervention. It can be said that this very process is being enacted in the northern half of the city resulting in its growth along with Secunderabad into a large metropolis. The southern half specially the walled city part lacking any industrial growth is being denied of such an urban growth process. Another factor which may have caused the neglect of the southern half was the reorganisation of the state on a linguistic basis which led to the inclusion of the rich coastal belt of Andhra into the state of Andhra Pradesh. The enterprising Andhra immigrants settled down in the northern half and in Secunderabad but not in the southern half of the city (here the southern half denotes the old city parts and not the suburbs in the south, which did attract immigrant groups, for example, Dilsukhnagar, Saroornagar, Hayatnagar situated along the Vijayawada highway are growing residential colonies). Thus business and commerce flourished in these northern areas and new housing colonies appeared in Ameerpet, Panjagutta, Chikkadpally, Domalguda and Amberpet areas of Hyderabad and in Maredpally, Begumpet, Seetaphalmandi areas of Secunderabad.
Similarly the political elite who came to power in the state of Andhra Pradesh after the end of Nizam's rule were mostly from the capitalist class of these Andhra regions and they had no emotional or cultural links with the walled city region, most of which was populated by members of one particular community, namely the Muslims. This lack of political will on the part of the State's political elite to look into the problems of underdevelopment of the old city, has led to its further deterioration. Consequently there had emerged a class of communal leaders from within the old city, who take up the problems of neglect and under-development of the old city but give it a communal connotation using it for their political success.

At present the twin cities together cover 194.25 sq.kms. (within MCH limits), Hyderabad alone having an area of 173.53 sq.kms. Most of the recent growth of Hyderabad is on the northern side. Suburbs which were once important as residential, religious, industrial, educational and military centres have all been sucked into the growing metropolis. As will be seen in the next chapter, the trend of growth of Hyderabad city is in three directions (1) the north-west i.e., from the Sanathnagar-Balanagar-Kukatpally area towards Ramachandrapuram-Patancheru industrial nucleus (2) the north-east i.e., from Moula Ali towards Macha Bolaram and (3) the south-east i.e., from Dilsukhnagar to Hayatnagar along the Vijayawada highway.
Before concluding if one reviews the history of the growth of Hyderabad city, one finds that the State has played an important role in every stage of the growth of the city. The shift of the capital from Golconda to the walled city area by Mohammed Quli led to the decadence of Golconda and the growth of the city south of river Musi. The formation of the Secunderabad cantonment by the British shifted the axis of growth towards the northern direction and this process got accentuated when railway was introduced by the British to facilitate imperialist trade. The process of stagnation of the walled city area which started when the Nizam shifted his palace to the northern half was complete after the Police Action which abolished the feudal rule of the Nizam. On the other hand, the northern half of the city has grown along with Secunderabad into a metropolis mainly because of its status as the political and administrative capital of the State of Andhra Pradesh and because of the large public sector industries which have come up in the industrial estates in northern Hyderabad and Secunderabad.
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